

The Crusades

The Crusades

An Encyclopedia

ALAN V. MURRAY
EDITOR

Volume I: A–C

A B C  C L I O

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List of Abbreviations

A.D.	Anno Domini	Lith.	Lithuanian
Arab.	Arabic	MLG	Middle Low German
Arm.	Armenian	MHG	Middle High German
b.	born	mod.	modern
B.C.	before Christ	MS	manuscript
c.	circa	n.s.	new series
ch.	chapter(s)	no(s).	number(s)
Cz.	Czech	OE	Old English
d.	died	OFr.	Old French
e.g.	for example	ON	Old Norse
ed.	edited by, edition	p(p).	page(s)
Est.	Estonian	pl.	plural
et al.	et alii	Pol.	Polish
Fig.	Figure	Port.	Portuguese
Finn.	Finnish	r	recto
fl.	floruit	rev. ed.	revised edition
fol(s).	folio(s)	Russ.	Russian
Fr.	French	s.v.	sub verbo
ft.	feet	ser.	series
Georg.	Georgian	sing.	singular
Ger.	German	Sp.	Spanish
Gr.	Greek	SS.	saints
Heb.	Hebrew	St.	saint
Hung.	Hungarian	Sw.	Swedish
i.e.	that is	Syr.	Syriac
It.	Italian	trans.	translated by
Lat.	Latin	Turk.	Turkish
Latv.	Latvian	v	verso
lb.	pound(s)	vol(s).	volume(s)

Preface

When, at the Council of Clermont in 1095, Pope Urban II called for an armed pilgrimage to liberate the Holy Land, he brought into existence a movement that was to have profound consequences for the history of Europe, the Near East, and North Africa for centuries to come. Hundreds of thousands of men and women took part in crusade expeditions to various goals, a huge number of them dying in the process. Millions of people lived as subjects of states that were brought into existence as a direct consequence of crusades to Palestine and Syria, to the Baltic lands, and to Greece and the islands of the eastern Mediterranean. Others served as members of religious orders established to protect pilgrims or ransom captives, while many more supported crusades through taxes and voluntary donations, or by prayers and participation in the liturgy of the Christian Church. Many of the political, economic, religious, and artistic consequences of the crusades are still apparent in the world that we live in.

This encyclopedia is intended as a reference work on the crusades from their origins in the eleventh century up to the early modern period. It comprises one thousand signed articles and translated texts, with a historical introduction by Professor James Powell. Articles are accompanied by bibliographies, and are thus intended to function as a first point of reference and orientation for users who wish to proceed further with their enquiries. The scope of the work is intentionally wide: it has long been accepted that the crusades were neither purely heroic manifestations of Christian valour nor cynical wars of aggressive colonialism; in more recent years historians have also recognized the diverse and changing nature of crusading, which gradually developed in scope from campaigns to defend the Holy Land, to take in wars of conquest or reconquest against Muslims in Iberia and North Africa and pagans in northeastern Europe, as

well as heretics, Christians of the Orthodox faith, and even political enemies of the Roman Catholic Church.

The aim of the encyclopedia is to reflect the state of knowledge of the crusade movement as it is understood in historical scholarship at the beginning of the twenty-first century. It contains longer entries on the major crusade expeditions themselves; the various states that contributed to, were established by, or were targeted by crusading; sources for the history of the crusades; the main military religious orders; and key concepts and institutions connected with crusading. There are also a great number of shorter articles on persons and places. While an absolutely comprehensive treatment is not achievable in a work of this length, the reader will nevertheless find articles on all the major crusades of the eleventh to fourteenth centuries, on most of the military orders, and on all of the crusader states of Outremer, the Baltic lands, Frankish Greece, and Cyprus. There are also entries for all of the rulers of the kingdom of Jerusalem, the kingdom of Cyprus, the Latin Empire of Constantinople, the principality of Antioch, the county of Edessa, and (save one) the county of Tripoli. Within this overall framework, a particular emphasis has been given to the events, institutions, and personalities connected with crusade expeditions and the Frankish states of Outremer and their enemies in the period 1095–1291. Finally, it should be emphasized that in a publication bringing together the work of over a hundred scholars from some two dozen countries, the user should not expect a uniformity of approach or opinion, but will find a diversity of analysis and interpretation from different authors, even if the fortuitous nature of the A–Z sequence has permitted the editor, at least in one sense, to have the last word.

Many debts of gratitude are incurred in a work of the dimensions of this one. The encyclopedia first took shape

Preface

in a series of conversations with Professor James Powell of Syracuse University and Dr. Robert Neville, then of ABC-CLIO, and I am grateful to them for their advice, as well as to the members of the Editorial Advisory Board, who readily provided assistance and counsel whenever it was requested of them. The authors of articles deserve thanks, not only for sharing their scholarship, but also for their forbearance in dealing with numerous queries and requests for alterations or clarifications, and not least for their patience in waiting for the work to see the light of day. Several board members and other contributors also deserve thanks for their readiness to step into the breach by agreeing to write articles for which, for whatever reason, no other author could be found. Much of the attractiveness of a work such as this derives from its illustrations, and I am particularly grateful to Professors Alfred Andrea, Benjamin Z. Kedar, and Graham Loud for generously allowing the use of photographs from their own collections, and to Dr. Janus Møller Jensen, Dr. Kristian Molin, and Dr. Samantha Riches for their help and advice in procuring images.

Among the staff at ABC-CLIO, a great deal is owed to the energy and enthusiasm of Wendy Roseth and to the good sense and experience of Martha Whitt, who supported the project during its most crucial stages, while Anna Kaltenbach and Vicki Moran in turn provided the care that brought it to publication. Significant contributions to the final product were also provided by Ellen Rasmussen, who undertook picture research; Bill Nelson (cartographer) and George Zirfas (graphic artist), who drew maps and genealogical tables to the editor's specifications; as well as Silvine Farnell and Kathy Streckfus (copyeditors), Mary Kay Kozyra and Lori Kranz (proofreaders), Tim Giesen (typesetter), and Heather Jones (indexer). Thanks are also due to Alison Miller and Patience Melnik, who acted as development editors during the initial stages of the project.

Lastly, I am grateful to Martina Häcker and Rhiannon Lawrence-Francis for their assistance in proofreading the final text.

— *Alan V. Murray*
Leeds, 5 July 2006

How to Use This Encyclopedia

Scope

This encyclopedia covers the crusading movement, in its widest sense, from the late eleventh century to the early modern period, as well as the different states and settlements established in the course of the crusades in the eastern Mediterranean region, Greece, and the Baltic countries. Within this framework special emphasis has been given to the history of the crusades and the Latin East between 1095 and 1291, and the user will find considerably more detail on that period.

The entries comprise five distinct types according to their subject matter: (1) individual persons, (2) families and dynasties, (3) anonymous historiographical and literary works, (4) places and countries, and (5) subjects. In general the headings used for entries have been chosen to conform with established usages in English-language history writing. Cross-references from alternative forms have been given in a large number of cases. The general principles adopted with regard to the forms for entries can be summarized as follows:

1. Names of Individual Persons

Europeans in the Middle Ages were generally known by their forenames, and therefore medieval Europeans are listed under their forename, rather than a surname or title (e.g., Raymond of Saint-Gilles, Boniface of Montferrat), unless they are usually known by their surname (e.g., Caxton). Names are usually given in anglicized forms where these exist (e.g., Peter the Hermit, Conrad III of Germany). However, native forms have been used in a minority of cases where these are better known; these cases apply mostly to literary authors (e.g., Guillaume de Machaut, Friedrich von Hausen) and members of the Teutonic Order (e.g., Karl von Trier). Greek names are given in the forms now used by English-speaking Byzantinists rather than in the archaic Latinate forms (e.g., Alexios I Komnenos, not Alexius I Comnenus).

Arabic names are listed according to that part of the name by which the individuals are most generally known by historians. The Arabic definite article *al-* is ignored in the alphabetical order of entries; thus *al-Sulamī* is listed under *S*.

Turkish names from the Saljūq (Seljuk) period, that is, roughly to 1200, are given in Arabic form; for the Ottoman period they are spelled as in modern Turkish.

Dates of birth and/or death, where these are known, are given in parentheses following the entry headword. Parenthetical dates that appear after personal names in the texts of entries normally refer to reigns or periods of office.

2. Families and Dynasties

Group entries have been given for some families or dynasties where there is insufficient space to treat every individual member connected with the crusades. These groups are listed under the surname or title by which they are most commonly known in scholarship (e.g., Courtenay, Ibelins).

3. Anonymous Historiographical and Literary Works

Works whose authorship is unknown or debated are listed under the title of the work itself. This is normally given in the language in which the work was originally written (e.g., *Lignages d'Outremer*, *Devastatio Constantinopolitana*), except in cases where commonly used English forms exist (e.g., *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*). Works whose authorship is known are treated in the entries under the names of their authors.

4. Places and Countries

The precise forms of place-names in areas of crusading activity constitute a major difficulty and are often a contentious issue. In many cases, particularly in the eastern Mediterranean and Baltic regions, the forms of names in use

How to Use This Encyclopedia

at the time of the crusades have been superseded by one or more different forms. Although the historical, crusade-period forms do not correspond to the place-names found on modern maps, they are nevertheless correct for the time described and are commonly used in almost all scholarship on the crusades. In the encyclopedia, the historical forms are used, but cross-references are given from modern forms, which can also be found within the entries themselves. Thus: Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey), Reval (mod. Tallinn, Estonia), Tyre (mod. Sôûr, Lebanon).

It should be noted that modern place-names in countries using the Arabic, Cyrillic, and Hebrew alphabets may be found in varying forms on maps, and in some cases may differ to some extent from the forms used in this encyclopedia.

5. Subjects

Subjects include individual crusades, battles, treaties, various institutions (such as military orders), concepts, and objects. These are invariably listed under their English forms unless no direct English equivalent exists (e.g., *dhimma*). The names applied to different crusades are explained in the next section ("The Crusades: Names and Numbers").

Format of Entries and Bibliography

In addition to its main text, each entry has a bibliography, which is intended to provide a guide to the most useful secondary literature on the topic. In the cases of entries relating to primary sources (whether listed under the names of persons or as anonymous works), the bibliography usually includes details of one or more editions of the source text, as well as information on translations where these exist. A full, synoptic table of all entries on sources is given at pp. \$\$\$.

Further Reading

In addition to the specific bibliographies provided with each individual entry, recommendations for further reading can be found in the general bibliography. It should also be emphasized that the Byzantine and Islamic worlds are treated primarily in connection with the crusades and crusade-period settlements. For more specific information on Byzantium and Islam, the reader is advised to consult the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan, 3 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) and the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. Hamilton A. R. Gibb, 10 vols. and supplements, new ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1960–2001).

The Crusades: Names and Numbers

From their inception at the Council of Clermont in 1095, crusades were referred to in various ways. Typical designations were “pilgrimage” (Lat. *peregrinatio*), “expedition to the Holy Land” (*iter in Terram Sanctam*), and “passage” (*passagium*), but other terms were used. It was only toward the end of the twelfth century that specific designations for “crusade” (*cruciata*) and “crusader” (m. *crucesignatus*, f. *crucesignata*) were devised. Individual crusade expeditions were referred to by a variety of descriptions involving their dates, main participants, and goals; they were not designated by numbers.

It was in the eighteenth century that historians evidently first allocated numbers to individual crusades, from the first to the ninth. However, these numbers are neither consistent nor accurate. Of the identity of the First Crusade (1096–1099) there can be no doubt, but there is no consensus about numbering after the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204). The Crusade of Emperor Frederick II (1227–1229) is sometimes regarded as part of the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221) and sometimes as a separate expedition. This means that the term *Sixth Crusade* may refer either to Frederick II’s crusade or to the first crusade of King Louis IX of France, which might also be called the Seventh Crusade. Consequently, each subsequent number after the fifth might refer to either of two different expeditions.

A much more fundamental objection to the traditional numbering of crusades is that the numbers are misleading. The historians who allocated and popularized numbers only took major expeditions to the Holy Land into account; smaller expeditions to the East and crusades to other destinations were simply not counted. Yet before the loss of the Holy Land in 1291 there had been other major expeditions

with goals elsewhere, such as the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229), which were never fitted into a numerical scheme. Even if discussion is confined to the Holy Land, modern historical research has established that there were far more crusades than those distinguished by individual numbers. Thus, even if the Crusade of 1101 is considered a late wave of the First Crusade, as is done by some historians, there were still other substantial crusades to the Holy Land that took place after 1101 but before the so-called Second Crusade.

It is impossible to state with accuracy how many crusades took place. Often one proclamation and its associated privileges gave rise to different expeditions. Sometimes proclamations met with little or no response, or some responses may not have found resonance in the sources. How many of all these undertakings should be counted as crusades is a matter for debate.

The only absolutely clear method of designating individual crusades is by a combination of dates and descriptive terminology relating to participation, goals, or both, and this is the solution that has been adopted in this encyclopedia. However, the names of the First, Second, Third, Fourth, and Fifth Crusades, which are at least unambiguous (if not accurate), have been retained, as they are now established by long tradition. The full list of crusades separately treated in the encyclopedia is given in the following Chronology. However, information on numerous other crusades can be found in articles relating to individual countries or persons.

Chronology

Individual crusades with designations as used in this encyclopedia (entry headings are indicated in boldface).	1239–1241	Crusade of 1239–1241 of Thibaud IV of Champagne and Richard of Cornwall (sometimes known as Barons' Crusade)
1096–1099	First Crusade (including the People's Crusades)	1248–1254 Crusade of Louis IX of France to the East
1101	Crusade of 1101	1251 First Shepherds' Crusade
1106/1108–1110	Crusade of Sigurd Jorsalfar	1265–1266 Crusade of Odo of Burgundy
1107–1108	Crusade of Bohemund I of Antioch	1267 Crusade of 1267 from the Upper Rhine
1114–1115	Mallorca Crusade	1269 Crusade of Charles I of Anjou against Lucera
1122–1124	Venetian Crusade of 1122–1124	1269–1270 Crusade of James I of Aragon
1129	Crusade of 1129 against Damascus	1270 Crusade of Louis IX of France to Tunis
1147–1149	Second Crusade (including the Wendish Crusade)	1270–1272 Crusade of the Lord Edward of England
c. 1150–c. 1560	Baltic Crusades (against Livonia, Prussia, Finland, Lithuania, and Russia)	1309 Crusade of 1309
1151–1153	Crusade of Rognvald Kali Kolsson	1320 Second Shepherds' Crusade
1172	Pilgrimage of Henry the Lion	1344 Smyrna Crusade
1189–1192	Third Crusade	1346 Crusade of Humbert II of Viennois
1197–1198	Crusade of Emperor Henry VI	1347–1350 Crusade of Magnus II Eriksson of Sweden against Novgorod
1202–1204	Fourth Crusade	1366–1367 Crusade of Amadeus VI of Savoy
1209–1229	Albigensian Crusade	1383 Despenser's Crusade
1212	Children's Crusade	1390 Mahdia Crusade
1217–1221	Fifth Crusade	1396 Nikopolis Crusade
1225	Crusade of William VI of Montferrat	1420–1431 Crusades against the Hussites
1227–1229	Crusade of Emperor Frederick II	1444 Varna Crusade
1228–1232	Drenthe Crusade	
1233–1234	Stedinger Crusades	

Principal Narrative and Legal Sources for the Crusades

Events	Western Sources	Greek/Hebrew Sources	Arabic Sources	Armenian/Syriac Sources
First Crusade (1096–1099) and Crusade of 1101	Albert of Aachen* Baldric of Dol Caffaro <i>Chanson d'Antioche</i> Ekkehard of Aura Frutolf of Michelsberg Fulcher of Chartres* <i>Gesta Francorum</i> Gilo of Paris Guibert of Nogent Henry of Huntingdon <i>Historia Nicaena vel Antiochena*</i> <i>Historia Belli Sacri*</i> Metellus of Tegernsee Orderic Vitalis Peter Tudebode Radulph of Caen Raymond of Aguilers Robert the Monk William of Malmesbury William of Tyre* <i>Zimmern, Chronicle of</i>	Anna Komnene* (Gr) Mainz Anonymous (Heb) Solomon ben Simson (Heb)	Ibn al-Athīr Ibn al-Qalānisi* al-Sulamī	<i>Anonymous Syriac Chronicle*</i> (Syr) Bar Ebroyo* (Syr) Matthew of Edessa* (Arm) Michael the Syrian* (Syr)
Outremer (1098–1291)	Albert of Aachen* Arnold of Lübeck* <i>Assizes of Jerusalem</i> Burchard of Mount Zion <i>Excidium Acconis</i> <i>Eracles*</i> <i>Ernoul*</i> Fulcher of Chartres* <i>Gestes des Chyprois*</i> <i>Historia Belli Sacri*</i> <i>Historia Nicaena vel Antiochena*</i> James of Vitry John of Jaffa John of Würzburg <i>Letres dou Sepulcre</i> <i>Libellus de expugnatione Terra Sanctae*</i> <i>Lignages d'Outremer</i>	Anna Komnene* (Gr) Kinnamos, John* (Gr)	Diya al-Dīn al-Maqdisī Ibn al-Athīr Ibn al-Qalānisi* Ibn Jubayr Ibn Shaddād* Ibn Wāṣil al-Isfāhānī* Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī Usāma ibn Munqidh	<i>Anonymous Syriac Chronicle*</i> (Syr) Bar Ebroyo* (Syr) Gregory the Priest (Arm) Matthew of Edessa* (Arm) Michael the Syrian* (Syr) Smpad the Constable (Arm)

Principal Narrative and Legal Sources for the Crusades

Events	Western Sources	Greek/Hebrew Sources	Arabic Sources	Armenian/Syriac Sources
Outremer (1098–1291) <i>(continued)</i>	<i>Pactum Warmundi</i> Nikulás of Munkethverá Thaddaeus of Naples <i>Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre Ierosolimitane</i> Walter the Chancellor William of Tyre*			
Second Crusade (1147–1149)	<i>De expugnatione Lyxbonensi</i> Helmold of Bosau Odo of Deuil Otto of Freising <i>Teutonic Source</i> William of Tyre*	Choniates, Niketas* (Gr) Kinnamos, John* (Gr)	Ibn al-Qalānisi*	
Third Crusade (1189–1192)	Ambroise Arnold of Lübeck* <i>Eracles*</i> <i>Ernoul*</i> <i>Historia de expeditione Friderici</i> <i>Historia de profectione Danorum in Hierosolymam</i> <i>Libellus de expugnatione Terrae Sanctae*</i> Ralph de Diceto Ralph of Coggeshall* Richard of Devizes Roger of Howden	Choniates, Niketas* (Gr)	Ibn Shaddād* al-Isfāhānī*	
Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) and Frankish Greece	Alberic of Troisfontaines* <i>Assizes of Romania</i> <i>Chronicle of the Morea</i> <i>Devastatio Constantinopolitana</i> Geoffrey of Villehardouin Gunther of Pairis Henry of Valenciennes Nivelo of Cherisy Ralph of Coggeshall* Robert of Clari	Choniates, Niketas* (Gr)		
Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229)	Alberic of Troisfontaines* <i>Chanson de la Croisade albigeoise</i> Peter of Vaux-de-Cernay William of Puylaurens			

Principal Narrative and Legal Sources for the Crusades

Events	Western Sources	Greek/Hebrew Sources	Arabic Sources	Armenian/Syriac Sources
Later Crusades in the Levant	Alberic of Troisfontaines* Caoursin, Guillaume <i>Devise des chemins de Babiloine</i> <i>Gestes des Chyprois</i> * Fidenzio of Padua Guillaume de Machaut John of Joinville Matthew Paris Oliver of Paderborn			
Baltic Crusades	<i>Ältere Hochmeisterchronik</i> Gallus Anonymus Henry of Livonia Hönecke, Bartolomäus <i>Livonian Rhymed Chronicle</i> Nicolaus von Jeroschin Peter von Dusburg Rimini, Golden Bull of Saxo Grammaticus Wigand von Marburg Wincenty Kadłubek			

The Crusades: An Introduction

The study of the crusades touches many different aspects of history, from war, politics, and economics to religious and cultural diversity. From the late eleventh to the seventeenth centuries, the idea of crusade played a significant role in the history of European thought. Yet the term *crusade* itself only came into existence after the movement it described had achieved a clearly recognized identity. In the modern era the word *crusade* also carries a considerable amount of historical baggage, which makes the task of definition very hard. Still, from the beginning, what gave the movement a special character was the involvement of the church, especially the papacy, in warfare. Its defining moment occurred on 27 November 1095 at the church council held at Clermont in the Auvergne, when Pope Urban II (1088–1099) summoned the knights of western Europe to go to the aid of their fellow Christians subjected to Muslim rule in the Near East. Within a short time that summons also came to focus on the liberation of the city of Jerusalem and the holy places in Palestine.

The response to Urban II's appeal transformed what had been a long and often frustrating war against Muslim expansion into a war of liberation. Thus, what had been a struggle of individual rulers and their peoples in defense of their own lands took on a new purpose and found new means to achieve this end. Its principal objective lay in the East, in the lands sanctified by the life of Jesus Christ.

Christendom and Islam

The Mediterranean world was the cradle of Europe. It was the seat of the Roman Empire, which by the third century A.D. covered all of continental Europe south of the Rhine and the Danube and most of the island of Britain, as well as Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, parts of Arabia, and the

whole of Africa north of the Sahara. During the second and third centuries, this empire underwent a profound religious transformation. Christianity, which had originated among the Jews of Palestine, gradually spread through both Jewish and Gentile communities of the Greco-Roman world until, by the early fourth century, it gained legal status as a recognized religion under Emperor Constantine I (306–337); it later received official status as the religion of the empire under Emperor Theodosius (379–395).

To the east, the Roman Empire faced its ancient enemy, the Persian Empire. To the north, migrant Germanic peoples, many of them fleeing the Huns, nomadic warriors from central Asia, pressed against the Roman frontiers or sought refuge within the empire's borders. These factors had persuaded Constantine I to move his capital from Rome to the town of Byzantium on the Bosphorus, on the straits that formed the juncture of Europe and Asia. There he built a new Christian city, naming it after himself: Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey).

The next two centuries saw a continuing effort to preserve the empire, but control over the West was gradually slipping away. There was one mighty attempt to restore it under Emperor Justinian I (527–565): North Africa, a large part of Italy, and even part of Spain were taken back from their barbarian rulers, while the Persians were staved off mostly by diplomacy. By the late sixth century, however, Germanic kingdoms were already being formed throughout western Europe on the ruins of the empire. Yet the conquerors were not mere destroyers. They adopted Christianity and with it as much of late Roman culture as they could use and preserve. The clergy, who formed the largest educated class, were that culture's chief transmitters. From Lombard Italy, Frankish Gaul, and Visigothic Spain to Anglo-Saxon England, behind the chaos of rivalries and the

violence of anarchy there were efforts to build new local societies that, in some way or other, reflected the memory of the Roman Empire. In the meantime, the Roman Empire in the East fought to retain its position against Persia. The two great states fought one another to exhaustion in the early seventh century.

Destruction threatened both empires from an unexpected source. For centuries, the Arabian Peninsula had been a pathway of commerce to the East, a way around the Persian Empire, and the home of nomadic Bedouin tribes, who lived chiefly on their flocks and from raiding the caravans of merchants. Most were pagans, but a few were Christians, as were some of the people of the towns along the caravan route. Some of the towns also had Jewish communities. Mecca was one of the chief towns of Arabia and a religious center for many of the pagan Bedouins on account of a black meteoric rock there, the Ka'ba, that was believed to possess supernatural powers. It was in Mecca that Muḥammad, the future Prophet, was born around the year 570.

Muḥammad's leadership provided the catalyst that united the Arabian Peninsula. He combined a religious mission with a political program. Exiled from Mecca with some of his followers, he fled north to the town of Medina. There he built a power base, conquering Mecca and gradually uniting the Arabian Bedouins. He did not insist on conversion to Islam, the religion he founded, but within a short time religious conformity became the mark of those who followed him. The religion of Islam (submission to God) professed a rigid monotheism and prescribed prayer, fasting, and charitable acts as well as moral behavior. It owed much to Judaism, a religion with which Muḥammad had had close contact in Medina, but it also preserved some elements of pre-Islamic Arabian religion, notably reverence for the Ka'ba. It respected the prophets of the Old Testament and considered Jesus as another prophet, with Muḥammad as the last and greatest. The duty to spread the religion was incumbent on every Muslim. All these teachings were included in the sacred book of the Qur'ān (Koran). Military expansion and the benefits offered to those of the conquered who converted were effective in leading many to the new religion even during Muḥammad's lifetime. Islam's major conquests outside the Arabian Peninsula, however, occurred only after his death.

Following the death of Muḥammad in 632, his successors, known as caliphs, waged war against all unbelievers. They overthrew the Persian Empire, which had been worn

down by the long war with the eastern Roman, or Byzantine, Empire. At the battle of the Yarmuk in 637 the Muslims and their allies defeated a Byzantine army, and Syria fell into their hands. The conquest of Egypt followed. The Arab Muslim military elite found themselves ruling vast territories with populations diverse in both culture and religion. But the Prophet had already allowed for this in his conquests in Arabia, permitting "the People of the Book"—meaning chiefly Jews and Christians—to retain their religion by paying the *jizya*, a poll tax not levied on Muslims. Thus, in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, as well as in other lands in North Africa, there remained very large Christian populations, chiefly among the rural population, for centuries after the Muslim conquests.

By the early eighth century the Muslim conquerors had reached Spain and had begun to raid along the coasts of Italy and France, establishing outposts even in the Alps. The Visigothic kingdoms of Iberia were virtually destroyed, with only a remnant surviving in northwestern Spain. In 732, near Poitiers, a large Muslim raiding party was turned back by Charles Martel, a magnate of the Austrasian Frankish kingdom who bore the title of mayor of the palace. This marked the furthest Muslim penetration into western Europe. For more than a century afterward, however, the West was under threat. Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic Islands were lost. Muslim fleets raided coastal towns such as Bari and even penetrated to the suburbs of Rome itself. Meanwhile, in the East the Byzantine Empire also suffered severe setbacks, but in the tenth century it undertook a series of campaigns aimed at reestablishing its power in Syria. By the late tenth century, under Emperor John I Tzimiskes (969–976), the Byzantines had pushed as far as the towns of Caesarea Maritima (mod. Har Qesari, Israel) and Tiberias (mod. Teverya, Israel) in northern Palestine. They controlled Lebanon and much of northern Syria, either directly or through client rulers.

The tenth and eleventh centuries witnessed the beginnings of efforts to free lands in the West from Muslim rule. The most dramatic results were achieved in Sardinia, Corsica, the Balearic Islands, and Sicily. Adventurers from Normandy, who already ruled most of the Italian south, launched a campaign of reconquest that brought Sicily under their control by 1091. The island became the seat of the Norman kingdom founded by King Roger II (1130–1154). But the resurgence of the West was much more broadly based. In the tenth century, there already were

signs of growing population and increased political stability, especially in northern Italy and Germany under the leadership of the Ottonian dynasty. The Holy Roman Emperor Otto I (936–973) instilled new life into the imperial idea that had motivated his predecessor Charlemagne in the early ninth century. Increased demand for foodstuffs and the lure of trade stimulated the efforts of maritime cities such as Genoa and Pisa to expand their control of neighboring seas, lands, and islands. The Iberian kingdoms also began to go on the offensive. By the mid-eleventh century, Mediterranean Europe was a vital region, and northern Europe was entering a new phase of political and economic development. Not so in the East.

The once-mighty caliphate of the ‘Abbāsīd dynasty at Baghdad, whose authority had been recognized throughout the Islamic world from the Strait of Gibraltar to the frontiers of India, was by this time opposed by a rival Fāṭimid caliphate in Egypt, which upheld the minority, Shī‘ite branch of Islam. The eleventh-century Muslim world was much less tolerant of religious minorities than were its predecessors. In Egypt and North Africa there is evidence of considerable pressure on Christian minorities, which had remained quite sizable in many areas. The mad Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākīm ordered the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, which had been built by Emperor Constantine I.

More dangerous to Christendom, however, was the increasing power of the Turks, a nomadic people from central Asia. Originally pagan, the Turks converted to Islam, and in the course of the eleventh century, under the leadership of the Saljūq family, they conquered Khurasan, Persia, Iraq, and Armenia and effectively established a protectorate over the ‘Abbāsīd caliphate in Baghdad. The weakness of the Byzantines became evident when they were defeated by the Saljūqs at the battle of Mantzikert in 1071. This defeat deprived the Byzantine Empire of some of its richest recruiting grounds for the army, and it was followed by the loss of Syria, Palestine, and most of Asia Minor. It was unlikely that the empire could recover its losses without assistance from the West.

The Reform Papacy and the Inception of the Crusades

The long wars fought by Christians against Muslims from the seventh to the eleventh centuries did not constitute crusades:

they were a series of uncoordinated military operations, at first of a purely defensive nature but increasingly aimed at pushing the Muslims back from Europe and the islands of the Mediterranean and at freeing Christian populations under Muslim rule. Western Europe was fragmented politically, and for much of this period the papacy was chiefly concerned with missionary endeavors and affairs in Italy. Only after the middle of the eleventh century did popes begin to assume a role at the head of a movement to reform the Western church, to free it from the dominance of secular rulers and from entanglement in secular affairs. The resultant struggle is often known as the Investiture Controversy (or Investiture Contest), from its effort to sever ties between bishops and secular rulers, or as the Gregorian Reform, after its most vigorous proponent, Pope Gregory VII (1073–1085). The attempts to reform the church brought the papacy into conflict with Western monarchs and princes. Although Gregory, like his predecessors, was concerned about the threat posed by the Muslims, he was not able to respond with tangible aid to the requests that reached him from the East. Still, in the changing conditions of the eleventh century, we find the seeds that produced the crusade.

The events that set the crusade in motion were not in themselves different from much that had gone before. Popes had encouraged Christian rulers in Iberia and Sicily to recover those lands lost to the Muslims and to reestablish the churches there. Christians from the East and from North Africa had traveled in the West, and numerous Westerners had gone on pilgrimage to the Holy Land. There was certainly a body of informed opinion regarding the situation in the East. On at least one occasion, in 1074, the Eastern emperor, Michael VII, had appealed to Pope Gregory VII for aid. There is ample evidence that the situation in the East was becoming critical. Likewise, given the fragmented political situation in the West, the only practical way to channel support to the East was through the papacy. The popes of the late eleventh century more and more saw themselves as the leaders of Christendom. It was from the necessity of the East and the leadership of the reform papacy that the crusade came into existence.

We should not regard the summons issued by Pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont in 1095 as embodying a total vision of the crusade. That would evolve over the course of the next century. At Clermont Urban II set forth the main lines of his concern. He stressed the plight of Eastern churches. Interestingly, he made no direct appeal for aid

to the Byzantine Empire, at least as recorded in any of the surviving accounts of his sermon; he seems to have stressed the liberation of Jerusalem early on, though not perhaps at Clermont, and to have made reference to a penitential pilgrimage. To all those who would go on it, taking the badge of the cross as a sign of their undertaking, Urban II promised forgiveness of their sins, a full indulgence. Although his sermon clearly implied military action against the Turks and other Muslims, his emphasis was on the religious value of this work. He seems to have said little about Islam, although one report of his sermon written later suggests otherwise. For him, the offense of Muslims stemmed not from their religious beliefs but from their oppression of Christians.

Urban had been cardinal bishop of Ostia and a strong supporter of Pope Gregory VII. He reflected the monastic culture that was a major influence on the papal reform. He favored the Normans in Sicily, who had liberated the island from Muslim rule only a few years earlier, in their effort to establish a Latin Church hierarchy there. He was less passionate than Gregory VII, but he was a more effective administrator. For him, the idea of an expedition to the East appealed in part because it promised some relief from internal conflict and directed military activity to a religious end.

Though we cannot reconstruct Urban's sermon at Clermont with certainty from the reports that survive, its effect on its largely clerical audience was overwhelming. Urban could hardly have foreseen its impact. Clearly it touched a chord in the religious feeling of the time, igniting spontaneous preaching on the part of figures such as Peter the Hermit, that went well beyond the ideas of the pope. The response to the preaching of Peter and others rapidly outdistanced the careful planning undertaken by the pope and the members of the Western aristocracy who responded to his summons. The so-called People's Crusades, more properly a popular outburst that tapped into various currents of religious enthusiasm, were little encumbered by the need for preparations, since their leaders relied entirely on their sense of divine mission.

Among these disparate groups were some whose anti-Judaism found justification in their belief that they were carrying out a divine plan. To them it seemed only right to attack or forcibly convert infidels living within Christendom before carrying on the struggle against the infidels of the East. The Rhineland, where Jews had settled in the relatively recent past, often at the invitation of the rulers and bishops, was a principal center for persecutions. The main body of

the People's Crusades made its way eastward into the Byzantine Empire. As might be expected, these enthusiasts were little inclined to listen to anyone, even their own leaders. Unable to control them, Emperor Alexios I Komnenos permitted them to cross to the Asian shore of the Bosphorus. They launched an attack on the Turks, but they lacked sufficient forces for the task and were defeated. Peter and some of the other leaders managed to escape.

The main body of the First Crusade was composed of contingents recruited by some of the leading nobles of the West. Raymond of Saint-Gilles, count of Toulouse, was among the first to join. Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lower Lotharingia; Hugh of Vermandois, brother of the king of France; Robert II, count of Flanders; and Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy, the son of William the Conqueror, were also leaders, as was Count Stephen of Blois, husband of William's daughter Adela. One of the most prominent was a Norman from southern Italy: Bohemund, prince of Taranto, who was accompanied by his nephew Tancred.

At Clermont those who promised to go on the journey to the East had received cloth crosses to be sewn on their garments as a symbol of their commitment. Thus, the religious character of the campaign was reinforced. All who participated did so at their own expense or with the support of a noble patron. Many mortgaged or sold property, often to religious houses, in order to make the journey. Yet most indicated their intention to return home and resume their lives. Those who made the journey were more likely to be influenced by the new religious currents of the age than were their neighbors, but they represented only a minority of the Western aristocracy. Nevertheless, they were a diverse group whose motives were not always unswervingly religious or even easy to determine. As each contingent of crusaders arrived in Constantinople, their leaders were met by the demand of Emperor Alexios that they swear an oath to restore to the Byzantine Empire all the lands they would conquer that had belonged to the empire prior to the Turkish invasions. There was considerable resistance to this on the part of the crusaders, but Alexios was able to pressure each group into swearing the oath. With this question resolved, the crusaders moved across the Bosphorus with Byzantine support and advanced against Nicaea (mod. İznik, Turkey), which surrendered to the emperor after a short siege.

The road across Asia Minor was difficult. After defeating the forces of the Turkish sultanate of Rūm at the beginning of July 1097, the crusaders rested briefly before making a

slow and often hazardous passage that lasted four months. Baldwin of Boulogne, Godfrey of Bouillon's younger brother, pressed on and with the aid of local Armenians reached Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey), which he seized from its Armenian ruler, T'oros, who had invited him to become his partner. But Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) was the major stumbling block in their path. This once-great city on the river Orontes was dominated by a citadel on the mountain above it. The crusaders undertook what was to be a long siege. Indeed, Antioch might never have fallen, save that Bohemund managed to enter into an arrangement for access with the captain of one of the towers, possibly an Armenian, who agreed to hand it over to him. Having gained agreement that the city should belong to the one who liberated it, Bohemund entered Antioch. But the citadel remained in Turkish hands, and a relief army under Karbughā, the ruler of Mosul, having failed to take Edessa, was approaching the city. Yet inspired by visions and by the finding of what some believed to be the Holy Lance that had pierced the side of Christ, the crusaders rallied. On 28 June 1098 they defeated the Turkish forces and the citadel surrendered, but they were worn out and decided to pass the summer in Antioch before setting out for Jerusalem.

There was a reluctance on the part of the leaders to press forward, but the rank and file had found new inspiration in their victory. It was only under pressure that the leaders began the move southward in early 1099, bypassing many of the coastal towns and arriving before Jerusalem on 7 June. The siege of Jerusalem was complicated by the lack of proper siege machines and by the difficult terrain surrounding the city. Only the arrival of Genoese and English ships at Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel) made it possible for the crusaders to obtain the timber needed for the siege. Still, it was not until 15 July that the crusaders breached the defenses and took the city, which was, according to the prevailing custom, sacked. Many of the inhabitants were killed, but some, including a part of the Jewish inhabitants of the city, were protected by some of the leaders of the crusade. Godfrey of Bouillon was elected to rule Jerusalem. The holy places were once again under Christian control.

The Development of the Crusading Movement and Latin Rule in Outremer

Traditionally, the major crusades that went to the East between 1096 and 1270 have been assigned numbers, giv-

ing the impression of a series of eight or nine discrete campaigns (there is no complete agreement as to numbering). However, this practice distorts the historical significance of crusading, as the concentration on these expeditions obscures the importance of other, equally significant forms of crusade: the numerous smaller (and unnumbered) expeditions that went to the East between the major crusades; the large number of expeditions that had objectives in Iberia, the Baltic lands, and elsewhere; and not least, the continuing importance of crusades to the eastern Mediterranean region, whether executed or merely planned, long after the last Christian strongholds in Palestine fell to the Muslims in 1291. The numbered crusades are merely one expression of a multifaceted movement that affected most of Christian Europe from the end of the eleventh century until well into the early modern era.

We must recognize that the crusade was a technique for raising troops to fight in a cause endorsed by the Christian church as justifiable and meritorious. As this technique evolved, it came to include not merely the crusade indulgence but also numerous other privileges aimed at protecting the families and property of the crusaders while they were away. By the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries it was becoming clear that this technique could be applied to other pressing needs of the church and Christian society, such as the repression of heresy, the defense of newly converted peoples on the frontiers of Christendom, or the defense of the church from political enemies. None of these uses was without precedent, but the development of an effective technique for recruitment was at least partially new. Still, the crusade was never just a means of raising and protecting recruits and their families. It provided a military arm for the reform papacy, relieving to some degree its dependence on secular rulers as defenders of the church. As long as the crusade focused on the Muslim frontier, and particularly on the liberation of the holy places, its critics were few. Indeed, this aspect of crusading retained a certain compelling logic based on the circumstances in which Europe found itself throughout this period. Other "crusades" depended more on local circumstances and the particular reasons used to justify them. Support for them varied.

After the capture of Jerusalem in 1099 many crusaders returned to their homes, regarding their goal as having been achieved and their vows as having been fulfilled. Those who remained in the East controlled still-isolated pockets of ter-

ritory that formed the nuclei of new Christian-controlled territories: the county of Edessa, the principality of Antioch, and the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, which were soon joined by the county of Tripoli, formed by Raymond of Saint-Gilles and his son. These states or principalities were dominated first by the original crusaders and later by their descendants and further immigrants. This dominant group, who never constituted more than a large minority among diverse native peoples, are variously known as Latins, from their “Latin,” or Roman Catholic, faith, or as Franks, from the name applied to them by Muslims and Byzantines alike. Their territories are thus known collectively as Latin states, Frankish states, or—less accurately—Crusader States, although in the Middle Ages they were usually referred to simply as Syria, the Holy Land, or Outremer, the last term meaning the “land beyond the sea” (that is, from the perspective of western Europe).

The most immediate task for the small number of Franks in Outremer was to secure their territories against the two main Muslim powers of the region, the Saljūq Turks and their satellites, and the Fāṭimids of Egypt. It was above all crucial to gain control of the ports of Syria and Palestine, which would guarantee communications with the West. The Frankish settlements developed strong ties with the maritime cities of the West, especially Genoa, Pisa, and Venice, in return for their naval support. Outremer continued to be heavily dependent on military support from the West in the form of numerous expeditions that enabled the rulers to undertake specific campaigns.

Godfrey of Bouillon died on 18 July 1100. He was succeeded by his brother, Baldwin I, count of Edessa, who took the title king of Jerusalem. Baldwin was confronted by the determined effort of the new papal legate, Archbishop Daibert of Pisa, to establish ecclesiastical control over Jerusalem after he had been installed as patriarch. Baldwin vigorously opposed Daibert’s claims because they would have left little for the monarchy, which was charged with the defense of the kingdom. Daibert was a dedicated prelate, but he failed to grasp the situation that confronted the kingdom. Ultimately he lost and was forced into exile. Baldwin vigorously pursued the policies of his brother. Despite the failure of the Crusade of 1101 to provide significant support for Outremer because of its losses during the crossing of Asia Minor, Baldwin made notable additions to the territory of the Latin kingdom.

In the meantime, Prince Bohemund I of Antioch did not fare so well. He was captured by the Turkish Dānishmen-

did emirs in 1100 and was only released in 1103. He returned to the West, where he launched a scheme to conquer the Byzantine Empire, but his attempt ended in his defeat in 1108 and the disgrace of the Treaty of Devol. He died in 1111.

In 1118 Baldwin II, count of Edessa, succeeded to the throne of Jerusalem. He proved to be a very able ruler. He saved the principality of Antioch after its disastrous defeat by the Turks at the battle known as the *Ager Sanguinis* (Field of Blood) in 1119 and acted as regent for the minor son of Bohemund until 1126. He was especially active in the north of Outremer, but in 1123 he was captured while defending Edessa and remained a prisoner until 1124. During his imprisonment the Franks of Jerusalem, with the help of a Venetian crusade, undertook the siege of Tyre (mod. *Soûr*, Lebanon). Following the death of Prince Bohemund II in battle in 1130, Baldwin again became regent of Antioch for Bohemund’s infant daughter. He died in 1131, having consolidated the principalities of Outremer and having withstood continuing pressure from the Turks.

One of the most important developments of this period was the foundation of the military religious orders. A knight named Hugh of Payns, with eight companions, founded the Knights Templar, or Order of the Temple, to protect pilgrims on the dangerous road from Jaffa to Jerusalem. They took their name from the Temple of Solomon, or *al-Aqṣā* mosque, granted to them by the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem. In 1128, with the aid of Bernard of Clairvaux, the famed Cistercian preacher, they drew up their rule and obtained its approval. The Knights Hospitallers, or Order of St. John, had a different origin. The order was founded by merchants from the Italian city of Amalfi prior to the First Crusade to provide care for pilgrims, and their rule reflected their dedication to this task. Only gradually in the course of the twelfth century did they take on a military role. By the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, these orders played a major part in the defense of Outremer. Other military orders were founded in this period both in the East and in Iberia, and somewhat later, in the Baltic region. The orders provided substantial support for the Latin settlements in the East and elsewhere, not merely in manpower but also in goods and money. They were among the largest landowners in Outremer and also held substantial property in the West, which they used to finance their military and charitable activities.

From the perspective of the Latin states in the East, the uncertain flow of men and supplies made it necessary to use

moments of crisis to rally support in the West. Appeals for aid were almost constant. But it was a major disaster, the fall of the city of Edessa to Zangī, the ruler of Mosul, on 24 December 1144, that brought home to the West the need for major help. For the first time a crowned head, Louis VII of France, took the crusade vow. Pope Eugenius III (1145–1153) issued an important crusade letter, *Quantum praedecessores*, that revealed the degree to which the papal ideology of the crusade had taken shape.

The foremost preacher of the age, Bernard of Clairvaux, drove home the message: “Now is the acceptable time . . .” Enthusiasm spread to Germany, where a Cistercian monk, Ralph, (or Rudolf) acting contrary to Bernard’s express instructions, stirred up the populace against the Jews. Bernard had little choice but to take action against Rudolf and to extend his preaching to Germany, where King Conrad III took the cross, although reluctantly. Some German crusaders sought to direct their efforts against the pagan Wends, Slavic tribes living beyond the river Elbe; Bernard endorsed these wishes in a letter that approved the use of military compulsion as a means to conversion. This was an unfortunate lapse on Bernard’s part, since in Christian tradition conversion was only possible through an act of the free will, though the use of force to compel acceptance was not new. The pope did not adopt Bernard’s position, though he approved the crusade against the Wends. Eugenius also approved a crusade against the Muslims in Iberia by King Alfonso VII of Castile. Nevertheless, the crusade to the East remained on track.

The armies of Louis VII of France and Conrad III of Germany made their way separately through the Byzantine Empire and into Asia Minor, while a seaborne contingent from England, Germany, and Flanders delayed in Portugal to assist in the conquest of Lisbon. Conrad and the Germans were defeated by the Turks at Dorylaion in October 1147. Retreating to Nicaea, Conrad and a remnant of his forces awaited the French king. The French joined Conrad and journeyed to Smyrna (mod. İzmir, Turkey), but Conrad was forced to return to Constantinople because of illness, and the French suffered a major defeat at Laodikeia in Phrygia. Strong feelings developed against the Byzantines, especially because Manuel I Komnenos, the Byzantine emperor, had entered into a treaty with the Turkish sultan of Rūm. Although this behavior may appear surprising, it stemmed from the fundamental insecurity of the Byzantines, their distrust of the crusaders, and their desire to protect their own possessions. Despite these setbacks, the crusaders

continued on to Palestine. Louis and Conrad, who had recovered and rejoined the crusade, agreed with the Franks of Jerusalem to undertake an attack on the Muslim city of Damascus. Although some modern historians consider this to have been an unwise decision, the plan had much to recommend it. Following the death of Zangī, his son Nūr al-Dīn had taken up his father’s project to create a powerful state in Muslim Syria. It was only a matter of time until Damascus became part of that state. A successful preemption of Nūr al-Dīn’s plan might compensate for the loss of Edessa. In addition, Damascus was the key link to the great caravan routes. But the effort to take the city failed, and Damascus was never taken.

The Second Crusade (1147–1149) had accomplished almost nothing. Bernard of Clairvaux bore the brunt of the criticism. His overenthusiastic promotion of the crusade made him sensitive to its failure. As a result, he and later preachers began to put more emphasis on the spiritual preparation of the crusaders. They argued that failure showed that the crusaders needed to make themselves more worthy of divine aid. Still, failure did not dampen ardor for the crusade.

The rulers of Outremer were well aware of the need to undertake serious action to protect their lands from Nūr al-Dīn. But times were difficult. King Baldwin II of Jerusalem had worked to ensure a strong succession by arranging the marriage of his daughter Melisende to Fulk of Anjou, and Fulk provided about a decade of stability prior to his death in 1143. But a period of turmoil ensued. Fulk and Melisende’s son, Baldwin III, was a minor, while Antioch too had lost its ruler. The city of Edessa remained in Muslim hands, and its count, Joscelin II, died a prisoner. Queen Melisende was caught up in the intrigues that often accompanied regencies. It was not until Baldwin was able to assert his own control in 1152 that the kingdom regained the initiative, which lasted until his death in 1163. Baldwin was succeeded by his brother Amalric, one of the most effective and ambitious of the rulers of Jerusalem. He worked to strengthen the control of the Crown over the aristocracy. His great plan was the conquest of Egypt, a policy that henceforth would remain a key to the effort to stabilize the position of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. But the growing power of Nūr al-Dīn and his effort to consolidate the rule of Syria and Egypt in his hands frustrated Amalric’s plans and led, ultimately, to the near overthrow of the Frankish settlements.

The twelfth century, despite the political difficulties sketched here, witnessed substantial developments in the constitutional, cultural, and religious life of Outremer. The monarchy had weathered its early crises and had achieved a central role in the governance of the Latin kingdom, though it was forced to rely heavily on support from the West. Defense was, of course, a primary concern. The first priority was the strengthening of the fortifications of the towns, usually by improving existing walls and towers. But the Franks also had to establish a defensive frontier, and during this period numerous castles were built to protect strategic points. Among the most famous were Montfort, which was held by the Teutonic Knights in the thirteenth century; Krak des Chevaliers, which controlled the north-south route to the east of the Jordan; and Beaufort in Lebanon.

Latin rule also brought about a revival of religious architecture. The most important achievement was the completion of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, dedicated in 1149, which united the various sites associated with the Crucifixion and burial of Christ. The tomb of Christ had been destroyed by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim but was later rebuilt with support from the Byzantine emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–1055). The new churches of this period were designed to meet the needs of the much larger groups of pilgrims who now flocked to the Holy Land. The city of Jerusalem, which had long sheltered Christian churches, saw a considerable increase in religious buildings. Important monasteries, such as St. Mary in the Valley of Jehosaphat, gained international fame and support. Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), the chief port of the kingdom, had no fewer than thirty-eight churches. At Caesarea Maritima, the main mosque was converted to a cathedral dedicated to St. Peter, while the cathedral in Hebron was built after 1120 above the newly discovered cave of the biblical patriarchs. Other types of construction included customs houses and warehouses, hospitals, and hospices. Taken together, these buildings provide evidence of an enormous building boom and demonstrate the resources needed to maintain the Frankish presence in the East.

Intellectual life in Outremer was fragile. The chief figure in the twelfth century was William, archbishop of Tyre and chancellor of the Latin kingdom (d. 1186). He was born in the East but educated in the West, and he later served as tutor for King Amalric's son, Baldwin IV. William's chief work was his history of the Latin kingdom, composed in the

third quarter of the century, which reveals a very considerable knowledge of the East. Recently, more attention has been given to other figures. Gerald of Nazareth possessed considerable knowledge of Greek Orthodox theology, and his writings show that some Westerners were working closely with their Eastern counterparts. Increasing interest in the East is also evident in the writings of James of Vitry, bishop of Acre in the early thirteenth century. Another area of interest is in the production of books. About 1135 King Fulk was responsible for the preparation of the *Melisende Psalter*, which he gave to his wife. It was the work of seven different hands, and, profusely illustrated, it represented a high state of the art of book illustration. The artwork produced in the East has suffered greatly through the destruction of churches and the dispersal of many objects to the West. Yet ample evidence has remained to demonstrate that local craftsmen were capable of producing high-quality work in painting, sculpture, and stained glass.

Much attention has been given to the economic impact of the crusades, chiefly on international trade. On balance, it now seems clear that commercial development played only a subsidiary role in the crusade movement. The major economic focus was on the need to sustain the Latin settlements of Outremer. Although there were continuous efforts to produce goods and incomes from lands, rents, and taxes in the East, it seems most likely that the Latin states were seldom capable of providing for their own needs over a lengthy period of time. They required massive infusions of aid from the West. The military orders, monasteries, churches, and military classes were often engaged in raising moneys in the West, both on their own lands and from sympathetic donors. This does not rule out the existence of some successful lordships or prosperous trading centers. Indeed, these were absolutely essential to the continuance of Outremer. Behind what must have seemed a thriving picture during the reign of King Amalric and even under the short reign of his son, the Leper King, Baldwin IV, disaster loomed.

Saladin and the Fall of Jerusalem

Nūr al-Dīn's goal of uniting Egypt and Syria was realized by Saladin, the nephew of his general Shirkūh. On the death of Nūr al-Dīn in 1174, Saladin, as his uncle's heir, moved from his base in Egypt to seize control of Muslim Syria. The realization of this goal posed the most serious threat ever to the

Latin settlements of Outremer, since Saladin was now in a position to challenge their very existence. Over the next decade he mounted repeated invasions of the Latin kingdom while using periods of truce to consolidate his control over the Muslim Near East. The most serious invasion occurred in the summer of 1187, when he moved his forces to Galilee and laid siege to the town of Tiberias. Guy of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem as consort to Baldwin IV's sister Sibyl, decided to move against Saladin. The forces met at the foot of the Horns of Hattin, an extinct volcano in Galilee. It was early July, and the heat was nearly unbearable. Already in a vulnerable position and short of water, the Frankish army was driven upward to the summit. The bulk of the Frankish forces, some 20,000 men, were killed or captured.

The defeat at Hattin removed the only force strong enough to prevent the fall of most of the cities and castles of Outremer. Jerusalem itself fell on 2 October 1187. Pope Urban III died from shock at the news. From the perspective of the West, this was the worst possible disaster. Yet all was not lost. Frankish forces held out in the cities of Tyre, Tripoli, and Antioch. King William II of Sicily sent a fleet to the aid of Tripoli, thus helping prevent its fall. The new pope, Gregory VIII, summoned the Western leaders to come to the aid of the Holy Land in a moving letter (*Audita tremendi*) that reflected his strong commitment to the crusade.

The response to this disaster, the Third Crusade (1189–1192), showed how deeply the West felt this emergency. The Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick I Barbarossa, enthusiastically took the cross, though he had had conflicts with the papacy over imperial interests in Italy. King Richard the Lionheart of England took up the crusade vow of his father Henry II, who had died in 1189, while King Philip II of France also took the cross. Frederick Barbarossa, at the head of a very large force of Germans, traveled by the land route to Constantinople in 1189, and despite numerous difficulties with the Byzantines, he struck out with his forces across Asia Minor, taking the city of Ikonion (mod. Konya, Turkey) by force on 18 May 1190. Although the Turks of Asia Minor now offered no further resistance, Frederick drowned while swimming in the river Göksu on June 10. His forces immediately split, with some deciding to return home. The rest made their way overland to Antioch or by sea to Acre, which King Guy of Jerusalem had been besieging since shortly after his release from captivity by Saladin.

Richard of England and Philip of France set out in July 1190, taking the sea route to the Holy Land. The siege of

Acre had been begun by Guy of Lusignan over the objections of Conrad of Montferrat, a new arrival from Europe who held Tyre, and most of the remaining nobles of the kingdom. It was only the dogged determination of Guy and the arrival of various contingents in advance of the main crusader bodies that forced Conrad and the other nobles to abandon their opposition and join the siege. But the affair was further complicated by the death of Queen Sibyl and her daughters. Richard continued to support Guy, but Philip and most of the Germans supported Conrad, who was now married to Isabella I, Sibyl's younger sister and the heir to the throne of Jerusalem. Despite these differences, the siege of Acre continued successfully. Saladin was unable to relieve the city, and it surrendered on terms. Soon afterward, Philip departed, and Richard decided to move the remaining crusader forces southward along the coast, winning a victory at Arsuf.

Richard had sufficient forces to take Jerusalem, but the leaders of the various contingents in the army were badly divided. Richard advanced to within 19 kilometers (12 miles) of the city. In all probability, he could have taken Jerusalem. In light of subsequent events, especially the assassination of Conrad of Montferrat by the Assassins and the death of Saladin, it seems that Jerusalem could probably have been held. But Richard decided to withdraw and to make a truce with Saladin, which left the Christians in control of the coast from Tyre to Jaffa. As a result, the Third Crusade has been judged by some a failure, but it salvaged what had been a lost cause and laid the foundation for further attempts to retake the Holy City. Still, the situation in western Europe would seldom be so favorable for a new crusade as it was in the aftermath of Hattin.

The much-reduced kingdom of Jerusalem, with its new capital at Acre, was left in the hands of Henry of Champagne, who had married Isabella I. Guy of Lusignan was compensated with Cyprus, which Richard had seized from its Greek ruler during the Third Crusade. The island would remain under the rule of the Lusignan family until 1489 and was one of the last Christian outposts in the East when it was conquered by the Ottoman Turks in 1573.

Pope Innocent III and the Apogee of Crusading

The setbacks suffered by the Third Crusade did not dampen enthusiasm for crusading. The election of a youthful pope,

Innocent III, in 1198 marked the beginning of a new effort to organize the crusade along more effective lines. Innocent, who was an able administrator, proclaimed his commitment to reform of the church and the crusade. In August 1198 Innocent called upon all Christian people to participate in a crusade. Times were not propitious for royal participation. The German Crown was in dispute. Philip II of France, who had repudiated his marriage to Ingeborg of Denmark, was under a papal interdict. Richard the Lionheart died in March 1199, to be succeeded by his brother John. By default, the crusade, which was received enthusiastically by many among the nobility, especially those whose families already had strong ties to the movement, found its leadership in their midst.

A seaborne expedition was planned in order to avoid the arduous journey overland and the attendant military risks. Agreement was reached with the republic of Venice to provide transport, which specified the number of crusaders (about 30,000) and the charges, as well as providing that the Venetians would themselves participate with fifty ships and would share equally in the conquest. The total price to the crusaders was 85,000 marks. There was also a secret codicil specifying that the goal of the crusade was to be Egypt: the main power base of the Ayyūbids, Saladin's successors, was increasingly seen as the key to the recovery of the Holy Land. The date for departure was set for late June 1202. Innocent ordered a general tax of a fortieth of all church incomes for one year and pledged that the Roman Church would pay a tenth of its income. He also issued a generous crusade indulgence to all who would take part in the crusade at their own expense.

The death of Count Thibaud III of Champagne deprived the crusade of its putative leader at a critical stage. His replacement was Boniface, marquis of Montferrat. Well connected to both the French and German royal houses, Boniface was a friend to one of the claimants to the German Crown, Philip of Swabia, who was married to a Byzantine princess, Irene. Her father, Emperor Isaac II Angelos, had been deposed and blinded by his brother, who had assumed the throne as Alexios III. Isaac's son, also named Alexios, escaped and came to the West seeking aid to restore his father, but he found no support from Innocent III, who was already negotiating with Alexios III.

The crusaders began to gather in Venice during the summer of 1202. Yet many had decided on alternative routes, and the number that appeared at Venice was insufficient to

raise the money needed to pay the Venetians for passage. After paying about 50,000 marks, almost 35,000 was still owed. The Venetians proposed that the crusaders should join them in retaking Zara (mod. Zadar, Croatia), a port on the Dalmatian coast, which had thrown off Venetian rule. The town was in the possession of King Emeric of Hungary, who had himself taken the crusade vow and was thus under the protection of the papacy. Despite the pope's prohibition and internal divisions among the crusaders, the majority of the crusaders agreed to help the Venetians. The leaders also listened to the younger Alexios, who promised to solve their economic problems with the Venetians and to provide aid for the crusade in return for their support. Behind Innocent's refusal to countenance this idea lay not only the fact that it represented a diversion of the crusade but also, in all likelihood, his hopes for cooperation with Alexios III and for a reunification of the Latin and Greek Orthodox churches.

Zara was captured after a short siege. Innocent's attempt to punish the Venetians with excommunication was thwarted by Boniface of Montferrat, who delayed publication of the pope's decree until the crusaders had moved on to Constantinople. There, the Venetians and their crusader allies met with quick success. After their initial attack on the city, Alexios III fled and Isaac was restored, with his son as coemperor. But it soon became clear that the newly crowned Alexios IV had promised more than he could deliver. As the winter of 1202–1203 came and went, the crusaders sought absolution from the pope and tried to persuade Alexios IV to further the reunification of the Greek and Latin churches. From the Greek side, however, opposition mounted, and Isaac II and Alexios IV were overthrown by a Greek nobleman, who seized the throne as Emperor Alexios V. The crusaders now decided to take the city: in April 1204 they breached the walls, and the great capital of the eastern Roman Empire fell. In the sack that followed, the riches of the empire were dispersed to the West. Religious relics found their way to Venice and to virtually every French homeland.

The Venetians and the crusaders had conquered not only the city of Constantinople but much of the European territory of the Byzantine Empire. Count Baldwin IX of Flanders was elected and crowned as emperor, to the disappointment of Boniface of Montferrat. For all practical purposes, the crusade was over. Only a few of the crusaders ever arrived in the Holy Land, and their presence there made no difference. Although some effort was made to view the con-

quest of Constantinople as a stepping-stone to further success, that expectation was doomed to disappointment. Reunification of the Latin and Greek churches, which had long proved to be elusive, was now still more remote. The energies of the crusaders and their supporters and an increasing amount of Western resources were devoted to defending and conquering lands and fending off the efforts of various Greek claimants to reconquer the empire. New Frankish principalities were established throughout Greece, but their existence did nothing to further the liberation of the Holy Land.

Even though the Greeks recaptured Constantinople in 1261, the restored Byzantine Empire was a shadow of its former self. Most of all, the events of 1204 gave rise to a deep distrust of the Latin West on the part of Greek Orthodox Christians that persisted for centuries and still finds its echoes today. Innocent III had suffered a severe setback in his dream of a successful crusade. He tried to make the best of things, but his letters reveal a bitterness, especially toward the Venetians, that never entirely receded. This experience undoubtedly helped shape the attitude of the pope to the crusade. It did not discourage him so much as act as a challenge. He would build on this experience.

The diversion of the Fourth Crusade did not dampen the enthusiasm of western Europeans for the crusade, though it may well have undermined the confidence of many in their leadership. If anything, the crusade increased in popularity. The crusade indulgence and the privileges attached to it proved a most effective instrument in the arsenal of both preachers and papal legates. In the mid-twelfth century the indulgence and other privileges had already been granted to those fighting for the interests of Christianity in other areas besides the East. The pontificate of Innocent III marked the further development of this tendency, building on the enthusiasm for the crusade to support papal efforts to aid the young king of Sicily, Frederick, the son of Henry VI of Germany and Constance of Sicily, who had been placed in the pope's care by his mother before her death. Part of the forces that had joined the Fourth Crusade but refused to attack Zara were devoted to this cause, though their leader, Walter III of Brienne, had family interests that drew him into the struggle as well.

The thirteenth century marked the culmination of religious currents that both influenced the crusade and drew sustenance from the movement. Lay piety flourished among the nobility and the urban middle and upper classes. The

deeply emotional note sounded in the sermons of Bernard of Clairvaux in the mid-twelfth century became integral to crusade preaching by such famous figures as Oliver of Paderborn and James of Vitry in the early thirteenth. The cross, the Passion of Christ, and a profound sense of identification with the life of Christ formed themes for preaching throughout the period that were codified by the former Dominican master general, Humbert of Romans. The powerful religious energy generated in this period was harnessed not merely for the crusade to the East but also for the defense and expansion of Latin Christianity.

The so-called Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229) against the Cathar heretics in southern France was precipitated by the assassination of the papal legate Peter of Castelnau, which led Innocent III to grant an indulgence to those who would fight against the Cathars (also known as Albigensians) and their supporters, who he believed were responsible for this act. For all practical purposes this meant a crusade against the lands of the great nobles of the Languedoc. Yet it had only limited success and was subordinated to the great crusade that Innocent began planning in 1213. Only later, when the French monarchy became involved, did the Albigensian Crusade achieve significant gains. The pope played an important role in the Albigensian Crusade, as he did in supporting King Alfonso VI of Castile and in the preparations leading up to the great victory against the Moors at Las Navas de Tolosa (1212). But to some extent Innocent was himself being drawn along by a deep swelling of popular feeling for the crusade to the East, a feeling that manifested itself in 1212 in the so-called Children's Crusade.

The term *Children's Crusade* is not entirely accurate, since many of those who took part in it were adults. Yet at least some of the leaders were youths, and many were drawn from the rural classes of peasants and shepherds. It was not a unified movement, but some of the groups may have been linked by some form of communication. A German group crossed the Alps into northern Italy and supposedly arrived in Rome, where they were received by Innocent III and encouraged to return home. A French group moved to Paris, where King Philip II and members of the clergy persuaded the adults to devote themselves to the Albigensian Crusade. In one account of the crusade, a group of children went to Marseilles, where they were promised passage to North Africa by Genoese merchants, only to be sold into slavery. Yet this account contains elements that raise serious doubts as to its veracity; it may in fact have

been a piece of propaganda directed against the prominent merchants whose names were given in this tale.

The Children's Crusade may have been a reaction on the part of the young and the frustrated to the failure of the Fourth Crusade. What is more important is that it provides evidence that understanding of the crusade movement and support for it reached down to the lowest levels of society. There was a much broader body of opinion than we might expect in a society that lacked efficient means of communication. The spoken word, especially sermons but also vernacular stories and songs, was an important source of information as well as a barometer of popular attitudes.

Innocent was probably planning a new crusade to the East about the time that the Children's Crusade was taking place. He started to make formal preparations in 1213. In April he issued one of the most important crusade letters to date, known as *Quia maior* (from the first two words of its Latin text). What is immediately evident is that Innocent had learned much from his previous experience. He was allowing two years for preparation before he would actually proclaim the crusade, which he planned to do at the Fourth Lateran Council, summoned for November 1215. *Quia maior* set forth detailed instructions for the preaching of the crusade. Innocent also established a network of crusade preachers, drawing on previous knowledge and experience. Several, including James of Vitry and Oliver of Paderborn, had been key figures in the preaching of the Albigensian Crusade. The pope ordered that the crusade should be preached to all, including women, regardless of their military suitability. Those not able to fulfill their vows in person might have them commuted for a money payment. Fund-raising was to begin immediately.

Innocent gave priority to this new crusade over the crusade against the Moors in Iberia or that against the Cathar heretics. He appointed legates with the task of resolving outstanding conflicts among European rulers, especially that between Philip II of France and John of England and their respective allies. He gave his own support to the young Frederick of Sicily to be crowned as king of Germany (as Frederick II) in place of Otto IV, the Holy Roman Emperor, whose policies in Italy had disappointed him. While some have suggested that Innocent did not want royal participation, this is an inference drawn from the fact that he did not at this time undertake final plans for the leadership of the crusade. He did, however, encourage Frederick to take the crusade vow in 1215. Frederick's ally Philip of France, who

did not take the crusade vow, played a key role in the selection of John of Brienne as the husband of Maria la Marquise, the heiress to the kingdom of Jerusalem.

The Fourth Lateran Council (1215) was the greatest meeting of its kind in the Middle Ages. More than 400 bishops and 800 heads of religious houses took part. Through Cardinal Pelagius of Albano, his legate to the East, Innocent had also tried to secure participation from the Eastern churches, but this effort was largely unsuccessful. There were representatives of the crowned heads of Europe. In addition to the reform decrees of the council, which were to have a lasting impact not only on the church but on European society as a whole, the important crusade appendix *Ad liberandam* provided for a crusade tax approved by the council and detailed regulations of virtually all aspects of the crusade, which was scheduled to depart on 1 June 1217. Drawing on themes he had already developed in *Quia maior*, Innocent provided a contemporary theology of the crusade, grounded in the theology of the cross. But the pope died on 16 July 1216.

The Crusades to the East in the Thirteenth Century

The implementation of what became known as the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221) fell to Innocent III's successor, Honorius III. He was an able administrator, mature, somewhat cautious, but deeply dedicated to both the crusade and the reform of the church. Honorius moved quickly to keep the crusade on its schedule. He also made increasingly clear that he was looking to Frederick II to play a leading role in it. But Frederick continued to be preoccupied in Germany, where the supporters of Otto IV remained active. The crusaders from the Rhineland and the Low Countries were ready to leave in 1217, as were some of the English, but Frederick was not. Nor were many of the French crusaders. King Andrew II of Hungary and Duke Leopold VI of Austria moved eastward in August 1217. Some of the Rhenish contingent delayed in Portugal to assist in the capture of Alcácer do Sal. The crusade armies were to meet at Acre in Palestine.

Andrew of Hungary arrived first and conducted a sweep through the area around Lake Tiberias before returning home. Other crusaders laid siege to the Muslim fortifications on Mount Tabor, southwest of Tiberias. They were not able to vanquish the Muslim forces, but after their withdrawal the Muslims left Mount Tabor and retired to Nablus.

The crusaders also strengthened fortifications along the coast in Caesarea and Château Pelerin ('Athlit). Although these operations have been criticized, they were probably necessary to ensure the security of the Frankish settlements while the crusade moved against its main objective, Egypt. Thus, the Fifth Crusade picked up on the task left undone by the Fourth Crusade.

As the main forces gathered, still without Frederick, the crusaders selected as their leader the king of Jerusalem, John of Brienne. They moved to the Damietta mouth of the Nile to begin the siege of this important port, the gateway to Egypt, as it was known. In September 1218 the papal legate, Cardinal Pelagius of Albano, arrived, followed by a large body of French crusaders. The attack on Damietta was made more difficult by a chain that stretched from the city wall to a tower near the opposite side of the river and blocked passage upriver. The historian Oliver of Paderborn planned and directed the building of siege machinery on two boats that enabled the crusaders to take the tower. The sultan of Egypt, al-'Ādil, brother of Saladin, is said to have died of shock at the news. He was succeeded by his son al-Kāmil. The capture of the Chain Tower enabled the crusaders to cross the Nile and lay siege to Damietta, while the new sultan consolidated his position. The Egyptians offered to surrender Jerusalem and other sites in return for the end of the siege. The crusade leadership was divided, but Cardinal Pelagius and the heads of the military orders pointed out that Jerusalem was indefensible without the possession of key fortresses in Transjordan. Damietta fell on 4 November 1219, and by the end of the month, the crusaders controlled most of the eastern Nile Delta.

Still Frederick had not arrived. He sought postponements from the pope while negotiations regarding his coronation as Holy Roman Emperor dragged on. He was determined to secure his rights before embarking on the crusade. Pope Honorius granted the postponements in the interest of the crusade, but events began to outrun the pace of the negotiations. After Frederick was crowned in Rome in November 1220, he entered his kingdom of Sicily and began to put matters there back into order. He had been in Germany for almost eight years. Many have criticized Frederick for his failure to go on crusade and Honorius for his laxity in pressing Frederick to fulfill his vow. Yet the problems that detained Frederick were real and weighty from his point of view, and Honorius was anxious to secure full cooperation. Neither could have anticipated what would even-

tually happen in Egypt. In fact, both tried to forestall just that kind of outcome. But events on the ground in the East could hardly be expected to wait on decisions in the West. King John left the crusader camp to meet what he regarded as a threat to the Latin kingdom from Syria as well as to pursue a personal claim to the Armenian throne. Pelagius was placed in a difficult position as the demand for action by rank-and-file crusaders mounted, which increased with the arrival of substantial reinforcements with Duke Ludwig I of Bavaria, the official representative of Emperor Frederick. In an attempt to placate those who wanted action, Pelagius and the duke decided to order a limited advance. They were joined shortly afterward by King John. But once begun, the advance became victim to its own success and, against the advice of John, moved toward Mansurah (mod. El-Mansūra, Egypt) at the point where a canal entered the Nile from the East. The Egyptians, reinforced by al-Kāmil's brothers, cut the crusaders' line of retreat and forced their surrender. In return for the surrender of Damietta, the crusaders were permitted to withdraw from Egypt. The Fifth Crusade had failed.

The blame for this defeat was shared by Frederick and the pope. Cardinal Pelagius has come under fire as well. But the failure of the Fifth Crusade chiefly illustrates the problem of conducting large-scale land operations far removed from western Europe. The immediate result of this defeat, however, was the determination by the pope to persuade Frederick to fulfill his vow. A marriage was arranged between Frederick and the young heiress to the Latin kingdom, Isabella II, the daughter of John of Brienne and Maria la Marquise. Frederick renewed his pledge to go on crusade, but before he was able to depart, Honorius died, in March 1227. The new pope was Cardinal Hugolino of Ostia, who took the name Gregory IX. When Frederick finally set out from Brindisi for the East in August 1227, there was an expectation that things would be different. But illness forced the emperor to turn back almost immediately. Gregory imposed the sentence of excommunication that had been agreed to by Frederick as part of the Treaty of San Germano in 1225.

Frederick, however, was determined to go on crusade. He now had a vital stake in the East from the fact that he was, through marriage, king of Jerusalem. Moreover, he had hopes of securing a treaty from al-Kāmil that would return Jerusalem and other holy sites to the Christians. It was, in fact, very close to the agreement that had been offered and rejected during the Fifth Crusade. But al-Kāmil had his eye on Syria,

ruled by his brother, al-Mu'azzam. Even after al-Mu'azzam's death, Frederick continued to push for an agreement.

When Frederick crossed to the East in June 1228, he once again demonstrated his strong determination to ensure what he regarded as his rights. Despite having few men and little money, he was able to secure the treaty, and on 17 March he entered Jerusalem. The treaty was denounced by Gerold of Lausanne, the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, on the grounds that it provided no security for the city and left the lands of the patriarch and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, on which they depended for income, in Muslim hands. Frederick's calculations were further upset by events in Italy, where Pope Gregory IX ordered an attack on the kingdom of Sicily, apparently in reprisal for the seizure of the March of Ancona by Rainald of Urslingen, duke of Spoleto, who had been a source of friction between the papacy and the emperor for some time. Frederick returned to Italy, where he defeated the papal forces. By the Treaty of Ceprano (1230), Frederick and the pope resolved their immediate differences. Frederick's achievement by his crusade was accepted, even if not welcomed.

There followed almost a decade of cooperation between pope and emperor. During this period, Frederick's representatives in the Latin kingdom attempted to dominate the politics that swirled around the various noble factions. Frederick himself was occupied with affairs in Sicily and Germany. In the East, Cypriot nobles led by John of Ibelin, the lord of Beirut, carried on a struggle against the imperial lieutenants that ended in the lieutenants' defeat in 1233. Likewise, on the mainland imperial administrators acting for Frederick as guardian of his son Conrad IV fared no better, though they held out until 1243 (the War of the Lombards). The only significant crusade in this period was led by Count Thibaud IV of Champagne in 1240, but it ended with only minor gains. With the expiration of Frederick's treaty with al-Kāmil, the Ayyūbids moved to occupy Jerusalem. With the loss of the city, the crusades entered a new phase.

Hopes for the recovery of Jerusalem were now vested in the king of France, Louis IX. The Capetian kings of France had a tradition of crusading, but they were also known as hardheaded and practical men of affairs. The leading French historian of Louis IX, Jean Richard, has argued that he did not make a decision to go on crusade without overcoming a certain reluctance on his own part as well as the opposition of his mother, Blanche of Castile. What decided him was a serious illness that nearly cost him his life. Once deter-

mined, he set himself to the task with great energy. He entrusted the government of the kingdom to his mother and devoted himself to raising the required funds and making the necessary preparations. Although he worked with the pope, Innocent IV, the entire initiative was in his hands. The thoroughness of his preparations is demonstrated by the fact that he improved the Mediterranean port of Aigues-Mortes to serve as a point of departure and made arrangements for supplies to be stored in Cyprus. His objective was Egypt, and specifically the same port of Damietta that had been attacked by the Fifth Crusade.

Although Louis's crusade was preached in various countries, it remained a French enterprise. Louis's army was not large, but it was quite respectable in medieval terms. Louis spent about six times his annual income on the crusade, but most of the money came from nonroyal sources. He left for the East on 25 August and landed near Damietta on 5 October, meeting almost no opposition. The garrison of the city fled, leaving it open to him. He immediately took over the city and made preparations to move inland. Some thought was given to the capture of Alexandria, but this was rejected in favor of an attack aimed at Cairo. On 20 November Louis moved south along the east bank of the Nile toward Mansurah. There the army stalled, unable to cross the canal that lay in its path, until a secret crossing place was made known to them. The king's brother Robert of Artois led an advance guard across the canal but rashly attacked the Muslim camp. Louis, who crossed to aid his brother with the bulk of the army, was stymied by the arrival of the Ayyūbid sultan with reinforcements. Forced to retreat, he suffered heavy losses and had to surrender. Louis was ransomed, but Damietta was once more returned to the Egyptians. Louis left for Acre, where he devoted himself to improving the coastal fortifications of the Latin kingdom.

Perhaps more than any previous crusade, Louis's expedition showed the magnitude of the task confronting those who desired to liberate the Holy Land. When the king returned home in 1254, he had accomplished little more than repairing some of the damage resultant from his failure at Damietta. He had not, however, lost his sense of commitment to the crusade, which, if anything, had been reinforced by the increasing depth of his personal piety.

The second half of the thirteenth century continued the story of military decline in the Latin states of Outremer. There were various efforts to provide support. Among the most important efforts was King Louis IX's second crusade,

launched on 2 July 1270. It was an impressive force. Lord Edward—the future King Edward I and son of Henry III of England—was due to join Louis. Although the goal of the crusade was to aid the Latin East, Louis had decided first of all to land at Tunis in North Africa. This landing was not, as some have thought, part of a plot against Tunis by Charles I of Anjou, the king's brother, but the result of Louis's belief that the ruler of Tunis was prepared to accept the Christian faith. But soon after the landing, dysentery swept through the camp. The king was one of its prominent victims and died from its effects. Edward, who arrived just as the crusaders were preparing to leave, continued to the East, where he conducted a limited campaign.

The second crusade of Louis IX was the last major crusade of the thirteenth century. Pope Gregory X, who had been elected pope while in Acre, worked zealously to promote the crusade to the East. On his instructions, the Dominican master general Humbert of Romans conducted an extensive survey to determine the depth of support for the crusade. At the Second Council of Lyons in 1274, Gregory issued a crusade document that not only codified previous experience but drew on the materials gathered by Humbert and others. His efforts bore fruit when the leading rulers of Europe took the cross, but the projected crusade did not get off the ground before the pope died in 1276. Thereafter, despite a growing awareness of the perils facing Outremer, no major crusade was mounted prior to the fall of Acre in 1291 to the Mamlūks of Egypt.

The Mamlūk victory at Acre was the culmination of a Muslim resurgence that had begun shortly after the First Crusade of King Louis IX, when the Mamlūks, military slaves who formed an elite guard in Egypt, overthrew the Ayyūbid sultan and took control of the government. The military state that they created directed its external energies against the Franks as part of its effort to prove its legitimacy. By August 1291 the Franks no longer had a toehold on the Palestinian mainland. Still, they were a power in the region by reason of their possession of the kingdom of Cyprus and the naval power of the Western maritime cities, as well as by virtue of the military and financial support afforded by the military orders.

The Later Middle Ages and the Diversification of Crusading

Why did the continuing failure of the crusades to the East in the thirteenth century not lead to greater opposition to

them? This question has often been posed and has been variously answered, with some observers even believing that the crusades did become less popular and that this unpopularity reflected on the medieval church. But there is little evidence that this was the case. In fact, the thirteenth century continued to be the great age of crusading. In part this was because the liberation of the holy places had captured the imaginations of western Europeans. Even rulers who were wrapped up in dynastic and territorial politics viewed the crusade as a higher duty to which they felt an obligation. Moreover, the East was no longer as remote as it had been in the late eleventh century. Many of the European aristocracy had relatives in the East. The ships of Venice, Pisa, Genoa, Marseilles, and Barcelona plied the Mediterranean Sea from one end to the other. Lands that had been remote were now brought closer. Even people who did not venture from their homes sent money to the East. Crusading had become an integral part of the European fiber. Nor was this attachment to crusading limited to those expeditions directed to the Holy Land.

While the crusade against the Muslims, or Moors, of the Iberian Peninsula did not command the attention that it had in the centuries before the victory at Las Navas de Tolosa had so decisively turned the tide in favor of the Christian kings in the early thirteenth century, Rhenish and English crusaders had participated in the liberation of Portugal at the time of the Fifth Crusade, and Spanish kings continued to carry out successful military campaigns. The middle decades of the thirteenth century were a period of renewed successes in both Castile and Aragon. Córdoba, the capital of the Moorish kingdom, was taken in 1236, and Seville was taken in 1248. King James I of Aragon conquered Muslim Valencia and the island of Mallorca, laying the foundations for an Aragonese Empire in the western Mediterranean.

The major arenas for crusading in the thirteenth century outside Iberia and the East were the lands inhabited by pagan peoples along the eastern and southern coasts of the Baltic Sea. The conquest and conversion of these lands were carried out by crusaders from Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and other countries, and in particular by two new military orders, the Sword Brethren and the Teutonic Knights. The latter erected a sovereign territory in Prussia and Livonia alongside lands controlled by bishops and by the Danish and Swedish crowns. The conquest of Prussia involved the immigration of Germans who were settled there to ensure the protection of the country, a policy that inevitably led to the

spread of German influence and the building of German religious and political institutions in the region. Efforts on the part of the Sword Brethren and Teutonic Knights to expand into Lithuania and the western parts of Christian Russia were repulsed. During this same period, there was increasing interest in the possibility of an alliance between the crusaders and the Mongols, some of whom were known to have Christian Nestorians in their courts. The papacy encouraged these efforts with missionaries from the mendicant orders, but they produced no direct benefit to the crusade. Nevertheless, Christian missionaries traveled as far as China, and an archbishopric was established briefly in Beijing.

The thirteenth century also witnessed further adaptation of the idea of crusade to the interests of the church. At times these policies were misdirected, as was the case with the crusade against the Stedinger peasants of northwestern Germany, who were the object of persecution by the archbishop of Bremen. The papacy also found the crusade vow a potent means of garnering military support in its political struggles. Given the complexity of political life in Italy and the long-standing alliances of the papacy with many northern Italian communes, as well as the efforts of the popes to establish their hegemony over central Italy, the reform papacy had developed a highly protective reaction against any expansion of the power of the Holy Roman Emperor in Italy that was not in the papal interest.

For their part, the emperors, especially those of the Staufen (or Hohenstaufen) dynasty, harbored dreams of a central European hereditary monarchy encompassing Germany and the entire Italian peninsula. Beginning in the late 1230s and extending through most of the thirteenth century, the popes carried on a campaign to prevent the Staufen rulers from realizing their dreams in Italy. Between 1239 and 1250, the crusade was employed against Emperor Frederick II, who was deposed at the First Council of Lyons in 1245. Following his death, various European houses were canvassed to find a suitable cadet to rule Frederick's kingdom of Sicily. The younger brother of King Louis IX of France, Charles I of Anjou, was finally offered the throne. Louis, who had long maintained the French alliance with the Staufen, abandoned it after the deaths of Frederick II and his son and successor, Conrad IV.

Charles, aided by a crusade indulgence, defeated another of Frederick's sons, Manfred, in the battle of Benevento (1266). When, in 1282, the Angevins were expelled from the island of Sicily and the Sicilians called in King Peter I of

Aragon to be their ruler, the papacy again supported the Angevins with the crusade indulgence. Although some modern critics have viewed this use of the indulgence as a perversion of its purpose, there is no question that it remained effective.

From the end of the thirteenth century onward the wars in the East became entirely defensive. The Hospitallers were able to conquer the island of Rhodes (mod. Rodos, Greece) in 1306 with Genoese assistance. The Templars had a different fate: King Philip IV of France carried out a violent campaign against the order, ending in its suppression by Pope Clement V. The Teutonic Order was occupied in the Baltic. All in all, this was a period of considerable disarray, with much energy devoted to plans for crusades and with considerable effort spent in dissecting the failures of the past in order to plan better for the future.

Gradually, the entire focus of military operations in the East was moved inexorably away from the Holy Land to the southeastern flank of Europe itself. A new Turkish dynasty, the Ottomans, directed its energies to the conquest of Anatolia and southeastern Europe. The most significant of the fourteenth-century crusades was the Crusade of Nikopolis in 1396. It took place at the time of the Great Schism, which divided the Latin Church into different loyalties, with some following the pope at Rome and others his rival at Avignon. Naturally, the power and influence of the papacy were weakened, but the urgency of the Ottoman threat, which jeopardized the existence of Hungary, required united action. A large military force under Sigismund, king of Hungary, advanced to the fortress of Nikopolis (mod. Nikopol, Bulgaria) on the Danube, where he was able to obtain naval support. The Ottoman sultan raised the siege of Christian Constantinople to move against the crusaders. The ensuing battle at Nikopolis was a major disaster for Christendom. Turkish power was now supreme in southeastern Europe. The fall of Constantinople and the extinction of the Byzantine Empire in 1453, for all their dramatic significance, were in fact an anticlimax. They brought about no major change in the character of naval and military operations. They did, however, remove a psychological obstacle to the completion of the Turkish conquest of southeastern Europe in the sixteenth century.

After the loss of Rhodes to the Ottomans in 1522, the Hospitallers moved west to the island of Malta, where they carried on naval warfare against the Turks and the Barbary Corsairs of North Africa until they were dispossessed by

Napoleon in 1798. The Venetians lost Cyprus in 1571 and Crete in 1670. Ottoman expansion helped shift European maritime interest toward the Atlantic Ocean. The early explorers of the African coast and Christopher Columbus himself never lost sight of the goal of the crusade. Columbus believed that the resources of the lands he discovered might provide the means for the conquest of Jerusalem. As long as the Ottoman Empire posed a threat to Europe, which was well into the seventeenth century, defensive war continued. The great Christian naval victory near Lepanto in 1571 symbolized the idea of crusade in the sixteenth century. Pope Pius V played a leading role in organizing the Holy Alliance, which brought about the crushing naval defeat of the Ottoman forces. But once the enemy was defeated, the pope was unable to hold the alliance together. Papal diplomacy continued to work in support of rulers in need, but the crusade was now subsidiary to political and military interests.

The Protestant Reformation did not witness an immediate change in the efforts of the papacy to support resistance to Ottoman expansion. Protestants even played a part in this defense, but the unity of Christendom was broken, and the popes did not exercise sufficient influence to make their leadership effective save for periods when urgent necessity dictated cooperation among rulers.

Conclusions

Historians looking back at the age of the crusades need to recognize that the movement changed substantially over its long history. The early period, which encompassed the twelfth century, was formative. By the early thirteenth century the idea of crusade reached maturity and was extended to meet the needs of the church within the West. In the fourteenth century, following the loss of Acre, the crusade took on a defensive character, chiefly aimed at protecting Christian holdings in the eastern Mediterranean and the southeastern flank of Europe. In the course of the sixteenth century the idea of crusade was subordinated to European political and military interests. It is this changing character that makes the crusade so difficult to define. Yet the role of the papacy remained central over most of the age of crusades. The idea of the crusade contains the notion that it was sanctioned by God and had a sacred, defensive character. This view helped provide a positive view of warfare and reinforced the idea of nobility of arms. But the very fact that

the crusade was a special kind of war demonstrated that Christian thought remained uncomfortable about the use of force. The crusade clearly tipped the balance toward the acceptance of just war. The difficulty of defining *just war* made virtually every war just in the eyes of its proponents.

Some have seen in the crusades a kind of proto-imperialism. It is easy to see how such an idea would have appeal. In the twelfth century the need to make the Latin states of Outremer more viable was already leading to more permanent settlements and to the exploitation of the local population. But we need to emphasize that these efforts never went beyond a rather rudimentary stage. Many of the settlements we know about were connected to religious foundations, which are better documented. The Latins of the East were attached to the West by a long umbilical cord on which they depended for supplies, manpower, and, during critical periods, their very existence. There is simply no way to calculate the amount of wealth transferred from the West to the East during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but the systematic records of the Hospitallers suggest that it was enormous. The role of the maritime cities of Venice, Genoa, Pisa, Marseilles, and Barcelona has received very considerable attention, but most scholars recognize that they probably lost as much as they gained from the crusades. Their commerce was disrupted, and they devoted considerable forces to supporting the Latin settlements in Outremer, Cyprus, and Frankish Greece. Moreover, their commerce with the Muslim world was mutually beneficial. We have only to see the degree to which the shift in trade routes to the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries contributed to the decline of the eastern Mediterranean trade and, ultimately, to the economic torpor of the region. At most, we might suggest that the crusade provided a sense of adventure and a base of experience for the future.

The employment of the crusade within Europe contributed eventually to its controversial meaning. By the late eighteenth century a negative understanding of the crusade was established. But it is interesting to note that this negative sense was first applied to the crusades against heretics and then, when this meaning was fixed, it was extended to the crusades to free the Holy Land. It is also fair to say that the negative image of the crusade, along with the Inquisition, contributed substantially to the view that religion is intolerant. In the case of the crusade, this has led to a greater emphasis on religious differences, rather than concerns

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over Muslim expansion, as the crucial element behind the fighting. But at different times and under various circumstances, one or the other has predominated. In shaping the ideological image of the crusade, they are inseparable.

Still, the idea of crusade never lost its positive meaning. The notion that a crusade is undertaken to achieve a good end remains very much a part of the term's meaning, as we may note from its frequent use in the titles of books, such

as Dwight Eisenhower's *Crusade in Europe*. Obviously, there has been an unwillingness to reject the idea of crusade entirely. There may, after all, be something in the idea of crusade that transcends its imperfections. The idea of the struggle for justice will always have a certain appeal.

—James M. Powell
Syracuse University

The Crusades

The Crusades

An Encyclopedia

ALAN V. MURRAY
EDITOR

Volume II: D–J

A B C  C L I O

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List of Abbreviations

A.D.	Anno Domini	Lith.	Lithuanian
Arab.	Arabic	MLG	Middle Low German
Arm.	Armenian	MHG	Middle High German
b.	born	mod.	modern
B.C.	before Christ	MS	manuscript
c.	circa	n.s.	new series
ch.	chapter(s)	no(s).	number(s)
Cz.	Czech	OE	Old English
d.	died	OFr.	Old French
e.g.	for example	ON	Old Norse
ed.	edited by, edition	p(p).	page(s)
Est.	Estonian	pl.	plural
et al.	et alii	Pol.	Polish
Fig.	Figure	Port.	Portuguese
Finn.	Finnish	r	recto
fl.	floruit	rev. ed.	revised edition
fol(s).	folio(s)	Russ.	Russian
Fr.	French	s.v.	sub verbo
ft.	feet	ser.	series
Georg.	Georgian	sing.	singular
Ger.	German	Sp.	Spanish
Gr.	Greek	SS.	saints
Heb.	Hebrew	St.	saint
Hung.	Hungarian	Sw.	Swedish
i.e.	that is	Syr.	Syriac
It.	Italian	trans.	translated by
Lat.	Latin	Turk.	Turkish
Latv.	Latvian	v	verso
lb.	pound(s)	vol(s).	volume(s)

Preface

When, at the Council of Clermont in 1095, Pope Urban II called for an armed pilgrimage to liberate the Holy Land, he brought into existence a movement that was to have profound consequences for the history of Europe, the Near East, and North Africa for centuries to come. Hundreds of thousands of men and women took part in crusade expeditions to various goals, a huge number of them dying in the process. Millions of people lived as subjects of states that were brought into existence as a direct consequence of crusades to Palestine and Syria, to the Baltic lands, and to Greece and the islands of the eastern Mediterranean. Others served as members of religious orders established to protect pilgrims or ransom captives, while many more supported crusades through taxes and voluntary donations, or by prayers and participation in the liturgy of the Christian Church. Many of the political, economic, religious, and artistic consequences of the crusades are still apparent in the world that we live in.

This encyclopedia is intended as a reference work on the crusades from their origins in the eleventh century up to the early modern period. It comprises one thousand signed articles and translated texts, with a historical introduction by Professor James Powell. Articles are accompanied by bibliographies, and are thus intended to function as a first point of reference and orientation for users who wish to proceed further with their enquiries. The scope of the work is intentionally wide: it has long been accepted that the crusades were neither purely heroic manifestations of Christian valour nor cynical wars of aggressive colonialism; in more recent years historians have also recognized the diverse and changing nature of crusading, which gradually developed in scope from campaigns to defend the Holy Land, to take in wars of conquest or reconquest against Muslims in Iberia and North Africa and pagans in northeastern Europe, as

well as heretics, Christians of the Orthodox faith, and even political enemies of the Roman Catholic Church.

The aim of the encyclopedia is to reflect the state of knowledge of the crusade movement as it is understood in historical scholarship at the beginning of the twenty-first century. It contains longer entries on the major crusade expeditions themselves; the various states that contributed to, were established by, or were targeted by crusading; sources for the history of the crusades; the main military religious orders; and key concepts and institutions connected with crusading. There are also a great number of shorter articles on persons and places. While an absolutely comprehensive treatment is not achievable in a work of this length, the reader will nevertheless find articles on all the major crusades of the eleventh to fourteenth centuries, on most of the military orders, and on all of the crusader states of Outremer, the Baltic lands, Frankish Greece, and Cyprus. There are also entries for all of the rulers of the kingdom of Jerusalem, the kingdom of Cyprus, the Latin Empire of Constantinople, the principality of Antioch, the county of Edessa, and (save one) the county of Tripoli. Within this overall framework, a particular emphasis has been given to the events, institutions, and personalities connected with crusade expeditions and the Frankish states of Outremer and their enemies in the period 1095–1291. Finally, it should be emphasized that in a publication bringing together the work of over a hundred scholars from some two dozen countries, the user should not expect a uniformity of approach or opinion, but will find a diversity of analysis and interpretation from different authors, even if the fortuitous nature of the A–Z sequence has permitted the editor, at least in one sense, to have the last word.

Many debts of gratitude are incurred in a work of the dimensions of this one. The encyclopedia first took shape

Preface

in a series of conversations with Professor James Powell of Syracuse University and Dr. Robert Neville, then of ABC-CLIO, and I am grateful to them for their advice, as well as to the members of the Editorial Advisory Board, who readily provided assistance and counsel whenever it was requested of them. The authors of articles deserve thanks, not only for sharing their scholarship, but also for their forbearance in dealing with numerous queries and requests for alterations or clarifications, and not least for their patience in waiting for the work to see the light of day. Several board members and other contributors also deserve thanks for their readiness to step into the breach by agreeing to write articles for which, for whatever reason, no other author could be found. Much of the attractiveness of a work such as this derives from its illustrations, and I am particularly grateful to Professors Alfred Andrea, Benjamin Z. Kedar, and Graham Loud for generously allowing the use of photographs from their own collections, and to Dr. Janus Møller Jensen, Dr. Kristian Molin, and Dr. Samantha Riches for their help and advice in procuring images.

Among the staff at ABC-CLIO, a great deal is owed to the energy and enthusiasm of Wendy Roseth and to the good sense and experience of Martha Whitt, who supported the project during its most crucial stages, while Anna Kaltenbach and Vicki Moran in turn provided the care that brought it to publication. Significant contributions to the final product were also provided by Ellen Rasmussen, who undertook picture research; Bill Nelson (cartographer) and George Zirfas (graphic artist), who drew maps and genealogical tables to the editor's specifications; as well as Silvine Farnell and Kathy Streckfus (copyeditors), Mary Kay Kozyra and Lori Kranz (proofreaders), Tim Giesen (typesetter), and Heather Jones (indexer). Thanks are also due to Alison Miller and Patience Melnik, who acted as development editors during the initial stages of the project.

Lastly, I am grateful to Martina Häcker and Rhiannon Lawrence-Francis for their assistance in proofreading the final text.

— *Alan V. Murray*
Leeds, 5 July 2006

The Crusades

The Crusades

An Encyclopedia

ALAN V. MURRAY
EDITOR

Volume III: K–P

A B C  C L I O

Santa Barbara, California • Denver, Colorado • Oxford, England

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List of Abbreviations

A.D.	Anno Domini	Lith.	Lithuanian
Arab.	Arabic	MLG	Middle Low German
Arm.	Armenian	MHG	Middle High German
b.	born	mod.	modern
B.C.	before Christ	MS	manuscript
c.	circa	n.s.	new series
ch.	chapter(s)	no(s).	number(s)
Cz.	Czech	OE	Old English
d.	died	OFr.	Old French
e.g.	for example	ON	Old Norse
ed.	edited by, edition	p(p).	page(s)
Est.	Estonian	pl.	plural
et al.	et alii	Pol.	Polish
Fig.	Figure	Port.	Portuguese
Finn.	Finnish	r	recto
fl.	floruit	rev. ed.	revised edition
fol(s).	folio(s)	Russ.	Russian
Fr.	French	s.v.	sub verbo
ft.	feet	ser.	series
Georg.	Georgian	sing.	singular
Ger.	German	Sp.	Spanish
Gr.	Greek	SS.	saints
Heb.	Hebrew	St.	saint
Hung.	Hungarian	Sw.	Swedish
i.e.	that is	Syr.	Syriac
It.	Italian	trans.	translated by
Lat.	Latin	Turk.	Turkish
Latv.	Latvian	v	verso
lb.	pound(s)	vol(s).	volume(s)

Preface

When, at the Council of Clermont in 1095, Pope Urban II called for an armed pilgrimage to liberate the Holy Land, he brought into existence a movement that was to have profound consequences for the history of Europe, the Near East, and North Africa for centuries to come. Hundreds of thousands of men and women took part in crusade expeditions to various goals, a huge number of them dying in the process. Millions of people lived as subjects of states that were brought into existence as a direct consequence of crusades to Palestine and Syria, to the Baltic lands, and to Greece and the islands of the eastern Mediterranean. Others served as members of religious orders established to protect pilgrims or ransom captives, while many more supported crusades through taxes and voluntary donations, or by prayers and participation in the liturgy of the Christian Church. Many of the political, economic, religious, and artistic consequences of the crusades are still apparent in the world that we live in.

This encyclopedia is intended as a reference work on the crusades from their origins in the eleventh century up to the early modern period. It comprises one thousand signed articles and translated texts, with a historical introduction by Professor James Powell. Articles are accompanied by bibliographies, and are thus intended to function as a first point of reference and orientation for users who wish to proceed further with their enquiries. The scope of the work is intentionally wide: it has long been accepted that the crusades were neither purely heroic manifestations of Christian valour nor cynical wars of aggressive colonialism; in more recent years historians have also recognized the diverse and changing nature of crusading, which gradually developed in scope from campaigns to defend the Holy Land, to take in wars of conquest or reconquest against Muslims in Iberia and North Africa and pagans in northeastern Europe, as

well as heretics, Christians of the Orthodox faith, and even political enemies of the Roman Catholic Church.

The aim of the encyclopedia is to reflect the state of knowledge of the crusade movement as it is understood in historical scholarship at the beginning of the twenty-first century. It contains longer entries on the major crusade expeditions themselves; the various states that contributed to, were established by, or were targeted by crusading; sources for the history of the crusades; the main military religious orders; and key concepts and institutions connected with crusading. There are also a great number of shorter articles on persons and places. While an absolutely comprehensive treatment is not achievable in a work of this length, the reader will nevertheless find articles on all the major crusades of the eleventh to fourteenth centuries, on most of the military orders, and on all of the crusader states of Outremer, the Baltic lands, Frankish Greece, and Cyprus. There are also entries for all of the rulers of the kingdom of Jerusalem, the kingdom of Cyprus, the Latin Empire of Constantinople, the principality of Antioch, the county of Edessa, and (save one) the county of Tripoli. Within this overall framework, a particular emphasis has been given to the events, institutions, and personalities connected with crusade expeditions and the Frankish states of Outremer and their enemies in the period 1095–1291. Finally, it should be emphasized that in a publication bringing together the work of over a hundred scholars from some two dozen countries, the user should not expect a uniformity of approach or opinion, but will find a diversity of analysis and interpretation from different authors, even if the fortuitous nature of the A–Z sequence has permitted the editor, at least in one sense, to have the last word.

Many debts of gratitude are incurred in a work of the dimensions of this one. The encyclopedia first took shape

Preface

in a series of conversations with Professor James Powell of Syracuse University and Dr. Robert Neville, then of ABC-CLIO, and I am grateful to them for their advice, as well as to the members of the Editorial Advisory Board, who readily provided assistance and counsel whenever it was requested of them. The authors of articles deserve thanks, not only for sharing their scholarship, but also for their forbearance in dealing with numerous queries and requests for alterations or clarifications, and not least for their patience in waiting for the work to see the light of day. Several board members and other contributors also deserve thanks for their readiness to step into the breach by agreeing to write articles for which, for whatever reason, no other author could be found. Much of the attractiveness of a work such as this derives from its illustrations, and I am particularly grateful to Professors Alfred Andrea, Benjamin Z. Kedar, and Graham Loud for generously allowing the use of photographs from their own collections, and to Dr. Janus Møller Jensen, Dr. Kristian Molin, and Dr. Samantha Riches for their help and advice in procuring images.

Among the staff at ABC-CLIO, a great deal is owed to the energy and enthusiasm of Wendy Roseth and to the good sense and experience of Martha Whitt, who supported the project during its most crucial stages, while Anna Kaltenbach and Vicki Moran in turn provided the care that brought it to publication. Significant contributions to the final product were also provided by Ellen Rasmussen, who undertook picture research; Bill Nelson (cartographer) and George Zirfas (graphic artist), who drew maps and genealogical tables to the editor's specifications; as well as Silvine Farnell and Kathy Streckfus (copyeditors), Mary Kay Kozyra and Lori Kranz (proofreaders), Tim Giesen (typesetter), and Heather Jones (indexer). Thanks are also due to Alison Miller and Patience Melnik, who acted as development editors during the initial stages of the project.

Lastly, I am grateful to Martina Häcker and Rhiannon Lawrence-Francis for their assistance in proofreading the final text.

— *Alan V. Murray*
Leeds, 5 July 2006

The Crusades

The Crusades

An Encyclopedia

ALAN V. MURRAY
EDITOR

Volume IV: Q–Z

A B C  C L I O

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Unur (d. 1149)
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List of Abbreviations

A.D.	Anno Domini	Lith.	Lithuanian
Arab.	Arabic	MLG	Middle Low German
Arm.	Armenian	MHG	Middle High German
b.	born	mod.	modern
B.C.	before Christ	MS	manuscript
c.	circa	n.s.	new series
ch.	chapter(s)	no(s).	number(s)
Cz.	Czech	OE	Old English
d.	died	OFr.	Old French
e.g.	for example	ON	Old Norse
ed.	edited by, edition	p(p).	page(s)
Est.	Estonian	pl.	plural
et al.	et alii	Pol.	Polish
Fig.	Figure	Port.	Portuguese
Finn.	Finnish	r	recto
fl.	floruit	rev. ed.	revised edition
fol(s).	folio(s)	Russ.	Russian
Fr.	French	s.v.	sub verbo
ft.	feet	ser.	series
Georg.	Georgian	sing.	singular
Ger.	German	Sp.	Spanish
Gr.	Greek	SS.	saints
Heb.	Hebrew	St.	saint
Hung.	Hungarian	Sw.	Swedish
i.e.	that is	Syr.	Syriac
It.	Italian	trans.	translated by
Lat.	Latin	Turk.	Turkish
Latv.	Latvian	v	verso
lb.	pound(s)	vol(s).	volume(s)

Preface

When, at the Council of Clermont in 1095, Pope Urban II called for an armed pilgrimage to liberate the Holy Land, he brought into existence a movement that was to have profound consequences for the history of Europe, the Near East, and North Africa for centuries to come. Hundreds of thousands of men and women took part in crusade expeditions to various goals, a huge number of them dying in the process. Millions of people lived as subjects of states that were brought into existence as a direct consequence of crusades to Palestine and Syria, to the Baltic lands, and to Greece and the islands of the eastern Mediterranean. Others served as members of religious orders established to protect pilgrims or ransom captives, while many more supported crusades through taxes and voluntary donations, or by prayers and participation in the liturgy of the Christian Church. Many of the political, economic, religious, and artistic consequences of the crusades are still apparent in the world that we live in.

This encyclopedia is intended as a reference work on the crusades from their origins in the eleventh century up to the early modern period. It comprises one thousand signed articles and translated texts, with a historical introduction by Professor James Powell. Articles are accompanied by bibliographies, and are thus intended to function as a first point of reference and orientation for users who wish to proceed further with their enquiries. The scope of the work is intentionally wide: it has long been accepted that the crusades were neither purely heroic manifestations of Christian valour nor cynical wars of aggressive colonialism; in more recent years historians have also recognized the diverse and changing nature of crusading, which gradually developed in scope from campaigns to defend the Holy Land, to take in wars of conquest or reconquest against Muslims in Iberia and North Africa and pagans in northeastern Europe, as

well as heretics, Christians of the Orthodox faith, and even political enemies of the Roman Catholic Church.

The aim of the encyclopedia is to reflect the state of knowledge of the crusade movement as it is understood in historical scholarship at the beginning of the twenty-first century. It contains longer entries on the major crusade expeditions themselves; the various states that contributed to, were established by, or were targeted by crusading; sources for the history of the crusades; the main military religious orders; and key concepts and institutions connected with crusading. There are also a great number of shorter articles on persons and places. While an absolutely comprehensive treatment is not achievable in a work of this length, the reader will nevertheless find articles on all the major crusades of the eleventh to fourteenth centuries, on most of the military orders, and on all of the crusader states of Outremer, the Baltic lands, Frankish Greece, and Cyprus. There are also entries for all of the rulers of the kingdom of Jerusalem, the kingdom of Cyprus, the Latin Empire of Constantinople, the principality of Antioch, the county of Edessa, and (save one) the county of Tripoli. Within this overall framework, a particular emphasis has been given to the events, institutions, and personalities connected with crusade expeditions and the Frankish states of Outremer and their enemies in the period 1095–1291. Finally, it should be emphasized that in a publication bringing together the work of over a hundred scholars from some two dozen countries, the user should not expect a uniformity of approach or opinion, but will find a diversity of analysis and interpretation from different authors, even if the fortuitous nature of the A–Z sequence has permitted the editor, at least in one sense, to have the last word.

Many debts of gratitude are incurred in a work of the dimensions of this one. The encyclopedia first took shape

Preface

in a series of conversations with Professor James Powell of Syracuse University and Dr. Robert Neville, then of ABC-CLIO, and I am grateful to them for their advice, as well as to the members of the Editorial Advisory Board, who readily provided assistance and counsel whenever it was requested of them. The authors of articles deserve thanks, not only for sharing their scholarship, but also for their forbearance in dealing with numerous queries and requests for alterations or clarifications, and not least for their patience in waiting for the work to see the light of day. Several board members and other contributors also deserve thanks for their readiness to step into the breach by agreeing to write articles for which, for whatever reason, no other author could be found. Much of the attractiveness of a work such as this derives from its illustrations, and I am particularly grateful to Professors Alfred Andrea, Benjamin Z. Kedar, and Graham Loud for generously allowing the use of photographs from their own collections, and to Dr. Janus Møller Jensen, Dr. Kristian Molin, and Dr. Samantha Riches for their help and advice in procuring images.

Among the staff at ABC-CLIO, a great deal is owed to the energy and enthusiasm of Wendy Roseth and to the good sense and experience of Martha Whitt, who supported the project during its most crucial stages, while Anna Kaltenbach and Vicki Moran in turn provided the care that brought it to publication. Significant contributions to the final product were also provided by Ellen Rasmussen, who undertook picture research; Bill Nelson (cartographer) and George Zirfas (graphic artist), who drew maps and genealogical tables to the editor's specifications; as well as Silvine Farnell and Kathy Streckfus (copyeditors), Mary Kay Kozyra and Lori Kranz (proofreaders), Tim Giesen (typesetter), and Heather Jones (indexer). Thanks are also due to Alison Miller and Patience Melnik, who acted as development editors during the initial stages of the project.

Lastly, I am grateful to Martina Häcker and Rhiannon Lawrence-Francis for their assistance in proofreading the final text.

— *Alan V. Murray*
Leeds, 5 July 2006

A

‘Abbāsids

An Arab dynasty that reigned in Iraq (749–1258) and Egypt (1261–1517). By the mid-eighth century the previous caliphal dynasty, the Umayyads (661–749), had made many enemies, including both Shī‘ites and other members of the Muslim community who felt that they were too concerned with worldly issues and not sufficiently focused on Islam itself. They were also weakened by rivalries among the tribes supporting them in their chosen power-base, Syria. Eventually a rebellion broke out in Khurasan (eastern Persia, Afghanistan, and other lands east of the Oxus River). This spread to Iraq, where a descendant of Muḥammad’s uncle al-‘Abbās was proclaimed caliph with the regnal title of al-Saffāḥ. The last Umayyad army was defeated in 750 in Egypt, with the Umayyad caliph, Marwān II, being killed in the fighting.

Al-Saffāḥ’s dynasty became known as the ‘Abbāsids after their ancestor. In succeeding to the caliphate, the ‘Abbāsids became, like their predecessors, both the religious and secular leaders of the Muslim world. Initially they based their particular claims to the caliphate on both their kinship with the Prophet Muḥammad and the fact that, unlike others, they had taken action against a regime that was perceived as being unjust. Later they also presented themselves as patrons of orthodoxy, stressing their position as guardians of Islam. They made their capital at Baghdad in Iraq, from which most of the caliphs reigned until 1258.

The reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (786–809) is generally regarded as the high point of the ‘Abbāsīd caliphate, particularly when contrasted with later events. His death was followed by a civil war between his sons. This was soon fol-

lowed by a gradual decline in caliphal power, exacerbated by financial problems, increasing domination of the caliphs by their subordinates, and rebellions by Shī‘ites and other disaffected elements. During this period much of the Muslim world fragmented so that the provinces came to acknowledge only nominal allegiance to the caliphs. Finally in 945, Baghdad was taken by the Būyids (Buwayhids), a Shī‘ite dynasty from the mountains of Daylam in Persia. They maintained the existence of the Sunnī caliphate, ruling as the caliphs’ nominal subordinates until 1055. Meanwhile Egypt was taken by the Fāṭimids (969), who also temporarily extended their influence into parts of Palestine, Syria, and Arabia, although by the period of the crusades much of these gains had again been lost.

In 1055, Sunnī rule was restored in Baghdad when the Saljūqs took control of the city. This did little to change the situation in the city itself, for while the Saljūqs became embroiled in the struggle for the Levant with the Fāṭimids and crusaders, the caliphs remained largely impotent. However, the collapse of Saljūq authority enabled some of the more vigorous caliphs to exercise their own authority somewhat. In particular, al-Muqtafī (1136–1160) asserted caliphal independence from the Saljūqs in Iraq. His great-grandson al-Nāṣir (1180–1225) not only overthrew the Saljūqs but also, through a mixture of diplomacy, military action, and a little luck, extended caliphal territories and warded off potential attacks from other enemies, including the Mongols. He also made several other social, political, and religious reforms, emphasizing in particular the primacy of the caliph and even coming to a certain degree of understanding with the Shī‘ites. The resurgence of caliphal

The ‘Abbāsīd Caliphs

Date of Accession	Caliph (usually noted using given name and title)	Date of Accession	Caliph (usually noted using given name and title)
	<i>‘Abbāsīd Caliphs in Iraq</i>		
749	Abu’l-‘Abbās al-Saffāh	1135	al-Manşūr al-Rashīd
754	Abū Ja’far al-Manşūr	1136	Muḥammad al-Muqtafi
775	Muḥammad al-Mahdī	1160	Yūsuf al-Mustanjid
785	Mūsā al-Hādī	1170	al-Ḥasan al-Mustaḍī
786	Hārūn al-Rashīd	1180	Aḥmad al-Nāşir
809	Muḥammad al-Amīn	1225	Muḥammad al-Ẓāhir
813	‘Abd Allāh al-Ma’mūn	1226	al-Manşūr al-Mustaṣşir
817	Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī (rival)	1242	‘Abd Allāh al-Musta’şim
833	Abū Ishāq al-Mu’taşim	1261	Aḥmad al-Ḥākim I (in Aleppo, Harran and northern Syria)
842	Hārūn al-Wāthiq		
847	Ja’far al-Mutawakkil		<i>‘Abbāsīd Caliphs in Cairo</i>
861	Muḥammad al-Muntaşir	1261	Aḥmad al-Mustaṣşir
862	Aḥmad al-Musta’in	1262	Aḥmad al-Ḥākim I
866	Muḥammad al-Mu’tazz	1302	Sulaymān al-Mustakfi I
869	Muḥammad al-Muhtadī	1340	Ibrāhīm al-Wāthiq I
870	Aḥmad al-Mu’tamid	1341	Aḥmad al-Ḥākim II
892	Aḥmad al-Mu’taḍid	1352	Abū Bakr al-Mu’taḍid I
902	‘Alī al-Muktafi	1362	Muḥammad al-Mutawakkil I (first reign)
908	Ja’far al-Muqtadir (first reign)	1377	Zakariyyā al-Mu’tasim (first reign)
908	‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Mu’tazz (rival)	1377	Muḥammad al-Mutawakkil I (second reign)
908	Ja’far al-Muqtadir (second reign)	1383	‘Umar al-Wāthiq II
929	Muḥammad al-Qāhir (first reign)	1386	Zakariyyā al-Mu’taşim (second reign)
929	Ja’far al-Muqtadir (third reign)	1389	Muḥammad al-Mutawakkil I (third reign)
932	Muḥammad al-Qāhir (second reign)	1406	‘Abbās (or Ya’qūb) al-Musta’in
934	Aḥmad al-Rāḍī	1414	Dāwūd al-Mu’taḍid II
940	Ibrāhīm al-Muttaqī	1441	Sulaymān al-Mustakfi II
944	‘Abd Allāh al-Mustakfi	1451	Ḥamzah al-Qā’im
946	al-Faḍl al-Muṭṭi’	1455	Yūsuf al-Mustanjid
974	‘Abd al-Karīm al-Ṭā’i’	1479	‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Mutawakkil II
991	Aḥmad al-Qādir	1497	Ya’qūb al-Mustamsik (first reign)
1031	‘Abd Allāh al-Qā’im	1508	al-Mutawakkil III (first reign)
1075	‘Abd Allāh al-Muqtadī	1516	Ya’qūb al-Mustamsik (second reign)
1094	Aḥmad al-Mustaẓhir	1517	al-Mutawakkil III (second reign)
1118	al-Faḍl al-Mustarshid	1517	Ottoman Conquest of Egypt

Adapted from Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

authority was brief, however. The end came in 1258, when the Mongols took Baghdad and put the reigning caliph, al-Musta’şim, to death.

Not all of the caliph’s family died in the Mongol onslaught, and in 1261 the Mamlūk sultan Baybars restored the caliphate in Cairo. From here the ‘Abbāsīd caliphs reigned,

albeit in name only, until the Ottoman conquest. The last caliph died as a prisoner of war in İstanbul in 1517.

–Niall Christie

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Abodrites

The Abodrites (Obodrites) were one of the many Slavic tribal confederations that in the late sixth or early seventh century settled in Germany east of the river Elbe. From the ninth to the thirteenth centuries they became the target of intense missionary and later crusading activity from the West.

The Abodrite confederation was composed of three major tribes: Wagrians, Polabians, and Eastern Abodrites. Nominally they had a king (Lat. *dux* or *rex* in the sources), but power largely resided in the hands of princes (Lat. *reguli* or *principes*), who were the heads of noble families. In the ninth century the Abodrites were politically oriented toward Denmark, a connection reflected in marriage bonds between the Danish and Abodrite ruling families. In the tenth century, however, the Holy Roman Emperors gained some ascendancy over the Abodrites, and in 967 Emperor Otto I (936–973) established a missionary bishopric at Oldenburg in Abodrite territory as part of the archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen.

Although some of the Abodrite kings nominally accepted Christianity, the new religion made only little headway among the Abodrites for the next 200 years or so, and there were several pagan uprisings from the late tenth century until the early twelfth century; on a number of occasions churches were burned, priests murdered, and Christian ruling families expelled by their pagan foes. Renewed efforts in the 1120s by Archbishop Adalbero of Bremen (1123–1148) to Christianize the Abodrites also failed, and soon the princes forbade all missionary activities in their lands. Then in 1147, during the Second Crusade, Saxons and Danes took part in a campaign against the Abodrites and other Slavic peoples, an enterprise approved by Bernard of Clairvaux and sanctioned by Pope Eugenius III. Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, was in overall command of the Saxon crusaders. Even though he and his followers agreed to leave the Abodrite lands after a crushing

defeat of the Danish crusader army, the crusade of 1147 marks a turning point in relations between the West and the Slavs: from that point the Abodrite lands were a target area for Saxon expansion and intense Christianization.

In 1159 King Valdemar I of Denmark (1157–1182) complained to Henry the Lion that the Slavs kept raiding the coasts of his realm, and so in 1160 Henry attacked the Abodrites once again, devastating parts of their territories with support from Valdemar. The Abodrite princes became vassals of the Saxon duke and nominally accepted Christianity. However, it was only after the Danish conquest of the island of Rügen in 1168 that the princes seem to have succeeded in extending Christianity throughout their lands by founding churches and monasteries. Now largely Christianized, and becoming increasingly Germanized, the Abodrite lands were integrated into the German kingdom as the duchy of Mecklenburg.

–Carsten Selch Jensen

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St. Abraham

See Hebron

Absalon of Lund (d. 1201)

Archbishop of Lund and primate of the Danish church (1177–1201).

Absalon was born around 1128 into the Danish nobility. After studies in Paris, he became bishop of Roskilde (1158–1192), and he continued to occupy this bishopric in a legally questionable double episcopacy even after becoming archbishop of Lund.

As a stalwart supporter of King Valdemar I of Denmark (d. 1182), Absalon played a vital role in attempts to secure and enlarge the Danish realm by attacking the pagan Wends on the southwestern coasts of the Baltic Sea. The chronicler Saxo Grammaticus, whose *Gesta Danorum* is partly a eulogy of Absalon, describes about ten expeditions between 1158 and the conquest of Rügen in 1168, all of which saw Absalon in a leading role. The island of Rügen was incorporated

Acciaiuoli Family

into Absalon's bishopric of Roskilde, and thereafter Danish crusading activities targeted Pomerania. Two Cistercian houses were established in this area at Dargun and Colbatz in 1172–1174, probably on Absalon's initiative.

Absalon was a prominent member of the Danish royal council, and from 1170 he was joint head of the reorganized national coast guard. During the first ten years of the reign of Valdemar's successor, Knud VI (1182–1202), Absalon in effect functioned as the real ruler of Denmark. During this time further expeditions were undertaken against the nominally Christian Pomeranians, culminating in a victory over Bogislaw I, duke of Pomerania, in 1185. From 1191 Danish interest in the eastern Baltic region was renewed with crusades to Finland and Estonia, and support given to Albert of Buxhövdén, archbishop of Riga. From this period until his death, Absalon seems to have retired from active politics and warlike activities, leaving the governance of the Danish realm in the hands of the now adult King Knud VI and his brother and future king Valdemar (II), duke of Schleswig.

—Torben K. Nielsen

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Abu'l-Faraj ibn al-'Ibrī

See Bar Ebroyo

Acciaiuoli Family

A Florentine family of steel merchants and bankers, which rose to prominence in the fourteenth century at the Neapolitan court and in Frankish Greece. By tradition the family originated in Brescia and in 1160, following a dispute with Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa, moved to Florence, where it established itself in the Borgo Santo Apostolo. By the late thirteenth century, the Acciaiuoli were working with other banking families, such as the Bardi and Peruzzi, and came to prominence as the financial supporters of Charles I of

Anjou, establishing a bank in Naples sometime after he came to power there in 1266.

The Acciaiuoli Company's interest in Greece began when it made extensive loans to John of Gravina, who as younger brother of King Robert of Naples had been created prince of Achaia in 1322. The loans financed his expedition to the Morea and Epiros in 1325–1326, and in return the family received the fiefs of Lechaina and La Mandria in southwestern Greece. In 1334 the family passed these interests over to Niccolo (1310–1365), a member of a cadet branch of the family and soon to become its most distinguished scion as grand seneschal of Naples and a friend of Boccaccio and Petrarch; he also endowed the monastery of the Certosa outside Florence where he is commemorated in a magnificent tomb and frescoes. About 1335 Niccolo went to the court of Robert of Naples, where he became a close adviser (and rumored lover) of Catherine of Valois and tutor to her sons. He accompanied Catherine on an extended visit to the Morea (1338–1341). The visit was funded by loans from the Acciaiuoli Company, and Niccolo received many grants of land in the Morea, including the barony of Kalamata. In 1358 he was granted the town and castle of Corinth by his former tutee and now prince of Achaia, Robert of Taranto. On his death in November 1365, he left substantial interests in Greece, which were exploited by other family members.

Niccolo's adopted nephew Nerio Acciaiuoli became lord of Corinth by 1367 and from this base set about extending his territories at the expense of his Catalan neighbors in the duchy of Athens, seizing Megara, Thebes, and Neopatras. Finally, in 1388 Nerio was able to capture the Akropolis at Athens from his erstwhile Navarrese allies and make himself duke of Athens. Nerio worked with Theodore Palaiologos, despot of Morea (1380/1381–1407), to mount a concerted opposition to the Turks, and gave his eldest daughter, Bartolomea, in marriage to Theodore. In the same year, he married his second daughter, Francesca, to Carlo Tocco, lord of Cephalonia. Nerio died on 25 September 1394, leaving Corinth to his Tocco son-in-law. Athens he left to the clergy of the church of St. Mary on the Akropolis under the protection of Venice. His illegitimate son by his Greek mistress Maria Rendi, Antonio, was made lord of Thebes and Livadhia. In 1402 Antonio seized Athens from the Venetians and ruled there as duke until his death in 1435. The duchy was then divided between the grandsons of his uncle Donato: Nerio II (1435–1451) and Antonio II (d. 1441).

On Nerio II's death, his infant son Francesco I (Franco)

succeeded him with his mother Chiara Giorgio of Boudonitza as regent. They were forced to recognize Ottoman suzerainty as a condition of a peaceful succession. In 1452 Chiara married the Venetian Bartolomeo Contarini, whose high-handed behavior led to complaints from the Athenians to Sultan Mehmed II. In 1454 the sultan summoned Contarini and Francesco I to Istanbul, where he ordered their deposition. Francesco I was not heard of again. The sultan replaced him with Francesco II, the son of Antonio II, who had been brought up at the Ottoman court, where he was conveniently at hand in 1454. In 1456 the Turks occupied central Greece. Francesco II was deposed as duke of Athens in 1458 and became an Ottoman pensioner, with the title lord of Thebes. He was murdered in 1460 on the orders of Sultan Mehmed II. Thus ended the line of the Acciaiuoli in Greece.

Other relatives held important ecclesiastical positions in Greece, serving as archbishops of Patras (1360 and 1394–1400), archbishop of Thebes (1428–1450), and bishop of Kephallonia (1427–1445). The family also produced three cardinals: Angelo (1349–1409), Nicola (1630–1719), and Filippo (1700–1766).

–Peter Lock

See also: Frankish Greece

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Achaia

A Frankish principality in southern Greece established after the overthrow of the Byzantine Empire by the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204). The French nobles William of Champlitte and Geoffrey I of Villehardouin undertook the conquest of

the Peloponnese peninsula (known in the medieval period as the Morea) in 1205; the principality founded by them reached its greatest territorial extent and influence in 1258. However, following the capture of Prince William II of Villehardouin at the battle of Pelagonia (1259) and the subsequent cession of Mistra, Monemvasia, and Maina in order to secure his release (1262), Achaia continued to lose territory to the Byzantine despotate of Mistra. With the loss of Patras in 1429, it disappeared completely from the political map of medieval Greece.

Late in 1204 Geoffrey I of Villehardouin, nephew and namesake of the chronicler of the Fourth Crusade, was forced to winter in Modon as he traveled from the Holy Land to rejoin the forces of the Fourth Crusade at Constantinople. There he learned of the ease with which the Peloponnese might be conquered. Early in 1205 he sought out his friend and neighbor William of Champlitte, who was with the army of Boniface of Montferrat, then besieging Nauplia. With Boniface's agreement, and accompanied by 100 knights and 400 sergeants, William and Geoffrey set out to conquer the Peloponnese.

There are two principal sources for this campaign: the chronicle of Geoffrey of Villehardouin (the Marshal), uncle of Geoffrey I, and the French, Greek, and Aragonese versions of the *Chronicle of the Morea*; they give slightly differing accounts of the thrust and objectives of the conquerors and of the fighting involved. It is generally accepted that the Frankish army left Corinth and moved through Achaia and Elis to Messenia, securing what ports it could on the way. There were sieges at Patras, Kyparissia, Coron, and Kalamata, but only one pitched battle: this was against a force of Epirote Greeks at Koundoura and resulted in a decisive Frankish victory.

The sources agree that the conquest was swift and all emphasize the conciliatory approach of the conquerors toward the majority Greek population. The Greek *archontes* (magnates) in the region were assured of their status, property, inheritance customs, and the free practice of the Greek Orthodox faith. On this basis they seemed to have been prepared to accept Frankish overlordship and even to cooperate with their conquerors. William of Champlitte distributed lordships to his principal followers and was addressed by Pope Innocent III in a letter of 19 November 1205 as *princeps totius Achaie provinciae* (prince of the entire province of Achaia). In 1206/1207 a Latin bishop was installed in Modon and a new diocese at Andravida was created at the

Achaia



The Principality of Achaia

instigation of Champlitte. Yet in all this it is easy to overlook the fact that the conquest was still partial. The Greek garrisons at Corinth and Argos held out against the Franks until 1210 and 1212, respectively, and the Skorta region in the southeast of the peninsula was not reduced until the 1250s.

In 1208 William of Champlitte returned to France, where he died by early 1209. His partner in the conquest, Geoffrey I of Villehardouin, was acknowledged as prince of Achaia by Henry, the Latin emperor of Constantinople, at the parliament of Ravennika in May 1209. The following month he was also recognized by the Venetians in the Treaty of Sapienza, which confirmed their rights to the towns of Modon and Coron in the southwest of the Peloponnese. In 1210 Geoffrey I brought his wife and family from Champagne and subsequently captured Corinth (1210), Nauplia (1211), and Argos (1212) and extended his rule over Arcadia and Laconia. Castles played an important role in the holding of his conquests, which might indicate that not all was such plain sailing as might be implied by the *Chronicle of the Morea*. To defray the cost of the construction of one of these castles, Chlemoutsi (Clermont), Geoffrey seized ecclesiastical property; he was excommunicated by Pope Honorius III, a situation that was settled in 1223. This gives us the one secure date for the construction of any of these castles of the conquest period.

Geoffrey I returned to France in 1228, leaving the succession in Achaia to his two sons Geoffrey II (1228–1246) and William II (1246–1278). During these years, Achaia emerged as the dominant power in Frankish Greece. Its rulers provided military, naval, and financial support for the Latin emperors in Constantinople. They married into the ruling family of the Latin Empire and the higher Frankish and Greek families of the Morea. The culture and chivalry of their court were widely known in Western Christendom, and William joined the Crusade of Louis IX to the East in 1249–1250. Soon afterward he completed the conquest of the Peloponnese with the capture of Monemvasia and the Skorta region and the erection of castles at Mistra, Maina, and other sites in the Taygetos Mountains. The year 1258 and his victory over the lords of Athens and Thebes represented the high point of the fortunes and aspirations of the principality.

In 1259 William allied himself with Michael, ruler of Epiros, against the Empire of Nicaea. His defeat and capture at the battle of Pelagonia led to the destabilizing of the principality. In 1261, in return for his liberty, he was forced to concede Mistra, Monemvasia, and Maina to Michael VIII

Palaiologos, ruler of the restored Byzantine Empire. Thereafter, the principality was subject to continual wars and raids as it sought to reassert control of the Peloponnese; during this period, the princes appealed to outside interests in the hope of stopping the Greek reconquest.

The first such power was the Angevin dynasty of Naples, which had broader interests in attacking the Byzantine Empire. By the Treaty of Viterbo (24 May 1267), Prince William II ceded the principality to Charles I of Anjou, king of Naples, while retaining a life interest in his realm. The treaty was accompanied by a marriage agreement whereby William's daughter Isabella would marry Charles's son Philip of Taranto, who would succeed William and thus create rulers of the Morea with Villehardouin blood and powerful backing in the west. In June 1270 Charles sent a delegation to the Morea to receive oaths of loyalty from the principal baronage, and on 28 May 1271 the marriage took place in Trani. Philip died in 1277 leaving no heirs, and when William himself died on 1 May 1278 the title to the principality passed to Charles of Anjou. The Angevins ruled the Morea through a series of *baillis* (regents) with limited success until 1289, when the marriage of Philip's widow Isabella to Florent of Hainaut provided a resident prince of Achaia. Florent was popular in the Morea and successfully resisted the Byzantines and reasserted Villehardouin claims to suzerainty in Greece. He died unexpectedly in January 1297, leaving a widow and a three-year-old daughter, Mahaut, who was betrothed to Guy II, duke of Athens.

During the late 1290s, Angevin interests were turning to Epiros, and the principality was increasingly involved in Epirote affairs rather than its own defense. In 1301 Isabella married Philip of Savoy, and the couple were invested with the principality despite severe misgivings on the part of the Angevins as to the support Philip would provide in their wider interests. Charles II of Anjou deposed Philip after he lost the confidence of the Moreote barons and invested his own favorite son, Philip of Taranto, with the principality. In June 1306 Philip of Taranto made his only visit to Greece to campaign against the Greeks of Mistra. Before his return to southern Italy, he appointed Guy II of Athens (d. 1308) as his *bailli* in the Morea. Isabella maintained the claim that she and her husband had to the principality from Hainaut, where she died in 1311.

On 29 July 1313, a series of marriages took place that were orchestrated by the Angevins of Naples and designed to settle and reinforce Angevin ambitions in the Aegean. One of

these marriages was that of Mahaut, daughter of Isabella of Villehardouin and widow of Guy II of Athens, to Louis of Burgundy, who now became prince of Achaia. In 1314 Ferrando of Mallorca married Isabella of Sabran, first cousin to Mahaut and the daughter of Isabella's sister Margaret. In the summer of 1315, he landed at Glarenza to claim the principality in right of his wife. By August 1316 two battles had been fought between the claimants in the Morea, and both were dead. The territory of the principality had shrunk to the western coastal strip; Messenia was in Venetian hands, and the Byzantines held the rest.

In January 1322 King Robert of Naples granted the principality to his younger brother John of Gravina. This sixth Angevin proposal for the government of the Morea was the first that did not involve a Villehardouin descendant. Mahaut was imprisoned in Italy, where she died in 1331, bringing to an end the line of the Villehardouins of Achaia. In December 1332 John exchanged Achaia for Durazzo (Dyrrachion) and the title to the kingdom of Albania. The other party in this exchange was John's sister-in-law Catherine of Valois, the titular Latin empress of Constantinople and widow of Philip of Taranto, the former prince of Achaia.

Lords (1205–1260) and Princes of Achaia (1260–1432)

William I of Champlitte	1205–1209
Geoffrey I of Villehardouin	1209–1228
Geoffrey II of Villehardouin	1228–1246
William II of Villehardouin	1246–1278
Charles I of Anjou	1278–1285
Charles II of Anjou	1285–1289
Florent of Hainaut	1289–1297
Isabella of Villehardouin	1289–1307
Philip of Savoy	1301–1306
Philip of Taranto	1307–1313
Louis of Burgundy	1313–1316
Mahaut of Hainaut	1313–1318
Robert I of Naples	1318–1322
John of Gravina	1322–1332
Catherine of Valois	1332–1346
Robert of Taranto	1346–1364
Philip of Taranto	1364–1373
Joanna I of Naples	1373–1381
James of Les Baux	1381–1383
Peter of San Superan	1396–1402
Centurione II Zaccaria	1404–1432

Between November 1338 and June 1341, Catherine was in Achaia with her two sons and her close adviser Niccolo Acciaiuoli. Despite their best efforts, the situation in the Morea continued to deteriorate, and the principality became effectively reduced to a small area in the northwest of the Peloponnese. As princes of Achaia, Catherine's sons ruled through *baillis* and did not visit the Morea: Robert died in 1364, and Philip in 1373. The title then passed to Joanna I, queen of Naples, whose claim was disputed by James of Les Baux, the nephew of Philip of Taranto and titular Latin emperor of Constantinople. James remained in Taranto but hired Navarrese mercenaries to enforce his claims in Greece. Yet a resident prince, rather than a titular ruler, was required, as Turkish raids intensified and Byzantine military pressure was maintained.

Attempts to interest the house of Mallorca and the Hospitallers in the defense of the Morea during the 1370s proved abortive, as both found the defense and resuscitation of the principality of Achaia a task beyond their resources. Effective control passed to the Navarrese Companies, whose commander, Peter of San Superan, became captain and vicar general of the principality of Achaia (1386); he declared himself hereditary prince of Achaia (1396–1402) in the absence of any viable Angevin claimant, a title that was confirmed by King Ladislas of Naples and by Pope Boniface IX. His wife, Maria Zaccaria, took the title of regent until 1404, when she passed the claim to the principality to her nephew Centurione II Zaccaria, who became the twenty-first and last prince of Achaia, which was finally lost to the Byzantines in 1432. In 1460 the Peloponnese was conquered by the Ottoman Turks.

–Peter Lock

See also: Castles: Greece and Cyprus; Fourth Crusade (1202–1204); Frankish Greece

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Acre

Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) was the main port of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem after its capture by King Baldwin I in 1104. After four years of Muslim occupation (1187–1191),

the city was the capital of the kingdom until its fall to the Mamlūks in 1291. Acre formed part of the royal demesne, although from 1231 to 1242 it experienced self-government when it was ruled by a body including both noblemen and burgesses opposed to Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor and regent of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

Acre's Muslim population was massacred soon after the crusader conquest, and there was no permanent Muslim community throughout the Frankish period, although a few Muslims resided there for some years. Most of the city's Eastern Christians and Jews apparently remained in the city after the conquest, but Frankish settlers rapidly became the dominant group within the population. By the second decade of the twelfth century, the city was the major Levantine destination of crusaders, Western immigrants, and merchants, and the exclusive port for pilgrims. The city's multiple economic functions as market and transit station



Capture of Acre by Richard I of England and Philip II of France. (Library of Congress)



Castle and moat of Acre. (Library of Congress)

offering logistical support to these groups fostered its economic and demographic growth.

The urban configuration inherited from the Fāṭimid period was largely maintained, despite some large-scale construction in the Frankish period. The city had an irregular layout within the wall protecting it on its northern and eastern flanks and lacked a center. Its artificial harbor, protected by two breakwaters, opened to the south into the Bay of Acre. The harbor remained unchanged during the Frankish period, despite the constant increase in maritime traffic. It could accommodate many ships, yet by the late twelfth century large vessels had to anchor in the bay, from which barks conveyed passengers and goods to the shore. By 1169 the Hospitallers had apparently built a large structure along the northern city wall, and the Templars had an even larger one in the southeastern corner of the city. The two military

orders enlarged their possessions in Acre by acquisitions and exchanges of real estate. However, their property lacked a quasi-extraterritorial status, in contrast to that granted by successive kings to the quarters belonging to Genoa (1104), Venice (1110), and Pisa (1168). The citizens of these maritime powers resident in Acre tended to live in their respective national quarters, which also offered accommodation to merchants and pilgrims.

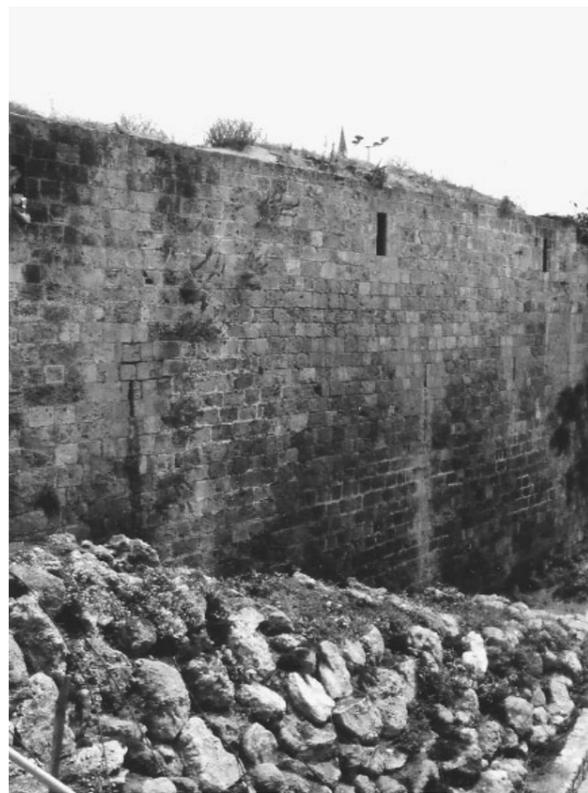
Acre reached the peak of its development between 1191, when it was recaptured by the Christian forces of the Third Crusade (1189–1192), and 1291, when it fell to the Mamlūks. During that century it replaced Jerusalem as the political, ecclesiastical, cultural, and artistic center of the kingdom, taking advantage of the growing Mediterranean trade. At the time of Saladin's conquest in 1187, there was still vacant space within the urban wall, yet this was no longer sufficient after 1191. The large-scale relocation of population from territories remaining under Muslim rule generated the rapid growth of a new suburb, called Montmusard, to the north of the Old City. The arrival of further individual refugees, the royal court and administration, and the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem and other ecclesiastical institutions, along with Western immigration, furthered the expansion of construction in the suburb. Between 1198 and 1212, Montmusard was enclosed along its northern and eastern flanks by two walls separated by a barbican, and the outer wall was extended in order to reinforce the defense of the Old City. After 1191 Marseilles obtained a quarter of its own, while the Teutonic Order, established in 1198, also acquired property in that urban region. The Order of Thomas of Canterbury was transferred in 1227–1228 to Montmusard, and new ecclesiastical and charitable institutions were established there. The Hospitallers, who enlarged their compound by massive construction until around 1235, were compelled by lack of space (around 1250 or somewhat later) to erect a large building in Montmusard to house the conventual brothers. Eventually the Old City became densely built up, yet the distribution of population within its walls was uneven. Close to the harbor, the royal quarter of the Chain, named after the chain that protected the harbor, had the heaviest concentration of inhabitants. By contrast, Montmusard was never completely built up and retained a semirural character. Two sets of maps, the models of which were drawn around 1320, reflect the urban configuration of Acre shortly before 1291.

Commercial life was concentrated in the Old City. The large-scale privileges and autonomy enjoyed by the maritime

powers did not exempt their citizens and their goods from the regular inspections carried out upon arrival or departure at the royal customs. The land toll station (Fr. *fonde*) was situated on the eastern side of the city. It controlled the passage of goods between the city, its rural hinterland, and emporia under Muslim rule such as Damascus. The maritime toll station was located within the royal quarter of the Chain. Eastern Christians served in both these offices. Especially in the *fonde*, they contributed in large measure to the continuity of the Fāṭimid commercial taxation system, although the latter underwent changes in the Frankish period. The main urban arteries joined the harbor to the royal *fonde*, and these installations to the Italian quarters.

The influx of immigrants from the West after 1191 enhanced the multi-ethnic and multilingual character of Acre's society. The Frankish population included speakers of French and Occitan (Provençal), in addition to a mercantile component of overwhelmingly Italian origin, mainly concentrated in the Genoese, Venetian, and Pisan quarters. These maritime powers established and consolidated permanent governmental institutions in their respective quarters after 1191. They strongly resisted the attempts of Acre's bishops to extend their authority over ecclesiastical bodies in their respective quarters. Their governmental and ecclesiastical institutions enhanced "national" attitudes. In addition, numerous ecclesiastical and charitable institutions acted as focuses of collective identity based on common origin or language for other settlers and pilgrims. Thus the Teutonic Order, established in the Old City, presumably attracted German speakers, while the northern tip of Montmusard was known as the English neighborhood. The Eastern Christians (called Syrians by the Franks) were divided among several religious communities, each of which retained its own churches and monasteries. The number of these institutions was small compared with the Latin ones, yet the location of several of them in Montmusard implies an influx of Eastern Christians after 1191. Some of them were attracted by economic opportunities, while others were presumably refugees, mostly from Frankish territories conquered by the Muslims in 1187 or in the thirteenth century, or else from Syrian cities threatened or attacked by the Mongols around 1260. Contrary to past claims, there was no official residential segregation between Franks and other inhabitants in Acre.

In the thirteenth century, the rivalry in the Mediterranean between the three major Italian maritime powers several



Walls of Acre, probably of Mamlūk or Ottoman construction. (Courtesy Alfred Andrea)

times led to warfare in Acre. Pisa and Venice built walls surrounding their respective quarters, and Genoa fortified the entrances to its own. In addition, the compounds of the Hospitallers and the Templars became self-contained urban entities clearly separated from their surroundings. As a result the Old City witnessed the physical partitioning of its space in the course of the thirteenth century. The so-called War of St. Sabas (1256–1258), the most severe clash between the Italian maritime powers, inflicted heavy damage upon Acre. The victory of Venice and Pisa over Genoa put an end to the existence of the Genoese quarter and community in the city.

The heterogeneous composition of Acre's population was mirrored by its hybrid material culture. Frankish buildings in Acre displayed the major trends in Western contemporary architecture and monumental sculpture and the passage from Romanesque to Gothic, as evidenced by the various

Acre, Siege of (1189–1191)

stages of construction in the Hospitaller compound. The presence of a Frankish clientele in the Levant and the constant stream of Western visitors called for commercial book production and the copying of popular historical and fictional works. The contribution of Eastern ecclesiastical institutions and communities in Acre to painting, the minor arts, and crafts has been underestimated so far. Icons, painted panels, and other devotional objects were certainly important, yet also many artifacts and mementos reflected Eastern culture and the artistic traditions of the Levant and regions further east. Their production, a major branch of the urban economy, was especially geared toward the numerous pilgrims, who were mostly from the West but also included Eastern Christians visiting Acre. Everyday life in the city was continuously reshaped by the dynamic interaction between its various communities, with their respective attitudes, culture, and artistic traditions, and by their collective encounter with a large transient population.

The geopolitical conditions resulting from the First Crusade (1096–1099) and the Christian conquest of Acre created a unique conjunction of favorable factors, which account for the city's development in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. These factors were abruptly eliminated by the fall of the Frankish states in 1291, after which the city lay in ruins for several centuries.

—David Jacoby

See also: Economy of the Levant; Jerusalem, (Latin) Kingdom of

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Acre, Siege of (1189–1191)

The siege of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) was the determinative military action of the Third Crusade (1189–1192). The Muslim leader Saladin had captured and garrisoned the port city in the aftermath of his great victory at Hattin in 1187. Guy of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, was released from captivity in 1188 and began collecting forces from among the Franks of Jerusalem and new arrivals from the West. In August 1189 Guy marched to Acre and set up camp on the hill of Toron to the east of the city. Saladin marched to Acre's relief but was unable to either dislodge Guy or prevent fleets bringing reinforcements from all over western Europe. The Christians dug a double line of ditches across the Acre peninsula, protecting themselves from both Saladin's field army and the city garrison. A long struggle of attrition ensued, a combination of naval blockade, artillery duel, and trench warfare. Twice Egyptian galley fleets broke through, only to be immobilized in the harbor, their crews needed to man the walls. The remnant of the German expedition arrived in October 1190, that of Philip II Augustus of France in April 1191, and that of Richard I of England on 8 June. Early in July sections of the wall were brought down by mining.

Forced to stay permanently at arms and fearing the consequences if Acre were taken by storm, the heroic but now exhausted garrison surrendered on 12 July. They were to be ransomed in return for 200,000 dinars, the release of 1,500 prisoners held by Saladin, and the restoration of the relic of the True Cross, all to be handed over by 20 August. As the banners of the kings of France and England were raised over Acre, so too was the standard of Leopold V, duke of Austria, leader of the small German contingent. Richard's soldiers tore it down, as neither he nor Philip had any inten-

tion of letting Leopold claim a share of the booty. By 20 August Saladin had not paid even the first installment of the ransom; perhaps he could not, perhaps he was trying to delay things. The crusaders wished to advance toward Jerusalem and could not afford to leave 3,000 prisoners behind in Acre. In the afternoon the captives were slaughtered, only the garrison commanders being spared. According to the chronicler Ambroise, the Christian soldiers enjoyed the work of butchery.

For Saladin the loss of the city and the Egyptian fleet was a heavy blow. For nearly two years the siege gripped the attention of both Muslim and Christian worlds; Western contemporaries compared it to the siege of Troy. The fact that Saladin himself remained nearby throughout the siege demonstrates its importance in his eyes. Its outcome made possible the century-long survival of the coastal rump of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

—John Gillingham

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Acre, Siege of (1291)

The siege of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) by the Mamlūks of Egypt, lasting from 5/6 April to 28 May 1291, resulted in the Muslim conquest of the city and brought about the end of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem.

Following an attack by Italian crusaders on the Muslim population of Acre in August 1290, the Egyptian sultan Qalāwūn repealed a ten-year truce that had been concluded with the kingdom in 1283 and moved against Acre, but died shortly after he had left Cairo (10 October 1290). His son al-Ashraf Khalīl arrived before Acre on 5 April 1291 with a large army. Acre had 30,000–40,000 inhabitants, who were joined in the defense of the city by 700–1,200 knights and 14,000–18,000 infantry, including the Italian crusaders, members of the military orders, and 200–300 knights brought in later by Henry II, king of Cyprus and Jerusalem.

The Mamlūk forces were considerably larger, and had many siege machines of varying sizes.

The siege began on 6 April. On its western and southern side, Acre was protected by the sea, the Templar castle at the southwestern point, and the harbor fortifications. The northeastern walls around the suburb of Montmusard were guarded by Templars and Hospitallers. The northeastern point and the eastern walls were defended by the troops of the kingdom commanded by Henry's brother Amalric of Lusignan, an English contingent led by Otto of Grandison, a French contingent under John of Grailly, and troops of Venice, Pisa, and the commune of Acre. The Mamlūks concentrated their attacks on the St. Anthony's Gate complex linking Montmusard with the old city and on the northeastern point, which was fortified by a barbican (King Hugh's Tower) and a tower (King Henry's Tower) at the outer wall and another tower (the Accursed Tower) at the inner wall.

Sorties by the Templars and Hospitallers in mid-April failed, resulting in heavy Frankish casualties. King Henry arrived at Acre on 4 May with reinforcements and asked for a truce, which Khalīl declined. On 8 May, King Hugh's Tower had to be abandoned. King Henry's Tower and parts of the outer wall collapsed on 15 May. The following day, as the Muslims attempted to storm the city, they were fended off by a sortie of the Hospitallers under the marshal Matthew of Clermont. On 18 May, the Mamlūks attacked the fortifications between St. Anthony's Gate and the Accursed Tower with full force and managed to enter the city. There were insufficient vessels for the inhabitants to escape by sea. The Templar Roger Flor supposedly sold the space on a galley he had seized for outrageous sums of money. King Henry, his brother Amalric, Otto of Grandison, John of Grailly, and the Hospitaller master John of Villiers escaped to Cyprus. The patriarch of Jerusalem, Nicholas of Hannapes, drowned after he allowed so many refugees on his boat that it sank. The Templar master William of Beaujeu and the Hospitaller marshal were killed fighting against the onrushing Mamlūks.

Those unable to escape found refuge in the Templar castle, and were offered unhindered retreat in exchange for its surrender. On 25 May, Muslim troops entered the castle to supervise the Franks' departure, but as they supposedly molested the Frankish women and children, they were killed by the Templar garrison. When the marshal Peter of Sevrey went to Khalīl to explain the incident, he was seized and beheaded. Meanwhile, the Muslims had undermined the

Adela of Blois (d. 1137)

castle walls, which collapsed on 28 May, ending the siege. The fall of Acre marked the end of the Frankish states in Outremer. The Mamlūks' systematic destruction of Acre and other coastal cities made any future return of the Frankish population unviable.

The main sources for the siege of Acre are the *Gestes des Chiprois*, the anonymous *De excidio urbis Acconis*, and the works of Thaddaeus of Naples, Marino Sanudo, Abu'l-Fidā', al-Jazarī, and al-Maqrīzī.

–Jochen Burgtorf

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Adela of Blois (d. 1137)

Wife of the crusader Stephen (Stephen-Henry), count of Blois, and recipient of two surviving letters sent by her husband in the course of the First Crusade (1096–1099).

A daughter of William I, king of England, Adela was probably born between November 1067 and May 1068. Around 1083 she wed Stephen (originally named Henry), the designated heir to the counties of Blois, Chartres, and Meaux, who was some eighteen to twenty years her senior. Already a mother when her father-in-law died (1089), the young countess exercised comital lordship alongside her husband and was well placed to rule in his stead when he joined the First Crusade. As Stephen admitted in the second of the two extant letters he sent from the East, Adela underwrote that venture, doubtless by tapping the liquid assets she had received in dowry. The language and content of those letters speak both to the mutual trust and affection the couple had developed and to the count's confidence in his wife's capacity to rule. Any plans to entrust one of their five sons to Alexios I Komnenos (a possibility transmitted by Stephen) came to naught once the emperor's reputation plummeted in the West.

When Stephen returned to France with his reputation shaken, having left the crusade at Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey), Adela advised him to complete his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, if only to avoid excommunication. She resumed

her role as regent at the close of 1100, when Stephen (now in his early fifties) set out for the Holy Land at the head of a large host. Late in 1103, returning clerics well-known to the couple, such as Stephen's chaplain Alexander and Bishop Ingelran of Laon, confirmed Stephen's heroic death at the second battle of Ramla (May 1102); the countess, publicly affirming her status as a ruling widow, made a spate of bequests for his soul. Most significantly, she dedicated their youngest son to God at Cluny's priory of La Charité-sur-Loire, where the recently freed Odo Arpin, who had fought alongside Stephen in 1102, soon became prior.

After assisting her brother Henry as he worked to supplant Robert Curthose as duke of Normandy, in the spring of 1106 Adela hosted lavish nuptial celebrations for Bohemund I of Antioch and her former sister-in-law Constance "of France," during which Bohemund, mounting the pulpit of Chartres cathedral, outshone the legate, Bruno of Segni, as a preacher of crusade. Ironically, circulating at the time was a reworked version of the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, which, in order to strengthen Bohemund's claims to Antioch, added damning attacks on Stephen, who had been largely favorable to Alexios. However, those to whom the count was well-known, such as Guibert of Nogent, Baldric of Dol, and Robert the Monk, were prompt to deflate such rhetorical recourse to invective. The next year (1107), Adela substituted her son Thibaud for William as their father's designated heir, generously assisted Pope Paschal II on his French tour, and prepared the way for her correspondent Baldric, abbot of Bourgueil, to be consecrated archbishop of Dol (1107).

Ruling until she took the veil at Marcigny (spring 1120), Adela proved a caring mother and able administrator, training her children (at least six, and possibly eight) for adult lives appropriate to their abilities and studiously increasing comital revenues in her husband's share of the Thibaudian family's domains. Most likely as prioress, she spent her final seventeen years securing her convent's domains, intervening in the counties she used to rule, and tracking the turbulent politics after Henry I's death that made her son Stephen king of England and duke of Normandy, with the help of his brothers Henry and Thibaud. Dying on 8 March 1137 and buried at Marcigny, Adela was commemorated widely across England and northern France.

–Kimberly A. LoPrete

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Adelaide del Vasto (d. 1118)

Queen of Jerusalem (1113–1117) as third wife of King Baldwin I.

Born around 1075, Adelaide was a daughter of Manfred del Vasto (d. 1079), a member of the Aleramid dynasty of Liguria. After the death of her first husband, Count Roger I of Sicily (1101), she acted as regent for their sons Simon (d. 1105) and Roger II. In September 1113 she married Baldwin I of Jerusalem; the marriage brought a large cash dowry, but was contracted under the condition that if it produced no heirs, the kingdom of Jerusalem was to pass to Roger II on Baldwin’s death. With no heir having been born by the winter of 1116–1117, a serious illness of Baldwin raised the prospect of a Sicilian succession, and a section among the kingdom’s ruling class, led by the Patriarch Arnulf, forced the king to repudiate Adelaide, a move made easier by the fact that his second wife was still living. Adelaide returned to Sicily in April 1117, and died on 16 April 1118.

—Alan V. Murray

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Adhemar of Le Puy (d. 1098)

Bishop of Le Puy and legate of Pope Urban II during the First Crusade (1096–1099).

Adhemar was born in France around 1045, the son of a nobleman from the Valentinois. He may have been a member of the cathedral chapter of Valence; he became known as an advocate of the Gregorian reform movement. About 1079/1080 he was elected bishop of Le Puy. Shortly after 1086, together with Raymond of Saint-Gilles, count of Toulouse, Adhemar called for reinforcements to fight in Spain against the Almoravid caliph Yūsuf.

Before Pope Urban II made his appeal for an expedition to the East at the Council of Clermont (27 November 1095), he had previously contacted Adhemar in the south of France and asked him to act as his representative with the status of legate (Lat. *legatus a latere*) to administer spiritual support to the crusaders on their expedition to Jerusalem. Adhemar took the cross at the conclusion of Urban’s crusade sermon at Clermont, and left for the East with Raymond of Saint-Gilles in October 1096.

By the time the crusade armies crossed into Asia Minor, Adhemar was recognized as their spiritual head. In addition, as the leading role of the Byzantine emperor in the crusade diminished, Adhemar increasingly came to figure as the military leader of the crusade. An encyclical letter to the West from Adhemar and the patriarch of Jerusalem, Symeon II, dating from the first weeks of the siege of Antioch (autumn 1097–June 1098), reported on the progress of the crusade and urged that all of those who had taken the cross but had failed to set out should be excommunicated unless they had fulfilled their vows by the following Easter. In all probability, Adhemar and Symeon discussed plans for the liberation of the Eastern churches. After the conquest of Antioch, Adhemar reinstated the Greek Orthodox patriarch, John IV Oxeites, and recognized his canonical authority over all clergy in his patriarchate, Latin as well as Greek. Adhemar’s early death on 1 August 1098 during an epidemic made him a near-legendary figure in the perception of his contemporaries. He was buried in the cathedral of Antioch. In 1125 his remains were translated back to a more splendid tomb at Le Puy on the initiative of his successor.

—Klaus-Peter Kirstein

See also: Clermont, Council of (1095); First Crusade (1096–1099)

Adrianople, Battle of (1205)

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Adrianople, Battle of (1205)

A battle between the Bulgarians under their ruler, Kalojan, and an army of Franks under Baldwin I, the new Latin emperor of Constantinople, who was trying to suppress a revolt by the Greeks in Thrace.

Without waiting for the return of all the Franks then campaigning in Asia Minor, Baldwin led a small army (140 knights and their followers) from Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey), accompanied by Enrico Dandolo, doge of Venice, and Louis of Blois, duke of Nicaea, and joined up with a small force under Geoffrey of Villehardouin. The Frankish army took up a position outside Adrianople (mod. Edirne, Turkey) on 29 March 1205 but was able to blockade only two

gates and was very short of supplies. Kalojan arrived with a large army including 14,000 Cumans to help the besieged (13 April). The fighting on the first day (14 April) was inconclusive, but the crusaders suffered many losses when the Cumans feigned flight to draw their enemy into pursuit. That evening a war council issued strict orders that the army should await the enemy attack without moving. On 15 April the Cumans rode right up to the Franks’ lines, and, despite the agreed battle plan, Louis of Blois led his men in pursuit of them and called on Baldwin to follow. The Franks were picked off individually, and the battle ended in a disastrous defeat, with Louis dead and the emperor captive. The survivors joined the rearguard under Geoffrey of Villehardouin, who led a disciplined retreat to Rodosto.

The news of the battle provoked a mass flight of Latins from Constantinople (7,000 according to Villehardouin) and encouraged further revolts by the Greeks. The Latin Empire was seriously weakened by the loss of manpower and the interregnum, which lasted until news of the death of Emperor Baldwin in captivity reached Constantinople.

—Peter S. Noble

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Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini

See Pius II

Al-Afḍal (d. 1122)

Military vizier and effectively dictator of Fāṭimid Egypt (1094–1122).

A Muslim convert of Armenian origin, al-Afḍal was the son and successor of Badr al-Jamalī, whose military intervention in 1073 in the civil war that ravaged Egypt restored order in the country and kept the Fāṭimids in power. Al-Afḍal misjudged the aims of the First Crusade (1096–1099) and offered the crusaders cooperation against the Saljūqs. His military response to the advance of the crusaders on Jerusalem was slow, and the army he dispatched to Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel) suffered a bitter defeat by the crusaders (12 August 1099).

In the wake of the defeat, al-Afdal introduced military reforms and incorporated Turkish military slaves into the Fatimid army. Under his rule Egypt enjoyed a period of stability and prosperity, but the privileged position of Ismā'ili Islam in the country was eroded. However, in 1122 al-Āmir, the ruling caliph, had al-Afdal assassinated and took the reins of power into his own hands.

–Yaacov Lev

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King Afonso I of Portugal. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

Afonso I Henriques of Portugal (c. 1109–1185)

First king of Portugal (1128–1185), best known for the capture of Lisbon from its Muslim inhabitants on 24 October 1147 with the aid of crusaders bound for the Holy Land.

The son of Henry of Burgundy (named count of Portugal around 1097) and Teresa, illegitimate daughter of Alfonso VI of Castile (1065–1109), Afonso Henriques was only five years old on the death of his father (1112). Following his mother's regency, Afonso began to exercise independent authority in 1128, styling himself king of Portugal after 1139. Four years later, he declared himself a liegeman of St. Peter, although the papacy did not formally recognize his kingship until 1179. During the 1140s Afonso worked to extend his authority into the Muslim-held regions south of the river Tagus. As part of his efforts, Afonso sought the support of the Templars, endowed by his mother with their first holdings in the region at Soure in 1128. The king's initial assault on Lisbon, made with the assistance of English ships in 1140 or 1142, was a failure, but in the spring of 1147 he captured the nearby town of Santarém in preparation for another assault on Lisbon.

Earlier that year, Afonso had exchanged letters with Bernard of Clairvaux, who may have sought support for his campaign while preaching in Germany and the Low Countries. It is not clear when Afonso became aware of the fleet of Anglo-Norman, Flemish, and German crusaders departing for the Holy Land from Dartmouth in England in May 1147. However, when the fleet arrived at Oporto, arrangements were made for a meeting outside Lisbon between

Afonso and the crusaders' representatives, who agreed to assist in an assault on the city. After months of siege, the Muslims surrendered to the Portuguese king on 24 October. Much of Afonso's subsequent reign was spent consolidating his gains and struggling against the Almohads. He died on 6 December 1185.

–Brett Edward Whalen

See also: Portugal; Lisbon, Siege of (1147); Second Crusade (1147–1149)

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Afonso V of Portugal (1432–1481)

King of Portugal (1438–1481), known as “the African” (Port. *Afonso o Africano*) from his campaigns against Muslim North Africa.

The son of King Duarte of Portugal and Leonor of Aragon, Afonso was only six years old when his father died. The king's minority caused a conflict over the regency, which was controlled by a faction headed by his uncle, Prince Peter (1439), until the latter was finally overthrown and killed at the battle of Alfarrobeira (1449) at the hands of an army led by the king. The victory of the young monarch was contemporary with an attempt to relaunch the holy war against the Muslims of North Africa by promoting the writing of a chronicle describing the conquest of Ceuta (1449): this was the *Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta por El Rei D. João I* by Gomes Eanes de Zurara, which highlighted the crusading credentials of the Portuguese Crown by underlining the continuity of the campaigns in Africa with the peninsular Reconquest, and by stressing the presence of soldiers of several nations among the fighters. The same purpose also led the king to renew the memory of Prince Ferdinand, who had been martyred in Africa after the disaster of Tangier (1437), as well as the deeds of Prince Henry the Navigator in the conquest of the African coast.

The king's enthusiasm for holy war meant that he was receptive to proposals for a crusade against the Turks, advocated by his kinsmen Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, and Frederick III, Holy Roman Emperor. By the end of 1455 the king declared his adherence to the project, taking his crusade vow on 25 July 1456, the feast day of St. James, the holy warrior and protector of the Iberian Peninsula. However, the failure of this initiative brought the king back to African projects, which culminated in the conquest of Alcacer-Ceguer (1458) and the campaigns against Tangier (1463–1464). In order to defend the Portuguese possessions in Africa, the king sought to gain the interest of the nobility and endorsed the writing of chronicles by Gomes Eanes de Zurara on the deeds of Pedro de Meneses and Duarte de Meneses, who held the cities of Ceuta and Alcacer-Ceguer in the name of the king. At the same time, he tried to make use of the men and resources of the military orders, by placing the administration of the Order of Christ under his own command and by obtaining two papal bulls (1456 and 1462), which obliged the military orders to build convents in Africa and to spend at least a third of their income there. The reactions of the Orders of Christ and Santiago were unfavorable to the king, since they obtained from Pope Paul II the revocation of the previous decisions (1464), while reminding the king that the military orders were founded to defend Portugal and not to fight in Morocco.

In spite of these adversities, the king continued his African campaigns with the conquest of Arzila and Tangier (1471), and developed a new interest in the western parts of Morocco, looting Casablanca (1468–1469) and taking control of Larache. It was only then that he finally abandoned his African plans. Responsibility for overseas policies was handed over to his heir, Prince John, while Afonso became involved in Castile's political crisis by making a claim to the throne of that kingdom (1474–1476). Unable to secure his rights, he traveled to France looking for an alliance with King Louis XI. While there he developed a desire to travel incognito on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, which he never accomplished.

—Luís Filipe Oliveira

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Africa

The Africa with which the crusaders were familiar stretched from Egypt to the Atlantic Ocean, divided between the Nile Valley to the east and the bloc of the Atlas to the west by the Sahara, which reaches the sea at the base of the Gulf of Syrtis. In the Middle Ages, Cyrenaica belonged as a rule to Egypt, while Tripolitania belonged to Ifriqiya. Ifriqiya, comprising Tripolitania, Tunisia, and eastern Algeria, was the former Byzantine province of Africa, which had become an independent state following the Arab conquest, with its capital at Qayrawān. By the middle of the eleventh century the former provinces of Mauretania in western Algeria and northern Morocco were occupied by a string of little Mus-

lim capitals of which the most important were Fès and Tlemcen, in the midst of a tribal Berber countryside. Ifriqiya enjoyed close relations with Muslim Sicily, while to the west the main connections were with Muslim Spain.

Together these lands formed the Maghrib, the Muslim West. They were bound together by routes running east and west, by land and sea, from Muslim Spain to Egypt. At various points these routes branched away southward across the Sahara to the *Bilād al-Sūdān* (Land of the Blacks). Exploited by North African merchants and the nomads of the desert, these Saharan routes brought gold and slaves from this largely pagan region. Within a predominantly rural Berber population, a literate Arabic population was centered on the cities. Under the rule of Islam, the native Christian population had been reduced to a small minority in the main cities and the oases of southern Ifriqiya, its five Roman bishoprics about to disappear.

The Crisis of the Eleventh Century

The middle of the eleventh century was a time of crisis. The dynastic state of the Zīrids in Ifriqiya disintegrated, while nomads from the Sahara captured both Fès and Tlemcen to found a new empire. The two events were not unconnected. The Zīrids at Kairouan owed their allegiance to the Shī'ite Fāṭimid caliphate in Egypt, but switched in 1048 to the Sunnī 'Abbāsīd caliphate at Baghdad. This was done to turn the tables on the Sunnī jurists who governed public opinion, on rebellious tribes in the south, and on their cousins the Ḥammādids in the highlands of Ifriqiya to the west. The attempt to build a new empire failed at the battle of Haydarān in 1052, when the Zirid army was ambushed by Arab Bedouin tribes of the Banū Hilāl, migrating into the country from the east. The Sultan Mu'izz ibn Bādīs was driven to take refuge in Mahdia on the Tunisian coast in 1057, and return to his Fāṭimid allegiance in 1058.

Over the next half century the Zīrid dominions were reduced to a collection of city-states and tribal lordships, while the Ḥammādids retreated from the highlands to their new city of Bejaïa (Bougie) on the coast. The countryside was occupied by the warrior tribes of the Banū Hilāl at the beginning of their expansion across North Africa to Morocco. Meanwhile the Sunnī jurists of Kairouan had inspired the mission of Ibn Yāsīn to the Berber tribes of the western Sahara, inciting them to form the Almoravids (Arab. *al-Murābiṭūn*), an army of believers "bound together" for an attack upon the enemies of Islam at home and abroad. Hav-

ing conquered the western Sahara in the 1050s, and taken control of the trans-Saharan trade from Sijilmasa in the north to Awdaghust in the south, the Almoravids crossed the High Atlas to found Marrakesh in 1070, and capture Fès and Tlemcen by 1085.

The outcome was a historic reversal of roles. Since the time of Carthage, the center of power in North Africa had lain, along with the center of civilization, in the far northeast. Roman power had mapped that civilization on the ground, confining the tribal Berbers (literally "the barbarians") to the mountains, or excluding them from the empire with the fortified line of the frontier. The Arabs had remained largely within this Roman boundary, simply substituting Kairouan for Carthage as their capital. But the Arabs' identification of the Berbers as a Muslim nation had opened the way to their entry into the new civilization, until the point at which the tribesmen of the desert, far beyond the Roman frontier, declared themselves the champions of that civilization. As Ifriqiya disintegrated, the Almoravid capital of Marrakesh in southern Morocco transferred the center of power in North Africa from the far northeast to the far southwest. There it remained for the next two hundred years, in the hands of peoples who had hitherto been beyond the pale.

The Empires of the Almoravids and Almohads

This destiny was assured, and its fate eventually determined, by confrontation with the Christian enemy in Spain and Sicily, where the second half of the eleventh century was equally critical. While the Normans slowly conquered Sicily between 1060 and 1095, the fall of Toledo to Castile in 1085 led to the invasion of Spain by the Almoravids; by the time of the death of their emir Yūsuf ibn Tāshfin (1105), Muslim Spain had been incorporated into his empire. The annexation of this highly civilized land in such a great cause gave that empire a grandeur and a substance that it otherwise lacked, and ensured the permanence of its achievement in North Africa. Under Yūsuf's son 'Alī, Marrakesh grew rich and cultivated in the Andalusian manner. But 'Alī himself was a pious prince, no warrior like his ferocious father. His government was fettered by the legalism of the jurists on whom he relied, while the Almoravids themselves remained foreign and unpopular. On both counts the Almoravids were challenged by yet another Berber prophet, Ibn Tūmart, a man from the Atlas to the south of Marrakesh, who formed the Berbers of the mountains into yet another militant Muslim community and army for the conquest of empire: the

Almohads (Arab. *al-Muwahhidūn*), “Unitarians” who proclaimed the Oneness of God.

The message of Ibn Tūmart was the opposite of that of Ibn Yāsin, the prophet of the Almoravids. He brought to the Maghrib the doctrine of the great revivalist al-Ghazālī, to the effect that the ramifications of the law elaborated by the Almoravid jurists of the Malikī school obscured the truth of the Qur’ān. In bringing this doctrine to the Berbers of the High Atlas, Ibn Tūmart declared himself to be the Mahdī, that is, the one sent from God with the divine light to restore the world to perfection. Denouncing the Almoravids at Marrakesh, he took refuge in the mountains to the south, where his community of regimented tribesmen was inherited after his death in 1130 by his chosen caliph, or successor, ‘Abd al-Mu’min. At the death of ‘Alī in 1142, Abd al-Mu’min opened a campaign that culminated in 1147 with the capture of Marrakesh and the massacre of its rulers. He then inherited their empire, and went on not only to recover but to enlarge it.

Not all of Muslim Spain submitted, and it was 1172 before his son finally reunited the country. ‘Abd al-Mu’min’s great achievement in the 1150s was to add Ifriqiya to the empire, and thus to unite the whole of North Africa. He did so as a man of destiny, with the added provocation of the occupation of the Ifriqyan coast by the Normans of Sicily. After the repulse of an attack upon Mahdia in 1123, the conquest of Ifriqiya took place between 1134–1135 and 1153–1154, beginning with the island of Jerba, going on to the Kerkenah islands and Tripoli (mod. Tarābulus, Libya) in 1145–1146, and ending at Bone (Annāba) in 1153–1154. It centered, however, on the capitulation of Mahdia in 1148, and the flight of the last Zirid sultan, Ḥasan, to Marrakesh. Only Tunis had escaped. After his conquest of the central Maghrib in 1152–1154, ‘Abd al-Mu’min came in 1159–1160 to take Tunis, drive the Normans from Mahdia, and annex the whole of Ifriqiya, which was reconstituted as a province of the empire with Tunis as its capital. What remained of native Christianity probably disappeared with the Normans. The unification of North Africa by the Islam of the Berbers was then complete, an achievement that survived the break-up of the empire in the middle of the thirteenth century.

Over such a distance from Marrakesh, Ifriqiya nevertheless remained a problem down to the eve of the empire’s decline and fall. For twenty years Almohad control was threatened by the last of the Almoravids, who invaded Ifriqiya from the Balearic islands in 1184, and by Qarāqush, one of Saladin’s *mamlūks* (slave soldiers) out to win a

dominion for himself in the west. A major expedition of the caliph al-Nāṣir was required to drive them down into the Sahara in 1205. Ifriqiya was then entrusted to one of the great Almohad princes, who finally defeated the Almoravids in 1209, and went on to found the Ḥafṣid dynasty at Tunis. This achievement, however, was almost immediately followed by the defeat of the Almohad army in Spain by the Christians at Las Navas de Tolosa (1212), which fatally undermined the power and authority of ‘Abd al-Mu’min’s dynasty. Its rule finally broke down after 1229 in conflict between the caliphs and the Almohad shaykhs. Spain was lost, while the establishment of the Marīnids at Fès confined the last of the dynasty to Marrakesh, until it too fell to the Marīnids in 1269. In 1236, the Ḥafṣid ruler of Tunis declared his independence, and in 1253 his successor claimed the caliphate, although neither was able to reconstitute its empire. Ifriqiya became a family dominion, with a second capital at Bejaïa. The Marīnids at Fès and the ‘Abd al-Wādids (Zayyānids) at Tlemcen divided Morocco and western Algeria between them.

The Later Middle Ages

The Marīnids and ‘Abd al-Wādids were both dynasties of nomadic Berber origin. From 1235, the latter turned Tlemcen into a capital that flourished on the transit trade in West African gold to Europe. The Marīnids at Fès, on the other hand, aspired with greater determination than the Ḥafṣids to re-create the old empire. At Fès they built a new citadel and a series of religious colleges to create an educated class of scholars in the tradition of the Mālikī school. Abroad, their imperialism dominated North Africa for the next hundred years. A series of expeditions to Spain between 1275 and 1285 was followed by a determined attempt to conquer Tlemcen between 1295 and 1307. The climax came in the middle of the fourteenth century, beginning with the capture of Tlemcen by the sultan Abu’l-Ḥasan in 1337, continuing with his defeat in Spain in 1340 and the loss of Algeciras in 1344, and culminating between 1347 and 1357 in successive invasions and retreats from Ifriqiya by Abu’l-Ḥasan and his son Abū ‘Inān. Disputed successions frustrated further adventures, and by the fifteenth century the Marīnid dominion had shrunk back to Fès. The power of the Ḥafṣids, by contrast, revived between 1394 and 1488 under two long-lived sultans, with the ironic result that under these heirs of the Almohads, the center of political gravity in North Africa returned to its former location in the northeast.

The best testimony to the interrelationship of the post-Almohad rulers of North Africa is that of the historian Ibn Khaldūn in the second half of the fourteenth century. A scion of the Spanish Muslim diaspora prompted by the Christian conquest of the greater part of Muslim Spain in the middle of the thirteenth century, he served all three dynasties in turn. At the same time he is the prime witness to the irony that under these great Berber dynasties, North Africa was being steadily Arabized. Partly this was because Arabic was the language of literacy; partly because of the prestige of an Arab and especially Sharifian genealogy, claiming descent from the Prophet himself; but increasingly because of the spread of a Bedouin Arabic vernacular across the countryside from east to west. This phenomenon was a consequence of the establishment of the warrior Arab tribes of the Banū Hilāl as an estate of the Almohad realm, joining the government of a *makhzan*, “magazine,” state of tax and rent collectors. Under this fiscal regime, poor Bedouin were forced into cultivation together with displaced or newly subjected peasants, forming new semitribal communities, frequently under some Sufi saint. With the population in flux, the old Berber languages shrank back toward the mountains where the Romans had confined their speakers. The Sufi saints, meanwhile, were colonists bringing the land under cultivation. Patronized by government, their residences grew into monastery-like ensembles of tombs, mosques, colleges, and hostels with important economic, social, and political functions. At the other extreme they were leaders of popular rebellions against fiscal oppression.

Relations with Europe

The commercial economy meanwhile profited from the growing markets of western Europe and the regions south of the Sahara. Manufactures, many from across the Mediterranean, were sent across the Sahara in exchange for slaves and gold, which then were largely exported to Europe, together with the produce of North Africa itself: wool (called Merino, from Marīnid), leather, and wax (from Bejaïa or Bougie, whence Fr. *bougie*, “wax candle”). Sea trade was in the hands of Italians and Catalans, as was sea power, except in the Strait of Gibraltar, kept by the Moroccan fleet until 1344. Commerce dictated generally good relations with Europe, governed by treaties that extended to churches for the Christian mercenaries employed at Tunis. North African piracy, however, was a major activity, and together with

Christian piracy contributed to intermittent hostilities. Ifriqiya in particular was once again exposed to invasion, first of all by King Louis IX of France in his crusade to Tunis in 1270, then by the Aragonese in Sicily, who for fifty years (1284/1285–1335) occupied Jerba and the Kerkennah islands. Piracy was the provocation for the brief recapture of Jerba by the Genoese and Pisans in 1388, and the siege of Mahdia by the French and Genoese in 1390.

In the fifteenth century the *Reconquista* (the Christian reconquest of Iberia from the Muslims) extended across the Strait of Gibraltar with the Castilian sack of Tetuan in 1399, and the Portuguese capture of Ceuta in 1415. As the Moroccan state weakened, Tangier, Arzila, and Larache were taken by the Portuguese in 1471, and Agadir, Agouz, Safi, Mazagan, and Azemmour further south on the Atlantic coast between 1505 and 1514; the motive was crusading zeal mixed with the commercial development of the route around Africa. Following the conquest of Granada in 1492, and the death of the last great Ḥafṣid sultan in 1488, the Spaniards took Melilla in 1497, and Mers el Kebir, Oran, Bejaïa, and Tripoli between 1505 and 1510, together with the Peñons, the offshore islets of Velez, Alhucemas, and Algiers; in their case, crusading zeal was specifically combined with defense against the piracy that their expulsion of the Moors from the peninsula had converted into a form of holy war. The outcome was the Ottoman conquest of the Ḥafṣid and ‘Abd al-Wādid dominions, and the creation of the Sharifian Empire of the Sa‘dians in Morocco, two revolutions that established the modern states of North Africa.

—Michael Brett

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Ager Sanguinis, Battle of (1119)

A battle fought in the Ruj Valley (Syria) in 1119 between the Franks of Antioch, under Roger of Salerno, and a Turkish coalition led by the Artūqid leader ʿIlghāzī.

The name of the battle (*Ager Sanguinis* means “Field of Blood”) reflects its disastrous outcome for the Christian forces. The most detailed account of the fray was written by the chancellor of Antioch, Walter, who was an eyewitness to events. His account contrasts the defeat in 1119 with Roger’s successful campaign against the Turks in 1115, which had culminated in victory at Tell Danith. In 1119 ʿIlghāzī had collected a large army, said to have numbered 40,000, to attack Antioch as part of a campaign to secure Aleppo for himself. It is likely that Roger’s earlier success at Tell Danith had made him overconfident: although he appealed for help from King Baldwin II of Jerusalem and Count Pons of Tripoli when he heard of the threat, he did not wait for reinforcements to arrive, but on 20 June he led out the army of Antioch. ʿIlghāzī was informed by his scouts of the Antiochene army’s weakness, and he decided on an immediate attack. He surrounded the enemy camp and Roger was forced to give battle. Few of his knights escaped the slaughter, and Roger himself was killed.

The Christian prisoners of war were treated with brutality both on the battlefield and in Aleppo: most of them were

put to death in ways graphically described by Walter the Chancellor. However, the Turks did not follow up their victory as was undoubtedly expected. The principality of Antioch was effectively defenseless, with its army destroyed and its prince killed, but the Latin patriarch, Bernard of Valence, rallied the inhabitants and sent an urgent message to summon help from Baldwin II of Jerusalem. Meanwhile, ʿIlghāzī devoted himself to celebrating his victory, so much so (his detractors reported) that he became ill. This gave time for Baldwin to bring up his troops. He consulted Patriarch Bernard and Roger’s widow, Cecilia (Baldwin’s sister), and it was decided that the king of Jerusalem would act as regent of the principality during the minority of the acknowledged heir, Bohemund II, who was a boy of ten and still in Italy. Baldwin then brought the Turks to battle at Hab (1119); the outcome was ambiguous, but it ended the Turkish threat for the near future.

—Susan B. Edgington

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Agnes of Courtenay (d. c. 1185)

Daughter of Joscelin II, count of Edessa, and first wife of King Amalric of Jerusalem.

Agnes married Amalric (then count of Jaffa) around 1157, despite still being married to Hugh of Ibelin, lord of Ramla. When Amalric succeeded to the throne in 1163, opposition among the ruling class obliged him to divorce Agnes before his coronation, although their two children, Baldwin IV and Sibyl, were legitimized. Agnes remarried and withdrew from public life until Baldwin’s accession as king (1174). From that point, as queen mother, she used patronage in a way that aroused enmity and inspired rumors of illicit love affairs. Agnes improved the fortunes of one faction at the court of King Baldwin IV, often by acting against Count Raymond III of Tripoli. In 1179 she influenced the appointment of Aimery of Lusignan as constable,

and then in 1180 she advised her son to choose Guy of Lusignan as Sibyl's husband, Humphrey IV of Toron as Princess Isabella's husband, and Eraclius of Caesarea as patriarch of Jerusalem (thus passing over William of Tyre). She died probably in early 1185.

—Deborah Gerish

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Aila and Ile de Graye

Fortified oasis (mod. al-ʿAqaba, Jordan) at the head of the Gulf of ʿAqaba, controlling the desert route between Cairo and Damascus during the time of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

The site was virtually deserted when King Baldwin I of Jerusalem reached the Red Sea in winter 1116; however, Aila was still in Muslim hands in 1154, and it was probably not until the 1160s that a Frankish castle was established. Although consistently referred to as *Ayla* in Arabic sources, this castle lay some 15 kilometers (c. 9½ mi.) southwest of the earlier Islamic town on an offshore island on the opposite side of the gulf, known since the nineteenth century as the Ile de Graye, or Pharaoh's Island (in mod. Egypt).

In December 1170 the island castle was taken by Saladin, who refortified it and installed a garrison. In November 1181 the lord of Transjordan, Reynald of Châtillon, raided Aila, and during the winter of 1182–1183 he attempted unsuccessfully to blockade the Muslim garrison with two ships. The castle was again attacked in April 1184. By 1217, however, when the pilgrim Thietmar passed along the shore, the island was occupied by a fishing village, inhabited by Muslims and captive Franks. The castle was finally abandoned

by its Mamlūk governor in favor of one in present-day al-ʿAqaba sometime in the 1320s.

—Denys Pringle

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Aimery of Limoges (d. 1196)

Latin patriarch of Antioch (1140–1165 and 1170–1193/1196), one of the longest serving senior clerics in the Latin Church of Outremer.

Aimery was born in France around 1110, and studied in Toledo. He was appointed archdeacon of Antioch after 1136, and elected patriarch of Antioch on the deposition of Ralph of Domfront (1140). Aimery's rapid rise owed much to the prince of Antioch, his fellow countryman Raymond of Poitiers, with whom he enjoyed good relations; after Raymond's death in battle (June 1149), Aimery played a major role in the regency government of Raymond's widow Constance. However, in 1153 the patriarch was imprisoned by the new prince, Constance's second husband, Reynald of Châtillon, who had tried to seize church property. Released on the intervention of King Baldwin III of Jerusalem, Aimery went into exile in Palestine. He conducted the marriage of Baldwin III to Theodora Komnene (1158) and accompanied Baldwin to Antioch when he went to meet the Byzantine emperor Manuel Komnenos (Easter 1159), and was restored by Reynald to the patriarchate shortly afterward.

Aimery was again called to play a role in government when the young prince Bohemund III was captured by Nūr al-Dīn (August 1164). Manuel secured Bohemund's release, but only on condition that the prince appoint a Greek to the patriarchate, and in 1165 Aimery withdrew to his castle at Cursat. In 1170 he was restored when the Greek patriarch,

Aimery of Lusignan (d. 1205)

Athanasios, died from injuries sustained in an earthquake. A fresh dispute broke out over Bohemund's repudiation of his Greek wife, Theodora (1180), leading to fighting in the principality until a compromise was brokered by Baldwin IV of Jerusalem. Although Aimery was able to fend off Greek claims to the patriarchate of Antioch, he could do little to prevent the loss of most of its territorial jurisdiction to the conquests of Zangī, Nūr al-Dīn, and Saladin.

He cultivated good relations with the Eastern churches, and paved the way for a settlement by which the Maronites accepted union with the Latin Church. He died between 1193 and 1196 and was buried in the cathedral of Antioch.

—Alan V. Murray

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Aimery of Lusignan (d. 1205)

The second Frankish ruler of Cyprus (1194–1205) and, by his marriage to Queen Isabella I, also king of Jerusalem (1197–1205).

The eldest son of Hugh VIII, lord of Lusignan, Aimery arrived in Outremer around 1174 and married into the Ibelin clan. In 1180 he became constable of the kingdom and proposed his brother Guy as a second husband for the king's sister, Sibyl. Aimery supported his brother's claim to the throne against Count Raymond III of Tripoli in 1185 and against Conrad of Montferrat in 1190, but in 1192 he gave up his constableness and joined Guy on the island of Cyprus, which Guy had purchased from King Richard I of England.

Upon Guy's death (1194), Aimery took power over the

island. By 1197 he had received papal approval to establish a Latin episcopate in the Cypriot Church and obtained a royal title from Emperor Henry VI, who welcomed suzerainty over Cyprus as an extension of his own authority. Aimery was willing to recognize imperial overlordship as a protection against Byzantium, the former ruling power in Cyprus; Aimery's new title also forestalled any claims from the mainland. In fact, with new Muslim attacks on the kingdom of Jerusalem after 1196, the barons there urged their ruler, Henry of Champagne, to come to a rapprochement with Aimery. They reached an accord in 1197 by which Aimery gained control of Jaffa, now under attack, and sent men to hold the city.

On the death of Henry of Champagne (September 1197), Aimery was advanced by the nobles, the military orders, and the German crusaders as a husband for his widow, Queen Isabella I. Aimery ruled Cyprus as king and Jerusalem as king-consort until his death in 1205, governing each realm separately. Overall, both lands enjoyed relative peace. As king of Jerusalem, Aimery commissioned the *Livre au roi*, a treatise on legal practices from the twelfth-century kingdom that promoted the crown's power, although its claims were undermined by baronial jurists later in the thirteenth century.

—Deborah Gerish

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Aintab

Aintab (mod. Gaziantep, Turkey) was a fortress in the Frankish county of Edessa, a strong defensive site on major lines

of communication between the city of Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey) and the West and between Marash (mod. Kahramanmaraş, Turkey) and Turbessel (mod. Tellbaşar Kalesi, Turkey).

The impressive surviving citadel, on a partly artificial high mound, is mostly late Mamlūk work but was important in the Frankish period. During the First Crusade (1096–1099) the crusader Baldwin of Boulogne marched past Aintab in the winter of 1097–1098, and it was certainly under Frankish control from 1116. It was attacked by Zangī's general Sawār in early 1136. In 1151 it was transferred to Byzantine control by Beatrix, wife of the captive Count Joscelin II of Edessa, but it was taken shortly afterward by Mas'ūd I, Saljūq sultan of Rūm. Captured by Nūr al-Dīn in 1155, Aintab was one of the last of the Zangid fortresses to be taken by Saladin in his campaign against Aleppo in 1183, and thereafter the town expanded greatly under the rule of the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks.

—Angus Stewart

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Alba Custodia

See Blanchegarde

Alberic of Troisfontaines (d. 1251/1252)

Monk and chronicler of Troisfontaines, a Cistercian monastery at Châlons-en-Champagne.

Alberic's universal chronicle provides an invaluable glimpse of how crusading and related activities were viewed from a minor French cloister. Written primarily between 1227 and 1240, it devotes substantial passages to the Fourth (1202–1204) and Fifth Crusades (1217–1221), the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212), the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229), and the so-called First Children's Crusade (1251). In general, his chronicle shows an evenhanded enthusiasm for crusading, whether against Muslims, schismatic Christians, or heretics. Undoubtedly informed by oral sources, Alberic's understanding of the period's crusading activity was also shaped by his exceptional use of available documents, including letters of Pope Innocent III and Bald-

win I, first Latin emperor of Constantinople, as well as Peter of Vaux-de-Cernay's *Hystoria Albigensis*. Alberic's detailed and occasionally confused presentation of events preceding and during the Fourth Crusade is of particular interest, given the tendency of modern scholars to single out the Latin capture of Constantinople (1204) as an especially egregious violation of the crusading ideal, sentiments that were foreign to his contemporary perspective. Alberic probably died around 1251 or 1252.

—Brett Edward Whalen

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Albert of Aachen

Author of the *Historia Iherosolimitana*, a contemporary and influential account in Latin of the First Crusade (1096–1099) and the first generation of Frankish settlement in Outremer (1099–1119). The writer's name is not recorded before the fourteenth century, but there is textual evidence that he was based in the German city of Aachen (Fr. Aix-la-Chapelle), where Albert was a common name. Although he did not take part in the expedition or ever visit Outremer, Albert wrote a long, detailed narrative, using mainly the testimony of participants who returned to the Rhineland, with some admixture of legendary material, probably from vernacular poetry. His uncritical use of these partial sources means that his work has the strengths and weaknesses of oral history: at best it is colorful, immediate, and convincing; at worst it has errors and inconsistencies in topography and chronology and in reporting names, plus the distortions of personal reminiscences.

The first six books of the *Historia* recount the First Crusade, starting with the pilgrimage of Peter the Hermit to Jerusalem, his appeal to the pope, his preaching, and the movement known as the People's Crusades. This circumstantial and coherent account, which includes the attacks on the Jews of the Rhineland (1096), was responsible for Peter's acceptance as instigator of the crusade, an idea only chal-

Albert of Buxhövdn (d. 1229)

lenged in the nineteenth century. After book 1, Albert centers his *Historia* on Godfrey of Bouillon, his brother Baldwin, and their followers. Thus it complements the eyewitness accounts of Raymond of Aguilers, Fulcher of Chartres, and the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, and gives unique detail about a range of greater and lesser characters and events for the period 1096–1099. Since Godfrey became ruler of the new state of Jerusalem (1099–1100) and his brother Baldwin I succeeded him as king (1100–1118), there is much of interest in books 7–12 as well, notably concerning the Crusade of 1101, the disputes between monarchy and patriarchate in Jerusalem, and the conquest by the Franks of the maritime cities of Palestine. Albert's information for this period was evidently fragmentary, reflecting his reliance on oral testimony, but where it can be checked against, for example, Fulcher of Chartres, Anna Komnene, or Ibn al-Qalānisi, it is found to be largely reliable. The last two books (11–12) cover more than a decade (1108–1119) in increasingly brief and annalistic style, and the work stops abruptly in the middle of an anecdote.

Albert's autograph text does not survive. The *Historia* was much copied in the twelfth century, and the part relating to the First Crusade was a major source for William of Tyre's chapters about the expedition. Thereafter Albert's work was eclipsed by William's, and in the later Middle Ages his reputation remained strongest in the Rhineland. In 1584 Reiner Reineck published the first printed edition, which was reprinted by Jacques Bongars (1611) and in the *Patrologia Latina* (1854). The *Historia* was subjected to critical scrutiny by Heinrich von Sybel in the nineteenth century and, in spite of a vigorous defense by Bernhard Kugler, for much of the succeeding century it was widely disparaged. Nonetheless, the *Historia* remains an indispensable source for the period. Where it disagrees with the participants' accounts of the First Crusade on matters of fact, then the eyewitnesses must be preferred. Where, however, it offers a different opinion or interpretation, then its status as an independent account written outside the circles of Frankish and papal influence should be respected. Most problematically, where its information is uncorroborated, there is a need for great critical caution.

—Susan B. Edgington

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Albert of Bekeshovede

See Albert of Buxhövdn

Albert of Buxhövdn (d. 1229)

The third bishop of Livonia (1199–1229).

Albert was born around the year 1165 into an influential, ministerial, knightly family of Buxhövdn (or Bekeshovede) in the archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen. A close relative of Archbishop Hartwig II, as a young man Albert became a canon of the cathedral in Bremen. He also served as head of the cathedral school.

In March 1199 Albert was appointed as the new bishop of Livonia following the violent death of Bishop Bertold the previous year. However, it was only in the summer of 1200 that Albert visited Livonia for the first time. He used the intervening time very effectively to obtain papal support for the crusades in Livonia and also to make arrangements with the Danish king, Knud VI; his brother (and future king) Duke Valdemar of Schleswig; and Absalon, archbishop of

Lund. Albert also met with the king of Germany, Philip of Swabia, in Magdeburg during Christmas 1199 to ask for his support. Finally, Albert gathered a substantial army of crusaders in Lübeck and arrived in Livonia in the summer of 1200 accompanied by no less than twenty-three ships.

In Livonia the fighting between the crusaders and the Livs began at once. Bishop Albert soon found the village of Üxküll (mod. Iķškile, Latvia) unsuited as the seat of his diocese, as it was too far from the more accessible coastal regions. Instead he made plans for an entirely new ecclesiastical and urban center at Riga, founded in 1201.

In only a few years Riga became the most important religious and economic center in the region, while Albert installed German knights as vassals in the surrounding country to secure his position. Albert had thus secured a permanent and strong Christian presence in the region, creating a gateway for merchants, crusaders, and clerics alike. Also of great importance was the foundation in 1202 of a new knightly military order, the Sword Brethren, by a Cistercian monk called Theoderich, who was a close associate of Albert. Theoderich and Albert thus secured a permanent military force in the region but also paved the way for future disputes and conflict. In 1207 Albert met again with King Philip and persuaded him to accept Livonia as a principality of the empire.

From 1210 onward Albert was in continual conflict with the Sword Brethren over the government of the conquered territories. This also came to involve an ever-increasing conflict with Danish crusaders in the northern provinces of Estonia, where Albert's claims to supremacy were opposed by both the Sword Brethren and the Danes. In 1225 the papal legate William of Modena intervened and to some extent settled the dispute with the Sword Brethren.

During his episcopate Albert sought to loosen his dependency on the archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen, orienting himself more toward Magdeburg; he evidently intended to have Riga raised to an archbishopric, but he did not realize this aspiration. Bishop Albert died on 17 January 1229 and was buried in the cathedral church of Riga.

—Carsten Selch Jensen

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Albert Suerbeer (d. 1272/1273)

Archbishop of Prussia (1246–1255) and Riga (1255–1272/1273).

Albert was born in Cologne (mod. Köln, Germany) in the late twelfth century. As a canon of the cathedral of Bremen, he was appointed bishop of Riga in 1229 by the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, Gerhard II; the cathedral chapter of Riga, however, chose a Premonstratensian canon from Magdeburg by the name of Nicholas, whose election was approved by Pope Gregory IX in 1231. Albert was made archbishop of Armagh in Ireland in 1240, but after taking part in the Council of Lyons (1245), he was appointed as archbishop of Prussia, Livonia, and Estonia by Pope Innocent IV (1246). A few months later he was also made papal legate for these lands and for Holstein, Rügen, Gotland, and Russia. The pope ordered the Prussians to hand over to the archbishop all the lands that had formerly belonged to the late Bishop Christian of Prussia, including a castle in what is believed to have been the newly founded town of Königsberg (mod. Kaliningrad, Russia), then in the hands of the Teutonic Order in Prussia. It is likely that Albert desired to control the order by establishing his archbishopric in the town.

The Teutonic Order refused to accept the archbishop's attempts to establish supremacy, and the conflict between them intensified in the following years. The order's diplomacy brought about the loss of Albert's position as legate, and eventually the pope was persuaded to move him to Livonia, appointing him as the first archbishop of Riga in 1255.

Albert of Vercelli (1149/1152–1214)

In his new see Albert continued his struggle against the military and political power of the order. In 1267 he allied himself with Gunzelin, count of Schwerin, in what was intended as a joint strike against both the order and the pagans in Livonia. The plan failed, however, and the following year Albert was taken prisoner by Otto von Lauterberg, the order's Livonian master. He was only released after promising not to make any complaints to the pope and to desist from opposing the order. Sometime between November 1272 and March 1273, Albert died, without having been able to reduce the power of the Teutonic Order in the Baltic lands.

–Carsten Selch Jensen

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Albert of Vercelli (1149/1152–1214)

Latin patriarch of Jerusalem (1205–1214). On the death of King Aimery of Jerusalem (1205), Pope Innocent III translated Albert, bishop of Vercelli, to Jerusalem to provide leadership for the Latin Church in Outremer at a time when the rulers of Jerusalem and Cyprus were minors, and the succession to Antioch was disputed.

Albert was already an experienced papal diplomat. As papal legate to the East, he excommunicated Prince Bohemund IV of Antioch in 1208 for his murder of Peter, the Latin patriarch there. In the same year, Albert initiated the search for a husband for Queen Maria of Jerusalem, and in 1210 he crowned John of Brienne as king. Before this, he had steered the barons of the kingdom in negotiations over a new treaty with Egypt. When Maria died in 1212, Albert's support for John against dissident barons proved decisive. Albert also mediated in the quarrel between Hugh I of Cyprus and his *bailli* (regent), and he used his legatine authority to oversee the election of a new archbishop for Nicosia.

Albert's interest in the regulation of devotional life, already demonstrated in the rule he had devised for the Humiliati, led a group of hermits living on Mount Carmel to ask him to write a rule for them. The resultant rule, a model

of conciseness marked by a strong penitential piety, formed the basis for the Carmelite Order. In 1214 Albert was assassinated during the Holy Cross Day procession in Acre by the former master of the Hospital of Santo Spirito in Ivrea, whom he had previously removed from office. He is celebrated as a saint in the Carmelite calendar.

–Andrew Jotischky

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Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229)

A crusade fought against heretics over a wide area of southern France, stretching from the delta of the Rhône in the east as far as Agen in the west and from the Pyrenees north as far as Cahors. The origins of the crusade lay in two differing but related areas: the political and social history of Languedoc in the twelfth century, and the growth of the Waldensian and Cathar heresies.

Political Background

In the absence of any influence by the kings of France, the region was divided between two great families that struggled for hegemony. The counts of Toulouse held territory that covered the whole diocese of Toulouse, Quercy, the Rouergue, the Agenais, and the marquisate of Provence. They also exercised overlordship in the Rhône delta and Valley, in parts of the Auvergne, and in part of the county of Foix. The other important family was the counts of Barcelona, who from 1137 were also kings of Aragon. They had very little territory in the region, apart from the county of Provence, which they had gained through marriage in 1112, on the eastern side of the Rhône. However, they often opposed the counts of Toulouse through the Trencavels, viscounts of Béziers and Carcassonne, who dominated the Béziers-Carcassonne-Albi region and were frequently clients and from 1179 vassals of the king of Aragon. Along the coastal strip were the small principalities of Montpellier and Narbonne, which maneuvered to maintain their independence during the twelfth century. A series of wars forced them into alliance



Areas of the Albigensian Crusade and the Inquisition in Southern France

Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229)

with Aragon, and in 1198 Count Raymond VI of Toulouse acknowledged his failure to control the coastal strip when he signed the Treaty of Perpignan with the king of Aragon. This left him with his lands divided between the Rhône delta and the Toulousain to the west. During the twelfth century Toulouse was an object of interest to the dukes of Aquitaine, who claimed the county through Philippa, daughter of William IV of Toulouse, who had married William IX, duke of Aquitaine. That claim was eventually transmitted to King Henry II of England by his marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine and used as a pretext for interference.

Continual warfare and probably a lack of real resources meant that the counts of Toulouse were relatively weak rulers. Like other parts of western Europe, Languedoc experienced a wave of castle building, which began in the later tenth century and continued unabated until the thirteenth. Most of these castles were in the hands of minor members of the aristocracy, and during the twelfth century many of these men were able to behave like petty sovereigns. Such men ruled their territories from castles and lived surrounded by a court. Raymond of Termes, for example, “an avowed heretic . . . feared neither God nor man. He had such confidence in his fortress that he fought both the count of Toulouse, and his own suzerain, the viscount of Béziers” [*Histoire Albigeoise de Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay*, pp. 71–72].

Origins of the Crusade

It was in these circumstances that both the Waldensian and Cathar heresies appeared and flourished. The Waldensians, named after their founder, Peter Valdes, a merchant of Lyons, were expelled from Lyons in 1182 for persistently preaching the Gospel to laymen without either formal education, holy orders, or authority. In addition they provided the Gospels in the vernacular.

Catharism seems to have been established in the Toulousain by about 1165 and between 1174 and 1177 was organized into a structure of dioceses with local bishops, as well as traveling *perfecti* (perfect ones) who preached and administered the *consolamentum* (the only sacrament among the Cathars, consisting of a transmission of the Holy Spirit by the laying on of hands) and deacons who acted somewhat like parish priests. In 1177 Count Raymond V of Toulouse made a dramatic appeal to the chapter-general of the Cistercian Order describing the spread of the heresy as like a disease. By the time of the crusade,

Catharism was widespread across Languedoc, but the greatest concentration was in the Toulousain, in Foix, and in the Carcassonnais. Strong in the many small towns, as well as in large centers such as Toulouse, it appealed to merchants and craftsmen in a society that was becoming industrialized in the towns, where the manufacture of cloth had become widespread and important. In the countryside it found sympathizers in a world where town merchants and bankers were involved in sheep-raising and from which the growing town populations were drawn. Among the nobility at all levels, both in towns and the castles of the countryside, Catharism was strong. It was an expression of independence as well as a sign of the problems many had in their relationships with local religious communities. Esclarmonde, sister of the count of Foix, was a *perfecta* and was consoled at Fanjeaux in the presence of a large gathering of nobility around 1204. The count appointed her head of a convent of Cathar *perfectae* at Pamiers and was certainly a sympathizer himself. Raymond VI, count of Toulouse, while perhaps not a believer in Catharism, was certainly tolerant of it and was not a fervent Catholic, living excommunicated for long periods. Thus the most senior prince in Languedoc was a lukewarm supporter of the church hierarchy, and more importantly, was unable to contemplate military action against so many of his own people.

The church in Languedoc found itself without the natural support it expected from secular authority in its attempts to suppress heresy. It was also hampered by uneven quality within its own ranks. The archbishop of Narbonne, Berenger (1191–1212), was a pluralist noted for his scandalous conduct, who retained his see for several years despite vigorous efforts to remove him. The bishop of Toulouse, Raymond of Rabastens, ruined the finances of his diocese by fighting a war against his vassals. Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) was anxious to see the heresy crushed and appointed a series of legates to carry out his policies in Languedoc. Although they were able to carry through some reforms, they were not able to influence the conduct and policies of Raymond VI of Toulouse. The legates blamed him for the deterioration of relations between the church and secular authorities. They became increasingly angry and intransigent as direct attempts to convert the heretics by preaching failed, and Raymond refused to implement the canons of the church that called for action against heretics and their supporters. The defining moment came with the murder of the pope’s legate, Peter of Castelnaud, by a follower of Raymond VI near

Saint-Gilles on 14 January 1208. For the pope, besides the natural anger at the insult to his authority of the murder of his own legate, there was an increasing concern about the challenge to the authority of the church from a well-organized group of heretics and equally the refusal of the local nobility to heed the calls to action.

The Course of the Crusade

The pope called a crusade, which was preached in northern France and surrounding areas by the Cistercians, led by Arnold Amalric, abbot of Cîteaux and head of the order. He received an enthusiastic response. Partly this was the result of a desire for loot, but there was also a fervent hatred of the unorthodox, the result of increasing definition of Catholic doctrines, which thereby also marked those who were outsiders. One consequence had already manifested itself in attacks made upon the Jews of northern France and England, and in the heretics of Languedoc the northerners perceived a contagion that they were anxious to eliminate.

The crusade attracted a large number of men of good family and prestigious connections. Among them were Odo, duke of Burgundy; Hervé, count of Nevers; Peter of Courtenay, count of Auxerre; and William of Roches, seneschal of Anjou; as well as many of slightly lesser rank such as Guy of Lévis; Gaucher of Joigny, lord of Beaujeu; and of course Simon of Montfort. Many senior churchmen, especially from Burgundy, also took part, among them the archbishop of Sens and the bishops of Autun, Nevers, and Clermont as well as members of monastic orders. The bulk of the army seems to have been recruited from Burgundy and other eastern parts of France, but there were contingents from the Saintonge, Poitou, and Gascony as well as Germany. Partly this may be explained as a result of the bias toward the East among the aristocratic recruits, who brought many followers with them; but the high density of Cistercian houses in that region had also resulted in more intensive preaching of the crusade.

The crusaders assembled at Lyons in June 1209 under the leadership of Arnold Amalric, and the very large force moved down the Rhône Valley and into the lands of Raymond VI. He offered himself to the church as a penitent and on 18 June 1209 was reconciled in a humiliating ceremony at Saint-Gilles. His lands were thus made safe from attack, and the crusaders turned their attentions to the lands of Raymond-Roger Trencavel, viscount of Béziers and Carcassonne. The first town to be assaulted was Béziers, which was sacked and



Saint Dominic and the Albigensians, by Pedro Berruguete, fifteenth century. (Archivo Iconográfico, S.A./Corbis)

the population massacred. This was the occasion on which a crusader, having asked Arnold Amalric how they should tell the Catholics from the heretics, was told, “Kill them all, God will know his own” [*Caesarius Heisterbacensis monachi ordinis Cisterciensis, Dialogus miraculorum*, 2:296–298]. The story is probably apocryphal. Nevertheless, the crusaders reported that they had slaughtered 20,000 people, and although this, too, is almost certainly a gross exaggeration, it is a sign of their intentions.

The army moved on to Carcassonne, to which the viscount and his court had fled and which was in a state of defense. The crusaders began their attack on 1 August, and on 15 August the town surrendered after the viscount had been seized while discussing terms under a safe conduct. He later died in prison. The townspeople were turned out, and the place became the headquarters of the crusaders, who

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elected Simon of Montfort as their leader and as viscount of Béziers and Carcassonne.

Simon of Montfort immediately received the surrender of other towns in the lands of the viscount and began to burn heretics where he could find them. During the winter of 1209–1210 he saw his position weaken as his crusaders returned home, but the following spring he regained lost ground as fresh crusaders arrived. He set out to reduce the great fortresses of Minèrve, Termes, and Cabaret, which controlled the surrounding countryside. The fall of Minèrve was followed by the burning alive of about 140 Cathar perfecti, both men and women, a pattern that was to be followed as other towns fell. Lavaur, a town quite close to Toulouse and part of the possessions of the viscount of Carcassonne, was stormed. The lord and his knights who had defended the town were hanged, and the lady Geralda, his sister, was thrown down a well and killed when stones were hurled down on top of her. Their deaths were followed by the burning of 400 heretics.

The next phase of the crusade extended the attack to the lands of Raymond VI of Toulouse, who was pressed to meet humiliating conditions and excommunicated when he refused. During the summers of 1211 and 1212 Simon of Montfort's forces campaigned across the whole of Languedoc. By the end of the 1212 season much of the countryside, as far to the west as the Agenais and south as far as Foix, was in his hands, although the major towns, Toulouse included, held out against him. At first Simon accepted the submission of southern noblemen and regranted towns and castles to them. When it became apparent that these men would throw off their allegiance as soon as they could, he began to grant lands to his followers. A parliament at Pamiers held on 1 December 1212 tried to introduce northern legal practices, such as inheritance rules, and to bar southerners from control of castles. It was a sign that the crusade had entered a new phase in which the northern soldiers would begin to make permanent settlements in the south.

The battle of Muret (12 September 1213) marked a turning point in the campaigning. Simon of Montfort's small force defeated a much larger army led by Raymond VI of Toulouse and King Peter II of Aragon. The king was killed and the southerners routed. Although Toulouse itself did not fall, Raymond VI was now a fugitive and all of the rest of the south was under Simon's control. He assumed the title of count of Toulouse and with the enthusiastic support of the local church hierarchy so reduced the area that only

Toulouse itself was outside his control. The pope now intervened, protecting Toulouse from further attack and calling the Fourth Lateran Council.

The council (November 1215) was primarily concerned with settling affairs inside Christendom in such a way that a new crusade to the Holy Land would be possible. A settlement for Languedoc, which the pope now ordered, was ancillary to the ecclesiastical work. The pope proposed to carry through his claim to be able to depose secular rulers by taking the county of Toulouse from Raymond VI, as punishment for his support of the heretics, and recognizing Simon of Montfort as count in his place. The new settlement was not accepted by the majority of southerners, and Raymond VI and his son, "the Young Raymond (VII)," returned to Languedoc from Rome determined to continue the war with new support. Both men were now active. The ensuing campaign continued to be a disaster for the south as Simon of Montfort took control of Toulouse for a while and destroyed its walls. In the autumn of 1217 Raymond VI was invited back to the city, which defied Simon. A long siege followed. Simon of Montfort was killed on 25 June 1218 when he was struck on the head by a stone fired from an engine, supposedly worked by women: according to a contemporary chronicler, "the stone arrived just where needed" [*La Chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise*, ed. and trans. E. Martin-Chabot, 3d ed. (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1976), 3:207]. His son Amalric was unable to continue the siege. Over the next few years he lost ground to the southerners, now led increasingly by Raymond VII, who succeeded to his father's claims when Raymond VI died in 1222. On 25 January 1224, the bankrupt Amalric of Montfort retired to the family lands near Paris, taking his father's body with him. Raymond Trencavel, the son of Raymond-Roger Trencavel, reentered Carcassonne as viscount.

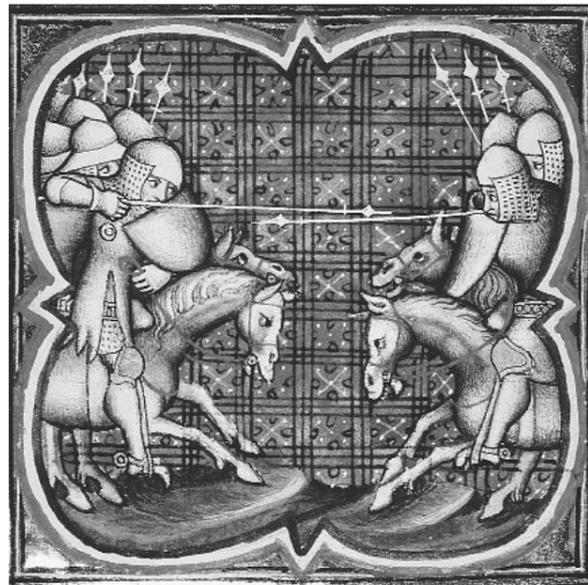
This was the sign for a determined intervention by the French king. During his father's lifetime, Prince Louis (VIII) had already made a formal entry to the crusade in 1219, when he had briefly campaigned as a crusader in the Toulousain. In January 1226 the legate Cardinal Romain excommunicated Raymond VII, and King Louis VIII immediately began a crusade in the Languedoc. He made progress through the region during the summer of 1226, and the exhausted towns and villages submitted: only Toulouse stood out against him. Carcassonne surrendered, and a seneschal was installed as the king's military governor in the area. Although Louis died unexpectedly in Languedoc in

November 1226, the regency government of Louis IX, led by his mother, Blanche of Castile, continued the policy of conquest. In April 1229 Raymond VII signed the Treaty of Meaux, by which he acknowledged the authority of the king of France. He also had to allow the church to pursue the heretics and had to agree for his heir, his only legitimate child, Jeanne, to marry the king's younger brother Alphonse of Poitiers. Thereafter, until his death in 1249, Raymond VII of Toulouse remained reluctant to cooperate with the church and used much energy seeking a new wife and a possible male heir. His one attempt at a rebellion, in 1242, collapsed when Henry III of England was defeated at the battle of Taillebourg (July) and failed to come to his aid.

The Inquisition

A consequence of the revolt was a determination by the French government to destroy the last major group of perfecti and their sympathizers, ensconced in the castle of Montségur, which had been refortified in 1204 by Raymond of Péreille, a member of a Cathar family. The hilltop, with its castle and village, had been a refuge for heretics for many years, and from 1232 the Cathar bishop of Carcassonne had lived there. It was besieged in the spring of 1243 by an army led by the seneschal of Carcassonne, and it finally surrendered in March 1244. The inhabitants and the professional garrison were allowed to leave, but the Cathar perfecti, including the bishop Bertrand Marty, remained behind. On 16 March 1244 they came quietly down the hill and allowed themselves to be consigned to the flames of a great fire built within a palisaded enclosure. About 200 people died.

The dramatic destruction of so many perfecti was the result of a coordinated campaign of persecution that had begun after the Treaty of Meaux. When it became apparent that local bishops could not deal adequately with the situation, Pope Gregory IX set up an Inquisition. It covered the whole of the Languedoc and was staffed by Dominican friars (April 1233). For the first time there was a permanent body in existence dedicated to the destruction of heresy and run by a body of well-trained men. Although they exercised a judicial function, they acted by questioning their suspects and all witnesses, on oath and in secret. There was no formal trial, and since no charges were brought against suspects, the suspects had no right to know the evidence alleged against them, no right to examine witnesses or to call witnesses in their defense, and no right to legal representation. There was no limit of time on their detention. Over the years



Battle of Muret (1213), from the *Grandes Chroniques de France* (1375–1379). (The Art Archive/Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)

the Inquisition developed a body of expertise that was passed on in written manuals. With the backing of the secular authorities, enormous numbers of people were questioned. Starting in the larger towns, the inquisitors were aided by perfecti who converted to Catholicism. Gradually the net was widened to take in smaller towns and rural areas. It is likely that during 1245–1246 about 10,000 people were questioned in Toulouse, and a minimum of 203 condemnations were recorded. Similar activity occurred throughout the Languedoc. After the bull *Ad Extirpandum* of 1252, the inquisitors were authorized to use torture in their work. The Inquisition was active in the region until the end of the century.

The effect on the Cathars was immense. The system used by the Inquisition disrupted the functioning of groups of believers by introducing suspicion of those who had been questioned and then released. Those who were condemned faced a variety of punishments and disabilities. Perfecti were normally condemned to death if they refused to recant. Most refused and were burnt. The vast majority of Cathars were believers rather than perfecti, and most of them recanted when faced with death. Others were sympathizers or merely associated with Cathars, and they too faced punishment. Those who only recanted at the last moment and were adjudged reluctant converts were imprisoned for life

and lost their property. Others suffered a variety of penances. Some were sent on pilgrimages; many others were condemned to wear yellow crosses prominently displayed on their garments. Many Cathars were condemned after their deaths and their remains dug up and burnt. Their descendants were usually excluded from public office for two generations. Other Cathars fled, either to Aragon, which soon ceased to be a refuge, or to Italy, where Catharism continued to flourish for many years.

Although Catharism continued to exist as a belief throughout the thirteenth century and into the early years of the fourteenth, the unrelenting pressure of the Inquisition stopped the spread of the heresy and cut off its connections with the great nobility and the rural aristocracy. The heretics who were condemned in the village of Montailou in the early fourteenth century were mostly peasants, with only a debased understanding of the tenets of their faith. Between 1308 and 1321, twenty-five believers were burnt to death, mostly in Toulouse. The last *perfectus* to be executed was Guilhem Belibaste, burnt to death at Villerouge-Termenès in 1321.

Although the fighting of the crusade was long over, the work of the Inquisition was its logical extension. It was only once the secular authorities of the Languedoc were willing to aid the church, or at least not actively hinder it, that the work of extirpating the heresy could begin. The terrible deaths of the Cathars of Minerve, Lavaur, and Montségur were spectacular demonstrations of the fear and hatred that the heretics incited in the orthodox northerners, but they had little impact on the organization or the strength of the Cathars, who were initially fortified by persecution. It was the steady work of the Inquisition, rounding up and questioning thousands of men and women, that broke the organization. In the towns and to a lesser extent the countryside, the church gained a grip over the lives of the laity that it had never had in the twelfth century. What drove it to this gigantic task was a deep-rooted fear of the consequences for the church as an institution if it lost its monopoly of control over religious belief and activity. For many laymen there was probably a similar, though hardly articulated, feeling that the roots of society were in danger if unorthodox opinions were unchecked. The consequences of the crusade and Inquisition for the church were considerable. As one of the measures taken against the heretics, possession of the Bible (even in Latin) was forbidden to the laity, as were all translations into Occitan. Only a breviary, a psalter, and a book of hours were allowed. Thus the church placed a real barrier between itself

and the laity just as increasing wealth and literacy among the laity made it possible for more people to take an intelligent interest in the faith. Doctrinal and theological debate became something restricted only to the most trusted scholars. The church learned slowly that its relationship with the secular powers had changed. It had proved itself unable to defeat the heretics without the support of the kings of France and the power they wielded. From now on the king would be the leading partner in their relationship.

—Michael D. Costen

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Albrecht von Brandenburg-Ansbach (1490–1568)

Grand master of the Teutonic Order (1511–1525), who secularized the state of the order in Prussia.

The third son of Frederick V (the elder), margrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach (d. 1536) and the Polish princess Sophia (d. 1512), Albrecht was destined for an ecclesiastical career. At the age of eleven he received minor orders. His family procured Albrecht's succession to Friedrich von Sachsen (d. 1510), grand master of the Teutonic Order. On 13 February 1511 he was received into the order and elected grand master on 6 July. In November 1512 he entered Prussia for the first time.

Albrecht's foremost aim was to revise the Second Peace of Thorn (1466), by which the order had lost the western territories of Prussia to Poland. He refused the oath of allegiance to the Polish king and sought allies in the empire and Russia, but gained only halfhearted support. After the so-called *Reiterkrieg* (War of the Riders) of 1519–1521, Albrecht had to accept a four-year truce. Attempts to achieve a peaceful settlement failed. Faced with a superior foe, no external assistance, a serious lack of money, and growing discontent among his Prussian subjects, Albrecht left Prussia. In the empire he became acquainted with the Reformation and sought advice from Martin Luther, who fundamentally questioned the ideological foundations of the order and its state, suggesting its dissolution. When it became clear that the truce with Poland could not be renewed, Albrecht submitted to King Sigismund of Poland in the Treaty of Kraków (1525), which granted him Prussia as a hereditary duchy under Polish suzerainty. Albrecht had already promoted the spread of the Reformation in Prussia and allowed many of the order's high offices to fall vacant. In May 1525 he

declared the dissolution of the order in Prussia. Its remaining brother knights were either secularized or forced to emigrate to other lands of the order.

–Axel Ehlers

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Albrecht von Johansdorf

A German poet, composer of five recruitment songs in Middle High German, probably for the Third Crusade (1189–1192), and ministerial knight in the service of bishops of Passau between 1180 and 1206.

Albrecht's Song II borrows its form and melody from an Old French song by Conon de Béthune datable to 1189. References in Song V to the fall of Jerusalem, the capture of the Holy Sepulchre, and the loss of the True Cross (1187) also suggest that Albrecht was writing in 1189–1190, but possibly he went on crusade instead—or additionally—in 1197 with Wolfer von Erla, bishop of Passau. Albrecht belongs to the first generation of German lyric poets of the crusades. Like Hartmann von Aue, he voices, in Songs V and XIII, a profound commitment to crusading piety. Unlike Hartmann and Friedrich von Hausen, he insists that secular values and crusade are reconcilable. In Songs II, V, and XIII he lets the courtly lady speak her feelings and asserts that mutual fidelity between knight and lady earns the woman half of the crusader's reward.

–Jeffrey Ashcroft

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Alcántara, Order of

A military religious order, originally founded in the kingdom of León in the later twelfth century. Alcántara undoubtedly remains the least well-known of all the military orders of the Iberian Peninsula. There are relatively few scholarly studies on the order, a fact traditionally attributed to the scarcity of original sources as a result of the disappearance of its major archives during Spain's struggle for independence in the Napoleonic Wars of the early nineteenth century. Nevertheless, recent efforts to assemble the documentary sources about the order have given rise to new historiographical interpretations; these have above all illuminated the origins of the institution, which had previously been both obscure and controversial.

It can now be stated that the Order of Alcántara originated as a confraternity of knights who had settled in the convent of San Julián del Pereiro, located near the banks of the river Coa, in the region of Beira Alta (in mod. Portugal). The first mention of the community dates from January 1176, when King Ferdinand II of León made a grant of the lands of Raigadas and confirmed the possession of El Pereiro to San Julián and its prior Gómez, who is described in the document as the founder of the house. In all likelihood the confraternity had been founded a little earlier (ten years before at most), but definitely not in 1156, as long claimed by Portuguese scholars who based their conclusions on a forgery that was published in the early seventeenth century by the Cistercian chronicler Bernardo de Brito.

The community gained papal approval from Alexander III in December 1176. However, it was slow to develop into a military order in the strict meaning of the term; it was only in 1183 that a bull of Pope Lucius III revealed a more complex and clearly militarized organization for the first time. After adopting the Cistercian rule, the new Leonese institution initially agreed to subordinate itself to the powerful Castilian Order of Calatrava (by 1187). However, this relationship soon gave rise to tensions, which were linked to the political rivalry between the kingdoms of Castile and León. These were settled in 1218, thanks to an agreement that committed the brethren of San Julián to obey Calatrava, whose master was allowed regular rights of visitation. In exchange,

they received the right to take part in the election of the master of Calatrava and also were given the possessions of the Castilian order in the kingdom of León. These included the fortress of Alcántara on the river Tagus, from which they took their name in 1218.

From this time the Order of Alcántara, consisting of knight brethren and clerics under the authority of a master elected by the former group, had a growing significance in the reconquest of Iberia from the Muslims, particularly after the union of the Crowns of Castile and León in 1230. After the seizures of Alange and Mérida by King Alfonso IX of León (1230), the order was constantly involved in fighting in the region of Extremadura. It remained closely associated with the campaigns of King Ferdinand III, who granted it various donations, not only in Extremadura, where most of its patrimony was situated, but also in Andalusia and even in the region of Murcia. In the course of its involvement in the reconquest, the order developed a policy of repopulation on the lands it was given, especially in Extremadura. This policy enabled it to grant numerous privileges (Sp. *fueros*) to its village communities, which came to be loosely organized in a system of commanderies.

The growing income of Alcántara meant that from the mid-thirteenth century it aroused the envy of competing seigneurial institutions, such as the dioceses of Coria and Badajoz or the Order of the Temple, with which tensions even degenerated into armed confrontation during the trials of the Templars (1307–1312). The monarchy of Castile attempted to manipulate and control Alcántara, as it also did in the cases of the other Iberian orders, encouraging the brethren to fight against Portugal or potential internal opponents. Alfonso XI was the first king to appoint one of his own officials to the head of the institution. Gonzalo Martínez de Oviedo, who had held the office of great dispenser for six years, was appointed master in 1337, but was executed the next year by order of the king. Yet the apparent failure of this policy was only superficial; the political stance of Alfonso XI was emulated by his successors, such as his son Peter I, who appointed trustworthy men like Gutier Gómez de Toledo in 1361, or Martín López de Córdoba three years later.

The Trastámara dynasty, who seized the Castilian throne in 1369, exploited the difficulties of the papacy during the Great Schism (1378–1417) to obtain from Pope Clement VII the right to nominate the masters of the Iberian military orders. In 1408 Fernando de Antequera, then acting as

regent of Castile in the name of his nephew John II, even managed to have his twelve-year-old son Sancho elected as master of Alcántara. Such interference was not necessarily negative; indeed, Sancho became famous, thanks to an ambitious reform project that was inaugurated at the general chapter of Ayllón in 1411. However, this attempt to restore (at least partially) the original religious observance remained as fruitless as previous attempts during the fourteenth century. In fact, from the second quarter of the fifteenth century, the order was repeatedly involved in internal struggles that largely reflected contemporary conflicts between monarchy and higher nobility concerning the control of the apparatus of government.

The masters and brethren of Alcántara were much involved in these wars. Several dignitaries even fought for the highest office of the order, as did Juan and Gutierre de Sotomayor in the reign of John II, or Alonso de Monroy and Juan de Zúñiga in the 1470s. The latter prevailed in 1479, thanks to the support of the “Catholic Monarchs,” Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon, who were determined not to let the nobility control such an important source of income and power. In 1491, they obtained a bull from Pope Innocent VIII giving them the right to govern the Order of Alcántara whenever there was a vacancy in the mastership. From then on, they maintained pressure on Zúñiga who, in June 1494, agreed to renounce his office in exchange for the lifetime enjoyment of the richest lands of the order. When Zúñiga died in 1504, the Catholic Monarchs, who had meanwhile been recognized as governors of the order until their deaths, took possession of all of the resources of the institution.

Like its other Iberian counterparts, the Order of Alcántara was thus fundamentally altered. Even before 1523, when Pope Hadrian VI permanently united the estates of the military orders to the Spanish Crown, these institutions had lost most of their independence and become little more than closed noble corporations. Shattered by the French invasion in the early nineteenth century and then further weakened by the abolition of the laws on mortmain property in 1834 by the government of Juan Álvarez Mendizábal (1790–1853), the Order of Alcántara was abolished in 1874 by the First Spanish Republic, along with the other Spanish orders. Reestablished after the restoration of the Spanish monarchy, it was suppressed again in 1931. It now survives as a noble society with a purely honorific character.

–Philippe Josserand

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Aleppo

Aleppo (mod. Ḥalab, Syria) was the second city of Muslim Syria (after Damascus) at the time of the crusades.

The city owed its importance to its seizure in 944 by Sayf al-Dawla, a prince of the Arab Ḥamdānid dynasty at Mosul in northern Iraq, who at the time of the breakup of the ‘Abbāsīd Empire detached it from the Syrian government of the Ikhshīdids in Egypt, and made it his capital for frontier warfare with Byzantium. From 956, however, he and his successors were on the defensive against the Byzantines, who took Antioch in 969, while from 979 they were threatened by the Fāṭimids, the successors of the Ikhshīdids in Egypt. Under the Ḥamdānids to 1016, and the Bedouin Mirdāsids to 1080, the city then alternated between dependence upon Constantinople and Cairo; but though it was occasionally taken by one or the other, it was never annexed, and remained a city-state under the rule of these successive dynasties down to the Saljūq conquest in 1080–1086.

Aleppo survived partly because of its strategic position between Egypt in the south, Iraq in the east, and Anatolia in the north; partly because of the defensive strength of the citadel on its isolated hill above the center of the city; and partly because of the resistance of its citizens to foreign conquest. As at Damascus, there was a city militia (Arab. *aḥdāth*), which by the time of the Mirdāsids was under the

Aleppo



Entrance to the citadel at Aleppo, built by Saladin's son al-Zahir, c. 1200. (Courtesy Graham Loud)

command of a *raʿīs* or *shaykh al-balad* (head of the city). Meanwhile, in this mainly Shīʿite city, the family of Banuʾl-Khashshab held the post of *qāḍī* (judge), a position of hereditary authority and influence. Such leadership was all the more important in view of the foreign threats that repeatedly expelled the princes from the city, leaving the townsfolk with the burden of resistance or surrender. Paid as part of the army, the *aḥdāth* were equally decisive in the struggles for power that characterized the Mirdāsids down to the Saljūq conquest. This conquest was negotiated by the *raʿīs* al-Hutaytī, a member of the Shīʿite aristocracy of *sharīfs* (descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad), who kept Aleppo out of the clutches of Tutush I, the Saljūq ruler of Damascus, by turning first to the ʿUqaylid ruler of Mosul, and then to Sultan Malik Shāh I for the appointment of the *ghulām* (“slave soldier”; *mamlūk* in later usage) Aq Sunqūr in 1086.

Under Aq Sunqūr, a grand new minaret was added to the Great Mosque built by the Umayyads in the garden of the cathedral of St. Helena, itself built on the site of the ancient agora. This renewal of imperial patronage, however, was cut short by the death of Malik Shāh I in 1093, the prompt seizure of Aleppo by his brother Tutush I, and Tutush’s death in battle in 1095, leaving Aleppo to his son Riḍwān (d. 1113). Riḍwān ruled a territory of some hundred miles from ʿAzāz and Buzāʿa in the north to Hama (mod. Ḥamāh, Syria) in the south, but like the Mirdāsids was heavily dependent upon the city, where the *riyāsa* (command of the *aḥdāth*) had passed from al-Hutaytī and his successor the militiaman al-Mujann to a Sunnī Persian, Saʿīd ibn Badīʿ. Saʿīd was responsible for the massacre of members of the Ismāʿīli Assassin sect after Riḍwān’s death in 1113, and for the eviction of the regent Luʿluʾ in 1117. Four years after his

own eviction and assassination in 1118, Sa'īd was succeeded by his son al-Faḍā'il, who ruled the city down to the arrival of Zangī from Mosul in 1128. That was the culmination of a quite different strand in the politics of Aleppo, associated with the *qāḍī* Ibn al-Khashshāb, the long-standing protagonist of holy war against the Franks. Under Riḍwān and Lu'lu', Ibn al-Khashshāb had been obliged to see Aleppo aligned with Damascus and the Frankish states of Outremer against the atabegs of Mosul, who had been charged by the Saljūq sultan Muḥammad Tapar with organizing a coalition against the Franks. But between 1118 and his assassination in 1125, with Aleppo under threat from Frankish Antioch, Ibn al-Khashshāb was instrumental in offering the city, first to the Turcoman Artūqids at Diyar Bakr, then to Bursuqī, the atabeg of Mosul. When Bursuqī in turn was assassinated in 1126, the city welcomed his successor Zangī, the son of Malik Shāh's governor Aq Sunqūr; and the elements were at last in place for the gradual unification of Syria, both Muslim and Christian.

With Zangī, the *riyāsa* and the importance of the *ahdāth* came effectively to an end, as the prince took full control of the government, although Aleppo did not become a true capital until its inheritance by his son Nūr al-Dīn (1146). The monumental rebuilding of the city then resumed with work on the walls and the citadel, the rebuilding of the Great Mosque, and the construction of religious colleges, taking advantage of the appropriation of six churches (including the cathedral) by Ibn al-Khashshāb in retaliation for Frankish attacks. After Nūr al-Dīn's death at Damascus in 1174, Aleppo became the refuge of his son al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl against the advance of Saladin, who finally took it in 1183. From Saladin's own death in 1193, it became the capital of his son al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī as one among the several Ayyūbid principalities of Syria. Ghāzī (d. 1216) was responsible for the great rebuilding of the citadel with its glacis, and his son Mūsā for the palace within. The city failed, nevertheless, to hold out against the Mongols in 1260. Ghāzī's grandson, al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, who had annexed Damascus in 1250, then fled. After the Mongol retreat, the city was incorporated into the Mamlūk sultanate.

Until the Mongol threat finally disappeared at the beginning of the fourteenth century, however, Aleppo remained an undefended frontier city, the citadel and walls unrepaired until late in the century, and without the state expenditure to restore its prosperity. It recovered from the 1320s onward, when it became the base for the Mamlūk sul-

tanate's expansion into Anatolia and Armenia, and its Mamlūk amirs sufficiently powerful to profit from the succession struggles at Cairo and Damascus in the second half of the century. As a result, Aleppo prospered at a time when Damascus was in decline, and it continued to grow in the fifteenth century in spite of the invasion of Timur (Tamerlane) in 1400, and the century of disturbance that followed to the north and east. Prosperity then was commercial, derived from the caravan trade in silk, until the final crisis on the eve of the Ottoman conquest, and the urban renaissance that followed.

—Michael Brett

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Alexander III (d. 1181)

Pope (1159–1181). Born around 1110 of Sieneese origin, the cardinal and papal chancellor Roland took the name Alexander when he was elected pope by a majority of cardinals on 7 September 1159. A minority chose a rival who took the name Victor IV.

The support given to Victor and three successive imperialist popes by the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa brought about a schism in the papacy lasting until 1177. Alexander spent much of this time in exile, returning to Rome only in 1188. As pope, Alexander granted numerous privileges to the military orders and responded to appeals from Outremer for aid against the expansionist Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin by attempting to organize a crusade from 1165 onward. Although Henry II of England and Louis VII of France declared a crusade tax in 1166, their rivalry and the papal schism effectively sabotaged efforts to organize a

Alexander III (d. 1181)



Allegorical picture of Pope Alexander III treading on the neck of Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

grand general passage, moving Alexander and King Amalric of Jerusalem to win the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos as an ally, while multiple smaller expeditions departed in aid of the Holy Land. Papal negotiations with Manuel were marked by proposals for the reunion of the Greek and Latin churches in return for Manuel replacing Frederick Barbarossa as Holy Roman Emperor.

Although Alexander imposed the crusade vow upon Henry II of England as penance for his complicity in the murder of Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury (1170),

a revolt of Henry's sons forestalled the king's departure. After the resolution of the conflict with Frederick Barbarossa (1177), Alexander extracted renewed crusading pledges from the kings of France and England and summoned the Third Lateran Council (1179), which was attended by representatives from Outremer and the Greek Orthodox Church. Alexander had already sent a delegation including Henry of Albano, abbot of Clairvaux, to preach against heresy in the Toulouse region. The delegation's reports led the council to urge bishops to excommunicate Cathar heretics and *routiers*

(mercenaries) and to grant papal protection and episcopal indulgences to those who fought them. Promoted to cardinal and papal legate, Henry of Albano exploited this new mandate to lead a military expedition to southern France, foreshadowing Innocent III's formal extension of the crusade to this region.

–Jessalynn Bird

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Alexander IV (d. 1261)

Pope (1254–1261). Born around 1180, Rainald of Segni was elected pope on 12 December 1254, taking the name Alexander.

Throughout his pontificate Alexander largely continued the policies of his predecessors Gregory IX and Innocent IV, including crusades against the Staufen dynasty, the Moors in North Africa, and pagans in Finland and the Baltic region. By granting the rulership of Sicily to Edmund, son of King Henry III of England (1255), he persuaded Henry to commute his crusading vow to a campaign against Manfred, son of the emperor Frederick II, who was attempting to gain control of the kingdom. However, papal armies' campaigns against Manfred were largely unsuccessful, while another initially promising crusade against the pro-Staufen Ezzelino of Romano and Oberto Pallavicini merely resulted in Pallavicini's elimination of his rival Ezzelino. Alexander also engaged in negotiations with Theodore II Laskaris, the Greek emperor of Nicaea, regarding the potential surrender of Latin-held Constantinople and restoration of the Greek Orthodox patriarchate there in return for acknowledgment of papal supremacy in doctrinal matters and the reunion of the Greek and Latin

churches. However, after Theodore died in 1258, his successor Michael VIII Palaiologos took Constantinople by storm shortly after Alexander's decease.

As a cardinal, Alexander had witnessed the Mongols' first incursions into eastern Europe and the missions sent by Innocent IV and Louis IX of France, which returned with letters calling for universal submission. During Alexander's pontificate, the Mongol army of Hülegü invaded Syria, forcing the submission of the princes of Antioch and Cilicia, and Alexander's attempts to forge a league to guard the eastern border of Christendom failed to prevent the Mongols' invasion of Poland and Lithuania. His calls for crusaders to aid both eastern Europe (1253–1254, 1259) and Outremer (1260–1261) led to the departure of minor contingents, but the pope's death prevented the materialization of a general passage, as well as of a council he had convoked to address threats to the Holy Land, Constantinople, Sicily, and eastern Europe.

–Jessalynn Bird

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Alexander VI (1431–1503)

Pope (1492–1503). Of Aragonese origin, Rodrigo Borja (Italianized as Borgia) was elected pope in succession to Innocent VIII.

Although the growth of the Ottoman Empire resuscitated interest in crusading, Alexander VI's attempts to counter the threat it represented were overshadowed by his desire to advance the career of his son, Cesare Borgia, and to counter attempts by Charles VIII, king of France, to conquer the kingdom of Naples, which Charles claimed was essential for his putative anti-Ottoman crusade. When the Ottoman Turks threatened Italy, Alexander's temporal power base, he persuaded the Sforza of Milan, Venice, the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian, and the Spanish sover-



Bust of Pope Alexander VI. (Library of Congress)

eigns to form the League of Venice against France and the Ottomans. Yet when the Turks openly moved against Venice in 1499, Alexander's attempts to organize a crusade were largely ignored. The sale of indulgences for the Jubilee and the crusade netted large sums in Germany and other regions, but Alexander's pontificate remained dogged by opposition to the clerical tithes he proposed for an anti-Turkish crusade and criticism of the tactics used to raise money to support largely mercenary crusading armies, partly because of the suspicion that funds were being diverted to support the papal cause in Italy or appropriated by secular rulers when crusade preparations stalled. The crusade and European power struggles had become deeply entwined; Alexander's efforts to organize an anti-Turkish crusade involving Hungary, Bohemia, and Emperor Maximilian from 1493 onward were sabotaged by Charles VIII's planned conquest of Naples, which led the Italians to seek an alliance with the Turks in order to protect themselves.

Contemporary treatises written by Marino Sanudo and Stefano Taleazzi illuminate the continued commitment to the idea of the crusade, as well as the problems that vexed their organization in this period. Crusading theory and

issues that had arisen during the Spanish *Reconquista* (completed with the capture of Granada in 1492) also informed Alexander's *Inter caetera* (1493), which fused the concepts of the defense and expansion of the faith, while seeking to end the dispute between Portugal and Spain over the partitioning and conquest of northern Africa and the Americas, a project to which he granted privileges and funding previously reserved for the crusades.

—Jessalynn Bird

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Alexander Nevskii (1221–1263)

Prince of Novgorod (1236–1263) and grand prince of Vladimir (1252–1263); renowned for resisting the attacks of German and Swedish crusaders against northwestern Russia.

Alexander Yaroslavich belonged to the Vladimir-Suzdalian branch of the Rurikid dynasty, and was the second son of Yaroslav Vsevolodovich, prince of Novgorod (later grand prince of Vladimir). He had already served as his father's governor in Novgorod before becoming prince in 1236. The byname Nevskii (attested from the fifteenth century) derives from his great victory at the river Neva, when, thanks to Alexander's tactics, the outnumbered Novgorodian host smashed an invading Swedish army (15 July 1240).

At the end of 1240 Alexander left Novgorod after having quarreled with its citizens, and only returned a year later, when a great part of the Novgorodian state, including Pskov, had been occupied by the Teutonic Knights of Livonia and their allies. In the winter of 1241–1242, the Novgorodian troops with Alexander at their head expelled the crusaders from the land of the Votians, and in March 1242 they liberated Pskov and invaded the bishopric of Dorpat in Livonia. On 5 April 1242, the Novgorodians overcame the crusaders on the ice of Lake Peipus, after which the Livonians asked



Prince Alexander Yaroslavich of Novgorod, from the film *Alexander Nevsky*, by Sergei Eisenstein (1938). (Mosfilm/The Kobal Collection)

for peace and renounced all their claims to Russian lands. Alexander resisted the attempts of the pope and the archbishop of Riga to persuade him to accept the Latin form of Christianity, and he succeeded in avoiding war on two fronts, by keeping peace with the Mongol Great Khan and the khan of the Golden Horde.

In 1252 Alexander became grand prince of Vladimir, while remaining prince of Novgorod. In 1256 he was able to prevent the Swedes from building a fortress on the right bank of the river Narva. Alexander concluded a treaty against the Teutonic Order with Mindaugas, king of Lithuania, in 1261, but a planned joint attack on Livonia the next year failed, as Alexander was obliged to journey to the Golden

Horde; there he fell ill, and he died while returning to Vladimir. He was the subject of a memorable Russian film made in 1938 by Sergei Eisenstein.

—Evgeniya L. Nazarova

See also: Novgorod; Pskov; Neva, Battle on the (1240); Peipus, Battle of Lake (1242); Russia (Rus')

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Alexandretta

Alexandretta (mod. İskenderun, Turkey) was a minor port in Syria. Tancred, nephew of Bohemund of Taranto, captured the town with the aid of the ships of Guynemer of Boulogne in 1097. By 1099, however, a Byzantine garrison had seized the town, basing its authority on Byzantine control of the area in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Tancred retook it in the course of his conquest of Cilicia in 1101, and it remained under Antiochene rule, apart from brief periods under the control of the Byzantines (1137–1143) and the Armenian Rupenid dynasty (1152–1155), until it was assigned to the Templars.

In 1188 Saladin captured Alexandretta, but it was soon seized by Leon II, prince of Cilicia, along with the important castle of Baghras. The city’s thirteenth-century history is obscure. Baghras returned to Templar control around 1212, and it is likely that Alexandretta did, too. The town was probably conquered by the Mamlūks in 1268.

—*Christopher MacEvitt*

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Alexandria, Capture of (1365)

The capture of the port of Alexandria (mod. El-Iskanderiyya, Egypt) was the culmination of a crusade mounted by King Peter I of Cyprus. It had no long-term strategic benefits because the city could not be held for more than a few days.

Peter, along with his chancellor, Philippe de Mézières, and the papal legate Peter Thomas were ardent proponents of renewed crusading in the mid-fourteenth century. Scholars debate whether the king’s enthusiasm stemmed from genuine interest in the recovery of the Holy Land or from a more practical concern for Cyprus’s economy and security, but there is no doubt that his enthusiasm was sincere (despite

suffering acutely from seasickness, he spent many months traveling by ship in pursuit of his goals).

There had been much talk of a major crusade in the decades following the fall of Acre (mod. ‘Akko, Israel), the last major Christian stronghold in the Holy Land, to the Mamlūk sultanate in 1291. However, only lesser expeditions had actually been conducted. Peter had shown interest in a crusade from his youth, and when he inherited the throne of Cyprus in 1359, he began a series of raids along the coasts of Anatolia, Cilicia, Syria, and Palestine. In 1362 he set out on an extended tour of Western courts seeking support for a major crusade, a task made somewhat easier by the lull in the Hundred Years’ War following the Treaty of Brétigny between the French and English monarchies in 1360. Peter’s party was lavishly entertained and showered with promises of aid, few of which were kept. Nevertheless, in 1365 Peter amassed French, English, Cypriot, Hospitaller, and other forces amounting to perhaps 165 ships, 10,000 men, and 1,400 horses, which assembled off the island of Rhodes. This was large considering the circumstances, but almost certainly too small to make a serious long-term impact. The expedition’s destination was kept secret until after it left Rhodes on 4 October.

The crusaders arrived at Alexandria on 9 October. They mounted major attacks throughout the next day and found a portion of the wall undefended, an oversight they exploited so effectively that the city was in their hands by the evening. A great sack and massacre resulted, continuing for three days. Seventy or more ships were filled with booty, and 5,000 captives were placed on other vessels. Two of the three land gates of the city were apparently also destroyed, a misjudgment that impaired the ability of the crusaders to defend their prize.

As the crusaders met to determine what to do next, a large Mamlūk army was approaching. King Peter, together with Peter Thomas and Philippe de Mézières, argued passionately for remaining and defending the city, which he may have hoped to use as a base to conquer all of Egypt and then the Holy Land. But others, including most of the crusaders from the West, argued for flight. Even the Hospitallers and Peter’s own brothers were against staying. The latter party, whose opinion prevailed, has been accused of cowardice ever since, but it is difficult to fault their reasoning. Previous crusades against Egypt had foundered because of their leaders’ unwillingness to limit their gains or to withdraw before they were trapped. The crusaders had just struck a devastating blow, at

least temporarily, at the major center of Mamlūk economic activity, garnering enormous resources that could, at least theoretically, be used to finance further operations. According to the poet Guillaume de Machaut, whose *Prise d'Alexandre* is a major source for the crusade, the king and his entourage were among the last to leave, withdrawing from the beach only as Mamlūk troops were pouring into the city.

This expedition was the last significant crusade to mount an actual attack on a major target in or near the Holy Land. Peter may have hoped to keep his force together and strike again, but this proved impossible. Many westerners, including the noted French knight Bertrand du Guesclin, were inspired by the capture of Alexandria and began to prepare for a new expedition, a scheme that collapsed when the Venetians, who were unhappy at the way the crusade had seriously disrupted their trade with Egypt, spread the false rumor that Cyprus and the Mamlūks had come to terms. Peter continued raiding the surrounding Muslim-held coasts and in 1368 traveled again to Rome in search of support. He was murdered by a disgruntled subject in 1369, however, and his plans came to nothing, leaving the capture of Alexandria as his main, albeit temporary, achievement.

—Paul Crawford

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Alexios I Komnenos (d. 1118)

Byzantine emperor (1081–1118) and ally of the earliest crusaders.

Alexios was born around 1057, the third son of the nobleman John Komnenos and his wife, Anna Dalassene. He served as a general under the emperors Michael VII Doukas (1071–1078) and Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078–1081) before rebelling in 1081 and seizing the throne with the aid of the Doukas family (he had married Irene Doukaina in

1078). Alexios developed a system of "family government" that concentrated power in the hands of the great aristocratic families related to him and rewarded them for their support; the Doukas, Palaiologos, and Melissenos kinship groups received high posts and titles in the imperial government and were allocated the revenues of the regions they governed.

The first ten years of Alexios's reign were characterized by serious military threats. In 1081–1083 the western Balkans were attacked by Normans from southern Italy under the leadership of Robert Guiscard and his son, Bohemund. After a series of defeats, Alexios was able to recapture Dyrrachion (mod. Durrës, Albania) and Kastoria and secure control of northern and central Greece. He enlisted the help of the Venetian navy to attack the Normans in the Adriatic, in return granting Venice considerable trading privileges in all parts of the empire (except the ports of the Black Sea, Crete, and Cyprus) as well as a trading wharf in Constantinople (c. 1082). In the northern Balkans, the attacks of the nomadic steppe peoples were finally halted by Alexios's victory over the Pechenegs at the battle of Mount Lebonion (1091) and his defeat of the Cumans in 1094. In Asia Minor, the situation was even more serious. By 1084, Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey), Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey), and Melitene (mod. Malatya, Turkey) had all been lost to the Turks. In 1081, Alexios had made peace with Süleyman, the Saljūq sultan of Rūm, but the Aegean islands were subject to naval attack from Chaka, the emir of Smyrna (mod. İzmir, Turkey), who had even attempted to ally with the Pechenegs.

Alexios's control of the empire was by no means assured; in 1091, John the Oxite, patriarch of Antioch, criticized the emperor for his harsh taxation and for favoring his relatives rather than more able men, and blamed him for the parlous state of the empire. A debased coinage, not reformed by Alexios until the end of his reign, meant that the imperial administration was being deprived of much of its true monetary revenues, while much income was spent on hiring mercenaries. Turks helped fight the Normans and, in 1089, 500 Flemish knights arrived to fight for the emperor, sent as a result of an oath of loyalty to Alexios taken by Robert I, count of Flanders, on his way home from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

By 1095 warfare among the different Saljūq rulers had weakened their power in Asia Minor, and Alexios, now familiar with the valuable fighting power of Western knights, sent emissaries to the Council of Piacenza to ask the

Alexios III Angelos (d. 1211)

pope and Western leaders for help in his projected campaigns against the Turks. Particular mention was probably made of the fate of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, now in Muslim hands.

Alexios's treatment of the forces of the First Crusade (1096–1099), though much criticized by contemporary Western sources, was consistent with his aim of making the best use of skilled Western knights in his projected reconquest of Byzantine lands in Asia Minor. Thus he exacted oaths of loyalty from the Western leaders; even Raymond of Saint-Gilles, initially reluctant to take an oath, eventually swore to respect the life and honor of the emperor. Alexios provided the leaders with money, food, and military support, and his close adviser, Tatikios, was deputed to accompany the crusaders. Alexios's policy was initially rewarded by the recapture of Nicaea (mod. İznik, Turkey) in May 1097, although Westerners were critical that the city passed directly into imperial hands, despite the fact this was in accordance with the agreements made in Constantinople that all reconquered lands should revert to the empire.

However, it was Alexios's actions at the time of the siege of Antioch (1097–1098) that ultimately served to blacken his reputation with the crusaders. In February 1098 Tatikios abandoned the siege in order to fetch reinforcements. Alexios set out from Constantinople with these, but at Philomelion (mod. Akşehir, Turkey) in the summer of 1098 he was informed by crusaders who had abandoned the city that Antioch could not hold out against an expected Muslim counterattack. The emperor therefore retreated to Constantinople, but as a consequence of his perceived betrayal of his "vassals," Bohemund refused to hand the city over to the Byzantines, even though he was formally asked to do so in March 1099. By the Treaty of Devol (1108), Alexios later compelled Bohemund to agree that Antioch should revert to imperial control after his death; in fact it never did. Thus one of Alexios's major aims remained unachieved.

Although Alexios supported the Crusade of 1101 with money and men, its ultimate failure was blamed on "Greek treachery" by Westerners, and the emperor's image in the West remained that of a man who could not keep his word. By the time of his death (15 August 1118), however, Alexios had succeeded in reconquering parts of western Asia Minor and had been accepted as overlord by some Saljūq groups. Alexios's internal government was marked by its suppression of dissent in both political and religious spheres. Accusations of heresy were made against those, like John Italos,

who too openly admired the work of secular ancient philosophers; dualists such as the Bogomils were hunted down. Alexios further emphasized his personal orthodoxy by visiting holy men such as St. Cyril of Philea and by carrying out philanthropic works, such as founding an orphanage in Constantinople. His reign is described in a eulogistic history, the *Alexiad*, written by his daughter, Anna Komnene, who portrays her father as a Homeric hero overcoming all odds. Other Byzantine historians, such as John Zonaras, bitterly criticized his autocratic tendencies and his family's ruthless pursuit of power.

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Alexios III Angelos (d. 1211)

Byzantine emperor (1195–1203). Alexios was born around 1153, the elder brother of Isaac II, first ruler of the Angelos dynasty, whom he deposed on 8 April 1195 and subsequently had blinded and imprisoned.

Generally ranked among the most incompetent Byzantine sovereigns, Alexios III oppressed his people through extravagance and heavy taxes, among them a "German tax" (Gr. *alamanikon*) in 1197, reputedly required to ward off the German emperor Henry VI's crusading plans against Byzantium. Several Greek and Balkan local rulers rebelled against Alexios, among them Leo Sgouros and Manuel Kammytzes, who proclaimed their independence in the northeastern Peloponnese and northern Thessaly, while Alexios almost lost his throne in a court coup led by John Axouchos Komnenos Pachys (1200/1201).

In the summer of 1203 the Fourth Crusade arrived before the walls of Constantinople, and on 17/18 July Alexios ignominiously fled from his capital with the imperial treasury and crown jewels, escaping to Mosynopolis in Thrace, while the crusaders installed Isaac II and the latter's son Alexios

IV as co-emperors. In the summer of 1204, Alexios III allied himself with Alexios V Doukas Mourtzouphlos, who had overthrown the co-emperors (January 1204), but fled again after the second capture of Constantinople by the crusaders (12–13 April). Alexios III gave his daughter Eudokia Angelina to Mourtzouphlos in marriage, but aspired to regain the throne for himself; in August 1204 he had Mourtzouphlos blinded, and Eudokia was married to the nobleman Leo Sgouros, whose power was still in the ascendant. Soon afterward Alexios III and his wife Euphrosyne Doukaina were captured by Boniface of Montferrat (late 1204) and detained in Thessaly. Ransomed in 1209/1210 by his relative Michael I of Epiros, Alexios was sent to the Saljūq sultan of Rūm, Kay-Khusraw I, with whose help he hoped to regain his crown. However, after the defeat of the Saljūqs by Theodore I Laskaris in spring 1211, Alexios was seized and incarcerated in the Hyakinthos monastery in Nicaea, where he died soon after.

–Alexios G. C. Savvides

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Alexios IV Angelos (1182/1183–1204)

Byzantine emperor (1203–1204).

The son of Emperor Isaac II Angelos, Alexios was incarcerated when his father was overthrown and blinded by his uncle, Isaac's brother, Alexios III Angelos (8 April 1195). In late 1201 the young Alexios escaped to Italy and made his way to the court of Philip of Swabia, king of Germany, the husband of his sister Irene Angelina. Philip supported Alexios's claims to the Byzantine throne and put him in contact with the republic of Venice, which had supplied the fleet that was intended to transport the Fourth Crusade to Egypt. By January 1203 Alexios had joined the crusaders at Zara,

promising them large sums of money and the submission of the Greek Orthodox Church to the papacy in exchange for their assistance in restoring him to the throne of Byzantium, and a pact between Alexios and the crusaders was agreed on at Corfu in May 1203. On 17/18 July 1203, Alexios III was ousted from the Byzantine capital, and Isaac II was restored, with Alexios IV as co-emperor and effective ruler (August 1203). The pro-Latin attitude of the young Alexios estranged him from his own subjects, yet he soon proved incapable of fulfilling his promises to the crusaders. Unable to settle his enormous debts, he was compelled to increase the already cumbersome taxation set by his predecessor, and growing discontent gave way to open rebellion under the nobleman Alexios (V) Doukas Mourtzouphlos, who seized power (28/29 January 1204) and had Alexios IV strangled in prison ten days later (8 February 1204).

–Alexios G. C. Savvides

See also: Alexios III Angelos (d. 1211); Alexios V Doukas Mourtzouphlos (d. 1204); Byzantine Empire; Fourth Crusade (1202–1204)

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Alexios V Doukas Mourtzouphlos (d. 1204)

Byzantine emperor (January–April 1204); the last ruler of the empire before the conquest of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204).

A scion of the noble Doukas family, Alexios was nicknamed Mourtzouphlos (Gr. “bushy-browed,” “sullen,” “morose”) and joined the abortive coup (1200/1201) of John Axouchos Komnenos against Alexios III Angelos, for which

Alfonso I of Aragon (d. 1134)

he was incarcerated until July 1203, when Isaac II and Alexios IV were jointly brought to the throne with crusader help. On his release, Mourtzouphlos was given the title of *protovestiarios*, which did not, however, prevent him from manifesting his anti-Latin feelings, thus undermining the pro-Latin policies of Alexios IV. On 27 January 1204, Byzantine popular discontent against Alexios IV resulted in the brief proclamation of the unwilling Nicholas Kanabos as emperor, a development exploited by Mourtzouphlos, who encouraged Alexios IV to seek crusader aid to oust Kanabos and then used this as a pretext to overthrow him (28/29 January 1204).

After being crowned (5 February), Mourtzouphlos tried to fortify parts of his capital and dictate demands for an immediate crusader withdrawal, which soon provoked an attack. He and his supporters repelled a first crusader assault (9 February) but were eventually overwhelmed, and he fled just before Constantinople was stormed and captured (12/13 April). During the summer of 1204 Mourtzouphlos sought refuge at Mosynopolis in Thrace with Alexios III, who gave him in marriage his daughter Eudokia Angelina; however, Alexios III had evidently not forgiven his new son-in-law's previous plots against him, and had him blinded (August 1204). Mourtzouphlos ended up in the hands of the Franks, who had him tried and found guilty of treason against Alexios IV; he was cast to his death from the heights of the Theodosian Column in Constantinople.

—Alexios G. C. Savvides

See also: Alexios IV Angelos (1182/1183–1204); Byzantine Empire; Fourth Crusade (1202–1204)

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Alfama, Order

See St. George of Alfama, Order of

Alfonso I of Aragon (d. 1134)

King of Aragon and Navarre (1109–1134), known as “the Battler” (Sp. *el Batallador*).

Alfonso was born around 1073, the second son of Sancho I. He succeeded to the throne on the death of his childless elder brother, Peter I (1109). The same year, Alfonso married the Castilian princess and heiress Urraca, but despite several diplomatic and military initiatives, he ultimately failed in his attempt to gain control of Castile and León. Known for his military prowess (hence his nickname), the Aragonese king succeeded in moving the Christian-Muslim frontier south by conquering Zaragoza in 1118, Tudela and Tarazona in 1119, and Daroca and Calatayud in 1120. These campaigns were fostered by ecclesiastical indulgences and attracted some fighters from areas north of the Pyrenees. The king was clearly influenced by crusading ideals, as best illustrated by his design to open a land route to Jerusalem via the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa. In 1125–1126, he led a campaign to Valencia and Andalusia, returning with many thousand Mozarabs (Arabic-speaking Christians), who were settled on the Ebro frontier. The later years of his life were dedicated to the vain attempt to conquer the Muslim towns of Lleida (Lérida) and Fraga. In 1134, Alfonso was mortally wounded at the battle of Fraga; on his deathbed, he confirmed his last will of 1131. In this much discussed document, the king left his realm to the Knights Templar, the Hospitallers, and the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre. His wish, however, was never fulfilled, for both the Navarrese and the Aragonese nobles preferred to ignore the will and offered the crown to local magnates of their choice (García IV and Ramiro II respectively).

—Nikolas Jaspert

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Alfonso IV of Aragon (1299–1336)

King of Aragon and Valencia and count of Barcelona (1327–1336).

Known as “the Benign,” Alfonso was the son of King James II. Although Alfonso is best known for his conquest of Sardinia, his campaigns against Genoa, and the incorporation of the county of Urgell into his realm, among his driving ambitions was the crusade against the Naṣrid realm of Granada and the Marīnids of northwest Africa. Shortly after his coronation, the king sent one of his most able diplomats, Ramón de Melany, to several European courts and to Pope John XXII in quest of support for his crusade, and received pledges from a number of rulers (including the kings of France and Bohemia). The king of Castile, however, probably fearing Christian competition on the frontier with al-Andalus, withdrew his initial cooperation, and Pope John’s enthusiasm waned. Most foreign crusaders consequently decided not to participate, and the summer campaign of 1330 against Granada became a largely Catalan-Aragonese venture of very limited scope and success. After some local skirmishes, a peace treaty was signed in 1335. Alfonso died on 24 January 1336 and was succeeded by his son Peter IV.

–Nikolas Jaspert

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Alfonso VI of Castile and León (1040–1109)

King of León (1065–1109) and Castile (1072–1109).

Alfonso VI was the son of Ferdinand I, king of León. He inherited León on the death of his father and succeeded to Castile on the death of his elder brother, Sancho II. It was Alfonso’s foremost policy to spread the concept of *Reconquista* (reconquest) in order to convert the struggle against Islam into an Iberian crusade. Alfonso VI established his rule upon this ideological basis, which was ratified by the church by means of both his alliance with the Cluniac Order and his imposition of the Roman rite in Castile and León instead of the traditional Spanish Mozarabic liturgy.

By 1077, Alfonso VI proclaimed himself “Emperor of all Spain” (Lat. *imperator totius Hispaniae*), and, following his expansionist policy, in 1085 he carried out the military occupation of the Islamic Taifa kingdom of Toledo. This victory broke the balance of power between Christians and

Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula. It also led to a reaction not only from the *alfaquíes* (the most intransigent religious sections among Andalusians) but also from the rising Almoravid Empire, which inflicted defeats upon him at Sagrajas (1086) and Uclés (1108). He was succeeded in both kingdoms by his daughter Urraca.

–Carlos de Ayala

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Alfonso VII of Castile and León (1105–1157)

King of Castile and León (1126–1157); the son of Urraca, queen of Castile and León, and Raymond of Burgundy, count of Galicia.

After Urraca’s troubled reign, Alfonso VII helped restore both social peace and political stability in León and Castile. It was his policy to strengthen the idea of the “Hispanic Empire” by means of imposing feudal links of dependency in order to guarantee the predominance of Castile and León over the other Christian kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula. Their rulers, as well as numerous princes of the south of France, attended Alfonso’s imperial coronation at León (1135). However, Alfonso was forced to concede the independence of Portugal (1143).

The imperial idea further motivated Alfonso to pursue the struggle against Islam. Both the collapse of the Almoravid Empire and political division in Islamic Spain facilitated his offensive: he took Oreja (1139), Coria (1142), and Calatrava (1147), the latter being a key stronghold in the route between Toledo and Córdoba. Later, he took Almería (1147), in collaboration with Aragon, Genoa, and Pisa. The rising Almohad Empire, which had replaced that of the Almoravids in North Africa, launched an Islamic counteroffensive. Alfonso VII died while on his way to relieve Almería, which had been recaptured by the Almohad army. His death clearly showed the failure of his imperial aspirations, for his realm was divided between his sons, Sancho III receiving Castile, and Ferdinand II receiving León.

–Carlos de Ayala

Alfonso VIII of Castile (1155–1214)

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Alfonso VIII of Castile (1155–1214)

King of Castile (1158–1214).

Alfonso was born at Soria on 11 November 1155, the son of King Sancho III of Castile and Blanca of Navarre. He inherited from his father the kingdom of Castile, which had been separated from that of León as a consequence of the testament of Alfonso VII. As he was underage, there was a troubled regency until 1169, during which the mightiest noble families (such as the Castros and the Laras) contended for power and thus allowed the intervention of the kingdoms of León and Navarre.

Once he came of age, Alfonso VIII started to pursue three main political objectives: the strengthening of the kingdom, the consolidation of its frontiers, and the struggle against Islam. In regard to the first, the king showed a keen interest in urban development, as well as in standardizing the various law codes coexisting in his kingdom. He also helped strengthen representative institutions such as the *curia regia* (the court council), in which some members of the city councils probably took part. The frontiers of the kingdom were consolidated by means of treaties with León, Aragon, and Navarre, by which Alfonso VIII annexed Álava and Guipúzcoa (1200). He also had expectations with regard to Gascony, as a consequence of his marriage to Eleanor, daughter of King Henry II of England.

Alfonso fought the Almohad Empire, which had grown stronger since 1172 after it had controlled the disunity and internal strife of Muslim Spain. To this end, Alfonso asked the military orders for help and favored them in return: he granted goods and privileges to the Order of Calatrava and introduced the Order of Santiago into Castile, granting it the town of Uclés (1174). In 1177 he conquered Cuenca, supported by the military orders and the king of Aragon. Later, however, he was seriously defeated at Alarcos (1195), as a result of the lack of unity among the Iberian Christian principalities. Due to the pope's preaching of the crusade, Alfonso

VIII obtained not only the aid of his former Christian enemies, but also that of numerous French knights, as well as the prelates of Narbonne, Bordeaux, and Nantes. He led them all to the crucial victory over the Almohads at the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212). Thereafter, Alfonso VIII successfully secured the Castilian frontier at the Sierra Morena.

—Carlos de Ayala

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Alfonso X of Castile and León (1221–1284)

King of Castile and León (1252–1282).

The son of King Ferdinand III, Alfonso X was a pioneer in his attempts to strengthen the Castilian-Leonese monarchy by basing his kingship on the concept of royal sovereignty. He subordinated his two important, complementary political concerns to this objective. One of these was to obtain the imperial title; the other was to impose his authority throughout the whole of his united realm.

As the son of Beatrix, daughter of Philip of Swabia, Alfonso aspired to become Holy Roman Emperor. Elected as king of Germany in opposition to the English candidate Richard of Cornwall in 1257, Alfonso opposed the Franco-papal Guelph cause led by Charles I of Anjou. The king wanted to make use of the authority inherent in the imperial title in order to affirm the hegemony of Castile over all the Christian kingdoms in the Iberian Peninsula. This involved the exercise of a strong, centralized power, and he dedicated his principal governing initiatives to the consolidation of this power. His initiatives related to four main areas of activity: legislative work, territorial uniformity, definition of stable frontiers, and cultural control.

The king's legislative work consisted in the codification of a corpus of common law, called *Espéculo*, which was later integrated into another more copious work, the *Partidas*. The Roman, homologizing principles that dominated this endeavor materialized in the promulgation of a *Fuero Real* (royal privilege) granted to many cities in the kingdom. The king's fundamental preoccupation was the legal unification of his territory; this centralizing tendency affected the autonomous status of some of the subjugated Islamic com-

munities, which responded by rebelling. Thus in 1264 a significant uprising occurred in the Muslim communities of Andalusia and Murcia with the connivance of the king of Granada.

Another of the great challenges of King Alfonso was to create stable, defined frontiers. For this reason, he maintained complex relations with the neighboring Christian kingdoms and established customs duties that helped to define the political map of the kingdom. But, above all, the frontier policies were part of the reconquest, which severely reduced the Islamic presence in the Peninsula, limiting it to the Nasrid kingdom of Granada. The aim of the monarch was to take the crusade to North Africa so as to control the Strait of Gibraltar, and although this never came about, between 1261 and 1263 he subjugated Niebla, repopulated Cádiz, and expelled the Muslims from Écija and other border towns.

Alfonso's final main aim was to confer on the kingdom a feeling of community, in an attempt to form a coherent society as a support for effective governmental action. To achieve this aim, he made use of two instruments: language and history. He imposed Castilian as the official mode of expression, and he stimulated the writing of historiographical works (the *Estoria de Espanna* and the *General Estoria*) reconstructing the common past of all the kingdoms in the Peninsula so as to justify his aspirations of hegemony. Initiatives such as these and his work of cultural sponsorship brought him the nickname of the Learned King. This complex political program aroused serious opposition, not only from the Muslims, but from those who regarded the centralist attitude of the monarch as a threat to their economic and social privileges. Bishops and territorial nobles rose up against the king in 1271, and some ten years later (1282), led by the crown prince, the future Sancho IV, they provoked a civil war, which brought about the dethronement of the king. He died at Seville on 4 April 1284.

—Carlos de Ayala

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Alfonso XI of Castile (1311–1350)

King of Castile (1312–1350).

The son of King Ferdinand IV of Castile and Constance of Portugal, Alfonso came to the throne as a minor. During his adolescence, the political turbulence of the preceding reign continued. In 1325 he came of age, and from then on was extremely active in his attempts to restore the authority of the monarchy and to neutralize the threat from the Marīnid dynasty of North Africa. In respect of the former aim, he was a worthy continuator of the centralizing politics of his great-grandfather Alfonso X: by promulgating the *Ordenamiento de Alcalá* in 1348, he established Roman-canonical law in the kingdom. Against the Marīnid sultan, who had been sending troops to the Iberian Peninsula since 1338, Alfonso concluded an alliance with the kingdom of Aragon and also with Genoa, which put ships at his disposition to block the Strait of Gibraltar; there was a further alliance with Portugal, which participated actively in the battle of the river Salado, near Tarifa (1340). In this campaign, declared a crusade by Pope Benedict XII, the allied troops, helped by an impressive participation of the military orders, defeated the Marīnids and their Granadan allies. This victory meant the end of the African invasions of the Peninsula, although the Marīnids retained a presence in Algeciras and Gibraltar. In 1343 Alfonso conquered Algeciras, taking advantage of the new artillery technology, but died seven years later while besieging Gibraltar. He was succeeded by his son Peter I “the Cruel.”

—Carlos de Ayala

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Algeciras, Siege of (1342–1344)

The siege of the Muslim-held city of Algeciras in Andalusia (in mod. Spain) culminated in its capture by Castilian forces under King Alfonso XI in March 1344.

The astounding victory of the combined forces of the kings of Castile and Portugal at the river Salado (October 1340) broke the joint Marīnid-Nasrid siege of Tarifa but did not significantly reduce the presence of the Muslim forces in

Algirdas (d. 1377)

the region. The impetus of that triumph allowed King Alfonso XI of Castile to carry out another successful campaign on his southern frontier in 1341. In the autumn of that year, the king contemplated a bolder goal: the city of Algeciras. Any lasting territorial gain had become dependent on the control of the Strait of Gibraltar, which would prevent the kings of Granada from gaining help from the Marīnid sultans of Morocco. Tarifa, the natural landing base for North African Muslims since 711, had been conquered by Castile in 1292, but Algeciras, a privileged harbor in a bay protected from uncomfortable eastern winds by the Rock of Gibraltar, was still in Moorish hands. Alfonso XI began to besiege the city in August 1342. He had to resort to extraordinary fiscal expedients: the *alcabala* (a new sales tax), as well as widespread borrowing and conversion of his own personal silver into money in order to meet the expenses of a campaign that lasted twenty-one months. The Castilian troops were augmented by other peninsular forces. The crusading spirit drove King Philip III of Navarre to take part in the siege, and small contingents from as far away as Germany and England (including the earls of Derby and Salisbury) also took part. The Castilian navy had experienced heavy losses in previous years, and Alfonso XI had to resort to unreliable Genoese and Aragonese ships under the nominal command of the Genoese Egidio Bocanegra.

The siege progressively tightened, especially by sea, the only means of supply left to the inhabitants of Algeciras. After the defeat of a Muslim relief army at the river Palmones in December 1343, both Marīnids and Naṣrīds realized that Algeciras could not be saved. On 22 March 1344 King Yūsuf I of Granada offered to surrender the place on terms that were accepted by Alfonso XI. Five days later, the Castilian king made his entry into the town. The long siege was the last great example of a medieval assault before artillery became widely used in the second half of the fourteenth century.

—Luis García-Guijarro Ramos

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Algirdas (d. 1377)

Grand duke of Lithuania (1345–1377) and major opponent of the Teutonic Order.

A few years after the death of his father, Grand Duke Gediminas (1341/1342), Algirdas (Ger. Olgerd, Pol. Olgierd, Russ. Ol’gerd) seized power with the help of his brother Kęstutis. Although he cooperated so closely with Kęstutis and other brothers or nephews that these are often called *reges* (kings) in the sources, Algirdas held supreme power in Lithuania. Through war and marriage alliances, he expanded his rule over the western part of Russia and most of present-day Ukraine. Tribute and soldiers from such conquests helped the pagan Lithuanians to resist the Teutonic Order’s crusade, and made Lithuania for a time the largest state in Europe. Algirdas often played a leading role in battles with the Teutonic Order and its allies, for example in 1345, when Lithuanian forces took the fortress of Mitau, and in 1348, when he and Kęstutis were defeated in the battle of Strėva. Despite successive marriages to Orthodox Russian princesses (Maria of Vitebsk and Juliana of Tver), Algirdas remained a pagan, characterized as evil and godless by the same Russian chroniclers who praised his intelligence and prudence. He allowed Latin and Greek Orthodox churches in Vilnius and encouraged Christian merchants, yet he did not permit insult to pagan ways or any questioning of his own power, attitudes that probably explain why he executed three Lithuanian converts to Greek Orthodox Christianity at his court.

Algirdas knew how to use diplomacy rather than force in matters of religion. He twice obtained from the patriarch of Constantinople a separate metropolitan of Lithuania for the Orthodox population of Lithuanian-ruled lands to counteract the pro-Muscovite policies of the metropolitan of Russia. In 1358 he negotiated with Emperor Charles IV about conversion to the Roman faith, but after obtaining useful peace treaties, he suddenly made new demands, refusing to convert unless the Teutonic Order ceded most of its lands in Prussia to Lithuania and transferred its activities to the Russian steppes. The baptism negotiations collapsed, prob-

ably as intended. When Algirdas died in 1377, he was cremated with grave goods and horses in grand pagan fashion. He had at least seven daughters and twelve sons, including Jogaila, who became king of Poland as Władysław II Jagiełło.

—Rasa Mažeika

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Almohads

A political movement and dynasty that ruled North Africa and al-Andalus from the mid-twelfth to mid-thirteenth centuries. The name is derived from the Arabic *al-Muwahhidūn* (those who assert the unity of God).

The founder of the movement was Muḥammad ibn Tūmart, who began to preach a message of Islamic revival among the Maṣmūda Berbers of the Atlas Mountains in the 1120s. An attack on Marrakesh in 1130 failed, and he died soon after. The movement was taken over by his lieutenant ‘Abd al-Mu’min, who established his control by ruthless purges of any opponents. In 1147 he conquered Marrakesh and destroyed the remnants of the Almoravid regime.

In 1147 the first Almohad troops entered al-Andalus, and in 1148 Seville was taken, but progress was halted by Almohad campaigns in North Africa, which led to the conquest of Constantine and Bejaïa (Bougie) in 1152–1153. Following this triumph, ‘Abd al-Mu’min set about consolidating his control over the Almohad political apparatus. His sons were appointed governors of provincial cities in both North Africa and al-Andalus, and the descendants of the original Council of Ten who had dominated the movement in its early days became a sort of hereditary aristocracy, a privileged ruling class. ‘Abd al-Mu’min himself took the title of caliph, implying both political independence and religious leadership.

The core of the Almohad army consisted of the original Berber supporters of the dynasty, who were said to have numbered 10,000 and were usually quartered in Marrakesh,

except when they were on campaign with the caliph. Unlike the Almoravids, the Almohads coopted native Andalusī military leaders, and families like the Banū Azzun of Jerez were to play an important role in Almohad campaigns in the Iberian Peninsula.

In 1155 the Almohads took Granada from the last of the Almoravid governors, but Valencia and Murcia remained independent under the control of Ibn Mardaniṣh, a local Muslim ruler closely allied to the Castilians. The caliph meanwhile was busy with the struggle against the Normans of Sicily in Tunisia, where Tunis was taken by the Almohads in 1159, and the last Norman outpost at Mahdia in January 1160. In 1163 the caliph assembled a vast army at his new fortress city of Rabat, intending to cross to al-Andalus, but he died before the expedition could set out.

He was succeeded by his son Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb (1163–1184). He was a cultured and bookish man, who built up a large library and entertained leading intellectuals like Ibn Ṭufayl and Ibn Rushd (known to Christendom as Averroes) at his court. He was not, however, a great warrior, and the Almohad position in al-Andalus was continually threatened, by Giraldo Sempavor in the west, who took Trujillo and Evora, and by Ibn Mardaniṣh of Murcia in the East.

In 1172 the caliph launched a major military expedition against Castile. Morale was boosted by the death (from natural causes) of Ibn Mardaniṣh. After an unsuccessful attempt to take the small Castilian town of Huete, the Almohad army descended on Ibn Mardaniṣh’s heartlands around Murcia. Ibn Mardaniṣh’s family were received into the caliph’s favor and, for the first time, all the Muslims of al-Andalus (except for the Balearic Islands) were under Almohad rule. However, the great expedition had failed to recover any territory from the Christians.

When the caliph left al-Andalus in 1176, the security position began to decline immediately. In 1177 Cuenca fell to the Castilians, while the Portuguese sacked Beja in 1178 and began raiding the Algarve at will. In 1180 the caliph decided that Tunisia, where the Bedouin Arabs presented a continuing problem, was the most pressing concern, and he did not return to Marrakesh until 1182. In 1184 he led an attack on Santarém on the river Tagus but was surprised in his tent and killed.

His son and successor, Abū Yūsuf, who took the title of al-Manṣūr (the one granted victory), was a robust military man. His first task was to cross the Strait of Gibraltar and secure his position in Marrakesh. He may have intended to

Almoravids

return to al-Andalus and avenge his father's humiliating death, but he first had to deal with problems in North Africa. It was not until 1188 that some sort of Almohad control was reestablished.

In 1190 he turned his attention to al-Andalus and led an expedition against the Portuguese fortresses in the Tagus Valley, but he failed to take the Templar castle at Tomar, and disease in the army forced him to retreat to Seville and then to Morocco. In 1195 he set out to al-Andalus again. He led his army north from Córdoba, and on July 17 he met and defeated the troops of Alfonso VIII of Castile at Alarcos in the plain of Calatrava. In 1196 he led his army through Extremadura and sacked the newly settled city of Plasencia. In 1197 he raided around Madrid and Guadalajara, but though the countryside was ravaged, no strong points were captured.

In 1198 al-Manṣūr returned to Marrakesh, where he died in January 1199. He was succeeded by his son al-Naṣīr (1199–1213). In 1203 the Almohads enjoyed a success when a naval expedition of 130 ships took the Balearic Islands from the Banū Ghāniya dynasty. In 1209 the Christians in al-Andalus began raiding the area around Córdoba, and in 1211 the caliph gathered his forces at Rabat and crossed the strait. He captured the castle of Salvatierra, used as a base by the military Order of Calatrava. The next year Alfonso VIII of Castile marched south with a force that included the king of Aragon and contingents from all the kingdoms of Spain. Al-Naṣīr went to meet him but was decisively defeated at the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (12 July 1212). The caliph fled ignominiously back to Marrakesh, where he died the next year.

The caliph was succeeded by his young son al-Mustanṣir (1213–1224), whose death led to a series of succession disputes that effectively paralyzed the Almohad caliphate. Meanwhile the Almohad governors in al-Andalus had to try to defend themselves. From 1230, Ferdinand III of Castile began the series of campaigns that were to result in the conquest of the whole of al-Andalus apart from the kingdom of Granada, but by this time the Almohads were largely irrelevant, their last rulers engaged in succession disputes in Marrakesh and vain attempts to resist the rise of the Marinid Berbers.

—Hugh Kennedy

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Almoravids

The name Almoravids, from Arabic *al-Murābiṭūn* (fighters for the faith), is conventionally given to the religious movement and dynastic state that dominated al-Andalus and modern Morocco from the late eleventh century to the 1140s.

The movement was founded by ‘Abd Allāh ibn Yāsīn in the 1050s. He preached a harsh and literalist version of Islam, which was easy to comprehend but left little scope for imagination or intellectual discussion. He found an audience among the Lamtuna tribe, a section of the Berber Ṣānhaja confederation that dominated the western Sahara. He was welcomed by Yaḥyā ibn ‘Umar and his brother Abū Bakr, whose descendants were to provide the dynastic leadership of the Almoravid Empire.

By 1054 they had secured control of the trade route that led from Sijilmassa in southern Morocco to the gold-producing areas of ancient Ghana, on the upper Niger River. Ibn Yāsīn then began to preach in Morocco, but after some initial success, he was killed in 1059. Leadership of the movement was assumed by Yūsuf ibn Tāshfīn. In 1070 the Almoravids founded the city of Marrakesh, which was to be the effective capital of both the Almoravids and their Almohad successors.

Ibn Tāshfīn took the title of *amīr al-Muslimīn* (prince of the Muslims) but not the title of caliph; the Almoravids professed their loyalty to the Sunnī ‘Abbāsīd caliphs in distant Baghdad. In 1083 Ibn Tāshfīn took Ceuta on the Strait of Gibraltar and so effectively completed his control of Morocco. Al-Mu‘tamīd of Seville (1069–1091) and other Taifa rulers invited Ibn Tāshfīn to cross the straits to help them to resist the Christian advance. On 23 October 1086, their combined armies defeated Alfonso VI, king of Castile, at Sagrajas (Zallaqa), northeast of Badajoz. The Almoravids then returned to Morocco.

In the summer of 1088 Ibn Tāshfīn and the Almoravids crossed to Spain again and joined forces with the Taifa kings to besiege Aledo, between Granada and Murcia. Rivalries between the Taifa kings undermined the military effort,

and Ibn Tāshfīn and his men were obliged to return to Morocco without having achieved anything.

When Ibn Tāshfīn came again in 1090, he was determined to act on his own. Between 1090 and 1094, he and his nephew Sīr ibn Abī Bakr took over Granada in 1090, Seville in 1091, and Badajoz in 1094. Only Valencia, taken by El Cid in the summer of 1094, and Zaragoza eluded Almoravid control. Until around 1117, Almoravid influence in the Iberian Peninsula continued to expand. In 1102 the Almoravids took Valencia from El Cid's widow Jimena. On the death of Ibn Tāshfīn in 1106, power passed easily to his son 'Alī, while the death of Alfonso VI in 1109 led to prolonged disputes among his heirs. In 1110 al-Musta'in, ruler of the last independent Taifa kingdom (Zaragoza), was killed fighting the Aragonese at Valtierra, and the pro-Almoravid party in the city expelled his son and handed the city over. In 1112 and 1114 Almoravid armies were able to use their new base in the Ebro Valley to raid Catalonia and reach the foothills of the Pyrenees.

The Almoravids never formed more than a small ruling military elite in al-Andalus, distinguished from the local people by their Berber language and their veils. Ibn Tāshfīn advised his son to maintain 17,000 horsemen in the country, including 4,000 in Seville, the Almoravid capital, and 1,000 in Córdoba and Granada. Power was concentrated in the hands of the ruling dynasty and a small number of related families, all from the Lamtūna tribe. No native Andalusī Muslims played an important role in the military. The Almoravids ruled in cooperation with Andalusī civilian elites, notably the *qāḍīs* (judges) of the main cities, who became increasingly influential political figures at this time.

From 1118 the Almoravids' power began to wane as their prestige was undermined by military failure. Their armies had proved their ability to defeat the Christians in battle at Sagradas in 1086 and Ucles in 1108, but they proved much less effective at siege warfare. This showed most obviously in the failure to retake Toledo from the Castilians. In 1109 Almoravid forces moved up the Tagus Valley, and Talavera was taken. The lands around Toledo were ravaged, but the city held out.

From 1118 the military balance began to tilt in favor of the Christians. This shift began first in the Ebro Valley, where the dynamic king of Aragon, Alfonso I "the Battler," took Tudela in 1114 and Zaragoza in 1118. In the winter of 1125–1126, Alfonso led a raid deep into Muslim territory, and his army wintered in the countryside around Granada while the Almoravid forces looked on helplessly.

Under the leadership of Tāshfīn ibn 'Alī, the Almoravids recovered something of their military initiative in the 1130s and in 1136–1137 Muslim forces were able to operate north of the Tagus and capture the castle at Escalona. However, the urban militias of Christian towns such as Avila and Toledo raided far into Muslim territory: in 1133 the army of Toledo reached the walls of Seville and killed the governor.

Meanwhile, the Almoravids were threatened by the rise of a rival movement in Morocco, the Almohads. In 1130 the Almohads attacked Marrakesh, and by the early 1140s they controlled most of Morocco. From 1132, 'Alī ibn Yūsuf became increasingly reliant on a Christian military commander, Reverter the Catalan, and his Christian troops. In the 1140s the position of the Almoravids declined rapidly. In 1143 the ineffective 'Alī ibn Yūsuf died and was succeeded by his much more competent son Tāshfīn. In 1144 Reverter was killed in action, and Tāshfīn himself suffered the same fate in March 1145. His shadowy successors could do little, and in March 1147 the Almohads stormed Marrakesh, massacring the remnants of the Almoravid elite. With the fall of Tangier and Ceuta in May–June 1148, Almoravid rule in North Africa was over.

In al-Andalus, Almoravid military failure led to popular revolts. Almoravid rule survived in Granada until 1155, while the Banū Ghāniya, a branch of the Almoravids, held the Balearic Islands until 1203.

The Almoravid nomad warriors were effective in open warfare, but much less so in sieges or garrison duty. They also failed to recruit military support among the Andalusī Muslims. When the first generation had passed on and the regime was challenged in both Morocco and the Iberian Peninsula, Almoravid rule soon vanished.

–Hugh Kennedy

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Alp Arslān (d. 1072)

Second Great Saljūq sultan (1063–1072). Abū Shujā' 'Aḍud al-Dawla Diyā' al-Dīn Muḥammad Alp Arslān was the son of the Saljūq leader Chaghri Beg Dāwūd.

Alp Arslān ibn Riḍwān (d. 1114)

Alp Arslān was proclaimed sultan on the death of his uncle Ṭughril Beg in preference to his younger brother Sulaymān, whose mentor al-Kundurī, the vizier of Ṭughril Beg, he executed. In his place Alp Arslān promoted his own vizier, the great Nizām al-Mulk, on whom he relied to manage the empire. Alp Arslān's position as ruler of Islam on behalf of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate was confirmed by the Caliph al-Qā'im in 1064. It was reinforced in 1066 when his son Malik Shāh I was recognized as his heir, and again in 1071–1072, when his daughter married the caliph's son. As ruler of a family empire, however, he was immediately obliged to defeat the challenge of an uncle, Qutlumush, at the head of the Turcomans in northern Persia. In 1064 he had to deal with the rebellion of his uncle Mūsā Yabghu at Herat and in 1067 with the secession of his elder brother Qāwurd in Kirman. Eastern Persia was nevertheless distributed among his brothers and other relatives on the occasion of the designation of Malik Shāh as heir in 1066. Iraq was left in the hands of local Arab dynasties, notably the 'Uqaylids of Mosul. In the east, the sultan imposed a dynastic alliance upon the Qarakhānids in Transoxania, but his imperial ambitions were in the west.

Between 1064 and 1068, Alp Arslān campaigned through Armenia as far as Georgia to bring the Caucasus region under control. He was then drawn into conflict with Byzantium by the nomadic Turcoman tribesmen, whose raids into Anatolia as far as Ikonion (mod. Konya, Turkey) in 1069 provoked a Byzantine invasion of northern Syria. This conflict ended in 1070 in a truce with Alp Arslān, but the Turcomans were unaffected, and hostilities were bound to resume. In 1071 the emperor Romanos IV Diogenes moved into the disputed territory of Armenia, a *casus belli* that drew the sultan away from the conquest of Syria to meet him at Mantzikert. The great Saljūq victory, with a smaller but more compact army, was followed by yet another truce, but unchecked Turcoman inroads into Anatolia. In 1072, instead of pursuing the dynastic ambition to conquer Syria and Egypt from the Fāṭimids, Alp Arslān himself went east to settle with the Qarakhānids of Transoxania, but never returned, murdered by a captive in mid-career.

—Michael Brett

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Alp Arslān ibn Riḍwān (d. 1114)

Saljūq ruler of Aleppo (1113–1114), the eldest son of Riḍwān (d. 1114).

Alp Arslān succeeded his father at the age of sixteen, with the *mamlūk* (slave soldier) Lu'Lu' acting as his regent. He immediately had his brothers Malik Shāh ibn Riḍwān and Mubārak ibn Riḍwān executed to eliminate them as potential rivals. He went on to take action against the Ismā'īli Assassin sect, which had been favored by his father: in concert with Sa'īd ibn Badī', the *ra'īs* (head of the city), he arrested all of the Assassins in the city, and had them either executed or expelled. In view of Aleppo's military weakness, Alp Arslān continued to pay tribute to the Franks of Antioch and also sought the alliance of Ṭughtakin, the ruler of Damascus. This policy, as well as arrests and dismissals carried out by Alp Arslān, aroused considerable resentment among his own officers. On 4 September 1114 Lu'Lu' had him murdered and replaced by his younger brother Sulṭān Shāh.

—Alan V. Murray

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Ältere Hochmeisterchronik

A German prose chronicle that describes the history of the Teutonic Order from its foundation in 1190 until 1433, the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* can be regarded as the single most useful account of the order's history of that period and of the crusades to, and early history of, Prussia.

Twenty-one manuscripts survive, of which ten date from the fifteenth century, originating from Prussia and from the Teutonic Order's centers in the empire, notably Cologne and Mergentheim. The chronicle was written between 1433 and 1440; its author's identity is unknown, but he is thought to

have been a cleric in the order and certainly had access to its archives at Marienburg in Prussia. Sources used for the earlier section include Nicolaus von Jeroschin's *Kronike von Pruzinlant*, the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, Henry of Livonia's *Chronicon Livoniae*, and the list of the grand masters of the order. From the second half of the fourteenth century the account relies on eyewitness testimony and official reports and documents. The single most important source is Jeroschin's chronicle, which forms the basis of three-quarters of the text.

The *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* is continued in three separate sections. The first, written by a supporter of the Teutonic Order, gives an account of battles fought in 1454 and 1455. The second, which is much shorter, was written by a member of the order and is critical of the grand masters, but also of the role of the Polish kings and Prussian cities. The third was written in 1472 by a cleric from Warmia. The first version was the most widely distributed. Four manuscripts survive, of which three date from the fifteenth century.

–Mary Fischer

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Amadeus VI of Savoy (1334–1383)

Count of Savoy (1343–1383), known as the Green Count, who led a crusade against the Ottoman Turks in 1366–1367. Amadeus (Fr. Amedée, It. Amadeo) was the son of Count Aymo of Savoy (d. 1343) and Yolande of Montferrat.

The count's decision to go on crusade dates from January 1364. It occurred in the wake of the journey to western Europe of King Peter I of Cyprus, after Amadeus had met the crusade propagandist Philippe de Mézières. The threat to Savoy from roaming mercenary companies meant that he was unable to take part in Peter's crusade, which captured Alexandria in 1365. Amadeus finally set off for Venice in February 1366, although some of his army embarked at Genoa. He arrived at the island of Negroponte (Euboia) off eastern Greece on 2 August.

The plan of the crusade was to expel the Turks from Europe through a joint attack with King Louis I of Hungary

and Emperor John V Palaiologos of Byzantium. John had gone to meet Louis to ask for his help, but was taken prisoner by the Bulgarians on his way back. Amadeus sailed to Thrace and on 26 August attacked and captured the Ottoman stronghold of Gallipoli (mod. Gelibolu, Turkey) on the Dardanelles, which served as the Turks' main crossing point into Europe.

The Savoyards reached Constantinople on 4 September. With financial assistance from the Byzantine empress and naval support from the Genoese, Amadeus led an expedition against the Bulgarians, entering the Black Sea a month later. He seized Sozopolis and Mesembria after a battle on 20 October. Varna, however, was too fortified to be taken by siege; a period of diplomatic exchanges with Sisman ensued in order to secure the release of Emperor John V, and the Savoyards returned to Sozopolis to winter. After his release, John V arrived there on 28 January 1367. The two cousins came back to Constantinople at the beginning of April. By that time Amadeus had spent all his funds and was unable to consider a further campaign against the Turks. He left Pera on 9 June, returning to his lands via Venice and Rome.

–Jacques Paviot

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Amalfi

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Amalfi

A port on the western coast of southern Italy, Amalfi survived as an independent duchy until 1131, when it was incorporated into the kingdom of Sicily. It was an important trading center in the early and central Middle Ages. Amalfitan merchants were already present at Constantinople by 944, and were trading with Egypt by the late tenth century. Around 1080, Amalfitans founded a hospice for pilgrims in Jerusalem, from which the Order of the Hospital (St. John of Jerusalem) later developed, but they appear to have played no part in the First Crusade (1096–1099), and consequently did not receive commercial privileges in the Holy Land, unlike the ports of northern Italy. Although they held property in Outremer during the twelfth century, their role in Western trade with the Holy Land was relatively minor, and they never possessed quarters in its ports. In 1190 Guy of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, granted Amalfi a customs exemption at Acre and the right to its own officials there, but this appears to have remained a dead letter.

During the twelfth century, the Amalfitans seem to have increasingly concentrated their attention on the internal trade of the Sicilian kingdom, and the city's maritime power suffered both from the attacks of the Pisans (who sacked Amalfi in 1137) and competition from other south Italian ports, notably Salerno and Naples. After 1200 Amalfitan commercial activity was very much in decline. Although Amalfitans were still occasionally found in the Holy Land in the thirteenth century, and in Cyprus even after 1291, they were very few and usually associated with the Genoese.

—G. A. Loud

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Amalric of Jerusalem (1136–1174)

King of Jerusalem (1163–1174) and the younger son of Queen Melisende and Fulk of Anjou.

Amalric seems to have been less well educated than his elder brother Baldwin (III), although he had an outstanding grasp of law and history. Baldwin III made him count of Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv–Yafo, Israel) in 1151; Amalric seems to have lost these lands in 1152 because he sided with Melisende in the civil dispute between king and queen mother. The brothers evidently became friendly again by 1154, for at that time Baldwin III restored Jaffa and also made Amalric count of Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel). In 1157 Amalric married Agnes of Courtenay, daughter of Count Joscelin II of Edessa. She bore him two children, Sibyl (before 1161) and Baldwin (in 1161). Amalric succeeded to the throne in 1163 when his brother died childless, but the magnates and patriarch of Jerusalem, fearing that Agnes's family would grow too powerful, insisted that he divorce her before he could be crowned. Amalric agreed to do so on the condition that their children remain legitimate.

The king's policies aimed at strengthening the Crown legislatively and financially. In judicial matters, his most famous achievement was the *Assise sur la ligèce*, which determined that all fief-holders in the kingdom had to take an oath of homage to the king. Amalric may have hoped to strengthen royal power through these connections with the lower nobility. In fact, after 1198 court decisions based on this assize favored the upper nobility rather than the Crown. The same held true of Amalric's fiscal ambitions: his campaigns in Egypt, though creatively financed, ultimately ended in military and economic losses.

Fāṭimid Egypt made a tempting target after Amalric's accession, owing to its immense wealth and shaky political situation where two viziers vied for control. Nūr al-Dīn, the ruler of Muslim Syria, might intervene there if Jerusalem failed to do so, but equally, he could not allow the Franks to dominate Egypt. In 1163 Nūr al-Dīn sent his general Shīrkūh to assist one of the viziers, Shāwar, who, however, soon sought military aid against him from Amalric. The king invaded Lower Egypt, and Nūr al-Dīn countered with campaigns against Christian Syria. He captured Prince Bohemund III of Antioch and Count Raymond III of Tripoli while seizing Harenc, Banyas, and parts of the principality of Antioch in 1164. Expeditions in 1167 turned the tables. Nūr al-Dīn sent Shīrkūh back to Egypt, which meant that Amalric also had to launch a campaign. The king sum-

moned the High Court but could not convince his nobles to support an attack outside the kingdom. He obtained finance through a 10 percent tax paid by the church and vassals who would not go to Egypt. Shāwar greeted the Frankish army with 400,000 dinars in exchange for an alliance. They besieged Alexandria until Shīrkūh came to terms, and he and the Franks withdrew from Egypt. Amalric's agreement with Shāwar remained in force: Amalric would offer assistance as long as Shāwar paid an annual tribute of 100,000 dinars. The royal treasury benefited from this arrangement, and as long as Amalric remained content with a nominal protectorship over Egypt, Nūr al-Dīn probably would not have reacted.

The king, however, dreamed of conquering Egypt with Byzantine help. In 1167 Amalric cemented his alliance with Manuel I Komnenos by marrying the emperor's niece, Maria. The following year, Amalric planned a joint assault on Egypt in which the Byzantine fleet would blockade Mediterranean ports while the Franks invaded by land. The king moved too quickly, though, and marched out before the Byzantine navy could provide backup. He could not convince the Templars to join him, despite the inducement of rich lands. Shāwar turned to Nūr al-Dīn for help, and Shīrkūh returned to Egypt for the last time. Although Amalric won some important victories at first, he could not take Cairo and finally withdrew. Shīrkūh then marched in, killed Shāwar, and installed himself as vizier. He died two months later, to be succeeded by his nephew Saladin, who quickly built up a strong government in the name of the Fāṭimids. Amalric marched into Egypt once more in 1168, this time waiting for Byzantine ships to support his attack on Damietta, but withdrew without having received Byzantine support and having gained nothing. Once back in Jerusalem, Amalric patched up his relationship with Manuel Komnenos, culminating in a state visit to Constantinople in 1171.

Saladin was able to topple the Fāṭimids in 1171, restoring Sunnī Islam in Egypt, and Nūr al-Dīn's death in May 1174 allowed Saladin to move into Syria. The military orders were increasingly acting as free agents within Outremer, negotiating or overturning truces with Islamic powers. Amalric died on 11 July 1174. His heir, Baldwin IV, came to the throne as a minor suffering from leprosy, and Baldwin's sisters Sibyl and Isabella (Maria's daughter) became pawns in the hands of rival factions at court.

—Deborah Gerish

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Amalric of Montfort (d. 1241)

Duke of Narbonne (1218–1241), earl of Leicester (1218–1239), and constable of France (1230–1241).

Amalric was the eldest son of Simon of Montfort, who had been elected military leader of the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229). After his father's death during the siege of Toulouse (1218), Amalric inherited the lands Simon had

Amalric of Nesle (d. 1180)

conquered in southern France, along with the leadership of a crusading army, which melted away at forty-day intervals. Before and after the demise of an eastern crusade that diverted recruits and funding from the Albigensian Crusade, Pope Honorius III urged King Philip II Augustus of France and his son Louis VIII to aid Amalric and reassigned funds originally intended for the eastern crusade to subsidize Amalric's increasingly mercenary army. Nevertheless, Amalric's gradual loss of territory to Count Raymond VII of Toulouse and other southern noblemen remained largely unstemmed by Louis VIII's desultory crusading expedition in 1219. Despite Honorius's attempts to organize a new crusade in the early 1220s, an increasingly bankrupt Amalric sought to cede his lands in southern France to Louis VIII. In 1226, he succeeded in his goal when Louis VIII once again took the crusade vow. Amalric played a leading role in the king's triumphant military tour of Languedoc, although Louis's death in 1226 meant the resumption of the negotiations that led to the Peace of Paris in 1229. By 1239, the debt-ridden Amalric had formalized the cession of his claims to the earldom of Leicester to his younger brother, the infamous future rebel Simon (the Younger) of Montfort. Amalric's services to Louis VIII earned him high favor with Louis IX, who subsidized his participation in the Crusade of 1239–1241. Captured by Muslim forces in Gaza in 1239, Amalric died in Otranto, Italy, while returning to France in 1241.

—Jessalynn Bird

See also: Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229); Simon of Montfort (c. 1160–1218)

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Amalric of Nesle (d. 1180)

Latin patriarch of Jerusalem (1157–1180). Amalric came to Outremer from France, but nothing is known of his early career except that he became prior of the Holy Sepulchre in 1151. Queen Melisende, her sister Yveta, and her cousin Sibyl of Flanders seem to have engineered Amalric's election as patriarch in 1157 without involvement from King Baldwin III. But it was the king, rather than the patriarch, who

ordered the Latin Church's official stance of neutrality in the disputed papal election of 1159.

Patriarch Amalric took more of a leading role in 1163, when he and the magnates of Outremer insisted that King Amalric divorce Agnes of Courtenay before assuming the throne. Only the patriarch could have ruled on the legitimacy of this marriage, and his decision barred him from royal favor. King Amalric took the initiative in creating new dioceses that cut into patriarchal revenues. The patriarch became even more of a nonentity after the king's death in 1174, since Agnes of Courtenay dominated Baldwin IV's court.

—Deborah Gerish

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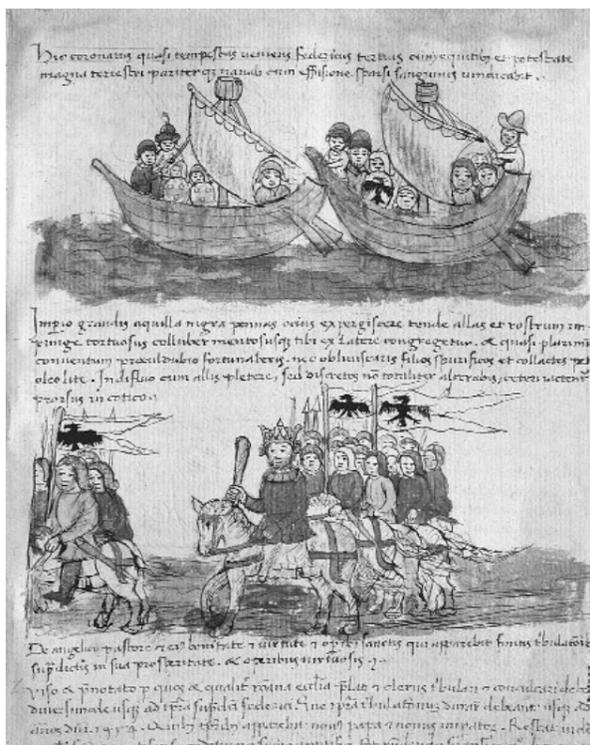
Ambroise

Author of *L'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, an Old French verse history of the Third Crusade (1189–1192) over 12,000 lines long. Ambroise gave a pious fighting man's view of the crusade, in which King Richard I of England and Earl Robert of Leicester were the great heroes. His work brings the reader close to individual acts of prowess and courage, and to the swings of mood in the crusader camp. Capable of admiring Muslim bravery, he was fiercely critical of the conduct of King Philip II of France and Hugh III, duke of Burgundy. For the early history of the siege of Acre, he embellished the narrative in the chronicle known as the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, but for events from the time of Richard I's landing in Sicily (September 1190), Ambroise may himself have been the eyewitness on whose account *L'Estoire* is based. In its extant form, the text was probably completed in the late 1190s. It was known to, and extensively used by, Richard de Templo, author of the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, though today, apart from one short fragment, it survives in just a single manuscript (MS Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg.lat.1659).

—John Gillingham

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Anders Sunesen (d. 1228)

Archbishop of Lund (1201–1223) and proponent of the crusade in the Baltic region.

Born around 1160 into the Danish nobility, Anders Sunesen studied in Paris, Bologna, and England, becoming a teacher of theology in Paris around 1193–1194. Shortly after this he became royal chancellor of Denmark, an office he held until 1201. In that year he was elected archbishop of Lund.

As archbishop, Anders Sunesen crowned King Valdemar II (1202), with whom he subsequently cooperated in attempting to subjugate and Christianize the eastern Baltic region. In 1204 he was named papal legate and primate of the Swedish church, and in 1206 he led a crusade against the island of Ösel (mod. Saaremaa, Estonia). According to the chronicler Henry

of Livonia, both the Danish king and archbishop took part in the expedition; however, royal participation remains doubtful. After leaving Ösel, Anders Sunesen visited Riga and spent the winter giving theological lectures, which inspired the provost of Riga to send out priests to preach, baptize, erect churches, and lay out parishes. This activity was in accordance with a papal bull from 1206 permitting Anders Sunesen to ordain bishops in areas recently won for Christianity. In 1212 Anders was appointed papal legate with specific reference to mission and conversion, and the next year Pope Innocent III allowed him to install a bishop in a newly organized bishopric covering Sakkala and Ugaunia in Estonia, thus placing the archbishop in a key position between Bishop Albert of Riga, the Sword Brethren, and Danish royal interests. Shortly after the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), in which both Anders Sunesen and Albert of Riga participated, Innocent III issued the bull *Alto divine dispositiones*, ordering the Danish people to take part in a crusade against the pagans threatening Livonia. In 1219 a crusade led by the archbishop and King Valdemar II conquered the northern parts of Estonia and established Reval (mod. Tallinn, Estonia) as a Danish stronghold. Anders Sunesen may have spent considerable time there before his resignation in 1223 due to illness.

—Torben K. Nielsen

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Andrew II of Hungary (d. 1235)

King of Hungary (1205–1235) and first Hungarian ruler to take an active part in the crusading movement.

Andrew of Montbard (d. 1156)

Andrew was born around 1177, the second son of King Béla III (1172–1196) and Anne (Agnes) of Châtillon. Around 1200 he married Gertrude of Andechs-Meran (d. 1213); they had five children, including Elisabeth, who was engaged (1211) and later married (1221) to Ludwig IV, son of Landgrave Hermann I of Thuringia. Partly because of his dynastic relations with Thuringia, in 1211 Andrew settled the Teutonic Order in a border region called Burzenland, but in 1225 he forcibly expelled it for allegedly pursuing independence from the kingdom of Hungary. In 1215 he married Yolande, daughter of Peter of Courtenay. After the death of Peter's brother-in-law Henry, Latin emperor of Constantinople (1216), Andrew unsuccessfully endeavored to obtain the vacant imperial throne in order to further Hungarian expansion toward the Balkans and Byzantium. He participated in the first part of the Fifth Crusade (1217–1218) in order to fulfill a crusade vow inherited from his father, and during his journey back from the Holy Land, Andrew arranged political-diplomatic ties by means of dynastic marriages between members of his family and those of other ruling dynasties, notably those of Theodore I Laskaris, emperor of Nicaea; King Leo II of Armenia; and Ivan Asen II, tsar of Bulgaria. He donated a great deal to the Templars and Hospitallers and later left a copy of the Golden Bull of 1222, his charter of privileges for the Hungarian nobility, in their custody. He died on 21 September 1235 and was buried in the Cistercian abbey of Egres.

–Zsolt Hunyadi

See also: Hungary

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Andrew of Montbard (d. 1156)

Master of the Templars (1153–1156). Andrew, a son of Bernard I of Montbard, was born in Burgundy before 1105; his sister Aleth was the mother of Bernard of Clairvaux. He probably joined the Templars in the West before 1129, and between 1130 and 1135 carried out missions between the West and Outremer for Bernard of Clairvaux and the king of Jerusalem (either Baldwin II or Fulk). After the death of Fulk (1143), Bernard recommended Andrew to Queen Melisende, and by 1148 he had been appointed seneschal of the Templars. He was in charge of the central convent of the order

while Master Robert Burgundio took part in the Second Crusade (1148) and while Robert's successor, Everard of Barres, traveled to France (1149–1151). On the death of Master Bernard of Tremelay during the siege of Ascalon (1153), Andrew was elected master. His career illustrates the strong ties between the Templars' leadership and the royal court of Jerusalem. Andrew died in 1156 and was succeeded by Bertrand of Blancfort.

–Jochen Burgtorf

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Ankara, Battle of (1402)

A decisive confrontation in the period of the later crusades between the huge armies of the Ottoman sultan Bayezid I and the Mongol ruler of central Asia, Timur Lenk (Tamerlane), who eventually carried the day, thus putting a temporary halt to the expanding Ottoman sultanate and indirectly giving the beleaguered Byzantine Empire breathing space for another half century.

The battle was hotly contested in the plain of the river Chubuk (Turk. Çubuk-ovasi) north of Ankara on 28 July 1402. From its defensive hilly position, the heterogeneous Ottoman army sustained a fierce attack by the Mongol cavalry and was eventually overrun on account of the defection of its Turcoman vassals (whose emirs took Timur's side) and despite the heroic defense of Bayezid's Christian vassals, particularly the Serbs who held the sultan's left flank. Timur, reputedly in a secret plot with the Byzantine regent John VII Palaiologos, seized Bayezid (who was to die in captivity in 1403) and one of his sons, Musa Çelebi; he then captured the town of Brusa, along with Bayezid's treasures, and consequently shattered Ottoman domination over much of northwestern and southern Anatolia, reestablishing several of the Turcoman emirates (beyliks), while a fierce civil war began among Bayezid's sons (1402/1403–1413).

–Alexios G. C. Savvides

See also: Mongols: Ottoman Empire

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Anna Komnene (1083–1153/1154)

The eldest child of the Byzantine emperor Alexios I Komnenos and Irene Doukaina, Anna Komnene wrote the *Alexiad*, an epic history in Greek of her father's life and times, probably after the year 1138.

The *Alexiad*, an important source for the First Crusade (1096–1099), was composed with a large degree of hindsight; Anna was concerned to preserve her father's reputation by praising his cautious treatment of the Franks at a time when her nephew, Emperor Manuel Komnenos, was following a much more pro-Western policy. Anna's work contains vivid pen-portraits of crusading leaders, particularly Bohemund I of Antioch, but she reveals little information about the preaching of the crusade, even though Alexios's appeals to the West for military help against the Turks were known in her day. She concluded that the crusaders' real aim was not to liberate the Holy Sepulchre, but to conquer Byzantium.

Anna played an important part in the "family politics" of the Komnenian era. As a baby, she had been betrothed to a maternal relative, Constantine Doukas, but after his premature death, she was married around 1097 to Nikephoros Bryennios (d. 1136/1137), a military man who also wrote history. After her father's death and with her mother's support, Anna attempted to gain the throne for her husband, but she was thwarted by her brother John and subsequently forced to live in seclusion in the convent of the Theotokos Kecharitomene in Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey). She was extremely well-read and was the patroness of a circle of scholars that particularly concerned itself with the works of Aristotle.

—Rosemary Morris

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Anno von Sangerhausen (d. 1273)

Grand master of the Teutonic Order (1256–1273) during one of the order's most difficult periods.

Anno was probably born into the lower nobility of the Thuringian town of Sangerhausen between 1210 and 1220. Nothing is known about his early career within the Teutonic Order. From 1254 (or perhaps late 1253), he was master of the order's Livonian branch, until the chapter general elected him grand master in 1256. During his mastership, Anno traveled extensively between the Holy Land, Rome, Germany, and the Baltic lands. He struggled to secure crusader aid against the Curonians and Prussians, who had started a great insurrection in 1260 that lasted until 1273. In Palestine the advance of Sultan Baybars of Egypt threatened the

Anonymous Syriac Chronicle

order's possessions: Montfort, the order's main castle, fell in 1271. Both the Baltic region and the Holy Land demanded Anno's commitment, which led to tension within the order. While Anno was in the West between 1261 and 1267, the chapter general in Acre decreed that the master should not leave the Holy Land for extended periods in the future (1264). Soon after the loss of Montfort, however, Anno left for the empire, where he died on 8 July 1273.

—Axel Ehlers

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Anonymous Syriac Chronicle

A bipartite Syriac chronicle of ecclesiastical and secular history, written by an unknown and enigmatic author who was probably a member of the higher clergy of the Syrian Orthodox (Jacobite) Church, and may have been one of the figures mentioned in the work. If the entire chronicle was indeed written by one person, the author was probably born in the second half of the twelfth century. Many scholars assume an Edessan origin. The chronicle consists of an ecclesiastical history up to the year 1207 and a secular history up to 1234. Both books are mutilated at the end. Rather large lacunae, especially in the ecclesiastical history, have considerably reduced the relevant sections from the year 1098 onward.

The chronicle was inspired by the historiography of the Syrian Orthodox patriarch Dionysius of Tell-Mahre (d. 845). It is generally assumed that the Anonymous did not use the work of Michael I the Great (d. 1199), but his work covers the same horizon, although it reveals more interest in Arabic civilization (both Christian and Muslim) than Michael. Instead of dealing with the high levels of secular or ecclesiastical administration, he concentrates on the repercussions for the population and on regional events in Syria and Mesopotamia, including detailed information about Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey) and environs under Frankish and Zangid rule. The Anonymous admired the urban

Arabic intellectual culture shared by Christians and Muslims in Mesopotamia.

Among other Syriac and Arabic sources, the author used the lost work of a well-informed eyewitness, the metropolitan Basil (d. 1169), and largely shared his fierce critique of the Syrian Orthodox clergy of Edessa. In 1187 the author became a witness to the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin. Later he joined the entourage of Gregory, the maphrian (primate) of the eastern part of the Syrian Orthodox Church.

—Dorothea Weltecke

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Ansbert

See *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris*

Antartus

See Tortosa (Syria)

Antioch (on the Orontes), City of

Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) was a city situated on the river Orontes (Asi Nehri) in Syria. It was captured from the Saljūq Turks in 1098 by the armies of the First Crusade (1096–1099) and thereafter became the capital of the Frankish principality of Antioch until it was taken by the Mamlūks of Egypt in 1268.

One of the greatest cities of the ancient world, Antioch was famous for the antiquity of its Christian community and its rank as one of the four patriarchates of the Christian Church. It was in this city that Christians were first called by that name, and its theological school had a profound impact on the development of Christianity. A series of disasters struck the city in the sixth and seventh centuries; the Persians pillaged the city in 540, removing much of the population to Mesopotamia, and again held the city from 611 to 628. After briefly recapturing the city under Emperor Heraclius, the Byzantines lost the city again to the Arabs in 638. The his-



Ruins of the walls of Antioch. (Courtesy Alfred Andrea)

tory of Antioch under Arab rule is obscure, but the city was recovered by the Byzantines in 969. The collapse of Byzantine authority in Syria and Anatolia in the mid-eleventh century left Antioch under the rule of the Armenian warlord Philaretos, but in 1084 the city fell to the Saljūqs.

Antioch's strategic location ensured that it would be one of the principal targets of the First Crusade. The city fell on 3 June 1098 when Bohemund of Taranto induced a disaffected member of the Turkish forces to admit the crusaders into the city through a postern gate. Bohemund's fellow crusaders acceded to his claim to the city, thus breaking their policy of restoring former Byzantine territories to the empire. This decision set in motion a half-century of conflict between Antioch and Byzantium. Within weeks of capturing the city, the crusaders were themselves besieged by a large Turkish army led by Karbughā of Mosul. The crusaders won a decisive victory on 28 June, and Antioch was theirs. The city became the capital of a Frankish principality established by Bohemund and his descendants.

The city was located on the east bank of the Orontes and surrounded by high mountains to the east and west. River silt now covers much of the ancient and medieval city, and the few excavations in the city have focused on its ancient and late antique periods. Latin, Greek, and Arabic sources testify to the impressive walls that surrounded the city, relics of Emperor Justinian's rebuilding of the city after the Persian invasion of 540. The walls themselves are more than 12 kilometers (7½ mi.) long. A citadel, dating to the early Byzantine era, was located on the eastern walls high on Mount Silipios. The city had six main gates. The northern gate, named after the monastery of St. Paul, led to Aleppo. The southern gate of St. George, named after an adjacent Jacobite church, led south to Laodikeia (mod. al-Lādhiqīyah, Syria). On the western side were the Dog Gate, the Duke's Gate, and the Bridge Gate, and on the mountainous eastern side was the Iron Gate.

On the eve of the crusader siege, the city was predominantly populated by Christians of the Greek Orthodox,

Armenian Orthodox, and Syrian Orthodox faiths, and the conquest of the city likely drove out or massacred much of the Muslim population. It is likely that most of the inhabitants spoke Greek. A Greek Orthodox patriarch remained the leader of both the Latin and Greek communities until 1100, when Bohemund I expelled the venerable John of Oxeia on suspicion of collaborating with his Byzantine enemies, replacing him with the Latin Bernard of Valence.

The cathedral of St. Peter was probably the church built by Justinian. Its sanctuary collapsed in the earthquake of 1170, killing the Orthodox patriarch Athanasios I Manasses. St. Peter's served as the tomb for the princes and patriarchs of the city; it was also the burial place of Adhemar of Le Puy, the papal legate on the First Crusade, and Frederick I Barbarossa, leader of one of the armies of the Third Crusade (1189–1192). Also located within the city were the churches of St. Andrew, founded by Raymond of Saint-Gilles, and St. Leonard, founded by Bohemund I in thanksgiving for his release from Turkish captivity. A Frankish nobleman built a church dedicated to the Syrian Orthodox (Jacobite) saint Barsauma after his child was healed by the saint's relics; both Latins and Syrian Orthodox Christians attended its consecration. Surrounding the city were a number of important sites. The important Syrian Orthodox monastery of Dovair was established outside the city near the ancient suburb of Daphne.

The princes of Antioch ruled the city through a *dux* (duke) second only to the prince in authority over the city, who presided over a city council. The offices of duke and judge may well derive from Byzantine precedents.

Antioch faced various threats to its survival as a Frankish possession. During the early twelfth century, the Byzantines made concerted efforts to reintegrate the city into the empire. However, Emperor Manuel I Komnenos embarked on a policy of cooperation, joining the Franks in opposing the attacks of Nūr al-Dīn. Antioch was one of the only major cities of Outremer not captured by Saladin in 1187. The city itself prospered economically under the Norman dynasty. It continued to have a substantial Greek population, which expressed its political voice through a commune formed in the late twelfth century. The commune was particularly opposed to Armenian domination of Antioch, a threat that hung over the city during the War of the Antiochene Succession in the early thirteenth century. The city was captured by Baybars I, Mamlūk sultan of Egypt, on 18 May 1268. The city's population was massacred, and Antioch never

reclaimed the importance it had known in ancient and medieval times.

—Christopher MacEvitt

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Antioch, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of

The patriarchate of Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) was one of the four ancient patriarchates of the Greek Orthodox (Melkite) Church. After the conquest of Antioch by the First Crusade (1096–1099), the patriarch was exiled to Constantinople and replaced by a Latin in 1100, but the Byzantine emperors maintained a parallel Greek Orthodox patriarchate throughout the period of Frankish rule.

According to a sixth-century episcopal list, this patriarchate comprised 153 bishoprics in the Near East and beyond, although its organization and Christian community came to be greatly reduced in the course of doctrinal disputes and the Muslim invasions. Antioch itself and much of the territory of the patriarchate were overrun by the Arabs in the seventh century. However, with the Byzantine reconquest of Antioch (28 October 969), the patriarchate was reintegrated into the Byzantine Church. In 970 Emperor John I Tzimiskes appointed as patriarch of Antioch his confessor Theodore of Koloneia, who was then ordained by Patriarch Polyuktos of Constantinople (956–970). The emperor confirmed the traditional privileges of the patriarch of Antioch; restored his territorial jurisdiction over the ecclesiastical provinces of Isauria, Cilicia I, and Cilicia II; and granted him and his successors the monastery of the Theotokos ton Hodegon as a patriarchal residence in Constantinople.

From 970 to 1204 and also during the second half of the thirteenth century, all Greek Orthodox patriarchs of Antioch were usually nominated by the Byzantine emperor. In January 978 Agapios, the bishop of Aleppo, was appointed patriarch by Emperor Basil II. After his forced abdication in September 996, the emperors chose only members of the clergy of the Hagia Sophia or monks from the leading

monasteries of Constantinople and western Asia Minor, for example Nikolaos II Stoudites (1025–1030) and Theodosios III Chrysoberges (c. 1057–c. 1060). Their ordination by the patriarch of Constantinople in the capital was interpreted in Antioch as a violation of the autocephaly of the Antiochene church.

In the mid-eleventh century, the patriarch of Antioch had jurisdiction over twenty ecclesiastical provinces from Syria to Central Asia. From literary and sigillographic sources and information in the colophons of many Melkite manuscripts, we can prove the presence of Greek Orthodox metropolitans and bishops in some fifty cities of the Near East. From 960 the six ecclesiastical provinces in Iraq, Persia, and central Asia were supervised by the *catholicoi* (in the Greek Orthodox patriarchate of Antioch, a *catholicos* was a primate with jurisdiction over more than two metropolitans in the regions east of the Euphrates) of Eirenupolis (mod. Baghdad, Iraq) and Romagyris (probably mod. Tashkent, Uzbekistan). The catholicosate of Georgia had been autocephalous since 744/745, but the patriarch of Antioch had the right to intervene in the internal affairs of the Georgian church in cases of doctrinal controversy.

In December 1084 Sulaymān ibn Kutlumush, the Saljūq sultan of Rūm, conquered Antioch and ended Byzantine rule over the city. Patriarch Nikephoros Maurois (1079/1080–1089), who was in Constantinople at that time, could not go to Antioch, but his successor, John V Oxeites (ca. 1089–1100), went there via Cyprus in autumn 1091. During the siege of Antioch by the army of the First Crusade from October 1097 to June 1098, John V suffered greatly at the hands of the Turks. After the conquest of the city (4 June 1098), he was at first accepted as legal patriarch by the crusaders. However, after Prince Bohemund I of Antioch was captured by Malik Ghazī, the Dānishmendid emir (August 1100), John V was forced by the Franks to withdraw to Constantinople, where he abdicated in October 1100. In Antioch he was replaced by a Latin, Bernard of Valence. This turn of events was not accepted by the Byzantine emperor, Alexios I Komnenos, or the Orthodox Church. In 1106 Alexios appointed a new patriarch, John VI Haploucheir (1106–after 1134). When Bohemund I was forced to make peace with Byzantium in the Treaty of Devol (1108), he was obliged to accept imperial nomination of the patriarch of Antioch, but Tancred, his regent in the principality, refused to fulfill the terms of the treaty.

The appointment of Latin patriarchs in Antioch meant

that John VI Haploucheir and his successors Luke (after 1134–1156), Soterichos Panteugenos (1156–1157), and Athanasios I Manasses (1157–1170) had to reside in the Hodegon monastery in Constantinople. Yet they had intensive relations with the churches in the Near East, where most metropolitan sees and bishoprics were located in Islamic territory and thus beyond the control of the Franks and the Latin Church in Outremer. The commemoration of the patriarchs in the colophons of Melkite manuscripts written in the Near East shows that the local Orthodox clergy and monks accepted the patriarchs in exile as their legal heads. In Constantinople, the patriarchs ordained metropolitans and bishops and sent pastoral letters to Antioch and other parts of the patriarchate.

The restoration of a Greek patriarch in Antioch continued to be an important aim of the foreign policy of the Byzantine emperors. As a condition of a treaty between Manuel I Komnenos and Prince Bohemund III, Patriarch Athanasios I Manasses was finally admitted to Antioch in place of the deposed Latin, Aimery of Limoges. He remained in residence until his death as a result of the earthquake of 29 June 1170, when Aimery was restored.

Athanasios and his successors Cyril II (1170–1183) and Theodore IV Balsamon (1183–before 1204), the leading canonist of the Greek Orthodox Church, participated in the Constantinopolitan synods of 1166, 1173, 1186, 1192, and 1195, and in the negotiations for union with the Armenian church. Theodore IV Balsamon probably died before the capture of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade (April 1204). His successor, Symeon II (c. 1207–c. 1240), a native of Syria, was the first patriarch since 960 who was elected and ordained in Antioch (with the consent of Prince Bohemund IV). In 1212 he emigrated to Armenian Cilicia, and then in 1217/1218 to Nicaea, the residence of Emperor Theodore I Laskaris. In 1233 he was resident in Antioch, where St. Sava of Serbia visited him. In 1234, again in Nicaea, he participated in the negotiations concerning church union with the legates of Pope Gregory IX. His successor David came to Antioch in 1242, and in 1246 Pope Innocent IV tried to win his approval for a union with the Roman church. Patriarch Euthymios I (before 1258–1273) was elected in Constantinople, but visited Antioch in 1260 with the support of the Mongol Il-Khan Hülägü (1256–1265), suzerain of the principality of Antioch and ally of Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos. During the destruction of Antioch by the Mamlūks in May 1268, Euthymios was not in the city.

Over the next hundred years the Greek Orthodox patriarchs of Antioch had no fixed residence, but resided variously in Constantinople, Cilicia, Cyprus, or elsewhere in the Near East. A letter of Patriarch Pachomios I of Antioch (1365–c. 1375) to Patriarch Philotheos I of Constantinople, written in 1365 in Damascus, is signed by the catholicos of Romagyris and the metropolitans and bishops of Pompeiupolis, Mopsuestia, Edessa, Apameia, Homs, Beirut, Helioupolis (Baalbek), Tripoli, and Bostra. This letter shows that after the destruction of Antioch the center of gravity of the patriarchate had shifted to southern Syria. From that time the Greek Orthodox patriarchs of Antioch resided in Damascus.

—Klaus-Peter Todt

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Antioch, Latin Patriarchate of

The hierarchy of the Latin Church as established by the Franks in the states of Antioch, Edessa, and Tripoli after the conquest of Syria by the First Crusade (1096–1099).

When the city of Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) in Syria was captured by the armies of the First Crusade in 1098, Adhemar of Le Puy, Pope Urban II’s legate, recognized the Greek Orthodox patriarch John V of Oxeia as having canonical authority over Latin as well as Orthodox Christians in his territories; but when, after Adhemar’s death, war broke out between the Frankish ruler of Antioch, Bohemund I, and the Byzantine emperor Alexios I Komnenos, this settlement could not be sustained. John was exiled in 1100 and replaced by Adhemar’s former chaplain, Bernard of Valence, and Antioch became a Latin patriarchate. The Franks also expelled the other Greek Orthodox bishops from their lands and appropriated their cathedrals and endowments. Pope Paschal II accepted this change of policy, but though Antioch, like Rome, claimed to be a foundation of St. Peter, the popes treated the Latin patriarchs as their subordinates. Only Ralph of Domfront challenged this view, and he was unable to sustain his claim to parity with the papacy for long. Ralph also induced Prince Raymond of Antioch to do liege-homage to him for the principality in 1136, but this attempt to establish a theocracy was unsuccessful, as was the patriarch Peter II’s attempt to make Prince Raymond-Rupen his vassal in 1215.

Diocesan Organization

The territory of the Latin patriarchate was divided between the Frankish states of Antioch, Edessa, and Tripoli. The Franks sited many, though not all, of their bishoprics in former Greek Orthodox sees, but because Latin bishops were expected to assist in the work of secular administration and military organization, those factors largely determined where Latin dioceses were founded.

In the principality of Antioch, in addition to the patriarchal see, the following dioceses existed: (1) Albara (mod. al-



Diocesan organization of the Latin Patriarchate of Antioch

Bārah, Syria), founded in 1098 to administer that newly conquered city, and raised in 1111 to an archiepiscopal see and united with the former Orthodox see of Apamea (mod. Afāmiyah, Syria), in order to control a vulnerable frontier region; the archbishoprics of (2) Tarsos (mod. Tarsus, Turkey), established in 1099, and (3) Mamistra (mod. Misis, Turkey) in 1099, which both controlled Cilicia and the main approach roads to Antioch from the west; (4) the bishopric of Artah (mod. ‘Artāh, Syria), founded in 1099, controlling the approach road to Antioch from Aleppo; (5) the bishopric of Marash (mod. Kahramanmaraş, Turkey), founded before 1114, the center of a Byzantine lordship annexed by the Franks in 1104; (6) the bishopric of Jabala (mod. Jabalah, Syria), founded before 1115 in a port captured in 1109; (7) the bishopric of Laodikeia in Syria (mod. al-Lādhiqiyah, Syria), founded before 1139, in a city captured in 1108 that formed part of the prince’s domain until around 1135, when it passed to the dowager princess Alice; (8) the bishopric of Valania (mod. Bāniyās, Syria), founded before 1163 in a coastal town conquered in 1109.

In the county of Edessa the following foundations were made: (1) the archbishopric of Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey) in 1099, initially with jurisdiction over the whole county; (2) the archbishopric of Hierapolis, founded before 1134 to serve the western half of the county (the titular see [mod. Manbij, Syria] remained in Muslim hands, and the archbishops lived at Duluk (mod. Dülük, Turkey)); (3) the archbishopric of Coricium (mod. Quris, Syria), founded before 1140, in the former Armenian lordship of Bagrat, annexed by Count Baldwin II of Edessa in 1117/1118; (4) the bishopric of Kesoun (mod. Keysun, Turkey), founded before 1149 in the former Armenian lordship of Dgha Vasil, annexed by Baldwin II of Edessa in 1115.

In the county of Tripoli there were four bishoprics: (1) that of the city of Tripoli (mod. Trāblous, Lebanon) itself, initially serving the whole county from around 1110; (2) Raphanea (mod. Rafaniyah, Syria), a suffragan of Apamea, founded by Count Pons in 1126 as soon as he captured this city, and considered as the key to the defense of Tripoli; (3) Tortosa (mod. Tartūs, Syria), an important fortress, captured in 1102, not a bishopric until 1128; (4) Gibelet (mod. Jubail, Lebanon), a port captured in 1104, not made a bishopric until around 1138.

These delays occurred because of the disputed status of the ecclesiastical province of Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon), which included the coastal dioceses from Acre (mod. ‘Akko,

Israel) to Tortosa. Under the Greek Orthodox Church it had been subject to the patriarchs of Antioch, but the kings of Jerusalem wished all their lands to be subject to the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem. Popes gave different rulings about this, but political considerations proved paramount. Tyre and its suffragan sees of Acre, Sidon (mod. Saïda, Lebanon), and Beirut remained subject to the patriarchs of Jerusalem, while Gibelet, Tripoli, and Tortosa came directly under the authority of Antioch.

The Secular Church to 1303

From around 1135, the Latin patriarchate began to decline in size. In 1137 the Muslim ruler Zangī captured Raphanea. In 1138 Emperor John II Komnenos restored Byzantine rule in Cilicia and expelled the Latin archbishops of Tarsos and Mamistra. In 1144 Zangī seized Edessa, and in 1147–1151 his son Nūr al-Dīn captured Artah, Apamea and Albara, and Quris and Duluk. In 1149–1150 the sultan of Rūm took Marash and Kesoun. Only the coastal bishoprics of Gibelet, Tripoli, Tortosa, Valania, Jabala, and Laodikeia remained under Frankish control, though titular archbishops of Apamea also continued to be appointed. In the mid-1180s Latin archbishops were restored in Tarsos and Mamistra. In 1188 Saladin seized Laodikeia, Jabala, and Gibelet, although the Franks recovered the latter in 1197. In 1224 the Armenian rulers expelled the Latin archbishops of Tarsos and Mamistra. The Franks continued to appoint titular archbishops of Mamistra, who lived at Antioch, until 1259, but no more titular archbishops of Apamea were appointed after 1244.

After the murder of Patriarch Peter I in 1208, the papacy took a more active role in Antiochene affairs. Subsequent patriarchs were normally nominated by the popes, who also scrutinized episcopal elections in Frankish Syria. Papal intervention was a mixed blessing: devout and learned members of the mendicant orders were appointed to some Syrian sees from the 1250s; but the popes also provided nonresident Western clergy with Antiochene benefices, particularly with canonries in the churches of Tripoli and Antioch, despite the precarious financial position of the Latin patriarchate. There was a temporary improvement in the affairs of the patriarchate in 1260 when Prince Bohemund VI did homage to the Mongols and received back the lands west of the Orontes lost in 1188, which included Laodikeia and Jabala, where Latin bishops were restored by 1265, but this good fortune proved short-lived. The Mamlūks of Egypt, having driven the Mon-

gols from Syria, turned against their Frankish vassals, capturing Antioch, and probably also Jabala, in 1268. The Latin patriarch, Opizo dei Fieschi, was in Italy when Antioch fell and remained there, appointing Archdeacon Bartholomew, who became bishop of Tortosa in 1272, as his vicar. The Mamlūks captured the castle of Margat (mod. Qal'at Marqab, Syria), where the bishops of Valania had resided since 1188, in 1265, Laodikeia in 1287, and Tripoli in 1289. On 3 August 1291 the Templars surrendered Tortosa to them, and Bishop Bartholomew withdrew to Tarsos. He and the patriarch Opizo both died in 1292, but King Het'um II of Cilicia allowed a Latin archbishopric to be restored in Tarsos to minister to the large number of Frankish refugees in his kingdom. The Latin see of Tarsos, together with the island of Ruad (mod. Arwād, Syria), held by the Templars until 1303, and the fief of Gibelet (held by the Embriaci lords as vassals of the Mamlūks for some years after 1291) were the last vestiges of the Latin patriarchate of Antioch.

The paucity of evidence makes it difficult to reconstruct the history of the patriarchate at a local level. Antioch cathedral was served by eighteen canons and Tripoli by twelve, an indication of how prosperous those cities were, but the other Frankish cathedrals were poorer and had chapters of only four or five canons. In all Frankish cities there were some Latin-rite churches: at Edessa, for example, there were two in addition to the cathedral. In some ports the Italian maritime communes had churches to minister to their own citizens, whose clergy were directly subject to the bishops of the mother churches. Because no systematic study has yet been made of Frankish rural settlement in the northern states, it is impossible to establish how many Latin churches there were in the countryside. All Frankish landowners had at least one domestic chaplain, but chapels of the Latin rite also existed in some of the chief rural settlements in Frankish lordships and at some administrative centers.

Regular Clergy

Some of the shrine churches of Jerusalem possessed endowments in the northern states and established priories to administer them, but comparatively few other Latin monastic foundations were made in the turbulent lands of northern Syria. The Benedictine abbey of St. Paul was established in Antioch by 1108, and a Benedictine convent, St. Crux de Carpita, was also later founded there. By 1140 the community of St. George, a house of Augustinian Canons, existed in the city. In twelfth-century Tripoli there was the priory of St.

Michael, as well as St. James, a house belonging to the canons regular of St. Ruf at Avignon.

In 1157 the first Cistercian house in the Latin East was founded at Belmont in the Lebanon, and in 1214 the order was given the monastery of Jubin in the Black Mountain of Antioch by Patriarch Peter II of Ivrea, himself a Cistercian. The Cistercian monastery of St. Sergius at Gibelet was founded by 1233, and there was also a convent of Cistercian nuns dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene at Tripoli.

During the thirteenth century, the Franciscan Order founded houses at Antioch, Tripoli, and Tortosa, and also at Sis (mod. Kozan, Turkey) in Cilicia, while the Dominicans established communities at Tripoli and Antioch.

The Black Mountain of Antioch, which for centuries had been settled by Eastern-rite monks, attracted large numbers of Latin hermits. Some of them lived in community in the monastery of Machanath, but some were solitaries, and Aimery of Limoges appointed a minister to oversee their spiritual direction.

Military Orders

From the 1140s, the military orders took a major part in the defense of the northern Frankish states. In 1144 Raymond II of Tripoli granted the castle of Krak des Chevaliers, together with the march of Raphanea (much of it in Muslim hands), to the Hospitallers. In 1152 the bishop of Tortosa placed the castle and fief of Tortosa in the hands of the Templars, to whom, in 1154, Prince Reynald of Antioch gave the newly conquered castles in the Amanus Mountains. In 1186 Reynald Mazoir sold the fief of Margat, which included the diocese of Valania, to the Hospitallers. The two orders also owned many lesser properties in Antioch and Tripoli, and in many cases were granted the right to appoint Latin priests to serve the churches on their estates. Because the orders were exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, the powers of the patriarch and his suffragans were diminished. For example, in 1152 the bishop of Tortosa granted the Templars control over all the Latin churches in his fief except those in his cathedral city, while after 1188 the bishops of Valania were normally members of the Order of the Hospital.

Relations with Eastern Christians

Eastern Christians who were not members of the Greek Orthodox Church were granted religious autonomy under their own prelates. Relations between the Latins and the Jacobites (Syrian Orthodox) were, on the whole, very cor-

Antioch, Principality of

dial. The Maronites, from around 1182, and the Armenian Orthodox Church, from 1198, were drawn into union with the Latin Church, but retained their corporate identity and were directly subject to the pope, not to the Latin patriarch. Relations with Greek Orthodox Christians, who were found in large numbers in northern Syria, particularly in the cities, were always strained. The Latins regarded them as members of their own confession, and, while allowing them to preserve their own churches, monasteries, liturgy, and canon law, made them subject to the Latin hierarchy. The Byzantine emperors continued to appoint titular Orthodox patriarchs of Antioch, who resided in Constantinople, and whom they periodically tried to restore to power (successfully in the case of Athanasios Manasses, 1165–1170). In 1206, the Orthodox of Antioch elected their own patriarch, Symeon II, and although he was later exiled from the city, many of them remained faithful to him until his death in 1239. This led to a schism between Latins and Orthodox in the patriarchate, which was not healed before Latin rule came to an end.

—Bernard Hamilton

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Latin Patriarchs of Antioch

Bernard of Valence	1100–1135
Ralph of Domfront	1135–1140
Aimery of Limoges	1140–1165
(Athanasios Manasses, Greek patriarch)	1165–1170
Aimery of Limoges	1170–1193/1196
Peter I of Angoulême	1196–1208
Peter II of Ivrea	1209–1217
Peter of Capua (elect)	1219
Rainier	1219–1225
Albert of Rizzato	1227–1246
Opizo dei Fieschi	1247–1268 (d. 1292)

Antioch, Principality of

A Frankish state in northern Syria, established in 1098 by the armies of the First Crusade (1096–1099), and surviving until 1268. With its capital at the city of Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey), the principality of the same name comprised much of the northwest of the modern state of Syria, as well as the province of Hatay in the southeastern part of Turkey.

Foundation

The prospect of material gain, in addition to the spiritual reward offered by Pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont, was a strong motivating factor for the leaders of the First Crusade from southern Italy, Bohemund of Taranto (son of Robert Guiscard) and his nephew Tancred of Lecce. Upon his arrival in Constantinople in 1097, Bohemund took the oath required by the Byzantine emperor, Alexios I Komnenos, and promised not to lay claim to any former part of the empire that the crusade might conquer. However, during the siege of the city of Antioch (1097–1098), Bohemund obtained a pledge from the other crusade leaders that he would be allowed to keep Antioch if he could take it and if Alexios would not come in person to reclaim it. Bohemund then used his contacts with Firuz, a military commander in Antioch, to enter and take the city except for the citadel. After the crusaders' victory over Karbughā of Mosul (28 June 1098), the citadel surrendered. On 5 November 1098, the council of the crusade leaders confirmed Bohemund's claim to Antioch, and when the main army of the crusade resumed its march south in January 1099, Bohemund stayed in Antioch.

Bohemund's new territory, the second Frankish state



The principality of Antioch in the earlier twelfth century

established in the East after the county of Edessa (1098), had been a Byzantine province until the Arab conquest of the seventh century, and in 1085 the Saljūqs had seized the region. In the north, the principality of Antioch was bordered by the plains of Cilicia and the Taurus Mountains; in the west by the Mediterranean Sea; in the south by the future county of Tripoli, the Muslim emirate of Homs, and the lands of the Assassins; and in the east by the county of Edessa and the Muslim emirate of Aleppo. The principality remained the target of Muslim reconquest until the 1170s, when Saladin shifted his attention to the south. Antioch, the capital city, was well fortified, with its 360 towers dating back to the Byzantine period. It was connected to the Mediterranean Sea through the port of St. Simeon (mod. Süveydiye, Turkey). As a commercial center Antioch was not as important as Acre or the coastal cities of Cilicia, but it was famous for its aqueducts, gardens, baths, and sewers, as well as for the good relationship between its various ethnic and religious groups: Franks, Syrians, Greeks, Jews, Armenians, and Muslim Arabs. Bohemund I's court resembled that of most Western rulers and featured the typical household officers: constable, marshal, chamberlain, and chancellor. The Italo-Norman laws of the principality, known as the *Assizes of Antioch*, have survived in a thirteenth-century Armenian translation, since Cilician Armenia later adopted these same laws.

History, 1099–1149

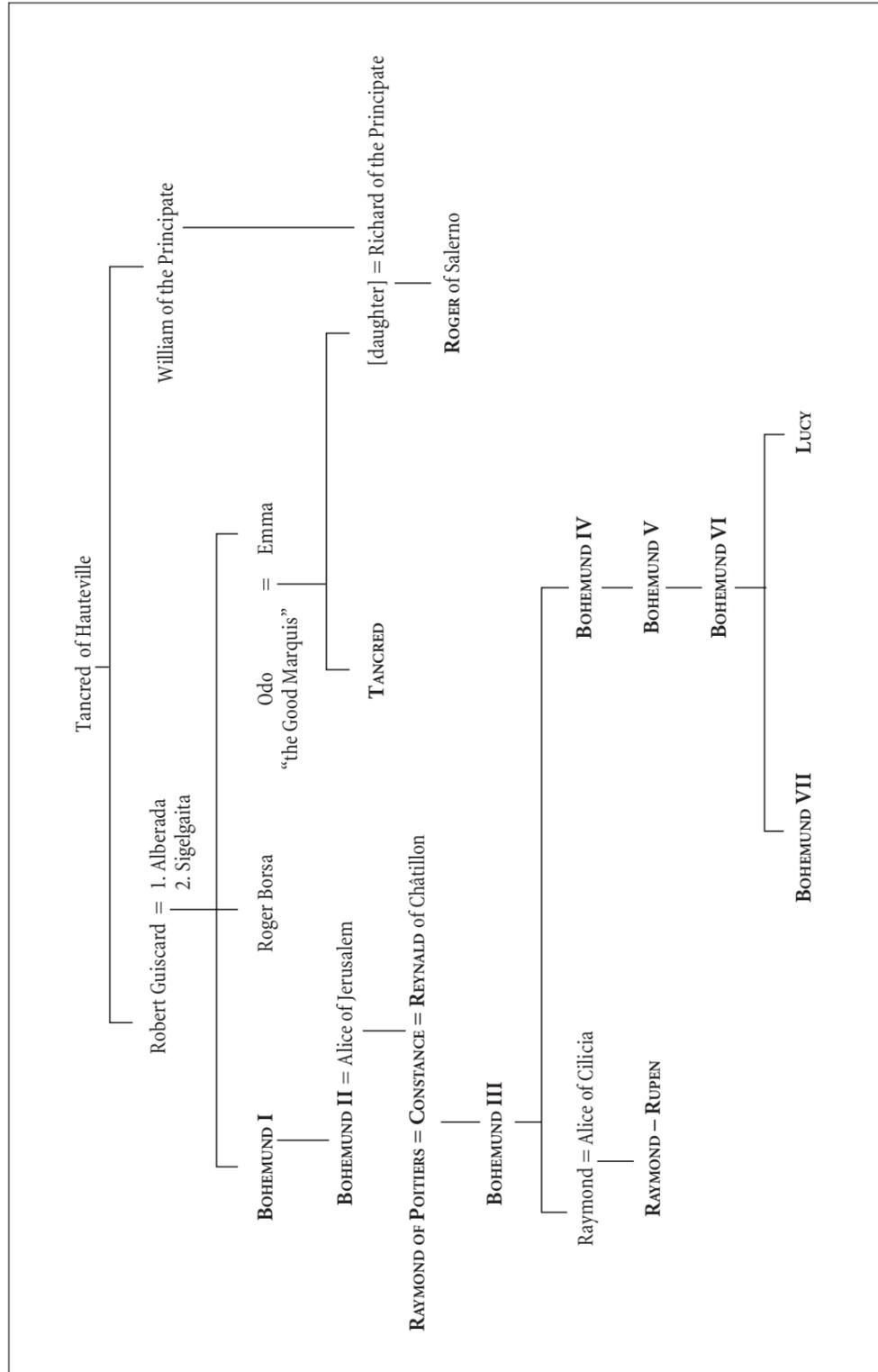
On Christmas 1099, when Bohemund was in Jerusalem to fulfill his pilgrim's vow, Patriarch Daibert of Jerusalem invested him with the principality of Antioch, thus completely disregarding the oath that Bohemund had taken before Emperor Alexios. Bohemund had tolerated a Greek Orthodox patriarch in Antioch, but Daibert insisted on installing Latin prelates in Tarsos, Artah, and Mamistra. Consequently, the Greek patriarch, John of Oxeia, retired to Constantinople, and Bernard of Valence became the first Latin patriarch of Antioch. After the death of Godfrey of Bouillon (1100), Daibert tried to prevent Baldwin I (of Boulogne), count of Edessa, from assuming the rulership over Jerusalem by calling on Bohemund to intercept Baldwin's travel; however, Daibert's message never reached Bohemund. In August 1100, during an attempt to secure the northern borders of his principality, Bohemund was captured by the Dānishmendids under Malik Ghāzī of Sebasteia.

As early as September 1100, a newly arrived papal legate, Maurice of Porto, offered the regency of the principality to

Tancred, who was then ruling Galilee. However, Tancred only agreed on 8 March 1101, after he had received guarantees for his possessions in the kingdom of Jerusalem from King Baldwin I. The Lombard expedition in the Crusade of 1101 intended to free Bohemund I, who was imprisoned at Niksar, but it was crushed east of the Halys River, near Merzifon, by the Turks. As regent of Antioch, Tancred conquered Cilicia from Byzantium and managed to take Laodikeia in Syria in the spring of 1103 after a siege of a year and a half. He was, however, unable to stop Raymond of Saint-Gilles from taking Tortosa, south of Laodikeia, and from beginning the siege of Tripoli. Tancred did not actively pursue Bohemund's release from captivity, which was accomplished in 1103 after Baldwin II (of Bourcq), count of Edessa, concerned about Tancred's increasing power, successfully raised the money for the ransom.

In 1104, as part of a campaign against Riḍwān of Aleppo, Bohemund, together with Tancred, Baldwin II of Edessa, and Joscelin I of Courtenay, attacked the fortress of Harran, southeast of Edessa, in order to establish a buffer that would separate eastern Anatolia, Syria, and Iraq. The combined Frankish army suffered a complete defeat, and Baldwin and Joscelin were captured. Tancred became regent in Edessa. The Byzantines took the opportunity to reconquer Cilicia and take the port and lower city (though not the citadel) of Laodikeia. Bohemund saw his principality in danger and decided to return to the West to assemble allies and supplies. He entrusted Tancred with Antioch, who in turn left the regency of Edessa to his cousin Richard of the Principate. In 1107, Bohemund crossed the Adriatic Sea and laid siege to the Byzantine port of Dyrrachion (mod. Durrë, Albania). However, he lacked a fleet that could match that of the Byzantine Empire, and the siege failed. In 1108, in the Treaty of Devol (whose text is given in Anna Komnene's *Alexiad*), Bohemund had to agree to return Laodikeia and Cilicia to Alexios, to receive his principality as a vassal of the Byzantine Empire, and to restore the Greek patriarch of Antioch to his see. In return, Alexios promised him the yet-to-be-conquered territories around Aleppo. After this treaty, Bohemund did not dare to show his face in the East and returned to Apulia.

Tancred continued his regency over Antioch, ignoring the Treaty of Devol, and he expanded the principality by conquering Artah (1105), Apamea (1106), Mamistra (1107/1108), Laodikeia (1108), Valania, and Jabala (1109). In 1108, when Baldwin II of Edessa and Joscelin I of Courte-



Succession to the Principality of Antioch, 1098–1268

may were released from captivity, a quarrel began between them and Tancred over Edessa. For the first time, the Franks entered into opposing alliances with the Turkish emirs of northern Syria. Militarily, Tancred prevailed, but Baldwin II was able to regain control over Edessa. After Bohemund's death in Apulia in 1111, Tancred continued to rule Antioch on behalf of Bohemund's son (Bohemund II), who was still a minor. When Tancred died in 1112, Roger of Salerno, the son of Tancred's cousin Richard of the Principate, succeeded him as regent of Antioch.

At least initially, Roger seems to have continued Tancred's successful military activities. In 1115, the principality was threatened by Bursuq ibn Bursuq of Hamadan, a Turkish general in the service of the Saljūq sultan Muḥammad. In a spectacular military expedition, Roger ambushed and defeated Bursuq's army at Tell Danith, between Apamea and Aleppo (14 September 1115). When Lu'Lu', the *atabeg* of Aleppo, was murdered in 1117, Roger tried to prevent the takeover of Aleppo by the city's Muslim neighbors. In 1119, the Artūqid prince Ḫghāzī of Mardin first paid for a truce with Antioch but then allied himself with Tughtigin of Damascus and returned to attack the principality. Rather than waiting for help from Jerusalem and Tripoli, Roger decided to respond on his own. He met Ḫghāzī near al-Balat, west of Aleppo, with 700 knights and 3,000 foot soldiers. On 27 June 1119, the Franks were thoroughly defeated, and almost all, including Roger, were killed. Contemporaries referred to the battle and its site as the *Ager Sanguinis* (Field of Blood). Details of the campaign are related in Walter the Chancellor's *Bella Antiochena*.

The Antiochene nobles called upon King Baldwin II of Jerusalem (the former count of Edessa) to assume the regency. The contract of regency ensured that the principality and its lordships would remain under Antiochene control, held in trust on behalf of Bohemund I's son, and not be handed over to the nobility of the kingdom of Jerusalem. In April 1123, Baldwin II himself was captured in northern Syria while trying to aid Edessa against Aleppo. In Antioch, the patriarch, Bernard of Valence, took over as regent until the summer of 1124 when the king was released from captivity. In Baldwin's absence, the Franks allied with the Venetians had managed to conquer Tyre, which brought about new problems between Jerusalem and Antioch. Traditionally, the archdiocese of Tyre had formed part of the patriarchate of Antioch. However, it was the position of the papacy that political and ecclesiastical boundaries should coincide;

the problem was that some of the bishoprics in the archdiocese of Tyre were in the territory of the kingdom of Jerusalem, while others were not. The pope decided in favor of Jerusalem, and the archbishop of Tyre became a subordinate of the patriarch of Jerusalem, while the bishoprics remained divided between Jerusalem and the states of northern Syria.

In 1126, Bohemund II arrived from Apulia to take over his father's inheritance. The following year, he married Alice of Jerusalem, one of Baldwin II's daughters. Only four years after his arrival in the east, Bohemund II died fighting in Cilicia (February 1130). In the following years, his widow Alice, left with their infant daughter Constance, repeatedly tried to take over the government. However, her father Baldwin II resumed the regency until his own death (1131). When Alice made an attempt to become regent in 1131, she was aided by Edessa and Tripoli, but the new king of Jerusalem, Fulk, came to Antioch almost instantly to take over the regency (1132). Fulk entrusted the affairs of the principality to one of its chief barons, Reynald Mazoir. In 1133, the Antiochene nobility asked Fulk to select a husband for Constance, and the king's choice fell upon Raymond of Poitiers, a son of William IX of Aquitaine, but it was three years before he arrived in the East. In 1135, Alice made another attempt to gain control over Antioch. Her ally was the new, uncanonically elected patriarch, Ralph of Domfront. However, when Alice offered her daughter Constance as a bride to Prince Manuel Komnenos of Byzantium, she encountered resistance from the patriarch, who feared he could be replaced by a Greek. Raymond of Poitiers arrived at Antioch in 1136, and Ralph saw to it that he was married to Constance. Alice retreated to Laodikeia. A few years later (1140), Patriarch Ralph, whose intrigues continued, was deposed by a council and succeeded by Aimery of Limoges. Raymond of Poitiers's court at Antioch was a cultural center: *Les Chétifs*, an Old French verse epic, was composed there shortly before 1149.

The Byzantine emperors continued to hope that they could assert their overlordship over the principality, or possibly even annex it outright. As they regarded themselves as protectors of the sizable Greek Orthodox population, another Byzantine aim was to restore a Greek patriarch in the city of Antioch. In 1137, Emperor John II Komnenos intervened to press his claims with regard to the principality. Raymond was forced to negotiate: he had to do homage to John and to agree to hand Antioch over to the emperor should John man-

age to conquer Aleppo, Shaizar, and Homs, and thus carve out a new territory for Raymond. In 1138, aided by Edessa and Antioch, John launched an attack against 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī, ruler of Mosul and Aleppo. When it became evident that the Franks were only lending lukewarm support, John returned to Antioch and laid claim to the city. However, Joscelin II of Edessa orchestrated a popular uprising that forced John to leave the city. He retreated to Constantinople, but returned in 1142. This time, the bishop of Jabala, acting on behalf of the pope and the Western emperor, rejected the Byzantine claims, an indication that the states of Outremer were considered the business of Christendom as a whole. In the following year, John died as a result of a hunting accident, and Raymond invaded Cilicia, but in 1144 the new Byzantine emperor, John's son Manuel I Komnenos, retaliated by invading the principality; Raymond was forced to travel to Constantinople and do homage. With the conquest of the city of Edessa by Zangī on 25 December 1144, Antioch's eastern border lay open to invasions from its Muslim neighbors. In 1148, during the Second Crusade (1147–1149), Raymond tried to convince King Louis VII of France to join him in a campaign against Zangī's son and successor, Nūr al-Dīn. However, Louis did not consider their joint forces strong enough, and the alleged affair of his wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine, with Raymond, her uncle, did not help to build trust. The crusade's attack on Damascus temporarily distracted Nūr al-Dīn, but in the summer of 1149, he appeared before the Antiochene castle of Inab. Raymond confronted him in battle on 29 June 1149 and was defeated and killed.

History, 1149–1192

Raymond's widow Constance assumed the regency for their children, who were still minors. Her main advisor was the Latin patriarch, Aimery of Limoges. Despite considerable pressure from King Baldwin III of Jerusalem, Constance refused to take a new husband until 1153, when she married Reynald of Châtillon, a French nobleman. Reynald turned against the patriarch (who may have objected to the marriage), had him imprisoned, and only released him when King Baldwin intervened on his behalf. In 1156, Reynald and Prince T'oros II of Cilicia attacked the Byzantine island of Cyprus, which they pillaged thoroughly. In February 1158, Reynald, aided by Baldwin III and Count Thierry of Flanders, captured the fortress of Harenc, an important stronghold on the river Orontes. In the fall of 1158, Manuel I Komnenos decided to renew his pressure on Antioch and moved with

his troops into Cilicia. In order to preempt the impending humiliation, Reynald traveled to Manuel and promised both to surrender the citadel of Antioch to him and to install a Greek patriarch (the latter did not come to pass). On 12 April 1159, Manuel entered Antioch in triumph. But then, to the shock of the Frankish states, Manuel and Nūr al-Dīn concluded an agreement, an alliance that from Byzantium's perspective was intended to provide a check to the Franks of Outremer and to keep the Anatolian Turks under control. On 23 November 1161, during a raid against Nūr al-Dīn's territory, Reynald was captured. He spent the following sixteen years in prison in Aleppo. Instead of turning to Byzantium, the Antiochene barons asked the king of Jerusalem for assistance. Baldwin III entrusted Patriarch Aimery with the regency, which pleased neither Byzantium nor Constance. To strengthen his claim over Antioch, Manuel married Constance's daughter Maria. However, in 1163/1164, the Antiochene barons expelled Constance and installed Bohemund III, the son of Constance and Raymond of Poitiers, as prince of Antioch.

Bohemund at first only controlled Laodikeia, but by March 1164 he was successfully established in Antioch. In August 1164, Nūr al-Dīn defeated the armies of Antioch and Tripoli near Artah, capturing Bohemund and Count Raymond III of Tripoli, and regained the fortress of Harenc, thus turning the Orontes into the definite eastern border of the principality. It seems that Manuel was instrumental in bringing about Bohemund's release from captivity (1165). In return, Bohemund had to install a Greek patriarch in Antioch. The ties between Antioch and Constantinople were further strengthened when Bohemund married Theodora, Manuel's great-niece. However, after Manuel's death (1180), Bohemund separated from her and married his mistress Sibylla. Consequently, Patriarch Aimery excommunicated him and placed Antioch under an interdict, whereupon Bohemund laid siege to the castle of Qusair to which Aimery had retreated; an agreement was mediated by Patriarch Eraclius of Jerusalem. Bohemund then turned on the Antiochene nobles who had supported Aimery, but most of them seem to have fled to Cilicia.

Bohemund III's son Raymond fought at the battle of Hattin (1187), where the Franks of Outremer were defeated by Saladin, and managed to escape, together with Raymond III of Tripoli. As Saladin continued his conquests, Bohemund was among the first who called on the West for help. Saladin was unable to take the important Antiochene castle of Mar-

gat, which the Hospitallers had just acquired from the Mazoir family. However, since the Muslim reconquest of Laodikeia in 1187, the principality of Antioch had been physically separated from the Frankish states to the south (Tripoli and Jerusalem). The city of Antioch was only saved because a Sicilian fleet arrived just in time. In 1190, the body of the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa was buried in the cathedral of Antioch, and his son Duke Frederick V of Swabia, who was married to Constance, a great-granddaughter of Bohemund II, left a contingent of 300 knights and his treasure in Antioch. It seems that Bohemund III entered into a feudal relationship with the Western empire, maybe with the intention of establishing a *regnum Antiochenum* (kingdom of Antioch); after all, Emperor Henry VI would soon elevate Cyprus (1197) and Cilicia (1198) to the rank of kingdoms. During the Third Crusade (1189–1192), the principality of Antioch as well as the county of Tripoli remained neutral; they were, however, included in the truce between Saladin and King Richard the Lionheart of England (1192).

History, 1192–1268

Count Raymond III of Tripoli died shortly after the battle of Hattin. He had designated his godchild Raymond of Antioch, Bohemund III's oldest son, as his successor; Bohemund, however, decided to give Tripoli to his youngest son and namesake, Bohemund IV. In 1194, Leon II of Cilicia captured Bohemund III, but was unable to seize the city of Antioch because of the successful resistance of the newly formed commune there. The Antiochenes called on Henry of Champagne, the ruler of the kingdom of Jerusalem, for help, and Henry traveled to Cilicia, where he successfully negotiated Bohemund III's freedom in exchange for Cilicia's release from its vassal status toward Antioch. As a token of their reconciliation, Raymond of Antioch married Alice, Leon's niece, but Raymond died shortly after Alice had given birth to their son, Raymond-Rupen.

When Bohemund III died in 1201, both his youngest son Bohemund IV, count of Tripoli, and Leon of Cilicia, acting on behalf of Raymond-Rupen, his great-nephew as well as Bohemund III's grandson, laid claim to the principality of Antioch. Raymond-Rupen was supported by Pope Innocent III, who intended to preserve the fragile union between the Roman and Armenian churches (since 1198); the high nobility of Antioch, who emphasized the rule of primogeniture customary in the principality, and Sultan al-'Ādil of Egypt

and Syria supported Raymond-Rupen. Bohemund IV had the endorsement of Aleppo (until Innocent III's call for a new crusade in 1213) and of the commune of Antioch, particularly because its Greek members resented the Armenians. Bohemund IV was able to establish himself in Antioch. Since the overthrow of the Byzantine Empire by the Fourth Crusade in 1204 now made Greek claims on the church of Antioch unlikely, Bohemund lent his support to a Greek patriarch in the city (1207–1213). This and the commune's taxation plans so antagonized the Latin clergy that they switched over to Leon's side. Leon then agreed to a marriage between his daughter Stephanie and Raymond-Rupen. In 1216, Raymond-Rupen was able to supplant Bohemund in Antioch. Bohemund then participated in the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221). Raymond-Rupen did not hold Antioch for long. In 1219, he was dethroned by a revolt, whereupon Bohemund IV returned and ruled until his death in 1233. From this time, the county of Tripoli and the principality of Antioch remained under joint rule.

After the death of Leon II (1219), Cilicia was shaken by a succession crisis, and between 1222 and 1224, Philip of Antioch, a son of Bohemund IV, was even married to Isabella, one of Leon's daughters. The marriage was, however, dissolved when the regent of Cilicia, Constantine of Lampron, decided to have his own son marry Isabella. In 1228, when Emperor Frederick II demanded an oath of homage from Bohemund IV, the latter pretended insanity and thus avoided the oath. Antioch remained neutral in the dispute between Frederick and the Ibelin family that occurred in the kingdom of Jerusalem in the 1230s. For the next three decades, northern Syria nearly disappears from the historical record, and it seems that there was a significant economic decline. Bohemund IV's son, Bohemund V, who ruled the principality between 1233 and 1251, found himself entangled in the military expeditions of the Templars and Hospitallers who controlled significant portions of the Antiochene frontier. The nobility of Antioch and Tripoli also participated in the battle of La Forbie (1244), the most catastrophic defeat of the Franks of Outremer since Hattin. Bohemund V rarely visited Antioch and preferred Tripoli as his residence.

At the behest of King Louis IX of France, Bohemund V's son, Bohemund VI, married Sibyl, a daughter of King Het'um of Cilicia. This marriage alliance drew Antioch into Cilicia's allegiance to the Mongols. Both Het'um and Bohemund VI assisted with the Mongol conquest of Aleppo and

Damascus (1260). In the shadow of the Mongol advance, Bohemund was able to regain Laodikeia, but—since the Mongols realized the importance of the Greeks—he had to accept a Greek patriarch in Antioch; this earned him an excommunication from Rome. Opizo, the Latin patriarch of Antioch, left his see and moved to the West, where he continued to reside with a titular claim until 1292. When the Mamlūks defeated the Mongols at Ayn Jālūt (1260), Antioch lost a powerful ally and became one of the next objectives of Mamlūk retaliation. On 19 May 1268, after a four-day siege, Sultan Baybars I conquered the city of Antioch, destroyed it, and deported its population. In the same year, the Templars abandoned their castles in the Antiochene Amanus march.

Both Bohemund VI (d. 1275) and his son Bohemund VII (d. 1287), who continued to rule Tripoli, maintained their titular claims to the principality of Antioch. The Hospitaller castle of Margat held out until 1285, when it was conquered by Sultan Qalāwūn. Finally, on 20 April 1287, Qalāwūn's army took Laodikeia, the last significant city of the former principality.

—Jochen Burgtorf

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Princes of Antioch

Bohemund I	1098–1111
Roger of Salerno	1112–1119
Bohemund II	1126–1130
Raymond of Poitiers	1136–1149
Reynald of Châtillon	1153–1161
Bohemund III	1163/1164–1201
Raymond-Rupen	1201–1219
Bohemund IV	1201–1233
Bohemund V	1233–1251
Bohemund VI	1251–1275 (titular rule 1268–1275) (loss of the principality) 1268

Antioch, Sieges of (1097–1098)

Two consecutive sieges of the city of Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) during the First Crusade (1096–1099). In the course of these sieges, the crusaders invested and captured the Turkish-held city (20 October 1097–3 June 1098) but were then themselves besieged by a relieving Turkish army, which they defeated four weeks later (2–28 June 1098).

The crusaders seem always to have recognized the importance of Antioch: Stephen of Blois, one of their leaders, wrote to his wife from Nicaea (mod. İzmit, Turkey) that they were only five weeks' march from Jerusalem, "unless Antioch resists us" [Heinrich Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes* (Innsbruck: Wagner'sche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1901), 140]. The hope of speedy progress sprang from their knowledge of the fragmentation of the Saljūq sultanate after the death of Tutush I, ruler of Syria (1095), which left his territories divided between his sons Riḳwān at Aleppo and Duḳāq at Damascus. Their rivalry enabled men like Yaghisiyan, Saljūq governor of Antioch, to enjoy great independence, while the sultan, Barkyāruq (1095–1105), was viewed with deep suspicion by all the powers of Syria.

The crusaders could count on support from the Armenian lands to the north, east, and west that they had liberated during their march, a process solidified when Baldwin of Boulogne seized Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey) in March 1098. An English fleet had captured St. Symeon, the port for Antioch, and Laodikeia in Syria, a major maritime city to the south, establishing close connections with Byzantine Cyprus that would serve as a supply base throughout the siege. When a Genoese fleet put into St. Symeon on 17 November, the skills and equipment it brought enabled the army to

build a fortified bridge of boats across the river Orontes and a fortress called Malregard to protect their camp north of the city. On 4 March 1098, another English fleet arrived, enabling the besiegers to build the crucial Mahommeries Tower, which blockaded the Bridge Gate. Yet, when the crusade first reached Antioch, the idea was floated (perhaps by the imperial representative, Tatikios) of a distant blockade, the method used when the Byzantines reconquered it from the Arab Ḥamdānid dynasty in 969. However, the crusaders rejected this idea, probably because of the need to keep the army together, and established themselves along the north wall in front of the gates between Mount Staurin and the Bridge Gate. Communications with St. Symeon were precarious, depending on the bridge of boats and subject to attack from the Bridge Gate.

Although the Western sources present the siege as a noble and continuous struggle, it was effectively a close blockade, probably punctuated by a series of truces, and there was never a general assault. The crusader army had suffered badly crossing Asia Minor, and its cavalry was reduced to about 700 in number. It had been attacked from enemy outposts to the north and feared relief expeditions. By December 1097 the army was starving and a foraging expedition was mounted into Syria. On 31 December it encountered a relief expedition sent by Duqāq of Damascus in an effort to undermine Riḍwān. In a drawn battle near Albara, the crusaders halted this expedition, but their failure to gather booty plunged the army into a profound crisis of supply, prompting Tatikios to return to Constantinople to hasten imperial assistance. Riḍwān moved to reassert his control over Antioch, but on 9 February 1098 Bohemund led all the surviving crusader cavalry and successfully ambushed Riḍwān's great army as it approached the city. The crusaders thus survived a great crisis and by early March had built the Mahommeries Tower outside the Bridge Gate and blockaded the St. George Gate to the south. Under this severe pressure, one of the tower commanders, Piruz, agreed to betray his section of the wall to Bohemund (late May). At the same time, news arrived of the approach of a huge relief army sent by the sultan under Karbughā of Mosul; this enabled Bohemund to extort a promise from the other leaders that he could have possession of the city if the Byzantine emperor did not come to their relief. On the night of 2/3 June, the crusaders entered the city, which was sacked, although the citadel held out under its Turkish garrison.

The very next day, Karbughā appeared before Antioch,

having wasted time in a fruitless three-week siege of Edessa designed to please some of his allies. He established a camp 5 km (c. 3 mi.) north of the city and drove in all the crusader outposts. Another camp was then set up close to the citadel and an effort made to storm the city through the citadel, but the attempt failed because the crusaders were able to block the narrow route down to the city. The crusaders were starving and frightened, to such an extent that there were substantial desertions, including that of Stephen of Blois, and Bohemund set part of the city on fire to flush out the timorous. However, in this hour of crisis a series of visionaries came forward proclaiming God's trust in his people; these events culminated in the discovery of the Holy Lance in the cathedral by a Provençal pilgrim named Peter Bartholomew on 14 June, which greatly lifted crusader morale.

On 28 June the army broke out from the Bridge Gate escorted by so many clergy that it seemed like a religious procession. Religious ardor played a major role in the ensuing victory, but so did the military prudence of Bohemund, who had been placed in command and who held back his own men as a reserve. But the decisive factor was that Karbughā had dispersed his forces: as his troops near the Bridge Gate were pushed back, those from outside other gates were drawn piecemeal into the battle. It took time for Karbughā to realize what was happening and mobilize his massive cavalry forces in the main camp; by the time they arrived the battle was lost, and the bulk of his forces never engaged. The siege of Antioch had been an enormous strain on the crusader army, but its capture ensured the continuation of the crusade. The city remained in Christian hands until 1268.

—John France

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Arabic Sources

Although many Arabic sources dating from the period of the crusades have survived to the modern day, there are a number of important texts that have been lost over time. Of those that have survived, a considerable number have been edited and published, but many are still extant only in manuscript form. Translations of the Arabic sources are even fewer, making it difficult for scholars who do not read Arabic to make effective use of this material. In addition, as with any primary source, one must always attempt to understand the motivations of the authors of the Arabic sources and how these might affect their writing. A further complication (and here one must acknowledge that the applicability of the term *crusade* to the Christian reconquest of Spain is debatable) is the fact that the Christian concept of crusade was one that was alien to medieval Muslims, and in many cases the Europeans invading Muslim territory were viewed as being merely one among many groups of enemies. Few Muslims truly understood the motives of the Christians invading their territories, and most often they ascribed their enemies’ actions to greed for booty. As a result, few Muslim works give detailed consideration to the crusading phenomenon. Accounts of the actions of the Christian enemy often form part of larger narratives of events, mentioned only in an occasional fashion and sometimes lacking details that might be considered important by modern scholars.

Genres

A number of genres of Arabic writing existed during the crusading period. Most of the authors of the texts that make up these genres were Muslims (and it is on their works in particular that this entry focuses); however, it is important to note that there are also Arabic works written by Christian and Jewish writers, some of which are mentioned below. It also should be noted that the various genres of Arabic writing occasionally overlap. For example, the universal chron-

icle of the Coptic Christian writer al-Mākin ibn al-‘Amīd (d. 1273) entitled *al-Majmū‘ al-Mubārak* (*The Blessed Collection*) takes the form of a series of biographies.

Most of the authors of the period wrote in Classical Arabic, but it is also important to note a variant of Arabic found in sources from the Jewish communities of the time, Judeo-Arabic (Arabic written in Hebrew characters). The best-known examples of Judeo-Arabic are some of the documents recovered in 1896–1897 from the Ben Ezra synagogue in Cairo, commonly known as the Cairo Genizah documents, which include works from a wide variety of genres.

Chronicles

The most important genre of texts that have passed down to modern historians from the period of the crusades is the universal chronicle. A number of annalistic histories were compiled during the period, of which the best known is *al-Kāmil fī l-Ta’rīkh* (*The Universal History*) of the Mosuli writer Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1233), which covers history from the Creation up to 1230–1231, two years before the author’s death. Later chronicles of this type include *Mir’āt al-Zamān fī Ta’rīkh al-A’yān* (*The Mirror of Time Concerning the History of Notables*), by the Turkish preacher and writer Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī (d. 1256), and *Ta’rīkh al-Duwal wa’l-Mulūk* (*The History of States and Kings*), by the Egyptian Ibn al-Furāt (d. 1405). At the other end of the Mediterranean, one of the most influential chroniclers of the period was Aḥmad ibn Mūsā al-Rāzī (d. 955), much of whose writings, although written before the beginnings of the Christian expansion into al-Andalus and now mostly lost, were later incorporated into the (also mostly lost) works of the compiler Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 1076), and later into *al-Bayān al-Mughrib fī Akhbār al-Andalus wa’l-Maghrib* (*The Amazing Explanation of the Reports of al-Andalus and the Maghrib*), by Ibn Idhārī (d. 1312).

Related to the universal chronicles are the local histories, adopting a similar form but centered on a particular city or country. Among the earliest such texts from the crusading period are *Dhayl Ta’rīkh Dimashq* (*The Continuation of the History of Damascus*), by the Damascene notable Ibn al-Qalānisī (d. 1160), and *Ta’rīkh Ḥalab* (*The History of Aleppo*), by al-Aẓīmī (d. after 1161). Other examples of this genre include *Zubdat al-Ḥalab min Ta’rīkh Ḥalab* (*The Crème de la Crème of the History of Aleppo*), by the Aleppan teacher, historian, and statesman Kamāl al-Dīn ibn al-‘Adīm (d. 1262), and *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira fī Mulūk Miṣr wa’l-*

Arabic Sources

Qāhira (*The Shining Stars of the Kings of Egypt and Cairo*), by the Mamlūk historian Ibn Taghribirdī (d. 1470).

Another related genre is the dynastic history. Ibn al-Athīr, mentioned above, wrote a history of the Zangids entitled *al-Ta'rikh al-Bāhir fī 'l-Dawla al-Atabākīyya* (*The Dazzling History of the State of the Atabegs*). In a similar vein, the Syrian *qāḍī* (judge) and historian Ibn Wāsil (d. 1298) wrote a history of the Ayyūbids, *Mufarrij al-Kurūb fī Akhbār Banī Ayyūb* (*The Remover of Worries about Reports of the Scions of Ayyūb*). Both Zangids and Ayyūbids are described in another important work of this type by the Damascene scholar Abū Shāma (d. 1268) entitled *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn fī Akhbār al-Dawlatayn al-Nūrīyya wa'l-Ṣalāhīyya* (*The Book of the Two Gardens, Giving Reports of the States of Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin*). Another work of this type, this time from al-Andalus, is the history of the Zīrid dynasty of Granada, *al-Tibyān* (*The Explanation*), by its last representative, 'Abd Allāh ibn Buluggīn (d. after 1090). Finally, although not strictly a dynastic history, another Arabic work written in a similar vein is the history of the patriarchs of the Coptic church of Egypt, *Siyar al-Bay'a al-Muqaddasa* (*Biographies of the Holy Patriarchs*). This was begun by the bishop of al-Ashmunayn, Sāwīrus (Severus) ibn al-Muqaffa' (d. 979/1003), and then continued by a number of unknown writers up to the fifteenth century.

Biographies and Autobiographies

Related to the dynastic histories are biographical works. These take, broadly speaking, two forms: biographies of single individuals and biographical dictionaries. Probably the best-known biographies of a single individual are three biographies of Saladin: *al-Nawādir al-Sultānīyya wa'l-Mahāsīn al-Yūsufīyya* (*The Rare Qualities of the Sultan and the Merits of Yūsuf*), by the *qāḍī* Bahā' al-Dīn ibn Shaddād (d. 1234), and two works by the *kātib* (secretary-scholar) 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (d. 1201), entitled *al-Faṭḥ al-Qussī fī 'l-Faṭḥ al-Qudsī* (*Qussian Eloquence on the Conquest of Jerusalem*) and *al-Barq al-Shāmī* (*The Syrian Lightning*). A number of later writers also wrote biographies of sultans. There are three biographies of al-Zāhir Baybars I, the Mamlūk sultan (d. 1277), all written by chancery officials: *al-Rawḍ al-āhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-āhir* (*The Radiant Garden on the Life of al-Malik al-āhir*), by Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir (d. 1292), another work apparently bearing the same title by 'Izz al-Dīn ibn Shaddād (d. 1285), and an abridgement of Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir's work, *Ḥusn al-Manāqib al-*

Sirrīyya al-Muntaza'a min al-Sīra al-āhirīyya (*The Excellence of the Secret Virtues Taken from the Biography of al-āhir*), made by his nephew, Shāfi' ibn 'Alī (d. 1330). Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir also wrote biographies of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (d. 1290) and al-Ashraf Khalīl (d. 1293). His nephew wrote a biography of Qalāwūn.

A number of authors compiled biographical dictionaries during the period. Among the most important are Ibn 'Asākir (d. 1176), a prolific historian and preacher from Damascus, who produced a biographical dictionary entitled *Ta'rikh Madīnat Dimashq* (*History of the City of Damascus*). Kamāl al-Dīn ibn al-'Adīm, the chronicler of Aleppo mentioned above, also produced a biographical dictionary based on the inhabitants of the city, *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Ta'rikh Halab* (*The Object of Desire in the History of Aleppo*). Some interesting information on Frankish rule in Palestine is contained in a collection of biographies of Muslim shaykhs by Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Maqdisī (d. 1245) entitled *Karāmāt Mashāyikh al-Arḍ al-Muqaddasa* (*The Wondrous Deeds of the Shaykhs of the Holy Land*). Other important biographical dictionaries from the period include the *Wafayāt al-A'yān* (*Death Notices of Notables*) of Ibn Khallikān (d. 1282), a continuation of Ibn Khallikān's work by the Christian official al-Suqā'ī (d. 1328) entitled *Talī Kitāb Wafayāt al-A'yān* (*Continuation of the Death Notices of Notables*), and the *Kitāb al-Wafī bi'l-Wafayāt* (*Book of Complete Death Notices*) of the chancery official al-Ṣafādī (d. 1363).

Many of the works mentioned so far contain autobiographical elements; however, few contain detailed accounts of the authors' lives. The main exception to this is the *Tibyān* of 'Abd Allāh ibn Buluggīn, much of which is specifically dedicated to an account of his own life. Another autobiographical work, this time from the Levant, is the much-celebrated memoir of the Syrian emir and poet Usāma ibn Munqidh (d. 1188) entitled *Kitāb al-I'tibār* (*The Book of Learning by Example*). Usāma was at times an associate of both Saladin and Nūr al-Dīn and has left an account of his life that contains numerous stories of interactions between Franks and Muslims. Indeed, he himself claimed friendship with a number of important Frankish figures. However, Usāma wrote his book with a didactic purpose in mind, and at times one has to suspect that his veracity suffered as a consequence. It remains, nonetheless, an important source, giving the reader insights into Muslim relations with the Franks that are absent from most of the other works from the period.

Poetry

During his lifetime Usāma was actually more famous for his poetry, and poetry forms another important genre of Arabic writing from the period. A number of poets were active during the crusading era, including the Syrians Ibn al-Khayyāt (d. 1120s), Ibn Munīr (d. 1153), and Ibn al-Qaysarānī (d. 1154), as well as al-Abīwardī (d. 1113) from Khurasan. ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Ḥafāhānī, the biographer of Saladin mentioned above, also both composed and collected poetry. Many of the poems from the period are panegyrics of sultans and exhortations to the *jihād* (holy war). However, one also finds other works: for example, Ibn al-Qaysarānī also wrote poems extolling the beauty of Frankish women.

Religious Texts

Another form of encouragement to the *jihād* came, not surprisingly, from the religious classes. A particularly important text here is the *Kitāb al-Jihād (Book of the Holy War)* by ‘Alī ibn Ṭāhir al-Sulamī (d. 1106), which the author dictated in 1105 as a series of public lectures in two mosques in Damascus. Other important preachers and writers of judicial texts from the period include Ibn ‘Asākir, mentioned above, and the controversial theologian and jurist Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328). In addition to its function as a preaching script, al-Sulamī’s work forms part of a tradition of books devoted specifically to the *jihād*. This genre particularly flourished during the reigns of Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin. At the same time there was a marked growth of another genre, known as *faḍā’il* (merits) literature. These works include, in particular, texts extolling the merits of particular cities, including Mecca, Medina, Damascus, and Jerusalem. One of the most influential texts of this type is the *Faḍā’il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas (Merits of Jerusalem)* of the preacher al-Wāṣitī (fl. c. 1019). His work was copied, quoted from, and summarized throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Another important work of this type is the *Faḍā’il Bayt al-Maqdis (Merits of Jerusalem)* of Ibn al-Murajja (fl. 1130s).

Geographical Works and Travel Literature

The tenth century saw a flourishing of geographies of the known world in both Arabic and Persian, and such works continued to be written throughout the crusading period. One particularly important work of this type is *al-Masālik wa’l-Mamālik (The Roads and Kings)*, written by the Andalusian polymath Abū ‘Ubayd al-Bakrī (d. 1094). Another equally important work from further east is *Kitāb Nuzhat al-*

Mushtāq fī Ikhtirāq al-Āfāq (The Book of Desired Amusement in Crossing the Horizons), by al-Idrīsī (d. c. 1165). Al-Idrīsī lived under Norman rule in the kingdom of Sicily and wrote his work as a key to a large silver planisphere that he had made at the behest of the Norman king Roger II, for which reason it is also often known as *Kitāb Rujār (The Book of Roger)*. Related to these wide-ranging geographies are smaller-scale topographical surveys, of which the best known is a survey of Egypt, *Kitāb al-Mawā’iz wa’l-’Iṭibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa’l-Āthār (The Book of Exhortations and Learning by Example in Mentioning Districts and Remains)*, often referred to simply as the *Khiṭaṭ* by the scholar and teacher al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442).

Another important genre of Arabic literature from the period is travel literature. A number of travelers active at the time left accounts of their experiences on their journeys. The Spanish traveler Ibn Jubayr (d. 1217) made the *ḥajj* (greater pilgrimage) to Mecca in 1183–1185 and left an account of his journey through Egypt, Arabia, Iraq, Syria, and the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, entitled *al-Riḥla (The Journey)*. Another traveler, this time from Tangiers, named Ibn Baṭṭūta (d. 1368/1369 or 1377), traveled further east and south, reaching the lands of the Golden Horde, India, and (possibly) China and Niger. His work, *Tuḥfat al-Nuẓẓār fī Gharā’ib al-Amṣār wa ‘Ajā’ib al-Asfār (The Curiosity of Spectators about the Marvels of Cities and the Wonders of Journeys)*, is both a travelogue and a description of the world.

Popular Folk Literature

A genre that gives some insights into Muslim views of the crusades is the folk literature popular during the period. This literature remains relatively unstudied, but it is of particular value because it reveals attitudes of ordinary people, whereas most writing from the period was composed by and for the elites of society. The best-known such literature is the *Arabian Nights*, in which important Muslim figures from the crusading period appear, including Saladin and Sultan Baybars I. Baybars himself was also the subject of an epic cycle, *Sīrat Baybars (The Biography of Baybars)*. Another important epic from the period is *Sīrat Dhāt al-Himma (The Biography of Dhāt al-Himma)*. In addition to the names of Muslim rulers, one finds in these works figures with Frankish names, and the texts convey much about Muslim attitudes toward Christianity and the Franks and crusaders.

Legal Texts and Treaties

In addition to the genres mentioned above, there are a number of legal documents and treaties that survive from the period, particularly from the Middle East. There are many archives of original legal documents in the Middle East, and most of these documents have not yet been edited and translated, even though they provide great insight into the actual administration of the Muslim states. In addition, there are surviving treaties from both ends of the Mediterranean, preserved either in their original form or in compilations, most particularly chancery manuals, as models for future use. The most important such chancery manual from the period is the *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā fī Ṣinā'at al-Inshā'* (*The Dawn for the Dim-Sighted on the Art of Correspondence*) by the chancery clerk al-Qalqashandī (d. 1418).

Suffixed Curses

A distinctive feature of the Arabic sources of the period merits particular mention. It is common for authors to suffix a curse, such as *khadhalahum Allāh* (may God forsake them) or *la'anahum Allāh* (may God curse them), to their mentions of the Franks. Uses of suffixed invocations of both God's blessing and God's curse may be found in the earliest Muslim sources, and the Qur'ān itself clearly inspired most of the vocabulary that was used for them, but it is only with the onset of the crusades that a widespread tradition of using suffixed curses in this way for a specific enemy emerges. Unfortunately, due to the distribution of the sources, the precise circumstances under which this practice began are murky. Some cursing of the Franks is found in the *Kitāb al-Jihād* of 'Alī ibn Ṭāhir al-Sulamī, but it is not until midway through the *Dhayl Ta'rīkh Dimashq* of Ibn al-Qalānīsī, in his account of the Islamic year 552 (1157–1158), that clear and consistent use of these curses against the Franks first appears. It is also not evident what provoked his adoption of this usage, as it does not occur during an account of a particularly heinous act by the Franks, nor does he or any other source describe a particularly moving sermon or decree enunciated at the time that might be viewed as the stimulus.

Whatever the original motivation, suffixed invocations of this type continued to be applied to the Franks by many Muslim writers of the crusading period, and it is clear that they became a "label," probably applied more often out of what soon became standard procedure than from particularly vengeful sentiments toward the Franks. When the Mongol invasions began in the early thirteenth century, the

usage was also extended to them, probably because they, like the Franks, were non-Muslims who invaded Muslim territory, settled on the lands they invaded, and continued thereafter to pose a threat to the Muslim world.

–Niall Christie

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Aragon

The name Aragon can refer to two different realms in the Middle Ages: on the one hand, the county (later kingdom) of Aragon; on the other hand the larger polity formed by the dynastic union of Aragon and the county of Barcelona in 1137. In order to distinguish between them, the latter is more

appropriately referred to as the Aragonese-Catalan Crown or the Crown of Aragon.

The county of Aragon was established as a Carolingian border region at the turn of the ninth century, but it soon fell under the supremacy of Navarre. Only after 1035 did it achieve independence, and under its first king, Sancho Ramírez (1063–1094), the neighboring counties of Sobrarbe and Ribagorza were incorporated into the territory. During the reigns of Peter I (1094–1104), and Alfonso I the Battler (1104–1134), Aragon expanded south toward the pre-Pyrenees and the upper Ebro Valley, which was wrested from the Muslims in a series of campaigns culminating in the conquest of Zaragoza in 1118. Alfonso died without heirs shortly after the disastrous defeat by Muslim forces at Fraga (1134), and in 1137 the kingdom was unified—but never amalgamated—with the expanding county of Barcelona. The latter had emerged since the ninth century as the leading force among the Carolingian counties of the eastern Pyrenees. Practically independent of Frankish rule since the turn of the eleventh century, the counts of Barcelona had acquired a hegemonic position that enabled them to successively incorporate practically all other Catalonian counties by the end of the twelfth century.

Aragon and the Aragonese-Catalan Crown formed part of the crusading movement in three different ways. First, arms bearers from the eastern Pyrenees participated in crusades to the Levant. Second and most importantly, both polities were crusading areas in their own right, expanding to the south against Muslim al-Andalus during the process known as the *Reconquista* (reconquest). And third, in the later Middle Ages the Aragonese-Catalan Crown itself became the object of a short-lived crusade mounted by rival Christian powers.

Long before the First Crusade (1096–1099), Catalan and Aragonese pilgrims made their way to Jerusalem, as many extant wills demonstrate. Despite papal prohibitions against joining the campaigns in the Levant, Pyrenean warriors can also be traced among crusaders to the East in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and an entire Aragonese-Catalan expedition in aid of the kingdom of Jerusalem was undertaken by King James I in 1269–1270, even though its success was rather limited. Catalans in particular also migrated to the Frankish states of Outremer as settlers, and during the entire Middle Ages, arms bearers from both regions entered the Palestinian military orders, where knights such as Arnold of Torroja or Juan Fernández de Heredia rose to high positions.

But it is as a crusading theater that the Aragonese-Catalan Crown acquired major importance for the history of the crusades. For two centuries, the kings of Aragon extended their dominions south in a series of crusading thrusts that interrupted longer spells of peace, until their expansion came to a halt at the Christian-dominated territory of Murcia in the middle of the thirteenth century. These campaigns assumed the character of crusades at the beginning of the twelfth century, when a series of papal bulls equated the struggle against Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula with the crusades to the Holy Land. Some of the Iberian crusades were formally proclaimed or even monitored by Rome, and identical indulgences were promised for combat in either region. This also holds true for the Aragonese expansion, which was not only fostered by the popes, but also attracted some, albeit not many, foreign crusaders. Among the Aragonese-Catalan warriors, the concept of religious, spiritually meritorious warfare was well-known, and the struggle against the Muslims of al-Andalus was sometimes depicted as an attempt to reestablish the Christian rule abolished as a result of the Muslim invasion of 711. The concept of restoring the vanished Visigothic Empire so important to the early *Reconquista* in León and Castile was, however, less pronounced in the eastern part of the Iberian Peninsula.

Aragonese-Catalan warfare against Islamic Spain can be divided into four phases, the first of which roughly comprises the eleventh century. During this period, the collapse of the caliphate of Córdoba enabled Aragonese magnates to expand their territories south to the borders of the upper Ebro Valley, conquering the defensive sites of Huesca and Barbastro in 1096 and 1064/1100 respectively. In Catalonia the eleventh century brought a less spectacular advance in the *Reconquista*. After the sack of Barcelona in 985, the counts undertook expeditions against Córdoba (1010 and 1017) and levied tribute from Muslim lordships, but the decades between roughly 1020 and 1060 were marked by inner turmoil, which only ended when Raymond Berengar I (1035–1076) succeeded in reestablishing order under the leadership of the house of Barcelona. Only toward the end of the century was the military advance resumed and the town of Tarragona taken (around 1100). At this time, the crusades to the East changed the character of these attacks, and both military theaters began to be put into correlation. A clear sign of this shift was Pope Urban's II exhortations from 1089 and 1096–1099 to reestablish the see of Tarragona: by explicitly stating that this was as laudable a service

Aragon



The Crown of Aragon

as the *iter Hierosolimitanum* (crusade to Jerusalem), the pope linked the two areas.

The beginning of the twelfth century heralded the second phase of the Aragonese reconquest, which lasted until c. 1180. Under King Alfonso I (fittingly named “the Battler”), the strategically and economically important upper Ebro Valley and plain were conquered: Zaragoza, the center of a powerful Taifa kingdom, fell on 18 December 1118, and during the following years, other lordships such as Tudela, Tarazona, and Calatayud were also taken. The Taifas of Lleida (Lérida) and Tortosa, however, eluded the Battler’s grasp. Although Alfonso tried to bind his realm to the papacy and the crusades to the East by bequeathing it to the Templars, the Hospitallers, and the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre in 1131/1134, his true heirs were to be the counts of Barcelona. Count Raymond Berengar III had reassumed the Catalan expansion with the brief occupation of the island of Mallorca (1114–1116) and the reestablishment of the metropolitanate of Tarragona in 1118, and after the Aragonese-Catalan union of 1137, Count Raymond Berengar IV of Barcelona completed the Battler’s projected conquests with a major campaign at the end of the 1140s. Contemporary sources reveal that this operation was heavily influenced by crusading ideals. Pope Eugenius III, who considered the Iberian Peninsula as only one front of a large-scale offensive that was waged simultaneously on the coasts of the Baltic Sea, the Mediterranean, and the Atlantic, promised the crusaders indulgences. Consequently, the Christian army assembled by the count comprised not only Occitan, Aragonese, Italian, and Catalan forces, aided by members of the military orders, but also a crusader contingent from northwestern Europe on its way to Palestine. On 30 December Tortosa surrendered, and on 24 October 1149, Lleida was taken. Thus, at the middle of the twelfth century the Aragonese-Catalan Crown formed a coherent territory that included the entire Ebro Valley as well as neighboring Lower Aragon in the west. The following decades brought a hiatus in expansion due to the rise of the Muslim Almohads, but the resettlement (Sp. *re población*) of the newly conquered areas was effectively promoted. New towns such as Teruel were founded on the Christian-Muslim border and furnished with attractive privileges in the form of foundational charters (Sp. *fueros*) to attract new settlers, while both Palestinian and Iberian military orders were granted castles and extensive possessions. In some of the conquered areas (particularly in the Ebro Valley and Valencia), the subjected

Muslims (Mudejars) were allowed to remain and maintain their religious practices, although they were segregated and legally discriminated against. The Christian rulers of medieval Iberia, their eyes set on a continuation of the *Reconquista*, also partitioned and assigned areas for future expansion. The Treaty of Tudillén between Count Raymond Berengar IV and King Alfonso VII of Castile (1151) and the Treaty of Cazola (1179) between Alfonso II of Aragon and Alfonso VIII of Castile delimited such zones, while the latter contract implicitly established the equality of the realms of Castile and Aragon. But it would take nearly a century until these expansionist plans could be carried out.

The third phase of the Aragonese-Catalan reconquest comprises the reign of King James I, known as the Conqueror (1214–1276). During the half century after his coming of age in the early 1220s, James undertook a series of crusades against Muslim lordships. Backed by papal indulgences, the wealthy Catalan port towns, and the barons of upland Aragon, the king mounted a crusade against the Balearic Islands in 1229. The island of Mallorca was subdued between September 1229 and July 1231, but it took an additional four years until Menorca and Ibiza fell to the Christians. By then campaigning against Muslim Valencia had already commenced. After the conquest of Burriana in 1233, crusading indulgences were promised, and the Valencian crusade was preached as far east as Arles and Aix-en-Provence. The conquest of the town of Valencia on 28 September 1238 marked the high point, though not the end, of the crusade, for even after the Muslim realm had been subdued in 1245, a series of ultimately futile Mudejar uprisings meant that the fighting dragged on intermittently until 1277. With the kingdom of Valencia finally conquered, the limits marked by the Treaty of Cazola (redrawn in the Treaty of Almisra in 1244) had been reached. King James II annexed the northern part of Murcia in 1304, which was lost again to Castile in the course of the fifteenth century, but the Aragonese-Catalan monarchs saw no further means to incorporate Muslim territories into their realm.

The fourth and final phase of the Aragonese *Reconquista* was marked by the participation of contingents in campaigns led by Castile during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Such was the case at the battle of Salado in 1340 and during the War of Granada (1482–1492), in which troops from the Iberian northeast played an important role. But in the meantime, Aragonese interests had shifted from military expansion on the Iberian Peninsula to political, economic, and mil-

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itary hegemony of the western Mediterranean. Even during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, political interests in Provence and other areas of southern France had diverted the monarchs' interest from Iberian affairs. For example, dynastic ties and fear of French expansionism had led King Peter II to side with the excommunicated count of Toulouse during the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229), a decision that cost the king his life at the battle of Muret on 12 September 1212. The conquest of the Balearic Islands directed the Crown's focus toward the Mediterranean, and in 1282 the uprising known as the Sicilian Vespers catapulted the house of Barcelona onto the throne of Sicily.

The Aragonese-Catalan Crown had become a decidedly Mediterranean power, which further expanded by acquiring the island of Sardinia and lordships in the eastern Mediterranean in the course of the fourteenth century, as well as southern Italy in the middle of the fifteenth century. This expansion, however, also created conflicts with ecclesiastical powers. The Sicilian war in particular brought the Aragonese-Catalan rulers into direct conflict with the papacy, which championed the position of their rivals, the house of Anjou. Consequently, at the end of the thirteenth century a crusade was preached against the Christian ruler Peter III of Aragon, the son of a crusading king (James I). The campaign, led by King Philip III of France, came to an inglorious end in 1285, and subsequent peace treaties reduced the invasion of 1285 to a singular event and an interlude in the long crusading history of the Aragonese-Catalan Crown.

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Archipelago, Duchy of the

A duchy in the Cyclades Islands (mod. Kyklades, Greece) with its capital on Naxos, established after the Frankish-Venetian overthrow of the Byzantine Empire and ruled by Venetian families until its conquest by the Ottoman Turks in 1566.

The sources for the conquests of the Aegean islands in the wake of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) are late in date and vague in content. They are agreed that there was little opposition to the Latin newcomers, but their focus of attention was upon lords and lordships. The chronicle of Andrea Dandolo (1309–1354) concentrates on the titles acquired by various Venetian families in the Aegean, giving no details of the size, progress, and nature of the Venetian conquest. This source implies that there was one leader, Marco Sanudo, the nephew of the doge Enrico Dandolo, but that leading participants had their own ships and presumably a fairly free hand. The chronicler Daniele Barbaro (1511–1570) drew a distinction between Sanudo's expedition to Naxos, which he placed in the winter of 1204–1205 and regarded as having been undertaken with the backing of his uncle, but without the knowledge of the Latin emperor, and the more general conquest of 1206–1207. Both chroniclers assumed that Venetian rulers of the Archipelago in their own day could trace their roots back to the original Latin conquerors.

The names of the six ruling families of the Archipelago around 1212 are derived from Barbaro's chronicle and from various Venetian family histories. Marco Sanudo (d. 1227), duke of the Archipelago, occupied Naxos, Paros,

Antiparos, Milos, Siphnos Kythnos (Thermia), Ios (Nio) Amorgos, Kimilos, Sikinos, Syra, and Pholegandros. Marino Dandolo, perhaps the elder brother of Marco, received Andros. The Ghisi brothers, Andrea and Geremia, ruled on Tinos, Mykonos, Skyros, Skopelos, Seriphos, and Kea. The other beneficiaries were Jacopo Barozzi on Thera (Santorini), Leonardo Foscolo on Anaphe, Marco Venier on Kythera (Cerigo), and Jacopo Viaro on Cerigotto. Whether they held these islands from Marco Sanudo or by retrospective grant of the Latin emperor is unclear, but they were expected to exercise their lordship in the Venetian interest. The Venier family on Kythera followed an overtly philhellenic stance, marrying brides from Greek families in 1238 and 1295. By 1363 they lost their island to direct rule from Venice when they became involved in a revolt of Venetian settlers on Crete. Inter-marriage between the island families and the wider Venetian community in the Aegean, the subdivision of island lordships to accommodate younger sons, and the occasional leases of islands resulted in the increase and sometimes replacement of some of the original island families.

The first Turkish attacks on the islands were noted in 1318 with raids on Santorini and Karpathos. Raiding intensified in the 1330s and continued throughout the fifteenth century. Some of the islands, such as Andros, were virtually depopulated: the resettlement of Albanians on some of the islands was the remedy adopted by Venice to prevent this. The Turks occupied the island of Naxos for a time in 1344, which resulted in the enslavement of 6,000 of the islanders and the flight of many to Crete. The dukes drew closer to Venice, assisting it in its wars with Genoa and in the suppression of the revolt on Crete but at the same time seeking accommodation with the Turks whenever necessary. In 1566, Chios, and soon after Naxos, fell to the Turks, and with this event came the effective end of the duchy of the Archipelago. The Turkish seizure of Naxos was in part ascribed to a petition to the sultan Selim from the Orthodox Christians of the island begging his help to remove the debauched duke Giacomo IV Sommaripa. The tax farm of the island was granted to the sultan's favorite, Jacopo Nasi (d. 1579), and the Venetians restored Giacomo briefly in 1571. The last duke of the Archipelago sought accommodation with Sultan Murad III and died in Istanbul in 1576. Thereafter the islands passed under direct Ottoman administration.

The significance of the islands was at once strategic and commercial. During the frequent naval wars in the Aegean

between Venice and Genoa between 1260 and 1360, the islands were both harbors for succor and bases for state-sponsored piracy. At the time of the conquest, the Greek inhabitants seemed to have looked upon the Latins as a source for stability and an outlet for island produce, especially products such as corundum from Naxos and the mastic of Chios, which had ready markets in the West.

The limited population of the islands, together with scarce food and water resources and communications restricted by tides and winds, did not intensify aggression between Greeks and Latins. Latin settlement was limited to the towns of the larger islands and seems to have constituted less than 10 percent of the population. However, 20 percent of the Cycladic islanders followed the Latin rite, a remarkably high proportion compared to the legacy of the Latin Church in other territories occupied by the Latins. The increase in Turkish raiding during the fourteenth century led to the relocation of settlements inland. The towers and fortifications that the Latins built were designed to protect the inhabitants rather than to overawe them.

—Peter Lock

See also: Frankish Greece; Venice

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Armenian Sources

In the late tenth and eleventh centuries, as the Byzantine Empire annexed the Armenian-inhabited lands on its eastern frontier, many Armenians were encouraged to leave their ancestral homelands to settle in Cappadocia, Cilicia, and Mesopotamia, territories that sometimes themselves had only recently been occupied by the Byzantines. After the invasion of Armenia by the Saljūq Turks, their capture of Ani (1064), and their defeat of the Byzantines at Mantzikert (1071), this emigration accelerated. Armenian governors controlled important Byzantine frontier cities, and some eventually sought to establish independent lordships. By the time of the arrival of the First Crusade (1096–1099), there was a very significant Armenian presence across Cilicia, the Taurus Mountain region, northern Syria, and northern Mesopotamia: a very strategic region for crusaders and their Muslim opponents alike. The county of Edessa was from its origins a Franco-Armenian territory; the twelfth century saw the rise of an Armenian state in Cilicia, and the Frankish principality of Antioch itself came under significant Armenian influence. The impact of the Franks on the Armenians in this region was also great, however, and not merely in political terms: there were significant changes in social institutions and even religious attitudes. There was a long tradition of history writing in Armenia, and this was continued in the new settlements: it is inevitable that Armenian sources will have much to say about the history of the Franks in the Near East.

The majority of the Armenian historical works from the crusading period are not focused exclusively on Armenian

matters but make comments on non-Armenian and other affairs. They have indeed long been recognized as of use to scholars of all the surrounding states, Byzantine, Muslim, and Frankish alike. There has, however, been an understandable tendency for scholars from other fields to merely use individual sources to select or confirm "relevant" facts but to ignore the work as a whole, and this can be misleading. Armenian historical texts are representative of a long tradition and often require careful handling and analysis. It is unfortunate, then, that scholars of Armenian historiography have not given full attention to works from this period: more in-depth analysis of these sources is needed. One major problem with these sources is that few have modern scholarly editions, and where works have been translated into western European languages, these translations often suffer from deficiencies. The available translations are often based on poor or incomplete editions or are themselves incomplete, filleted for "relevance"; some lack the necessary commentary and scholarly criticism.

Nevertheless, given these caveats, the potential utility of these sources is undeniable, and it has even been possible for modern scholars to begin an analysis of their interrelationship. One can divide the Armenian historical sources geographically. On the one hand there are those writing in the area of the new settlements: Matthew of Edessa in the city of the same name (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey), Gregory the Priest in Kesoun (mod. Kaysun, Turkey), and Constable Smpad in Cilicia (Lesser Armenia); on the other are those based in or around the old Armenian capital at Ani, notably Samuel of Ani, and Vardan. The relationship between these sources can, however, cross these boundaries. Even the sources written in Armenia proper, to the north, can provide information relevant to the settlements in the south.

These more obviously historiographical sources can be supplemented by others from different genres. Among these are certain laments, inscriptions, and manuscript colophons. The colophons in particular can provide a wealth of interesting information, not just about the circumstances of the copying of a manuscript, but also about its ownership over time and about current events, and some of these are of relevance for scholars of the crusades. For example, colophons written near Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) in 1098 and in Alexandria in 1099 give information about the First Crusade; later colophons refer to the fall of Edessa (1144) and of Jerusalem (1187) and to the Third Crusade (1189–1192). Unfortunately, although some collections of these Armenian

colophons have been edited, no translations of those relating to the main crusading period have as yet been published in western European languages.

Clearly much work remains to be done on the Armenian sources from the crusading period. However, one can make some general statements about the attitudes demonstrated toward the crusaders, while keeping in mind that there was certainly no monolithic Armenian opinion. It seems that the immediate impressions of the Franks were positive, as the crusaders were seen as a force come to liberate the Armenians from Muslim rule, or its threat. Yet after the Franks showed themselves just as willing to dispossess Armenian lords as Muslim ones, their popularity could decline; a colophon from the county of Edessa from 1130 shows a markedly more skeptical attitude toward the Franks than the colophons of 1098–1099. While some later Armenian sources, primarily from Cilicia, reflect a very pro-Frankish, and even pro-papal, point of view, other sources, especially those from Armenia proper, reveal mistrust of any “westernizing” programs. It is noticeable that several writers attempted to fit the irruption of the Franks into traditional frameworks of Armenian historiography. The crusades were presented, from an early date, as fulfilling ancient Armenian prophecies; the arrival of the Franks, it was declared, would mark a return to the glorious days of the early Christian period, and not only a revival of friendly Armenian relations with the (western) Roman Empire and its papacy, but also a revival of Armenia itself and the Armenian state.

Foremost among the Armenian historical works for the early years of the crusades and the Frankish settlement is that of Matthew of Edessa, whose chronicle covers the period from 951 to 1129; although the early part of his work is often derivative, he was a witness to many of the events he describes in the later part of the work, a period covering the establishment of the Frankish county of Edessa. Given its obvious relevance to crusade studies, Matthew’s work has received more attention from Western scholars than many other Armenian works, but proper analysis of its sources and content is still largely lacking. Nevertheless, this is undeniably a work of great importance and was certainly used by many later Armenian writers, both in the southern regions of settlement and in Armenia proper.

Matthew’s work was continued, with a short gap, by one Gregory the Priest, whose work covers the period from 1136 to 1162. In this continuation, the focus shifts from the region around Edessa further west to the region of Kesoun. For

example, included in Gregory’s work is a funeral oration for the Frankish count Baldwin of Marash, who died fighting in the short-lived reconquest of Edessa in 1146, written by the count’s Armenian chaplain, Basil. Baldwin was also lord of Kesoun and had refortified it; Gregory’s work gives us an insight into his Frankish marcher county that is unavailable from Frankish sources. Gregory’s is not a long work, but he seems to have had access to otherwise unknown sources, and it is of considerable interest.

In about 1150–1151 the seat of the catholicos, the head of the Armenian church, moved to Hromgla (mod. Rumkale, Turkey). Two of these catholicos in the later twelfth century (well-known scholars in other fields) wrote short texts, both laments, of interest to historians of the crusades. Nerses Snorhali (d. 1173) wrote an *Elegy on the Fall of Edessa*; and his successor, Gregory IV (d. 1193), wrote an *Elegy on the Fall of Jerusalem*.

Of much greater importance is the chronicle attributed to Constable Smpad (Smbat Sparapet), the brother of King Het’um I. There is some doubt over the authorship of and precise relationship between the manuscripts of this chronicle, but it is clear that it originates in the kingdom of Cilicia from a source close to the royal court. It not only follows earlier Armenian sources but seems to have had access to Frankish and even Byzantine material; it is a key text for the thirteenth century, and it was also continued by later anonymous writers. Smpad was certainly the author of certain other works of relevance, such as his translation of the *Assizes of Antioch*, which only survive through their Armenian version.

An Armenian source in terms of the nationality of its author if not its language is the work of Count Het’um of Gorigos (Korikos), dictated in French as *La Flor des estoires de la Terre d’Orient* and then translated into Latin by its scribe in 1307. This highly tendentious work describes the lands of the “Orient” and then the history of the Mongols for the benefit of Pope Clement V.

Of the several important historical writers active in the Armenian homeland in this period, foremost is Samuel of Ani, whose chronicle ends in 1180. In the middle of the thirteenth century a group of scholars based around Ani produced several historical works of occasional interest for historians of the crusades; one of these, Vardan Arewelc’i, not only produced a *Historical Compilation* but also was involved in the influential translation into Armenian of an extremely significant twelfth-century Syriac source, that of Michael the

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Syrian. Other Armenian sources, such as Kirakos of Ganjak and Grigor of Akanc', provide excellent information on the Mongols, who were, of course, of much greater relevance for the inhabitants of Armenia proper than were the Franks.

Although it certainly requires much further investigation and analysis, the body of Armenian source material is of great actual and potential value for students of the crusades.

—Angus Stewart

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Arms and Armor

The arms and armor of the Christian West, Outremer, and Byzantium had a great deal in common from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, while those of the Islamic world varied considerably.

Weapons

The composite bows that dominated archery throughout the Muslim world came in a variety of forms. These ranged from early types with angled tips that acted as levers to produce

an easy draw but that wasted kinetic energy and were difficult to use on horseback, to the smoothly recurved Turkish-style composite bow, which has been described as the ultimate cavalry weapon before the invention of firearms. An "arms race" involving the Turkish horseman's composite bow and the Western infantryman's crossbow was, in fact, a minor epic in the history of the crusades.

The impact of the crossbow on later medieval warfare on land and at sea is, in fact, difficult to overstate. Crossbows were used by most settled rather than tribal armies in the Near and Middle East, including crusader and Frankish armies, those of the Byzantine Empire, and several Muslim states. The Byzantines certainly knew of this weapon before the crusaders arrived; their word for it (Grk. *tzaggra*) derives from the Persian-Turkish term *jarkh* or *charkh* rather than from any Western source. Bearing in mind the widespread assumption that crossbows were essentially western European weapons, it should also be noted that the earliest reference to a belt and hook to span more powerful forms of handheld crossbow is found in a twelfth-century manual written for Saladin, just as the clip to keep a crossbow bolt in place when shooting on horseback or aiming downward first appeared in a mid-fourteenth-century Egyptian military manual.

Although straight swords continued to be more common than curved sabers in most areas throughout this period, the similarity between Christian and Islamic blades was often superficial. For example, two twelfth-century swords found in a cave in Gibraltar look remarkably European, although their all-iron hilts are made in a way not seen elsewhere in western Europe. The Gibraltar swords are, in fact, early versions of a relatively light weapon that evolved into the distinctive Grenadine swords of the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Light swords were also associated with a fencing technique of much earlier Indian or Persian origin that came to be known in Europe as the Italian Grip.

By the late eleventh century, the use of the baldric, or shoulder strap, rather than the sword belt was rare as a way of carrying a sword. However, the baldric was apparently readopted in thirteenth-century Outremer, perhaps because it was suitable for fighting on foot in defensive siege warfare. In contrast the Frankish cavalry elite were among the first Christian warriors to copy the long-established Middle Eastern fashion of carrying two swords: one on a belt and the other attached to the saddle.

Although the curved saber was already widespread among Turkish-speaking peoples, this weapon had started

to spread beyond the Turco-Mongol heartlands of central Asia. It reached the Middle East by the tenth century, if not earlier. The saber did not, however, spread to western Europe until early modern times. The *faussó* (heavy bladed sword with a single curved edge) of mid- to late twelfth-century Spain was in some respects similar. Though not considered a sword, it was wielded with one hand, and mention of it may have been an early reference to a weapon later known as a falchion in thirteenth- to fourteenth-century western Europe.

For reasons that are not entirely clear, the twelfth century saw considerable variation and experimentation in cavalry spears. The lances used by western European armored cavalry may have been relatively uniform, but those used by Almohad horsemen in Morocco were described as notably shorter than those of their Almoravid enemies in the same country. Light javelins (called *ausconas* or *azconas*) remained characteristic of twelfth- to thirteenth-century Navarrese infantry in northern Spain. *Dardos* (light javelins) were similarly used in Castile, while javelins largely made of iron were used by North African Berbers throughout this period.

Sophisticated maces were popular among Muslim troops in the Middle East, where Turkish maces (possibly war booty or based upon Muslim models) were also listed among equipment used by the military orders in Outremer. From there they spread to Europe. The early popularity of a large dagger called a *couteau d'armes* (literally "knife of arms") may similarly have reflected Islamic military influence. Firearms appeared at a very early date in the Muslim world but were not adopted as enthusiastically as in western Europe. Meanwhile Byzantium's apparent lack of firearms until the 1390s may have reflected its relative poverty rather than an unwillingness to use these new weapons. In contrast various Anatolian Turkish forces may have used *tüfenk* (handguns) by the mid-fourteenth century.

Shields and Helmets

There were fewer changes in the shapes and sizes of shields used in the Muslim world than in Christian Europe between the late eleventh and late fourteenth centuries. Nevertheless, there was still considerable variety within existing traditions. According to one late twelfth-century Egyptian source, shields could be made of spiral cane bound with cotton, or be kite-shaped like those used by Frankish cavalry, or be flat-bottomed infantry mantlets comparable to those seen in twelfth- to fourteenth-century Italy. The spiral cane shield

was particularly associated with Turks and Mongols, although it actually seems to have developed in Iraq several centuries earlier. A completely different sort of shield continued to be used in the Sahara, North Africa, and al-Andalus, this being the large and expensive leather *lamt*, described as ten hand-spans across, three cubits long, and capable of protecting both rider and horse.

Helmets underwent several important changes, most clearly in Byzantium and western Europe, where facial protection became increasingly important. Nine anthropomorphic helmet visors were found in association with a coin of the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos when the Great Palace of Constantinople was excavated. These face masks were comparable to those found in greater numbers in grave sites associated with the Kipchak Turks and Volga Bulgars in southern and eastern Russia. Helmets that covered the wearer's entire face similarly appeared quite suddenly in twelfth-century Christian Iberia; some of them were almost certainly predecessors of the western European great helm.

Another type of European helmet that may have first appeared, or more properly reappeared, in Byzantium was the brimmed form subsequently known in western Europe as the *chapel de fer* (war hat). Comparable helmets had been seen in eleventh-century northern China and may actually have been brought west by the Mongols or their immediate Turkish predecessors. They then became popular in thirteenth-century Outremer, presumably because they were more suitable in the Middle Eastern climate than were the enclosed helmets increasingly seen in western Europe. Several remarkable helmets of hardened leather and/or wooden construction have recently been excavated in the citadel of Damascus. They are clearly Islamic and appear to date from the thirteenth- to fifteenth-century Mamlūk period.

During the thirteenth century the separate head-protecting mail coif (close-fitting hood) had largely replaced an earlier style in which the coif formed an integral part of the mail hauberk. Despite the fact that Christian Iberian armor looked basically the same as that of the rest of Mediterranean western Europe, much of it had names that derived from Arabic rather than French or Latin. One example was the mail coif (Sp. *almofar*), a term that came from the Arabic *al-mighfar*. Meanwhile, by the mid-fourteenth century, low, domed helmets with long, mail *aventails* (flaps) covering the entire face and shoulders had been adopted in Turkey and Persia. This style was probably of Mongol origin. Several sources maintain that many Muslim soldiers

protected their heads by wearing large turbans rather than proper helmets. During the fourteenth century, a form of helmet popularly known as a turban helmet because of its increasingly bulbous shape also appeared, first in Turkish Anatolia and then in some neighboring Islamic countries. It is said to have been worn over a small closely wound turban, though in reality it was probably worn over a form of arming cap. One of the most distinctive pieces of Christian Iberian armor was a stiff gorget around the neck. This first appeared in the late thirteenth century, later spreading to other parts of Europe, and may have evolved out of the earlier *espalière*, a thickly quilted shoulder-and-neck defense. In fact most pieces of medieval European quilted armor including the padded *jupeau d'armer* (arming coat) had Middle Eastern origins.

Body Armor

Hauberks (coats of mail, often incorrectly called chain mail) remained the standard form of body protection until the fourteenth century. The European hauberks were worn over thickly padded soft armor; the eastern Islamic *kazaghand* was a form of padded, cloth-covered, mail armor known in Outremer as *jaserant* mail. Otherwise the overwhelming bulk of armor used in Outremer was in purely western European style, mostly imported from Europe itself. The will of an Italian crusader who died at Damietta in 1219 mentioned a "*panceriam* with one long sleeve and a coif" [W. S. Morris, "A Crusader's Testament," *Speculum* 27 (1952), 197–198]; such armor, with a single mitten for the right hand, had also been illustrated in late twelfth-century Italian art. Meanwhile an early thirteenth-century French crusader recalled that a "jousting" hauberk, rather than an ordinary hauberk, proved particularly effective against Egyptian archery. In contrast, relatively light mail armor was preferred by most Anatolian Turkish soldiers.

Another form of thirteenth- to fourteenth-century Turkish Anatolian armor was the *çuqal*, which seems to have been secured by hooks or buckles. It was clearly comparable to the late fourteenth-century Mamluk *qarqal*, which was a form of scale-lined, cloth-covered armor based upon the Mongol *khatangku dehel*. The Islamic *qarqal* was also comparable to the western European coat of plates or even to early forms of brigandine (close-fitting body armor lined with much smaller scales than the coat of plates), which, like the *qarqal* itself, probably owed a great deal to Mongol-Chinese technological influence. Like the *kazag-*

hand and the *khatangku dehel*, the European coat of plates was covered in fabric. The *coirasses* or *corazas* (cuirasses) worn by Iberian infantry rather than cavalry during this period appear to have been heavy forms of probably leather-based scale armor, sometimes with a colored *xamete* (covering). The term *foja* (scale-lined "girdle") was used to describe another form of early thirteenth-century Spanish body protection worn with an ordinary mail hauberk. It had a raised throat protection incorporating metallic elements and was probably an early form of coat of plates. In fact some of the earliest European illustrations of coats of plates come from late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century northern Spain.

Lamellar armor remained an essentially Asian and Middle Eastern form of construction. During this period the *jawshan* (lamellar cuirass) could be made of metal, horn, or hardened leather, some being laced with gut and others with silk cords. As in earlier centuries, some *jawshans* were so heavy that only the strongest soldiers could wear them, these perhaps being of the extensive fashion worn by Mongol and Mamlūk heavy cavalry. The latter was known in fourteenth-century Turkish countries as the *cebe cevsen* ("complete cuirass").

The main technological advance in armor construction in the later medieval Middle East was, however, the invention of what is called mail-and-plate armor. Here relatively small pieces of iron plate armor were linked by larger or smaller areas of mail, a system that probably first appeared in the mid-fourteenth century. Even though it offered considerable protection and great flexibility, mail-and-plate armor never caught on in western Europe, perhaps because it was more suitable for light rather than heavy cavalry. The otherwise obscure *bürüme* armor mentioned in late fourteenth-century Ottoman Turkish sources was associated with richer fief-holding cavalry and may have been a form of mail-and-plate, though the term may have meant an European plate-armor cuirass.

Various forms of soft or fabric armor had always been widespread in western Asia and the Middle East. In late twelfth- to early thirteenth-century Byzantium, for example, the *linothorax* was made of linen, though it may merely have been an unpadded surcoat. In Syria felt was used as soft armor or padding beneath a mail hauberk. The Templars' *jupeau d'armer* (quilted arming coat) was similarly worn beneath a mail hauberk. The Berber troops of fourteenth-century Tunisia were again known for their quilted cloth or

soft leather armor, while comparable protections were used by the famous *almogavar* light infantry and light cavalry of Christian Iberia. Even more distinctive was the fireproof clothing, impregnated with talc, silicate of magnesium, and powdered mica, worn by specialist fire troops in twelfth-century Syria.

The reasons for a sudden revival in the use of separate limb defenses during this period are unclear. Perhaps the first clear illustrations of separate gauntlets in medieval European art appear in late thirteenth-century manuscripts from the Byzantine Empire and Outremer. In contrast, the earlier Arab-Islamic *kaff* form of arm defenses seems to have dropped out of use, to be replaced by a rigid *vambrace* for the lower arm, probably as a result of Sino-Mongol influence. Comparable arm defenses in late twelfth- and thirteenth-century Europe apparently developed separately, though it is interesting to note that Spanish examples remain among the earliest.

Whereas separate leg protections developed into elaborate pieces of armor in western Europe between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, this trend was far less apparent in the Middle East. *Solerets* for the feet, mentioned in the Rule of the Templars, appear to have been protective and were among the earliest references to a specific form of foot armor. The obscure *sidera gonatia* of fourteenth-century Byzantine sources may have been old-style mail *chausses* (legpieces) or a form of leg protection imported from the West, while the fourteenth-century Turkish *budluq* seems to have been a mail or mail-and-plate *cuisse* (upper leg protection) covering only the front of the thigh and knee.

Horse Armor

Horse armor had long been used in both Byzantium and the Islamic world, and was adopted in western Europe during the later twelfth century. Nevertheless horse armor remained rare in Outremer, even in the thirteenth century. According to a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century Turkish literary source, some Byzantine cavalry used horse armor that only covered the front of the animal. This sounds like a reversion to a much earlier style seen in the seventh century, but it is more likely to have reflected Iberian influence via large numbers of Catalan mercenaries in the Aegean area. Within Iberia itself, horse armor was generally referred to as a *peytral*, meaning the front part of a *bard* (complete set of horse armor), and had again been mentioned since the late twelfth century. One of the oldest surviving examples of a medieval

rather than Roman iron *chamfron* (armor for a horse's head) was, however, discovered in an eighth- to fourteenth-century site near Khartoum in Sudan. It was almost certainly imported from Egypt, probably for parade purposes. In more practical terms, horse armor of probable mail construction was used by the heavy cavalry of late thirteenth-century al-Andalus, while lamellar horse armor was more characteristic of Middle Eastern Muslim heavy cavalry from the eleventh century onward.

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Arnold Amalric (d. 1225)

As abbot of Cîteaux (1200–1212), Arnold Amalric encouraged Cistercian involvement in the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204). Previously familiar with heterodoxy as abbot

Arnold of Lübeck (d. 1211/1214)

of Grandseve (1198–1200), he was commissioned to combat heresy in southern France as one of three legates, and by 1207 he had recruited many Cistercian abbots and monks for this project. Appointed primary legate after the death of Peter of Castelnau in 1208, Arnold believed that the renewal of the church in Languedoc and the suppression of heresy could be achieved only by the systematic replacement of recalcitrant noblemen and prelates with orthodox magnates via a crusade. Nevertheless, historians' typical depiction of him as a draconian zealot obsessed with stamping out heretics and their protectors by military force ought to be tempered by the pastoral tone of the sermon collection he requested from Pope Innocent III. For as legate and archbishop of Narbonne (1212–1225), Arnold combined the organization of multiple military expeditions with dogged preaching against vice and heresy and with active participation in councils intended to reform the local clergy and extirpate heresy. Convinced that the threats of heterodoxy, schism, and Islam were interlinked, Arnold also responded to papal appeals for an Iberian crusade by leading 100 knights to the crucial battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212. Once relieved of his legatine duties in 1214, Arnold squabbled with the Montfort family over the duchy of Narbonne, leading him to oppose the dispossession of the counts of Toulouse at the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). Yet after Simon of Montfort's death (1218), Arnold supported Amalric of Montfort's claims to the lands conquered by the crusaders in Languedoc and King Louis VIII's military intervention in the south.

—Jessalynn Bird

See also: Cistercian Order; Fourth Crusade (1202–1204)

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Arnold of Lübeck (d. 1211/1214)

Abbot of the monastery of St. John in Lübeck from 1177 until his death, and author of the *Chronica Slavorum*, intended as a continuation of the earlier work of Helmold of Bosau, and covering the years 1172–1209.

The *Chronica* is an important source not only for German and Danish operations against the Slavs and the advance of Christianity in the region to the east of the river Elbe, but also for the crusade in the Holy Land. It gives lengthy accounts of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1172 of Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony (to which much of Book 1 is devoted), of Saladin's capture of Jerusalem in 1187 (stressing the divisive effects of the quarrel between Guy of Lusignan and Raymond III of Tripoli), and of the Third Crusade (1189–1192), the Crusade of Henry VI of Germany (1197–1198), and the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204). This last section includes a long letter from Baldwin IX, count of Flanders (one of several versions sent to the West), describing the siege and capture of Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey). There is also a description (out of sequence toward the end of the work) of an embassy sent by Frederick I Barbarossa, Holy Roman Emperor, to Saladin in 1175.

Arnold was a supporter of the Welf family, praised its leader Henry the Lion as another Solomon, and in his account of the duke's pilgrimage portrayed him as an influential figure who was treated with respect even by the Byzantine emperor Manuel Komnenos. Arnold also translated the *Gregorius* of Hartmann von Aue from Middle High German into Latin for Henry's son William of Brunswick.

—G. A. Loud

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Arnold of Torroja (d. 1184)

Ninth master of the Order of the Temple (1180–1184).

Arnold (Arnau) was a member of a powerful family that maintained excellent relations with the royal house of

Aragon. He joined the Order of the Temple in 1163 and became its master of Spain and Provence three years later. Arnold was repeatedly sent on diplomatic missions by Iberian monarchs and was elected master of the order in 1180. In Outremer he does not seem to have openly sided with any of the court parties; rather he mediated in a series of disputes. In 1184 Arnold was sent to the West together with the Hospitaller master Roger of Les Moulins and Patriarch Eraclius of Jerusalem, but died in Verona (31 October) before he was able to muster any assistance.

–Nikolas Jaspert

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Arnulf of Chocques (d. 1118)

Latin patriarch of Jerusalem (1099 and 1112–1118).

Allegedly the son of a priest, Arnulf was in minor orders when he accompanied Duke Robert Curthose of Normandy on the First Crusade (1096–1099). He was related to Siger and Gunfrid, lords of Chocques (diocese of Thérouanne), who are both known as landholders in England in 1086. A learned man and gifted popular preacher, he had been tutor to Robert’s sister Cecilia, abbess of Caen.

Despite his lack of a bishopric, Arnulf was elected patriarch of Jerusalem on 1 August 1099. Subsequently Daibert of Pisa, Adhemar’s successor as legate, refused to ratify Arnulf’s election and assumed the patriarchate himself. Compensated with the office of archdeacon, Arnulf served three patriarchs before being elected patriarch for the second time in 1112. He was close to King Baldwin I of Jerusalem, whom he advised in secular as well as religious affairs, although he had his detractors, who complained of his moral turpitude. His arrangement of Baldwin’s bigamous marriage to Adelaide of Sicily led to his deposition in 1115; the price of his reinstatement by Pope Paschal II was the annulment of this marriage (in 1117).

Arnulf loyally and capably served the nascent kingdom of Jerusalem and its Latin clergy (to the detriment of the Greek Orthodox), but in sacrificing Adelaide he provoked the lasting hostility of Sicily, the nearest Western power to Out-

remer. He helped ensure the succession of Baldwin II in 1118 and died soon afterward.

–K. S. B. Keats-Rohan

See also: Jerusalem, Patriarchate of

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Arsuf

A coastal town in central Palestine (situated north of mod. Herzliyya, Israel). It was known in the ancient period as Apollonia-Sozusa and was called Arsur by the Franks.

In 1099, while still under Fāṭimid rule, the town was granted tributary status by Godfrey of Bouillon, the first Frankish ruler of Palestine; but in April 1101 Arsuf fell to his successor King Baldwin I of Jerusalem, assisted by a Genoese fleet, and its population was expelled. The town and the surrounding land remained part of the royal domain until around 1163, when John of Arsuf appears as its first independent lord. The lordship extended north to the Nahr al-Faliq, south to the Nahr al-Auja (river Yarqon), and east to the foothills of Samaria. In the twelfth century, the town was required to provide the military service of fifty sergeants. In 1261, the lord’s vassals comprised six knights and twenty-one sergeants.

Walter of Arsuf was captured at the battle of Hattin in July 1187, and the town fell into Muslim hands in August. Three years later Saladin dismantled its fortifications. The town was retaken following his defeat by Richard I of England northeast of the town on 7 September 1191, and the slain

Arsuf, Battle of (1191)

knight James of Avesnes was buried in its principal church of St. Mary. On the death of Walter's successor, John (in or before 1198), the lordship passed to Thierry of Orca, the husband of John's sister Melisende; but after Thierry's death, in 1207 she married John of Ibelin, lord of Beirut. His son John began fortifying Arsuf in 1241, but on his death in 1258 it passed to his son Balian. Unable to defend his lordship against the Mamlūks, Balian rented it to the Order of the Hospital in 1261 for 4,000 bezants a year.

In 1263, Muslim sources record that the Hospitallers were building up the *rabad* (walled town), contrary to an agreement made with Sultan Baybars, who consequently laid siege in 1265. After forty days, on 26 April 1265, the defenders abandoned the town and retreated to the castle, which fell three days later when its gate was undermined. Some 1,000 defenders were captured or killed. The castle and town walls were then demolished.

Arsuf has been under archaeological excavation since 1977. The medieval town, enclosed by walls and a ditch, extends some 120–160 meters (393–525 feet) east to west by 345 meters (1132 feet) north to south, with sandstone sea cliffs on the west. The walls, market street, and houses appear to have been laid out in the reign of Caliph 'Abd al-Malik (685–705). In the Frankish period, the walls were strengthened with an external sloping masonry batter (*talus*), while on the east a new section of walling contained a town gate flanked by a pair of rounded turrets. Many of the earlier houses were demolished and replaced by open paved areas.

The castle stood in the northwest corner, on a rounded eminence surrounded by a dry moat. Much of the earlier, west range has been undermined by the sea. In the thirteenth century, however, a D-shaped enclosure was built to the east, lined with buildings facing onto a central courtyard and strengthened by two projecting rounded towers and a massive gatehouse with an entry flanked by a pair of rounded turrets. This was enclosed in turn by an apron wall, or *barbican*, reached from the town across a timber bridge. The Mamlūk assault is attested archaeologically by the discovery of mines and countermines, numerous iron arrowheads, and more than 600 trebuchet stones. The castle overlooked an artificial harbor or quay of trapezoidal plan, which was built in medieval times on Roman foundations.

—Denys Pringle

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Arsuf, Battle of (1191)

A battle between the armies of the Third Crusade (1189–1192), commanded by King Richard I of England, and the Muslims under Saladin.

After the capture of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) in July 1191, Richard's next objective was Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo,



Richard the Lionheart leads his crusaders in battle against Saladin. (Pixel That)

Israel), the port nearest Jerusalem. The crusaders' march began on 25 August and became the classic demonstration of the tactic known as the fighting march. The crusaders' right was protected by the sea and by their fleet, which included Egyptian galleys captured in Acre. Half their infantry screened the left flank of the knights, alternating with the other half, which marched with the baggage train between the knights and the sea. Heat and incessant harassing by Saladin's mounted archers meant that the pace was painfully slow, but so long as the crusaders stayed in formation they could not be halted. Eventually Saladin realized that he would have to risk committing the main body of his own troops. At Arsuf (north of mod. Herzliyya, Israel) on 7 September his action finally provoked the crusader rear-guard into launching a premature charge. Only Richard's reaction, immediately and massively reinforcing the rear-guard's attack, while still managing to hold other contingents in reserve, conjured victory out of imminent chaos.

Three days later the crusaders reached Jaffa, where they had to make the choice between an advance toward Ascalon (Tel Ashqelon, Israel), as Saladin feared, and turning inland, toward Jerusalem.

—John Gillingham

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Art of Outremer and Cyprus

Having conquered Syria and Palestine and gained control of the holy places in the course of the First Crusade (1096–1099), the crusaders were determined to restore and refurbish them, as well as to reconstruct Jerusalem and the other major cities of Outremer. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem was an obvious focus, both with its regular services and its pilgrim traffic, especially at the time of the great feasts, but several other churches and monasteries too were restored or rebuilt with the patronage of the Frankish kings and Frankish baronage, as well as with endowments from western Europe. Religious houses were usually attached to holy sites, and some sites were under the protection of the military orders, who themselves stimulated building activity and the commissioning of works of art. Accounts given by pilgrims visiting from the West in the

twelfth century and, later, in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, provide much information about the shrines, and their decoration and works of art.

Mosaics

The key image in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was the great Easter picture of the Anastasis (Christ's Descent into Hell), representing his triumph over death as he trampled the gates of Hell to retrieve his Old Testament ancestors. This was depicted in the apse located in the rotunda within the Byzantine mid-eleventh-century mosaic program. So revered was it that the Franks moved it to the new apse of their enlarged church, dedicated in 1149. The image can be envisaged through the same scene painted in the Queen Melisende Psalter. The rest of the Byzantine mosaics were retained in the rotunda, including the images of Constantine the Great and St. Helena. Several Byzantine mosaics were also retained in the remodeled Chapel of Calvary, above the Chapel of Golgotha, also with mosaics. In Calvary, appropriately, the scenes of the Crucifixion and the Deposition retained pride of place on the eastern walls of the two sections of the chapel. To these and other remaining figural mosaics were added other mosaics (depicting prophets and kings) before 1149. One small fragment of the Ascension of Christ in the vault of the southeast bay and inscribed in Latin is preserved. At this time mosaics were also added, with inscriptions, to the aedicule (small building) over the tomb of Christ, sited below the rotunda. These depicted the Entombment and the Three Maries at the tomb, both images that again can be envisaged from the Melisende Psalter.

Existing mosaics, this time dating to the Umayyad period in the late seventh century, were retained in the Dome of the Rock on the Temple Mount when it was converted into the church known as the Templum Domini (Temple of the Lord) and consecrated in 1142. The Franks added an inscribed mosaic frieze to the outside of the building and added a painting of the scene of the Presentation in the Temple to the dome.

A major program of mosaic work is partially preserved at the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. An inscription in the apse indicates that the main mosaicist was Ephraim, a monk, who completed the work in 1169 under the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos and King Amalric of Jerusalem during the episcopacy of Ralph, bishop of Bethlehem. Another inscription (bilingual Latin and Syriac) in the nave gives the name of Basilius, a deacon, and it is likely that a

third artist undertook the transept mosaics. The implication of Basilius's inscription is that indigenous Christians played a major role in such a politically charged artistic project. As a unity, the program is concerned with the Incarnation. The Nativity is shown in mosaic in the grotto beneath the church. The genealogy, life, and passion of Christ are spelled out, culminating in the Virgin and Child image in the apse (now lost). In the nave, the ancestors of Christ were depicted beneath the church councils and processing angels. The mosaics represent an attempt by Manuel Komnenos to effect ecumenical unity among the Greek Orthodox (Melkite), Latin, and Eastern Christian communities. This initiative to bring the indigenous Christian churches into communion with the Greek and Latin churches was part of both a wider theological agenda and a concerted political plan to unite Christians against the Islamic threat. The style of the mosaics, especially those that depict the councils, has much in common with the seventh-century mosaics of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem and other Umayyad monuments, especially in the coloring of gold, green, and red with silver and mother-of-pearl.

Wall Paintings

Surviving twelfth-century wall paintings still in situ bear out the witness of Western pilgrim accounts that several of the monuments at the holy places were decorated with wall paintings. We now know that the Church of St. Anne in Jerusalem was painted, as were the crypt chapel of the tomb of the Virgin, St. Mary of Jehosaphat in the Kidron Valley, St. Lazarus at Bethany, St. John the Baptist in 'Ain Karem, and churches on Mount Zion. An inscription from a wall painting is preserved from the Church of St. Mary Latin. In addition, Greek Orthodox monasteries in Jerusalem and the Judean desert retain wall paintings. Paintings have survived at the monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem, as well as monasteries of St. Sabas, Euthymios, Kalamon, and Theoktistos, in addition to the monasteries of Choziba and Kastelion.

The nave columns of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem include Eastern monastic saints among a very diverse group indicative of its crusading milieu. These include saints to which crusaders particularly related, such as St. George and St. Leonard; the bishops Leo, Blasius, and Catald; and two Scandinavian kings, St. Knud IV of Denmark (d. 1086) and St. Olaf II Haraldson, king of Norway (d. 1030). Pictures of donors are themselves depicted on some of the column

paintings. The paintings were probably painted over a wide time span. One of the Virgin and Child panels (the affectionate panel of the *Gykophilousa*) can be dated to 1130, and it has been suggested that some may have been added as late as the 1170s.

The Church of St. John the Baptist at Sebastea in Samaria retains wall-painting fragments in the niche of its crypt, from after the mid-twelfth century. These show the saint's martyrdom by decapitation above and the burial of the saint's head below, while angels flank the upper scene. The 1170s saw the decoration of the church at Emmaus (Abu Ghosh), the place where Christ met the two disciples after his resurrection. Appropriately, the imagery is that of salvation, with the Anastasis, inscribed in Latin in the main apse, echoing the image in mosaic at the Holy Sepulchre. The *Deisis* (intercessory picture), inscribed in Greek, occupies the north apse, while the scene of the three patriarchs holding souls, inscribed in Latin, is located in the south apse. It has been shown that one of the painters at Abu Ghosh was working in the highest Byzantine style of the day, reflecting the high priority that Manuel Komnenos put on the refurbishment of the holy places. This use of Komnenian style is most clearly seen in the painting of the mourning apostles in the Dormition (the Death of the Virgin), on the north wall of the nave. Also attributed to the 1170s are the now heavily restored paintings on a large stone at Bethphage, originally erected to mark the site from which Christ left Bethphage for Jerusalem. It depicts the remnants of scenes of Matthew 21:6 and 8, with the Raising of Lazarus. Also attributed to the 1170s is the painting, on a block of stone, of an angel from the Church of the Agony at Gethsemane, which is in the Museum of the Flagellation in Jerusalem.

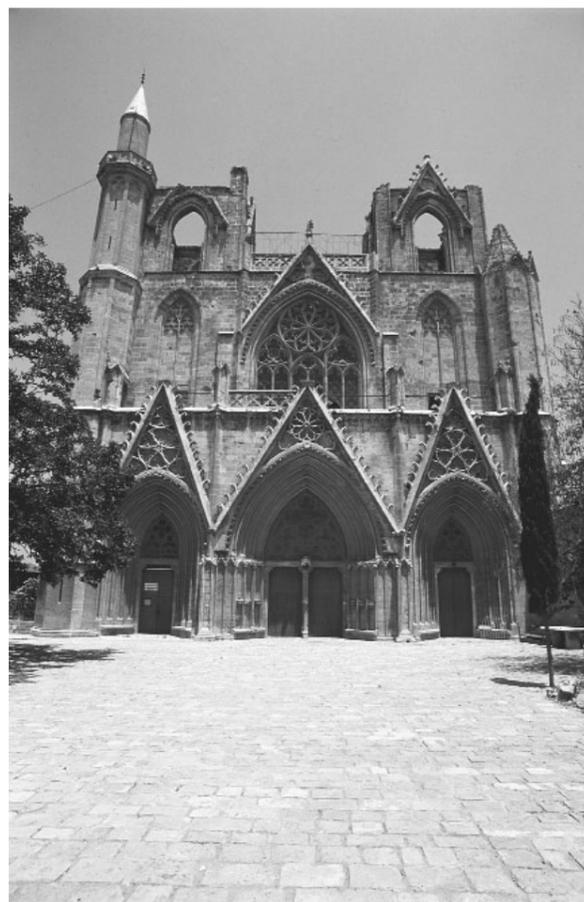
Military chapels and secular palaces were also decorated. Fragments from a scene of the Annunciation from a military chapel dedicated to the Virgin at the Damascus Gate in Jerusalem are preserved in the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem. Fragments of wall painting at the castle of Krak des Chevaliers in the county of Tripoli date from different periods and were painted by artists from different backgrounds. Paintings done in the external, baptismal chapel depict St. Panteleimon, and the Virgin and Child *Hodegetria* (i.e., with the Virgin pointing toward the Child) in a Byzantine-influenced style, dating to around 1170. A fresco depicting the Presentation in the Temple painted by a Syrian Orthodox artist in a style resembling that of the area of present-day Lebanon dates to around 1200. It is known from a

description of the German pilgrim Willibrand of Oldenburg that the palace of the Ibelin family in Beirut in the early thirteenth century was decorated with the zodiac on the ceiling, alongside marbled walls and pavement. This is recorded as being the work of Syrians, Saracens, and Greeks.

Manuscript Illumination

The scriptorium at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, founded in the second quarter of the twelfth century, was the focus for the production of several illustrated manuscripts, made for members of the monarchy, the aristocracy, and ecclesiastics. It is assumed that the scriptorium was located in the monastery attached to the church. An example of a manuscript made for royal patronage is the *Melisende Psalter*, datable to 1131/1143.

Two surviving Latin service books were probably made for ecclesiastics. One is a sacramentary (a liturgical manuscript containing the prayers and texts recited in the Mass), which is now divided between MS Rome, *Biblioteca Angelica*, D.7.3, and MS Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Maclean 49. The sacramentary is illustrated with decorated initials, as is also a missal (the service book of the Mass), now MS Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, lat. 12056. Both service books are ornamented with foliage, interlace, and geometric motifs. The Cambridge and Paris manuscripts probably both also had full-page miniatures of Christ in Majesty, and the Crucifixion. Figural initials in both include Christ between two adoring angels, and kneeling angels. Additionally, the Paris manuscript has initials with small scenes of the Virgin and Child, St. John the Baptist, Christ, the Death of the Virgin, St. Peter, and the Holy Women at the Tomb. It has been suggested that some of these scenes give an impression of the mosaics that once decorated the rotunda and the Chapel of Calvary at the Holy Sepulchre at the time. The sources for the illustration of the manuscripts are more diverse; they have been traced to English, French, and Italian books that would have been brought to Jerusalem, together with Byzantine sources that would have been available through the Greek Orthodox community in the city. As to the English books, a key role has been proposed for Prior William, later archbishop of Tyre from 1127, who may even have established the scriptorium. But there was a clear local input. The quires of the missal are numbered in Armenian letters, indicating the involvement of at least one indigenous Christian, the scribe, an Armenian who knew Latin. While the scriptorium of the Holy Sepul-



Gothic cathedral of St. Nicholas in Famagusta, now a mosque. (Richard List/Corbis)

chre was the major center in the twelfth century, it may not have been the only one. Edessa before its fall in 1144 and Antioch too would probably have been centers of production, both of which had substantial indigenous Christian populations.

A single illustrated manuscript is attributed to the period of the rule of Emperor Frederick II as king and regent of Jerusalem in the early thirteenth century. This is a psalter (MS Florence, *Biblioteca Riccardiana*, 323) datable to the second quarter of the thirteenth century, and made for a noble lady according to its litany and prayers. Though many of the saints invoked are from northwest France, St. Benedict, St. Giles, and St. Anne are given a prominence that associates the litany with the Benedictine convent in Jerusalem on the site where Joachim and Anne, the parents of St. Mary



Noah's Ark, illustration from the *Universal History from the Creation of the World until the Time of Caesar*. Painted by an anonymous monk between 1260 and 1270 in Acre. MS Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 562. (Erich Lessing/Art Resource)

the Virgin, lived and where the Virgin herself was born. However, since this convent had been appropriated by Saladin in 1187, it is more likely that this association is at one degree remote, that is, that the litany on which this manuscript is based is from St. Anne's. The manuscript displays New Testament scenes of the life of Christ, illustrating initials at the beginning of the eight divisions of the text. These are in historical order rather than having any bearing on the text they accompany, a feature of German manuscripts. The illustration also displays several Byzantine features, as well as elements derived from Sicilian manuscript and mosaics. This range of references has prompted the suggestion that the manuscript was commissioned as a wedding present

from the emperor Frederick II to his third wife, Isabella, sister of King Henry II of England.

After the loss of Jerusalem in 1187, much of the impetus for the production of manuscripts moved north to Acre, which was the center of government for the next century and the seat of the Latin patriarchate of Jerusalem for most of that time. The identification of Acre as the center of production arose from the reference to Acre in the liturgical calendar of a missal (MS Perugia, Biblioteca Capitolare, 6). This manuscript has one full-page illustration, one half-page illustration, and initials. The full-page illustration (of the Crucifixion) is related to Venetian panel painting. This had proved influential in the attribution of icons to Outremer.

But the Byzantine influence that foregrounds so much of the manuscript illumination of Outremer is still evident here in two of the illustrated initials.

The major manuscript of the mid-thirteenth century is the Arsenal Old Testament (MS Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, 5211), a lavishly illustrated manuscript of Old Testament excerpts in Old French. It is attributed to the patronage of King Louis IX of France during his time on crusade in Acre in 1250–1254. From the time that Louis took the cross in 1244 to the time he left on crusade, he was involved in the building of the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, which functioned both as palace chapel and as a shrine for the Passion relics he had recently acquired from Constantinople: the Crown of Thorns and parts of the True Cross, as well as the lance and sponge. The Old Testament manuscript is evidence of Louis's continuing interest in artistic projects and his concern to associate biblical and French kingship. The manuscript is illustrated with twenty miniatures, each acting as a frontispiece to one of the individual books. Most of these are full-page illustrations, illustrating a cycle of scenes subdivided into rectangles, roundels, or lobed shapes. The sources of the illustration combine the art of France, available through manuscripts in the royal collection, with Byzantine models.

As well as service books and biblical manuscripts, there was a strong demand at Acre for new types of books in the vernacular as in the West. These included manuscripts of history and law, catering to a wider clientele than previously, including knights and members of the military orders as well as royalty and the aristocracy and ecclesiastics. Amongst these were lavishly decorated copies of the *Histoire Universelle* (a history of the world from the Creation to Julius Caesar) and William of Tyre's chronicle translated from Latin into French, as well as works by Cicero. One of these (MS Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château, 590) was commissioned by William of St. Stephen, a lawyer and Hospitaller knight at Acre. A translator named John of Antioch translated Cicero's *De Inventione* and *Rhetorica ad Herennium* into Old French, adding at the end of the prologue that this project was undertaken in Acre in 1282. The artist employed to create the decorated initials in the manuscript (known as the Hospitaller Master) here introduced a contemporary French Gothic style. This style proved influential on manuscript illumination until the fall of Acre. In addition, artists in Acre were by this time giving prominence not only to Byzantine modes but also turning to more contemporary

Arabic illumination and depicting local customs. One *Histoire universelle* manuscript (MS London, British Library, Add. 15268) is an example of this last flowering; it was probably made to commemorate the coronation of Henry II, king of Jerusalem (1286).

Icon Painting

Icons served several purposes. Small icons were frequently for personal use, by both religious and laypeople. Others were made for liturgical use, to be displayed on the *templon*, or iconostasis, either between the columns or at the top (*epistyle*). Others were made to be displayed on stands or used in processions. The imagery employed was extensive. Individual saints were venerated through some icons, while others displayed feast scenes. Images of the Virgin and Child or Christ played a special role. Although icons were predominantly associated with Byzantine and Eastern Christian religious practice, Westerners came to venerate and commission them in Outremer. The icon collection of the Greek Orthodox monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai houses several that display Western features and iconography, some of which also have Latin inscriptions. Some were commissioned by Western pilgrims and other visitors, and some were for special purposes, notably for liturgical practices and for particular chapels at Sinai. Several icons with Western features have been attributed to French, Italian, or Cypriot painters. Yet there is a growing recognition that many may have been made by indigenous artists, or monk-artists, especially since the community at the monastery at the time was both multicultural and multilingual. Sinai was also a cult center, visited as the site of the Burning Bush and the giving of the Law to Moses. The Virgin was also venerated here, as was St. Catherine, whose relics were brought here in the tenth century and in whose name the monastery came to be known from the thirteenth century. As a martyr saint she was particularly revered by Western pilgrims. The Chapel of the Burning Bush was also visited by Muslims, according to pilgrim accounts.

One icon at Sinai, inscribed in Latin, is usually attributed to Jerusalem before its fall in 1187, although it can in fact probably be reattributed to the early Ayyūbid period. It shows six frontally facing saints of whom two, St. James the Greater and St. Stephen, are associated with Jerusalem. Two Western saints are also included, St. Martin of Tours and St. Leonard. The latter is shown holding manacles, appropriate to his status as the patron saint of prisoners. But the vast

majority of the inadequately named “crusader” icons are from the thirteenth century. Among their characteristics are the appearance of Western iconographical elements, beaded haies, decorated borders, the use of the raised gesso plasterwork technique to imitate metalwork coverings, and certain stylistic features, including the appearance of bulging “spectacle” eyes. Some, such as a small icon of St. Marina (now in the Menil Collection in Houston, Texas), are attributed to the area of Tripoli, where the saint’s cult was particularly strong. Likewise, a small icon at Sinai portraying a veiled woman praying to the equestrian St. Sergios has been attributed to the same area, commissioned by a Frankish woman who may have been a member of a Cistercian lay confraternity. Such equestrian saints were especially favored by Frankish patrons because of the protection they were believed to afford. It has been argued that an icon in the British Museum in London, of St. George riding a white horse and rescuing the serving boy from Mytilene, was made at Lydda, where the saint was martyred and buried in the early Christian period. The belief that St. George fought for the crusader army at Antioch in 1098 stimulated further Frankish veneration of this saint. But images of the Virgin and Child retained an abiding popularity, and one special icon, taken from Jerusalem, was preserved at Saidnaya, a Greek Orthodox shrine in Muslim-held territory north of Damascus. Here both Eastern and Western Christians mingled with Muslims to venerate the icon.

Sculpture

Sculpture was produced both by indigenous sculptors, working in the traditional Byzantine manner, and by incoming French and Italian artists, or their settled descendants, working in Romanesque Levantine style in the twelfth century and Gothic in the thirteenth. After Jerusalem was retaken by Saladin in 1187, Arab writers described the beauty of the marble used in the buildings of Jerusalem. Much was broken up and destroyed then, but it is not surprising that some is found reused in Muslim buildings such as the al-Aqsa mosque and the Dome of the Rock. Frankish building work at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre from the second quarter of the twelfth century in particular would have required considerable resources in terms of the numbers of masons and sculptors required for the extensive masonry work, as well as the decorated capitals throughout the building. Several of the sculptors may well have worked elsewhere in Jerusalem, including the Church

of St. Anne, where carved capitals adorn the church, whose crypt was visited by pilgrims as being the birthplace of the Virgin. The Holy Sepulchre ambulatory with its radiating chapels is deemed to be the earliest part of the Frankish remodeling of the church, judging from the spiky-leaf acanthus capitals and masons’ marks.

One of the most important (and debated) ensembles of sculpture in the kingdom of Jerusalem comprises the west façade and the lintels of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. While the cornices on the façade are recognized to be derived from local early Christian prototypes (and indeed some may be Roman sculpture reused), there is no consensus as to the lintels of the doors themselves. Now believed to have been erected about a decade after the dedication of part of the church in 1149, the lintels were removed in 1929 to what is now the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem, because of the damage that was taking place to the sculpture through decay. They have been injected below the surface, which has caused blistering and impedes both the reading and the study of the style of the panels. The former west (left) lintel is figural. The scenes are usually identified as, from left to right: (1) the Raising of Lazarus, (2) Jesus met by Mary and Martha on the road to Bethany, (3) Jesus sending the two disciples to fetch the ass and the colt, with, below, two disciples preparing the Paschal Lamb. The last two scenes are (4) the Entry into Jerusalem, and (5) the Last Supper. Attributed to different sculptors, they have been interpreted in different ways. One interpretation posits the lintel as representing the procession of pilgrims on Palm Sunday, reversing the first two scenes in accord with the itinerary from Bethany to Jerusalem. Another view is that the scenes should be read from the center outward, with the third scene interpreted as the Cleansing of the Temple, a prefiguration of the crusaders’ acts in liberating the Church of the Holy Sepulchre from the infidels. The lintels become a metaphor for salvation, in the west lintel, and sin and seduction in the east, with the latter’s swirling scrolls and naked figures. A third view interprets the scenes in the light of decoration within the church and the way in which pilgrims visited the church.

Sculpture was commissioned for particular shrines or complexes of buildings. A considerable amount of work was undertaken before the mid-twelfth century. Vivid carved capitals, with a variety of acanthus, palmette, and scroll patterns, as well as animal and bird motifs, were carved on the former baptistery, now the Qubbat al-Mi’raj on the Temple platform, as well as at the Church of the Ascension. These



Jesus and His Spouse, the Church, Beset by Devils. A capital for a column at the Church of the Annunciation, Nazareth. This and five other capitals were sculpted in northern France and transported to the East around 1186–1187. Saladin's victories prevented their being placed in the church. They were hidden away for safety and uncovered in the 1950s. (Courtesy Alfred Andrea)

were most likely undertaken after the dedication of the Temple of the Lord in 1142. The discovery of sculptural pieces was reported between 1900 and 1903 in the western, Greek part of the Mauristan (Hospital of St. John) to the south of the Holy Sepulchre, which are now in the Museum of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate and the Convent of the Flagellation. These included a bowman with an attacking animal, probably a wolf, believed to be from the façade of the church of St. Mary the Great and probably carved in the 1160s.

The “wet leaf acanthus” style of sculpture, evocatively so called by art historians because of its characteristically long, spiky acanthus leaves that droop as if moistened, dominates sculpture found at the Temple area. This is associated with the major building campaign initiated here in the 1160s at the Dome of the Rock and the Temple of Solomon (al-Aqsa), which continued up to the fall of Jerusalem in 1187. These included the buildings associated with the Knights

Templar: a church, cloisters, shrines, and house with service buildings. Much of this sculpture was reused in al-Aqsa and elsewhere. It has been suggested that there was a group of sculptors who constituted a “Temple Area Workshop” or “Templar Workshop.” However, it is difficult to be categorical about the existence of such a workshop when the material is both scattered and has affinities with sculpture beyond the Temple area. Wet-leaf sculpture is also found on fragments of carved marble with animals and men in scrolls from the Holy Sepulchre, which are believed to have formed part of the formerly painted decoration of the aedicule. Also formerly in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (with fragments now in the Museum of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate) were the tombs of Baldwin IV and Baldwin V with sculpture of this type. This style is also represented in the church of St. Mary of Jehosaphat, as well as in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem.

The main sculptural program outside Jerusalem in the twelfth century was that planned for the enlarged Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth, work on which was initiated by Archbishop Letard II of Nazareth in the 1170s. Five pristine capitals, four polygonal ones with scenes of the Mission of the Apostles and the fifth with a rectangular top, the latter with a female figure (the Virgin or Ecclesia, personification of the Church) leading a reluctant apostle or believer through territory attacked by demons, were found in excavations undertaken during 1907–1909, with further sculpture uncovered during excavations in the 1950s and 1960. An aedicule of the House of the Virgin inside the church was planned as the focus of the church's interior, in addition to the decorated west portal on the exterior. Some portal fragments can be reconstructed, including Christ Enthroned in the tympanum as the Lord Incarnate, with archivolt above, and column figures on either side. These include St. Peter holding his keys and a model of the church, and a prophet figure, the latter now in the collection of Chatsworth House (Derbyshire, U.K.). The four polygonal capitals were intended to decorate a baldachino above the aedicule planned to house an altar over the shrine-grotto. They display scenes from the lives of the apostles St. Thomas, St. Peter, St. James, and St. Matthew. Other capitals may well have been placed on the cruciform piers north and south of the nave, as well as used on the engaged columns on the nave arcade. There may well have been links between sculptors here and elsewhere in the Latin kingdom, again suggesting that sculptors moved from one project to the next. An affinity has been suggested between work in Nazareth and at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (including a capital of Solomon in the north gallery), as well as sculpture at the castle of Belvoir.

Thirteenth-century sculpture in Outremer displays Gothic features. An example of a portal is that removed from a church in Acre and reused as the main portal of the fourteenth-century madrasa (school) and mausoleum of the Mamlūk sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in Cairo. It is characterized by its slender arches with foliage capitals, over which is a refoil arch beneath point de arches above. Foliage capitals also feature in the thirteenth-century section of the cathedral of Notre Dame at Tortosa. Other capitals are preserved in the Hospitaller complex at Acre, as well as fragments of figural sculpture in the Municipal Museum at Acre. Consols carved with human heads, as well as others with foliage, are preserved on the north tower at Château Pèlerin.

Applied Arts

Metalwork played a part in both monumental and small-scale work. When the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem was converted into a church, an octagonal iron screen (still preserved, although dismantled) was added around the sacred rock, which was covered with marble casing and used as the choir. There was also a gilded cross above the dome. Metalworkers also produced seals, and information about Frankish coinage largely comes from excavations and coin hoards. Treasuries contained reliquaries, of which those with fragments of the True Cross were particularly venerated. These reliquaries frequently took the form of a double-armed cross of wood, encased in silver gilt and jeweled. Pilgrim tokens and votive objects were made of metal and mother-of-pearl, often shaped in the form of a cross. Ampullae for holy oil were also commonly used by pilgrims. Other portable objects were decorated with sacred figural imagery. Ecclesiastical objects, including bells, have been found in excavations in Bethlehem. Secular objects, including belt buckles and jewelry, have been found in excavations, including that at Athlit, where glass fragments were also found. Tyre, Antioch, and Acre are named in textual sources as places where glass was produced. Ivory carving is represented by the covers of the Queen Melisende Psalter. Glazed sgraffito pottery with figural designs and colored in green, yellow, and brown has been found at St. Simeon (the port of Antioch), the castle of Château Pèlerin, and elsewhere.

Art in Cyprus

The prosperity of Cyprus during the earlier twelfth century continued in the early part of Lusignan rule (1192–1489), following the capture of the island by King Richard I of England in 1191 during the Third Crusade (1189–1192). This prosperity is reflected in the extensive building program that ensued.

The two main urban centers in Lusignan Cyprus were Nicosia (mod. Lefkosia) and Famagusta (mod. Ammochostos), the latter gaining special prominence as a major emporium of the eastern Mediterranean after the fall of Acre in 1291. One of the major ecclesiastical buildings in Nicosia was the cathedral of St. Sophia (now the Selimiye mosque). Although much of the work was undertaken in the first half of the thirteenth century, the cathedral was not dedicated until 1326. Fragments also betray work of an earlier date, indicating that the all-important links with the mainland of Outremer were retained. The doorway to the north transept,

for example, has capitals and a frieze carved in a style comparable to late twelfth-century carving characteristic of Jerusalem and often associated with the Temple area. It is highly likely that work from another project was diverted for use in the construction of the cathedral. Other aspects of the sculptural decoration are classically Gothic, including the stiff-leaf capitals of the exterior of the nave. Inside, the windows of the nave clerestory contain trefoil tracery in circles. With the west-end window, they are datable to around 1300. The west porch was added in the fourteenth century, comprising three vaulted bays with gables above each of the entrances. The foliage capitals of the doorways are typical of much Cypriot sculptural work. The voussoirs of the arch of the main tympanum of the porch show figures of ecclesiastics, prophets, kings, and queens. Sculptural fragments at the base of the tympanum suggest that the tympanum once contained the scene of the Transfiguration and that there must have been a *trumeau* figure between the doors. Each of the three doorways is flanked by niches that probably contained painted panels. The church of the nunnery of Our Lady of Tyre (now an Armenian church), a Jerusalem foundation from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, displays flat-leaved foliage capitals on its former south door. From the later fourteenth century, sculpted foliage decoration adorned several churches, including the western porch of the former Church of St. Mary of the Augustinians (now the Omeriyeh mosque), and the Church of St. Catherine (now the Haydarpaşa mosque), to the northeast of St. Sophia. To the south, the covered market (the Bedestan) comprises the remains of two churches of the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, with Gothic-style doorways, lintels, capitals, and carved reliefs. Finally, the royal palace of Nicosia, destroyed by the Venetians in the sixteenth century, was famous for its lavish decoration.

The Latin cathedral of St. Nicholas of Famagusta (now the Lala Mustafa Paşa mosque), where the kings of Cyprus were crowned as kings of Jerusalem, was begun around 1300. The west façade is based purely on French Gothic style. This is apparent in its design of balancing towers, decorated with gables, as well as in its traceried windows, in the gabling above each of three lower porches on the ground story, and in the central rose window above a triad of vertical lights. The figural sculpture was destroyed after the Turkish occupation in 1571, but it is evident that the central doorway had column figures and a central *trumeau*. The voussoirs retain their leaved ornament, similar to that of St.

Sophia at Nicosia and elsewhere. Other sculpture preserved in Nicosia includes the foliage capitals in the nave and traceried gable of the north porch of St. George of the Latins. The Franciscan Church dating from around 1300 and the Carmelite Church of St. Mary from later in the fourteenth century also retain Gothic-style tracery and carving. In addition, these churches were decorated with wall paintings. Under Venetian rule (1489–1571), the royal palace at Famagusta was rebuilt with a Renaissance façade. Other carved work on Cyprus included incised stone funerary slabs of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, continuing a tradition known on the mainland of Outremer in the thirteenth century. The tombstone of Arnato Visconti (d. 1341) in St. Sophia shows him standing below a canopy that mirrors the decoration on the exterior porch.

The island's Byzantine cultural traditions were retained in wall paintings and painted icons. Examples include the wall paintings in the Church of the Panagia Arakiotissa at Lagoudera in 1192, attributed to the painter Theodore Apseudis, who signed his work at the Encyleistra of the hermit Neophytus at Paphos (1183), as well as the early thirteenth-century wall paintings from the Church of St. Theonianos near Lysi (now in the Menil Collection in Houston, Texas). But other thirteenth-century work shows features of acculturation between East and West, which by this stage was common throughout the eastern Mediterranean. The wall paintings at the Church of the Virgin at Moutoullas (1280) are a good example. Icon painting developed along similar lines. Particularly characteristic is the raised gesso technique, imitative of the golden metalwork that decorated certain Byzantine icons. An early example using this technique is an icon of an angel from the Chrysostomos monastery near Koutsouvendis, which probably originally formed part of a larger ensemble. Bright colors were also used, particularly scarlet red. Latin patrons commissioned indigenous painters to produce icons of various types, several of which in the second half of the thirteenth century were large-scale panels, probably made for altarpieces in Latin churches. A panel with the seated Virgin and Child, with scenes from the life of the Virgin on either side, from the Church of St. Cassianos includes portraits of the donors. These were apparently Dominican monks, indicating that it was probably made for a monastery of the Dominican Order.

Other panels with Eastern saints and Greek inscriptions would have been made for Greek Orthodox or other Eastern churches. An example is a very large panel of St. Nicholas

from, and made for, the Church of St. Nicholas (Nikolaos tis Stegis) near Kakopetria, which is now in the Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation in Nicosia; in it the saint is flanked by scenes of his life, with figures of the donors praying to him. They include a Western knight, his wife, and their daughter. There is no contradiction here, especially given that intermarriage was common between Franks and indigenous Greeks, a practice documented from the fourteenth century. Portraits in church wall paintings give further information about these families. Several were of women, as in the narthex portraits in the church at Asinou from around 1333. Donor portraits became particularly popular on icons from the fourteenth century: the earliest dated example is that of a Greek donor on an icon at Moutoullas of St. John the Baptist conversing with Christ; this individual has been identified as the donor of the wall paintings of the church at Moutoullas in 1280.

Sites of veneration were developed in Cyprus, some with links with the Holy Land and Syria, and these provided a focus for works of art. These included the cult center of St. Marina, a saint from Antioch. Also famous was the miracle-working icon of the Mother of God at the monastery of Kykkos. Although covered over today, the icon is known from numerous copies of the same type in Cyprus, Sinai, Sicily, and southern Italy, from the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. They proliferated in Cyprus in the Marathasa Valley following the rebuilding of Kykkos after the fire of 1365, with the help of the Lusignan ruler Queen Eleanor of Aragon. The type shows the bare-legged kicking Christ child in the arms of his mother, holding a scroll in his right hand and the scarlet veil that falls over his mother's head in the other. The oldest version (from Sinai) has Christ in Glory with saints and prophets around the central figure of the Virgin and Child. It dates from the early twelfth century and is probably from Constantinople.

Cyprus saw an influx of refugees fleeing from the mainland after the fall of Acre to the Mamlūks in 1291. The multicultural community of the island retained links with the mainland, as is evidenced by links with wall paintings in churches in Syria and Lebanon. More refugees arrived after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, which affected the last phase of Lusignan rule on the island (1374–1489). Painting in the royal chapel at Pyrga of 1421, built by King Janus and his wife Charlotte of Bourbon, is based on Cypriot Byzantine models. But those in the Church of St. Herakleidos in the

monastery of St. John Lampadistes at Kalopanagiotis, which can be dated to shortly after 1453, show the impact of the newcomers. The nave paintings are attributable to an artist from a Byzantine center who adapted his work to suit a Western patron who had probably recently converted to Greek Orthodoxy. The paintings in the narthex, of the same or slightly later date, are probably by a painter from Constantinople. The shift to Byzantine style in this later church is in line with the influence of Helena Palaiologina, a niece of Emperor Constantine IX Palaiologos and wife of King John II of Cyprus.

Other arts flourished in Cyprus. One example of manuscript illumination is the so-called Hamilton Psalter (MS Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett 78 A.9), which is a bilingual Latin and Greek psalter of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, with early Palaiologan Byzantine-style illustrations at the beginning of the book, and marginal illustrations throughout the text.

Textiles were manufactured in Cyprus. One example is an antependium (now in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Pisa), that is, a panel of lavishly embroidered cloth to be placed in front of the altar, which has recently been dated to 1325 and attributed to Nicosia, depicting the Coronation of the Virgin flanked with other scenes.

Locally produced glazed pottery appeared in Cyprus from the early thirteenth century and remained common during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, being produced at workshops at Paphos until the end of the fourteenth century and at the Lapithos workshops thereafter. It is likely that such glazed ware was originally introduced from the Syrian mainland.

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Artah, Battle of (1164)

A defeat of the Franks of northern Outremer and their allies by Nūr al-Dīn, Muslim ruler of Aleppo. After Nūr al-Dīn sent part of his forces to Egypt under his general Shikūh in order to counter the invasion mounted by King Amalric of Jerusalem, he opened up a second front by besieging the town of Harenc, which had been retaken by the Franks in 1158. A large Christian relieving army was assembled from the troops of Bohemund III of Antioch, Raymond III of Tripoli, Joscelin III of Courtenay, and the military orders, together with Armenian and Byzantine contingents, amounting to some 600 knights plus infantry. Nūr al-Dīn's numerically superior forces retreated and then gave battle in the plain of Artah on 11 August 1164, his troops employing a feigned flight to split the Christian forces, most of whom were killed or captured. The captives included Bohemund, who was ransomed shortly after, and Raymond and Joscelin, who were to remain prisoners for a decade. Harenc capitulated the day after the battle, and the frontier of Antioch was once more pushed back to the line of the river Orontes.

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Artāsh

Artāsh (Irtash) ibn Tutush was nominal Saljūq ruler of Damascus in October–December 1104, with the honorific

Artāsh

title Muḥyī al-Dīn (Reviver of Religion).

A son of Tutush I, king of Syria, Artāsh was imprisoned at Baalbek during the reign of his nephew, Tutush's son Duqāq, in Damascus. At the age of twelve he was freed at the instigation of Zāhir al-Dīn Ṭughtigin, Duqāq's *atabeg* of Damascus, who had just removed Duqāq's infant son Tutush II (1104). Artāsh was appointed ruler under Ṭughtigin's tutelage on 10 October 1104, but evidently feared for his life and in December fled to take refuge with Aytakīn al-Ḥalabī, the governor of Bosra. He attempted to persuade King Baldwin I of Jerusalem to attack Damascus in his support, but the king was fully preoccupied with an Egyptian invasion in August 1105. In September Ṭughtigin's troops took Bosra, and Artāsh and Aytakīn fled to Iraq. Artāsh was the last member of the Saljūq dynasty to occupy the throne of Damascus.

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Artūqids

A Turcoman dynasty in eastern Anatolia and Iraq, founded by Artūq, a chief of the Döger clan of the Oghuz tribe. Artūq fought for the Saljūq sultan Malik Shāh, established a power base in Upper Mesopotamia, and governed Palestine from 1086 until his death in 1091. In the early twelfth century, the Artūqids split into two branches: Artūq's son, Suqmān, took power in Hisn Kayfa in 1102, and his direct line ruled there until 1232. This branch was eventually extinguished by the Ayyūbids. Another descended from Suqmān's brother, Ḥāzī; members of this branch governed Mardin and Mayyafariqin until 1408, when their rule was terminated by the Turcoman Qarakoyunlu confederation. A third, short-lived branch of the Artūqids (1185–1234) ruled at Kharput (mod. Harput, Turkey).

Between 1100 and 1130 Suqmān, his brother Ḥāzī, and their nephew Balak ibn Bahrām stood out as redoubtable opponents of the Franks. These nomadic Turcoman chiefs were still under the nominal suzerainty of the Saljūq sultan, whose main power base was in Persia and Iraq. The threat of punitive action from the sultan prevented them from operating as independently as they might have wished.

Shortly before the arrival of the First Crusade (1096–1099), Suqmān and Ḥāzī were governing the city of Jerusalem on behalf of the Saljūqs. Suqmān rallied to Karbughā, the *atabeg* of Mosul, in his attempt to relieve Antioch in 1098. That same year the Fātimid vizier, al-Afdal, captured Jerusalem from Suqmān and Ḥāzī, who withdrew to Mesopotamia. Suqmān then became active against the Franks. In 1101 he tried unsuccessfully to take the town of Saruj from Baldwin I, count of Edessa. In May 1104, he joined Jekermish, the governor of Mosul, in defeating the combined Frankish forces of northern Syria in a battle near Harran. Although disunity between the two commanders prevented an expected attack on Edessa, their victory at Harran halted Frankish momentum and was a boost to Muslim morale. In 1105 Suqmān again proceeded to Syria, but he died suddenly, allegedly of quinsy, but possibly poisoned by Ṭughtigin, the *atabeg* of Damascus. Thus a vigorous opponent had been removed too early in the conflict with the Franks for him to make a real impact.

Ḥāzī, however, came to the fore almost immediately after his brother's death and had a much longer career. In April 1110, in the first military campaign sponsored by the Saljūq sultan Muḥammad against the Franks, Ḥāzī accompanied its commander Mawdūd to Edessa. The following year Mawdūd led a second expedition against the Franks with a new coalition, including Ayāz, Ḥāzī's son, but not Ḥāzī himself. His neighbor, Suqmān al-Qutbī of Akhlat, died suddenly in the Syrian campaign, and Ḥāzī, attracted by the short-term prospect of gain, attacked his funeral cortege on its route home, a deed that earned him opprobrium. In 1114, Ḥāzī again refused to join the next campaign from the east under Aq-Sunqūr al-Bursuqī.

In 1115 Ḥāzī's disobedience to the Saljūq sultan became open hostility. When another campaign from the east came to Syria under Bursuq ibn Bursuq, it faced a Muslim-Frankish alliance among Ḥāzī, Ṭughtigin, and Prince Roger of Antioch, forged to defend local territorial interests. Roger's subsequent victory over Bursuq at Tell Danith made this the last expedition sent by the Saljūq sultan. The cessation of this threat, and the death of Sultan Muḥammad in April 1118, emboldened Ḥāzī to take more personal initiatives against the Franks and to expand his power base. He followed his capture of Mardin and Mayyafariqin in 1118 by seizing Aleppo the following year. He then descended into the Orontes Valley. Ṭughtigin promised to join him, but in the event Ḥāzī did not wait for him. Nor did Roger of Anti-

och wait for other Frankish princes. In the ensuing battle in May 1119, Ḫāzī won a resounding victory at the battle of the Field of Blood (Lat. *Ager Sanguinis*), and the Franks sustained considerable losses. This triumph over Roger was the crowning moment of Ḫāzī's career, gaining him great prestige in the Muslim world. The caliph bestowed on him the honorific title Najm al-Dīn (Star of Religion); he had succeeded where semi-official Saljūq campaigns had not, and the glory fell exclusively to him. Yet the short attention span of his Turcomans, who, once satisfied with the plunder from a battle, were reluctant to embark straightaway on further fighting, and his own prolonged alcoholic celebration (which lasted three weeks), prevented him from following up this triumph in the obvious way with an attack on Antioch.

Ḫāzī was, above all, opportunistic and would pursue whatever chances for plunder presented themselves. Accordingly, in 1121 he struck northward into the Caucasus. There he was roundly defeated by the Christian Georgian king, David II, and was lucky to escape to Mardin. He died in November 1122, but there was a dramatic epilogue to follow. His widow ordered two men to hold his corpse upright on his horse as it entered Mayyafariqin so as to secure the citadel for his son Sulaymān before his death was announced publicly.

The Artūqid threat to the Franks of Syria was not, however, finished. Ḫāzī's dynamic but overextended energies were now replaced by those of his intrepid nephew, Balak, who controlled Melitene (mod. Malatya, Turkey) and Kharput. Balak captured Count Joscelin I of Edessa in 1122 and King Baldwin II of Jerusalem in 1123; both languished in his pit at Kharput. The seizure of the Frankish king gave Balak great prestige. He then took Aleppo, but on hearing that Joscelin had escaped from prison, he hastened to Kharput, seized the castle, and threw all the inhabitants, except for Baldwin, over the battlements. Balak was killed by a stray arrow while besieging Manbij in May 1124. He had indeed been a formidable opponent of the Franks in the north. The inscription on his tomb speaks of him as a martyr and carries a quotation from the Qur'ān (3/169): "Think not of those who are slain in the way of God as dead. Nay, they are living" [J. Sauvaget, "La tombe de l'Ortokide Balak," *Ars Islamica* 5 (1938), 207–215].

The strength of the early Artūqids had lain in the raiding skills of their bellicose Turcoman cavalry, and Ḫāzī had relied latterly on his alliance with Ṭughtigin of Damascus.

Between 1100 and 1130, the northern Syrian towns were under constant pressure; threatened by vigorous Frankish expansion, they turned for protection to Muslim commanders such as the Artūqids. But such protection was a mixed blessing. The proximity of the undisciplined Turcomans, whom the Artūqids could not always control, threatened the safety of the cities. Indeed, Ḫāzī's troops had previously terrorized the citizens of Baghdad, and Balak's lieutenant in Aleppo forcibly (and illegally) turned churches into mosques.

With Balak's death, the Artūqids relinquished Aleppo and ceased to operate as vigorous, independent opponents of the Franks in northern Syria. Henceforth their role would be to answer calls to arms from more powerful Muslim rulers in Syria and Egypt. Otherwise, they entrenched themselves in their lands in Upper Mesopotamia, involved in local power struggles. Once the career of the Muslim leader Zangī, governor of Mosul, was fully launched in the 1130s, both Ḫāzī's son Timūrtash, who succeeded him at Mardin, and his Artūqid cousins at Hisn Kayfa lived in Zangī's shadow, threatened by his growing power and fearsome reputation. They had a stark choice: send troops to reinforce Zangī or risk his personal reprisals in their own territories. Their perceived misdemeanors were dealt with firmly on several occasions; for example, just before besieging Edessa in 1144, Zangī attacked the Artūqid ruler of Hisn Kayfa, Qara Arslān, who had allied himself with Joscelin II of Edessa.

By the time of Nūr al-Dīn, Zangī's son, the Artūqids had learned their lesson, and they knew their place. When called upon, they provided troops for Nūr al-Dīn, as, for example, at Artah in 1164. Saladin too relied on his Artūqid vassals, whom he kept under tight control and in whose domestic squabbles he sometimes intervened. In 1182, Saladin captured Amid, handing it to Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad, the Artūqid ruler of Hisn Kayfa (d.1185). When Saladin unsuccessfully attacked Kerak in Transjordan in 1184, Artūqid troops were with him. Under Saladin's direct successors, the Ayyūbids, Artūqid power was further reduced, and they lost Amid, Hisn Kayfa, and Mayyafariqin in turn. In the thirteenth century the sole remaining Artūqids of the Mardin branch were successively vassals to the Saljūqs of Rūm, the Khwarazm-Shāh Jalāl-Dīn, and finally the Mongols.

Muslim medieval sources rarely mention the crucial fact that the Artūqids ruled predominantly Christian towns. However, as a small military elite, they established a modus

vivendi with local notables, giving the citizens military protection in exchange for the payment of taxes. Beginning as nomadic chiefs, the Artūqids, as early as the second generation, became attached to the territories they governed. In administration, they ruled a Saljūq successor state in microcosm. Timūrtash was more interested in peace than war, and he invited scholars to Mardin. That witty observer of Frankish mores, Usāma ibn Munqidh, speaks warmly of the three years he spent at the Artūqid court in Hisn Kayfa (1170–1173), and Timūrtash's son, Najm al-Dīn Alpī (d. 1176), ordered a translation of the Syriac version of Dioscorides's *De materia medica*. Artūqid copper coins, with figural imagery, based inter alia on ancient Greek, Roman, and Byzantine models, have suggested a classical revival to some scholars. Moreover, the Artūqids were vigorous patrons of architecture, building mosques, bridges, tombs, and caravanserais, and renovating the walls of their cities.

After the Artūqids lost Aleppo, their territories were situated too far from Outremer to pose a serious threat to the Frankish territories. But their early leaders had indeed proved tough opponents for the Franks, and the simulated cavalry flights and sudden raids of their Turcomans were justifiably feared. However, Ilghāzī and Balak lacked the iron discipline of Zangī, and they came too early to benefit from the heightened atmosphere of *jihād* (holy war) and the support of the religious classes later enjoyed by Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin.

—Carole Hillenbrand

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Ascalon

Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel) was a coastal town in southern Palestine, the center of a lordship in the kingdom

of Jerusalem. It was held by the Fāṭimids at the time of the First Crusade (1096–1099), but rivalry between Godfrey of Bouillon and Raymond of Saint-Gilles resulted in the crusaders failing to take the town in August 1099. The town was well supplied and garrisoned from Egypt and remained in Fāṭimid hands for over half a century, during which time the Franks erected a ring of fortresses around it. Ascalon finally surrendered to Baldwin III of Jerusalem on 19 August 1153 after a sustained siege of almost eight months. The following year it was granted to the king's brother Amalric, along with the county of Jaffa, returning to the royal domain when Amalric became king in 1163. The county of Jaffa and Ascalon was subsequently held by William of Montferrat (1176), Guy of Lusignan (1180), and his brother Geoffrey of Lusignan (1191).

William of Tyre describes Ascalon at the time of its capture as having a semicircular form, with the sea representing the chord and double walls strengthened by towers and outworks extending landward. Four principal gates faced Jaffa, Jerusalem, Gaza, and the sea respectively, while the towers included two especially massive ones, known as the Towers of the Hospital and of the Maidens (Burj al-Banat), located at the south end of the enceinte. An inscription testifies to Fāṭimid rebuilding of the walls in progress as late as 1151. Eleven churches are attested in Frankish Ascalon (three by surviving remains). Four of them had formerly been mosques, including the Church of St. Paul (formerly St. John), which from 1163 to 1168 served as pro-cathedral of the bishop of Bethlehem.

Ascalon remained Frankish until 4 September 1187, when it fell to Saladin after a two-week siege. In 1191 he dismantled its defenses and buildings and expelled its population. During the first three months of 1192, however, Richard I of England, assisted by Hugh III, duke of Burgundy, rebuilt the towers and gates and refurbished the defenses, work that is confirmed by archaeological analysis of the surviving structures and by the survival of an inscription referring to Richard and his clerk of the chamber, Philip of Poitiers. In August, however, both sides agreed to dismantle the defenses once more.

Ascalon lay derelict until November 1239, when it was reoccupied by Thibaud IV of Champagne. In 1240 Richard of Cornwall completed construction of a castle in the northern corner of the town, whose custody was granted to the Hospitallers by Emperor Frederick II in 1243. Although they held it successfully against the Egyptians after the battle of

Forbie (1244), it was finally taken by Fakhr al-Dīn in October 1247. Sultan Baybars I completed its destruction in 1270.

—Denys Pringle

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Ascalon, Battle of (1099)

A battle fought near Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel) between the armies of the First Crusade and the Fātimid caliphate of Egypt, resulting from the attempt by al-Afḍal, vizier of Egypt, to recapture the Fātimid territory in Palestine lost to the crusade in July 1099.

The Egyptian army was commanded by al-Afḍal and may have comprised as many as 20,000 soldiers, with a core of heavily armored Ethiopian infantry, and large numbers of Bedouin light horse and more heavily armored Turkish cavalry. On 25 July the new Frankish ruler of Jerusalem, Godfrey of Bouillon, sent word to Tancred and Eustace of Boulogne that a large Egyptian army was gathering at the Fātimid-held coastal city of Ascalon. All three crusaders made for Caesarea and then pushed south, arriving at Ramla on 7 August, where they were later joined by Robert of Normandy and Raymond of Saint-Gilles. On 11 August the combined crusader army, amounting to perhaps 1,200 knights and 9,000 infantry, marched toward Ascalon and captured a large number of the enemy's cattle; these cattle played an influential role in subsequent battle, as the Egyptians mistook them for soldiers and consequently believed the crusader army to be much larger than it really was.

The main battle was fought on 12 August 1099, approximately 5 kilometers (c. 3 mi.) north of the city. Raymond commanded the crusaders right alongside the sea, Robert

the center, and Godfrey the left flank. They were able to surprise the numerically superior Egyptians; al-Afḍal pushed forward his heavy infantry into the center to allow time for his heavy cavalry to deploy and tried to outflank the crusader left with his Bedouin cavalry. Both attacks were beaten off, and as the Ethiopian infantry tired, Robert of Normandy led a charge that captured the Egyptian battle standard and overran their camp. Godfrey repulsed a counterattack, and thousands of Egyptian soldiers were killed trying to escape into Ascalon. The crusaders had won a decisive victory, but this did not prevent al-Afḍal from returning in successive years in a bid to recover Jerusalem.

—Alec Mulinder

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Ashdod, Battle

See Ibelin, Battle of

Assassins

"Assassins" (Arab. *Ḥashīshīyya*) is a pejorative term applied to the Nizārīs, a sect of the Ismā'īlī branch of Shī'a Islam in the Middle Ages. In 1094 the Nizārīs broke away from the main body of the Ismā'īlīs in Egypt in the course of a dispute between two rivals for the succession to the Fātimid caliphate, al-Musta'li and Nizār. Although al-Musta'li was invested as caliph in Cairo, Ḥasan al-Ṣabbāḥ, an Ismā'īlī anti-Saljūq agitator in Persia, declared his support for the cause of Nizār, who had disappeared under mysterious circumstances. In the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries the Nizārīs enjoyed considerable support in the great towns of the Syrian interior and made determined attempts to take control in Damascus and Aleppo.

The Assassins frequently resorted to political murder in the furtherance of their aims; indeed, the English word *assassin* derives from the Arabic term *ḥashīshīyya*. It was once thought that the Ḥashīshīyya were so called by their enemies either because their leader, "the Old Man of the Mountains," used drugs (hashish) to delude his followers into believing that they were being given a foretaste of Paradise in his garden or because the Assassins resorted to taking drugs in order to steel themselves to perform their

bloody acts. However, on balance it seems more probable that those who called them Ḥashīshīya meant more vaguely to insinuate that the Assassins were the sort of low-life riff-raff who might take drugs; in this period hashish-taking tended to be confined to city slums.

By the 1130s the Assassins' attempts to take control in the Syrian cities could be seen to have failed, and they withdrew to a mountainous part of northwestern Syria, where they took possession of a group of fortresses in the Jabal Bahra region: Masyaf, al-Kahf, Qadmus, Khariba, Khawabi, Rusafa, Qulay'a, and Maniqua. Masyaf was the headquarters of the Syrian Assassins. In 1126 they were given the town of Banyas by Ṭughtigin, *atabeg* of Damascus, but they held it for only a few years, an Assassin attempt to seize power in Damascus having failed in the meantime. Although the Assassins also harbored the ambition to take control of Shaizar, several of their attacks on the place were unsuccessful; they held it only briefly in 1157 after an earthquake had leveled its walls. In 1090 the radical Ismā'īlī preacher Ḥasan al-Ṣabbāḥ had established himself at Alamut, a strong fortress in the northwestern Persian province of Daylam, and a few years later, when the succession dispute broke out in Cairo, he declared his support for the Nizārī line.

From their bases in Syria and Persia the leaders of the Assassins masterminded a program of political murders. The impressive list of their victims included Sunnī, Shī'ite, and Frankish leaders. They included Nizām al-Mulk, the Saljūq vizier (1092); Janāḥ al-Dawla, emir of Homs (1103); the Fātimid vizier al-Afḍal (1121); al-Bursuqī, governor of Mosul and Aleppo (1126); the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Manṣūr ibn al-Mustarshid (1135); and Count Raymond II of Tripoli (1152). The assassination of Raymond and other Franks notwithstanding, in general Assassin outrages and the divisions they caused worked to the advantage of the Frankish principalities. They posed a major threat to Saladin, and in 1174 a couple of Assassins reached the sultan's tent before being struck down. In 1176 Assassins made another attempt on Saladin's life. He launched an abortive siege of Masyaf before reluctantly coming to terms with Sinān, the leader of the Syrian Assassins.

In 1192, for reasons that remain mysterious, Assassins struck down Conrad of Montferrat in Tyre (mod. Sūr, Lebanon). It is conceivable that they acted at the behest of Henry of Champagne. In 1194 the latter visited al-Kahf in order to confirm the alliance between what was left of the kingdom of Jerusalem and the sect. Other thirteenth-century

assassinations include the deaths of Raymond, son of Prince Bohemund III of Antioch, in 1213, and Philip of Montfort, in 1270, at the behest of the sultan Baybars, and the wounding of Prince Edward of England in 1272. Joinville provided the most vivid account of the Syrian Assassins in the thirteenth century, as he related a visit of Brother Yves the Breton as an emissary of King Louis IX of France in 1252 to their leader, known to the westerners as the "Old Man of the Mountains" (the term *Old Man* is a literal translation of the Arabic *shaykh*). According to Yves, when the Old Man of the Mountains went out riding, he was preceded by a man bearing an axe, to the haft of which many knives were attached, and the bearer of the axe would cry out, "Turn out of the way of him who bears in his hands the death of kings!" [Joinville and Villehardouin, *Chronicles of the Crusades*, trans. Margaret R. B. Shaw (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963), p. 280].

During the thirteenth century the Assassins paid tribute to both the Hospitallers and the Templars in northern Syria. According to Joinville, this was because the masters of those orders did not fear assassination, for the Nizārīs knew they would be replaced by masters just as good. It is more likely that the tributary relationship reflected the strength on the ground of the orders based in Margat (mod. Marqab, Syria) and Tortosa (mod. Tartūs, Syria). In a series of campaigns from 1265 to 1271, the Mamlūk sultan Baybars captured the Assassin castles and made the sect his tributaries. He and his successors also employed them as a kind of state assassination bureau, using them, among other things, to attack enemies in the Mongol Ilkhanate of Persia. However, after the fourteenth century this practice seems to have been discontinued, and one hears little of what had become a remote, rustic group of villages inhabited by harmless sectarians.

The end of the Assassins in Persia happened earlier. They were unwise enough to challenge the growing power of the Mongols, and in 1256 the general Hülegü was dispatched by the great Mongol khan Möngke in Qaraqorum to capture Alamut and the other Assassin castles nearby. The grand master Rukn al-Dīn surrendered to safe conduct but was subsequently put to death. Alamut had been a major center of Ismā'īlī learning and the place possessed an impressive library of esoterica, which the Persian historian Juvayni inspected on Hülegü's orders. Although the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs were quite widely feared and detested throughout the Muslim world, they survive today in India and elsewhere as a respectable and prosperous community whose leader is the Agha Khan.

The folklore of the Assassins in Western literature is at least as interesting as their real history. Writers like Marco Polo, John Mandeville, and Felix Fabri produced the most fantastical stories about a paradise of drugs and houris in a mountain fastness presided over by the sinister Old Man of the Mountains. Their stories in turn inspired poetry and romances produced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

—Robert Irwin

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Assizes of Jerusalem

The *Assizes of Jerusalem* (Fr. *Assises de Jérusalem*) are a collection of French legal texts that originated at the courts of the kings of Jerusalem and Cyprus between the end of the twelfth and the second half of the thirteenth century.

The collection consists of a number of different works: the *Livres* (i.e., law books) of John of Ibelin (Jaffa), Geoffrey Le Tor, James of Ibelin, and Philip of Novara, as well as the *Clef des Assises*, the *Livre au Roi*, the *Livre du Plédéant*, the *Livre du Plaidoyer*, the *Assises de la Cour des Bourgeois*, and the *Lignages d'Outremer*. All of these were originally autonomous works, without any official character, and were only later brought together under the title *Assizes of Jerusalem*. This title is misleading, according to Maurice Grandclaude, since it implies the creation of a single corpus of laws.

According to tradition, a number of laws (Fr. *assises*) were recorded on the order of the first ruler of Jerusalem, Godfrey of Bouillon (d. 1100), as claimed by John of Ibelin in his

Livre. In fact, the earliest laws were almost certainly compiled under Godfrey's successors. They were supposed to have been written down on loose leaves of parchment and deposited in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (whence they derive their name, *Letres dou Sepulchre*), but they were lost after the battle of Hattin in 1187.

The *Assizes of Jerusalem* resulted from an attempt by later jurists to fix in writing the memory of these old laws, by bringing together various written records concerning governance. The *Assizes* are preserved in about thirty more or less complete manuscripts (some of which are of a later date) dispersed in different libraries. These texts were so important that they inspired the compilation of other law codes in Frankish Greece, Antioch, and Cilicia (Lesser Armenia), and were also translated into Italian and Greek.

The *Assizes of Jerusalem* constitute an important witness to the law of Outremer and a precious source of information on the functioning of institutions in the states of the Latin East.

—Marie-Adélaïde Nielen

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Assizes of Romania

The *Assizes of Romania* (Fr. *Assises de Romanie*) are a law code representing the legal practice of the Frankish states in Greece established after the overthrow of the Byzantine Empire by the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204).

The 219 clauses of the *Assizes* are a fusion of feudal custom, pre-1204 Byzantine law, and the traditions of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. Although effectively the code that regulated the relationship of the prince of Achaia with his feudatories at some stage, the *Assizes* were also consciously identified with both the kingdom of Jerusalem and the Latin Empire of Constantinople ("Romania," Fr. *Romanie*). The

Atabeg

law code survives in ten manuscripts (all in Italian) that derive from a decision by the Venetian senate in 1452 to commission an official translation for use in Venice's Aegean possessions. This would suggest the wider acceptance of the code in the Frankish states of the Aegean region, rather than merely in the lands of the princes of Achaia, although it is only in those lands that there is an independent record of its use.

The Italian translation was based on an official compilation made by an unknown French jurist sometime between 1333 and 1346, possibly for the visit of Catherine of Valois to the Morea as princess of Achaia in the period 1338–1341. The compilation reflected the *Assizes* as they were known in the early fourteenth century, a time when the Angevin kings of Naples ruled in Achaia and were concerned with their relationship as absentees to the local Frankish baronage. However, the *Assizes* existed in some form by 1276, when they were cited in the French version of the *Chronicle of the Morea* in the account of a lawsuit brought by Margaret of Neuilly to claim the barony of Akova. Like all feudal customs, the *Assizes* were a developing body of law. However, in the texts that have survived it is impossible to distinguish which clauses existed before 1276 (that is, before the commencement of Angevin rule) and which were original to the first Frankish rulers of Achaia.

The majority of the clauses deal with the fief, and issues of investiture, service, forfeiture, escheat, relief, and wardship connected with it. There are eighteen clauses that deal with the place of Greeks in a society now ordered by a minority group of Western lords, and nineteen that deal with women. Interesting light is shed on Latin literacy, relations between Franks and Greeks, and various categories of unfree Greek serfs only recorded in the *Assizes*. Regrettably the chronological context of all of this information is lacking.

—Peter Lock

See also: Achaia; Constantinople, Latin Empire of

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Atabeg

Atabeg (or *atabek*) was the title of an officeholder who acted as regent or guardian to a prince in the Saljūq, Zangid, Ayyūbid, and Mamlūk dynasties. It is derived from the Turkish words *ata* (father) and *beg/bek* (prince). It was first introduced by the Saljūqs of Persia and Syria in the second half of the eleventh century. The Saljūqs who ruled Syria between 1070 and 1154 depended on atabegs in their rule, and the institution was subsequently taken up and developed by other ruling dynasties of Turkish or Kurdish origin.

As early as the eighth century, the Saljūqs, while still in central Asia, used to designate an atabeg as a tutor to a young prince, and continued to employ the office after the foundation of their empire in Persia in the eleventh century. In Saljūq-ruled Syria, the character of the atabegate differed from the original institution, in that the atabeg was selected from a ruler's most trusted and capable commanders, and had to be a Turk; the ruler would divorce the wife who was the prince's mother and then marry her to the atabeg, who would thus become stepfather to the young prince and have the authority and proximity to bring him up according to Turkish tradition. The atabeg was supposed to assist the prince in the duties of government, but by the beginning of the twelfth century it was often the atabegs who exercised real power in Saljūq Syria, particularly during minorities. Tutush I, king of Syria (1078–1095), had five sons, and during his quest to gain the sultanate he appointed atabegs for two of his sons to whom he had allocated provinces: Ṭughtgin for Duqāq in Damascus (1093) and Aytagin for Riḍwan in Aleppo (1094). After the death of Duqāq (1104), Ṭughtgin, who was also commander of the army of Damascus, manipulated and removed two consecutive Saljūq successors, Tutush II and Artāsh. From 1105 he continued to rule with the title atabeg, but without any recognition by the Great Saljūq sultan, allying himself with the Franks against Saljūq armies sent against him in 1114 and 1115. The sultan finally recognized his independent rule in 1115 and granted his dynasty the right of inheritance. This was the first case of a heritable atabegate in the Saljūq Empire. It set a pattern

for others to follow and thus contributed to the decline of the empire.

In 1127 the Turkish commander Zangī was appointed by the Saljūq sultan Muḥammad as lord of Mosul and atabeg to his two sons. Zangī expanded his power in Syria, taking Aleppo in 1128 and Edessa in 1144. His own son Nūr al-Dīn succeeded to these dominions and in 1154 took over Damascus from its atabeg. Nūr al-Dīn never granted the title of atabeg to any of his men, but after his death in 1174, three military commanders fought to gain the atabegate for his young son al-Ṣāliḥ (d. 1181). One of them, Saladin, wanted to be regent in order to gain legitimacy for his own rule, but it was Shams al-Dīn ibn al-Muqaddam who declared himself as atabeg. The atabegate for al-Ṣāliḥ eventually passed to Gūmūshtagīn, who ruled in Aleppo until he was executed on the orders of al-Ṣāliḥ in 1177.

Saladin, who had already conquered Damascus, took Aleppo two years after the death of al-Ṣāliḥ. His Ayyūbid successors who ruled Egypt and Syria continued to use the office, though with several changes. The Turkish monopoly on the atabegate was broken, and atabegs of Slavic or Greek origin held office. Atabegs might also be eunuchs or even royal princes, as in the case of al-Afḍal, son of Saladin, who in 1199 was appointed atabeg for his nephew al-Manṣūr in Egypt. The range of their responsibilities varied. Some atabegs were essentially tutors in the manner of the original Saljūq institution, while others exercised considerable power. The last atabeg during Ayyūbid rule, the eunuch Ṭughril (d. 1231/1233), governed Aleppo for sixteen years as regent and eventually handed over power peacefully to the Ayyūbid prince al-ʿAzīz in 1231. Ṭughril also created a new subordinate office of *atābeg al-ʿaskar* (commander of the army), which became the most powerful position after the sultan during the Mamlūk regime that replaced the Ayyūbids in Egypt. Its holder could combine the duties of regent and commander of the army, and as the most powerful person in the realm, often became the new ruler on the death of a sultan.

–Taef El-Azhari

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Athanasios I of Antioch (d. 1170)

Greek Orthodox patriarch of Antioch (1157–1170). Before his appointment as patriarch, Athanasios was a monk in the monastery of St. John the Theologian in Patmos, but it seems that he lived in its *metochion* (dependency) in Constantinople. Between 1143 and 1157, he composed a eulogy on St. Christodoulos, the founder of his monastery, a text that shows him as an educated man with knowledge of classical literature and rhetoric.

Athanasios was appointed patriarch of Antioch by Emperor Manuel I Komnenos, probably in 1157, although he could not take up his appointment because of the hostility of the Franks of Antioch, who supported a Latin patriarch. On 25 December 1162, together with the patriarchs Luke Chrysoberges of Constantinople and Sophronios of Alexandria, Athanasios blessed the marriage of Emperor Manuel I and Maria of Antioch. In 1165 Athanasios was finally accepted as patriarch as part of an agreement with Bohemund III of Antioch, whose release from Turkish captivity had been secured by Manuel. The Latin patriarch, Aimery of Limoges, was deposed and had to withdraw to his castle of Cursat. In March 1166 Athanasios attended the first two sessions of a synod in the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, convoked by the emperor to discuss the meaning of Christ’s words “The Father is greater than I” (John 14:28). The patriarch was fatally injured in the cathedral of Antioch during the earthquake of June 1170 and died on 29 June 1170.

–Klaus-Peter Todt

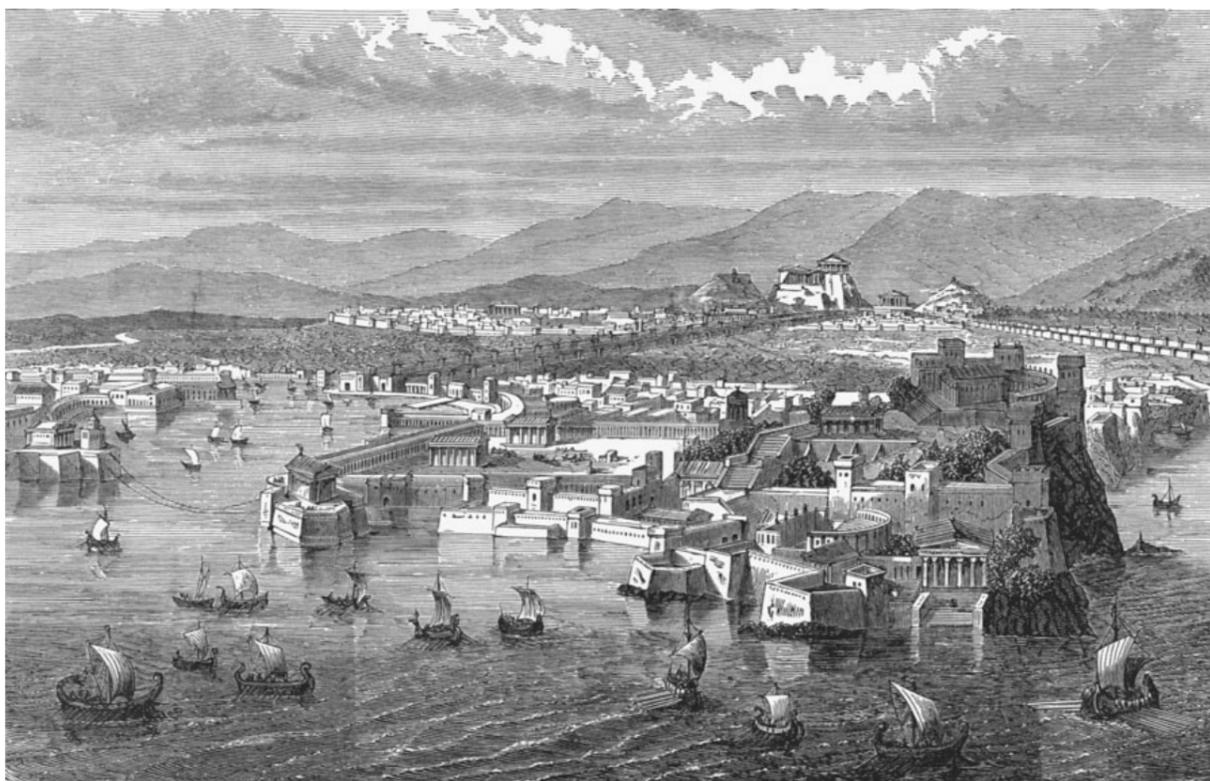
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Athens, Lordship and Duchy of

A Frankish principality in central Greece, established after the overthrow of the Byzantine Empire in 1204 by the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204).

The conquest of central Greece by a small army under



Ancient Athens viewed from the port of Piraeus. (John Clark Ridpath, *Ridpath's History of the World*, 1901)

Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, took place between October 1204 and February 1205. The Greek chronicler Niketas Choniates was shocked by the ease of the conquest and the way in which the conquered people had looked upon the Franks as liberators. This suggests that the new rulers had brought a promise of stability to the region. The La Roche family became lords of Athens and half of Thebes, and these two cities emerged as the centers of the lordship, with a palace and an archbishop in each town, although, regrettably, little is known about what was actually there in terms of Frankish buildings in the early years of the thirteenth century.

It was in the period 1260–1311 that the La Roche family and their heirs emerged as players on the broader political scene of Frankish Greece, a process that initially began with an unsuccessful resistance to the ambitions of the rulers of Achaia. According to the *Chronicle of the Morea*, at the time of the conquest of central Greece Boniface of Montferrat had granted the lordship of Athens to William of Champlitte, the future ruler of Achaia. However, nothing was heard of this claim until a dispute between William of La Roche and

William, prince of Achaia, in the late 1250s. Its occurrence at this time may well have ensured its entry into the *Chronicle of the Morea*. The dispute concerned the inheritance of Carintana dalle Carceri (the second wife of William of La Roche, who had died in 1255), which included the northern part of the island of Negroponte (Euboea). In the years 1255 to 1258, there was virtual civil war in Frankish Greece between the rulers of Athens, backed by the Venetians, and William of Villehardouin.

In May 1258 the La Roche family was signally defeated at the battle of Mount Karydi, between Megara and Thebes, and blockaded in Thebes. The subsequent compromise peace obliged Guy I of La Roche to visit the court of King Louis IX of France in Paris in order to receive judgment on his action against the Villehardouin family. While he was absent from Greece the political situation changed dramatically: William II of Achaia was defeated at the battle of Pelagonia and imprisoned in Constantinople, and Guy returned to become *bailli* (regent) of Achaia in William's absence. In Paris Guy may have been granted the formal title



The Duchy of Athens and its neighbors

of duke and the right to mint money modeled on the French *denier tournois* (penny of the standard of Tours). However, there is no numismatic evidence to show that either the title or the right of coinage was exercised before 1280. Nonetheless, the 1260s marked a distinct shift in the role of the (now) dukes of Athens. They became rulers who were prepared to assume the mantle of the Villehardouin family as the suzerains of Greece and at the same time proponents of the Frankish rulers of Greece against the demands and ambitions of the Angevin rulers of Naples. The latter, since the battle of Pelagonia, had sought to exploit the political and military difficulties of the Villehardouins in order to establish their own power base in Greece as part of a larger claim to the Byzantine Empire.

During the 1290s there was a second dispute between the rulers of Achaia and Athens, once again concerning the status and independence of the duchy with regard to the principality of Achaia. It was Florent of Hainaut, the consort of Isabella of Villehardouin, who reasserted the Achaian claims, soon after their marriage in 1289. The claims dated back no further than the late 1250s but were embellished with a longer pedigree. At the time, Guy II (Guyot) of La Roche was a minor, and the regent of Athens—his mother, Helena Angela Doukaina—was forced to concede Florent's claims.

Lords and Dukes of Athens

Otho of La Roche	1205–1225
Guy I of La Roche	1225–1263
John of La Roche	1263–1280
William of La Roche	1280–1287
Guy II of La Roche	1287–1308
Walter I of Brienne	1308–1311
Manfred of Aragon	1312–1317
William of Randazzo	1317–1338
John of Randazzo	1338–1348
Frederick of Randazzo	1348–1355
Frederick III of Sicily	1355–1377
Maria of Sicily	1377–1381
Peter IV of Aragon	1381–1388
Nerio I Acciaiuoli	1388–1394
Antonio I Acciaiuoli	1402–1435
Nerio II Acciaiuoli	1435–1439
Antonio II Acciaiuoli	1439–1441
Nerio II Acciaiuoli (again)	1441–1451
Francesco I (Franco) Acciaiuoli	1451–1454
Francesco II Acciaiuoli	1454–1458

However, the situation eased when Florent died in 1297 and seemed to be reversed in 1301, when Guy II became betrothed to Florent's daughter Mahaut, heiress to Achaia. They were married in 1305, and two years later Guy was appointed bailli of the Morea, but he died on 5 October 1308, bringing the La Roche line to an end.

The duchy passed to Guy's cousin Walter I of Brienne, who in 1310 employed the Catalan Grand Company, a band of mercenaries that had served various employers in the Aegean region since 1303. The Catalans obtained a number of striking successes for Walter in Thessaly, but when he proposed to disband them without arrears of pay he had to resort to force. Walter's army of mounted knights was annihilated by the Catalans at Halmyros on 15 March 1311, and he was killed, leaving his claims to his young son Walter (II). After a number of unsuccessful attempts to recover the duchy, Walter II was himself killed at the battle of Poitiers during the Hundred Years' War in 1356.

The Catalans took over the duchy, giving the title of duke to the king of Aragon, but in practice remaining their own masters under warlords such as Alfons Fadrique, who was vicar general for the absent king. Under Fadrique the Catalans gained control of territory in southern Thessaly, setting up the duchy of Neopatras. The Catalans were perceived as a serious military and economic threat by their Venetian neighbors on Negroponte. The Venetians used their influence in Rome to secure frequent papal bans of excommunication against the Catalans for employing Turkish mercenaries or for failing to respond to calls for a crusade against the Turks. During the 1360s, various Catalan leaders in the duchy warred among themselves, but they were able to resist an attempt to recover the duchy by the Enghien brothers, nephews of Walter II of Brienne, in 1370–1371. The affairs of the duchy passed into obscurity and apparent dissolution as the Catalans lost ground to another band of mercenaries, the so-called Navarrese Companies, which captured Thebes in 1379 and Livadhia in the following year. In 1388 Nerio Acciaiuoli took control of the Akropolis at Athens. The duchy was ruled by his descendants until Francesco II Acciaiuoli was deposed by the Ottomans in 1458.

—Peter Lock

See also: Castles: Greece and Cyprus; Catalan Company

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'Athlith

See Château Pèlerin

Avis, Order of

A Portuguese military religious order, originally known as the Order of Évora. The first definite information about the order dates from 1176; it did not adopt the name of Avis until 1215.

The claims of medieval chroniclers that date the foundation of the order to the mid-twelfth century are unfounded. The conclusions of Rui Pinto de Azevedo are now held to be the most authoritative: he demonstrated that the origins of the order should be situated in Évora, and should be placed between March 1175 and April 1176 [Azevedo, "As origens da ordem de Évora ou de Avis"]. At this time King Afonso I Henriques of Portugal, thanks to a truce with the Almohads, was attempting to elaborate a defensive strategy that would ensure the advanced positions of his kingdom against al-Andalus in the Alto Alentejo region (mod. central Portugal). In 1211 the brethren of Évora were given the fortress of Avis, from which they took their new name a few years later. It is unclear why the brethren left their original Benedictine obedience in 1187 and sought association with the Castilian Order of Calatrava, which followed the Cistercian rule. This new dependence was evident in the prerogatives given to the master of Calatrava: he had rights of visitation over the Order of Avis and was also allowed to govern the institution whenever a vacancy in its mastership occurred, which he did until the mid-fourteenth century.

The Order of Avis was composed of knight brethren and clerics. They wore a scapular, which from 1404 bore a green cross on the left side. Under the aegis of its master, the institution gradually gained strength during the first part of the

thirteenth century. Supported by the Portuguese monarchy, the brethren were active in the reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula from the Moors, acquiring lands in the process. By the late thirteenth century these properties were organized in a network of no fewer than twenty-five commanderies: the richest of these were concentrated on the left bank of the river Tagus (Port. Tejo) near Avis, and also further south in the newly conquered areas, where the brethren had settled in Évora, Alandroal, Juromenha, Noudar, and Albufeira.

Such extensive land-ownership alarmed the Portuguese monarchy, which felt threatened by the potential power of the order. In the reign of King Dinis (1279–1325), royal policy toward Avis changed radically: the king put an end to donations and began supporting urban oligarchies and Muslim minorities in jurisdictional disputes, even in the town of Avis itself, thus deliberately harming the order's interests. The masters of Avis were increasingly selected from among the king's followers, or even his relatives. This can be seen in the case of the Infante John (Port. João), a natural son of King Peter I who was made the master of the order in 1364 at the age of seven, twenty years before ascending the throne of Portugal.

John became king after a two-year civil war, an event that could only reinforce royal interference in the order. After defeating his Castilian rival in 1385 in the battle of Aljubarrota, John I tried to maintain control by appointing a faithful follower, Fernão Rodrigues de Sequeira, as master of Avis. When the latter died in 1433, John decided that a master of royal blood would be best able to control the order, and appointed his own son, the Infante Fernão (Ferdinand). This master had to relinquish his position just before his death (1443) after being captured in Tangier. His successor was Pedro, his own nephew and son of Infante Pedro, the regent of the kingdom. Despite a period of exile, Pedro succeeded in keeping his office until his death in 1466. The mastership was then given to the Infante John, the elder son of King Afonso V; he remained master after ascending the throne in 1481. Nine years later John II gave the mastership to his heir, the Infante Afonso, and then to the Infante Jorge, his own natural son. The latter paved the way for the eventual absorption of the order by the Portuguese Crown, which occurred in 1550.

—Philippe Josserand

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Ayas

Ayas or Lajazzo (mod. Yumurtalık, Turkey), located on the Gulf of Alexandretta, was the busiest port in the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia in the thirteenth century.

As the Mamlūks conquered the Frankish ports of Syria and Palestine, Ayas gradually became the main entrepôt for trade between Asia and the Mediterranean, and by the end of the thirteenth century it housed trading companies from Venice, Genoa, Marseilles, and elsewhere. The city took advantage of a small headland to create a harbor, whose protection was artificially increased by an artificial mole, and around 1282 a sea castle was built to protect the harbor. In 1261 King Het'um I of Cilicia granted the Venetians an area within the city to house their merchants and goods, and King Leon II extended trading privileges to the Genoese in 1288. Disagreements between the two Italian republics led to a naval battle outside Ayas in 1293, which the Venetians won, seizing 500,000 bezants' worth of goods from the Genoese.

The Mamlūk victory over the Cilician kingdom in 1285 frequently left Ayas and the Cilician plain vulnerable to Mamlūk raids: a large-scale attack on the city was fought off in 1320, but it fell only two years later (23 April 1322). Negotiations with the Mamlūk sultan al-Naṣīr in 1323 led to the return of the city to Armenian control, on condition that the sea castle was not rebuilt, although Pope John XXII helped to pay for the reconstruction of the land castle. In 1337 Ayas was again taken by the Mamlūks, and after the Cilician kingdom was entirely conquered in 1375, it became the capital of a Mamlūk province. Constantine IV of Cilicia and Peter I of Cyprus attempted to recapture the city in September 1367 but succeeded only in temporarily seizing the suburbs. In contrast to their policy with regard to the seaports

of Syria and Palestine, the Mamlūks did not entirely destroy the city or its harbor, and it continued to function, though largely without the participation of Western merchants, and ceased to be the main port of trans-Asian trade.

An Armenian bishop is first recorded for the city in the mid-thirteenth century. The sources also mention the churches of St. Lazarus (Armenian), St. Mark (Venetian), and St. Laurence (Genoese). Four parts of the medieval city remain today: the land castle (largely dating from the Ottoman period); the sea castle, now some 400 meters (c. 1300 ft.) offshore; the harbor; and part of the medieval settlement.

—Christopher MacEvitt

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'Ayn Jālūt, Battle of (1260)

A major military engagement in which a Mongol army commanded by Kitbuga Noyon was decisively defeated by a Mamlūk army from Egypt near 'Ayn Jālūt (the Spring of Goliath), a village situated between the towns of Bethsan and Nablus (in mod. West Bank), on 3 September 1260.

The Mongols under Chinggis (Genghis) Khan, his sons, and his senior commanders had invaded the northeastern regions of the Islamic world in 1220. During the next forty years they swept all before them, overthrowing or reducing to submission virtually every Muslim ruling dynasty in central Asia, Persia, Afghanistan, and Anatolia, culminating in Hülegü's conquest and virtual destruction of Baghdad in 1258. In January 1260 a Mongol army seized Aleppo in northern Syria and on 1 March that year entered Damascus, the governing center of Mamlūk Syria. In response a substantial Mamlūk army was sent from Egypt to halt the Mongol advance. It was commanded by Sultan Qutuz, while its vanguard was led by Baybars al-Bunduqdāri, who himself became sultan later that year.

Most sources agree that the Mongol army was outnumbered by that of the Mamlūks, although the widely accepted figures of 120,000 Mamlūks fighting a mere 10,000 Mongols are probably a great exaggeration. The Mongols were also supported by numerous Christian allies or auxiliaries. Kit-

buga Noyon attacked and drove back the Mamlūks' left wing, perhaps relying on the Mongols' reputation for invincibility. The Mamlūks were, however, a disciplined foe who knew that they were the last Islamic power capable of halting the Mongol advance. Most of the Mamlūk army then swept around to attack the advancing Mongols in the flank or rear, perhaps having lured them into a preplanned trap. As a result the Mongol army in Syria was crushed, its commander Kitbuga Noyon being captured and executed by the Mamlūks.

Hülegü, the Mongol khan of Persia and other conquered Islamic territories in the Middle East, was infuriated by this unprecedented reverse and prepared a major punitive expedition. However, political problems at the heart of the Mongol Empire, following the death of the Great Khan Möngke almost exactly a year earlier, prevented this plan from being carried through.

–David Nicolle

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Ayyūbids

A Muslim dynasty of Kurdish origin. Its name derives from Saladin's father, Ayyūb, although it was the successes of Saladin himself that established it. After Saladin's death in 1193, the Ayyūbids ruled Egypt until 1250 and Syria for

another decade. They also had cadet branches in Mesopotamia and Yemen. Like the Būyids and Saljūqs of Persia before them, they governed as a loose-knit and often discordant confederacy.

The Establishment of Ayyūbid Power

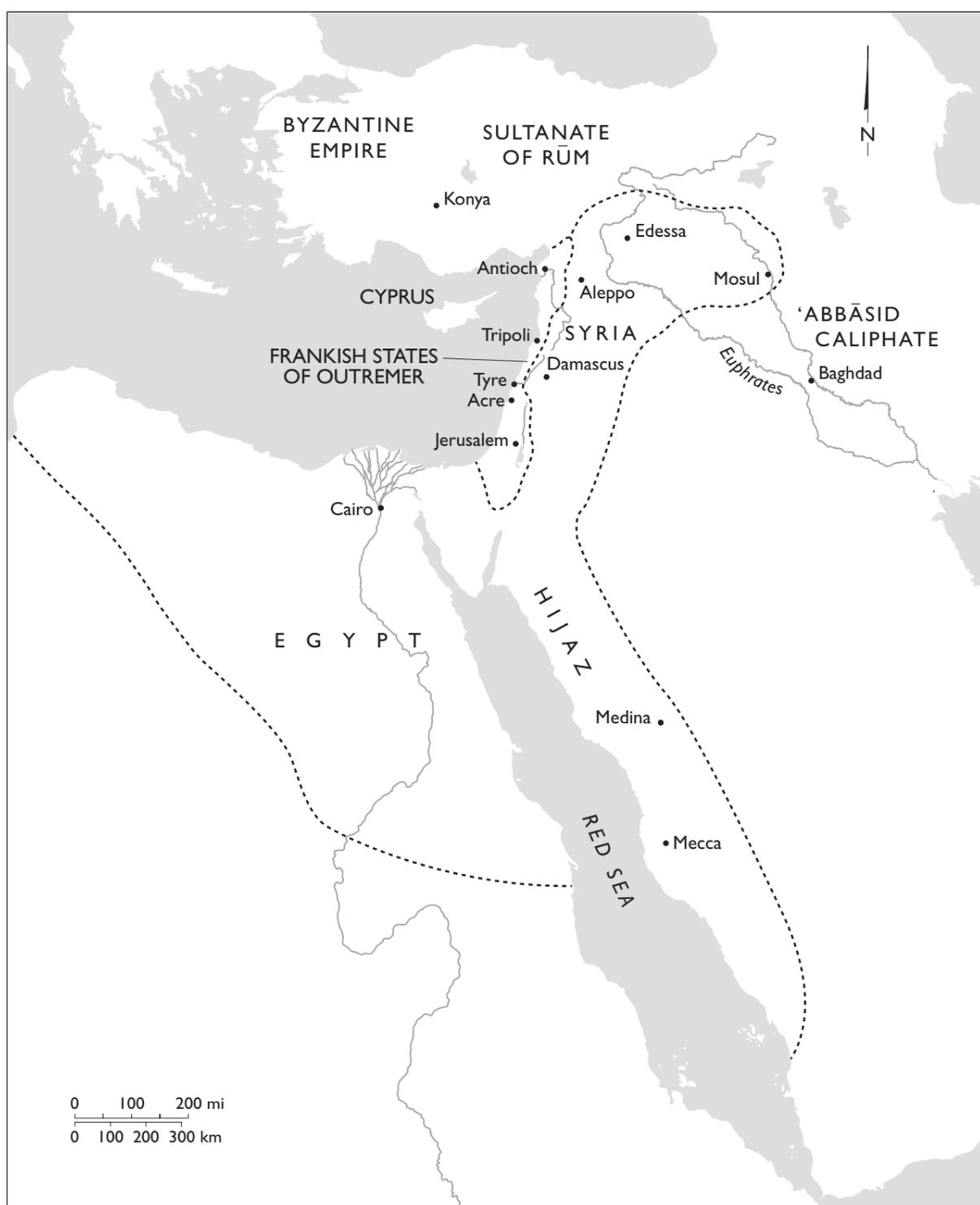
Ayyūb and his brother Shīrkūh both hailed from Dvin in Armenia; they fought for the Turkish warlords Zangī and his son Nūr al-Dīn, Saladin's two great predecessors in the fight against the Franks. Saladin accompanied Shīrkūh on three expeditions to Egypt in the 1160s. After Shīrkūh's death in 1169, Saladin assumed power in Egypt in the name of Nūr al-Dīn and overthrew the Shī'ite Fāṭimid regime there. Although a rift developed between the two men, it never developed into open warfare because of the death of Nūr al-Dīn in 1174. That same year Saladin dispatched his brother Tūrān Shāh to conquer Yemen.

During much of Saladin's first decade as an independent ruler (c. 1174–1184), he was occupied with subjugating his Muslim opponents and creating a secure power base in Egypt and Syria for himself and his family. Then from 1185 onward he turned his full attention to the Franks. In 1187 he achieved his famous victory against the army of the kingdom of Jerusalem at the battle of Hattin and reconquered the city of Jerusalem for Islam. The Third Crusade (1189–1192), launched in response to this loss, ended in truce and stalemate. Saladin died a year later; despite his prestigious successes, he had failed to rid the Levant of the Franks, who regrouped at their new capital of Acre and still controlled crucial Mediterranean ports. Saladin's brother, the austere Sayf al-Dīn al-'Ādil (known to the Franks as Saphadin), had acted as his principal, indeed indispensable, helper in governing his empire, both administratively and militarily. His involvement in drawing up the peace treaty with Richard the Lionheart in 1192 was especially valuable.

The Ayyūbids after Saladin

Saladin did not envisage a centralized state as his legacy. Instead, he bequeathed the three main provinces of his empire (Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo) to his sons, hoping that this arrangement would ensure lasting Ayyūbid power. But his desired father-son succession did not take root, nor did primogeniture prevail among Saladin's successors. Within the clan, might was right. After Saladin's death, al-'Ādil's role as senior family member asserted itself; indeed, Saladin's sons were no match for al-'Ādil's long experience

Ayyūbids



The Ayyūbid Territories in 1187

and diplomatic skills. By 1200 he had reorganized Saladin's inheritance plans in favor of his own sons, deposed Saladin's son al-'Azīz 'Uthmān in Cairo, and secured the overall position of sultan for himself. Only in Aleppo did Saladin's direct descendants continue to rule: Saladin's son al-Ẓāhir, after submitting to al-'Ādil, was allowed to keep his territory, which remained in his family until the Mongol invasion of 1260. In this complicated power struggle after Saladin's death, a key role was played by the regiments of *mamlūks* (slave soldiers) recruited by Saladin (the Ṣālahiyya) and his uncle Shīrkūh (the Asadiyya). Al-'Ādil was greatly assisted by the Ṣālahiyya. Saladin's expansionist aims were continued under al-'Ādil, who masterminded the Ayyūbid acquisition of more Zangid and Artuqid territories. He secured his northeastern frontier in 1209–1210, established truces with the Franks that lasted for most of his reign, and traded with the Italian maritime states.

In 1218, shortly after the arrival of the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221), al-'Ādil died, allegedly of shock. He was succeeded by his son al-Kāmil, whose brothers, al-Mu'azzam and al-Ashraf, supported him in this crisis, but after Damietta was recovered, this short-lived family solidarity gave way to disunity and conflict. The main contenders in the long and convoluted power struggle that followed were al-Kāmil and his brother al-Mu'azzam at Damascus. By 1229 al-Kāmil, with the help of al-Ashraf in Mesopotamia, emerged as principal ruler of the Ayyūbids. Already in 1226, al-Kāmil, an astute politician, had begun negotiations with Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor, to bolster himself against al-Mu'azzam and to deflect the imminent crusade. However, by the time Frederick arrived in Acre in 1228, al-Mu'azzam had already died. Secret negotiations between al-Kāmil and Frederick resulted in the Treaty of Jaffa (1229); in it al-Kāmil ceded Jerusalem to Frederick, who was permitted to fortify the city, but al-Kāmil kept a Muslim enclave, including the Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock. This piece of realpolitik caused widespread disapproval on both sides, and even al-Kāmil's own preachers protested outside his tent. The Muslim chronicler Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī recorded that when al-Kāmil gave Jerusalem to Frederick "all hell broke loose in the lands of Islam" [Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-Zamān fī Ta'rīkh al-A'yān*, 2 vols. (Hyderabad: Dayrat al-Ma'ārif al-Uthmāniyyaḥ, 1951–1952), 2: 653]. However, some modern scholars have interpreted the Treaty of Jaffa more positively, viewing al-'Ādil and Frederick as farsighted in their attempts to obtain a more lasting peace and to main-

tain the holy sites of both Islam and Christianity under the protection of their own adherents.

The death of al-Kāmil in 1238 ushered in another turbulent period. His dispossessed eldest son, al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, who had been sent to rule Upper Mesopotamia, disputed the succession in Egypt. He deposed his brother al-'Ādil II and took power in Cairo in 1240. While he was in Hisn Kayfa, al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb had allied himself with a group of Qipchaq Turks: they were known as the Khwārazmians because they had fought in central Asia for the ill-fated ruler of Khwārazm, Jalāl al-Dīn, against the Mongols in 1220s. After his death (1231), the Khwārazmians joined the service of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb as mercenaries. In 1244, under their infamous leader Berke Khān, they sacked Jerusalem, to general condemnation. They then joined Ayyūb's army near Gaza and fought that same year against three Ayyūbid princes, as well as Frankish forces. The battle of La Forbie (Harbiyya) was a clear victory for al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb and his Khwārazmian allies. Ayyūb took Jerusalem (August 1244) and then Damascus (1245). The Ayyūbid prince of Homs destroyed the Khwārazmians in 1246.

Al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb fell ill at the time of the crusade to the East of Louis IX, king of France (1248–1254). The crusaders occupied the city of Damietta in 1249; later that year al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb died while encamped at Mansura on the delta. In 1250 the crusaders were defeated by the sultan's own slave troops (the Baḥriyya *mamlūks*). Then in a coup d'état they murdered Tūrān Shāh, the son and heir of al-Ṣāliḥ, and terminated Ayyūbid rule, raising one of their own number to the rank of sultan and thus inaugurating the Mamlūk sultanate.

Religious Policies

In their religio-political discourse, the Ayyūbids called themselves *mujahids*, that is, fighters of the *jihād* (holy war). However, they were criticized, even in their own time, for their lukewarm prosecution of *jihād*. As the chronicler Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1233) remarked: "Amongst the rulers of Islam we do not see one who wishes to wage *jihād*" [Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī'l tarīkh*, ed. C. J. Tornberg, 12 vols. (Uppsala: Hefler, 1851–1876), 12: 7]. But the circumstances in which the Ayyūbids found themselves had changed from Saladin's last years. Jerusalem, which had been a unique focus for *jihād* for Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin, had been reconquered. The resources to finance more military enterprises were limited, and Ayyūbid engagement with the Franks would, it was

Ayyūbids



Main entrance to the citadel of Aleppo. (Corel)

feared, engender more crusades from Europe. Even Saladin had preferred to exercise diplomatic means with the Franks until the period immediately preceding the battle of Hattin.

Despite their pious stance toward Jerusalem, the Ayyūbids were prepared, when necessary, as the Treaty of Jaffa showed, to use it as a pawn on the Levantine chessboard. Several Ayyūbid rulers sponsored religious monuments in the Holy City, but the dynasty never chose it as a capital, preferring Cairo or Damascus. During the Fifth Crusade in 1219, the Ayyūbid prince al-Mu‘azzam (d. 1226), who had beautified the Holy City only a few years earlier, dismantled its fortifications lest it should fall into Frankish hands again. This action, justified as sorrowful necessity by al-Mu‘azzam, provoked widespread condemnation among the local Muslim population, many of whom fled the city. Worse was to come in 1229 when al-Kāmil actually ceded Jerusalem to Emperor Frederick II. The Holy City remained

a bargaining counter, being controlled again by the Ayyūbids in 1239 and then handed back to the Franks five years later before its sack by the Khwārazmians and its return to Muslim control.

In other respects, the Ayyūbids, as Kurdish outsiders and usurpers, were keen to prove their good Sunnī Muslim credentials, building religious monuments in all their domains and insisting on grandiose *jihād* pretensions in their correspondence, coins, and monumental inscriptions. They founded no less than sixty-three religious colleges (Arab. *madrāsas*) in Damascus alone. They welcomed Muslim mystics (Sufis), for whom they founded cloisters (Arab. *khanqahs*). Saladin had acquired great prestige by abolishing the 200-year-old rival Isma‘īlī Shī‘ite caliphate of Cairo. But the relationship of his successors with the ‘Abbāsīd caliphate was complex. On the one hand, like earlier military dynasties such as the Saljūq Turks, the Ayyūbids sought public legitimization from the ‘Abbāsīd caliph in Baghdad. Caliphal ambassadors mediated in inter-Ayyūbid disputes. In his efforts to renew the ‘Abbāsīd caliphate, the caliph al-Nāṣir (d. 1225) created around himself a network of spiritual alliances with Muslim rulers, including the Ayyūbids. Yet, such symbolic links did not remove mutual suspicion. Both sides feared each other’s expansionist aims. Saladin complained of the caliph’s lack of zeal in *jihād* against the Franks. Nor did Saladin’s descendants offer help to the caliph against a possible attack from the Mongols in 1221–1222.

Government and Institutions

Ayyūbid government was an amalgam of Saljūq and Fāṭimid practices. Saladin inherited bureaucratic traditions brought from the east to Syria by Saljūq rulers and commanders. His family had worked for such Turkish leaders and assimilated their military and administrative traditions. In Egypt continuity also existed between Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid practice, especially in taxation. The Ayyūbids expanded the existing system of *iqṭā‘* (allotments of land given to high-ranking army officers in exchange for military and administrative duties) to the benefit of their kinsmen and commanders. Armed with the revenues of Egypt, Saladin built up a strong army, which included his own contingents (Arab. *askars*) as well as *iqṭā‘* holders, Turcoman troops sent by his vassals, and auxiliary forces. The Ayyūbid armies were composed of Kurds and Turks, with the latter predominating. The recruitment of slave soldiers (Arab. *mamlūks*), always a feature of Ayyūbid military policy, intensified under al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb. He

focused his power on Egypt and centralized his administration on Cairo, thus foreshadowing the preeminence of that city for the Ayyūbids' successors, the Mamlūk dynasty. Apart from Saladin's brief attempt to build a navy, the Ayyūbids were not interested in fighting the Franks at sea. The Ayyūbids did not construct castles in the Frankish manner, preferring instead to build or strengthen city fortifications. Thus they improved the city walls in Cairo, as well as building the citadel, and they did likewise in Damascus, Aleppo, Hims, Aleppo, Harran, Amid, and elsewhere.

The Ayyūbids preferred détente rather than *jihād* with the Franks. During the Ayyūbid period, the remaining Frankish states became fully integrated as local Levantine polities. The Ayyūbids allied with them and sometimes fought alongside them against fellow Muslims. Trade, which had prospered from the 1180s onward in their lands, was important for the Ayyūbids, and they granted trading privileges to Venetian and Pisan merchants in 1207–1208. The fragmented nature of Ayyūbid power led to a proliferation of small courts based on individual cities, such as Cairo, Damascus, and Hama, where the Ayyūbid princes patronized the arts. Some, such as al-Amjad Bahrām Shāh and Abu'l Fidā', were themselves men of letters. Al-Kāmil also composed poetry and enjoyed intellectual discussions, asking scholars searching questions on a range of subjects. He and his father, al-'Ādil, involved themselves in the precise details of administration. Yet the generous architectural patronage that transformed the faces of a few cities had severe side effects. Other centers were starved of resources, as their minimal heritage of Ayyūbid buildings suggests.

A linchpin of Ayyūbid rule was the maintenance of a united Syro-Egyptian polity. The two key Ayyūbid principalities were Cairo and Damascus; the other Ayyūbid states never enjoyed as much power and prestige. When Damascus and Cairo were united under one ruler, equilibrium and stability prevailed. Each time an overarching leader appeared (and some rulers of the dynasty were clearly exceptional—not only Saladin but also al-'Ādil, al-Kāmil, and al-Şāliḥ Ayyūb), this was the hard-won result of personal charisma and diplomacy as well as a show of military strength. The ensuing tenuous unity would dissipate at that ruler's death.

Traditionally, the Ayyūbids have been cast as opportunistic, wily, and self-serving politicians. This image emerges, for example, from an emphasis on their attitude to Jerusalem. Saladin had been the exception in his focus on

jihād aimed at the reconquest of Jerusalem. For his successors, Jerusalem was dispensable. Egypt was their most valuable possession, and they were ready to sacrifice the Holy Land to safeguard Egypt. Moreover, Ayyūbid history was much less concerned with the loss or gain of Jerusalem than with the survival of individual princelings and fiefdoms in an atmosphere of mutual rivalry and in the face of grave external threats. Indeed, at that time, the Islamic world was assailed simultaneously by the Mongol invasions and by continuing crusader attacks. The Arab chronicler Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1233), reflecting with unusual emotion on the Mongol threat, called the Muslim year 617 (1219–1220 A.D.) the most dangerous that Islam had ever experienced. Externally, then, the Ayyūbids had to contend with grave dangers, familiar and unfamiliar. The enemy came from east and west; the double impact was hard to repel. Between 1240 and 1245, the Mongol threat came ever closer. After the Mongol invasion of Anatolia (the battle of Köse Dag, 1243), Muslim anxiety in northern Syria grew. Although the Ayyūbids were spared the full onslaught of the Mongols, they had to suffer the demographic fallout from the Mongol invasions of central Asia and Iran. The Khwārazmians, driven out by the Mongols, became a loose cannon in Ayyūbid territories, terrifying and undisciplined; they could be recruited into the Ayyūbid armies when required, but they were out of control when they sacked Jerusalem in 1244. Their savage strength contributed to the victory at the key battle of La Forbie.

What threat did the Ayyūbids pose for the Franks after Saladin's death? Clearly the Ayyūbids were beset with a multiplicity of enemies both inside and outside their realms, and this situation helped the Franks to stay on in the Levant and slowly to marshal their resources again. Indeed, in the early decades of the thirteenth century, the Franks gradually recovered, and despite their reduced lands they still held the ports and were a force to be reckoned with. Moreover, the Ayyūbids had to deal with a steady stream of crusades and campaigns coming from the West after the loss of Jerusalem; these were aimed at the heart of their power, Cairo. In the event, they did not press home their obvious advantages and were not sufficiently strong, united, or motivated to rid the Muslim world of the Franks. The Franks, for their part, enjoyed a brief intermezzo in the Ayyūbid period, positioned as it was between the intense campaigns conducted by Saladin in his last years and the blistering attacks of the Mamlūks of Egypt that awaited them after 1250. However, the Ayyūbid victory at La Forbie was a devastating blow to

Frankish manpower, and was as serious a military defeat as Hattin. On this occasion the Franks had unwisely abandoned their strategy of avoiding pitched battles, and thus their steady recovery after the Third Crusade had been jeopardized. La Forbie destroyed the campaign army of the Frankish kingdom.

It is also important to view the Ayyūbids within a wider medieval Islamic context. They had to contend with other neighboring states: the Saljūqs of Rūm, now in full efflorescence; the Turkish dynasties of Mesopotamia, including the Artūqids and the Zangids; and the Christian kingdoms of the Caucasus. Given all these external dangers, the fragmented nature of Ayyūbid rule, and periodic episodes of extreme internal insecurity, it is perhaps surprising that the Ayyūbids managed to exercise stable government for as long as they did.

—Carole Hillenbrand

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Azaz

Azaz (mod. A'zāz, Syria) was a fortress on a key route between Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) and Turbessel (mod. Tellbaşar Kalesi, Turkey) in the period of the crusades, meeting roads to Aleppo and Marash (mod. Kahramanmaraş, Turkey).

Despite its being a poorly watered site, frequent struggles over the possession of Azaz are testimony to its strategic importance: for the Muslims, as a means of disrupting communications between Antioch and Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey); for the Franks, as a means of putting pressure on Aleppo, some 45 kilometers (28 mi.) to the south. Azaz was eventually taken from İlghāzī of Aleppo by Prince Roger of Antioch in late 1118, in alliance with an Armenian prince, Leon, and was given as dowry to Count Joscelin I of Edessa on his marriage to Roger's sister Maria in 1122. The region and castle were attacked repeatedly, and Timurtash of Aleppo claimed it as Baldwin II's ransom in 1124. A major siege was beaten off and the Muslim army defeated in battle in June 1125. It was finally taken by Nūr al-Dīn in 1150. The mud and brick castle high on a mound was rebuilt in stone by the Ayyūbids, but it was destroyed by the Mongols in 1260.

—Angus Stewart

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B

Bacon, Roger (d. c. 1294)

Philosopher, theologian, and critic of the crusades.

Born in Somerset (England) around 1214, Bacon entered the Franciscan Order between 1240 and 1257 as a professor at the university at Oxford. He was soon famed as a polymath whose inquisitive mind took him into regions that most contemporaries either could not imagine or did not dare to enter. Enemies accused him of practicing the black arts and astrology, of dabbling in heresy and alchemy. Modern scholars, in contrast, see him as a courageous pioneer of science, education, and the study of classical and modern languages. Bacon's opposition to the crusades rested on Christian principles, astrological concepts, and practical politics, and they made him a center of polemical debate. His statement that Christ had urged his followers to abstain from violence was widely acknowledged as sound doctrine, but numerous popes had declared the crusades lawful wars. Bacon's assertion that each of the six major religions could be identified with one of the planets and thus might be approached by appropriate methods at the right moment for converting its followers was more contentious, but at the time Franciscan missionaries were arguing that pagans could be persuaded of their errors by skilled missionaries (Muslims would be more difficult, because they had skilled philosophers). His pragmatic arguments were difficult to refute, because the Franks in the Holy Land were obviously on the defensive; moreover, Bacon was better acquainted with Arab thought than almost any contemporary. A man of strong opinions, with ability to defend them, Bacon provides modern scholars of

the crusades with insights into medieval scholastic arguments on the concept of holy war.

—William L. Urban

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Bad Mergentheim

See Mergentheim

Bahā' al-Dīn

See Ibn Shaddād

Balak (d. 1124)

Nūr al-Dawla Balak ibn Bahrām was a chieftain of the Turcoman Artūqid dynasty, whose members had arrived in the Near East with the Saljūqs.

Balak was the nephew of ʿĪlghāzī (d. 1122), lord of Mardin

Baldric of Dol (1046–1130)

and later of Aleppo (1118–1122), and served with him in many campaigns against Frankish and Muslim powers alike in the first two decades of the twelfth century. In 1113 Balak made his headquarters at Kharput (mod. Harput, Turkey) in the area of Diyar Bakr, controlling a vital route for the Turcoman recruits who provided much of the military strength of the Muslim dynasties of Syria, Mesopotamia, and Iraq. In 1122 Balak besieged Edessa without success, but on 13 September of that year near Saruj, he defeated and captured Joscelin I, count of Edessa, and Waleran, lord of Bira. Balak also seized Aleppo from his cousin Sulaymān ibn Ḫghāzī and ruled there ruthlessly (1123–1124), callously killing hundreds of its inhabitants.

In April 1123 Balak's troops surprised King Baldwin II of Jerusalem, who had come north with an army in an attempt to rescue Joscelin and his comrades. This was a major blow against the Franks, since Baldwin was not only the ruler of Jerusalem, but was also acting as regent of the northern Frankish states of Antioch and Edessa. The king was sent to join the other Frankish captives in Kharput. While Balak was away, some Armenians seized control of Kharput, and Joscelin escaped. However, Balak was able to recapture the city and massacre most of the Franks, sparing their leaders, who were transferred to Harran. In October 1123 Joscelin attacked Aleppan territory. Balak united with the forces of Damascus and Mosul and attacked the town of Azaz, but was defeated by the Frankish forces during the winter. He was killed on 6 May 1124 while besieging the castle of Manbij, fearing the alliance of its Turcoman lord with Joscelin of Edessa. Aleppo passed to his cousin Timūrtash ibn Ḫghāzī.

—*Taef El-Azhari*

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Baldric of Dol (1046–1130)

Author of an account of the First Crusade (1096–1099). Born at Meung-sur-Loire, Baldric became abbot of Bourgueil in 1089. Leader of a classicizing circle of poets, he systematized the use of parallel biblical and antique exemplary figures. His

learning and piety earned him promotion to the controversial "archdiocese" of Dol in northeast Brittany in May 1107.

Baldric's *Historia Hierosolimitana* was a more literary and dramatic rewriting of the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* in a formal Latin style. It added limited but nonetheless valuable additional information from oral sources, including information about some of those in the contingent led by Alan IV of Brittany. His work was extensively used by the Anglo-Norman chronicler Orderic Vitalis, who added further information about Breton crusaders after 1101.

Baldric wrote beautiful Latin but had weaknesses as a historian; although interested in the moral or exemplary aspects of the past, he paid scant attention to practical matters, such as dates. He also wrote an important life of his contemporary Robert of Arbrissel.

—*K. S. B. Keats-Rohan*

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Baldwin I of Constantinople (1171–1206)

One of the leaders of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) and subsequently first Latin emperor of Constantinople (1204–1206).

Baldwin was born in July 1171, the son of Baldwin V, count of Hainaut, and Margaret, countess of Flanders. He married Mary, sister of Count Thibaud III of Champagne, by whom he had two daughters, Jeanne and Margaret. In 1192 he succeeded to Flanders and Hainaut (he is usually numbered as Baldwin IX and VI in this context). He gave proof of his ability as a politician by changing the direction of the foreign policy of Flanders: by allying himself with King Richard I of England he succeeded in resisting the encroachments of Philip II Augustus of France, whom he defeated in a series of battles, and then negotiated the Treaty of Péronne,

in which he recovered much of the territory annexed by Philip some years earlier.

Baldwin took the cross on 23 February 1200 together with his wife, Mary; his brother, Henry; and many knights. He was represented at Venice in the negotiations concerning the transport of the crusade army by Conon of Béthune and Alard Maquereau. In 1201 he organized a fleet under the command of John of Nesle and left Flanders (on 14 April, Easter) by the land route. He was one of the first crusaders to reach Venice (probably in July) and was also one of those who contributed plate and money to try to meet the debt to the Venetians before the fleet could sail. Baldwin is not mentioned in connection with the attack on Zara (mod. Zadar, Croatia), but at Corfu (mod. Kerkira, Greece) he joined with the other leaders in trying to convince the army to accept the offer of the exiled Byzantine prince Alexios Angelos.

When the crusade arrived at Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey), Baldwin was put in command of the vanguard, according to the chronicler Geoffrey of Villehardouin, because of the number of archers and crossbowmen in his troop. He led the vanguard in the abortive encounter with Alexios III Angelos and his army outside the gates of Constantinople; when his troops halted their advance at the sight of the much larger Greek army, he was accused of cowardice by the squadron of Hugh, count of Saint-Pol, and was told by his own men that they would no longer acknowledge him unless the advance continued. The Greeks withdrew while the crusaders were still in some confusion, but the incident shows that Baldwin had difficulty controlling his troops. Baldwin does not seem to have had a prominent role during the reign of the co-emperors Isaac II and Alexius IV, but he was among those who negotiated the agreement with the Venetians on how to divide the empire once the crusaders had decided to attack Constantinople a second time.

Baldwin quickly emerged as the leading rival to Boniface of Montferrat in the election for a new emperor; on 9 May 1204 he was elected as Latin emperor, largely because the Venetians had no intention of allowing any increase in the power of their Italian neighbor Boniface. Eight days later Baldwin was crowned in the Church of St. Sophia in a ceremony that included as much of the traditional Byzantine pomp and ceremony as possible, which made him the rightful emperor in the eyes of many Greeks. He reluctantly agreed to the request of Boniface that he should have Thessalonica (mod. Thessaloniki, Greece) and its environs instead of Asia Minor. Baldwin then set out to campaign against Alexios V

Doukas Mourtzouphlos and marched to Adrianople (mod. Edirne, Turkey), where his brother, Henry, had preceded him. As Baldwin advanced on to Mosynopolis, his advisers made trouble between him and Boniface by advising that he should insist on his right to go to Thessalonica, despite Boniface's request that he should not. On arriving in Thessalonica, Baldwin acted as overlord, renewing the privileges of the Greeks while a furious Boniface campaigned in Thrace for the recognition of his stepson Manuel (the son of Isaac II and Margaret of Hungary) as the rightful emperor. Open warfare was only avoided by the intervention of the other leaders of the crusaders and the tact of Geoffrey of Villehardouin.

With peace restored, Baldwin gave some attention at the beginning of 1205 to the administration of Flanders, while many of the knights departed to try to conquer the fiefs that had been granted to them in Thrace and across the straits in Asia Minor. At this point there was an influx of Franks from Palestine who came to join the crusaders, bringing the news that Baldwin's wife, Mary, had died (9 August 1204), which distressed him greatly. In March 1205 the Greeks in Thrace rebelled, supported by an invasion by Kalojan, the ruler of Bulgaria, whose overtures the crusading leaders had unwisely rejected. Baldwin summoned his men back to Constantinople, but the crisis in Thrace seemed so serious that he did not wait for the return of all of them and set off with whatever reinforcements he could muster. He besieged Adrianople with an inadequate number of men, and even the arrival of the doge of Venice with reinforcements added only a few to the army. Kalojan meanwhile was hastening to attack the besiegers, and the Cumans, his nomadic cavalry, lured the Franks into a disorderly attack in which they suffered severely and from which they had great difficulty extricating themselves (13 April). After the battle Baldwin held a council at which new battle orders were agreed on. No one was to leave the ranks to charge, but the knights were to keep their formation. Battle was resumed the next day (14 April), but the orders were ignored by Louis of Blois, who charged the Cumans, calling on Baldwin to follow him. Louis was fatally wounded, and Baldwin, who refused to escape, as it would be dishonorable, was captured and badly wounded. There was no definite news of him thereafter, but by 1206 the Franks were sufficiently certain that he was dead in captivity to crown his brother, Henry, as the new emperor. Rumors about Baldwin continued to circulate; in the 1220s an impostor had considerable success in Flanders, which had been misgoverned by Baldwin's daughter Jeanne, and where his

Baldwin I of Jerusalem (d. 1118)

reign was remembered with affection. The impostor was exposed and executed by Jeanne.

Baldwin is depicted in contemporary sources as a brave and honorable man, but his behavior in Greece lacked the skill and finesse that he had shown when confronting Philip Augustus in the 1190s. He had exemplary piety and morality; the Greek chronicler Niketas Choniates commented admiringly on his fidelity to Mary even when they were separated. Yet he lacked any tact or flexibility when negotiating with the Greeks. His rigid insistence on his rights as overlord in his dealings with Boniface of Montferrat almost brought about a civil war among the crusaders, although Villehardouin, who certainly knew more than he said, put all the blame on Baldwin's advisers. Baldwin's position as emperor was fatally weakened by the presence of fellow crusaders like Louis of Blois and Boniface, who in the West had been his equals in rank and were reluctant to accept his orders. The power of the Venetians also hindered his freedom to maneuver. He showed little of the military and political skill of his successor, Henry, and during his brief reign the new Latin Empire was almost constantly under very serious threat of extinction.

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Baldwin I of Edessa

See Baldwin I of Jerusalem

Baldwin I of Jerusalem (d. 1118)

A participant in the First Crusade (1096–1099) and subsequently count of Edessa (1097–1100) and first king of

Jerusalem (1100–1118).

Baldwin was the third son of Eustace II, count of Boulogne, and Ida of Bouillon, born sometime between 1061 and 1070. He was originally educated for a clerical career and held benefices in the dioceses of Liège, Reims, and Cambrai, but by 1090 he had become a knight and married Godehilde, daughter of the Norman nobleman Ralph of Tosny. When his elder brother Godfrey of Bouillon decided to take part in the First Crusade, Baldwin and his wife accompanied him.

Baldwin played an important role as one of the leaders of Godfrey's contingent, but when the main crusading armies reached Cilicia in late 1097, he left them, with a military force recruited primarily from his brothers' followers, evidently intending to conquer lands for himself. He contested the possession of the coastal town of Tarsos with Tancred, but in early 1098 he moved further east to conquer the area around Turbessel (mod. Tellbaşar Kalesi, Turkey) and Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey) in northern Syria, whose Armenian population had risen in revolt against the Turks. He initially shared the government of the city of Edessa with the Armenian nobleman T'oros, but soon supplanted him, and by 1100 had extended Frankish rule for over 100 kilometers (c. 60 mi.) on either bank of the Euphrates. The county of Edessa—the first Frankish state to be established by the First Crusade—constituted an important buffer against the Turks of the Saljūq Empire, and was in a position to provide logistical help for the main crusade armies during their campaigns in the environs of Antioch during 1098. As Godehilde had died at Marash in 1097, Baldwin married the daughter of the Armenian prince Taphnuz.

When Godfrey of Bouillon died (18 July 1100), his knights summoned Baldwin to succeed to the throne of Jerusalem. He bestowed the county of Edessa on his kinsman Baldwin of Bourcq and hurried south with a small force, which reached Jerusalem in November. Unlike his brother, Baldwin insisted on a royal coronation, which was performed in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem at Christmas 1100 by the patriarch of Jerusalem, Daibert of Pisa, who had initially attempted to prevent Baldwin's succession. Two years later the king managed to have Daibert deposed, and thereafter he exercised an iron rule over the Latin Church in his kingdom, although it was not until 1112 that he was able to secure the appointment of his main clerical supporter, Arnulf of Chocques, as patriarch of Jerusalem. Baldwin's followers were predominantly Lotharingians, Normans, Picards, and Flemings, and it was from this group that most

key appointments in the church and administration were made, although he created few lordships, preferring to reward his nobles with fiefs of revenues rather than land.

Some time after his accession Baldwin had set aside his Armenian wife, and in 1113 he married Adelaide del Vasto, widow of Roger I of Sicily, agreeing to the condition that if they had no children, the throne would pass to Adelaide's son Roger II of Sicily. The nobility and clergy of the kingdom were largely legitimist in sentiment and favored the succession of Baldwin's brother Eustace. When the king was thought to be in danger of dying during an illness in the winter of 1116–1117, opposition forced him to repudiate Adelaide and the marriage treaty.

Baldwin secured and greatly expanded the territory that he had inherited, defeating three major Fātimid invasions (1101, 1102, 1105) and capturing the coastal towns of Arsuf and Caesarea (1101), Acre (1104), Beirut, and Sidon (1110); his own forces were small, but he was regularly able to enlist the military support of pilgrims from the West as well as the Italian merchant republics, which he rewarded with quarters and privileges in the conquered cities, thus bringing their trading interests to the new kingdom. Baldwin's status as the senior Frankish ruler in Outremer was manifested through his arbitration in the dispute over the county of Tripoli (1109), which recognized the claims of Bertrand of Toulouse and imposed a reconciliation on the rival parties. In 1113 Baldwin managed to repulse an invasion of Galilee by the Turks of Mosul and Damascus, despite sustaining a defeat at al-Sinnabrah; in the period of relative peace that followed he attempted to secure the eastern and southern frontiers of the kingdom, which he had already explored with reconnaissances in force in 1100 and 1107; in 1115–1116 he constructed a great castle at Shaubak in the region of Edom, which he named Montréal, and he subsequently explored the country to the south as far as the Red Sea.

The king's last campaign (1118) was directed against Egypt, but although the army captured the coastal town of Farama (22 March), it was unwilling to advance on Cairo. Baldwin became severely ill due to the opening of an old wound, which worsened as the Franks withdrew toward Palestine. He died at El-'Arish on 2 April, having named his brother Eustace as his heir, but recommending Baldwin of Bourcq as a successor if Eustace refused the inheritance. On 7 April Baldwin I was buried alongside his brother Godfrey in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

—Alan V. Murray



Death of King Baldwin I of Jerusalem at El-'Arish. (Pixel That)

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Baldwin II of Constantinople (1217–1271)

The last ruling Latin emperor of Constantinople (1240–1261).

Baldwin II of Constantinople (1217–1271)

Baldwin was born in Constantinople in 1217, the son of Peter of Courtenay and Yolande of Flanders. He was only a child of eleven when his brother Emperor Robert died (1228). The Latin barons of Constantinople appointed as regent first Baldwin's older sister Marie and then Narjot of Toucy, before coming to an agreement with John of Brienne (d. 1237), the former king of Jerusalem. According to this agreement (March 1229), Baldwin was to marry Marie, John's daughter, and was to receive the "kingdom of Nicaea" at the age of twenty-one; John was to be emperor until the end of his life. Baldwin was sent by John as his representative to the French royal court. A number of documents have survived referring to Baldwin's activities in the Low Countries and France (from 1237 onward). They concern mostly cessions of land or relics, pious foundations, sales, and debt contracts. In 1238–1239, he mortgaged the relic of the Crown of Thorns, along with the castle and marquise of Namur and the county of Auxerre, to Louis IX, king of France, in order to raise much needed funds for his empire.

In July 1239 Baldwin returned with a small army to Constantinople, where he was crowned emperor, probably at Easter 1240. On his way to the capital, Baldwin made an alliance in Bulgaria with the Cumans (second half of 1239). He went back to the West in 1244, traveling around to recruit further support, and returned to Constantinople in 1248. In 1249 Baldwin accompanied Louis IX to Damietta during the French king's unsuccessful attempt to conquer Egypt. During that time, his wife Marie visited Cyprus and France, where she spent several years, in order to seek financial support. Nine years later, the impoverished emperor was obliged to mortgage his own son Philip to the Venetian merchants John and Angelo Ferro (1258).

On the political and military fronts, the reign of Baldwin was as disastrous as the empire's financial situation. Nevertheless, in June 1241 Baldwin succeeded in obtaining a truce from John III Vatatzes, emperor of Nicaea, for a period of two years. In 1244 he renewed this truce for another year. During 1240–1243 Baldwin also tried to build up an alliance with the Saljūqs of Rūm, and in August 1243 he even asked Blanche of Castile, queen of France, to give one of her nieces in marriage to the Saljūq sultan. In May 1246 he contacted King Alfonso X of Castile in order to obtain troops for Constantinople and in August of the same year made an agreement with Don Pelayo Pérez Correa, master of the Order of Santiago, to the same effect. However, the situation changed

dramatically when after the deaths of John Vatatzes (1254) and Theodore II Laskaris (1258), the usurper Michael VIII Palaiologos became emperor of Nicaea. Michael's policy was decidedly both more shrewd and more aggressive, having as final purpose the recovery of Constantinople, to which the Frankish defeat at Pelagonia (1259) was a prelude. Michael played for time in July 1261, agreeing to another truce with Baldwin, while preparing the final onslaught. As a result, the same month (25 July), Michael's general Alexios Strategopoulos unexpectedly recaptured Constantinople. Baldwin fled via the Peloponnese to Italy, where he agreed to the Treaties of Viterbo (24 and 27 May 1267), which granted the suzerainty of the Frankish Peloponnese and other regions to Charles I of Anjou, king of Naples. Baldwin died in Sicily (October 1273). His son Philip succeeded as titular emperor (1273–1285).

Queen Blanche characterized Baldwin as a young man without wisdom or energy. Baldwin's naïveté is perhaps best illustrated by an incident in 1258, when he sent ambassadors to Nicaea, asking Michael Palaiologos to cede him Thessalonica and some other regions. But Baldwin's travels in the West and his relentless search for support from France, Castile, the Morea, the papacy, the Venetians, and even the Saljūqs and Mongols show that the last emperor of "Romania" was not entirely devoid of the tenacity of some of his predecessors.

—Benjamin Hendrickx

See also: Constantinople, Latin Empire of

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Baldwin II of Edessa

See Baldwin II of Jerusalem

Baldwin II of Jerusalem (d. 1131)

Count of Edessa (1100–1118) and second king of Jerusalem (1118–1131).

Baldwin was a son of Hugh I, count of Rethel, and Melisende of Montlhéry, through whom he was related to many of the noble families of Ile-de-France, Champagne, the Orléanais, and Lotharingia. As Hugh is also known to have had a son called Manasses, the name traditionally given to eldest sons of the counts of Rethel, it is likely that Baldwin was a younger son; the name most commonly applied to him by contemporary chroniclers (Lat. *Balduinus de Burgo*) derived from the castle of Bourcq (dép. Ardennes, France), which may have been his portion of the family lands. In 1096 he joined the First Crusade (1096–1099), travelling in the army of his kinsman, Godfrey of Bouillon, and later took service with Godfrey’s brother Baldwin (later Baldwin I of Jerusalem), who had established himself as count of Edessa in 1097–1098, and who appointed him as his successor there when he left to become ruler of Jerusalem after Godfrey’s death (1100). Soon after his accession as count, Baldwin II married Morphia, daughter of the Armenian lord Gabriel of Melitene, by whom he was to have four daughters.

Most of Baldwin’s reign in Edessa was spent in defending the county from Turkish attacks. In 1104 he was captured by the Turks of Mosul while besieging the Muslim city of Harran; during his subsequent four-year captivity in Mosul, the county was governed by the Antiochene Normans Tancred (until late 1104) and Richard of the Principate (1104–1108), neither of whom attempted to ransom him. Baldwin’s release in 1108 was secured through the efforts of his cousin and vassal Joscelin of Courtenay, lord of Turbessel. However, his restoration to Edessa only came about after a short but intensive war against Richard and Tancred, in which each side

enlisted the aid of Turkish allies against their Christian opponents. Hostility between Baldwin and Tancred persisted until 1110, when a reconciliation was imposed by King Baldwin I of Jerusalem. From around this time Count Baldwin was forced to abandon much of his territory east of the river Euphrates in the face of intensifying Turkish pressure; fresh strife occurred in 1112, when he accused Joscelin of Courtenay (whose lands, situated west of the river, were safer from attack) of making insufficient contributions to the defense of the county. Joscelin surrendered his fiefs and went to Jerusalem, where Baldwin I made him lord of Tiberias. In 1114 the city of Edessa itself was besieged by a Turkish army led by Aq Sunqūr al-Bursuqī, *atabeg* of Mosul, but the Turkish threat was averted through the victory of Roger of Antioch over a coalition organized by the Saljūq sultan Muḥammad at the battle of Tell Danith (14 September 1115). Baldwin used this opportunity to expand his territory through the conquest of several of the independent Armenian principalities to the north, including the strongholds of Raban, Kesoun, Bira, and Gargar (1115–1117).

By 1118 the security of the county of Edessa had been sufficiently established that Count Baldwin was able to visit Jerusalem, where he arrived to find that King Baldwin I had died while on campaign in Egypt (2 April), having named his elder brother Eustace of Boulogne as successor. However, a powerful party led by the patriarch Arnulf and Joscelin of Courtenay promoted Count Baldwin’s candidature and succeeded in having him consecrated as king on 14 April 1118. As it was possible that Eustace or one of his descendants would claim the throne at a future date, Baldwin II attempted to secure his position through new appointments within the clergy and nobility of the kingdom. He favored men originating in Ile-de-France and surrounding areas who were linked by ties of kinship and vassalage to Baldwin’s family; he rewarded Joscelin for his support by naming him as his successor in Edessa.

Much of the first half of Baldwin II’s reign was taken up with the defense of the principality of Antioch after the defeat of Prince Roger at the Ager Sanguinis (Field of Blood) in June 1119. Baldwin marched north in August, winning the victory of Zerdana against the Turks of Mardin and Damascus, only returning to Jerusalem for his coronation at Christmas. Until 1126 he governed Antioch as regent for its underage heir, Bohemund II, and led further campaigns to defend the Frankish north in 1120, 1122, and 1123. During the last of these he was captured by the Turks and

remained a prisoner until August 1124. The repeated campaigning in the north and the consequent disruption to government, as well as the granting of lordships and offices to the king's relatives and their vassals, led to opposition among the Jerusalem nobility, some of whom made an abortive attempt to depose Baldwin during his absence in favor of Count Charles of Flanders.

After his release from captivity, Baldwin devoted himself to the defense of his kingdom, undertaking major campaigns against Damascene territory in 1126 and 1129. During this time he also arranged for his eldest daughter Melisende to marry Fulk V, count of Anjou; they and their son Baldwin III (born 1130) succeeded as joint rulers on the king's death (21 August 1131). Baldwin II's second daughter, Alice, married Prince Bohemund II of Antioch, and the third, Hodierna, married Count Raymond II of Tripoli; the youngest, Yveta, who had served as a hostage for him after his second captivity, became a nun, ending her life as abbess of the convent of St. Lazarus at Bethany.

—Alan V. Murray

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Baldwin III of Jerusalem (1130–1163)

King of Jerusalem (1145–1163) and the eldest son of Queen Melisende and King Fulk.

Baldwin was still an infant when his grandfather Baldwin II died in 1131, having arranged that Fulk would have to share power with his wife and son. As a minor, Baldwin III seems to have done nothing beyond consenting to some royal charters. The chronicler William of Tyre noted that he was well educated in history, law, and war, as befitting a future king.

When Fulk died in 1143, Baldwin III was still a minor and Melisende became his regent. Clearly Melisende wanted to retain the power she had wielded since Fulk's reign, but she could not lead troops into battle, whereas military success would strengthen Baldwin III's hand. In 1144 the young king led his first campaign, at Wadi Musa in Transjordan. Yet at the end of that year, when Zangī, ruler of Mosul, besieged Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey), Melisende did not allow her son to head north. Instead, she sent men loyal to her, including the constable Manasses of Hierges. The queen had already built up a party of great lords by dispensing lands, offices, and other privileges. Now these men could help her circumscribe Baldwin III's independence, even though they could not prevent Zangī from taking Edessa. Zangī's victory eventually prompted the Second Crusade (1147–1149), led by Conrad III of Germany and Louis VII of France. When these rulers arrived in Outremer in 1148, Baldwin III convinced Conrad to attack Muslim Damascus, a plan approved by the crusade leaders and Jerusalem's High Court in June of that year (although it is not clear that Melisende agreed to the proposal). The campaign failed miserably, and Damascus increasingly turned toward Nūr al-Dīn, Zangī's younger son and lord of Aleppo from 1146. Nūr al-Dīn became the foremost enemy of the Franks of Outremer, unifying Muslims under the banner of *jihād* (holy war).

Nūr al-Dīn's success contrasted markedly with power struggles in Jerusalem. Although Baldwin III had attained his majority in 1145, Melisende continued their joint rule with the support of her younger son Amalric, the higher clergy, and several great lords. Baldwin had some lesser nobles on his side, and he had to help both Antioch and the last Christian strongholds in Edessa. From 1149 until 1152, Outremer had to face the problems posed by Nūr al-Dīn and essentially separate governments in Jerusalem run by the queen mother and the young king. Matters came to a head at Easter 1152, when the king forced Melisende to give up her formal role

in government and retire to her lands in Nablus. In the following years, according to William of Tyre, Baldwin became undisputed overlord of all Outremer. Count Joscelin II of Edessa was captured by the Turks in 1150, Count Raymond II of Tripoli was murdered in 1152, and Princess Constance of Antioch, widowed in 1149, did not remarry until 1153. The king headed north when danger threatened, simultaneously trying to prevent attack from the south by building a castle at Gaza. In 1153 he was finally free to besiege Ascalon. His victory after a nine-month siege brought vast amounts of plunder into the kingdom and toppled the last Fāṭimid stronghold in Palestine.

Baldwin III now set his sights on Egypt, although Nūr al-Dīn's annexation of Damascus in 1154 and his subsequent attacks on the kingdom prevented an Egyptian campaign. Yet it seems likely that the king did not give up his designs there. He came to terms with the Byzantine emperor Manuel Komnenos after Reynald, the new prince of Antioch, and T'oros of Armenia attacked Byzantine-controlled Cyprus in 1156. By 1157, the rulers agreed that Baldwin III would allow Manuel to punish Reynald, while Manuel would lend aid against Nūr al-Dīn. Manuel also provided his niece Theodora, along with a rich dowry, as queen; the marriage took place in 1158. Manuel himself traveled to Antioch, where he humbled Reynald and treated with Baldwin III. Then Manuel made a truce with Nūr al-Dīn. These arrangements among Jerusalem, Byzantium, and Aleppo changed the balance of power in the eastern Mediterranean. Nūr al-Dīn no longer had to fear an imperial attack and in return promised to aid Manuel against the Saljūq Turks. Manuel also managed to exert influence over northern Syria for about twenty years, which would not have been possible if Nūr al-Dīn had not threatened the Latin Christians. In this new situation, neither Christians nor Muslims could wipe the other out.

Despite heightened imperial claims over Antioch, the status quo did not change, at least for the chronicler William of Tyre. For him, Baldwin III was still undisputed sovereign over all Outremer, and the chronicler carefully preserved this portrait. William's description of the meeting between Baldwin III and Manuel at Antioch demonstrated that they were equals. Thus when Manuel sought a wife in 1161, but ultimately rejected the candidate named by Baldwin, William downplayed the incident. Even in death, the king stood alone. Taken ill in Tripoli, he insisted on being carried within his own borders before he died childless on 10 Feb-

ruary 1163. He was succeeded by his brother Amalric, count of Jaffa and Ascalon.

William of Tyre described Baldwin's funeral in more grandiose terms than he employed for any other king of Jerusalem. William of Tyre's magnificent narrative provides more information about Outremer than any other extant source, yet the chronicler's fundamental purpose—the successful continuation of holy war—greatly shaped the way he represented Jerusalem's kings and their activities. William depicted Baldwin III as the focal point of power amongst all of the Frankish states in Outremer; he also saw Baldwin III as the greatest king Jerusalem ever knew. However, this meant that later kings could only represent a decline. Neither Amalric nor Baldwin IV could match Baldwin III, and someone from outside the royal family would have to step in if Outremer were to survive. The pattern William imposed on kings of Jerusalem required him to jettison the royal line in the end, since he cared more about Outremer's existence than about its ruling family.

—Deborah Gerish

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Baldwin IV of Jerusalem (1161–1185)

King of Jerusalem (1174–1185); known as the Leper King.

Baldwin was born in early summer 1161, the son of Amalric, then count of Jaffa, and his first wife, Agnes of Courtenay. Although Amalric's marriage was annulled when he became king in 1163, Baldwin and his sister Sibyl were legitimized by Pope Alexander III. In 1170 the chronicler William of Tyre was appointed Baldwin's tutor and observed that the prince suffered from a loss of feeling in his right hand and arm. Although leprosy could have been considered as a possible cause, there would have been no visible symptoms during Baldwin's childhood, so no positive diagnosis could have been made then. When King Amalric died, Baldwin was thirteen, and he was crowned king on 15 July 1174. At first the seneschal Miles of Plancy ruled in Baldwin's name, but when Miles was assassinated in October 1174, the High Court of the kingdom appointed Amalric's cousin Raymond III of Tripoli as regent. Because of these crises in Jerusalem, Saladin, ruler of Egypt, was able to annex Damascus without any opposition from the Franks. In 1175 Raymond made peace with Saladin, thus leaving him free to make further gains in Muslim Syria. Consequently Outremer faced the prospect of encirclement by a single Islamic power.

Baldwin assumed direct rule in the summer of 1176 at the age of fifteen. He was beginning to show the symptoms of lepromatous leprosy, perhaps triggered by the onset of puberty: his hands and feet and face were disfigured by nodules. Because of his illness, Baldwin could not marry, and his mother, Agnes of Courtenay, took on the role of queen mother and became an influential member of his court. The king's chief advisers were his uncle, Joscelin III of Courtenay, who was made seneschal, and Reynald of Châtillon, former prince of Antioch. Baldwin was alarmed by the growth of Saladin's power and refused to renew the peace that Raymond III of Tripoli had made with him when regent. Whenever his health permitted, the king took an active part in the wars that followed. Despite his disabilities, he was a skilled rider, and he had been taught to fight left-handed. On 25 November 1177 his forces inflicted a crushing defeat on Saladin's invading army at the battle of Mont Gisard, at which Baldwin was present, and during which he relied heavily on the military expertise of Prince Reynald.

In 1176 Baldwin's sister Sibyl had married William Longsword, son of William V of Montferrat, a union arranged by Raymond of Tripoli while regent. However, William died a few months later, leaving his wife pregnant. Their posthu-

mous son was called Baldwin after the king, and the succession was thus assured, but it was essential that Sibyl should marry again so that a new husband could take over the government when the king became too ill to rule. In 1179 Hugh III, duke of Burgundy, agreed (with the assent of King Louis VII of France) to resign his duchy to his son and come to Jerusalem to marry Sibyl. In Holy Week 1180, before Hugh's arrival, the king's cousins Bohemund III of Antioch and Raymond III of Tripoli invaded the kingdom with an army, intending to depose Baldwin and marry Sibyl to a husband of their choice. The king outwitted them by arranging Sibyl's marriage to the French nobleman Guy of Lusignan, who was present in Jerusalem, before his cousins reached the city. This decision, made without consulting the High Court, caused resentment in the long term, but frustrated the attempted coup. Baldwin then arranged a two-year truce with Saladin and used the time to try to restore unity among the Franks.

When the truce expired in 1182, Saladin launched a series of attacks on the kingdom but met with determined opposition and withdrew his forces to campaign against the Zangid princes of Iraq. During his absence Baldwin led a raid on the desert city of Bosra, during which he recaptured the great cave fortress of Cave de Suète east of the Jordan. During 1183 his health deteriorated severely: the leprosy attacked his hands and feet so that he could no longer ride, but had to be carried in a litter, and he became functionally blind. Saladin returned to Damascus in August 1183 and prepared to invade Galilee. Baldwin mustered the host there but ran a high fever and could not accompany it, so he appointed his official heir, Guy of Lusignan, as his regent. The host under Guy's command did not offer battle, and Saladin's forces were free to plunder at will. Nevertheless, because the Frankish army was undefeated, Saladin had no option but to withdraw to Damascus, having made no territorial gains.

Although Guy's strategy had been effective, Baldwin was informed that he had only adopted it because many of the crown vassals refused to obey his orders. The king considered this too dangerous a situation to tolerate, and he convened the High Court, dismissed Guy as regent, and resumed power himself. In order to bar Guy from the succession, Baldwin had his five-year-old nephew Baldwin (V) crowned as co-king. Saladin attacked Prince Reynald's chief castle, Kerak, at this time, and the king accompanied the host in his litter to aid the defenders. As the royal army approached, Saladin's forces withdrew. Baldwin then tried to have the marriage of Sibyl and Guy annulled, but they refused to cooper-

ate and withdrew to Guy's county of Ascalon, where they defied the king. For most of the year 1184, Baldwin lived in seclusion; his uncle, Joscelin the Seneschal, ruled in his name. Early in 1185 he developed a high fever that proved fatal. He summoned the High Court to his deathbed and on its advice appointed Raymond III of Tripoli as regent for the eight-year-old co-king, Baldwin V, to whom the crown vassals did homage. Baldwin IV died before 16 May 1185 and was buried in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at the foot of Mount Calvary, the most holy place in Christendom, which he had spent his life defending.

—Bernard Hamilton

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Baldwin V of Jerusalem (d. 1186)

The son of William Longsword of Montferrat and Sibyl, daughter of King Amalric of Jerusalem, co-ruler with his uncle King Baldwin IV (1183–1185) and sole king until his premature death (1185–1186).

Born in the winter of 1177–1178, for most of his short life the young Baldwin V was a pawn in factional struggles during the last days of the kingdom of Jerusalem before its overthrow by Saladin in 1187. By 1178, Baldwin IV had desig-

nated his sister Sibyl and her family as heirs apparent. In 1183, he named Sibyl's second husband, Guy of Lusignan, as regent, but then removed him and had the child Baldwin V crowned as an indication that Guy had been barred from the succession. Before Baldwin IV died (1185), he named Count Raymond III of Tripoli as regent for Baldwin V, again to prevent Guy from claiming authority over his stepson. However, Baldwin V's unexpected death in 1186 again threw open the question of the succession.

—Deborah Gerish

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Baldwin VI of Hainaut

See Baldwin I of Constantinople

Baldwin IX of Flanders

See Baldwin I of Constantinople

Baldwin of Aulne (d. 1243)

A Cistercian monk from the abbey of Aulne in Flanders who acted as papal representative in the Baltic countries in 1230–1234, having been sent to resolve the dispute about the succession to the bishopric of Riga that had arisen after the death of Albert of Buxhövdén. His activities, however, went beyond this task, and he negotiated a settlement for the conversion and subjection of the pagan Curonians. Yet because this agreement conflicted with the interests of the town of Riga, the Order of the Sword Brethren, and Nicholas, the new bishop of Riga, opposition to Baldwin gained ground. In 1232 Baldwin secured support for his actions at the court of Pope Gregory IX. He was named bishop of Sempgallia, given authority over northern Estonia, and nominated as papal legate for Gotland, Finland, Estonia, Curonia, and Sempgallia, but on returning to Livonia in 1233, he was unable to find sufficient support among the various crusader institutions. The conflict took an especially violent turn in Reval (mod. Tallinn, Estonia), where many of the supporters of Baldwin

Baldwin of Marash (d. 1146)

were killed by the Sword Brethren. Baldwin left the country forever, and the duties of papal legate passed to William of Modena, who managed to settle the disputes. In 1236 Baldwin gave up the title of bishop of Sengallia.

Baldwin is one of the most controversial figures in scholarship on medieval Livonia. Although his exact aims remain unclear because of the lack of sources, they could be characterized as an (unsuccessful) intervention in Livonian affairs under papal authority.

—*Juhan Kreem*

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Baldwin of Courtenay

See Baldwin II of Constantinople

Baldwin of Marash (d. 1146)

Lord of a powerful Franco-Armenian principality centered on the town of Marash (mod. Kahramanmaraş, Turkey) in eastern Cilicia from around 1136. Baldwin was probably a brother or half-brother of Raymond of Poitiers, prince of Antioch. In 1146 he died in the unsuccessful attempt of Count Joscelin II of Edessa to recapture the city of Edessa from Nūr al-Dīn. His life was commemorated in a funeral oration by his Armenian chaplain Basil, who emphasized his fluency in the Armenian language and attachment to Armenian customs.

—*Alan V. Murray*

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Balearic Islands

The Balearic Islands (Sp. Islas Baleares) were the commercial crossroads of the western Mediterranean and, whether

under Muslim or Christian domination, were coveted by a wide variety of people from the Mediterranean littoral. In the late Middle Ages, Mallorca’s merchants were as aggressive and acquisitive as any in Europe; its Jewish quarter, until the riots of 1391 and the community’s destruction in 1435, was large, prosperous, and renowned, especially for its cartographers, such as Abraham Cresques; and although its importance as an intellectual center was not on a par with its strategic and commercial importance, it was by no means a cultural backwater. The mystic and philosopher Ramon Llull was born on the island around 1232, learned Arabic from one of his Muslim slaves, assisted the Franciscans in founding a college at Miramar for the training of Christian missionaries, and wrote many of his several hundred Catalan (and apparently Arabic) works while resident there.

The Islands under Muslim Rule

The Balearic Islands form, geologically speaking, two separate groups of islands: a western group, the Balearics proper, comprising Mallorca (Majorca), Menorca (Minorca), and Cabrera; and an eastern group, the Pitusians, comprising Ibiza (Eivissa), Formentera, and nearby islets. The island of Mallorca, equidistant from Barcelona and Valencia at some 160 kilometers (100 mi.) from the Iberian coastline, occupies over three-quarters of the total landmass of the Balearics. Mallorca’s dominant physical feature is 300 kilometers (c. 188 mi.) of coastline, with several notable bays in the north and south and a number of other serviceable ports, as well as a scenically stunning northwest coastline where a chain of mountains falls steeply into the sea.

Many of the qualities and elements that made Mallorca attractive in the medieval and modern worlds were no less apparent in the ancient world, and evidence points to considerable penetration by Greek and Phoenician traders. All the islands were under Roman domination by 123 B.C., and the Vandals and subsequently the Byzantines left their marks. The most lasting mark for the medieval world was made in 902 (the same year that Sicily was conquered by Muslims from Tunis) when troops of the emir (later caliph) of Córdoba conquered the island. After the collapse of the caliphate, Mallorca was joined politically with Cartagena, Murcia, Alicante, and Denia to form one of the more than twenty independent Islamic states (the so-called Taifa kingdoms) then present in al-Andalus (Muslim Spain). The emirate of Denia achieved considerable notoriety under Mujāhid (d. 1045), who attracted considerable talent to his court and



The Kingdom of Mallorca and the Crown of Aragon

raided Sardinia. For a brief period (1075–1115) after the end of the Denia emirate, the Balearic Islands constituted an independent Islamic state, two of its rulers even minting coins. In 1109 the islands successfully fended off Norse crusaders on their way to the Holy Land, but they were captured by a crusade consisting of forces from Pisa and Catalonia in 1114–1115, which, however, did not attempt to hold its conquests and withdrew.

Muslim control was reestablished in 1116 under the Banū Ghāniya family, who ruled in the name of the Almoravids. At mid-century, when political hegemony in Muslim Spain passed from the Almoravids to the Almohads, yet another North African Berber tribe, the Ghāniya, along with independent peninsular rulers such as Ibn Mardanish (d. 1172), resisted; and in 1185 the Ghāniya attacked and captured Bejaïa (Bougie) and Algiers in North Africa. The Almohads, however, conquered Mallorca in 1203, and the final years of Muslim domination were under a *wāli* (governor) appointed from Marrakesh. Mallorca was a thoroughly Islamic state, inhabited by Muslims, with its dominant land-use patterns and human geography thoroughly Islamic; when the Pisans and Catalans arrived for their brief stay in 1114–1115, although they found an Arabized Jewish population living among the Muslims, they found no remnants of Mozarabs, or native, Arabized Christians living under Muslim rule. There can be little doubt that the vicissitudes of political leadership and the collapse of Almohad power, following the Almohads' surprising defeat by Christian crusaders at the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212, offered propitious conditions for that rarest of overseas Christian crusades: a successful one.

The Aragonese-Catalan Conquest

The definitive Christian conquest of Mallorca took place in the years 1229–1232. James I, king of Aragon, count of Barcelona, and lord of Montpellier, won fame throughout Christendom and earned his sobriquet *el Conqueridor* (the Conqueror) by his conquests of Islamic Mallorca and Valencia. James was five years old when his father Peter II, a hero at Las Navas de Tolosa, fell on the battlefield at Muret (1213) in Occitania fighting the forces of the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229), and James's minority was both protracted and difficult. When he summoned the Catalan *corts* (parliament) to Barcelona in December 1228, announced his intention to conquer Mallorca, and was granted an extraordinary *bovatge* (a general tax, normally granted only once to a monarch upon ascension to the throne), these events

marked James's coming of age and his recovery from an earlier failed attempt to conquer Penyscola.

The Mallorcan crusade was enthusiastically sanctioned by Pope Gregory IX; as early as 1203 his predecessor Innocent III had promised to establish a new diocese upon conquest. The crusade was preached and partially financed by international crusade mechanisms and led by the papal legate Cardinal John of Abbéville, who offered crusade indulgences to all who took the cross. It included troops and galleys from the archbishop of Tarragona, the bishops of Barcelona and Girona, and the abbot of San Feliu de Guixols. The most detailed primary account of the conquest is found in the *Libre dels Feys* of James I, the first known autobiography by a European Christian monarch. The fleet of 150 ships and force of 1,300 knights made this the largest single military campaign mustered by the Crown of Aragon in the thirteenth century. The fleet set sail from Cape Salou on 5 September 1229 and arrived at what is today Sant Elm on the southwest coast a few days later. Part of the force disembarked with the king at Santa Ponça on 11 September, and won a costly battle at Coll de Sa Batalla the next day, while the rest of the fleet proceeded to Porto Pi and fought Muslims there on 13 September. By 15 September the city of Mayurqa (mod. Palma de Mallorca) was under siege by land and sea, and on 31 December the crusaders successfully stormed the walls in a bloody assault that led to widespread slaughter and enslavement of Muslims. By the spring of 1230 all of the eastern sections of the island had been overrun, save Cabo Ferrutx in the north, incorporated the following spring in 1231, and the castle of Santueri, not taken until the autumn of 1231. In the northern sierra between Sóller and present-day Lluch, the Muslims held off the crusaders until June 1232, when they were finally subjugated. In June 1231, before final operations in the mountainous regions of Mallorca, James led a small fleet to Muslim Menorca, which agreed to pay tribute and homage to its new neighboring sovereign.

The first major act of James was to oversee the division of spoils. By right of conquest the king received half the land of the island: principally Montuiri in the southeast, Sineu and Petra in the center, Artà in the northeast, and Inca, Muntanyes, and Pollença in the north. He also took half of the houses, workshops, ovens, and baths in Mallorca City. The *repartiment* (land division) that survives describes the subdivision and distribution of this royal half. The major beneficiaries of royal largesse were nobles such as Ramon Aleman, Ramon de Plegaman, Guillem de Claramunt, and

surviving scions of the Montcada family; citizens of Barcelona, Marseilles, Tarragona, Lleida (Lérida), and Montpellier, who received farms in the countryside and houses and shops in the city; and religious orders, especially the Templars, who were endowed with land in Mallorca City and in Inca and Pollença. The royal distribution was primarily to a large number of small proprietors. Little is yet known about the subdivision of the seigneurial lands that comprised the other half of the island. Nunyo Sanç, lord of Roussillon and Cerdanya, was given Bunyola and Valldemossa in the northwest and Manacor in the east; the count of Empúries (Ampurias) received Muro in the northeast, and part of Sóller in the northwest; the bishop of Barcelona was given Andratx in the southwest corner of the island; and the viscount of Béarn obtained Canarossa in the center of the island, including the key castle of Alaró.

More complex than the military enterprise that seized the island or the politics dictating division of spoils was the government of the island, the importation of Christian settlers and institutions, and the transformation of this Islamic frontier. A key role was played by the church, especially by the pope, Gregory IX, who renewed indulgences, and eventually established Mallorca as an independent diocese, that is, not under a metropolitan but directly subject to the Holy See. James I, for his part, saw his opportunities on the Peninsula following the precipitous collapse of Almohad power. He pawned off many of his Mallorcan rights to Prince Peter of Portugal, granted the right of conquest for Ibiza and Formentera to him and to Nunyo Sanç, and reallocated this right in early 1235 to Guillem de Montgrí, sacristan of Girona cathedral and archbishop-elect of Tarragona; then he resolutely turned his attention from Mallorca to his lifelong project of conquering and settling Valencia.

Peter of Portugal eventually exchanged his Mallorcan lordship for a fief in Valencia, and when James's firstborn heir died in 1260, the royal patrimony was divided in two: his son Peter III was to receive Valencia, Aragon, and Catalonia, while his son James was to receive the Balearic Islands, Roussillon, Cerdanya, and Montpellier. On the death of James I (1276), James II became king of Mallorca, though he was forced to pay homage to his brother in 1279. In 1285 James II took sides against his brother by giving support to French invaders; these had the status of crusaders, owing to the Aragonese role in the uprising known as the Sicilian Vespers, which expelled the Angevin dynasty from Sicily. Thereupon Peter III vowed to conquer the Balearic Islands in retal-

iation, but fell ill and died shortly after setting out from Barcelona in November 1285. His heir Alfonso III continued the expedition, and the city of Mallorca surrendered within days, as did Ibiza, though nominal resistance continued for years. In January 1287 Alfonso conquered Menorca, enslaved the majority of the Muslim population there, which the chronicler Ramon Muntaner, describing the whole adventure, inflates to 40,000, and thereafter styled himself king of the Balearic Islands. In 1298 James II of Aragon, successor to Alfonso III after 1291, returned the Balearics to James II of Mallorca, who had held on to his southern French lands, which he ruled from his royal palace at Perpignan. This was done at papal insistence and as part of the agreement that brought the War of the Sicilian Vespers to a close. Mallorca's greatest period of prosperity dates from after 1298, when the kingdom was ruled by James II for the second time (1298–1311) and his successors Sancho (1311–1324) and James III (1324–1343), before it was permanently reincorporated into the Crown of Aragon by Peter IV of Aragon.

Institutions, Economy, and Society

None of the political, diplomatic, and constitutional upset and oscillation hampered Mallorca's colonial progress; the reasons for this remain to be detailed, but the confined space of the island, the active role of the church, the peninsular successes of the crusades (almost the diametric opposite of the failures in the East), and a brutal colonialist regime characterized by slavery and apparently much conversion were certainly contributing factors, as were Mallorca's demographic growth and economic development. By the early fourteenth century, the much-travelled writer Ramon Muntaner considered Mallorcans among the most prosperous peoples anywhere. In addition to Mallorcan consulates being located in ten North African ports, they are found in the early fourteenth century in Seville, Málaga, Naşrid Granada, Naples, Pisa, Genoa, Constantinople, and Bruges. Figs, raisins, honey, almonds, and olive oil were exported from Mallorca, as were cheese from Menorca and salt from Ibiza; slaves were both exported from and imported to all three islands in great abundance. During the reign of James II, Mallorca began minting its own coinage, including gold coins later at Perpignan. James also laid the foundations for or reorganization of eleven inland towns on the island, which he hoped would encourage agricultural development and the production of raw wool for Mallorca's fledgling textile industry.

Balian of Sidon (d. 1240)

Mallorcan enthusiasm for crusading activity remained high throughout the Middle Ages. It was the papacy, in recognition of one of the causes for failure in the East, that accorded crusading status to settlers and acknowledged work that consolidated military conquests. In the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, Mallorcans participated aggressively in the never-ending “crusade” at sea between Christendom and Islam. But over time Mallorcan energies were increasingly devoted to fortifying and defending their coastline. Mallorcans were well aware of Ottoman prowess at sea, and villages were occasionally attacked by raiders from the sea as late as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Mallorcans were, for strategic and commercial reasons, covetous of the North African coast. They followed with enormous interest the Mahdia Crusade of 1390; the designs on North Africa of Alfonso V “el Magnánimo” (1416–1458), the Aragonese king of Naples; and the designs on and conquests in North Africa of Ferdinand II of Aragon (1474–1516) after completion of the Granadan crusade of 1492. Two little-known, almost “lost” crusades were joint ventures by Valencians and Mallorcans. In 1398 the latter outfitted thirty-nine ships, including five galleys, and were led in their failed attack on Tedellis in North Africa (located almost due south of Menorca) by Viceroy Hug de Anglesola, who died in the operation. Nevertheless, in the following year, 1399, a joint Valencian-Mallorcan flotilla, the Mallorcans under the command of Berenguer de Montagut, sailed against Bona (located farther east along the African coast, almost due south of Sardinia), with almost equally dismal results, a fact contributing no doubt to the obscurity of the operation. The conquest and successful colonization of Mallorca had already secured its prominence in crusading annals.

—Larry Simon

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Balian of Sidon (d. 1240)

Descended from the twelfth-century lords of Sidon, Balian was born around 1198, the son of Reynald of Sidon and Helvis of Ibelin, and was thus the nephew of John of Ibelin, the “Old Lord” of Beirut.

In the early 1220s Balian was a trusted adviser of John of Brienne, king of Jerusalem, and when John’s daughter Isabella II married Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor and king of Sicily, in 1225, he was a member of the party that accompanied her to the West. The German crusaders of 1227 succeeded in restoring Sidon (mod. Saïda, Lebanon) to full Christian control, and on Frederick II’s arrival in the East in 1228, Balian, unlike his Ibelin kinsmen, cooperated with him. Frederick appointed him as his lieutenant in the kingdom of Jerusalem, and at the emperor’s behest he then attempted to confiscate his kinsmen’s fiefs. It would appear that it was only after the arrival of Frederick’s Italian commander, Richard Filangieri, in the East in 1231 that Balian joined the opposition to the Staufien regime. An accomplished lawyer, Balian survived the battle of Gaza in 1239, dying the following year.

—Peter W. Edbury

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Balk, Hermann

See Hermann Balk

Baltic Crusades

General term applied to a series of expeditions aimed at the conquest and conversion of the lands on the southern and eastern coast of the Baltic Sea (Prussia, Livonia, Finland, and Lithuania) from the late twelfth century up to the Reformation.

The peoples living along the Baltic coasts had once all been pagans, but although the Scandinavian Norse gods were not identical to the deities worshipped on the eastern shores, these different religions nevertheless had significant characteristics in common. Most importantly, they endorsed a militaristic ethos based on feuds, pirate raids, and overland attacks upon weaker peoples, and the incomes thus generated supported local economies. When Scandinavian monarchs accepted Christianity and brought an end to the freebooting era, ethical concerns may have been less important than the desire to prevent the rise of charismatic competitors for power. The tribes on the eastern shore, in contrast, were insufficiently organized for powerful nobles to make themselves kings; hence, those tribes continued the traditions of piracy and raiding until crusaders put an end to their activities.

Origins, Aims, and Motivation

The first efforts to convert the pagans to Latin Christianity were made by Scandinavian, German, Polish, and Bohemian missionaries in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. These efforts failed, partly because the pagan priests feared competition, partly because an organized church needed the financial contributions of the entire community, especially if the churchmen were to assume responsibility for protecting converts from attack by neighboring tribes. Although taxes were the people's most obvious objection, they also considered subjection to any lord, local or foreign, abominable. Pagan unwillingness to adopt the feudal practices that would organize their societies for war put them at a great disadvantage in any combat with Western knights, who possessed not only technology and military expertise far superior to those of the tribal elders but also impressive administrative and leadership skills.

Crusaders from Gotland and Saxony came to Livonia in the late twelfth century, and within a quarter of a century they had conquered most of what is today Latvia and Estonia. Scandinavians were also active, with Swedes pushing east into Finland, and King Valdemar II Sejr of Denmark (1170–1241) conquering Reval (mod. Tallinn) and most of northern Estonia. One military order, the Sword Brethren,

provided a permanent occupation force through the long winters after the summer fleets of crusaders to Livonia had sailed home. The Sword Brethren soon acquired the knowledge of the land, the native languages, and customs, as well as the ambition, to make themselves independent or superior to the newly established bishops in Riga, Dorpat (mod. Tartu, Estonia), and Leal (mod. Lihula, Estonia). Their ambitions extended to the conquest of Lithuania and Russia, but those efforts met military defeats at the battles of Saule (1236) and Lake Peipus (1242). In 1237 Pope Gregory IX approved the absorption of the Sword Brethren into the Teutonic Order, but it was several years before this was accomplished. Thereafter the members of the Livonian branch of the order cooperated with the Prussian master and acknowledged being subordinate to the grand master; however, they refused to surrender their autonomy completely. The Teutonic Knights had been founded as a hospital order during the Third Crusade (1189–1192), and in 1198 were reorganized as a military order, but they were never as important in the Holy Land as the Templars and Hospitallers. Instead, the order found its true calling in the Baltic, making war against the enemies of the Roman church: pagan Baltic and Finnic peoples and Orthodox Russians.

The motives of those who organized the crusades and those who participated in them were decidedly mixed. Some wanted only to open the country to missionaries, others to protect converts; some wanted to acquire new lands and to extend their dioceses; yet others—especially the many burgesses who took the cross—wanted to open new markets, eliminate piracy, and reduce highway robbery. Some were doubtless in search of adventure, others of winning renown and honor; a few probably just wanted to get away from home. They rarely considered the rights of the native peoples for long; certainly they did not grant them the right to choose paganism as a religion, since that would condemn their souls to hellfire; and those who saw the corpses and burned villages left behind by pagan raiders had reason to consider the perpetrators as the personification of evil. As for the misdeeds of the crusaders, their armies were not populated with saints, and many atrocities were committed by native converts taking revenge for long years of oppression by their neighbors. Lastly, who was to quarrel with the popes, who urged true believers to take up the cross in defense of their faith, and who awarded crusaders the same spiritual benefits as those who made the far more expensive and arduous journey to the Holy Land?



The Baltic region

The Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia

The Teutonic Order had enjoyed such great popularity in Germany under the direction of Grand Master Hermann von Salza (1210–1239) that it had more knights and money than could be employed usefully in the Holy Land. Consequently, when Conrad, duke of Mazovia in Poland, asked for assistance against pagan Prussians who were raiding his lands in retaliation for his efforts to conquer them, in 1228–1230 the grand master sent a handful of knights to fight alongside Polish and German volunteers. When the other crusaders went home, the order garrisoned castles at Thorn (mod. Toruń, Poland) and Kulm (mod. Chełmno, Poland). With the help of regular crusading expeditions, they worked their way north, then eastward along the coast, until in 1254, King Ottokar II of Bohemia led a great army into the province of Sambia and overawed pagan resistance; in the monarch's honor the Teutonic Knights gave the name Königsberg (mod. Kaliningrad, Russia) to their great fortress on the Pregel River. By the end of the century they had conquered the last Prussians and begun attacks on the Lithuanians. This new war was to be much more difficult, since the Lithuanians were harder to reach, more numerous, and better organized and were already expanding into Russia and Russian areas claimed by Poland.

Throughout the thirteenth century Polish crusaders had supported the crusades against these pagans, at first serving in Prussia, later applying pressure from Mazovia. Royal authority, however, had never been strong, and real power had already come into the hands of regional dukes when the Mongols invaded in 1241 and sacked Kraków; afterward, while the dukes concentrated on their own mutual jealousies, the Teutonic Knights began recruiting German lords, knights, and burgesses for their periodic offensives. As was the case in Livonia, crusading armies were most effective in the winter, when the lakes, rivers, and swamps were frozen, but it was easiest to recruit volunteers for summer campaigns. In 1294 the last duke of Pomerelia (later West Prussia) died, leaving his lands to the duke of Great Poland, who, unable to take effective possession, left governance to the most prominent local lords; these lords swore allegiance to each of the claimants to the Polish Crown who rapidly succeeded one another. When Władysław I Łokietek became ruler of Poland in 1306, he made his new vassals aware that they had made a serious mistake in having supported his rivals. In 1308 the duke of Brandenburg, the overlord of Pomerelia, responded to the vassals' appeals for help by

sending armies to seize the principal towns. Władysław I, distracted by more pressing matters, asked the Teutonic Order to drive away the Brandenburg forces. After the Prussian master had done so, he presented Władysław I with a bill for services rendered (10,000 marks), which Władysław refused to pay; the order then purchased the Brandenburg rights for the same price. Since possession of West Prussia guaranteed crusaders safe passage to East Prussia, the order decided to hold on to that land no matter what objections the Poles raised; and when the grand master transferred his headquarters to Prussia in 1309, it was evident that the order was making the lands along the southern Baltic coast into a very unusual clerical state.

In addition to its own mainly German knight brothers and men-at-arms stationed in regional convents, the Teutonic Order could rely on secular knights and gentry in several provinces, particularly West Prussia and the episcopal territories, which included many individuals whose mother tongue was Polish. It also had native knights of Prussian ancestry and native militias led by officers of the order, as well as urban militias. The order promoted agriculture and commerce, permitted burgesses and secular knights a limited voice in government, and made merchants from the Hanseatic League welcome in its ports. Immigration was encouraged, but only into the cities or into rural areas that had been depopulated by war or never settled. The knights oversaw law and order, economic activity, and military preparedness, but it would be a mistake to see them as early modern bureaucrats. Their role in religion was minimal—that they left to the bishops, most of whom were priests of the order and could therefore be more or less trusted; and they did no missionary work at all—that was the duty of the preaching orders, most importantly the Dominicans. Almost all their subjects understood that peace and protection were more important than sharing in government, and therefore they did not demand a greater role in making decisions until the fifteenth century, when the grand masters exacted ever higher taxes without being able to defend their citizens from attack. Besides, the order's army was masterfully equipped and led.

The Crusade against Poland, Lithuania, and Russia

When the Prussian master took Danzig (mod. Gdańsk, Poland) in 1308, his troops slew many citizens of that German-speaking community; Polish propagandists quickly exaggerated this into a massacre of several times the popu-

lation of the city and appealed to the pope to punish the Teutonic Knights and return the territory to the king of Poland. Investigations into this matter and the conflicts of the Livonian masters with the archbishop and citizens of Riga would last for decades and serve to justify claims on the order's territories for many more decades to come.

The suppression of the Order of the Temple in 1312 was the culmination of a five-year process that frightened all the military orders. Since many observers had concluded that the Templars had failed in their obligation to maintain a foothold in the Holy Land, were arrogant toward their betters, and were more interested in a comfortable life and money than in religious services and warfare, they thought the suppression was deserved. It would be easy to transfer those opinions to the Teutonic Order, about which they knew less.

There were two important Christian enemies of the Teutonic Order. The most dangerous, the kingdom of Poland, claimed Danzig and Pomerelia on the somewhat shaky historical argument that these were a traditional part of the kingdom, as well as on the better grounds that they were in the diocese of a Polish bishop, that they paid Peter's Pence, and that the last will of the deceased duke had named the Polish ruler as his heir. Władysław I, however, went beyond the immediate issue to claim the province of Kulm as well, and thus implicitly all of Prussia. That may have been a bargaining chip in the beginning, but once it had been put on the table, public opinion prevented him from doing anything short of playing it to the end. The order's second foe was the archbishop of Riga, who was spokesman for the citizens of Riga in a long-running dispute with the Livonian branch of the order, and who brought in Lithuanian pagans as a garrison. Although the immediate issues concerned trade with the Lithuanian enemy and travel on the Dūna (Latv. Daugava; Russ. Dvina), the fundamental problem was the order's desire to organize all of Livonia's resources in support of the crusade. The Livonian knights were doubtless arrogant, ruthless, and unsympathetic to the interests of the burgesses and the prelate, but a careful reading of the records shows that their enemies were ambitious, unfair, and mean-spirited as well. In these and other conflicts, the order's tactics were to refuse cooperation with the papal legates sent to investigate the matters, and then to concentrate all its formidable resources at the papal court, where there were experienced men who understood the realities of power and who would be reluctant to destroy a valuable arm of the

church militant. This tactic was a practical means that avoided placing the fate of the crusade in the hands of individuals who might well be biased or ambitious, but it was ruinous in the court of public opinion, both in the minds of contemporaries and among modern historians, who accept with few questions the highly prejudiced testimonies collected by the legates. The Teutonic Knights were aware of the dangers of not responding to the charges, but they were better at war than debate, and were too mindful of their sorrowful past experiences with energetic and ambitious churchmen to trust any of them. Similarly, the Teutonic Knights mistrusted secular rulers, particularly those with a claim on their lands, Władysław I of Poland especially. His reputation was less than saintly even among his countrymen, but he was masterful at handling political propaganda and ruthless in his employment of intrigue and force. Even more resourceful and dangerous was Gediminas, grand duke of Lithuania (1316–1341), a pagan who raised diplomacy to new levels of sophistication and duplicity. Seated in the middle of competing powers—Russia, Poland, the Golden Horde, and the Teutonic Order—Gediminas knew their strengths and weaknesses and how to play them against one another. In 1322, for example, he allowed the papacy to believe that he was ready to convert to Roman Catholicism. The Teutonic Knights, who knew better, learned that arguments to the contrary only made them appear to be lacking in goodwill and faith.

As Poles changed from crusader allies to enemies, the grand masters looked about for replacements. At first they recruited important lords from the Holy Roman Empire, John of Luxembourg, king of Bohemia, being the most important. Upon John's death, however, this strategy ceased to work, since his more practical son, Charles IV, king of Bohemia and Holy Roman Emperor, was fully occupied with German and Bohemian affairs. It was at this time that Grand Master Winrich von Kniprode began to recruit French, Burgundian, Netherlandish, English, and Scottish knights for forays (Ger. *reysen*) into Samogitia and Lithuania. Although the rationale for these campaigns was the defense of Christendom, their form was increasing chivalric values and noble display. The figure of the Knight in the *Canterbury Tales* was portrayed by Geoffrey Chaucer as a participant, honored three times as the most valiant warrior present. Contemporaries understood that this was a high honor indeed, generally reserved only for the highest nobility of Europe (who were expected to pay the banquet costs).



Battle of Tannenberg (Grunwald), in which a Polish-Lithuanian army, led by King Władysław II Jagiełło of Poland, defeated the knights of the Teutonic Order, 1410. By Jan Matejko (1838–1893), National Museum, Warsaw, Poland. (Erich Lessing/Art Resource)

This *Ehrentisch* (Table of Honor) was very popular, and squires flocked to the crusade hoping to be dubbed at this ceremony and thus obtain knightly status in a prestigious event at relatively low cost.

The Teutonic Order's patron was St. Mary. It thus combined the most popular religious trend of the era, the veneration of the Virgin, with chivalry. The grand master's palace was in the huge fortress of Marienburg (mod. Malbork, Poland) in Prussia, and numerous other localities bore her name. Thus, although the Teutonic Knights were masters of practical politics, never hesitating to circumvent direct instructions from prelates, legates, and even popes, they were also generally pious, conventional Roman Christians who believed in fasts, prayer, penance, pilgrimages, and, of course, miracles. The history of the order was a series of miracles, a fact that made it all the harder on its members when victories ended and a seemingly endless series of defeats began.

Conventionally, historians see the battle of Tannenberg (1410) as the turning point. This view may mistake the dramatic for the important, but certainly it was one of the greatest clashes of armed forces in the late Middle Ages. It was also among the least necessary. Poland had been at peace with the Teutonic Order since 1343, Lithuania since 1398. The Lithuanians had been Roman Catholics since 1386,

when Grand Duke Jogaila married Jadwiga, heiress to the Polish throne, ordered his subjects to undergo baptism, and installed a bishop to oversee the handful of parishes that were being organized; Jogaila then left his cousin Vytautas (1350–1430) to rule Lithuania, while he, crowned king of Poland as Władysław II Jagiełło, concentrated on defending Polish interests in the south. The Teutonic Knights were reluctant at first to acknowledge that this conversion was genuine, having been betrayed repeatedly by both Jogaila and Vytautas, but in time their armies served alongside Vytautas's boyars against the Mongols and the grand duke of Moscow. They occupied Samogitia, thanks to Władysław II and Vytautas, who brought their armies to the area in 1398 to subdue the last resistance, then signed over their rights in the Treaty of Sallinwerder. Similarly, the Livonian Order made peace with Vytautas, thus ameliorating the long-standing conflicts with Pskov and other Russian cities ruled by Lithuanian princes. Peace allowed the Teutonic Knights to concentrate on eliminating the pirate base on Gotland, unifying Livonia, and addressing the advance of the Turks into the Balkans. The crusade meanwhile slowly faded from public consciousness.

Many members of the order must have wondered what their future role was to be. Such reflection probably came most often in the context of the incomplete Christianization

of the Samogitians. The policy of Grand Master Konrad von Jungingen (1393–1407) was to open that country to commerce, encourage modern farming methods, and create out of the many petty nobles a smaller but more important class of gentry. Once the country was Westernized, then missionaries could begin their work. His successor, his brother Ulrich von Jungingen (1407–1410), was less patient, wanting to introduce clergy and raise taxes. Equally impatient now were Vytautas and Władysław II, who had been spreading the word among the Samogitians that help was nearby, should they rebel. When war broke out in midsummer of 1410, the Teutonic Knights did not worry excessively; no enemy had invaded their lands for decades. The catastrophic outcome of the battle of Tannenberg thus came as a shock to everyone. If a relatively minor officer, Heinrich von Plauen, had not acted swiftly, all the major fortresses would have fallen into Polish hands. Help from Germany and Livonia, combined with the desire of Polish and Lithuanian warriors to go home, allowed Plauen to recover all the lost territories within a year.

Peace was not easily negotiated. Heinrich von Plauen was reluctant to surrender Samogitia, but he was not an autocrat, and in the end he had to accede to his officers' demands for peace. A year later, when he ordered an attack on Władysław II for his failure to live up to the agreements, his health failed at a critical moment, and he was removed from office by his subordinates. His successor, Michael Küchmeister (1413–1422), dismissed the mercenaries that Plauen had collected and went to Władysław II for peace talks. There he realized the awful truth that the Polish king was determined to ruin the order, and that he no longer had the means to prevent it. Küchmeister could only drive away the invaders by systematically destroying everything there was to eat, and the end of the "Hunger War" (1414) left Prussia exhausted and starving. For years thereafter Władysław II would threaten war almost every year; relying on a feudal levy, his expenses were minimal, whereas the Teutonic Order had to waste its slender resources on expensive mercenaries. In this way the order declined to a shadow of its former gigantic presence, while the Polish kingdom flourished. Seeing no way of saving Prussia, the German master declined to give the grand master obedience or assistance but instead assisted Sigismund, king of Hungary and Holy Roman Emperor, in his crusading efforts against the Hussite heretics in Bohemia. What had promised to be an easy victory became a series of humiliating disasters, and in the end it was the Bohemians

who ravaged German lands, not the other way around. At one point a Hussite army ravaged West Prussia (1434), collected seawater in souvenir bottles, and returned safely home.

The Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order had also declined. Urged on secretly by the grand master to harass the Lithuanian state, the Livonian master intervened in a succession dispute that led it to disaster in 1435 at the battle of the Swienta River. The effort to use Hussite tactics failed miserably when the master's Mongol and Russian allies fled ahead of the charge of Polish cavalry, disorganizing efforts to fire the cannons from the wagon laager. The cities, nobles, and prelates of Livonia took advantage of the situation to demand that the Livonian Order acknowledge their rights to approve all laws and foreign policy decisions, and in 1453 the Livonian Confederation supplanted the master as the ruler of Livonia. However, the confederation had all the weaknesses of a deliberative body that lacked coercive powers: it could negotiate matters of trade and determine how to regulate the growing institution of serfdom, but it could not lead in a crisis. Only the Livonian Order could, but only when led by an inspired leader. It had only one moment of greatness: after the attack in 1501 of Ivan III, tsar of Muscovy (1460–1505). Wolter von Plettenberg, the Livonian master (1494–1535), did not await attack a second time but invaded Russia in 1502; in a desperate battle fought near Pskov, his landsknechts, artillery, and cavalry slaughtered the Russians until they were completely exhausted. Then Plettenberg made peace swiftly, not wanting to risk another encounter against what might be a better general. This gained Livonia half a century of peace.

Decline and End of the Baltic Crusades

The Reformation swept through the Baltic region without provoking civil war, but only because almost everyone realized that neighbors were waiting and watching for an opportunity to swoop down on their lands. The comparative wealth of the crusader territories was fragile and to a certain extent illusory. The northern climate, the sandy soil, the swamps, and the forests were challenges to agriculture, and only peace, hard work, and good administration were able to wring more than a modest prosperity out of either Prussia or Livonia. The governments had sufficient revenues only because they encouraged commerce and managed agriculture and trade effectively; it was not because the lands were naturally rich.

Prussia was the first to become Protestant. In 1525 the last grand master, Albrecht von Brandenburg-Ansbach (1511–1525), saw secularization as the only means of resolving a variety of political dilemmas, the most important being the order's relationship with Poland. As a Lutheran duke of Prussia (1525–1568), he could swear fealty to the king, thereby escaping the threat of immediate war. The title of grand master eventually passed to the German master (Ger. *Deutschmeister*), who devoted the order's resources inside the Holy Roman Empire to the war against the Ottoman Turks. The Livonian Order remained Roman Catholic even as most of the burgesses and peasants of Livonia became Protestants. Wolter von Plettenberg could have become duke of Livonia, but his conscience would not allow him to betray his oath. Only as the order faced aggression from Ivan IV of Muscovy (1533–1584) did the Protestants become dominant in the membership. After the Livonian army was crushed by the Russians at the battle of Ermes in 1560, Master Gotthard Kettler secularized the order in 1561, giving some lands to the king of Poland, abandoning others to the kings of Sweden and Denmark, and remaining content to become duke of Courland (1561–1587). Local bishops became Lutherans, then sold their lands to more powerful figures. The order's lands in central Livonia and Estonia were divided up to reward the captains of the mercenary forces that eventually drove the Russians back across the border or favorites of the Swedish and Polish monarchs.

A similarly indecisive result was all that came of the many contests of Swedes, Danes, and Russians for control of the mouth of the Neva River and the Finnish coastline. The most memorable battle was in 1240, in which Prince Alexander Yaroslavich of Novgorod earned his title Nevskii (from the name of the river) for routing the Swedish forces. Other campaigns across the next three centuries languish in historical limbo for lack of poets and historians to celebrate them. The chronicles and histories of the Russian cities and the Teutonic Order are now available even in English-language translations, but not even St. Birgitta of Sweden (1303–1373) could stir up much interest in these holy wars, even among contemporaries.

What ultimately caused the Baltic Crusades to fail were changing social values and priorities. Individuals ceased to think of crusading as a means of earning salvation or even as likely to have much effect on the kind of wars being waged in the Baltic. The enemies were no longer pagan pirates, but well-organized empires, and victory could not be achieved

even in long campaigns, much less in the course of a summer. For Germans, the Turk was a more plausible threat than the tsar, and a life piously lived was more to be praised than one lost on a distant battlefield.

—William L. Urban

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Banyas

Banyas (mod. Bāniyās, Syria), also known as Belinas or Paneas (the ancient Caesarea Philippi), was a town situated on the main road between Damascus and Tyre.

At the time of the Frankish conquest of Palestine Banyas formed part of the domains of Damascus, but in 1126 it was given by the *atabeg* Ṭughtigin to the Ismāʿīlī Assassin sect, who fortified it with a citadel and walls. After an Ismāʿīlī conspiracy against Ṭughtigīn's son, Tāj al-Mulūk Būrī, was

Bar Ebroyo (1226–1286)

bloodily suppressed, the Assassins handed over the town to King Baldwin II of Jerusalem, who granted it to the nobleman Rainier Brus (1129). As a strategically placed, well-fortified town with plentiful water supplies, Banyas was now the most forward stronghold of the Franks against Damascene territory, and its possession was a factor in Baldwin's attempt to capture Damascus later that year. In 1132, however, it was retaken by the atabeg Ismā'il ibn Būrī, passing into the control of Zangī, amir of Mosul, in 1137.

In 1140 King Fulk of Jerusalem was able to capture the town with Damascene assistance, and it remained under Frankish control until 1168. During this period a Latin bishopric was established, and the town passed to Humphrey II of Toron, who undertook a major reconstruction of its fortifications after a lengthy siege by Nūr al-Dīn, which almost captured the town (1157). In 1168 Nūr al-Dīn exploited the absence of Humphrey and much of his retinue on King Amalric's invasion of Egypt to attack again, and the town's reduced garrison surrendered to him on 18 October 1168. The capture of Banyas was regarded as a major loss by the Franks, who were obliged to embark on a new program of castle building further west to ensure the security of Galilee.

–Alan V. Murray

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Bar Ebroyo (1226–1286)

Gregory (baptismal name John) Bar Ebroyo, known in Arabic as Abu'l-Faraj ibn al-'Ibrī and in Latin as Bar Hebraeus, was the author of a universal Syriac chronicle, especially illustrative of Syria and Mesopotamia in the thirteenth century.

Bar Ebroyo was born in Melitene (mod. Malatya, Turkey); his alleged Jewish descent has been shown to be a misconception of his name in Syriac. Around 1244 he moved with his family to the principality of Antioch. He later went to Tripoli (mod. Trāblous, Lebanon), where he continued his studies, notably with an East Syrian (Nestorian) rhetor. After

serving as a Syrian Orthodox (Jacobite) bishop in Muslim Syria he was elected *maphrian* (primate) of the eastern part of the church in 1264. He moved to Mesopotamia, then under the control of the Mongols, where he died in 1286.

Bar Ebroyo was one of the most learned Syrian Orthodox authors of all times, having mastered theology, philosophy, linguistics, medicine, and natural science. The influence of his numerous writings on Syrian Orthodox societies can hardly be overestimated. His world chronicle divides secular history into a series of eleven dynastic sections, the last two of which deal with Muslim rule, beginning with the years 622 and 1258 respectively. Bar Ebroyo excerpted the chronicle of Michael the Great, patriarch of Antioch, which is why his work partly helps to fill the lacunae of the latter. Bar Ebroyo added material of Muslim origin, and thus (like the author of the *Anonymous Syriac Chronicle*) renders the battles involving the Franks more often from a Muslim perspective than does Michael. Compared with Michael, Bar Ebroyo's focus shifts east, leaving Byzantium on the periphery, whereas extensive notes feature Cilicia and Egypt, as well as the rule of the Franks and the Turks. Besides the succession of kings and their conquests, which forms the internal structure of the history, Bar Ebroyo includes information on great scholars such as physicians and philosophers and often relates events of cultural interest. He also wrote an abbreviated Arabic version of his chronicle, for which he drew on different sources.

–Dorothea Weltecke

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Bar Hebraeus

See Bar Ebroyo

Barbarossa Hoard

An important hoard of coins, unminted silver, and treasure, discovered in Turkey between 1982 and 1985. The find comprised around 7,700 coins (including halves and fragments), as well as several ingots of unminted silver and broken silver jewelry, evidently of Saljūq provenance.

The coins are almost all of German origin: over half are pennies of the archbishopric of Cologne and of the royal mint at Aachen, with over a hundred examples each from the ecclesiastical principalities of Strasbourg, Toul, Metz, Basel, Würzburg, Worms, and Salzburg, and smaller numbers from other German territories, France, England, and Italy. None of the coins can be dated to later than 1190, indicating that the hoard was buried by the army of Frederick Barbarossa during the Third Crusade (1189–1192). The composition of the hoard gives valuable information as to the form in which money was carried by crusaders (the coins and ingots) and on plunder acquired from the Saljūq sultanate of Rūm.

—Alan V. Murray

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Silver pennies minted at Cologne, from the Barbarossa Hoard. (Courtesy Ulrich Klein)

Barbary Corsairs

A corsair was a private individual who commanded an armed vessel and sailed the seas against the enemy of his country and his faith at his own risk and profit, covered by letters-patent issued by his government. There was a legal distinction between a corsair and a pirate. In theory, the former acted within the limits of the law; the latter outside it. In everyday practice there was hardly any difference in their performance. Nor was there any dissimilarity between Muslim and Christian corsairs. Both sought the same prey: the commercial trading vessel, flying any flag, friend or foe. Prizes were made by both: at sea by seizing other vessels, on land by raiding coastal towns and villages. Such were the Barbary corsairs. Their states, as their name suggests, lay in the Barbary region on the North African coast.

Algiers (mod. Alger, Algeria), Tripoli (mod. Tarābulus, Libya), and Tunis were the leading Barbary Regencies. They owe their origin to two closely related factors. First, there was the corsairs' reaction to Spain's systematic conquest of strategic points on the North African coast: Melilla (1497),

Barbastro

Mers el-Kebir (1505), Oran (1509), Algiers, Bejaïa (Bougie), and Tripoli (1510). Second, there was the same corsairs' resort to the increasingly powerful Ottoman sultan at Constantinople for aid and protection in their war against imperial Spain. In return they recognized him as their religious and political leader, from whose expanding empire they were now allowed to recruit armies that helped maintain internal political stability in the Barbary States and defended them from foreign invasion. They also made their wide corsairing activity possible.

The Barbary corsairs succeeded in conquering and exploiting the fertile hinterlands of the cities of Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis, upon which they built strong military states, a prosperous economy, and a flourishing trade in agricultural products. The latter were exchanged for manufactured goods (such as war matériel and shipbuilding) from friends and foes alike in Christian Europe. Each state (with Algiers leading the way) soon developed into a semi-autonomous Muslim base, from which the Barbary corsairs operated in the endless holy war between Islam and Christianity. The corsairs also had long-term effects on the Christian Mediterranean. Their widespread activities necessitated sounder defenses on both land and sea on the part of Christian governments. On land they dictated the building of coastal towers, massive walls, and other structures; on sea merchant fleets became more strongly armed and preferred to sail in convoy. But the Barbary corsairs also encouraged Christian states (such as the Papal States, Livorno, and Hospitaller Malta) to send their own navies to seek them out and capture them. The slave trade flourished.

The history of the Barbary corsairs is generally divided into three distinct phases. The first is known as the grand heroic phase (1520s–1580), the period of their participation alongside the Turkish armada in the Ottoman Empire's struggle against Spain and its allies for mastery of the Mediterranean. Charles V's full-scale Spanish crusade against Tunis (1535), his disaster at Algiers (1541), the Ottoman reconquest of Tripoli from the Hospitallers (1551), the long unsuccessful Muslim siege of Malta (1565), and the battle of Lepanto (1571) were successive stages punctuating this crusading phase. The second is known as the mercantile phase (1580–c. 1650). By now, corsair activity had been allowed to develop into an economic *jihād* (holy war) an important industry with the pursuit of gain as its main driving force. Galley fleets sailed out to raid Christian commerce. Spain's shipping and that of its European colonies

(such as Naples, Sardinia, and Sicily) were potential targets, and so was the shipping of Hospitaller Malta and of states at formal war with the Ottoman Empire. England, France, and Holland were generally not among the corsairs' enemies. This in part reflected these trading nations' greater military and naval capacity, which could impose truces and peace treaties on the Barbary corsair states at will; in part, it depended on their often changing perceptions of the "Turk." About one-seventh of the value of the booty (human and material) made by the Barbary corsairs was assigned, in harmony with precepts in the Qur'an, to the state that had covered the corsairs with letters-patent. Other fixed proportions went to port officials and brokers, and to finance the upkeep of the harbor. The rest was shared equally between the ship owners and the crew. The third phase, known as the declining phase, was marked by the increasing, almost exclusive, participation of the state. The activity of the Barbary corsairs was brought to an end in 1830 with the French conquest of Algiers.

–Victor Mallia-Milanes

See also: Africa

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Barbary Crusade

See Mahdia Crusade

Barbastro

A prosperous town set in the foothills of the Pyrenees, some 50 kilometers (c. 31 mi.) east of Huesca in Spain. Under Muslim rule, Barbastro (Arab. Barbashtura) was a district capital of one of the marches of the caliphate, and later a Taifa kingdom belonging to the Banū Hūd family.

In 1064 Barbastro was the object of a “proto-crusade” when a force of Aragonese and Normans (led by the Norman nobleman Robert Crispin), fortified with an indulgence granted by Pope Alexander II, laid siege to the town. Starved out, the defenders capitulated once they had been assured of safe passage from the city for themselves and their goods. As they were leaving, however, the Christian forces fell on the refugees, massacring them and carrying women and booty into the town, where they installed themselves and lived in reputed decadence. Western Islam was shocked by the episode, which was attributed to the Taifa rulers’ conciliatory policies toward Christian states, fueling the discontent among the *ulamā* (the Muslim learned elite). This unrest eventually led to Almoravid intervention in the Iberian Peninsula. Nine months after its conquest, a Muslim coalition retook Barbastro and massacred the occupiers.

The town fell definitively into Christian hands when it was captured by King Peter I of Aragon in 1101. At this point it became an episcopal see. It became a quiet backwater after the conquests of King Alfonso I (1109–1134).

–Brian A. Catlos

See also: Aragon; Reconquista

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Barkyārūq (d. 1105)

Sultan of the Great Saljūq Empire (1094–1105). The eldest son of Sultan Malik Shāh I, Barkyārūq came to power at the age of thirteen after defeating his brother Sultan Maḥmūd I (d. 1094). His reign was characterized by continuous civil wars with his uncles and brothers throughout his vast empire, which took place while the First Crusade (1096–1099) was penetrating his dominions in Syria.

Barkyārūq’s uncle Tutush I, king of Syria, disputed his claim to the sultanate and occupied western Persia, having won the recognition of the ‘Abbāsīd caliph in Baghdad. However, in February 1095 Barkyārūq killed Tutush in battle at Dashlu in Persia, which had devastating consequences for Saljūq unity in Syria. A long civil war broke out between

Tutush’s sons, Riḍwan, who ruled Aleppo and northern Syria, and Duqāq, who ruled Damascus and southern Syria. Barkyārūq himself was occupied by another rebellion led by his uncle, Arslan Arghun, in Khurasan in 1097. This was followed by another challenge to power by the sultan’s younger brother Muḥammad Tapar in 1098, which continued for the rest of the reign, exhausting Saljūq military power and crippling the economy of the empire. The struggle between Barkyārūq and Muḥammad took place mostly in Iraq, Persia, and Transoxania. Saljūq Syria was neglected to such an extent that when a Syrian delegation traveled to Baghdad to urge the sultan and caliph to intervene after Jerusalem fell to the crusaders, the caliph pleaded helplessness, as Barkyārūq was fighting in Khurasan. When his cousin Duqāq was killed in 1104, Barkyārūq was unable to prevent the *atabeg* Ṭughtigin from seizing control of Damascus from the Saljūq dynasty. Barkyārūq died of tuberculosis in January 1105 after nominating his four-year-old son Malik Shāh II as successor.

–Taef El-Azhari

See also: Saljūqs

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Barons’ Crusade

See Crusade of 1239–1241

Basian, Battle of (1203)

A decisive battle fought between the Georgians and a Muslim coalition at Basian (near Erzurum in mod. Turkey).

The reign of Queen Tamar of Georgia (1178–1213) underscored Georgian might after a large Muslim coalition was crushed in battle at Shamkhor in 1195. Alarmed by the Georgian success, Rukn al-Dīn Sulaymān Shah II, sultan of Rūm (1196–1204), rallied the Muslim principalities of Asia Minor against Georgia. A massive Muslim army advanced toward the Georgian borders in 1203 and was met at Basian by a much smaller Georgian force under David Soslani, king consort to Tamar. The Georgians initially made an unexpected attack with their advance guard and spread

Baybars I (d. 1277)

confusion among the enemy troops. The sultan managed to rally his forces and counterattacked, but was surprised by coordinated flanking attacks, which routed his forces. The bitterly contested battle caused heavy casualties on both sides. The victory at Basian secured Georgian preeminence in the region. Exploiting her success in this battle, Queen Tamar annexed Arran and Duin in 1203, and subdued the emirate of Kars, the Armen-Shahs, and the emirs of Erzurum and Erzincan. In 1204, she provided military and political support to Alexios Komnenos in establishing the empire of Trebizond. The Georgians then invaded Azerbaijan, advancing as far as Ardabil and Tabriz in 1208 and Qazvin and Khoy in 1210. These victories brought Georgia to the summit of its power and glory, establishing a pan-Caucasian Georgian Empire stretching from the Black Sea to the Caspian and from the Caucasus Mountains to Lake Van.

—Alexander Mikaberidze

See also: Georgia

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Baybars I (d. 1277)

Al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars I al-Bunduqdārī, Mamlūk sultan of Egypt and Syria (1260–1277).

Baybars was by origin a Qipchāq Turk, born in the southern Russian steppe in the 1220s. As a fourteen-year-old boy, he was enslaved and sold to Aydaḳīn al-Bunduqdār, an emir of the Ayyūbid sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, after whom he was called “al-Bunduqdārī.” In 1246 his master fell into disgrace, and Baybars became one of the *mamlūks* (military slaves) of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb. This personal regiment was originally garrisoned on an island in the Nile and known subsequently as the Baḥriyya (from Arab. *Baḥr al-Nīl*, i.e., river Nile).

After the death of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, the *mamlūks* of the Baḥriyya killed his successor Tūrān-Shāh, and seized power

in 1250, establishing the Mamlūk sultanate. The new Mamlūk sultan built up his own military household, so that from this point the history of the sultanate was marked by continuing power struggles of the different Mamlūk groups. When the Mongols invaded Syria in 1260, the Baḥriyya had for some years been in exile in the service of the Ayyūbid lords of Kerak and Damascus. Now the leader of the regiment, Baybars, came to an agreement with the Mamlūk sultan Quṭuz and returned to Egypt. After the victory of the Mamlūk regime over the Mongols at the battle of ‘Ayn Jālūt (1260), the old factional hostility between the Baḥriyya and the *mamlūks* of Quṭuz reemerged. Together with a group of conspirators, Baybars killed the sultan in the same year and was elected by the leading officers of the Baḥriyya as the new sultan.

Having usurped the sultanate from the Ayyūbids, the Mamlūk regime suffered from a problem of legitimation from the beginning. Thus, when descendants of the ‘Abbāsīd family arrived in Cairo in 1261, Baybars took the opportunity to revive the caliphate, which had been ended by the Mongols when they conquered Baghdad in 1258. The newly installed caliph, al-Mustaṣir Billāh, invested Baybars as the sole universal sultan of all Islamic territories and of lands yet to be conquered. This investiture not only served him as a means of legitimating his rule but was also the announcement and authorization of a program of expansion. The religious classes (Arab. ‘*ulamā*’) also tried to bolster Baybars’s authority by highlighting his services to Islam, since he supported them financially by the establishment of pious foundations for mosques and schools. Thus, the Turkish war leader was presented by his biographers as the spiritual heir of his former master, al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, and the ideal champion of *jihād* (holy war), who repelled the pagan Mongols and zealously continued the war against the Franks of Outremer. His legendary exploits lived on in the popular folk epic *Sīrat Baybars*. The sultan supported especially the Sufi *shaykh* (leader) Khaḍir ibn Abī Bakr al-Mihrānī, who acted not only as his spiritual director but also as his personal adviser, until he was imprisoned in 1273 as a result of a conspiracy of leading emirs.

After the battle of ‘Ayn Jālūt, the Mongols had fled back across the river Euphrates, and Baybars’s predecessor Quṭuz made the first arrangements for Mamlūk rule in Syria and Palestine. While the Ayyūbid emirs of Hama, Homs, and Kerak were confirmed in their principalities, governors were appointed for the two most important cities, Aleppo and Damascus. Yet since the Mongols had not given up their

aspirations of conquering Syria, Baybars had to strengthen his regime internally and to integrate his conquests into his domains. Thus in 1263 he placed Homs and Kerak under direct Mamlūk control. He continued the Ayyūbid policy of destroying the fortifications of the conquered Frankish cities of Outremer on the coast to prevent their being used as bridgeheads by future crusades. Further inland he captured the Frankish strongholds one after another. The former Frankish or Ayyūbid fortresses served as fortified regional centers and were either intended to contain the Franks still on the coast (as in the case of Saphet) or to act as bulwarks against the Mongols (as in the case of Bira on the banks of the Euphrates).

The Mamlūk regime was based mainly on its powerful army, which had been built up by Baybars. During his reign the Egyptian army was greatly enlarged by the purchase of large numbers of slaves for the sultan's military household (the so-called Royal Mamlūks) and the households of the emirs. Baybars also took care of the quality of the army, putting emphasis on military training and inspecting his troops regularly. By 1260–1261, Baybars had organized a postal system (Arab. *barīd*) with post stations set up at regular intervals along the routes between Egypt and Syria, where horses could be changed. This service was primarily meant for military purposes and was restricted to use by the sultan. Since the Mamlūk army was concentrated in Cairo when not on campaign, it was necessary to be informed quickly of any Mongol or Frankish attack in order to be able to react. Baybars also restored and built roads and bridges in Syria and Palestine to improve the infrastructure of his realm.

Another important means of consolidating his regime was Baybars's far-reaching diplomatic activities. The Mamlūks were always on the lookout for allies and tried to create a second front in order to weaken their opponents. Baybars formed an alliance with Berke, the khan of the Golden Horde, against their mutual enemy, the Ilkhanate of Persia. He also established good relations with the Byzantine emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos in order to prevent any threat to the import of military slaves from the northern Caucasus.

In 1261, Mamlūk rule in Syria and Palestine was still unstable, so that the Franks at Acre tried to take advantage of this situation and set out to attack a group of Turcomans on the Golan. They were severely beaten and thereafter did not dare launch a major attack against the Mamlūks. Nevertheless, in the first years of his reign, Baybars had to come

to some kind of understanding with the Franks in order to pursue his war against the Mongols. For this reason, a treaty was concluded in 1261 with the Franks of Acre. It was largely a renewal of the agreement of 1254 between the ruler of Damascus, al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, and the Franks. According to this treaty, the lands extending to the river Jordan were tributary to the Franks. However, Baybars pursued a quite different policy toward the principality of Antioch. Prince Bohemund VI had remained a close ally of the Mongols even after the battle of 'Ayn Jālūt, and so Baybars raided his territory regularly to punish him for his cooperation with the Mongols and to wear down his military strength.

In 1265, having repulsed another Mongol attack on Bira, Baybars had averted the danger from the Mongols for the time being, and he turned his attention to the Frankish states. He conquered Caesarea and Arsuf, destroying their fortifications and harbors. From that point on, Baybars launched attacks against the Franks nearly every year to systematically reduce their power and territory. In 1266, the Mamlūk army invaded Cilicia as a punishment for its support of the Mongols. They inflicted a heavy defeat on the Armenians, devastating their capital of Sis: this defeat marked the end of the political importance of the kingdom of Cilicia. In 1268 Antioch was conquered, and the Frankish states of Outremer were reduced to the county of Tripoli and the residual kingdom of Jerusalem around Acre.

In 1271 Baybars was now at the height of his power and undertook his last great campaign against the Frankish states. He conquered Krak des Chevaliers from the Hospitallers and was about to attack Tripoli (mod. Trāblous, Lebanon). At this moment, the last crusade army arrived in Palestine, led by Prince Edward of England, who had made plans with Abagha, the Ilkhan of Persia, for a joint attack against Baybars. However, Edward's contingent consisted of only a few hundred men, and the force sent by Abagha was also modest in size. As soon as Baybars offered a truce to Bohemund VI of Antioch and sent an army against the Mongols, they withdrew from Syria. Thus ended the only attempt of Franks and Mongols to act together against the Mamlūks. Edward stayed in Outremer until 1272 without achieving anything, and left Acre after narrowly escaping the assault of an assassin sent by Baybars.

At the end of his reign, Baybars tried to gain a decisive advantage over the Ilkhanate by conquering the Saljūq sultanate of Rūm, which was a Mongol protectorate. He

Bayezid I (d. 1403)

defeated the Mongols heavily in the battle of Elbistan (April 1277) and was enthroned as sultan of Rüm. However, lacking local support, he had to withdraw only a few days later. On 1 July 1277, he died in Damascus.

—Johannes Pahlitzsch

See also: Mamlük Sultanate

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Bayezid I (d. 1403)

Ottoman sultan (1389–1402).

Bayezid I came to the throne on the death of his father, Murad I, who was killed at the battle of Kosovo Polje (23 June 1389) fighting against the Serbian leader Lazar. His reign was one of great territorial expansion. The Byzantines were reduced to a position of dependency, Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos being forced to accompany Bayezid on campaign, while the Ottoman state continued to be a center of commerce, particularly with Genoa and Venice, with whom there was constant diplomatic contact. Bayezid campaigned effectively against his various Turkish rivals in Anatolia, annexing the states of Aydin and Menteşe on the western coast, defeating the İsfendiyaroğlari in the north and successfully defeating his major rival, the state of Karaman, based round Konya (Ikonion). Further east, Bayezid defeated Burhān al-Dīn, the ruler of Sivas (Sebasteia), and took Malatya (Melitene) from the Mamlüks, the rulers of Egypt and Syria. For the Byzantines, whose capital Constantinople was now under Ottoman threat, and for the

European powers, in particular King Sigismund of Hungary, Bayezid represented a major danger. A crusader force, composed of troops from Hungary, England, Germany, and France, was assembled but was crushingly defeated in 1396 at the battle of Nikopolis on the Danube, west of Ruse (in mod. Bulgaria).

By the end of Bayezid’s reign, the Ottomans had taken Bulgaria, controlled Wallachia, advanced into Hungary, and moved into Albania, Epiros, and southern Greece. Their advance was greatly helped by the divisions between the Frankish and Greek lords in the Peloponnese. In the east, Ottoman control stretched over most of what is modern Turkey. Bayezid’s whirlwind conquests were not to last, for in 1402 he was defeated at the battle of Ankara by Timur, the founder of the Timurid dynasty in eastern Persia and central Asia, invading from the east. Bayezid was captured (dying later in captivity), and the Ottoman state was plunged into a period of civil war.

—Kate Fleet

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Bayezid II (d. 1512)

Ottoman sultan (1481–1512).

On his accession, Bayezid II was faced with discontent caused by the fiscal rule of his father, Mehmed II, and by civil war with his brother Cem (or Djem). Cem, once defeated, fled to the Hospitallers on Rhodes, who later moved him to France and then, in 1489, handed him over to the pope. From 1483 Bayezid paid an annual sum, first to the Hospitallers and then to the pope, to ensure that Cem was kept in safe custody. With Cem in Christian hands, Bayezid was forced to adopt a pacific policy toward the West, ratifying the 1479 treaty with Venice, making a five-year truce in 1482 with King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary, and, in 1490, undertaking not to attack the Papal States, Venice, or Rhodes. This was not entirely a period of peace,

however. In 1483 the Ottomans annexed Hercegovina, in 1484 invaded Moldavia, and, from 1485 to 1491, were at war with the Mamlūk sultanate.

In 1494 Cem fell into the hands of King Charles VIII of France, who, after his invasion of Italy and capture of Rome, announced a crusade against the Ottomans in January 1485. Cem, however, died in February, and Charles's crusade came to nothing. From this time Bayezid was freer in his dealings with the West. In 1498 the Ottomans raided into Poland and in 1499 attacked Venetian territories, taking Naupaktos (1499), Modon, Coron and Navarino (1500), and Durrës (1502), all of which remained lost to Venice under the peace treaty of 1503. From that point on, Ottoman attention turned to the east and to the Safavids of Persia.

Bayezid's reign ended in April 1512 when he was forced to abdicate by his son Selim. Not a warlike man, Bayezid tended to be more conciliatory than his father. He established the Ottomans as a major Mediterranean naval power, introduced a systematic codification of customary law, and instituted fiscal reform.

—Kate Fleet

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Beaufort

Beaufort, or Belfort (mod. Qal'at al-Shaqif Arnun, Lebanon) is a castle in the mountains of northern Palestine. It occupies the eastern edge of a rocky plateau overlooking the valley of the Litani. The castle was captured by Fulk of Anjou, king of Jerusalem, in 1139 and added to the royal domain. By 1158, however, it formed part of the lordship of Sidon and was the seat of a burgess and justice court. After the battle of Hattin (1187), it endured a year's siege by Saladin's forces before surrendering in 1190. It was ceded once more to the Franks in 1240 and returned to Julian, lord of Sidon. In 1260, however, following the sack of Sidon by the Mongols, Julian was forced to sell (or lease) his entire lordship

to the Templars. Beaufort fell to the Mamlūk sultan Baybars I in 1268.

The castle has a roughly triangular plan, measuring some 150 meters (492 ft.) north to south by up to 100 meters (328 ft.) east to west, with a rock-cut ditch on the south and west and a sheer 300-meter (984-ft.) cliff on the east. From the outer gate in the southeast, a path leads up by a zigzag route into the upper bailey, which contains the earliest Frankish feature, a square tower-keep, and the latest, a two-bay rib-vaulted hall dating from the 1260s. South of the castle lie the remains of a walled suburb.

—Denys Pringle

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Bedouin

The Bedouin were the Arabic-speaking nomads of the Middle East, engaged mainly in the herding of camels, sheep, and goats. As a people, their original home was in the Arabian Peninsula; however, tribes had inhabited the Fertile Crescent area since at least the sixth century. During the crusades, the Bedouin, although Muslim, did not always take an active part against the Franks, and sometimes even made alliances with them. Both Frankish and Muslim settled peoples also feared the Bedouin because of their reputation as raiders.

Bedouin social organization was tribal, and the three most important broad tribal groups in the area of Outremer were the Banū Kalb, Banū Tayy, and Banū Kilāb. During the eleventh century, these three groups had made an agreement to divide the uncultivated areas of Syria and Palestine (Arab. al-Sham) between them; the Banū Kilāb took the region from Aleppo to Ana, the Banū Tayy occupied the area from Ramla to Egypt, and the Banū Kalb held the vicinity of Damascus. Although this agreement was short-lived, the tribes continued to occupy those basic regions throughout the crusader period. However, such tribes remained fluid, as smaller tribal groups achieved greater or lesser degrees of inde-

pendence or shifted their genealogical alliances in response to changing circumstances.

The Franks and Muslims each had their own *modus vivendi* with the Bedouin. In Outremer, the Bedouin were known by the Franks as “Arabs,” in contrast to the “Saracens,” the settled Arabic-speaking Muslim population. For legal purposes they were classed by the Franks as property. The Bedouin paid horses and livestock in exchange for grazing rights, and because their lifestyle required them to move over a wide territory, these rights were usually held by the king rather than the local lord. There were, however, some cases of Bedouin under the jurisdiction of the military orders.

The Muslims for their part sought to use important tribal leaders as intermediaries with the Bedouin by recognizing them with a title such as *amīr al-‘Arab* (commander of the Bedouin). Urban rulers gave these men *iqṭā‘* (grants of revenues) that enhanced their wealth, and hence their ability to influence other tribes. The loyalty of these leaders, however, was not always dependable. For example, shortly after the battle of ‘Ayn Jālūt, the Mamlūk sultan Qūṭuz named one ‘Īsā ibn Muhannā (of the al-Faḍl family from the Rabī‘a branch of the Banū Tayy), as *amīr al-‘Arab* and gave him an *iqṭā‘* near Hama. Later, however, ‘Īsā supported a rebel against Qalāwūn and even considered an alliance with the Mongols against the Mamlūk sultanate during the reigns of both Baybars I and Qalāwūn. Before the second battle of Homs (1281), Qalāwūn had divided ‘Īsā’s *iqṭā‘* among several chiefs, but Qalāwūn judged ‘Īsā’s support as important against the Mongols, and so returned him to his former status.

The Bedouin also played a role in a number of military engagements during the crusades, in which tribes served whichever side best served their interests. The Tha‘ālabā branch of the Banū Tayy became notorious for their cooperation with the Franks, while during the time of Baybars the Banū Zubayd made agreements with the Franks to provide them with intelligence concerning Muslim positions. The Ayyūbid sultan al-Kāmil is also known to have allied with Bedouin tribes during the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221).

–Brian Ulrich

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Belchite, Confraternity of

A religious confraternity of the militia of Zaragoza in Aragon, named after its castle. The confraternity of Belchite was one of several confraternities of militia that existed in Christian Spain; others were located in Ávila, Toledo, Alava, Tudela, Tarragona, and Valencia. More is known about the customs of Belchite than these other military confraternities, due to the survival of its foundation charter, originally granted by King Alfonso I of Aragon in 1122 and confirmed by King Alfonso VII of Castile-Léon in 1136.

The first leader (Lat. *princeps*) of the militia was Galin Sanz, lord of Belchite, around 1121–1125. His brother, Lop Sanz, lord of Belchite (c. 1132–c. 1147), was named as leader in the confirmation of Alfonso VII. Historians have suggested that these short-lived confraternities of militia were precursors to the military religious orders and have debated the influence of the *riḥāṭ*, a comparable Muslim association of warriors. The customs defined in Alfonso VII’s charter describe cultural similarities, but there is no written evidence supporting parallel institutional development. The confraternity of Belchite was a laic military religious organization, whose members were committed to the defense of Christendom and forbidden to make peace with Muslims. Members of the confraternity could keep the lands they captured from the Muslims. The charter, unlike the rule of an order, did not define a common religious life. Instead, it conferred upon members a series of financial and spiritual privileges, including an indulgence to anyone who fought the Muslims, went on pilgrimage, gave alms, or left bequests of horses and weapons to the confraternity. Donations of a horse or weapons earned the same indulgence as similar donations to the Hospitallers or Templars. A cleric or lay brother who joined the confraternity for life received the same remission of sins as a monk or hermit, while anyone who remained a year received the same indulgence as if he had gone to Jerusalem.

Based on the slim evidence, the confraternity of Belchite appears to be a manifestation of knightly spirituality, of the sort that led to the foundation of the Order of the Temple (whose primitive rule also permitted brothers to serve for

a limited period of time) and that inspired Alfonso I of Aragon to bequeath his kingdom to the Templars, the Hospitallers, and the Order of the Holy Sepulchre. The confraternity of Belchite disappeared sometime after 1136, and its surviving members were probably absorbed into the military religious orders.

—Theresa M. Vann

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Belek

See Balak

Belfort

See Beaufort

Belinas

See Banyas

Belvoir

A castle in Palestine, also known as Belveir, Coquet, and Kawkab al-Hawa (mod. Kokhav ha-Yarden, Israel), belonging to the Order of the Hospital.

Belvoir was situated on the eastern edge of the Jordan Valley, some 12 kilometers (c. 7½ mi.) south of Lake Tiberias. Construction must have begun as soon as the Hospital



Ruins of Belvoir, a twelfth-century Hospitaller castle that commanded the Jordan Valley. (Courtesy Alfred Andrea)

Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153)

acquired the estate from the knight Ivo Velos in April 1168, for the castle was described as very strong and very large by the pilgrim Theoderic in 1169 or 1172 and as a new castle by the chronicler William of Tyre in 1182. The garrison surrendered to Saladin on 5 January 1189, eighteen months after the battle of Hattin. Thereafter the castle appears to have been refurbished by the Ayyūbids and was occupied until 1219, when it was finally dismantled by al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā, ruler of Damascus.

The site was excavated in 1963–1968. The castle was found to comprise two roughly square wards, one inside the other. The inner ward, containing the knights’ quarters, was 50 meters (164 ft.) square, with rectangular corner towers and a gate tower on the east containing a bent entrance below a chapel. The outer ward, some 100 meters (328 ft.) north–south by 110 meters (361 ft.) east–west, was also defended by rectangular towers and was enclosed by a rock-cut ditch on three sides, with the plateau’s edge giving protection on the east. It was entered by a ramped barbican accessed from the southeast. Belvoir represents the earliest documented example of a medieval “concentric” castle.

—Denys Pringle

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Berk-Yaruk

See Barkyārūq

Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153)

Abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Clairvaux, theologian, and preacher of the crusade.

Born at Fontaines-les-Dijon in Burgundy 1090 into a family of the lower nobility, Bernard was educated by the canons of St. Vorles at Châtillon-sur-Seine. He entered the new monastery at Cîteaux in 1113 with numerous compan-

ions. In 1115 Abbot Stephen Harding sent Bernard to establish a new house at Clairvaux, Cîteaux’s third foundation, where he was installed as abbot by William of Champeaux, bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne.

Bernard began his writing career early, composing his great spiritual treatise *De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae* in 1118–1119, although the publication of his works did not begin until the next decade. In the 1130s he became increasingly involved in affairs outside the monastery, notably when he defended the claims of Innocent II to the papacy against his rival Anacletus and became embroiled in controversy with the theologian Peter Abelard, whose condemnation at the Council of Sens (1140) he secured. In 1139 Bernard was offered the archbishopric of Rheims but refused it. When a monk of Clairvaux called Bernard Paganelli was elected pope, taking the name Eugenius III, Bernard’s involvement in ecclesiastical affairs accelerated. In 1145 he set out to preach in southern France against the heresiarch Henry, who had been condemned at the Council of Pisa (1135) but resumed his dissident preaching in the 1140s.

Bernard began to preach the Second Crusade (1147–1149) at Vézelay in Burgundy in March 1146. The same month Eugenius III reissued the encyclical *Quantum praedecessores* (December 1145), which echoed the themes of Bernard’s writings and urged knights to take the cross as a service of sacrifice and liberate the Holy Land. The sermon at Vézelay, which is not extant, reportedly aroused such enthusiasm that the abbot had to tear up his own clothing to meet the crowd’s demand for crosses. Bernard wrote to Eugenius III about the successful impact of his preaching in France and Flanders. In Speyer at Christmas 1146, the abbot preached to King Conrad III of Germany and convinced him, his nephew Fredrick Barbarossa, and others to undertake a crusade. The German barons feared that the pagan Wends would attack Christian lands beyond the Elbe after the knights had departed for the East. Consequently, in 1147 Bernard advocated a crusade with the aim of imposing baptism on the Wends.

Bernard influenced the crusading movement through his preaching and sermonlike letters advocating the crusade, which were disseminated and read aloud throughout Europe; his drive for the Cistercian Order’s rapid expansion; and his treatise in support of the Order of the Temple: *De laude novae militiae*. In this influential treatise Bernard justified the Templars and developed the theological foundations for crusading and crusader knights. *De laude novae*

militiae, literally “In Praise of the New Knighthood,” espoused Bernard’s views on the holiness of fighting for Christ and the necessity of force to recapture the Holy Land. Bernard assured knights that dying or inflicting death for Christ’s sake was not a sin but grounds for glory. The Christian knight served the Lord when he killed; he slew evil and avenged Christ on evildoers. Bernard stepped back somewhat from the boldness of these statements about the rightness of killing but ultimately justified slaying the enemies of Christendom: “I do not mean to say that the pagans are to be slaughtered when there is any other way to prevent them from harassing and persecuting the faithful, but only that it now seems better to destroy them than that the rod of sinners be lifted over the lot of the just, and the righteous perhaps put forth their hands into iniquity.” Countering the argument that no Christian should kill, Bernard restated his defense of force: “Certainly it is proper that the nations who love war should be scattered, that those who trouble us should be cut off, and that all the workers of iniquity should be dispersed from the city of the Lord. . . . Let both swords of the faithful fall upon the necks of the foe, in order to destroy every high thing exalting itself against the knowledge of God, which is the Christian faith, lest the Gentiles should then say, ‘Where is their God?’” [*In Praise of the New Knighthood*, p. 135]. However, the contradictory character of the Templars as both monks and soldiers, praised by Bernard, only contributed to blurring of the boundaries that the abbot delineated against violence.

Bernard and the Cistercian Order became the targets of criticism because of their advocacy of the failed Second Crusade. In *De consideratione libri quinque* (1149–1152), Bernard refers to himself as a shield protecting God from the “scurrilous tongues of detractors and the poisoned darts of blasphemers” [*Five Books on Consideration*, p. 51]. Other Cistercian writers rose to the defense, casting blame on the crusaders’ sinfulness and pointing out that the dead were delivered from further sin. In *De consideratione*, Bernard lamented the death of so many Christians and recalled biblical precedents for God’s severe judgment: the Hebrews’ suffering as described in the Book of Exodus and their initial defeats at the hands of the tribe of Benjamin (Judges 20). Bernard asserted that the Hebrews’ eventual victory after a third battle should serve as a model for the crusaders and motivate them to renew their fight against the Muslims [*Five Books on Consideration*, p. 50]. In the same work the abbot drew a clear line on clerical use of force, advising Eugenius III that the



Bernard of Clairvaux preaching the Second Crusade (1147–1149) in the presence of Louis VII, king of France. From the fifteenth-century manuscript *Les Passages d'Outre-Mer*. MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Fr. 5594. (Snark/Art Resource)

“spiritual sword should be drawn by the hand of the priest, the material sword by the hand of the knight, but clearly at the bidding of the priest and at the command of the emperor” [*Five Books on Consideration*, p. 118].

Bernard’s opinions on the use of force against heretics contained ambiguities. His Sermons 65 and 66 (1143/1144) on Song of Songs 2:15, regarding little foxes ravaging the Lord’s vineyard, constituted a reply to the Premonstratensian prior Evervin of Steinfeld, who had written in alarm over heresy in the Rhineland. Bernard urged that arguments, not arms, be used to trap the foxes, that is, the heretics; and he asserted that faith was a matter for persuasion and not force. Nonetheless, in Sermon 66, Bernard reproached a mob’s violent reprisal against heretics but still commended

Bernard of Valence (d. 1135)

its fervor, alluding to Romans 13:4. The call for the crusade against the Wends resounded more harshly, as Bernard ordered that no truce should be made with them “until such a time as, by God’s help, they shall be either converted or wiped out” [*The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux*, p. 467].

In spite of what may seem unlimited support of crusading, Bernard articulated and enforced boundaries on clerical participation in crusading activities. Monks required authorization to preach in any context, and violations of that restriction resulted in disciplinary action. Bernard himself pursued the disobedient monk Ralph, whose crusade sermons provoked violence against Jews in Germany. Monks who joined the Second Crusade were reprimanded and threatened with excommunication. When Bernard called strongly for another crusade, he firmly rejected the nomination from the Council of Chartres (1150) to lead the expedition himself. He died at Clairvaux on 20 August 1153 and was canonized in 1174.

Bernard’s advocacy of force leaves him a problematic figure. Brian Patrick McGuire calls him the “difficult saint,” referring to the seemingly opposite characters of abbot and church politician. Bernard described himself as a chimera, “neither cleric nor layman,” who kept “the habit of a monk” but “long ago abandoned the life” [*The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux*, p. 402]. Thus Bernard of Clairvaux demonstrated some degree of awareness of the contradictions in his public role, a microcosm of the Cistercian Order and the church’s involvement in crusading.

—Beverly Mayne Kienzle
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Bernard of Valence (d. 1135)

First Latin patriarch of Antioch (1100–1135) after its conquest by the crusaders.

Bernard came from the town of Valence in the Rhône Valley and accompanied Bishop Adhemar of Le Puy on the First Crusade (1096–1099) as one of his chaplains. He was advanced to the see of Artah in Syria in 1100, but after only six months he was appointed by Prince Bohemund I to the patriarchate of Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) following the abdication of John of Oxeia, a Byzantine Greek.

Little is known about Bernard’s character or spirituality, but he was prominent in secular affairs. He arranged for the ransom of his patron Bohemund from the Dānishmendid Turks in 1103 against the wishes of Bohemund’s nephew Tancred, who was regent at the time. After the death of Bohemund’s successor, Roger, and the destruction of the entire Antiochene army at the battle of the Ager Sanguinis (1119), Bernard took charge of the defense of Antioch until Baldwin II of Jerusalem arrived with reinforcements. During Baldwin’s regency (1119–1126) of Antioch, Bernard exercised considerable influence, since the king was necessarily often absent. Even after Bohemund II arrived to take over the principality, Bernard commanded respect: he assisted Baldwin II in negotiating peace between Bohemund II and Joscelin I of Edessa in 1128. Following Bohemund II’s death (1130) he continued to be influential during the minority of Constance. Much earlier in his patriarchate Bernard had also accompanied the armies of Antioch on campaign.

By the time Bernard died in 1135, he had exerted a lasting influence over ecclesiastical affairs in Christian Syria: there had been five Latin bishoprics in the patriarchate of Antioch in 1100; now there were fourteen.

–Susan B. Edgington

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Bertold of Loccum (d. 1198)

The second missionary bishop of Livonia (1196–1198), Bertold was abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Loccum in Saxony before going to Livonia to commit himself to missionary work during the later years of Bishop Meinhard.

After Meinhard's death, Bertold was appointed as new bishop of Livonia by Hartwig II, archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen, and he returned to Livonia during the spring or summer of 1197. At the episcopal centers of Üxküll (mod. Iķškile, Latvia) and Holme (mod. Martinsala, Latvia), Bertold met with fierce opposition from the local pagans, who threatened to kill him and rid themselves of Christianity. Consequently Bertold fled back to Germany, appealing for help to the pope, his archbishop, and the people of Saxony. Pope Celestine III willingly issued a crusading bull promising indulgence to those who would take up the cross and follow Bertold back to Livonia to fight the opposition and protect the remaining Christians.

In the spring of 1198 Bertold again returned to Livonia, having gathered a substantial army of crusaders in Lübeck from Saxony, Westphalia, and Friesland. On their arrival in Livonia, a truce was agreed on between the crusaders and the Livs, and a peaceful acceptance of Christianity was negotiated. This truce, however, was violated by the Livs when they killed several crusaders who were foraging in the countryside. In the ensuing battle the crusaders were victorious, but Bishop Bertold was killed when he apparently placed himself in the forefront of the attacking crusader army. According to the chronicler Henry of Livonia, Bertold thus became the first martyr of the young Livonian church. He was initially buried at Üxküll, but some years later his body was transferred to the cathedral church of Riga, where he seems to have been locally venerated for his alleged saintly virtues.

–Carsten Selch Jensen

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Bertrand of Tripoli (d. 1112)

Count of Tripoli (1109–1112).

Bertrand was the elder son of Raymond of Saint-Gilles, count of Toulouse, by a marriage later dissolved on grounds of consanguinity. His father left Bertrand in charge of the county of Toulouse and his other lands when he left on the First Crusade in 1096, but when Raymond died at Mont-Pèlerin while besieging Tripoli (1105), his vassals insisted that his Western lands should pass to his younger son, Alphonse-Jordan, born in the East in 1102. Thus deprived of his expected inheritance, Bertrand sailed to Tortosa with substantial forces, conveyed by a Genoese fleet (1109), and laid claim to his father's possessions on the Syrian coast as well as the future dominion of the Muslim-held city of Tripoli (mod. Trāblous, Lebanon). Although opposed by William-Jordan of Cerdagne, the leader of Raymond's forces, and Tancred of Antioch, Bertrand was awarded half his father's lands in a settlement imposed by King Baldwin I of Jerusalem. The murder of William-Jordan shortly afterward and the capture of Tripoli by the assembled Christian coalition on 12 July 1109 left Bertrand as undisputed ruler of the county of Tripoli, which by the end of his reign had expanded as far east as the mountain ranges of the Lebanon and the Jabal Anṣārīyah. He died in January 1112, and was succeeded by his son, Pons.

–Alan V. Murray

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Bertrandon de la Broquière (d. 1459)

A diplomat in the service of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy. Bertrandon entered the Burgundian service in 1421

Bessarion (d. 1472)

and was used mostly in diplomatic relations with France up to 1444.

In 1432 he was sent to the East with the mission of spying on those lands (primarily the Ottoman Empire) that had not been visited by Gilbert de Lannoy, who had previously undertaken a similar mission for Philip. From the Holy Land Bertrandon proceeded through Syria and Anatolia to Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey), and then (in the company of the Milanese ambassador) to the court of Sultan Murad II at Adrianople (mod. Erdine, Turkey), returning in 1439. From the chaplain of the Venetians at Damascus he obtained a Latin translation of the Qurʾān and of the deeds of Muḥammad, which Duke Philip gave to Jean Germain, chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece.

Around 1455, after Philip the Good announced his intention to fight the Turks at the occasion known as the Vow of the Pheasant, Bertrandon gave advice to the duke regarding a crusade project devised by Giovanni Torzello in 1439. He also wrote up the intelligence gained on his travels as *Le Voyage d'Outre-Mer*.

—Jacques Paviot

See also: Burgundy

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Bessarion (d. 1472)

Greek scholar, cardinal, and promoter of crusade projects.

Born around 1400, Bessarion, then archbishop of Nicaea (mod. İznik, Turkey), accompanied the Byzantine emperor, John VIII Palaiologos, to the Council of Florence, where he led the party from the Greek church in favor of ending the schism with Rome (1438). From about 1442 he was resident in Rome as a cardinal, and after 1453 he was at the forefront of plans to launch a crusade to recapture Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) from the Ottoman Turks.

Although originally opposed to the election of Pope Pius II because he thought him too old, Bessarion later loyally supported Pius's crusade project. In the summer of 1453 he undertook a legatine mission to Venice, where he addressed a heartfelt appeal to the doge on the danger that now threatened Italy, and during 1460–1461 he toured Germany in an

attempt to persuade the princes to unite against the common enemy. In 1471 he published his *Oration to the Leaders of Italy Regarding the Imminent Perils*, which conveyed much the same message to the rulers of the Italian city-states.

In his efforts to promote the crusade, Bessarion showed an astute appreciation of how to manipulate public opinion. His instructions to crusade preachers included advice on how to describe and exploit Turkish atrocities, and he seems to have encouraged refugees from Constantinople to tour western Europe giving firsthand accounts of their sufferings.

—Jonathan Harris

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Bethlehem

A town in Judaea (in mod. West Bank), famous as the birthplace of Christ; the seat of a Latin bishopric in the kingdom of Jerusalem.

In the fourth century Bethlehem became one of Christendom's most important pilgrimage sites. The Church of the Nativity was built by Emperor Constantine the Great at the behest of his mother Helena; it was dedicated in 339 and rebuilt for the first time under Emperor Justinian I in the sixth century. St. Jerome, one of the fathers of the church, settled in Bethlehem in 384. Under Muslim rule, the town seems to have escaped the destruction of Christian sites ordered by the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Hākīm in 1009.

Bethlehem again came under Christian control with the arrival in Palestine of the First Crusade (1096–1099). On 6/7 June 1099, following an invitation by the town's Christian inhabitants, Tancred of Lecce and Baldwin of Bourcq left the crusade army and took possession of the city. Tancred even hoisted his banner over the Church of the Nativity. After the foundation of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, Bethlehem became part of the royal demesne. Arnulf, bishop of Marturano in Calabria, who had traveled to the East with the First Crusade, seems to have had ambitions to become the first bishop of Bethlehem, even though under Byzantine rule the town had not had episcopal status but belonged to the bish-

opric of Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel); however, Arnulf disappeared in August 1099.

Both Baldwin I (1100) and his successor Baldwin II (1118) were crowned as kings of Jerusalem in the Church of the Nativity. To the Latin conquerors of Palestine it seemed unreasonable that the birthplace of Christ should not have the rank of a bishopric, and so in 1107, following a request of Baldwin I, Pope Paschal II elevated Bethlehem to episcopal status. After the Frankish conquest of Ascalon (1153), the bishoprics of Ascalon and Bethlehem were united.

During the reign of King Amalric of Jerusalem, the Church of the Nativity received a new marble floor, roof, and wall mosaics with the financial support of the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos; this was probably the most famous example of joint Greek-Latin sponsorship of the arts. Throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Latin bishops of Bethlehem served in a variety of functions. In 1115, Bishop Anshetin traveled to Rome on behalf of the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem. In 1148 the bishop of Bethlehem, together with other prelates of the kingdom, attended the meeting of the leaders of the Second Crusade (1147–1149) held at Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel). Bishop Ralph served as chancellor during the reign of King Baldwin III, and in 1153 functioned as the king's envoy to admonish Prince Reynald of Antioch to release the Latin patriarch of Antioch, Aimery of Limoges, whom Reynald had imprisoned. In 1179 Bishop Albert participated in the Third Lateran Council. In 1218, Bishop Renier, one of the participants in the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221), was instrumental in motivating the outnumbered Christians to successfully repel a Muslim attack near Burah.

Bethlehem was conquered and plundered by Saladin after the battle of Hattin (1187), and its bishop first moved to Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon), then to Acre. However, in 1192, following a special favor granted to Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury, Saladin permitted two Latin priests and two Latin deacons to serve at the Church of the Nativity. The city itself was placed under the rule of a Muslim emir. As part of the treaty of 1229 between the Ayyübid sultan al-Kāmil and the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II, Bethlehem was restored to the Christians; there is, however, no evidence that its bishop returned to his see. During the crusade of 1239–1241, which coincided with the Ayyübid wars of succession, al-Şaliḥ Ismā'īl of Damascus promised to restore Bethlehem (and other places) to the Franks in exchange for their support against Egypt, even though the city belonged to al-Nāşir

Dāwūd, the ruler of Kerak. In 1241 al-Şaliḥ Ayyüb of Egypt convinced the crusaders to abandon their alliance with Damascus, but agreed to honor Ismā'īl's territorial promises (including Bethlehem). In 1244, the town and the Church of the Nativity were severely damaged by Khwārazmian invaders from northern Syria. However, according to a legendary report in several later pilgrim accounts, a snake appeared to frighten the invaders from removing the church's marble tablets. In 1252 King Louis IX of France tried to negotiate a treaty that would have restored Bethlehem and other places to the Franks; this attempt failed when Egypt and the Muslim states of Syria came to an agreement of their own in 1253. In 1263, Baybars I, the Mamlūk sultan of Egypt, carried out destruction in Bethlehem, which probably included the Augustinian cloisters.

From 1187 the bishop of Bethlehem was resident in Acre until that city fell to the Mamlūks in 1291. Thereafter the church continued to nominate titular bishops (Lat. *in partibus*). The cathedral chapter relocated to Clamecy in the diocese of Auxerre, and was eventually integrated into the French church. The Order of the Bethlehemites (Lat. *Fratres stellati*), which considered the bishop of Bethlehem as its superior, had its origins in the early thirteenth century and followed the rule of St. Augustine; a female branch of this order was founded in 1231.

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Bira

Bira (mod. Birecik, Turkey) was an ancient fortress occupying an isolated rock rising on the east bank of the

Birgitta Birgersdotter (1302/1303–1373)

Euphrates where it flows out of the Taurus Mountains into the Syrian-Mesopotamian plain. From the eleventh century it was the most important crossing place on the route from northern Syria to Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey), some 80 kilometers (50 mi.) to the east.

Around the time of the First Crusade (1096–1099), the fortress and its town were under Armenian control. In 1116, after a long siege, its lord, Ablgharib, agreed with Baldwin II, count of Edessa, to give his daughter in marriage to Waleran of Le Puiset, a cousin of Joscelin I of Courtenay, giving the town as her dowry. Waleran was captured by the Turks along with Joscelin in 1122 and executed in 1124. Bira was briefly held by the Artuqid ruler İlghāzī; regained after his death in 1122 by the Franks, it was besieged by Zangī in 1145 and taken by Timurtash of Mardin in 1150. The present remains are largely Mamlūk work: in the later thirteenth century Bira assumed great importance as a “fortress of Islam against the Tatars,” withstanding several Mongol sieges.

—Angus Stewart

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Birgitta Birgersdotter (1302/1303–1373)

Swedish mystic and founder of the Birgittine Order, also known as St. Bridget of Sweden, who persuaded King Magnus II Eriksson of Sweden to launch a crusade against Russia.

Birgitta was born into a wealthy noble family in Finsta near Uppsala and in 1316 married Ulf Gudmarsson. In 1341–1342 Birgitta, by now the mother of eight children, went with her husband on a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela in Spain. At the town of Arras, they were inspired by a vision to take mutual vows of chastity. In 1344 Ulf died at the Cistercian monastery of Alvastra in East Gotland, and Birgitta started her early monastic experience. She repeatedly received prophetic and mystical visions of Jesus, among which was a complete rule for a new monastic order, known as the Rule of the Savior. The main task of this new order was the reform of Christianity and of the church itself. Birgitta was involved in the reform movement in Sweden until 1349 and then moved to Italy, where she resided until her death (23 July 1373), trying to persuade ecclesiastical and lay officials of the need for church reform. In 1370 Pope Urban V confirmed the rule, and the mother house of the order was

established in Valdstena, Sweden. Birgitta was canonized on 7 October 1391 by Pope Boniface IX.

The revelations of St. Birgitta were written down by her confessors, Peter Olofsson of Alvastra and Peter Olofsson of Skönninge, and later translated from Swedish into Latin and revised in 1378 by Alfonso Pecha de Vadaterra, bishop of Jaén (1359–1368). Chapter 2 of book 8 dealt with the moral obligations of a Christian ruler and directly influenced King Magnus II Eriksson of Sweden (1319–1363), who led an ill-fated crusade to the Neva region in 1348. A year previously, on Birgitta's instructions, he invited the representatives of the Orthodox Novgorodian clergy to discuss theological issues. The Novgorodians, however, suggested that only the patriarch of Constantinople was able to discuss such topics and refused to accept the Roman Catholic form of Christianity. Magnus invaded Karelia and started to baptize its inhabitants. He subsequently received bulls from Pope Clement VI that authorized him to fight against the still pagan Karelians and Izhorians as well as against Orthodox Russians. Although Magnus managed to capture the important fortress of Nöteborg, the Swedes were forced to retreat in 1350, without having converted the pagan Karelians and Izhorians or brought about a reunification of the Orthodox Novgorodians with the Roman Catholic Church.

St. Birgitta had greater success in establishing double monasteries (for monks and nuns) for her order, which spread through Scandinavia, Estonia, Poland, Germany, Holland, and Italy.

—Rafal Witkowski

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Black Mountain

Situated just outside the town of Antioch on the Orontes (mod. Antakya, Turkey), the Black Mountain was the center of monasticism in the principality of Antioch. Once part of the Greek Orthodox see of Seleukeia Pieria, it was placed under direct control of the patriarch of Antioch after 1098. A number of the Greek monasteries were still functioning at the time of the First Crusade (1096–1099), and Bohemund I, prince of Antioch, is reported as having confirmed their possessions. St. Symeon's, the most important, is mentioned by the Syriac chronicler Michael the Great as still functioning toward the end of the twelfth century. Latin houses were founded to replace those that had fallen into disuse before 1098. Some of these Latin houses were influenced by the wave of monastic reform sweeping the West. Gerard of Nazareth, writing in the mid-twelfth century, described the new houses of Machanath and Jubin (before 1123) and the careers of some individual Latin hermits on the Black Mountain. Aimery of Limoges, Latin patriarch of Antioch, tried to regulate eremitic life on the Black Mountain after 1140 by compelling hermits to accept religious supervision. His successor Peter of Ivrea (1209–1217) revived Jubin by incorporating it into the Cistercian Order. There was also an Armenian monastery on the Black Mountain, which served as the seat of the Armenian bishop of Antioch.

–Andrew Jotischky

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Blanchegarde

A castle in southern Palestine, some 25 kilometers (15 1/2 mi.) northeast of Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel), also known as Alba Custodia or Alba Specula.

Blanchegarde was established in 1142 by Fulk of Anjou, king of Jerusalem, as one of a group of castles enclosing the Muslim-held city of Ascalon. Its territory, carved from the county of Jaffa, was administered as a royal castellany, returning to Jaffa during the tenure of the county by Amalric, younger brother of King Baldwin III, from 1151. Known castellans include Holmund Gillebert (mentioned retrospectively in 1185) and Arnulf (1165). Around 1165, it became a lordship when Walter Brisebarre, lord of Beirut, exchanged Beirut for Blanchegarde and sufficient money to ransom his mother from the Muslims, including an annual forty bezants from the port of Acre. The territory of Blanchegarde appears to have been very small, and the attachment of Walter of Blanchegarde's service of nine knights to the royal domain of Acre, attested by John of Jaffa, suggests that the lordship's income was supplemented from there. The castle was taken by the Ayyūbids in 1187 and dismantled in 1191.

The chronicler William of Tyre describes the castle as having "four towers of suitable height" [Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, ed. Robert B. C. Huygens, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), 2:707–709]. This observation is supported by the plan made by Baron Rey in 1871, which shows an enclosure some 60 meters (197 ft.) square with rectangular towers at the corners and traces of an outer enceinte to the southwest. Excavations in 1899–1900 were unable to provide much further elucidation on account of the establishment of a Muslim shrine and cemetery on the site in the intervening period; however, they established the northwest tower as measuring 7.6 by 6.4 meters (25 by 21 ft.) and located a 3-meter (9 3/4 ft.) wide gate, besides unearthing architectural fragments, coins, pottery, and a signet ring. Excavations were resumed in 1996.

–Denys Pringle

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Bodrum

A Hospitaller castle on the southwestern coast of Anatolia (in mod. Turkey), constructed on the site of the ancient mausoleum of Halikarnassos.

The Order of the Hospital built Bodrum, also known as the castle of St. Peter, after the Mongols destroyed its fortification at Smyrna (mod. İzmir, Turkey) in 1402. The construction of Bodrum began in 1406/1407, with the first phase continuing until the death of Philibert de Naillac, master of the order (1421). Additions and repair of the castle continued through the fifteenth century in response to pressures from the Ottoman Turks and advances in military technology. A new phase of construction began in 1454, following the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, and intensifying prior to the siege of Rhodes in 1480. Construction stopped between 1480 and 1489, during the period of truce that existed while the Hospitallers and the papacy held Cem, Sultan Bayezid II's brother, in custody. The Hospitallers began to fortify Bodrum again in 1494, when King Charles VIII of France planned a crusade to make Cem sultan in place of his brother. They abandoned the castle in 1523, after the loss of Rhodes.

Historians of the order have questioned Bodrum's military utility as a base in Anatolia, arguing that it was too far from any Turkish center to pose a military threat. In classical times, Halikarnassos had served as a base for attacks upon the island of Rhodes, but there is little archaeological evidence that the Turks had fortified the site. The Hospitaller selection of Bodrum stemmed from the earlier loss of Smyrna. After the Hospitallers participated in the capture of that city in 1344, the papacy made them responsible for its garrisoning and fortification. The order received indulgences for the defense of Smyrna, and its harbor also generated revenues. After its loss, the order sought a new foothold in Anatolia. The site of Bodrum was acquired through an agreement with Sultan Mehmed I, who proposed a location for the new castle within the lands of the emir of Mentеше, outside Ottoman-controlled territory. Bodrum's construction permitted the order to retain the indulgences granted for the defense of Smyrna, and to sell indulgences for the building of the new castle. The Christian West believed that Bodrum had been captured from the Turks and that it aided Christians escaping the Turks, giving the order ammunition against its critics who wanted it to engage the Turks on the mainland. The Hospitallers, however, considered the castle of Bodrum as part of the fortification system

of Rhodes. The convent in Rhodes appointed the castellan of Bodrum, and the castle received its supplies from Rhodes and from Kos. It became a base for Hospitaller naval raids by 1412, and was one of a string of watch castles by the time of the Ottoman siege of Rhodes in 1480.

—Theresa M. Vann

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Bohemia and Moravia

Bohemia and Moravia were two sparsely populated regions in eastern central Europe, inhabited during the period of the crusades mainly by Czechs, with minorities of Germans and Jews. At the beginning of this period, the two regions were ruled by the Přemyslid dynasty, whose leading representatives held the titles of dukes of Bohemia and margraves of Moravia. They were vassals of the kings or emperors in Germany and paid tribute to them. They retained great influence on ecclesiastical institutions in their countries, especially the bishoprics of Prague (Cz. Praha) in Bohemia and Olomouc in Moravia. This situation allowed Duke Vratislav II of Bohemia (d. 1092) to aspire to a royal crown under imperial suzerainty, and participation in crusades was helpful in the continuing attempts of his successors to achieve the royal title.

Both Bohemia and Moravia had contacts with the East dating from the ninth and tenth centuries, because trade routes from the West passed through the Bohemian capital, Prague, via Kraków to Kiev and the Black Sea. Other routes that followed the Danube through Hungary and crossed the Balkans to Constantinople were frequently used by Western pilgrims and crusaders to Jerusalem. The Jewish community at Prague suffered from riots in 1096, when during the First Crusade (1096–1099) the German leader Volkmar and his

hordes passed through Bohemia on the way from the Rhineland to Hungary.

Participation in the Crusades (Twelfth–Thirteenth Centuries)

From the late eleventh to the early fourteenth centuries, the population of Bohemia and Moravia grew, especially through German immigration. Compared with other parts of Latin Christendom, however, the overall figures remained low, and as a consequence the participation of Bohemians and Moravians in the crusades was insignificant, as far as numbers are concerned. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify individuals from Bohemia and Moravia who went on crusades, and even in some cases to speculate about their motives. After the First Crusade a few pilgrims are known to have left for Jerusalem, such as Count Vznata in 1122 and the two noblemen Hermann and Lutobor in 1124. Sources from Klosterneuburg in Austria mention a crusader with the typical Czech name Ottokar. Pious nobles evidently adopted the habits of their social equals from other Western countries.

The most important pilgrim to Jerusalem was Henry Zdík, bishop of Olomouc (1126–1150), who went there in 1123 and again in 1137. On both journeys he was accompanied by nobles, clerics, and servants, among them a Count Dluhomil (1123) and Silvester, abbot of the monastery of Sázava (1137). Henry's books are known to have included a *Descriptio Terre Sancte* (description of the Holy Land). On his deathbed, the bishop commissioned donations to Jerusalem; Count Groznata, son of Count Hermann, took these gifts to the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem in 1152. Henry not only enhanced his reputation for piety through his travels to Jerusalem, but also established many contacts that were extremely helpful when he tried to reform existing religious houses or found new ones. He established Augustinian canons in his cathedral in Olomouc that obtained a fragment of the True Cross; the cathedral chapter was later reorganized to follow the rule of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Premonstratensian canons were installed at Litomyšl, where the convent was named after the Mount of Olives, and Cistercians came to Strahov in Prague, where the monastery was called Mount Zion.

When Bernard of Clairvaux was planning the preaching for the Second Crusade (1147–1149), Bishop Henry Zdík was the obvious choice to be entrusted with this mission in eastern central Europe. The Second Crusade significantly increased crusade participation from Bohemia and Moravia.

Duke Vladislav II of Bohemia had been used to collaborating with Henry Zdík against other members of the Přemyslid family. Now he was convinced by Henry that crusading could be an effective way to rally support and to establish his primacy. So Vladislav organized a contingent to accompany his overlord King Conrad III of Germany on the crusade. Although Vladislav himself returned from Constantinople via Kiev and Kraków along the ancient trade route, some of his retinue continued with Conrad III through Asia Minor; at the battle of Dorylaion in 1147, Vladislav's marshal Jurik died, and the ducal chancellor Bartholomew was taken prisoner. At Constantinople, Bishop Henry Zdík held talks concerning ecclesiastical differences between Greeks and Latins. Later Pope Eugenius III permitted him and three Moravian princes, cousins of Vladislav, to fight against heathen peoples living on the coasts of the Baltic Sea. Yet neither there nor in the East did these crusading efforts yield immediate advantages for the Přemyslids. In order to gain recognition as king of Bohemia in 1158, Vladislav had to provide troops to Frederick I Barbarossa, the Holy Roman Emperor, for his campaign against Milan. But Vladislav still felt uneasy about his unfulfilled vow to visit Jerusalem and never gave up his plans to go to the Holy Land. When Raymond, the master of the Hospital, heard of this, he presented Vladislav with the keys of the Hospitaller fortress Krak des Chevaliers.

In the 1160s Vladislav's brother Henry was a guest of the Hospitaller master Gilbert of Assailly in the Holy Land, as attested by a charter of Henry's son Henry Břetislav, bishop of Prague (1182–1197). In 1172 Vladislav was forced to abdicate. From this point on, the rival Přemyslids who competed for the throne, as well as the nobility of Bohemia and Moravia, favored prestigious crusading plans and crusader institutions such as the military-religious orders as a means of securing ecclesiastical support. Martin, provost of the cathedral chapter of Prague, became a Hospitaller, served several years in the East, and returned with the title *preceptor Ungarie, Boemie et omnium aliarum terrarum ob oriente et meridie et septentrione adiacentium* (preceptor of Hungary, Bohemia and all adjacent lands to the east, south, and north), having been given the task of organizing support for the kingdom of Jerusalem from eastern central Europe. Martin secured important donations for the Hospitallers from Duke Frederick of Bohemia, the eldest son of the late King Vladislav.

The fall of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187 sparked a new enthusiasm for crusades to the East that lasted for several

decades. When Emperor Frederick Barbarossa took the cross at Mainz in 1188, Duke Frederick of Bohemia was present, although he did not ultimately accompany his overlord to the East. Duke Frederick's successor, Conrad Otto, similarly did not go in person to the Holy Land, unlike some of his relatives and rivals. Among them was Děpolt II, a nephew of Vladislav II, who died on his return from the Third Crusade (1189–1192) on 9 August 1191, in Italy, where he had joined Emperor Henry VI who was besieging Naples. Henry Břetislav, bishop of Prague and duke of Bohemia, took the cross in 1195, but died at home in 1197. The ruling princes who took crusade vows but did not go, notwithstanding the dangers for their souls, were probably attempting to strengthen their position by exploiting crusade privileges, even though they could not afford to leave Bohemia.

The political situation in Bohemia-Moravia changed in 1197 with the accession of Ottokar I (d. 1230). The new prince profited from internal strife in Germany and was formally recognized as hereditary king of Bohemia by both claimants to the empire, Otto IV and Philip of Swabia, and by Pope Innocent III. His surviving Přemyslid rivals were expelled from the kingdom. Bohemia and Moravia were now united under a strong monarchy, supported by German immigrants, townspeople, and churchmen, while the Czech nobles increasingly concentrated their attention on their own estates. Gradually crusading initiatives lost their importance for the internal affairs of the realm.

During the first half of the thirteenth century, both Bohemia and Moravia continued to contribute men and money for crusades in the East, against the Cathars in southern France, and in the eastern Baltic lands. Bishop Daniel of Prague (1197–1214) collected money for the Holy Land; when he died, Pope Innocent III commissioned an investigation. When Ottokar I's cousin Děpolt III assembled troops for a crusade, the troops attacked a royal castle instead, and in 1217 Pope Honorius III ordered the bishops of Prague and Olomouc and the provost of Regensburg to intervene on behalf of the king against Děpolt III's attack. The monarchy was now clearly too strong to be endangered by magnates under the pretext of a crusade. Yet people from Bohemia and Moravia were still attracted by crusades. In 1250 a *dominus Marcualdus suppanus de Boemia* (Lord Markwald, the judge, from Bohemia) and thirty-six companions were recorded on a ship at Messina bound to join King Louis IX of France in the Holy Land [*Historia diplomatica Friderici II*, ed. Jean-Louis-Alphonse Huillard-Bréholles, 6 vols. (Paris: Plon,

1852–1861), vol. 6, book 2: 784–789]. There were even some inhabitants of Bohemia or Moravia who emigrated to the Holy Land, for example the monk Egidius mentioned by the chronicler Gunther of Pairis.

Ottokar I's grandson Ottokar II (d. 1278) was the last Bohemian ruler to make use of the prestige and enthusiasm that accrued to those who organized crusades. His ultimate aim was probably to secure the German imperial throne. Significantly Ottokar II's crusades were not directed toward the Holy Land but toward Prussia, where the Teutonic Order was carrying out campaigns of Christianization. From the perspective of Bohemia and Moravia, crusades to Prussia had several advantages: the costs of traveling were lower; Bohemian interests in Poland could be pursued; the friendship of the Teutonic Order could be secured. The most obvious advantage, however, was papal support. As early as 1246, Pope Innocent IV sent an envoy to negotiate with Ottokar about a new crusade. After his accession (1253), Ottokar II led crusades to Prussia in 1254–1255 and again in 1267–1268. His first expedition succeeded in conquering the last heathen parts of the Prussian coast, and the newly constructed stronghold of Königsberg (literally, "the king's mountain") was named in his honor. Ottokar's second expedition helped to subdue a rebellion among the heathen Prussians and was intended to stabilize his hegemony throughout central Europe. Ottokar's councillor Bruno, bishop of Olomouc (1245–1281), even vainly hoped that his see would become the archbishopric for Prussia and Livonia.

Religious Orders

One of the main results of the crusading movement in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was the establishment in Bohemia and Moravia of new religious orders: the Hospitallers, Templars, Teutonic Knights, and Canons of the Holy Sepulchre. Their common purpose was to support and protect pilgrims: they fought for the faith (except for the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre) and cared for the sick (except for the Templars). These orders were given rich houses, important parishes, and large estates in Bohemia and Moravia, whose surpluses they were supposed to transfer to the Holy Land. Usually their early acquisitions were pious donations, either from Přemyslid princes or from nobles such as the Bavor family or the Markvartice. All four orders had houses at Prague, the capital of the realm. Southern Moravia was another important center, because after the Third Crusade, when the routes through Hungary, the

Balkans, and Asia Minor had become too insecure, men and money from all over eastern central Europe were sent to the Holy Land through this region via Vienna and Venice. Later the great military religious orders began to invest surpluses in Bohemia and Moravia themselves. From the mid-thirteenth century, they no longer relied upon donations but bought estates, colonized lands, erected castles, and even founded towns.

The Hospitallers were evidently established in Bohemia as early as 1169. Favored by King Vladislav and his court at Prague, they acquired a site on the western side of the main bridge over the River Vltava just outside the town walls. More than a dozen houses and commanderies throughout the realm followed. In Bohemia these included Kadaň (confiscated by Ottokar II in order to found a town) and the town of Manětín; the castle of Strakonice (acquired before 1243 from the Bavor family); estates at Horažďovice and Pičín; and parish churches, tithes, and in some cases hospitals at Světla (later called Dub), Mladá Boleslav, and Ploskovice, as well as at Zittau and Hirschfelde on the roads to Lusatia (Lausitz) and Glatz (mod. Kłodzko, Poland) on the road to Silesia. In central Moravia, they had hospitals at Staré Brno and later at Kroměříž, estates at Ivanovice (near where the Hospitallers built a castle at Orlovice), Mutěnice (Crux), Příbice, Horní Kounice (the last two places initially as dependencies of Mailberg in Austria), and perhaps also Brtnice. In the north of Moravia they held estates at Hrobníky, from which they moved to the nearby town of Leobschütz (mod. Głubczyce, Poland), and in 1333 Duke Nicholas of Opava gave them a hospital at his capital of Opava (Ger. Troppau).

The main dependency of the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre was the church of St. Peter at the Zderaz in Prague, though they soon acquired other churches and hospitals, especially Nymburk and Trutnov (the latter dependent upon their convent at Neisse in Silesia). Though the other orders did not admit women, at least initially, the Order of the Holy Sepulchre supervised a female convent at Světec.

The Teutonic Knights received their first donations from Vladislav Henry, margrave of Moravia (1198–1203). Their possessions soon outnumbered those of the Hospitallers. Outside Prague, the Teutonic Order held the town of Chomutov, several parish churches in Řepín, Býčkovice, Bílina, Plzeň, Cheb (Ger. Eger, an imperial town pawned to the Bohemian kings), Miletín and Hradec Králové, Drobovice (to which was added a house and a hospital in the town of

Německý Brod), and finally the parish church and a hospital next to the castle and town of Jindřichův Hradec (Ger. Neuhaus). In Moravia several possessions were centered at Hostěradice, Krumlov, and especially the small town of Neusedlitz (Austerlitz, founded by the order). Parish churches at Opava and at Jägerndorf were donated to the Teutonic Order by the Přemyslids. Since Bohemia and especially Moravia were essential for the communication between the Baltic and Mediterranean regions, the Teutonic Order administered its possessions in the two countries through a provincial commander subject directly to the grand master in Prussia.

The Temple, the oldest military religious order, was the last to receive estates in the Czech lands. During the 1230s and later, the Templars obtained houses in Prague itself and in the nearby village of Uhřetěves. In Moravia they were given the castle of Čejkovice and the large estate of Jamolice, where they built the castle of Tempelštejn. Between 1297 and 1308, the Templars colonized newly acquired territories around the River Bečva and near Vsetín on the border with Hungary, where they built the castle of Friendsberg. After the dissolution of the order in 1312, only Čejkovice and Tempelštejn passed on to the Hospitallers, whereas the other possessions were taken over by noble families.

The Later Middle Ages

Crusading in Bohemia and Moravia during the fifteenth century was primarily concerned with religious wars against the Hussites, a reform movement in the Czech lands that was regarded as heretical by the Roman Catholic Church. In the fourteenth century, however, the kings of Bohemia maintained close ties with the Teutonic Order in the Baltic region, mainly because John of Luxembourg, king of Bohemia from 1310, and his son, Emperor Charles IV (d. 1378), periodically allied themselves with the Teutonic grand master against Poland. This policy was designed to further Bohemian expansion into Silesia and Lusatia. This expansion had already begun in the thirteenth century, but under Charles IV it culminated in the incorporation of these countries into the Bohemian realm, while even Brandenburg and its Neumark (new march) came under Luxembourg rule. This explains the participation of Bohemians and Moravians in the *reysen* (seasonal campaigns) against the pagan Lithuanians organized by the Teutonic grand master in Prussia, and joined by nobles from all over Europe. Three times (1328–1329, 1336–1337, and 1344–1345) King John himself

took part, accompanied by Ulrich von Neuhaus, who commemorated the events with paintings in his palace at Jindřichův Hradec. On some occasions crusading schemes were fostered in connection with the eastern Mediterranean region, as, for example, when Charles IV received King Peter I of Cyprus at his court in Prague.

The Luxembourg kings, especially Charles IV, leaned heavily on ecclesiastical support against aristocratic opposition. The Hospitallers and the Teutonic Knights in Bohemia and Moravia had to cope with economic difficulties, royal interventions, and noble jealousy. Conflicts between Luxembourg princes after Charles IV's death increased the power of the Czech nobility and boded ill for both crusades financed by papal indulgences and ecclesiastical property in the realm. The Teutonic Order suffered most. King Wenceslas IV came into conflict with its grand master in 1388–1389 when the order in Prussia refused to buy the Neumark of Brandenburg. Burdened by heavy debts in its commanderies and disaster in Prussia after its defeat at Tannenberg, the Teutonic Order was unable to prevent the king from confiscating its Bohemian and Moravian houses in 1411. Only some parishes of the order survived.

During the wars against the Hussites, the alienation of ecclesiastical property continued. Even Roman Catholic kings wooed the magnates with such donations. The Hospitallers survived in their stronghold of Strakonice. Later in the fifteenth century, the orders returned to Prague, though the Czech nobility did not restore many of their former estates. Frequent crusades against the Hussites made any significant contribution to the wars against the Ottoman Turks impossible. The crusade against the Turks was, however, often used as an argument in various negotiations for peace with the Hussites held by King Sigismund and his heirs, by the Council of Basel, and by Pope Pius II. Pope Paul II was not pleased when King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary used the papal crusade against the heretical Bohemian king George of Poděbrad as a pretext to conquer Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia instead of fighting the infidel in the Balkans. Of course some Moravians and even Bohemians participated in expeditions such as that directed by John of Capistrano against Belgrade in 1456. But in general the Hussite problem contributed decisively to the demise of crusading in Bohemia and Moravia at the end of the Middle Ages.

—Karl Borchardt

See also: Hussites, Crusades against

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Bohemund I of Antioch (d. IIII)

Leader of the Italian Norman contingent in the First Crusade (1096–1099) and subsequently prince of Antioch (1098–1111).

Bohemund was the nickname of Mark, a son of Robert Guiscard, the Norman conqueror of southern Italy, by his marriage to the Norman Alverada. Guiscard repudiated this first marriage in 1058 in order to marry the Lombard princess Sikelgaita, and Bohemund lost his right of inheritance to the duchy of Apulia in favor of the sons she bore him. However, as a young adult Bohemund fought constantly at his father's side, and, specifically, he participated in his father's attacks on the Dalmatian coast of the Byzantine Empire in the 1080s. This was intended to provide him with his own lands, but after Guiscard died in 1085 the Dalmatian conquests were soon lost. Bohemund was left to fight his half-brother and his paternal uncle, the count of Sicily (both called Roger), for a small territorial inheritance in Apulia, including the cities of Taranto and Bari. Unsurprisingly, therefore, it was widely thought even at the time that Bohemund took part in the First Crusade for reasons of territorial ambition.

Bohemund announced his participation in the expedition in dramatic fashion: the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* claims that Bohemund heard about the crusade while besieging Amalfi and was "inspired by the Holy Ghost" to cut up his most valuable cloak into crosses and abandon the siege, along with most of his army, in order to go and join it [*Gesta Francorum*, ed. and trans. Rosalind Hill (London: Nelson, 1962), p. 7]. However, it is highly unlikely that this was Bohemund's first intimation of the expedition, since he and Pope Urban II were well acquainted and this was seven months after the crusade was announced at the Council of Clermont. Most probably, Bohemund was pre-

empting possible opposition to his participation by a show of responding to popular enthusiasm and pressure. Bohemund's contingent, which was not large, crossed the Adriatic Sea in October 1096, ahead of the other major armies, and landed near Dyrrachion (mod. Durrës, Albania), which Bohemund and his father had besieged during the winter of 1081–1082 and which was betrayed into their hands: a lesson that Bohemund was to put to good use at Antioch. The approach of their old antagonist was viewed with great suspicion by the Byzantines: this is reported not only by Anna Komnene, the emperor's daughter, whose account was written in the light of subsequent developments, but also by Latin writers, one of whom reported a secret approach to Godfrey of Bouillon to suggest an attack on Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey).

Emperor Alexios I Komnenos endeavored to contain the potential threat from Bohemund by extracting an oath from him: according to the *Gesta Francorum*, in return for an oath of loyalty the emperor would give Bohemund lands "beyond Antioch" (p. 12). The exact terms of this oath have been much discussed. Byzantine fears were seen to be justified in the summer of 1098, when Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) was captured by the crusaders after a long siege, and Bohemund kept the city, which was formerly Byzantine and which was immensely important to the empire, strategically, economically, and symbolically. At what point Bohemund decided Antioch was to be his is not established, but his actions in the spring of 1098 suggest that he was actively maneuvering to this end: having identified a traitor within the city, he encouraged first the withdrawal of the Byzantines under their general, Tatikios, and then the desertion of Stephen of Blois, who held some position of overall command within the barons' war council. He extracted a promise from the other leaders that the city should be granted to whichever of them was able to engineer its capture. Thus, when the city was betrayed to the crusaders, Bohemund laid claim to it, and although succeeding months were spent in wrangling over his possession, especially with Raymond of Saint-Gilles, he remained in Antioch when the rest of the leaders marched south to Jerusalem early in 1099. Bohemund did not participate in the siege and capture of Jerusalem, and he did not complete his pilgrimage by visiting the city until Christmas 1099.

There is little evidence for the earliest stages of consolidation of the principality of Antioch by Bohemund. While campaigning in Cilicia in August 1100, he was captured by

Bohemund I of Antioch (d. 1111)

the Dānishmendid emir and held for ransom. His nephew Tancred assumed the regency of Antioch during his absence (1101–1103) but was understandably unwilling to raise the enormous sum demanded to release him. Bohemund, meanwhile, persuaded his captor to refuse an offer by Emperor Alexios to ransom him, which would have ended his ambitions, in favor of a smaller sum and an alliance with the Franks. The sum (100,000 bezants) was raised by King Baldwin I of Jerusalem and Patriarch Bernard of Antioch. Remarkably, Bohemund emerged from captivity to reclaim Antioch intact from Tancred, and with his legendary status enhanced by tales of his wily negotiations with the emir, and his winning ways with the emir's womenfolk. Bohemund and Joscelin I of Edessa profited from the alliance with the Dānishmendid emir to secure Marash (mod. Kahramanmaraş, Turkey) in 1103, while a Byzantine attempt to reclaim Cilician cities was unsuccessful. In the following year, however, Bohemund and Tancred found themselves constantly fighting both Muslims and Byzantines, and in September 1104 Bohemund announced that he would sail for Europe to secure reinforcements. He left Tancred as his regent.

Bohemund headed first for his lands in southern Italy, where he spent some months putting his affairs in order after nine years' absence and recruiting Normans for an expedition. In Rome he persuaded Pope Paschal II that the Byzantines were inimical to the Latin settlements in Outremer, and gained crusading status for a planned attack on the Byzantine Empire. From there he traveled to France, where King Philip I gave him permission to recruit, and to Normandy, where he met King Henry I of England and his sister Adela, widow of Stephen of Blois, at Easter 1106. They brokered a marriage for him with Constance, daughter of Philip of France and divorced countess of Champagne. Although Constance went no further than Italy with Bohemund, the marriage was an impressive mark of favor and a boost to recruitment.

Bohemund returned to Italy late in 1106 and spent much of the following year planning his crusade. He and his army landed on the Dalmatian coast of the Byzantine Empire in October 1107 and marched on Dyrrachion. This time, too, he was unable to take the city by assault, and Emperor Alexios moved swiftly to blockade him by sea. In the spring of 1108 the Byzantine army moved up to encircle the crusaders, and in the summer famine and disease sapped their morale. In September Bohemund was forced to surrender. The

Treaty of Devol, which Anna Komnene reports verbatim, made him the emperor's liege-man (Gr. *to lizion anthropon*) [Anne Comnène, *Alexiade*, ed. Bernard Leib, 3 vols. (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1937–1976), 3:127]; he was to govern Antioch under the emperor's suzerainty, while his Cilician conquests were to be forfeited to the emperor. A Greek patriarch was to be restored in Antioch. Finally, Tancred was to be obliged to comply with the treaty. This last requirement ensured that Bohemund was unable to return to Antioch, and instead he retreated to his Italian lands, where he died in 1111, leaving two infant sons by his French wife to inherit his claim to Antioch.

Although Bohemund's career ended ignominiously, he has retained the aura of a legendary hero. Anna Komnene remembered him vividly some forty years after she, as a young woman, had witnessed his humiliation at Devol: his tall stature, his light brown hair, his blue eyes, his charm, and even his laugh. Other writers exaggerated his adventures on campaign and in captivity. He is depicted as a man whose abilities were exceeded only by his ambition.

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Bohemund II of Antioch (1108–1130)

Prince of Antioch (1126–1130).

As the son of Prince Bohemund I and Constance of

France, Bohemund was Roger of Salerno's prospective heir when Roger was killed in the battle of the Ager Sanguinis in 1119, but at that time he was only eleven years old and still in France. King Baldwin II of Jerusalem therefore acted as regent during his minority. Bohemund arrived in Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) in the autumn of 1126. He married Baldwin's second daughter, Alice, early in 1127.

Bohemund II's rule started promisingly with the siege and recovery of Kafartab in 1127, but this was followed by a quarrel with Joscelin I, count of Edessa, that developed into war and was only reconciled by the intervention of Baldwin II. Both Bohemund and Joscelin tried to take advantage of Turkish dissension to capture Aleppo, but without success. In 1129, however, Bohemund was part of an alliance (with Baldwin and Joscelin) that captured Banyas. It was also recorded by the Arab chronicler Usāma Ibn Munqidh that Bohemund attacked Shaizar during his brief reign.

While campaigning in Cilicia early in 1130, Bohemund was ambushed by the Dānishmendid Turks, who massacred his whole army and beheaded Bohemund. His death was the cue for renewed aggression from Aleppo under the rising Turkish leader Zangī. Antioch was ill equipped to counter this, since Bohemund had left only a two-year-old daughter, Constance. His widow, Alice, seized power without waiting for her father, King Baldwin, as overlord, to appoint a regent.

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Bohemund III of Antioch (d. 1201)

Prince of Antioch (1163–1201), the son of Constance (daughter and heiress of Bohemund II) and her husband, Raymond of Poitiers.

Bohemund III came to the throne of Antioch in 1163, when an aristocratic faction expelled his mother. The principality soon faced an invasion by Nūr al-Dīn in response to an attack on Egypt by King Amalric of Jerusalem. While defending the

town of Harenc (mod. Harim, Syria), Bohemund was captured in August 1164, but he was soon released. He then traveled to Constantinople to seek assistance from Emperor Manuel Komnenos. Bohemund returned with a Greek Orthodox cleric, Athanasios, who was to be installed as patriarch of Antioch, probably as a condition of Manuel paying Bohemund's ransom. An earthquake in 1170 demolished Antioch's cathedral, crushing Athanasios and allowing the return of the Latin patriarch, Aimery of Limoges.

Bohemund's first wife was Orgilosa of Harenc; in 1177 he married a relative of Manuel's named Theodora, but then he put her aside in 1180 to marry his mistress, Sibyl. Patriarch Aimery denounced the marriage as bigamous and again withdrew from the city, while the nobility revolted. Mediation by the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, Eraclius, lifted Aimery's interdict on the city and established a tenuous peace.

Bohemund maintained a truce with Saladin from 1177 to 1187, but in 1188 Saladin captured Laodikeia (mod. Al-Lādhiqīyah, Syria) and a large part of the principality, although another peace agreement preserved the city of Antioch from attack. Bohemund's interests lay largely in Cilicia and northern Syria, so he participated little in the events of the Third Crusade (1189–1192). A dispute over the stronghold of Baghras (mod. Bağra, Turkey) with Leon II of Cilicia ended in Bohemund's captivity in 1193. Bohemund acknowledged Leon's suzerainty and allowed Armenian soldiers into the citadel of Antioch. The citizenry rioted against this imposition, and after they expelled the garrison, established a commune. The mediation of Henry of Champagne, ruler of Jerusalem, led Bohemund to recognize Baghras as Armenian territory and to marry his heir, Raymond, to Leon's heiress, his niece Alice.

The death of Raymond (1197) left his infant son, Raymond-Rupen, as heir to Antioch. However, in 1198 Bohemund III's second son, Bohemund of Tripoli, expelled his father from the city and was recognized as prince by the commune. Bohemund III regained the city three months later with the help of Leon (king of Cilicia as Leon I from 1198). Despite the papacy's support for Raymond-Rupen, Bohemund of Tripoli again seized Antioch after his father's death (April 1201), sparking a civil war for the next twenty-five years over the succession in Antioch.

–Christopher MacEvitt

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Bohemund IV of Antioch-Tripoli (d. 1233)

Count of Tripoli and prince of Antioch (1201–1233), whose claims to Antioch were contested for over twenty years by his nephew, Raymond-Rupen.

The second son of Bohemund III of Antioch, Bohemund IV was installed by his father as count of Tripoli on the death of the childless Count Raymond III, who had originally designated Bohemund IV's older brother, Raymond, as his heir. As Raymond was already foreseen as future ruler of the principality of Antioch, these dispositions sowed the seeds of future conflict over the succession to the principality. Raymond died in 1197, leaving a young son, Raymond-Rupen. On the death of Bohemund III (April 1201), however, Bohemund IV seized the city of Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey), dispossessing his young nephew. Bohemund received the support of the commune of Antioch, which disliked Raymond-Rupen's Armenian connections. To gain the support of the commune's largely Greek members, Bohemund in 1206 expelled the Latin patriarch, Peter of Angoulême, and installed a Greek patriarch, Symeon II. A coup mounted by Peter against Bohemund failed in 1207; the patriarch subsequently starved to death in prison. Bohemund accepted a Latin patriarch back into the city the following year.

Raymond-Rupen's principal ally was his great-uncle King Leon I of Cilicia, who captured Antioch and had his great-nephew inaugurated as prince in 1216, forcing Bohemund to retreat to Tripoli. Leon returned the castle of Baghras (mod. Bağra, Turkey) to the Templars, as well as confiscated land to Latin prelates, thus wooing many of the supporters of Bohemund. In 1220, however, Bohemund recaptured the city from his nephew. Raymond-Rupen invaded Cilicia, claiming its throne by right of his mother, Alice, but he was captured and died in prison. The threat from the Saljūqs brought Antioch and the Armenians together, and Bohemund's younger son, Philip, was married to the young queen of Cilicia, Isabella. Despite joining the

Armenian church, Philip remained Latin at heart, and he was deposed and poisoned by the Armenian Het'umid dynasty in 1224.

Bohemund IV was married twice: first to Plaisance of Gibelet, by whom he had four children, and second to Melisende of Cyprus, by whom he had Maria, later claimant to the throne of Jerusalem. Bohemund died in March 1233, reconciled to the Latin Church at his death. He was succeeded in both Antioch and Tripoli by his eldest son, Bohemund V.

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Bohemund V of Antioch-Tripoli (d. 1252)

Prince of Antioch and count of Tripoli (1233–1252), having inherited both titles on the death of his father, Bohemund IV.

After a marriage to Alice of Champagne that was soon annulled, Bohemund married Lucienne of Segni, a cousin of Pope Gregory IX. Perhaps learning from his father's experience, Bohemund obtained the privilege that he could not be excommunicated by anyone except the pope. His authority within both of his principalities was curtailed by the commune of Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) as well as by the independence of the military orders, which controlled the port of Tortosa (mod. Tartūs, Syria) and the castles of Baghras (mod. Bağra, Turkey), Margat (mod. Marqab, Syria), Krak des Chevaliers (mod. Qal'at al-Hisn or Hisn al-Akrād, Syria), and Safita.

Like his father and grandfather before him, Bohemund largely stayed out of the struggle in the kingdom of Jerusalem between the Frankish barons and the Staufien regime imposed by Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor and king of Sicily. Bohemund himself did not join in the battle of La Forbie (1244), in which the Franks of Jerusalem were defeated

by the Ayyūbids of Egypt, but a large number of Antiochene and Tripolitan troops lost their lives. Although the prince generally maintained good relations with his Muslim neighbors, relations with the Armenians had been strained since the death of his brother Philip at the hands of Constantine of Lampron in 1225. Bohemund died in January 1252 and was succeeded by his son Bohemund VI.

—Christopher MacEvitt

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Bohemund VI of Antioch-Tripoli (d. 1275)

Prince of Antioch and count of Tripoli (1252–1275).

The son of Bohemund V of Antioch-Tripoli and Lucienne of Segni, Bohemund VI succeeded to both principalities on the death of his father (1252), when, although still a minor, he seized power from his mother with the help of the crusader King Louis IX of France. It was Louis who arranged Bohemund's marriage to Sibyl, daughter of King Het'um I of Cilicia, ending years of hostilities between the two neighboring states. With Het'um, Bohemund allied with the Mongols and received back the port of Laodikeia (mod. Al-Lādhiqiyah, Syria), which had been lost since 1188. However, the Mongols required Bohemund to admit the Greek patriarch Euthymios into the city of Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey), earning the prince a papal excommunication.

Following the Mongol defeat by the Mamlūks at 'Ayn Jālūt in September 1260, Bohemund's lands were again threatened. The Mamlūks invaded the county of Tripoli in 1266, capturing Arqah and dividing the county in two. Ten years later, the Mamlūk sultan Baybars I captured Antioch, massacring its inhabitants (1268); although Bohemund survived in Tripoli, most of the principality of Antioch was lost. In 1270 the mighty Hospitaller castle Krak des Chevaliers fell to Baybars, but Bohemund managed to gain a ten-year truce with the sultan. Bohemund VI died in 1275, passing his much-reduced lands to his son Bohemund VII.

—Christopher MacEvitt

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Bohemund VII of Antioch-Tripoli (d. 1287)

Prince of Antioch and count of Tripoli (1275–1287).

Bohemund succeeded to his much-reduced domains on the death of his father, Bohemund VI, in 1275 but remained in Cilicia with his mother's relatives until he came of age in 1277. When he returned, Bohemund faced opposition from Guy II Embriaco, lord of Gibelet, and the Templars, which led to civil strife for the next five years. In 1282, Bohemund captured Guy and his two brothers and had them buried in sand up to their necks until they starved.

In 1281 Bohemund abandoned the long-standing alliance with the Mongols, and he signed a truce with the Mamlūks shortly before a Mongol invasion. However, in March 1287 Laodikeia (mod. Al-Lādhiqiyah, Syria), the last portion of the principality of Antioch, fell to the Mamlūk sultan Qalāwūn. Bohemund himself died on 19 October the same year. He was succeeded in the county of Tripoli by his sister Lucia. Two years later Tripoli itself fell and the long line of Norman princes of Syria ended.

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Bohemund of Taranto

See Bohemund I of Antioch

Bolingbroke

See Henry IV of England

Boniface I of Montferrat (d. 1207)

Marquis of Montferrat (1192–1207), titular leader of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) and subsequently marquis of Thessalonica (1204–1207).

Boniface VIII (d. 1303)

Born around 1150, the third son of William V “the Old,” marquis of Montferrat, and Judith of Austria, Boniface succeeded to the marquisate of Montferrat in northwestern Italy in 1192 when his elder brother Conrad was assassinated in the Holy Land. In June 1201 the leading barons of the Fourth Crusade, perhaps on the advice of King Philip II of France, offered the leadership of the enterprise to Boniface, who accepted. After visiting the king in Paris and the monks of Cîteaux, he traveled to Hagenau in Alsace, where he spent Christmas with his cousin, Philip of Swabia, king of Germany. There he spoke with young Alexios Angelos, the brother of Philip’s wife, Irene, and son of the deposed Byzantine emperor, Isaac II Angelos. Alexios had just arrived in the West and was seeking an army to help him obtain the throne by overthrowing his uncle, Emperor Alexios III Angelos. The plan was commended by Philip, although, given his own struggle for the German throne, he could offer no material support. Boniface promised to do all that he could to help. He later tried and failed to convince Pope Innocent III to allow the crusade to divert to Constantinople.

The crusade fleet left Venice in early October 1202 without Boniface, who had matters to attend to elsewhere. He also wanted to avoid the conquest of Zara (mod. Zadar, Croatia), which the crusaders had agreed to undertake in return for the suspension of their debt to the Venetians, and did not arrive at Zara until mid-December. A few weeks later, envoys from Philip of Swabia arrived, promising rich rewards for the crusaders if they would help the young Alexios to claim his throne in Constantinople. Boniface naturally supported the plan, as did most of the other barons, conscious of the crusade’s lack of funds. Alexios joined the crusaders on 25 April 1202 and remained under the marquis’s care thereafter. After the crusaders had successfully placed their claimant on the throne of Byzantium as Emperor Alexios IV (July 1203), Boniface became an important member of the imperial court; it was probably at this time that Alexios granted him the island of Crete. Boniface led an expeditionary force with the new emperor to capture Alexios III and extend control over Thrace in autumn 1203, but soon after, the marquis was edged out of court by a growing anti-Latin faction.

Given their experience with the Montferrat clan, the Greek citizens of Constantinople believed that the crusader attack on the city in April 1204 was an attempt to place Boniface on the throne of the Caesars. After the city’s fall, people on the streets would greet Latins with the Greek phrase *Ayos*

vasileas marchio (holy emperor the marquis). Boniface certainly aspired to the position, and he looked the part. He had already occupied the Great Palace of Constantinople and married the widow of Isaac II, Margaret of Hungary. However, the crusaders elected Count Baldwin IX of Flanders instead, and a dispute between the two men soon broke out over possession of the city of Thessalonica, which Boniface insisted should be given to him at once. War was avoided only by the quick work of Doge Enrico Dandolo and Geoffrey of Villehardouin. Boniface took the city and, with the help of his wife and her son, Manuel, extended his holdings throughout Thessaly and into central Greece. From 1205 onward, Boniface, allied with the new emperor, Henry, waged war against the Bulgarian emperor, Kalojan. He was killed on 4 September 1207 in a Bulgarian ambush near Mosynopolis, leaving a young son, Demetrius, as heir to Thessalonica.

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Boniface VIII (d. 1303)

Pope (1294–1303). Benedict Caetani was probably born at Anagni around 1235. After legal studies in Bologna (1263–1264), he embarked upon an ecclesiastical career as a papal diplomat in England and France. His mastery of canon law and curial politics helped to secure his advancement to cardinal deacon (1281) and cardinal priest (1291); he was elected pope as Boniface VIII following the abdication of Celestine V.

Boniface’s policy of relentless familial aggrandizement and a rigid insistence upon papal plenitude of power, exemplified by the claims of the bull *Unam Sanctam* (1302), earned him powerful enemies. The chief of these were King Philip IV of France and the Colonna family (whose lands lay in the Papal State), the joint perpetrators of the assault upon him known as the “crime of Anagni,” which led to Boniface’s death (11 October 1303).

Throughout his papacy and posthumously, Boniface was maligned for putting the interests of his kin above those of Christendom and the crusade. The great Italian poet Dante Alighieri reserved a place for him in Hell (*Paradiso* XXX.145–148). Yet Boniface wrote a text of canon law, the *Liber sextus*; was a skillful administrator and a patron of art; and decreed the first Holy Year (jubilee) on 22 February 1300, perhaps the most significant act of his pontificate. The jubilee cannot be divorced from the crusade tradition. Hitherto enjoyed only by crusaders, the plenary indulgence was now granted to jubilee pilgrims to Rome. Crusader Jerusalem was lost; Rome was now unrivaled as Latin Christendom's holy city. Just as the calling of a crusade depended upon papal authority, so, too, with the jubilee; and because the jubilee indulgence was not permitted to compete with crusade indulgences, holy years were limited to one per century.

Boniface launched several crusades that were political in nature: these were fought against the Aragonese regime in Sicily in 1296, 1299, and 1302, and, most famously, against the Colonna cardinals, Giacomo and Pietro. Officially, this last was a legal crusade with full indulgences preached against rebels, heretics, schismatics, and blasphemers of the Roman church. In reality, it was a struggle between the Colonna and the Caetani clans for lordship in the Campagna. Preached throughout Italy, Boniface's crusade against the Colonna resulted in the destruction of their stronghold, Palestrina (1297–1298). Thus the crusades came to Lazio in the vicinity of Rome only a few years after the fall of the city of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) to the Muslims (1291), a fact bitterly noted by Dante (*Inferno*, XXVII.85–89). Boniface's final conflict with Philip IV of France precipitated the papacy's relocation to Avignon (1309–1376).

—Gary Dickson

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Boucicaut, Marshal (1366–1421)

Jean II Le Meingre, known as Boucicaut, was marshal of France and a participant in numerous crusade expeditions.

He was the son of Jean I Le Meingre (d. 1368), marshal of France, and Fleurie of Linières.

Jean II was educated at the French court with the young King Charles VI. He became a knight at the battle of West-Rozebeke, which was fought against the Flemings in 1382, and went twice to Prussia to campaign with the Teutonic Order against the pagan Lithuanians in 1384–1385. At the beginning of 1388, he went to the court of Murad I, the Ottoman sultan, offering to fight for him. As the sultan was not undertaking any campaigns, Boucicaut went on to Hungary, Venice, and the Holy Land (1389). He stayed for four months in Cairo to share the imprisonment of Philip of Eu, a cousin of the French king, who had been arrested at Damascus. In 1390 Charles VI forbade him to go with the duke of Bourbon on the Mahdia Crusade, and so Boucicaut made a third journey to Prussia in 1390–1391. On his return, the king appointed him marshal of France.

When Philippe de Mézières founded his Order of the Passion, Boucicaut was one of the first members. In 1395 Charles VI agreed to send an army to assist King Sigismund of Hungary against the Ottoman Turks, which was to include Boucicaut and his own retinue. This venture became known as the Crusade of Nikopolis from the site of its defeat by the Turks on 25 September 1396. Boucicaut was taken prisoner, but was saved from death by Count John of Nevers and was ransomed the following year.

In 1399 Charles VI sent an expeditionary corps headed by Boucicaut to Constantinople, which was under siege by the Turks. The marshal persuaded Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos to go to the West in person to seek military assistance. Manuel undertook a lengthy diplomatic tour of Western Christendom, and finally left Paris in order to return home on 21 November 1402, when he learned of the defeat of Sultan Bayezid I at Ankara by the Mongol ruler of central Asia, Timur Lenk. By this time Boucicaut was serving as governor of Genoa for Charles VI, where he met the emperor again at the beginning of 1403. He accompanied Manuel as far as the Morea (Peloponnese) and then went on to Rhodes. From there he took his fleet to Syria, where he attacked and sacked Botron, Beirut, Sidon, and Laodikeia in Syria. However, while returning to Genoa, he met a Venetian fleet at Modon and was defeated. He drafted a new project for an attack against Alexandria in 1407, but was expelled from Genoa two years later.

Boucicaut fought against the English at the battle of Agincourt in 1415, where he drew up the French battle plan. He

Boudonitza

was taken prisoner, and remained a captive until his death. Boucicaut embodied all the knightly values of his time, but, as a commander and political leader, he failed to understand that these values were outdated, and often showed impetuosity and lack of judgment in his conduct. Boucicaut's career was described in an anonymous French prose work, the *Livre des Fais du bon messire Jehan le Meingre*.

—Jacques Paviot

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Boudewijn van Seborch

See Dutch Literature

Boudonitza

A castle and associated settlement in central Greece, situated southeast of the pass of Thermopylae and the Boiotian plain. Boudonitza was founded by the Pallavicini family from Parma in the years after 1204 when they were granted a marquisate from Boniface of Montferrat, the ruler of Thessalonica. It guarded both the pass and the Malian Gulf to the north and also protected an important harbor used in the 1330s for the import of corn from Wallachia.

The castle is built on the site of a Byzantine fortress and consists of two circuit walls and a central keep. The town, known as Mendenitsa, grew up around the fortress and was also surrounded by a wall. It provides evidence of the move-

ment of population by Western settlers after 1204. The town was the seat of a Latin bishop, a suffragan of the archbishop of Athens.

The overlordship of the marquisate passed from the rulers of Thessalonica to the princes of Achaia either in the early days of the Frankish conquest or in the 1240s. About that time (possibly in 1248), according to Marino Sanudo Torsello, William II of Achaia sent an army of 11,000 men to relieve Boudonitza from an attack by the Epirote Greeks under Michael II Doukas. The marquis of Boudonitza was numbered among the twelve peers of Achaia, and it was only during the Catalan occupation of Athens that the marquisate was reckoned a dependency of Athens. The marquis survived the battle of Halmyros, and his castle successfully resisted a Catalan attack in 1311. However, it was only by coming to terms with the Catalans that the marquisate survived intact. The Pallavicini family held it until 1335, when the marquisate was ceded to the Venetian family of Zorzi in order to enhance the protection of Venetian Negroponte against the Catalans. The Zorzi were displaced when the town and castle fell to the Turks in 1414.

—Peter Lock

See also: Achaia; Athens, Lordship and Duchy of

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Bremen

See Hamburg-Bremen, Archbishopric of

Bridget of Sweden

See Birgitta Birgersdotter

Brienne Family

A great French aristocratic family that provided rulers for the kingdom of Jerusalem, the Latin Empire of Constantinople, and the duchy of Athens.

The lords of Brienne were vassals of the counts of Champagne, holding lands near Troyes. The family had a long tradition of crusading. Erard I took the cross in 1097. His son Walter II took part in the Second Crusade (1147–1149), as did his son Erard II, who also joined the Third Crusade in

1189 and took part in the siege of Acre. Walter III originally agreed to go on the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) in the army of the count of Champagne, but he was allowed to substitute service in southern Italy against Markward of Anweiler, a move that enabled him to press the claims of his wife, Elvira, to the county of Lecce and the principality of Taranto. His younger brother John was perhaps the most famous member of the family to involve himself in the crusading movement. He became king of Jerusalem in right of his wife, Maria (1210–1212), and regent of Jerusalem for his daughter Isabella II (1212–1225). Later he served as marshal of the papal armies in Italy opposed to his own son-in-law Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor, and subsequently he became co-ruler of the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1230–1237) along with Emperor Baldwin II.

John's nephew Walter IV, count of Brienne and Lecce (1205–1250), became count of Jaffa in 1221. Thereafter the family interests became centered in Frankish Greece. Hugh of Brienne (1250–1296) was influential at the Angevin court of Naples. He married first Isabella of La Roche (1277) and subsequently Helena Doukaina, the widow of his former brother-in-law, William of La Roche (1291), and thereby became *bailli* (regent) of the duchy of Athens for his stepson Guy. On the latter's death in 1309, Hugh's own son Walter V of Brienne became duke of Athens (as Walter I). He was killed at the battle of Halmyros against the Catalan Company in 1311 and was thus the last French duke of Athens. His son Walter VI was titular duke of Athens (as Walter II) until his death, fighting against the English as constable of France at Poitiers in 1356. In 1331–1332 he mounted a considerable campaign against the Catalans, but they refused to give battle. The cost effectively ruined the Brienne family. His only child, also called Walter, predeceased him in 1332.

—Peter Lock

See also: Athens, Lordship and Duchy of; Jerusalem, (Latin) Kingdom of

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Burchard of Mount Zion

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Bulls

See Papal Letters

Burchard of Mount Zion

A Dominican friar of German origin and author of a work known as *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, based on his travels in the Holy Land.



Crusaders at the gates of Jerusalem, from the thirteenth-century manuscript *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* (*Of the Holy Land*), by Burchard of Mount Zion. (The Art Archive/Biblioteca Capitolare Padua/Dagli Orti)

No information is available about Burchard's family or life other than what is known from his travelogue. After joining the Dominican Order, he entered its house at Magdeburg in northern Germany. By 1280 he went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land and, while based in Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) during the three years of his travels in the East, became connected with the convent of Mount Zion, hence his epithet.

In 1283 Burchard compiled the *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* on the basis of his travel recollections. It is the first systematic description of Cisjordanian Palestine after the Hebrew work of Ashtori Haparhi (c. 1217), which he did not know. The book includes the results of his own observations on Christian holy sites he had visited, as well as remarks on the topography, the fauna and flora, and the ethnopolitical conditions of the country, with particular emphasis on the city of Jerusalem. He was an excellent observer, critical and empirical by nature; he often challenged statements by previous authors, no matter how authoritative, if their accounts were contradicted by his own observations. For example, during his visit to Mount Gelboe, he experienced a heavy rain, despite King David's curse: "neither let there be rain upon you" (2 Sam. 1:21); accordingly, he challenged the interpretation of the biblical text. Being aware of the historical evolution that had caused the destruction of many ancient Christian sites and monuments, he recommended digging through ruined strata in order to reach the authentic holy places.

Burchard's description of Palestinian society is important eyewitness evidence about ethnic and social conditions in the Holy Land during the last generations of Frankish rule. Among the Christian population, he praised the Armenians for their piety; by contrast, he vehemently criticized the Latins for their immoral and criminal behavior, foreseeing the loss of the Holy Land due to their sins.

—Aryeh Grabois

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Burgundy

Burgundy in the later Middle Ages was a quasi-state that developed under the Valois dukes Philip the Bold (1363–

1404), John the Fearless (1404–1419), Philip the Good (1419–1467), and Charles the Bold (1467–1477). It consisted of diverse possessions in southern and northern territorial blocs, both of which belonged partly to the kingdom of France and partly to the Holy Roman Empire: in the south, the duchy of Burgundy and the originally separate county of Burgundy (also known as Franche-Comté), and in the north the Burgundian Netherlands, comprising Flanders, Artois, Holland, Zeeland, Hainaut, Namur, Brabant, and Luxembourg.

Philip the Bold and John the Fearless (1363–1419)

Duke Philip the Bold (Fr. Philippe le Hardi) came late to the idea of crusade. The chronicler Jean Froissart said of him that he was very imaginative and farsighted in his business; to understand this judgment, one must appreciate that Philip the Bold's involvement in the crusade may have been driven by the desire to control the crusading aspirations of his nephews Charles VI, king of France, and Louis, duke of Orléans. He may also have been motivated by piety, as he wanted to take part personally in an expedition. Signs of his interest in the crusade appear in 1392, when he was fifty. He had two options: to participate in a *reyse* (campaign) of the Teutonic Order against the pagan Lithuanians in 1395 or to answer the calls of King Sigismund of Hungary for assistance against the Turks. When the grand master of the Teutonic Order informed him at the end of 1394 there would be no *reyse* the following year, he turned his interests toward Hungary. The grandiose scheme was to lead a *passagium particulare* (an advance expedition) along with Louis, duke of Orléans, and John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster; the kings of France and England would then lead a *passagium generale* (general crusade). When the dukes of Lancaster and Orléans withdrew from the project, Philip the Bold named his eldest son, John, count of Nevers (later known as "the Fearless"), to lead the Burgundian forces in the ill-fated Crusade of Nikopolis, which ended in disaster in battle against the Turks in 1396. After securing the release of his son and organizing a triumphal return for him, Philip had no further involvement in crusading; nor did John the Fearless (Fr. Jean sans Peur) when he became duke. The Nikopolis expedition was Philip the Bold's biggest political mistake: it led to the deaths of the constable and the admiral of France, of his two nephews of royal blood from the Bar family, and of the important noblemen Enguerrand of Coucy and William of La Trémoille, as

well as numerous other losses of those who were killed or enslaved.

Philip the Good and Charles the Bold (1419–1477)

Philip the Good (Fr. Philippe le Bon) was born while his father, John of Nevers, was on his way to Hungary. If he had any feelings of vengeance against the Turks, these did not emerge until late in his life. In 1420, following the Treaty of Troyes, King Henry V of England and the duke promised to go on crusade to Jerusalem (which was a renewal of the dream of 1396), and the following year they sent Gilbert de Lannoy to the Levant to report on the possibilities for landing forces to recover the Holy Land. Ten years later, Bertrand de La Broquière completed Lannoy's mission by visiting the Ottoman Empire. However, Philip's ambitions lay in all directions. His crusading policy was part of a more general policy of the defense of the Roman Catholic faith and of the Holy Church, as stated in the statutes of his new order of chivalry, the Golden Fleece. Thus in the 1420s and 1430s, he was involved in diplomatic activities against the Hussites of Bohemia. In 1429, he sent a carrack to Rhodes. In 1437, he dreamed of conquering Greece from the Morea. At an unknown date, he studied how he might conquer Muslim Granada. In 1441 Geoffroy de Thoisy led a small squadron of Portuguese ships built in Flanders and Brabant to bring assistance to the Hospitallers at Rhodes against an expected Mamlūk attack. Following this small expedition, the Burgundians were able to use naval facilities at Nice and Villefranche, and received help from the Genoese. Thoisy returned to Rhodes when the attack actually took place in 1444. The same year, Philip the Good took part in an expedition to assist the Greeks that had been promised by Pope Eugenius IV after the union of Greek and Latin churches at the Council of Florence. He had hired galleys at Venice. The head of the Burgundian corps was Waleran de Wavrin, who was later joined by Geoffroy de Thoisy. In 1445 Thoisy roved through the Black Sea, attacking all sorts of ships, but was eventually taken prisoner, while Wavrin went up the Danube with the Venetians in order to take part in a concerted attack with John Hunyadi, the voivode of Transylvania. However, as it was late in the season, nothing came of this effort, and Wavrin came home. On their homeward journey, the other Burgundian ships carried on privateering as far as Beirut and North Africa in 1446–1447. Meanwhile, Philip the Good had galleys built in Antwerp, still dreaming of recovering the Holy Land.

Everything changed in 1451. Up to that date, Philip's involvement in the crusade was personal. Now, aged fifty-five, at a chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece, he vowed to go on a crusade, without specifying an objective. He urged his fellow knights to accompany him and decided to hold a great feast to attract the nobility of Burgundy. Philip also sent four embassies to call for other sovereigns to join him in a crusade: to France, to England, to Rome and Naples, and to Germany and Poland. As the Polish chronicler John Długosz put it: "the Burgundian embassy was grandiloquent, vain, destitute of any sense, full only of specious words, but deprived of any courage, and very far from any effect or fulfillment" [Joannes Dlugossius, *Opera omnia*, ed. Aleksander Przędziecki, 15 vols. (Cracoviae: Czas, 1863–1887), 14:98]. These embassies were dispatched without any knowledge of the actual state of affairs in these countries. The feast itself was delayed by an uprising in the town of Ghent, which at least meant that an objective could be defined for the crusade: the recovery of Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey), which in the meantime had been captured by Mehmed II, the Ottoman sultan, in 1453.

The Feast of the Pheasant took place at Lille on 17 February 1454. It was organized after the model of a chivalric romance, in this case, Jacques de Longuyon's *Voeux du Paon*, a sequel to the *Romance of Alexander*. Philip planned to leave in the spring of 1455, but was unable to come to an agreement with Emperor Frederick III, and so no expedition was arranged. However, the duke sent embassies to successive German diets and a large one to the congress convened at Mantua by Pope Pius II. In 1456, he managed to marry his wife's nephew John of Coimbra to the heiress of the kingdom of Cyprus.

It was only in 1463 that the pope succeeded in setting up a league with Venice and Burgundy. At the beginning of 1464, Philip delayed his departure at the behest of King Louis XI of France and sent in his place his illegitimate son Anthony, the Grand Bastard of Burgundy, whose fleet, which left from Sluis in Flanders, did not proceed beyond Marseilles. The duke never realized his dream of going on crusade, as he became senile, and government passed to his legitimate son Charles the Bold (Fr. Charles le Téméraire) as early as 1465. Several Western powers, notably Venice, Naples, and the papacy, expected the latter to pursue his father's crusading policy against the ever increasing Turkish menace. However, the symbolic capital gained by his father's plans was only ever used by Charles to advance his

political aims in western Europe, even if he did dream of conquering the East like his hero Alexander.

Conclusions

Without doubt, the dukes of Burgundy used the crusade as a means to gain a place among the leading western European powers. This can be seen from the diplomatic activity deployed in connection with Prussia and Hungary by Philip the Bold, or Rome, Naples, Germany, and Hungary by Philip the Good. Without being a kingdom, Burgundy succeeded in being recognized as a major power. Yet the rhetorical discourse concerning the crusade was feeble. Its major exponents were the successive chancellors of the Order of the Golden Fleece, Jean Germain and Guillaume Fillastre. Jean Germain clung to the old theory of the temporal sword (the use of force against the infidels) in contrast to other theorists such as John of Segovia and Nicholas of Cues, who held to the idea of the spiritual sword, that is, mission and conversion. Guillaume Fillastre saw the crusade as a means to gain power in the Burgundian government.

The failure of the Crusade of Nikopolis in 1396 effectively put an end to any future great expedition. In the period 1420 to 1450, grandiose and unrealizable schemes were conceived, yet small operations and expeditions could have made Burgundy a power to be reckoned with in the context of the crusade and the Christian East. From 1451, however, the matter of the crusade became increasingly embroiled in diplomatic schemes and ideas of chivalric romance. Yet even if it was too often turned toward the past, the court of Burgundy was a fount of crusading activity that can be compared among contemporary lay powers only with the Aragonese court of Naples.

—Jacques Paviot

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Būrī (1085–1132)

Tāj al-Mulūk Būrī was ruler of Damascus (mod. Dimashq, Syria) and southern Syria (1128–1132).

When Būrī succeeded his father ʿUḡhtigin at the age of forty-three, he enjoyed great political and military experience, having acted as deputy to his father and commander of the Damascene army in numerous military campaigns. In 1101 he was sent by his father to relieve the coastal town of Jabala, a dominion of Muslim Tripoli (1101), which was under attack by the Genoese. In 1112 Būrī took over the government of Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon) from the Egyptians, who could not hold it against Baldwin I of Jerusalem. Būrī’s swift actions kept Tyre out of Frankish possession until 1124.

Būrī’s four-year rule was characterized by struggles against the Franks, Zangī of Mosul, and the Ismāʿīlī Assassins. Būrī managed to put down a plot by his vizier, al-Mazdaqanī, who had conspired to hand Damascus to King Baldwin II of Jerusalem with the help of the Assassins (August 1129). Having discovered the conspiracy, Būrī executed his vizier and carried out a great massacre of the Ismāʿīlīs in

Damascus. Their leader fled to Jerusalem and turned the town of Banyas over to Baldwin II. Determined to capture Damascus, Baldwin II invaded Damascene territory with his troops and Western crusaders in November 1129. Būrī’s troops heavily defeated a Frankish division led by William of Bures on 6 December 1129, and the rest of the Christians abandoned the campaign.

The Ismāʿīlīs tried to murder Būrī in May 1131 in revenge for the earlier massacre. For seven months he struggled with a fatal wound, and nominated his eldest son Ismāʿīl as ruler. Būrī died on 6 June 1132, having successfully warded off the first crusader attempt to capture Damascus.

–Taef El-Azhari

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Burzenland

A highland region in southeastern Transylvania, known in Latin sources as Terra Bursa (Ger. Burzenland; Hung. Barcaság). This region (mod. Țara Bîrsei, Romania), enclosed by the river Olt, the Carpathian Mountains, the Székelyföld plain, and the Persány Mountains, was settled by the Teutonic Order in 1211 at the invitation of Andrew II, king of Hungary (1205–1235).

Andrew II, dissatisfied with the defensive activity of Hungary’s Pecheneg population against the raids of the pagan Cumans, entrusted the order with the defense of the mountain passes of this frontier area. The Teutonic Knights, led by a certain Theoderic, promptly occupied the region and by 1222 had erected five castles at strategic points, identified as Kreuzburg (near the Tatar Pass), Marienburg, Feketehalom, Cetatea Neamțului (near present-day Rucăr, Romania), and Höltövény.

On the basis of written sources and archaeological finds, recent scholarship has identified these castles as mixed structures of stone and wood. The region, described in the sources as deserted and uninhabited, was populated by the order with settlers from Germany and other parts of Transylvania. This activity was supported by royal privileges of 1211 and 1212 that exempted the order from royal taxation, the mandatory money-change, and the demand for hospi-

Byzantine Empire

tality of the voivod of Transylvania; the knights were also authorized to elect their own judge and to hold markets. From 1213 they were exempted from tithes and established their own deanery independent from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Transylvania, although the latter privilege was challenged by Bishop Reynald (1222–1240). Andrew II also came into conflict with the order by 1221, but this dispute was temporarily settled, perhaps as a result of the recent success of the order against the Cumans. The king enlarged the size of the original donation of land toward the south and permitted the order to erect castles of stone. However, in 1225 he expelled it from Burzenland for reasons that are still debated. It is known that the knights had infringed royal rights by occupying royal lands and minting their own coins. Moreover, the king's policy was no longer to defeat the Cumans but rather to baptize them, which eventually took place in 1227.

After the expulsion of the order, territorial rights were transferred to the Cistercians by King Béla IV of Hungary (1235–1270), in 1240. Around the end of the reign of King Sigismund (1387–1437), the Teutonic Order unsuccessfully tried to resettle in the region.

—Zsolt Hunyadi

See also: Hungary; Teutonic Order

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Byzantine Empire

The Byzantine Empire, or Byzantium, is the conventional modern name for the medieval Christian Greek-speaking empire that was created after the division of the Roman Empire into western and eastern parts, Byzantium being the eastern part of the empire. Contemporary Byzantines referred to their empire in Greek as *Romaike autokratoria*

(Roman Empire) or *autokratoria ton Romaion* (empire of the Romans), regarding it as the continuation of the ancient Roman Empire; Westerners called it the "Greek Empire" or "Empire of the Greeks." The name Byzantium was only used by the people of the empire to describe the city of Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey), which was founded in the seventh century B.C. by Byzas, a Greek from Megara; Byzantium never referred to the empire itself. The term *Byzantine* was introduced by Hieronymus Wolf in 1562.

The Byzantine Empire was a multinational empire, composed primarily of Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Slavs. Initially, the official language of the empire was Latin, but in the seventh century it was replaced by Greek, which was the vernacular used by the various peoples of the empire.

The history of the empire, the longest-lived of Western civilization, spans more than eleven centuries. There is no generally agreed date for the beginning of Byzantine (as opposed to Roman) history. Some modern scholars have suggested that it began in 324, when Emperor Constantine I the Great became *monokrator* (sole ruler) of the Roman Empire, or in 330, when Constantine transferred the capital of the empire from Rome to Constantinople. Others suggest 395, when Emperor Theodosios the Great died and the empire was divided into western and eastern parts. Other suggested dates are the year 284, when Diocleteian became emperor; the year 610, when Heraclius I became emperor; and the year 717, when the Isaurian dynasty ascended the throne of Constantinople. Most scholars agree, however, that the fourth century should be considered as the beginning of Byzantine history. The fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks (1453) can be regarded as its end, in spite of the fact that two Byzantine territories, the despotate of Mistra and the empire of Trebizond, fell to the Turks only in 1460 and 1461 respectively.

At the beginning of its existence, the borders of Byzantium coincided with those of the eastern Roman Empire. In the sixth century, Emperor Justinian I extended its frontiers to the Atlantic, capturing the southern part of Spain as well as northern African lands. In the following centuries the Arabs, Lombards, Slavs, and Normans deprived Byzantium of most of its territories outside the Balkan Peninsula and Asia Minor. In the last centuries of its existence, the empire was confined to the southern Balkans and western Asia Minor. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, it lost Asia Minor to the Turks; in the middle of that century, it had only eastern Macedonia and Thrace under its authority; and at the



The Byzantine Empire at the end of the twelfth century

Byzantine Empire

beginning of the fifteenth century, it was confined to Constantinople, a few islands in the Aegean Sea, and the despotate of Mistra in the Peloponnese.

The Early Byzantine Period (330–717)

The early Byzantine period has also been called proto-Byzantine, referring to the period of Late Antiquity. In this period, the administrative and legal systems of the empire were influenced significantly by those of the Roman Empire in the previous centuries. Until 476, the Byzantine emperor also ruled the western half of the empire, part of which Justinian I managed to recover briefly in the first half of the sixth century. This period is characterized by the transfer of the capital to Constantinople and the toleration of Christianity and subsequent adoption of the Christian faith as the official religion of the empire, by the gradual adoption of the Greek language as the official language of the empire, and by the defeat of invaders who appeared at the borders of the empire.

Constantinople, or New Rome, was located at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, and protected by the sea on three sides, and it controlled the land route that joins Europe and Asia Minor and also the sea route connecting the Black Sea and the Aegean Sea. It was also closer than Rome to the Danube area, which had been invaded by Germanic peoples, and to the eastern borders of the empire, which were under threat from the Persian Empire. It was thus the perfect choice for a capital from a strategic point of view.

Christianity was recognized as a legal religion by Emperor Constantine I in 313 and proclaimed as the official state religion by Emperor Theodosios I in 380. During this period, the first rift between the church of Constantinople and the church of Rome took place, while in six ecumenical synods, all of which took place in the eastern half of the empire and in all of which the Byzantine emperors were involved, the doctrine of the Christian faith was defined, and various heresies (including Arianism and Nestorianism) were proscribed.

When Constantine I transferred the capital of the empire, the new state administration in Constantinople was Latin-speaking. The adoption of Greek as the official language of the state was a slow process. From the fourth century, court judgments could be recorded in Greek; in the fifth century wills written in Greek were considered valid, and in the sixth century a new series of laws, the *Novellae*, were written in Greek; however, it was only in the seventh century that Greek became the sole official language of the state. The church, however, only ever used the Greek language, since the east-

ern part of the empire was Hellenized to a large extent and Greek was the language understood by most of the citizens there. In this period, the empire successfully turned back the waves of Goths, Franks, and Lombards on its northern and western borders, the early Turkish-speaking peoples in the north, and the Persians in the east; however, by 642 the Arabs had succeeded in depriving the empire of all of its provinces in the Near East and Egypt, and in the 670s and 710s they even besieged Constantinople.

The Middle Byzantine Period (717–1204)

During this period, a number of significant ecclesiastical, political, and military events occurred that affected the power and prestige of the empire.

A religious controversy known as iconoclasm (or iconomachy) arose as a result of disputes among the Christians of the empire over the veneration of icons, beginning in 726. By its end in 843, it had devastated the empire financially and cost a number of emperors their thrones because their views on iconoclasm did not coincide with those of the majority of the population at that time. In the ninth century, systematic Byzantine missionary expeditions led to the Christianization of the Slavic peoples and the invention of the Cyrillic alphabet by two missionary brothers, SS. Constantine (Cyril) and Methodios.

On Christmas Day 800 the Frankish king Charlemagne (Charles the Great) was crowned by the pope in Rome as emperor and governor of the Roman Empire. From this time the Byzantine Empire, from being an (ecumenical) “Roman” Empire, became a “Greek” Empire in the political and ecclesiastical perceptions of western Europe.

In the 860s, dogmatic and ritual differences between the church of Constantinople and the church of Rome, together with a clash of personalities of their leaders, led to a rift, which was healed, however, in 886. In 1054, during the reign of Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos, the patriarchate of Michael Keroularios, and the pontificate of Leo IX, the Greek Orthodox and Latin churches separated because of their ecclesiastical and theological differences, which were triggered by the intervention of the pope in bishoprics under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople.

In the middle Byzantine era, the empire succeeded in repelling a number of attacks by Arabs and Bulgarians. In 1071, however, it suffered severe territorial losses on two fronts. In eastern Anatolia, Emperor Romanos IV Diogenes suffered a disastrous defeat by the Saljūq Turks at the bat-

tle of Mantzikert, which resulted in the loss of a large part of the Byzantine lands in Asia Minor. In Italy, the Normans seized Bari, the last Byzantine territory on the peninsula. During the reign of the first two emperors of the Komnenoi dynasty, Byzantium managed to recover some of its territorial losses of the previous decades. Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (d. 1118) succeeded in recovering part of Asia Minor with the help of crusaders and defeated his enemies in the Balkans, while his son John II (d. 1143) extended the dominion of the empire in the Balkans at the expense of the Pecheneg and Cuman peoples. These successes were reversed in 1176 when the Byzantines suffered another crushing defeat at the hands of the Turks at Myriokephalon in Asia Minor.

During the rule of the Komnenoi (1081–1185) and the Angeloi (1185–1204) dynasties, the presence of Westerners in the eastern Mediterranean changed the political, military, and financial status quo in the region. The Norman conquerors of southern Italy, with their many attacks against Byzantine lands, posed a serious threat to the empire, and the Italian naval cities, thanks to the commercial privileges they had been granted by the Byzantine emperors, gained control of trade in the eastern Mediterranean and thus reduced Byzantium's financial resources. The first commercial privileges were granted to Venice in 1082 as the direct result of the military pressure Byzantium was under from the Normans. In the treaty of May 1082 between Byzantium and Venice, the latter promised to support the Byzantine Empire against the Normans and in return received, among other privileges, an annual tribute and tax-free trading privileges in the empire. In his struggle against Norman imperialism, Alexios I also approached the Holy Roman (Western) emperor, Henry IV, and Pope Gregory VII, but only Venice supported him militarily against the Normans.

In the 1090s it was the Saljūq Turks who posed the most serious threat to the Byzantine Empire. After the crushing defeat at Mantzikert, the Byzantines were unable to put a halt to Turkish advances, which led to the capture of the town of Nicaea (mod. İznik, Turkey) in 1081, the establishment of the sultanate of Rūm in Bithynia, and the loss of the important city of Antioch on the Orontes (mod. Antakya, Turkey) in Syria in 1085. In March 1095, a Byzantine embassy sent by Alexios I Komnenos to Pope Urban II appealed for military aid in the struggle against the Turks. In November 1095, at the Council of Clermont, Urban appealed for a campaign to liberate Jerusalem from the Muslims, to pass through Asia

Minor. The series of expeditions now known as the First Crusade (1096–1099) was the help that the Byzantines were offered by the West against the Turks.

The first crusaders who reached Constantinople in summer 1096 under the leadership of Peter the Hermit and Walter Sans-Avoir were well received by Emperor Alexios, despite having raided the Byzantine countryside and clashed with Byzantine forces in the central Balkans because of their attacks against locals. They were transferred hastily across the Bosphorus to Asia Minor for fear of further adverse incidents if they stayed in the empire any longer. On 21 October 1096 they were ambushed by the Turks and annihilated.

Between summer 1096 and May 1097, a more disciplined crusader army assembled at Constantinople from different contingents that had traveled by several routes from the West.

The arrival of the crusaders in the Byzantine Empire brought its authorities and the local population face-to-face with unfamiliar and threatening attitudes and practices. Violent clashes between the crusader armies and their Byzantine escorts on their way to Constantinople, raids on its suburbs, foraging in the countryside, looting, the destruction of a small town in Macedonia, and an attack on Constantinople itself on Maundy Thursday 1097 shocked the Byzantines and worried Alexios. Another source of worry was the presence of armed Norman crusaders under Bohemund of Taranto, when only a few years earlier the emperor had appealed to the West for help against Norman attacks. More importantly, since no provision had been made at the launch of the crusade regarding dominion over the lands that the crusaders might liberate from the Muslims, the Byzantines were concerned about the fate of their former territories in the East. For that reason, Alexios demanded from the leaders of the crusade two oaths: the first was a promise to hand over to the Byzantines all the lands they liberated from the Turks that had once belonged to Byzantium; the second was an oath of homage and fealty. In return, the Byzantine emperor gave them a large financial subsidy, but did not promise to take on the leadership of the crusade, something most of its leaders were hoping for. The Byzantines did help the crusaders militarily, however. After transporting them to Asia Minor, they joined them in besieging the capital of the sultanate of Rūm, Nicaea, which in June 1097 surrendered to the Byzantine emperor. Next, the Byzantine army liberated Smyrna, and Alexios himself advanced toward Phrygia while the crusaders advanced east to Syria and Mesopotamia. In June 1098, the city of Antioch was captured, but

Byzantine Empire



The imperial church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. The minarets were added when the Ottomans converted the church into a mosque after capturing the city in 1453. (Courtesy Alfred Andrea)

was not handed over to the Byzantines as had been agreed, and on 15 July 1099, Jerusalem was liberated.

The newly established Norman principality of Antioch, under Bohemund I (of Taranto), proved to be a constant source of worry to the Byzantines. When they reoccupied Tarsos, Adana, Misis, and Laodikeia in Syria, Bohemund went to Europe to organize a crusade against the Byzantine Empire. In 1107, the army that he assembled in the West landed in Valona and marched on Dyrrachion (Durazzo), where Byzantines and Normans met again outside the walls of the city, twenty-five years after their last encounter there. Bohemund was defeated and in 1108 signed a treaty with Emperor Alexios at Devol, according to which he was to rule over the principality of Antioch as the Byzantine emperor's vassal. However, Bohemund did not dare return to Antioch, and the terms of the treaty were never implemented by Tancred, his regent there.

The disputes between Byzantium and Antioch continued

after the death of Alexios I and Bohemund I. In 1137, Emperor John II Komnenos subjugated Cilicia (Lesser Armenia), which lay between the Byzantine Empire and the principality of Antioch. In August 1137, Antioch surrendered to him after a short siege, and its ruler, Raymond of Poitiers, offered him an oath of vassalage. In 1142, Raymond annulled his agreement with John II and the Byzantine emperor planned an expedition against him, but died unexpectedly in April 1143.

Manuel I Komnenos (d. 1180), John's son and successor, achieved a temporary success against the Frankish states. During his reign, the armies of the Second Crusade (1147–1149) passed through the empire. Once again, there were violent skirmishes between the crusaders and the locals (an attack was proposed against Constantinople by the bishop of Langres's party), but on a lesser scale than those of the First Crusade. Adopting his grandfather's policy toward the crusaders, Manuel transferred them to Asia

Minor as soon as possible, and demanded an oath of homage from their leaders and also a promise that they would hand over to him all the former Byzantine lands that they captured. The first wave of crusaders who were transported to Asia in 1147 consisted of Germans under the leadership of King Conrad III. Manuel had recently become his kinsman, having married Bertha, a relative of the German king. He also had an alliance with Conrad against the Normans of Sicily. In their first encounter with the Turks, the German crusaders were defeated. The second, French, wave of crusaders under King Louis VII joined forces with the surviving Germans and marched through Byzantine lands along the coast, but in January 1148, at Antalya, they suffered severely from Turkish attacks. Short of supplies and with little assistance from the Byzantines, only a small number of exhausted crusaders reached Antioch. On his way back to the West, Conrad III stopped in Constantinople, where he was received warmly and committed himself to an expedition against Roger II, the Norman king of Sicily, who had captured Corfu, Corinth, and Thebes while Byzantium was preoccupied with the crusade in the East. Manuel's achievements with regard to Outremer after the end of the Second Crusade were impressive. In 1158, he marched against the principality of Antioch and Cilicia, which in 1156 had attacked Byzantine Cyprus. Manuel forced the rulers of both states, Prince Reynald of Antioch and Prince T'oros II of Armenia, to pay homage to him. In the same year, King Baldwin III of Jerusalem put himself under the protection of the Byzantine emperor and married one of Manuel's nieces, Theodora. In April 1159, Manuel entered Antioch in triumph, riding a white horse with Reynald walking alongside him, and two years later he sealed the special relationship that he had established with Antioch by his marriage to Princess Maria of Antioch.

The issue of the nationality and confession of the patriarch of Antioch was a source of constant friction between the Latin principality and Byzantium during the Komnenian period: the Greek emperors considered themselves protectors of the Orthodox population of the area, and the Greek Orthodox Church refused to accept the Latinization of the church of Antioch. After the expulsion of the Greek patriarch John of Oxeia from Antioch in 1100, the Byzantines appointed another Greek as (titular) patriarch of Antioch, thus refusing to accept John's Latin successor. In 1136–1137, during the successful Byzantine expedition against Cilicia and Antioch, there seemed to be a real prospect of restoring

the Greek patriarch of Antioch to his throne, but in the end that goal was not realized because of Emperor John II's withdrawal to Europe in order to deal with the Normans of southern Italy. During Manuel I's successful campaign against the principality of Antioch in 1159, the issue of the restoration of the Greek patriarch of Antioch to his throne was not raised, mainly because Manuel did not want to jeopardize the de facto recognition of his overlordship by the rulers of the Latin East by upsetting the religious sentiment of the Latins there. Prince Bohemund III agreed to restore the Greek patriarch in 1165 in return for the money that the Byzantine emperor offered to pay the ransom he owed Nūr al-Dīn for his freedom. In 1170, after an earthquake that killed the Greek patriarch of Antioch, the Latin patriarch was brought back, thus forcing the next two Greek patriarchs to live in exile in Constantinople.

In 1189, the Byzantines were reassured by the Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick I Barbarossa, that the passage of the crusaders of the Third Crusade (1189–1192) through Byzantine lands would be peaceful. The Byzantines in return promised to supply provisions and guides. In the same year, however, the Byzantine emperor Isaac II Angelos renewed the treaty of alliance that his predecessor Andronikos I had signed with Saladin with the purpose of impeding the German crusaders' passage to Jerusalem. The reason Isaac sided with Saladin was the close relationship that Emperor Frederick had established with the Serb, Bulgarian, and Turkish enemies of Byzantium. Frederick responded to the treaty with Saladin, as well as to Isaac's demand that he should hand over to Byzantium half of his future conquests from the Muslims, by capturing the city of Philippopolis, plundering the Byzantine countryside, and starting preparations to march against Constantinople. The threat to the Byzantine capital forced Isaac to sign a treaty with Frederick in 1190, providing for the transfer of the crusaders to Asia Minor and their provisioning. The only event of the Third Crusade that had a lasting impact on Byzantium was the capture of Cyprus by one of the leaders of the crusade, King Richard I of England (1191).

The aim of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) was the liberation of the Holy Land from the Ayyūbids by means of an invasion of Egypt, but lack of funds to pay the Venetians the agreed costs of naval transport to the Levant was the main reason for the diversion of the crusade against the town of Zara (mod. Zadar, Croatia), which they captured and plundered. The crusaders were then invited to turn against

Byzantine Emperors in the Period of the Crusades

Alexios I Komnenos	1081–1118
John II Komnenos	1118–1143
Manuel I Komnenos	1143–1180
Alexios II Komnenos	1180–1183
Andronikos I Komnenos	1183–1185
Isaac II Angelos	1185–1195
Alexios III Angelos	1195–1203
Isaac II Angelos (again)	1203–1204
Alexios IV Angelos	1203–1204
Alexios V Doukas Mourtzouphlos	1204
Latin Empire of Constantinople	1204–1261
Michael VIII Palaiologos	1261–1282
Andronikos II Palaiologos	1282–1328
Michael IX Palaiologos	1294–1320
Andronikos III Palaiologos	1328–1341
John V Palaiologos	1341–1376
John VI Kantakouzenos	1347–1354
Matthew Kantakouzenos	1353–1357
Andronikos IV Palaiologos	1376–1379
John V Palaiologos (again)	1379–1390
John VII Palaiologos	1390
John V Palaiologos (again)	1390–1391
Manuel II Palaiologos	1391–1425
John VII Palaiologos (again)	1399–1408
John VIII Palaiologos	1425–1448
Constantine XI Palaiologos	1448–1453

Byzantium by an exiled Byzantine prince, the future Alexios IV, to restore his father, Isaac II Angelos, who had been deposed in 1195. Alexios IV Angelos promised the crusaders and the Venetians a large sum of money, committed himself to assist the crusade after his father had been restored to the throne, and promised to work toward the reunification of the Greek Orthodox and Latin churches. A few months later, after Alexios had failed to fulfill his promise to pay the crusaders, they besieged Constantinople, capturing the city in April 1204. For three days the Byzantine capital was ruthlessly sacked.

The diversion of the Fourth Crusade to Constantinople and the atrocities committed by the crusaders and the Venetians after the capture of the Byzantine capital can be fully explained if Byzantine-Latin relations of the recent past are taken into consideration. There is no doubt that the crusaders and the Venetians wanted their debts to be paid by

the Byzantines, but apart from this, a significant role in the events of 1204 was played by the antipathy that had been cultivated for decades in the West against Byzantium because of the lack of commitment of the Byzantine emperors to the aims of the crusaders. Further contributory factors were the schism between the Latin and Greek Orthodox churches, the imperialistic policy of Emperor Manuel I toward the West, the anti-Latin policy of Emperor Andronikos I, and finally long-standing Western ambitions to conquer Constantinople, which had been an aim of the Norman kings of Sicily in the eleventh century, and may well have been considered by Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa and his son Emperor Henry VI in the twelfth century.

The Later Byzantine Period (1204–1453)

This was the period of the decline and collapse of the Byzantine Empire, which, apart from external enemies, now also faced civil wars and rebellions. Around the time of the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204, a number of independent Greek states were established in the lands of the former Byzantine Empire, three of which played a dominant role in the political developments in the area in the first decades of the thirteenth century: the empire of Nicaea, the principality of Epiros, and the empire of Trebizond. The empire of Nicaea fought against the other two states in its struggle to be recognized by Greeks as the legitimate successor state of the Byzantine Empire. It achieved this aim in 1230, when the Bulgarian army of Ivan Asen II crushed the Epirote army at the battle of Klokochnitsa. The empire of Trebizond had already been a vassal state to the Saljūq sultanate of Rūm since 1214. The Nicaean army liberated Constantinople from the Latins in 1261, and the Nicaean emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos himself entered the city in triumph in August 1261, thus restoring the Byzantine Empire. However, in the 1270s popular uprisings took place in the empire because the vast majority of Byzantines disagreed with Michael's policy of forcing the Orthodox Church to accept reunification with the Church of Rome on papal terms in return for political benefits for the empire.

Further internal restlessness occurred during the reigns of Michael's successors. Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos fought for seven years (1321–1328) against his grandson Andronikos III. In the mid-fourteenth century the religious movement known as Hesychasm (quietude) led to an open conflict among members of the church and also between the church and the emperor. A civil war (1341–1347), which ini-

tially did not seem to have social causes but eventually became a violent manifestation of the hostility between the lower classes and the landed aristocracy, was the worst civil conflict, which destroyed almost everything, according to Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos. After the end of the civil war, John VI ruled in the place of the young John V Palaiologos, thus interrupting for seven years the rule of the Palaiologoi dynasty (1347–1354). Finally, when John V was restored to the throne, he had to face the rebellion of his son Andronikos IV and then of his grandson John VII.

In this period, the empire was surrounded only by enemies. The continuing commercial privileges enjoyed by Italian maritime cities (principally Venice and Genoa) posed a threat to the existence of the empire: they enabled those cities to intervene at will in its internal affairs by means of the fleets they had stationed in Byzantine waters. The Angevin dynasty that ruled southern Italy and Sicily was a serious threat to the integrity of the Byzantine Empire throughout the reign of Michael VIII Palaiologos. In order to reduce this danger, Michael submitted the Greek Orthodox Church to the Latin Church, believing that the pope would be willing and able to hold back an Angevin attack against Byzantium. At the same time, the Ottoman Turks were consolidating their position in Asia Minor at the expense of the Saljūqs of Rūm and later of the Byzantines themselves, who, by the beginning of the fourteenth century, had lost most of Bithynia (in northwestern Asia Minor) to them. In the fourteenth century, the Byzantine lands in northern and central Greece were captured by the Serbs, who, under Tsar Stephan Dušan, deprived the Byzantine Empire of almost half of its lands, and by the Catalan Company, which established control over the duchy of Athens and Thebes (1311–1388) after the Byzantine emperor had been unable to pay it for its mercenary services.

In 1354, the Ottomans crossed over to Europe for the first time and captured the Gallipoli peninsula. By the end of the century, a number of Byzantine cities in the Balkans had succumbed, and in 1390 the last Byzantine stronghold in Asia Minor was captured by the Ottoman sultan Bayezid I. A Western-Balkan coalition against the Turks, the so-called Crusade of Nikopolis, ended in disaster in 1396. It was mainly thanks to the defeat of the Turks by the Mongols at the battle of Ankara in 1402 that the Byzantine Empire managed to survive for a further fifty years.

Aid from abroad was desperately needed for the empire, but the means that were employed to achieve this occasion-

ally caused more problems in the empire. Attempts to heal the schism between the Orthodox and Latin churches at the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–1439) were followed by internal unrest in the Byzantine Empire, whose population was divided into “unionists” and “anti-unionists.” As at the Second Council of Lyons in 1274, the motivations of the Byzantines in signing the agreement on the reunification of the churches were mainly political, hoping for military aid from the West. Pope Eugenius IV appealed to Western rulers for a crusade against the Turks, and in the summer of 1443, about 25,000 crusaders, Hungarians, Serbs, and Vlachs were assembled. In November 1443 they captured Niš and entered Sofia; in June 1444 King Ladislas of Hungary signed a ten-year truce with the Turkish sultan Murad II, which, however, lasted for only a few months. In November 1444 the Hungarians and the crusaders renewed their military activities and besieged Varna, but were defeated by the Turks there on 10 November. The Crusade of Varna was the last attempt in the Byzantine era for a coordinated Christian offensive against the Turks. When Emperor Constantine XI Palaiologos ascended the throne in 1448, only military help from the West could offer the empire any hope of survival, and to that end, the Byzantine emperor again tried to implement the reunification of the churches agreed to in Ferrara-Florence. The much needed aid from the West did not arrive on time, and Constantinople fell to the Turks on 29 May 1453, followed by the despotate of Mistra in 1460 and the empire of Trebizond in 1461.

—Aphrodite Papayianni

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C

Caesarea (Maritima)

A coastal city in central Palestine, Caesarea (mod. Har Qesari, Israel) was the seat of a lordship and an archbishopric in the kingdom of Jerusalem.

After the arrival of the Franks in the course of the First Crusade (1096–1099), the Muslim emir of Caesarea obtained tributary status from Godfrey of Bouillon, the ruler of Jerusalem. In May 1101, however, with Genoese naval assistance, Godfrey's brother and successor, King Baldwin I, took the city amid scenes of plunder and carnage. An archbishop was subsequently installed in the cathedral of St. Peter, formerly the great mosque, and a royal garrison was left to defend the town. In the twelfth century the population mostly consisted of Franks, with some Eastern Christians and a small number of Jews and Samaritans. Although the Genoese later claimed to have been granted a third of the city by Baldwin I, there is no evidence to suggest that their claim was ever fully realized.

Between 1105 and 1110, the lordship of Caesarea was granted to Eustace Granarius (Grenier), a knight from the bishopric of Thérouanne. It passed to his son Walter in 1123, but the precise succession to the lordship thereafter is unclear. Its territory extended over the coastal plain from Le Destroit (near 'Atlit) in the north to the borders of the lordship of Arsuf in the south. According to John of Jaffa, the lord owed the king the service of twenty-five knights, and the city and archbishop, fifty sergeants each.

Caesarea fell to Saladin's emirs after the battle of Hattin in mid-July 1187. The Muslims systematically dismantled its towers and walls before it was occupied by King Richard I of England on 31 August 1191. Although it was confirmed

as a Frankish possession in August 1192, Juliana, lady of Caesarea, seems not to have taken up residence there. In December 1217, John of Brienne began refortifying the town with the assistance of Duke Leopold VI of Austria and the Hospitallers, and on 2 February 1218 the patriarch of Jerusalem celebrated Mass in the cathedral. During the winter of 1219–1220, however, Caesarea was attacked by al-Mu'azzam 'Isā, Ayyūbid ruler of Damascus, while its lord, Walter, was absent with the king at Damietta in Egypt. The city's defense had been entrusted to the Genoese, but they abandoned it after four days, leaving al-Mu'azzam to destroy its defenses once more. Refortification was put in hand between May and September 1228 by Duke Henry of Limburg and German crusaders awaiting the arrival of Emperor Frederick II. It was brought to completion by King Louis IX of France between March 1251 and May 1252.

Caesarea's territory was raided in summer 1264 by the Mamlūk sultan Baybars I, who returned in February 1265 to lay siege to the city. When the walls were breached, the defenders retired to the castle on the south harbor mole. For six days Baybars directed the attack from a vantage point on the cathedral roof, and on 5 March the garrison surrendered and was evacuated by sea to Acre. Over the next two weeks, the Mamlūks dismantled the defenses for the last time.

Caesarea has been the subject of archaeological excavations since 1960 and of underwater research since 1980. The Frankish town walls followed the course of the earlier Muslim defenses, enclosing an area some 450 meters (148 ft.) north to south by 240 meters (787 ft.) east to west. This was about 10 hectares, representing less than a twen-

Caesarea (Maritima)



The moat and fortifications of Caesarea in Palestine. (Courtesy Alfred Andrea)

tieth of the area of the Byzantine city. The walls were strengthened by fifteen towers, including gatehouses on the north, east, and south, and were buttressed by a sloping masonry batter (talus) rising from the bottom of the enclosing ditch. A small harbor on the west, enclosed by the castle and an artificial mole, represented merely the inner part of the earlier harbor built by King Herod (22–10 B.C.).

The Latin archbishopric had a single suffragan, the bishop of Sebastea, adjacent to Nablus. The twelfth-century cathedral of Caesarea had three aisles terminating in rounded apses; sometime in the thirteenth century the east end was rebuilt to a slightly different design, probably after destruction in 1191 or 1219–1220. Other churches included the Genoese Church of St. Lawrence, a Chapel of St. Cornelius outside the walls, and houses of the Hospitallers, the Order of St. Lazarus, and the Teutonic Knights. A group of Fāṭimid-period houses, laid out around central courtyards, continued in use after the Frankish conquest, one of them having its

first floor carried over the street on series of arches. Elsewhere there survives the vaulted undercroft of what may be a merchant's house. Pottery found in the excavations includes wares imported from Cyprus, North Africa, Italy, Greece, and Muslim Syria.

—Denys Pringle

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Caffaro (1080/1081–1166)

Genoese politician and crusader, and the first layperson to emerge as a historian in the Middle Ages.

Caffaro was the son of Rustico, lord of Caschifellone in Val Pocevera north of Genoa. In 1100–1101 he took part in the first naval expedition organized by the commune of Genoa in support of the crusaders who had reached Syria and Palestine in the course of the First Crusade (1096–1099). He may have gone to Outremer for a second time between 1130 and 1140. After the First Crusade, Caffaro played an important role in the political life of Genoa: from 1122 to 1149 he served frequently as consul; several times he was one of the four elected leaders of the commune; as one of the two *consules de comuni* who were responsible for Genoa's foreign policy, he acted repeatedly as commander of the Genoese war fleet (1125 and 1146–1148), and also as a diplomat.

Caffaro negotiated successfully with Pisa and Pope Calixtus II (1121–1123) to secure Genoa's metropolitan rights over the island of Corsica. He secured improved conditions for Genoese trade from Raymond Berengar III, count of Barcelona (1127 and 1146), and also concluded an alliance with King Alfonso VII of Castile in 1146 that enabled the Genoese fleet to capture the Spanish towns of Almeria and Tortosa in 1147–1148 in the course of the Second Crusade. He conducted negotiations with Frederick I Barbarossa, the Holy Roman Emperor, in 1154 and 1158, which achieved formal confirmation of earlier imperial privileges for Genoa. As admiral, Caffaro defeated the Pisan fleet in 1125. In the western Mediterranean, he commanded a Genoese fleet that attacked the island of Menorca, plundered one of its coastal towns (Port Mahon or Cittadella), and was able to gain control of this island from the Moors in 1146. The Genoese fleet that captured the towns of Almeria and Tortosa on the Iberian mainland from the Saracens was also under his command.

Caffaro wrote three chronicles that differed greatly: the *Annales Ianuenses*, the *De liberatione civitatum Orientis*, and the *Ystoria captionis Almarie et Turtuose*. The *Annales*

Ianuenses (1099–1163) constituted his main historiographical work; despite his partiality toward his native city, it is much more reliable than his lesser works and was continued up to 1294 by various city chroniclers as the official history of the commune of Genoa.

–Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie

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Çaka

See Chaka

Calatrava, Order of

The oldest military religious order of Hispanic origin.

The order was founded in 1158 in the fortress of Calatrava in what is now the province of Ciudad Real (Spain) by Abbot Raymond and a group of Cistercian monks from the mon-

astery of Fitero in Navarre, who included one Diego Velázquez, a former knight who had been brought up at the Castilian court. According to the chronicler Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, archbishop of Toledo, Calatrava had been abandoned by the Templars because they considered themselves incapable of defending it against a likely attack from the Almohads. Because of this, the Cistercians of Fitero were able to occupy the fortress after it had been handed over to them by the king of Castile, Sancho III. From this point the monks combined their spiritual vocation with the defense of the enclave, creating a religious militia, or military order, that received the name of the castle. From 1164 the Cistercian general chapter and the papacy both recognized the new institution as part of the Cistercian Order, even though placing the *freires* (knight brethren) and monks in the same category posed problems for a long time.

The *freires* were obliged to obey the Cistercian rule, and the Cistercian chapter regularly visited their central convent. From 1186, it was the abbot of Morimond who visited them, and Calatrava came to be considered as an affiliate of his monastery. The responsibility of this abbot was to lay down norms and disciplinary prescriptions, which all members of the Order of Calatrava were obliged to observe. As part of their religious profession, the members had to take solemn monastic vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity. Most of them were knights with military functions, and only a few were clerics, whose duty was to administer the sacraments to all of the members. After the death of the founder, Raymond of Fitero (c. 1162), the head of the order was termed a *maestre* (grand master), who was always a knight brother. The other members came under his authority, even though the clerics were directly responsible to the prior, or prelate. The prior belonged to the clerical branch of the militia and, being lower in rank than the grand master, was nominated by the abbot of Morimond. The *freires* lived in the central convent at Calatrava, or in other convents of the area; these were known as *prioratos* (priories) and *comendas* (commanderies), and were the territorial divisions into which the estates of the order were divided for administrative purposes. From the first decades of the thirteenth century the order admitted women, who entered as contemplative nuns in the few monasteries belonging to the militia: San Felices de Amaya (Burgos), San Salvador de Pinilla (Guadalajara), and Santa María de Jalimena (Jaén).

The territorial estates of the Order of Calatrava were mainly situated in Castile, particularly in a large part of the

ancient kingdom of Toledo, the so-called Campo de Calatrava, in what is now the province of Ciudad Real. There the order received numerous donations from kings, nobles, and other individuals, and managed to control some of the most important communication routes that linked the center of the Iberian Peninsula with al-Andalus. These routes were flanked by numerous castles that also belonged to the order: Malagón, Benavente, Alarcos, Caracuel, and Piedrabuena, among others. The order also had a considerable presence in the kingdoms of León and Portugal, although from the beginning of the thirteenth century its branches in these kingdoms developed into autonomous orders under the names Alcántara and Avis; in the Cistercian terminology of the time, they were affiliates of Calatrava. In Aragon, the members of the Order of Calatrava established themselves in the strategic fortress of Alcañiz from 1179. They never actually constituted an independent order, but they did establish a major commandery, which was relatively autonomous in relation to the central convent. At the end of the Middle Ages, the estates of the order in Castile alone amounted to approximately 15,000 square kilometers (5,800 sq. mi.), with more than fifty commanderies and almost 100,000 vassals. The wealth accumulated from a patrimony of this size was quite considerable; livestock farming was particularly relevant in the depopulated area between the river Tagus and the Sierra Morena.

The members of the order participated in all the principal battles during the reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula from the Muslims. They suffered a severe defeat at Alarcos (1195) against the Almohads, which almost caused their disappearance as an institution. However, they contributed decisively to the Christian victory at Las Navas de Tolosa (1212), and formed a substantial part of the Christian army under Ferdinand III of Castile that, between 1230 and 1248, managed to incorporate the whole of northern Andalusia into Castile. They were also active in the major campaigns against the Marinids in the XIV century, in particular at the battle of Salado (1340), and in the conquest of Granada by the "Catholic Monarchs," Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile, toward the end of the fifteenth century.

Their presence outside the Iberian Peninsula was of minor importance, although we have knowledge of a convent of Calatrava in the 1230s situated in Tymau in Poland, on the left bank of the river Vistula. In any case, the efficiency of the *freires* on the battlefield did not depend as much on their num-

ber (which probably never amounted to more than 300 knights) as on their quality. They were skilled professionals in warfare, and embodied the purest spirit of the crusade; they were also capable of mobilizing numerous laypeople under their banners, who took advantage of the indulgences and spiritual privileges the papacy bestowed on crusaders. Some of these laypeople may even have been affiliated with the order, that is, linked to it by both spiritual and material ties.

Like the rest of the military orders, Calatrava underwent a fairly obvious transformation process. In its first century of existence, it was a militia with clear monastic connections that acted as a faithful collaborator of the Castilian monarchy in its military and colonizing plans. From the middle of the thirteenth century, an irreversible process of secularization began to occur as a consequence of two circumstances: on the one hand, the *freires* became increasingly tied to the noble lineages of the kingdom; on the other, the monarchy demonstrated a greater interest in intervening in the control of the institution. Both these factors contributed to a weakening of the original monastic character of the order and converted it into a mere institution of nobles, identified with the interests of the important aristocratic dynasties and, consequently, not always loyal to the king.

Given these developments, the control of the office of grand master became a matter of constant concern, for different reasons, both to the important noble families and to the monarchy. All this contributed to the outbreak of internal crises, which were especially intense throughout the fifteenth century, as was evident during the periods of office of the grand masters Enrique de Villena, Luis González de Guzmán, and Pedro Girón. These crises, combined with the intervention of the *freires* in civil conflicts, were used to justify the acquisition of the office of grand master by the Crown in 1489. At that time, the militia was showing signs of becoming decidedly secular, as demonstrated by the relaxation of the monastic vows of the *freires*, which was legitimized by the Cistercian general chapter and the papacy. The members of the Order of Calatrava (along with those of the other military orders) were transferred to the responsibility of the Council of Military Orders, a government department integrated into the political structure of the monarchy. Their resources were utilized by the monarchy, and the order finally became an honorific corporation, suppressed by the liberal governments of the nineteenth century. From that time a series of complex vicissitudes permitted the order's intermittent appearance on the social scene; today it

belongs to a restored and honorific Council of Orders presided over by a member of the Spanish royal family.

—Carlos de Ayala

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Caliphate

The institution of leadership of the Muslim *umma* (community).

After the death of the Prophet Muḥammad in 632, the Muslim community found itself faced with a dilemma: the Qur'ān provided no clear indication of who was intended to lead the *umma* after the Prophet, nor in exactly what capacity. Leadership of the community soon passed to individuals who became known as caliphs; the English term derives from Arabic *khalīfa* (successor). The caliphs were initially, de facto, both military commanders (as leaders of raids were in the pre-Islamic era) and religious leaders (in their capacity as successors to the Prophet, although they were not prophets themselves).

By the time of the crusades the relationship between the caliph and the actual mechanisms of rule had become less stringently defined as a result of ninth-century tensions between the caliphs and the religious elite as well as later developments in theories of the caliphate. From the ninth century on, domination of the caliphs by their military subordinates also restricted their power. The situation came to a head in 946, when the caliph al-Mustakfī (944–946) was forced to accept a member of the Shī'ite Būyid family as his deputy, becoming little more than a figurehead for the new ruler of the Muslim world. While the Būyids were displaced by the Sunnī Saljūq Turks in 1055, the caliphs remained for

the most part the religious and the secular leaders of the Muslim world in name only. Nevertheless, during the crusading period some caliphs, most notably al-Muqtafi (1136–1160) and al-Naṣir (1180–1225), managed to resist their theoretical subordinates and assert their own authority.

The first four caliphs were chosen by the general agreement of the umma, but after the death of the fourth caliph, ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (661), the caliphate passed to the Umayyad family, who instituted a principle of dynastic succession, something that raised some opposition within the umma. By the eighth century, the Umayyads had become embroiled in a number of difficulties and had made several major enemies. Finally, in 750, they were replaced by another prominent Arab family, the ‘Abbāsids. ‘Abbāsid caliphs reigned (though as indicated, few actually ruled) at Baghdad until 1258 and at Cairo from 1262 (under Mamlūk tutelage) until the fall of the Mamlūk sultanate to the Ottomans in 1517.

At times there were rival caliphates, each of them claiming to be the legitimate one. Partisans of the family of ‘Alī had opposed both the Umayyads and the ‘Abbāsids; indeed, in North Africa the Shi‘ite Fātimids founded a caliphate at Kairouan in 909, took Egypt sixty years later, and ruled there until 1171. Rival caliphates also existed in Spain, where the Umayyad emir, ‘Abd al-Rahmān III (d. 961), founded a caliphate that lasted from 928 until 1031, and in North Africa, where the Almohad ‘Abd al-Mu‘min (d. 1163) and his descendants claimed the title until 1269. The title was also claimed by the Ḥafṣids of Tunisia and eastern Algeria (1228–1574) and the Marīnids of Morocco (1196–1464).

–Niall Christie

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Calixtus II (d. 1124)

Pope (1119–1124) who played a significant role in extending the definition of the crusade. Guy (Lat. Guido) of Burgundy, as he was originally known, was probably born around 1060. As one of six sons and five daughters of William II Tête-Hardie, count of Burgundy (d. 1087), Guy belonged to the highest aristocratic circles of the kingdom of France and the Holy Roman Empire.

Like his older brother Hugh, Guy was destined for an ecclesiastical career, while their other three surviving brothers divided the rule over the vast domains of the comital house of Burgundy. Educated at the cathedral school of Besançon, Guy was elected archbishop of Vienne, probably in 1088. The story that he spent fourteen years as a wandering scholar on pilgrimage in the service of St. James of Compostela is an invention of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* found in the so-called Codex Calixtinus.

As archbishop of Vienne, Guy devoted much of his energy to the territorial expansion of his archdiocese. He was engaged in long-running conflicts with the bishop of Grenoble, one of his suffragans, and with the abbey of Saint-Barnard, and did not allow even papal judgments to stand in his way. This earned him the opposition of Pope Urban II, who decided both disputes against Guy on account of disobedience to earlier commands of the pontiff at the Council of Clermont (1095), which Guy did not attend. Guy himself did not go on crusade, unlike his brothers: two of them died in 1102 after having gone to the East with the Crusade of 1101; the third, Hugh, archbishop of Besançon, died during the sea crossing to the Holy Land in 1101.

Guy was a leading opponent of Urban’s successor, Pope Paschal II, who in 1111 tried to reach an agreement with

Henry V, the Holy Roman Emperor, in the long-running dispute between empire and papacy concerning the investiture of ecclesiastical offices. At the Council of Vienne (1112), Guy threatened Paschal with schism and excommunicated the emperor. When Paschal's successor, Pope Gelasius II, died at Cluny in February 1119, the cardinals present at his death elected Guy as pope. He was crowned at Vienne a week later (9 February 1119) and took the name Calixtus. On his way to Rome, he had already held two synods (Toulouse and Mouzon). The First Lateran Council (1123) could be considered the high point of his pontificate. Despite some opposition, it ratified the Concordat of Worms, establishing a truce between Emperor Henry V and the papacy in the struggle over investiture.

The decrees of the Lateran Council of 1123 built on earlier crusade legislation of Urban II and Paschal II by promising remission of sin to those who set out for Jerusalem and by placing their properties and families under the protection of the Apostolic See. Calixtus's legislation was largely in response to appeals from the Franks of Outremer after the defeat of the army of Antioch by the Turks at the battle of the *Ager Sanguinis* (Field of Blood) in 1119. Approaches to Venice by Calixtus and King Baldwin II of Jerusalem (a distant relative of his) resulted in a naval crusade in 1122–1124, which was led by Doge Domenico Michiel. Although the expedition was also intended to further Venetian commercial interests, it enabled the Franks of Jerusalem to defeat a major Fāṭimid invasion in 1123 and contributed decisively to the capture of the port of Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon) in 1124. In a letter of 1123 to Spanish magnates, Calixtus also equated participation in the *Reconquista* (reconquest of Iberia from the Muslims) with the crusade to the Holy Land. He died on 13 or 14 December 1124 in Rome. His encouragement for the crusade in Spain eventually helped bring about a campaign launched against Granada by King Alfonso I of Aragon in 1125–1126.

—Uta-Renate Blumenthal

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Canary Islands

The Canary Islands (Sp. *Islas Canarias*) are a group of islands off the western coast of North Africa, which were the target for expeditions with commercial or crusading character from the late thirteenth century onward, until they were incorporated into the Crown of Castile at the end of the fifteenth century.

In classical times the *Fortunatae Insulae* ("Fortunate Islands"), as they were named, were known to the Romans, albeit imperfectly. Nonetheless, archaeological finds seem to support the idea of some kind of Roman presence and even of Phoenician colonial outposts. These colonies would have established contact with the native population (the Guanches), which must have reached the islands coming from Late Neolithic North Africa around the middle of the first millennium B.C. The Arabs paid little attention to the archipelago, and even some Muslim authors thought that it was uninhabited; only Italian interest in navigation down the western African coast from the late thirteenth century onward brought these islands onto the map of the Mediterranean commerce, particularly for slaves, the sap of the dragon-tree (*Dracaena draco*), and archil (orchil). Around 1336 the Genoese Lancelloto Malocello reached the most eastern island, Lanzarote, to which he gave his own name.

In the second half of the fourteenth century, Catalans and Mallorcans controlled the expeditions to the Canary Islands, which began to have also a missionary character. Italian and Aragonese voyages gave way at the end of that century to Castilian and Portuguese interest in the islands, a shift that showed the increasing political weight of the Atlantic powers. It was a French nobleman from Normandy, Jean de Bethencourt, who in 1402 launched an expedition to conquer an archipelago that was well depicted in contemporary portolan charts. The Age of Rediscovery gave way to the Age of Lordship. The conqueror became a vassal of King Henry III of Castile and obtained a papal indulgence for those participating in the campaign, but soon he lost interest in the three islands he had occupied (Lanzarote, Fuerteventura, and Hierro) and transferred lordship to his nephew Maciot,

who ceded it to the Andalusian count of Niebla in 1418. From that time until the Castilian Crown stepped in (1477), these three islands, plus the right of conquest over the other four (Gran Canaria, Tenerife, La Palma, and Gomera), were in the hands of the Andalusian noble houses of Las Casas and Peraza. In these decades firm control was established only over Gomera.

The rest of the islands were only conquered after Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile decided in 1477 to take the Canary Islands under their control in the midst of the civil war against Juana la Beltraneja. The end of that war also put an end to Portuguese claims to that Atlantic region. The Treaty of Alcaçovas-Toledo (1479) fixed zones of influence in the Atlantic; the Canary Islands were assigned to Castile, and Madeira and the Azores to Portugal. In 1483 Gran Canaria was finally subdued after strong resistance. The need for safe Atlantic bases for the exploratory voyages of Christopher Columbus quickened the efforts of the Castilian Crown for complete control of the archipelago; in 1492–1493 La Palma was occupied, and in 1494–1496 so was Tenerife.

—Luis Garcia-Guijarro Ramos

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Canso d'Antiocha

See Occitan Literature

Canso de la Crozada

See *Chanson de la Croisade albigeoise*

Caoursin, Guillaume (1430–1501)

Historian of the Order of the Hospital.

Born in Douai in Flanders, Guillaume Caoursin received a doctorate in arts from the University of Paris and was also a professor of law. He became vice-chancellor of the Order of the Hospital on Rhodes (mod. Rodos, Greece), first appearing in the records of the chapter general in 1456, and he served as secretary to the master. Twice he served as the order's ambassador to the papal Curia, once in August 1470, and again in 1485, when he delivered an oration addressed to Pope Innocent VIII that was published as *Ad Innocentium papam VIII oratio* (1485).

Caoursin wrote the official description of the Ottoman siege of Rhodes in 1480, published under the title *Obsidionis Rhodiae urbis descriptio* (1480). His major work was the compilation of the order's rule, entitled *Stabilimenta Rhodiorum militum* (1495). His final published work was an illustrated collection of histories of the order, the *Rhodiorum historia* (1496). Despite his long association with the order, Caoursin never became a member, nor was he a cleric; in 1480 he married a Rhodian.

—Theresa M. Vann

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Captivity

Capture by the enemy was a perennial danger during crusade expeditions as well as during fighting between Latin Christians and their various opponents in Outremer, Greece, Spain, and the Baltic lands, a danger that affected fighters and noncombatants of both sexes and of all social groups. Captivity came to be an important theme of crusading literature, notably in the form of the Old French epic *Les Chétifs*, and it eventually led to the creation of Christian religious institutions established specifically for the liberation of prisoners.

In eleventh- and twelfth-century Western warfare, class consciousness and economic self-interest meant that cap-

tured knights were often spared and ransomed, while captured foot soldiers and noncombatants were frequently massacred. In the Muslim world, captives might be ransomed, exchanged, or enslaved, and large-scale prisoner exchanges had been common between Byzantine and Arab armies. During the First Crusade (1096–1099), however, there seems to have been little expectation that captives would be spared, and execution was the usual fate of those taken in battle by both Christians and Muslims.

In Outremer such attitudes meant that the Franks often carried out large-scale and savage massacres of the inhabitants of captured cities, such as Ma'arrat al-Nu'man (1098), Jerusalem (1099), and Caesarea (1101), while they were reluctant to pay ransoms demanded by the Muslims. From around 1105, however, it became more common for captives on both sides to be spared, especially when they could be used to obtain large ransoms or for prisoner exchanges, although the inability to meet ransom demands, along with the reluctance of Muslims to release key enemies, often meant that prominent Franks spent lengthy periods in captivity. These included the following (with periods of captivity in parentheses): Bohemund I (1100–1103) and Bohemund III of Antioch (1164–1165), Baldwin II of Edessa and Jerusalem (1104–1108, 1123–1124), Joscelin I (1104–1107) and Joscelin II of Edessa (1150–1159), Raymond III of Tripoli (1164–1173), and Reynald of Châtillon (1160/1161–1175, 1187). The intensification of warfare in the time of Saladin led to increasingly harsh treatment of captives, as exemplified by Saladin's execution of Templar and Hospitaller knights after the battle of Hattin (1187) and the massacre of several thousand Muslims ordered by Richard the Lionheart after the surrender of Acre (1191).

For captives on either side, freedom might come about by various means. Escape or rescue was frequently a possibility, and some rescue attempts might involve complex or large-scale efforts, as when Armenians from Edessa infiltrated the Turkish fortress of Khartput disguised as monks and traders to rescue Baldwin II (1123), or when the Franco-Lombard contingent during the Crusade of 1101 turned aside from its march route in a vain attempt to rescue Bohemund I of Antioch in northern Anatolia. Liberation was more commonly secured by ransom or exchange for captives freed by the other side. Even lords might need to sell or mortgage considerable property to raise ransoms, or might demand payments from their vassals, but enslavement was often the fate of those without sufficient resources. Liberation through apostasy, that is conversion to the faith of the

captors, was often offered under duress, as an alternative to death, and such a conversion usually meant that the convert was unable to return to his former home. The Templars and Hospitallers generally refused to ransom any of their knight brethren who were captured, although they were often prepared to put up funds to free laypeople.

The great number of Christian fighters and noncombatants taken prisoner by Saladin at Hattin and afterward brought about a new focus in the West on the plight of captives and the need for their liberation. On the initiative of the papacy, prayers for Christian captives were introduced into the liturgy, while new institutions were founded with the purpose of redeeming captives. Although military orders in both Outremer and Iberia had previously been active in this respect, the work of redemption was given a new basis in 1198 with the foundation of the Trinitarian Order, whose principal objective was the liberation of captives by the provision of ransoms as an act of charity. Although the Trinitarians were active in the Holy Land, it was Spain and the western Mediterranean region that came to be the main sphere of their own and other redemptionist activity, particularly after the foundation of a second dedicated redemptionist order, the Mercedarians (1223), based primarily in Iberia and Languedoc. Redemptionist work extended not only to captives taken in the wars of the *Reconquista*, but also to the many Christians carried off by the corsairs of North Africa. For Muslims too, the liberation of prisoners was regarded as a meritorious act, and wealthy individuals often donated money directly for redemptions or for charitable foundations established for this purpose.

The failure of many crusades after 1187 often resulted in large-scale captures of Christians. Thus Louis IX of France and his men were obliged to surrender to the Egyptians, after being outmaneuvered during their advance on Cairo, and were obliged to pay a colossal ransom (1250); after the disastrous defeat of Nikopolis at the hands of the Turks (1396), the majority of Christian captives were systematically butchered, with some being sold into slavery, and a few nobles spared for heavy ransom. Even a crusader returning home was not immune to capture, as in the case of Richard the Lionheart, seized by Duke Leopold V of Austria on his journey back from the Third Crusade and held for ransom for 100,000 marks by the emperor Henry VI (1192).

Cruelty to captives was a particular feature of the Christian conquest of Prussia and Livonia; it was common for prisoners on both sides to be butchered or burned alive on

Carmelite Order

the field of battle. However, from the later thirteenth century there was a growing tendency to treat captives on this front as an important economic resource, particularly to replenish working populations that had been depleted through continual warfare. Many of the numerous raids by Christians and pagans alike during the later Baltic crusades were mounted with the express purpose of obtaining captives who could be enslaved and set to work in the fields or in the construction of fortifications.

—Alan V. Murray

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Carmelite Order

The Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel was a religious order of the Latin Church, founded in the kingdom of Jerusalem.

The order began when Albert of Vercelli, Latin patriarch of Jerusalem (1205–1214), gave a rule for living to a group of hermits living on Mount Carmel in the north of the king-

dom of Jerusalem. Papal confirmations in 1226 and 1229 determined the eremitical character of the order, but from around 1242 onward the hermits began to settle in the West, and in 1247 a modification to the rule enabled a transformation into a mendicant order. Thenceforth the Carmelites exercised a pastoral ministry similar to that of other friars, though Carmelite spirituality retained an emphasis on contemplation. After 1291 the Carmelites' link to crusading was manifested largely in the legendary traditions developed about the order's origins and early history.

Mount Carmel is a mountainous ridge roughly 22 kilometers (13½ mi.) long and 14 kilometers (8½ mi.) broad, rising gradually in parallel to the Mediterranean Sea to a peak of around 550 meters (c. 1804 ft.) overlooking the bay of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel). Carmel was venerated by Jews, Christians, and Muslims because of its association with Elijah. Two features attracted especial attention: the cave of Elijah, below the summit of the promontory, and the spring of Elijah, which rises in a *wādī* (watercourse) about 6.5 kilometers (4 mi.) south of the summit. Three Greek Orthodox monasteries are attested from the Byzantine period: St. Margaret, on the summit; St. Elisha, in *wādī* 'Ain as-Siah; and St. John of Tyre, in *wādī* al-'Ain; the hermit Martinian lived on Mount Carmel in the fourth century.

In 1185, John Phokas, a Greek pilgrim, reported the existence of a small community of Calabrian hermits on Mount Carmel, probably in 'Ain as-Siah, since he refers to the hermits inhabiting the ruins of a monastery. After 1187 Carmel's wooded valleys probably attracted Frankish and indigenous hermits fleeing from Galilee, where they had been numerous. It was these hermits who were described in Albert's rule as having been gathered together to live in a regulated community. Nothing is known of the early composition of the order, but the rule, which shares similarities with the Carthusian customary, required the hermits to live in individual cells grouped around an oratory. The rule envisaged a largely lay community, but liturgical offices following the custom of the Holy Sepulchre were specified. A vow of silence was imposed, and the hermits were to own no property. The community was headed by a prior who assigned the hermits to their cells, which they were not to leave without permission.

The earliest witnesses to Carmelite life were pilgrims. Anonymous guides from the 1230s mention the Latin hermits and their church, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and remark on the fertility of their site. In 1238, however, the per-

ceived threat of Muslim attack induced some of the hermits to settle in Cyprus, while in 1242 two English crusaders, Richard de Grey and William de Vescy, took hermits from Carmel to found hermitages in England; similarly, King Louis IX of France founded a Carmelite house near Paris in 1258. The Carmelites also founded new houses in Outremer: documentary evidence attests to houses in Acre and Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon), but a fourteenth-century Carmelite list of houses also mentions houses in Tripoli (mod. Trâblous, Lebanon), the Black Mountain near Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey), and Jerusalem. A papal bull of 1263 refers to the rebuilding of the church on Mount Carmel.

The Carmelites successfully petitioned Pope Innocent IV to modify their rule in 1247 so as to continue spreading beyond Mount Carmel. In England, forty houses were founded between 1242 and 1320. The progress of the Carmelites was temporarily halted in 1274 when the Second Council of Lyons suspended new recruitment, but in 1286 papal reconfirmation ensured their continued existence. By the end of the thirteenth century, Carmelites had begun to secure advanced degrees in the universities, and Carmelite scholars, notably Guy Terrenus, John Baconthorpe, and Thomas Netter, played an important role in the theology faculties at Paris, Oxford, and Cambridge. Carmelite theology and ecclesiology were characterized by firm support for the papacy, particularly during the debates concerning ecclesiastical poverty in the 1320s, and opposition to Lollardy in England in the later fourteenth century.

Carmelite involvement in crusading and the recovery of the Holy Land was slight after 1291. Although there is evidence for Carmelite crusade preachers in fourteenth-century England, the strongest link between the order and the Holy Land was the Carmelite liturgy, which continued to follow the usage of the Holy Sepulchre. Carmelite pilgrimages to the Holy Land are attested for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but there is little evidence for a tradition of devotion to the holy places to compare with that of the Franciscans, and Carmelites did not found missions to the East before the seventeenth century. An exception to this general rule was Peter Thomas, a Carmelite from Gascony who was intimately involved in the crusade of King Peter I of Cyprus against Alexandria in 1365. As Latin patriarch of Constantinople, he had also overseen the submission to Rome of John V Palaiologos, the Byzantine emperor, in 1357, and as papal legate in the East from 1359 to 1366, he enforced the obedience of the Greek clergy in Cyprus.

The most distinctive feature of Carmelite culture in the late Middle Ages was the development of historical traditions focused on the early history of Mount Carmel. Throughout the thirteenth century, the Carmelites maintained a devotion to the Blessed Virgin, but during the fourteenth century a new strand, the claim to have been founded by Elijah, was woven into the fabric of their traditions. The fullest account of their history, by Philip Ribot (1376/1397), argued that the Carmelites were the first monks, and that their particular brand of mendicancy had been handed down directly from Elijah. The Carmelites' explanations for the transformations from Old Testament prophets to early Christian monks, and from Orthodoxy to Latin Catholicism, though ingenious, did not convince all contemporaries, and the order became involved in the fourteenth century in continued controversy with the Dominicans over their historical claims. An increasing number of historical figures connected with the early church and the crusades were added to the legendary. According to one such tradition, Peter the Hermit was a Carmelite, while in another, the Carmelites saved Acre during the crusade of 1239–1241. The Carmelite legendary, though extravagant, reveals the depth of Western preoccupations with the Eastern origins of monasticism.

—Andrew Jotischky

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Castile and León

In the tenth century, the kingdom of Asturias, which had slowly emerged as the political expression of resistance to the Muslims in northwestern Iberia, became the kingdom of

León after the Christians had occupied the basin of the river Duero. The most eastward expansion along the Duero exposed them to the attacks of the Muslims who had chosen that route for their punitive expeditions into Christian northern territories. That region developed into a strongly fortified frontier march, hence its name Castile (from Sp. *castella*, “castle”). King Sancho III of Navarre controlled the county of Castile after 1029. At his death in 1035, it passed to his second son, Ferdinand (Sp. Fernando), who assumed the title of king. Soon Ferdinand I of Castile acquired León after the Leonese monarch Vermudo III met death fighting the Castilians at the battle of Tamarón (1037). The kingdoms remained united until 1157 (save for a brief spell between 1065 and 1072) and again, permanently, from 1230 onward.

The *Reconquista*: An All-Embracing and Controversial Concept

One of the main peculiarities of Castile-León (as of medieval Iberia in general) in relation to other European kingdoms in the Middle Ages was its uneasy coexistence with the Muslims over eight centuries, a relationship that frequently led to war to defend or occupy lands and to impose the ideological cement of the Christian faith. That long struggle has been conventionally tagged *Reconquista* (reconquest), a label that has also been used to sum up the complex history of the Middle Ages in the Iberian Peninsula; that concept was and still is under debate. Traditional historians thought that the desire to reestablish the territorial and religious unity of the Visigothic kingdom was the leitmotif of medieval kings and counts and of social groups as a whole in Iberia. Modern research has related the north-south Christian expansion to the development of societies in search of new lands and has lowered the status of the embracing term *Reconquista* to the level of an ideological construct. It is true that no continuous process of conquest was possible without inner strength, but it is also true that later the effort was made consistent and historically significant through an image that linked present and future to the Visigothic past.

Originally both elements, the beginnings of unplanned territorial expansion by local groups and its ideological setting, devised by the monarchy as a means of enhancing its power, emerged in the central and western Christian territories of Iberia, that is to say in the kingdom of Asturias, in the second half of the ninth century. A series of chronicles written in the reign of King Alfonso III (866–910) became the official history of the new kingdom and highlighted the

figure of the king by tracing his ancestry back to the time of the Goths. Previously, pockets of resistance against overwhelming Muslim control of the peninsula had probably lacked any conscious ideological understanding of continuity with the Visigothic past. Territories to the north of the Cantabrian Mountains had not been fully controlled before by the Romans or the Visigoths, and so their inhabitants had no deep commitment to the lost kingdom. The skirmish of Covadonga, later considered the mythical starting point of the Reconquista, was probably a small guerrilla incident carried out by a local populace with no wider significance. Gradually the defenders of the Cantabrian Mountains gathered strength and developed a society with enough dynamism to overflow its limits from the middle of the ninth century into the valley of the river Duero, a region that lacked effective Muslim control after the rebellion of the Berbers in the central decades of the previous century.

Territorial expansion and the ideological optimism of court chroniclers who expected the end of the Muslim presence in the peninsula in the near future were checked by the growing pressure of the new caliphate of Córdoba in the tenth century, when the center of gravity of central and western peninsular Christians was transferred to the city of León, a nucleus that was nearer to the Duero axis than the previous, peripheral center of Oviedo. The political crisis in al-Andalus after 1031, which gave way to a split into several Muslim states (the so-called Taifa kingdoms), began to reverse the balance in favor of the Christian kingdoms.

Castilian-Leonese Reconquest and Crusade in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries

The growing strength of Castile and León in the mid-eleventh century did not lead to immediate expansion and war but rather to a policy of extorting tribute payments (Sp. *parias*) from the Muslim kingdoms; these payments weakened the Taifa kings just as they helped to consolidate the new Castilian-Leonese monarchy. As frequently happened later, what we might regard as the uncompromising project of reconquest was not the only alternative for monarchs ready to obtain income from the Muslims through peaceful means. A religious war of conquest was not contradictory to other ways of pursuing policies favorable to the nascent monarchies.

A remarkable shift of policies toward the Muslims took place in Castile-León, as well as in other peninsular kingdoms, in the last decades of the eleventh century. Without



The Kingdom of Castile and León and its neighbors in the final stages of the Reconquest

abandoning the system of *parias*, which was complementary to open war, King Alfonso VI of Castile (1065–1109) pressed on militarily and conquered the city of Toledo in 1085. At the same time, the Roman Church was in the process of accepting violence for the Christian faith as a suitable path to salvation. The old tradition of religious war in Iberia began to combine with the Roman ideological preparation for the crusade when a new Muslim power menaced Christian superiority in the peninsula. The conquest of Toledo alarmed other Taifa kings to the point of seeking the aid of the Almoravids of western North Africa. They crossed the Strait of Gibraltar and routed Alfonso VI at Sagrajas (1086). The Castilian king's call for help produced a French expedition, which did not go beyond Tudela in the valley of the river Ebro. After their victory at Sagrajas, the Almoravids aimed at controlling the mosaic of Taifa kingdoms, which came to resent their unifying policy.

The new invaders increasingly became a great menace to Castile-León. The tributary relationship with the Muslims was no longer operative, as the Almoravids refused these practices, and Alfonso VI needed combatants to withstand military pressure. Pope Paschal II was well aware of the danger and insisted on forbidding Castilians and Leonese from travelling to Jerusalem. As Urban II had done previously in relation to Tarragona, Paschal II now equated military service against Iberian Muslims with the crusade to the East, offering similar spiritual rewards. The parallel between Jerusalem and the Iberian Peninsula was fixed in Canon 10 of the First Lateran Council (1123). Archbishop Diego Gelmírez of Santiago expressed it even more clearly at a council in 1125: Spain was the easiest way to reach the Holy Sepulchre. Reconquista and crusade, though always different paths, joined their ways at the turn of the eleventh century and went on doing so in the future, as long as the Castilian-Leonese kings used the crusade as a useful expedient to proceed with their policies of territorial expansion and monarchical reinforcement.

In the late 1140s, while the Second Crusade (1147–1149) was developing, important campaigns against the Muslims took place throughout Iberia. Lisbon fell in 1148 as a result of joint military action by King Afonso I Henriques of Portugal and Anglo-Norman and Flemish crusaders on their way to Outremer. That same year Count Raymond Berengar IV of Barcelona conquered Tortosa at the mouth of the river Ebro with the help of the Genoese. In 1147 King Alfonso VII of Castile-León laid siege to and briefly occupied Almería. At

that time Pope Eugenius III placed campaigns in Spain and against the Wends in central Europe on the same level as actions in the East. A few years later the pope's legate in Castile-León took the initiative of promoting a crusade at the Council of Valladolid (1155). A new wave of uncompromising North African Muslims, the Almohads, had landed in Spain in 1146 and were beginning to impose unity on the scattered Taifa kingdoms. The proposal of Cardinal Hyacinth at Valladolid did not develop into a major campaign, but it was certainly a sign of the fears the Almohads aroused among Christians.

The renewed Muslim strength did not find a unified Christian opposition in central and western Iberia in the second half of the twelfth century. Castile and León, which had remained united since 1072, were split between Alfonso VII's sons on the latter's death in 1157. This division led to opposition and frequent war between the two kingdoms. Portugal, which had broken its dependency on Castile-León earlier on, was ready to foster turbulence. The kings of Castile and León were keener on controlling each other's territorial expansion than on checking the Muslims, whose alliance they sometimes sought, as Alfonso IX of León and Sancho VII of Navarre did in 1196, after Alfonso VIII of Castile had quarrelled bitterly with the Leonese king on account of the victory of the Almohads over the Castilians at Alarcos in the previous year. Pope Celestine III was outraged at the sight of Christian monarchs fighting each other and blamed Alfonso IX, whom he excommunicated. Some historians even think that it was the king of León the pope had in mind when he told the people of southern France that they could perform their crusading duties in Spain.

The Origin of the Castilian-Leonese Military Orders

The increase of the Muslim pressure on Castile and León in the second half of the twelfth century was the main stimulus for the establishment of military orders, which were given the task of defending the frontier. Two of the three new foundations were Cistercian offshoots. In 1147 Alfonso VII had entrusted the defense of the recently conquered position of Kalaat-Rawa (Calatrava), a fortress on the Guadiana River, to the Templars, but they soon abandoned the task. His son Sancho III of Castile offered the fortress in 1158 to Raymond, abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Fitero, who developed a military order within the Cistercian structure that was approved by the pope in 1164, after the monks had abandoned the place some time before and the Cistercian general

chapter had agreed to incorporate the new development into the scheme of the Cistercian Order. The Order of St. Julián of Pereiro, which is documented for the first time in 1176, may have been originally a dependency of the Order of Calatrava in León. The link weakened as time passed, but it was still operative in the fifteenth century. The general chapter of Cîteaux of 1190 associated Pereiro with the Cistercian structure. In 1218 Pereiro received as headquarters the frontier town of Alcántara (in mod. Extremadura, Spain), which gave the order its future name.

The Order of Santiago was born in the southern fringes of the kingdom of León in 1169, though its almost immediate association with the archbishop of Compostela and the protection of St. James broadened its appeal and stamped it with the name of the Apostle. Santiago had no connections with Cîteaux, and its rule, approved by the pope in 1175, had distinctive traits when compared with the codes of other orders. The geographical scope of Santiago was soon extended to Castile, when in 1174 King Alfonso VIII gave the knights Uclés, which became the headquarters of the order in that kingdom. In 1272 the new strategic character of the fight against the Muslims, which highlighted Christian control of the Strait of Gibraltar, favored the foundation of the maritime Order of Santa María de España whose short life came to an end when, already deprived of its naval character, it was incorporated in the Order of Santiago in 1281. All these new institutions, which appeared mainly in the twelfth century, shared basic principles with the prestigious orders of the Temple and of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. Yet the fact that they were confined basically to the territories of Castile and León meant that they had to align themselves with the wishes and policies of the monarchs of those kingdoms, who nonetheless initially left these institutions considerable freedom of action in internal affairs. From the fourteenth century onward, however, the kings controlled masterships, which they conferred on members of the royal family or on loyal nobles. The last step was the direct control of these institutions by the Castilian monarchy achieved by the Catholic Monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, at the end of the fifteenth century.

The Great Leap to the South in the Thirteenth Century: The Conquests of Andalusia and Murcia

Warfare between Castilians and the Almohads after the battle of Alarcos (1195) was temporarily halted by a truce, which was prolonged until 1210. The lack of a military target for

Castile in those years left the military orders idle. A project to transfer knights of Calatrava to the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem showed how the fight against Muslims at both ends of the Mediterranean was interchangeable. Alfonso VIII of Castile resumed hostilities in 1210, to the point that the Almohad caliph Muḥammad al-Naṣir crossed the straits in 1211 to face the Castilian aggression. The Muslim campaign in the summer of that year was aimed at striking at a symbolic fortress as a clear sign to the Castilians. Salvatierra, an advanced post conquered by the knights of Calatrava in 1198, was taken by al-Naṣir. Alfonso VIII, alarmed at the turn of events and mindful of his imprudent move at Alarcos, prepared thoroughly for a campaign, which was to take place the following year. His appeal to Pope Innocent III was swiftly answered with a call to a proper crusade preached in France and Provence. Before the assembly date of 20 May 1212, Toledo was already bustling with *ultramontanos* (people from beyond the Pyrenees), who nonetheless left the expedition early after not being allowed any plunder when the fortress of Calatrava la Vieja was taken. A few remained, among them Arnold Amalric, archbishop of Narbonne; when commenting on the resounding victory of Las Navas de Tolosa (16 July 1212), he again established a clear parallel between all crusades: those against southern Saracens (the Almohads), but also those against Eastern schismatics (a reference to the Fourth Crusade) or Western heretics (the Cathars). The campaign of Las Navas de Tolosa had also gathered considerable peninsular contingents. The kings of Aragon and Navarre were present, but not the monarchs of León and Portugal. Alfonso IX of León even attacked Castilian territory, in disregard of all papal warnings.

The victory at Las Navas de Tolosa was less decisive than is often currently thought. A deceptive link can be established between the defeat of al-Naṣir in 1212 and the extraordinary territorial expansion of the 1230s and 1240s in Andalusia. The immediate effects of the battle were not great. The conquests of Úbeda and Baeza were quickly abandoned. Besides, Alfonso VIII's death in 1214 introduced the uncertainties of a minority government in Castile (1214–1217), which was balanced by a similar situation in the Almohad caliphate. A truce was the obvious answer to internal weaknesses on both sides; it was to last for ten years. Apart from the victory of 1212, which like most medieval battles was not conclusive, other key aspects were at the heart of later developments in the central Iberian kingdoms. The Almohad caliphate began to disintegrate soon after al-

Naṣir's death in 1213, leaving the feeble and quarrelling Taifa kingdoms to their own fate.

The final union of Castile and León in the person of Ferdinand III, king of Castile from 1217 and of León from 1230, was also decisive. It was not coincidence that the great expansion into the valley of the Guadalquivir took place after that date. Previously Ferdinand III's father, the quarrelsome Alfonso IX of León, who had been impervious to common crusading efforts before, had used the crusade to extend the frontiers of his kingdom as far as the fortress of Alcántara in 1217 and the cities of Mérida and Badajoz in the spring of 1230. The attitude of the papacy to the Iberian kings' petitions after 1212 showed clearly that Rome, conscious of the impossibility of keeping two theaters of war active, swung its support either to East or West depending on circumstances. Innocent III and later Honorius III regarded matters in Iberia as temporarily settled by the victory of Las Navas de Tolosa and the subsequent truce. They thus favored actions in the East, such as the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221), and were ready to offer only ad hoc spiritual advantages to some campaigns in Iberia, like the one promoted by Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, archbishop of Toledo. This policy of using scant European fighting manpower in one way or the other through the stimulus of spiritual benefices showed once again that the war against the Muslims had the same status in Iberia and in Outremer.

Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada was responsible for the initial stages of the great Castilian move to the south. In April 1231 he was granted the same privileges as those conferred by the Fourth Lateran Council to those journeying to the East, that is to say indulgence for those participating in the campaign as well as for those financing it. In that year he took Quesada and Cazorla. Nearby Úbeda was conquered in 1233 by Ferdinand III, who was then ready to concentrate on military actions against the Muslims after having asserted his authority over the kingdom of León. A bold and unexpected coup by a small Christian contingent that captured a section of the city of Córdoba at the end of 1235 forced the king of Castile-León to undertake the conquest of that most symbolic city, which took place in June 1236 and was undoubtedly favored by the fierce opposition between the two main rulers of al-Andalus: Ibn Hūd, who controlled Córdoba, among other important centers, and Ibn al-Aḥmar, king of Jaén and future founder of the Naṣrid dynasty in Granada. In September 1236, Pope Gregory IX granted Ferdinand III *post eventum* privileges that ensured financial support by the

church for the campaigns and protected the king from ecclesiastical sanctions. They also extended the same spiritual benefits conferred in 1215 on those voyaging to Outremer to those collaborating personally or economically in the wars against the Muslims in Iberia. Jerusalem was nevertheless the main goal, as shown when Gregory IX tried to enlist the support of the Iberian kings for the crusade that he had proclaimed in 1234, regardless of the fact that Ferdinand III in Castile-León and James I in the Crown of Aragon were dealing with the initial stages of their great campaigns against the Muslims of al-Andalus. In 1244, the final fall of Jerusalem, which had been under precarious Christian control since 1229, increased the psychological pressure to aid the East at the precise moment when Ferdinand III of Castile-León was launching the great campaign to conquer the whole Guadalquivir valley. Conflicting theaters of war led the knights of Santiago to abandon their commitment to assist the Latin emperor of Constantinople, according to a contract signed with the emperor in 1246, in the face of the military requirements of the projected conquest of Seville.

In the 1240s Castilian expansion on the southern and western regions of the Guadalquivir valley and into the kingdom of Murcia in southeastern Iberia reached its climax. In 1244 the Treaty of Almirra drew the final line between Aragonese and Castilian areas of expansion. The border ran from Biar in the inner coastal mountains to Denia on the Mediterranean Sea. James I of Aragon reached both points in 1244 and 1245, thus ending Aragonese territorial expansion in Iberia. The southern parts of Alicante and Murcia were either conquered or submitted to Castilian suzerainty, until the revolt of the Mudéjars in 1264 led to full control of those areas by Castile in 1266. At the same time that Ferdinand III was planning the extension of Castile to the Mediterranean, he began operations against Jaén in the upper Guadalquivir valley; the town surrendered in 1246. At the end of that year, he started the campaign to subdue Seville; by July 1247 the siege by land and sea was completed, and the city, with great defenses but devoid of any effective help from either Tunis or Morocco, had to surrender in November 1248.

Ferdinand III had thus achieved the spectacular acquisition of some 150,000 square kilometers (c. 57,900 sq. mi.) of land, which was also of immense significance because great centers of Muslim power fell into Christian hands. The emirate of Granada was now the only surviving Muslim state. Europeans were well aware of this feat; the English

chronicler Matthew Paris commented that Englishmen regarded Ferdinand III as a true champion of Christendom, who had done more for the church than the pope and all the crusaders. Pope Innocent IV was of course also conscious of Ferdinand III's contribution when he allotted the Castilian-Leonese king the third part of the tithe destined for the upkeep of churches (Sp. *tercias*), thus establishing a decisive precedent in crusade finance.

Castilian Control of the Strait of Gibraltar and the Downfall of the Muslim Kingdom of Granada (Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries)

When Alfonso X of Castile-León succeeded his father Ferdinand III in 1252, Muslim territory in Iberia had been drastically reduced to eastern Andalusia (the Naşrid kingdom of Granada) and some districts west of Seville. Alfonso X was planning an intervention in North Africa to check Moroccan help to Granada when a Mudéjar rebellion occurred in 1264, encouraged by the ruler of Granada, who resented the feudal submission of his kingdom to Castile-León. The revolt was suppressed, not without difficulty, in 1265–1266, and the Naşrid king turned to North Africa for help. The usual cycle followed. The Marīnids, one of the new unifying Muslim powers in North Africa, crossed the straits in 1275 and checked the disintegration of the remainder of al-Andalus, although their presence produced mixed feelings at the court of Granada, as the intervention of the Almoravids and Almohads had previously done in the Taifa kingdoms. Control of the northern coast of the straits to prevent easy communication with Africa thereafter became the main military objective of the Castilian-Leonese kings. Tarifa was conquered by Sancho IV in 1292, and Gibraltar fell briefly into Christian hands between 1310 and 1333. The Marīnid effort to reoccupy Tarifa was halted by Alfonso XI at the battle of El Salado (1340). His subsequent siege and capture of Algeciras (1344) was not followed by that of Gibraltar because the king died of plague while conducting the siege of the Rock in 1350.

By the mid-fourteenth century, Castile-León controlled the straits, although internal developments then delayed action against Granada for decades. The Castilian Civil War (1366–1369), which brought the Trastámara dynasty to the throne, focused the policies of the kings on strengthening their own position in the kingdom. Only Ferdinand of Antequera, regent for his nephew John (Sp. Juan) II, and future king of Aragon after the Compromise of Caspe (1412), was

active against the Muslims of Granada. The fifteenth century witnessed a hard war of attrition on the frontier, but no important sustained campaigns, apart from those of the years 1431–1439 and of the early period of Henry IV's reign. Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon, known as the Catholic Monarchs, finally put an end to the long status quo of forced submission to the Castilians and of intermittent rebellions of the Muslims. From 1482 they led a bitter war that chipped away at Naşrid territory until the city of Granada finally surrendered in November 1491. The outcome of this war was favored by internal dissensions in the royal court in Granada, a situation similar to the struggle among the Taifa kingdoms that had contributed to previous Christian conquests. Like their predecessors, Ferdinand and Isabella also benefited from the spiritual and financial support of the papacy, which was repeatedly given by Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII. Reconquista and crusade went hand in hand to the very end. They were different but converging processes, which had both been controlled by the Castilian-Leonese monarchy from the late eleventh century.

—Luis Garcia-Guijarro Ramos

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Castles: The Baltic Region

The thirteenth-century conquest of Livonia and Prussia by the Order of the Sword Brethren and its successor, the Teutonic Order, would not have been possible if the numerically weaker knights and crusaders had not enjoyed certain advantages over the heathen peoples. These included several innovations in military techniques, including the erection of permanent fortresses in stone or brick. The manufacture of bricks and mortar was unknown in the eastern Baltic region until then. The heathens defended themselves in fortifications and castles made of wood and surrounded by ditches and ramparts, mostly built on a hill, like Warbola (mod. Varbola, Estonia) and Odenpäh (mod. Otepää, Estonia), or near a lake or a river, like Arrasch (mod. Āraiši, Latvia) and Seeburg (mod. Jūrpils, Latvia), not far from Grobin (mod. Grobiņa, Latvia), formerly a Viking settlement.

These hundreds of wooden castles have not been preserved into the present, but excavations have shown that many of them were of a sophisticated construction, exploiting the advantages of the terrain. Examples include Terweten (mod. Tērvete, Latvia) and Mesoten (mod. Mežotne, Latvia) and Kernavė and Šeimyniškiškėliai in Lithuania, the latter possibly identical with Voruta, the famous castle of King Mindaugas. The first small stone castle in the Baltic region was erected in 1185 in Üxküll (mod. Ikšķile, Latvia) by Meinhard, appointed first bishop of Livonia, who brought stonemasons for that purpose from Gotland. Later many more firm castles were built by the Order of the Sword Brethren, founded in 1202 and incorporated into the Teutonic Order in 1237, as well as by the archbishop, the bishops, chapters, and vassals.

In Prussia the Christian conquest began three decades later than in Livonia. As the Teutonic Knights initiated it by crossing the river Vistula and pressing forward into the Kulmerland in 1231, they made do with fortifications of timber and earth, like their pagan adversaries. After 1250, when these structures were partially built up as permanent defense installations or built anew, they all displayed irregular architectural configurations. Toward the end of the century, however, a fundamental transformation took place in which there arose walled castles made of stone or brick laid out in the form of a square; the first of these was the castle of Brandenburg in Prussia (mod. Ushakovo, Russia). The basic form of these structures most often displayed four wings, consisting of three floors each measuring up to 40–60 meters in length (131–197 ft.) and surrounding an enclosed court-

yard. This was the well-known convent-castle of the Teutonic Order in its classic form, a fine example of which is Rehden (mod. Radzyn, Poland) in the Kulmerland. It was the center of power of the order's commandery (Ger. *Komturei*), since the administrator and commander resided within its walls together with his "convent," which was made up of a body of knight brethren of the order.

Sources of inspiration for this typical form of castle built by the order may not only be found in faraway places but also in Scandinavia and the Baltic region. By the beginning of the thirteenth century the bishops of Livonia and the Order of the Sword Brethren were already building in geometrically ordered, strongly rectangular configurations, as seen at Üxküll and Holme (mod. Salaspils, Latvia), and also at Riga, Segewold (mod. Sigulda, Latvia), and Ascheraden (mod. Aizkraukle, Latvia).

While the Teutonic Order had been subject to foreign influence in Livonia and Prussia during the first decades of the fourteenth century, in the following decades the full formation of the convent castle configuration became a model of high quality and utility through which the order itself influenced Scandinavia and the Baltic regions. During the phase of stagnation in Prussia after the defeat of the order's knights at the battle of Tannenberg (1410), this influential role was taken over by Livonia, where the order's ideas about building were maintained and developed. In the fifteenth century the Livonian branch of the order built structures with large inner courtyards and powerful, round corner towers that followed developments in the art of war, such as mercenary armies and artillery. The only counterpart to this in Prussia was in the castle of Bütow (mod. Bytów, Poland), built between 1393 and 1405. During the period of the Kalmar Union among Denmark, Norway, and Sweden (1397–1521), it was Livonia rather than Prussia that played an influential role in this part of the Baltic region.

The formation of Prussia into a political, administrative, economic, and military center of the Teutonic Order in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries created especially favorable conditions for the construction of castles there. As the Teutonic Knights advanced down the river Vistula, they first built strongholds at Thorn (mod. Toruń, Poland) and Kulm (mod. Chełmno, Poland), under the protection of which German settlements were soon established. In 1233 the Christian army advanced into the Prussian district of Pomesania and founded Marienwerder (mod. Kwidzyn, Poland). During a campaign in 1237, the castle and town of Elbing (mod.



Castles and other fortified sites in the Baltic Region



The castle of Marienburg (Malbork, Poland), headquarters of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia. (Kevin Burke/Corbis)

Elbląg, Poland) were founded. Thereafter the order was no longer exclusively dependent on the overland route through Poland; Prussia could also be reached by sea from Lübeck. At Balga (mod. Veseloe, Russia) a stronghold was erected on the southern coast of the lagoon known as the Frisches Haff to protect the outlet. It was from such points on these waterways that the Teutonic Knights invaded the interior of Prussia.

The settlement thus extended from west to east following, in a natural manner, the route taken during the occupation of the country. After western Prussia and the coastal district along the Frisches Haff had been pacified, the attack on Sambia (Ger. Samland) could be completed. This attack was prepared for on the Livonian side through the construction of the castle of Memel (mod. Klaipėda, Lithuania), a stronghold at the outlet of the Kurisches Haff into the Baltic Sea (1252). During a famous campaign in 1255, Sambia was occupied and a citadel built on the heights above the river Pregel, receiving the name of Königsberg, literally “the king’s moun-

tain” (mod. Kaliningrad, Russia), in honor of King Ottokar II of Bohemia who led the crusade. Thereafter Königsberg became the most important castle and town in eastern Prussia as the starting point of military expeditions into Lithuania after 1283. Another important eastern castle was that of Ragnit (mod. Neman, Russia). The order always strove to conquer the pagan land of Samogitia, which separated Livonia from Prussia, in order to obtain an overland bridge between the two main territories of the order.

The occupation of Prussia was not always a progressive endeavor, as the Teutonic Knights were sometimes defeated. Especially dangerous were rebellions of the native Prussians in 1243–1249 and 1260–1273, which only certain strongholds of the order were able to resist. By 1283, however, the order had firmly subjugated pagan Prussia.

In 1309 the order acquired by force the town of Danzig (mod. Gdańsk, Poland) and the Christian land of Pomerelia, which were thereafter divided into five large commanderies and one advocacy (Ger. *Vogtei*). In the same year the

grand master moved from Venice, where he had been resident since the fall of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), to the fortress of Marienburg (mod. Malbork, Poland), which had been built around 1275 as a commandery castle. Thereafter Marienburg became the residence and headquarters of the Teutonic Knights. By 1350 a number of important castles had been erected in Pomerelia to protect it against Poland and the dukes of Pomerania, among them Schlochau, Konitz, and Tuchel. Also important were the four dioceses in Prussia. Of these, Warmia (Ger. Ermland) remained outside the possession of the Teutonic Order while the others (Pomesania, Kulm, and Sambia) were incorporated into it. The bishops and chapters, too, built large and significant castles in the style of the convent castles of the order, such as Heilsberg, Braunsberg, and Frauenburg in Warmia.

In Livonia the situation was considerably more complicated: there the Order of the Sword Brethren, and the Teutonic Order following it, not only had to resist the heathens, but also the Danes, the bishop (from 1255 archbishop) of Riga, and the bishops of Dorpat (mod. Tartu, Estonia), Curonia (which was later incorporated), and Ösel-Wiek. Continuous squabbling and conflicts were the result. In addition to the castle at Riga, in 1237 the Teutonic Order took over the castles at Segewold, Wenden (mod. Cēsis, Latvia), Ascheraden, and Fellin (mod. Viljandi, Estonia) as well as some small strongpoints and bases. In 1346 the Teutonic Order bought Estonia from the Danes and thus acquired the important castles of Reval (mod. Tallinn, Estonia), founded by King Valdemar the Great in 1219, Weissenstein (mod. Paide, Latvia), and Narva. Of particular strategic significance were the rivers Düna (Latv. Daugava; Russ. Dvina) and Aa, along which many strongholds were built by the bishop of Riga and the Sword Brethren by the beginning of the thirteenth century. This produced a chain of castles linking Dünamünde (mod. Daugavgrīva, Latvia), Riga, Holme, Üxküll, Lennewarden (mod. Lielvārde, Latvia), Kokenhusen (mod. Koknese, Latvia), and Segewold-Treiden-Wenden (all in mod. Latvia).

In the fourteenth century this Livonian castle network was solidified through the installation of new commanderies of the Teutonic Order. The archbishop, bishops, and cathedral chapters vied with the order, also building strong castles. By the beginning of the fifteenth century there were 266 castles in Prussia and Livonia, including those of bishops, cathedral chapters, and vassals (castles of vassals existing only in Livonia). The Teutonic master of Livonia as well

as the archbishop resided in Riga (the master in Wenden after 1480).

The strongholds were strategically placed in areas of military importance, most often along major river routes and roads that were, for preference, also suited to commerce and communications. Near them settlements arose. The castle could grant or restrict entrance into and passage through an area of land. It could be the starting point or finishing point of the conquest or the center of government of an area of land and its population. It was the place where a permanently armed detachment remained and resided, and also a place of refuge for people and cattle in cases of attack by the enemy. Castles protected the deployment and withdrawal of armies as well as trade and transport. They housed storage magazines for food, weapons, and munitions, and often workshops for the production of arms and armor. In the surrounding areas the important practices of horse breeding as well as cattle breeding and agriculture were conducted. The castle was also important as a center of command and as a meeting point for local military mobilization. For thirteenth- and fourteenth-century crusaders and for mercenaries in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the castles were natural communication zones and meeting places.

During the long-lasting war of the Teutonic Order with the Lithuanians, many wooden fortresses were built and soon also destroyed by both sides in the wilderness along the river Nemunas. They were often constructed within a few weeks in the summer during expeditions into enemy territory. Small "wilderness houses" were also built, from which reconnaissance against Lithuania was conducted. The first Lithuanian stone and/or brick castles, built in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, were those of Vilnius (lower castle), Kaunas (old castle), Medininkai and Old Trakai (in mod. Lithuania), and Novogrudok, Kriavo, Lida, and Hrodno Gardinas (in mod. Belarus). In the middle of the fourteenth century the upper castle of Vilnius, the peninsular castle of New Trakai, and the new castle of Kaunas were erected. The famous island castle of Trakai was built a few decades later during the time of Grand Duke Vytautas (finished in 1409).

Another theater of war in the Baltic region was eastern Finland and Karelia, where the Swedes tried to gain control of the important Russian trade. In 1293 the mighty stone castle at Viborg (mod. Vyborg, Russia) was erected as an outpost against Novgorod. Two other early firm castles were at

Åbo (mod. Turku, Finland), founded in 1280, and Tavastehus (mod. Hämeenlinna, Finland). These and other castles along the coasts and in the interior of Finland served both military and administrative purposes, especially to withstand Russian attacks from Novgorod. Although the enemies were believers belonging to the Russian Orthodox Church, the Swedes regarded military expeditions against them as crusades. The Novgorodians, on their part, erected a protecting chain of strongholds against their adversaries, including Korpor'e south of the Gulf of Finland (1297) and the island castle of Orekhovets in the River Neva near Lake Ladoga (1322/1323).

—Sven Ekdahl

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Castles: Greece and Cyprus

For several reasons, crusader-period castles built by Latin settlers in Greece and Cyprus tended to be simpler and to contain fewer defenses than did strongholds in Outremer. Many sites in the mountainous terrain of northern Cyprus and southern Greece could be defended without the kind of complex fortifications built by the Franks along the flat Levantine coastline. Virtually all strategic sites or settlements in Greece and Cyprus were already protected by Byzantine, Roman, or older defenses that did not require major alterations. Furthermore, when Western settlers did carry out improvements, they employed local Greek craftsmen who recycled stone, making it difficult to distinguish between older Byzantine and newer Frankish structures. In areas such as northern Greece, Frankish rule was short-lived, leaving little time or money for major new construction projects. Franks in Greece and Cyprus did not have the same financial resources as the major castle builders in the Holy Land, such as King Louis IX of France or the military orders. Warfare also tended to be simpler. Whereas some thirteenth-century Egyptian armies contained thousands of troops equipped with trebuchets and other siege weapons, late Byzantine armies usually only contained a few hundred men. This also applied to the Frankish states in Greece, where piracy and localized warfare accounted for most of the fighting. The physical isolation of Cyprus meant that it, too, experienced little major warfare, and it was only after 1291,

when the fall of the Holy Land increased the risk of a Mamlūk invasion, that large new fortifications were constructed.

In northern Greece, these factors prevented the Franks from building any major fortifications on virgin sites. Instead they either garrisoned existing strongholds or repaired the ruins of older ones. The chronicler Henry of Valenciennes described how the Latin emperor Henry (d. 1216) rebuilt the ruined Byzantine fortress of Pamphilon to strengthen his grip on Thrace. However, the fact that no archaeological remains have ever been found of this or any other major Frankish building projects reflects the tenuous nature of Latin rule in northern Greece.

In southern and central Greece, the much longer period of Western settlement means that more Frankish fortifications have survived. Karytaina, located in the mountainous interior of the Peloponnese (then the Frankish principality of Achaia), is a typical example. Built on an outcrop 150 meters (492 ft.) high, its north, south, and west sides were so steep that they did not require complete circuit walls. On the gentler eastern slope a single gateway, protected by a barbican, led to an outer bailey, which gave access to the upper fortress. This was divided into two courtyards separated by some kind of square central keep. The presence in the keep of well-dressed classical stones, which were probably fashioned for use in an older structure, suggests that this was a pre-medieval site. However, according to the *Chronicle of Morea*, the key Western source for the period, the castle was effectively rebuilt by Frankish lords of Karytaina in the thirteenth century. Presumably they constructed the bulk of the defenses, which were completed using poor-quality, uncut stones sometimes no more than 90 centimeters (35½ in.) thick.

The use of recycled masonry or poor-quality stones to create successive baileys around a summit occupied by an isolated keep was typical of medieval fortifications in this area. At most such sites, the Franks' reliance on existing fortifications is more obvious than at Karytaina. At Kalamata, situated to the south, the outer circuit walls predate the thirteenth century, because the Franks had to besiege the fortress when they first arrived in 1205. However, the rectangular central keep appears to be a Frankish construction, one of several such structures apparently added by the Franks to larger fortresses or acropolis sites, including Corinth, Athens, Neopatras, and Mistra. Towers of this kind were common in the West and, being easy to construct and defend, were built by settlers throughout the eastern Mediterranean region. However, in Greece the practice of

using recycled or poor-quality stone makes it difficult to date these structures accurately. For example, the medieval tower on the Akropolis in Athens was constructed out of marble slabs from surrounding classical structures. It seems that this tower was built by Western settlers, but it is not clear whether it should be attributed to the thirteenth-century Frankish rulers of Athens, to their fourteenth-century Catalan successors, or to the late fourteenth-century Florentine Acciaiuoli lords of the city. Indeed, perhaps the only datable Frankish castle in Greece was Chlemoutsi (Clermont), built in the northwestern Peloponnese by Prince William I of Achaia around 1223. Its construction is well documented because it was funded with revenues seized from local church lands, a windfall that meant that Chlemoutsi, a hexagonal citadel protected by a large outer bailey, was built to a much higher standard than any other local Frankish stronghold.

Frankish settlers also constructed many towers situated in the countryside rather than within a larger castle or acropolis. The tower of Markopoulo, situated about 20 kilometers (12½ mi.) southeast of Athens, is a well-preserved example. Markopoulo's external measurements are 5.4 by 8.2 meters (17½ by 27 ft.), and it still stands to its crenellated height of 18–20 meters (59–65½ ft.). Internally there are three floors, and although there is a ground-floor entrance, many other such towers only had a door at the first-floor level. Towers like Markopoulo were constructed using the familiar combination of recycled and uncut stones. Few contained features like fireplaces or cisterns, and they were presumably heated using braziers. This has led to the suggestion that such towers were only intended as refuge sites or lookout posts. It has been argued that the numerous towers on the island of Negroponte (Euboea) could all communicate using fire signals, thus forming a Venetian early-warning system against Turks or pirates. However, recent research indicates that few of these towers could communicate in this way and that most were actually fortified farmsteads designed for permanent occupation and lordly display. Their generic appearance and constant use throughout (and beyond) the Middle Ages make it difficult to date the medieval towers of Greece. Those on Negroponte were probably constructed by fourteenth-century Lombard settlers. On Chios the Genoese built more sophisticated round towers into the sixteenth century. Mainland towers like the one at Markopoulo probably date from the thirteenth or fourteenth century.

Most urban fortifications held by the Franks in Greece were Byzantine and incorporated typically Greek features such as decorative brickwork and polygonal towers. Famous examples survive at Constantinople and Thessalonica, but they can also be seen at regional centers such as Spiga, a port in northern Asia Minor held by the Franks between 1204 and 1225. Spiga was protected by a Byzantine rampart flanked by a series of closely set pentagonal towers. Many fortifications of this kind were, again, constructed and repaired using poor-quality masonry, making it impossible to identify any Latin alterations. Instead modern historians must rely on written references to crusader repair work, such as Geoffrey of Villehardouin's statement that in 1206–1207 Boniface of Montferrat, ruler of Thessaly, repaired the Byzantine walls of Serres in northern Greece. It seems that the only urban fortifications that the Franks built from scratch were those of Glarentza, a port in the northwestern Peloponnese established in the thirteenth century because of its convenient sea links with Italy. Glarentza's defenses consisted of a single wall and ditch protecting the headland occupied by the town. The wall was approximately 2 meters (6½ ft.) thick and pierced by at least two gateways, whose design was very simple compared with the complex entrances to Levantine cities such as Acre. This suggests that siege warfare in the Aegean region was often more primitive than in the Holy Land.

The fortifications of Frankish Greece shared many characteristics with those of Cyprus, whose physical isolation and Byzantine legacy meant that few new defenses were constructed there in the thirteenth century. In rugged northern Cyprus, the three Byzantine mountain castles of St. Hilarion (mod. Agios Ilarion), Buffavento (mod. Voufavento), and Kantara resembled strongholds like Karytaina. St. Hilarion was situated on a precipitous outcrop whose only vulnerable side, the southeast, was defended by three successive baileys. These defenses were essentially Byzantine, the most significant Frankish additions being later royal apartments. Outside the mountains, the only other substantial Byzantine stronghold on Cyprus was the citadel guarding the northern port of Kyrenia (mod. Keryneia). This castle consisted of a large, rectangular enclosure situated on a headland overlooking the port. On its landward side it was protected by an additional rampart flanked by typically Byzantine pentagonal salients. It was not substantially altered by the Franks before 1291.

Accounts of the invasion of Cyprus by King Richard I in 1191 in the course of the Third Crusade (1189–1192) suggest

that the only other Byzantine castles on Cyprus were minor citadels at Limassol (mod. Lemesos), Paphos (mod. Pafos), Famagusta (mod. Ammochostos), and Nicosia (mod. Lefkosia). The archaeological evidence, along with an account by the German pilgrim Willbrand of Oldenburg (1212), indicates that during the first thirty years of Frankish rule these strongpoints were replaced by new towers of the type already mentioned in Greece. Their modest scale shows that thirteenth-century Cypriot warfare was limited to piracy, Greek rebellions, and relatively minor internecine conflicts. However, before its destruction in the earthquake of 1222, a larger Frankish castle, consisting of two concentric ramparts defending a square central courtyard, was built on a hilltop overlooking Paphos. The purpose of this stronghold remains unclear, but the fact that it was not reconstructed after 1222 suggests that it was built in connection with the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221), when Cyprus was used by crusaders fighting in Egypt and was targeted by a Muslim naval raid.

After 1291 fears of a Mamlük invasion prompted a much larger building program. Famagusta's isolated tower became one of four corner towers in a new, rectangular citadel, and a rampart was built around the city. Kyrenia's Byzantine ramparts were strengthened with new defenses constructed out of ashlar masonry that was similar to that used in Outremer but far superior to what was normally used in Greece. Other features at Kyrenia, such as the complex new L-shaped gateway along the western front, confirm that this castle was improved against potential Mamlük attacks involving counterweight trebuchets. However, no such attack ever came, and it was not until the Genoese invasion of 1373–1374 that building work increased dramatically. The Genoese managed to capture Famagusta through stealth, and then occupied Nicosia, where King Peter I (1359–1369) had built a new citadel, known as the Margarita Tower, but had not provided adequate urban defenses. After the Genoese withdrawal from Nicosia (1374), Peter II (1369–1382) and his successors completed these defenses and undertook other projects designed to keep the Genoese contained at Famagusta. James I (1398–1432) carried out repairs and alterations at Paphos, Nicosia, and Kantara and constructed the castle of Sigouri, a rectangular enclosure protected by a moat, on the plain opposite Famagusta. This proved a useful base for attacks on Famagusta, which was recaptured by Cypriot forces in 1464.

Many of these Greek and Cypriot fortifications no longer

exist in their thirteenth- and fourteenth-century state because they were altered after the arrival of gunpowder. Some of the alterations were made by the Ottoman Turks, who controlled most of mainland Greece by 1500 and conquered Cyprus in 1571. However, many can be attributed to the Venetians, who held a number of Greek ports and islands after the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), controlled Cyprus from 1489, and regained the Peloponnese between 1685 and 1715. On Cyprus the Venetians constructed eleven triangular artillery bastions forming a star around Nicosia. Similar bastions were added to Famagusta's defenses, whereas other strongholds, such as Limassol and Kyrenia, had sloping embankments added to them to absorb the impact of cannon balls. Meanwhile, the mountain castles of St. Hilarion, Buffavento, and Kantara were demolished to prevent potential Ottoman invaders from using them. In Greece a similar process took place at sites like Modon and Coron, two heavily fortified ports in the southern Peloponnese. These sites were held by the Venetians from 1209 until 1500 and from 1685 until 1715. They had been fortified in some way since classical times, but their medieval defenses have mostly disappeared under much later earthworks and artillery emplacements.

—Kristian Molin

Note

See Appendix: Plans of Castles in Frankish Greece and Cyprus

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Castles: Iberia

Castle building in Iberia left a lasting impression upon the landscape, language, settlement patterns, and laws of the

peninsula, which is one of the most heavily castellated parts of western Europe. Estimates of numbers of Iberian castles, walled cities, and fortified places vary between 2,000 and 10,000, depending upon how each structure is defined. The numerous fortifications result from the ongoing warfare between Christians and Muslims during the reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula (711–1492) and the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century civil wars among Christians. Decades of warfare along static military frontiers from the Roman period until the late Middle Ages necessitated frequent refortification of strategic sites. Castles in Spain often consist of layers of construction; Visigothic fortifications incorporated Roman foundations, which subsequent builders enhanced and augmented. Towns and cities followed the same process, repairing Roman walls or building new ones as the situation required.

The Muslim invasion of 711 introduced the Eastern style of military architecture into the peninsula. From the eighth century to the middle of the twelfth century, the Muslims built fortifications called *alcazabas*, designed to hold garrisons or to protect the rural population. The builders adapted the shape of the enceinte to the terrain, locating small gates near the corners. The walls were constructed from *tapia* (a mixture of cement and pebbles or stones), which was poured into forms where it hardened. This method of construction determined the rectangular shape of the towers. The crenellations had pointed merlons (the structures separating the embrasures, or openings, atop a parapet). Lesser buildings within the enceinte housed workshops, barracks, and kitchens. Rural castles had a central redoubt (Arab. *salūqiya*, Romance *celoquia*), which was the residence of the castellan (Arab. *qā'id*, Romance *alcaid*). The walled-in space was called the *baqqar* or *albacar*. The villages dependent on the castle were the *qurā* (Arabic) or the *alquería* (Romance). From the middle of the twelfth century until the fall of Seville in 1248, there was general adoption of *tapia* work, towers with large salients, and octagonal and dodecagonal plans. The stone-built *alcazar* (a fortified palace) developed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries from the *alcazaba*. The word *alcazar* entered the Spanish language to mean an urban fortification. *Torres albarranas* were massive keeps located outside the enceinte and connected by a walkway. From 1248 until the conquest of Granada in 1492, the complex construction of the Alhambra, with its large towers, became the prototype of Iberian Muslim castles.



The Alcazar in Segovia (Corel)

Christian castles of the ninth and tenth centuries (Lat. *castrum* and *castellum*, pl. *castris* and *castelli*) probably were surrounded by wooden palisades. The *torre del homenaje* (main tower) dominated tenth-century Christian castles: it was built within the enceinte, and Christians added *torres del homenaje* to captured Muslim *alcabazas*. Building materials consisted of brick and stone rubble, and the layout was adapted to the topography of the ground. Stone-built castles with walls and keep appeared by the eleventh century, and wealthy lords walled entire towns as well. Twelfth-century castles bore similarities to French styles. By the late thirteenth to the end of the fourteenth century, the military orders built castles with extended walls to protect important centers. *Castillos roqueros* were smaller, irregularly planned castles constructed on high and inaccessible locations and

making use of natural features. By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Christians built symmetrically planned stone castles on the plains that had round towers at the corners and a square or rectangular *torre del homenaje*. In contrast to other parts of Europe, Iberian castle builders did not develop fortified gates and gatehouses.

Nobles, high-ranking churchmen, and townspeople also built and maintained fortifications during the period of the reconquest. In the twelfth century, Castilian kings granted frontier castles to noble tenants. These castles remained military structures in the service of the Crown and did not become hereditary fiefs. Churchmen, in their capacity as temporal lords, also built and maintained castles. The military orders dominated castle construction from the late twelfth until the fourteenth century, particularly along the frontier. Ecclesiastical buildings also functioned as fortified places; the cathedral located within the walled city of Ávila resembles a castle. Other churches employed a very solid interpretation of the Romanesque style, and either augmented the town walls or served as a place of refuge for a rural population. Monasteries were encircled with walls, and some, such as Poblet, were fortified. The towns and cities levied tolls to maintain their walls, gates, and watchtowers, although they also received royal subsidies in times of great danger.

Though most Iberian castles were built as military installations, residential castles began to evolve in the thirteenth century. Lords wealthy from the reconquest renovated older castles, well away from the frontier, according to French style. Urban castles also became residences. The fortified nobiliary residences were put to military use during civil wars in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but many were demolished during the reigns of Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile. By the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the rulers of Spain began construction of castle-palaces, similar in scope, if not in style, to the Alhambra.

The placement of Iberian castles in the landscape reflected both settlement patterns and military frontiers. The Christians built systems of castles around strategic cities as a defensive shield: examples are the lines of castles built along the Tordera River to defend Barcelona from the north, and the castles along the Tagus River, which shielded Toledo from the south. In this system, part of the barrier might fall, but the main city remained secure. Watchtowers built on high ground to observe enemy movement and

isolated tower houses formed part of the system of defense. Muslim castles, like Christian ones, functioned as part of a system for collecting peasant taxes and maintaining organized systems of land ownership. Archaeological excavations have established the castle and the village as the basic unit of rural settlement (Arab. *ḥiṣn/qirya*). The size of the castle was determined by the number of the population who took refuge in it, rather than by the strategic importance of the area, as in Christian fortifications.

In addition to the archaeological remains, a substantial number of legal and notarial documents record the transfer, sale, and acquisition of castles. Christian settlement charters bestowed castles with their dependent villages (Rom. *alqueria*) on noble tenants. Castles feature in royal dowries and peace treaties. Laws regarding royal castles, their maintenance, provisioning, defense, and transfer form a significant part of codes such as the *Usatges of Barcelona*, *Partida II* of the *Siete Partidas* of Alfonso X of Castile, and the *Costum d'Espanya*. Finally, most of the major Christian chronicles, such as the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* and the *Vita* of James I of Aragon, detail sieges and raids of castles.

–Theresa M. Vann

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Castles: Outremer

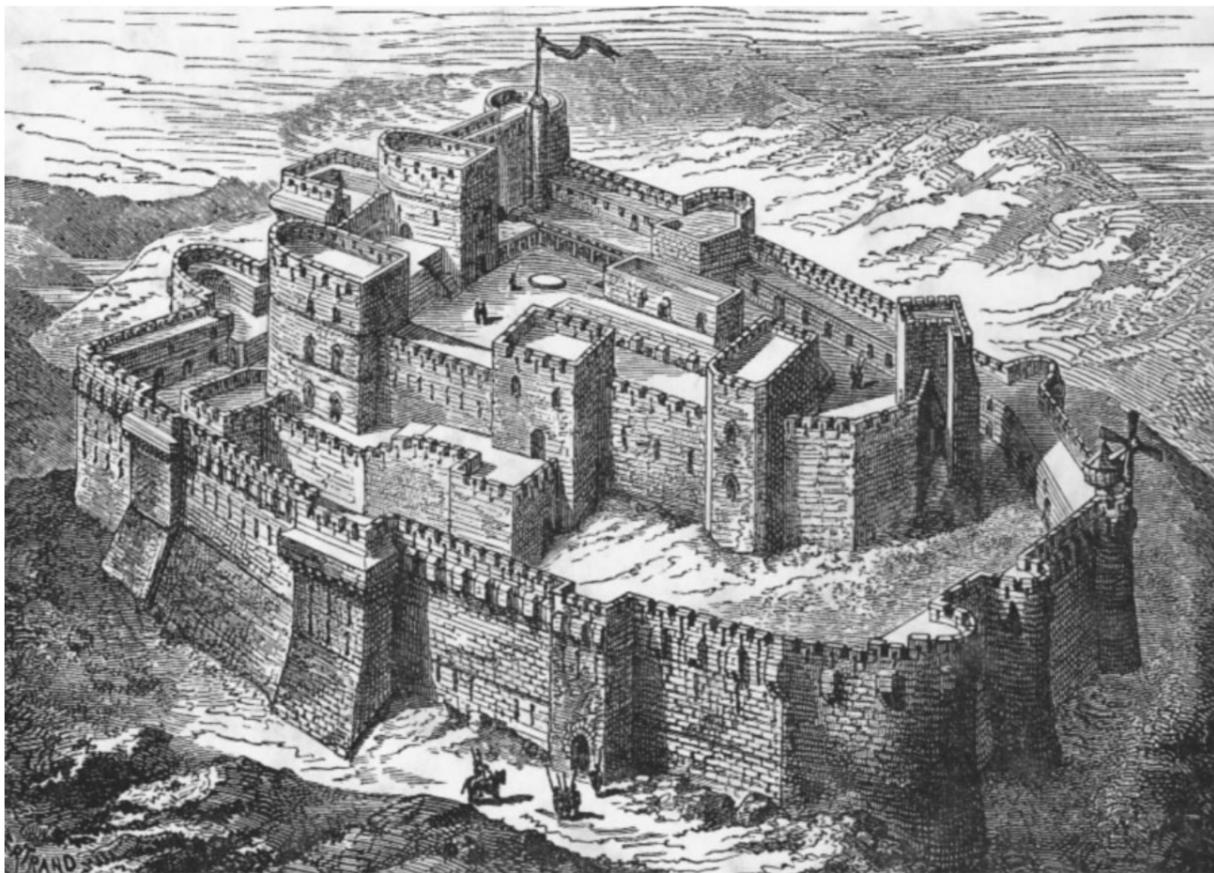
The Franks started building castles soon after their arrival in Outremer. In the aftermath of the First Crusade (1096–1099), those knights who elected to remain in the East probably began to build castles almost immediately. It is difficult to date these structures precisely, and the first written evidence about many of them dates from the time when they passed into the hands of the military orders or other ecclesiastical bodies. These early castles were mostly small hall keeps on two floors, like Tour Rouge (the Red Tower) in the Plain of Sharon, or taller thinner towers, like Tukhla in the county of Tripoli. They were stone-vaulted with narrow slit windows and straight stone staircases. Sometimes, as at Chastel Rouge (mod. Qal'at Yahmur, Lebanon) in the county of Tripoli, there were outer walls enclosing a narrow courtyard with domestic offices. Seventy-five towers have been located in the kingdom of Jerusalem alone, and many more must have existed at one time. They were probably erected in the first half century of the Frankish occupation by knights who intended to settle in the rural landscape as they had done at home in the West. Insecurity and the expense of defending even these small structures meant that they almost all passed into the hands of institutions like the Templars and Hospitallers before the end of the twelfth century.

The higher nobility of Outremer tended to live in the coastal cities, where they certainly built castles. The best surviving example is at Gibelet (mod. Jubail, Lebanon) in the south of the county of Tripoli. Here the Embriaco lords of the city built a simple massive keep at the landward corner of the city walls and surrounded it with a roughly square enclosure wall defended by square towers at the corners. Nineteenth-century illustrations show very similar castles in Beirut and Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon). In Jerusalem the royal castle was attached to the massive Roman tower known as the Tower of David.

In more remote areas, enclosure castles were built to shelter the entire Frankish population of the district. The earliest datable example may be fragments of the hilltop castle at Montréal (mod. ash-Shaubak, Jordan), east of the Dead Sea in the lordship of Transjordan. It was erected by King Baldwin I of Jerusalem in 1115 and enclosed by later Mamlūk fortifications. In 1142 Pagan the Butler began the construction of a huge ridgetop castle to defend the town of Kerak (mod. Karak, Jordan), which replaced Montréal as the capital of Transjordan. The masonry is chunky and lacking in elegance, but the rugged strength that enabled it to defy



Major castles and other fortified sites in Outremer



Krak des Chevaliers, Syria. (Pixel That)

Saladin's army in 1184 is still apparent. Outposts were also maintained further south, including an amazing crag-top fortification in the heart of the ancient city of Petra. All these fell to the Muslims in the aftermath of the battle of Hattin in 1187, and both Kerak and Montréal were rebuilt and used by the Mamlüks.

In the principality of Antioch, the lords of Saône (mod. Qal'at Şalāḥ al-Dīn, Syria) built another ridgetop castle, cut off from the neighboring hill by a vast rock-cut ditch. The site had been fortified by the Byzantines during the tenth century, but the crusader occupants built much stronger and more massive walls and towers. Saône is really a series of large tower houses connected by a curtain wall. There are no communal buildings, apart from a vaulted shelter, which may have been a stable, and a large vaulted cistern. The fabric at Saône is of a very high standard with beautifully cut ashlar.

The military orders began to erect castles soon after their formation. Their castles were often rectangular enclosure castles rather than isolated towers or ridge fortresses. Each was in effect a fortified cloister with communal buildings, refectory, dormitory, and chapel. The rectangular or oblong enclosure with vaulted halls running along the inside of the curtain walls was the most common plan. The Templars tended to build along main routes to protect pilgrims, and few of their twelfth-century structures have survived. However, from 1168 the Hospitallers began work on a site they called Belvoir (mod. Kokhav ha-Yarden, Israel), an isolated summit commanding superb views over the Jordan Valley. The castle was destroyed by Saladin's army in 1188, so the ruins can be fairly closely dated. It consisted of two rectangular enclosures, one inside the other, surrounded by a deep ditch cut in the rocky summit. There were large square towers at each corner of each enclosure. The upper stories



Glacis and cistern, Krak des Chevaliers. (Courtesy Graham Loud)

have disappeared, but there must have been halls around the insides of both enclosures.

The defeat of the Frankish armies at Hattin in 1187 and Saladin's campaigns of conquest that followed showed how inadequate the castles of the twelfth century were when confronted with an enemy who could deploy siege engines efficiently. A few castles on isolated outcrops, such as Margat (mod. Marqab, Syria) and Krak des Chevaliers (mod. Ḥisn al-Akrād or Qal'at al-Ḥisn, Syria), were able to hold out, but most others, denuded of men and with no real hope of relief, surrendered in the end.

In the thirteenth century, the Franks rebuilt and strengthened a comparatively small number of castles, which include examples of some of the most elaborate and impressive surviving military architecture of the Middle Ages. The great thirteenth-century castles were all built by the military

orders. Neither the lay aristocracy nor the monarchy, engulfed by succession disputes, had the resources needed to build credible fortifications. The builders concentrated on sites on hilltops or that had access to the sea. The castles had multiple lines of fortification, boldly projecting towers, and shooting galleries in the thickness of the walls. In many cases, they also boasted stone machicolations. Inside there were vast storerooms, halls, and places where the garrison could shelter from incoming missiles. The towers were roofed, as usual in Outremer, by stone vaults, strong enough for the mounting of trebuchets, which were often used in defense. As a general rule, the Templars used rectangular towers while the Hospitallers used round ones, although there were exceptions like the Templar castle at Baghras (mod. Bagras Kalesi, Turkey) outside Antioch. There seems to be no logical explanation for these preferences, and it may simply have been house style.

The Templars constructed a number of major monuments. In the kingdom of Jerusalem, Château Pèlerin (mod. 'Atlit, Israel) was constructed in 1218. As its name ("Pilgrims' Castle") implies, much of the labor was contributed by pilgrim volunteers. The castle stood on a promontory in the sea, and the defense was concentrated on the land side where there were two lines of wall, the inner one defended by two massive oblong towers. In the interior there were the halls typical of the work of military orders and an elegant chapel. The castle, defended by 4,000 men, survived a Muslim siege in 1220 and remained in Templar hands until it was abandoned after the fall of Acre in 1291.

Around 1240 the Templars began to build the castle at Saphet (mod. Zefat, Israel) in Upper Galilee. Virtually nothing has survived of the structure, but we have a unique account of the architecture and purpose of the castle in a treatise apparently written as a fund-raising pamphlet at the behest of the bishop of Marseilles who visited the site while on pilgrimage. Despite these efforts, the castle fell to Sultan Baybars I in 1266.

In the northern states of Outremer, or what was left of them, the Templars also embarked on major building projects. In their base in the coastal town of Tortosa (mod. Tartūs, Syria), they strengthened the twelfth-century fortress by constructing a curtain wall with massive oblong towers and improving the defenses of the square keep by the addition of shooting galleries. In the court there were an elegant chapel, halls, and a chapter house, now incorporated in the fabric of the houses of the town. The most complete surviv-



Inner and outer walls, Krak des Chevaliers. (Courtesy Graham Loud)

ing example of Templar work from this period is the tower and chapel at Chastel Blanc (mod. Safita, Lebanon). The centerpiece of the castles is a vast rectangular tower with a large simple church on the ground floor and a chamber above. This was surrounded by a curtain wall that enclosed spacious halls, but all of these are now very ruinous.

The most important surviving Hospitaller castles are to be found in the principality of Antioch and the county of Tripoli. Margat had been founded by the Mazoir family but was sold by them to the Hospitallers in 1186. Situated on an isolated plateau overlooking the coast road, the fortifications consisted of a castle town, now overgrown and ruined, and a huge citadel. Built in a rugged and unforgiving black basalt, the citadel is defended by the precipitous slopes of the hill and two lines of walls defended by round towers. At the south end where the castle site is most vulnerable, there is a massive round tower some 24 meters (78½ ft.) in

height. As usual, the court is filled with storerooms, kitchens, halls, and a large chapel. A visitor in 1212 said that the castle contained provisions for five years. Margat also contained the archives of the Hospitallers, and it was there that they retreated after the fall of Krak des Chevaliers in 1271. It was not until May 1285, just six years before the fall of Acre, that the castle was taken by the army of Sultan Qalūwūn and the surviving members of the garrison were allowed to retreat to Tripoli.

Krak des Chevaliers is the most famous of all the castles of Outremer. The castle is situated on the eastern frontiers of the county of Tripoli, overlooking the plains around Homs. It passed into Hospitaller hands in the 1140s. The surviving structures seem to belong to two distinct phases. In the twelfth century an enclosure castle was built on the spur of the hill with square mural towers and halls and a chapel surrounding an open courtyard. Saladin decided it was too



Wall and towers, Saône. (Courtesy Graham Loud)

strong to attack, but even so, in the early thirteenth century the Hospitallers thought it necessary to transform the defenses. An outer wall was built, and the inner enceinte encased by a massive new wall and glacis. Both inner and outer walls were now defended by round mural towers and box machicolations at the wall-head. A new and very elegant gothic hall was built for the knights and large, airy rooms were created in the towers.

We are told that Saphet, which was probably typical of the great castles of the military orders, had a garrison of 1,700 men in peacetime and 2,200 in war. Of these only 50 were Templar knight brethren. There were 30 sergeants, who were probably also Franks, and 50 locally engaged Turcopoles. The remainder consisted of 300 crossbowmen, workers and servants, and 400 slaves. Castles like Krak des Chevaliers and Margat had an important offensive role. Raiding parties from the castles could set out and extort tribute from the surrounding Muslim areas. They also

attracted visiting pilgrims, who would be asked to make a donation. In this way, these vast fortifications may even have paid for themselves and become moneymaking operations.

This position changed with the coming of the Mamlûks under Sultan Baybars I (1260–1277). Baybars was a master of the use of trebuchets, dismantling them and moving them from one siege to another as required. Even the strongest defenses, like the south walls at Krak des Chevaliers, could not withstand these for long. Miners also contributed to the fall of castles like Margat. Two crucial facts, that there was no prospect of a relieving army and that the Mamlûks offered safe conduct to those who surrendered, contributed to the fall of the castle. No castle in Outremer held out for more than six weeks after the Mamlûks had begun a serious siege. The castles of the Frankish East represent some of the most developed and sophisticated military architecture of medieval Christendom, but in the



Ditch and pillar supporting the bridge, Saône. (Courtesy Graham Loud)

absence of reinforcements and the absence of hope, they could not ensure the survival of Outremer.

—Hugh Kennedy

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Catalan Company

A company of professional soldiers that established an autonomous state in central Greece after overthrowing the duke of Athens in 1311.

The so-called Catalan Company was founded in Sicily in 1302 by Roger de Flor, a renegade Templar, corsair, and warlord who had fought in the service of Frederick II, the Aragonese king of Sicily (1296–1357). Its members were recruited in Sicily from among the participants in the war against the kingdom of Naples. It was hired in 1303 by Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos of Byzantium to fight against the Turks in Asia Minor. The assassination of its chief in April 1305 pitched the company against the Byzantine Empire. It seized the town of Gallipoli (mod. Gelibolu, Turkey) in Thrace, and in the following six years it moved westward in stages through Byzantine territory. Although the company displayed an allegiance toward the kings of Aragon or Sicily, it maintained its stand as an independent and sovereign body. In the spring of 1311, it vanquished Walter I of Brienne, the Frankish duke of Athens, at the battle of Halmyros in Thessaly and took over his territory. The state founded by the Catalan Company maintained its existence for some seventy years.

Several of the company's features during its six-year-long odyssey had a decisive impact upon the shaping of the Catalan state in the duchy of Athens. Soon after the conquest the company established municipal institutions based on the customs of Barcelona and Catalonia and a central council composed of the representatives of the communes, which dealt with important matters of policy and enacted laws. It used the Catalan language in its documents. All of this constituted a definite break with the political regime that had existed prior to 1311, when cities were governed by the duke's officials.

External pressure compelled the company to submit to the Aragonese king Frederick II of Sicily in 1312. It nevertheless maintained its existence as an autonomous corporation under ducal sovereignty throughout the existence of the Catalan state. Effective royal rule began in 1317 with the arrival of the king's son Alfonso Fadrique, the first duke appointed by the kings of Sicily. His successors were all members of the Aragonese dynasty of Sicily until King Peter

IV of Aragon gained the ducal throne between 1377 and 1379. In 1318 or 1319 Alfonso Fadrique conquered and annexed the southern part of the Byzantine state of Thessaly, known thereafter as the duchy of Neopatras. In this territory he exercised direct rule on behalf of his father, without any participation of the company. Its regime thus differed markedly from that of the duchy of Athens, although communes were also established in some of its cities. However, Alfonso Fadrique, who allied himself with the Turks of Asia Minor, failed to conquer the island of Negroponte (Euboea). Venice put an end to Catalan expansion in 1331.

The settlement of noblemen from Catalonia, Aragon, and Sicily from 1317 resulted in the introduction of feudal structures in the Catalan duchies. The challenge of the noblemen to the authority of the ducal governors and the rivalry among themselves created a state of almost permanent crisis from the 1350s, which led to an armed struggle in the 1360s. Ducal power was seriously restricted in the years 1373–1378 by a new conflict between factions of noblemen and prelates, supported by the communes; the duchies were disintegrating. In 1379 the municipal councils jointly appealed to King Peter IV of Aragon to rule over the duchies, but Thebes was occupied by the Navarrese Companies in that year, and other cities shortly afterward.

Soon after conquering the duchy of Athens in 1311, the company devised a series of legal measures in order to maintain its own political ascendancy and enforce social and legal segregation between Latins and the local Greeks of the Orthodox faith. Religious affiliation became a criterion of basic social status and a convenient means of social identification, whether individual or collective. The company established legal barriers that prevented the upward social mobility of the Greeks, and this restrictive legislation was extended to the duchy of Neopatras after its conquest in 1318 or 1319. Greeks were barred from marrying Latin women and acquiring various types of real estate, unless they obtained official authorization. Between 1362 and 1380, the dukes granted wide privileges ensuring full social integration among the Franks to a small number of high-ranking Greeks.

—David Jacoby

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Cathars

The name given to a group of radical Christian heretics who first appeared in the Byzantine Empire and later spread to western Europe, where they became a target of crusading in the course of the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229).

The Cathars derived from the sect of the Bogomils, which seems to have originated in the tenth century in what is now Bulgaria. Their doctrines were founded upon the heresy of the Paulicians and the Massalians from Asia Minor, both of whom espoused dualist views about God and the nature of the world. Their ideas became widespread in the Byzantine Empire in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, despite persecution by the imperial authorities.

The spread of the heresy to western Europe was inevitable, given the growing movement between East and West of both trade and pilgrims. It is likely that the ideas spread into western Europe along the Rhine valley and thence to northern Gaul. Thence the ideas traveled south into Italy, where they became widespread in the cities of the north, and into Languedoc, where they began to make real headway in the later twelfth century. By 1165, when a debate was staged at Lombers near Albi, Cathar ideas were well established. Between 1174 and 1177 the heretics held a council at Saint-Felix-de-Caraman near Toulouse, which concerned both doctrine and organization. In 1177 Count Raymond V of Toulouse, writing to the chapter general of the Cistercians, described the doctrine of "the Two Principles" as spreading like a plague.

Contemporary commentators noted that the heresy was common among the nobility of the Languedoc, and this undoubtedly helped its spread. Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay, the northern eyewitness chronicler of the Albigensian Crusade, wrote that "the lords of the Languedoc almost all protected and harboured the heretics, showing them excessive love and defending them against God and the church" [*His-*

toire Albigeoise de Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, ed. Pascal Guébin and Henri Maisonneuve (Paris: Vrin, 1951), p. 5]. Some of their protectors, such as the count of Foix, were ruling princes, and there were many noblewomen among their adherents. This was a new development, since until this time in western Europe the church could rely upon rulers to support it against heretics, who were normally clerics, townsmen, or peasants. Support among the nobility helped Catharism to spread in the countryside. By the beginning of the Albigensian Crusade in 1209, the heresy was widespread across Languedoc and was strong in the burgeoning towns, many of which had their own governments and relied upon trade and the manufacture of cloth for their wealth. Here the independent and cosmopolitan nature of town life, combined with a relatively weak church presence, provided the conditions for heresy to grow. In Italy, at a period when the towns of the north were beyond papal control and also effectively outside the control of the Holy Roman Emperor, their growing independence similarly provided a benign climate for the spread of Catharism.

As a set of beliefs Catharism was far from monolithic. At a time when the church in western Europe was defining its doctrines more closely than ever before, the beliefs of the Cathars were more and more obviously heterodox, but were not uniform, simply because the leaders of the sect were quite unequipped to enforce discipline across a wide area. At the heart of Catharism was the belief in the dual nature of the ruling forces of the universe. On the one side was the God of goodness and light, on the other Satan, the god of darkness and evil: these two forces contended eternally. For some Cathars the good God was the supreme being, whose work had been subverted by Satan, but for most the physical world was something created by the evil god. It was therefore Hell, and as such a caricature of the perfect world of the spirit. For the Cathars, the separation between the world of the spirit and the physical world was absolute. It was not merely tainted by the sin of Adam, but irremediably corrupt because of its origin. This applied to everything within it, including people, whose bodies as part of the world had been created by Satan. Since Satan could not make dead things live it was clear that the souls of men, which gave their flesh life, were angels who had been seduced to rebel against God and had fallen from Heaven. Consequently the Old Testament, with its description of the Creation, was the history of the Devil's work, and the Law of Moses was also his doing. The True God revealed himself in the New Testament, and

the Gospel of St. John, with its emphasis on the importance of the Word, was particularly important to the Cathars.

This view of the world was a strategy for accommodating the gap between the individual's experience of suffering and the explanation for that experience offered by conventional religious thought. The question inevitably raised was how a good God could allow the obvious suffering within the world to continue. The answer must be that he had no control over it. For the Cathars the physical world as a changeable, alien, and wicked place was ultimately of no consequence. Its structures were not ordained by God. Society was ultimately of no value. The Cathars, who saw themselves as saved by being outside orthodox society, were naturally nonconformists and understood persecution as a sign of their righteousness and salvation.

The belief that the world is something to be rejected in favor of the heavenly world (Lat. *contemptus mundi*) was a strain of thought common in orthodox Christianity, especially among the more ascetic monastics. Here, however, it signaled a desire to break with a society that was irredeemable and was to be regarded as a battleground upon which the good God fought for the souls he had lost. Since that world was Hell, it was also natural to believe that when a person died he might return to Heaven, the place to which he belonged, or return once more to the world. The Cathars therefore believed in reincarnation.

Since they saw the world as outside God's creation, it followed that the Gospel was Good News brought from outside. Christ was not a real man, since that would imply that God had cooperated with Satan in Christ's coming. Instead he was an angel or the Son of God, but not his equal. Above all, he was not really of flesh and blood, and hence his death was not a sacrifice as understood in Catholic theology. Men were to be saved but by following the news that he brought, which told them of their origin and how to find salvation. Catharism was therefore a religion of *gnosis* (knowledge or deeper wisdom) that rejected the corporeality of Catholicism; salvation meant the release of the soul from the world by becoming perfect.

The core of Catharism consisted of a group of men and women known in Latin sources as the *perfecti* ("perfect ones," masc. sing. *perfectus*, fem. sing. *perfecta*), that is, those who had determined to attain salvation (the name "Cathar" comes from the Greek *katharos*, "perfect"). They practiced an austere way of life, often fasting and refusing to eat meat, and regarded animals as endowed with spirits. These animal

Catherine Cornaro (d. 1510)

spirits, they believed, might be transferred in another life to human bodies, and so killing them would be a form of murder. The perfecti were celibate, since procreation was considered as cooperation with Satan in the continuation of the world. They took no oaths, since oaths were based upon the belief that God intervenes in the world. They lived as itinerant preachers, engaged in prayer and care of the believers. They were not priests, since they did not believe in Christ's sacrifice, but they acted as pastors for their followers. They believed that strict adherence to their practices would maintain the perfection that was necessary for salvation and that had been granted to them when they received the *consolamentum* (laying on of hands by those who were already perfect), which transmitted the Holy Spirit. Failure to lead a spotless life would mean a fall from grace and loss of salvation, a situation that could only be remedied by reconso-lation after a long period of abstinence and prayer. They offered those who could not attain perfection in their lives immediately the chance to be consoled on their deathbed. Such believers listened to the sermons of the perfecti, accepted bread from them at meals, received their blessing, and received penance from them for their sins.

By the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Cathars of Languedoc had a counterchurch, with bishops who controlled dioceses and deacons who were perfecti and behaved much like parish priests. Many female *perfectae* lived in groups in convents, but those men who had no fixed responsibilities traveled incessantly, preaching where they could. They were supported and sheltered by their sympathizers, but many also had trades, especially where they were settled in communities. It was this organization that made the Cathars such a formidable opposition to the church and enabled them to survive for so long in the face of persecution. It was only after the Albigensian Crusade that the General Inquisition was organized, and it took the rest of the thirteenth century to destroy the movement.

—Michael D. Costen

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Catherine Cornaro (d. 1510)

Queen of Cyprus (1474–1489) under a Venetian protectorate of the island.

Catherine Cornaro (also Corner, Correr) belonged to an old, established Venetian family that possessed large estates at Kolossi on Cyprus from the mid-fourteenth century onward. Following the treaty of 1469 that effectively placed Cyprus under Venetian protection, she married King James II in 1471. Their son, King James III, born a few weeks after the death of James II, died in August 1474, thereby bringing to a close the Lusignan dynasty of Cyprus. From this time Catherine reigned alone until 1489. The Catalan and Neapolitan officials whom her late husband had favored plotted unsuccessfully on several occasions to overthrow her, with the support of the exiled Queen Charlotte, Archbishop Louis of Nicosia, and the royal house of Naples. These plots were put down with the help of the Venetian fleet and garrisons established on Cyprus after the death of King James.

Catherine was queen in name only, for in reality the administration of the island was carried out by officials appointed from Venice, who gave Catherine occasion to complain of their parsimony and disregard toward her. In 1476 the Mamlūk sultan, who was the formal suzerain of Cyprus, recognized her as queen, and she was popular among the Cypriots, especially those of Nicosia, who gave her a rapturous reception when she moved there from Famagusta in 1475. However, attempts to repopulate Cyprus by attracting settlers from Venice, Albania, and the Peloponnese (1478–1486) were unsuccessful, and in 1489 Venice, wishing to strengthen the republic's presence on Cyprus through complete annexation, induced her to abdicate. She spent her remaining years at Asolo in Italy, dying in 1510.

—Nicholas Coureas

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Cave de Suète

Cave de Suète (Arab. Habis Jaldak, in mod. Jordan) was a cave fortress established by one of the lords of Tiberias sometime before 1109 in a former Byzantine laura cut into a cliff face on the south side of the gorge of the river Yarmuk to the east of the Jordan.

Approached by a narrow path, the castle comprised three levels of chambers accessed by external timber stairs and internal passages. Its purpose was to watch over the territory known as the Terre de Suète, which in 1109 was divided between the kingdom of Jerusalem and Muslim Damascus. In 1113, Ṭughtigin, *atabeg* of Damascus, took the castle and killed its garrison, but it reverted to Frankish control two years later. Taken again by the Muslims in 1118, it was recaptured later that year by Baldwin II of Jerusalem, who then advanced to Dara, bringing the whole Yarmuk Valley under Frankish control.

Nūr al-Dīn besieged the castle in July 1158 but raised the siege on the approach of Baldwin III, who then defeated him at Puthaha, south of Lake Tiberias. Restored and regarrisoned, the castle remained in Frankish hands until July 1182, when Farrūkh Shāh, Saladin's nephew, took it after five days by mining up through the soft rock from the lower level. In October 1182, however, the Muslim garrison of around seventy men surrendered when the Franks blockaded the castle and dug them out from the cliff-top. Thereafter, Cave de Suète remained in Frankish possession until the large-scale conquests of Saladin in 1187.

—Denys Pringle

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Caxton, William (d. 1491)

The first English printer and publisher; translator of *Godfrey of Boloyne*, an account of the First Crusade (1096–1099).

Caxton was born in Kent around 1422 and apprenticed to

a silk mercer in London in 1438. From 1441 he lived in Bruges, and around 1470 won the patronage of Margaret of York, the daughter of King Edward IV of England and wife of Duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy. He presented to Margaret his first translated work: *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*. Caxton learned printing while in Cologne in 1471–1472 and on his return to Bruges set up a press, from which the *Recuyell* was the first printed book (1474 or 1475). He transferred his enterprise to Westminster in England in 1476, and until his death he occupied himself with translating, writing, and printing. In all he published at least 18,000 pages under eighty different titles. Most of these works were chivalric or religious in nature, such as Thomas Malory's *Morte Darthur*, and he translated twenty-two of them himself: twenty-one from French and one from Dutch.

Godfrey of Boloyne or The Siege and Conqueste of Jherusalem (1481) is a translation into Middle English of the Old French *Estoire de Eracles empereur et la conqueste de la terre d'Outremer*, itself a translation of William of Tyre's Latin chronicle. The version used by Caxton was probably a codex known to have belonged to Louis of Bruges. Its hero was Godfrey of Bouillon, the first Christian ruler of Jerusalem after the crusader conquest of 1099, whom Caxton placed in the "thyrde stalle of the moost worthy of Cristen men" [*Godffroy of Boloyne*, ed. Colvin, p. 3]: that is, he was seen as the world's greatest hero since Arthur and Charlemagne. This comment occurs at the beginning of the work, which ends with Godfrey's death. In a colophon Caxton gave his purpose: "to thende that every cristen man may be the better encoraged tenterprise warre for the defense of Cristendom" [*Godffroy of Boloyne*, p. 311], reflecting the enthusiasm for crusading in England at the time. The work survives in thirteen copies and one set of fragments.

—Susan B. Edgington

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Ceuta

A well-situated, strategic port town on the north Moroccan coast (Arab. Sabta), just 16 kilometers (10 mi.) south of Gibraltar.

Ceuta was the home of the Byzantine governor “Count Julian,” who legendarily dispatched Muslim forces under Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād to Iberia in 711/714 in revenge for King

Roderic’s mistreatment of his daughter, resulting in the fall of the Visigothic kingdom and the Muslim conquest of Iberia. In the Umayyad period Ceuta was an important entrepôt and a nexus for trade between Iberia and Africa. After 1010 Ceuta became a Taifa kingdom. It fell to the Almoravids in 1083 and subsequently passed under the control of the Almohads and the Ḥafṣids, before the local ‘Azafids took control. Conquered by Granada in 1306, in 1387 it fell to the Marinids and went into a decline. The Portuguese conquered it in a crusade in 1415, establishing an episcopal see in 1421. Under the control of Spain since 1580, Ceuta, along with Melilla, remains a Spanish enclave in Moroccan territory to this day.

–Brian A. Catlos

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Chaka (d. 1105/1106)

Chaka (from Turk. *çaka[n]*, "axe"), known as Tzachas in Greek sources, was the Turkish emir of Smyrna (mod. İzmir, Turkey) and its surrounding area at the time of the First Crusade (1096–1099). His maritime principality came to include most of the Ionian littoral and several eastern Aegean islands, and his aspirations included the Byzantine throne itself.

While a hostage in the court of the Byzantine emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates, Chaka received the high title of *protonovelissimos* and possibly baptism, although later in his career he definitely reverted to Islam. Around 1081, having obtained prominence in Byzantium and organized a fleet, he gained control of Smyrna and the surrounding areas of Klazomenai and Phokaia, and razed Adramyttion to the ground. For almost a quarter of a century he posed a serious threat to Emperor Alexios I Komnenos. With the help of a Christian Smyrniote, he created a powerful fleet and a piratical army of 8,000 troops, with which he raided (and in some cases, took control of) several Aegean islands in 1088/1089 and 1092/1093; his combined attack with the Pechenegs against Constantinople (1090–1091) was the only case during the Saljūq period when the Turks laid siege to the Byzantine capital.

Even after being driven out of Smyrna by the Byzantines (1096–1098/1099), Chaka was far from being neutralized. Alexios I eventually succeeded in convincing Chaka's son-in-law Qilij Arslān I, sultan of Rūm, that his domains were Chaka's real target, which caused the sultan to lure the emir to a banquet in Abydos, where the sultan himself stabbed Chaka to death.

—Alexios G. C. Savvides

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Chaldaeans

See Nestorians

Chalkis

See Negroponte

Chanson d'Antioche

An Old French epic poem dealing with the First Crusade (1096–1099), and incorporating apparently authentic historical material.

The version of the poem that survives is believed to have been written in the last quarter of the twelfth century and is usually attributed to one Graindor of Douai, who took three chansons de geste (epic songs) that were circulating in oral form and reworked them to form what is known as the "first crusade cycle." He claimed to have had the *Chanson d'Antioche* from an eyewitness, named "Richard the Pilgrim" (line 9014). It differs markedly from the two other chansons in the cycle, *Les Chétifs* and the *Chanson* (or *Conquête*) *de Jérusalem*, which are works of fantasy, complete with monsters and villains, heroes and beautiful maidens. This disparity is persuasive evidence that the reworker of the chansons used already existing content in all three cases. However, attempts by its modern editor, Suzanne Duparc-Quioc, to establish the original version of the *Chanson d'Antioche* using comparison with other narratives of the First Crusade are not conclusive and have been challenged, notably by Robert F. Cook.

The poem comprises nearly 10,000 lines. It identifies Peter the Hermit as the instigator of the crusade, then traces

the recruitment of crusaders in response to the pope's appeal and their journeys via Constantinople into Asia Minor. The capture of Nicaea and the acquisition of Edessa are described before the crusaders arrive at Antioch. Events there are at the heart of the poem, which ends with the Christian victory in the battle of Antioch (1098). There are some unexpected heroes, including the Tafurs, a fierce and quasi-autonomous gang of ruffians who accompanied the Christians under the leadership of their own "king." Unfortunately none of the poem's content can be used as evidence for the First Crusade, because of Graindor's reworkings and because the earliest extant manuscript (MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fr.12558) dates from the mid-thirteenth century. However, the *Chanson d'Antioche* was probably used as part of the recruitment drive for the Third Crusade, around 1190, and holds considerable interest in this light. It has linguistic features from Picardy and would have been recited to audiences drawn from the knights and nobility of north-eastern France, whose ancestors' deeds it celebrates.

—Susan B. Edgington

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Chanson de Jérusalem

An Old French crusade epic, also known as *La Conquête de Jérusalem*, originally composed around 1135.

The poem survives in eleven manuscripts (in three only fragmentarily), most importantly MSS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fr.12558 and fr.12569, both dating from around 1275. Almost 10,000 lines in length, the poem has as its central theme the siege and conquest of Jerusalem (15 July 1099) by the First Crusade, covering the period from the arrival of the crusaders at the walls of Jerusalem (early June 1099) up to the defeat of a Saracen army shortly after the capture of the city, which may be a reminiscence of the

historical battle of Ascalon (12 August 1099). The text's historicity is clearly recognizable, but less reliable than in the older *Chanson d'Antioche*. The *Chanson de Jérusalem* was composed by an anonymous author and does not survive in its original form. The oldest extant version was made between 1180 and 1190 by the otherwise unknown Graindor de Douai, adapting the story in order to compose a trilogy along with the *Chanson d'Antioche* and *Les Chétifs*, which became the core of the later Crusade Cycle.

—Geert H. M. Claassens

See also: *Chanson d'Antioche*; Crusade Cycle

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Chanson de la Croisade albigeoise

A *chanson de geste* (epic poem), in Occitan mixed with French forms, dealing with the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229).

The first part of the poem was composed by Guilhem (William) de Tudela between 1210 and 1213. From Tudela in Spanish Navarre, Guilhem was a member of the Occitan clergy. He explicitly imitated the form and music of the *Canso d'Antiocha*, capitalizing on its prestige and clothing the invasion of Occitania with the legitimacy of the First Crusade (1096–1099). Not an active participant in events, he cites eyewitnesses, indicates the limits of his knowledge, and is factually reliable, apart from a few mistakes. He supports the persecution of heretics but is disturbed by what he sees as indiscriminate acts of repression and confiscation of lands. His measured style reflects a considered effort at objectivity.

The anonymous continuator of the poem, probably a lay cleric from Toulouse, is poetically much more exciting, while also being well informed about participants and events. Eschewing objectivity, virtually obliterating the issue of heresy, and condemning the French invasion as unjustified and treacherous, he sounds a passionate rallying cry to collective Occitan resistance under the banner of *paratge*, that is, a blend of values such as youth, generosity, and courtliness, with the right to one's inherited patrimony. He probably wrote between July 1218 and June 1219 (mention of Guy de Montfort's death in 1228 is probably an interpolation), breaking off at the moment when defenders on the walls of Toulouse await the arrival of the army of King Louis

VII of France. While showing the pope in a sympathetic light, and the clergy at the Lateran Council divided on the issue of the rights of Simon of Montfort (leader of the crusade) and the young Count Raymond VII of Toulouse, he excoriates the duplicitous harshness of antagonistic clergy at Toulouse and delights in Simon's death at the hands of a woman working a siege machine.

–Linda M. Paterson

See also: Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229)

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Chanson de Roland

The *Chanson de Roland* (Song of Roland) is the oldest known chanson de geste (Old French epic poem). The earliest surviving version dates from around 1100: the sole manuscript is from the second half of the twelfth century (MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 23). The poem is written in assonanced *laissez* (strophes of unequal length). A later twelfth-century reworking into rhyme, known as the *Rhymed Roland*, knew greater success in the Middle Ages, but the Oxford text is more studied today.

The *Chanson de Roland* transforms the historical event of a Gascon attack on the rearguard of the army of the emperor Charlemagne as it crossed the Pyrenees in 778, turning it into a heroic defeat by a Saracen army that outnumbers the rearguard by five to one. The original skirmish between two "Christian" groups becomes a piece of crusading propaganda opposing Christians and Saracens, who are portrayed as worshippers of the heathen gods Muḥammad, Apollo, and Tervagant.

The poem begins with the Saracens plotting to deceive Charlemagne into giving up his war in Spain by feigning a desire to make peace and convert to Christianity. The Christians are persuaded to accept these terms by Ganelon, Roland's stepfather, supported by Naimon, Charlemagne's wisest counselor. Ganelon and Roland, Charlemagne's nephew, quarrel over the nomination of Ganelon as ambassador to the Saracens. This leads to a betrayal by Ganelon, intended to be against Roland but involving the whole Christian army. Ganelon plots with the pagan king Marsile to ensure that Roland will lead the rearguard, telling Marsile that Roland can be defeated if he attacks the rearguard in two waves.

All goes according to plan: Roland, his companion Oliver, and the rearguard die at the battle of Roncevaux, near a pass across the Pyrenees. Before engaging in battle, Oliver advises Roland to summon Charlemagne by sounding his horn (the Olifant). Roland refuses. However, before his death he decides that, having given his all, he should now inform Charlemagne of the fate of the rearguard; this time it is Oliver who disagrees, but Roland goes ahead and blows his horn. The two quarrels over the blowing of the horn have been central to scholars' interpretations of Roland's character. Hearing the horn, Charlemagne returns to find the slaughtered rearguard. He pursues Marsile to avenge their deaths. The pagans are defeated, Marsile fleeing to Saragossa. What follows, the arrival on the scene of Baligant, overlord to Marsile, is considered by most scholars to be an interpolation, though it is integral to the text as we now have it. The clash between the armies of Baligant and Charlemagne, culminating in a single combat between the two leaders, is presented in ideological terms, a battle between Christian and non-Christian, good and evil. God, inevitably, is on Charlemagne's side, and with his encouragement Charlemagne and Christianity triumph. The narrative concludes with justice being done; following a judicial combat between the champions of Ganelon and Charlemagne, Ganelon is found guilty and condemned to death with his followers.

There is no doubt in the poem that the role of a vassal is to serve both God and king. Archbishop Turpin tells the men in the rearguard before the battle that if they confess their sins they will die as martyrs. The action takes place in northern Spain rather than the Holy Land, and the links with the *Reconquista* are clear, but the ideology is that of the First Crusade (1096–1099).

–Marianne J. Ailes

Charles I of Anjou (1226–1285)

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Charles I of Anjou (1226–1285)

Count of Provence (1246–1285), king of Sicily (1266–1285), and claimant to various Frankish principalities in Outremer and Greece.

Charles I of Anjou was born in March 1226 as the youngest child of King Louis VIII of France and Blanche of Castile. Through marriage to Beatrice, daughter of Count Raymond Berengar IV, he became count of Provence in 1246. In the same year he was invested with the appanages of Anjou and Maine by his brother King Louis IX of France.



Pope Clement IV invests Charles I of Anjou as king of Sicily, late thirteenth-century fresco. (Archivo Iconografico, S.A./Corbis)

As a result of extensive negotiations with Popes Urban IV and Clement IV, Charles was invested on 28 June 1265 with the kingdom of Sicily, with the goal of overthrowing the reigning king, Manfred of Staufen. Charles was crowned on 6 January 1266, and fought a successful campaign, which culminated in the defeat and death of Manfred at the battle of Benevento on 26 February 1266. Charles was then forced to defend his newly acquired kingdom against Manfred's nephew, Conradin, but succeeded in defeating the young Staufen claimant in the battle of Tagliacozzo on 23 August 1268 and had him executed on 29 October of that year. Charles was now ruler of the island of Sicily as well as of the southern Italian mainland. In order to stabilize his rule, the king exiled all of the pro-Staufen partisans and nominated only Frenchmen for higher positions in the military and civil administrations; the financial administration of the kingdom was mainly in the hand of Italians from the cities of Amalfi and Ravello.

Soon after the conquest of the kingdom of Sicily, Charles became involved in affairs on the eastern coast of the Ionian Sea, because he had inherited rule over territories acquired as the dowry of Manfred's Greek wife. These consisted of the island of Corfu (mod. Kerkira, Greece) and the strip of the Albanian coast from Durazzo (mod. Durrës, Albania) in the north to Butrint in the south. Charles was even acclaimed as king of Albania in 1272, but his real power there remained more or less limited to the maritime cities of Durazzo, Vlorë, Sopot, and Butrint. On 24 May 1267 the prince of Achaia, William II of Villehardouin, threatened by the Byzantine advance in the Peloponnese after 1261, ceded to Charles direct rule over the principality of Achaia after his death. Three days later Baldwin II, the dethroned Latin emperor of Constantinople, also recognized his sovereignty over the principality and over Manfred's Epirotic dowry, in exchange for the promise of military help in the reconquest of Constantinople.

In 1270 Charles was obliged to take part in the crusade of his brother Louis IX against Tunis, although at the time he was already planning an expedition against Byzantium. After the death of the French king during the crusade, Charles succeeded nevertheless in concluding a very advantageous treaty with Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Mustanşir, emir of Tunis (November 1270). This agreement guaranteed him the payment of a lump sum of 70,000 ounces of gold and an annual tribute of 2,777 ounces of gold.

In the following years Charles continued with his plans for

the reconquest of Constantinople and continuously sent troops and foodstuffs to Greece and Albania, hoping to realize his dream of an Angevin hegemony over the Mediterranean. An important step in this direction was the acquisition of the rights to the kingdom of Jerusalem from Mary of Antioch on 15 January 1277 in return for a down payment of 1,000 gold pieces and an annual rent of 4,000 *livres tournois* (pounds of the standard of Tours). Although the king nominated Roger of Sanseverino and Odo Poilechien as his *baillis* (regents), his rule in Palestine was never fully recognized, and his representatives were unable to stop the advance of the Mamlūks under Sultan Qalāwūn.

In the long term, Charles's involvement in the affairs of Outremer only harmed his attempts to establish an Angevin hegemony in the Mediterranean. He wasted his efforts on diverse fronts instead of concentrating his forces on the defense of his Greek possessions and the reconquest of Constantinople. After the death of Prince William II (1 May 1278), the principality of Achaia did in fact fall under direct Angevin rule and was subsequently governed by regents. However, an attempt by one of the king's captains in Albania (Hugh of Sully) to advance against Constantinople by land in 1279 failed completely. As a consequence of this disaster, Charles concluded an alliance for a combined attack by sea and by land against the Byzantine Empire with Venice and the titular Latin emperor, Philip of Courtenay, on 3 July 1281 at Orvieto.

Charles's wider Mediterranean ambitions forced him to place an increasingly heavy burden on his subjects in the kingdom of Sicily. This, together with his restriction of the powers of the nobility and the actions of pro-Staufen expatriates, led to the uprising known as the Sicilian Vespers on 30 or 31 March 1282. This was followed by the secession of the island of Sicily from Angevin rule and the intervention of Peter III of Aragon, who was recognized by the Sicilians as their new king. Left in possession of the southern mainland of Italy, Charles tried in vain during the last years of his life to reconquer Sicily, his dreams of subjecting the Byzantine Empire already shattered. He died on 7 January 1285, in Foggia, and was succeeded in the kingdom of Naples by his son Charles II.

—Andreas Kiesewetter

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Charles I of Spain

See Charles V of Germany

Charles II of Anjou (1253–1309)

King of Sicily (Naples) and count of Provence (1285–1309). Charles II of Anjou was born on 18 November 1253, the eldest son of Charles I of Anjou and Beatrice of Provence.

After the rebellion of the Sicilian Vespers (1282), through which the island of Sicily broke away from his father's rule, Charles held the office of lieutenant of the kingdom of Naples for his father and tried to regain the confidence of his subjects with reforms. These resulted in the *Capitula* of San Martino (30 March 1283), which granted important privileges to the nobility, the clergy, and the citizens of the kingdom.

Captured in the naval battle of Naples on 5 June 1284 by the Aragonese admiral Roger Lauria, Charles was not released until November 1288 after long negotiations, by which time his father had died (1285). During Charles's captivity, Angevin rule in the kingdom of Jerusalem collapsed, and his *bailli* (regent) in Acre, Odo Poilechien, was forced to surrender the citadel of the city to Charles's rival Henry II, king of Cyprus, in the last days of June 1286. The Angevin possessions in Albania were lost at the same time.

After his coronation as king on 29 May 1289, Charles attempted in vain to resolve the Sicilian question by diplomacy or military means and was finally forced in 1302 to

ratify the Treaty of Caltabellotta, which guaranteed the independence of the island of Sicily under a collateral line of the Aragonese royal family. According to his plan for a decentralization of the Angevin possessions in the Mediterranean, Charles bestowed sovereignty over the principality of Achaia, as well as direct rule over Corfu and the defunct kingdom of Albania, on his fourth son, Philip I, prince of Taranto (1294). He then granted Philip direct possession of Achaia after the deposition of Isabella of Villehardouin and her husband Philip of Savoy as rulers in 1304–1307.

The climax of Charles's foreign policy, however, was the general acknowledgement of his grandson Charles Robert as king of Hungary in 1308, which guaranteed the crown of St. Stephen for the Angevin dynasty. During his reign, Charles II attempted to continue with the reform of the kingdom of Naples, although with largely negative results, because the power of the nobility had been strengthened. His administrative reforms in the county of Provence, by contrast, were much more successful. The War of the Sicilian Vespers proved disastrous for the finances of the kingdom of Naples and prevented the rise of trade and industry, but Charles succeeded at least in securing the continuation of Angevin rule in the mainland part of the former kingdom of Sicily. He died on 5 May 1309 in Naples, and was succeeded by his son Robert.

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Charles V of Germany (I of Spain) (1500–1558)

King of Spain (1516–1556) and Holy Roman Emperor (1520–1556), and initiator of three major campaigns that could be considered crusades: in central Europe in 1532, against Tunis in 1535, and against Algiers in 1541.

Charles was the son of Philip the Fair (d. 1506), ruler of the Habsburg Netherlands, and of Joanna, infanta of Spain, who was the daughter of the two "Catholic Monarchs," Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile. By the time he was crowned Holy Roman Emperor at the age of nineteen, Charles had succeeded to Spain and the Habsburg lands in Austria and the Netherlands.

Charles had vowed to maintain peace with Christians and warfare against Muslims, but political realities prevented him from fulfilling his vow. His reign was marked by the Protestant Reformation, conflict with France, and rivalry with the Ottoman sultan, Süleyman the Magnificent, in central Europe and the western Mediterranean. Charles committed imperial resources against the Ottomans in central Europe to protect the interests of his younger brother (later emperor), Ferdinand (d. 1564). Ferdinand claimed the throne of Hungary after the death of King Louis II at the battle of Mohács in 1526, but Süleyman recognized a rival candidate, John Szapolyai. The Turks unsuccessfully besieged Vienna in 1529; in 1532 Ferdinand relieved the Turkish siege of Köszeg (Güns), and in 1533 Süleyman agreed to a division of Hungary between Ferdinand and Szapolyai.

The Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1517 shifted the balance of power in the Mediterranean. The Turks established Algiers and Tripoli as outposts, threatening Spain's interests in the western Mediterranean. Charles expanded his naval forces, acquiring a major Mediterranean fleet when the Genoese admiral, Andrea Doria, defected to him from Francis I of France in 1528. After Süleyman expelled the Hospitallers from Rhodes in 1522, Charles offered them the island of Malta, with additional responsibility for Tripoli. The order accepted Charles's offer in 1530. These precautions sheltered the stretch of sea near Naples and Sicily and shielded Spain from Ottoman expansion. For his part, Süleyman acquired the services of the ruler of Algiers, Khayr al-Din Pasha (known in the West as Barbarossa), who seized the island fortress of Peñón of Algiers from Spain in 1529.

Charles organized an expedition against Barbarossa in Tunis in 1535 to remove Süleyman's fleet and secure the western Mediterranean. Under the command of Charles

and Doria, the expedition captured the fortress of La Goleta and the city of Tunis. Barbarossa escaped to Istanbul, where he took command of the sultan's navy in the eastern Mediterranean. Charles's other rival, Francis I of France, made an alliance with Süleyman against Charles in 1536. In response, in 1538 Charles formed the Holy League with Venice and the papacy to fight Barbarossa off the coast of Greece. He began planning a Mediterranean crusade against Algiers in 1541, but the Christians abandoned it when their fleet was wrecked in a storm.

Although Barbarossa died in 1546, Ottoman expansion in North Africa remained a threat to the Habsburg interests in Spain. Charles's obligations in northern Europe prevented him from giving his full attention to the Mediterranean, and his plans to lead an armada against Istanbul were interrupted by other wars in Europe. In 1555–1556 he abdicated from rule in all his dominions and retired to a Spanish monastery.

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Charles the Good (d. 1127)

Pilgrim to the Holy Land, count of Flanders (1119–1127), and potential claimant to the throne of Jerusalem.

Charles was born in Denmark, the son of Knud the Holy, king of Denmark (1080–1086), and Adela, daughter of Robert I, count of Flanders. When Knud was murdered by political opponents in Denmark (1086), Adela fled with Charles to the court of her brother Robert II of Flanders (1087–1111), and Charles grew up there. Around 1107 he made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and fought alongside the army of Baldwin I of Jerusalem. In 1119 he succeeded his cousin Baldwin VII as count of Flanders. In 1123, while King

Baldwin II of Jerusalem was a prisoner of the Turks, Charles was offered the throne of Jerusalem by a faction of the kingdom's ruling classes that was opposed to Baldwin's policies and favoritism, but he declined to pursue the opportunity. He was murdered on 2 March 1127 in the Church of St. Donatian in Bruges as a result of a conspiracy centered on the Erembalds, a powerful Flemish family whose influence he was attempting to curtail.

–Alan V. Murray

See also: Jerusalem, (Latin) Kingdom of; Low Countries

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Chastellet, Le

See Jacob's Ford

Chastel Neuf

A castle, also known as Castellum Novum or Qal'at Hunin (mod. Horvat Mezudat Hunin, Israel), sited on the Tyre–Damascus road in northern Galilee, overlooking Banyas and the upper Jordan Valley.

Perhaps established by Hugh of Fauquembergues, lord of Tiberias, Chastel Neuf would have formed part of the lordship of Toron (Tibnin) established soon after his death (1106). In 1157, Humphrey II, lord of Toron, granted one-half of Chastel Neuf and Banyas to the Hospitallers to defend, but the order almost immediately withdrew from the agreement. The castle was taken and demolished by Nūr al-Dīn in July and August 1167. It was under reconstruction when Humphrey II died there in April 1179. In 1180, it passed to King Baldwin IV when his sister Isabella was betrothed to Humphrey IV of Toron. The Arab writer Ibn Jubayr describes the system for joint Muslim-Frankish exploitation of the villages between Hunin and Banyas when he passed through the plain in September 1184. In 1186 the king granted Hunin to Joscelin III of Courtenay, but in December 1187 the castle fell to Saladin. Although nominally returned to Humphrey IV when Isabella divorced him in 1190, it remained in Muslim hands and was destroyed by al-Mu'azzam 'Īsā, ruler of Damascus, in 1222. It finally returned to Frankish control in 1241, but was taken by the Mamlūk sultan Baybars I in 1266 and subsequently refortified.

Château Pèlerin

The castle was rectangular, extending some 85 meters (279 ft.) east to west and 65 meters (213 ft.) north to south and enclosed by a rock-cut ditch on the north, west, and south and by the edge of the plateau on the west. Apart from one projecting rectangular turret on the east, little Frankish masonry survives. Excavation around the Ottoman-period gatehouse in 1994, however, revealed the foundations of two Frankish towers, 13 (40 ft.) meters square with walls 3 meters (9.8 ft.) thick, spaced 20 meters (65.5 ft.) apart and set 5 meters (16.4 ft.) back from the southern wall.

—Denys Pringle

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Château Pèlerin

Château (Chastel) Pèlerin was a Templar castle, whose name means "Pilgrims' Castle," also known as *Castrum Filii Dei* or 'Athlith (mod. 'Atlit, Israel), occupying a rocky seagirt promontory 20 kilometers (12½ mi.) south of Haifa.

The castle replaced an earlier tower built by King Baldwin I of Jerusalem for the protection of travellers at *Districtum* (Le Destroit), where the coastal road passes through a rock cutting. Construction was begun during the winter of 1217–1218 by Walter of Avesnes, together with pilgrims who had come to the Holy Land in the course of the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221), Teutonic Knights, and Templars. Excavations in 1930–1935 fully confirmed the contemporary description given by the chronicler Oliver of Paderborn. The principal defenses consisted of two massive walls preceded by a ditch and counterscarp wall, cutting off the promontory. The inner wall, 12 meters (39 ft.) thick and over 30 meters (98 ft.) high, was strengthened by two projecting rectangular towers, each 21 by 27 meters (69 by 88½ ft.). The outer wall was only 6.5 meters (21 ft.) thick and 16 meters (52½ ft.) high and had three towers so placed that the defenders of the inner wall could fire between them. The gates were set in the sides of the towers, and the access to them was so contrived

as to expose anyone approaching them to the defenders. Within the castle was a central courtyard, surrounded by two concentric ranges of vaulted buildings, the outer built almost to the water's edge. They would have included the refectory, dormitory, and chapter house, besides a twelve-sided chapel. Before its abandonment in 1291, the castle successfully withstood Muslim attacks in 1220 and 1265, though the latter, led by Sultan Baybars, succeeded in sacking the walled faubourg (suburb) that had developed east and south of it. Archaeological investigations show this to have been enclosed by a wall 645 meters (2,116 ft.) long on the east and 230 meters (755 ft.) on the south, with a rock-cut ditch, three gate towers, and a postern. It enclosed a defensive tower, stables, a bathhouse, and an unfinished church. To the north-east of it lies a cemetery containing some 1,700 tombs, many marked by stone slabs bearing carved crosses and symbols of the dead person's profession.

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Children's Crusade (1212)

The Children's Crusade of 1212 (Lat. *Peregrinatio puerorum*) was an unofficial crusade enthusiasm that arose in France, Germany, and the Low Countries. It was perhaps the first truly popular crusade, because its leaders were neither knights, clerics, nor hermits.

To medieval chroniclers the Children's Crusade was a foolish venture that sadly, but appropriately, ended in catastrophe. The fact that in modern popular culture the Children's Crusade has become one of the most memorable episodes in

the history of the crusading movement would have astounded them. For the chroniclers, the *pueri* (boys, children, youngsters) who were its most conspicuous and leading element were deluded. They had defied parents and scorned the advice of clergy by running off on a "crusade" that no pope had authorized. The clerical chroniclers referred to it as a crusade (Lat. *peregrinatio, iter, cruce-signatio*, etc.), perhaps because that is what ordinary lay folk called it, or perhaps they meant it mockingly. Certainly, those who joined it thought of themselves as pilgrims and crusaders; they carried the identifying emblems (staves, wallets, crosses), though they bore no arms. Among their monastic chroniclers were talented writers like Matthew Paris, Vincent of Beauvais, and Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, all writing about forty years afterward; their imaginative stories have influenced scholars and the general public down through the centuries. Thus they variously claimed that the *pueri* had been led astray by Satan and a personage known as the Master of Hungary, later to become leader of the First Shepherds' Crusade (1251); or lured away by the Old Man of the Mountain; or duped and betrayed by evil merchants who promised them sea passage to the Holy Land, then sold them to slavers; or tricked by secret agents of the Muslims.

The story of the crusade became a cautionary tale, a preacher's *exemplum* (moral anecdote), and its lamentable outcome was emphasized. Northern chroniclers pointed out that few of these "crusaders" returned to their homelands (which is true); others, they wrote, died of hunger or thirst along the way, suffered shipwreck, rotted away in Muslim prisons, or were exploited, particularly the young women among them. The *pueri*, of course, did encounter hardship and sometimes death. Yet the altogether grim picture painted by the chroniclers was colored by their belief that God did not will the crusade to take place. In fact, those who ran off on the Children's Crusade were shepherds and peasants, often youthful, but not always; artisans and laborers recruited in the French and German towns along their route; servants and poor folk; men, women, and babes-in-arms; old people as well as youths. They were excited by crusading dreams, no doubt, but also fleeing poverty and hopelessness, the unhappy results of rural overpopulation. When the remnants of the Children's Crusade ultimately arrived in Mediterranean Europe, they entered booming urban economies. The cheap labor they could supply would be put to good use. What began as a popular crusade, indeed the most famous of all popular crusades, ended as a peasant

migration. For those who never returned, opportunity, not death, may have been the reason.

Historians have uncritically taken the exaggerated accounts of the clerical chroniclers at face value. Similarly, the traditional views of the origins, itinerary, and nature of this extraordinary movement need to be reassessed. Lack of evidence poses a problem. Despite fifty-four references to the Children's Crusade in Latin prose narratives composed before 1301, the chroniclers rarely provide more than a few lines of fragmentary and elusive material. There exists no reliable, step-by-step narrative of the enthusiasm from its inception in northern Europe to its finale in the Mediterranean south. At best we have occasional snapshots. What is clear, however, is that the genesis of the *Peregrinatio puerorum* occurred in the midst of crusading activities that excited popular enthusiasm. Eight years earlier, the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) had culminated in the conquest of Christian Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey), and crusading continued in the West. During the winter of 1211–1212 recruitment for the ongoing Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229) against the Cathars of Languedoc was stimulated by preaching in the same territories that would later yield recruits for the Children's Crusade: Ile-de-France, Flanders, and possibly the Rhineland, preparing the ground for what was to come. Meanwhile, another crusade was mounted to save Christendom's western flank from the Almohads of Berber North Africa who had invaded Spain. A decisive battle was expected around Pentecost (13 May), and Pope Innocent III responded to the pleas of King Alfonso VIII of Castile by ordering liturgical processions in Rome and elsewhere on behalf of the Spanish church.

Such processions are likely to have taken place at Chartres around 20 May. Following the evidence of a late though reliable source, Jean le Long or Jean d'Ypres (d. 1383), author of the *Chronica monasterii sancti Bertini*, Gary Dickson has argued that these church-organized processions soon threw off ecclesiastical control, becoming popular events in which the *pueri* now assumed a dominant role [Dickson, *Religious Enthusiasm*, V:88–90]. Their outcries and acclamations ("Lord God, exalt Christendom!"; "Lord God, return to us the True Cross!") demonstrate that the *pueri* retained the crusading fervor originally kindled by the church [Dickson, *Religious Enthusiasm*, IV:36]. Yet their desire for the True Cross (the relic lost at the battle of Hattin in 1187) implies that the focus of their enthusiasm had shifted away from Spain and toward the Holy Land.

Perhaps at this stage Stephen of Cloyes emerged as the charismatic leader of the French pueri. According to the anonymous chronicler of Laon, he was a young shepherd who claimed that Jesus, disguised as a poor pilgrim, had given him a letter intended for King Philip II of France. He and his followers then went to Saint-Denis to deliver the letter to the king, who, advised by the masters of the University of Paris, ordered the pueri to return to their homes. The Laon chronicler noted that Stephen's pilgrimage took place in June.

This sequence of events is disputed by Norman P. Zacour and Peter Raedts, who locate the origins of the Children's Crusade in the Rhineland with Nicholas of Cologne, his followers, and his charismatic symbol, the Tau cross. The movement would thus have spread from Germany to north-central France. Several arguments can be adduced against this view. The first is chronological. Stephen's movement (in June) would have directly followed the processions (in late May), whereas the best estimate historians have for the departure of Nicholas and his troop of pueri from Cologne is mid-July. Second, the Rhenish Children's Crusade lacks an initial cause of collective enthusiasm like the processions. Third, the Rhenish pueri spoke of reaching the Holy Land by crossing the sea dry-shod. Nothing of the kind was mentioned by the French pueri. Ideas like this develop over time. Fourth, contemporary German chronicles know about the French movement, while the reverse is not true. Finally, why would the Rhenish pueri, looking toward the east and heading down the Rhine and over the Alps to Italy and perhaps southern France to get there, direct any of their energies toward the west? An earlier historian of the pueri, D. C. Munro, insisted that there were two movements, one in France and one in Germany, and no evidence indicates that they ever came in contact with each other. However that may be, for two popular crusading movements with a similar social composition to have begun around the same time without one group having influenced the other is implausible. A route map suggests the line of march that a troop of French pueri may have taken toward the Rhineland.

Raedts has provided not only an invaluable study of the chroniclers but also an intriguing global interpretation of the Children's Crusade: it was a movement of the poor. For Raedts, the medieval pueri were a social group, not an ambiguously defined age group. The term, he holds, refers to landless peasants who were too poor to marry. In peasant society, marriage brought social adulthood. As social

underlings and rural laborers, they were and would always remain "boys." This seems like a neat solution, and some of the chroniclers appear to bear him out. In reality, however, the pueri were often young people of both sexes who were poor and propertyless. So the two senses of the word are far from being mutually exclusive, and no student of the texts would affirm that the pueri were all youngsters, let alone children. Moreover, the nametag pueri stood for the whole movement, allowing the chroniclers to differentiate it from that of the *pastores* (shepherds), who came later (1251) but belonged to the same largely agrarian underclass. The pueri, some would say, believed they were chosen by God because, unlike the knights, they were both poor and pure. This must remain conjecture. Conversely, there is now a general consensus that Pope Innocent III learned from the Children's Crusade that popular enthusiasm for crusading was far from dead.

—Gary Dickson

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Chivalry

The term *chivalry* covers a variety of ideas and values connected with knights, who played a central role in the crusade movement. Originally, the Latin word *militia* referred to an army as a whole, and *milites* to all of its members, cavalry and foot soldiers alike. The ideas of chivalry and nobility remained distinct throughout the Middle Ages, even if the military and social prestige of knighthood, supported by its depictions in literature, tended to emphasize its aristocratic aspects and its increasing exclusion of non-aristocrats.

Origins of Knighthood

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, various texts imply the existence of a class of knights whose social background was

close to that of the peasantry. They were distinguished solely by their profession of arms. If they were unable to exercise this profession, whether through age, sickness, or loss of their equipment, they ceased to be *militēs* and reverted to the status of peasants. In Germany, there existed a type of unfree ministerial knights (Lat. *ministeriales*), who were nevertheless close to the aristocracy in their functions. In France during the twelfth century, there is evidence of a few serfs who became knights. The exercise of arms made them free, but their free status was entirely conditional on their profession and did not extend to their heirs.

Up to the thirteenth century, then, knighthood was not generally associated with nobility, freedom, the exercise of a public office, or wealth. Knights did not constitute a social class and had no legal status; being a knight was not a particular state or order. Rather, they were a body of elite warriors who formed the main instruments of princes in warfare.

It was originally possible for almost any man to become a knight, through the ritual known as dubbing (Fr. *adoubement*). However, knighthood came to be increasingly closed to those of nonnoble origin through ever more precise juridical limitations. By the mid-thirteenth century it was no longer possible to become a knight unless one was born to it or was made so by royal decree. In contrast to the previous age, knights now became an elite body of *noble* warriors. After 1300 this tendency gathered momentum. Knighthood became an honor, which not all nobles might attain. The word *knight* in its various forms (Fr. *chevalier*, MHG *ritter*, MDu *ridder*, etc.) designated a grade of the nobility, without losing its existing range of meanings relating to its military functions: its cultural and ideological aspects became superimposed on its functional significance. This development was reinforced by the foundation of new secular orders of chivalry, which encouraged the perception that previous forms of knighthood were in decline and had been superseded.

Knighthly Combat and Equipment

Knighthood during the time of the crusades did have social, ethical, and cultural dimensions, but these had not yet obscured its primary function: that of elite cavalry. Its development was closely connected with a society that was founded upon the possession of castles; the *militēs*, who defended castles, became knights as a result of the adoption of a new form of combat that involved the use of the “couched” lance and came to characterize knighthood.



The Duke of Anhalt in a tournament, from the Codex Manesse, fourteenth century. (Archivo Iconografico, S.A./Corbis)

Invented around the year 1060 and employed by the first crusaders, it became widespread by the beginning of the twelfth century and was soon universal throughout the West. It differed radically from older methods based on forms of combat used by foot soldiers where the lance was used in the manner of a javelin (i.e., for throwing) or a spear (for stabbing). In the new form of combat, which was ideally suited for short cavalry charges, the knight’s arm was used only to position the lance in the direction of the enemy. The shaft of the lance was now couched, that is, wedged under the knight’s armpit and held in a fixed horizontal position. The efficacy of this fighting technique derived from the impact of the blow and thus depended ultimately on the speed of the horseman, who was positioned more securely on his horse through the use of a much deeper form of saddle than before. The birth of chivalry was greatly assisted by this new technique, and from this time, knighthood began to develop its own code of ethics and ideology.

In order to meet the new penetrative force of the couched lance, the defensive armor used by knights had to undergo development. Up to the mid-eleventh century, the coat of mail, made of interlinked iron rings, protected the warrior down to mid-thigh. From about 1060 to 1150 the hauberk came into general use: also made of mail, it was longer than the coat of mail and was split at the sides to make mounting the horse easier, while the two overhanging "tails" protected the thighs; it was supple and relatively light, generally of the order of 12–15 kilograms (c. 26½–33 lbs.). It was completed by the addition of mail chausses, sleeves, and gauntlets. A mail coif or hood, worn under the helmet, protected the head and neck. Around 1150, knights began to wear a surcoat over the hauberk; this item of clothing usually displayed the knight's heraldic bearings, thus assisting recognition in battle and reinforcing the superiority complex of the knights by distinguishing them from other soldiers. During the thirteenth century, the hauberk was reinforced by rigid plate armor in those places where the knight was most exposed (chest, arms, back); this was plate armor, a step toward the use of the suit of armor. The fifteenth century saw the development of the complete suit of armor made of rigid but articulated components, which offered maximum protection at the cost of considerably increased weight.

The role of knights in medieval warfare is in need of re-evaluation. Medieval chroniclers frequently originated from knightly families and, like the writers of romances, wanted to please their aristocratic patrons. Thus they tended to emphasize the role of cavalry charges, which were decisive in battles. Yet battles were a relatively rare occurrence. Military operations usually consisted of raids or sieges of fortresses, in which knights played only a minimal role. However, the absence of knights could mean the immediate defeat of the other troops, because the knights' armaments gave them both military superiority and prestige.

The actual number of knights involved in warfare, generally overestimated by medieval chroniclers, has been much debated by historians. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, there was a probable ratio of one knight to every seven to twelve foot soldiers. Knights, therefore, made up a very small elite in medieval armies, but this in no way lessened their status. The class of soldiers known as sergeants, and more rarely the squires, also fought on horseback. The rest of the Western armies was made up of infantry. The hierarchy was reflected in pay: around 1200, a mounted sergeant

was paid twice as much as a foot soldier, and a knight received four times as much.

Chivalric Ideology

Knights were professional warriors, most of whom depended for their livelihood on the use of arms. This profession required physical and moral strength, discipline and cohesion, and also sufficient leisure time to permit training in combat and horsemanship. All this reinforced solidarity among knights, but it also gave rise to a sporting aspect to knightly combat: the knight did not so much seek to kill his adversary as to defeat him in order to win weapons, armor, horses, or ransom money. This type of combat differed noticeably from nonknightly forms of warfare, such as those waged by Christian foot soldiers, Celts, heathens, or Muslims in Iberia and the East. The knightly moral code was born of economic necessity and gradually incorporated moral, social, and religious dimensions. Thus specific methods of combat, a new concept of war, and a certain ideology served to set knights clearly apart from all other fighters. The size of the ransom, which became prevalent in the twelfth century, was usually in proportion to the status of the captive, rising to considerable sums for personages of high rank: 150,000 silver marks for Richard the Lionheart, captured during his journey back from the Holy Land; 200,000 livres for King Louis IX of France, taken by the Muslims of Egypt. Ransoms for less important knights rarely amounted to more than a few livres; sometimes their captors were content to take their equipment, as they knew that loss of this in itself could ruin a knight. Foot soldiers, who had no market value, were excluded for a long time from these unwritten agreements and could be killed without shame. The custom of ransom thus contributed to the ethical precept that the life of a defeated knight should be spared.

The moral code of chivalry also developed as a result of tournaments, which were popular from the twelfth century onward. Tournaments had four main characteristics: (1) they were utilitarian, in that they helped knights train for combat; (2) they had a ludic aspect, in that they were a game, but also a sport, for professionals who hoped to win wealth and glory in them; (3) they had a socioeconomic dimension, in that poorer knights might hope to gain the patronage of a prince or the favor of a rich heiress; and (4) they also had a festive character, making them a hugely popular public spectacle. These four elements glorified and defined the val-

ues of chivalry, helped by the literature of courtly love and Arthurian romances.

Vernacular literature, which praised the idea of adventure and the virtues of valor, largesse, and courtesy, contributed to the development of the ideal of the “perfect knight,” who was better than a cleric: a cultural model to be imitated. This ideal was not supplanted until some centuries later by that of the “gentleman.” We see here the power of the chivalric ideal forged in the twelfth century. Chivalry became a way of life, a moral code, a social and moral model, and soon, a myth.

The church could not remain indifferent to such a powerful social phenomenon. In fact, a number of chivalric ideals—both cultural and military—conflicted with the ideals of the church. Chivalry idealized splendor, glory, and carnal love (even adulterous love), which were all glamorized by romances. The church feared knights, but needed them to defend it from warriors in the service of feudal lords who coveted the church’s wealth. It excommunicated such warriors, but praised those who fought on the side of the church, such as advocates of monasteries or defenders or soldiers of the church. In the eleventh century the church invented liturgical blessings that sanctified the investiture of such persons. These were used subsequently in rituals for the dubbing of “ordinary” knights (late twelfth to thirteenth centuries), as the church attempted to infuse chivalry with its own values. It went about this by means of liturgy (such as the rites used to create knights) and literature, including the Christianization of existing literary themes, such as the legend of the Grail, and the creation of didactic writings such as treatises on chivalry.

Chivalry and the Crusades

Crusading and chivalry were profoundly linked: the crusade was, in effect, both a pilgrimage and a holy war. The latter idea gained a wider currency in the West during the eleventh century. This sanctification of war, which regarded some knights as better than others, was demonstrated in battles fought on behalf of the pope in Italy. It was also apparent in diverse military operations carried out in the western Mediterranean region, either at the instigation of the pope or with his blessing, such as the Norman conquest of Sicily, the *Reconquista* (reconquest) of Iberia from the Muslims, and the Mahdia campaign of 1087 mounted by Pisans and Genoese against the Zīrid emirate in North Africa.

The crusades were in this tradition, but also developed

certain characteristics that tended toward a kind of assimilation or reclamation of chivalry by the church: (1) The element of pilgrimage, which was either absent or unimportant during former “chivalric” operations, was of primary importance in Pope Urban II’s call to crusade, which stressed the importance of the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre, turning the expedition into a pilgrimage with all the implications of spiritual privilege that this entailed. (2) Such an armed pilgrimage was prescribed for knights (and for them alone, according to Urban II’s original concept) for the remission of sins. In this way, an armed expedition with the express intention of killing its adversaries, and which even at the beginning of the century would have required its members to do penance, instead became a means of penance itself. (3) Muslims were seen as pagans; this made it easier to regard warriors who died at their hands as martyrs, identifying them with the earliest Christian victims of pagan persecution. (4) The idea of reconquering the country of Christ, despoiled by Muslims, was substituted for the idea of Christian reconquest “for St. Peter,” which had previously formed part of the concept of holy war. The pope decided, over the heads of kings and princes, to assemble his own army of Western knights in order to reestablish the patrimony of Christ. This call to feudal and chivalric values indicates clearly that the knights of the crusade no longer served temporal princes, but the supreme sovereign. (5) The crusaders (Lat. *crucesignati*) were therefore *milites Christi*: Christ’s vassals, his knights, his soldiers. The semantic development of this expression is enlightening: in the earliest centuries of the church it was simply a term for Christians, but from the fifth century on, it designated clergy and monks fighting evil through prayer. From 1075, it was used for warriors fighting for St. Peter. After 1095, it nearly always meant a crusader.

Thus the concept of a new military force was born: this was a force not in the service of the world (Lat. *militia mundi*) but in the service of Christ (Lat. *militia Christi*). This “new chivalry,” with different ideals, was opposed to “ordinary chivalry.” This contrast was underlined by the chronicler Guibert of Nogent: God was now offering knights a fitting means of salvation that did not require them to abandon their way of life or to don the monk’s habit: the holy war. According to the chronicler Fulcher of Chartres, Urban II emphasized the irreducible opposition of these two forms of service by exhorting the warriors to “change chivalry.” [Fulcher of Chartres, “Historia

Hierosolymitana,” in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens occidentaux* (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1844–1895), 3:324]. The traditional chivalric code did not lead to the crusades; rather, the crusader was enjoined to break with chivalry, its customs, and its material and worldly aspirations, putting himself in God’s service in the “new chivalry” of Christ. Urban II clearly denounced war among Christians as a sinful activity endangering the soul, but in compensation he praised the fight for the liberation of Jerusalem, led by this new knight-hood of crusaders, as being meritorious and holy. This amounted to an ideological support of knightly crusaders, but in no way of chivalry as a whole, the customs of which were, indeed, condemned by Urban II, as they were to be by Bernard of Clairvaux.

The First Crusade (1096–1099) was, at least initially, a military success. However, it also marked a relative failure of the papacy. The pope did appear as the initiator of a Christian movement against the infidels, but in the eyes of knights, the crusade remained purely a pious and deserving action, not a moral necessity inherent to their function. Participation in a crusade, like a pilgrimage, did not become a duty or a moral obligation of chivalry in the same way that pilgrimage to Mecca, and even *jihād* (holy war), were integral to Islam. Chivalry retained its lay dimension, its ideals, and its values, which were certainly influenced by the church but were sometimes very far from the virtues that it propounded. The creation of military religious orders is an indication of this relative failure; from now on, the *milites Christi* were the Templars. It also marked the beginning of a veritable doctrinal revolution within the church with regard to war. The existence of an order of monks called to take up the sword and to shed blood was by its very nature a true doctrinal monstrosity. Its acceptance at the Council of Troyes (1129) marks therefore the definitive integration of the idea of the holy war in the doctrine of the Latin Church. It also illustrates the failure of the church to assemble under its banner a knighthood from among the laity. Despite the influence of the church, the chivalric ideal remained essentially secular and tended to become increasingly worldly and even profane, an indication of the ideological split between crusades and chivalry.

—Jean Flori

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Choniates, Niketas (d. c. 1217)

Byzantine statesman, court orator, and historian of the Komnenos and Angelos dynasties as well as of the first years of the Empire of Nicaea. His historiographical work is one of the most important Greek sources for the Second (1147–1149), Third (1189–1192), and Fourth (1202–1204) Crusades.

Born in Chonai (mod. Honaz, Turkey) in Phrygia between 1155 and 1160, Choniates studied theology, law, and history in Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey), where he was promoted to high posts in the Byzantine administration by the Angeloi. In 1189, while governor of Philippopolis (mod. Plovdiv, Bulgaria), he encountered the leader of the German contingent of the Third Crusade (1189–1192), Frederick I Barbarossa, and personally clashed with Emperor Isaac II Angelos over the latter’s resistance to the crusade and his alliance with Saladin. Choniates eventually attained the important administrative post of grand logothete, which he held from 1191/1192 to early 1204, when he was forced to emigrate with his family to Nicaea (mod. İznik, Turkey) following the second crusader capture of the capital (12–13 April 1204).

At Nicaea Choniates became a fervent supporter of the emperor Theodore I Laskaris, and it was there that he

began the compilation of his main work, the *Chronike Diegesis*. In twenty-one books it describes the period from the death of Alexios I Komnenos to the fourth year of the Empire of Nicaea (1118–1207); the narrative ends abruptly with the siege of Adrianople by the Bulgarian tsar Kalojan in the autumn of 1207, probably on account of the author's death (after spring 1217). To a considerable extent an eye-witness account, with trustworthy information but also clear traces of its author's strong personal feelings and assessments, the work provides invaluable information on Byzantium's relations with the Balkan peoples, Hungarians, Turks, and crusaders and other Westerners, particularly concerning the crusader conquest of 1204. Together with the account of John Kinnamos, that of Choniates continues the narrative of Anna Komnene's *Alexiad*; both works were themselves continued (for the post-1204 period) by Akropolites. Also of historical interest are several of Choniates's orations and speeches, as well as his theological works, containing refutations of heresies up to his own time.

—Alexios G. C. Savvides

See also: Byzantine Empire; Greek Sources

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Chrétien de Troyes

One of the greatest vernacular writers of the Middle Ages, Chrétien is the first known author of an Arthurian romance (initially, a narrative poem written in octosyllabic couplets), active between 1165 and 1190. He wrote five such romances (*Erec et Enide*, *Cligès*, *Le Chevalier de la charrette*, *Le Chevalier au lion*, and *Le Conte du graal*), two surviving lyric poems, a series of adaptations from Ovid, and a lost poem about King Mark and Iseult, all of them in Old French. He may also have been the author of a non-Arthurian romance, *Guillaume d'Angleterre*.

Chrétien wrote *Le Chevalier de la charrette* (also known as *Lancelot*) for Marie of Champagne (d. 1198), daughter of King Louis VII of France and Eleanor of Aquitaine, and wife of Henry I (the Liberal), count of Champagne (d. 1181). He wrote *Le Conte du graal* (*Perceval*) for Philip of Alsace, count of Flanders (d. 1191). Given that he wrote for the courts of Flanders and Champagne, both of which had strong crusading traditions, Chrétien's work is astonishingly free of references to the crusade movement. It does contain a handful of allusions to the Near East (Arabia, Babylon, Beirut, Constantinople, Greece, India, Persia, Saracens, and Turks), but these occur almost invariably in stock expressions or as the sources of exotic stuffs and objects. He never mentions Jerusalem, and the only reference to Saracens in the entire oeuvre occurs in the *Chevalier de la charrette*, where the people of the fictitious land of Gorre are said to be "worse than Saracens" [Chrétien de Troyes, *The Complete Romances*, p. 196]. The only direct references to the crusade movement occur in the *Chevalier au lion* (*Yvain*), where the character Kay the Seneschal notes that "after dinner, without budging, everyone goes to slay Noradin," that is, Nūr al-Dīn, the Muslim ruler of Syria (d. 1174) [Chrétien de Troyes, *The Complete Romances*, p. 264], and in the *Chevalier de la charrette*, where the narrator states that certain knights refrained from participating in a tournament because they had taken the cross to go on crusade.

These references show that Chrétien was aware of the crusade movement. His description of the order of chivalry as “the highest honor God had created and ordained,” in the *Conte du graal* [Chrétien de Troyes, *The Complete Romances*, p. 360], perhaps also owes something to Bernard of Clairvaux’s ideas about the new chivalry. It has also recently been argued that his portrayal of the ailing Fisher King in *Conte du graal* may have been influenced by the historical figure of the Leper King, Baldwin IV of Jerusalem (d. 1185). However, the crusade movement never figures directly in any of Chrétien’s works. This may have been because the Arthurian world he describes supposedly dated to the sixth century, or because it was a resolutely fictional world whose literary strength lay precisely in its detachment from the everyday world of its audiences; but it is a remarkable and curious absence.

—Jeff Rider

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Christ, Knights of

See Dobrin, Order of

Christ, Order of

A Portuguese military religious order, established by the bull *Ad ea ex quibus* (14 March 1319) of Pope John XXII after long negotiations concerning the assets of the Order of the Temple in Portugal after its dissolution.

King Dinis of Portugal (1279–1325) initially opposed the arrest of the Templars and the confiscation of their patrimony, and after the dissolution of the order, he prevented the annexation of its properties in Portugal by the Hospitallers. Probably influenced by the solution achieved in

Aragon through the creation of the Order of Montesa, Dinis petitioned the papacy for the foundation of a new Portuguese order (1318), to be based at Castro Marim in the southernmost part of the country, with the aim of protecting the kingdom and fighting the enemies of the Christian faith. Once the papal letter of foundation was made public (April 1319) and translated into Portuguese by a royal decree (May 1319), the establishment of the Order of Christ was celebrated in November 1319. As the new order adopted the rule of the Castilian Order of Calatrava, its first master was chosen from the Portuguese Order of Avis.

The new order took over the Temple’s assets in the kingdom of Portugal and also received many of its former brethren into its ranks. It adopted the Templar cross (with minor modifications) as its insignia and ensured the conservation of the archives of the Templars in Portugal. The new brethren of Christ even reoccupied the former Templar headquarters in Tomar, having abandoned Castro Marim by the middle of the fourteenth century.

The main novelty of the new military order lay in the loss of international ties and also in its strict subordination to the interests and service of the king, who was responsible for the systematic organization of its resources and of personnel, which were approved by royal statutes of 1321. According to the papal bull of 1319, the master was obliged to pay personal homage to the monarch before taking possession of the assets of the order. The master and commanders had the duty of giving aid and counsel to the monarch and had to attend parliaments. The Crown’s competences were further extended by statutes of 1326, which also diminished the autonomy of the master, since the mandates of the commanders were made for life.

The approval of the Crown became crucial in much of the daily business of the order, such as the alienation and transfer of its assets, the regulation of the behavior of the brethren, the modification of their numbers, and even the dismissal of the commanders. Such control over the order’s internal affairs, which was without evident parallel in the other military orders, cemented the destiny of the Order of Christ to that of the Crown, which selected the masters from men it regarded as trustworthy, and called upon them to participate in its military campaigns and to fulfill obligations at the royal court. On occasions when the masters lost the political support of the king, they were forced to renounce their office, as happened in the cases of Joao Lourenço (1326) and Rodrigo Anes (1357). Around 1372, the result of this close

relationship with the Crown was the election of a master who was a mere twelve years old, but was closely related to the queen. This same relationship undoubtedly helped to turn the order into a more aristocratic institution. This tendency can be observed toward the end of the fourteenth century in the noble surnames of some knights (Avelar, Botelho, Ferreira, Rebelo, Vale, Vilela), while surnames that indicate a more modest ancestry, such as Bezero (Calf), Campos (Fields), Leite (Milk), and Vinho (Wine), became less common. This process paved the way for the introduction of the main noble families (Azevedo, Castro, Coutinho, Cunha, Sousa, Vasconcelos) into the membership of the order, although this matter is far from being clarified, as little research has been undertaken on it.

The same period saw a weakening of the religious character of the institution. Besides frequent infringements of the vow of chastity in the fourteenth century, a progressive reduction of the vow of poverty can also be observed. The brethren were allowed to dispose of one-third of the movable assets in their custody at the time of their death (1372). This quota was later increased to one-half in 1426, when they were allowed to bequeath two-thirds of any real estate acquired through inheritance or purchase. These arrangements were completed by the statutes of 1449, which normalized the personal wealth of the knights and brought their religious obligations closer to those of the laity. By the middle of the fifteenth century, very few would recognize the former monk-knights from the days of the reconquest of the land from the Muslims beneath the rich vestments and golden ornaments now used by the brethren of Christ.

The plans of the Portuguese Crown to take the holy war to Africa, which started with the conquest of Ceuta (1415), helped to combine service of the king with the war against the infidels, thus promoting a renewal of the original purposes of the order. Among the reasons invoked for handing over the order's administration to Prince Henry the Navigator (1420) were the previous misuse of its resources and the need to rechannel them to fight the Moors and spread the Christian faith. Henry soon identified himself with those designs and came to plan several attacks against Granada and Morocco, always justifying them as being in the service of God, the king, and the kingdom. At the same time, he expressed the wish to profess in the Order of Christ, but never did, although he had petitioned for an exemption from the vow of poverty (1443), which would allow him to keep and eventually bequeath his patrimony.

In spite of these expectations, the brethren only became more involved in overseas projects at the end of the fifteenth century, when the governor of the order was made king of Portugal and was able to use its men and resources for the Crown's policies. The papacy soon recognized the king's control over the order (1551), thus combining the profession of the brethren with royal service, a situation that lasted until the order was finally extinguished in the first half of the nineteenth century.

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Christburg, Treaty of (1249)

The peace treaty that ended the first great insurrection of the native Prussians against the rule of the Teutonic Order.

After the defeat of the order's Livonian branch by Prince Alexander Nevskii (Yaroslavich) of Novgorod on the ice of Lake Peipus, the newly converted Prussians apostatized in 1242 and allied with Duke Swantopelk II of Pomerelia, an enemy of the order. However, with the support of crusaders from Germany the order largely prevailed. At the end of 1247,

Christian, Bishop of Prussia (d. 1244)

Pope Innocent IV dispatched his legate Jacques Pantaléon, archdeacon of Liège (later pope as Urban IV), to Prussia. Jacques first mediated a peace between Swantopelk and the order and subsequently the Treaty of Christburg (mod. Dzierzgoń, Poland) was concluded on 7 February 1249.

The treaty identified the severe lordship of the order as the reason for the insurrection. As a result, personal liberty was granted to the Prussians, comprising rights of property, inheritance (including inheritance rights for women), trade, marriage, and legal representation. Prussians could become clerics, enter religious orders, and receive the belt of knighthood if they were of noble birth. This liberty was to be forfeited if the Prussians apostatized or rebelled against the order, their overlord. The Prussians were also given the right to their own civil law and chose that of the neighboring Poles. They were obliged, however, to abandon all pagan customs and ceremonies, including polygamy, the purchase of wives, the making of idols, and heathen burial rites. Christian duties such as fasts, infant baptism, and annual confession and communion had to be observed. Twenty-two churches were to be built and maintained in places named in the treaty, with priests to be provided by the order. Finally, the Prussians had to participate in the military campaigns of the order. The treaty was rendered invalid when a second insurrection broke out in 1260.

—Axel Ehlers

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Christian, Bishop of Prussia (d. 1244)

Bishop of Prussia (1215–1244) and one of the early leaders of the mission to the pagan Prussians.

Born into the Pomeranian nobility, Christian became a Cistercian monk at the monasteries of Kolbacz and Oliva. In 1215, with the support of Pope Innocent III and Valdemar II, king of Denmark, Christian was elected as missionary bishop of Prussia. In 1217 he received from the papacy the right to recruit crusaders for the Prussian mission, and after visiting

Rome in 1218 he obtained further privileges that freed his bishopric from the authority of the archbishop of Gniezno.

Christian's missionary work included ransoming Christian prisoners and Prussian girls as well as erecting schools for native boys. In 1222 Bishop Christian received lands in the area of Kulm (mod. Chełmno, Poland) from Duke Conrad of Mazovia, and in 1228 he founded a military order known as the *Milites Christi de Prussia* (Knights of Christ in Prussia), or Knights of Dobrin, which was intended to provide his bishopric with a military force. However, Christian's mission suffered a major setback when he was taken captive by the pagan Prussians in 1233; on his release (1238), he tried unsuccessfully to regain his bishopric, which was eventually dissolved in 1243 as a result of a new organization of the Prussian church. In the meantime, the Knights of Dobrin were absorbed into the Teutonic Order.

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Chronica Polonorum

See Wincenty Kadłubek

Chronicle of the Morea

A chronicle that is the most important single source for the political history of the Frankish lordships in Greece in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It exists in French, Greek, Aragonese, and Italian versions, in a total of eight manuscripts, of which five are of the Greek text. The Greek version is in popular verse, whereas the other three are in prose.

The French version survives in a single manuscript (MS Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, 15702). It covers events from 1095 to 1303 but has a brief chronological table

appended that brings events down to 1333, incidentally recording that Catherine of Valois-Courtenay (d. 1346) was still alive. The scribe specifically stated that the French version was an abridgment of an original text that formerly belonged to Bartolomeo Ghisi and was found in his castle of Thebes in Greece, where he had been the castellan from 1327 to 1331. The text appears to have been written between 1333 and 1346 and to have relied upon a French prototype.

The Aragonese version, also known as *Libro de los Fechos et conquistas del Principado de la Mores*, was commissioned by Juan Fernández de Heredia, grand master of the Order of the Hospital (1377–1396). His scribe, Bernard of Jaca, completed the work of copying on Thursday, 24 October 1393, presumably in Avignon, where Heredia was then resident. The Aragonese text builds upon the French version and incorporates new material for the years 1305–1377. The Italian version belongs to the sixteenth century and is an abridgment and translation of the Greek version.

Of the five manuscripts of the Greek chronicle, the two fullest are MSS København, Kongelige Bibliotek, 57 (=H) and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, gr.2898 (=P). From internal evidence it appears that P is slightly later in composition than H. They both cover the years 1095 to 1292. Later material has been added that refers to the Catalan slighting of the castle of Thebes in 1332. Manuscript H refers to Erard III le Maure, lord of Arkadia (d. 1388), as still being alive, whereas P suggests that he was dead. The anonymous author was well informed on matters of chivalry and was intensely pro-Frankish.

The issue of the language in which the prototype of this chronicle was written has been a matter of great debate and is still an open question.

—Peter Lock

See also: Achaia; Frankish Greece

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Chronicle of Zimmern

See Zimmern, Chronicle of

Church of the East

See Nestorians

Cilicia

A territory in southeastern Anatolia (mod. Turkey), which in the eleventh century was disputed among Armenians, Byzantines, and Franks, and later came to constitute an Armenian kingdom (also known as Lesser Armenia) under the Rupenid (1198–1226) and Het'umid (1226–1373) dynasties.

Geography

Cilicia is roughly divisible into two parts: the wide coastal plain to the east, and the Taurus Mountains (mod. Toros Dağları) to the north and west. The plain held the principal cities, such as Adana, Anazarba, Ayas (mod. Yumurtalık), Mamistra (mod. Misis), and Tarsos (mod. Tarsus), while the rivers Saros (mod. Seyhan) and Pyramus (mod. Ceyhan) provided irrigation and maritime access. It is difficult to assess the size of the cities; Ayas was certainly a large and thriving port in the thirteenth century, but other cities may have held relatively small populations. The bulk of the population was rural and lived in the mountain valleys. The most important route between Cilicia and Anatolia and between the Middle East and Asia Minor was through the pass known as the Cilician Gates, north of Tarsos. To the southeast Cilicia is separated from Syria by the Amanus

(mod. Nur Dağları), a lower and less rugged range. The coastal plain was agriculturally productive, cotton being a particularly important export, whereas the mountain ranges provided timber for much of the eastern Mediterranean, particularly Egypt.

Cilicia among Byzantines, Armenians, and Franks (1071–1198)

Incorporated into the Roman Empire in the first century B.C., Cilicia fell to Muslim armies in 646 and was considered part of the Syrian frontier with Byzantium. The revival of Byzantine military power in the ninth and tenth centuries led to the region's reincorporation into the empire by Nikephoros II Phokas in 965. Muslim inhabitants were driven out, and Christian Armenian troops and immigrants were encouraged to settle. Further Armenian settlement followed Byzantine annexation of the Armenian kingdoms around Lake Van in eastern Anatolia. Following the defeat of the imperial army by Turkish Saljūq forces at Mantzikert in 1071, Cilicia became part of the short-lived principality of Philaretos, an Armenian warlord who had served in the Byzantine army.

With the coming of the First Crusade (1096–1099), the crusaders Baldwin of Boulogne (brother of Godfrey of Bouillon) and Tancred (nephew of Bohemund of Taranto) both sought to establish principalities in the area in 1097, but their conquests did not endure once they left the region. Between 1097 and 1132, the Cilician plain passed from Byzantine to Frankish control and back again several times. The Byzantines, however, retained control of the western part of Cilicia, notably Seleucia (mod. Silifke) and Korykos (mod. Korykos), while the Taurus Mountains were largely under the control of Armenian lords, notably Oshin (ancestor of the Het'umid dynasty) and Constantine (ancestor of the Rupenid dynasty).

By the 1130s, the Rupenids had gained control of the eastern highland valleys of the Taurus Mountains and sought to dominate the plains. Prince T'oros I's conquest of Anazarba by 1111 gave the Rupenids a stronghold on the plain as well as greater prestige among Armenians. In 1132, his brother Prince Leon I (d. 1137) conquered Tarsos, Mamistra, and Adana, but this expansion of Rupenid power did not last. Byzantine ambitions to regain the area gained release in the spring of 1137. Emperor John Komnenos quickly seized the three towns before moving on to Antioch. Leon and his family escaped capture, retreating into the Taurus Mountains. Having received homage from Raymond of Antioch, John

returned to Cilicia in the fall and captured the remaining Armenian strongholds. Leon and two of his sons, T'oros II and Rupen, were captured and taken back to Constantinople. Several years later T'oros escaped, and while Byzantine forces were distracted fighting the Turkish leader Nūr al-Dīn in northern Syria in 1152, T'oros and his supporters recaptured most of eastern Cilicia, including Tarsos, Adana, and Mamistra. T'oros also attacked Byzantine Cyprus with the new prince of Antioch, Reynald of Châtillon. In response, Emperor Manuel Komnenos, son of John, invaded Cilicia in 1158, and once again T'oros and his closest supporters fled to the mountains.

T'oros II died in 1168 and his young son and successor, Rupen II, was soon killed by his uncle Mleh, long exiled by his brother. With the support of Nūr al-Dīn, Mleh attacked the Byzantine-held cities of the coast as well as castles under the control of other Armenian leaders, but following Nūr al-Dīn's death in May 1174, Mleh was killed by disgruntled Armenian nobles, and his position taken by his nephew Rupen III. The defeat of the Byzantine army at Myriokephalon in 1176 by the Saljūq sultanate of Rūm meant that the Armenians no longer needed to fear a Byzantine reconquest of Cilicia. But Bohemund III of Antioch worried that the Armenians, unchecked by the Byzantines, would overpower Antioch, and apprehended Rupen after inviting him to a banquet. Bohemund's subsequent invasion of Cilicia was fought off by Rupen's brother Leon (d. 1219), and Rupen was released in return for Mamistra, Adana, and two strategically placed castles. Rupen, however, soon reconquered what he had lost.

Rupen retired to a monastery in 1187 and handed power over to Prince Leon, who expanded Armenian power to its greatest extent. He captured the western city of Seleucia from the Saljūqs of Rūm and raided as far as Caesarea in Cappadocia (mod. Kayseri). Unlike their Frankish allies to the south, the Armenians of Cilicia were little threatened by Saladin and were thus one of the strongest Christian forces in the Near East. Armenian forces joined with those of the Third Crusade (1189–1192) in besieging Acre, but Leon's seizure of the ruined castle of Baghras (mod. Bagras Kalesi) became a source of tension between the Armenians and the Franks. The castle protected the Syrian Gates, the easiest passage over the Amanus Mountains, and whoever controlled it effectively dominated Antioch and eastern Cilicia. It had been held by the Templars before Saladin seized it, and the military order demanded it back. This quarrel fed into

political struggles between Cilicia and Antioch. Leon attempted to seize the city of Antioch (mod. Antakya) itself, having captured Bohemund III by a ruse, but the citizens declared a commune and swore allegiance to Bohemund's eldest son, Raymond. The hostilities were temporarily resolved by the marriage of Leon's niece and heir, Alice, to Raymond, a move that caused boundless problems later.

The Kingdom of Cilicia (1198–1375)

Prince Leon II negotiated with Pope Celestine III and the Holy Roman Emperor, Henry VI, to receive recognition as king from the Western powers. After he agreed to the nominal union of the Armenian Orthodox Church with the Latin Church, he was crowned king as Leon I in Tarsos (6 January 1198) in a ceremony presided over by Gregory VI, the Armenian patriarch of Cilicia, and witnessed by Latin, Greek, and Syrian Orthodox archbishops.

The death of Raymond of Antioch in 1197 involved Leon I in a lengthy war of succession. Leon supported the claims of Raymond's son, his own great-nephew Raymond-Rupen. The commune of Antioch and the Templars, still seeking the return of Baghras, supported the claims of Raymond's brother Bohemund (IV) of Tripoli. For a time Raymond-Rupen ruled the principality, but in 1220 he and his mother, Alice, were forced to flee to Cilicia. To counter the animosity of the Templars and to gain Latin support, Leon granted castles to the Hospitallers (notably Seleucia on the western borders) and the Teutonic Order (which received the castle of Amoudain).

The death of Leon II/I in 1219 also led to a contested succession. He had disinherited his great-nephew Raymond-Rupen in favor of his daughter Isabel (Arm. Zabel), who was then married to Philip of Antioch, son of Bohemund of Tripoli. The Armenian nobility, however, disliked Philip's Frankish ways, and he was imprisoned and poisoned. Isabel, grieving for her husband and unwilling to remarry, sought the protection of the Hospitallers. The order, rather than hand her over to the regent Constantine of Lampron, simply sold him the fortress of Seleucia along with the queen. Isabel was then forcibly married to Constantine's own son Het'um I (d. 1269). This marriage united the two leading Armenian dynasties of Cilicia.

In the thirteenth century Cilicia faced the threat of conquest by the Saljūqs of Rūm. A Saljūq invasion in 1233 forced Het'um I to pay tribute, but another invasion in 1245 proved far less a threat. The Armenians found a new ally in the Mon-



Dedicatory page from a thirteenth-century Armenian Gospel book, illuminated in Sis, capital of Cilicia. (The Pierpont Morgan Library/Art Resource)

gols, who invaded the Middle East and the Caucasus in 1239. Het'um I sent his brother Smpad the Constable as an ambassador to the Mongol capital, Qaraqorum, and he returned with an alliance that protected the kingdom against Saljūq attacks. The kingdom became a tributary to the Mongols, and at times Mongol garrisons were stationed in Cilicia. Under Mongol protection, the Armenians were able to conquer several northern Syrian towns from the Ayyūbids, such as Behesni (mod. Besni) and Marash (mod. Kahramanmaraş), which once had belonged to the county of Edessa.

The defeat of the Mongols by the Mamlūks of Egypt in 1260 at 'Ayn Jālūt heralded the decline of Armenian power. When the Mamlūks invaded Cilicia in 1266, Het'um's sons were killed or captured, and the cities plundered. Devastated by this blow, the king retired to a monastery in 1269 after redeeming his son Leon II (d. 1289) from captivity. King Leon II was forced to cede the castles in the Amanus Moun-

tains, leaving the cities of the Cilician plain open to Mamlūk raids. At this time the Mamlūks had little intention of conquering Cilicia. They sought to punish the Armenians for their alliance with the Mongols, and perhaps to gain a convenient base to conquer the sultanate of Rūm. Leon II still hoped that a Mongol alliance would save his kingdom; Antioch had already fallen to the Mamlūks, and there was little hope of help from Byzantium or Western kingdoms.

The Armenians participated in a Mongol invasion of Syria in 1280–1281, sacking Aleppo, but no permanent conquests were made, and the Mamlūks responded with an attack that looted Cilician cities. Leon II sent an embassy to Egypt to negotiate a peace agreement, which was signed on 6 June 1285, obliging him to pay 500,000 dirhams in tribute yearly to the Mamlūks. In 1292 the Mamlūk sultan, Khalīl, sacked the Armenian patriarchal residence at Hromgla and imprisoned the patriarch, Stephen IV. This was followed in 1293 by a threatened invasion of Cilicia, and Het‘um II was forced to cede Marash, Behesni, and other eastern cities as well as to double the annual tribute. Het‘um finally relinquished power to his nephew Leon III, probably in 1306, after previous abdications in favor of his brother T‘oros. The Mongol emir Bilarghu, however, executed both kings, along with about forty Armenian nobles, on his own initiative in 1307. The Mongol khan had Bilarghu executed for his temerity and accepted Het‘um’s brother Oshin as king. Oshin’s reign was relatively peaceful (aside from rumors that he was poisoned); he was succeeded in 1320 by his young son Leon IV.

Renewed Mamlūk pressure exacerbated tensions within the kingdom. Leon IV sought aid from the West and feared subversion by his relatives, many of whom he had executed. He was assassinated in 1342, and the crown was offered to Guy of Lusignan, son of Oshin’s sister Isabel by her marriage to Aimery of Cyprus. Guy (renamed Constantine II) was killed in 1344, perhaps because of his pro-Latin policies, and the throne was seized by Constantine III, whose shaky claim to the throne was through his wife, Maria, sister-in-law of Leon IV and daughter by a second marriage of Queen Joanna, widow of King Oshin. Constantine III was the last Armenian king to attempt to fight rather than accept Mamlūk domination. He allied himself with Peter I of Cyprus, hoping to ensure Peter’s commitment to defending Cilicia by ceding Korykos to him. For a brief time, it seemed he might succeed. In alliance with the Hospitallers of Rhodes, Peter and Constantine III captured Attaleia (mod. Antalya) in August 1360.

This, however, was the last gasp of a leadership pressed to the edge. When Constantine III died in 1363, indecision and wariness among the Armenian nobility left the throne unoccupied for two years, until his cousin Constantine IV married his widow and claimed the throne. Following the death of Peter of Cyprus in 1369, Constantine IV sought rapprochement with Egypt, ceding Tarsos and Adana, but he, in turn, was assassinated, perhaps as a result of his new policy of appeasement (1373). Leon V of Lusignan, illegitimate nephew of Guy-Constantine II, was offered the throne in 1374. The Mamlūks overran the last Armenian stronghold of Sis (mod. Kozan) in 1375, and Leon V was taken captive. In 1402, Cilicia fell to the Mongols, and was later incorporated into the Ottoman Empire.

Religion and Society

Armenians, the dominant group in Cilicia, had grown powerful only in the period of Byzantine reconquest in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Armenian communities were ruled not by the traditional dynasties of historical Armenia but by new military elites. Armenian society thus developed new social hierarchies and structures, drawn in part from neighboring Byzantine, Frankish, and Islamic communities. Particularly influential was Frankish aristocratic culture, centered on military prowess, a hierarchy of knighthood, and chivalric ideals. Armenians also adopted from the Franks of Antioch their law code, as well as matters of dress and conduct.

Cilicia contained a number of different religious communities. It is possible that some Muslim communities survived under Armenian rule. Certainly in the thirteenth century, Mongol garrisons introduced Muslims into Cilicia; one Mongol emir sought to build a mosque for his troops. The Frankish and Byzantine occupations brought in Greek Orthodox and Latin hierarchies, which survived under Armenian rule. The dominant hierarchy and religious community was that of the Armenian Orthodox Church, which held an anomalous position. In 1151 Patriarch Gregory III transferred the seat of the Cilician patriarchate to Hromgla (mod. Rumkale). The territory around the castle soon fell to the Turkish emir Nūr al-Dīn, yet the patriarchate continued to exercise authority over Armenian churches throughout the Levant. It was only in 1292 that the Mamlūks sacked Hromgla and forced the patriarchate to move. Thus, while the patriarchs dominated Cilicia ecclesiastically, they remained in residence in Muslim-ruled Syria.

The church also had to deal with political and religious pressures to Latinize. The establishment of Cilicia as an Armenian kingdom recognized by Western monarchs was dependent on the nominal union of the Armenian and Latin churches. Some influential Armenian clerics were enthusiastic for the union, such as Nerses of Lampron. The many intermarriages between the Armenian and Frankish aristocracies fostered familiarity with Latin customs but also provoked fears that Armenian identity would be lost within the Latin Church. Frankish influence could also be seen in Armenian art, where Western images, such as the depiction of Jesus as the Lamb of God, appeared in Gospel manuscripts.

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Cistercian Order

A monastic order, also known as the Order of Cîteaux, founded in 1098 under the leadership of Robert of Molesme.

The new monastery at Cîteaux in Burgundy, from which the order's name was derived, exemplified residence in the wilderness, where monks vowed to conduct a simple life in poverty, rededicating themselves to a strict interpretation of the Rule of St. Benedict of Nursia. The order's foundation coincided with the capture of Jerusalem by the First Crusade (1096–1099), and under the leadership of Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux (d. 1153), the Cistercians began to engage in a far-reaching reform movement that included the crusade. The order expanded rapidly and widely, founding houses from northern England to Scandinavia, from Spain to Greece and Outremer. By the end of the order's first fifty years, the

number of Cistercian abbeys had grown to about 350, and by 1200 it had increased to more than 500. Foundations extended to areas of key importance to the crusades: the abbey of Belmont, established near Tripoli in 1157, founded a daughter house, St. John in the Woods, at 'Ain Karim in 1169. Near Jerusalem, Salvation monastery was established in 1161. Twelve houses were acquired in the Latin empire of Constantinople and Frankish Greece between 1204 and 1276, nine of which were lost. In southern France, twenty-four monasteries were founded between 1135 and 1160.

Bernard of Clairvaux

The order's collaboration with the papacy intensified during the time of Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux. He championed the election of Pope Innocent II against his rival Anacletus in the 1130s. By 1145, Eugenius III, originally a monk from Clairvaux, occupied the Holy See and was collaborating with Bernard to engineer a program of ecclesiastical and social reform. Bernard set the course for Cistercian involvement with crusading in four principal endeavors: (1) the order's vast expansion into frontier regions; (2) support of military religious orders, notably the Templars; (3) preaching against heresy in southern France; and (4) preaching the Second Crusade (1146).

Bernard laid the theological groundwork for crusading and the military orders in the tract *De laude novae militiae*, written in the late 1120s. Bernard supported the Templars, whom he described as soldiers of Christ (Lat. *milites Christi*). As monks who took the traditional monastic vows, the white-robed Templars wielded both the secular and the ecclesiastical swords represented in Luke 22:38. They were to undertake the crusade as a penitential pilgrimage, an opportunity for personal reform that could mean achieving salvation through martyrdom. Bernard confessed that he did not know "if it would be more appropriate to refer to them as monks or soldiers, unless perhaps it would be better to recognize them as being both" [*In Praise of the New Knighthood*, p. 140]. Like the Cistercians, the Templars lived a communal life and relied on sergeants, much like the Cistercian lay brothers (Lat. *conversi*) who were not full members of the order but helped with various aspects of daily life and benefited from protection and the promises of spiritual rewards.

The Cistercians were instrumental in founding another military order: the Order of Calatrava. Raymond, Cistercian abbot of Fitero in Navarre, assembled monks and lay broth-

ers, including former knights, to take arms and defend the castle of Calatrava. King Alfonso VII of Castile had been struggling to hold out against the Almohads; the Templars requested release from the responsibility of the castle's defense, and Alfonso's son Sancho III granted it to Abbot Raymond in 1158. The Cistercian general chapter established a formal bond with Calatrava six years later, which was approved by Pope Alexander III in September 1164. The 1187 general chapter agreed to incorporate Calatrava fully into the Cistercian Order and affiliated it with the abbey of Morimond.

With the encyclical *Quantum praedecessores* (1145), Eugenius III launched the Second Crusade (1147–1149), which Bernard of Clairvaux preached at Vézelay the following year. In the intervening months, Bernard undertook a preaching mission to southern France, led by the legate Alberic of Ostia and accompanied by Bishop Geoffrey of Chartres, who had joined Bernard at the Council of Pisa in 1135, where the heresiarch Henry of Lausanne (also known as Henry the Monk) had been condemned. Reports of Henry's reappearance in southern France and an alarming letter about heretics in the Rhineland from the Premonstratensian prior, Evervin of Steinfeld, prompted Bernard to action against the "little foxes" ravaging the Lord's vineyard (Song of Songs 2:15). Bernard's reply to Evervin in Sermons 65 and 66 on this verse (1143/1144) advocates catching the foxes (the heretics) with arguments and not arms, asserting that faith is to be persuaded and not forced. Nonetheless, Bernard's Letter 241, written before departure for southern France, vehemently denounces Henry as Satan's ally and a threat to Christian society. In pursuit of Henry, Bernard journeyed from Poitiers to Bordeaux to Cahors, Périgueux, and Toulouse. Cistercian sources (the life of Bernard by Geoffrey of Auxerre and the *Exordium magnum*, an account of the order's early years, probably by Conrad of Eberbach) recount Bernard's preaching at Sarlat, Verfeil, and Albi. Although the abbot abandoned Verfeil in frustration at the noisy crowd that refused to allow him to be heard, the accounts generally depict conversions and rousing sermons that expounded and denounced heretical beliefs. The mission marked an advance in centralizing responsibility and securing outside intervention for quelling heresy, and it established a precedent for depriving heretics and their supporters of legal rights. Hence it proved instrumental in the expansion of the crusade ideology to campaigns against heresy, and it provided a model for later Cistercian abbots

who exercised much less restraint than Bernard. Furthermore, Bernard's Sermon 66 leaves the door to violence ajar when he both denounces mob violence against heretics and applauds the mob's zeal, alluding to Romans 13:4.

Following the expedition to southern France during the summer of 1145, Bernard preached the Second Crusade at Vézelay in March 1146. The papal encyclical *Quantum praedecessores* (December 1145) had espoused Bernard's theology of sacrificial service by appealing to an ideal of charity as the grounds for knights' engagement to free the Holy Land of infidels. Taking the cross, along with contrition and confession of sins, would achieve indulgence and eternal salvation for those who completed the journey or met martyrdom on the way. The encyclical was reissued in March 1146 to support Bernard's preaching at Vézelay, where he reportedly tore up his own robes in order to provide sufficient cloth for the enthusiastic crowd to put on crosses. Little evidence remains for what Bernard actually said at Vézelay, but his Letter 247, addressed to Eugenius III, reported successes as he continued preaching across France and into Flanders. By Christmas 1146 he had reached the court of King Conrad III of Germany at Speyer, where he persuaded him and other princes to take the cross. Another goal of Bernard's journey to Germany was the disciplining of the Cistercian monk Ralph, who had been preaching the crusade without authorization and arousing enmity and violence against Jews. Bernard's pursuit of Ralph by letters, then summons and the order to return to his monastery, illustrates the boundaries the abbot set on clerical participation in crusading activities. Preaching the cross required authorization. Moreover, monks who embarked on crusade were rebuked sharply and threatened with excommunication.

Other Cistercians had joined Bernard in preaching the Second Crusade, and chroniclers indicate that Bernard and the Cistercian Order suffered criticism for their involvement. Some historians assert that this led to a decline in donations to the order and to curtailment of its expansion. Cistercian apologists for Bernard, such as Otto of Freising, Geoffrey of Auxerre, and John of Casa Maria, argued that the crusaders' defeat was punishment for their sins but that the many who died were delivered from sinning further. Although, after the failure of the Second Crusade, Bernard advocated the call for another crusade and advised Eugenius III to back it, he strongly rejected a nomination to lead the expedition himself.

Crusade and Expansion after Bernard of Clairvaux

Later Cistercians followed Bernard's example of preaching and intervention in crusading campaigns directed at domestic enemies and to the Holy Land. Some seized on the ambiguities in his thought and disregarded the boundaries he set against monks' leading armies. Where Bernard had shown hesitancy, Henry of Clairvaux showed little. Abbot of Clairvaux (1176–1178) and an influential figure at the Third Lateran Council (1179), where he was named cardinal bishop of Albano, Henry participated in a preaching mission to southern France in 1178 and interrogated Waldes of Lyons, initiator of the Waldensian movement, in 1180. In 1181 Henry became the first papal legate to himself raise an army and lead an expedition into a Christian land, when he took the castle of Lavaur, northeast of Toulouse, by force. The unfortunate precedent he set helped to lay the basis for the future Albigensian Crusade called by Pope Innocent III. Yves Congar observed that under Henry's leadership the crusade had been transformed into a holy war against heretics [Congar, "Henri de Marcy, abbé de Clairvaux," p. 18]. A candidate for the papal elections of 1187, Henry withdrew and offered his services to preach the crusade to the East. He travelled across northern France to Germany, where at Mainz he preached the crusade in March 1188 and exhorted German knights to take the cross and make satisfaction for their sins. After the fall of Jerusalem (2 October 1187), Henry completed *De peregrinante civitate Dei*, a manifesto of crusade ideology. He criticized Christians who were not sufficiently concerned with the plight of the Holy Land. They should feel a sense of personal loss and view the desecration of holy sites as a second Crucifixion and Saladin as a manifestation of the devil. The crusade was a necessary step in the fight against evil. Henry died on 1 January 1189 without ever journeying to the Holy Land.

In England, the Third Crusade (1189–1192) was preached by Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury and former Cistercian abbot of Ford. Between 1188 and 1190, Baldwin preached the cross for King Henry II. He led a reportedly successful preaching campaign into Wales, which was described by the contemporary chronicler Gerald of Wales (Giraldus Cambrensis), who accompanied him there. Baldwin himself took the cross and died at Acre in 1190.

In contrast, some criticism of the crusade movement came from English Cistercian circles around this time. Toward the end of the twelfth century, Ralph Niger, who was certainly a cleric and possibly a Cistercian, questioned

the legitimacy of a crusade to the Holy Land in his work *De re militari et triplici via peregrinationis Ierosolimitane*. Ralph argued against the use of violence to propagate the faith and asserted that Christians ought to stay at home and fight heresy rather than interfere in other regions. What good would it do, he asked, to free Palestine when the faith at home was being trampled? The departure of leaders to the East allowed heresy to proceed unchecked in the West. In Ralph's view, the sins of Christians in Palestine had brought about its loss. He even questioned whether God wanted the Muslims' rule to end there. John, abbot of Ford, perhaps voiced his own criticism of the crusade through the words of the hermit Wulfric of Haselbury, whose life he wrote around 1185. According to Wulfric, God judged the enterprise harshly, "abandoned the false pilgrims, shaved the heads of the proud, and shamed the great men of the world because they sought not the Lord in truth but polluted the way of pilgrimage in idols" [*Wulfric of Haselbury by John, Abbot of Ford*, ed. Maurice Bell (n.p.: Somerset Record Society, 1933), p. 112].

When Innocent III became pope in 1198, his efforts at broad reform, including crusades ranging in their goals from Iberia to Livonia and the Holy Land, led him to seek the intellectual, pastoral, and financial aid of the Cistercians. In 1198 the pope proclaimed the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) and ordered Luke, abbot of Sambucina in Calabria, to preach the cross in Sicily. Innocent III appealed to the Cistercian general chapter in Cîteaux for prayers; his legate, Fulk of Neuilly, appeared there to recruit Cistercians to preach the crusade to the Holy Land. In November of the same year, Fulk was authorized to recruit monks and canons for preaching, and he secured the assistance of Garnier of Rochefort, bishop of Langres and former abbot of Clairvaux. In 1200 Innocent III instructed several abbots to collect offerings from their dioceses, and he repeatedly negotiated with the Cistercians over contributions to the crusade. In 1201 he ordered Cistercian abbots to insist that lay brothers who had taken the cross should maintain their pledges. By 1201 Fulk had received papal permission to name the Abbots of Perseigne, Cercanceaux, and Vaux-de-Cernay as his assistants. Guy of Vaux-de-Cernay, a friend of the crusader Simon of Montfort, accompanied the armies, as did abbots Simon of Loos and Peter of Locedio. The chronicler Geoffrey of Villehardouin records Abbot Guy's opposition to the crusaders' attack on Zara (1202) and the deviation of the expedition to Constantinople (1204).

Martin, abbot of Pairis in Alsace, also preached the Fourth Crusade. A valuable report on Abbot Martin's sermon at Basel was preserved in the *Historia Constantinopolitana* by his chronicler Gunther. Martin strove to recruit soldiers for the necessity of Christ (Lat. *necessitas Christi*), evoking not only spiritual rewards but material benefits awaiting them in a rich and fertile land. Martin himself reportedly returned home in 1205 from the sack of Constantinople with relics from the Church of the Pantokrator.

After the establishment of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, donations were made to the order there, and its monks also took possession of Greek monasteries. Important donations included Chortaiton, near Thessalonica; St. Archangelus on Negroponte (Euboea); Daphni, between Athens and Eleusis; and Gergeri and St. Mary Varangorum on Crete. Established near Constantinople were the abbeys of St. Stephen and St. Angelus in Pera, and the monastery of nuns at St. Mary of Percheio. The ruins of two monasteries, which were probably Cistercian, remain on the Peloponnese: Zaraka and Our Lady of Isova. From these widespread houses, Cistercians served as papal agents in the East, assisting in the problematic relationships between the Latin patriarchs of Constantinople and the papacy and acting as administrators and overseers to the point of twice (1224 and 1236) collecting taxes that the pope had imposed for defending the Latin Empire. After 1240, the Cistercian role in the East diminished, and the friars took the forefront in dealing with the Latin empire. Contact between Cistercians in the West and those in Greece and the Latin Empire continued until 1276, when the only Cistercian foundation remaining on the mainland of Greece was Daphni.

The Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229)

Even though Innocent III emphasized the importance of the crusade to the East over the domestic crusade, the Albigensian Crusade against heresy in southern France at times achieved the status of the crusades to the Holy Land: plenary indulgences were awarded; crusaders were promised protections; and extensive measures were undertaken to recruit and finance the operations. The Cistercian legates Peter of Castelnau (d. 1208) and Ralph of Fontfroide were appointed for southern France in 1203. They were joined in 1204 by Arnold Amalric (d. 1225), former abbot of Grandselve (1198–1200), elected abbot of Cîteaux in 1200 and archbishop of Narbonne in 1212. Innocent III sent repeated letters urging the frustrated legates to keep to their

task, and in 1206 the pope's letter and Arnold Amalric's personal appeal to the general chapter prompted the sending of a delegation of twelve abbots and numerous monks to the region. Among them was Guy of Vaux-de-Cernay, uncle of the chronicler Peter of Vaux-de-Cernay and preacher of the Fourth Crusade. Dominic Guzman, founder of the Dominican Order, also joined the preachers in the summer of 1206, but their efforts met with failure. The assassination of Peter of Castelnau in 1208 led the enraged pope to call for armed intervention; a letter called on Philip II Augustus, king of France, to join the material and spiritual swords (Luke 22:38) to destroy heresy and force repentance from Raymond VI, count of Toulouse, whom Innocent III presumed to be responsible for the murder of Peter of Castelnau.

Battles eclipsed sermons during the Albigensian Crusade, but Cistercians still engaged in preaching, whether to exhort troops, recruit new forces, or attempt to convert heretics. Arnold Amalric headed the crusade army at the infamous sack of Béziers (1209) and diverted troops to Las Navas de Tolosa in Iberia, where his intervention aided the Christian army's victory over the Almohads (1212). Fulk, bishop of Toulouse (d. 1235) and former abbot of Le Thoronet, spent fifteen of his years as bishop in exile. He preached recruitment sermons in the north, where on his second trip (1213), he met James of Vitry and influenced his engagement in preaching the Albigensian Crusade. Fulk established a corps of diocesan preachers in Toulouse, including Dominic Guzman and his companions, and attended the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). A close ally of Simon of Montfort, he accompanied the crusading armies and led troops himself to intervene at the siege of Lavaur (1211). In the late years of the crusade, Conrad of Urach, abbot of Cîteaux, and Nicolas of Claromonte were appointed legates in 1220 and 1223. Hélié Garin, abbot of Grandselve, played a role in negotiating the 1229 treaty, and with Hélinand, monk of Froidmont (d. 1237), he helped to establish the university of Toulouse. The monasteries of Grandselve, Belleperche, and Candeil received reparations from the treaty, an indication of the damages inflicted on monasteries that probably served as bases for crusaders.

The Baltic Region

At the time of the Second Crusade, Bernard of Clairvaux became involved in the affairs of the Baltic region. King Conrad III and other German princes had been reluctant to

depart on crusade and place their armies and lands at risk of attack from the Wends, marauding tribes who had launched numerous raids on Denmark and Germany. Bernard called for a crusade against the Wends in 1147, ordering that no truce should be made with them “until such a time as, by God’s help, they shall be either converted or wiped out” [*Letters*, p. 467]. Moreover, Bernard had pressed for the Cistercians to expand into the northern lands of Scandinavia.

Cistercians performed key roles in the Christianization of the Baltic lands and in the complex interplay among missions, defense, and expansion in Denmark, Poland, and Prussia. The Danish conquest of pagan lands allowed the founding of Cistercian monasteries at Dargun (1171–1172) and Kolbaz (1174). In Poland, Oliwa was founded near Danzig (1186), and Christian of Oliwa headed missions to Prussia. Innocent III called upon the Cistercians in 1212 to support the missionary activity in Prussia. Christian, named bishop of Prussia in 1225–1216, established the Order of the Knights of Christ (Knights of Dobrin) and organized armed expeditions in the Prussian campaign.

The chronicler Henry of Livonia records the arrival of German missionaries and the events surrounding the conversion of Livonia in the 1180s. Dietrich, a Cistercian missionary who arrived with Meinhard, first bishop of Livonia (1186), founded the Order of the Sword Brethren in 1202 and was consecrated bishop of Estonia in 1211. Berthold, Cistercian abbot of Loccum, served as the second bishop of Livonia at Üxküll (mod. Ikšķile, Latvia). Albert of Buxhöden, consecrated bishop of Livonia in 1199, established Riga as the bishop’s residence and obtained from Innocent III in 1215 the right to preach a perpetual crusade. In Livonia Cistercian monasteries were founded in Dünamunde (mod. Daugavgrīva, Latvia) in 1205–1206 and near the episcopal city of Dorpat (mod. Tartu, Estonia) in the mid-1220s, while a house for nuns was established in Reval (mod. Tallinn, Estonia) in the late 1240s.

The Cistercians in the Later Middle Ages

Although the responsibility for preaching the cross had passed primarily to the friars by the 1220s, Honorius III recruited the Cistercian abbots of Aquebelle and Lützel among others in 1224–1225 to preach the Crusade of Frederick II. Cistercians continued to play some part in the campaign against heresy. The inquisitor Jacques Fournier had been a monk at Boulbonne and abbot of Fontfroide, a

monastery that achieved prominence during the Albigensian Crusade. Two Cistercians at Oxford, Henry Crump and William Rymington, opposed John Wyclif’s teachings, and some Cistercians were expelled from the University of Prague when the Hussites took control. The extent to which these Cistercians continued the crusading rhetoric of their predecessors has not been examined.

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See also: Baltic Crusades; Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153); Second Crusade (1147–1149)

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Clement IV (d. 1268)

Pope (1265–1268). Clement IV was born at the end of the twelfth century in Saint-Gilles-du-Gard (Languedoc) as Guy Foucois (Gui Foulques).

After the study of law in Paris, he became a legal counselor to Count Alphonse of Poitiers and King Louis IX of France. He was repeatedly entrusted with *enquêtes* (judicial inquiries) and thus came into contact with the Inquisition in the Languedoc. As a result he wrote (around 1260) a manual for inquisitors, the *Questiones quindecim ad Inquistores*. After the death of his wife, he began an ecclesiastical career, becoming bishop of Le Puy (1257), archbishop of Narbonne (1259), and cardinal bishop of Sabina (1261). Although a legation to England failed in 1264, he was elected pope on 5 February 1265 and crowned ten days later.

Clement’s pontificate stood under the shadow of having to resolve the question of the succession to the kingdom of Sicily, left open after the death of his predecessor Urban IV. Clement succeeded in imposing stricter feudal obligations on Charles I of Anjou, and, although his policies were crowned with success by the investment of Charles with the kingdom of Sicily on 28 June 1265, he was faced with several setbacks because the king often failed to meet his obligations. Different projects for a crusade were never realized during his pontificate, but Clement succeeded in strengthening papal control of the church by reserving all vacant prebends to the pope (in the constitution *Licet ecclesiarum* of 1265). He died

on 29 November 1268 in Viterbo, where he had continued building the famous papal palace.

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Clement V (d. 1314)

Pope (1305–1314). Bernard of Got was born around 1255 as the son of an influential family of Gascony; he became pope under the name Clement V after an eleven-month interregnum following the death of Benedict XI.

As a former archbishop of Bordeaux, Clement had been a major ecclesiastical vassal of the kings of England, whose political interests he advanced. His close relations with Edward I and Edward II of England reflect a main goal of his pontificate; namely, papal cooperation with the leading monarchs of Christendom as a prerequisite for the launching of a new crusade.

Often blamed for having surrendered the papal Curia to the control of Philip IV of France, especially during the scandalous trials of Boniface VIII and the Templars, Clement actually succeeded in rescuing the papacy from the political impasse fostered by his predecessor while creating a propitious basis for the participation of France in the crusade. Still, collaboration with the Christian princes had its cost, and the disgraceful trial and subsequent suppression of the Order of the Temple may be regarded as a price that the pope had to pay. Reluctant to corroborate the charge of heresy following the arrest of the Templars in France, Clement gradually surrendered and collaborated with the policy of Philip the Fair. Thus, it was the pope who brought about the arrest of the Templars throughout Christendom, and it was he who eventually forced the prelates of the church to support the abolition of the order by apostolic mandate at the Council of Vienne (1312).

Elected to the papacy fourteen years after the fall of Acre (mod. ‘Akko, Israel) to the Mamlūks, Clement devoted his curial policy and resources to the implementation of a new crusade. The pope’s original scheme was based on a double

alliance with the kings of France and Naples. The poor motivation of the Christian princes at the beginning of his pontificate, however, eventually encouraged Clement to appeal to the military orders as the traditional allies of the papacy in Outremer. After the dissolution of the Order of the Temple, the papal designs were essentially directed to the Order of the Hospital of St. John.

On 11 August 1308, Clement proclaimed a Hospitaller *passagium particulare* (that is, a limited crusade), the aim of which was to strengthen the defenses of Cyprus and Cilicia (Lesser Armenia) and to obstruct illegal Christian trade with the Muslims in the Mediterranean. Early in 1310, a fleet of twenty-six galleys departed eastward under the leadership of Fulk of Villaret, the master of the Hospital, and with the participation of the papal legate, Peter of Pleine Chassagne. This first Christian expedition to Outremer since 1291 contributed a suitable basis for launching future crusades while consolidating the order's dominion in Rhodes, the conquest of which had begun in 1306. The Hospitaller crusade further facilitated the transfer of the order's headquarters to the island, where it remained until 1522.

Itinerant during the first years of his pontificate, Clement never went to Rome, because of his precarious health and his desire to oversee the peace negotiations between France and England. Although he fixed his residence in Avignon only in 1309, and resided there for just 160 days, Clement V is considered as the promoter of the protracted stay of the papacy in Avignon, which lasted up to 1378. Of a pleasant character, he did not stand up to the demands of his relatives and friends, thus coloring his nominations with a nepotistic character. In the longer term, this policy fostered the Gallianization of the Roman Curia.

Clement V died on 20 April 1314 before being able to crystallize plans for a general crusade, for which he had enlisted Christian princes and the church's resources at the Council of Vienne.

—Sophia Menache

See also: Crusade of 1309

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Clermont, Council of (1095)

A church council held at Clermont (mod. Clermont-Ferrand, France) in the Auvergne (18–28 November 1095), at which Pope Urban II called on nobles and knights to liberate the Christians of the East from the Turks. This expedition, which has since come to be known as the First Crusade (1096–1099), can be regarded as inaugurating the crusade movement.

Urban II was able to return to Rome in 1093 after his imperialist rival, Clement III (Guibert of Ravenna), withdrew from the city. Two years later the pope left Rome on an extended journey to France, planned at least since 1091 as part of a wider plan of calming the unsettled state of affairs in the church in the aftermath of the death of Pope Gregory VII (1085). The Council of Clermont had originally been planned for Vézelay, then for Le Puy, but by the summer of 1095 Urban had summoned the bishops of France and some of the surrounding areas to meet at Clermont. All of the sessions except the final one took place either in the cathedral of Clermont or in the suburban church of Notre-Dame-du-Port. Among the ecclesiastical participants, of whom either 182 or 184 are known by name, were many representatives from French sees, but the Italian delegation (which included the papal entourage) and the Spanish delegation were also very numerous.

Urban II was focused on the reform of the French church, as revealed by the legislation of the council; also of prime importance was the settlement of the marital problems of King Philip I of France. The assembly decided at least 61 decrees or canons, including the renewal of Urban's legislation from his earlier synods, and concluded several lawsuits, as was usual at councils of this period.

The crusade to the East was not proclaimed until the speech with which Urban concluded the council (27 November 1095). It was made outdoors in order to accommodate the great throngs of clergy and laity and men and women of all ages and classes who had come to hear the pope. No official record of the papal address has been preserved.

Clermont, Council of (1095)



Urban II preaching the First Crusade at the Council of Clermont. In contrast to the portrayal in this fourteenth-century miniature painting, the sermon took place outdoors. (Archivo Iconografico, S.A./Corbis)

Accounts of it were given in chronicles later written by Robert of Rheims, Baldric of Dol, Fulcher of Chartres, and Guibert of Nogent, but it is uncertain which one of these reflects most accurately what Urban actually said.

Nevertheless, it is clear that Urban called on the Christians of the West to come to the aid of fellow Christians in the East who were victims of the invading Saljūq Turks and whose churches had been destroyed. Like his immediate predecessors, Urban had long been interested in the relationship between the Greek and the Latin churches, a problem that was urgent as far as southern Italy and Sicily were concerned, but the idea of military assistance for the Byzantines

probably had not arisen before an embassy from the Byzantine emperor Alexios I Komnenos approached the pope at the Council of Piacenza in March 1095. There can be no doubt, though, of the overwhelming and unexpected success of Urban's call. A huge number of those present came forward to ask permission to go to the East: they included Adhemar, bishop of Le Puy, and representatives of Raymond IV of Saint-Gilles, count of Toulouse.

The canons of the council would have been recited in one of the closing sessions. It is unknown whether participants received copies of the decisions or took notes during the lengthy reading; in any event, some participants did copy

what was of interest to them and brought these texts back home, omitting the rest of the legislation. Some of this material was then included in the canonical collections or in chronicle narratives and has thus survived in different forms; additional stipulations may well have been lost, and the number sixty-one arrived at by Robert Somerville should be considered a minimum. No single official record is still extant, although Somerville, who edited the texts from several different manuscript families, could show that ten of its decrees appear to have been preserved in an official style, thus indicating official records of the Roman Curia as the most likely original source. But the official canons of Clermont probably never circulated as a group. Bishop Lambert of Arras and his entourage returned from the council with extensive, varied materials, some of which have been preserved in a document named after Lambert, the *Liber Lamberti*. It opens with a canon promulgating a Peace and Truce regulation for monks, clerics, women, and those who accompanied them. The second item is the famous decree granting a penitential indulgence as reward for having undertaken the journey to Jerusalem to those who “purely on the grounds of faith, not for the sake of glory or money, set out for Jerusalem in order to free the church of God” [Somerville, *Councils of Urban II*, p. 74]. One other decree transmitted elsewhere placed the goods of crusaders under the protection of the Peace of God.

The majority of the canons, however, confronted issues that were relevant in the context of the eleventh-century church reform, such as the prohibition of liege homage by bishops or priests to the king or any layman, of investiture with ecclesiastical honors by kings or laymen, and of the possession of altars by laymen, as well as the prohibition of simony (the payment of money for spiritual gifts) and of clerical marriage or concubinage; the sons of such unions were not to be promoted to ecclesiastical offices unless they became monks. To the faithful in general the eating of meat during Lent was prohibited; traditional rights of asylum were upheld; marriages were prohibited within seven degrees of consanguinity. It is obvious that Urban set out to reform the moral as well as the institutional life of Christianity in general; the call for the armed pilgrimage to Jerusalem formed only part of his program, yet it had the widest echo.

—Uta-Renate Blumenthal

See also: First Crusade (1096–1099)

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Coinage

See Outremer: Coinage

Communications

The ability to communicate on the highest level is a basic manifestation of the social nature of humankind and, as such, differentiates humans from animals. Being an interpersonal process, communication requires a shared code of symbols and some standardized usage; words are convenient codes by which people share meaning. Communication may therefore be defined as a symbolic behavior that occurs between two or more participating individuals. It is a transactional process, affective, and purposive, and it implies goal-directed behavior, which may have instrumental or consummatory ends.

Accepted values are shaped and distributed in every society according to communication's distinctive institutional patterns. Though traditional societies did use and develop communication, they did not require a skilled, professional network of the kind they develop nowadays; nor was communication essential to the economy or the production process. Communication in traditional societies (in contrast to the anonymity of the audience inherent in electronic mass media) was in most cases characterized by immediate contact between communicator and audience.

Conceptualization of Communication in Medieval Society

In medieval society, communication was further conditioned by the isolation of one group from another within the hierarchy of the feudal system. The feudal pyramid provided, in this regard, a communication pattern in which the amount of information assimilated by different social strata was determined by their socioeconomic status and the political functions they fulfilled. Whereas peasants or craftsmen contented themselves with scanty information, the sociopolitical elite—both lay and ecclesiastical—dealt with a considerable range of reports. Many of its members were well aware of the fact that the faster information was received, the more accurately it could be translated into political practice. Accordingly, they tried and to a certain degree succeeded in developing communication channels of limited scope. The prevailing political and socioeconomic conditions thus justify a different conceptualization of communications in medieval society when everyday practices assumed the significance of communication channels. The use of the term *media* with regard to the Middle Ages thus refers to the different means of communication elaborated at the time, without the socioeconomic implications they acquire in modern society. The essential liaison among the different media further means that they cannot be categorized according to institutional patterns alone.

The Contribution of the Crusades to the Communication Network

Alongside other factors, the crusades may also be regarded as an outcome of communication, their success conditioned on the convincing transmission of ideological tenets and, in parallel, the supply of viable solutions to changing needs. In this regard, the success of the First Crusade (1096–1099) remains *sui generis* because of the extensive and immediate positive response it received prior to the date set by Pope Urban II to depart overseas at the Council of Clermont in 1095. Some contemporary chroniclers approached the wide diffusion of the papal call within a very short period of time in terms of divine intervention. Urban II himself hinted at more conventional means of transmission, such as preaching and correspondence. The propaganda success of the First Crusade thus does not indicate the relative proficiency of communication channels at the time but, first and foremost, the appeal of Christian values and images to the average eleventh-century believer, such as those of holy war and the Holy Sepulchre, endlessly repeated for generations.

From its very beginnings, preaching was the main channel utilized to propagate the crusade. Whether in the framework of great assemblies or small meetings, inside palaces and strongholds, churches and cathedrals, or in the open air, the aim of crusade propaganda was to bring about an immediate response while inducing the faithful to take up the cross. Urban II himself preached at Clermont, Angers, Tours, and Limoges as well as other locations. Peter the Hermit concentrated his efforts in small towns and villages in northern France and the Rhineland, thus turning the urban population into the main target for recruitment. On the eve of the Second Crusade (1147–1149), Bernard of Clairvaux, too, preached the crusade in the urban centers of France, Lotharingia, Flanders, and Germany. Contemporary sources emphasized the fact that Bernard was able to preach in French and Latin, but his listeners in the empire, who were ignorant of these languages, were captivated by the saint's words as though they were spoken in German. While preaching the Third Crusade (1189–1192), Gerard of Wales admitted that he spoke in Latin and French to Welsh people, whose knowledge of these languages was almost nil. Perhaps because of this fact, he further claimed that the main importance of a crusade sermon did not lie in its content but in the way it was delivered and the emotions it raised. Universal weeping and, as much as possible, miracles were considered fundamental to the success of crusade preaching.

But miracles were not always at the disposal of Christian preachers, who had to cope with the heterogeneous character of their audiences. Many listeners did not understand Latin, and the itinerant character of preachers did not make communication with local audiences any easier. The experiences of Bernard of Clairvaux and Gerard of Wales make it clear that besides linguistic knowledge, body language and mass suggestion played crucial roles. The need to develop suitable substitutes further fostered the use of audiovisual channels of communication, such as loud voices, songs (mostly in the vernacular), bells, processions, public prayers, ornaments, and gestures, all of them devoted to enhancing the crusade.

Beyond the pan-European level, the crusades confronted Christendom with the challenge of developing efficient channels of communication with those who departed overseas, a rather difficult goal in itself because of the heterogeneous character of the crusader armies. The chronicler Fulcher of Chartres, writing of the First Crusade, emphasized the mixture of languages in one army. Linguistic barriers also drove

a wedge among those who restored Lisbon to Christian rule during the Second Crusade (1147). Obviously, the encounter with Eastern Christians and Muslims did not make communication any easier, given both the lack of bilingual skills and the almost complete ignorance of the average westerner about the Eastern populations and their culture or faith.

The existence of a common Christian faith did not bridge the sociocultural gap between crusaders and the Byzantines, nor did it make communication with the Byzantine emperor and his delegates any easier. By the tenth century, Byzantium had reached an advanced stage in the transmission of information. Its naval power gave the empire a valuable means of rapid communication, enabling it to organize its diplomacy over a wide area and to exploit more readily opportune developments in districts near the sea. In contrast to the communication developments in the Eastern empire, Western Christendom was at a more archaic stage. By the late eleventh century, European society had yet to develop communication channels beyond elementary contacts in the framework of feudal bonds or intermittent commercial links. The church, with the papacy at its head, was at the forefront of communication techniques, whether in the framework of the diocesan system or in the wider context of such movements as the Peace of God, the Truce of God, and the Gregorian Reform. Although the papacy contributed the legatine system (with legates actively participating in the crusades) and turned church councils into the main arena for crusade planning and propaganda, these two means could hardly cover the various and changing needs that affected both shores of the Mediterranean.

Alongside the many challenges facing communication between Western Christendom and those who departed to the East, on the one hand, and among the crusaders, Muslims, and Byzantines, on the other, the colonial character of the Frankish states in Outremer made it imperative to find the most efficient channels with western Europe, which throughout the crusader period remained the major supplier of manpower and logistical assistance. An analysis of the Second Crusade, however, indicates that Western society still had not solved communication difficulties, especially in the field of message transmission, an unfortunate state of affairs that left its mark on the path of future developments. Thus, news of the fall of Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey) in December 1144 was delivered to the Curia by messengers from Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) a little less than one year later. The arrival of this delegation prompted Pope

Eugenius III to react immediately, and the first bulls calling for a new crusade were dated 1 December 1145. The Christian armies, however, left Europe only in April 1147, almost eighteen months after the papal call, and almost two and a half years after the fall of Edessa.

The considerable delay in the departure of the crusader armies appears to be the rule from the second half of the twelfth century onward, when the urgent needs of the Frankish states in Outremer encountered a slow response, if any, among the Western leaders. Besides the slowness in the transmission of vital information, the dependence on feudal routines (which were per se slow and complex) made it difficult, if not impossible, to offer an immediate response to the calls for help from the Levant.

Being the main “consumers” of communication practices, crusade leaders tried and to some degree also succeeded in circulating up-to-date reports of their situation, notwithstanding the archaic communication channels at their disposal. They failed, however, to resolve the long delays in transmission, so that the considerable gap between actual developments and their reception in the West neutralized even more the fragile cohesion between the two shores of the Mediterranean. Some examples may clarify the slowness of transmission that was the rule even when very important considerations were at stake: The disastrous defeats of the Second Crusade, conveyed orally or through letters carried by deserters and released prisoners, became known in Europe toward the end of 1147. In turn, the news of Emperor Henry V’s death in Germany (23 May 1125) and his succession by Lothar III of Supplingenburg was delivered to Jerusalem by pilgrims almost one year later on Easter Day (11 April 1126). Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa dispatched a letter to Outremer detailing Saladin’s policy only in July 1187; its contents, however, were publicized in Germany eight months earlier (23 November 1186).

Limitations of Medieval Communication

The delays in information transmission, which were often but not only caused by technical factors such as the limitations of navigation, brought about the indiscriminate reception of information both in Europe and Outremer, with complete disregard for its reliability. The lack of trustworthy information sources further favored the spread of rumors, an integral component in traditional societies and a most important channel of information or, rather, misinformation transmission. The “news” about the Mongol

conquest of the Holy Land in 1300, for instance, reached Europe a few months after the supposed event, accompanied by additional rumors of the Mongols' readiness to entrust the land into Christian hands following their expected conversion.

Though the lack of reliable information appears to have been most crucial in regard to current events, it also affected geographical knowledge about the Holy Land and neighboring areas, which remained rather poor. Still, the pursuit of information about the places where Christ lived and was crucified caused contemporary chroniclers to offer some data about the soil, the fauna, and the flora of Outremer, gradually weakening its former mystical essence. This tendency matured in the second half of the twelfth century with the diffusion of *Itineraria*, that is, reports written by pilgrims for the sake of those who wanted to follow the footsteps of Jesus and the apostles in the Holy Land. The itineraries provide a good example of the transitional stage of communication in the crusader period: there was a new awareness of the need for information, though it did not bring about significant improvement in either communication channels or the accuracy of the messages transmitted.

If the average twelfth-century person could cope with the relative stagnation of information, the situation was quite different for the political elite, both lay and ecclesiastical, because of the complex links between the two shores of the Mediterranean. Princes, the masters of the military orders, and prelates appear to have been the most important communication consumers, their actions and interests spreading beyond the near neighborhood. They played a leading role in the development of a communication network while fostering what might tentatively be categorized as a "communication-oriented society."

Communication Channels

Letters (very often in the framework of diplomatic missions) also served as a main communication channel. Bernard of Clairvaux complemented his preaching of the Second Crusade with dozens of letters, through which he tried to extend his influence throughout Christendom, especially among the nobility. Correspondence became common practice among the Franks in their dealings with the West and with the Muslim and Byzantine political elites as well. Although available information does not offer satisfactory data about the time of reception, this interchange indicates an average of about four to six months for the exchange of letters between Byzan-

tium and Antioch, Jerusalem, or Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel). Although letter-exchange was efficient, relatively speaking, across short distances within the Levant, it encountered many difficulties when attempted between western Europe and the Latin East. The maritime journey was relatively short, lasting from fifteen to twenty-five days, with favorable winds, and only during specific seasons. Still, the length of time required for the transmission of information remained a critical problem throughout the whole period of the crusades. With the absence of more suitable alternatives, letters served as the main channel of transmission to report on the critical situation in Outremer and the means urgently needed to ensure the survival of the Frankish strongholds there. During Saladin's advance (1177–1187), for instance, there was a continuous interchange of letters with the political elite of the West, whose assistance was desperately required. Again, the main communicators were the masters of the military orders and the prelates and princes of Outremer.

Alongside written correspondence, messengers and pilgrims were associated with oral delivery, with messages very often transmitted aloud, whether in public or in private. Messengers actually played a role in communication besides their original duty as couriers in that they transmitted all or a great part of their information orally. This state of affairs demanded their selection from among a very narrow group of close advisers and high officers. Still, the many dangers in the Mediterranean and Baltic areas, whether emanating from man or from nature, turned the mission of personal messengers into a very difficult task. This justified the parallel use of both oral and written messages, a widespread practice throughout the Middle Ages. Saladin himself wrote to Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and to Pope Lucius III and mentioned the exchange of personal messengers between them. The parallel use of several messengers also became common practice, with several copies of the same letter sent to the same destination to ensure reception. The dependence of the Latin strongholds on the continuous, substantial assistance of Western Christendom made this practice indispensable. Contemporary records report quite regularly the mission of delegations to Europe with almost identical aims. Though the size of these delegations changed from time to time, they seem as a rule to have been rather considerable.

The most developed stage in the transmission of information in the crusader period is manifested in the establishment of permanent embassies, which ensured the continuous transmission of reliable information within an

acceptable period of time. This development came very slowly in Europe, probably because the lack of a clear distinction among diplomatic relations, information exchange, and simple espionage instilled a suspicious approach toward the representatives of foreign powers. The crusade movement and the expansion of trade in the Mediterranean brought about crucial changes in this regard. By the twelfth century, there was a Pisan ambassador in Bougie (mod. Bejaïa, Algeria), an exclusively Muslim city. Most Italian communes established permanent representations in Outremer, mainly located in Acre and Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon). The Teutonic Order also often had a permanent or semipermanent representation at the papal Curia.

Conclusions

Analysis of communication developments during the period of the crusades leads to the conclusion that no new channels were elaborated to ensure a more efficient transmission of information. The colonial character of Frankish society fostered the adoption of the archaic channels of communication that existed in Europe. Moreover, the normative character of medieval society blocked the adoption of more advanced communication channels of the kind that were practiced at the time in both Muslim and Byzantine societies. Regular mail services, like those operating in the neighboring Muslim states and Byzantium, remained completely extrinsic to the crusaders' world. Still, as time went by the Teutonic Order, for instance, developed an advanced postal system in the Baltic area. One of the few examples of Muslim influence was the use of carrier pigeons, a practice unknown in eleventh-century Europe but regularly used in the Frankish states in Outremer during the thirteenth century.

From a communication perspective, the continuation of practices suitable to feudal society—in the face of new needs created by the states of Outremer and, no less important, of the more advanced communication standards of Muslim and Byzantine societies—turned the crusades into a paradox. Still, when examined in the framework of political, security, demographical, and economic factors, the communication contribution of the crusades can hardly be neglected. Against the localism that was inherent in feudal practice, a growing number of Europeans moved between Europe and the Levant during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, their occupations requiring a constant exchange

of information. The crusades further appear as an important catalyst for communication developments, not only between the two shores of the Mediterranean but, first and foremost, within Europe itself: the very crystallization of a crusade depended on close coordination and information exchange between the pope and the secular leaders of Christendom and, in turn, between the latter and their vassals-in-chief. Though the technical level of transmission remained archaic, imperative needs brought about the upgrading and more intensive use of communication channels. Moreover, the significant growth in letter-exchange, the acceleration in information transmission, and perhaps above all the new awareness of the crucial importance of delivering reliable information in the shortest period of time combine to make the crusades an important stage in the emergence of a more communication-oriented society in the late Middle Ages.

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Comnena, Anna

See Anna Komnene

Compostela

See Santiago de Compostela

Cono of Montaigu (d. 1106)

A participant in the First Crusade (1096–1099). The eldest son of Gozelo, count of Behogne (d. 1064), and Ermentrude of Harzé, Cono was more usually known as count of Montaigu (in mod. Belgium), after the castle on the river Ourthe in the northern Ardennes where most of his possessions lay. His family had long been prominent vassals of the ecclesiastical principality of Liège. Some of the older literature mistakenly claims that Cono was a brother-in-law of Godfrey of Bouillon, ruler of Jerusalem. There is no reliable evidence to support this claim, although it is likely that they were more distantly related.

In 1096 Cono sold property to the abbey of Saint-Hubert in the Ardennes to raise funds for the crusade, in which he and his sons Gozelo and Lambert took part as members of Godfrey's contingent. Gozelo died of disease at Artah. After fighting at the battle of Ascalon (12 August 1099), Cono and Lambert returned home, reaching Liège by 10 March 1100. Cono died on 30 April 1106, and was succeeded by Lambert as count of Montaigu.

—Alan V. Murray

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Conquest of Lisbon

See *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*

Conrad II of Jerusalem

See Conrad IV of Germany

Conrad III of Germany (1093–1152)

King of Germany (1138–1152) and one of the leaders of the Second Crusade (1147–1149).

Conrad was the son of Duke Frederick I of Swabia (d. 1105) and of Agnes, daughter of Henry IV, Holy Roman Emperor. It is probable that he made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land before the Second Crusade, in 1124/1125; certainly he is known to have made a vow to go to Jerusalem,

and he was not present at the election of a new German king in 1125, when his elder brother Duke Frederick II of Swabia (d. 1147) was one of the candidates. Conrad himself made a bid for the crown from December 1127 onward: probably this was shortly after his return from the East. He was eventually elected king in March 1138 after the death of Emperor Lothar III.

Conrad took the cross at Speyer at Christmas 1146. His initial reluctance was overcome by the persuasion of Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux, who had come to the Rhineland to put a stop to the anti-Jewish agitation stirred up by a Cistercian monk, Rudolf. Bernard's biographer claimed that the abbot gave the king a banner to carry on the expedition. The preparations were made very speedily. A diet of the imperial princes was held at Frankfurt am Main in March 1147, from which Conrad wrote to Pope Eugenius III, apologizing for taking the cross without notifying him, and the German crusade set out from Regensburg in May 1147. Despite some mishaps on the way, including the flooding of the army's camp shortly after it had entered Byzantine territory, Conrad arrived at Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) early in September. He already enjoyed close diplomatic relations with the Byzantine emperor, Manuel I Komnenos, not least through their common hostility to King Roger I of Sicily, and in 1145 Manuel had married Conrad's sister-in-law, Bertha of Sulzbach.

The German army crossed the Bosphorus and set out from Nicaea (mod. İznik, Turkey) into Turkish-held territory on 15 October 1147. By now Conrad had split his forces, sending most of the poorer pilgrims and noncombatants along the coast of Asia Minor under the command of his half-brother Otto, bishop of Freising. The main army soon ran short of food, and it suffered severely from Turkish attacks, eventually linking up with the French army under King Louis VII at the beginning of November. However, on arrival at Ephesos Conrad was forced to halt by illness, and he subsequently returned with most of his surviving forces to Constantinople. Many of the German troops then returned home. Conrad himself was nursed back to health by Manuel Komnenos, and he expressed his gratitude for this treatment in a letter to his chief minister in Germany, Abbot Guibald of Stavelot. He eventually sailed directly to the Holy Land on Byzantine ships, accompanied by a number of his princes, and landed at Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) in April 1148. He had been well supplied with money by Manuel, and he used these funds to recruit pilgrims to augment the forces that remained to him.

The French army, which had succeeded in crossing Asia Minor, marched south from Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey), and the reunited crusade, along with the forces of the kingdom of Jerusalem, attacked Damascus at the end of July 1148. The decision to pursue this attack, often criticized, had been settled in a conference among the three kings (Conrad, Louis VII, and Baldwin III of Jerusalem) near Acre a month earlier, although the account by Otto of Freising suggests that Conrad and Baldwin had already decided on this aim before Louis's arrival. However, after five days of heavy fighting, and with Muslim reinforcements approaching, the siege was abandoned. A subsequent proposal to attack Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel) came to nothing, with Conrad blaming the men of Jerusalem for their failure to turn up. He left Acre by sea on 8 September 1148 and returned to Germany via Thessalonica and Constantinople, where his friendly relations with Byzantium were strengthened by the marriage of his other half-brother, Henry Jasomirgott, duke of Bavaria, to Manuel's niece, Theodora.

Conrad's health had been undermined by his experiences on the crusade, and he subsequently died on 15 February 1152. His eldest son had predeceased him, and he was succeeded as king of Germany by his nephew Frederick I Barbarossa, the son of Frederick II of Swabia. Conrad's reign in Germany was seen, even at the time, as a failure. He never secured his imperial coronation at Rome, and his crusade was a major setback. Certainly he must bear some responsibility for the indiscipline that hampered his army, and the attempt to follow the route of the First Crusade (1096–1099) across Anatolia in mid-winter and not to wait for the French was misguided. Yet he preserved good relations with Byzantium, which the French did not, and the attack on Damascus was by no means as ill-conceived as some modern historians have claimed.

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Conrad III of Jerusalem

See Conradin

Conrad IV of Germany (1228–1254)

King of Jerusalem (1228–1254), Germany (1237–1254), and Sicily (1251–1254).

The last ruling German monarch of the Staufen dynasty, Conrad was born on 25 April 1228, the son of Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor and king of Sicily, and Isabella II, queen of Jerusalem, whom Frederick had married before undertaking his crusade to the Holy Land (1227–1229).

The death of his mother in childbirth meant that Conrad, as her heir, was recognized from infancy as king of Jerusalem by the magnates of the kingdom. Although Frederick II had worn a crown in the city of Jerusalem on 18 March 1229, his claims were not recognized by the majority of the magnates, who would only accept that Frederick was the legal regent until Conrad attained his majority. After Frederick departed from Outremer (1229), he sent a lieutenant, the Sicilian nobleman Richard Filangieri, to govern the kingdom (1231). The Staufen regime was opposed by a significant section of the baronage and church, and the kingdom descended into civil war. After some ten years in office, Filangieri was replaced by another lieutenant, Count Thomas of Acerra.

Conrad came of age in 1243, but the High Court of Jerusalem refused to recognize his authority unless he came to the kingdom in person. This Conrad was hardly able to do: by this time he had been given a central place in his father's political plans for Germany and Sicily, as a result of the rebellion of his elder half-brother Henry (VII), king of Germany and Frederick's intended successor in the empire. In 1235 Frederick deposed and imprisoned Henry and at Vienna in

Conrad of Krosigk (d. 1225)

1237 had Conrad elected king in his place. With Frederick largely absent in Italy and Sicily during the following years, Conrad and his supporters came to be increasingly occupied in trying to maintain imperial authority in Germany against the anti-Staufen princes and clerics, who elected a rival king in the person of Henry Raspe, landgrave of Thuringia (1246), and after his death, William II, count of Holland (1247).

With the death of Emperor Frederick (February 1250), the German pro-Staufen coalition began to disintegrate. Conrad decided to abandon the increasingly unequal struggle in Germany and stake his remaining resources on an attempt to claim his father's kingdom of Sicily. With a mercenary army financed by the sale of imperial and Staufen family property and rights, he sailed to Apulia in the winter of 1251, and took over the government from his illegitimate half brother, Manfred, who had effectively ruled the country since Frederick's death. Although Conrad was able to establish control over the kingdom of Sicily, he was unable to make peace with Pope Innocent IV, who excommunicated him in April 1254. Conrad died only a few weeks later on 25 May 1254 at Lavello in Apulia, aged only 26.

Conrad never visited Outremer. In his absence the High Court of Jerusalem bestowed the government of the kingdom on regents: Queen Alice of Cyprus, daughter of Henry of Champagne and Isabella I of Jerusalem, and after her death (1246) her son Henry I of Cyprus. Conrad's rights in the kingdoms of Jerusalem and Sicily passed to his infant son Conrad (Conradin), duke of Swabia (b. 1252), his only child by his wife Elisabeth (d. 1273), daughter of Duke Otto II of Bavaria.

—Alan V. Murray

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Conrad of Hildesheim

See Conrad of Querfurt

Conrad of Krosigk (d. 1225)

Bishop of Halberstadt (1201–1208), participant in the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), and subsequently preacher of two other crusades.

Scion of the powerful Krosigk family of Saxony, Conrad took the cross in April 1202 to escape the consequences of his recent excommunication for not supporting Pope Innocent III's imperial policies. Although disturbed by the Venetian plan to capture the Christian city of Zara (mod. Zadar, Croatia), Conrad participated in the expedition, and the following year (1203), he supported the diversion to Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey), to the point of conspiring with other crusade leaders to keep the army ignorant of the pope's prohibition of this adventure. When relations with the citizens of Constantinople degenerated into open hostilities, Conrad assured the crusaders that their war against the Greeks was righteous. Following the capture of Constantinople, Conrad sailed to Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), where he convinced the two papal crusade legates to lift his sentence of excommunication. His pilgrimage completed, Conrad traveled to Rome and made peace with the pope. He reached Halberstadt on 16 August 1205, accompanied by a large number of relics from Constantinople.

In 1208 Conrad became a Cistercian monk. In 1213 and 1216, he received papal commissions to preach and organize efforts for the Fifth Crusade in the provinces of Magdeburg and Bremen, and in 1224 he was commissioned to recruit participants for Emperor Frederick II's proposed crusade. He died on 21 June 1225.

—Alfred J. Andrea

See also: Fourth Crusade (1202–1204)

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Conrad of Mainz (d. 1200)

Archbishop of Mainz (1161–1165 and 1183–1200), archbishop of Salzburg (1177–1183), and papal legate on the Crusade of Emperor Henry VI (1197–1198).

Conrad was born around the year 1130, the son of Otto V, count of Wittelsbach. He was educated in the cathedral school of Salzburg and then either at Paris or Bologna. In 1161 he was elected archbishop of Mainz with the support of Frederick I Barbarossa, Holy Roman Emperor, but was deposed after he decided to support Pope Alexander III rather than the rival imperialist candidate. After spending the intervening years in Alexander's service with the rank of cardinal priest (1165) and cardinal bishop (1166), he was made archbishop of Salzburg after peace was concluded between pope and emperor in the Treaty of Venice (1177). He was restored to the see of Mainz after the death of the archbishop who had replaced him there, Christian of Buch; he was also named as papal legate for Germany.

Conrad took the cross in 1195 and was enthusiastic in recruiting for the forthcoming crusade of Frederick I's son, Emperor Henry VI. He was particularly keen that the crusade should leave at Christmas 1196, the departure date fixed at the diet of Gelnhausen after an initial postponement from Christmas 1195. To this end he was instrumental in persuading the German princes to elect the emperor's son Frederick (II) as king of Germany, so that the succession would be secured before the departure of the crusade.

Conrad left Germany in January 1197 and reached Rome by the end of the month. There he held discussions with Pope Celestine III, and was probably named as legate to the crusade on this occasion. After a meeting with Emperor Henry VI, he set sail (probably from Bari or Brindisi) in April; however, as the majority of the crusaders had still not arrived at the southern Italian ports, those who accompanied Conrad comprised only an advance contingent. This force, carried on some thirty vessels, arrived in Palestine in May.

After the arrival of the main army under Conrad of Querfurt, bishop of Hildesheim, Conrad of Mainz sailed with the fleet via Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon) as far as Beirut. While the rest of the crusade forces marched inland to besiege the castle of Toron, Conrad left the army to travel to the court of Leon II, prince of Cilicia, on whom he was to bestow a royal crown in recognition of Leon's acceptance of imperial overlordship. This mission had originally been meant to be carried out by Conrad of Querfurt, whose authority as imperial chancellor, however, ceased on the death of Henry VI (28 September 1197). As the pope had already given Conrad of Mainz the task of concluding negotiations regarding the union of the Latin and Armenian churches,

it seems that in the confused situation following the emperor's death, the leaders of the crusade decided that it would be best for the papal legate to carry out both missions. On 6 January 1198 Conrad crowned Leon as king of Cilicia (numbered as Leon I) in a magnificent ceremony at Tarsos (mod. Tarsus, Turkey), acting as representative of both pope and emperor.

Conrad was back in Palestine by March, when he was present at the foundation of the Teutonic Order in Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel). He remained in the Holy Land longer than most of the other participants of the crusade of 1197–1198, not returning to the West until the summer of 1199. After the proclamation of another crusade by the new pope, Innocent III, Conrad again took the cross, with the evident intention of taking part in what became the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204). He died on 25 October 1200 while preparations for the expedition were still in progress.

—Alan V. Murray

See also: Cilicia; Crusade of Emperor Henry VI (1197–1198)

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Conrad of Montferrat (d. 1192)

Ruler of the kingdom of Jerusalem (1192) as consort to Queen Isabella I. Conrad was born around 1146, the son of William V the Old, marquis of Montferrat. He was a cousin of Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa and King Louis VII of France.

Conrad's eldest brother, William Longsword, and their father were involved in the affairs of Outremer during the reign of King Baldwin IV of Jerusalem (1174–1185). Conrad spent some time in Byzantine service, but after the Frankish defeat at Hattin on 4 July 1187 he went to Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon), the last stronghold of the kingdom of Jerusalem. In the absence of King Guy, who was a captive of Saladin, and Queen Sibyl, who was still in Jerusalem, Conrad successfully organized the defense of Tyre, which later became the springboard for the reconquest of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) during the Third Crusade (1189–

Conrad of Querfurt (d. 1202)

1192). The fierce power struggle between Conrad and King Guy, released by Saladin in the summer of 1188, was stimulated by the deep cleavage within the higher nobility and exacerbated by the rivalry between Genoa and Pisa. The unexpected death of Queen Sibyl and her two small daughters in the autumn of 1190 deprived Guy of his legitimate standing as king of Jerusalem. Shortly afterward Conrad married Isabella (I), Sibyl's younger sister and heiress to the throne, and thus became titular king. After the reconquest of Acre, a gathering of barons and knights convened at Ascalon by King Richard I of England recognized Conrad as king early in April 1192, yet later that month he was stabbed in Tyre by an Ismā'īlī Assassin and died before being crowned.

Conrad was praised by contemporaries for his defense of Tyre and was depicted by some troubadours as the embodiment of true knightly values. A shrewd and determined statesman, he issued generous charters of privilege to the major maritime powers of the West, by which he obtained their military assistance and political support. He apparently did not intend to honor all his promises, yet his legal and fiscal concessions created some weighty precedents, with which his successors had to cope.

—David Jacoby

See also: Montferrat; Third Crusade (1189–1192)

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Conrad of Querfurt (d. 1202)

Bishop of Hildesheim (1195–1199) and Würzburg (1198–1202) and executive leader of the Crusade of Emperor Henry VI (1197–1198).

Conrad was a son of Burchard II, burgrave of Magdeburg. He became a canon of the cathedral chapter of Hildesheim in 1182 and studied in Paris before being appointed to various ecclesiastical offices in Germany: royal chaplain (1188), provost of Goslar (1188) and Aachen (1194), and bishop of Hildesheim (1194). At some point after this, he was made

chancellor to Emperor Henry VI, since he is named as occupying this office when he witnessed the taking of the cross by Henry at Bari on Good Friday (30 March) 1195.

Conrad took the cross himself at Gelnhausen on 28 October 1195, and subsequently traveled south of the Alps, having been named as imperial legate for Italy and the kingdom of Sicily. Much of his time in Sicily and Apulia was spent in making preparations for the emperor's planned crusade to the Holy Land, even after his legatine powers lapsed with the arrival of Henry VI in his southern kingdom in summer 1196. The following year the emperor appointed Conrad as leader of the crusade, with responsibility for the overall direction of the expedition and the keeping of its treasury, although military command was given to the imperial marshal Henry of Kalden. By 22 June 1197 Conrad was at Bari, where he performed the dedication of the Church of St. Nicholas in the company of numerous crusaders.

Conrad, accompanied by his brothers Gerhard and Gebhard, set sail with the main crusade fleet from Messina on 1 September 1197. While most of the fleet sailed directly to Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), Conrad made a detour to Cyprus, where he carried out a royal coronation for the ruler of the island, Aimery of Lusignan; Henry VI had previously agreed to bestow a crown on Aimery in return for the new king's acknowledgement of imperial overlordship. After his arrival in Palestine, Conrad was one of those who successfully brought about the election of Aimery as king of Jerusalem in succession to Henry of Champagne, who had died as the result of an accident.

In the course of campaigning whose main aim was to secure the coast of Palestine for the Christians, Conrad sailed with the fleet via Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon) to the ports of Sidon (mod. Saïda, Lebanon) and Beirut, which were abandoned by the Ayyūbids without fighting (October–November). During the siege of the inland castle of Toron, however, Conrad left the army for Tyre on 2 February 1198 after having heard news of the death of Henry VI, with the intention of taking ship for Germany. Conrad's decision to retire may have been correct, in the sense that the emperor's death meant that he no longer had the authority to lead the crusade as imperial chancellor; he may have been motivated by concerns about the succession in Germany; it is also possible that he had heard of his own election as bishop by the cathedral chapter of Würzburg, a richer and more important diocese than Hildesheim. Nev-

ertheless, it is clear that the departure of its executive leader and his entourage effectively brought the crusade to an end, as other magnates followed Conrad's example and deserted the siege of Toron, which was finally abandoned on 24 February 1198.

Conrad was present at the gathering in March that decided on the conversion of the small German hospitaller confraternity in Acre into a new military religious order, the Teutonic Knights. However, he was one of the first of the crusaders to leave Palestine, and was back in the bishopric of Hildesheim by 21 May 1198. In the struggle for the German throne that had broken out on the death of Henry VI, Conrad initially supported the late emperor's brother, Philip of Swabia, who confirmed him in the office of chancellor; as a result he was excommunicated by Pope Innocent III, who supported the rival German king, Otto IV. In 1201 Innocent lifted the sentence of excommunication and confirmed Conrad as bishop of Würzburg; shortly afterward he abandoned Philip and changed to the side of Otto. On 3 December 1202, Conrad was murdered by Bodo and Henry of Ravensburg, leaders of a faction among the knights of Würzburg, which was opposed to the new bishop's policies.

–Alan V. Murray

See also: Crusade of Emperor Henry VI (1197–1198)

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Conrad of Urach (d. 1227)

Cistercian monk, crusade preacher, and legate.

A member of the south German Zähringen dynasty, Conrad joined the Cistercian Order in 1199. He rose to become abbot (in turn) of the monasteries of Villers (1208/1209–1214), Clairvaux (1214–1217), and Cîteaux (1217–1219). In 1213 Conrad was appointed to preach the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221) with the abbot of Rommersdorf in the province of Trier. In 1214 he worked with Arnold Amalric, abbot of Cîteaux, to resolve disputes within the

Cistercian Order and reform it in preparation for the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). He also cooperated with other notables to persuade Philip II Augustus, king of France, to end the invasion of England mounted by Philip's son Louis (later Louis VIII), which threatened the peace essential for the Fifth Crusade.

Made cardinal of Porto and St. Rufina by Pope Honorius III in 1219, Conrad served as legate for the Albigensian Crusade from 1220 to 1223. While attempting to rally support for Amalric of Montfort and to draw Philip Augustus and Louis into the crusade, Conrad worked with local prelates to reform the church in France and won papal approval for a new antihetical military order. After Philip Augustus's death in 1223, Conrad was sent to Germany to hasten the preparation of Emperor Frederick II's delayed crusade to the Holy Land. His acquaintances among reformers and prelates in France and Germany and within the Cistercian Order provided invaluable assistance, as Conrad sought to balance several crusade projects during both legations. From 1224 to 1226, he collaborated closely with Conrad of Hildesheim and the papal preachers appointed in Germany to organize Frederick II's crusade; extirpate heresy; forge peace between the kings of England, France, and Germany and warring noblemen; and reform secular and regular churches according to the Fourth Lateran's mandates through disciplinary actions and local synods. From 1226 until his death in September 1227, he participated in several crusade-planning councils in Italy and helped to broker a peace agreement between Frederick II and the Lombard League, enabling the emperor's departure on crusade.

–Jessalynn Bird

See also: Albigensian Crusade (1209–1219)

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Conrad of Wittelsbach

See Conrad of Mainz

Conrad of Zähringen

See Conrad of Urach

Conrad, Priest

See *Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad*

Conradin (1252–1268)

Duke of Swabia and titular king of Jerusalem (1254–1268), actually named Conrad, although the diminutive form Conradin (from It. *Corradino*) has become commonplace in modern scholarship.

The last legitimate male member of the imperial Staufeu dynasty, Conradin was born on 25 March 1252, the only son of Conrad IV, king of Germany, Sicily, and Jerusalem, and Elisabeth, daughter of Otto II, duke of Bavaria. Invested with the by then largely meaningless dignity of duke of Swabia, Conradin grew up at the court of his uncle Ludwig II of Bavaria, where he had been sent for safety after his father left Germany in order to claim his ancestral kingdom of Sicily. On Conrad IV's death (1254), Conradin should have by rights succeeded in turn to Sicily, but the throne was seized by his uncle Manfred, an illegitimate son of Emperor Frederick II and the de facto ruler of the kingdom. Attempts to have Conradin elected as king of Germany in 1262 and 1266 failed when his candidature was prohibited by the papacy, long opposed to the political ambitions of the Staufeu dynasty.

Only in the kingdom of Jerusalem, the inheritance of his grandmother Isabella of Brienne, was Conradin's authority recognized, at least formally; actual government was vested in regents belonging to the Lusignan ruling family of Cyprus (Henry I and then Hugh II), who exercised their rule in Palestine through appointed lieutenants. It is conceivable that Conradin would have been recognized as the ruling king of Jerusalem by the High Court if he had come to the kingdom in person; this was the same condition that had been laid down in his father's case. However, by the time he had attained his majority, his ambitions were set on the recovery of his Sicilian inheritance.

In 1266 Manfred's rule in Sicily had been overthrown by Charles I of Anjou at the battle of Benevento (26 February). The following year Conradin travelled across the Alps with a small force and was welcomed throughout Italy by members of the traditionally pro-Staufeu Ghibelline party and other opponents of the Angevins. He and his supporters mounted an invasion of the kingdom of Sicily, but were decisively defeated by Charles of Anjou at the battle of Tagliacozzo on 23 August 1268. Conradin was apprehended in

Rome and handed over to Charles, who had him executed at Naples on 29 October. As Conradin had no heirs, the kingdom of Jerusalem passed to Hugh III, king of Cyprus.

–Alan V. Murray

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Constantine XI Palaiologos (1405–1453)

The last Byzantine emperor (1448–1453), who died childless while defending the city of Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) against the Ottoman Turks.

Constantine was born on 8 February 1405, the son of Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos. He became emperor in 1448 when his brother John VIII died without an heir. At the time of his accession to the throne, only Constantinople and the Peloponnese remained under Byzantine control. In 1428, he married Maddalena Tocco, niece of the Italian ruler of Epiros and Cephalonia. After her death, he married Caterina Catiluisio, daughter of the Genoese lord of the island of Lesbos.

Although he faced problems in making the union of the Greek Orthodox and Latin churches acceptable in the Byzantine Empire, Constantine remained an advocate of the agreement that Emperor John VIII had concluded with the Roman church at Florence in 1439, since he believed that if union were brought about, the West would send the military aid the Byzantines desperately needed in their fight against the Turks. In 1452, he asked for military reinforcements from Venice and various other Italian towns, King Alfonso V of Aragon (I of Naples), the Genoese rulers of Chios, and the pope, but to no avail. The pope demanded from the Byzantines union with the Church of Rome before he would dispatch military aid to them. In October 1452, four hundred archers arrived in Constantinople, together with the papal legate Cardinal Isidore, who came to celebrate the union of the churches in a ceremony in the Church of Hagia Sophia on 12 December of the same year. In January 1453, the Genoese Giovanni Longo arrived in Constantinople with 700 troops. That aid, however, was too little and arrived too late to save Constantinople, which fell to

the Turks at dawn on Tuesday, 29 May 1453. Constantine died in the fighting the same day.

–*Aphrodite Papayianni*

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Constantinople, City of

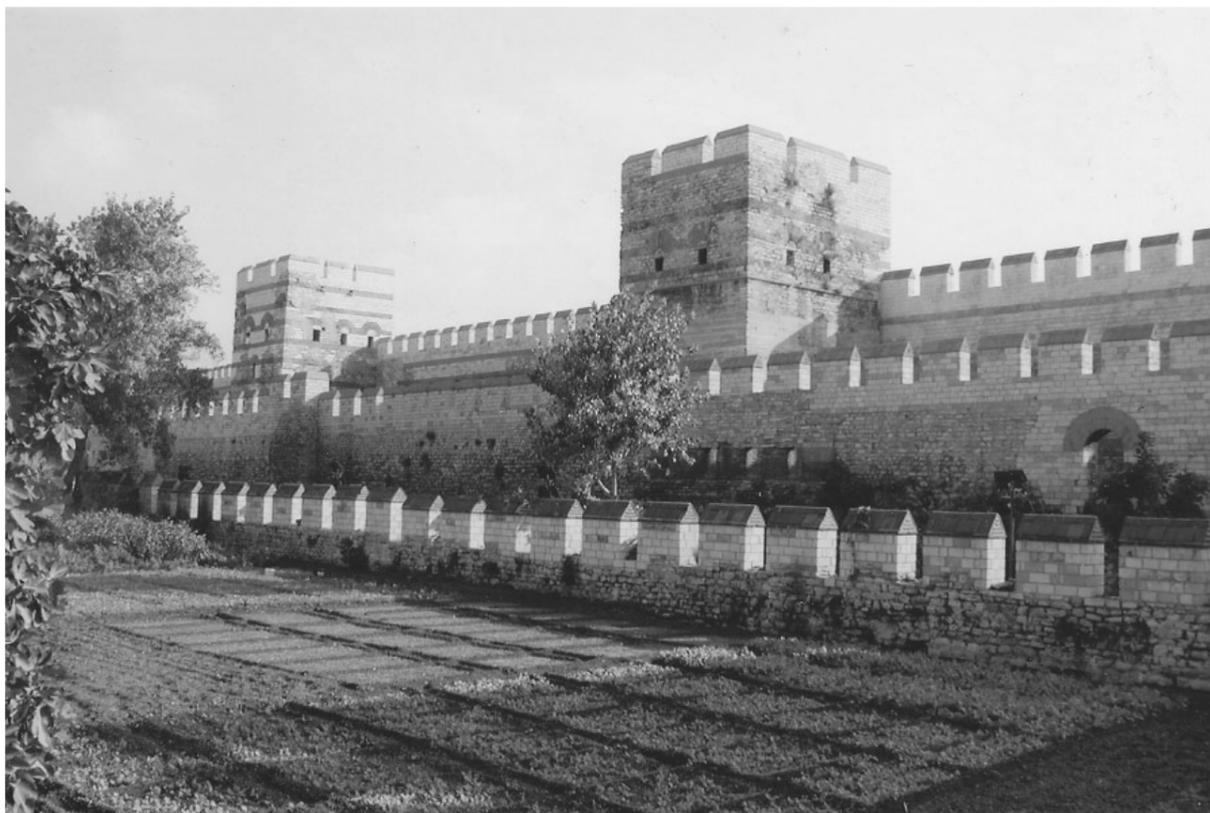
The city of Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) was the capital of the Byzantine Empire until it was captured in 1204 by the army of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204). Shortly afterward it was divided into two sections. The new Latin emperor, Baldwin I (IX of Flanders), obtained five-eighths of the city, including the imperial palaces of the Blachernae in the north and of Boukoleon in the southeast, while Venice obtained the remainder. Constantinople then functioned as the capital of the Latin Empire of Constantinople and as the center of Venetian government in the empire until 1261, when it was retaken by the Greeks of the empire of Nicaea who made it the capital of the restored Byzantine Empire. The city fell to the Ottoman Turks in 1453.

Three fires in 1203 and 1204 and the crusader assault on Constantinople on 12 April 1204 inflicted destruction upon large sections of the city, crippled its economic infrastructure, and caused heavy loss of life. The crusader conquest was followed by the massive looting of relics and precious artifacts and their transfer to the West. These events led to an exodus of Greek population, including the imperial household, members of the lay elite, merchants, and silk manufacturers. The seizure of ecclesiastical property, the establishment of a Latin patriarch, and the pressure to acknowledge papal supremacy also induced many Greek priests and monks to leave the city. Smaller-scale emigration continued throughout the period of Latin rule. The Greeks nevertheless remained the largest group within the city's population. High-ranking Greek officials in the service of the Latin emperors account for the Byzantine imprint upon the coronation ceremonial, the Latin imperial administration, the use of Byzantine titles, and the formulae of imperial doc-

uments. Former Byzantine officials at lower ranks and interpreters enabled the use of Byzantine cadasters and other documents found at Constantinople, upon which the partition of the city and the empire was based. They also ensured the large-scale continuity of the Byzantine fiscal system, both in the imperial and Venetian sections of Constantinople and elsewhere in the Latin Empire.

The urban economy was reactivated shortly after the Latin conquest, yet it underwent important changes. It substantially contracted in the absence of massive local consumption and investment in high-grade manufacture. In addition, its operation was increasingly dependent upon the transit and transshipment of goods in the framework of medium- and long-distance trade. This function was ensured by the continuity of Constantinople's pivotal role in commercial-exchanges between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, and the city's multiple commercial connections with ports in both these regions. Economic growth was furthered by treaties between Venice and the powers holding the coastline of Asia Minor, namely the Greek empire of Nicaea and the Saljūq sultanate of Rūm, as well as with the kingdom of Cilicia (Lesser Armenia) and Egypt. This process accelerated in the last two decades of Latin rule. The consolidation of Mongol rule along the northern Black Sea coast and over its vast hinterland (achieved by 1240) generated a growing involvement of Latin merchants and carriers based in Constantinople in the Black Sea trade. They established direct links between that region and the Mediterranean, which led to the full integration of their respective trading networks in the early Palaiologan period. This integration lasted until the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453. The Latin period thus made a decisive contribution to the long-term development of Constantinople's economy.

The political and territorial partition of Constantinople between the Latin emperor and Venice, implemented shortly after the conquest, lasted until the end of the Latin Empire in 1261. It created different political, economic, and social conditions in each of the two sections and a disparity between their respective evolutions. Venice was the only Italian maritime power to benefit from the conquest. Its quarter, spared from destruction by fire, was substantially enlarged as a result of the city's partition and became the center of an administration exercising full sovereignty over the Venetian portion of the Latin Empire. This quarter was the focus of commercial activity in the city. Its prosperity and state investments contributed to the maintenance of private,



Modern reconstruction of Constantinople's land walls. (Courtesy Alfred Andrea)

public, and ecclesiastical structures, while the imperial section of the city suffered from neglect.

The crusader conquest and subsequent economic growth furthered ongoing Western immigration and settlement during the Latin period. Especially Venetians were attracted by the privileged status they enjoyed in their national quarter. While they constituted the driving force in Constantinople's economy during the Latin period, the share of Pisan, Genoese, Florentine, and other Italian settlers should not be overlooked. These resided in the imperial section of the city, which also accommodated the imperial court, the feudal nobility, and non-Venetian commoners. The loss of Greek population was not offset by Latin immigration. Some 3,000 Latins, mostly Venetians, fled when Nicaean forces reconquered Constantinople in 1261.

By the end of 1204 many churches had been abandoned by the Greek Orthodox clergy, as reported in a letter of Pope Innocent III. The churches and monasteries remaining in the

hands of the Greek clergy suffered from the loss of their sources of revenue. The number of these institutions seized by the Latin clergy is unknown. The Church of Hagia Sophia was taken over by the Latin patriarch of Constantinople. In its own section of the city, Venice granted several Greek monasteries to Venetian religious institutions. One of them, the Pantokrator, became Venice's center of government and administration in Constantinople, and its monks were replaced by Latin clerics. The substantial increase in the Latin ecclesiastical presence in the city did not outlast the Latin period.

—David Jacoby

See also: Byzantine Empire; Constantinople, Latin Empire of
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Constantinople, Latin Empire of

An empire under Latin (Frankish) domination, established in April 1204 after the overthrow of the Byzantine Empire by the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204). The territory of the Latin Empire was much smaller than that of Byzantium: at its greatest extent it comprised the city of Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey), Thrace, eastern Macedonia, and north-west Asia Minor, although the Latin emperor was often, at least in theory, recognized as the suzerain of the other Frankish states in Greece.

The empire had been effectively reduced to Constantinople and its environs when on 25 July 1261 the city was recaptured by the Byzantine troops of the Nicaean emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos. Emperor Baldwin II fled to the West and the empire came to an end, although various titular emperors continued to maintain claims until 1382.

Establishment and Early History (1204–1216)

The Latin Empire of Constantinople was the direct result of the deviation of the Fourth Crusade. While encamped before the walls of Constantinople in March 1204, the Frankish crusaders and the Venetians agreed between themselves to replace the Byzantine emperor with a Latin one, and after the

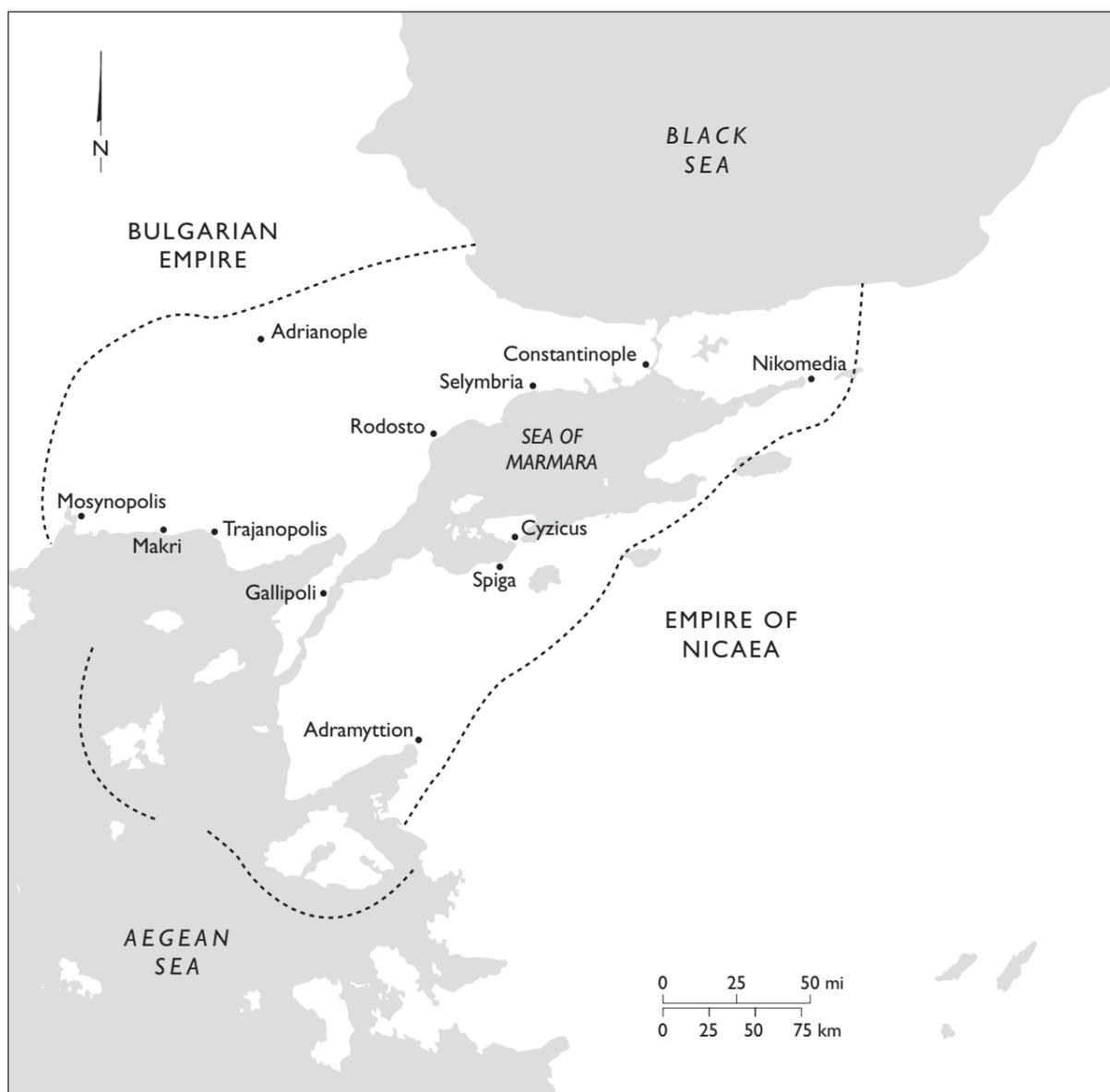
capture of the city, Count Baldwin IX of Flanders (VI of Hainaut) was crowned emperor (as Baldwin I) in the Church of Hagia Sophia on 16 May 1204. Baldwin I's first task was to safeguard the empire against the Greek and Vlach-Bulgarian alliance in Thrace. On 14 April 1205, a battle took place near Adrianople (mod. Edirne, Turkey), where Tsar Kaloyan (Johannitsa), who had received the pope's blessing for his Vlach-Bulgarian Empire, defeated Baldwin's army, which retreated toward Constantinople. Baldwin was taken prisoner and died in captivity. Later, in 1225, a “false Baldwin” turned up in Flanders, but was recognized as a minstrel called Bertrand de Rais and executed on orders of Johanna of Constantinople, Baldwin's daughter.

Baldwin's brother Henry of Flanders became regent of the empire and was crowned emperor on 20 August 1206. He was the only “great” emperor of Latin Constantinople. On the military front, he broke the Greco-Bulgarian alliance by ceding, by the end of 1205, Apros to the Greek Theodoros Branas, who also received Adrianople from the Venetians. After Kaloyan's death (1207), his empire disintegrated. His young nephew, John Asen, fled to Russia, and three princes claimed the succession: Slav (Esclav), a member of the royal family (in the Rhodope Mountains); Strez, another relative (in the Vardar Valley); and Boril, a son of Kaloyan's sister (in Turnovo). Using diplomacy as well as military means, Henry met the internal and external dangers of his empire. In February 1207 he married Agnes, daughter of Boniface of Montferrat, king of Thessalonica. Around September 1208, he gave his natural daughter in marriage to the Bulgarian prince Slav, and his brother, Eustace of Flanders, took as wife a daughter of Michael of Epiros in June/July 1209.

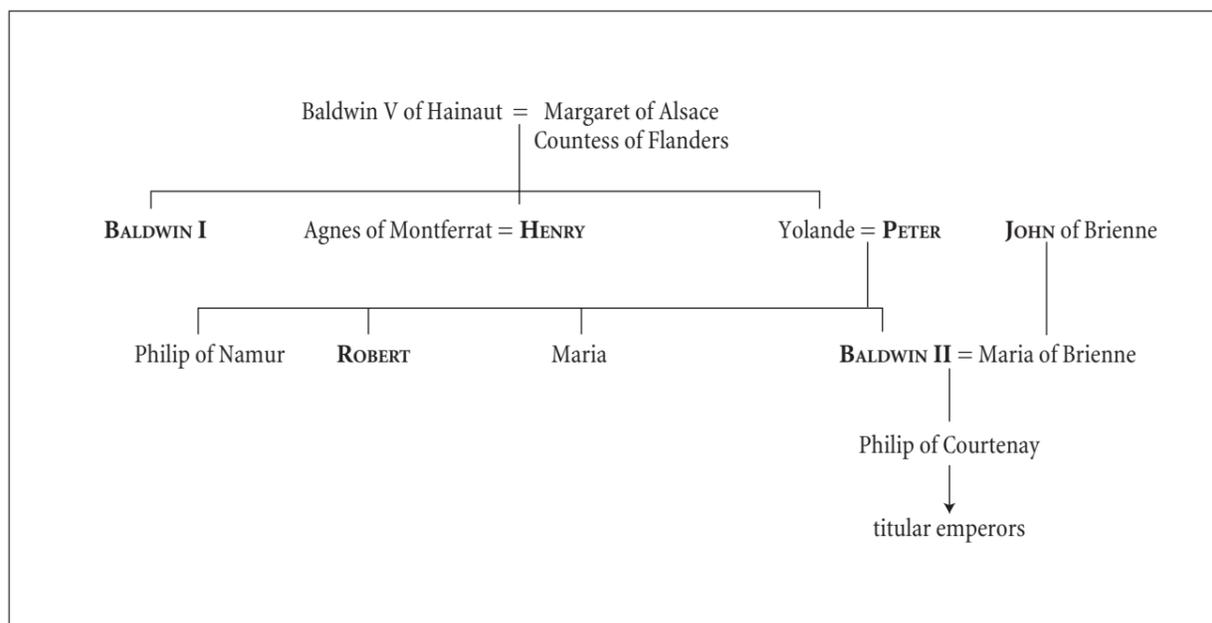
Henry supported David Komnenos, the co-emperor of Trebizond, against Theodore I Laskaris, emperor of Nicaea, and four Latin military expeditions (1206–1207) strengthened the Latin position in the eastern part of the empire. By 1211 Boril and Theodore Laskaris once again were able to attack the Latin Empire. Boril first retreated deep into Bulgaria and was then defeated by Eustace and Slav. Strez was also defeated by Eustace, and on 15 October 1211, Henry won a victory over Theodore Laskaris. After the early death of his wife Agnes, Henry himself married the daughter of the new Bulgarian tsar, Boril (c. 1212).

Emperor Henry also normalized relations with the principality of Achaia in June 1209, thus putting an end to the confusion of suzerainty over the Frankish Morea. Geoffrey I of Villehardouin, prince of Achaia, became the vassal of

Constantinople, Latin Empire of



The Latin Empire of Constantinople, c. 1215



Succession to the Latin Empire of Constantinople, 1204–1261

Henry, but Venetian rights were preserved. Understanding that the empire could neither prosper nor even function without the support of the Greek population, Henry tried to accommodate Greek aspirations, especially religious ones, by instigating dialogue between the Latin and Greek Orthodox churches. Although these negotiations proved unsuccessful, Henry gained the respect of his Greek subjects. His biggest challenge, however, came from the Lombards of the kingdom of Thessalonica. After Boniface's death (in 1207), the Lombard regent of the kingdom, Count Oberto of Biantate, was unwilling to recognize the suzerainty of the emperor and planned to unite Thessalonica with the Italian territory of William of Montferrat, Boniface's brother, thereby hoping that William would supplant Henry as emperor. Henry, however, supported by Maria (Margaret) of Hungary, widow of Boniface, crowned her son Demetrios as king of Thessalonica on 6 January 1209, and subdued the Lombards. To keep enough manpower in the country, he wisely restored the rebellious Lombards to their fiefs, generally winning their loyalty. During the last years of Henry's reign (1214–1216), the political landscape again altered: Michael of Epiros was murdered and succeeded by his brother Theodore (1214–1230), who was an ally of Theodore

Laskaris and gave his niece in marriage to Slav (whose wife, Henry's daughter, had died). When Henry suddenly died on 11 June 1216 in Thessalonica, he left a relatively well-organized empire.

Decline and End, 1216–1261

The sudden and unforeseen death of Emperor Henry was the catalyst for a series of catastrophes for the Latin Empire. While the Fleming Conon of Béthune proved to be an able regent, the same cannot be said about Henry's successors. Emperor Peter of Courtenay, husband of Yolande of Flanders (Henry's sister), unwisely decided to travel from the West to Durazzo (mod. Durrës, Albania) and go from there to Constantinople by land. He was ambushed by Michael of Epiros in 1217 and died in captivity. Yolande died in Constantinople in October 1219 and was succeeded by her second son, Robert of Courtenay (1221–1228), who was crowned emperor in Constantinople on 25 March 1221. He left the city after an unfortunate love affair and secret marriage with a French lady and died in the Morea in 1228.

The empire was by now in full crisis. In 1224, the Nicaean emperor John III Vatatzes had heavily defeated the Latins at Poimaninon and imposed humiliating conditions

on the Latin Empire. In the west, Theodore, despot of Epiros, had extended his power, and in 1222 Thessalonica fell to the Epirote, who had himself crowned emperor. After Robert's death, the Frankish barons of Constantinople offered the throne to John of Brienne (former king of Jerusalem), whose daughter was to marry the future Baldwin II, Robert's young brother. John's election had alienated the Bulgarian tsar, Ivan Asen II, who had hoped that the crown would be offered to him. John of Brienne arrived in Constantinople during the summer of 1231, but waited until 1233 before attacking John Vatatzes. Once again, the political landscape had altered: in 1230, Theodore of Epiros-Thessalonica had broken his alliance with Asen and invaded Bulgaria, but was defeated and captured. His brother Manuel, who was Asen's son-in-law, now ruled over Thessalonica (1230–1236). Between 1232 and 1235, Asen tried to build up a coalition of Orthodox nations to recover Constantinople, and in 1235 his daughter was engaged to the future Theodore II Laskaris. But Asen's policy was unstable, and he again allied himself with the Franks, only to change camps once more after the sudden death of his wife. After his death (in 1241), Bulgaria suffered from internal weakness.

After the death of John of Brienne (1237), Baldwin II returned in July 1239 from the Low Countries with a small army to Constantinople, made an alliance with the Cumans, and was crowned emperor in 1240. He spent several years in the West trying to find financial and military support for his impoverished and collapsing empire. He signed a truce with John Vatatzes (June 1241) for a period of two years, which was renewed for another year in 1244.

The military situation of the empire became untenable after the deaths of John Vatatzes of Nicaea (1254) and his successor Theodore II Laskaris (1258). The usurper Michael VIII Palaiologos became emperor of Nicaea, and his troops heavily defeated the Franks of the principality of Achaia at the battle of Pelagonia (1259). In July 1261 Michael Palaiologos agreed to a truce, but on 25 July, his general Alexios Strategopoulos took Constantinople by surprise, thus putting a de facto end to the existence of the Latin Empire. Emperor Baldwin II fled to Italy. By the Treaties of Viterbo (24 and 27 May 1267), he ceded the suzerainty of the Frankish Peloponnese and other Latin regions to Charles I of Anjou, king of Naples. Baldwin died in Sicily in October 1273. His reign in Constantinople had been marked by poverty: he was even obliged to mortgage his own son,

Philip, to Venetian merchants in 1258. In exile Baldwin II and Philip of Courtenay maintained their claims as titular emperors, which passed to the dynasties of Valois and Taranto. They were extinguished with the death of Philip's great-great-grandson James of Baux (1285).

Constitution of the Empire

The Pact of March 1204 between the Venetian republic and the crusader leaders Boniface of Montferrat, Baldwin IX of Flanders, Louis of Blois, and Hugh of Saint-Pol formed the basis on which the empire's institutions were built. It foresaw the partition of the Byzantine Empire, regulated the election of a Latin emperor, legalized feudalism as the empire's institutional form, and also defined and described the powers, duties, and rights of the emperor, the Venetians, and the crusaders who would settle in the empire, as well as the relationship between them. It also defined the status of the church, mandating the election of a Latin patriarch of Constantinople and the partition of ecclesiastical property. Evidently this agreement, signed before the capture of Constantinople in March 1204, created a number of problems. Its details therefore needed to be revised or completed with a series of other agreements, which together can be considered as the "constitutional charters" of the empire. These other documents are the *Partitio Romaniae* and the Convention of October 1205.

The *Partitio Romaniae*, a document resulting from the work of a committee of *partitores* (officials charged with the partition of the Byzantine Empire) who finalized their work around September 1204, divided the empire into sections assigned variously to the emperor, the other crusaders, and the Venetians, leaving some parts around Thessalonica open, most probably for Boniface, marquis of Montferrat. The latter had been the unsuccessful contender for the throne, and after some strife between the marquis and Baldwin I, it was agreed that the marquis would become ruler of Thessalonica. The *Partitio's* divisions, however, were often more of theoretical than of practical value. Many of the defined and subdivided lands were in Greek hands and would never be occupied by the Latins after 1204. Moreover, the Venetians were only interested in ports or places that were of interest for their trade empire. Therefore, Venice had no problem in granting Adrianople to Theodore Branas, and was pleased with the suzerainty arrangement regarding the Peloponnese, agreed to in June 1209 by Prince Geoffrey I of Villehardouin and the Venetian envoy Raphael Geno

through the mediation of Henry's ambassadors, Conon of Béthune and Guy of Henruel.

In many cases the barons would have to conquer their fiefs themselves. Thus, Louis of Blois became duke of Nicaea (mod. İznik, Turkey), Henry of Flanders received Adramytion (mod. Edremit, Turkey) in Asia Minor, and Peter of Braecieux was given a "kingdom" elsewhere in Asia Minor; all of these lands were still in Greek hands when they were assigned. Probably, the *Partitio* also resulted in the creation of a register of fiefs, much the same as that which existed in the principality of Achaia. Fiefs were distributed to the barons in accordance with the number of their troops and their wealth (which could of course produce troops). In their work the *partitores* made use of Byzantine documents related to tax and properties.

The third "constitutional charter" was the Convention of October 1205 between Henry of Flanders and Marino Zeno, representative of the republic of Venice. It refined the clauses of the Pact of March 1204, mainly with regard to the service that was due from the empire's barons and knights to the emperor, and to relations between Venetians and Franks within the empire. Moreover, a pact known as the *Forma Iustitiae* was signed in March 1207 that regulated judicial relations between Venetians and Franks. The ecclesiastical regulations of the Pact of March 1204 were not entirely welcomed by Pope Innocent III, who had grudgingly agreed to the election of a Venetian, Thomas Morosini, as Latin patriarch, but who also insisted on a new deal regarding church property. This question was settled by a series of agreements: the convention of Patriarch Thomas Morosini and the papal legate, Benedict of St. Suzanne, with Henry of Flanders (17 March 1206), another settlement accepted at the parliament of Ravennika (2 May 1210) regarding the church in Thessalonica and Greece south of this kingdom, and finally a settlement reached in December 1219, during the regency of Conon of Béthune. These agreements restored—at least partly—the property of the church, defined its status, and regulated problematic issues, such as tithes and the *acrostichon* (Byzantine property tax).

Government and Institutions

As a result of the "constitutional" conventions, the Latin emperor was forced into a condominium with the Venetians. This political reality was illustrated by the titles taken by Venetian representatives: Doge Dandolo was *Imperii quartae partis et dimidie dominator* (ruler of a quarter and a half of

the empire) and later each Venetian *podestà* (plenipotentiary representative of the doge in Constantinople) was *vicedominator* (vice-ruler) in similar fashion. The political history reflects the complications of this Frankish-Venetian condominium and the tensions between the different ethnic and political groups within the ranks of the Franks. The resulting tensions inevitably contributed to the decline of the empire, especially when, after the deaths of Baldwin I and Henry, weak emperors occupied the throne. Each emperor was obliged to swear on oath that he would respect the fundamental charters and the rights and privileges of the Venetians. Venetian policy did not necessarily coincide with the empire's interests, and each *podestà* was inclined to follow his own line, and (independently of the emperors) often contracted his own trade and political agreements with other states, for example, with the empire of Nicaea and the Saljuq sultanate of Rûm. It was thus clear that from the foundation of the empire, there was a *de facto* division of interests between Venice and the Frankish rulers of Constantinople. The Venetians regarded their "quarter and a half" of the empire as part of the Venetian Empire, where trade and commerce were first priorities. This meant that trade and commerce were mainly in Venetian hands, as was sea transport, although Italians of non-Venetian origin were active in the islands and, as was the case with the Lombards, in the kingdom of Thessalonica.

Impasses or interregnums after the death of each emperor gave rise to the appointment of regents. Only Henry of Flanders had the title of *moderator Imperii* (regent of the empire) until he was crowned emperor. The other regents were known as *bajuli* (baillis): Conon of Béthune was appointed after the deaths of Henry (1216) and Yolande (1219); after Robert of Courtenay died in 1228, his sister Marie of Courtenay was in charge; and after John of Brienne's death (1237), the regency was exercised by Anselm of Cayeux and then Narjot of Toucy. When he traveled, Baldwin II left the regency to Philip of Toucy. The regents, whether known as *bajulus* or *moderator*, signed pacts, agreements, and truces with the same authority as the emperors. Surviving documents attest that Conon of Béthune had (like the emperors) to give an oath to the Venetians, guaranteeing their privileges. Perhaps the other regents had to do the same. The case of John of Brienne deserves special mention: the agreements of Perugia in March/April 1231 gave him full rights as emperor, but recognized the dynastic rights of Baldwin II, who had married his daughter and was to be his successor. In fact, the "con-

stitutional laws” had not stipulated any dynastic rights of the imperial family, but the divisions of the *Partitio Romaniae*, together with the hereditary rights that were provided in these charters, made it quite impossible to disregard the imperial dynasty, thus limiting the choice of the barons at every succession to the members of the Courtenay family.

The Convention of March 1204 and the other “constitutional charters,” as well as imperial documents and correspondence, give us insight into the institutions of the new empire. A number of councils and committees were created, some ephemeral, others more permanent. To the first category belong the electors of the new emperor, the *partitores* who were responsible for the division of the empire and distribution of fiefs, honors, and titles, and the mixed committees that arranged the partition of church property. The second category consisted of the council of the empire, which was sometimes only indicated by the collective expression “the barons (of the empire)” and the private ad hoc councils of each individual emperor. The existence of a chancery with its chancellor and staff is known from the very beginning of the empire and grew out of Baldwin I’s own Flemish secretaries who accompanied him on the crusade.

Judicial institutions were based on the Western, mainly French, feudal system, and there was little noticeable legal development in the empire. The well-known *Assizes of Romania* did not result from legal practice in the empire, but took shape in the principality of Achaia, where written legal documents since the beginning of the thirteenth century had

gradually developed into a law code (probably at the beginning of the fourteenth century).

The military organization of the empire was left to the emperor, whose successes or failures in war were highly dependent on his own personality and abilities: while Henry could impose his will on many unruly vassals, his successors were unable to do so. The army of the empire consisted of the Frankish and Venetian vassals, whose service duties were limited by the “constitutional charters” as well as by the fact that the barons were almost continuously besieged by Greek insurgents, so that a general mobilization was not a practical possibility. Only Henry of Flanders seems to have made use of Greek troops (as did the princes of Achaia). Consequently, the use of diplomatic weapons such as dynastic and political marriages had to play an important role in the defense of the empire. This system, which Henry used to the benefit of the empire, was continued after his death, but not with the same insight and success. Empress Yolanda married her daughter Marie of Courtenay to Theodore I Laskaris of Nicaea and another daughter, Agnes, to Geoffrey II, prince of Achaia. The planned marriage between Robert of Courtenay and Theodore Laskaris’s daughter Eudokia was not realized. More fatal was the marriage of Baldwin II to Marie of Brienne, because of the election of John of Brienne. Ivan Asen II of Bulgaria, a rival candidate for the throne, had other plans for the young Baldwin and was willing to offer him the hand of his daughter Helena, who, finally, was betrothed to the young Theodore (II) Laskaris of Nicaea.

As the Latin Empire was not only a new creation, but also the continuation of the Byzantine Empire, one might expect some Byzantine influence on its court institutions and customs, and this was the case to a limited extent. Thus, next to the Western feudal titles and dignities of seneschal, constable, marshal, and butler, some Byzantine titles occur: Conon of Béthune received the titles of *protovestiaros* and *sebastokrator*, Doge Dandolo became despot of Romania, and the title of Caesar was given to Theodore Branas and later to Narjot of Toucy (1228) and most probably to his son, Philip of Toucy. Emperor Henry made Navigaioso Philocalo *meas doux* (great duke) in 1206 or 1207. Emperor Baldwin II, born in Constantinople, became *porphyrogenetos* (literally “born in the purple,” i.e., the son of a ruling emperor).

Society

The coexistence of Latins and Byzantines, and within these groups Venetians and Franks of different nations on the one

Latin Emperors and Empresses of Constantinople

Baldwin I (of Flanders)	1204–1205
Henry of Flanders	1205–1216
Peter of Courtenay	1216–1217
Yolande of Courtenay	1217–1219
Robert of Courtenay	1221–1228
Baldwin II of Courtenay (d. 1273)	1228–1261
John of Brienne	1231–1237

Titular Emperors and Empresses

Philip of Courtenay	1273–1301
Catherine of Courtenay	1301–1308
Catharine of Valois	1308–1346
Robert of Taranto	1364–1373
James of Baux	1373–1383

hand, and Greeks, Bulgarians, and Vlachs, on the other hand, was the key to peace and prosperity in the Latin territories of the empire. Only Emperor Henry seems to have fully recognized the necessity of such a symbiosis and to have conscientiously aimed at creating it. This is illustrated by his insistence on ecclesiastical dialogue, his firm but subtle policy toward the Lombards of Thessalonica, his diplomatic marriage arrangements, and the employment of Greek and other “native” troops and of Greek functionaries in his administration. Moreover, the Greeks seem to have enjoyed the application of their own laws and administrative system, not only in Thessalonica (as attested by a lawsuit in 1213), but almost certainly everywhere in the empire. Henry’s death did not immediately entail a change of policy. Indeed the ecclesiastical agreement of 1219 shows some understanding for the Greek Orthodox subjects regarding tithes and the *acrostichon*. Even Emperor Baldwin II seems to have been aware of the necessity of employing Greeks, since he was castigated by Blanche of Castile for employing Greek advisers. But rulers like Baldwin II were far too weak to impose their own policies.

The decline of the empire’s military power and administration after Henry’s death inevitably led to financial penury and impoverishment, not only of the rural population, but also of the capital itself, where Baldwin II was obliged to sell the lead of the roofs in order to finance his bills. This poverty contrasted sharply with the welfare of the Venetian traders. Such a climate was not conducive to any promotion of arts in the empire.

Conclusions

The manpower of the Latin Empire was extremely limited by the fact that the Frankish states in Outremer had the same needs. Therefore, the creation and existence of the Latin Empire weakened the Frankish presence and manpower in the East. It also awakened Greek nationalism, especially since the rulers of the Byzantine successor states after 1204 were national Greek princes, ruling an indigenous, homogeneous Greek population. The empire’s existence did not help the Christian cause versus the progress of Islam either: its existence caused the total breakdown of the traditional Byzantine political structures, as well as of commerce and agriculture, and left Constantinople and many other cities in ruins. It not only was unable to replace the Byzantine civilization as a Christian bulwark, but actually destroyed that bulwark. It thus contributed to the weakening of the Chris-

tian cause in Palestine and Syria and finally paved the way for the eventual disappearance of the Byzantine Empire.

—Benjamin Hendrickx

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Constantinople, Latin Patriarchate of

The Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople represented the church organization and hierarchy of the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261). As such, it was a direct result of the deviation of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204). The Convention of March 1204 agreed to by the crusader leaders and the Venetians before the capture of Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) mandated that the patriarch should be elected from whichever of the two parties did not provide the new emperor. The election of Count Baldwin IX of Flanders as emperor therefore meant that the patriarch would be a Venetian. The patriarchate ended de facto with the recapture of Constantinople by the Byzantines of the empire of Nicaea in 1261.

The Patriarchs, 1204–1261

The Venetian committee appointed to elect the patriarch chose Thomas Morosini (1204–1211), then only a subdean. He arrived in Constantinople in midsummer 1205 and, according to what was expected from him, tried to keep the church firmly under Venetian control, thereby coming into direct conflict with Pope Innocent III, Emperor Henry (Baldwin’s brother and successor), and the French clergy of Constantinople. Morosini’s problems were mostly related to the stipulations of the Convention of March 1204, which were unacceptable to the pope, as well as to the question of church property and related financial matters, and the appointment of the clergy. Dialogues with the Greek Orthodox Church were not successful, and Morosini’s difficult personality did not help a harmonious development of the patriarchate. He died in Thessalonica in June or July 1211.

After a vacancy in 1211–1215, Gervase, archbishop of Herakleia, was invested by Innocent III as the second patriarch (1215–1219); his period of office was dominated by the problem of church property. He was succeeded by Matthew, bishop of Jesolo (Equilio), a Venetian, who was appointed by the pope in January 1221. The papal legate John Colonna

took charge during the vacancy (9 November 1219–January 1221). Matthew, like Morosini and Gervase, behaved like a power-hungry despot, without much concern for his subordinates, the empire, or the papacy. He was mainly interested in (mis)using church funds and extracting as much money as possible from his flock. Like his predecessors, he supported Venetian interests and discriminated against the French clergy. Pope Honorius III (1216–1227) balanced the power struggle first by strengthening the position of his legate, and then by supporting the patriarch. Matthew died at the end of 1226.

Simon, archbishop of Tyre (probably not a Venetian citizen), was appointed patriarch to succeed Matthew, perhaps by Honorius III (who died on 18 March 1227) or more probably in 1229 by Pope Gregory IX. The new patriarch’s reign was marked by a rather harmonious relationship with Pope Gregory IX, who appointed Simon as his legate. Simon died in early 1233. More than one year later, the pope appointed Nicholas of Santo Arquato, bishop of Spoleto, a noble from Piacenza, to the patriarchal see (1234), and some time later (on 12 August 1234), Nicholas also became legate. As was the case with Simon, relations between pope and patriarch remained good. Relatively little is known of Nicholas’s activity except that he was often away from the capital. Pope Gregory IX tried to secure financial support for the patriarch from the Morea and the islands, as the patriarchate had by now become as poor as the empire itself. Gregory’s successor, Innocent IV, reconfirmed Nicholas as papal legate on 10 July 1243 and again on 28 May 1249. Nicholas was present at the First Council of Lyons (1245), supporting the pope in his condemnation of Frederick II, the Holy Roman Emperor. Nicholas died in Milan between July and September 1251.

After a vacancy of more than one year, the pope appointed the Venetian Pantaleone Giustiniani in February 1253. The pope’s choice reflected his belief that only Venice would be able to save the Latin Empire. Giustiniani was also appointed legate, and the next pope, Alexander IV, confirmed this appointment. The pope’s most important problem now regarding the patriarchate was how to alleviate its misery and penury. In July 1261, when the Greeks recaptured Constantinople, the last Latin patriarch fled to the West, where he died in 1286.

Relations with Papacy and Latin Empire

The Convention of March 1204 had stipulated that “Frankish” (i.e., non-Venetian) clergy were to be appointed in the

churches that would be assigned by the *Partitio Romaniae* to the Franks, and Venetians in the churches assigned to Venice. The clergy were to receive from the treasures of these churches enough to have a respectable life, and the churches themselves were to have enough for their maintenance. The rest of the ecclesiastical treasures were to be divided among the emperor, the crusaders, and the Venetians. The pope rejected these terms. A further problem was created by the Convention's provision that the patriarchate was to belong to the group from which the emperor was not elected (i.e., the Venetians), and that the Venetian chapter of St. Sophia would thus elect the patriarch. Pope Innocent III had accepted Morosini's election as a *fait accompli*, but successive popes did not accept the uncanonical arrangements of the Convention. Yet Innocent III and his successors had to balance the idea of a strong Latin patriarchate in Constantinople with the desire for subjugation of, or at least reconciliation with, the Greek Orthodox Church.

The question of church property was steadily resolved by a series of agreements with the Latin emperors. On 17 March 1206, a convention between Benedict of St. Suzanne (the papal legate) and Thomas Morosini on the one hand, and Emperor Henry and the barons on the other hand, assigned one-fifteenth of all property outside Constantinople (with some exemptions) to the church along with one-fifteenth of tolls and custom duties. Moreover, all monasteries were to be free and not subjected to lay hands. The same agreement also regulated the payment of tithes to the church, while the clergy and the church properties were not to be subjected to lay jurisdiction. However, the Venetians were not part of the deal, and Morosini obstructed the application of the pact, whose regulations were not fully applied until 1210.

Another settlement was reached regarding church property and the status of the clergy in the kingdom of Thessalonica and the other Frankish states in Greece. This settlement was formally accepted at a council at Ravennika on 2 May 1210, and a pact was signed between the patriarch and clergy on the one hand, and the barons (with Emperor Henry's approval) on the other hand. This pact also contained the introduction of the payment of the *acrostichon* (Byzantine property tax) not only by the Greek, but also by the Latin, clergy. The agreement was confirmed in January 1219 by Pope Honorius III.

In the Latin Empire itself, however, practically all church property was still in lay hands around 1218, and further negotiations took place at a meeting in Rodosto among Patriarch

Gervase, the papal legate John Colonna, the Venetian *podestà* (plenipotentiary representative of the Doge) in Constantinople, and the regent, Conon of Béthune, and his barons. A final settlement was reached on 15 December 1219 and confirmed in June 1221 by Emperor Robert and in March 1222 by Honorius III. It was also accepted by the barons of the kingdom of Thessalonica. This agreement finally regulated the questions of property, asylum, lay and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the *acrostichon*. Church property was restored in a realistic way, in order not to ruin the empire and its knights. The Venetians, who were not part of the pact, were finally obliged to adhere to the agreement in 1223.

Successive popes also tackled the problem of Venetian domination of the patriarchate, created by the Pact of March 1204. They mainly used their legates, especially Peter Capuano, Benedict of St. Suzanne, and John Colonna, to counter the power of the patriarch, until finally, under Patriarch Simon, the Venetian grip on the patriarchate was broken, and as a symbol of the new relationship, Patriarchs Simon and Nicholas were elevated to the position of papal legate. The pro-Venetian policy of the first patriarchs had also entailed discrimination against the French clergy. This was countered by the papacy through its legates and the right of the popes to appoint themselves canons and *praepositi* (provosts) in Constantinople. In one instance the right of appointing *praepositi* was even given to Emperor Robert by Honorius III, but later was taken away by Gregory IX. The popes succeeded in breaking the Venetian monopoly on the church, but later realizing that only Venice was able to sustain the empire, they reversed this policy during the last period of the empire's existence.

The story of how the patriarchs were elected illustrates this struggle. Thomas Morosini was directly elected by the Venetians and had sworn to serve Venetian interests, but Innocent III obliged him to retract his oath on 15 December 1208. After Morosini's death in 1211, the Venetian chapter of St. Sophia was determined to elect a Venetian. The chapter's election of its dean, Philip, was declared illegal by Innocent III. A formal election by the chapter *and* the (French) *praepositi* took place on 24 December 1211. The result was a deadlock: the French elected Gervase, who was nevertheless a Venetian citizen, while the Venetians chose Ludovico, *plebanus* (canon in charge of the parish ministry in a cathedral church) of the church of St. Paul in Venice. The pope unsuccessfully tried to solve the issue through his representative, Maximus, and his legate, Pelagius of Albano. The mat-

ter was only settled in 1215 when Gervase was directly appointed by Innocent III himself. After Gervase's death (8 November 1219), the patriarchal election by the chapter and *praepositi* produced a new stalemate, and the pope himself appointed Matthew of Jesolo. From then on, papal appointment became the norm.

Several Greek *notitiae* (episcopal lists) and papal correspondence have allowed modern scholars (especially Robert L. Wolff) to reconstruct the list of archbishoprics and bishoprics of the Latin Empire. The system in the Latin Church was quite different from the previous Byzantine system, mainly as to the number and status of suffragan bishoprics as well as of archbishoprics. According to the 1228 edition of the so-called *Provinciale Romanum*, a catalogue of archbishoprics subject to Rome, the following Latin archbishoprics existed in Romania (as the Latin Empire and other Frankish states were referred to in the West): Constantinople (with six suffragan bishoprics), Herakleia (with seven suffragan bishoprics), Parium or Parion (with three suffragan bishoprics), Kyzikos (with eight suffragan bishoprics), Vrysis (with three suffragan bishoprics), Madytos, Adrianople, Trajanopolis (with one suffragan bishopric), Makrê (with one suffragan bishopric), Mosynopolis (with one suffragan bishopric), Philippoi (with three suffragan bishoprics), Serres, Thessalonica (with two suffragan bishoprics), Larissa (with six suffragan bishoprics), Neopatras (with one suffragan bishopric), Thebes (with two suffragan bishoprics), Athens (with eight suffragan bishoprics), Corinth (with one suffragan bishopric), Patras (with seven suffragan bishoprics), Corfu, Durazzo, Crete (with five suffragan bishoprics), and Rhodes.

Relations with the Greek Orthodox Church

The creation of a Latin Empire and patriarchate presented Pope Innocent III with the opportunity of reuniting the Greek "schismatics" with the Latin Church. He therefore

Latin Patriarchs of Constantinople

Thomas Morosini	1204–1211
Gervase of Herakleia	1215–1219
Matthew of Jesolo	1221–1226
Simon of Tyre	1227/1229–1233
Nicholas of Santo Arquato	1234–1251
Pantaleone Giustiniani	1253–1261

ordered that Greek bishops were to retain their sees, but give obedience to the Latin patriarch and acknowledge papal supremacy. The pope instructed Morosini to this effect and laid down these conditions for the retention of Greek bishops. Ecclesiastical dialogues between the Latin and Greek churches, sponsored by Emperor Henry, took place in August–October 1206 but did not bring results. The Greek clergy was not keen to cooperate with the Latin conquerors, especially after the election of a Greek patriarch, Michael Autoreianos, in Nicaea in 1208. Even those bishops who at first had given allegiance to Morosini refused to be anointed or to anoint according to the Latin rite. Consequently, the pope took a harder line and eventually decided to organize the church according to new, "Latin" lines. This led to tensions with Emperor Henry and Queen Maria of Thessalonica, who continued a policy of reconciliation. Thus in 1214, when the arrogant papal legate Pelagius had closed the Greek churches of Constantinople, Henry received a Greek delegation and reopened them.

Similar problems were experienced with the Greek monasteries, while Latin orders, including military orders such as the Templars, were introduced in Romania. It seems safe to say, however, that the lower levels of the clergy largely remained Greek. Tensions between the two clergies and hardships imposed on Greek clergymen and Greek monasteries by lay barons and knights were common, and are well documented in the surviving documents. The Latin patriarchate thus contributed little to peace and integration within the empire; indeed, it provoked more tensions and stiffened the resistance of the indigenous population.

–Benjamin Hendrickx

See also: Constantinople, City of; Constantinople, Latin Empire of

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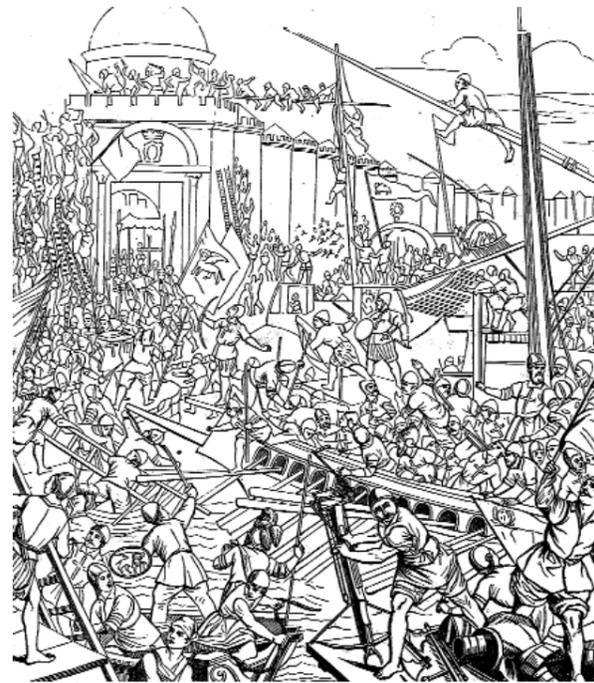
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Constantinople, Siege of (1204)

Siege of the Byzantine capital (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) by the army and fleet of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), culminating in the capture of the city on 13 April 1204.

The crusaders' initial assault on the city in July 1203 resulted in the flight of the Byzantine emperor Alexios III Angelos and the crowning of the crusader-backed claimant to the throne, Alexios IV Angelos. Over the following months, however, relations between the Byzantine court and the crusaders were strained by Alexios IV's inability to fulfill the obligations he had undertaken in return for the crusaders' support. On 19 August, the day after a Greek riot against Latin residents within Constantinople, a band of crusaders attacked a mosque near the city's harbor and started a devastating fire. By December the situation escalated into open conflict, as the Latins plundered the suburbs and the Greeks twice attempted to burn the crusader fleet.

Taking advantage of growing anti-Latin sentiment, in late January the Byzantine nobleman Alexios Doukas Mourtzouphlos deposed Alexios IV, formally assuming the throne (as Alexios V) on 5 February 1204 and killing Alexios IV a few days later. Less ambiguous in his attitude toward the crusaders, over the following months Mourtzouphlos engaged the Latins in a number of skirmishes. This turn of events led the crusader fleet to attack the city walls along the Golden Horn (mod. Haliç) on 8 April 1204. The initial assault floundered, and the Latins retreated. Exhorted by the army's clerics, who declared the assault a holy war against the murderous Alexios V and the schismatic Greeks, the attackers resumed their assault on 12 April. Two ships, the *Paradise* and the *Pilgrim*, succeeded in securing a tower on the harbor walls; Latin penetration into the city's northern corner followed. That night, apparently in an attempt to defend their tenuous position, the crusaders in the city started



Taking of Constantinople. (Pixel That)

another fire, which quickly raged out of control. His support wavering, Mourtzouphlos fled before dawn, leaving Constantinople open to the Latin army, which proceeded to sack the city on 13 April.

—Brett Edward Whalen

See also: Byzantine Empire; Constantinople, City of

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Constantinople, Siege of (1453)

An Ottoman military operation lasting fifty-four days (5/7 April to 29 May 1453), which culminated in the conquest of the Byzantine imperial capital (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) by Sultan Mehmet II Fatih. For almost two months the 7,000 Greek defenders, assisted by about 3,000 Western merce-

Constantinople, Siege of (1453)



Ruined land walls of Constantinople, battered by Ottoman cannons. (Courtesy Alfred Andrea)

naries (mostly Genoese under Giovanni Longo Giustiniani), held out against an enemy whose numbers were nearly ten times greater, as well as a devastating artillery pounding that destroyed a significant section of the city's western walls.

This was the third Ottoman siege of Constantinople following earlier abortive attempts by Sultans Bayezid I in 1394–1399 and Murad II in 1422. The inevitable fate of the city had already been heralded following the Turkish defeat of the Varna Crusade of 1444.

Preparations for the impending siege became apparent with the construction by the Turks from March to August 1453 of the massive castle of Rumeli Hisar ("Castle of Europe"), known also as Boghaz Kesen ("Throat Cutter"), on the western shores of the narrowest part of the Bosphorus, facing the older Anadolu Hisar ("Castle of Anatolia"), built in 1395/1396 by Bayezid I. Mehmet proceeded to isolate the city from possible help by sending his general Turakhan Begh to invade the Morea and by having Karadja Begh dismantle Byzantine fortifications in the Sea of Marmara and

on the Black Sea coastline (autumn 1452). A belated and minimal Western force consisting of Venetians and Genoese, who had the support of Pope Nicholas V, arrived in Constantinople in late 1452 or early 1453, just before the huge Ottoman forces assembled before its western walls (March and early April). The siege commenced on 5/7 April. Despite a temporary respite in the blockade brought about by the Genoese Francesco Lecanella (called "Flantanelas" in Byzantine sources), who succeeded in entering the Golden Horn (mod. Haliç) with one Byzantine and three Genoese ships (20 April), it became even tighter when the Turks managed to haul seventy-two vessels on oiled wooden planks overland behind the suburb of Galata from the Bosphorus into the Golden Horn (22 April). This move thus neutralized the protective Byzantine chain that had sealed the Golden Horn since 2 April, and allowed the besiegers to build a floating bridge across the inlet, consequently forcing the besieged to divide their attention. Even then the stout defense of the city made Mehmet oscillate

between the advice of his generals Zaghanos Pasha and Shihabeddin to proceed tenaciously and the counsel of his grand vizier Khalil Pasha Djandarli to lift the siege (25 May). The latter was suspected of consulting with the besieged (he was later executed), and so Mehmet carried on with the operations.

The end was precipitated following the breaching of a large section of the ramparts and the controversial opening of a small secret underground gate on the northern section of the walls called Kerkoporta (probably because of careless defending on the part of some Byzantines), through which the Ottomans, who also breached the Charisios Gate further to the north, entered the city. Giustiniani received a serious wound and was forced to leave his post, while Emperor Constantine Palaiologos (who had flatly refused to capitulate on Mehmet's terms on 21 May) was killed along with a handful of defenders near the Gate of Romanos, at about the center of the western walls, on the early afternoon of Tuesday, 29 May. Some of the defenders succeeded in fleeing in Venetian and Genoese ships.

The fall of Constantinople caused consternation in western Europe. The victorious sultan entered the city, which was to become his empire's new European capital in succession to Adrianople (mod. Edirne, Turkey). Following a period of looting lasting three days, during which Mehmet gave strict orders against the destruction of monuments, he began to colonize his new capital with Muslim populations from his eastern provinces as well as Christians from the recently conquered Greek and Balkan territories. Finally, in 1454 the conqueror granted important privileges to the Greek Orthodox patriarch Gennadios II, who was thus recognized as the *ethnarch* (head of the community) of the Orthodox peoples within the Ottoman Empire.

The capture of Constantinople is generally considered to mark the final fall of the Byzantine Empire, although some outposts of medieval Hellenism actually outlived Constantinople by several years: the despotate of Morea until 1460/1461, the empire of Trebizond until 1461, the semiautonomous state of Thessaly until 1454/1470, and the autonomous state of Epiros until 1449/1479.

—Alexios G. C. Savvides

See also: Byzantine Empire; Constantinople, City of; Ottoman Empire

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Conversion: The Baltic Lands

The conversion of the peoples living on the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea was a major component of the crusades to these regions, which took place from the end of the twelfth century to the end of the fourteenth. The actual acceptance of Christianity, however, was a long process extending into the early modern period.

The attempt to integrate the territories of present-day Estonia and Latvia into the system of bishoprics of the Roman Church was first undertaken by Eskil, archbishop of Lund, who appointed a monk named Fulco as bishop of Estonia in the 1170s, although there is no evidence that he ever visited the country. The ambitions of the bishopric of

Hamburg-Bremen meant that Danish and German parties became rivals in the Christianization of the Baltic lands.

In the mid-1180s a canon of the cathedral of Bremen called Meinhard (d. 1196) arrived with German merchants at the mouth of the Dūna River, and the first systematic attempts at conversion began, initially among the Livs and Lettgallians. The achievements of Meinhard, appointed bishop of Üxküll (mod. Ikšķile, Latvia) in 1186, and his successor, Berthold of Loccum, remained modest. Large-scale Christianization began only with the military campaigns organized at the beginning of the thirteenth century by Albert of Buxhövdn, bishop of Riga, in the Livic, Lettgallian, and south Estonian territories and King Valdemar II of Denmark in the northern and western Estonian territories. The Livs were baptized by 1206, and from 1208 onward systematic military campaigns were launched against the Estonians by the crusaders based in Riga and the Order of the Sword Brethren (founded in 1202). In 1211 a Cistercian monk called Dietrich, a companion of the late bishop Meinard, was appointed bishop of Estonia, and after the defeat of the Estonians in 1219 by Valdemar II, Vescelin was appointed Danish bishop of Reval (mod. Tallinn, Estonia). The Estonians were formally baptized in 1215–1227. In 1220 Bishop Albert appointed his brother Hermann as bishop of Dorpat (mod. Tartu, Estonia). The first bishop of Ösel-Wiek, Gottfried, is mentioned in 1228, and the bishopric of Curonia in northern Latvia was established at the end of the 1230s.

The first attempts to convert Prussia were not successful. Long before the period of the crusades, the missionaries Adalbert of Prague (d. 997) and Bruno of Magdeburg (d. 1009) had been killed by Prussian and Lithuanian tribes. The conquest of Prussia was initiated by Conrad, duke of Mazovia, with the help of the Teutonic Order. In 1243, four bishoprics (for Pomesania, Warmia, Sambia, and Kulm) were created to replace the single bishopric of Prussia. The largely forceful Christianization of Prussia was characterized by serious setbacks and heathen revolts and was not accomplished until 1283. In 1245 Albert Suerbeer was consecrated as the first archbishop of Prussia, Livonia, and Estonia, and in 1253 he made Riga his seat. The bishop of Tallinn remained a suffragan of the archbishop of Lund up to the Reformation.

Lithuania retained paganism until the end of the fourteenth century. In the mid-thirteenth century Grand Duke Mindaugas made an attempt to accept Christianity, largely for political reasons, but lost the support of his heathen subjects, apostatized, and was murdered in 1263. Lithuania was

officially converted in 1386 when Grand Duke Jogaila accepted baptism in order to become king of Poland. Samogitia was conquered by the Teutonic Order in 1405 and accepted Christianity by 1414.

There are very few sources representing the inner religious attitudes of the population during the process of conversion. At first, Christianization was hampered by the small numbers of missionaries, by their inadequate knowledge of local languages, and not least by the resistance of the native peoples. The launching of crusades to Livonia and Prussia increased the rate of conversion, but it is evident that baptism was often imposed by force or by the threat of violence, and it is difficult to establish how far the converts actually accepted Christian beliefs. Certainly revolts of the Prussians and Estonians against their new rulers were often accompanied by apostasy and reversion to pagan religious practices. In 1199 Pope Innocent III described the local peoples as venerating forces of nature and impure ghosts, and similar remarks occur in synodal statutes from Riga (1428, 1437) and Ösel-Wiek (1505, 1517). Innocent ordered clerics to be moderate in imposing penance on the newly converted, and during the following centuries similar admonitions stressed the importance of teaching the native inhabitants the basic catechetical texts in their own languages and forcing them to give up pagan habits such as using their old burial places, saying auguries, and venerating heathen gods.

The process of conversion in the countryside of Livonia and Prussia seems to have been relatively slow and for a long period burdened with pagan or half-pagan habits. In Livonia so-called non-German chancels existed at least from the fifteenth century in many urban churches, monasteries, and friaries and were able to minister to the native population living in the towns.

The first written texts in local languages (the *Pater Noster*, the *Ave Maria*, and the creed) date from the first part of the sixteenth century. The existence of earlier texts of this kind is probable but cannot be proved because of the poor survival of any medieval religious texts in this region, whether Latin or vernacular.

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Conversion: Iberia

The Iberian Peninsula experienced two significant conversion movements in the Middle Ages: from Christianity to Islam after the Muslim conquest in the eighth century, and from Islam and Judaism to Christianity in the course of the long reconquest of the eleventh to fifteenth centuries. Neither Muslim conquest nor Christian reconquest had as an object the conversion or expulsion of infidels; rather, they aimed at the displacement of the vanquished ruling classes and the redirection of tax revenues to the conquerors' fisc. That said, the success of the victors' societies provoked conquered peoples to adopt the cultural and religious practices of the new regimes to the measure that these were seen to fill needs that their own cultures could not provide. Under Christian rule, official coercion, popular violence, and missionizing all failed ultimately to convert or integrate Jews and Muslims.

Scholarly opinion varies regarding the rate of conversion of Christians to Islam under Muslim rule, but the broad consensus is that the overwhelming bulk of the native population had converted by the late ninth century. Christians who adopted the cultural and linguistic manifestations of Islam but who retained their faith (known as Mozarabs) remained a significant minority into the twelfth century despite emigration to Christian lands. The descendants of converts (Arab. *muwallads*) often adopted the genealogy of Islamic patrons and were thus profoundly integrated into Andalusi

society, although rebellions in the ninth century demonstrated that they maintained a distinct identity until that time. Jewish conversion to Islam was limited, but cultural assimilation was dramatic.

Under Christian rule, native Jews and Muslims (*Mudéjars*) tended to be implicated in royal, ecclesiastical, and local economies (the former as financiers, the latter as producers and laborers) to such a degree that it was rarely in the interests of clerical or secular institutions to actively promote conversion. Nevertheless, the missionary ideal was publicly promoted, although subtle legal obstacles were often presented to would-be converts, who for their part found that adopting the Christian religion was no guarantee of social acceptance. In the thirteenth century, missionary work was undertaken by the Dominicans and Franciscans (including the lay brother Ramon Llull), who obliged non-Christians to attend sermons, studied the Hebrew and Arabic scriptures, lobbied against Muslim and Jewish participation in Christian society, wrote polemics, and engaged in public debates (Lat. *disputationes*). None of these techniques yielded much success, except among the Muslim slave population, who saw conversion as a step toward manumission.

In the fourteenth century religious and social boundaries became more rigid as increasingly elaborate codes of dress and conduct were prescribed for minority members. Pressure on Jews increased with Christian competition in the economic spheres that they had previously dominated as clerics, frustrated by their failure to rationally convert Jews, characterized them as obstinate, and as the population at large came to perceive marginal groups (including lepers and Muslims) as responsible for its misfortunes. Occasional outbreaks of violence, particularly during Eastertime, culminated in widespread pogroms in 1391. In the aftermath of these events many Jews converted out of either fear or opportunism, some secretly maintaining their beliefs as crypto-Jews (Sp. *Marranos*). Converts, however, remained marginalized by a society that distinguished between "old" and "new" Christians. In 1492, the Spanish kingdoms adopted policies that called for conversion or execution (with the option of exile in Castilian and Aragonese lands). Many Jews fled abroad, particularly to Muslim lands and the Netherlands; those who remained became a favorite target of the Inquisition.

Officially marginalized, Muslims occasionally rose in local revolts, which were sometimes responded to with mass deportations. Perceived as less of a threat, *Mudéjars*' resis-

Conversion: Outremer

tance to conversion did not tend to elicit the violent reaction that the Jewish presence did until the late fifteenth century. Following the fall of Granada in 1492, pressure increased, thanks in part to the machinations of Archbishop Cisneros of Toledo and the military threat posed by the Turks. The sixteenth century was characterized by persecution, expulsion, and forced conversion in Portugal (1497), Castile (1502), Navarre (1515), and Aragon and Valencia (1526). Later in the century, Inquisition and the prohibition of traditional culture prompted further revolts among the converts (Moriscos), while increasing reactionism in Spanish church and society led to the promulgation of decrees of expulsion from 1609. Over the following decade the Moriscos were exiled and sought refuge in North Africa and Ottoman territories.

—Brian A. Catlos

See also: Mozarabs; Mudejars and Moriscos; Reconquista

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Conversion: Outremer

Conversions from Islam to Christianity occurred quite often in the Frankish states of Outremer. Some Muslims converted and entered the service of Frankish rulers, such as Godfrey of Bouillon and King Baldwin I of Jerusalem; Muslim converts are also mentioned as serving in Frankish armies at various times. The conversion of a Muslim peasant is referred to in a Muslim treatise, *Karāmāt Mashā'ikh al-Arḍ al-Muqaddasa* (*The Cited Tales of the Wondrous Doings of the Shaykhs of the Holy Land*), by Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Maqrīṣī. A papal letter of 1264 deals with poor Muslims (and Jews) who come to Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) to be converted and

enjoins the Latin patriarch to provide for their sustenance during the days on which they are to receive instruction. Some Franks married baptized Muslim women: a decretal of Pope Celestine III sent in 1193 to the bishop of Acre deals with Muslim converts wishing to marry Frankish women. A decretal of Pope Innocent III, sent in 1201 to the titular bishop of Tiberias (mod. Teverya, Israel), deals with recently baptized Muslims who, before conversion, married spouses related to them in degrees prohibited by canon law, and lays down that such marriages are valid. The ruling was reiterated in 1274. A Muslim convert called *Mestre Jaques Sarasin le ypoticaires, nouveau crestien* (Master James the apothecary, a new Christian) collaborated toward the end of the thirteenth century in the writing of an Arabic-French glossary.

Evidence for the conversion of Muslim slaves is more abundant. Frankish custom granted freedom to a converted slave, and so Frankish lords reacted by preventing the conversion of their slaves so as to avoid the obligation to manumit them; in 1237–1238 Pope Gregory IX promulgated a compromise ruling that allowed slaves to accept baptism but abolished the custom that gave them freedom. As the lords' resistance continued, the papal legate Odo of Châteauroux threatened them in 1253 with excommunication. Yet some baptized slaves did gain freedom. Thus, the will of a burgess drawn up in Acre in 1264 reveals that he owned two baptized slaves, at least one of whom he had manumitted, and that he ordered the baptism and manumission of two others. Treaties between the Mamlūks and Frankish rulers in the years 1267–1283 deal with fugitive slaves from the sultanate who converted to Christianity upon their arrival in Frankish territory: two treaties allow the fugitives to stay put, the third stipulates the return even of those who sought sanctuary in a church. The Muslim chroniclers Ibn al-Furāt and al-Maqrīṣī relate that in 1268–1269 four *mamlūks* (slave soldiers) of Sultan Baybars I fled to Acre and converted there. Al-Maqrīṣī mentions the abduction and forcible baptism of a Muslim girl and adds that the Franks frequently coerced Muslims to become Christian.

As for Christian attempts at missionizing, a Frankish hermit tried in the 1120s to preach Christianity to a Muslim ruler; in 1217 James of Vitry, bishop of Acre, preached in the Christian-Muslim borderland, sent letters in Arabic to Muslims outside Frankish territory, and baptized a number of Muslims. In later years Franciscans and Dominicans systematically endeavored to bring about Muslim conversion, and Pope Gregory IX proclaimed their efforts as commendable as

crusading. When a Dominican friar boasted in 1273 that he had baptized more than a thousand Saracens, his contention must not have been utterly divorced from reality.

There were also many instances of Franks converting to Islam. Both Latin and Arabic chroniclers relate repeatedly that Christian warriors who could not endure the hardships of battle crossed the lines and became Muslims. Such cases took place during the Second Crusade (1147–1149), in the times of Saladin, and during the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221). Also, many Franks who fell into Muslim captivity chose to embrace Islam and regain freedom. Conversions unrelated to warfare also took place. A law attributed to King Baldwin II of Jerusalem deals with a *home lige* (liege man) who abandons his fief, denies Christianity, and becomes a Saracen; another law lays down that children may disown parents who go to the land of the Saracens and become Jews or Saracens. A decretal of Pope Alexander III reveals that an archbishop of Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon) wrote to him that, in his province, it frequently happened that a Christian went over to Saracen territory and renounced his faith. Pope Celestine III, in a letter of 1193 to the bishop of Acre, mentions a Christian who left his faith and wife and according to gentile rites married a pagan (that is, Muslim) woman who bore him several sons; after the death of the Christian wife, he decided to revert to Christianity and marry the pagan one, who had converted in the meantime together with her children. This case is paralleled by the story given by the Arab writer Usâma ibn Munqidh about a Frank who fell into Muslim captivity, became a devout Muslim, married the daughter of a pious family, but later fled to Frankish territory and reverted to Christianity together with his sons. A still more dramatic case of Frankish conversion to Islam appears in *A Thousand and One Nights*: a Muslim merchant who comes to Acre and lusts for the beautiful wife of a Frankish knight finds her after the battle of Hattin in a crowd of Frankish prisoners; she converts to Islam of her own will, and the two are married by the *qâdî* (judge) of Saladin's army [*The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night*, trans. Richard F. Burton, 12 vols. (London: H. S. Nichols, 1897), 7:99–104].

There is also some evidence of Jews converting to Christianity and Christians converting to Judaism in the kingdom of Jerusalem.

—Benjamin Z. Kedar

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Copts

Copts are Christian descendants of the ancient Egyptians. The term "Coptic" is used to refer to race, religion, and language. As far as religion is concerned, the Copts are, like the members of the Syrian Orthodox Church (Jacobites), non-Chalcedonian—that is, they are monophysites who deny the doctrine of Christ's two natures.

The religious differences between the Coptic population of Egypt and their Byzantine rulers, who supported the diophysite doctrine of the Greek Orthodox Church, are part of the background to the Muslim conquest of Egypt in the seventh century, when many Copts actually welcomed their new masters. The Coptic patriarch of Alexandria was the leader of the community and acted as its representative to the Muslim authorities. Throughout the period of the crusades, the largest concentrations of Copts were found in Upper Egypt. There were also Coptic communities in Ethiopia and Nubia as well as in the delta region of Lower Egypt. As late as the twelfth century, Coptic Christians may have outnumbered Muslims in Egypt. Fustat was overwhelmingly a Coptic city, whereas the newer Fāṭimid foundation of Cairo was predominantly Muslim.

Copts were especially powerful in the administrations of the successive Egyptian regimes, and many Copts served the Fāṭimids, Ayyūbids, and Mamlūks as viziers, although the heyday of the Copts was during the Fāṭimid period. The Copts' prominent role as financial advisers and tax gatherers, as well as the sultans' tendency to use them as cat's paws for unpopular measures, contributed to their unpopularity with the Muslim community. Muslim hostility to the Copts flared up from time to time, and it increased during the crusade period, when many Muslims believed that the Copts were operating as a kind of fifth column for the Franks, sup-

Coron

plying their coreligionaries with intelligence and committing acts of sabotage. The burning of Fustat by Shāwar to prevent King Amalric of Jerusalem from occupying it in 1168 was a disaster for the Copts.

In the course of the thirteenth century, Copts came under increasing pressure to convert to Islam, but even then some of those who had converted were still suspected of being crypto-Christian spies and were persecuted still further. In fact there is little evidence of any Coptic enthusiasm for the crusading cause, and those crusade theorists in the West who thought that the Copts might provide any effective assistance to a crusader invasion of Egypt were deluding themselves. In 1237 negotiations began for a union of the Coptic Church with the Latin Church, although nothing came of this.

All the evidence suggests that the Coptic community suffered a catastrophic decline in numbers in the course of the fourteenth century as its members came under increasing pressure to convert. The Arabic chronicles of the period are peppered with accounts of anti-Christian riots, the destruction of churches, and senior Coptic officials being forced to renounce their faith. Some of the Arabic chronicles of the period were actually written by Copts, most notably by al-Makīn ibn al-ʿAmīd (1205–1274) and al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī Faḍīl (fl. c. 1350). These historians not only made use of Muslim chronicles but also tended to reproduce a Muslim perspective on events.

—Robert Irwin

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Coquet

See Belvoir

Corbarans

See Karbughā

Cornaro, Catherine

See Catherine Cornaro

Coron

Coron (mod. Koroni, Greece) was a port and bishopric on the southeastern tip of the Messenian Peninsula in the Peloponnese, overlooking the Gulf of Messenia.

Coron was originally the site of ancient Asine, which was reoccupied in the seventh century by the inhabitants of classical Korone (mod. Petalidhi), hence the Greek version of its name. The town came under Frankish and subsequently Venetian rule in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204). It was attacked and besieged by William of Champlitte in 1205 immediately after his occupation of Modon on the other side of the peninsula. Coron surrendered after a short siege and was granted by Champlitte to Geoffrey of Villehardouin, who subsequently became prince of Achaia as Geoffrey I. However, according to the partition treaty agreed upon by the leaders of the crusade in March 1204, Modon and Coron had been assigned to the Venetians. In 1206 they asserted their claim by force, and in the Treaty of Sapienza (1209) Geoffrey ceded both ports to the Venetians in return for their recognition and support in the Morea.

Like Modon, Coron became an important port of call for ships taking pilgrims to the Holy Land. It was first attacked by the Turks in 1421 and was surrendered to them in 1500 after their capture of Modon. The port was occupied once again by the Franks in 1532–1533, when it became the advance base of a Spanish expedition led by Andrea Doria, who attacked Kalamata and Mistra before his expulsion by the Turks. Coron was again occupied by Venetian forces from 1685 to 1715. The castle and cathedral stand immediately west of the present town and contain Byzantine, Frankish, and Turkish features.

—Peter Lock

See also: Venice

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Correr, Catherine

See Catherine Cornaro

Courland

See Curonia

Courtenay, Family

A French family, branches of which ruled the county of Edessa (1118–1146) and the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1221–1228 and 1237–1261). According to its own tradition, the family descended from one Atto, who built the castle of Courtenay (dép. Loiret) in central France at the beginning of the eleventh century.

One of Atto's grandsons, the formidable Joscelin I (d. 1131), went to Outremer around 1101 and became lord of Turbessel in the county of Edessa, then ruled by his cousin, Baldwin II (of Bourcq). Although Baldwin deprived him of this lordship in 1113, Joscelin went to the kingdom of Jerusalem and was made lord of Tiberias. When Baldwin II himself became king of Jerusalem, he appointed Joscelin as his successor in Edessa. Joscelin's family, by means of conquest and skillful family politics, particularly through close relations and intermarriage with the Latin and Armenian nobility, acquired a powerful position. Even though the county of Edessa was overrun by the Muslims during the reign of Joscelin II (d. 1159), his children became key figures in the kingdom of Jerusalem: Agnes (d. after 1186) married Amalric, count of Jaffa, and her brother Joscelin III (d. 1200) became seneschal of the kingdom. Although Agnes was divorced when Amalric became king (1163), both she and Joscelin acquired great influence during the reign of her son Baldwin IV (1174–1185). They were also instrumental in appointing Eraclius as Latin patriarch of Jerusalem (1180) and securing the crown for Agnes's daughter Sybil (1186). Their actions have largely been seen in a negative light by historians, partly due to the historiography of William of Tyre, whom they opposed. Joscelin

III's daughters married husbands from the West and sold part of his estates to the Teutonic Order.

The family of Joscelin I's elder brother Milo (d. 1127) improved its position in France and became related to the Capetians through a marriage between Milo's granddaughter Elisabeth and Peter, a younger son of King Louis VI. Peter II (d. 1217/1219), count of Nevers and Auxerre, was crowned as the third Latin emperor of Constantinople after his marriage to Yolanda of Hainaut (d. 1219), a sister of the first two emperors, but died in captivity. Later their second son Robert became emperor (1221–1228), and when he withdrew from Constantinople after a dispute with his barons, his sister Mary ruled as regent. After the intervening reign of John of Brienne (1229–1237), their younger brother Baldwin II (1237–1261) ruled as the last Latin emperor. His reign was overshadowed by severe lack of power and money: he even mortgaged his son Philip (d. 1285) to Venetian creditors. In 1261 Constantinople was captured by the Greeks of Nicaea, and Baldwin died in exile in 1273. The claim to the Latin Empire and the Courtenay estates passed to the descendants of Philip's daughter Catherine and her husband Charles of Valois, a brother of King Philip IV of France.

—Dorothea Weltecke

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Crac des Chevaliers

See Krak des Chevaliers

Cresson, Battle of (1187)

A battle fought at the spring of the Cresson, a site near the town of Nazareth (mod. Nazerat, Israel), on 1 May 1187. In the fighting 140 Christian knights of the kingdom of Jerusalem, including Templars and Hospitallers, were defeated by 7,000 Muslims under Saladin's emir Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kukburī.

In April 1187, Saladin's son al-Afḍal obtained permission from the lord of Tiberias, Raymond III of Tripoli, to pass through the lordship in order to raid the royal domain around Acre. The Muslims were to withdraw the same day and do the lordship no harm. Entering the lordship on 1 May north of Lake Tiberias, Kukburī followed the shore south to Tiberias (mod. Teverya, Israel) itself before turning west. A Latin account, the *Libellus de expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum expeditione*, indicates, however, that other Muslim groups had already crossed the Jordan the night before and were thus able to reach as far west as Shafa 'Amr, before returning through the Wadi Saffuriya and Battauf Valley respectively. Gerard of Ridefort, master of the Temple, and Roger of Les Moulins, master of the Hospital, were on their way north to mediate between Raymond and King Guy, and received warning of the raid from Raymond on 30 April while they were at the Templar castle of La Fève (al-Fula) in the Jezreel Valley. Disregarding Raymond's instructions not to interfere with the Muslims, they decided to attack them. Reinforced by Templars from Caco, their force of 80–90 Templars and 10 Hospitallers moved north to Nazareth where they were joined by 40 knights of the king. They then proceeded northeast toward Tiberias and came upon the main Muslim force returning toward the Jordan at the spring of the Cresson. In the battle, the master of the Hospital and all the knights of the military order were killed, apart from Gerard of Ridefort and two other Templars; the secular knights were taken prisoner.

Although the spring of the Cresson has been identified variously as 'Ayn al-Jauza and 'Ayn Kasyun, later chronicle references suggest that the spring and the brook issuing from it were the Kishon (Cison), whose east-flowing branch was identified in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries with the valley (Wadi Kasta, Wadi al-Madi) that runs south on the east side of Mount Tabor and thence to the Jordan Valley. The battle therefore seems likely to have taken place where the upper reaches of this valley were crossed by the Saffuriya to Tiberias road, near the village of al-Shajara (Seiera, Sysara).

—Denys Pringle

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Crete

The largest of the Aegean islands, known in Italian and Latin as Candia (mod. Kriti, Greece), Crete came under Western domination as a result of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204). Up to that time it formed part of the Byzantine Empire, except for a period from around 824, when it became the seat of a thriving Muslim emirate, reverting to Byzantine authority following its reconquest in 961. After the fall of Constantinople to the Fourth Crusade, the island's fate was initially connected with the crusader Boniface of Montferrat, although it is difficult to verify either a concession of it to him by Emperor Alexios IV Angelos in 1203 (shortly before the crusade reached the Byzantine capital) or its grant as a dowry to Boniface on account of his purported marriage to a Byzantine princess. It is clear, however, that in exchange for Thessalonica, Boniface was quick to sell Crete to Venice, which succeeded in gaining control over the island after a lengthy struggle with the Genoese pirate Enrico Pescatore (1206–1210/1211). Thereafter Crete was administered by a Venetian *duca* (duke) who was not a subject of the Latin emperor of Constantinople, but enjoyed sovereign authority, being answerable only to the ruler of Venice, the doge.

From the beginning of their long rule in Crete, the Venetians faced a stern resistance on the part of local archontic (magnate) families, culminating in a series of revolts from the early thirteenth century onward. These revolts were often checked only after prolonged fighting, and in many cases were followed by concessions by Venice to the insurgents. By the fourteenth century, the political and social climate was ripe for a combined rebellion of the Cretans and the disaffected indigenous Venetians of the island, who felt exploited by the Venetian Republic. Venice's oppression of both Greeks and Cretan Venetians had become burdensome by the 1350s, while the stifling of the Orthodox clergy, rigorously limited in number and placed under the jurisdiction of a Latin archbishopric, added to Greek discontent. A con-

sequence was a massive uprising known as the Revolt of St. Titus (1363–1366), which Venice eventually succeeded in suppressing; a parallel uprising of the Kallergai family in 1364–1367 was equally unsuccessful. In 1453–1454, following the final fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans, a Greek from Rethymnon, Siffios Vlastos, attempted to topple the Venetian government, but his plans were betrayed to the authorities, and his enterprise failed, as did a renewed attempt a few years later. Venetian rule in Crete survived for over two more centuries, until the Ottoman annexation of the island between 1645 and 1669, in the course of the fifth Venetian-Ottoman war.

Of cardinal importance throughout the Venetian period was the island's enormous and lucrative productivity in foodstuffs, wine, and other commodities, as well as its extensive trade with the Levant, particularly with the Mamlūk territories of Egypt and Syria and the Turcoman emirates of Menteshē and Aydin on the western Anatolian coast.

—Alexios G. C. Savvides

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Criticism of Crusading

From the beginning of the crusading movement, it is possible to identify and trace strands of criticism of aspects of the crusades themselves and of the behavior of crusaders, with suggestions for improvements that would ensure the success of future expeditions.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there seem to have been few who fundamentally challenged the concept of crusading itself. Some of the critics of the use of the crusade against heretics and Christian lay powers were vociferous and even vitriolic in their language, but it is important to analyze the geographical or political context in which the critic was writing and, for example, his broader attitude to the papacy before reaching any judgment about whether the criticism represented wider public opinion. The vitality of the crusading movement into the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is evidenced by the regular expeditions to the East and a range of crusades undertaken in Europe.

One of the standard criticisms of crusaders was that their behavior was inconsistent with that expected of soldiers fighting a holy war. Both chroniclers and crusade preachers complained about sexual promiscuity, avarice, and overconfidence during crusades. Human sinfulness (Lat. *peccatis exigentibus hominum*) was regularly cited by chroniclers as the explanation for setbacks during the First Crusade (1096–1099); for Muslim victories, such as the battle of Hattin (1187); and for the failure of later crusade expeditions. In consequence, major engagements were often preceded by penitential marches and injunctions to reform, including the prohibition of gambling and displays of luxury. Efforts were made to remove temptation by limiting the number of woman accompanying the Christian armies—for example, the Councils of Le Mans and Geddington in 1188 forbade any women except laundresses of a certain age to go on the Third Crusade. In practice, however, such injunctions had a limited effect, and chroniclers regularly bemoaned the moral conduct of crusade armies.

Another theme of criticism was the delay in fulfilling crusade vows, particularly by kings, princes, and nobles, who thereby postponed the departure of the main army. At the time of the Third Crusade (1189–1192), there was criticism from crusade apologists, troubadours, and minnesingers that Richard I of England, Philip II Augustus of France, and Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa of Germany were too preoccupied with secular matters, to the detriment of the Holy Land, and in fact the pressure of public opinion does seem

to have hastened their ultimate departure. There was similar criticism of Emperor Frederick II in the run-up to the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221) and again in the 1220s, prompting his excommunication by the pope. Conversely, there were those who urged monks and priests to remain in the West and seek their spiritual rewards by performing their ecclesiastical duties at home. Indeed, in his treatise *De re militari* (1187–1188), the English scholar Ralph Niger underlined the importance of excluding noncombatants of all varieties in order to ensure an effective fighting force.

The high cost of provisioning and transporting an army to the East meant that papal and royal taxation became essential to the maintenance of the crusading movement and regular occurrences. Not surprisingly, this attracted criticism from chroniclers and recipients of these demands, who were concerned about the establishment of new precedents; from opponents of the papacy, such as the chroniclers of the abbey of St. Albans, Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris; and from some vernacular poets, such as Walther von der Vogelweide. The same writers expressed concern about what they perceived as abuse by crusade preachers, in particular the Franciscan and Dominican friars, of the system of vow redemption for financial advantage.

The first real indication of fundamental criticism of the crusading movement itself came after the Second Crusade (1147–1149). In his apocalyptic treatise *De investigatione Antichristi*, Gerhoh, provost of Reichersberg, a prolific writer and reformer and initially an advocate of the expedition, drew a connection between the failure of the crusade and the coming of the Antichrist. The anonymous compiler of the Würzburg Annals not only criticized the behavior of the crusaders but went on to suggest that the devil himself had inspired the crusade as a revolt against God's righteous punishment of the world. In England, Ralph Niger also questioned whether God wished the faithful to end the Muslim domination of the holy places, but at the same time his treatise was full of advice about the forthcoming expedition. Military setbacks in the thirteenth century, such as the defeat of the crusade army of Louis IX of France at Mansurah, prompted further doubts, and there are occasional references to those who challenged the idea of the crusades in crusade sermons and treatises, such as *De praedicatione crucis* by the Dominican Humbert of Romans. There were also others, such as the followers of the Calabrian abbot Joachim of Fiore and the Franciscan Roger Bacon, who saw the way forward in peaceful conversion of the Muslims.

There is, however, no evidence that such pacifist sentiments were widely held and represented public opinion. Indeed, the continued popularity of the crusades leads to the opposite conclusion.

In the thirteenth century there was some criticism of the diversion of the Fourth Crusade to Constantinople (1202–1204) and the perceived diversion of crusade resources against enemies of the church in Europe, in particular the crusade against the Albigensian heretics in southern France and the anti-Staufen crusades against Emperor Frederick II and his sons, Conrad IV and Manfred. Troubadours especially were forthright in their views, denouncing the expeditions in southern France as false preaching and lamenting the neglect of the Holy Land. They were echoed by Roger of Wendover, who wrote of a *bellum injustum* (unjust war). Although this must have reflected some degree of public opinion, the vernacular poets at least were not entirely objective commentators. Moreover, the armies engaged in such crusades were drawn from throughout Europe, including crusaders who had already fought or would subsequently go to fight in the East. The same applies to criticism of the crusades against the Staufen dynasty. One of the loudest critics was the poet Walther von der Vogelweide, who was probably active at the court of Emperor Frederick II or of one of his supporters. By contrast, the northern French poet Rutebeuf composed two songs exhorting the faithful to take the cross against the Staufen.

It has been argued that by the mid-thirteenth century the crusade attracted little support. Evidence cited includes the treatises commissioned by Pope Gregory X and submitted to the Second Council of Lyons in 1274 by Bishop Bruno of Olomouc, Humbert of Romans, and the Franciscans Gilbert of Tournai and William of Tripoli. By their very nature, the treatises set out what needed to change in order to mount successful expeditions to the East, but they were written against a background of continued interest in and support for the crusading movement. Humbert of Romans also produced a manual on how best to preach the crusade and respond to possible questions from the audience. The practicalities of European politics and other domestic preoccupations meant that kings found it difficult to be absent for the length of time necessary to mount a major crusade, but in fact a range of large- and small-scale expeditions to the East were planned and launched, if not always successfully completed, in the later Middle Ages.

Crusading also continued and indeed flourished in other

theaters, such as Spain and the Baltic region. Although there were major setbacks and defeats, such as the fall of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) to the Mamlūks in 1291 and the disastrous crusade of Nikopolis against the Ottoman Turks in 1396, this did not prevent plans for further expeditions being mooted. Moreover, the crusades seem to have retained a popular appeal, with individuals continuing to take the cross and participants in expeditions being drawn from a wide geographical area.

—Elizabeth Siberry

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Cross, Symbol

The sign of Christ's crucifixion and resurrection and principal symbol of the Christian faith was associated with the crusade movement from its very inception. At the Council of Clermont (1095), which set in motion the First Crusade (1096–1099), Pope Urban II decreed that all those going to fight on behalf of their fellow Christians in the East should wear the sign of the cross. The use of the cross as the special sign of the crusader was immediately taken up with great enthusiasm as Urban's appeal found adherents all over the West.

The attachment of a cross to clothing or armor came to be the most visible and popular outward expression of the intention to go on crusade, so much so that "to take the cross" effectively meant the same as to take a crusade vow. The cross

was normally made of cloth and sewn onto the prospective crusader's outer garments, in preference on the right shoulder or between the shoulders. Cloth crosses were usually prepared beforehand but might be improvised from any suitable material as circumstances demanded. After the Norman Bohemund of Taranto announced his intention to join the First Crusade on hearing Urban II's appeal while at the siege of Amalfi, he tore up his own red cloak to make crosses for those of his followers who wished to join him. When the charismatic Cistercian abbot Bernard of Clairvaux preached the Second Crusade (1147–1149) at Vézelay in France in March 1146, it produced such an overwhelming response that he was obliged to hand over his own outer clothing to meet the immediate huge demand for crosses.

The cross of cloth seems to have been most frequently made of red material at first, but other colors were used, sometimes for purposes of differentiation. During the organization for the Third Crusade (1189–1192), it was decided to reserve colors to specific contingents of crusaders: red for the French, white for the English, and green for the Flemings. Crosses of cloth were not the only means of identification used by the crusaders, however: some simply painted the sign of the cross on their breasts or foreheads. Others, particularly in the atmosphere of fervent piety that characterized many popular crusades, had it branded on their shoulders or foreheads. It was this practice that probably gave rise to reports that the corpses of some dead crusaders found in 1097 had been marked with crosses by some miraculous agency.

The act of taking the cross remained largely informal during the twelfth century and to some extent in the thirteenth. Many crusaders seem to have "crossed themselves": although the frequency of terminology relating to "self-crossing" expressed the volitional and determinant role of the individual, it also reflected the prevalence of that practice. When the cross was indeed received by would-be crusaders, they usually preferred to accept it from ecclesiastics and in ecclesiastical venues, but it was also given by secular persons and in nonecclesiastical contexts. The cross given on such occasions was usually the insignia subsequently sewn on the crusader's clothes, but in some cases a cross was handed over momentarily as a foretoken of that insignia, as in the case (in some accounts) of the taking of the cross by Louis IX, king of France. No regular formal ceremony of "taking" or "giving" the cross is documented prior to the late twelfth century, and the public venues described were usually characterized by disorderly ecstasy and inspired improvisation.

A more specialized use of the cross occurred in the insignia of the military religious orders, founded to provide permanent fighting forces to protect pilgrims and to defend Christian territories in Outremer, Iberia, and the Baltic region. Almost all of the orders used the sign of the cross on their surcoats and banners, with variations in form and colors. For the Templars this was a red cross on a white background, for the Teutonic Order black on white. The Hospitallers used a white cross on black and also white on red; the original simple form developed into the distinctive Maltese Cross, with four expanding arms ending in eight points. Crosses also figured in the insignia of the military orders of the Iberian Peninsula.

The most tangible use of the cross as a symbol of crusading occurred in the context of the veneration of relics associated with the crucifixion of Christ. One particle of the True Cross was discovered after the capture of Jerusalem by the First Crusade in 1099. Set within a larger metal cross, this fragment was regularly venerated and displayed in liturgical ceremonies in Jerusalem up to the time of its loss at the battle of Hattin, but it was also carried into battle with the armies of the kingdom of Jerusalem, thereby combining the functions of battle standard and talismanic relic.

The cross as crusader's symbol was charged with various meanings. It was perceived (often simultaneously) as an imitation of the cross carried by Christ, a sign and memorial of the Passion, a mark of the true discipleship of Christ, a pilgrimage badge, a mark of inclusion in an order or a privileged status similar to the emblem of knighthood, a guarantee of defense and protection, a military sign and a sign of military victory identical to the Triumphant Cross shown in a vision to Emperor Constantine the Great, and, finally, as an example and means of influencing the pusillanimous. The primacy of pilgrimage in this complex is best illustrated by the prevalent contemporary opinion that a crusader's vow was deemed to be fulfilled only after he had visited the holy places or died as a martyr on the way.

—Amnon Linder and Alan V. Murray

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Crucesignatus

The Latin word *crucesignatus* (pl. *crucesignati*) was one of the contemporary medieval terms used to refer to a crusader, along with *pilgrim* (Lat. *peregrinus*) and other formulations. Its literal meaning, "a person signed with the cross," derives from the cross that a crusader usually wore on his clothing as a visible sign of his vow to go on crusade. This practice was so common that the expression "to take the cross" (Lat. *crucem accipere*, *crucem assumere*, and the like) came to be effectively synonymous with "to make a crusade vow." Although crusaders are known to have fixed or sewn crosses on their clothing as early as the Council of Clermont (1095), evidently with the encouragement of Pope Urban II, the use of the term *crucesignatus* does not seem to have become widespread until the time of the Third Crusade (1189–1192). This chronology suggests that the widespread use of the term was connected with the development of a formal ritual for bestowing and receiving the cross, for which there is evidence from the late twelfth century.

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Crusade Cycle

A modern term (Fr. *Cycle de la Croisade*) referring to a coherent cycle of largely anonymous Old French crusade epics, originating in the early twelfth century and reaching its most extended form in the second half of the thirteenth century.

The cycle survives in twenty-four manuscripts and fragments, notably MSS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France,

fr.12558 (the oldest known version, from around 1275) and the roughly contemporaneous fr.12569 (the most complete version). Four other manuscripts are known but have not survived. Depending on the manuscripts in which it appears, the cycle amounts to some 30,000–50,000 lines. Its core is a trilogy (the *cycle rudimentaire*) consisting of the *Chanson d'Antioche* (from around 1100, and attributed to a poet called Richard le Pèlerin), the *Chanson* (or *Conquête*) *de Jérusalem* (c. 1135), and *Les Chétifs* (c. 1149). These texts were adapted and brought together between 1180 and 1190 by the otherwise unknown Graindor de Douai. His role is as yet unclear: he may have been a poet, or simply a patron.

This core cycle relates the central episodes of the First Crusade (1096–1099), but in an uneven manner: the *Chanson d'Antioche* follows fairly closely the historical siege and conquest of Antioch in 1097–1098; the ties with history are loosened in the *Chanson de Jérusalem*, in which the siege, conquest, and defense of Jerusalem in 1099 are interspersed with fictitious elements. *Les Chétifs*, the middle part of the trilogy, is a highly fictional story about three crusaders captured at the battle of Civetot, who gain their freedom by heroic feats in the service of their Muslim captor. The role of Godfrey of Bouillon, who gained prominence only after the conquest of Jerusalem (15 July 1099), is of minor importance in the *Chanson d'Antioche*, but greatly enhanced in the *Chanson de Jérusalem*, a tendency that continues in the further development of the cycle.

Between 1180 and 1220 the cycle rudimentaire was expanded with five epics that narrate events before the time of the First Crusade: *La Naissance (Les Enfances) du Chevalier au Cygne* (in two versions: *Elioxe* from 1190/1200, and *Beatrix* from 1190/1220); *Le Chevalier au Cygne* (1170/1188); *La Fin d'Elias* (1188/1218); *Les Enfances Godefroi*, possibly by an otherwise unknown poet called Renaud (1191/1220); and *Le Retour de Cornumarant* (c. 1292). These branches offer a highly fictitious and legendary ancestral history of Godfrey of Bouillon, who is presented as the grandson of the legendary Swan Knight. These so-called *épopées intermédiaires* (intermediary epics) originated in the French-speaking parts of the Holy Roman Empire, and were probably added to the core cycle at the request of Duke Henry I of Brabant (d. 1235). In this expanded form the cycle could function as propaganda for his crusading initiatives, while also strengthening his claim on the Lotharingian ducal title by subtly incorporating Godfrey of Bouillon into his own family tree. These five epics offer little on the historical crusades.

The third developmental stage of the cycle shows a return to crusade history. In the second half of the thirteenth century four continuations were added to the *Chanson de Jérusalem*: *La Chrétienté Corbaran*, *La Prise d'Acre*, *La Mort de Godefroi*, and *La Chanson des Rois Baudouin*. These continuations present a version of the history of Outremer from the battle of Ascalon (1099) up to the eve of the battle of Hattin (1187). The backbone of the story is formed by the reigns of the rulers of the Latin kingdom: Godfrey of Bouillon, Baldwin I, Baldwin II (called *Baudouin de Sebourc*), Amalric, and Baldwin IV; it concludes with the ascent of Saladin. There are important connections with history, which are flawed by many anachronisms and incorrect mixing of events and characters. The abrupt ending before the battle of Hattin and the total neglect of the unsuccessful Second Crusade (1147–1149) make it highly plausible that the cycle in this form was meant to raise enthusiasm for a new crusade by extolling the glorious days of the Latin kingdom at a time when its very survival was threatened.

Although the cycle is evidently related to the tradition of the Old French chansons de geste, parts of it can be considered as vernacular historiography rather than pure literary fiction. The importance of the cycle for contemporary ideas about the crusade is demonstrated by the number of manuscripts, and also by the fact that it was evidently translated into Middle Dutch. In the early fourteenth century the cycle (as presented in MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France,

The Old French Crusade Cycle

Title	Date	Length (lines)
<i>Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne</i>	1190/1220	3200–3500
<i>Chevalier au Cygne</i>	1170/1188	4500
<i>Fin d'Elias</i>	1188/1218	2500
<i>Enfances Godefroi</i>	1191/1220	3700
<i>Retour de Cornumarant</i>	c. 1292	1500
<i>Chanson d'Antioche</i>	c. 1100	9500
<i>Les Chétifs</i>	c. 1149	4000
<i>Chanson de Jérusalem</i>	c. 1135	10,000
<i>Chrétienté Corbaran</i>	1250/1300	1500
<i>Prise d'Acre</i>	1250/1300	1900
<i>Mort de Godefroi</i>	1250/1300	1600
<i>Chanson des Rois Baudouin</i>	1250/1300	3300

fr.12569) formed the basis of an adaptation known as the *Chevalier au cygne et Godefroid de Bouillon*. Together with *Baudouin de Sebourc*, the *Bâtard de Bouillon*, and the lost poem known as *Saladin*, it has sometimes been viewed incorrectly as a second crusade cycle; yet, although some historical figures and events are faintly recognizable, it is evident that this loosely connected group of texts should be considered as a collection of romances (Fr. *romans d'aventures*) in which crusade history forms the backdrop: as such it is an important witness to the later evolution of the public perception of crusade history.

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See also: *Chanson d'Antioche*; *Chanson de Jérusalem*; French Literature

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Crusade of 1101

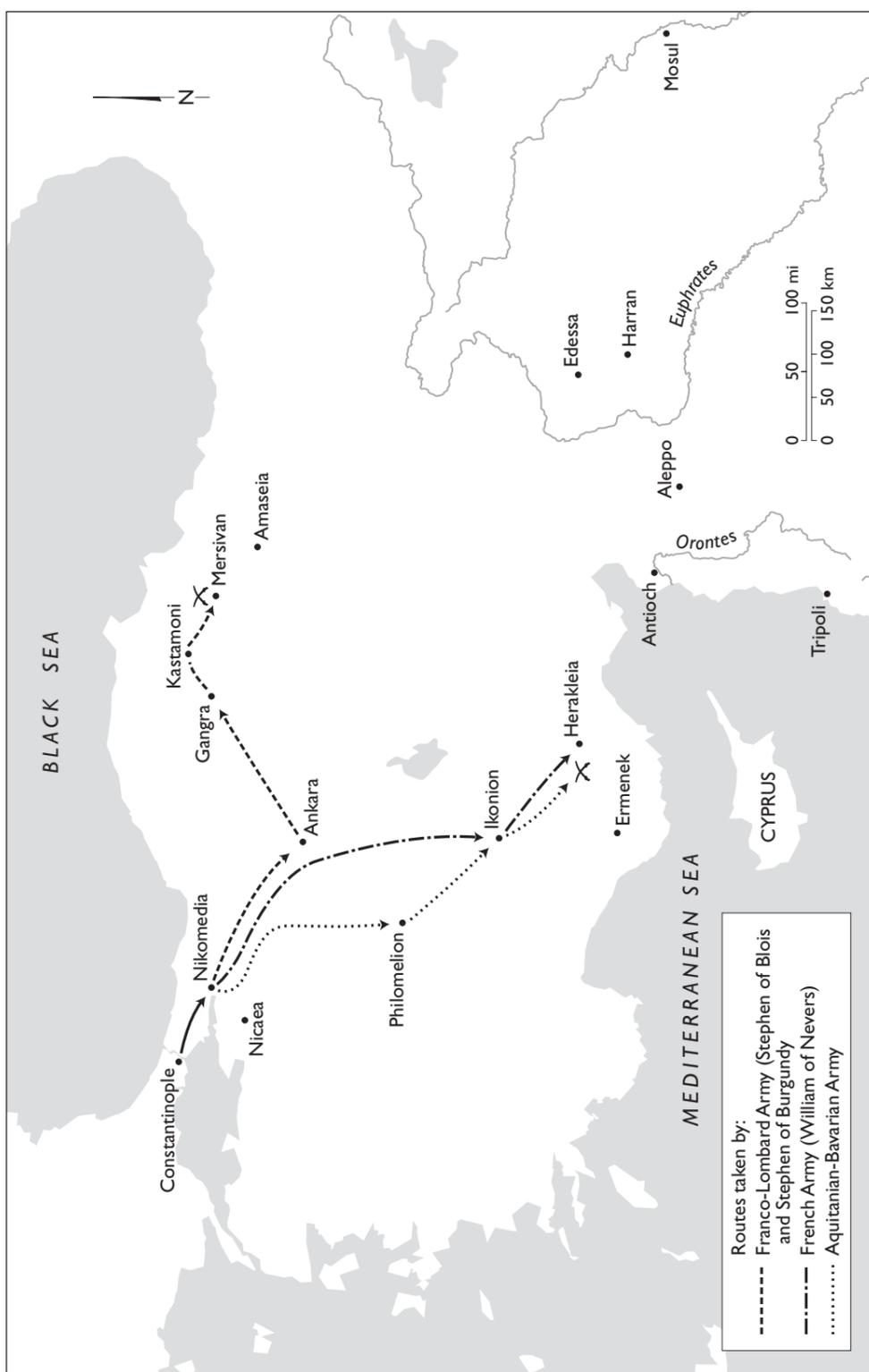
The Crusade of 1101 consisted of four separate expeditions to the Holy Land launched in 1101 in response to Pope Urban II's call to arms at the Council of Clermont (1095); it may be regarded as a second wave of armies following the First Crusade (1096–1099) rather than as a separate crusade.

The capture of Jerusalem in July 1099 combined with efforts by Pope Paschal II to encourage further calls to crusade at the synod of Anse in December 1099 and the Council of Poitiers in November 1100; these efforts, together with a vigorous letter-writing campaign, led to a number of new armies departing for Jerusalem in 1101. The motives of the crusaders varied considerably. Some, like Albert, count of Biandrate, desired to emulate the success of the First Crusade, while others such as Welf IV, duke of Bavaria, evidently felt a need to go on pilgrimage after a long and eventful life. Stephen, count of Blois, had been one of the leaders of the First Crusade, but had not fulfilled his vows, having

deserted at Antioch; he was pressured into travelling back to Jerusalem by Adela, his wife. William IX, duke of Aquitaine, seems to have gone on crusade for the adventure. The crusading armies were powerful but uncoordinated military enterprises, and included a large number of pilgrims and other noncombatants. Hugh, archbishop of Die, had been appointed as papal legate, but seems to have traveled independently to Jerusalem and took little part in the enterprise. This lack of coordination had important consequences, as a small but mobile Turkish army was able to defeat each crusading army in turn as it attempted to travel across Asia Minor.

The first army to depart for the East left Milan on 13 September 1100. It was composed primarily of northern Italians from Lombardy and was led by Anselm, archbishop of Milan; Albert of Biandrate with his brother Guy and nephew Otto Altaspata; William, bishop of Parma; Guy, bishop of Tortona; Albert, count of Parma; and Albert, bishop of Piacenza. Anselm of Milan had been pressured into taking the cross by Urban II and Paschal II, both of whom had written many letters to him. He had then enthusiastically preached the cross in 1100, leading to the formation of the Lombard army. It comprised 8,000 soldiers (including many pilgrims), most of whom appear to have been interested in emulating the success of the First Crusade. The Lombard army marched swiftly through Hungary, passing the Bulgarian border at Semlin. The Byzantine emperor Alexios I Komnenos made market privileges available to the crusaders at various towns between the Bulgarian frontier and Thrace, but when the crusaders wintered outside Adrianople (mod. Edirne, Turkey), they began to commit numerous atrocities, pillaging, raping, and desecrating Greek shrines. Alexios ordered them to proceed directly to Constantinople (mod. Istanbul, Turkey), which they reached between 15 and 20 March 1101. At the Byzantine capital the Lombard army was joined by a compact force of 2,000 soldiers led by Conrad, constable to the German emperor, Henry IV, which arrived in the second half of April.

A second crusader army of around 3,000 people, commanded by William II, count of Nevers, left for the East at the beginning of February 1101. It went south through Italy to Brindisi, sailed to Avlona (mod. Vlorë, Albania), and then traveled across Macedonia via Thessalonica (mod. Thessaloniki, Greece) to Constantinople, where it arrived around 14 June. Like the other armies, this contingent also contained a large number of noncombatants, including women.



Crusade of 1101

The third group of crusaders to leave was a large combined army from northern France, Flanders, and Burgundy, which departed for Constantinople at the beginning of March 1101. Its leaders were Stephen of Blois; Stephen, count of Burgundy, with his brothers Reginald and Hugh; the archbishop of Besançon; Miles, viscount of Troyes; Guy, count of Rochefort; Baldwin of Grandpré; and Ingilrand, bishop of Laon. They travelled south through Italy and across the Adriatic, arriving in Constantinople at the beginning of May 1101. At the start of the crusade this army was composed of approximately 8,000 soldiers.

The fourth and final army to depart was made up of two originally separate contingents. One was led by William IX of Aquitaine, and included Geoffrey of Vendôme; Herbert, viscount of Thouars; and Hugh of Lusignan. This Aquitanian expedition departed around 20 March 1101 and joined up with a large army of German crusaders in southern Bavaria that was commanded by Welf IV of Bavaria and included Thiemo, archbishop of Salzburg; Ulrich, bishop of Passau; and many of the anti-imperial Bavarian nobility. Welf's decision to journey to the East was a personal one based on the need to expiate his sins. It was far more in the nature of a pilgrimage than a conscious desire to embark on a crusading venture. The joint Aquitanian-Bavarian army passed through Hungary and after much fighting with Byzantine forces, including a pitched battle outside Adrianople, eventually arrived in Constantinople at the beginning of June 1101. The joint army equalled about 16,000 people.

The crusaders' opponents in Asia Minor consisted of a compact but powerful Muslim alliance. Their principal enemy was Qilij Arslān I, Saljūq sultan of Rūm. Although he had lost his capital of Nicaea (mod. İzmit, Turkey) to the army of the First Crusade in 1097, his largely nomadic Turks were still a formidable force. He had already proven a dangerous enemy to the crusading movement through his destruction of the People's Crusade in 1097 and his bitter clashes with the army of the First Crusade at Nicaea and Dorylaion. Having learned to avoid the crusader army in open battle and not to rely solely upon his own resources, Qilij Arslān now gathered a number of allies. The main one was Malik-Ghāzī, the Dānishmendid emir of Sebastea, who governed northeast Asia Minor from the cities of Sebastea (mod. Sivas, Turkey), Amaseia (mod. Amasya, Turkey), and Ankara, and since he was holding captive Bohemund I, prince of Antioch, he had as much incentive to defeat this fresh expedition as did Qilij Arslān.

The two other allies were Riḍwān of Aleppo and Karaja of Harran, both of whom had fought against the crusader army outside Antioch in 1098. The Muslim armies consisted of approximately 4,000–6,000 cavalymen.

Following a disturbance in Constantinople, the Lombard army moved to Nikomedia (mod. İzmit, Turkey), where it was joined by Conrad and his German force and the larger northern French army of Stephen of Blois and Stephen of Burgundy. The Franco-Lombard army was also joined at Nikomedia by Raymond of Saint-Gilles, acting on the orders of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos. About this time a dispute broke out over the direction of the army across Asia Minor. Alexios advised following the route of the First Crusade, but news had broken of the capture of Bohemund, one of the heroes of that expedition, and the leaders of the Franco-Lombard army instead determined to rescue him from captivity in Paphlagonia. They left Nikomedia around 9 June 1101, traveling along the Pilgrim's Road, and on 24 June reached Ankara, then held by forces of Qilij Arslān I. The Turkish garrison fled during the night, and the town was handed back to Alexios. From Ankara the crusaders struck northward, arriving at Gangra (mod. Çankırı, Turkey) around 2 July, which they attacked but were unable to capture. The Franco-Lombard army was then forced northward by Saljūq forces, arriving at Kastamoni on 30 July, where a foraging expedition suffered a particularly heavy defeat. Despite intense enemy pressure, the crusaders pushed eastward, hoping to reach Amaseia. However, they were intercepted by the main Turkish army and at Mersivan on 16 August were forced into a protracted engagement lasting over five days.

On the first day the Turkish army attacked the crusader encampment but was driven off with heavy losses. On the second day the Turks successfully ambushed a crusader foraging expedition, capturing all their plunder. The main battle occurred on the fourth day. The crusader army attacked the Turks in five separate divisions, but each was defeated in turn and the crusader encampment besieged. During the night the crusader army fled toward Bafra on the Black Sea coast, but the Turks were able to overtake and massacre the infantry and enslave large numbers of women. Stephen of Blois and Stephen of Burgundy traveled overland back to Constantinople with as many survivors as they could find. Raymond of Saint-Gilles travelled back to Constantinople by ship. Anselm of Milan died at Constantinople on 30 September 1101.

The army of William of Nevers left Constantinople on 1 July 1101 and arrived at Ankara on 25 July, hoping to catch

up with the Franco-Lombard army. Failing to find it, the crusaders travelled south to Ikonion (mod. Konya, Turkey), which they found heavily defended by Saljūq troops and were unable to capture. On leaving Ankara the crusaders were constantly harassed by local Turkish forces until the main Saljūq army was able to catch up with them at Herakleia (mod. Eregli, Turkey) around 25–26 August. By this stage the crusader army was suffering terribly, having been unable to find water for three days. Abandoning their usual hit-and-run tactics, the Turks engaged in close combat, and after a fierce engagement the crusader cavalry was forced to flee, leaving the infantry to be massacred. About 1,000 women were taken prisoner. William of Nevers escaped by fleeing to Antioch via Ermanek.

The last army to leave Constantinople was the Aquitanian-Bavarian expedition, but before its departure rumors had begun to spread that Alexios was in league with the Turks. Fearing treachery, many German crusaders, including the chronicler Ekkehard of Aura, sailed directly from Constantinople in July 1101, reaching the port of Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel) in late August. After fulfilling their vows, many departed for home, Ekkehard leaving Palestine in September 1101. The rest of the crusaders travelled to Nikomedia and from there to Philomelion, which they destroyed, before arriving at Ikonion around 20 August. After leaving Ikonion, the crusader army suffered greatly from Turkish attacks and lack of provisions and water, and after leaving Herakleia was attacked by the main Muslim army commanded by Qilij Arslān. Following a long and bitter contest the crusader army fled; William IX of Aquitaine and Welf IV of Bavaria escaped, but Thiemo of Salzburg was captured and executed. All of the crusading armies had been defeated piecemeal by a mobile and powerful Muslim alliance, whose forces had all fought against the army of the First Crusade and were well versed in crusader military tactics. Later crusader allegations of Greek treachery and collusion with the Turks are unfounded.

After the heavy defeats suffered by all the crusader armies in Asia Minor, the survivors regrouped, using Antioch as a base. The crusading leaders still commanded a powerful army. Raymond of Saint-Gilles had been arrested by Tancred, regent of Antioch, but was allowed to rejoin the army at the request of the crusader leaders. The crusaders left Antioch in mid-February 1102 and besieged Tortosa (mod. Tartūs, Syria). However, Welf IV of Bavaria and Reginald of Burgundy continued on to Jerusalem. Reginald

died en route, but Welf fulfilled his vows, only to die in Cyprus on his way home. The main crusader army stormed Tortosa with the help of a Genoese fleet and then massacred the population. Raymond of Saint-Gilles remained in command of Tortosa, taking no further part in the crusade. The crusaders then travelled south, meeting King Baldwin I of Jerusalem at Beirut around 8 March. They arrived in Jaffa on 23 March 1102, and finally fulfilled their vows in Jerusalem in time for Easter.

William of Aquitaine was able to leave by ship, arriving back in Poitiers by 29 October 1102, but all the other crusader leaders were delayed at Jaffa by contrary winds and so were caught up in an Egyptian invasion of the kingdom of Jerusalem. The leaders and their knights fought in the disastrous second battle of Ramla on 17 May 1102, where they formed the majority of Baldwin's army. Stephen of Blois, Stephen of Burgundy, and Hugh of Lusignan were killed in the fighting. The constable Conrad was captured and held prisoner for three years. Albert of Biandrate survived and was still with Baldwin in 1103. William of Nevers also survived and later refused to join the Second Crusade. Although the crusader knights' contribution to the defense of Jerusalem had ended in failure, the crusader infantry formed the bulk of Baldwin's army that decisively defeated the Egyptian army at the battle of Jaffa on 4 July 1110, and thus helped save the kingdom from collapse.

—Alec Mulinder

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Crusade of 1122–1124

A major Venetian naval crusade that succeeded in crippling the Fāṭimid navy in 1123 and capturing the city of Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon) in Palestine in 1124.

After the disastrous defeat of the Franks of Outremer at the battle known as the *Ager Sanguinis* (the Field of Blood) in 1119, King Baldwin II of Jerusalem sent an urgent appeal for assistance to Pope Calixtus II and Doge Domenico Michiel of Venice. A group of papal ambassadors took a letter from the pope to the Venetians, asking them to have mercy on the Christians of the East by coming quickly to their aid. Having called an assembly of all citizens at San Marco, Michiel gave a stirring speech in support of the crusade. The response was tremendous: with shouts of assent, the doge himself took the cross, followed by his people. All Venetians engaged in overseas commerce were ordered to return to Venice in preparation for the crusade.

After assembling or building a fleet of approximately 120 major vessels, the Venetian crusaders, numbering some 15,000, departed from the Venetian lagoon in August 1122.



Doge Domenico Michiel orders that the ships' sails and rudders be brought ashore to assure the Franks that the Venetians will not leave the Holy Land without conquering Tyre (1123), by Antonio Vassilacchi Aliense (1556–1629). (Cameraphoto/Art Resource)

They wintered on Corfu (mod. Kerkira, Greece), where they besieged the Byzantine stronghold in retaliation for Emperor John II Komnenos's refusal to honor Venetian commercial privileges. Early in spring 1123, the Venetians learned of Baldwin II's capture by the Turks, abandoned the siege, and sailed immediately for Outremer. At Cyprus, they heard that a powerful Egyptian fleet was threatening Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel), and Michiel ordered his ships to intercept it. Off the coast near Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel), Michiel cleverly hid his war galleys behind the large transport vessels, deceiving the Fāṭimids into believing that the Venetian fleet was an unarmed pilgrimage convoy. When the Egyptian vessels approached, they were surrounded and captured or destroyed. It was a tremendous victory, effectively handing control of the sea to the Christians.

The Venetians proceeded to Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), where they agreed to help the Franks capture the important coastal city of Tyre. An agreement was drawn up (the *Pactum Warmundi*) that promised the Venetians one-third of Tyre, a quarter in every city in the kingdom, and various privileges in return for their assistance. The siege was predominantly a Venetian enterprise, since they far outnumbered their Frankish allies. After failing to breach the sea walls, the Venetians beached their vessels and continued the siege by land. Tyre finally surrendered in early summer 1124. On their journey home the Venetians again harassed Byzantine territories in an unsuccessful attempt to compel the emperor to honor their privileges. They returned to Venice and a hero's welcome in summer 1125.

–Thomas F. Madden

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Crusade of 1129

A campaign in which an army of crusaders from western Europe joined troops from all four of the Frankish states in Outremer to assault the key Muslim city of Damascus. It was the result of a carefully calculated strategy by King Baldwin II of Jerusalem and was closely connected with his efforts to

settle the succession to his kingdom and to encourage the growth of the Order of the Temple.

When Baldwin II was released from Turkish captivity in August 1124, he embarked upon a period of vigorous military endeavor in order to reestablish his own authority and to capitalize on the recent capture of Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon) in July 1124. In 1125 and early 1126, Baldwin mounted campaigns against Damascus, but following the second of these engagements he realized that he would require outside assistance to capture the city. He combined the aim of launching an attack on Damascus with, first, the mission of Hugh of Payns to secure papal endorsement and wider support for the nascent Order of the Temple, and, second, Baldwin's own embassy, led by William of Bures, lord of Tiberias, which sought to persuade Count Fulk V of Anjou to marry Melisende, Baldwin's eldest daughter and the heiress to the throne of Jerusalem. If Fulk accepted the offer, then he would be the obvious figurehead for crusaders to gather around.

Baldwin's ambitious agenda shows his confidence in expanding the frontiers of Outremer. The Damascus campaign of 1129 was an early example of a crusade that was wholly aggressive in its purpose: the justification of defending holy places only applied in the sense that it removed a theoretical threat to Jerusalem. No papal bull endorsing the expedition survives, but there is unambiguous contemporary charter evidence of people taking the cross for the remission of their sins and in order to fight the Muslims. Furthermore, the papal legate to France was present at Le Mans in May 1128 when Fulk himself was signed with the cross, which suggests some form of papal endorsement. Hugh of Payns also visited England and Scotland, and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* recorded that "he summoned people out to Jerusalem, and there went with him and after him so large a number of people as never had done since the first expedition in the days of Pope Urban" [*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. D. Whitelock (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1961), pp. 194–195]. The fact that the chronicler saw Hugh's efforts in the same vein as the First Crusade (1096–1099) is also indicative that contemporaries saw this as a formal crusading expedition and not as a large armed pilgrimage that lacked the offer of full spiritual rewards.

The exact numbers recruited by Hugh are unknown, although both Christian and Muslim writers suggested that a significant force of men accompanied the future king of Jerusalem to the East. Fulk reached the Holy Land in late

May, although it was not until the early winter that the crusaders and the armies of Antioch, Edessa, Tripoli, and Jerusalem assembled to begin the attack. The Franks advanced to within six miles of Damascus and set up camp. William of Bures led a large party of knights on a foraging expedition, but this group broke up into smaller bands and began to roam recklessly across a wide area. Būrī, the ruler of Damascus, learned of this breakdown of discipline and, leading out his finest warriors, fell upon the unsuspecting Christians. The Muslims routed their enemy, killing many knights and lesser men. Infuriated by this defeat, the Franks prepared to counter, but an enormous thunderstorm and dense fog prevented them from acting. The chronicler William of Tyre claimed that the Christians realized this natural phenomenon was a punishment for their sins and that they should retreat.

The crusader army returned home and broke up, a cause of great relief to the Damascenes; as the local chronicler Ibn al-Qalānīsī commented, "So the hearts of the Muslims were relieved from terror, and restored to security after fear" [Ibn al-Qalanisi, *The Damascus Chronicles of the Crusades*, trans. Hamilton A. R. Gibb (London: Luzac, 1932), p. 200]. Baldwin's bold plan had failed, although, as the campaign of the Second Crusade in July 1148 demonstrated, the Franks persisted in their attempts to take Damascus.

—Jonathan Phillips

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Crusade of 1239–1241

A crusade (sometimes known as the Barons' Crusade) consisting of successive expeditions led by Thibaud IV, count of Champagne, and Richard, earl of Cornwall, that regained considerable Frankish territory in the Holy Land by way of diplomacy.

In 1229 Emperor Frederick II and the Ayyūbid sultan of Egypt, al-Kāmil, had agreed to a ten-year truce for the



Pope Gregory IX. (Library of Congress)

kingdom of Jerusalem. On 4 September 1234, Pope Gregory IX, who had condemned this agreement, wrote to the English and encouraged them to be ready to launch a crusade once the truce expired. A number of English and French nobles took the cross, but the crusade's departure was delayed because Frederick, whose lands the crusaders had planned to cross, opposed any crusading activity before the expiration of his truce with al-Kāmil. Frederick's excommunication (20 March 1239), prompted by differences between him and the pope regarding their Italian spheres of influence, caused most crusaders to avoid his territories on their way to Outremer.

The crusaders of the French expedition assembled in Lyons in August 1239. Their leaders were Thibaud IV of Champagne (who since 1234 had also been king of Navarre) and Hugh IV, duke of Burgundy, joined by two officials of the French royal court, namely, the constable Amalric of Montfort and the butler Robert of Courtenay, and by Peter

of Dreux, the former count of Brittany. Most of them sailed from Marseilles. On 1 September 1239, Thibaud arrived in Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), where the crusaders set up camp. They were soon drawn into the Ayyūbid wars of succession, which had been raging since the death of al-Kāmil (1238). At the end of September, al-Kāmil's brother al-Şāliḥ Ismā'īl seized Damascus from his nephew, al-Şāliḥ Ayyūb, and recognized Ayyūb's brother al-'Ādil II as sultan of Egypt. On 21 October, Ayyūb was captured and imprisoned by his cousin al-Nāşir Dāwūd of Kerak. Realizing that a Damascus with close ties to Egypt would place Frankish Outremer in a dangerous embrace, the crusaders decided to fortify the city of Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel) to protect the southern border of the kingdom and to move against Damascus later. While the crusaders were marching from Acre to Jaffa (2–12 November), Egyptian troops moved up to Gaza to secure the border. Contrary to Thibaud's instructions and the advice of the military orders, a group of 400–600 knights, led by Henry of Bar, Amalric of Montfort, Hugh of Burgundy, and Walter of Jaffa, decided to move against the enemy without further delay, but they were surprised by the Muslims and forced into combat. Hugh and Walter escaped to Ascalon, Amalric and many others were captured, and Henry was killed (13 November 1239). Following this defeat, the military orders convinced Thibaud to retreat to Acre rather than pursue the Egyptians and their Frankish prisoners.

In the spring of 1240, al-Nāşir released Ayyūb and helped him to seize control of Egypt. Realizing that Ayyūb's new position of power could become dangerous for Damascus, Ismā'īl approached the crusaders, with whom he had been in negotiations for some time. He promised to restore Galilee, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and considerable coastal areas to the Franks in exchange for their support against Egypt. Much of the territory Ismā'īl was offering in fact belonged to al-Nāşir. Naturally, the truce was opposed by those hoping to obtain the freedom of the Frankish prisoners held in Egypt. Al-Nāşir's hopes that his support for Ayyūb would earn him assistance to win Damascus were disappointed once Ayyūb was firmly installed in Egypt, and so both al-Nāşir and al-Manşūr Ibrāhīm, ruler of Homs, joined the Frankish-Damascene alliance (summer 1240). In mid-September 1240, after a visit to Jerusalem, Thibaud departed for Europe, while Hugh of Burgundy remained to help fortify Ascalon.

On 8 October 1240, the crusaders of the English expedition arrived, led by Richard, earl of Cornwall, who had left

England on 10 June, traveled through France, and then sailed from Marseilles to Acre. The crusaders marched to Jaffa, where an Egyptian envoy suggested that Ayyūb would honor Ismāʿīl's territorial promises (even though Ayyūb himself controlled none of those territories), with the exception of the strategically important cities of Gaza, Hebron, and Nablus, which Ayyūb reserved for himself, and that he would release the Frankish prisoners if the crusaders would abandon their alliance with Damascus for a position of "benevolent neutrality" [Jackson, "The Crusades of 1239–41," p. 48]. Richard consented, the new agreement was ratified by Ayyūb by 8 February 1241, and the prisoners were released on 13 April. Meanwhile, Richard's forces helped to work on Ascalon's fortifications, which were completed by mid-March 1241. Since he was Emperor Frederick II's brother-in-law, he entrusted the new fortress to Walter Pennepié, an imperial representative, and departed for the West on 3 May. Throughout their crusade, Thibaud and Richard had to contend with opposing factions of local barons as well as disunity among the military orders. The main sources for this crusade are the Old French continuations of William of Tyre (*Estoire d'Eracles* and *Rothelin*), the *Gestes des Chiprois*, the *Chronica maiora* of Matthew Paris, and the works of Ibn Wāsil, Ibn Shaddād, and al-Maqrīzī.

–Jochen Burgtorf

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Crusade of 1267

An expedition from the Upper Rhine region to the Holy Land in response to appeals by Pope Clement IV to aid the king-

dom of Jerusalem against the threat from the Mamlūks under Sultan Baybars I.

In January 1266, Clement commenced a campaign for a new crusade in Germany, ordering the German bishops, Dominicans, and Franciscans to preach the cross, but the response was poor except in those regions bordering France. In the Upper Rhine region, the crusade was preached with considerable success by Achilles, former prior of the Basel Dominicans, with the result that several hundred individuals from Alsace, the Sundgau, and Basel had taken the cross by early 1267. The crusaders departed from Basel during Lent (2 March–10 April) 1267, under the leadership of two ministerial knights of the bishop of Basel, Sigfrid Mönch and Hemman (Johannes) Schaler, and traveled by sea from Genoa to Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel).

Several of the crusaders were able to visit the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, but little else is known of their activity in the Holy Land; it is probable that the Germans held off from any significant military activity in expectation of the arrival of the expeditions of Louis IX of France and Prince Edward of England. The majority appear to have returned to Germany in the course of 1269–1270. The main source for the history of the expedition is the *Baßler Chronick* of Christian Wurstisen (Basel, 1580).

–Alan V. Murray

See also: Germany

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Crusade of 1309

The Crusade of 1309 was the first popular crusading movement after the fall of the city of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) to the Mamlūks in 1291. Particularly in the Low Countries and northern France and Germany, popular enthusiasm was kindled by the prospect of a new crusade and the desire to participate in it. Clearly, this demonstrates that more than a decade after the loss of the Holy Land, crusading fervor among the Latin Christian populace was far from extinguished.

Also known as the "Crusade of the Poor," it began as a direct popular response to official crusade preaching. Pope Clement V intended to promote a first-stage, limited cru-

sade to the East (Lat. *passagium particulare*), which was to be restricted to the Order of the Hospital. Bulls were issued in August 1308 for a crusade that was originally intended to depart in the spring of 1309, but which was then deferred until the autumn of that year. In June and July, Clement urged the friars responsible for preaching the crusade north of the Alps to excite the faithful to contribute funds and offer up prayers for the success of the forthcoming expedition. Generous indulgences were promised for those contributing cash or legacies to the new venture. Because this was not meant to be an all-inclusive, full-scale crusade (Lat. *passagium generale*), the laity were not supposed to take the cross, let alone participate overseas in actual combat. Their role in the crusade was to provide funds, prayerful support—and nothing more.

Not for the first time, the church succeeded brilliantly in whipping up overwhelming popular enthusiasm for a crusade, only to fail to channel that enthusiasm, once aroused, in the desired direction. Consequently, from the spring of 1309, hordes of people (tens of thousands of them in some perhaps inflated estimates) headed for the papal court at Avignon, presumably hoping to combine their forces with the army of Hospitallers. A minority sought ships to take them down the Danube. According to the well-placed annalist of Ghent, “countless common people” (Lat. *innumerabiles vulgares*) “from England, Picardy, Flanders, Brabant, and Germany, taking the cross without consulting the bishops, set off to conquer the Holy Land” [translation adapted from *Annales Gandenses*, ed. and trans. Hilda Johnstone (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), p. 97]. The largest contingent was most probably the Germans. Several chroniclers affirm that these unwelcome recruits had taken the cross. This is significant, for it indicates that they perceived themselves as authentic crusaders. The chroniclers further report that they referred to themselves as “Brothers of the Cross,” which seems to imply that they felt they belonged to some kind of self-proclaimed military order like the Hospitallers.

Women as well as men joined the troops of enthusiasts, whose declared aim was to cross the sea and regain the Holy Land. The chroniclers agree that nearly all these “Brothers of the Cross” came from the lower ranks of society. The great majority of them, so the chroniclers say, were destitute, landless peasants, rural laborers, and impoverished urban artisans such as tailors and furriers. Still, among them there were also well-to-do burghesses from northwestern German towns. Moreover, it is possible that a scat-

tering of knights was tempted to enter the ranks of these impecunious crusaders. Yet, if this was the case, they provided no leaders, for several chroniclers stress that this vast throng of popular crusaders was headless (Lat. *sine capite*), that is, leaderless.

Unable to provide for themselves en route, the *pauperes* (poor men) of 1309 were forced to beg for Christian charity. At times, charity was freely given; at other times, it was extorted, or simply seized. Outbreaks of violence thus occurred along their line of march. Predictably, the Jews became a special target for the rapacious crusaders. At the castle of Born, north of Maastricht, they attacked and reportedly killed as many as 110 Jews from the surrounding region who had taken refuge there. Similar threats and raids against the Jews of Leuven and Tienen terrified the Jews of Brabant. Their protector, Duke John II of Brabant, who had an economic interest in their well-being, allowed them to take shelter in his castle of Genappe. Audaciously, the crusaders besieged it, but a ducal army came to the rescue, and the assailants fled with heavy losses.

Although some of these paupers may have reached Marseilles, the climax of the Crusade of 1309 occurred in July, when a great multitude of unsummoned, and thus illicit, crusaders arrived at the papal residence in Avignon. It is said that they asked the pontiff to declare a full-scale crusade, which would have had the effect of legitimizing them. Estimates of their numbers range from 30,000 to 40,000. It is noteworthy that the outright hostility of the clerical chroniclers does not seem to have been shared by the pope. Indeed, Clement V never condemned the movement. Instead, on 25 July, he granted an indulgence of 100 years to all the German faithful who had assumed the cross, together with those who sponsored them, and who vowed to assist the Holy Land but were unable to carry out their pilgrimage due to their lack of ships. The Hospitallers certainly must have rejected their advances and refused to transport them. So, comments the annalist of Ghent, “they returned in confusion to their own homes” [*Annales Gandenses*, p. 97]. This seems to have been the universal verdict of the chroniclers, who pronounced the movement vain and empty, and from which few returned.

In early 1310 the Hospitaller fleet sailed out of Brindisi in southeastern Italy. Their crusade achieved very little, aside from enabling the Hospitallers to consolidate their power in Rhodes (mod. Rodos, Greece). Aided by the Genoese, the Hospitallers had begun the conquest of the island in 1306, and by 1311 their hold was secure. Rhodes

was admirably positioned as a platform for further crusading activities in the eastern Mediterranean, and the Hospitallers retained it until 1523.

Altogether, the Crusade of the Hospitallers and the popular Crusade of 1309, two diverse ventures originating from the same papal summons, exhibit a striking parallelism, almost as if they were mirror images of one another. A papal crusade purpose-built for specially selected, professional warrior-monks had been preached to the laity, who then responded, not with handsome donations, but with their own unauthorized crusade of self-selected, nonmilitary people, both male and female. No unified *passagium generale* resulted, but calls for a crusade continued to have unanticipated echoes.

—Gary Dickson

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Crusade of 1330

See Douglas, James

Crusade of Emperor Frederick II (1227–1229)

A crusade to the Holy Land organized by Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor and king of Sicily, that achieved the restoration of the city of Jerusalem and other territory to the kingdom of Jerusalem and also secured a ten-year truce with the kingdom's Muslim enemies.

Frederick II had taken the cross on the occasion of his coronation as king of Germany at Aachen on 15 July 1215. It was not until 1218 that Pope Honorius III issued an urgent appeal to Frederick to fulfill his crusading obligations by leading an expedition to the Holy Land, where Jerusalem had been under the control of the Muslim Ayyūbids since 1187. Frederick prepared for a campaign, planning to set sail in

1220. However, his departure came to be entwined with his demands for himself to be crowned emperor and for his eldest son, Henry (VII), to be crowned king of Germany, all of which Frederick wanted to be accomplished before leaving. Hampered by the initial lukewarm reception to the call for crusade among the German nobility, Frederick asked that his departure be postponed until 1221; he then proceeded to have Henry elected king by a diet of German princes at Frankfurt am Main in April 1220. Negotiations about his coronation as emperor, increasingly recognized as a prerequisite for his departure by Pope Honorius III, began in August 1220, with Frederick finally receiving the imperial crown at Rome on 22 November. Honorius also accepted the delay of the emperor's departure, but threatened him with excommunication should he not depart the following year.

In April 1221, the emperor dispatched a first contingent of troops, led by Ludwig I, duke of Bavaria, to be followed by another fleet of forty ships in June, under the command of Walter of Paleara, chancellor of Sicily; Henry of Malta, admiral of the Sicilian fleet; and Anselm of Justingen, Frederick's imperial marshal. Faced with political difficulties in Sicily, Frederick II himself did not leave for the Holy Land. Frederick and Honorius held further meetings in November 1222 at Verona, and in March 1223 at Ferentino, where they were joined by the patriarch of Jerusalem and John of Brienne, the king of Jerusalem. These meetings resulted in an agreement that Frederick would set sail by 24 June 1225; it was also arranged that he would marry John's daughter Isabella II, the heiress of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Preparations for the campaign were, however, fraught with difficulties. Although transport for nearly 12,000 armed men had been procured by spring 1224, few were willing to join this expedition. Furthermore, Frederick's actions in Sicily engendered resistance among the north Italian communes, which re-formed the Lombard League and engaged the emperor in a series of armed skirmishes, while a conflict over Poitou between Henry III of England and Louis VIII of France reduced the number of likely crusaders from outside Sicily and the empire. Hermann von Salza, the master of the Teutonic Order, was sent to meet Honorius III, and on 25 July 1225, at San Germano, the result of their negotiations was made public. Frederick promised to depart by 15 August 1227, and to provide 1,000 knights for two years at his expense; he was also to hand over 100,000 ounces of gold to John of Brienne, Hermann von Salza, and Patriarch Ralph of Jerusalem, which was only to be returned to him once he

actually arrived in the Holy Land. Finally, the emperor accepted that, if, for whatever reason, he failed to set sail for the Holy Land, he was to be excommunicated.

To underline his commitment, Frederick II sent for Isabella in August 1225. Their marriage was celebrated at Brindisi on 9 November 1225. By mid-1227 the emperor had assembled a force of over 1,000 knights at Brindisi, with the main crusading army dispatched by mid-August 1227. Frederick II and Ludwig IV, landgrave of Thuringia, followed on 8 September. However, both emperor and landgrave soon fell ill, and Frederick was forced to return to Otranto. An embassy led by Hermann von Salza and Patriarch Gerold of Jerusalem was sent to the new pope, Gregory IX, to explain the delay, while in the meantime Duke Henry of Limburg was appointed as leader of the crusading army. The pope was, however, unwilling to accept Frederick's reasoning, and on 29 September pronounced a sentence of excommunication against him.

The fleets dispatched by Frederick probably arrived in Palestine by October 1227. Their activities were limited to strengthening fortifications at Sidon (mod. Saïda, Lebanon), Caesarea (mod. Har Qesari, Israel), and Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-yafo, Israel), and contributing to the building of Montfort castle near Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel). A reliable estimate puts the number of knights assembled at about 800 at most. These imperial contingents were joined by a group of English crusaders under the leadership of Walter Brewer, bishop of Exeter, and Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester. The crusaders lacked overall leadership and suffered from low morale. Frederick's arrival was, therefore, essential. The main part of the imperial crusading army, about 500 knights under the leadership of Richard Filangieri, was dispatched in April 1228, with the emperor himself, accompanied by another 200 knights and an estimated 3,000 foot soldiers, following on 28 June 1228. He arrived in Cyprus on 21 July, and reached Acre on 7 September 1228.

While in Cyprus, Frederick sought to establish imperial overlordship over the island, in recognition of the homage done to the emissaries of his father, Henry VI. This soon brought him into conflict with John of Ibelin, the lord of Beirut and regent of Cyprus. A faction hostile to John had called upon Frederick to intervene, and the emperor, having taken offense at John's delay in presenting the infant king of Cyprus to him, began a formal investigation into John's administration. This led to John's flight, and the imperial army, supported by a contingent of troops from

the Frankish states of the mainland, laid siege to one of John's Cypriot strongholds. In the end, a prolonged military confrontation was avoided, but Frederick had engendered the hostility of one of the most important baronial families in the kingdom of Jerusalem. His handling of the situation caused apprehension among the other barons in the Holy Land and laid the foundation for his and his officials' difficulties in administering the emperor's Palestinian domains.

In the meantime, Gregory IX had commanded the military orders and the clergy of the Holy Land not to cooperate with the excommunicated emperor. This command caused divisions among the crusading army, which were circumvented by nominal command being handed over to Hermann von Salza, Richard Filangieri, and Odo of Montbéliard. In the meantime, changing political fortunes in the Muslim East held out the prospect that a military confrontation might be avoided. In 1226 envoys from al-Kāmil, sultan of Egypt, had gone to Sicily to suggest that as many towns in Palestine could be restored to Christian control as Frederick wished, if he aided al-Kāmil in his campaign against the governor of Damascus, al-Mu'azzam. Archbishop Berard of Palermo contacted the ruler of Damascus in October 1227 and remained in touch with al-Kāmil until just before the arrival of Frederick in Acre. The death of al-Mu'azzam in November 1227 strengthened al-Kāmil's position and added urgency to the negotiations. Frederick's army, heavily depleted by sickness and desertions, and beset by disputes as to the legitimacy of the emperor's position, could not contemplate mounting a serious military challenge. Furthermore, Frederick's father-in-law, John of Brienne, was now in command of a papal army that was attacking the kingdom of Sicily.

The emperor could thus not afford to remain in the East for long, and so took up negotiations with al-Kāmil. These did not progress well, and at one point Frederick even considered military action and (in late 1228) encamped his army near Jaffa. Nonetheless, in January or February 1229 a ten-year truce was agreed on. Jerusalem was returned to Christian control, with the exception of the Temple Mount containing the al-Aqṣā mosque and the Dome of the Rock. Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Toron, with a strip of territory as far as the coast, were also returned to the kingdom of Jerusalem. However, no military help was to be given to the Christian states of Tripoli and Antioch, and support for a series of Templar and Hospitaller castles was to be curtailed.

The emperor even undertook to aid al-Kāmil for the duration of this truce against all his enemies, including Christians. The treaty aroused heavy opposition from the patriarch of Jerusalem and the military orders. This opposition did not derive from the fact that the return of Jerusalem had been accomplished by negotiation rather than combat, but rather was directed against specific clauses of the agreement between Frederick and al-Kāmil: the emperor's promise to aid the sultan even against Christians, the continuing presence of Muslim soldiers in parts of Jerusalem, the promise that the city's fortifications would be destroyed, and the concession that the truce would not extend to all the strongholds of the military orders or to all of Outremer.

Patriarch Gerold undertook concerted efforts to prevent the emperor from entering Jerusalem by placing the city under interdict and threatening excommunication to anyone following Frederick there. On Saturday, 17 March 1229, Frederick entered Jerusalem with his German and Italian troops and some of the barons of the kingdom. Of the military orders only the Teutonic Knights were present. Finding no priests at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre the next day, Frederick had a crown laid on the altar and placed it on his own head. Queen Isabella had died in 1227, and technically Frederick was only regent for their infant son Conrad. Nevertheless, he continued to claim the title of king of Jerusalem and appointed his own officials to govern the kingdom, although he was faced with growing opposition from the Ibelins and their supporters. Yet the worsening situation in Sicily forced the emperor's departure for Acre, where he narrowly avoided an armed skirmish with troops raised by Gerold and the Templars. On 1 May 1229 Frederick left Acre, and he arrived back in Sicily on 10 June. The emperor's return resulted in a quick reversal of recent papal advances, and by early 1230 negotiations began to revoke his excommunication, resulting in the Treaty of San Germano on 28 August 1230.

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See also: Frederick II of Germany (1194–1250); Germany

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Crusade of Emperor Henry VI (1197–1198)

The Crusade to the Holy Land organized by Henry VI, Holy Roman Emperor and king of Sicily (d. 1197), is sometimes known as the German Crusade of 1197–1198 because it consisted almost exclusively of contingents from Germany.

Although Henry VI appears to have taken the cross, it was clear by the early autumn of 1196 that he was not going to lead the crusade personally. Instead he appointed the imperial chancellor Conrad of Querfurt, bishop of Hildesheim, and the imperial marshal Henry of Kalden as leaders of the expedition. Archbishop Conrad of Mainz led the first contingents to the Holy Land at Christmas 1196, with the main army and a contingent from northern Germany and Brabant following during 1197, perhaps numbering as many as 16,000 men and more than 240 ships. Although Henry VI succumbed to illness in Sicily during the summer of 1197, the crusade continued and managed to secure the coast of Palestine for the kingdom of Jerusalem before concluding a truce with the Ayyūbid rulers of Egypt and returning to the West in 1198.

Origins and Organization

In November 1194 Henry VI conquered the kingdom of Sicily, which he had claimed by right of his wife, Constance, daughter of King Roger II of Sicily. With his possession of Sicily further secured by the birth of an heir, Frederick (II) in December 1194, the emperor's aims turned to a wider horizon. In March 1193 he received the cross from Bishop Radulf of Sutri in private at Bari. He promised to send 1,500 knights and a similar number of ministerials (serf-knights) to the Holy Land but not to lead them personally. Although the truce in the Holy Land concluded in 1191 between Richard the Lionheart, king of England, and Saladin came to an end in 1195/1196, it does not appear that the situation in Syria or Palestine had any influence upon the planning of the crusade or that the rulers of Outremer had asked for assistance. Henry sent an embassy to Byzantium to ask for sup-

port, but there is no indication that he schemed to redirect the crusade against Byzantium, as is often suggested.

It is probably futile to attempt to disentangle political from religious motives behind Henry's decision to take the cross. The primary objective of the crusade was to bolster the kingdom of Jerusalem, which had been greatly reduced by the conquests of Saladin in the years 1187–1191, yet the enterprise should also be seen in connection with Henry's ambitions to win over Pope Celestine III for his plans for hereditary succession of the Staufen dynasty in the Holy Roman Empire and the kingdom of Sicily. A new crusade also gave Henry the opportunity to assert imperial authority in the East, and to this end he started negotiations with the rulers of Cilicia and Cyprus, by which he would confer the royal dignity upon them in return for their acknowledgement of imperial overlordship.

The crusade was proclaimed at diets held in Gelnhausen and Worms in the autumn of 1195, at which numerous prominent bishops and princes took the cross. The original departure date had been fixed for Christmas 1195, but at Gelnhausen it was postponed to Christmas 1196. However, only a fraction of those who had taken the cross departed on this date with Conrad, archbishop of Mainz, who had been named as papal legate to the crusade. It is unclear how large this part of the army was, but several other princes joined it on its march across the Alps and through Italy toward the southern Italian ports of Bari and Brindisi, where the emperor had made preparations for transport; they included Walram, son of Duke Henry III of Limburg, and Abbot Mangold of Kremsmünster. Conrad's fleet left Apulia in April, and two ships were lost in spring storms during the journey. Upon arriving in Palestine (probably in May 1197), the fleet returned to carry the main army from Italy.

To transport the army by ship was a natural decision, in view of Henry's possession of the ports of Apulia and Sicily. But not all of the crusaders sailed from southern Italy. A fleet consisting of 44 ships (probably cogs) set sail from the ports of northern Germany and Brabant. The crusaders carried on it appear to have been relatively independent from imperial command, perhaps because most of them were supporters of the Welfs, the main opponents of the Staufen dynasty in Germany; the most prominent of them were Henry I, count palatine of the Rhine; Hartwig II, archbishop of Bremen; Henry II, count of Oldenburg; and Henry I, duke of Brabant. The transport of the main army would, however, have been problematic had it not been for these extra ships. The fleet

reached Messina on 3 August 1197, after having briefly assisted the Christians on the Iberian Peninsula against the Muslims.

The main army left Germany on 1 May 1197, and the first groups reached Messina in July. They thus arrived too late to take part in the suppression of the Sicilian uprising against Henry that broke out in April. The leader was to be Conrad of Querfurt, bishop of Hildesheim, while the military command was given to the imperial marshal Henry of Kalden. The crusaders included a large number of lay and ecclesiastical princes from all over Germany: Wolfger of Erla, bishop of Passau; Frederick I, duke of Austria; Conrad, bishop of Regensburg; Ludwig I, duke of Bavaria; Hermann I, landgrave of Thuringia; Adolf III, count of Holstein; Dietrich, count of Weißenfels; Gardulf, bishop of Halberstadt; Berthold II, bishop of Naumburg-Zeitz; and Rudolf, bishop of Verden. Henry of Kalden had been sent to Byzantium to demand financial and logistical assistance in the winter of 1196–1197, and he returned to Sicily in May 1197 to join the fleet, which set sail on 1 September. A part of the fleet sailed directly for Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), but the imperial chancellor Conrad of Querfurt first sailed to Cyprus to crown the island's ruler, Aimery of Lusignan, as king.

The Crusade in the Holy Land

The advance contingent under the leadership of Archbishop Conrad of Mainz made camp on the beach outside Acre. Walram of Limburg could not wait for the arrival of the main army to see some action and raided in the vicinity. This was a breach of the existing truce, which caused the Ayyūbid rulers in Egypt to put an army in the field. Acre was saved by swift action by Hugh of Tiberias, who summoned assistance from Henry of Champagne, the ruler of the kingdom of Jerusalem. The Ayyūbid army then turned on Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel), which it captured. The problems of the Christians increased with the accidental death of Henry of Champagne on 10 September 1197. His successor, Aimery of Lusignan, was not crowned until late 1197 or early 1198.

The military goal of the crusade was to secure the coast of Palestine. To march against the city of Jerusalem had been made virtually impossible by the loss of Jaffa and the presence of the strong Ayyūbid army. When the main army arrived, therefore, it headed north toward Beirut. It marched along the coast accompanied by the fleet to Tyre (mod. Sôur, Lebanon), where the men-at-arms embarked on the ships, while the knights continued by land. The crusaders were able

to occupy Sidon (mod. Saïda, Lebanon), which had been abandoned by the Muslims.

In the meantime the Ayyūbid army under the leadership of al-ʿĀdil had guessed that the goal of the crusade army was Beirut and marched inland toward the city, where he had its walls torn down before the crusaders could arrive. Al-ʿĀdil then turned south, meeting the crusade army in pitched battle in October near Sidon, where his troops were routed. The crusaders made camp at Nahr Damur, and Beirut surrendered to them. It was then decided to lay siege to the castle of Toron, which was invested in November. The successful undermining of the castle produced an offer by the garrison to surrender it in return for free passage, but the crusaders were divided as to whether to accept these terms or to take the castle by storm. The decision was overtaken by events. By the beginning of February the crusaders heard of the arrival of new Ayyūbid forces. In the meantime news of the death of Emperor Henry VI had also arrived, and Conrad of Querfurt and other leaders left the army to return to Tyre. Some of the German crusaders remained in position at Toron, but finally abandoned the siege on 24 February after the arrival of an Ayyūbid army under al-ʿAziz, nephew of al-ʿĀdil.

By March most of the army was on its way home. On 21 June 1198 a truce was concluded with the Ayyūbids for five years and eight months. The crusade had achieved some modest successes, notably the recapture of Sidon and Beirut. Several prominent crusaders are known to have died during the expedition, including Duke Frederick of Austria, Count Otto III of Ortenburg, and Bishop Odo of Toul. At least one of the German nobles remained in Palestine: Otto, count of Henneberg-Botenlauben, married Beatrix, the daughter and heiress of Joscelin III of Courtenay, seneschal of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

There were two other significant developments during the crusade that were significant for the development of the crusading movement and relationships between West and East. As the main contingent marched toward Toron, Conrad of Mainz travelled to Tarsos (mod. Tarsus, Turkey) to attend the coronation of Leon I, king of Cilician Armenia, taking with him a crown bestowed on the new king by Henry VI (6 January 1198). Conrad, acting as representative of both emperor and pope, crowned Leon in a ceremony that marked a new rapprochement between Armenia and the Western powers, as well as a union of the Armenian and Roman churches.

Later in the year, as the German crusaders assembled in the coastal cities for their voyage home, many of their leaders met at Acre on 5 March 1198 with representatives of the kingdom of Jerusalem. There they made the decision to establish a new military religious order on the basis of the small fraternity that had originally been founded to run the German hospital in Acre during the Third Crusade (1189–1192). This act marked the establishment of the Teutonic Order, the third great international military order after the Hospitallers and Templars.

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Crusade of the Hospitallers

See Crusade of 1309

Crusade of James Douglas

See Douglas, James

Crusade of the Lord Edward (1270–1272)

A crusade commanded by the “Lord Edward” (the future King Edward I), eldest son and heir of Henry III of England. Of negligible importance for the survival of the precarious kingdom of Jerusalem, this expedition to Acre (mod. ʿAkko, Israel) simultaneously revealed the continued enthusiasm for the holy war in the East and the difficulty in translating that enthusiasm into tangible results.

Crusade of Louis IX of France to Tunis (1270)

The loss of the town of Saphet (mod. Zefat, Israel) in 1266 to the Mamlūk sultan of Egypt, Baybars I, following that of Caesarea and Arsuf the year before, prompted a revival of the crusade recruitment begun by Pope Urban IV in 1263. In the aftermath of the civil war of 1263–1267, the English initially responded with indifference. However, by early 1268, encouraged by the example of King Louis IX of France, who took the cross in March 1267, Edward determined to join the expedition, taking the cross at Northampton on 24 June 1268. Falling in with King Louis's plans, in August 1269, Edward agreed to serve under him in return for a loan of 70,000 *livres tournois* (pounds of the standard of Tours).

With preparations moving slowly, Edward embarked only on 24 August 1270, reaching the Mediterranean a month later, bound for Tunis in North Africa, where he was supposed to rendezvous with the French army. However, by the time that Edward arrived in November, Louis IX was dead and a treaty with the Muslim emir arranged. Wintering in Sicily, alone of the leaders of what was in essence Louis IX's family crusade, Edward proceeded to the Holy Land, reinforced by a few French lords. He reached Acre via Cyprus on 9 May 1271. Joined by his brother Edmund in September 1271, Edward remained in the Holy Land for a year. He attempted to coordinate action with the Mongol Il-Khan of Persia against the Mamlūks and to resolve internal tensions within Outremer, particularly those between Hugh III, king of Cyprus and Jerusalem, and his barons concerning their obligation to serve on the mainland. Edward resisted an attack on Acre by Baybars in December 1271 and also organized two abortive raids into the surrounding countryside. He lacked sufficient manpower to achieve anything, a result of his quixotic insistence on pursuing his crusade to Acre unsupported by other Western leaders.

A truce agreed to by King Hugh with Baybars (May 1272) failed to persuade Edward of the futility of his stay, his opposition to the truce possibly provoking Baybars or his lieutenant the emir of Ramla to order Edward's assassination in June. Edward survived (whether or not because his wife Eleanor of Castile sucked poison from his wound) but the incident exposed his false position: he was vulnerable and impotent in the East, while his absence risked his inheritance in the West. Probably comprising fewer than 1,000 men, including some 200–250 knights, Edward's force was tightly centralized around his own and his brother's affinities, its leaders bound to Edward by written contracts and pay. With the bulk of the cost of more than £100,000 falling on

Edward, who received assistance from both church and state, including (in 1269–1270) the first lay subsidy since 1237, neither he nor his followers profited materially from the enterprise, financial disincentive matching political disadvantage. Baronial conflicts persisting, the absence of both of the aged king's sons on such a dangerous adventure gambled with the stability of England. Yet Edward consistently dismissed obstacles and prudence. Pressed early in 1271 to return to England, where his father had been gravely ill, he swore he would go to Acre, if necessary, with only his groom Fowin for company. Edward's commitment was pious, brave, popular, rash, futile, and misconceived, his feeble contingent a passing irritant to the rampant Baybars; his heroics satisfied his own self-image and ambition more than the needs of Outremer or Christendom.

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Crusade of Louis IX of France to Tunis (1270)

The second crusade led by Louis IX, king of France. It culminated in an attack on the Muslim city of Tunis in North Africa, but failed to achieve anything of note. The 1260s saw an escalation of the military threat posed to Outremer by the Mamlūk sultan of Egypt, Baybars I, who had captured a number of Frankish towns and fortifications and subjected



Route of the French Fleet in the Crusade of 1270

Crusade of Louis IX of France to Tunis (1270)

Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) to frequent attack. In 1266 this news caused Pope Clement IV to proclaim a new expedition to the Holy Land, and toward the end of that year King Louis IX of France secretly informed the pope of his decision to undertake a new crusade to the East.

The king took the cross on 25 March 1267 at a ceremony to celebrate the feast of the Annunciation. Three of his sons, including his heir, Philip, also vowed to go on crusade, together with various barons. Many more took the cross when Prince Philip was knighted on 5 June 1267. Recent scholars have discounted the suggestion by the contemporary French chronicler John of Joinville that the crusade lacked support; agreements drawn up for the supply of shipping, and contracts made between the king and those lords who had committed themselves to the crusade, indicate that a figure of 10,000 participants is plausible.

The crusade was preached throughout France, first by Simon of Brie, the cardinal-bishop of St. Cecilia, and from 1268 by Ralph of Grosparmi, the cardinal-bishop of Albano, who was to accompany the crusade as papal legate. The king reduced his own household expenses to raise money for the expedition, but the biggest source of funds was the church. The pope granted Louis a tenth of the revenues from the church in France and a twentieth of the revenues from those dioceses that bordered the realm, for a period of three years. He was also awarded the income from the redemption of crusade vows and other ecclesiastical profits, and the pope actively encouraged private donations by awarding an indulgence to anyone who gave a quarter of their annual income to the crusade. Louis also secured money from the French towns by extending aid for the knighting of his son to cover the crusade as well. Louis contracted knights to serve with him for a year in the East; agreements specified the number of men and horses they were to bring and detailed the payment they would receive in return. Ships were commissioned and others chartered from the maritime cities of Marseilles and Genoa, which were to be ready to sail from the French port of Aigues-Mortes in May 1270. Finally, an admiral was named, Florence of Varennes, the first Frenchman to command a fleet.

In March 1270 Louis IX entrusted the government of France to the abbot of Saint-Denis and the lord of Nesle. On 14 March he received the pilgrim's staff and the Oriflamme standard from the altar at Saint-Denis and on the following day left Paris. He arrived at Aigues-Mortes in May, but the ships were delayed and the fleet did not depart until the beginning of July 1270.

Much scholarly discussion has taken place over the intended destination of the crusade. It seems likely that the king had been persuaded of the possibility that the Hafsid sultan of Tunis, al-Mustanşir, would convert to Christianity if an army were present to protect him from Muslim discontent. Louis evidently also hoped to undertake an offensive against Baybars in conjunction with Abagha, the Mongol Il-Khanid ruler. In 1270, Abagha faced a pressing military threat from a new quarter and postponed his planned campaign against the Egyptians. Motivated by piety, Louis used this unexpected delay to try to secure the conversion of al-Mustanşir, while keeping his army together and possibly winning additional riches that could be used in the recovery of the Holy Land. This explanation accounts for the action in Tunis by establishing that it was not the final goal of the crusade but merely a staging post before the proposed campaign in Outremer.

The choice of Cagliari in Sardinia as the initial rendezvous point for the crusaders supports the thesis that Tunis was Louis's intended goal for the first phase of the expedition. On 12 or 13 July the new plan was announced at a council meeting held there. It surprised most, but there was no significant opposition, and the fleet sailed for the North African coast. On 18 July 1270 the crusaders landed unopposed opposite Tunis. A lack of water forced them to move, and on 24 July they seized the town of Carthage and encamped outside it. The sultan made no move to convert, and Louis decided to await the arrival of his brother Charles I of Anjou, king of Sicily, before he attacked Tunis. While they waited, the Muslims harried the camp and disease broke out within the army. Many died, including John, one of Louis's sons, and Ralph of Grosparmi, the papal legate. Louis himself fell ill, and on 25 August 1270, the very day that Charles of Anjou arrived, he died.

Charles took control of the crusade and succeeded in repulsing the Muslims, but the army had been so weakened by attack and disease that he decided to negotiate a withdrawal. On 30 October 1270, an agreement was reached. Charles was unable to secure freedom of worship for Christians in Tunisia, but the sultan conceded that they could preach and pray in their own churches. An indemnity of 210,000 ounces of gold was granted to the crusaders, and the sultan agreed to restore payment of the tribute owed to the kings of Sicily, but at double the previous amount, and to expel pro-Staufen refugees who had opposed Charles in Sicily. These latter concessions benefited Charles exclusively

and helped to create the myth that he had influenced the direction of the crusade.

On 10 November 1270, Lord Edward of England, King Henry III's heir, who had taken the cross in 1268 and in 1269 had arranged to join Louis IX's expedition, finally arrived in Tunis. He had missed the opportunity to play a part in the expedition and was too late to have any influence on or to benefit from the agreement Charles had reached with the sultan.

The crusaders left Africa on 11 November 1270 and reached Sicily three days later. The original plan was apparently for Alphonse of Poitiers, another of the king's brothers, to lead the remainder of the army to Syria in the following spring, while Philip, now king of France, returned to Paris. However, on the night of 15 November a storm destroyed the fleet, with the loss of 40 ships and at least 1,000 men, and it was decided that the crusade would be postponed. Only Lord Edward of England continued to Outremer.

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Crusade of Louis IX to the East (1248–1254)

The first crusade led by King Louis IX of France, which aimed to relieve the Holy Land by attacking Egypt, the main seat of Ayyūbid power in the Near East; it initially met with success but ended in defeat, with most of the army, including the king, captured by the Muslims.

In December 1244 Louis IX was motivated by a number

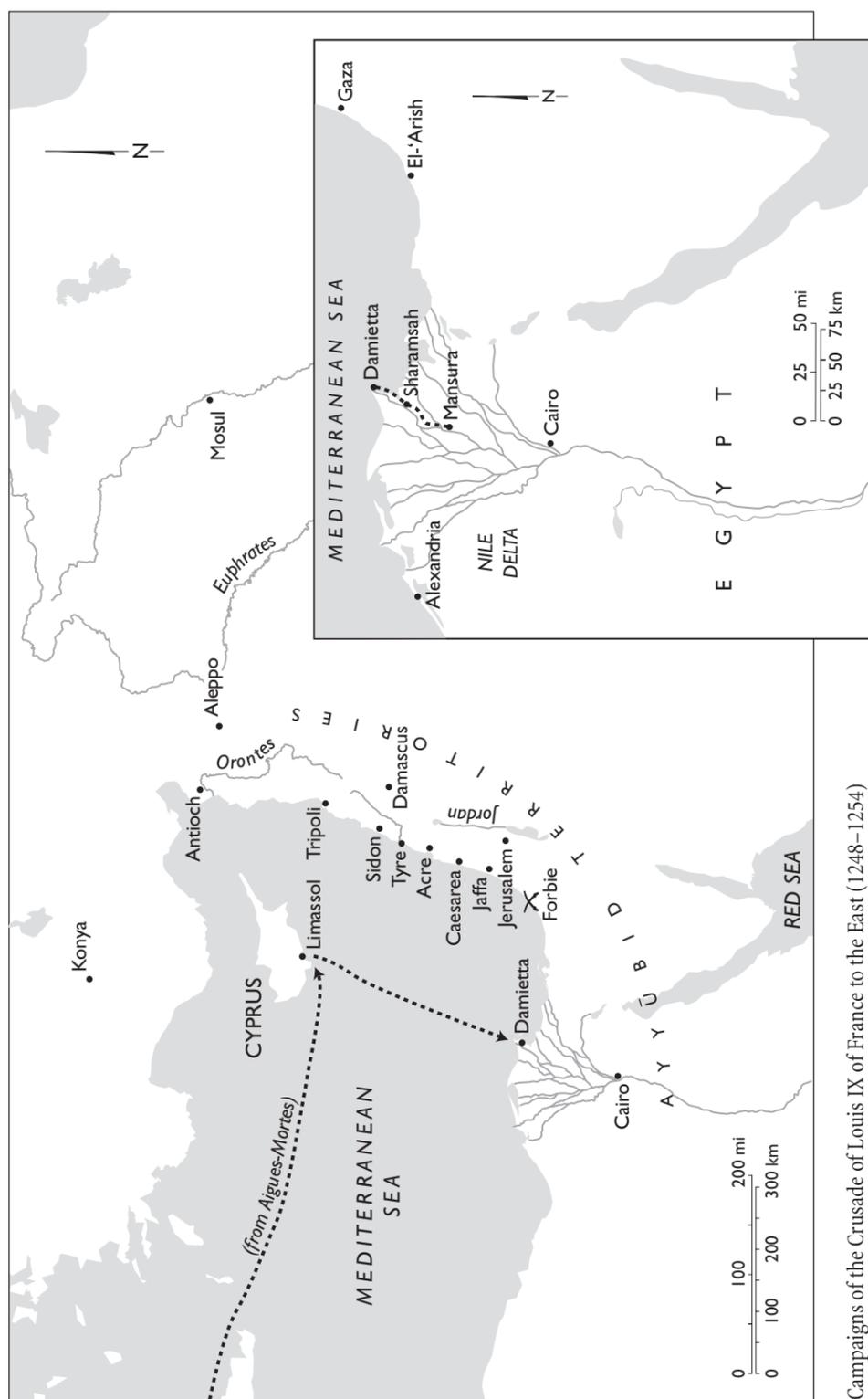
of personal, religious, and political factors to take the cross. Most chroniclers record that the king was seriously ill and vowed to go on crusade in response to a vision when close to death. It is probable, however, that his vow was not made simply to obtain a cure, but was motivated by a number of other concerns. The political situation in Outremer was ripe for a new crusade. In August 1244 the city of Jerusalem, which had been restored to the Christians, was sacked by the Khwārazmians, a Muslim people from central Asia that had been driven westward by the advancing Mongols and formed an alliance with al-Ṣaliḥ Ayyūb, sultan of Egypt. On 17 October 1244 the army of the kingdom of Jerusalem was annihilated by a combined Egyptian-Khwārazmian army at La Forbie near Gaza.

Although news of the defeat did not reach Europe before the end of January 1245, it is possible that rumors about the fall of Jerusalem influenced Louis's decision. The king was a pious man, and the crusade provided an opportunity for the secular classes to achieve a spiritual reward; he came from a family that had a dynastic tradition of crusading, which he must have wanted to maintain; his personal prestige and political reputation would be enhanced by participation in the crusade, which was regarded as an imperative for Christian princes, and Louis was undoubtedly moved by the plight of the holy places and the Christians in the East.

Pope Innocent IV also recognized the need for a new crusade to relieve Outremer and issued the crusade encyclical *Afflicti corde* at the Council of Lyons in July 1245. Together with the appointment of a number of crusade preachers led by Odo of Châteauroux, this papal recognition of Louis's expedition boosted recruitment in France. Yet elsewhere enthusiasm was muted. Germany and Italy were preoccupied with the conflict between Emperor Frederick II and the pope, eastern Europe was recovering from the Mongol invasion of 1241, England was dominated by internal conflict, and a new crusade was being launched in Spain against the Muslims of the Iberian Peninsula.

Louis IX attempted to reconcile the emperor and the pope in the interests of the crusade, but without success, and tried in vain to secure peace with Henry III of England to ensure that France would not be attacked in his absence. He initiated an inquiry into injustices perpetrated throughout France in the name of the Crown and ensured that the kingdom's administration was in good order during his absence. He raised money for the expedition by a wide range of means: he reduced his own expenditure, increased the level

Crusade of Louis IX to the East (1248–1254)



Campaigns of the Crusade of Louis IX of France to the East (1248–1254)

of fines imposed by courts, confiscated the property of Jews, placed impositions on the towns, and persuaded the French clergy to contribute a tenth of their ecclesiastical revenues for three years, rather than the twentieth specified by the pope in *Afflicti corde*. The annual royal revenues have been estimated at 250,000 livres, most of which was needed for the Crown's normal expenditure, but Louis spent at least 1.5 million livres during the crusade, of which some 950,000 livres were contributed by the church and 274,000 livres by the towns. In 1246 Louis contracted for a fleet of thirty-six ships from Genoa and Marseilles to transport the crusaders and began stockpiling food and wine on Cyprus; meanwhile, development of the port of Aigues-Mortes on the Mediterranean coast of France was speeded up to provide a departure point for the crusaders.

Louis's commitment to the expedition and the failure of any other rulers to join it made him its undisputed secular leader. In 1248 Odo of Châteauroux was appointed legate to accompany the crusade. On 25 August Louis sailed from Aigues-Mortes with an army that probably numbered around 2,500–2,800 knights, 5,000 squires and sergeants, over 10,000 foot soldiers, and almost 5,000 crossbowmen. The assembly point for the crusade was Cyprus. The island's abundant resources enabled it to support the crusade army during the winter, and its position allowed an attack to be launched toward either Egypt or Palestine. In May 1249 the fleet set sail, and on 4 June it reached the Egyptian coast off Damietta (mod. Dumâyât). The army landed almost unopposed, and the Ayyūbid forces abandoned Damietta to the Christians.

In November the army began to march up the Nile toward Cairo, the Ayyūbid capital, having rejected the alternative proposal to attack the port of Alexandria. Adverse weather conditions impeded the army's progress, and it took a month to reach the bank of a Nile tributary opposite the town of Mansurah (mod. El-Mansūra). The crusaders were unable to cross, and it was only in February 1250 that a local inhabitant informed them of the existence of a ford. Louis ordered the army to cross and regroup on the far bank before any further advance was made.

On 24 November the Ayyūbid sultan had died, but his death had been concealed while his son, Turān-Shāh, traveled from Iraq. The Ayyūbid army was held together by the sultan's widow, Shajar-al-Durr, and Fakhr-al-Dīn, a senior Egyptian emir who had previously negotiated with Frederick II on the sultan's behalf, but if it was defeated the road to Cairo would be clear. The Christian vanguard, which



Conquest of Damietta by Louis IX of France, from the *Speculum Majus*, fifteenth century. (Archivo Iconografico, S.A./Corbis)

included the king's brother, Count Robert of Artois, ignored Louis's directive to wait for the rest of the army and attacked the Ayyūbid camp. The Muslims were caught unawares, and many were massacred. Robert and the vanguard then attacked Mansurah, but the Ayyūbid forces regrouped between the town and the river and cut them off from the main army. The crusaders became dispersed in the streets of the town and were attacked from the rooftops. Unable to escape and without hope of rescue, they were slaughtered.

The rest of the crusader army crossed the Nile and after a daylong battle scored an important victory, but its offensive capabilities were seriously affected by the loss of the vanguard, which had included the army's elite knights and the experienced Templars. The Ayyūbids recovered their position and subjected the crusaders to constant attack. The two sides entered into negotiations, which involved the exchange of Damietta for Jerusalem; however, the possibility of an agreement evaporated when the Ayyūbids demanded that Louis surrender himself as surety for the deliverance of Damietta. The Ayyūbids tipped the balance in their favor when they transported galleys overland and launched them on the Nile between the Christian army and Damietta to intercept supplies being carried upriver from the coast.

Crusade of Louis IX to the East (1248–1254)

Without fresh provisions and ravaged by disease, Louis's weakened army was obliged to retreat. On 5 April 1250 it began its march, but its progress was slowed by the great number of sick and wounded, who now included the king. Continually attacked by the Ayyūbid army, the rearguard halted at Sharamsah while the majority of the army reached Fariskur, a day's march from Damietta. Philip of Montfort tried to negotiate a new truce, but his efforts were frustrated when a French sergeant called on the crusaders to surrender, pretending to repeat an order from the king. As a result, the crusaders laid down their arms, and the Ayyūbids refused any further discussion of terms. A massacre ensued and the defeat was complete. The king and most of his nobles were imprisoned and many of the soldiers killed. Only a small number, which included the legate, reached Damietta.

Louis negotiated the release of the army in return for the surrender of Damietta and a payment of 400,000 livres. A ten-year truce was agreed on. The treaty, originally concluded with Turān-Shāh, was confirmed by the Mamlūk emirs who had assassinated the new sultan on 2 May, overthrowing the Ayyūbid regime. Louis was released on 6 May. Damietta was handed over, and the king was rigorous in his efforts to ensure that the ransom was paid in full. The new Mamlūk government, however, broke its promises, slaughtering the Christians who remained in Damietta and burning the crusaders' provisions and war machines.

Louis sailed to Outremer with the remnants of his army, intending to refit the fleet and await the arrival of the rest of the prisoners and equipment before returning to France. The failure of the truce, however, prompted Louis to remain in the East. In a letter to his subjects, he explained that he needed to stay in order to secure the release of the captives and to ensure that Outremer was not lost to Christendom, and he asked for warriors to join him and for money to be sent.

Many of the French barons now returned to France, but Louis turned his attention to refortifying the towns and castles in the kingdom of Jerusalem. While still in Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) Louis began to build a defensive wall around the suburb of Montmusart. In March 1251 he moved to Caesarea (mod. Har Qesari, Israel), where he spent over a year reinforcing the town. In May 1252 he moved to Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel), which he refortified, and in 1253 he rebuilt Sidon (mod. Saīda, Lebanon). Louis also reconciled Prince Bohemund VI of Antioch with his mother, the regent, and established peace between Antioch and Cilicia. In 1252

he concluded a peace with Egypt; its terms included the return of almost all the Christian captives and the waiver of the remaining 200,000 livres of the ransom. Little else of lasting value was gained from this truce, however, because it was superseded by a subsequent treaty between the Mamlūks and the Ayyūbids of Damascus and Aleppo that was directed against the Christians. In 1254 Louis concluded a truce with the Ayyūbid prince al-Nasīr, to last for two years, six months, and forty days. This provided a sufficient safeguard for Louis to embark for France (24 April), where his mother, the regent, had died.

During his stay in the East, Louis had failed to recapture Jerusalem or score a military success, but he had refortified Outremer, secured peace among the Christians, and obtained a truce with the Muslims. He also left an important legacy in the form of a force of French knights, crossbowmen, and sergeants who contributed to the defense of the kingdom until the fall of Acre in 1291.

—Linda Goldsmith

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Crusade of Peter I of Cyprus

See Alexandria, Capture of

Crusade of the Poor

See Crusade of 1309

Crusade of Richard of Cornwall

See Crusade of 1239–1241

Crusade of Smyrna (1344)*See* Smyrna Crusade**Crusade of Thibaud of Champagne***See* Crusade of 1239–1241**Crusade Vow***See* Vow and Privileges**Crusader States***See* Outremer**Crusades against Christians**

Deriving its legitimacy from Roman theories of public war, the examples of Scripture, and the identification of the Christian Church with secular powers, Christian holy war boasted an ancient pedigree. Long familiar with wars against external infidels attracting spiritual privileges, in the eleventh century the Western church extended the images and rituals of holy war to conflicts within Christendom as the church strove to define its legal, liturgical, and theological codes, as well as its relationship with the secular world. Impetus came from the radicals of the papal reform movement, who increasingly equated the universal church with the see of Rome. Ecclesiastical support for military activity centered on the protection and defense of the church, its clergy, and its property, exemplified by the Peace and Truce of God initiatives. Reforming popes, such as Leo IX in his attack on the Normans in southern Italy (1053), encouraged their troops to believe they were engaged in a holy pursuit, gaining remission of the penalties of sin. Pope Gregory VII (1073–1085), with his *militia Sancti Petri* (knighthood of St. Peter), insisted that fighting for the papacy was a penitential act, those killed being promised salvation. Such ideas owed less to Augustinian theories of just war than to the experience of militant Christianity and wars to defend the church since the eighth century. Both Anselm of Lucca's *Collectio Canonum* (c. 1085), which included Augustinian just war texts but received little attention, and the description of the Christian warrior in *De vita christiana* (c. 1090–1095) by the extreme Gregorian Bonizo of Sutri focused on internal threats to the church by heretics and schismatics rather than wars against infidels.

Origins

By the time Pope Urban II preached the First Crusade in 1095–1096, holy wars against errant Christians, both in practice and in theory, occupied a familiar place in the arsenal of the papacy and its adherents, as, more widely, did the idea of divinely sanctioned violence in the culture of Western arms bearers. There is some modern debate as to whether these developments represented a clerical Christianizing of secular violence or, alternatively, a militarization of church teaching. Either way, by 1095 there existed a living tradition of Christian war against fellow Christians, a theory and practice familiar to veterans of the Investiture Wars who answered Urban's call to the East.

The Jerusalem expedition of 1096–1099 was novel in its explicit association of pilgrimage and arms, its plenary indulgence, and its objective, but not in its penitential, or redemptive, dimension. Its features proved readily transferable to all theaters of Christian conflict, although its institutions only reached full coherence under Pope Innocent III (1198–1216). The legacy of the First Crusade encouraged overt demonstrations of holy war, as in peacekeeping in northern France or in papal opposition to the Norman kings of Sicily, while holy war against errant Christians received greater clarification in the great codification of canon law, the *Decretum*, attributed to the canonist Gratian of Bologna (c. 1140), where *Causa 23* analyzed justified warfare within Christendom (although not war against pagans). When the thirteenth-century canonist Henry of Segusio (Hostiensis) insisted that the crusade within Christendom (Lat. *crux cis-marina*) possessed greater urgency and justice than the overseas crusade (Lat. *crux transmarina*), he was not only condoning contemporary papal policy but also reflecting traditional attitudes.

Such transference of language, images, and institutions had been a fitful process: even by the fourteenth century not all wars fought against Christians on behalf of church or pope attracted the trappings of crusading: plenary remission of sins for combatants, even survivors, based on those granted to Jerusalem crusaders; the taking of vows and the receiving of the cross; the authorization of specific preaching; the offer of ecclesiastical protection and other temporal privileges; and, from around 1200, access to reserved clerical taxation, vow redemptions, donations, and legacies.

Indulgences were offered to those fighting for the pope against King Roger II of Sicily in the 1120s and 1130s (including a grant by the Council of Pisa in 1135 of the same

remission as decreed at the Council of Clermont) and also against assorted heretics, together with their protectors and mercenary bands (Fr. *routiers*), in the 1130s and 1170s, but vows and the ceremony of taking the cross were absent. It has been argued that Pope Innocent III, fearful of losing control of Sicily, launched the first “political” crusade (a misnomer: like all wars, every crusade was, per se, political) in November 1199, against the freebooting adventurer Markward of Anweiler, by offering the same indulgences as those given for campaigns in Outremer. Yet no evidence survives of preaching, giving of the cross, or other privileges in this context. Only with the promulgation of a crusade against the Cathar heretics of southern France and their Christian protectors in 1208 was the full apparatus of a war of the cross directed against Christians, in the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229), its equality with the Eastern enterprises reinforced by the Fourth Lateran Council (1215).

Development

Four long-term trends assisted this use of the crusade: (1) the desire to make the uniquely powerful crusade indulgence more widely available to the laity; (2) the configuring of the *societas Christiana* (Christian society) into a church militant, beset by evil, sin, and temporal enemies; (3) the inception of ecclesiastical taxation (in 1199) as the church became more fully incorporated into papal universalism; and (4) the acquisition, defense, and retention of a temporal Papal State in central Italy.

However, crusades against Christians fed off habitual responses to paid fighting and popular indulgences, and, unlike war with the infidel, allegiances were mutable. Given the papacy’s drive for exclusive uniformity of doctrine, dogma, and observance, charges of heresy and schism could readily be applied to any group that incurred official disapproval, especially those beyond the authority of the Inquisition: the Drenther peasants of the Netherlands (1228–1232), Bosnians opposed to Hungarian aggrandizement from 1227, and the Stedinger peasants of the Lower Weser (1232–1234), as well as the protectors of the Cathars during the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229) or English rebels in 1216–1217 and 1265. As the tide turned against the Latins in their post-1204 conquests in Greece, crusades were announced against Greek Orthodox Byzantines in 1231 and 1239, repeated into the fourteenth century, until the Ottoman threat imposed uneasy rapprochement.

Crusading lent physical force to excommunication as a

political weapon. The main crusades against Christians centered on the independent temporal position of the papacy in Italy, the defense of the Papal States, and fears of territorial encirclement. Insecurity contradicted papal claims to temporal as well as spiritual plenitude of power. Only by maintaining their own secular state, free from invasion or rebellion, could popes feel safe in Rome. Crusades became major devices in several papally inspired campaigns: the struggle with the Staufers of Germany and Sicily (1239–1269), the Wars of the Sicilian Vespers to restore Angevin control over the island of Sicily (1282–1302), the campaigns to secure papal interests in central and northern Italy during the evacuation of the Curia to Avignon (1309–1377), and attempts to resolve the Great Schism (1378–1417) by force.

Wars against the Staufer and Ghibellines

The wars against the Staufers (Hohenstaufen) dynasty were designed to prevent territorial encirclement by Emperor Frederick II (1197–1250), ruler of Germany and, nominally, northern Italy, as well as the kingdom of Sicily, and his heirs; to assert control over Sicily, a papal fief; and to protect the Papal States, especially the March of Ancona and the duchy of Spoleto. A fundamental lack of trust in what Pope Urban IV called a “viper race” fueled the tenacity with which the Staufers were pursued by Popes Gregory IX (1227–1241), Innocent IV (1243–1254), Alexander IV (1254–1261), Urban IV (1261–1264), and Clement IV (1265–1268).

Although earlier campaigns, such as that led by John of Brienne in 1228–1230, had been funded by church taxation, and Frederick II had finally been excommunicated in March 1239, only in the winter of 1239–1240 did Gregory IX call for a formal crusade against the emperor. The anti-imperial Lombard League had been heavily defeated in 1237; Frederick’s forces were threatening Rome, where support for the pope remained fickle. By raising the stakes, Gregory could hope to stiffen local support but also mobilize a larger coalition in northern Italy and Germany. The apparatus of crusading emphasized a shared identity across political, social, and geographic frontiers; added powerful spiritual inducements to recruitment; and, crucially, permitted any anti-imperialist coalition to be funded by church taxation. The crusade, renewed in 1240 and 1243, was preached chiefly in northern Italy and Germany, where papal anti-kings were established, first Henry Raspe of Thuringia, then William of Holland. Although hard to quantify, the political effect of these crusades, supported by the ringing endorsement of the

First Council of Lyons (1245), lent a measure of cohesion and additional finance to the struggle against Frederick II.

On the emperor's death, crusades were renewed against his son and successor King Conrad IV (1250–1254) in Germany and Frederick's illegitimate son, Manfred (d. 1266), regent of Sicily. From the mid-1250s, the focus fell on southern Italy and Sicily. In 1255, Alexander IV persuaded King Henry III of England to accept the crown of Sicily on behalf of his second son, Edmund, hoping to add the resources of a secular kingdom to those of the church. Although English involvement proved abortive, Alexander's idea of hiring a secular prince to attack Manfred (king of Sicily since 1258) was revived by Urban IV and Clement IV, who secured the services of Charles I of Anjou (d. 1285), a younger brother of King Louis IX of France. In a lightning campaign in the winter of 1265–1266, Charles of Anjou defeated and killed Manfred at the battle of Benevento in February 1266. Two years later, Charles consolidated his position by his victory at Tagliacozzo (August 1268) over Conradin, Conrad IV's son, whom he subsequently executed in Naples (October), the last male member of the Staufan dynasty.

In the wake of the anti-Staufen wars, crusading became habitual. Crusades were launched in 1255 against Ezzelino and Alberic of Romano, in 1263 against Sardinia, and in 1263 and 1265 against English rebels. Italy still provided the most active arena. Following the Sicilian rising against Charles I of Anjou in 1282 (the so-called Sicilian Vespers) and the annexation of the island by King Peter III of Aragon, husband of Emperor Frederick II's daughter Constance, a new crusade was promulgated in January 1283, culminating in the invasion of Aragon in 1285 by Philip III of France, which ended in retreat and complete failure. When Frederick II of Sicily (1296–1337), a younger son of Peter III, defied his elder brother James II of Aragon (1291–1327) by retaining control of Sicily despite a papal-Aragonese agreement in 1295 to surrender the island to the Angevins, another round of crusading ensued. This round ended only with the treaty of Caltabellota in 1302 between Frederick and the new papal claimant to the island, Charles of Valois, younger brother of Philip IV of France (1285–1314), which left Sicily in Aragonese hands. There were no more crusades against Sicily.

In the fourteenth century, Italian battle lines became fragmented. Twice attempts were made to reassert imperial claims in the peninsula by the German monarchs Henry VII (1310–1313) and Ludwig IV (1328–1330), the latter pro-

voking a crusade against him for his pains. In general popes applied crusades to more local enemies, as with Boniface VIII (1294–1303) dealing with his rivals the Colonna family in 1297–1298, the suppression of the populist heretical movement of Fra Dolcino in Piedmont (1306–1307), or preventing Venetian control of Ferrara (1309–1310). The *signori* (military lords of cities) of Lombardy, Tuscany, and central Italy tended to be antipapal Ghibellines, prominently the Visconti of Milan; Florence and Naples tended toward the Guelph (i.e., pro-papal) side. Self-interest, not principle or faith, determined action: in 1334 Guelph Florence combined with its rival Milan to thwart papal plans to create a new Lombard puppet state.

Major campaigns over the Papal States were organized by cardinal-legates, notably Bertrand du Poujet after 1319 and Gil Albornoz after 1353, with crusades instigated in 1321 against Milan and Ferrara; in 1324 against Milan, Mantua, and rebels in Ancona; in 1354 against Cesena and Faenza; and against Milan once more in 1360, 1363, and 1368. In 1357, a new element was introduced by the crusade directed at the mercenary company of Conrad of Landau, other such companies (Fr. *routiers*) being targeted in 1361 and 1369/1370. Local and regional in objective, preaching, recruitment, and effect, these crusades allowed popes to spend huge sums on their Italian ambitions, while elsewhere they were reluctant to convert secular conflicts into holy wars, as in the case of French designs on Flanders or of the Hundred Years' War (1337–1453).

The Later Middle Ages

During the Great Schism (1378–1417), crusades were launched by the Roman pope Urban VI against his rival at Avignon, Clement VII (1378); both sides lent crusade status to continuing succession wars in Naples: in 1382 by Clement VII, and in 1411 and 1414 by John XXIII. In 1383, a campaign against Flanders launched by Henry Despenser, bishop of Norwich, gained funds and popular support by being granted the status of crusade by Urban VI. For the English government, this was a cheap, if in the event dimly unsuccessful, way of pursuing the war against the French. John of Gaunt's attempt to install himself as king of Castile in 1386 also attracted crusade bulls.

Increasingly, however, the military solution to the Great Schism lost appeal, not least because neither side had access to adequate church funds to sponsor large armies. The experience of the Italian wars of the fourteenth century combined

with that of the Great Schism to dissuade popes after 1417 from using the crusade to defend the Papal States, perhaps a retrospective recognition of futility and the damage they caused to the standing of both papacy and crusade. Only the bellicose Julius II (1503–1513) revived the tradition of crusading in Italy, as well as granting crusading status to the French war of Henry VIII of England in 1512.

By contrast, where Wars of the Cross did appear more appropriate, there existed no hesitation. Thus there were several crusades fought against the Hussites of Bohemia (1420, 1421, 1422, 1427, 1431, 1465–1471), and another planned (1428–1429). The Reformation led to a brief, fleeting revival of crusade schemes against Roman Catholic enemies of the papacy, as well as the new schismatics and heretics, such as Henry VIII of England in the 1530s and Elizabeth I in the last years of the sixteenth century, when Spain's attack and the Roman Catholic opposition in Ireland both became associated with crusading.

Legitimate or Perverted Crusades?

That crusading should become involved in wars against Christians was inevitable, given the pre-1095 history of holy wars within Christendom. That such an application only became habitual in the thirteenth century reflected the greater coherence of crusade institutions after the end of the twelfth century, as well as the enhanced bureaucratic and financial efficiency of the system of ecclesiastical taxation upon which such enterprises depended for their operation and appeal to military commanders. The simultaneous consolidation of the theology of indulgences aided recruitment to a cause that offered the greatest remission of sins possible, even though idealism alone cannot explain how armies were raised for these (or for any other) crusades. Holy war against Christians suited prevalent cultural attitudes that demanded formal religious sanction to secular behavior, hence the eccentric phenomenon of crusades against crusaders: in 1240, the imperialist dean of Passau in Bavaria publicly preached the cross against the papal legate; in 1263–1265, Simon of Montfort explicitly associated his rebellion against King Henry III of England with a crusade; even in 1215 such a conflict occurred, when Robert FitzWalter, a leader of the opposition to King John, who had just taken the cross, called himself Marshal of the Army of God.

From the thirteenth century onward, papal wars against Christians attracted controversy. Victims and enemies naturally complained. Crusades against Christians could seem

tawdry rackets, distracting from the higher call of the Holy Land. In the thirteenth century, many otherwise sympathetic to crusading opposed papal wars in Italy: clergy resentful at taxation, English and French nobles reluctant to commute their vows in the 1230s and 1240s, citizens of Lille in 1284, and Florentines who refused to allow their crusade legacies to be diverted. The papalist Hostiensis noted that popular opinion in Germany preferred the crusade to the Holy Land. Those eager to see crusading as a means of moral and religious regeneration tended to look to wars against heretics and infidels, not fellow Christians, which, in the fourteenth century, attracted limited international approval.

While popes such as Innocent IV, Clement IV, Boniface VIII, and John XXIII promoted wars against Christians, others, such as Gregory X (1271–1276) and Nicholas IV (1288–1291), pursued peace to achieve a new Eastern expedition. The Curia could recognize the potential unpopularity of crusades against Christians: in 1246 Innocent IV insisted that his order to his legate to stop preaching the Holy Land crusade in order to facilitate the promotion of the crusade against the Staufens should be kept secret. The concurrence of numerous crusade appeals with different objectives caused a degree of confusion, duplication, and contradiction of effort.

While popes and their apologists insisted that the anti-Staufen and Italian crusades were necessary prerequisites for any successful campaign in the East, others, such as the Venetian crusade propagandist Marino Sanudo (d. 1343), argued instead that they constituted major impediments to the recovery of the Holy Land. The gradual loss of Outremer coinciding with the intensification of crusading in Italy struck some as reprehensible. However, successive popes managed to find enthusiasts for their campaigns, eager to pursue secular warfare with spiritual benefits and church funding. It is hard to blame the crusades against Christians as single-handedly undermining support for the concept of Wars of the Cross or for papal authority in the West; John Wyclif's famous attack on Despenser's Crusade in 1383 formed part of a much wider critique of a church palpably in crisis over the Great Schism. Criticism of papal bureaucracy, corruption, and bellicosity embraced the Italian crusades but was hardly defined by it. There is no such thing as neutral public opinion, but it is hard to detect either majority condemnation or majority approval. Papal crusades against Christians, while producing major successes, such as Charles of Anjou's victory, failed to secure papal territory. By

the early fifteenth century, with papal temporal plenitude of power compromised by the growing assertion of national ecclesiastical autonomy, crusades against Christians, appearing at worst objects of derision and at best irrelevant beyond the regional conflicts to which they were still applied, were abandoned, rather as poor business than as ideologically corrupt.

—Christopher Tyerman

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Curonia

Curonia (mod. Kurzeme, Latvia; Ger. Kurland) was a province of medieval Livonia covering roughly the peninsula between the Baltic Sea and Gulf of Riga. It was inhabited at the inception of the Baltic Crusades by the Baltic tribe of the Curonians (Kurs) and the Finno-Ugrian Livs.

According to the chronicler Henry of Livonia, the Curonians made peace with the emerging bishopric of Riga in 1201. In 1210 they besieged Riga, but there are indications that peace was restored and that it was even possible to use the land route to Prussia via Curonia. The Christianization

of Curonia was first pursued seriously during the activity of the papal representative Baldwin of Aulne, who in 1230–1231 agreed with the Curonians on the acceptance of Christianity and subjected the land directly to himself and the pope. Yet it was impossible for Baldwin to enforce this settlement because it ignored the ambitions of other parties among the Germans in Livonia. Following attempts to establish a bishopric and division of the land with the Order of the Sword Brethren, a new settlement took shape in 1245, when the papal legate William of Modena granted two-thirds of the land to the Teutonic Order, and the remaining third to the bishop of Curonia, after the model of a similar settlement in Prussia. However, the province remained in a turbulent situation, experiencing a major Curonian uprising in 1260 after the Teutonic Order was defeated at the battle of Durben. A final peace agreement was reached only in 1267. Some chieftains of the Curonians were able to keep their position as fief-holders of the order.

The most important stronghold of the Teutonic Order in Curonia was Goldingen (mod. Kuldīga, Latvia). Another important castle was Memel (Klaipėda, Lithuania), founded jointly by the Livonian branch of the order and the bishop of Curonia in 1252 as the seat of the bishopric, which, however, was moved later to Pilten (mod. Piltene, Latvia). From 1326 the castle of Memel and its commandery belonged to the Prussian branch of the Teutonic Order. In 1263 a priest of the order, Emund von Werd, was elected as bishop of Curonia. During his episcopate, it was ordained that the members of the cathedral chapter should be elected from the Teutonic Order, which effectively placed the bishopric under the order's control.

In 1561 Curonia was converted into a hereditary duchy by the last master of the Teutonic Order in Livonia, Gotthard Kettler. Although he had aimed to become ruler of all of Livonia by the secularization of all the order's lands and an oath of allegiance to Poland, he was left only with the districts south of the river Dūna.

—Juhan Kreem

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Cycle de la Croisade

See Crusade Cycle

Cyprus

A Byzantine possession until 1184, the island of Cyprus was under the independent rule of the Greek usurper Isaac Komnenos when it was conquered in 1191 by Richard I (the Lionheart), king of England, who had come to the East in the course of the Third Crusade (1189–1192). After being held for a short time by the Order of the Temple, Cyprus was granted to Guy of Lusignan, the dispossessed king of Jerusalem. Latin (Frankish) rule over the island lasted from 1192 until 1489, by which time it had effectively become a Venetian protectorate. Cyprus was then a colony of Venice until its conquest by the Ottoman Turks in 1571.

Crusader Conquest and Latin Settlement

Cyprus had been detached from the Byzantine Empire in 1184 when Isaac Komnenos, a member of the imperial dynasty of the Komnenoi, seized power and had himself proclaimed emperor of the island. Although the pretext for King Richard's conquest was Isaac's ill treatment of his sister Berengaria when her ship arrived on Cyprus, the king realized the value of the island in supplying men, money, and provisions to the Frankish states of Outremer, which had been greatly reduced following the conquests of Saladin in 1187. Pope Innocent III likewise appreciated the island's value in this regard, urging the military orders of the Temple and the Hospital to assist in the defense of Cyprus against a possible Byzantine invasion and rejecting the arguments of the Byzantine emperor Alexios III Angelos for the restoration of the island to Byzantine rule.

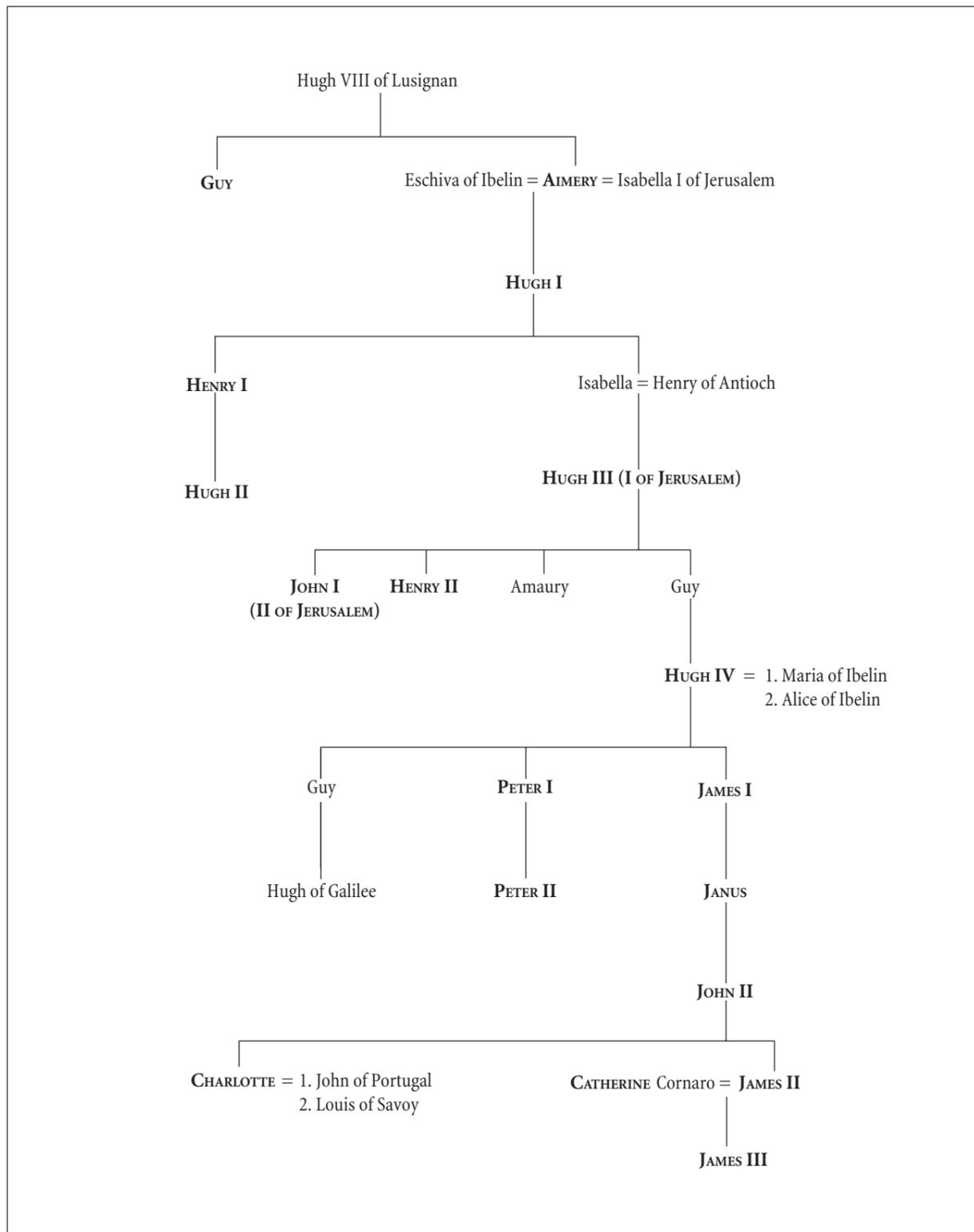
Richard initially sold the island to the Templars, but their attempt to impose new taxes on the Greeks led to a rebellion in Nicosia (mod. Lefkosia), which they suppressed bloodily. Unsure of their position, they returned the island to him, and he sold it to Guy of Lusignan as part

of a general settlement between rival claimants to the throne of Jerusalem. In 1197 Guy's brother and successor, Aimery, who had succeeded him in 1194, was formally crowned king of Cyprus by Bishop Conrad of Hildesheim, who was a representative of the pope and also the chancellor of the Holy Roman Emperor Henry VI, to whom King Aimery owed fealty.

Prior to the Latin conquest Cyprus's population had been mainly Greek. It also included Syrian Melkites, who shared the Greeks' confessional allegiance to the Orthodox Church, as well as Maronites, Armenians, Jews, and some Latins. The Latins were mostly Italians: Venetians had settled on the island following the grant of commercial privileges to Venice on Crete and Cyprus by the Byzantine emperor John Komnenos in 1126, and Latin merchants resident in Limassol (mod. Lemesos) provided King Richard with intelligence concerning Isaac Komnenos after Richard landed there and captured the city.

Following the conquest and the establishment of the Lusignan dynasty, Pisan and Genoese merchants settled on Cyprus along with the Venetians, and they settled in all the main towns of the island, where they established communities headed by consuls or *baillis* (governors) and centered on *loggias* (lodgings for merchants), where disputes of a commercial nature were settled by the officers of their communes, although the Crown retained a monopoly on criminal justice.

Guy of Lusignan was well aware of the Greeks' hostility to the Latins, and so he encouraged Latin nobles, knights, and burgesses, chiefly from Outremer, to settle on the island, granting them lands, property, and even dowries in accordance with their social station. This Latin or Frankish element was reinforced throughout the thirteenth century and especially between 1263 and 1291: with the conquest of the Frankish territories and cities on the mainland of Palestine and Syria by the Mamlūk sultans Baybars I and Qalāwūn, numerous Latin (as well as Syrian Christian) refugees came to settle on Cyprus. In military terms the Latin presence was strengthened by the Templars, the Hospitallers, and the Teutonic Knights, who acquired estates on the island. Probably in response to injunctions of Pope Innocent III to strengthen the island's defenses, castles were constructed by the Templars at Gastria near Famagusta (mod. Ammochostos) and by the Hospitallers at Saranda Kolones behind the harbor of Paphos (mod. Pafos).



Succession to the Kingdom of Cypress, 1192–1498

The Latin Kingdom under the Lusignan Dynasty (1192–1489)

The continuing arrival of Latin settlers in the early thirteenth century led to tensions among the Frankish nobles culminating in civil war in 1228–1232, when supporters of the powerful Ibelin family, who were relative newcomers to Cyprus, clashed with older established families under the leadership of Aimery Barlais. Barlais enjoyed the support of the Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick II, the formal suzerain of Cyprus. The death of King Hugh I (1218) and the minority of his son and successor, Henry I, meant that royal authority was effectively absent, and although the pro-Ibelin nobles who controlled the young king eventually won the war with Genoese help, the commercial concessions granted to Genoa subsequently led to tension between them and the crown. The king, heavily in debt as a result of payments for troops, was forced to sell or lease properties to the Latin Church in return for cash. It was during the reign of Henry I that Venetian properties on Cyprus were sequestered for some unknown reason, although the Venetians and the Genoese continued to be the chief commercial powers throughout the period of Lusignan rule.

Cyprus was of considerable strategic value to the crusading movement as a place of assembly for crusading campaigns and as a source of men and supplies to the beleaguered Franks of Outremer. The Latin nobles of Cyprus and their forces took part in two major crusades: the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221) and the first crusade of King Louis IX of France (1248–1254). Together with the Franks of Outremer they also took part in various other military campaigns against the Muslims throughout the thirteenth century, fighting at the battle of La Forbie (1244), in which the Christian forces were badly defeated by the Muslims; defending Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel) with a fleet in 1247; and sending forces to assist in the defense of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) and other places in 1265, 1266, and 1271.

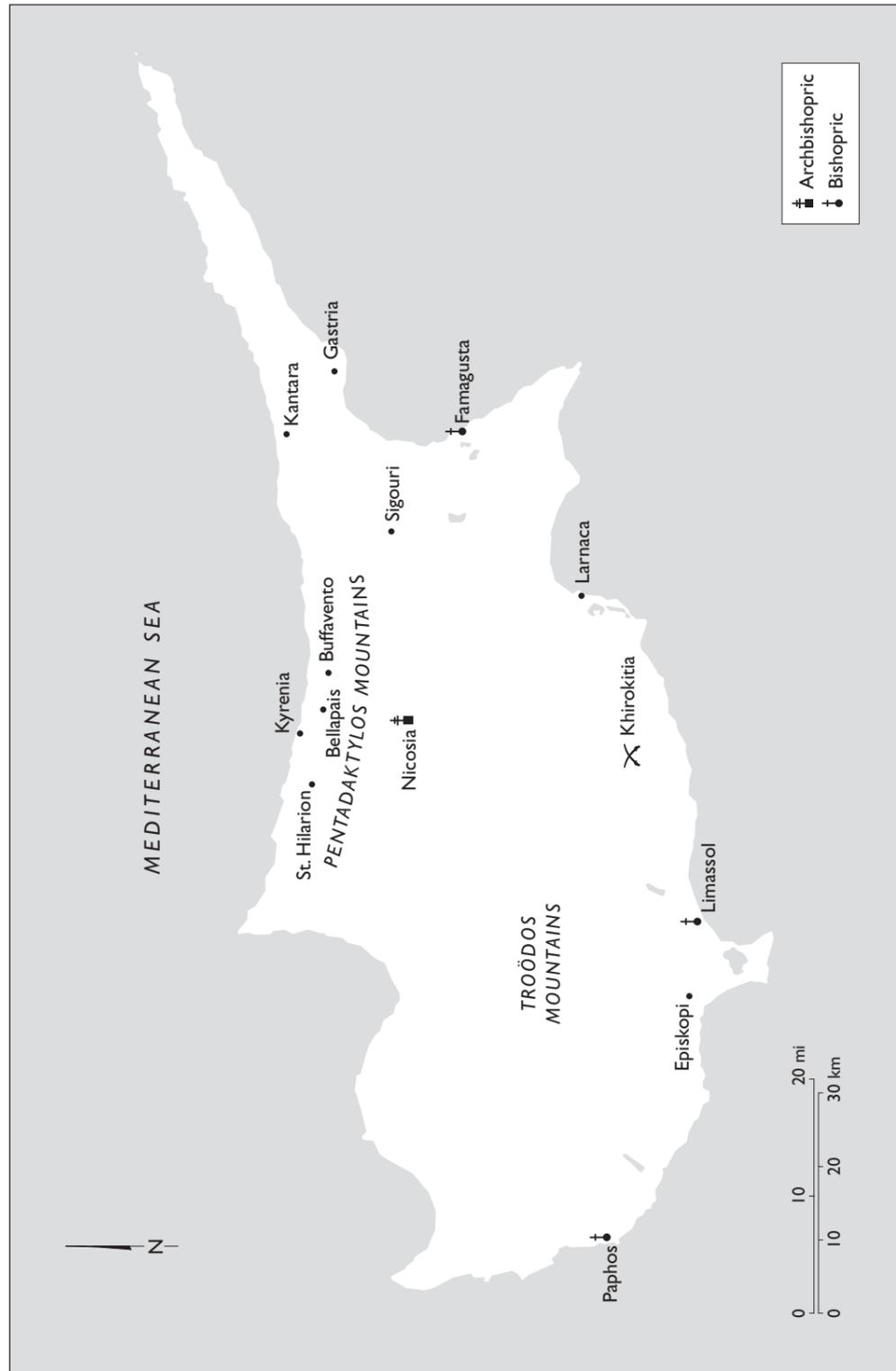
From 1268 to 1291 three kings of Cyprus were also kings of Jerusalem. The senior branch of the royal house of Jerusalem became extinct on the execution of Conradin of Staufen at the hands of Charles I of Anjou (1268), whereupon Hugh III of Cyprus became king of Jerusalem. Hugh's rights to both Cyprus and Jerusalem were contested by rival claimants, Count Hugh of Brienne and Maria of Antioch, who arguably had a stronger legal title but who lacked Hugh's capacity to deploy the military resources of Cyprus in the defense of Outremer. This he did to the best of his abil-

ity, although he was hampered by the opposition of the Cypriot nobles to military service on the mainland and by the intervention there of Charles of Anjou after Maria of Antioch had sold her claim to him in 1277. Hugh III was succeeded in both kingdoms by his sons John I and Henry II.

The Muslims' realization of Cyprus's usefulness in assisting the Franks of Outremer impelled them to organize two naval raids against Limassol: the first (1220–1221) caused the Latins great loss of life; in the second (1270) the Muslim fleet was wrecked on the shoals off Limassol and the survivors captured. Such assistance, however, did not stop the Mamlūk conquest of Frankish Palestine and Syria. In 1291 Acre was captured after a long siege despite the assistance provided by King Henry II, who went there in person with a large force of Cypriot knights and foot soldiers. The later Lusignan kings continued to use the title of kings of Jerusalem after the loss of Acre.

The refugees from Latin Syria who flooded into Cyprus after the fall of Acre, Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon), and the remaining coastal towns, such as Tortosa (mod. Tartûs, Syria), suffered great hardship, and provision for them placed a considerable burden on the Crown, which imposed the *testagium* (head tax) to raise funds. The Latin Church of Cyprus had to cater to numerous refugee clerics, such as the patriarch of Jerusalem, the bishops of Beirut and Laodikeia, as well as monks and cathedral clergy from the places lost to the Muslims. Limassol now became the headquarters of the Orders of the Temple and the Hospital, which both developed fleets with which to conduct raids against Muslim Syria and Palestine. From 1299 to 1301 the two orders and the Cypriot Crown tried to coordinate military campaigns against the Mamlūks with the Mongols of Persia, but without success, and a Templar expedition to the island of Ruad (mod. Arwād, Syria) was a resounding failure, ending in 1302 with the death or capture of over 500 Templars when a powerful Muslim fleet besieged and retook the island. These failures were a contributory factor in the ultimately unsuccessful conspiracy organized in 1306 by Amaury, brother of King Henry II. Amaury had Templar and Genoese support, but although he managed to have himself made regent and exile the king to Cilician Armenia, he was murdered in 1310 and the king was restored with Hospitaller assistance.

It was around this time that the involvement of the military orders in Cypriot affairs was greatly reduced. The Order of the Temple was dissolved in 1312 after being subjected to



Cyprus under the Lusignan Dynasty

trials at the instigation of the French monarchy in 1310–1311. Almost contemporaneously, the Hospitallers moved their headquarters to Rhodes (mod. Rodos, Greece) after their conquest of that island from the Byzantines in 1307–1308, while the Teutonic Order redeployed to the Baltic region after 1309. Thereafter the Hospitallers and the Teutonic Knights simply maintained estates on the island, although those of the Hospitallers, greatly augmented after they were given the confiscated Templar properties, were of considerable economic importance as a source of income and agricultural produce right up to 1570.

From 1344 to 1426 a series of events took place that permanently weakened the Lusignan royal house and the Latin nobility and also damaged the flourishing economy of Cyprus. In 1344 the papal embargo on direct trade with the Muslims was lifted, and Cyprus was increasingly bypassed by merchants in favor of other destinations such as Alexandria, Beirut, and Rhodes. The Black Death, which swept across Europe and the Mediterranean in 1348, carried off one-third of the population. The wars begun by King Peter I from 1359 onward against the Turks of Anatolia and the Mamlūks of Egypt and Syria, while resulting in notable successes, such as the sack of Alexandria in the crusade of 1365, were ruinously expensive and involved the increasing use of foreign mercenaries. This caused resentment and fear on the part of the Latin nobles, a party of whom murdered the king in 1369. His son Peter II was a minor when he came to the throne, and Genoa, angered in part by the sack of Alexandria, which had damaged its trade, invaded Cyprus in 1373. The ensuing war was ruinous for the kingdom, resulting in the destruction of a large section of the noble class, the loss of Famagusta to the Genoese (who kept the city until 1464), and the payment of a heavy annual war indemnity to Genoa.

To finance the indemnity from their now shrunken revenues, the kings of Cyprus encouraged raids against the Mamlūk-ruled mainland by Catalan, Rhodian, and Cypriot pirates. These eventually provoked a Mamlūk invasion of Cyprus in 1426, resulting in the defeat and capture of King Janus at the battle of Khirokitia. He was only freed following the payment of a huge ransom (paid in part by the Hospitallers) and the imposition of Mamlūk suzerainty on Cyprus together with an annual tribute, which now had to be financed alongside the annual indemnity paid to Genoa. The monarchs of Cyprus were no longer able to maintain an effective royal fleet, and in the mid-fifteenth century the kingdom was also subject to raids by Turkish pirates oper-

ating from the emirate of Karaman opposite the northern coast of Cyprus. Royal estates were mortgaged to an increasing extent to the Venetians and Hospitallers to raise cash to pay the Mamlūk tribute and the Genoese indemnity. King John II's inability to pay his debts led to tensions with both Venice, which in 1452 ordered its subjects to leave the island, and Genoa, which occupied the coastal town of Limassol in the same year.

With the death of King John II in 1458, civil war broke out. On one side were the supporters of his daughter Queen Charlotte, the legitimate heir to the throne, who had married Duke Louis of Savoy and enjoyed the support of the papacy and the Hospitallers; they were opposed by James (II), John's illegitimate son by his Greek mistress, Maria of Patras. James made his way to Egypt, where he acknowledged Mamlūk suzerainty, and in late 1460 he invaded Cyprus with a Mamlūk force to augment his supporters, who included Catalans and Neapolitans. By 1464 James II had succeeded in making himself master of the island, capturing Famagusta from the Genoese and Kyrenia (mod. Keryneia) from the supporters of Queen Charlotte, who with Hospitaller help had held it under siege for four years.

Sometime after 1461, Genoa had lost control of Limassol. By the late fifteenth century the republic had declined as a maritime power, with a contracting share of international trade. In 1458 Genoa was annexed by France, and in 1463, after a brief spell of independence, it became part of the duchy of Milan. Venice was now the strongest Christian maritime power in the Mediterranean, and fear of Ottoman expansion impelled it to come to an understanding with James, who was firmly established on the throne by 1464. In 1468 James II married Catherine Cornaro (Corner), the daughter of a noble Venetian family with large estates in Episkopi near Limassol, but his death in 1473, followed by that of their son James III (1474), effectively opened the way for the imposition of what was in effect a Venetian protectorate. Catherine remained queen until 1489, when she abdicated under Venetian pressure, but although her rule was nominal it was remembered with affection by the people of Cyprus and especially those of Nicosia, who wept at her departure.

The Latin and Greek Churches

In 1196 a Latin Church hierarchy was established on the island in accordance with a bull of Pope Celestine III. It was headed by an archbishop at Nicosia, with three suffragan



Venetian walls in the old town of Famagusta, northeastern Cyprus. (James Davis; Eye Ubiquitous/Corbis)

bishops at Limassol, Paphos, and Famagusta. The Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus had been weakened by the flight of most of the Greek nobles (who were mainly of Constantinopolitan origin) to Byzantium immediately after the Latin conquest, which deprived it of a fundamental source of patronage. The Latin Church, by contrast, was augmented by the arrival of Latin monastic and mendicant orders. The Benedictines, Praemonstratensians, Cistercians, and later the Carmelites took over monasteries from the Greeks or established new ones. The Franciscan and Dominican mendicants obtained houses in the towns, notably in Nicosia, the capital, and Famagusta, which became the chief commercial port of the island.

During the reign of Henry I, religious strife arose between

the Latin and Greek churches as a result of the agreements of 1220 and 1223 concluded between representatives of the Latin nobles and the Latin secular church. These concerned the payment of tithes to the Latin Church by the nobles but also reduced the number of Greek bishoprics from fourteen to four, limited the number of Greeks able to become priests or monks, and subordinated the Greek Church to the Latin one. Some Greek clerics cooperated with the Latins, but others resisted, encouraged by the patriarch of Constantinople, himself in exile at Nicaea as a result of the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204. This resistance came to a head in 1231 with the martyrdom of thirteen Greek monks who were burnt at the stake in Nicosia for refusing to accept the validity of the Latin doctrine of unleavened bread.

The Greek clergy continued to resist subordination to the papacy and the Latin Church until 1260, when Archbishop Germanos and his remaining Greek suffragan bishops accepted the terms of the *Bulla Cypria* of Pope Alexander IV, which made them jurisdictionally subordinate to the pope and the Latin archbishop and bishops of Cyprus. Their acceptance provoked unrest in Nicosia in 1261, and disaffection continued into the fourteenth century. In 1312 and again in 1360 the Greeks of Nicosia and their bishops rioted against the policies of visiting papal legates. Yet apart from these incidents, the Greeks accepted (albeit with some resentment) the new arrangements, which remained in place until the Turkish conquest of 1570.

Economy and Society

The economic and social structure of Cyprus under Frankish rule shows a marked continuity with the Byzantine period, especially in the countryside. The estates of the Byzantine emperor, the former Greek *archontes* (magnates), and the Greek Orthodox Church were taken over by the Lusignan Crown, the Latin nobles, and the Latin Church, who employed officials (Fr. *baillis*, Lat. *appaltores*), who were often of Greek or Syrian origin, to administer these estates and ensure that the peasants discharged their feudal obligations. These included various labor services, such as working two days a week on the domains of their lords, and the

payment of fief rents to the Latin land-owners, usually in kind and amounting to one-third of their annual produce. Unlike their counterparts in Frankish Greece, the Greek peasants did not pay tithes directly to the Latin Church, for the lords themselves paid these, as was the custom in the kingdom of Jerusalem. Besides the serfs, there was also a class of free peasants who had no labor obligations, were free to leave their lands, and paid their lords one-fourth to one-third of their annual income.

The loss of Outremer to the Mamlūks in 1291 impelled the popes to declare an embargo on direct trade (especially in strategic materials such as weapons, iron, and timber) between Western merchants and Muslim lands, and Cyprus benefited greatly from this. Western merchants came to Cyprus to sell textiles and other goods; there they bought silks, spices, and other luxury articles; Cypriot traders disregarded the embargo and brought such goods from Mamlūk territories to Cyprus to resell them at considerable profit to the merchants from the West. The Venetians and Genoese continued to be the most powerful of the trading nations frequenting Cyprus, but Catalans, Provençals, Anconitans, Pisans, Florentines, and Ragusans also traded with the island from the late thirteenth century onward. Besides luxury articles originating from the East, they purchased Cypriot agricultural products such as wheat, pulses, carobs, cotton, wine, and sugar as well as salt from the two salt lakes of Larnaca (mod. Larnaka) and Limassol, which was a royal monopoly.

Cyprus also became a destination for short-distance trade with the Venetian possessions of Crete and Negroponte, Hospitaller Rhodes, and the Genoese colonies of Chios and Pera. The Crown benefited greatly from such trade by way of increased revenues and customs dues, as did nobles and peasants through the demand for and sale of agricultural produce. By the early fourteenth century Famagusta, whose development had been fueled by the influx of refugees from Outremer, had become the chief port of the kingdom and a major emporium of the eastern Mediterranean along with Alexandria and Ayas (Lajazzo).

The prosperity of Cyprus at this time also enabled the kingdom to send assistance to the embattled kingdom of Cilicia, which was threatened by the Saljūqs of Rūm, the Mongols, and the Mamlūks, and to take part in the naval leagues organized from 1333 onward to combat Turkish piracy in the Aegean. Together with Venice, the papacy, and the Hospitallers of Rhodes, Cyprus contributed ships for this

Kings and Queens of Cyprus

Guy (lord of Cyprus)	1192–1194
Aimery	1194–1205
Hugh I	1205–1218
Henry I	1218–1253
Hugh II	1253–1267
Hugh III (also of Jerusalem as Hugh I)	1267–1284
John I (also of Jerusalem)	1284–1285
Henry II (also of Jerusalem)	1285–1324
Hugh IV	1324–1359
Peter I	1359–1369
Peter II	1369–1382
James I	1382–1398
Janus	1398–1432
John II	1432–1458
Charlotte	1458–1460
James II	1460–1473
James III	1473–1474
Catherine Cornaro	1474–1489

purpose, and following the capture of Smyrna (mod. İzmir, Turkey) from the Turks in 1342, Cyprus provided ships and funds for the garrison at Smyrna, which the Christians managed to hold until 1402.

The Black Death of 1348, the wars of King Peter I against the Turks and Mamlūks, and the Genoese invasion of 1373 all weakened the Crown and nobles economically but brought some benefit to the non-Latin population. Many serfs were able to purchase the status of free peasants, and in the Venetian period (1473–1570) the latter greatly outnumbered the former. The administration of justice also exhibits continuity with the Byzantine period in that under the Lusignans it remained a Crown monopoly, for unlike their counterparts in Latin Greece, the Cypriot nobles did not have the right to administer high justice. The High Court of the nobles and the Court of Burgesses were modeled on those of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and from the 1230s onward the *Assizes of Jerusalem* were also applied in Cyprus. In addition, the Syrians had their own courts in Nicosia and Famagusta, while the Greeks retained their own ecclesiastical courts, from which it was possible, however, to lodge appeals to the Latin ecclesiastical courts and the papal Curia. Under the Venetians, the High Court was abolished and its functions taken over by magistrates dispatched from Venice, but the other courts continued to operate. The assizes of the Court of Burgesses are known in Greek versions from 1469 and 1512 and were also translated into Italian in 1531 (published in 1535).

By the fifteenth century Greeks and Syrians were entering the royal administration to an increasing extent. By this time all the officials at the royal *secrète* (the office responsible for tax collection) other than the bailli were Syrians or Greeks, and from the mid-fifteenth century onward this office, too, was held exclusively by Greeks or Syrians. In 1455 the nobleman James of Fleury complained, “The government of this kingdom has fallen entirely into the hands of Greeks and people of no consequence” [Raffaële di Tucci, “Il matrimonio fra Ludovico di Savoia e Carlotta di Cipro,” *Bollettino storico-bibliografico subalpino* 37 (1935), 87]. This opinion was shared by Pope Pius II, and Greeks purchased many of the fiefs sold by the Crown for cash after the war of 1373 with Genoa. Leontios Makhairas, a Greek whose family had close connections with the royal court, wrote the first chronicle of Cypriot history in popular (that is, demotic) Greek in the mid-fifteenth century. This work was continued by another chronicler, George Boustronios, in the early six-

teenth century. These two chronicles, together with the two Greek versions of the assizes of the Court of Burgesses, represent a tradition of prose writing in popular Greek found in no other part of the Greek world at this time.

It is no accident that many of the Latin churches and abbeys still standing, such as the cathedrals of St. Sophia in Nicosia and St. Nicholas in Famagusta and the Praemonstratensian abbey of Belapais near Kyrenia, not to mention the numerous Latin churches in Nicosia and Famagusta, were constructed or embellished in the first half of the thirteenth century, showing influences from the Gothic architecture of northern France, Italy, and elsewhere. Greek iconography, at times commissioned by Latin patrons, was itself influenced by the art of Outremer and subsequently by that of the Italian Renaissance, as well as by that of Byzantine Constantinople, while the fourteenth-century church of St. George of the Greeks in Famagusta was constructed in the Gothic style.

The court of King Hugh IV of Cyprus was open to Greek and Arab scholars as well as Latins; the Greek George Laphites, for example, was described as a theologian fluent in both Classical Greek and Latin. Moreover, musical motets performed at the court of King Janus in the early fifteenth century included themes taken from Greek hagiography. A lively tradition of manuscript copying and illumination developed on Cyprus, continuing to the Venetian period, and under Venetian rule Cypriots of Latin, Greek, and Syrian origin went to study at the University of Padua, which was a Venetian possession. Some of them attained doctorates in law, medicine, and theology.

Cyprus as a Venetian Colony (1489–1571)

Following the enforced abdication of Queen Catherine in 1489, Cyprus became a Venetian colony. Venice was in a position to make use of over two centuries of experience gained in governing Greek lands, such as Crete, Euboea, the Ionian Islands, and the Cyclades. In keeping with its policies elsewhere, Venice sought to gain the allegiance and the cooperation of the local elites, and so from 1521 onward the urban assemblies formerly summoned at irregular intervals in Nicosia and Famagusta became regular town councils. Although they submitted demands to the Venetian Senate, these were not invariably satisfied. The Cypriot nobles cooperated with Venice, however, and among them were several Greek families, including the Podocataro, the Contostephano, the Sozomeno, and the Synclitico families.

Around 1535 Zegno Synclitico was probably the wealthiest individual in Cyprus. Mindful of the depopulation Cyprus had suffered on account of war and emigration, the Venetians encouraged settlement from Syria, the Peloponnese, Crete, and even Venice itself, so that by 1541 there was little land left for settlement. Bread riots in Nicosia marked the final decade of Venetian rule; the population, which may have risen from around 110,000 in 1490 to just under 200,000 by 1570, had grown faster than grain production. Measures were taken to combat a plague of locusts, although poverty continued to exist in both the towns and the countryside. The towns other than Nicosia and Famagusta were largely neglected, and the inhabitants of Limassol and later of Kyrenia lost their civic status as a result.

By 1522 the Ottomans had conquered Mamlūk Syria, Palestine, and Egypt as well as Hospitaller Rhodes, thereby virtually surrounding Cyprus, and the need to construct new fortifications capable of withstanding artillery bombardment became ever more pressing. Famagusta had acquired a new circuit of walls by 1544, and the castle at Kyrenia seems to have been refortified by this time. Other forts, such as those at Limassol, Paphos, and those along the northern coast, were not strengthened owing to lack of manpower, and only in 1567 did work begin on providing new walls for Nicosia. These were still unfinished when the Ottomans invaded Cyprus in July 1570, and the capital fell in September after a siege of five weeks. Kyrenia surrendered a few days later without resistance, but in Famagusta, Venetian and Cypriot forces under the command of Marcantonio Bragadino resisted the Turks heroically for nearly a year. They surrendered only in August 1571 on account of the lack of victuals and gunpowder. Mustafa Pasha, the commander of the Turkish forces, admitted that he had lost 80,000 men in the course of this hard-fought siege, and he had the unfortunate Bragadino flayed alive following the Venetian surrender. With the fall of Famagusta, Latin dominion over Cyprus ended, and the island became an Ottoman province.

—Nicholas Coureas

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Cyprus: Art

See Art of Outremer and Cyprus

Cyprus: French Language

See French Language in the Levant

Cyprus: Literature

See Literature of Outremer and Cyprus

Czech Lands

See Bohemia and Moravia

Appendix

Plans of Castles in Frankish Greece and Cyprus

(drawn by Mike Fyles)

The plans shown below illustrate the layout of four castles in southern Greece and the kingdom of Cyprus in the period of the crusades. The castle of Karytaina (Diagram 1) in the interior of the Peloponnese peninsula was constructed by the Frankish lords of Karytaina in the thirteenth century on a pre-medieval site. By contrast, the castle at Glarentza (Diagram 2) was a new construction intended to protect this port in the north-western Pelop-

onnese. St Hilarion (Diagram 3) in the mountains of northern Cyprus was a Byzantine fortification that was taken over and added to by the Franks. The citadel of Kyrenia (Diagram 4) was another Byzantine fortification constructed to protect this port on the northern coast of the island. For more detailed commentary, see the entry “Castles: Greece and Cyprus” in this volume.

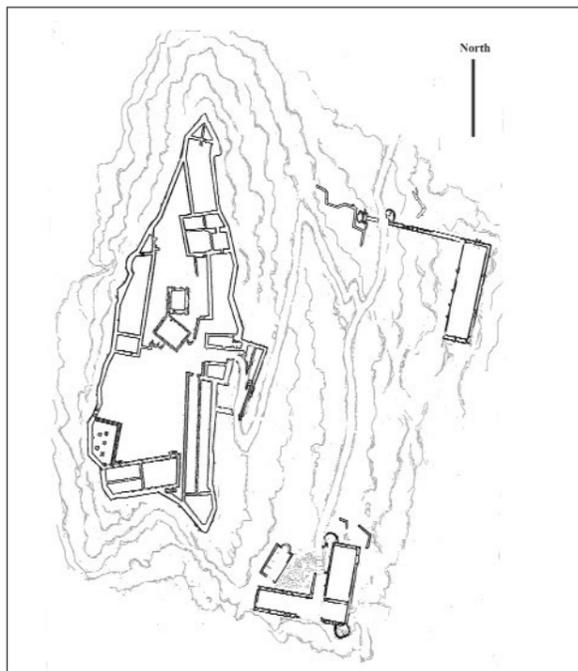


Diagram 1: Karytaina. Illustration by Mike Fyles. Adapted from Antoine Bon, *La Morée franque. Recherches historiques, topographiques et archéologiques sur la principauté d'Achaïe (1205–1430)* (Paris: Editions E. de Boccaurd, 1969), plate 66.

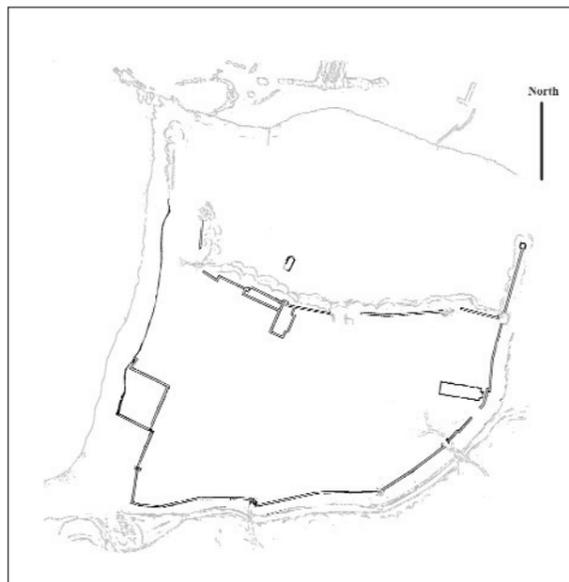


Diagram 2: Glarentza. Illustration by Mike Fyles. Adapted from Antoine Bon, *La Morée franque. Recherches historiques, topographiques et archéologiques sur la principauté d'Achaïe (1205–1430)* (Paris: Editions E. de Boccaurd, 1969), plate 22.

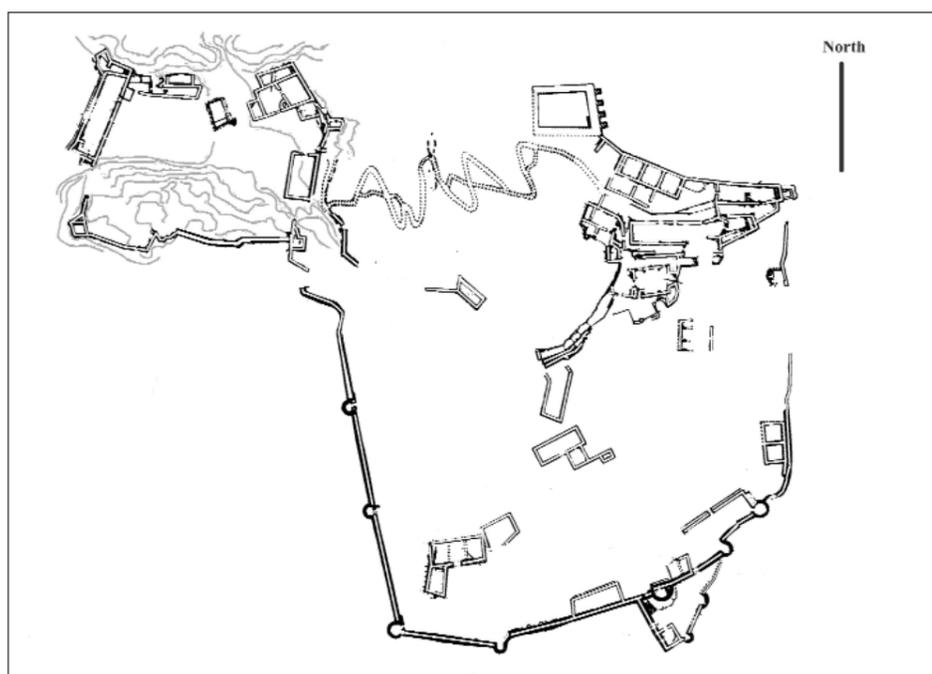


Diagram 3: St. Hilarion. Illustration by Mike Fyles. Adapted from Camille Enlart, *Gothic Art and The Renaissance in Cyprus*, trans. and ed. David Hunt (London: Trigraph Limited, 1987), plate VII.

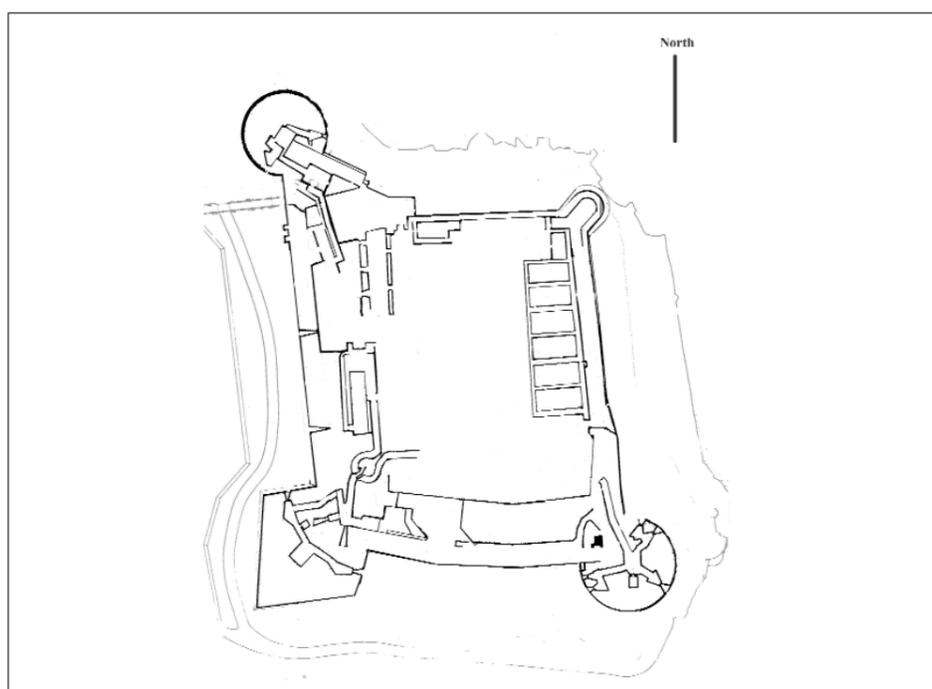


Diagram 4: Kyrenia. Illustration by Mike Fyles. Adapted from Camille Enlart, *Gothic Art and The Renaissance in Cyprus*, trans. and ed. David Hunt (London: Trigraph Limited, 1987), plate VI.

D

Daibert of Pisa (d. 1105)

Bishop (1088–1092) and archbishop of Pisa (1092–1105), leader of the first Pisan crusader fleet, and subsequently Latin patriarch of Jerusalem (1099–1102/1105).

Daibert's origins are unknown, but he was probably of northern Italian descent. He was ordained as a deacon by the excommunicate pro-imperial Archbishop Wezilo of Mainz (1085/1087), for which he later received much criticism from fundamentalist church reformers. Yet soon after his ordination Daibert himself became a reform cleric in the entourage of Countess Matilda of Canossa, who supported his election as bishop of Pisa (1088). During his episcopate, Daibert promoted peace within Pisa and encouraged its leading classes to support the interests and projects of the Reform Papacy, such as campaigns against Muslim Valencia and Tortosa (1092). In April 1092 Pope Urban II made Pisa into an archbishopric with metropolitan rights over the island of Corsica. As one of the closest associates of the pope, Daibert was often in Rome, and in 1095–1096 he accompanied Urban on the journey through France during which the concept of the crusade was developed.

In 1099 Daibert traveled to the East with a large crusader fleet under Pisan command to provide support for the army of the First Crusade, which was thought to have stalled at Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey). Daibert himself had been named legate to replace the deceased Adhemar of Le Puy. However, when the fleet arrived in Syria in late September 1099, the crusade had already captured Jerusalem. The completion of the crusade and news of the death of the pope meant that Daibert lost his powers as legate. In late 1099 he went with Bohemund I of Antioch and Baldwin I of Edessa

to complete their pilgrimage to Jerusalem. There Daibert presided over a council that deposed the elected Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, Arnulf of Chocques, and was himself elected in his place (Christmas 1099).

Daibert immediately consecrated four Latin bishops in the patriarchate of Antioch. He also invested Godfrey of Bouillon as ruler of Jerusalem and Bohemund as prince of Antioch. In return, Godfrey ceded to Daibert all the possessions formerly owned by the deceased Greek patriarch. The princes clearly sought legitimacy for their new principalities in Outremer, but Daibert's motivation has been a matter of debate, particularly in the case of the former Byzantine city of Antioch, which the eastern emperor clearly expected to be restored to him under the terms of his agreements with the leaders of the crusade. It seems likely that in the absence of instructions from Rome, Daibert was trying to imitate Urban II's model for the relationship between the Reform Papacy and those princes who supported it, such as the Normans of Sicily and Matilda of Canossa. This entailed a formal sovereignty of the papacy in Rome, along with the princes' obligation to give help and military protection. Daibert's actions probably derived more from his zeal for reform principles than from any personal ambition to become a theocratic ruler in the Holy Land, as has often been wrongly presumed.

Daibert exploited the presence of the Pisan fleet as well as the support of the Normans in Antioch to pursue his ideals. He secured from Godfrey a quarter of the town of Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel) in February 1100, and at Easter he seems to have obtained a promise of the entire city of Jerusalem once Godfrey conquered two further

cities. It is likely that, in his governance of the church, Daibert tried to impose the communal life on the clerics of the Holy Sepulchre, meeting with heavy resistance, and that he reorganized the Hospital of St. John. Daibert's fortunes turned with the fleet's departure (spring 1100) and the capture of his ally and vassal Bohemund I by the Dānishmenids. When Godfrey died in July 1100, his successor, Baldwin I of Edessa, refused to recognize any dependency from Daibert, which resulted in a worsening in their relations. A new papal legate, Maurice of Porto, mediated a compromise that led to the coronation of Baldwin as king of Jerusalem by Daibert in Bethlehem on Christmas Day 1100.

Conflict soon arose about the use of alms and donations to the Holy Sepulchre. Baldwin's desire to use this money for the payment of soldiers to defend the Holy Land clashed with Daibert's reform principles concerning the freedom of the church and the inalienability of its property. With the help of Arnulf of Chocques, now archdeacon of Jerusalem, Baldwin succeeded in securing a proportion of the alms and then expelled Daibert from Jerusalem. Daibert fled to Antioch but was restored in Jerusalem in October 1102, thanks to the support of the Normans. However, his enemies managed to have him deposed at a synod presided over by another papal legate, Robert of St. Eusebio. The grounds for his removal from office were evidently ill founded, and in the winter of 1104–1105 Daibert sailed to Italy with Bohemund of Antioch to appeal against his removal from office. Pope Paschal II canceled the deposition, but Daibert died at Messina on 15 June 1105 while returning to the Holy Land.

As a close collaborator of Pope Urban II, Daibert was deeply involved in the preparation and realization of the First Crusade. He can therefore be considered a key figure for the understanding of Urban's idea of crusading. Daibert's loyalty to the principles of reform underlay his successes in Pisa as well as his uneven conflict with Baldwin I of Jerusalem and his ultimate failure in the hostile environment of the Holy Land.

—Michael Matzke

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Damascus

Damascus (mod. Dimashq, Syria) was the major city of Muslim Syria in the period of the crusades.

The fall of the Umayyad caliphs in 750 left their imperial capital of Damascus as a capital of Greater Syria, a heterogeneous land divided east-west between the desert, the mountains, and the coast, as well as north-south between Egypt and Iraq. Under the Egyptian dynasty of the ʿUṭūnids (869–905), Damascus was briefly the capital of the whole; but under their successors, the Ikhshīdids and the Fāṭimids (935–1070), it was the capital only of the center and the south. In 1078 it became the seat of Tutush I, the Saljūq conqueror of Syria, but on his departure in 1093, the long-standing importance of Aleppo was reaffirmed with the division of his appanage between his two sons, Duqāq at Damascus and Riḍwān at Aleppo. In the period of the crusades, the separate identity of the coast was still more strikingly demonstrated when it fell to the Franks of Outremer, together with the greater part of the mountains. Damascus in the center and Aleppo in the north were then left as the principal cities in Muslim hands.

Damascus is an oasis city, its famous *ghūṭa* (garden) formed by the delta of the Barada River, flowing southeastward into the desert from the mountains of the range called the Anti-Lebanon. Its foundation dates from remote antiquity, its site being good for cultivation and trade across the desert to the northeast, and across the mountains to Beirut and Galilee in the west and south. These factors made Damascus the capital of the Aramaeans in the second millennium B.C., but never thereafter an imperial city like Petra and

still more Palmyra. Nevertheless they created a major city, patronized by its various foreign rulers. Roman rule from Antioch countenanced an extensive, and monumental, reconstruction involving a castle in the northwest corner, city walls, an aqueduct, streets, baths, a theater, a marketplace, and above all a vast new temple, which later became the cathedral of St. John. This patronage was continued by the Umayyads, who converted the cathedral into their great mosque at the beginning of the eighth century.

Otherwise there is little trace of the Umayyad city, either as the capital of the Arab Empire or that of a *jund* (military district). The caliph and his Arab armies were largely resident outside, and it is likely that there was no great change either in the population, its religion, or its language until the subsequent 'Abbāsid period. Damascus was then neglected along with the rest of Syria by the caliphate at Baghdad. When this dark age came to an end in the tenth century, a substantial Muslim population had established itself in the western half of the city, around the mosque and the citadel, with Christians in the northeast and Jews in the southeast. The Muslims had lost any connection with the army and become citizens. As citizens of Damascus, they have played a major role in the modern argument over the nature of the city in Islam: whether it has been simply a place to live in accordance with the prescriptions of the Islamic law or whether it can be said to have had a corporate existence comparable to the cities of antiquity and of medieval Europe. The argument for a place to live has been architectural: the deformation of the grid pattern of antiquity with the encroachment of shops onto the main thoroughfares and private housing onto the back streets, to create quarters in which the population was segregated rather than integrated into a citizen body. The argument for the existence of such a body is derived from the written sources from the tenth century onward. The possibility that some element of the Roman city had survived the Byzantines and the Arabs has been discounted in favor of a renaissance comparable to that of contemporary Italy, beginning in the tenth century with the revival of Mediterranean trade between western Europe and the Islamic east. Certainly the century witnessed the return of Syria to prosperity and saw the appearance of a vigorous city life at Damascus.

The vigor of Damascus was apparent at the time of the Fāṭimid conquest in the 970s, when the Ikhshīdīd regime crumbled, and Damascus was left to face the incomers. Between 971 and 983, first under its *shaykhs* (religious lead-

ers) and then under Qassām, the *ra'īs* (head of the city) and chief of the *aḥdāth* (city militia), it held out with the assistance of its Bedouin allies and refugee Turkish warriors from Iraq. The resistance highlights another aspect of the controversy, as to whether the government of the city was in the hands of its upper classes or in those of lower-class bosses and their gangs. Both were represented here; Qassām was an immigrant villager who had carried sand on his donkey. But it is clear that Damascus was in effect self-governing, even if it required a military champion such as the Turk Aftakīn to defend its independence. Two revolts against the Fāṭimids in 997 and 1021 continued the tradition of popular opposition to imperial rule, and they foreshadowed the final eviction of the Fāṭimids between 1071 and 1075, with the assistance of the Turcoman Atsiz. Self-government was only briefly suppressed by the Saljūq conquest in 1078; it reappeared after the departure of the conqueror Tutush in 1093, leaving his elder son Duqāq in the care of the *atabeg* Ṭuḡhtikīn. After the death of Duqāq in 1105, Ṭuḡhtikīn became the first of the Būrid dynasty, which ruled at Damascus down to its fall to Nūr al-Dīn in 1154. But from 1095 to 1154, the *riyāsa* (office of *ra'īs*) was held by the Banū'l-Ṣūfī, from whose point of view the Turkish princes were protectors rather than rulers of Damascus.

From the Būrid point of view, the Banū'l-Ṣūfī were indispensable. They were notables belonging to the upper classes, but, backed by the *aḥdāth*, they had the support of the populace, the force to impose their authority, and the revenues to maintain it. Fluctuations in their fortunes in conflict with the dynasty were temporary, and ended in their favor. Al-Mufarrij (d. 1136), briefly, and al-Musayyab (exiled 1153) both acted as viziers, the first having been instrumental in the massacre and expulsion of the Ismā'īlī Assassins after the death of Ṭuḡhtikīn in 1128. Only at the end did they quarrel among themselves, lose the support of the people, and fall together with the Būrids before the advance of Nūr al-Dīn. Their successors were the family of the chronicler of Damascus, Ibn al-Qalānisī, whose work is its own testimony to civic consciousness, and whose brother, as the new *ra'īs*, admitted Nūr al-Dīn into the city on behalf of the populace in 1154.

Under the Būrids, the territory dominated by Damascus stretched some 200 kilometers (130 mi.) from Bosra (mod. Busra, Syria) and the Ḥawrān in the south toward Homs (mod. Ḥimṣ, Syria) in the north; to the northeast it reached toward Palmyra. To the west the Golan (Jawlān) Heights and

the Bekaa (Biqā') Valley formed a buffer zone with the kingdom of Jerusalem, as did the hills and plains of northern Transjordan (Jabal 'Ajlūn and the Sawād) to the south; treaties to share the revenues of these territories were concluded in 1108 and 1110. But Jerusalem aspired to control of the Ḥawrān itself, which was held only with difficulty against Frankish invasions conjoined with rebellions by governors at Bosra. To the north, the fall of the city to Nūr al-Dīn was the climax of fifty years of conflict with the rival city of Aleppo, which was centered upon the fluctuating control of Homs and Hama (mod. Ḥamāh, Syria). This conflict was overridden between 1110 and 1115 by common opposition to Mosul, whose atabegs threatened to restore the rule of the Great Saljūqs to Syria. But it became acute after 1128, the year of Ṭughtikīn's death, when the atabeg of Mosul, Zangī, took possession of Aleppo, and attempted to take over Damascus. Threatened by his ambition and that of Jerusalem, the latter marked by the invasions of King Baldwin II in 1126 and 1129, King Fulk in 1134, and the Second Crusade in 1147, the Būrīds were finally forced to call upon Nūr al-Dīn, Zangī's son and successor at Aleppo, for aid. Seven years later Nūr al-Dīn occupied Damascus without difficulty, and the city became his capital, stamped with his monuments: a hospital, a *ḥammām* (bathhouse), and a *madrasa* (religious college) known as the Nūriyya, to house his mausoleum at his death in 1174, with inscriptions to proclaim his virtues as a champion of Islam. After the centuries since the building of the Umayyad Mosque, these were the first new civic buildings to affirm the power and authority of the ruler since the days of the caliphs. The practice was continued by Nūr al-Dīn's successors, and marked the beginning of a new phase in the social, political, and architectural history of the city.

The new regime was made permanent by the still greater imperialism of Saladin, who usurped the empire of Nūr al-Dīn at his death. Although Egypt was Saladin's principal possession, Damascus was central to his operations against the Zangids in Aleppo and Mosul, and against the Franks. By the time of his death and burial at Damascus in 1193, it was in the hands of his son 'Alī as part of the Ayyūbid family empire. In 1196, however, the city passed to Saladin's brother al-'Ādil who left his own son in charge when he took over Egypt in 1200. After the reconstruction of the walls by Nūr al-Dīn, father and son rebuilt the citadel, enlarging it to include a palace as a center of government; the son, 'Īsā, went on to build the 'Ādiliyya *madrasa* to house the tomb

of his father. Fortification continued, notably around 1240, but the defenses were never tested; the last Ayyūbid, al-Nāṣir, abandoned the city to the Mongols in 1260. With the defeat of the Mongols at 'Ayn Jālūt later in the year, Damascus fell into the hands of the Mamlūk sultans of Egypt. Beginning with Sultan Baybars I (1260–1277), these rulers made Damascus the Syrian capital of a very different kind of empire, one centralized on Cairo rather than divided among the princes of a ruling house. The kind of regime installed under Nūr al-Dīn and the Ayyūbids was nevertheless maintained.

The previous dichotomy between the city and the dynasty came to an end as the patronage of the Zangid and Ayyūbid court reached down into society. The office of *ra'īs* dwindled away as the likes of the Banū'l-Qalānīsī were absorbed into the entourage of the prince. Still more important was the attraction of the court for immigrants into the ranks of the army, the secretariat, and the '*ulamā'*' (scholars of the law). It was these more than the princes who were responsible for the pious foundations that became such a feature of the city. Immigration of all kinds was a sign of the prosperity associated with the establishment of the court, and evidenced by the growth of three suburbs beyond the walls. The suburb to the west developed under the patronage of Nūr al-Dīn to cater for the pilgrimage to Mecca. Meanwhile in 1159 he founded the new town of al-Ṣaliḥiyya on the slopes of Mount Kassiun 2 kilometers (1¼ mi.) to the north, as a settlement for refugees from Palestine. Further immigration took place in the second half of the thirteenth century, so that in the mid-fourteenth century the total population was perhaps of the order of sixty to seventy thousand. By then Damascus was ruled by Mamlūk governors appointed from Cairo, who replaced the Ayyūbids as its patrons. In the absence of a sovereign, the Mamlūk aristocracy kept its hold on the city by alliance with the various classes and divisions of the population, rich and poor. Damascus thus continued to form a political entity that maintained its civic pride. Ibn 'Asākir (d. 1176) produced a monumental biographical dictionary of the city, while from the time of Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī in the early thirteenth century down to the fifteenth century, a school of history flourished.

Alliances with the Mamlūks, however, could turn to faction-fighting, as in the warfare over the Mamlūk succession between 1382 and 1422. In other ways, the interests of the city did not necessarily coincide with those of its rulers. Without a *ra'īs*, or any force of their own, the notables

enjoyed the peace and prosperity that the Mamlūk Empire promoted, especially in the first half of the fourteenth century. But faced by Mongol invasion in 1299–1300, and again by the conqueror Tīmūr (Tamerlane) in 1400–1401, they preferred to surrender rather than resist, leaving the Mamlūks in the citadel to take the brunt of Tīmūr’s assault. They failed on both occasions, since the city was twice plundered, and the artisans of Damascus deported by Tīmūr to Samarkand in central Asia. The decline in the prosperity of the city from the middle of the fourteenth century, lasting down to the Ottoman conquest in 1517, can only have been accelerated.

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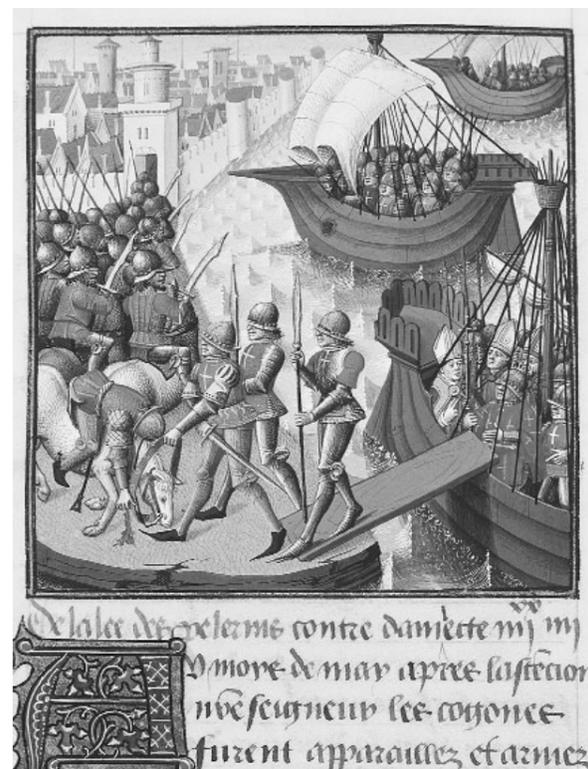
Damascus Crusade of 1129

See Crusade of 1129

Damietta

A port (mod. Dumyât, Egypt) on the eastern portion of the Nile Delta, boasting triple walls and a tower that controlled access to the upper Nile by means of a chain stretched across the river to the city walls.

In 1169 Damietta was besieged by King Amalric of Jerusalem and the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos during their attempt to seize control of the Fāṭimid realm. Regarded as the “key to all Egypt,” Damietta became the initial target of the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221), although the crusaders’ intentions toward the city appear to have evolved during the course of their campaign. Some seem to have considered it and other potential acquisitions in Egypt as pawns to be traded for territory lost in the kingdom of



Entry of the Crusaders into Damietta, 1249. Illustration from *Le Miroir Historial (The Mirror of History)*, by Vincent de Beauvais (1190–1264). (Archivo Iconografico, S.A./Corbis)

Dandolo, Enrico (d. 1205)

Jerusalem, while others viewed Damietta as a beachhead for the permanent conquest and colonization of Egypt.

After a siege of fifteen months, the crusaders captured the city in November 1219, a plague having ravaged its inhabitants. The port and its spoils, including the towers guarding its walls, were partitioned among the regional groups present in the army, although not without serious dispute. The overlordship of the city sparked a struggle between the papal legate Pelagius, who wanted to reserve it for the titular, albeit absent head of the crusade, Emperor Frederick II, and John of Brienne, who claimed it for the kingdom of Jerusalem. After John was granted temporary custodianship, the city's mosques were converted into churches, including a cathedral for a newly created archbishopric.

The crusaders repeatedly rejected truces proposed by the sultan of Egypt, al-Kāmil, offering the return of Jerusalem and major fortresses west of the Jordan in return for the Christian army's withdrawal, partly due to his exclusion of the castles of Kerak and Montréal, considered essential to hold Jerusalem. However, after the crusader army advanced toward Cairo, it suffered devastating losses and was forced to surrender Damietta to al-Kāmil in 1221.

Perhaps influenced by the advice of John of Brienne, King Louis IX of France also made Damietta the initial goal of his crusade against Egypt (1248–1254), taking it in 1249. After Louis and his army were captured by the Egyptians in the spring of 1250, however, the city was returned to Muslim hands as part of the staggering ransom demanded for their release. It was razed shortly thereafter to prevent the vulnerable port from being used as a foothold for future crusader offensives.

—*Jessalynn Bird*

See also: Crusade of Louis IX to the East (1248–1254); Egypt

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Dandolo, Enrico (d. 1205)

Doge of Venice (1192–1205) and leader of the Venetians during the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204).



Doge of Venice preaching the crusade. (Pixel That)

Enrico was born around 1107, the son of Vitale Dandolo, one of the architects of Venetian political reform, and, like him, frequently served as an ambassador. Enrico was ambassador to Byzantium (1172, 1184), Sicily (1174), Egypt (1175), and Ferrara (1191). He was a judge in the ducal court until 1178, when cortical blindness disqualified him from further service. Despite his loss of sight, he was elected doge in 1192 while in his eighties. During his reign, he enacted sweeping reforms in Venice's legal code and coinage.

Responding to a papal request, in 1198 Dandolo agreed to assist with a new crusade. In 1201 he entered into the Treaty of Venice, promising to lease vessels to the Frankish army and join the crusade with an armada of war galleys. When the Franks were unable to keep their part of the bargain, it was Dandolo who crafted the compromise in which the crusade captured the city of Zara (mod. Zadar, Croatia) on the Dalmatian coast. Later, when the Frankish leaders informed Dandolo that they had previously agreed to travel to Constantinople to support Alexios Angelos, a contender for the Byzantine throne, Dandolo agreed to assist them.

During an attack on the city walls on 17 July 1203, he turned the tide of battle, ordering his own galley to row forward unprotected and plant the standard of St. Mark onshore. After the second conquest of Constantinople, he mediated disputes between the barons in an attempt to forge a stable Latin government. In August 1204 Dandolo purchased the island of Crete, which would remain a Venetian possession for centuries. The next year he personally led a relief force that rescued a Frankish force defeated by the Bulgarian leader, Kalojan (Ioannitsa).

Shortly after returning to Constantinople, Dandolo died of an inguinal hernia, the result of days of rigorous horseback travel (May 1205). He was about ninety-eight years old. His tomb was placed in the gallery of the Church of Hagia Sophia, where it remained until the Ottoman conquest.

—Thomas F. Madden

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Daniel Romanovich (1201–1264)

Prince of Galicia-Volynia from 1205, a key figure in Pope Innocent IV's attempts to bring Russian princes into the crusading movement against the Mongols.

A western Russian principality bordering on Hungary and Poland, Galicia-Volynia was overwhelmed by the Mongols in 1240 along with the rest of Russia, but after their withdrawal in 1242, Daniel was able to attain a semi-independent position. In 1245 Innocent's envoy John of Plano Carpini visited Daniel, proposing that he should enter into union with the Roman church. After Daniel's acceptance, Innocent in 1248 circulated letters to Daniel, his brother, and the Russian prince Alexander Yaroslavich (Nevskii), urging them to explore whether the Mongols were planning attacks on Christianity and to join together against them. In the following years Daniel tried to widen this transconfessional alliance by marrying his daughter to Alexander Nevskii's brother, Grand Prince Andrei.

When Andrei rebelled against the Mongols a year later and was defeated, the alliance began to dissolve. Yet while Alexander Nevskii was forced to accept Mongol rule, Daniel stuck to the alliance, which Innocent IV tried to reinforce in 1253 by offering royal crowns to Daniel and the Lithuanian grand duke, Mindaugas, who at the same time concluded a

marital alliance. When Daniel turned against the Mongols in 1256, however, he received no help, and he was forced to accept Mongol supremacy in 1260.

—John H. Lind

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Dānishmendids

A Turkish dynasty (Turk. Danişmendliler) ruled an emirate in central and northeastern Anatolia in the period from 1071/1085 to 1177/1178. Several among its rulers were involved in conflicts with Byzantines, crusaders, and Franks, as well as the rival dynasty of the Saljūqs of Rūm, who eventually annexed the Dānishmendid territories shortly before the mid-twelfth century.

The Dānishmendids were the first pre-Ottoman Turks to employ on their coinage (with Greek and Arabic inscriptions) the terms *Romania* and *Rūm*—shortly before the Saljūqs of Rūm, with whom they struggled for domination over Anatolia in the twelfth century. Their first two leaders, Malik Dānishmend Ghāzī (c. 1071/1085–1104/1106) and Amīr Ghāzī Gümüştegin (1104/1106–1134), distinguished themselves in protracted wars against Byzantium, the Franks, and the Rupenids of Cilician Armenia, as well as interfering successfully in Saljūq internal affairs.

Cappadocia and north-central Anatolia as far west as Ankara constituted the initial Dānishmendid center of power. Their first emir, Malik Dānishmend Ghāzī (from Persian *danishmand*, "wise, learned man," "scholar"), prevailed in central Anatolia in the period of confusion that followed the death of the founder of the Saljūq sultanate of Rūm, Sulaymān I ibn Quṭlumush (1085/1086). In 1097–1105, Malik Ghāzī formed an alliance of necessity with Qilij Arslān I of Rūm against the various crusading armies that were arriving from the West, and the two allies defeated the crusaders in 1101 at Mersivan and Herakleia (mod. Ereğli). Malik Ghāzī had previously captured Bohemund I, prince of Antioch, imprisoning him at Neocaesarea until he was ran-

Danzig

somed, following negotiations with King Baldwin I of Jerusalem in 1103. In that year Malik Ghāzī took Melitene (mod. Malatya) from its Armenian ruler, Gabriel, although it was captured by Qilij Arslān I following Malik Ghāzī's demise (c. 1106).

A period of further conquests ensued under Amīr Ghāzī Gümüşhtegin (1104/1106–1134). Intervening in the Saljūq struggle for succession, he helped Mas'ūd I seize power in Ikonion (1116); he defeated and held for ransom the Byzantine duke of Pontic Chaldia, Constantine Gabras (c. 1120), and captured Melitene from Mas'ūd's rivals (1124–1125). The conquest of Caesarea in Cappadocia (mod. Kayseri), Ankara, and Kastamoni (mod. Kastamonu) in the Pontos (1126–1127) alarmed the Byzantine emperor, John II Komnenos, who prepared for war. In 1129/1130, Amīr Ghāzī invaded Cilician Armenia, taking several strongholds and defeating Bohemund II of Antioch, who had come to assist the Rupenid prince Leon I. John II Komnenos conducted repeated campaigns against the Dānishmendids in 1130–1135. The Greeks seized Kastamoni (1131–1132), which, however, was lost again in 1133. Amīr Ghāzī was honored by the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Mustarshid and the Great Saljūq sultan, Sanjar, with the title of *malik* (prince) for his struggles against the infidels, although his premature death bestowed that title on his successor, emir Muḥammad (1134–1142). Muḥammad refortified Caesarea and continued the war against Byzantium, raiding Cilicia and the Sangarios River regions as far as Neocaesarea (mod. Niksar, Turkey) in 1138/1139. John II eventually managed to repel the Dānishmendids from eastern Bithynia and Paphlagonia in 1139–1140, although a section of his army was defeated by Muḥammad's forces in 1141.

Upon Muḥammad's death (1142), the dynasty split into two branches descending from his brothers: one under Yaghibasan at Sebasteia (mod. Sivas) and another under Ayn al-Dawla at Melitene and Elbistan; the latter's son Dhu'l-Nun established himself at Caesarea. Yaghibasan (1142–1164) became an ally of the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos against the Saljūqs of Rūm, and even issued seals with Greek inscriptions designating him as the latter's servant (Gr. *doulos*). Following Yaghibasan's death and the ensuing decline of his emirate, Qilij Arslān II of Rūm invaded Dānishmendid territory, but he was temporarily halted by the fact that Dhu'l-Nun, ruling at Caesarea, was son-in-law of the powerful Nūr al-Dīn of Damascus, who

threatened to attack the Rūm sultanate. It was only after Nūr al-Dīn's death (1174) that Qilij Arslān II had a free hand to launch his decisive attack on the Dānishmendids, annexing the territories of both branches of the dynasty: first that of Sebasteia in 1174, and then that of Melitene and Elbistan in 1177/1178.

A thirteenth-century Persian chronicler at the court of Ikonion (mod. Konya, Turkey), Ibn al-Bibī, recorded that the surviving Dānishmendids entered Saljūq service.

—Alexios G. C. Savvides

See also: Turks

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Danzig

Danzig (mod. Gdańsk, Poland) was a town in Pomerelia on the coast of the Baltic Sea that was under the lordship of the Teutonic Order from 1308 to 1454.

Danzig was already a notable trading center in the tenth century and received town rights in the thirteenth. Its castle was the residence of the dukes of Pomerelia, who encouraged an influx of German merchants. When the ducal dynasty died out in 1294, disputes over the suzerainty of Pomerelia arose among Brandenburg, Bohemia, and Władisław Lokietek, duke of Great Poland and Cuiavia (later king of Poland), in which the latter sought assistance from the Teutonic Order. In 1308 the order relieved Danzig from a siege by Brandenburg forces and took over the cas-

tle and town. By September 1309 the Teutonic Knights had driven the Brandenburg troops from Pomerelia, but refused to hand over the land to Władysław. The conflict with Poland that arose from this conquest was settled only in 1343 by the Peace of Kalisz. A convent was installed in Danzig castle, and the devastated town was rebuilt. Dietrich von Altenburg, grand master of the Teutonic Order, initiated the building of a new castle in 1340.

As the greatest trading port under the order's dominion, Danzig developed into a leading member of the Hanseatic League. Many participants of the order's campaigns landed, lodged, and made financial transactions here. As its economy grew, the citizens demanded greater liberty, and relations between the town and the order worsened. After the battle of Tannenberg, in which the order's forces were decisively defeated by a Polish-Lithuanian alliance (1410), Danzig immediately swore allegiance to Poland, but the town was forced back under the lordship of the Teutonic Order by Grand Master Heinrich von Plauen. Danzig joined the league of the Prussian estates (Ger. *Preußischer Bund*) and finally threw off the order's rule in 1454 during the so-called Thirteen Years' War between the league and the order. The burgesses destroyed the order's castle and allied with the Polish king, whose overlordship allowed them greater independence.

—Axel Ehlers

See also: Baltic Crusades; Prussia; Teutonic Order

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David IV of Georgia (1073–1125)

David IV Aghmashenebeli was king of Georgia (1089–1125), often considered the greatest of Georgian kings.

The son of King Giorgi II, David was raised during one of the darkest chapters of Georgian history. From around 1080, Georgia faced a massive immigration of nomadic Turcoman tribes, which began to settle in the southern Caucasus. Unable to cope with the problem, Giorgi II resigned his throne to his son in 1089. Over the next eleven years, King

David gradually cleared his countryside of enemy elements and began resettlement of devastated regions and revival of cities. Encouraged by the beginning of the crusades to the Holy Land (1096–1099), he ceased payment of the annual tribute to the Great Saljūqs and secured his control over most of eastern Georgia by 1105. He reformed the Georgian Orthodox Church in 1103 and established a new court system (Georg. *saajo kari*) and police apparatus (Georg. *mstovrebi*) that strengthened his royal authority.

Between 1105 and 1120, King David enjoyed a series of brilliant victories as he continued his expansion throughout southern Transcaucasia, capturing the key fortresses of Samshvilde, Dzerna, Rustavi, Kaladzori, Lore, Aragani, and others. In 1118–1120, he launched a major military reform and resettled some 40,000 Qipchaq families from the northern Caucasus steppes to central and eastern Georgia. In turn, the Qipchaqs provided one soldier per family, allowing King David to establish a 40,000-man-strong standing army in addition to his royal troops. This new army was immediately put to use, as the Georgians began to raid Shirwan and Armenia in 1120.

Although information on the relations between King David and the Franks of Outremer is scarce, chronicles do contain some details. *Kartlis Tskhovreba* mentions the visits of envoys of King Baldwin II of Jerusalem to the Georgian court, which indicates a certain degree of cooperation between the two states. Certainly King Baldwin, hard-pressed by the Muslims in Syria and Palestine, sought allies, and the military support of Christian Georgia would have been desirable for him. Georgian success in northeastern Asia Minor also diverted substantial Muslim forces from the hotly contested Holy Land. The presence of several hundred Franks in the Georgian army in 1121 further attests to close links between these Christian states.

The Muslim powers became increasingly concerned about the rapid rise of the Georgian state. In 1121, the Great Saljūq sultan Mahmūd (1118–1131) declared a holy war on Georgia and rallied a large coalition of Muslim powers, led by the Artūqid Najm al-Dīn Īlghazī. The massive Muslim army advanced toward the Georgian borders but, on 12 August 1121, King David, with a considerably smaller force, routed the enemy on the fields of Didgori, achieving what is often considered the greatest military success in Georgian history. This victory signaled the emergence of Georgia as a great military power and shifted the balance in favor of Georgian cultural and political supremacy in northeastern Asia

De expugnatione Lyxbonensi

Minor and Transcaucasia. In 1123–1124, King David's armies expanded the Georgian sphere of influence to the neighboring territories of Armenia, Shirwan, and the northern Caucasus.

A well-educated man, King David traveled with an extensive library that he constantly perused. He preached tolerance and acceptance of other religions. During David's reign, the country enjoyed a revival in agriculture and industry and flourishing of cities. For his contributions, the grateful nation hailed King David as *aghmashenebeli* (reviver, rebuilders) and canonized him as a saint. He was buried in the gates of the Gelati monastery, where his tomb is still revered. King David also earned fame as the writer of *Galobani sinanulisani*, a powerful work of emotional free-verse psalms, which reveal the king's humility and faith. He was succeeded by his son Demetre.

—Alexander Mikaberidze

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De expugnatione Lyxbonensi

A Latin source for the Second Crusade (1147–1149) written by an eyewitness to the capture of Lisbon in October 1147. Its author has been identified as Raol, an Anglo-Norman priest who wrote about the campaign to a fellow cleric, Osbert of Bawdsey (from Suffolk, England).

Lisbon was captured from the Muslims by King Afonso I Henriques of Portugal, with the assistance of a combined fleet of crusaders drawn from England, Flanders, and the Rhineland, in the course of a campaign conceived as an integral part of the Second Crusade; in the event, the capture of Lisbon was the crusade's only unequivocal success. There is much of interest in Raol's descriptions of the voyage and the siege, including details of siege warfare and diplomacy. Raol later added passages of sophisticated theological commen-

tary, perhaps to explain why the Iberian expedition succeeded while the enterprise in the East failed.

—Susan B. Edgington

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De expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum expeditione

See *Libellus de expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum expeditione*

Demetrius of Thessalonica (1206–1230)

Ruler of Thessalonica (1207–1224), the only member of a Frankish ruling dynasty in Greece to be named after a Greek saint. Demetrius was the son of Boniface of Montferrat and Maria (Margaret) of Hungary. He succeeded his father as lord of Thessalonica (mod. Thessaloniki, Greece) in September 1207; his mother acted as regent together with Oberto of Biandrate (1207–1211) and Berthold of Katzenelnbogen (after 1211).

Oberto, along with many important Lombard lords, the Templars, and the Venetian interests in the area, sought to replace Demetrius with his half-brother William VI of Montferrat, who, as an adult and a warrior, had the qualities necessary to defend the area from Greek attacks from Epiros. Demetrius and his mother were backed by the Latin emperor, Henry, who marched to Thessalonica in December 1208. On 6 January 1209, Henry crowned Demetrius the first king of Thessalonica, an action that was endorsed by Pope Innocent III in March 1209 when he took the infant under papal protection.

Whatever this action did to remove any threat to the Latin Empire from the house of Montferrat, it did little to save the kingdom of Thessalonica from Greek attack. By 1222 the city was under threat from Theodore Doukas of Epiros. Demetrius went to Italy to seek military support from Pope

Honorius II and William VI of Montferrat, leaving Guy Pallavicini of Boudonitza in charge of the defense of the city. During Demetrius's absence, the situation in Thessalonica became hopeless; his mother returned to Hungary in 1223, and in December 1224 the city surrendered to the Epirotes. The following year, Demetrius and his half-brother mounted a campaign through Thessaly to recapture the city, but the army broke up following the death of William VI, and Demetrius retired to Pavia.

In 1228 Demetrius is recorded in the entourage of Emperor Frederick II at the "Feast of Kings" at Nicosia in Cyprus. He died in 1230, having bequeathed his titular kingship to Frederick II.

—Peter Lock

See also: Boniface I of Montferrat (d. 1207); Montferrat; Thessalonica

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Denmark

Medieval Denmark was situated *in ultimis finibus terre* (at the ultimate end of the world), as narratives and papal letters stated repeatedly. Yet Danes had strong ideological and political reasons for participating in the early crusades to Jerusalem, which the Christian West regarded as the center of the world.

Denmark was converted to Christianity in the eleventh century. The founder of the ruling royal family, Harald Bluetooth, had been converted around 965, and he established his rule through Christian missionary wars. King Sven Estridsen (1047–1074/1076) was closely connected to the ecclesiastical reform movement in Cluny and was also a papal vassal; he carried on wars against the heathen Wends along the Baltic shores, having been promised the status of a martyr by the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen around 1055 if he fell. One of Sven's many sons married into the family of the count of Flanders, another into the ducal family of Burgundy, and close links were established to almost all prominent military leaders of the First Crusade (1096—

1099). Beyond the royal family, there was a strong feeling of the importance of Jerusalem because of the great number of Scandinavians who followed military careers in the Byzantine army and became accustomed to fighting Muslims and making pilgrimages to Jerusalem.

Crusades to the Holy Land (1097–1307)

According to the chronicler Albert of Aachen, King Sven's son Sven led a substantial Danish contingent to Jerusalem in 1097. According to the well-informed Ekkehard of Aura, Sven's expedition was the fulfillment of a plan that had been negotiated by Godfrey of Bouillon with the Danes and the Normans of Sicily. Sven's army was delayed and could not travel with the main armies of the First Crusade (1096–1099). It decided to cross Anatolia on its own, but it was ambushed by the Turks and wiped out to the last man before reaching the Holy Land. The Danish king Erik I Ejegod was probably the first European king to go on a crusade, but he died on Cyprus in 1103 before completing his pilgrimage. Shortly afterward Charles, who was the son of Erik's brother, King Knud the Holy (d. 1086), fought as a crusader alongside the army of Baldwin I of Jerusalem. After Charles succeeded to the county of Flanders (1119), he was even offered the throne of Jerusalem during the captivity of Baldwin II, but declined (1123).

Throughout the twelfth century, Danish nobles and ecclesiastics participated in crusades to the Holy Land, but it is extremely difficult to know how many. After the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187, a general crusade was preached in Denmark. A company of nobles set out with their following toward Palestine, but arrived to find that an armistice had been negotiated between Richard the Lionheart and Saladin, and they returned to Denmark without having fought. The spiritual importance of their expedition was defended in a short treatise known as *Historia de profectioe Danorum in Hierosolymam*, which shows the importance of crusading ideas in Denmark and which is also the only source for the papal bull *Quum divina* of Pope Gregory VIII. Other narratives relate that other Danish fleets made substantial contributions during the siege of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) in 1188. Participation in crusades to the East continued throughout the following century, and most of the (admittedly few) testaments from nobles had large donations intended to support others on crusade to the Holy Land. The last known will of this kind was made by a noblewoman named Cecilia in 1307.

Denmark



Areas of Danish crusading activity in the Baltic Region

Crusades in the Baltic Region (1108–1346)

The kings of Denmark soon adapted crusading ideas to areas closer to their homeland. The first proof of such an extension of the crusading idea is from no later than 1108: this was the famous Magdeburg charter, in which King Niels (1103–1134) promised to contribute substantially to the wars against the pagan Slavs, because he had been promised the same indulgence as those who went to Jerusalem. From this date, wars against Slavic Wends, Prussians, Finns, and Estonians were conducted as proper crusades under papal authorization that promised indulgences for the participants. If participants fell during such wars, their souls would be in heaven before their blood turned cold on earth, as the two rival Danish kings, Sven III Grathe and Knud V claimed, when they were both fighting the Wends in the city of Dobin in 1147. This “Wendish” crusade was initiated by the cardinal Hubald, who visited Denmark in 1146, and formed part of the several coordinated expeditions that made up the Second Crusade of 1147–1149.

A heavy militarization of Denmark took place during the twelfth century, both as part of a general European development and because of a civil war in 1146–1157, but also to organize society for religious wars. Towns were fortified and town militias established, for example in the frontier city of Schleswig, from which Duke Knud Lavard (d. 1131) raided the Slavic lands of Schleswig and Holstein and in 1127 was installed as king over the Abodrites by Count Lothar of Supplingenburg, the later Holy Roman Emperor. These raids aimed at expanding Christianity and developed into more permanent wars, involving settlement, colonization, and the establishment of ecclesiastical structures. The burgesses of the town of Roskilde formed a military confraternity under the leadership of one Wetheman around 1150, which manned ships and raided among infidels in the Baltic region. Its prime concern was to liberate Christian prisoners and transport them back home.

An important military instrument for the crusades in the Baltic region was the so-called *leding*, the name given in the Scandinavian languages to the general naval conscription organized by the royal government. The whole country was divided into units that each had to provide a ship; each ship unit was subdivided into forty-two further units that were each to provide a warrior to man the ship. There has been much discussion among Danish historians as to whether the *leding* was a very old or a twelfth-century institution, and whether it was solely for coastal defense or also for aggres-

sive warfare. The contemporary Latin translation of the vernacular *leding* was *expeditio*, one of the most common designations for crusade, and the great *Gesta Danorum* by the chronicler Saxo Grammaticus (c. 1200) reserves the Latin term almost solely for twelfth-century warfare, both aggressive and defensive; if the *leding* was not a new institution, it was almost certainly reorganized and redirected toward crusading. A great number of castles were also built during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Many were placed on the southern shores of present-day Denmark, from where they could be used as starting points for aggressive expeditions across the sea. Some were built in the newly conquered areas; old Slavic fortifications were either demolished or taken over by the crusaders and refortified.

In 1223 King Valdemar II Sejr (1202–1241) was captured and held prisoner for two years by his enemy, Count Henry of Schwerin, which thus curtailed the expansion in the eastern Baltic region that Valdemar had begun immediately after his coronation. Up to that time, Danish crusade expeditions probably crossed the Baltic Sea almost every year, initially to the southern shore, and later to Livonia, Estonia, and Finland. In 1213 the *Annales Waldemariani* noted the remarkable event that “this year there was no crusade in Denmark” (*expeditio in Dacia quieuit*) [Ellen Jørgensen, ed., *Annales Danici Medii Aevi* (Copenhagen: G.E.C. Gad, 1920), p. 98]. A decisive victory in these continuous crusades was won when King Valdemar I the Great (1157–1182) conquered the great pagan fortress and temple of Arkona on the island of Rügen in 1168. The pagan idol of Svantevit was cut down and burned; churches were built and monasteries established, and the crusades then continued further eastward. From at least 1206, Danish crusades led by the king or by his nephew Count Albert of Orlamünde were directed toward Estonia. In 1219 this led to the decisive conquest of Reval, whose Estonian name, Tallinn, means “the city of the Danes.” Estonia was Christianized, and it was ruled by Denmark until it was sold to the Teutonic Order in 1346.

Danish contacts with the Teutonic Order became closer during this period, especially after the order’s headquarters were moved to Marienburg (mod. Malbork, Poland) in Prussia in 1309. As early as 1241, Danish vassals from Estonia fought alongside the order’s forces in the famous Battle on the Ice at Lake Peipus in 1241 against the prince of Novgorod, Alexander Nevskii. A peace treaty in 1314 between King Erik VI Menved (1286–1319) and the order lasted for nine years only, but in 1327 and again in 1338, the Danish



Inscription on the funeral plaque of Valdemar the Great (d. 1182). (Courtesy Kurt Villads Jensen)

vassals and bishop in Estonia supported the order against accusations of heresy and prevention of the infidels' conversion by its brutality. After the sale of Estonia by Denmark to the Teutonic Order in 1346, the changing power balance among Denmark, the order, Sweden, and Poland led to a number of shifting alliances over the following two centuries, until the order was secularized under the Lutheran Reformation and the last grand master converted and married a Danish princess.

Ideology, Finance, and Military Orders

A crusade ideology was developed in Denmark during the twelfth century. Some churches were built as copies of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem; wall paintings in churches showed the conquest of Jerusalem by the First Crusade and scenes from later Danish crusades in the Baltic; in hagiography and iconography, St. Knud Lavard was presented as a crusader. Above all, the only substantial historical narrative of the period, Saxo's *Gesta Danorum*, was composed as a vivid description of Danish crusades against the pagan Wends, who were depicted as inherently unjust, almost inhuman, and always aggressive, so that the wars against them might be regarded as just defense.

Participation in crusades was financed by the collection

of money during crusade sermons, by mortgages of land, by loans (often from the Cistercian Order), and from royal and ecclesiastical taxation. From the early thirteenth century, almost regular taxation of church income was imposed by papal decree and continued until the Lutheran Reformation. The income from this tax was received by papal collectors, who were often emissaries from the papal Curia, but from the fourteenth century more usually local ecclesiastics. Often the tax was shared with the king, who received (typically) half of the revenue for his crusades in the Baltic region, while the other half was transferred to the papacy at Rome or Avignon. Normally, the system worked well. In 1351, King Valdemar IV (1340–1375) even proposed a new papal crusading tax on the churches in his realm. In 1455, King Christian I (1448–1481) simply confiscated the money collected to support a crusade to liberate Cyprus, but he claimed that it was necessary for his own crusades and that he would repay it all later. Whether he actually did so has not been recorded.

From the 1160s at the latest, convents of the Order of the Hospital of St. John were founded in Denmark, and King Valdemar I donated to the order a general tax of one penny from every household in Denmark, which is probably the earliest known example of general taxation in favor of a mil-

itary order. This great privilege was reissued by later kings at least ten times until 1527. The order became well established with more houses and was favored by the nobility throughout the Middle Ages. At the time of the Reformation in 1536, their chief priory of Antvorskov was the second largest religious house in Denmark. The extent of the Hospitallers' actual participation in the Danish crusades is difficult to establish because of the paucity of sources, but it was probably substantial. The Danish national flag is a white cross on red and according to a late tradition, it fell down from heaven during a battle at Fellin in Estonia in 1208 (not at Reval in 1219, as has commonly been believed since 1600). It is tempting to see a connection between this flag and the emblem of the Hospitallers.

There is no good evidence that any other of the international orders established themselves in Denmark, except perhaps that during the dissolution of the Order of the Temple in the early fourteenth century the pope also admonished the Danish king to confiscate Templar lands. But we do not have any other indications of Templar possessions in Denmark. It is probable, however, that a local crusading order was established under the patronage of St. Knud Lavard, possibly around 1170 when he was canonized. This order developed into a religious and mercantile confraternity during the thirteenth century.

Crusading in the Later Middle Ages

Danish crusaders took part in the late medieval attempts to reconquer the Holy Land after the loss of Acre to the Muslims in 1291. In 1363–1364 Valdemar IV traveled around in Europe to seek political support for his wars within Denmark, and as a means toward gaining support he both visited the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and, while at Avignon, took the cross and promised to help King Peter I of Cyprus to recover Jerusalem. He never did so, but crusading and crusading vows were obviously an important part of Danish kings' European policy. In 1457, four years after the loss of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks, Christian I promised to contribute to a common European crusade with 200,000 Danish crusaders if he could first make peace with Sweden and the Teutonic Order. It never happened, but many hundreds of individual Danish crusaders joined subsequent crusading initiatives in 1464 and went through Hungary to Venice and Ancona, but had to return when the planned crusade was abandoned because of the death of Pope Pius II. In 1471, the imperial German diet in Regensburg decided to fol-

low a new, grand crusading plan proposed by Christian I consisting of three coordinated armies: one led by Christian in person with crusaders from Scandinavia, Scotland, and England through Russia; another overland led by the emperor; and a third led by the pope, sailing from the Italian city-states. The unwillingness of the German princes and the death of the pope prevented the fulfillment of this plan. Later Danish kings were assigned an important role in common European crusading plans until the early sixteenth century, for example in 1512, when Emperor Maximilian suggested that King Hans of Denmark (1481–1513) should negotiate a peace between the pope and the king of Aragon as preparation for a new crusade.

The crusade also became an important element in Danish internal policy, in both practice and theory. In 1259 King Christopher I (1252–1259) had imprisoned the archbishop of Lund, and the only bishop who supported his metropolitan, Peder of Roskilde, fled to the most remote part of his diocese, the island of Rügen. From here he led an army together with Prince Jarimar of Rügen via Bornholm to Copenhagen, which was taken in the early summer, and then on to the small town of Næstved, where a royal army was totally defeated in June. The royal soldiers were buried in pits like dogs (this mass grave was excavated in the 1990s), an indication that they were regarded as heretics and that Bishop Peder considered his war a just crusade against a heretic king. In 1294, King Erik VI Menved also imprisoned his archbishop, and Pope Boniface VIII had to threaten the king with a crusade against Denmark before the archbishop was released and a formal legal process begun at the papal court in Rome. Around 1400, Margaret I (d. 1412), queen of the newly founded Kalmar Union, comprising Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, complained to Pope Boniface IX that her realm was being attacked by enemies from all directions and was difficult to defend because of the long coastline. The reply came promptly. In 1401 the pope commissioned the three Nordic archbishops to preach the crusade in Scandinavia and the Baltic region in support of Queen Margaret. All participants were promised the same indulgence as those who went to Jerusalem if they fought or supported fighting against the enemies of the queen, whether heathens or Christians. This bull is a unique example of a pope speaking unreservedly about crusading against Christians.

After the Lutheran Reformation in 1536, the papal indulgence disappeared, but ideas of gaining spiritual rewards by fighting against the Turks or other infidels and the idea of

Kings and Queens of Denmark during the Period of the Crusades

Erik I Ejegod	1095–1103
Niels	1103–1134
Erik II Emune	1134–1137
Erik III Lam	1137–1146
Sven III Grathe	1146–1157
Knud V Magnussen	1146–1157
Valdemar I the Great	1157–1182
Knud VI	1182–1202
Valdemar II Sejr	1202–1241
Erik IV Plovpenning	1241–1250
Abel	1250–1252
Christopher I	1252–1259
Erik V Klipping	1259–1286
Erik VI Menved	1286–1319
Christopher II	1320–1326
Valdemar III	1326–1330
Christopher II (again)	1329–1332
Valdemar IV Atterdag	1340–1375
Oluf II	1375–1387
Margaret I (also Norway and Sweden)	1387–1396
Erik VII (also Norway and Sweden)	1396–1439
Christopher III (also Norway and Sweden)	1439–1448
Christian I (also Norway and Sweden to 1464)	1448–1481
Hans (also Sweden to 1501)	1481–1513

war as a penitential act persisted unchanged, at least until the late seventeenth century it seems, though this has not been researched at all until very recently. Treatment of the Nordic crusades disappeared from Danish history writing after the middle of the nineteenth century. The last substantial contribution to the topic was Paul Riant in 1865, but his book has been totally ignored by Danish historians. Since the loss of Denmark's German-speaking provinces of Schleswig-Holstein (1864), historians have concentrated almost exclusively on the internal history of present-day Denmark. A strong tradition of social and economic history has meant that scholars have researched the nobility as land-owners, but never as warriors, and any mention of crusading in Danish medieval sources was normally dismissed as a pretext for political aggression and economic exploitation. During the 1990s, a new and strong interest in crusades, military history, and history of mentalities has created new research milieus and led to a number of recent

publications on Denmark and the crusades in both Danish and English.

—Kurt Villads Jensen

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Despenser's Crusade (1383)

One of the more controversial manifestations of the crusading movement, the crusade of Henry Despenser, bishop of Norwich, was an English military expedition to Flanders in 1383 that was actually part of the Hundred Years' War between England and France. The expedition was dignified as a crusade by the Roman pope, Urban VI, as it was directed against the schismatic French, who recognized the rival Avignonese papacy of Clement VII.

A member of a powerful aristocratic family of the Marches and South Wales, Henry Despenser was consecrated bishop of Norwich in 1369. He first showed martial abilities in the Peasants' Revolt of 1381, when he was responsible for suppressing the rising in East Anglia. Despenser's crusade was a response to a revolt of the citizens of Ghent (mod. Gent, Belgium) in the county of Flanders against their pro-French count, Louis of Male, and their overlord, King Charles VI of France. Money-raising measures attached to this "crusade," notably the sale of indulgences that went with it, attracted critical comment from contemporaries, especially the reformer John Wyclif, but were in all probability no more outrageous than those that accompanied any crusade. This critical reaction was due rather to the prevailing anticlerical atmosphere of the time, and the fact that the expedition proved to be a failure. The campaign arguably made good strategic and economic sense, as it would have reopened England's wool trade with Flanders, as well as exposing France to attack from the north. Despenser's intervention became more urgent when a French army defeated the rebel Flemish townsmen and killed their leader, Philip van Artevelde, at Roosebeke in November 1382. This army was led by Philip, duke of Burgundy, who was married to the count of Flanders's daughter and stood to inherit the county. The French occupied Ypres (mod. Ieper, Belgium) and Bruges (mod. Brugge, Belgium), cutting off the valuable English wool trade from the Flemish cloth-producing towns.

The crusade enjoyed early success; landing at Calais in

May 1383, Despenser captured Dunkirk (mod. Dunkerque, France) and the Flemish coast, and joined forces with the Ghent rebels in early June. They persuaded the bishop to march on Ypres, although his army was ill-equipped to besiege a major town. The siege was abandoned in August, when news arrived that Philip of Burgundy's army was approaching. At this point the men of Ghent abandoned Despenser in disgust. The English had no choice but to retreat to the coast, sacking the port of Gravelines as they did so. Despenser returned from this ignominious failure to face impeachment and the confiscation of his temporalities for two years. He was never as significant a political figure after this event, although he defended King Richard II at the time of Henry IV's usurpation, a stance that earned him two spells of imprisonment under the new regime.

—Michael R. Evans

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Devastatio Constantinopolitana

A Latin eyewitness account of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), spanning the period from the preaching of the cross in France in 1198 to the division of spoils from the conquest of Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) in April 1204.

The anonymous author of the *Devastatio Constantinopolitana* was probably a German cleric from the Rhineland; he developed the theme that the crusade was a series of broken contracts, in which the rich and mighty violated their vows, sold out the crusade, and betrayed the crusade rank and file. The work is rich in dates, names, numbers, and similar factual data, which are generally reliable but not invariably so. Its extraordinary perspective and wealth of detail make the *Devastatio* an important source of the second rank.

—Alfred J. Andrea

See also: Fourth Crusade (1202–1204)

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La Devise des Chemins de Babiloine

La Devise des Chemins de Babiloine was a document put together on the directions of the grand master of the Hospitallers, Fulk of Villaret, most probably in 1306 or 1307. Its compilers surveyed the numbers and effectiveness of the fighting forces available to the Mamlūk sultan in Egypt and Syria and also gave a detailed breakdown of mileages between places throughout the sultanate. It should be considered as a companion document to a Hospitaller memorandum devoted to the advantages and disadvantages of a crusade in the near future. Although the Hospitallers did not actually favor an imminent invasion of either Egypt or Syria, they thoroughly researched the possibility of mounting one.

—Robert Irwin

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Devol, Treaty of (1108)

The treaty imposed on Bohemund I, prince of Antioch, after his invasion of Byzantine territory from southern Italy had been defeated by Alexios I Komnenos, the Byzantine emperor. The treaty was concluded at the unidentified site of Devol (Gr. *Deabolis*) in western Macedonia. The fullest account of its terms is given by the chronicler Anna Komnene, Alexios’s daughter.

According to the treaty, Bohemund became the liegeman (Gr. *lizion anthropon*) of the emperor and his son John and promised to provide them with military support when requested. If he should rebel, the treaty stated, Bohemund’s own vassals would be obliged to either stop him or fight against him. He was allowed to retain the principality of Antioch during his lifetime and was granted the county of

Edessa. Both he and his nephew, Tancred, were to give up all other previously Byzantine territory, particularly Cilicia and Laodikeia in Syria. The Greek patriarchate in Antioch was to be restored. In return, Bohemund was granted as yet unconquered lands in Berroia (Aleppo), Cappadocia, and Mesopotamia and an annual payment of 200 pounds of gold, payable in the sound gold coinage of Michael VII (1071–1078).

Tancred, however, who was in effective control of Antioch in Bohemund’s absence, refused to accept the treaty, and its terms were not known in detail in the West. The historian Orderic Vitalis maintained that Bohemund had merely sworn peace and fidelity to Alexios. The treaty was never enforced, though it remained the basis for Byzantine negotiations with the princes of Antioch in the twelfth century.

—Rosemary Morris

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Dhimma

The Arabic term *ahl al-Dhimma* refers to the “People of the Pact” in the Muslim lands, after an edict allegedly made by the Caliph ‘Umar (634–644). It applied to Christians, Jews, Samaritans, and, rather grudgingly, Sabaeans, or star worshippers, and guaranteed tolerance of their faiths under certain conditions.

In theory, death or enslavement were the only alternatives available to conquered peoples who were neither Muslims nor members of one of the *dhimmi* communities. Dhimmis were granted freedom of worship and were allowed to work and own property. However, there was discrimination in the form of a dress code. Christians, for example, were supposed to wear a blue belt, and so Eastern Christians are sometimes referred to in older literature as “Christians of the Girdle.” Jews and Christians were also banned from carrying weapons or riding horses. Their testimony in a court of law did not have the same weight as that of a Muslim.

Dhimmis might maintain and repair existing churches or synagogues, but they were debarred (in theory at least) from building new ones. The ringing of church bells was banned. Dhimmis had to pay a special poll tax (Arab. *jizya*). However, as non-Muslims they were not subject to the *zakāt*

(charitable levy) and were exempt from the duty of *jihād* (holy war).

—Robert Irwin

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Didgori, Battle of (1121)

A conflict between the kingdom of Georgia and a Muslim coalition at Didgori near Tbilisi in August 1121.

The settlement of large numbers of nomadic Turcomans in Transcaucasia in the late eleventh century turned the occupied territory into pastures, undermining local agriculture and economy. In 1089, a bloodless coup d'état forced King Giorgi II of Georgia to abdicate in favor of his sixteen-year-old son David IV. In 1099, taking advantage of the arrival of the First Crusade in Syria and Palestine (1096–1099), David ceased paying annual tribute to the Great Saljūqs and stopped their seasonal migrations into Georgia. He then continued his expansion throughout southern Transcaucasia and Armenia in 1105–1120. In 1118, he also reorganized the Georgian army, resettling some 40,000 families of Qipchaqs from the northern Caucasus, who provided him with a steady supply of manpower.

Concerned about the rapid rise of this Christian state, in 1121 the Great saljūq sultan Maḥmūd formed a coalition of Muslim states and declared a holy war on Georgia. The coalition included the Artūqid ruler Najm al-Dīn Ḫāzān, Toghrul ibn Muḥammad, the Saljūq ruler of Arran (in modern Azerbaijan) and Nakhichevan, Dubays ibn Ṣadaqa from Hilla on the west coast of the Persian Gulf, and Tughān-Arslān, lord of Arzin, Bidlis, and Dvin. Ḫāzān had just celebrated his great victory over the Franks of Antioch at the battle known as the *Ager Sanguinis* (1119) and enjoyed a reputation as an experienced commander. The size of the Muslim army is still a matter of debate, with numbers ranging from a fantastic 600,000 men (as given by Walter the Chancellor and Matthew of Edessa) to 400,000 (Smpadt Sparapet's Chronicle), while estimates of Georgian historians vary between 100,000 and 250,000 men. Although all of these numbers seem to be exaggerated, all sources indicate that Muslims made massive preparations and vastly outnumbered the

Georgians. In midsummer 1121, the Muslim troops advanced along various routes to Georgia and bivouacked on a plain near Didgori, about a day's march from Tbilisi, in early August. The Georgians mustered some 56,000 men, including 500 Alans and 200 Franks from the Holy Land. On 11 August 1121, King David split them into two divisions with a larger force under his personal command and a smaller detachment under his son Demetre hidden in reserve behind the nearby heights with orders to strike the enemy flank at a given signal.

According to David's battle plan, on the morning of 12 August some 200 cavalymen left the Georgian camp and rode over to the enemy side, indicating that they wanted to defect. The Muslim commanders not only allowed them into the camp but also gathered to meet them. At a signal, Georgians attacked them, killing and wounding most of the Muslim leadership. Observing confusion in the enemy camp, King David ordered a general attack on the enemy positions while Prince Demetre charged the enemy flank. With their leadership in disarray, the Muslims in the front line failed to offer any resistance, while those at the rear soon became so disorganized that the entire army eventually fled in disorder. The Georgian troops pursued them for three days, putting many of them to the sword. Following their triumph, Georgian armies were victorious in the neighboring territories of Armenia, Shirwan, and the northern Caucasus, greatly expanding Georgia's sphere of influence. The battle of Didgori entered Georgian national consciousness as "the miraculous victory" (*Georg. dzlevai sakvirveli*) and is one of the apogees of Georgian history.

—Alexander Mikaberidze

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Dietrich von Altenburg (d. 1341)

Grand master of the Teutonic Order (1335–1341), who organized important crusading campaigns against the Lithuanians.

Dinis of Portugal (1261–1325)

Dietrich was a son of Dietrich II, burgrave of Altenburg in Thuringia. The year of his birth is unknown, although some late sources of debatable value give 1255. Dietrich probably entered the Teutonic Order between 1301 and 1307. He spent his entire career in Prussia, where he acted as commander of different castles before being made marshal in 1331. On 3 May 1335, Dietrich was elected grand master. His time in office witnessed repeated efforts to settle the conflict with Poland that had arisen after the order's conquest of Pomerelia in 1308–1309, but no peace treaty could be concluded during Dietrich's mastership.

Like his predecessors, Dietrich promoted literary activities within the order. He also had numerous castles reinforced. New castles were erected, especially along the Lithuanian border. Under his leadership many noble guests joined the campaigns against the Lithuanians. Dietrich had been in charge of organizing these crusading campaigns since becoming marshal. Now his expansive (although unrealized) designs on Lithuania were reflected by a grant of the Holy Roman Emperor Ludwig IV, who enfeoffed the order with the whole of Lithuania in 1337. Dietrich died on 6 October 1341. He was the first grand master to be buried in the chapel of St. Anne at Marienburg (mod. Malbork, Poland).

—Axel Ehlers

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Dinis of Portugal (1261–1325)

King of Portugal (1279–1325).

The son of Afonso III of Portugal, Dinis was also grandson of Alfonso X of Castile, son-in-law of Peter III of Aragon, and father-in-law of Ferdinand IV of Castile. His political activity in the wider context of the Iberian Peninsula was to a large extent determined by these family ties, as became evident, for example, when he collaborated with his son-in-law in the war against Granada, and when he was called upon to settle a dispute between the kings of Castile and Aragon in 1304.

As the reconquest of Portugal from the Muslims was over by the reign of Dinis, he worked to secure the defense of his kingdom and to stabilize its borders with the kingdoms of León and Castile. At the same time, he followed a policy of

affirming the Crown's authority by asserting its control over the lay and ecclesiastical powers within the kingdom, in particular by weakening the international links of the military orders in order to create the conditions by which they might be subordinated to the interests of the monarchy. He insisted on the national character of the orders in Portugal, choosing his own trusted followers to lead them and integrating them in the defense of the kingdom. Dinis succeeded in establishing an autonomous branch of the Order of Santiago in Portugal (1290–1297) and also tried to incorporate the estates of the Order of the Temple into the Crown's possessions (1310). In 1319 his ideas received a sympathetic reception from Pope John XXII, who accepted both the establishment of a provincial mastership for the Order of Santiago and the use of the Temple's assets for the creation of a new Portuguese military order. This was the Order of Christ, which was given headquarters in the extreme south of the kingdom. The following year, Dinis received one-tenth of ecclesiastical incomes over a period of three years, to be used for the construction of a fleet to fight the Muslims and defend the Portuguese coast. Dinis was succeeded by his son Afonso IV.

—Luís Filipe Oliveira

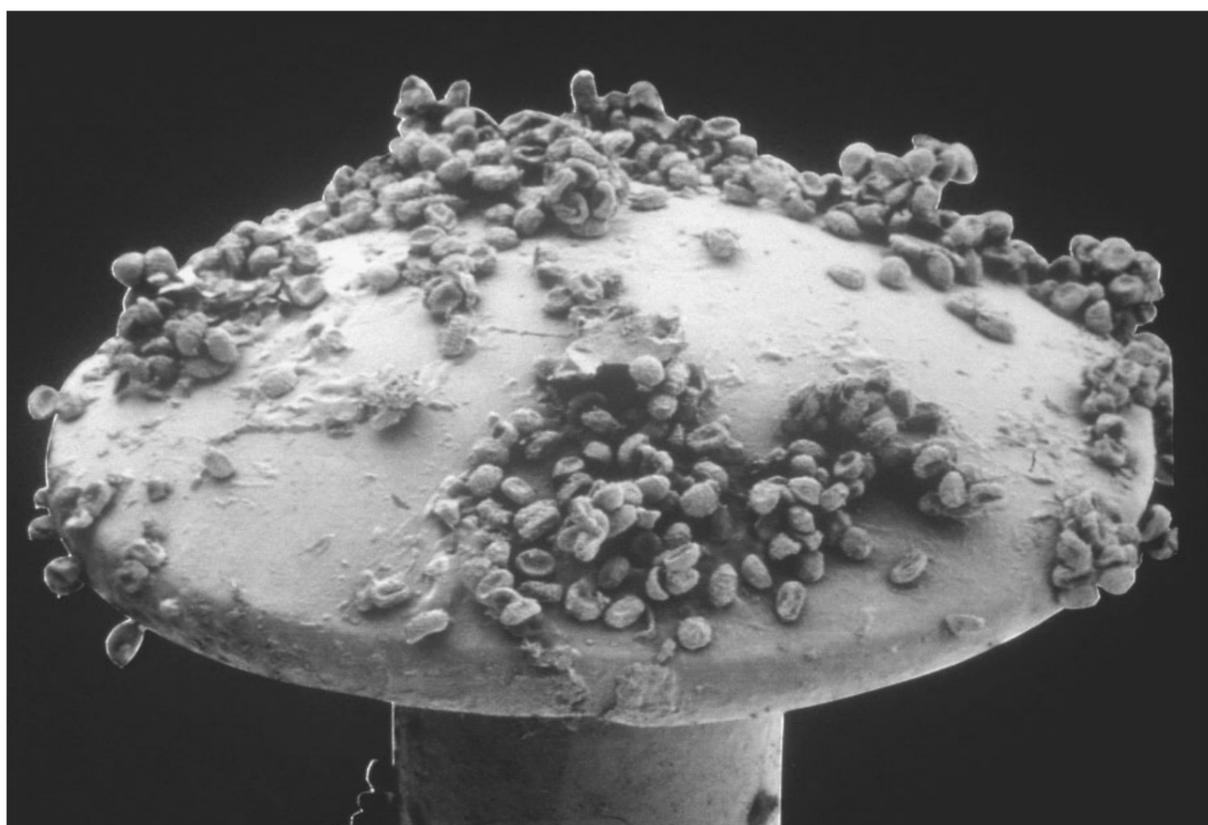
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Disease

Participation on a crusade to the eastern Mediterranean or the Baltic region would have exposed individuals from Europe to a range of diseases at a time when the stress of such an expedition should have weakened their resistance.

By comparing mortality in clergy and knights, study of the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221) has suggested that about 19 percent of the wealthier participants died from malnutrition and infectious disease [James M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213–1221* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), pp. 169–171]. We might expect the poor to have even higher mortality, since they had little money to pay for med-



Roundworm eggs on the head of a pin. (Clouds Hill Imaging Ltd./Corbis)

ical care when sick or food at times of shortage. There are many examples in the chronicles when large numbers died from starvation, and specific nutritional deficiency syndromes, such as scurvy (vitamin C deficiency) and night blindness (vitamin A deficiency), also occurred. The concentration of large numbers of people in land armies and ships should have encouraged the transmission of infectious diseases. Epidemics frequently took their toll on armies, but often insufficient details of the symptoms were recorded in the chronicles for a modern identification of the cause to be made. Those army camps close to marshes would have been susceptible to mosquito-borne diseases such as malaria, while poor sanitary arrangements would have led to water-borne infections such as dysentery.

In more stable times, the Frankish settlers of Outremer experienced those infectious diseases endemic to the region. Leprosy was one of the most feared diseases in the medieval period. It may cause skin ulceration, blindness, destruction

of the nose, and deformities of the hands and feet. However, the fear was due not only to the physical disfigurement it can cause, but also to the moral and social implications of diagnosis. Many in Europe believed the disease was a punishment for sin, and the sick were often obliged to live separately, typically in foundations known as *leprosaria*. The military Order of St. Lazarus was formed to accommodate soldiers with the disease in the Frankish kingdoms. The best-known Frank with leprosy was Baldwin IV, king of Jerusalem (1174–1185). Parasitic intestinal worms were common in the medieval world, and the Frankish states were no exception. Excavation of the latrines of the Hospital of St. John in Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) has shown that members of the order were infested with roundworm, whipworm, and the fish tapeworm. Dental disease was a further condition widespread in the Frankish population. Excavated human remains frequently demonstrate both dental caries and heavy tooth wear. Often these problems were so



St. Benedict healing a leper, Rome, eleventh century.
(Scala/Art Resource)

severe that many of the teeth were lost before death. It is possible that dietary influences were responsible, and the consumption of sweet, sticky foods such as sugarcane, figs, and dates cultivated in the Levant would be expected to encourage dental caries.

It is also important to understand contrasts in health at a population level. The excavated remains of children who died at the crusader-period farming village of Parvum Gerinum (mod. Jezreel, Israel) and the Frankish castle of Vallis Moysis (mod. al Wu'ayra, Jordan) suggest that health in the children was much better in the village than at the castle. Children at the castle were dying very young, and some even suffered from scurvy. Relying on stored foods rather than fresh produce was a major cause of the poor health there, but the crowded conditions and limited sanitation facilities in castles may have contributed to the problem.

The crusades are often blamed for spreading disease in the medieval period. However, most of the diseases described here were already endemic in Europe and the Near and Middle East by that time, and so the disease epidemiology of the region is unlikely to have been significantly affected. It is quite possible, however, that particular epidemics could have been transported by those traveling between Europe and Outremer.

—Piers D. Mitchell

See also: Medicine

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Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Maqdisī (1173–1245)

Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Maqdisī was a Muslim historian and religious scholar from a prominent Ḥanbalī family of Damascus. He is often quoted in Arabic sources as an authority on twelfth- and thirteenth-century Palestine and Damascus.

Ḍiyā' al-Dīn's life was typical of men from his milieu. As a youth he studied in his hometown, then traveled to other centers of Islamic learning. Upon returning to Damascus, he established a college for the study of *ḥadīth* (Prophetic tradition) and settled down to teach and compose works on *ḥadīth*, law, and local history. Of special interest are his vivid portrayals of Muslim life under Frankish rule, particularly in the region of Nablus, which were included in his hagiographical dictionary of Palestinian shaykhs, *Karāmāt Mashā'ikh al-Arḍ al-Muqaddasa* (*The Cited Tales of the Wondrous Doings of the Shaykhs of the Holy Land*). Ḍiyā' al-Dīn propagated resistance and *jihād* (holy war) against the Franks in his writings and accompanied military campaigns

of Saladin along with other men of religion who attended to the spiritual needs of the army.

—Daniella Talmon-Heller

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Dobrin, Order of

The Order (or Knights) of Dobrin is the conventional name given in modern scholarship to a small military order established in northeastern Poland with the objective of carrying on the missionary crusade against the heathen Prussians.

The order's relatively short existence means that its history can only be reconstructed in fragmentary fashion from a small number of sources, principally contemporary documents, the chronicle of the abbey of Oliwa, and the later *Chronicon Terre Prussiae* of the early fourteenth-century priest of the Teutonic Order Peter von Dusburg.

Although some scholars date its origins to as early as 1216–1217, most believe that the order was founded in 1228 or shortly before, on the initiative of Christian, bishop of Prussia. It was intended to provide the bishop with an armed force that would support his mission to convert the Prussians. The order is referred to in the Latin sources as *Milites Christi de Prussia* (Knights of Christ in Prussia), *Milites Christi fratres de Dobrin* (Knight Brethren of Christ of Dobrin), or variations of these names.

The first definite information on the new order dates from 4 July 1228, when it received donations from Conrad, duke of Mazovia, and Günther, bishop of Płock. These consisted of lands and rights within a narrow strip of territory in the north of the Polish duchy of Mazovia, stretching from the right bank of the river Vistula as far as the Prussian frontier, and centered on the castle of Dobrin (mod. Dobrzyń, Poland), with some smaller possessions on the left bank of the Vistula. These donations, which were confirmed by Pope Gregory IX on 28 October 1228, formed the order's principal landed pos-

sessions, although it did come to acquire smaller properties outside its theater of war, notably in Pomerania.

The order followed the Templar rule, and its insignia was a red sword and star on a white surcoat. Its initial strength was 15 knight brethren and an unspecified number of soldiers, servants, and other personnel, which may have been as high as 150. It is unlikely that the order ever exceeded this strength. Only a handful of the knight brethren are known by name: they include Bruno, the first master. The majority were Germans by origin, from Pomerania, Mecklenburg, and the region of the Lower Elbe in northwestern Saxony.

For most of its short existence, the order seems to have been occupied in defending Christian Mazovia from the heathen Prussians, rather than being able to take the offensive against them. The decisive downturn in its fortunes occurred in 1233, when Bishop Christian was captured by the Prussians. The Knights of Dobrin were now deprived of their principal protector, and both the papacy and the new bishop of Płock, Peter, favored the bigger and more powerful Teutonic Order as the main military force to carry on the crusade against the Prussians. The Knights of Dobrin were incorporated into the Teutonic Order in 1235. Duke Conrad contested the Teutonic Order's possession of the lands he had originally granted and repossessed the territory of Dobrin after arbitration by the papal legate, William of Modena.

Meanwhile Master Bruno and some dissident knight brethren had refused to accept the incorporation into the Teutonic Order, and had moved some 240 kilometers (150 mi.) further east, settling at the castle of Drohiczyn on the river Bug, which they had been granted, with its surrounding territory, by Duke Conrad (1237). Their new task was to defend this part of Mazovia against the Prussian Iatving tribe and the Orthodox Russians. However, this small force disintegrated in the face of Russian attacks in 1238, in the course of which Bruno was captured. The surviving members returned to their home countries, and the order's few remaining possessions were sold off.

—Alan V. Murray

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Dominican Order

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Dominican Order

The beginnings of the Dominican Order (more formally known as the Order of Friars Preachers) belong in the context of the papacy's campaigns against the Albigensian heretics in southwestern France. The founder of the order, Dominic Guzman (canonized in 1234), was a member of one of the papal legations commissioned to preach against Catharism in Languedoc. During this time he gathered a group of preachers around him that formed the basis for the foundation of the Dominican Order in 1217. When the crusade against the Albigensians was put into motion after 1209, Dominic came into close contact with the crusaders and their leaders, who supported his community of friars financially. Although Dominic and his followers did not become crusaders, they were, as part of the papal faction in Languedoc, pursuing the same aim as the crusaders, the eradication of heresy, albeit with different means.

Not long after the formal establishment of the Dominican Order, the friars became involved in the business of the cross and, alongside their Franciscan counterparts, went on to become arguably the most important group of crusade propagandists of the later Middle Ages. As early as the 1220s, the papacy commissioned individual friars to preach the cross, such as, for example, John of Wildeshausen, who later became the fourth master-general of the order, and the canon lawyer Raymond of Penyaforte, who preached the crusade to Mallorca in the late 1220s. From the 1230s onward, Dominican friars were called upon by the papacy to preach in support of most crusades throughout the later Middle Ages. As with the Franciscans, the Europe-wide presence of the order, combined with a strict internal hierarchy, made the Dominicans an ideal agent for spreading and at the same time controlling crusade propaganda. In the

thirteenth century the Dominicans were given special responsibility for recruiting and organizing the crusading support for the Teutonic Order in the Baltic region, an area that they had already singled out for their missionary activities.

Alongside their preaching activities, Dominican friars also collected taxes, vow redemptions, and money donated in support of the crusades. The Dominican Order was evidently seen by the papacy as particularly reliable in matters of crusade propaganda. In contrast to the Franciscan Order, it was not hampered by internal strife (at least not to the same extent), and its leaders took an active personal interest in the crusades. Besides those already mentioned, important members of the order such as Humbert of Romans, Peter the Martyr, Albert the Great, and John of Capistrano all preached the crusade; Catherine of Siena, a Dominican tertiary, was also one of the most fervent promoters of the crusade in the fourteenth century. Of these, Humbert of Romans was probably the most influential crusade propagandist, not only compiling model sermons for the use of other crusade preachers but also writing a popular crusade-preaching handbook, *De predicatione crucis*, which was read throughout the later Middle Ages and was among the earliest books to be published in print in the fifteenth century.

The Dominican Order thus played a vital role in sustaining the crusade movement. The Dominicans' support of the crusades was linked to their status as an exempt order of the church, subject only to the papacy, and corresponded well to their active support of papal government and policy. As theologians, canon lawyers, inquisitors, crusade preachers, and pastoral reformers Dominican friars were closely involved in the implementation of the papacy's strategies of church reform. The Dominican Order actively supported the papacy's crusade policy because that policy was used as an instrument to enforce orthodoxy and strengthen the doctrinal, political, and institutional authority of the church. But like the Franciscans, the Dominicans also embraced the pastoral dimension of crusading, its appeal to Christocentric spirituality, and its strong penitential thrust. The Dominicans also combined their support of the crusades with their interest in missionizing non-Christian peoples and non-Catholic Christians, which is borne out by the early foundation of Dominican priories in the countries along the Baltic coast, in the Balkans, and in Greece, Cyprus, and Palestine in the wake of the crusades.

—Christoph T. Maier

See also: Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229)

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Domus Godefridi

A Latin term applied by chroniclers to the household of Godfrey of Bouillon during his reign as ruler of Jerusalem (1099–1100) after the First Crusade.

The household comprised officials (knights and clerics) who exercised important administrative, logistic, and military functions in Godfrey's contingent on crusade, and it formed the basis of Godfrey's machinery of government after his election as ruler of Jerusalem in July 1099. It consisted of a core of Lotharingians who had accompanied Godfrey from the West, augmented by Frenchmen, Normans, Germans, and others who had joined him in the course of the crusade. The household played a decisive role in the development of the kingdom of Jerusalem on the death of Godfrey (18 July 1100), when, under the leadership of the Lotharingian nobleman Warner of Grez, its members seized the citadel of Jerusalem and summoned Godfrey's younger brother Baldwin I from Edessa to take up Godfrey's inheritance, in defiance of the claims of the patriarch of Jerusalem, Daibert of Pisa.

—Alan V. Murray

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Dorpat

Dorpat (mod. Tartu, Estonia) was the third largest town of Livonia and a bishopric in the Middle Ages. After the final capture of the Estonian hill fort there in 1224 by the crusaders, Dorpat developed into an important center, becoming the seat of a bishopric covering all of southern Estonia. Its western half was subject to the secular rule of the Order of the Sword Brethren, and later of the Teutonic Order. The ambitions of the latter were consistently opposed by the bishops.

The town beside the castle is first mentioned in connection with an attack by the Russians of Novgorod in 1262. Soon after that, the settlement received its first stone fortifications. Because of its location on the waterway to Pskov, Dorpat developed into a large commercial center and joined the Hanseatic League. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, Dorpat, together with Riga and Reval (mod. Tallinn, Estonia), gained control over the eastern trade, and Dorpat contained a Russian quarter with its own Russian settlement and church.

At the beginning of the Livonian War, in 1558, the town surrendered to Muscovite forces. The effects of warfare depleted the wealth of the town, which could not be restored during the following centuries of Polish and Swedish overlordship.

—Juhan Kreem

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Dorylaion, Battle of (1097)

A battle fought between the armies of the First Crusade (1096–1099) and the forces of Qilij Arslān I (1092–1107), Saljūq sultan of Rūm, and his allies on the edge of the Anatolian plateau near the city of Dorylaion (mod. Eskişehir, Turkey).

Qilij Arslān had been absent from his capital of Nicaea (mod. İzmit, Turkey) when the crusader siege began on 14 May 1097, and his attempt to relieve it failed on 16 May. On 19 June Nicaea surrendered, and on 26 June the crusaders began their march across Anatolia.

Neither the reasons for their choice of direction nor the



Battle of Dorylaion. (Pixel That)

precise nature of their route are known. The sources make clear that, as a result of divided command, their army divided into a vanguard, led by Bohemund of Taranto, and a larger main force, with substantial elements straggling between the two. This gave Qilij Arslān the opportunity to destroy the vanguard, which was outnumbered by his army of around 6,000, and thus to defeat the whole crusade in detail. On 1 July the Turks ambushed the vanguard; Bohemund rallied the troops and sent for help, but the cavalry were driven back on their camp in a confused mass of tents, horses, and people. The Turks were drawn into a close-quarter fight lasting from early morning till noon, when the main crusader force routed them. The sources are vague on the precise location but speak of a battle near Dorylaion. The crusaders could hardly have reached that city in the time available, but the encounter was certainly where two valleys meet, and the most likely place is north of modern Bozüyük.

—John France

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Douglas, James (d. 1330)

A Scottish knight, also known as “the Black Douglas” and “Good Sir James”; leader of the only expedition against the Muslims to have originated in the kingdom of Scotland (1330).

James’s father, Sir William le Hardi, lord of Douglas in Clydesdale, died a prisoner in the Tower of London in 1299; his estates had been confiscated after the English occupation of Scotland by King Edward I in 1296. In 1306 the landless James joined the Scottish resistance under King Robert Bruce, and in the course of the next two decades rose to become one of his leading supporters, with a reputation as a daring and imaginative military leader. Robert knighted James on the eve of the battle of Bannockburn (1314) and bestowed on him extensive lands in southern Scotland, which formed the basis of the future greatness of his descendants.

When King Robert died without having fulfilled his wish of undertaking a crusade against the Muslims (7 June 1329), Douglas was chosen to lead a kind of crusade by proxy, in which he was to carry the king’s embalmed heart in a silver casket around his neck, even though the actual removal of the heart meant that Douglas incurred an automatic excommunication, as such interference with corpses had been condemned by the pope in the bull *Detestandae feritatis abusum* (1299).

The intended goal of Douglas’s expedition is open to dispute: a safe-conduct from King Edward III of England mentions travel to the Holy Land, but Douglas also secured letters of recommendation to King Alfonso XI of Castile. As the last Christian foothold in Outremer had been lost in 1303, any armed invasion of the Holy Land with the forces available to Douglas would have faced insurmountable difficulties. However, it is possible that a campaign against Muslim Granada was envisaged as the military component of the expedition, with the additional aim of a peaceful pilgrimage carrying Bruce’s heart to Jerusalem. Douglas sailed to Flanders in the spring of 1330 with a substantial number of Scottish knights and soldiers, and then on to Seville in Spain. There the Scots joined Alfonso XI in a campaign against the town of Teba, held by Muḥammad IV of Granada. During fighting at the river Guadalteba in August 1330, the Scots initially routed the Moors opposing them, but were then separated from the rest of the Christian army. Although Teba surrendered soon after, the Scottish crusade had suffered heavy losses, including Douglas himself and the knights William Sinclair and Robert and Walter Logan.



The “bludy hert” of Robert Bruce in the coat of arms of the Douglas family. Nineteenth-century sculpture from Newmains Farm, Douglas, Scotland. (Courtesy John Gavin, Douglas Valley Rural Authority Partnership)

The survivors of the expedition brought back the casket containing Robert Bruce’s heart for burial at Melrose Abbey, and Sir James’s bones for burial at Douglas Kirk; the sentence of excommunication was lifted by Pope John XXII in 1331. The symbol of Bruce’s *bludy hert* (bloody heart) was incorporated into the Douglas family coat of arms in memory of James’s deeds.

–Alan V. Murray

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Drenthe Crusade (1228–1232)

A crusade that formed part of the conflict over episcopal prerogatives and doctrinal observance between the bishopric of Utrecht and the inhabitants of the Drenthe region in the northeastern Netherlands.

After the murder of Bishop Otto II of Utrecht by the Drenthers in 1227, his successor Willibrand of Oldenburg turned the conflict into a crusade for the defense of episcopal rights and authority in Drenthe. Even though no papal bull has survived, the *Gesta episcoporum Traiectensium* clearly states that Willibrand was acting with papal authority; he may have obtained the relevant powers directly from Pope Gregory IX. The justification of the crusade was presumably that the Drenthers had defied their bishop’s authority, which technically made them heretics. Willibrand was reported to have preached the cross in Frisia several times between the late summer of 1228 and winter of 1230–1231. After a number of encounters between the bishop’s forces and the Drenthers, the crusade came to an end in September 1232.

–Christoph T. Maier

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Druzes

Adherents of an offshoot of Ismā‘īlī Shī‘ism originating in Egypt toward the end of the reign of the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ḥākīm (996–1021), who later found refuge in Syria, particularly in the mountains of Lebanon. The Druzes were erroneously considered by early modern travelers to the Levant to be descendants of the Franks; more specifically, of a French crusader called Comte de Dreux, who is said to have remained in the East. In fact, the Druzes (Arab. *Durūz* or *Drūz*) are so designated after one of their earliest missionar-

ies, Nashtakīn al-Darazī (d. 1019). They themselves prefer to be called *al-Muwahhidūn* or *Ahl al-Tawhīd* (“Unitarians”).

The Druze religion originated with the propagation of ideas concerning the special standing of al-Ḥākīm as *mahdī* (a redeemer of Prophetic descent), or even divinity, whose advent ends the era of the religious law. Al-Ḥākīm’s mysterious disappearance in 1021 was interpreted as a voluntary temporary occultation. Despite fierce opposition from the Fāṭimid religious establishment, the new cult spread in Egyptian and some other Ismāʿīlī communities. Persecution under al-Ḥākīm’s successor, al-Zāhir, led surviving adherents to settle in Syria, mainly in southern Lebanon, where the movement acquired its greatest success and developed its special body of doctrine and sacred scriptures. It was propagated for some twenty years and then became the religion of a closed and highly secretive autonomous community, permitting neither conversion nor apostasy. The Druze religion received its final formulation in the second half of the fifteenth century. Due to its esoteric character, to the hostility of Muslim authors, and perhaps also to its doctrine of *taqiyya* (permission to conceal religious identity in case of danger), it was often misunderstood and misrepresented.

Druze cosmogony, the theory of creation through emanation and a cyclical view of history, derives from Ismāʿīlī Neoplatonism. The Druze scriptures, the *Rasāʾil al-Ḥikma* (*Epistle of Wisdom*), comprise 111 epistles attributed to al-Ḥākīm and a few of his contemporary companions and missionaries. The Qurʾān and Muslim religious law receive allegoric interpretation. The Druzes emphasize God’s unity while claiming that for the benefit of mankind he periodically manifests himself in human form. They regard al-Ḥākīm as having been the locus of the final human incarnation of God and expect him to return and establish the rule of justice and true faith. They believe in predestination and in the transmigration of souls. While the common believers (Arab. *Juḥhāl*, “ignorants”) are committed to a code of ethical-religious principles, only the *ʿuqqāl* (“sages”), who are initiated into the true faith after lengthy preparation, are allowed access to all the religious literature, but they are obliged to live strict religious lives.

According to the Jewish traveler Benjamin of Tudela (c. 1170) and later Druze chroniclers, the Druze Tanūkh clan (of southern Arab descent) defended the Gharb area southeast of Sidon (mod. Saīda, Lebanon) against the Franks. Later sources claim that the other leading Druze family of Mount Lebanon, the Maʿnis, established itself in the Shūf Mountains

around 1120, for the same purpose. Druze leaders were rewarded by the Būrid *atabeg* of Damascus with official recognition of their rule in the region. Having assisted in warding off the Frankish assault on Damascus in 1148, they received grants of land revenue (Arab. *iqṭāʿ*) from Nūr al-Dīn, reconfirmed later by Saladin. But in the thirteenth century the relations between the leading families of the Gharb and Shūf and the Frankish lords of Sidon seem to have been warmer than their relations with the Muslim Ayyūbids and Mamlūks.

Daniella Talmon-Heller

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Dubois, Pierre (d. after 1321)

A crusade writer and theorist. Pierre Dubois was probably born between 1250 and 1260. He served as a royal official in Normandy under King Philip IV of France (d. 1314) and in Artois at the end of his life. Pierre had no influence on politics, but wrote in a private capacity about war, lawsuits, tournaments, the relations of the king of France with the church, and the crusade, mostly in a utopian vein.

His treatise concerning the recovery of the Holy Land, *De recuperatione Terre Sancte* (c. 1306), was dedicated to King Edward I of England (whom he also served for a time). In it he argued that the first condition for a successful crusade was a reform of the church, stripping it of its temporal powers, and the establishment of peace within Christendom by means of a kind of international court. The crusade was to be financed from the wealth of the Templars and Hospitallers. Pierre also advocated the teaching of Eastern languages, intermarriage with the Saracens, and the creation of schools for girls and women. The Latin Empire of Constantinople was to be reestablished for Charles of Valois, brother of the king of France and titular emperor. Pierre presented a new edition of this treatise to Philip the Fair in 1308. In the same year he wrote a memorandum in which he urged the king of France to found a kingdom in the East (Jerusalem, Cyprus, Egypt) for his son Philip. Pierre probably died after 1321.

–Jacques Paviot

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Duluk

Duluk (mod. Dülük, Turkey) was a small town in northern Syria, the seat of a Latin archbishopric during the existence of the county of Edessa.

Dolichè or Tulupe, as it was known in ancient times, had once been of regional importance but had been superseded by Aintab (mod. Gaziantep, Turkey) and, during the Frankish period, by Turbessel (mod. Tellbaşar Kalesi, Turkey), which were more accessible and better-watered sites. At the foot of the mountains, near the route north to Marash (mod. Kahramanmaraş, Turkey), Duluk was in the territory controlled by the Armenian lord Kogh Vasil at the time of the First Crusade (1096–1099). It was in Frankish hands after 1116, although possibly earlier; Count Baldwin II of Edessa was briefly besieged there by Tancred in 1108. One Mahuis, count of Duluk, was at the battle of Azaz (1125); a Latin archbishop, Franco, is attested in 1134 and 1141 but was resident at Turbessel.

After the capture of Count Joscelin II of Edessa (1150), Duluk was sold by his wife, Beatrix, to the Byzantine emperor. However, it was seized in the summer of 1151 by Mas‘ūd I, Saljūq sultan of Rūm, and in 1155 by Nūr al-Dīn.

—Angus Stewart

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Duqāq (d. 1104)

King (Arab. *malik*) of Damascus (mod. Dimashq, Syria) and southern Syria (1095–1104), with the title Shams al-Mulūk (Sun of the Kings).

Duqāq was born around 1083, one of five sons of Tutush I ibn Alp Arslān, the Saljūq ruler of Syria. During Tutush’s attempt to gain the Saljūq sultanate, he appointed Ṭughtakin in 1093 as *atabeg* for Duqāq and married him to Duqāq’s mother, Şafwat. When Tutush was killed in battle in Persia in 1095, a struggle for power over Syria broke out between Duqāq in Damascus and his elder brother Riḍwān in Aleppo, aided by their respective *atabegs*. This civil war was still going on when the armies of the First Crusade (1096–1099) arrived in the Levant.

At this time Duqāq’s realm was a large one, extending from the Jaulan (Golan) in the south to the city of Homs in the north. As well as his capital of Damascus, Duqāq ruled the towns of Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel) and Haifa (mod. Hefa, Israel) on the Mediterranean coast, which he had inherited from his father. When the crusaders started to besiege Antioch on the Orontes (mod. Antakya, Turkey) in October 1097, Yāghisiyān, who governed the city for Duqāq’s brother Riḍwān, sent to Damascus for help. Duqāq and his *atabeg* did not respond at once, but joined the army being assembled by Karbughā, lord of Mosul. The joint Muslim army arrived at Antioch on 5 June 1098, two days after the city’s capture by the crusaders, and was eventually defeated in battle outside the walls on 28 June 1098.

After the fall of Jerusalem to the crusaders (15 July 1099), the inhabitants of Damascus sent an embassy to Baghdad urging the Great Saljūq sultan and the ‘Abbāsīd caliph to send help. By contrast, Duqāq did not share the concerns of his subjects, and in 1100 he took his army to secure his dominions in Mesopotamia from the Franks of Edessa, who threatened the strategic route to Iraq, Persia, and central Asia, where Turcomans were recruited for the Saljūq armies. One of Duqāq’s few contributions to the struggle against the Franks took place near Beirut in 1100, when he attempted

Durben, Battle of (1260)

to intercept a limited force led by Count Baldwin I of Edessa, who was coming south to take up the throne of Jerusalem. However, Baldwin was warned of the attack by the Arab ruler of Tripoli (mod. Trâblous, Lebanon) and managed to reach Jerusalem with minor casualties.

In 1101 Baldwin I seized the coastal town of Haifa from Duqâq's control. Duqâq, however, refrained from serious hostilities and turned down an Egyptian offer for an alliance against the Franks of Jerusalem. In the same year Duqâq and his atabeg responded to a plea from Tripoli to save the port of Jabala from the Franks and managed to take it over, aiming to guard the Damascene commerce that passed through Tripolitan territory.

In June 1104 Duqâq died suddenly while still in his early twenties. According to Ibn 'Asâkir (d. 1176), he was poisoned by his mother, in conspiracy with the ambitious ʿUḡhtigin, who became regent for Duqâq's infant son Tutush II.

–*Taef El-Azhari*

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Durazzo

See Dyrrachion

Durben, Battle of (1260)

A defeat of the army of the Teutonic Order by pagan Samogitians near Durben (mod. Durbe, Latvia) on 13 July 1260. It triggered revolts among peoples conquered by the Teutonic Order and weakened the crusades in the Baltic area.

At this time the Teutonic Order had conquered Curonia and was expanding into Samogitia. In 1260 Samogitians besieged the fort of Georgenburg (mod. Jurbarkas, Lithuania), newly built by the Livonian and Prussian branches of the Teutonic Order in the area by the Nemunas River called Karšuva (Karsowe). To lift the siege, Teutonic Knights from both branches led out an army of Prussians, Estonians, Curonians, Danes from Reval (mod. Tallinn, Estonia), and thirty knight brethren from Germany. As they marched toward Georgenburg, news came that the Samogitians were

devastating Curonia. The order's army hurried there and met the pagans by the Durben River, near Lake Durben.

According to the chronicle of Peter von Dusburg, the Curonians in the order's host had asked if their wives and children who had been seized by the Samogitians would be restored in case of victory. Others in the host objected, wanting these captives as war booty. During the battle, the angry Curonians defected, attacking the order's troops from the rear. Surrounded, the Christians panicked and were slaughtered. Casualties included Burkhard von Hornhausen, Livonian master of the order, as well as 150 Teutonic Knights and large numbers of allied troops.

As a result, the Teutonic Order withdrew from the forts of Durben and Georgenburg, was obliged to fight revolts by the Curonians and the Prussians (1260–1274), and lost King Mindaugas of Lithuania as an ally.

–*Rasa Mažeika*

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Dutch Literature

The corpus of Middle Dutch literature contains many texts related to the history of the crusades. The precise relationship takes diverse forms, ranging from the use of crusade motifs in stories otherwise unconnected with the crusades to those texts (on which this survey concentrates) in which the crusades form the central theme. Works of the latter type can in most cases be connected with crusade historiography in Latin or with the corpus of Old French crusade epics and romances. The texts offer a variety of perspectives on the historical crusades, but they are always revealing in terms of the contemporary public perception of crusading.

Die scone historie hertoghe Godevaerts van Boloen is a late fifteenth-century prose text connected with Latin crusade historiography. It survives only in printed form (Gouda, c. 1486), as an exquisite folio incunabulum of 100 leaves with 22 different woodcuts. Its immediate source is a Latin printed text, the *Historia de itineris contra Turcos* (Cologne, c. 1472), which derives primarily from the histories of the First Crusade by Robert of Rheims and Fulcher of Chartres.

The parts taken from Robert's *Historia Hierosolymitana* are to a large extent identical with his text as known from the manuscripts, but that taken from Fulcher's chronicle deviates from the known tradition. In the Cologne printed version, a letter from the Byzantine emperor Alexios I to Robert II of Flanders was added to the chronicle materials; in the Middle Dutch *Scone historie* this letter was omitted, while the prologue and other preliminary material known from the manuscript tradition and the Cologne print were replaced by an original prologue in Middle Dutch, based on that in the *De coniuratione Catilinae* by the Roman historian Sallust. This substitution clearly reveals the historiographical intentions of the anonymous Dutch adaptor, who shows himself to be a very accurate translator (although he changed the book's structure with respect to books and chapters). Two copies of the *Scone historie* are known: Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Thomaasse, rariora kast I, 31–2, and Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Thyss.1993). The text seems to mark the beginning of "scholarly" crusade historiography in the Dutch-language area.

Godevaerts kintshede and the *Roman van Antiochië* are Middle Dutch adaptations in rhymed couplets of the Old French *Enfances Godefroi* and *Chanson d'Antioche*, made by an anonymous Flemish poet; his patron probably belonged to the circle of one of the dukes of Brabant, either John II (d. 1312) or John III (d. 1355), whose ancestor Henry I (d. 1235) was involved as a patron in the production of the Old French Crusade Cycle. Fragments of a single manuscript survive in the form of eight strips of parchment, preserved in four libraries (MSS Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 15393; Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 1647; Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, IV 209,10; and Leuven, Private Collection of J. Deschamps). This manuscript stems from the first half of the fourteenth century; the translation is probably from the same period. The surviving parts of *Godevaerts kintshede* (60, partially damaged lines) belong to the episode in which Godfrey of Bouillon organizes a show of arms to deceive the Muslim king Cornumarant, who has travelled incognito to the West to gauge the strength of the Christians (*Enfances Godefroi*, lines 1585–2088). Of the *Roman van Antiochië*, 175 (partially damaged) lines survive, revealing similarities with and deviations from the *Chanson d'Antioche*. Clearly recognizable is the episode in which the Saracen defenders of Antioch make a sortie from the Iron Gate, as well as a passus from the episode known as the "Embassy of Sansadoine" (*Chanson d'Antioche*, lines 3127–3316 and 4454–4513). The

Middle Dutch text also preserves two battle scenes, with a certain "Reymbaut" and Bohemund I and Tancred of Antioch as protagonists. These two scenes indicate either that the Old French source was adapted or that an idiosyncratic version of the source was translated. The fact that the fragments of both branches belong to the same manuscript is a strong indication that the complete Old French Crusade Cycle was translated into Middle Dutch.

Boudewijn van Seborch is a translation of the Old French crusade romance *Baudouin de Sebourc*, of which 430 (partially damaged) lines survive on four strips of parchment, belonging to two different manuscripts (MS München, Universitätsbibliothek, 2° Cod. 756, and Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, E q 73a). The rather free translation was made by an anonymous Fleming in the second half of the fourteenth century, perhaps commissioned by someone belonging to the courtly circles of Hainaut-Holland (the Old French source also has a Hainaut background). The surviving lines tell of the departure of Arnoud, king of Nijmegen, on a rescue mission to Outremer (*Baudouin de Sebourc*, lines 112–259) and of the siege by his son Esmereit of the city of Nijmegen, previously captured by the traitor Gaufrout (*Baudouin de Sebourc*, lines 3447–3560). The story is loosely connected with the history of the crusades: this text—as well as the three next described—belongs to the complex sometimes known as the "Second Crusade Cycle."

The *Roman van Saladin* is a translation of the lost Old French verse romance known as the proto-*Saladin*. Only 160 (partially damaged) lines survive on two strips belonging to the same parchment bifolium (MS Praha, Univerzita Karlová, no shelfmark). The translation, by an anonymous West Flemish poet, dates from the second half of the fourteenth century. The remnants tell of combat scenes in which Gheeraert, son of Hughe van Tabarien, fights the Saracen Solimant, and Gheeraert and his brother Seghin fight the Saracen King Clariant. The importance of the fragments is in their age: they constitute the oldest remnants of the Western tradition of Saladin romances, which include two Old French prose versions of the Saladin and the Middle Dutch *Dystorie van Saladine*, all from the fifteenth century. *Dystorie van Saladine* is a verse adaptation of the *Roman van Saladin*, in 211 eight-line stanzas and one stanza of four lines (1,692 lines). The text is only known in printed form (Oude-naarde, c. 1480–1483, printer Arend de Keyser), of which two copies are extant (Washington, Library of Congress, Inc.1483 H 5 and Haarlem, City Library, 56 D 15). The

rhetorician Andries vander Meulen (from Oudenaarde) is sometimes held to be the author, but there is no conclusive evidence for this attribution. Comparison of the printed text with the fragments of the *Roman van Saladin* reveals the correspondences, but shows also that the stanzaic, crossed rhyme form of *Dystorie* undoubtedly caused an abridgement and deviations in content (lines 1273–1304 correspond to the surviving 160 lines of the *Roman van Saladin*). Further comparison with the two extant fifteenth-century Old French prose versions strengthens the hypothesis that the Middle Dutch printed version retained most of the plot of the lost Old French proto-*Saladin* intact. The story tells of Saladin's conquest of Jerusalem, in which he captures Hughe van Tabarien. Hughe is forced to reveal the secrets and values of Christian chivalry to Saladin. Together with Hughe and Jan van Ponthieu (who appears to be a relative), Saladin travels incognito to Europe, to gauge the strength of the Christians. In Outremer the Christians manage to defeat Saladin, who baptizes himself shortly before his death. A continuation of the *Roman van Saladin* is given in the *Roman van Cassant*, which survives as 65 (partly damaged) lines on one strip of parchment (MS Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 1732). The story, which has Cassant, son of Andries Chavengy, and Herminette van Ermenyen (Armenia) as protagonists, is announced at the end of the Old French *Bâtard de Bouillon*, and it is likely that the Middle Dutch text was a translation of a lost Old French source.

The *Ridder metter Swane* is a Middle Dutch version of the well-known Swan Knight legend. This prose text (with rhymed monologues and dialogues) survives only in printed form. The oldest known print version stems from the early sixteenth century, but it was reprinted into the twentieth century (more than twenty-five editions are known). This version is remotely connected with that part of the Crusade Cycle that tells of the legendary ancestry of Godfrey of Bouillon. The printing history indicates that only the more fantastic parts of the story succeeded in retaining the attention of the literary audience.

Shortly before 1299 the Brabant poet Hein van Aken completed an adaptation of the Old French *Ordène de Chévalerie*, entitled *Vanden coninc Saladijn ende van Hughen van Tabaryen* (35 eight-line stanzas in crossed rhyme). Not a crusade romance in the strict sense, it uses an episode from crusade history as a backdrop for a “narrative treatise” on the values and rituals pertaining to Christian chivalry. Saladin has captured Hughe van Tabaryen and presses to be ini-

tiated in Christian chivalry. At first Hughe refuses because Saladin is not a Christian, but then agrees to guide Saladin through the whole ceremony, explaining its symbolic details, although he does refuse to dub Saladin a knight.

In contrast to the works described so far, *Seghelijn van Jherusalem* is an original Middle Dutch chivalric romance (Flanders, c. 1350), in which borrowings from a great number of hagiographies and romances are discernible. This work gives the pseudobiography of Seghelijn, son of the Muslim king Prides of Jerusalem and his crypto-Christian wife Braffeleur. Seghelijn's vicissitudes are connected to the story of St. Helena, mother of the fourth-century emperor Constantine, who was believed to have discovered the relic of the True Cross. The romance is highly fictional (Seghelijn becomes emperor of Rome and ends up as Pope Benedict I) and does not focus on the historical crusades. It is nevertheless important because it debates prominent elements of medieval crusade ideology and criticism in a narrative form. The poet argues that forced conversion is acceptable and uses the sins of the Christians as an explanation for their defeats at the hands of the Muslims (as is often done in Latin crusade chronicles). The character of Seghelijn is portrayed as a crusader par excellence, a *miles Christi* (“knight of Christ”), clad in the armor of a Templar, born with a cross between his shoulders and on his chest. The romance clearly refers to contemporary justifications of the crusades: the motifs of *haereditas Christi* (Jerusalem as the inheritance of Christ) and of the *auctoritas principis* (justification by the highest authority, the pope as vicar of God) appear, both used in the Latin tradition to define a crusade as a just war. As a narrative “treatise” on crusade theory, the romance was probably intended to propagate new crusade initiatives in a period when the Frankish states in Outremer were lost, and Islam was threatening Europe.

References to the crusades can also be found in many Middle Dutch historiographical texts, such as the *Spiegel historial* (1283–1288), a world chronicle by the Flemish poet Jacob van Maerlant (c. 1230–c. 1290), who, following his source (the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent de Beauvais, with additions from Albert von Aachen's *Historia Hierosolymitana expeditionis*), offers an elaborated overview of the First Crusade. Shorter references are found in *Alexanders geesten* (c. 1260), an adaptation of Gautier de Chatillon's *Alexandris*, also by Jacob van Maerlant, which makes reference, inter alia, to the siege of Antioch in 1097–1098 and the defense of Tyre by Conrad of Montferrat in 1187. Assuming

that such information belongs to the common knowledge of his audience, Maerlant uses the references as geographical markers in a story set in the times of Alexander the Great.

—Geert H. M. Claassens

See also: Low Countries

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Dyrrachion

Dyrrachion (mod. Durrës, Albania), also known as Dyr-rachium (Lat.) or Durazzo (It.), was a fortified city and Byzantine naval base on the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea, which featured frequently as both a transit point and a target for crusaders from the West.

Dyrrachion was the center of an administrative district from the ninth century and the seat of a metropolitan of the Orthodox Church. One of the two western termini of the road known as the Via Egnatia, Dyrrachion maintained Byzantine power in the southern Balkans, especially over Diokleia (Montenegro), and provided communications with Byzantine possessions and forces in southern Italy.

The city was frequently fought over; it changed hands thirty-two times in the period 992–1392. It was attacked by Normans under the command of Robert Guiscard and Bohemund of Taranto in 1081. Although their naval force was defeated by the Venetians (then on friendly terms with Byzantium), they held the city until 1085. In 1185, it was again subject to Norman attack. After the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), Dyrrachion was granted to Venice (1205), but it was recaptured by Greek forces under the despot of Epiros, Michael Angelos, around 1213.

Its history in the mid-thirteenth century is confused; the surrounding region was ruled for a time by the Bulgar tsar, John Asen II (1218–1241). In 1272, the king of Naples, Charles I of Anjou, claiming his rights over the Latin Empire of Constantinople, captured Dyrrachion, whose walls had been gravely damaged by a serious earthquake in 1267. The city had had a thriving mercantile life, exporting salt, wood, and timber and supporting a cosmopolitan population, before the earthquake. The earthquake caused the city, and the coastal plain on which it stood, to become a malarial swamp, rendering them uninhabitable. Nevertheless, the city passed back and forth between Angevins, Byzantines, and Serbs until it was taken around 1376 by Louis of Evreux with the aid of Navarrese mercenaries. In 1392, George Thopia, a local Albanian ruler who had gained control, surrendered it to the Venetians, who held it until its fall to the Ottomans in 1501.

—Rosemary Morris

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Dystorie van Saladin

See Dutch Literature

E

Eastern Churches

In the context of the crusades, the term *Eastern* (or *Oriental*) churches refers to those Christian communities that were separate from both the Latin (Roman Catholic) Church of the West and the Greek Orthodox Church of the Byzantine Empire. They can be understood as belonging historically to three groups or families.

The Church of the East has been known at various stages in its history as the Nestorian, Chaldaean, or Assyrian Church. Its adherents were found principally in Mesopotamia, Iraq, and Persia, although the church undertook missions as far as Central Asia and China. It had relatively few communities in the Frankish states of Outremer. The Church of the East today is not in full communion with any other church.

The largest group of Eastern churches are often referred to collectively as monophysite churches, from the Greek words for "one nature," or as non-Chalcedonian churches. They recognized the three church councils of Nicaea, Constantinople, and Ephesus, but rejected the christological definition of the Council of Chalcedon (451), which asserted two natures, divine and human, in Christ. These churches are now in full communion with each other, though they have very different traditions and rites. The Coptic Orthodox Church was mainly confined to Egypt, where it had a substantial number of adherents under Fāṭimid, Ayyūbid and Mamlūk rule. Its patriarch resided at Alexandria and later in Cairo. In the medieval period, the churches of Ethiopia and Nubia were also under the authority of the Coptic patriarchate of Alexandria. The Syrian Orthodox Church was represented in Syria, Upper Mesopotamia,

and eastern Anatolia, with smaller communities elsewhere; under Frankish rule in the Levant, its adherents were found especially in the county of Edessa, but also in the principality of Antioch and the kingdom of Jerusalem. The church was mainly organized by Jacob Baradai in the sixth century, and thus has also been known as the Jacobite Church; its preferred modern designation is the Syriac Orthodox Church. Its patriarch, originally based at Antioch, has changed his place of residence several times, and is now resident in Damascus. The Armenian Orthodox (or Apostolic) Church is the national church of the Armenians, who were the first people to adopt Christianity as a state religion. In the Middle Ages it was organized under four main centres: the catholicosate of Echmiadzin in Greater Armenia (302), the patriarchate of Jerusalem (1311), the catholicosate of Cilicia (1441), and the patriarchate of Constantinople (1461).

The third family of churches comprises those that recognize the Council of Chalcedon. In the period of the crusades, these were principally the Maronite Church, which originated in the struggle concerning the monothelite doctrine, and the Georgian Orthodox Church, which around 600 separated from the Armenian church and accepted the Council of Chalcedon.

From the time of the Frankish conquest of Outremer, the Latin Church made efforts to achieve union with the Eastern churches, although the only successful union in the medieval period was with the Maronite Church. Unions with other Eastern churches occurred much later (between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries). In all these cases only parts of the respective church entered into union

with Rome, resulting in schisms, so that today there are various Eastern Rite Catholic churches in existence alongside the Eastern churches. Since the nineteenth century, Protestant branches of some of the Eastern Orthodox churches have come into existence as a result of missionary activity, but their numbers are very small.

—Harald Suermann

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Economy of the Levant

Research on the economy of the Frankish Levant from 1100 to 1291 is still largely dominated by a Eurocentric approach. This approach is rooted in and has been enhanced by the biased nature of the available documentation, which overwhelmingly illustrates Western commercial expansion, east-west long-distance exchanges across the Mediterranean, and the activity of Western merchants and carriers. Certainly these subjects are of great importance. Yet a more balanced perspective requires due attention to the agrarian and industrial sectors in the economy of the Frankish Levant, local and regional trade, and the economic function of Frankish settlers, all of which are often underrated or largely overlooked. The same holds true of the interaction between the Frankish states and the economies of other regions of the eastern Mediterranean and those of the Near and Middle East.

The establishment of the Frankish states created new geopolitical conditions, which were of paramount importance for the economic evolution of the Levant in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Frankish rule had an impact on all sectors of that economy, whether direct or indirect, or short or long term. It ensured Latin Christians more stable and secure conditions in the region than in the precrusading era, and it prompted a fairly large number of them to settle in the Frankish states, whether for a number of years or permanently. Except for Jerusalem before 1187, the largest concentrations of Latin settlers occurred along the Levantine seaboard in Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey), Tripoli (mod. Trâblous, Lebanon), Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon), and Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), the major cities and markets of the Frankish Levant. Frankish rule also ensured safe maritime

havens, relay stations, and logistical support for Latins engaging in trade and transportation. It stimulated thereby the activity of merchants and carriers, both settlers and those based in Western cities. The citizens and subjects of Genoa, Venice, Pisa, and, to a lesser degree, Marseilles and other Provençal cities enjoyed particularly favorable conditions in that respect. The extensive privileges obtained by their respective governments in various Levantine ports enabled the creation of “national” quarters, which in some cases became virtual free-trade outposts and political enclaves.

The function of the Latin settlers, who are clearly underrepresented in the extant documentation, was crucial for the operation of the economy of the Frankish Levant. They had direct and permanent access to rural producers and to manufacturing workshops in the region and could monitor the movement of commodities, means of transportation, monies, and people all the year through. On their own or in conjunction with indigenous or traveling merchants and carriers, they engaged in short-haul and medium-range trade and transportation along the Levantine seaboard, between the cities under Frankish rule and, especially in the thirteenth century, between these cities and neighboring Muslim territories. Their function as middlemen, agents, money-changers, and carriers was indispensable for traveling merchants and transporters arriving with the seasonal maritime convoys from the West or with caravans from the large inland centers of Aleppo and Damascus.

The Evolution of the Local Economy

The establishment of Frankish rule and the changes in the lordship and tenure of land that followed did not alter the basic structure and operation of the rural economy of the Frankish Levant, which displayed a high degree of continuity. To a large extent the well-developed agrarian sector enabled self-supply in foodstuffs until the Frankish defeat at the battle of Hattin in 1187. In the following period, the territories under Frankish rule were largely reduced to the coastal fringe. As a result their provisioning with foodstuffs, especially in grain, depended heavily on imports from neighboring Muslim territories and especially from countries overseas. The reliance on Western imports further increased in the last three decades of Frankish rule, when the Mamlūk rulers of Egypt inflicted heavy damage upon the Frankish countryside. The Frankish Levant also produced industrial crops. Sugarcane was cultivated in large areas extending from Antioch in the north to Caesarea (mod. Har Qesari,

Israel) in the south, as well as inland along the shores of Lake Tiberias (Sea of Galilee) and in the Jordan Valley. Cotton cultivation and the production of raw silk were practiced in extensive areas of the Frankish states. Some dyestuffs utilized in the textile industries were indigenous. Indigo was cultivated in the Jordan Valley, yet was presumably also imported from Iraq and Egypt. Woad was grown in the area of Damascus and the Orontes Valley and also grew wild in the kingdom of Jerusalem.

The rural sector provided the bulk of revenues of the military orders and of the Frankish lords and enabled the latter to sustain their lifestyle. Not surprisingly, therefore, landlords sought ways to increase their income. In the thirteenth century, the growing Western demand for sugar and textile fibers stimulated investments of money and labor in the expansion of sugarcane and cotton cultivation, as well as in sericulture. Written and archaeological evidence points to the maintenance, repair, and building of water reservoirs and distribution channels for irrigation and for the operation of presses and sugar mills. Indigenous artisans continued to ensure the activity of high-quality manufacture in the Frankish period. Tripoli and Antioch were famous for their luxury silks. Wool was used for the production of textiles, and mixed with camel hair to produce camlets, for which Tripoli was renowned. Syrian weavers in Tyre produced excellent cotton fabrics. High-grade soda ashes obtained from plants growing in coastal or arid areas, fine-grained sand with a high silica content, and recycled broken glass provided the basic ingredients for glassmaking. Antioch, Beirut, Tyre, and Acre (the latter two enjoying abundant raw materials in their vicinity) produced high-grade glassware. Soda ashes were also utilized in the manufacturing of soap, attested in Acre in the thirteenth century.

Both written sources and archaeological finds reveal that the Latins resident in the Levant were receptive to various material aspects of the Eastern lifestyle, such as ceramics, glassware, textiles, carpets, and other artefacts produced by local artisans or imported from Muslim countries situated further east. Large numbers of Western pilgrims, crusaders, warriors, merchants, and sailors visiting the Frankish Levant became acquainted with these artifacts and promoted their diffusion upon their return to the West. In turn, that diffusion enhanced further demand and stimulated production in the Frankish Levant. The same holds true of icons and other devotional objects, which both settlers and especially visitors to the Holy Land were eager to acquire.

Interaction with the Mediterranean and Asia

The creation of the Frankish states along the seaboard of the Levant generated an important evolution in the commercial function of that region. By the second decade of the twelfth century, Acre had definitively replaced Tyre as the major port and market of the Frankish Levant, largely thanks to the fact that it was the main destination of Western crusaders, supplies, pilgrims, and merchants, and had better access to Damascus, the major city of the Syrian interior. As a result it assumed a major role in the Levantine economy of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Changes of a more general nature affected the entire Levantine seaboard. In the pre-crusading era, its ports fulfilled a rather modest function as markets and transit stations in maritime and land trade, largely within a regional framework. After the First Crusade (1096–1099), the growing activity of Italian merchants and carriers, mainly those operating from their respective home cities, firmly integrated the Frankish Levant within two large, closely interlocked, and partly overlapping inter-regional systems of trade and transportation. One of these systems linked the West, Byzantium, and Egypt within a triangular Mediterranean network, while the other extended from the West to the Levant and further east into inner Asia. The simultaneous insertion of the major Frankish ports within the Levantine, Mediterranean, and continental Asian networks, together with their position at the crossroads of the latter, generated a substantial increase in the volume of their commercial and maritime operations and of the services they offered to passing merchants, visitors, caravans, and ships.

The expansion of the service sector in the economy of the Frankish Levant was particularly pronounced in Acre, the only port benefiting from the large, continuous, and lucrative pilgrim and crusader traffic. There was a continuous interaction between the economies of the Frankish Levant, Byzantium, and Egypt. The major Italian maritime powers, Venice, Pisa, and Genoa, gradually consolidated their position and expanded their commercial activity in these three regions in the twelfth century, despite short interruptions due to adverse political circumstances. Significantly, some of their citizens and subjects did not restrict their activity to one region and combined visits to two or more of the major emporia of the eastern Mediterranean, such as Constantinople, Acre, and Alexandria. They took advantage of their privileged status, especially in the Frankish states, to acquire a dominant role along the waterway linking Con-

stantinople to Alexandria, at the expense of Byzantine and Muslim traders and carriers, who became increasingly dependent upon Italian middlemen and transporters. Timber for naval construction and silk textiles were the main commodities exported from Byzantium to Egypt, while spices originating in the region bordering the Indian Ocean and in the Arabian Peninsula followed the reverse route along the Levantine coast as far as Constantinople. The Frankish Levant became part of the trade network linking the West to inner Asia.

After the Frankish conquest, both traveling and settled Latin merchants largely replaced the local merchants active along the Levantine coast in the precrusading period. However, until the Third Crusade (1189–1192), only few of them operated between the Frankish ports and the major inland cities under Muslim rule. This traffic was almost entirely handled by merchants based in these cities. After 1192, however, Latins in larger numbers extended the range of their activity to the Muslim hinterland, mainly to Damascus and Aleppo. They sold woolens as well as saffron, the only precious spice and colorant produced in the West. They bought mainly cotton, silk, luxury textiles, and high-quality artifacts produced in Muslim industrial centers, for which there was a large demand both in the Frankish Levant and in the West. In addition, they acquired pearls as well as precious and semiprecious stones. In the late thirteenth century, Venetian merchants also bought cotton directly from growers in the region extending from Acre to Tiberias, which was partly under Muslim rule.

The Mongol expansion over Asia, which reached its peak around 1250, generated a northward shift of the overland trade route linking the Mediterranean to inner Asia. Baghdad was sacked by the Mongols, and the large commercial centers of inner Syria, Aleppo, and Damascus were severely affected by destruction and the warfare between Mongols and Mamlūks from around 1260. As a result, in the following decades they lost their function as main suppliers of oriental commodities to the Frankish ports located along the Levantine coast. Ayas (mod. Yumurtalık, Turkey), called Lajazzo by the Latins, the major port of the Christian kingdom of Cilician Armenia, became the main Mediterranean outlet for goods arriving via Tabriz in Persia, from a region extending as far as China. The establishment of Mongol rule over large parts of Asia also allowed the penetration of Western merchants deep into the continent, again via Ayas. The link of this trade route with the Frankish seaboard is

well illustrated. Significantly, when the father and uncle of the famous Marco Polo returned in 1269 from their first overland Asian voyage, they traveled via Tabriz to Ayas and proceeded from there via Acre to Venice. In 1271, this time together with Marco, they sailed from Venice via Acre to Ayas, from where they began their second overland Asian journey.

Despite the opening of the alternative Asian route of supply, Alexandria remained one of the main emporia of the Mediterranean, as well as its major spice market. An unpublished trade manual compiled in Acre about 1270 and another composed in Pisa in 1278, as well as notarial charters, illustrate exchanges between Alexandria and Acre in a broad range of commodities and demonstrate the continuing dependence of the entire Levantine seaboard upon the Egyptian port with respect to spices. In turn Acre served as a major distribution center for these commodities, supplying them to ports along the Levantine seaboard as far as Cilician Armenia, to its own Muslim hinterland, and particularly to the West.

The focus of research on long-distance navigation in the crusader period has deflected attention from cabotage and tramping along the Levantine coast, that is, short-distance coastal navigation from port to port to load and unload goods. These types of activity, which ensured the exchange, concentration, and distribution of goods within the framework of the regional economy of the Frankish Levant, were closely linked to the larger trans-Mediterranean networks. In the thirteenth century, the shipping of ever larger quantities of bulky goods to Italy, such as cotton (grown in several areas of the Levant), soda ashes, and broken glass, prompted a rationalization of transport services and a lowering of freight rates. Both these goals were achieved by the concentration of goods carried by small and medium-sized Levantine crafts in the major ports, where they were reloaded on larger ships sailing across the Mediterranean.

The connection between Levantine and other regional systems is also reflected by the handling of some specific commodities. Time and again popes, princes, and city governments prohibited the shipping of war materials to Egypt, namely, arms and iron used in arms manufacturing, as well as timber and pitch for naval construction. The large-scale trade in these materials, which originated both in the West and in the eastern Mediterranean region, was often conducted through the Levantine ports with the help of local intermediaries and carriers. A similar pattern was followed

by the slave trade, which expanded substantially after the consolidation of Mongol rule north of the Black Sea around 1240. Slaves from that region and the Balkans were shipped to the Frankish Levant by Genoese, Venetian, and Pisan merchants, yet their final destination was Egypt, in constant need of male slaves for the military contingents of the Mamlūk sultanate. However, in the last decades of the thirteenth century Genoese and Egyptian traders took over the direct transportation of slaves from the Black Sea to Egypt and bypassed Frankish middlemen and carriers.

Compared with the precrusading era, the economy of the Frankish Levant experienced a substantial growth, especially in the thirteenth century. A constant increase in local and Western demand for indigenous raw materials, as well as semifinished and finished products (especially textiles), provided a powerful stimulus to investments in the expansion of agriculture and manufacture. The economy of the Frankish Levant was boosted by its insertion within inter-regional networks of trade and transportation, its function as intermediary in their midst, and growing exports to the West. Revenues generated by the large service sector were partly reinvested in the Levantine economy, largely to the benefit of Frankish settlers. These ensured Western traders a sizable local clientele for foodstuffs, arms, and especially Western woollens, which constituted the main commodity financing Western commercial exchanges with the Frankish Levant and its Muslim hinterland. However, Western imports of bullion and coins suggest that the West faced a negative balance of trade in its commercial exchanges with these regions. Especially from the 1240s onward, the growing demand for resources to finance military operations and the defense of the Latin territories was met by noncommercial imports of foodstuffs and arms, in addition to transfers of capital, the latter handled mainly by Italian trade and banking companies.

Developments after 1291

The fall of the Frankish states of the Levant in 1291 brought to an abrupt end the particularly favorable conditions which for two centuries had enabled the growth of the regional economy and the major functions of the Frankish Levant in trade and shipping. Acre in particular never recovered from the blow it suffered. The altered geopolitical balance in the eastern Mediterranean required a restructuring of both regional and long-distance trade and navigation. Ayas and Cyprus became to some extent sub-

stitutes for the privileged positions along the Levantine coast of which the Latins had been deprived. The events of 1291 thus signaled the beginning of a new era in Mediterranean exchanges and shipping. Despite its close political links with the kingdom of Jerusalem, the kingdom of Cyprus under the Lusignan dynasty fulfilled only a marginal role in Mediterranean trade and shipping from 1192 until 1291. The island, and the port of Famagusta (mod. Ammochostos, Cyprus) in particular, then became a major entrepôt and transit station for Western commercial exchanges with Egypt and Syria, which continued despite the papal embargo on trade with the Mamlūk territories decreed in 1291.

Many goods exchanged between the West and Ayas also passed through Famagusta. The cultivation of sugarcane and cotton on the island was continuously expanded from the thirteenth century onward, and they became major export items, in addition to salt, camlets, and gold threads used in the weaving of gold brocade and embroidery. The fall of Ayas to the Mamlūks in 1337 enhanced Famagusta's function as transit and transshipment station. This function, however, was affected by the resumption of direct Western trade with the Mamlūk territories in 1345, as a result of which many Western traders and ships bypassed Cyprus. The island nevertheless reached the peak of its prosperity before 1374. Political developments, especially Genoese rule over Famagusta, which lasted from that year until 1464, accelerated the economic decline of that city and of Cyprus in general. The Venetians secured a major share in the production of sugar in the territories remaining under Lusignan rule and dominated the export of that commodity, as well as that of cotton and salt. The establishment of direct Venetian rule over Cyprus in 1489 turned the island into the main entrepôt of Venice's trading system in the eastern Mediterranean and brought some improvement in the condition of its economy.

—David Jacoby

See also: Acre; Antioch; Cilicia; Cyprus; Famagusta; Tyre

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Edessa, City of

Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey) was the principal city of the Frankish county of Edessa from 1098 until its capture by the Muslims in 1144. In the medieval period it was also variously known as Ourha (Armenian), al-Ruha' (Arabic), Orhay (Syriac), and Rohas (Latin).

Edessa was founded by the Seleucid dynasty of Syria in the third century B.C. and had a significant Christian population by the early third century A.D. For Christians of the late antique and medieval periods, the city was inseparably linked to the apocryphal letters exchanged between Jesus and King Abgar V. Edessa became part of the Roman Empire in the mid-third century and soon became the intellectual capital of Syriac Christianity as well as an economic center for northern Syria. Conquered by the Persians in 602, the city returned briefly to Byzantine hands before being captured by the Arabs in 639. In 944 the city of Edessa was recaptured by the resurgent Byzantine Empire, but it changed hands frequently in the late eleventh century.

By the time of the First Crusade (1096–1099), Edessa's population consisted predominantly of Armenians of the non-Chalcedonian Armenian Orthodox Church. There were also Melkite Armenians, that is, members of the Greek Orthodox Church, and Jacobites of the Syrian Orthodox Church. Its ruler, T'oros, professed loyalty to the distant Byzantine Empire. Edessa came under Frankish rule in March 1098, when the citizens overthrew and executed T'oros and proclaimed Baldwin (I) of Boulogne, a brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, as the new duke or count of the city. Despite having few troops, Baldwin was able to maintain his authority through shrewd manipulation of civic factions. The city now became the capital of the county of Edessa, the first Frankish state to be founded in Outremer, and the seat of an archbishopric of the Latin church.

The Armenian chronicle of Matthew of Edessa recorded tensions and hostilities between the Armenian community and the Frankish counts, most prominently Baldwin II of Bourcq (1100–1118), successor to Baldwin I, but many of his accusations are not supported by other sources. The city came under attack several times, most notably by the Turkish leaders Jekermish of Mosul in 1105 and Mawdūd of Mosul in 1110. Joscelin I (1119–1131), cousin and successor of Baldwin II, was admired by local Christian communities for his liberality toward them as well as for his military prowess. An Armenian inscription on the walls of Edessa, dated 1122, testified to the prominent role of Armenians in the administra-

tion of the city. Joscelin II spent most of his time at Turbessel (mod. Tellbaşar Kalesi, Turkey), but this did not diminish Edessa's political, religious, or economic importance.

The city fell to Zangī, atabeg of Mosul, in December 1144, while Joscelin II was away aiding his Saljūq enemies. Zangī spared the local population but massacred the Franks and converted their churches into mosques. Joscelin II recaptured the city in October 1146 following Zangī's death, but he failed to seize the citadel. A month later Zangī's son Nūr al-Dīn stormed the city and massacred a large portion of the Christian population, whom he suspected of collaborating with Joscelin. Edessa's fall shocked the Christian world: it led to the summoning of the Second Crusade (1147–1149), which, however, did nothing to aid the city. Edessa fell into decline, worsened by the Mongol conquest of 1391.

Edessa had a solid urban fabric to which the Franks added. The Byzantine emperor Justinian fortified the city in the sixth century, a work continued by subsequent rulers. The citadel was built on a ridge at the southern end of the city and was surrounded by a rock-cut ditch, allowing it to be held independently of the city. Several churches appear in twelfth-century sources. The church of St. John the Baptist, with an adjoining monastery, probably served as the Latin cathedral, and held the relics of Abgar and Addai. The Franks also controlled the churches of St. Stephen and Thomas the Apostle. Elsewhere in the city was the Syrian Orthodox Church of St. Theodore as well as the monastery of Abgar (or St. Abraham). The Armenians held their cathedral Church of St. Ephraim, outside the city, and the Church of the Holy Apostles, which probably contained the important relic of the Holy Cross of Varag. It is possible that the small Melkite population still worshipped in the Church of Hagia Sophia, the ancient cathedral church of the city.

—Christopher MacEvitt

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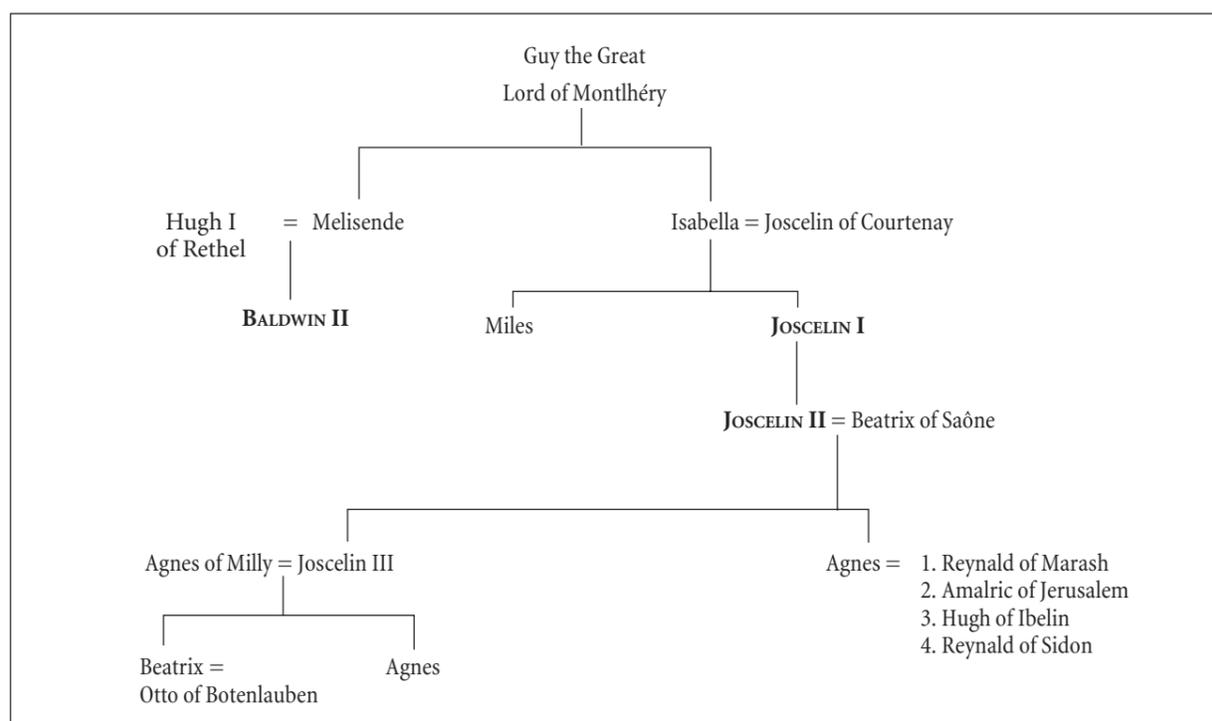
Remains of the citadel of Edessa and the moat carved from rock by the Franks. (Courtesy Alfred Andrea)

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Edessa, County of

A Frankish state in northern Syria and Upper Mesopotamia (1097–1150). The first of the principalities established in Outremer in the course of the First Crusade (1096–1099), the county of Edessa was also the first to be conquered by

Edessa, County of



Succession to the County of Edessa, 1100–1150

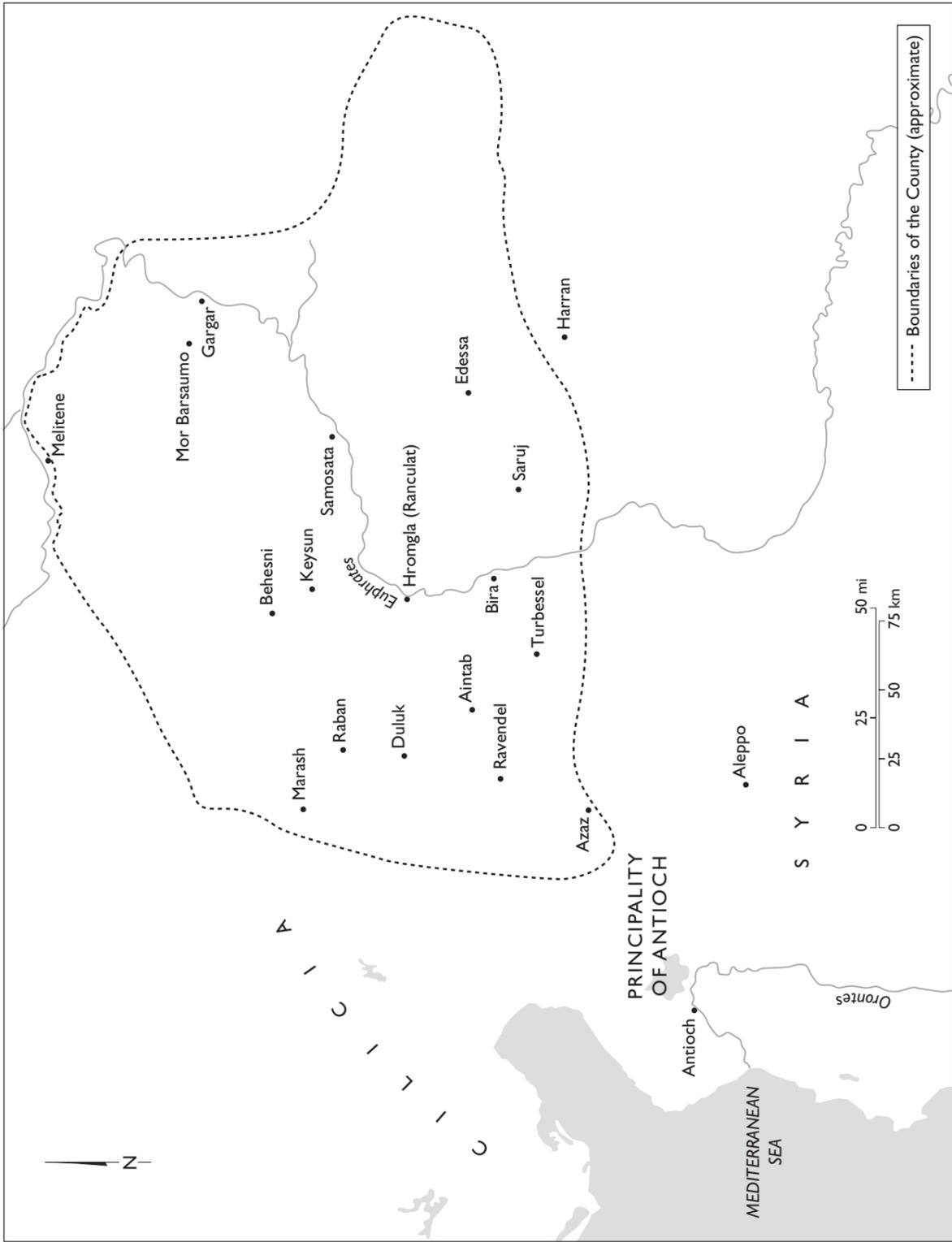
the Turks. The brevity of Edessa's history has left it the least studied of all the principalities of Outremer, but its many distinctive qualities make it more important than the duration of Frankish political authority might suggest. Edessa was the training ground for many leaders of Outremer, including two kings of Jerusalem (Baldwin I and Baldwin II). Unlike other parts of Outremer, Edessa has a history that is traceable not only through Latin sources but also through a number of indigenous Armenian and Syriac chronicles. Another distinctive feature of Edessa was that the county was entirely landlocked, unlike the principalities of Antioch, Tripoli, and Jerusalem, which depended on their seaports for survival.

Geography and Economy

At its greatest extent, the county of Edessa covered a large portion of what is now southeastern Turkey as well as parts of modern Syria. It stretched from Marash (mod. Kahramanmaraş, Turkey) in the west to Tell-Mawzan (mod. Viranşehir, Turkey) in the east and from Gargar (mod. Gerger, Turkey) in the north to 'Azaz in the south. The river

Euphrates cut through the center of the county, providing both a line of communication and a line of defense. The town of Bira (mod. Birecik, Turkey) commanded the crossing of the Euphrates between the city of Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey) and Antioch on the Orontes (mod. Antakya, Turkey) and was the furthest point north that river traffic from the Persian Gulf could travel.

Most of the land within the county was dry high plateau, suitable for raising horses, cattle, and sheep. The fertile areas around the Euphrates and other rivers, such as the Khabur, the Sadjur, and the Balikh, allowed the cultivation of wheat and other grain crops. On hillsides, produce such as olives, walnuts, and almonds were grown, whereas oak forests provided grazing grounds for pig herds. Sheep, goats, and cattle were also raised. The wealth of the county was based largely on its agricultural products; its advantageous position for controlling trade routes across northern Syria may also have provided revenue, although few sources shed light on how profitable this may have been. Unlike the Holy Land, Edessa had only minimal pilgrim traffic, and it never attracted dependencies of Italian merchant republics.



The County of Edessa, 1097-1144

History

Frankish domination was established in the course of the First Crusade. The first important conquest was Turbessel (mod. Tellbaşar Kalesi, Turkey), an important fortress and later residence of the counts, captured in the fall of 1097 by Baldwin of Boulogne, a younger brother of Godfrey of Bouillon. The city of Edessa, however, did not come under Baldwin's authority until March 1098. Baldwin established the county through a strange combination of conquest and political subterfuge. After having shown himself to be an effective fighter against the Turks by capturing Turbessel and other fortresses, Baldwin came to Edessa to help protect the city from Turkish attacks, invited by either the city's T'oros, a Melkite Armenian, or by the citizens. T'oros adopted the crusader, but within fifteen days of Baldwin's arrival, a mob had killed T'oros and proclaimed Baldwin the new leader of the city. Baldwin I soon added Saruj (mod. Suruç, Turkey) and Samosata (mod. Samsat, Turkey) to his domains and married the daughter of an Armenian lord. In October 1100, Baldwin left Edessa to claim the throne of Jerusalem, which had been left vacant by the death of his brother Godfrey. The county he left behind was a patchwork of castles, cities, and rural areas, some directly under Frankish authority, but most under local Armenian leaders. Some were allied with Baldwin, but others were opposed to the new Frankish influence. Baldwin directly ruled a core of territory on the western bank of the Euphrates River, but in the eastern area, his authority only extended to Edessa, Saruj, and Samosata.

Baldwin I's successor was Baldwin II of Bourcq, a distant cousin, who eventually established comital authority on a more formal basis. Soon after becoming count, he installed his cousin Joscelin I of Courtenay as lord of Turbessel, which effectively gave authority over the western half of the county to Joscelin, leaving Baldwin free to concentrate on establishing Frankish authority over the eastern portion. But more importantly, Baldwin had an ally on whom he could rely. Baldwin's marriage to Morphia, the daughter of Gabriel of Melitene, temporarily brought that city under his influence sometime between 1100 and 1104, but it was conquered soon after by the emir of Sivas.

When Baldwin and Joscelin fell captive to different Turkish emirs at the battle of Harran in 1104, Tancred of Antioch and Richard of the Principate, Normans from Antioch, assumed authority over the county, which they were loathe to relinquish when Baldwin and Joscelin were eventually released in 1108. Armenian and Syriac chroniclers denounce

Richard as a vile usurper who exploited the county for financial gain and did nothing to protect Baldwin's interests. The intervention of Baldwin I of Jerusalem was necessary to force Tancred and Richard to return the county to Baldwin II.

Baldwin II had scarcely reestablished his authority when the county fell under attack by Mawdūd, the *atabeg* of Mosul. Mawdūd was the first to employ the ideology of *jihād* (holy war) to rally Muslims against the Frankish settlers. While failing to conquer any significant portion of Frankish territory, Mawdūd did establish a model of Islamic leadership that would later prove very effective against the Franks in the time of Zangī and Nūr al-Dīn. It was perhaps these attacks that spurred Baldwin to establish his authority over all the Christian areas of northern Syria, seeking to replace local Armenian leaders with Franks loyal to him. Taking advantage of the death of Kogh Vasil in 1113, Baldwin seized his territory, capturing the important towns of Kesoun (mod. Keysun, Turkey), Raban, and Behesni (mod. Besni, Turkey). The important crossing point of Bira on the Euphrates came into Frankish hands in 1117, when Baldwin's cousin Waleran of Le Puiset married the daughter of its lord, the Armenian Ablgharib, thereby resolving the siege under which the Franks had placed the fortress. By 1118, many of the more independent-minded Armenian leaders had either died or been forced out by the Franks, though some still held important fortresses within the county, such as Vasil in Gargar and Michael in Duluk.

In 1118, Baldwin II succeeded Baldwin I as king of Jerusalem. He subsequently established Joscelin as count of Edessa. Joscelin I proved to be a vigorous leader and was particularly admired for his military prowess and his close relations with local Christian communities. He first married a daughter of the Armenian lord Rupen, who was the mother of his only son, Joscelin II; he later married Maria, the sister of Roger of Antioch. Joscelin and Baldwin II, acting as regent of Antioch, gained a significant victory over Īlghāzī, Artuqid ruler of Mardin and Aleppo, but their triumph was short-lived. Soon after Īlghāzī's death (1122), his nephew Balak captured Joscelin and Waleran of Bira. Baldwin II was also captured not long after that, leaving northern Syria leaderless. A resourceful band of Armenians infiltrated the fortress where Joscelin and Baldwin II were imprisoned, allowing Joscelin to escape. Once free, he sought to force Balak to free Baldwin by continuously attacking his former captor's territories. Balak's death in May 1124 led to Baldwin II's release, but Joscelin continued his attacks on Aleppo,

now ruled by Aq Sunqūr al-Bursuqī. The chronicles documenting these sieges and battles created a picture of plundering and devastation that may be exaggerated. Most of the conflict consisted of raids along Edessa's border with Aleppo that probably did not affect the remainder of the county.

Joscelin died in 1131 and was succeeded by his son, Joscelin II. Edessa was relatively untroubled during the first few years of his reign, since Zangī, son of Aq Sunqūr, was concentrating on subduing his Turkish opponents. Joscelin resided chiefly in Turbessel, perhaps because of its proximity to Antioch. By 1135, however, Zangī had united much of Muslim Syria and Mesopotamia behind him, and he began to focus his considerable military resources on the Franks, first attacking Antioch. Little effort was made to defend the principality, however, as a result of political conflict within Antioch.

Within two years, the threat posed by Zangī was recognized throughout Outremer. A combined Frankish army was assembled under the leadership of Fulk, king of Jerusalem, which temporarily halted Zangī's attacks, but Edessa and Antioch could not always rely on the military aid of Jerusalem. Joscelin and Raymond of Antioch turned to the Byzantine emperor, John II Komnenos, and both leaders swore an oath of fealty to him in return for protection. The price of Byzantine military support came largely at the expense of Antioch, but Joscelin feared that John's ambitions extended to Edessa as well. In the spring of 1138, the emperor led a Frankish-Byzantine army to Syria, capturing Kafartab and Atharib from Zangī with Frankish help. The siege of the independent Arab city of Shaizar, however, failed because of Joscelin's and Raymond's unwillingness to cooperate with the Byzantines, as well as because of the approach of Zangī's army.

While John Komnenos was alive, his army deterred Zangī's attacks. In 1143 he again returned with his army to Syria and demanded hostages to ensure Joscelin's cooperation. Following John's death later that year, however, the Byzantine army withdrew, leaving Zangī unopposed. While Joscelin II was aiding a Saljūq enemy of Zangī in late 1144, Zangī attacked and captured the city of Edessa. The loss of the city was a blow to the economy and prestige of the county, but more importantly, it signaled to locals and foreigners alike that the Frankish presence in the Levant was by no means permanent. Joscelin, however, still controlled important towns and castles on the western side of the Euphrates that together formed a viable principality. His

attempt to recapture Edessa in 1146 was briefly successful, but within a month the Frankish and Armenian forces were again expelled and the city's Christian population massacred.

Although it was launched as a response to the fall of Edessa, the Second Crusade (1147–1149) did little to aid Joscelin or the much diminished county. Instead of attacking Nūr al-Dīn, Zangī's son and successor in Aleppo, the crusaders attacked the independent Muslim state of Damascus, which had the paradoxical effect of pushing it into Nūr al-Dīn's growing empire. Joscelin obtained a truce from Nūr al-Dīn to protect the remnants of his county and thus did not aid Raymond of Antioch when the latter attacked him in 1148 and 1149. Following the death in battle of Reynald, lord of Marash, Reynald's lands fell to Mas'ūd, the sultan of Rūm, despite Joscelin's attempts to defend it. Gargar similarly fell to Joscelin's erstwhile ally, Kara Arslān, and in 1150 Joscelin himself was captured on his way to Antioch. He was blinded, imprisoned in Aleppo, and died in 1159. His wife, Beatrix, defended Turbessel against Nūr al-Dīn's attacks, but on the advice of Baldwin III of Jerusalem, she sold the remaining portion of the county to the Byzantine emperor, Manuel I Komnenos. The strongholds there fell to the Turks by the end of 1151.

Religious Communities

The county of Edessa had a diverse religious population of Armenian Orthodox, Melkites, Syrian Orthodox (Jacobites), and Muslims as well as a small population of Latins. The city of Edessa was home to a Latin archbishop and Armenian Orthodox and Syrian Orthodox bishops. The Armenian Orthodox and Syrian Orthodox patriarchs (whose nominal see was at Antioch) frequently resided within the county. The Franks had perhaps the most frequent religious interactions with the Armenians. Baldwin II encouraged one of the Armenian patriarchs, Barsegh I, to settle in Edessa in 1103/1104, with gifts of land and wealth. Although Barsegh eventually settled in Kesoun under the protection of the Armenian prince Kogh Vasil, Baldwin's endeavors show the importance the Franks put on close relations with local religious leaders. When Countess Beatrix sold the remnants of the county to Manuel Komnenos, she gave to the Armenian patriarchate the castle of Hromgla (mod. Rumkale, Turkey), which became the seat of the patriarch for the rest of the century.

The counts of Edessa also enjoyed a measure of influence over the Syrian Orthodox Church. Baldwin II had supported

Basil Bar-Shabouni, bishop of Edessa, in his quarrel with his patriarch, Athanasius VII. Following Athanasius's death in 1129, Joscelin I had the patriarchal election take place under his supervision in the Latin church of Turbessel, ensuring that the next patriarch was more favorably inclined toward Edessa. Comital influence also ensured that the candidate favored by Joscelin II was elected as bishop of Edessa in 1135. Frankish relations with other religious communities are harder to uncover. A small community of Melkites lived in Edessa, and perhaps in other cities as well, but little information survives as to their relationship with the Franks. It is certain, however, that the Muslim population, particularly in Saruj, was treated harshly, often due to resistance to the Franks. The county also held Jewish communities about which we know little, and a small group of Armenian Zoroastrians (known in Armenian as *Arewordik*) continued to flourish in Samosata.

Political Institutions

Although few sources survive concerning the institutional history of the county, references in charters and chronicles suggest that the county had a similar structure to that of the kingdom of Jerusalem, many of whose founding crusaders also came from northern France. The counts of Edessa operated a mint that produced a series of copper coins, beginning soon after the establishment of the county and continuing through to its demise. The coins drew on a range of imagery, including crosses, busts of Christ and St. Thomas, images of Frankish soldiers, and inscriptions in Latin, Greek, Armenian, and Syriac. The quality and diversity of the coinage seems to have declined after 1110. Serving under the count were several officers: the chancellor, who was often also the chaplain, and was concerned with civil affairs; the constable, who had military functions; and the marshal, also a military commander. Evidence also survives of castellans who defended fortresses that remained under comital authority. Early twelfth-century texts suggest

that city councils, largely composed of indigenous Christians, also continued to play an influential role in ruling urban communities. Vasil, an Armenian who placed an inscription on Edessa's city wall in 1122, may well have been a leading member of such a council.

The county contained several lordships: Saruj, Bira, Duluk, Gargar, Kuris, Ravendel, and (up to 1113) Turbessel. The rest of the land remained in the hands of the count. Not all of the lordships were Frankish: Gargar continued to be ruled by an Armenian lord, albeit under Frankish sovereignty, and the same may be true of Duluk. However, it is not clear that these lordships all existed contemporaneously. We have no evidence for a Frankish lord in Saruj after 1113, and no evidence for one in Ravendel before 1134. Marash has often been listed among the county's lordships, but it may have been a part of the principality of Antioch or accorded a semi-independent status. Marash was actually entitled a county, thus giving it, at least semantically, the same status as Edessa. A further sign of Marash's independence is the evidence that the counts of Marash minted coins, a regalian right not exercised by lesser lordships in twelfth-century Outremer.

Relatively little archaeological excavation has been carried out within the borders of the county of Edessa, but the few excavations along the Euphrates River (particularly at Gritille, Turkey) suggest that on a material level, the Frankish presence in northern Syria and Mesopotamia had little impact on daily life. Both archaeological and literary sources suggest that cities and local rural centers were fortified, often extensively. In many towns, buildings continued to be built in the mudbrick style indigenous to the region, and intensive agriculture, including irrigation, was not disturbed. Perhaps the greatest impact came from the intensive fortifications that the Franks built around cities and rural centers.

The history of the county of Edessa has often been portrayed as a struggle of an embattled island of Christianity striving to maintain itself in a surrounding sea of Islam. Yet the conflicts cannot be so neatly separated into Christian against Muslim. The counts of Edessa relied on Muslim allies to maintain their position; Joscelin II was aiding a Muslim emir when Zangī captured Edessa. Similarly, Franks turned to Muslims for support, as both Baldwin II and Tancred did during their feud over control of Edessa. The victories of Zangī and Nūr al-Dīn were opposed not only by the Franks, but also by Turkish and Arab rulers who sought to maintain their independence. Frankish authority over Edessa thus fit

Counts of Edessa

Baldwin I (of Boulogne)	1097–1100
Baldwin II (of Bourcq)	1100–1118
Joscelin I of Courtenay	1119–1131
Joscelin II of Courtenay	1131–1150

into a Levantine world of fragmented local authority, whether Christian or Muslim, which could not survive in the united world of Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin.

—Christopher MacEvitt

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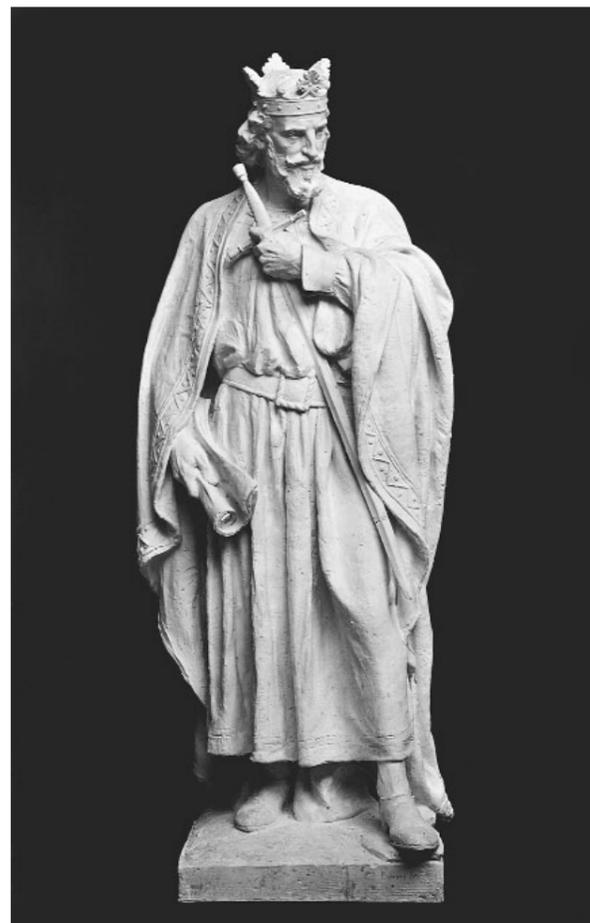
Edirne

See Adrianople, Battle of

Edward I of England (1239–1307)

King of England (1272–1307), son of King Henry III and Eleanor of Provence; the second and last English king to participate in a crusade to the East.

Henry III had repeatedly stated his intention to go on



Statue of Edward I, king of England (1272–1307). (Library of Congress)

crusade, but it was his son (then known as "the Lord Edward") who finally took the cross in 1268, the crusade being closely linked to the political settlement following the defeat of Simon of Montfort, earl of Leicester, and his partisans in 1265. The papal legate Ottobuono promoted the crusade as part of the peace process, although in fact Edward was to be accompanied largely by his own allies from the civil war period.

The expedition was intended to join the second crusade of Louis IX of France, whom Edward seems to have admired personally: the English were to join Louis at the port of Aigues Mortes in southern France for the departure of the main expedition. In the event, however, Edward's fleet sailed after that of Louis. He arrived in Tunis in north Africa in the

Egypt

autumn of 1270, only to find that Louis had died and that his brother, Charles I of Anjou, had declared the crusade at an end. Edward wintered in Charles's kingdom of Sicily, before sailing to Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel). Arriving in May 1271, he found the Christians of Outremer in a perilous position following Mamlūk successes in the north. Edward lacked a sizeable army to stem the tide of Mamlūk pressure, and agreed to an eleven-year truce with Sultan Baybars I on the advice of the local barons. He also built a tower at Acre and arranged for a garrison to defend it. Having survived an assassination attempt while in the East, Edward sailed for home in September 1272. He returned as king, his father having died in his absence.

Edward was never to go on crusade again, despite protestations otherwise. He angered the pope by appropriating a crusade tax in 1283 to pay for his war in Wales. He took the cross for a second time in 1287 and engaged in diplomacy to bring peace between Aragon and the Capetians to clear the way for a crusade. The planned expedition never took place. Edward gave little more than moral support to Otho of Grandson's crusade of 1290, and subsequently his wars with Scotland and France diverted his attention from the East. Edward always maintained that his crusading intentions were sincere, but that his prior duty to God was the defense of his own kingdom, using crusade taxation to fund his wars. He reaffirmed his crusade vow in 1306, and made arrangements in his will for the maintenance of a force of crusading knights and for his heart to be buried in the Holy Land.

—Michael R. Evans

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Egypt

At the time of the inception of the crusades, Egypt, under the Fāṭimid dynasty, was one of the wealthiest and most pow-

erful countries in the Muslim world. The arrival of the First Crusade (1096–1099) and establishment of the kingdom of Jerusalem made the Fāṭimid possessions in Palestine, and eventually Egypt itself, targets for Frankish expansion, until the Fāṭimid regime was overthrown by Saladin, who united Egypt with his territories in Muslim Syria. After Saladin's conquest of Jerusalem and most of Palestine in 1187, Egypt came to figure as the main goal of new crusades from the West, which aimed to secure the liberation of the Holy Land by striking at the center of Muslim power. It was during the final great crusade against Egypt (1248–1254) that Saladin's Ayyūbid successors were overthrown by a caste of Turkish slave soldiers, the Mamlūks, who established a powerful sultanate that ultimately extinguished Frankish rule in Outremer in 1291.

Economy, Population, and Society

Medieval Egypt was a unique country that generally enjoyed a great annual agricultural surplus, and served, at least from the late tenth century, as a land bridge for trade between the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean. The river Nile, along whose banks arable land was concentrated, began its annual rise toward the end of June or the beginning of July, rising moderately each day at irregular rates until the beginning of August; when the rise accelerated until it reached plenitude, approximately 8.32 meters, slightly after 15 August [William Pooper, *The Cairo Nilometer* (Berkeley: California University Press, 1951)]. The rise of the Nile is recorded in Arabic sources in terms of cubits subdivided into fingers. A level of 16 cubits was regarded as plenitude, signifying a good agricultural year with a plentiful harvest and high tax incomes for the state. A level of 14 cubits was regarded as a disastrous year with high prices, shortages, and starvation. Levels below 14 cubits meant drought, severe starvation accompanied by the outbreak of disease, and high mortality rates. Life and death in medieval Egypt depended on a difference of a meter or two in the annual rise of the life-giving river.

Although demographic assessments are riddled with difficulties, the population of Egypt is generally estimated at 2.6 million for the beginning of the seventh century [Josiah C. Russell, "The Population of Medieval Egypt," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 5 (1966), 69–82]. The Muslim conquest in 641 made little impact on the indigenous Coptic population, and the Coptic Church retained its power and grip over the rural population. The emergence of

a Muslim society in Egypt and the crystallization of Egypt's Islamic identity were slow and protracted processes. Initially, the Arab population was small and concentrated mainly in Alexandria and in Fustat, the town established by the Arabs adjacent to the Byzantine fortified town of Babylon at the apex of the Nile delta. Fustat developed significantly in terms of population, economic activity, and cultural life during the first 300 years of its existence, serving as the administrative and political center of the country. The first significant Islamization of the rural population took place in the ninth century, following a suppression of rural tax rebellions and a change in Muslim policy toward the Coptic Church. However, Arabization and Islamization were not parallel processes: Arabization advanced faster than Islamization. Copts adhered to their religion but adopted the Arabic language, and, although the same was true of the much smaller Jewish communities, the Jews continued to use Hebrew, giving rise to the Judaeo-Arabic language, Arabic written in Hebrew letters.

The Fāṭimid Period

Until the emergence of the quasi-independent Tūlūnid dynasty (868–905), Egypt was ruled as province directly from Damascus and later from Baghdad. The restoration of 'Abbāsīd direct rule in Egypt (905–935) was followed by the rise of another semi-independent local dynasty, the Ikhshīdids (935–968). The Tūlūnid and Ikhshīdid rulers had much in common. They were Sunnī Muslims who strove to carve out for themselves a patrimony in Egypt. They recognized 'Abbāsīd sovereignty and made every effort to obtain 'Abbāsīd legitimization for their rule. However, the political disintegration of the Ikhshīdid regime and the inability of the 'Abbāsīds to intervene militarily in Egypt facilitated the conquest of the country in 969 by the Fāṭimids, a dynasty based in Tunisia. The Fāṭimids were Ismā'īlī Muslims, a Shī'ite splinter group whose religious and political ambition was the overthrow of the rival Sunni caliphate of the 'Abbāsīds at Baghdad. They were able to conquer Palestine and Damascus, but their drive toward Baghdad stopped at Damascus. For Egypt, Fāṭimid rule brought many changes. The city of Cairo was established as the seat of a dynasty that was to rule over much of the eastern Mediterranean until the late twelfth century, and the presence of the Fāṭimid regime there stimulated demand for luxury goods, products, and services. Commercial relations with the town of Amalfi (dating back to Fāṭimid rule in Tunisia), as well as a Fāṭimid

presence in Yemen, were instrumental in the growth of the numbers of Italian and Byzantine merchants in Alexandria and Cairo, setting a pattern for trade between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean that lasted up to the sixteenth century. Generally tolerant and liberal, Fāṭimid policies were conducive to this trade, in which members of the ruling family and upper classes took an active part. The demand created by the regime for textiles, including costly luxury fabrics, gave rise to a textile industry in many parts of the country, including the *ṭirāz* (government workshops). Flax, the cultivation of which was introduced by the Tūlūnids, became one of the main exports.

Many of the economic and urban achievements of the Fāṭimid period were diminished during the civil war that ravaged the country in 1062–1073, causing much damage to the capital, disrupting agricultural output, and reducing the population (possibly to under 2 million). In 1073, Badr al-Jamalī, a Muslim Armenian who was governor of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) in Palestine, restored order in Egypt, establishing a hereditary military dictatorship of a series of viziers under the nominal rule of the Fāṭimid caliphs. However, Fāṭimid rule in Palestine and Syria collapsed in the course of the Saljūq invasion of this region. Nonetheless, Badr repelled the invasion of Egypt by the Saljūq chieftain Atsiz ibn Uwaq (1077) and inaugurated a campaign aiming at the reconquest of Palestine from the Saljūqs, which was continued by his son al-Afḍal (vizier 1094–1121). At the time of the First Crusade (1096–1099), southern and central Palestine, including Jerusalem, was held by the Fāṭimids. However, largely because of internal problems, the Fāṭimid response to the First Crusade by al-Afḍal was hesitant. Fāṭimid forces were unable to hold Jerusalem, and major invasions of Palestine launched by al-Afḍal were defeated by the Franks in 1099, 1101, 1102, and 1105. By 1125 the coast of Palestine had been lost, with only the port of Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel) remaining as an Egyptian enclave until its capture by the Franks in 1153.

During the rule of Badr al-Jamalī and al-Afḍal, the immigration of Christian Armenians into Egypt was encouraged, and they were integrated into the large multi-ethnic Fāṭimid army. Their presence in Egypt (which included the short rule of the Armenian general Bahrām as vizier in the mid-1130s) continued until the rise to power of Saladin in 1169.

In 1107 al-Afḍal tried to reform the *iqṭā'* system (fiscal rights given to emirs over rural areas in exchange of military service). By the twelfth century, regiments of the Fāṭimid



Crusaders disembark from their ships in Egypt. (Bettmann/Corbis)

army were paid in cash by the treasury, but the *iqṭāʿ* system also spread as a means for paying the army. Emirs who were recipients of *iqṭāʿ* tended to be present in areas assigned to them at harvest time in order to secure their fiscal rights, and they also tended to develop local power bases. The rule of Badr al-Jamālī and al-Afḍal saw a relatively speedy economic and urban restoration of Fustat and Cairo, but the political heritage of Badr al-Jamālī's military rule cast its shadow over the Fāṭimid polity, bringing the country into the dubious position of the "sick man on the Nile": economically rich, but politically and militarily weak, and coveted by its more powerful neighbors. Thus, in 1164–1169 the forces of Nūr al-Dīn of Damascus and King Amalric of Jerusalem fought each other on Egyptian soil. The invading Franks were well informed about the agricultural potential of Egypt, having a

list of Egyptian villages and the incomes derived from them. However, Nūr al-Dīn's forces emerged victorious, and Saladin became Fāṭimid vizier. In the course of these events, large sections of Fustat were burned down, and Saladin's assault against the Fāṭimid army in Cairo brought destruction to parts of the town. From 1169 to 1171 Saladin undermined and finally toppled the Fāṭimid regime, deposing the caliph, al-ʿĀḍid. He ruled the country in the name of Nūr al-Dīn, but on Nūr al-Dīn's death (1174) Saladin embarked on a war for control of his possessions.

The Ayyūbid Period

In 1176, Saladin began to build a citadel on high ground overlooking Cairo, probably as a response to the Frankish invasion and siege of 1169. He also intended to surround



Minarets and domes of the Sultan Hasan and al-Rifa'i mosques, Cairo, Egypt. (Jose Fuste Raga/Corbis)

Cairo and Fustat with a wall; the encirclement of the capital was left unfinished, but the construction of the citadel was accomplished by his successor Sultan al-Kāmil, who moved the court there in 1208. Further expansion of the citadel took place in the second half of the thirteenth century under the Mamlūk sultans. Under Saladin the involvement of Egypt in the wars against the Franks intensified greatly, beginning with his disastrous failure at the battle of Montgisard (November 1177) and continuing until his death in 1193. A further problem which first emerged during Saladin's rule was the defense of the Egyptian coastal towns. Damietta (mod. Dumyât) was attacked by Byzantium and the Franks of Jerusalem in 1169, and Alexandria was attacked by the

Normans of Sicily in 1174. The armies of the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221) conquered Damietta in November 1219, but evacuated Egypt in August 1221. Damietta was captured again in June 1249 by the forces of Louis IX of France, but his crusade ended with the defeat of his army and his own captivity at the battle of Mansurah (February 1250). The greatest impact of the crusades on Egypt was the decline of its Mediterranean coast (with the exception of Alexandria). Economically this was a very important region; the towns of Farama (ancient Pelusium), Tinnis (on Lake Manzala), and Damietta, as well as some villages in the region, were prosperous centers of a textile industry, and the towns also played a role in Mediterranean trade. Tinnis was aban-



Mamlūk minarets tower above the Fāṭimid courtyard at the Al-Azhar Mosque in Cairo, founded in 972. (Angelo Hornak/Corbis)

done in 1190 and destroyed in 1227 on the orders of Sultan al-Kāmil, but Egypt's Mediterranean and Indian trade were not affected by such developments, and Italian and Byzantine traders continued to frequent Alexandria as they had done in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

In contrast to Saladin's achievements in the holy war against the Franks, his Ayyūbid successors adopted an attitude of *realpolitik* toward them. Their policy of appeasement was a result of military weakness and internal struggles among the members of the Ayyūbid dynasty. The Ayyūbid armies mustered from Egypt were small, in the range of 8,000–12,000 troops (all cavalry forces), and the *iqṭā'* became almost the sole means of paying the army. A shortage of gold was a further problem, and consequently the

weight of Ayyūbid dinars fell below the standard, while the silver content of dirhams varied considerably. To what extent the famine of 1200–1202 had any long-term demographic and agricultural consequences is difficult to assess. It was probably as severe as that of 1024–1025, but such events usually had only short-term effects.

The Mamlūk Period

The collapse of Ayyūbid rule in Egypt was one of the outcomes of the first Crusade of King Louis IX of France (1248–1254). The sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn died during the fighting, and his son, Tūrān Shāh, failed to win the confidence of the *mamlūks* (slave soldiers) of the Bahriyya corps. This led to their assassination of Tūrān Shāh in 1250, after which Shajar al-Durr, the widow of al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn, ruled for several months in her own name, with the title "Queen of the Muslims." The political involvement of women behind the scenes was common and widespread, but the public exercise of political power by a woman was a rare occurrence in medieval Islam. In light of the circumstances in which she gained power and the continuing struggle against the crusade of Louis IX, her independent rule had little chance of success. The tumultuous decade of 1250–1260 saw the defeat of Louis IX (1250), the assassination of Shajar al-Durr in 1257, the escape of most of the Bahriyya corps to Ayyūbid Damascus, and the rise of the *mamlūk* Qūṭuz to the sultanate (1259). After the fall of Baghdad to the Mongols in 1258, however, the Mongol threat cast its shadow over Mamlūk politics. In March 1260 the Mongols seized Damascus, facilitating a reconciliation between Qūṭuz and the Bahriyya, led by Baybars. The execution of Mongol emissaries to Cairo put the two powers on a collision course. Qūṭuz and Baybars led the Mamlūk army into Palestine to face the Mongols, thus creating a dilemma for the Franks as to what policy they should adopt; eventually they declared neutrality, allowing free movement to the Mamlūk force that, on 3 September 1260, engaged the Mongols at 'Ayn Jālūt in the Jezreel Valley, where they achieved a decisive victory. The reconciliation of Qūṭuz and Baybars did not last long; on 24 October Qūṭuz was killed in a plot led by Baybars, who then claimed the throne.

The reign of Baybars I (1260–1277) saw the consolidation of Mamlūk power in Egypt and Syria and vigorous campaigns against Mongols and Franks. In the 1265 campaign, the Palestinian coastal towns of Arsuf, Caesarea, and Haifa were captured and razed, and it became policy to destroy the

coastal towns in order to prevent any future crusade from obtaining a fortified foothold on the coast. Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel), taken in 1268, was also demolished, but the inland towns and fortresses of Palestine were rebuilt and populated: these included the town of Saphet (mod. Zefat, Israel), captured in 1266, and the castle of Beaufort, captured in 1268. In Syria Baybars's greatest achievement was the conquest of Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) in 1268 and several fortresses (1271), including Krak des Chevaliers and Hisn 'Akkar. The Frankish states posed no direct threat to Egypt, but Baybars's motives were more complex and wide-ranging. The continued presence of the Franks in the coastal towns offered potential bases for new crusades, and Baybars feared cooperation between the Franks and the Mongols. Finally, territorial gains were important, as they enlarged the power base of the sultan, increasing his ability to reward his confidants and cement new internal political alliances by bestowing land as *iqṭā'* and freeholdings.

Pressure against the Franks was maintained by the sultans of the Qalāwūnid family. The founder of the dynasty, Maṣṣūr Qalāwūn (1279–1290), conquered Tripoli (mod. Trāblous, Lebanon) in 1289, and his son Ashraf Khalīl captured Acre in 1291. Both towns were razed, but Tripoli was rebuilt inland some distance from the sea. The fall of Acre sealed the fate of the other coastal towns of Lebanon—Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, and the fortress of Athlith—bringing the era of Frankish rule to an end. Contrary to what might have been expected, the war waged by the Mamlūk sultans on the Franks had no direct consequences for the Copts in Egypt, and the decisive period in the Islamization of Egypt occurred between 1293 and 1354. The Mamlūk regime eventually yielded to persistent pressure from the Muslim masses (especially in Cairo) and the clerics, who produced a substantial body of anti-Christian writings. The Mamlūk rulers forced conversion on the Copts employed in the administration and allowed the destruction of churches and monasteries. This period saw the reduction of the Copts to a small minority in Egypt.

One of the most crucial events of the Mamlūk period was the Black Death of 1347–1348. Its consequences were compounded by the recurrence of plagues, including the fatal pneumonic form, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Demographic recovery was seriously hindered, and the country remained underpopulated. Demographic decline had long-term consequences on rural output, as well as demand and production in the towns, while mortality

among the Mamlūk soldiers led to the expensive need to replenish their ranks. Shrinking state revenues caused the Mamlūks to adopt harmful economic policies, involving overtaxation and the imposition of trade monopolies. These led to considerable damage to local merchants, including those involved in the Indian trade, and also caused discontent among the Mamlūks' European trading partners. In 1517, the Ottomans conquered an impoverished country that had been badly governed for a long period.

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Ehrentisch

The *Ehrentisch* (Table of Honor) was a ceremonial institution developed by the Teutonic Order in Prussia as a means of honoring selected Western knights who participated in its campaigns against the pagan Lithuanians. It was probably established around 1350, possibly during the grand mastership of Winrich von Kniprode (1352–1382).

The *Ehrentisch* was hosted by the grand master, and

Ekkehard of Aura

organized by the order's marshal, who sometimes also deputized for the grand master. Usually the ceremony was held in Königsberg (mod. Kaliningrad, Russia) before a campaign started, but in exceptional cases it might also be held in other places during or after campaigns. The last known *Ehrentisch* took place in 1400; it cannot be verified whether a few later announcements actually led to events.

Only knights who had come to Prussia to fight against the Lithuanians at their own expense were eligible to sit at the *Ehrentisch*. A small number of them, usually ten to fourteen, were chosen by heralds who had seen them at venues of chivalric warfare, important tournaments, or famous destinations of pilgrimage (especially the Holy Land, Spain, or Rome). These distinguished knights were placed at a special table and ranked according to their chivalric achievements (in contrast to the Arthurian Round Table). They were specially served during the meal and received shoulder badges on which the motto "Honor conquers all" was written in golden letters.

The few participants known by name mostly came from the lesser nobility. The other "guests" of the order who had come at their own expense attended the meal at ordinary tables; those who served for payment were excluded from the event. The Prussian *Ehrentisch* added luster to the order's campaigns and increased the fame of the participants. It was well known throughout Europe: when the English poet Geoffrey Chaucer listed the exploits of his exemplary warrior in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, he included the fact that the knight had often begun the "board" (i.e., sat in the seat of honor) in Prussia.

—Axel Ehlers

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Ekkehard of Aura

Benedictine monk; author of a chronicle that describes the First Crusade (1096–1099) and the Crusade of 1101, as well as other contemporary events.

Born around 1050, Ekkehard became a monk at the monastery of St. Michael in Bamberg. He participated in the

Crusade of 1101, probably returning to Rome by April 1102, and subsequently became abbot of the monastery of Aura (Bavaria). Ekkehard's *Chronicon Universale* was written between 1103 and 1125 in three stages. The earliest version (1103–1106) was based upon the universal chronicle of Frutolf, a priest of St. Michael at Bamberg. Ekkehard subsequently revised Frutolf's chronicle and then made two substantial additions, the first being a continuation for the years 1106–1116 and the second taking the chronicle up to the death of Emperor Henry V in 1125. Ekkehard died sometime after 1125.

—Alec Mulinder

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Eleanor of Aquitaine (c. 1122–1204)

Duchess of Aquitaine (1137–1204) and participant in the Second Crusade (1147–1149).

The heiress to the vast lands of William X, duke of Aquitaine, Eleanor married Louis VII of France a few days before his accession. She accompanied the king on the ill-fated crusade but sided with her uncle Raymond of Poitiers, prince of Antioch, in a dispute over campaign strategy in Outremer. Disillusioned with marriage to the austere Louis and a willing pawn in her uncle's intrigues, she had to be forced to accompany the king to Tripoli, to the lasting damage of her reputation.

The birth of a second daughter (rather than the hoped-for male heir) in 1149 or 1150 ensured that the by now acrimonious marriage ended in annulment in 1152. She swiftly married Henry Plantagenet, count of Anjou (the future Henry II of England), by whom she had five sons and three daughters. Her support of her sons' revolt in 1173 led to many years' imprisonment. She played an important political role during the reigns of her favorite son, the crusader Richard the Lionheart, and his brother John. She was buried at the abbey of Fontevraud.

—K. S. B. Keats-Rohan

See also: Second Crusade (1147–1149)

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Elisabeth of Thuringia (1207–1231)

The second patron saint of the Teutonic Order (after the Virgin Mary).

Elisabeth was the daughter of Andrew II, king of Hungary, and Gertrude of Andechs-Meran. In 1211 she was sent to Thuringia as the fiancée of Ludwig, son of Landgrave Hermann I of Thuringia, and was married to him in 1221. Ludwig joined the crusade of Emperor Frederick II, but fell ill and died in Otranto (1227). After his death, Elisabeth settled in Marburg, where she founded a hospital, dedicated to St. Francis, caring for the poor and the needy. She intensified her charitable activity under the influence of her confessor, Konrad von Marburg (c. 1180–1233). Soon after her premature death (1231), on the initiative of Konrad and her own brother-in-law, Count Konrad (d. 1240), a member of the Teutonic Order, she was canonized (1235). Due to the close ties between the ruling dynasty of Thuringia and the Teutonic Order, Elisabeth's cult, rooted in the veneration of her shrine in Marburg, became important in the order's life and liturgy. Many conventual churches and hospitals were dedicated to her, and her feast day (19 November) and translation were celebrated, the latter exclusively by the order.

–Zsolt Hunyadi

See also: Teutonic Order

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Elisabeth of Hungary

See Elisabeth of Thuringia

Embriaci Family

The Embriaci (Embriachi) were a Genoese noble family that probably around 1125 moved to Syria, entered the ranks of the Frankish nobility of Outremer, and established at Gibelet (mod. Jubail, Lebanon) one of the most powerful lordships in the county of Tripoli.

It is unlikely that William Embriacus (also known as William Caputmallei), who commanded the large fleet sent by the commune of Genoa to the East in the summer of 1100, was a member of this family; he thus cannot be considered as the ancestor of the later lords of Gibelet. The material basis for the later position of the Embriaci among the aristocracy of Outremer was established by William I Embriaco and his brother Nicholas, who around 1125 leased the entire property of the commune of Genoa within the principality of Antioch and the county of Tripoli.

Since neither William I nor his nephew Oberto had direct heirs, the entire inheritance passed to Nicolas's son Hugo I and his descendants: William II, Hugo II, and Nicholas II. William II succeeded his father around 1135, and in addition to the Genoese quarter of Laodikeia in Syria, he controlled the entire town of Gibelet, which had belonged to Genoa since 1109. By 1142 at the latest, William II became a vassal of the count of Tripoli, but continued to fulfill his obligations as lessor to Genoa.

William II and his brothers were able to avoid relinquishing their holdings on the expiry of the contract of lease (1145). A few years later (1154), in exchange for a large advance payment, the three brothers William II, Hugo II, and Nicholas II secured for themselves for twenty-nine years the use of all Genoa's possessions and rights in Outremer, that is to say, in Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey), Laodikeia in Syria (mod. Al-Lathqiyah, Syria), Gibelet, and now, additionally, in Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel). They refused to consent to Genoa's attempts to abrogate this lease

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(1155), and when it expired in 1183, Genoa was no longer able to reassert its rights.

In contrast to his brothers, William II not only became a member of the Frankish nobility, but the ancestor of several lines of the Embriaco family. His son and successor Hugo II (1162/1163–1179) unilaterally brought about a complete separation from Genoa by terminating the lease payments, and he restricted his connections with the republic to concessions for Genoese trade in the district of Gibelet. The Embriaci concluded marriage alliances with many leading families in the Latin East, not least with the princely dynasty of Antioch. Their advocacy of the rights of the Staufen family, namely the claims to the throne of Jerusalem by Emperor Frederick II and his grandson Conradin, set them at odds with the anti-Staufen party among the magnates, including their own lords, the counts of Tripoli. The Embriaci intervention on the side of Genoa during the War of St. Sabas intensified the tension between them and the counts of Tripoli, which climaxed in an unsuccessful rebellion by the last lord of Gibelet against Count Bohemund VII, and the death of the rebels.

The memory of the Genoese roots of the Embriaci was still significant in 1289 when a member of the family acted as spokesman of the newly established commune of Tripoli, asking Genoa for help against the heiress of Tripoli and her regent, and also playing a decisive role in concluding a treaty with the Genoese admiral Benedetto Zaccaria. The Embriaci survived the capture of Gibelet by the Mamlūks (1289); they emigrated to Cyprus, where a branch of the family had settled shortly after the Third Crusade (1189–1192), and to which one of the murderers of King Peter I of Cyprus (1369) belonged.

–Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie

See also: Genoa

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Emicho of Flonheim

The leader of one of the People's Crusades of 1096. Emicho was long identified in scholarship as one of the counts of Leiningen, but was in fact count of Flonheim on the middle Rhine.

In spring 1096, Emicho emerged as leader of crusaders from this region and led them to the city of Mainz with the aim of attacking its Jewish population. After his force was joined by newly arrived crusaders from France, the townspeople opened the gates, and the crusaders slaughtered almost all the Jews of the city, who had taken refuge with the archbishop, Ruthard II (27 May 1096). Emicho's army then marched to Hungary, but was refused passage by King Coloman and proceeded to besiege the frontier town of Wieselburg (June 1096). After a six-week siege the crusaders were repulsed and routed by the Hungarians. Emicho made his way back to Germany, while some survivors from his army joined other crusading expeditions.

–Alan V. Murray

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Encyclicals

See Papal Letters

England

The kingdom of England did not show the same level of commitment to the crusading cause as France, but it was nevertheless a major contributor to the crusading movement. One

reigning and one future king went on crusade to the Holy Land, several others took the cross, and there was some English participation in almost every significant crusading expedition from 1096 to 1291, as well as considerable English interest in the later crusading movement. England was affected by the crusades in many of the same ways as the continental lands, such as in the development of crusade taxation and the foundation of houses of the military orders.

English Involvement in Crusade Expeditions

Some Anglo-Norman nobles participated in the First Crusade (1096–1099) together with Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy, the brother of King William I. These lords may not have been English as such, but they included men with strong landed connections with England. However, the main areas of recruitment for the crusade were France, the Low Countries, and Norman Italy. Englishmen were recorded among the nationalities involved in the army of Peter the Hermit, but there is no independent evidence to support this.

Recruitment for the Second Crusade (1147–1149) was concentrated in France and Germany. However, there was significant English participation in the expedition to Lisbon in 1147. Crusaders from the port towns of southern and eastern England joined their counterparts from Flanders and Germany in a seaborne expedition, and all of them were persuaded by Afonso I Henriques, the king of Portugal, to join in his siege of Lisbon en route to the Mediterranean. One of these Englishmen wrote an account of the siege, known as the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*. The subsequent capture of the city was to prove the most significant achievement of the whole crusade. At a more exalted level of the social spectrum, a number of English lords joined the main expedition to the Holy Land, notably Waleran of Meulan, earl of Worcester, and Roger Clinton, bishop of Chester.

A number of Anglo-Norman lords took part in the crusade of Philip, count of Flanders, in 1177. Their participation in this and other expeditions led by foreign rulers is an indication of the close ties that existed between the English nobility and that of the continent, as well as of the international nature of crusading. The presence of Englishmen on this expedition was also a result of King Henry II's suspicions of Count Philip's motives. Fearing that Philip might attempt to claim the throne of Jerusalem, which Henry possibly hoped to gain for himself, the English king sent William of Mandeville to keep an eye on him. Henry II himself never went on crusade, despite repeatedly promising to do so, but

he did provide funds for the defense of the Holy Land, and initiated the first taxes for that purpose.

Most later crusades to the Holy Land involved significant English participation, even though the commitment shown by English kings was inconsistent. The most celebrated English crusader was Richard I the Lionheart, who led a contingent on the Third Crusade (1189–1192), in the course of which he distinguished himself by his abilities as a commander, though less so as a diplomat. The crusade was a collaborative venture with Frederick I, Holy Roman Emperor, and Philip II Augustus, king of France. However, Richard emerged as the effective leader of the whole expedition, as Frederick drowned in 1190 en route to the Holy Land, leading to most of the German army returning home, while Philip proved himself to be an unenthusiastic crusader, returning to France early in the course of the expedition. Although Richard's contingent included many Anglo-Norman lords, it also drew heavily on the Angevin lands in France, especially Richard's county of Poitou. Richard's contribution to the crusade was important in reestablishing a viable crusader presence in Outremer for a further century, but in England itself, which he visited rarely, his significance was that he gave his kingdom its great crusader hero, against whom his successors would have to measure themselves.

The rather chaotic Fifth Crusade (1217–1221) included a significant English element, led by Ranulf, earl of Chester, whose presence at Damietta was recorded alongside that of other English lords. Many English crusaders were reported in the Holy Land during the crusade of 1227, including two English bishops, Peter des Roches, bishop of Salisbury (who was actually a Poitevin) and William Brewer, bishop of Exeter. The later thirteenth century saw considerable interest in the crusades from the Plantagenet rulers of England. King Henry III vowed to go on crusade on three separate occasions, but was either unwilling or unable to redeem his vow. His brother Richard of Cornwall and Simon of Montfort, earl of Leicester, led crusading parties in 1240. William Longsword, earl of Salisbury, led an English contingent of 200 knights on the crusade of Louis IX of France to Egypt (1248–1254), where he was killed at the battle of Mansurah (mod. El-Mansûra) in 1250. Henry III's eldest son, the Lord Edward (the future King Edward I), led an important English contingent on the crusade of 1270–1274, thereby renewing the crusading tradition of his great-uncle Richard I. Having intended to join forces with Louis IX, the English

crusaders proceeded to Acre after the death of the French king in Tunis. Otho of Grandison, a Gascon associate of Edward I, led an English contingent to the East in the last months of the Frankish presence in the Holy Land (1290–1291).

When it came to crusading overseas, however, the English of the High Middle Ages showed little interest in crusading outside the traditional theater of the Levant. There was no English involvement in the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229) and little interest in crusading in the Baltic region or Greece. In 1239, Richard of Cornwall and his fellow English crusaders vowed not to be diverted from the aim of going to the Holy Land in order to shed Christian blood in Greece or Italy, a reference to the papacy's desire to recruit men to defend the Frankish states in Greece or to wage war against Emperor Frederick II. The fear that the crusade against the Muslims was being diverted by papal political ambitions in the Mediterranean was also an important element of the baronial criticism of Henry III's "Sicilian Business," a papal plan to oust the Staufeu dynasty from Italy in 1258.

In the later Middle Ages, crusading activity continued to be a feature of English life, despite the loss of the last Christian lands in the Holy Land. The fall of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) to the Mamlūks in 1291 did not represent the end of crusading activity in the minds of contemporaries. The crusade was preached, and crusading taxes were raised, both in the immediate aftermath of the loss of Acre, and into the first two decades of the fourteenth century. As king, Edward I repeatedly promised to go on crusade, but was diverted by more pressing issues closer to home. The French writer Pierre Dubois dedicated his *De Recuperatione Terre Sancte* (one of a number of treatises of the period that presented schemes for the reconquest of the Holy Land) to Edward in 1306.

Crusades against the Baltic pagans became increasingly popular among knights and noblemen in the fourteenth century, notably Henry Bolingbroke (the future King Henry IV). Englishmen were also involved in crusading activities against Muslim powers in the Mediterranean, such as the sack of Alexandria in 1365. The poet Geoffrey Chaucer, in the *Canterbury Tales*, described a knight who had fought in the Baltic and the Mediterranean, and paid tribute to King Peter I of Cyprus ("worthy Petro, kyng of Cypre": *Monk's Tale*, line 3188), who visited the English court attempting to recruit soldiers for his crusading expeditions. King Richard II

(1377–1399) was an enthusiast for an Anglo-French crusade against the Ottoman Turks, although in the event there was little English participation in the disastrous French-led crusade to Nikopolis in Bulgaria in 1396. The French crusader Philippe de Mézières was influential at Richard's court, and he established the knightly Order of the Passion, dedicated to the recovery of the Holy Land. Fourteenth-century writers also remembered past crusading heroes, whom they celebrated in vernacular poems and songs, such as *Richard Coeur de Lion* and *Guillaume Longespee*.

The Hundred Years' War against France, and associated conflicts, gave rise to some political crusades in Richard's reign, as the schism between the popes at Rome (backed by England) and Avignon (backed by France) allowed a crusading veneer to be applied to these struggles. Henry Despenser, bishop of Norwich, led an unsuccessful "crusade" to Flanders in 1383, and John of Gaunt's expedition to Portugal and Castile in 1386–1387 was also dignified with crusade status. In addition, the war against France as a whole had something of a crusading aura about it, with the English church organizing prayers for the king's success in battle, and French resistance in 1429 crystallizing around the religious figure of Joan of Arc.

Crusading and Domestic Politics

In general, the pilgrimage element of crusading gave way in later years to the broader concept of a war fought under papal auspices against those deemed to be enemies of the church. In this form, the crusade had some bearing on domestic politics in England in the thirteenth century. In the civil wars of the thirteenth century, the combatants frequently sought to portray themselves as crusaders. After King John turned England into a fief of the papacy in 1213, he was able to invoke papal aid against rebels, for example, by having Magna Carta declared void. His son Henry III was taken under papal protection, and took a crusade vow at the beginning of his reign, so the war of his supporters against baronial rebels and their French allies was declared a crusade. Henry's troops were dubbed a *militia Christi* (knight-hood of Christ) and took the cross before the battle of Lincoln in 1217. Despite this, however, many of these warriors chose to go to Egypt as part of the Fifth Crusade, suggesting that, despite having legally fought a crusade in England, they still felt the desire to take part in an expedition to the East.

The civil war of 1264–1265 between Henry III and the reformers led by Simon of Montfort saw crusade imagery

and propaganda used by both sides. The baronial opposition of 1258 included among their grievances the complaint that Henry's involvement in the "Sicilian Business" was impeding crusade plans. Both sides claimed to be waging a crusade, with Montfortian forces wearing crosses at the battle of Lewes in 1264, and royalist forces wearing them at the decisive battle of Evesham the following year. Montfort was revered by his supporters as a martyr after his death at Evesham, a view of him that was boosted by his record as a crusader and his role in his partisans' eyes as a *miles Christi* (knight of Christ) in the civil war. Both these periods of civil war were followed by recruitment to the crusade, although with rather different results. Whereas the papal legate Guala used recruitment to the Fifth Crusade as a means of uniting the rival factions, the Crusade of the Lord Edward (1270–1272) drew its personnel largely from former royalists who had formed links with Edward in the course of the struggle against Montfort.

There were often crusading overtones to wars between England and her neighbors; Henry II's overlordship of Ireland in the twelfth century was sanctioned by a papal bull, and the Scots' resistance to Edward I was bolstered by the backing of the Scottish clergy. Crusading rhetoric was used on both sides of the struggle between England and Scotland. Edward I's forces invaded Scotland in 1300 under a banner of the Holy Cross, and the English later claimed that the "rebellion" of Robert Bruce was hampering preparations for a crusade. In the Declaration of Arbroath addressed to Pope John XXII in 1320, the Scots asserted that their cause was a holy one, and that the delay in crusade proceedings was the fault of the English for making war on their neighbors.

The crusades had a disastrous impact on the Jews of England, as was also the case on the continent. The preaching of the crusade in 1189–1190 was accompanied by a series of violent attacks on the Jews in the eastern half of the country, notably in York, Stamford, and Lincoln. At a more general level, the crusading movement, creating as it did a violent Christian self-identity, contributed to a hardening of attitudes against the Jews, culminating in their expulsion from England in 1290.

Military Orders

The establishment of military orders for the defense of the Holy Land led to the establishment of houses of the orders of the Hospital and Temple. Individual houses were often founded or endowed by crusaders, such as Roger de Mow-

bray, founder of the Templar preceptory of Balsall. Templar activity in England can be dated to the very beginnings of the order, when Hugh of Payns, the Templars' founder, visited England in 1128, and the Temple of London was founded shortly thereafter. The English Templars were organized into the Province of England, with its headquarters at the London Temple, the oldest and greatest of the Templar houses in England. The Hospitallers for their part came under the Priory of England, with its headquarters at Clerkenwell. Each order was governed by a master at provincial or priory level, while at a local level, each house was headed by a commander (Lat. *preceptor*). Many Englishmen joined the military orders, or helped them by providing them with money and land. While their houses in the Holy Land played a military role, those in Europe were responsible for the recruitment and supply of knights. Donations of land or money to the military orders were a way for noncrusaders to contribute directly or indirectly to the defence of Outremer. The London Temple played an important role as the place for collection and safekeeping of funds intended for the crusade. The lesser military Order of St. Lazarus, established to give succor to leprous knights, was also present in England, with its chief house at Burton Lazars in Leicestershire. The Order of St. Thomas of Acre, founded during the Third Crusade, was the one distinctively English contribution to the military orders. Named in honor of St. Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, some sources attribute its foundation to King Richard I. It was dissolved by Henry VIII in 1538. In addition, the nonmilitary Order of Canons of the Holy Sepulchre was another reminder in England of the existence of the Holy Places. The Templars were suppressed in England, as elsewhere, on trumped-up charges of heresy in 1312, after which their English possessions passed to the Hospitallers. King Edward II at first resisted the order's suppression, expressing disbelief at the charges leveled against them, before acquiescing after the order had been dissolved by papal bull.

Participation and Finance

Englishmen were kept informed of events in Outremer by the presence of houses of the military orders, by regular newsletters (usually appealing for support) that arrived from Outremer, by visits to the kingdom of representatives of Outremer such as that of Eraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, in 1185, as well as by direct preaching of the crusade. Appeals to aid the Christians of Outremer were often made on feast days associated with the Holy Cross, as was the case with the

coordinated preaching campaign launched by Archbishop Romeyn of York throughout his archdiocese on 14 September (the Feast of the Holy Cross) 1291. Preaching could serve wider purposes; the famous preaching campaign of Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury through Wales in 1188, which was recorded by the chronicler Gerald of Wales (*Giraldus Cambrensis*), was in some ways a political mission to emphasize the authority of the see of Canterbury over Wales.

Recruitment tended to follow lines of noble patronage and association, such as tenure, vassalage, kinship, or geographical proximity. The English contingent on the Fifth Crusade, for example, was grouped in part around Ranulf, earl of Chester, and his followers. Participants in the Lord Edward's crusade were drawn almost exclusively from his own supporters in the Montfortian civil war, while the presence of a large contingent of "Northern" crusaders demonstrates the importance of local loyalties and ties in determining crusade participation. Such links might also be supplemented (or where absent, replaced) by oaths of sworn association or written contracts. The Lord Edward's Crusade of 1270–1272 was organized by binding contracts, both between Edward and Louis IX of France, and between Edward and his barons.

Participation in the crusades was unsurprisingly concentrated among the military landowning classes, but not exclusively so. The Lisbon crusaders of 1147 were drawn from the townspeople of the ports of southern and eastern England. Records of inquiries into the fulfillment of vows in Cornwall and Lincolnshire in the 1190s show evidence for the involvement of the lower classes in crusading (although it is true that these records by their nature tend to reveal high levels of nonfulfillment of the crusading vow). Even the lowliest were involved in the crusading movement, with evidence of serfs taking the cross in order to gain manumission or as proxies for their lords.

Women, too, were engaged in the crusading movement. At the highest level in society, Eleanor of Castile, wife of the Lord Edward and future queen of England, accompanied her husband on crusade in 1272–1274. But many other women were involved in the crusade as well, a reminder that the institution had its origins in pilgrimage, an activity in which all classes and both sexes participated. Some women became involved in crusades involuntarily, as in the case of Margaret of Beverley, who found herself caught up in Saladin's invasion of 1187 and the defense of Jerusalem against his army.

The development of fund-raising methods reflected the

general evolution of the crusade as an institution, with the emphasis of preaching shifting in the course of the thirteenth century from recruitment to fund-raising through the commutation of vows in return for monetary payment. For example, the success of preaching in the archdiocese of York in 1275 was measured in a list of those who had taken and then redeemed vows, and the sums of money they had paid to do so. In addition to vow redemptions, money was raised through the collection of alms, or through money bequeathed in wills. Kings (such as Henry II) and noblemen who had been unable in life to go on crusade frequently supported the cause after death in this manner.

The most significant form of fund-raising, both in terms of the sums raised and the long-term impact, was taxation. The relatively centralized nature of the Anglo-Norman state meant that taxation was more extensive and systematic than in other polities. The first crusade tax was levied in 1166, but the Saladin Tithe of 1188 was a more significant landmark, with sophisticated arrangements for its promulgation and collection. The crusade tax became a feature of the English fiscal landscape into the fourteenth century, and was an important stage in the evolution of royal taxation and a state bureaucracy. Changes in fund-raising reflected changes in the financing of the crusade. By the thirteenth century, the crusade was very much centrally financed, with crusade funds allocated not to individual crusaders, but to the crusade leader (usually a royal figure), who subsequently drew up contracts with his followers, who were paid out of the central funds. This model was followed on the crusade of the Lord Edward, who contracted eighteen barons to supply 225 knights.

The need for crusaders to raise money by mortgaging land helped the development of a land-market and money economy, while the levying of taxes to finance crusade expeditions helped the development of government infrastructure. Harder to quantify is the impact the crusades had in broadening the horizons of those who took part, opening their consciousness to the existence of a wider world, and encouraging an awareness in the minds of Western Christians of their being part of a wider Christian community, and of the physical existence of the Holy Places. The impact of these developments long outlasted the crusade movement itself.

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English and Scots Literature

Literature with crusading themes in Middle English and Middle Scots consists of more than fifty texts dating from approximately 1225 to 1500. They were meant to be performed to an audience rather than read, serving to entertain their courtly patrons but also functioning as a means of

propagating a political and religious identity, delineating the differences between the Christian "us" and the non-Christian "other." The corpus, comprising romances, a travelogue (*Mandeville's Travels*), poems (e.g., William Langland's *Piers Plowman* and Gower's *Confessio Amantis*), the *Hereford Map*, and texts by Geoffrey Chaucer, gives insight into how literature functioned as both reflection and stimulus of the views held by medieval courtly society. The texts, many of which were written after crusading fervor had already diminished, highlight the ongoing interest in the topic. They depict a victorious chivalric Christendom, superior on the grounds of belief, projecting a European/Christian image and identity on the medieval world stage and, though with some exceptions, in general promoting the concept that the spiritual and moral high ground is held by crusading Christian armies.

The texts are mainly of French origin, being either translated from or based on popular French originals and then adapted by individual authors to highlight certain areas of interest for author and audience. Thus some romances not only describe Saracens and crusading, but use the opportunity to criticize the domestic and foreign political situation (*Guy of Warwick*) through the portrayal of Saracen leaders. One of the characteristics common to these works, which clearly emphasizes the entertainment factor, is the use of popular motifs: chivalrous Christian knights seeking adventure and fighting awesome Saracen giants and ogres or romances like the Scots *Taill of Rauf Coilyear*, which uses the popular motif of a king (Charlemagne) traveling around in disguise.

The dates of composition are all later than the events they describe. Thus *Richard Coer de Lion*, dated to soon after 1300, was composed over 100 years after the Third Crusade (1189–1192). Similarly, the texts in the Charlemagne cycle all date from after 1300 (e.g., *Otuel*, *Roland and Vernagu* from around 1330, and, the last, *Charles the Grete*, as late as 1485), yet they all focus on the figure of Charlemagne, who died in 814, some 650 years earlier. Medieval literature relied heavily on the concept of authority. Thus in crusading literature legendary figures are endowed with military and moral authority. Charlemagne is portrayed as a role model for crusaders. In his time he was famed for his victories over the pagan Saxons and Vikings, and his religious fervor was marked by the forced conversions he had carried out, characteristics also found in crusading literature. Charles's argument of a just war against the unbelievers was revived in romance texts.

Definitions

In the early twelfth century, the chronicler William of Malmesbury defined the world as consisting of European Christendom and the non-believing Saracen world in the east; this division was later expressed by Geoffrey Chaucer in the terms *cristendom* and *hethenesse* [Chaucer, *General Prologue*, line 49]. In crusading literature the term *Saracen* is applied generically to all non-Christians, whether the texts refer to non-Christian Vikings (*King Horn*, *The Man of Law's Tale*, *Havelok the Dane*, or *Blaunchardyn and Eglantine*) or Arabs (*Richard Coer de Lion*, *Charles the Grete*). These heathens threaten Christians both physically, in the military sense, and spiritually, through possible forced conversion and religious intolerance. Saracens make up at least two-thirds of the known world: "Affryke and Assye," as opposed to "only" Europe (*Kyng Alisaunder*, line 43). Africa and Asia are seen as being vast, stretching from the borders of Europe to the "werldes ende" (*Kyng Alisaunder*, line 1912). Charlemagne complains that he cannot conquer countries in the East because they are so "large and wyde" (*The Sege of Melayne*, line 144). India, wealthy and rich in spices, is home to 9,000 different peoples (*Kyng Alisaunder*, lines 4832–4838) who all speak the same language (*Richard Coer de Lion*, line 6023). In *Sir Ferumbras* the armies of Balan and Bruyllant, 300,000 men, speak four different languages, "Persian, Torkeys, and Arrabyns & Affrycans al-so" (*Sir Ferumbras*, line 5433), while in Babel and Babylon they speak "Two and sixty diuers language" (*Kyng Alisaunder*, line 7791). Saracen armies reflect the huge populations of these countries, as the Saracen armies are described as being as thick as grass on the ground and Saracen reinforcements on the battlefield are unlimited. That the Christians are vastly outnumbered makes the inevitable Christian victories described in the texts all the more heroic. But as *Richard Coer de Lion* asserts, one Christian is worth fifteen Saracens.

The authors show both knowledge and ignorance concerning Saracen countries. Thus in *Kyng Alisaunder* eastern countries are dark and dragon-ridden, whereas they are correctly described in *Mandeville's Travels* as having dry deserts. In *Richard Coer de Lion* conditions in the desert include rain and hail and snow that create five-foot snowdrifts, all accompanied by thunder and lightning. In *Blaunchardyn and Eglantine* Prussia, a Saracen country, it is so hot that Blaunchardyn, a white, Christian knight, turns black. In general the description of the blackness of the Saracens is not seen as attributable to climate, but as the outward sign of evil

within: the Saracens have the color of the devil and come from "helle" (*Guy of Warwick*, book 2, 95:11). Descriptions of white Saracens in the texts mean that these have been earmarked by the author for later conversion to Christianity and are predestined to become members of the Christian courtly circle. *Kyng Alisaunder* describes exotic peoples according to the medieval *Physiologus*: for example, the Houndynges are like men from the chest down, but above the chest are like dogs; they bark like dogs, have shoulders like fish, and have claws like dogs. These descriptions and those of ugly Saracen giants can be traced to descriptions in classical sources, so that in the *Hereford Map* (c. 1300) it is possible to trace the monstrous peoples described to Ctesias of Cnidas, (fifth century B.C.) through the works of Solinus, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* (third century B.C.).

Vikings who raided the coasts of the British Isles during the precrusade period are called Saracens in the texts. In *King Horn*, King Murry of the north of England finds "shipes fyftene, / of sarzynes kene" (*King Horn*, line 41) on his shores. After a battle with these Saracen Vikings, Murry and his two companions are killed, and the Saracens lay waste the land and forbid the Christian faith, so that Queen Gothild is forced to continue practicing her faith in secret, a fate similar to that suffered by Lady Hermengild in Northumberland in Chaucer's *Man of Law's Tale*, indicating the belief that Saracens were intolerant of the Christian faith. Historically the Vikings pursued a flourishing trade with the Arabs in the Mediterranean via the Baltic, Russian rivers and lakes, and the Black Sea, where they had direct connections to the ports of the Silk and Spice Roads. Many Vikings came to settle in these regions and thus also came to be called Saracens.

Charles the Great and Crusades in France and Spain

The great Christian hero Emperor Charlemagne is depicted in a cycle of texts, comprising *Sir Ferumbras*, *The Sege of Melayne*, *Charles the Grete*, the *Sowdone of Babylone*, *Roland and Vernagu*, *Otuel*, the fragment *The Song of Roland*, and *The Taill of Rauf Coilyear*. The majority are translations or adaptations from the French, although the Scots *Taill of Rauf Coilyear* appears to be a British original.

These romances describe the threat posed and hostility shown by the Saracens toward Christendom. *Ferumbras*, the Saracen from the eponymous text, is a giant and son of the Saracen sultan Balan, but has power in his own right as lord of Alexandria and rules over vast areas between Babylon and

the Red Sea, Apulia, Palermo, and Russia (*Sir Ferumbras*, lines 53–57). He is clearly also the curse of Christendom: he boasts that he has destroyed the city of Rome, killing the Pope, cardinals, abbots, friars, and nuns. Ferumbras brags that as lord of Jerusalem he also possesses holy relics: the Crown of Thorns, the True Cross, and the nails used to crucify Christ, which he has sent to his father, Charlemagne's deadly enemy. Sultan Arabas (*Sege of Melayne*) has also harried Rome and Lombardy, where he burned churches, while King Ebrahim of Spain has persecuted Christians and exiled the patriarch of Jerusalem (*Roland and Vernagu*), and Magog, an emissary of the Khan of Tartary, has persecuted Christians (*The Taill of Rauf Coilyear*). The audience becomes aware that this threat must be eliminated.

After long individual combat, the Saracen Ferumbras is beaten by Oliver and begs for mercy and promises to convert and persecute those who believe in Mahoun (i.e., the Prophet Muḥammad, transmogrified into a Saracen deity) and make all pagans Christians. We find a similar situation in the romance *The King of Tars*, in which the sultan converts to Christianity and then forces all his subjects to do the same on pain of death. Ferumbras even becomes a Christian saint (*Charles the Grete*). In the *Sowdone of Babylone*, there are no long combat scenes, but short shrift is made of the Saracens: quick conversion or death is the motto here.

Anti-Saracen propaganda is provided by descriptions of the Saracens: they are mostly ugly giants. Christian knights clearly have to overcome their revulsion to fight them, making the foregone victory of the Christians all the more glorious in the eyes of the audience. The maltreatment of Christian knights serves as a further technique of creating audience alienation toward the Saracens. In *Sir Ferumbras*, Christian knights are thrown into a dungeon with snakes, and the incoming tide threatens to drown them. But it is even worse when Christian religious symbols are vandalized. *The Sege of Melayne* begins with a scene where Sultan Arabas tries to burn a cross, which, however, refuses to catch fire. Enraged, he has the cross covered with brimstone and pitch. Then as a punishment from God, fire bursts out of the cross and blinds all the Saracens standing around. This scene again highlights the lack of respect the Saracens show toward Christianity, but it also shows how God leads the way as punisher. Divine intervention proves that the Christians are right to annihilate the Saracens. God also helps the Christians directly. When Richard of Normandy tries to break out of a Saracen siege to reach the French

forces in *Sir Ferumbras*, he finds the River Flagot swollen, but a white hart appears from heaven and leads him through the river safely.

The Christians also show intolerance toward the Saracen faith. Christian knights ridicule the Saracen gods by saying that they are asleep all the time and are therefore ineffective. They attempt to wake them up by smashing them and bombarding the Saracens with statues of their own gods. In *Charles the Grete*, Sultan Balan, encouraged by a false devil in the form of the Saracen god Mahoun, attacks the tower where the Christians are holed up, but unlike the Christian God, the Saracen gods are ineffective and the attempt fails. This is juxtaposed to the situation where Floripas, the sultan's daughter, who helps the Christian knights and who is in possession of the holy relics from Jerusalem, holds these out of the tower window, at which all the Saracens drop dead. The author shows that Floripas, a Saracen, is aware of the evil and inferiority of the Saracens and the superiority of the Christian God.

Floripas, sultan Balan's daughter, a traitor to the Saracens, is also portrayed as the antithesis of the Christian courtly lady. She has fallen in love with the Christian Guy of Burgundy and wants to marry him. To this end she helps the Christian knights escape from prison by dashing out the brains of the jailer, and because her governess becomes suspicious of her actions, she tosses her out of the window. Furthermore, when her father is captured by Charles, she advises the Christians not to waste any time but simply to kill him. Sortybran, the sultan's adviser, has warned the sultan from the beginning that he should not trust his daughter because she is a woman (*Sir Ferumbras*). Thus Saracen women in particular are not to be trusted. Sultan Balan is defeated by Charles and is captured. Ferumbras, Balan's son, tries to persuade his father to convert, but he refuses. An attempt at converting Balan is made, and a baptismal font of marble, in which the Saracens apparently keep wine, is prepared. But when the ceremony is about to begin, Balan, in keeping with the stereotype of the short-tempered Saracen, first punches a bishop and then spits into the font and is beheaded on the spot.

Crusading in the East: Richard the Lionheart

The most violent crusading text is *Richard Coer de Lion*, which describes the organization and implementation of the Third Crusade. There are long violent battle scenes in which the Christians are always victorious, though often greatly

outnumbered. Saladin, described as a daunting and untrustworthy military adversary, has the True Cross in his possession, which Richard wants to win back as well as taking Jerusalem. The Christian and Saracen sides each wish to convert the other, so that belief plays a pivotal role. Richard is portrayed as a merciless warlord and orders all Saracens who refuse to accept baptism to be killed. When King Philip II of France, his ally, does not comply with these instructions at Taburet and Archane, Richard storms the towns and kills all the inhabitants. The text insinuates that the Christians would have been able to take their ultimate goal, Jerusalem, had it not been for the weak Christian leadership. Philip leaves for France, and Richard is only able to secure a truce.

The siege of Acre takes center stage, and this part of the text constitutes a unique episode in English literature. Richard has taken 2,000 Saracen prisoners. When he falls seriously ill, he desires pork, which he says will save his life. An old knight of Richard's, who speaks from experience, tells the cook to prepare Saracen, and Richard unsuspectingly eats the dish, thinking it is pork, and recovers. Richard is then told that he has eaten Saracen, and his reaction is to laugh heartily. As a consequence, Richard decides to use his Saracen prisoners in a diplomatic strategy aimed at intimidating Saladin and forcing his hand, while also striking fear into the Saracens with his ruthless behaviour. Thus he invites Saladin to send emissaries for talks. A banquet of Saracen organized by Richard personally is prepared. High-ranking Saracen prisoners are chosen, their heads cooked, and their names placed on their foreheads. Thus Saladin's emissaries are served their own relatives, whom they are then forced to eat by a laughing Richard. Richard says that while he has so many Saracen prisoners his men will not starve at Acre. This gruesome incident possibly reflects acts of cannibalism supposedly perpetrated by the Franks at Ma'arrat al-Numan during the First Crusade. However, Richard's noble and chivalric traits are also highlighted, when he refuses to kill Saracens while they are asleep (*Richard Coer de Lion*, lines 6449–6450).

Later Texts

The Three King's Sons (c. 1500) describes how Sicily has been partly conquered and besieged by Turks. The King of Sicily seeks help from fellow Christian rulers. To his aid come Prince Philip of France, Prince David of Scotland, and Prince Humphrey of England. The hand of Iolante, the king's beautiful daughter, is an added bonus. In this late text, combat

between Saracens and Christians no longer includes decapitations, arms being chopped off, or cleavings in two; in fact, there are very few military details: feelings and doubts play a greater role. The Saracen prince Ferabras of Persia and Orcays the son of the Sultan of Turkey, earmarked as future Christian knights, help the Christian princes to victory over the Saracens and are instrumental in bringing about the obligatory final death of the sultan. Orcays and his beautiful sister convert to Christianity. She marries Humphrey of England, and Orcays marries Humphrey's sister. In the works of Geoffrey Chaucer (d. 1400), we see the contradictions in the depiction of Saracens. Dabbling in science (*Treatise on the Astrolab*) and with a knowledge of alchemy (*The Canon's Yeoman's Tale*), Chaucer integrates Arab, therefore Saracen, learning into his works. He also describes the mysteries of the East in *The Squire's Tale*, where the daughter of the King of Tartary is given a ring by the King of Arabia that allows her to understand the language of the birds. We are presented with a high-born, exemplary Christian knight in the *Knight's Tale* who fights for both Christian and Saracen lords (though never against Christians), thereby highlighting the equality of the East and the West from a courtly military point of view. However, in *The Man of Law's Tale* we find the Constance motif, in which a Christian princess is married to a sultan on condition that he converts. Her jealous Saracen mother-in-law casts her adrift: as in the case of Floripas, we see the violent, at times heartless, Saracen lady. In *The Man of Law's Tale* Chaucer describes Viking Saracens. However, Chaucer also ridicules the whole courtly scene in his *Tale of Sir Thopas*, citing characters from well-known crusading romances, and introducing a giant knight with the name of Sir Olifaunt. Chaucer, the teller of the tale, is stopped in his tracks by the Host, and the *Tale of Melibeus*, based on a traditional French source and the complete antithesis of *Sir Thopas*, then follows. These apparent contradictions can be explained by Chaucer probably finding it imprudent to criticize the social and religious status quo.

Religious Viewpoints

Conversion and religion are clearly central elements in these crusading texts. There are great celebrations when worthy heathen knights become Christians (*Otuel*). There are also Christianized ex-Saracens who become most fervent in converting and killing Saracens, as in *Otuel* and the *King of Tars*.

Although tolerance toward Saracens is shown in some texts (*Piers Plowman*), and equality between Christian and

Saracen chivalry is demonstrated in *Blaunchardyn and Eglantine* and Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*, the *King of Tars* highlights the uselessness of the Saracen faith. A Christian princess is forced to marry a heathen sultan for political reasons, and when she gives birth to their child it is a formless lump of flesh. The sultan says that it is her fault because she does not believe in his gods, Termagaunt, Apolyn, and Mahomet (in most texts the Saracens are presented as having three gods, probably a reflection of the argument put by Arab theologians that Christians could not have three persons in one god). The sultan prays to his gods to make the child normal: nothing happens. The queen then prays to her Christian God and the child is immediately transformed into a beautiful baby. The sultan, now convinced of the efficacy of the Christian God, converts and is baptized, receives a new identity with a change of name, and miraculously changes color from his Saracen black to Christian white, an outward sign that his soul has now been cleansed. We find a similar situation in *Charles the Grete*: the Christian Clotildis's first son, though baptized, dies, and the second son falls ill after baptism. Her heathen husband Cloys says that baptism is to blame, but through Clotildis's prayers the child survives. Now convinced by the efficacy of the Christian God, Cloys converts and is baptized by St. Remigius. Through divine intervention, a dove from heaven brings a vessel with chrism, which from that time is used to anoint the kings of France.

Conclusions

The element of entertainment plays a vital role in these texts, and "Saracen bashing" clearly found favor with courtly circles. Audiences were probably well aware of the superior lifestyle and learning of the Arabs through contacts in the East they had made or through hearsay. Certainly Christians readily adopted Arab lifestyles in Outremer and Sicily. However, as compensation, it was believed that though the Saracens had a superior lifestyle, they could not achieve salvation. Through the Schism of East and West (1054), Western Christendom had needed to define its role in the world anew and acquire an identity of its own through its spiritual center, Rome. Furthermore, through the teachings of influential theologians such as Bernard of Clairvaux, the concept of "us" and "them" and ideas such as offering non-Christians the choice of conversion or death became firmly established, and they are reflected in crusading literature. Saracens and Christians were economic, political, military, and

above all religious rivals. Thus we find populist religious hatred and bigotry in this literature, which considers crusading as constituting a "just war," using Charlemagne's argument from 600 years earlier. However, while demonstrating intolerance, crusading literature in English and Scots also reflects a popular curiosity about and fascination with the "Saracens" that lasted to the end of the Middle Ages.

—Leona Cordery

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Epiros

A Byzantine state in northwestern Greece (1204–1449/1479) established after the Latin conquest of Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) by the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), termed a “despotate” from around the middle of the thirteenth century.

Under the Angelos-Komnenos-Doukas dynasty, Epiros became one of the main resistance centers of medieval Hellenism against Latin domination, and the principal rival to the other major Byzantine successor state, the empire of Nicaea, for the recapture of Constantinople from the Latins. Michael I (1204–c.1215), the founder of the Epirot state, gradually annexed the entire northwestern coast of Greece, an area with a largely Greek population and minorities of Slavs, Jews, Armenians, and Vlachs, and also began the Greek reconquest of Thessaly (Central Greece). Michael’s half-brother and successor, Theodore (c. 1215–1230), secured the Epirot possession of Dyrrachion, Arta, Ioannina, and the important port of Naupaktos. He completed the conquest of Thessaly and expanded his territories eastward, extinguishing the Latin kingdom of Thessalonica (1204/1207–1224) and inaugurating another Byzantine Empire there by having himself crowned with the Greek title *autokrator* (emperor) as a manifestation of his ambition to restore Constantinople to Byzantine rule. His plans were, however, marred by his defeat at Klokotnitcha by the Bulgarians (1230), which led to the breakup of the Epirot possessions; Thessalonica eventually fell into the hands of the Nicaean emperor John III Doukas Vatatzes (1246), who had previously forced the Epirot ruler John (1237–1244), to relinquish the title of emperor for that of “despot” (Gr. *despotes*, i.e., local ruler) in 1242.

Following the defeat of an Epirot-Moreote coalition at Pelagonia (1259), Nicaean forces under Michael (VIII) Palaiologos occupied much of Epiros, but Epirot independence was maintained in the territories around Ioannina, Preveza, Arta, and Naupaktos. From the thirteenth century, Epirot history is closely connected with developments in Thessaly, especially after the division of Epiros following the death of Despot Michael II (1268 or 1271), when Epiros was ruled by his sons Nikephoros I (1268/1271–1295/1296) and Thomas (1295/1296–1318), and Thessaly by his illegitimate son, the sebastokrator John I Angelos Doukas (1268/1271–1289/1290) and his successors till 1318. John’s death led to a rapid deterioration in Epirot-Thessalian relations, with a bold but ineffective Thessalian invasion of Epirot territories (c. 1296) taking place, probably with the connivance of the Byzantine emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos.

In 1318 the Italian Orsini dynasty seized control in Epiros. A brief Byzantine recapture by the Palaiologoi (1337) was followed by annexation by Tsar Stephen IV Dušan of Serbia in 1348/1349, inaugurating a period of harsh Serbian rule, which coincided with successive Albanian incursions, resulting in the capture of Arta by the Spata clan late in the fourteenth century. A vain attempt of the despot Nikephoros II, with the support of several Thessalian local lords, to oust the Serbs and Albanians from Thessaly resulted in a devastating defeat at the hands of the Albanians near the town of Acheloos in 1359. The Italians gained a more definitive hold in Epiros from the late fourteenth century onward. A member of the Florentine Buondelmonti house ruled in Ioannina (1385–1411), to be succeeded by Carlo I of the Tocco dynasty (established in the Ionian Islands since the early fourteenth century), whose long presence in the area was described in the early fifteenth-century *Chronicle of the Tocco*. Carlo I succeeded in seizing Arta from the Albanians (1416) and in unifying Epirot possessions in the early decades of the fifteenth century; however, his demise in 1429 precipitated the Ottoman advance westward: Ioannina fell to the Turks in 1430 and Arta in 1449, while the last Epirot vestiges were annexed by 1479.

–Alexios G. C. Savvides

See also: Byzantine Empire

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Eracles

The *Eracles* or *Estoire d'Eracles* was an Old French translation and continuation of the history of William of Tyre by anonymous authors. The *Eracles* of the title refers to the Byzantine emperor Heraclius (610–641), with whose recapture of Jerusalem in 630 William of Tyre's history begins.

The continuation recounts in detail the loss of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187 and the subsequent history of Outremer, some manuscripts continuing the narrative as far as 1277. Forty-nine manuscripts of the translation with the continuation survive, but there is no critical edition. Two versions of the translation of William of Tyre have been published: the so-called Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles* (in the series *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*) and one by Paulin Paris. The translator (possibly working in the West between 1205 and 1234) and the composers of later versions made important adjustments and additions to William's text, and there are significant differences between the various manuscripts. The continuations that follow the translation were assembled between 1220 and 1277 and added on to the translation.

Forty-four of the manuscripts of the continuation for

1185–1229 record a version of events similar to that preserved in the *Chronique d'Ernoul*. The other five manuscripts, including the Colbert-Fontainebleau manuscripts, preserve different versions of events. All these continuations seem to reflect the political views of part of the Frankish nobility of Outremer. For the period 1229–1261, a variant version of *Eracles* exists in twelve manuscripts, known as the Rothelin Continuation, which was apparently composed in the West and reflects a Western viewpoint.

—Helen Nicholson

See also: William of Tyre (c. 1130–1186)

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Eraclius (d. 1190/1191)

Latin patriarch of Jerusalem (1180–1190/1191).

Eraclius was probably born in the 1120s in the Auvergne; he may have been descended from the family of the viscounts of Polignac. After having (probably) taken a master's degree and studied law with Stephen of Tournai at Bologna, he was appointed as archdeacon of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem (1169–1175) and archbishop of Cae-

Erik I of Denmark (d. 1103)

sarea (1175–1180), with the support of Agnes of Courtenay. Along with William, archbishop of Tyre, and six other ecclesiastical dignitaries, Eraclius represented the Latin Church of Palestine at the Third Lateran Council in October 1178. He was elected patriarch on 16 October 1180, again with decisive support from Agnes of Courtenay. The unsuccessful candidate was William of Tyre, a factor that is significant, in that many of the negative judgements of Eraclius are based on the testimony of William's chronicle and its Old French continuations.

In 1180–1181, on behalf of King Baldwin IV of Jerusalem, Eraclius mediated between Prince Bohemund III of Antioch and the Latin patriarch of Antioch, Aimery of Limoges. In the internal politics of the kingdom of Jerusalem, Eraclius took the part of the magnate faction around Agnes of Courtenay, whose influence helped bring about the appointment of Guy of Lusignan as regent of the kingdom in 1183. Three years later it was Eraclius, in collusion with the masters of the Templars and the Hospitallers, who managed the coronation of the princess Sibyl and her husband Guy of Lusignan as queen and king of Jerusalem (1186). Before this, in order to seek assistance for Outremer against the growing threat from Saladin, Eraclius had been sent to the West (1184–1185), where he met Pope Lucius III, Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa, King Philip II Augustus of France, and King Henry II of England. During the disastrous campaign against Saladin that culminated in the battle of Hattin (3–4 July 1187), Eraclius remained in Jerusalem; he was held responsible for the loss of Outremer and the relic of the True Cross in many contemporary Western sources.

In the summer of 1188, Eraclius went to Antioch, but by August 1189 he was in the camp of Guy of Lusignan when the latter started to besiege Acre. The patriarch died during the siege, probably in late autumn 1190.

—Klaus-Peter Kirstein

See also: Jerusalem, (Latin) Kingdom of

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Erik I of Denmark (d. 1103)

King of Denmark (1095–1103) and leader of a crusade to the Holy Land in 1103.

Erik was born around 1056 and was the fourth son of King Sven Estridsen (d. 1076) to become king of Denmark. His nickname, Ejegod, means "the Good." On the death of his brother King Oluf Hunger (1095), Erik was recalled from exile in Sweden to assume the crown. He traveled to Rome and Bari, probably in 1098, founding two hospices for pilgrims, one in Lucca and the other near Piacenza. While in Italy he started negotiations that led to the establishment of an independent Danish church province with an archbishopric in Lund (1103/1104). He also managed to have his brother Knud the Holy (d. 1086) canonized in 1100. He fought against the heathen Wends in the 1090s and forced them to pay tribute; it is very likely that the Wendish areas, especially around Rügen, became a Danish missionary field at this time.

In 1103 Erik left for Jerusalem with his wife, Bodil, and a strong following: according to a contemporary Icelandic poet, this was to heal his internal wounds and save his soul. Later twelfth- and thirteenth-century sources suggest that Erik had taken the cross, and if his status as *crucesignatus* (one signed with the cross) cannot be taken as certain, it is at least very likely. His journey to Jerusalem took him via Constantinople (mod. Istanbul, Turkey), where he was splendidly received by the Byzantine emperor. Erik never

reached the Holy Land but died in Paphos on Cyprus; his exact burial place on the island is not known. His wife continued on to Jerusalem, where she died on the Mount of Olives and was buried in the Valley of Jehosaphat.

–Janus Møller Jensen

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Erik Jedvardson

King of Sweden (c. 1153–1160), patron saint of Uppsala and later of Sweden.

According to late sources, King Erik is supposed to have led a crusade to Finland (the so-called First Swedish Crusade) in 1155 or 1157 together with Henry, who became the first bishop of Finland but was soon martyred there. The result of this crusade was the forced conversion of the Finns of southwestern Finland. The sources for this crusade are the Legend of Erik and the *vita* (life) of Bishop Henry, both from the end of the thirteenth century. They may perhaps be considered as ideological constructions intended to support renewed Swedish crusading initiatives and a Dominican mission in Finland. Yet crusades were common among the neighboring countries of Sweden in the mid-twelfth century, and so the tradition of Erik’s crusade cannot be dismissed as a fabrication with certainty. In the later Middle Ages, Erik became an important patron saint and a figurehead for Swedish rebellions against the Kalmar Union (1397–1524) with Denmark and Norway.

–Kurt Villads Jensen

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Ermes, Battle of (1560)

The last pitched battle fought by the Teutonic Order in Livonia.

In 1558 Livonia had been attacked by Ivan IV, tsar of Muscovy, whose forces quickly conquered the eastern part of the country. The Livonian attempts to organize a counteraction remained unsuccessful. In the summer of 1560 the Livonian forces were situated at Trikatēn (mod. Trikāta, Latvia) under the command of Marshal Philipp Schall von Bell. While moving north on 1 August, they encountered a group of Russian cavalry and decided to attack, unaware that this was a patrol of the Russian army on its way from Dorpat (mod. Tartu, Estonia) to Fellin (mod. Viljandi, Estonia).

Near Ermes (mod. Ēr’gēme, Latvia), about 20 kilometers (12½ mi.) west of Walk (mod. Valga, Estonia), the Livonians were surrounded and defeated by the Russians under the command of Prince Vassilii Barboshin. According to contemporary sources, there were 300–500 Livonian cavalymen and 400–500 infantrymen against 12,000 Russians. The Livonians lost 261 men. Most of the order’s leaders were killed or captured, including Schall von Bell, who was executed in Moscow on 28 October. The part of the Livonian army that had stayed in camp managed to escape. The Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order had now lost the main part of its leadership and most of its small military strength. Fellin surrendered to Russian forces on 21 August.

–Anti Selart

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Ernoul

According to the *Chronique d’Ernoul et de Bernard le trésorier*, Ernoul was a squire employed by Balian, lord of Ibelin, and an eyewitness to the fall of the kingdom of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187. The Old French chronicle attributed to him, which survives in ten manuscripts, tells the history of Outremer from 1100 to 1228; some manuscripts continue the chronicle to 1232 and state that it was copied for Bernard, treasurer of Corbie Abbey.

Apart from the single reference to Ernoul the squire, little is known of the author(s) of this chronicle. Margaret Morgan’s theory that Ernoul was Arneis of Gibelet, a Cypriot lawyer active in the 1220s, has not been accepted by scholars. The content of the chronicle indicates only that the author or compiler was a native of Outremer and supported

Eschatology

the policies of the Ibelin family; it is therefore valuable because it preserves the views of part of the Frankish nobility of Outremer. Like the *Eracles* (the Old French translation of William of Tyre's *Historia*), it recounts many attractive anecdotes, which may not be reliable but which make readable history.

Composed after 1187, the first part of the *Chronique* concentrates on the history of the kingdom of Jerusalem from 1163 and the rise of Saladin, although it also includes a unique and valuable account of the foundation of the Templars. The second section, from 1185 to 1228/1232, is similar to the majority of the continuations of the *Eracles*. Peter Edbury and John Gillingham consider that only the material covering 1187 originated with Ernoul the squire, the rest being a later compilation. Edbury has demonstrated that the Lyons *Eracles* (MS Lyons, Bibliothèque de la Ville, 828), which Morgan had suggested was directly based on Ernoul's original chronicle (now lost), was in fact assembled in the 1240s.

—Helen Nicholson

See also: Jerusalem, (Latin) Kingdom of

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Eschatology

Eschatology, in the sense of Christian beliefs about the end of the world, played an important part in Christian responses to the rise of Islam and also came to form a significant component in the ideology of crusading. Eschatological beliefs, so intense in early Christianity, were derived mainly from biblical prophecies: the Book of Daniel, the Book of Revelation, Jesus's prophetic speech on Jerusalem (Matt. 24), and St. Paul's allusions to the "son of perdition" who, although hidden, will reveal himself at the end of time

(2 Thess. 2:3). Two of Daniel's prophecies (the statue and the four beasts) were interpreted as outlining the progress of future history up to its end: the four successive universal empires (those of the Babylonians, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans) will be followed by the collapse of the Roman Empire, symbolized by the ten toes of the statues or the ten horns of the fourth beast. An evil power will then appear, which will eventually be annihilated. The Apocalypse depicted in the Book of Revelation follows the same pattern, but the prophecy here is more specific about certain elements that are to take place before the last days. Thus, the persecution of the Woman (the church) by the Dragon (Satan) will last (as in Daniel) "a time, and times, and half a time" (Rev. 12:14), that is to say, 42 days, or 1,260 prophetic days. The Dragon will be helped by "a Beast" that will "rise up out of the sea," representing the Antichrist. Its number is 666 (Rev. 13:18). It has seven heads and ten horns, ten "kings" (Rev. 17:12) who will fight the Lamb (Christ) in the last battle of history. They will be defeated by Christ and those faithful to him. The Beast will be captured, as will the "false prophet" who had seduced mankind, and they will be annihilated forever (Rev. 19). When evil has been thus defeated, the heavenly Jerusalem will appear. All these eschatological elements lead to Jerusalem, to which Christ will return to defeat the Antichrist and the false prophet before the Last Judgment takes place and the Kingdom of God is established.

Development of Eschatological

Beliefs before the Crusades

Speculation on the time of Christ's return (if not on its precise date, which Christ declared was known only to God the Father, according to Matt. 24:36) began in the first centuries of the Christian church, occasionally drawing on nonbiblical prophecies and various other traditions. To combat such speculation, which he thought harmful, St. Augustine of Hippo condemned all those who tried to know when the world would end; he laid down a spiritual and nonhistorical interpretation of the eschatological prophecies. For him the Last Times had already been accomplished in the church, which foreshadowed the heavenly kingdom into which the faithful would eventually enter. This doctrine was adopted by the Western church. However, it did not wipe out the earlier historical interpretations, which remained popular in the Middle Ages, and were often associated with Islam and the crusades.

As early as 634, the patriarch of Jerusalem envisaged the Arab invasions of the Byzantine Empire in eschatological terms: he likened the capture of Jerusalem to the “abomination of desolation . . . in the holy place” prophesied by Daniel and Jesus (Dan. 9:27, 11:31; Matt. 24:15). Around 640, a work written in Carthage by a converted Jew interpreted the Book of Daniel in the traditional way: the fourth beast represented the Roman Empire, then in decline, and soon the little horn would appear, a demonic power heralding the imminent end of the world. But the “prophet of the Arabs,” who was thought by some Jews to announce the Messiah, was a false prophet who came fully armed and preached false doctrines. Several Eastern writers soon came to see the Muslim invasion as a punishment inflicted upon Christians for their sins, and it was hoped that this punishment would be brief. As Arab rule went on, it was given a place in prophetic history: in times past, God had punished his people by imposing upon them the successive rule of the Babylonians, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans; God now was using the Arabs as a scourge with which to chastise the church.

For some, Arab rule marked the beginning of the Last Times. Such was the case for the author known as Pseudo-Sebeos, writing around 660. Soon afterward, the duration of Arab rule was fixed at “ten weeks of years” (i.e., 70 years) in the *Apocalypse* of Pseudo-Methodios of Patara. As the invasion of Syria had taken place in 636, the defeat of the Arabs was expected in 706. The Byzantine emperor would defeat the “pagans” (i.e., Muslims) and present God with his crown at the Mount of Olives. This would usher in the Last Times: the Antichrist would appear, but be defeated by Christ. Around 700, a reworked Latin version of this text spread across Europe: in this version, Arab rule was a temporary punishment and heralded the Last Times. These would begin with the coming of a Christian king who, uniting East and West, would defeat the Arabs in Jerusalem.

In Spain, Paulus Alvarus of Córdoba interpreted the Book of Daniel in the traditional manner, but identified the Arab power with the “little horn” that was to persecute the saints during the last days. He prophesied that it would be annihilated in 16 years’ time, that is around 868. The so-called *Prophetic Chronicle* (883), assigned an important part in history to the Arabs; however, its interpretation of one of the prophecies of Ezekiel was employed for the benefit of the Asturian dynasty, without any eschatological dimension: it predicted an imminent Christian victory

over the Arabs, after 170 years of their rule.

Around 950, the monk Adso of Montier-en-Der abandoned any reference to the Arabs and corrected Pseudo-Methodios: for him the Last Times could not be imminent, since the Roman Empire had been continued by the Frankish kings of the West, thus postponing the coming of the Antichrist. However, when the last Frankish king relinquished his crown in Jerusalem, then the End of the World would come. This interpretation proved highly popular in the eleventh century, as is witnessed by the large number of manuscripts of the text. Around 1085 Benzo of Alba depicted Henry IV, Holy Roman Emperor, as the “Latin” king of the Last Days: he would become king of the Greeks in Constantinople, march on Jerusalem, venerate the Holy Sepulchre, and be crowned with everlasting glory.

Eschatology and the Crusade Movement

The period preceding the crusades (perhaps more than the years around the year 1000) was propitious to the birth of a movement with eschatological undertones. Interpretations of the apocalyptic prophecies indeed focused on Jerusalem and on the Holy Sepulchre, which it was thought had to be reconquered before the end of time by a king who would unite Latins and Greeks. There was, moreover, a vague hope of a prophetically announced victory over the Arabs, whose rule marked a divine punishment that was nearing its end. This idea that Muslim Arab rule was destined to disappear can be found expressed in the letters of Pope Urban II, and the preaching of the crusades was entirely in line with this pedagogic conception of history.

Although the crusade movement was not principally motivated by eschatological expectations, such expectations were associated with many of the crusades. For example, Guibert of Nogent gives an eschatological dimension to Urban II’s call that brought forth the First Crusade (1096–1099): according to prophecy, the Antichrist would come to fight the faithful in Jerusalem, which could only happen if Christian warriors were present in the city. Other sources report such a motivation on the part of some crusaders. The main aim of the anti-Jewish pogroms led by Emicho of Flonheim in the Rhineland was to bring about the forcible conversion of the Jews, which, it was believed, was to take place at the end of time. Emicho, moreover, styled himself the king of the Last Days.

The sources for the Second Crusade (1147–1149) do not suggest any eschatological expectations. However, the anti-

Semitic preaching of the monk Ralph makes it plausible, but no more, that there may have been such expectations. There is more certainty that they were present during the Third Crusade (1189–1192); Frederick I Barbarossa, the Holy Roman Emperor, was indeed inspired by the eschatological myth of the Last Emperor, which was then widespread in Germany. King Richard the Lionheart of England shared this preoccupation with eschatology, as is shown by his dialogue with the mystic Joachim of Fiore. Joachim and Richard understood the twelfth chapter of the Book of Revelation as an announcement of the persecution of the church, which was to last 1,260 years. The seven heads of the Dragon represented the seven persecuting powers; for Joachim, the penultimate one was Saladin and the last was the Antichrist in person. Richard was thus living in the penultimate age of the world and it was his duty to fight Saladin, whose demise was imminent. Joachim announced that this would take place in 1194, seven years after the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin. The Antichrist was then expected to make his appearance about that time.

The deviation of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) ruled out any reference to eschatology, but expectations had not disappeared. An author known as William Aurifex or Aurifaber announced that the world would end within five years' time and saw Philip II Augustus, king of France, as the last king of History. The Antichrist had already made his appearance, in the form of Pope Innocent III. According to the chronicler Rigord, who was recording popular rumour, the Antichrist had been born in Babylon and the end of the world was nigh.

In the case of the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221), Joachim of Fiore once again prophesied the demise of Islam. In the encyclical *Quia major* (1213), Innocent III also predicted the collapse of Islam and its false prophet, a collapse announced by the “number of the Beast” (666), which represented a length of time. According to him, 600 years had gone by since the appearance of Muḥammad; approximately 60 years thus remained before the end of Islam. The crusade itself was characterized by the same eschatological atmosphere. The capture of the city of Damietta in Egypt in 1219 heightened expectations, giving rise to pseudoprophetic writings in Arabic. These texts announced that the fall of Damietta would be followed by the coming of the Antichrist, while two Christian kings would come and annihilate Islam. Such hopes may explain the intransigence of the papal legate Pelagius of Albano in

response to concessions offered by the Ayyūbids: relying on these prophetic writings, he was awaiting the arrival of Emperor Frederick II and of a “King David” who would help the Christians to defeat Islam.

When Frederick II himself did eventually arrive in the Holy Land, he fulfilled an eschatological belief when he had himself crowned king of Jerusalem in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (18 March 1229), thus identifying himself with the “king of the Latins and of the Greeks” who was to reign in Jerusalem and present Christ with his crown before the coming of the Antichrist. The stained-glass windows of the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris suggest that there was also an eschatological dimension to the two crusades of King Louis IX of France.

Eschatological expectations linked to the (supposedly imminent) demise of Islam were thus a feature of most crusades, despite repeated disappointments. These expectations persisted after the last crusade, but the aim would henceforth be to convert Muslims rather than defeat them by the sword.

—Jean Flori

See also: Ideology

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Eskil of Lund (d. 1181)

Archbishop of Lund (1137–1177).

Eskil was born into the Danish nobility around 1100. After studies in Hildesheim, he became bishop of Roskilde (1134), then archbishop of Lund (1137). Through his contacts with Bernard of Clairvaux, Eskil introduced the Cistercian Order into Denmark and Sweden in 1143–1144. In 1159 he found himself in opposition to King Valdemar I of Denmark in the conflict between Pope Alexander III and Frederick I Barbarossa, the Holy Roman Emperor. As a consequence, in 1161 Eskil went into exile. Upon his return, followed by a partial reconciliation with the king, Eskil participated in a crusade against the Wends, resulting in the conquest of the island of Rügen off the southern coast of the Baltic Sea in 1168. In 1170 he took part in the coronation of the king's son, Knud VI, and the canonization of the king's father, Knud Lavard. Around this time renewed archiepiscopal and royal collaboration resulted in the introduction into Scandinavia of the Order of the Hospital.

Eskil was apparently the architect behind letters from Pope Alexander III issued in the years 1171–1174 that called for crusade and mission toward Estonia, and possibly also Finland. Kings and magnates from Scandinavia were urged to defend and expand the Christian faith. This endeavor was to be headed by Fulco, presumably a Benedictine monk from St. Rémi in France, whom Eskil had apparently ordained as missionary bishop of Estonia many years previously. It remains uncertain, however, whether Fulco ever reached Estonia. Eskil resigned from office in 1177 to spend his last years at the monastery of Clairvaux.

—Torben K. Nielsen

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Estoire de la Guerre Sainte

See Ambroise

Estoire de Eracles

See Eracles

Estonia, Duchy of

In the course of the Baltic Crusades of the early thirteenth century, Danish and German forces conquered the land known in the later Middle Ages as Livonia, corresponding to modern Estonia and northern Latvia. The northernmost parts of Livonia (i.e., mod. northern Estonia) became a duchy belonging to the Danish Crown until the king of Denmark sold it to the Teutonic Order in 1346.

North Estonia before the Crusades

Those areas that later came under Danish rule were the provinces of Harria, Jerwia, Revele, and Vironia (Ger. Wierland), situated on the southern coast of the Gulf of Finland. They were bounded in the east by the River Narva and Lake Peipus (mod. Peipsi Järv, Estonia, Chudskoe Ozero, Russia) and extended as far as the Baltic Sea in the west, and included the two large Baltic islands of Ösel (mod. Saaremaa) and Dagö (mod. Hiiumaa). The area consisted mainly of bogs and wetlands densely wooded with pine and birch and with rocky cliffs lining the northern shores. It was inhabited by Finno-Ugrian-speaking peoples, who were overwhelmingly pagan Estonians. Organized under leaders known as elders, these tribes took an extensive part in the trading and raiding activities that had been elements of the economy of the Baltic region since the Viking age.

The earliest, but apparently ineffective, missionary efforts by Christian powers in Estonia is reported to have come from Sigtuna in Sweden in 1120. However, it was not until sometime before 1171 that Eskil, archbishop of Lund, appointed a French monk, Fulco, as missionary bishop of Estonia, whose work was supported by letters from Pope Alexander III. In 1171/1172 Alexander permitted Fulco to be accompanied in his mission by a certain Nicholas, who seems to have been a converted Estonian living in a Norwegian monastery. It remains uncertain, however, whether Fulco and Nicholas ever reached Estonia.

Written sources mention several clashes between Estonians and Scandinavians in the last third of the twelfth century. However, reliable details of these incidents are often hard to establish. A joint Danish-Norwegian raid against Estonia may have taken place in the late 1180s. Danish sources mention a naval raid against the Estonians in 1184, and Nor-

wegian sources report a son of the Norwegian king raiding in 1185 or 1188. Swedish annals mention a pirate raid in 1187, undertaken either by Estonians or Karelians, on the merchant settlement of Sigtuna and the archiepiscopal fortress in Uppsala, during which the Swedish archbishop Stephen was supposedly killed. A late source mentions a Danish raid against Estonia by King Knud VI in 1196/1197.

The Crusader Conquest

Pope Celestine III (1191–1198) granted indulgences to crusaders who went to the eastern Baltic region. This boosted the German mission in Livonia and may have renewed a Christian interest in Estonia. The chronicler Henry of Livonia tells of an attack by Valdemar II, king of Denmark, in 1206, in response to an Estonian raid on the Danish province of Blekinge in 1203. Henry's account of the Danish expedition remains doubtful, however, since other sources state that the expedition was led by the archbishop of Lund, and at the time in question the king was known to have been waging war in northern Germany. According to Henry, the Danes arrived with a large army on Ösel and immediately erected a wooden fortress as their military base. However, they soon realized the futility of their endeavour, burnt down the fortress, and returned home. The Danish archbishop, however, proceeded to Riga. As a result of this visit, the bishop of Riga, Albert of Buxhövdn, and the Order of the Sword Brethren turned its attention to Estonia.

In 1208 the Sword Brethren waged war in the southern provinces of Estonia following unsuccessful negotiations with the Estonians; it is possible that the Danes also organized an expedition to the area around Fellin (mod. Viljandi) in 1208, perhaps as part of a joint operation with the order. During the campaign of the Sword Brethren, the pagan fortress at Odenpäh was burned down, but retaliation followed, with an attack on Livonia by a large army of united Estonian tribes. These events were the opening of a series of wars, which around 1218 resulted in the submission of the southern Estonian provinces to the Christians.

The northern parts of Estonia still resisted conversion. Strife and competition between the Christian powers aided their resistance. The Estonians often allied themselves with the Russians of Novgorod against the Livonian church; at times, however, these alliances simply seem to have been attempts to hinder simultaneous Russian and Rigan attacks on Estonia.

Danish attempts to conquer the region were buttressed by

papal letters, which in 1212 granted legatine powers to the Danish archbishop to oversee the mission in the Baltic region. In 1213 he was allowed to erect a bishopric in Sakkala and Ugaunia. In December 1215 Pope Innocent III ordered all the faithful in Denmark to go on crusade against those who persecuted the Christians in Livonia. Accordingly, Count Albert of Orlamünde, a vassal of the Danish king, in 1217 went to Livonia to support Bishop Albert of Riga in his continuing struggle to conquer the northern provinces. Pope Honorius III commuted the crusade vows of ten of Count Albert's men and allowed them to do service in Livonia instead of the Holy Land.

In June 1219 King Valdemar II of Denmark landed on the shores of northern Estonia, near Reval (mod. Tallinn). He had obtained a papal privilege recognizing him as the rightful ruler of all the lands he would conquer. The Danish crusade followed a plea for Danish assistance made to Valdemar II by Albert of Riga in 1218. A new royal fortress in Reval became the point of departure for the Danish conquest in the years following a lucky victory over the Estonians in the battle of Lyndanis (15 June 1219). Valdemar II maintained that both Estonia and Livonia had been promised to Denmark by Bishop Albert and exerted pressure on him by blockading the harbour of Lübeck, the main point of embarkation for crusaders going to Livonia. However, Albert and his allies refused to give in. Following the Danish conquest of Ösel, negotiations between Valdemar, Albert, and the Sword Brethren in 1222 made the Danish king restore Livonia to Albert, and all parties agreed on a territorial division of Estonia.

The Estonians of Ösel, however, soon revolted against the Danes, and the rebellion spread to the mainland, with the effect that all the regions conquered by the Danes except for Reval were recaptured. The Sword Brethren, nevertheless, soon suppressed the rebellion. At the same time Valdemar II was taken prisoner in Denmark by one of his North German vassals. This incident effectively brought Danish expansionist politics in the Baltic region to a halt. In 1225, perhaps at the instigation of the Sword Brethren, German vassals from Odenpäh entered Vironia and expelled the Danes from the province. The papal legate William of Modena intervened in the dispute between the Christian powers and confiscated the contested provinces of Vironia, Jerwia, Harria, and Wiek, which had all hitherto been held by the Danes. In 1226, however, Harria was returned to Danish rule. Realizing that the Danish king was occupied in northern Germany, in 1227 the

Sword Brethren were able to capture the fortress at Reval from the Danes and were subsequently given the administration of the confiscated provinces by the papal vice-legate. A new papal legate, Baldwin of Aulne, did not succeed in bringing peace to the region, and was later removed by Pope Gregory IX.

Valdemar II fought to regain the northern Estonian provinces, and through another blockade of Lübeck in 1234 and letters of complaint to Gregory IX he managed to gain the upper hand in the struggle with the Sword Brethren. The Danish cause was helped by a papal ruling of 1236 in Valdemar's favour, as well as the crushing defeat of the order by the Lithuanians at the battle of Saule (1237): the Sword Brethren suffered major losses and their surviving members were absorbed into the Teutonic Order.

North Estonia as a Danish Duchy (1238–1346)

A treaty between the Teutonic Order and the Danish king at Stensby in 1238 reestablished Danish rule over North Estonia. The Order returned the provinces of Harria, Revelle, and Vironia to Valdemar II. Jerwia was granted to the Teutonic Knights in perpetuity, on the specific condition that the order not build any fortifications there without the consent of the Danish king. Functioning as a buffer zone, Jerwia came under the temporal rule of the order, but in ecclesiastical terms it belonged to the Danish bishopric of Reval. The treaty envisaged that the Danish kings, in cooperation with the Teutonic Order, would participate in the expansion of the Christian faith. It was therefore stipulated that when the two powers together conquered land from the pagans, two-thirds should be allotted to the Danish king and one-third to the order.

The Danish possessions in Estonia became a duchy under the Crown. The Danish king's representative, the viceroy or captain of Reval (Lat. *capitaneus Revalie*) governed the lands, often in cooperation with the Council of Vassals. He was in charge of the royal fortresses and military command; he collected taxes, oversaw the mint, and exercised judicial powers. Frequent contact between the Estonian provinces and Denmark was maintained through regular visits to Denmark by the captain of Reval, the bishop of Reval, and the vassals.

Soon after the return of the Estonian provinces to the Danish king, the king enfeoffed the greater part of the land to vassals. According to a list of vassals in the royal cadastral work, the *Liber Censum Daniae* (compiled around

1240), the majority at this time were Germans. However, some Danes and a few Estonians also received fiefs. Relations between king and vassals were regulated in 1252 when vassals were granted the German feudal code, and again in 1315 with the so-called Valdemar-Erikian Feudal Code. Vassals were obliged to travel to court to do homage to the king in person on the accession of a new monarch, or when a new vassal inherited a fief. The vassals had to do service in army and at court; in return they held their land as hereditary fiefs, received tithes from their fiefs, and had full jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases in the first instance. They also came to enjoy great political influence through the Council of Vassals.

The bishop of Reval was a suffragan of the Danish archbishop of Lund. Unlike other bishops in the eastern Baltic region, he had no territorial powers. The kings of Denmark initially claimed the right to appoint the bishop, and this procedure, although in direct violation of canon law, was allowed to continue for long periods during the Danish administration, thus strengthening the king's hold over the provinces. An ecclesiastical organization was set up during the thirteenth century, as the land was divided into parishes where the building of churches soon began. Religious orders, including Dominicans and Cistercians, established houses in Reval and in the surrounding countryside.

The towns in Estonia served as centers of trade and administration. During the Sword Brethren's rule of Reval, the trading community there was expanded by the settlement of merchants from Gotland who were invited in by the order in 1230. In 1248 the Danish king granted Reval the town law code of Lübeck, presumably in order to further the town's ties with the Hanseatic merchants. The same law code was later also granted to the other two towns in the Danish lands, Wesenberg in 1302 and Narva in 1345. German merchants settled in Reval, and the town became an important port of transit on the Hanseatic trade route from Novgorod to the West. All three towns in Estonia included a royal fortress under the command of a royal bailiff (Lat. *advocatus*).

The popes were keen to ensure the expansion and safeguarding of Latin Christendom against the Orthodox faith. Letters from both Gregory IX (1240) and Innocent IV (1245) authorized crusades in defence of the neophytes (converts) in Estonia, who were reportedly threatened by nearby barbarians and idolaters. These letters offered participants an indulgence equivalent to that offered to crusaders going to

Eugenius III, Pope (d. 1153)

the Holy Land. In 1245 King Erik IV of Denmark planned an expedition against the pagans and received not only papal authorization for this project, but also financial support in the form of part of the tithe collected in the church province of Lund; nothing, however, came of this. Yet Danish military forces, including vassals from the Estonian provinces, several times engaged in warfare against the Russians or the pagan peoples of the region, often in cooperation with the Teutonic Order.

On St. George's day (23 April) 1343 the peasants of Harria rose up in rebellion against their foreign masters. The Danish hold over the Estonian provinces had been weakened by an interregnum of several years in Denmark (1332–1340), and there were already plans to sell off the duchy. The position of King Valdemar IV had been further undermined by the abduction of the captain of Reval by the Teutonic Order earlier in 1343. The Teutonic Knights in Livonia intervened, but the rebellion spread, and it was finally put down only in early 1345. Unable to secure his Estonian lands and in need of resources and allies to gain control of his Danish lands, Valdemar IV sold the Estonian provinces to the Teutonic Order in 1346.

The former Danish possessions in Estonia at first came under the formal rule of the grand master of the Teutonic Order, based in Prussia. In 1347 the grand master transferred the governance of the two provinces to the master of the Livonian branch of the order, under whose rule they remained until its secularization in 1561–1562.

—*Iben Fonnesberg Schmidt*
Torben K. Nielsen

See also: Baltic Crusades; Castles: The Baltic Region;
Denmark; Livonia

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Euboea

See Negroponte

Eudes of Burgundy

See Odo of Burgundy

Eudes of Châteauroux

See Odo of Châteauroux

Eudes de Deuil

See Odo of Deuil

Eugenius III, Pope (d. 1153)

Pope (1145–1153), who summoned the Second Crusade (1147–1149) in response to the fall of Edessa to the Muslim leader Zangī in 1144.

Born into the noble Pignatelli family of Pisa, he received the name Bernard either at baptism or when he joined the religious life. He began his ecclesiastical career as a canon of the cathedral of Pisa, but in 1135, impressed by Bernard of Clairvaux's charisma and piety, he joined the Cistercian

Order. Soon afterward he became abbot of Tre Fontane in Rome when that ancient abbey was reformed by the Cistercians. He was elected pope on 15 February 1145, immediately following the death of Lucius II, but had to flee Rome, along with the cardinals who had elected him, because of the formation of an antipapal commune. While in exile in Vetralla, Eugenius urged King Louis VII and the nobles of France to fight off the Muslim attack on Edessa in the bull *Quantum predecessores* (1 December 1145), although some historians suggest that Louis VII had developed plans for a crusade before this. In the bull, subsequently reissued on 1 March 1146 with slight changes, Eugenius made clear that the crusading indulgence granted remission of divine punishment for sin, rather than only remission of ecclesiastical discipline imposed by the church through confession, thus clarifying the ambiguous first crusading dispensation of Pope Urban II.

The crusade gained increased attention after Easter 1146, when Eugenius commissioned Bernard of Clairvaux to preach it. The pope himself traveled to France to promote the crusade in the following year, issuing *Divini dispensatione* (II), in which, under the influence of Bernard, he proclaimed an attack on the Wends to be part of the crusade and welcomed the participation of the king of Germany, Conrad III. On his own initiative, Eugenius also included the reconquest of Spain in the crusade, particularly urging a campaign against Tortosa and Tarragona. Once the news of the failure of the crusade in Outremer reached Europe, Eugenius acknowledged the magnitude of the defeat and resisted calls to summon a new crusade. He returned to Rome in 1149 with the help of King Roger II of Sicily but was soon forced by Roman politics to flee again. With the aid of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, he regained the city in 1153. He died at Tivoli on 8 July of the same year.

—Christopher MacEvitt

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Eugenius IV (1431–1447)

Pope (1431–1447), original name Gabriel Condulmaro.

Born in Venice in 1383, Gabriel became pope in succession to Martin V. He continued ecumenical negotiations with the Byzantines, even agreeing to hold a council in Constantinople. He brought Emperor John V Palaiologos, along with the patriarch of Constantinople and 700 of their supporters, to Ferrara for an ecumenical council beginning 8 January 1438. However, the expense of hosting his Byzantine guests, plus a revolt in Rome, nearly bankrupted him. On 10 January 1439 the council moved to Florence, and on 6 July the union of the Latin and Greek Orthodox churches was proclaimed, followed soon after by similar agreements with the Armenians, Nestorians, and Maronites of Cyprus. The Byzantine reward for the union was help to defend Constantinople, but the crusade of 1444, after a few successes, was defeated at Varna in Bulgaria and did little to protect the empire. Simultaneously, Eugenius was struggling with the Council of Basel, a majority of whose members refused to join the Council of Ferrara-Florence. They deposed him on 25 June 1439, electing Felix V as antipope, which lost the council much of its support. Eugenius continued his policies with widespread support, dying on 23 February 1447.

—Christopher MacEvitt

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Eustace I Granarius (d. 1123)

A leading member of the nobility of Jerusalem and regent of the kingdom for the captive King Baldwin II in 1123.

A knight from the diocese of Thérouanne, Eustace rose to

Eustace III of Boulogne (d. 1125)



Crusade-period ramparts of Caesarea, the lordship of Eustace I Granarius. (Library of Congress)

prominence as the leading vassal of Baldwin I of Jerusalem (1100–1118), who by 1110 had enfeoffed him with the coastal lordships of Sidon (mod. Saïda, Lebanon) and Caesarea (mod. Har Qesari, Israel). During the reign of Baldwin II (1118–1131), Eustace was elected as constable and regent of the kingdom when the king was captured by the Turks of northern Syria, but died after less than three months in this office (15 June 1123). Eustace's major lordships passed to his sons Eustace II, who received Sidon, and Walter, who received Caesarea. His widow later married Hugh, count of Jaffa.

—Alan V. Murray

See also: Caesarea (Maritima); First Crusade (1096–1099); Jerusalem, (Latin) Kingdom of

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Eustace III of Boulogne (d. 1125)

Count of Boulogne (c. 1089–1125) and participant in the First Crusade (1096–1099).

Eustace was the eldest son of Eustace II, count of Boulogne, and Ida of Bouillon. He succeeded to his father's county of Boulogne in northern France; his younger brothers, Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin, were to become the first two Frankish rulers of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

Eustace led a contingent of his own in the First Crusade, although it is unclear from the conflicting accounts in the sources whether he traveled to Constantinople with his brothers or with Robert Curthose of Normandy and Robert

II of Flanders. However, thereafter he and Godfrey often campaigned together. At the siege of Nicaea (mod. İznik, Turkey), Eustace helped lead the initial crusader attack, and he aided in the rescue of Bohemund of Taranto's beleaguered troops at the battle of Dorylaion (July 1097). At Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey), he and Godfrey defeated an ambush early in the siege. Later, Eustace, Robert of Normandy, and Adhemar of Le Puy defended the crusader camp while the other leaders attacked the Turkish reinforcements. In the final assault on the city, Eustace led one of the crusader divisions. He participated in the Council of Princes that sought to resolve the conflict between Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Bohemund (November 1098). Shortly thereafter, he assisted Raymond in sacking Ma'arrat an-Nu'man (December 1098).

In July 1099 Eustace and Tancred successfully raided Nablus. Eustace gained great fame at the capture of Jerusalem (15 July): it was he, Godfrey, and their men who breached the walls of the city while the other crusaders despaired of victory. Shortly after Godfrey's election, Eustace and Tancred received the surrender of Nablus, and on their return they took an Egyptian scouting party by surprise. At the battle of Ascalon (12 August 1099), Eustace commanded one of the crusader divisions.

Eustace returned home a few months later. On Godfrey's death, Baldwin I became king of Jerusalem, and when he died in 1118 Eustace was elected as his successor by a group of the magnates of the kingdom. Eustace set off for the Holy Land, but upon his arrival in Apulia a few weeks later, he learned that Baldwin II (of Bourcq) had been crowned king. Without attempting to contest this second election, Eustace returned to Boulogne. Twelfth-century histories and the early crusade epics depict Eustace III as one of the campaign's heroes. In his epitaph, written at Cluny, he is called "the captor of Jerusalem and the dread of the Eastern empires."

—Heather J. Tanner

See also: First Crusade (1096–1099)

Murray, Alan V., *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Dynastic History, 1099–1125* (Oxford: Prosopographica et Genealogica, 2000).

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Evremar of Chocques (d. 1128/1129)

Latin patriarch of Jerusalem (1102–1106/1108) and archbishop of Caesarea (1108–1128/1129).

Evremar came from Chocques in Flanders, and, like the first Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, Arnulf of Chocques, started his ecclesiastical career as a priest under the tutelage of the prospective bishop of Arras, Lambert of Guines, in the see of Thérouanne after 1068. From the Holy Land, Evremar stayed in touch with his former bishop. According to the chronicler William of Tyre, he reached Palestine together with Robert II, count of Flanders, during the First Crusade (1096–1099).

Largely at the instigation of King Baldwin I of Jerusalem and the papal legate Robert of St. Eusebio, Evremar was chosen to succeed Daibert of Pisa as patriarch in October 1102. He had a reputation for piety and charity, and was considered worthy enough to carry the True Cross when the Jerusalem army fought the Egyptians at the third battle of Ramla in August 1105. He supported the transformation of the Greek Orthodox monastery on Mount Tabor into a Benedictine house (abbey of the Savior) and the foundation of a confraternity in the ruins of the derelict house of Our Lady of Jehosaphat in Jerusalem. Considering these activities, the opinion of Guibert of Nogent that Evremar of Chocques was simple and illiterate can no longer be taken at face value. Because of Evremar's quarrels with King Baldwin I of Jerusalem concerning the foundation of a see in Bethlehem after spring 1106, the king requested his deposition from Pope Paschal II. The pope's legate, Gibelin of Arles, eventually ruled Evremar's election invalid at a church council in Jerusalem in spring 1108. Evremar was transferred to the see of Caesarea (mod. Har Qesari, Israel), where he served as archbishop until his death, which occurred between 25 December 1128 and 31 August 1129.

—Klaus-Peter Kirstein

See also: Caesarea (Maritima); Jerusalem, Latin Patriarchate of

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Excidium Acconis

A contemporary Latin account of the fall of the city of Acre (mod. ‘Akko, Israel) to the Mamlūks in April–May 1291.

The anonymous author, who was not present at the siege, used eyewitness reports to write his description around the end of 1291. In matter-of-fact style, he conveys the dramatic

impact of the loss of the Franks’ last territorial possession in Outremer and conveys much useful information. The *Excidium* may be used with *Thaddeus of Naples* and the *Templar of Tyre* to reconstruct the events of the siege. The *Excidium* was translated into Old French relatively early in two independent versions, neither of which is available in a modern edition or translation. Four manuscripts of the Latin *Excidium* are extant, dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the best of which is MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat.14379.

–Susan Edgington

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De expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum expeditione

See *Libellus de expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum expeditione*

F

Famagusta

A port in eastern Cyprus. Famagusta (mod. Ammochostos), inhabited by a Greek population, was conquered in 1191 by King Richard I of England in the course of the Third Crusade (1189–1192). After a brief period of rule by the Templars, it became part of the newly founded Frankish kingdom of Cyprus.

The rise of Famagusta into the major city, port, and trading center of the island began in the 1260s. This development was closely connected with the massive arrival of Frankish, Syrian, and Armenian refugees from the ports of Outremer as they were gradually lost to the Muslims. The large number of Arabic-speaking Syrians subject to the king gave rise to the appointment of a *raʿīs* (president of the court) to deal with their judicial matters. The concentration of Frankish refugees accounts for the choice of Famagusta as the coronation venue of the Cypriot rulers as kings of Jerusalem after 1291. The ethnic variety within the city's population persisted in the following centuries.

Famagusta remained under direct royal rule. There is no evidence that it ever obtained municipal franchises. Genoa, Pisa, and Venice were granted commercial privileges in Cyprus, yet no quarters in the city, which was thus spared the political and territorial fragmentation found in several Levantine ports. The growing economic role of Famagusta, boosted by the fall of Outremer to the Mamlūks in 1291, also attracted settlers from the West. It prompted the Western maritime powers to transfer their main representatives in Cyprus to the city within the following decade. Around 1300 the nationals of the maritime powers formed sizeable

communities, the growth of which was furthered by the naturalization of foreigners.

Famagusta's commercial role underwent changes closely connected with political and economic developments in the Mediterranean. The city became a major transit station between the West and Egypt after Pope Nicholas IV decreed an embargo on trade with the Mamlūk territories in 1291. Its importance declined somewhat with the resumption of direct Western links with these territories in 1345, and it also lost much traffic during the Genoese occupation of the city from 1374 to 1464. The period of direct Venetian rule (1489–1571) witnessed a moderate growth of the economy and an increase in population. Famagusta was captured by the Ottoman Turks in 1571.

—David Jacoby

See also: Cyprus; Economy of the Levant

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Fāṭimids

An Arab dynasty that ruled Egypt from 969 to 1171. The Fāṭimids belonged to the Ismāʿīlī branch of Shīʿite Islam, which recognized the descendants of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, the two sons of Prophet Muḥammad’s daughter Fāṭima and ʿAlī, the fourth caliph, as the legitimate rulers of the Muslim community. By the mid-ninth century, the Ismāʿīlis were engaged in subversive and revolutionary activities against the ʿAbbāsīd caliphs of Baghdad. In 909, the establishment of a Fāṭimid state in Tunisia caused a rupture in the Ismāʿīlī movement, when the Carmathians of Bahrayn opposed the Fāṭimid claim to be the imāms, that is, divinely chosen and rightly guided rulers of Islam.

The Fāṭimids ruled Tunisia and Sicily until 973, when they transferred their state to Egypt, following the conquest of that country by their general Jawhar in 969. The North African phase of the Fāṭimid state was marked by the establishment of two new capital cities: Mahdiya (mod. al-Mahdiyya, Tunisia), built in 916–921, and al-Ṣabra or al-Manṣūriyya (near mod. Kairouan, Tunisia), begun in 946, and occupied until 1053. Mahdiya was erected on a peninsula on the coast of Tunisia and marked the Fāṭimid state’s Mediterranean orientation, both with its deep involvement in trade with Muslim Spain, Italy (especially Amalfi), and Byzantium, and with its naval activities against them. The Fāṭimids also maintained a network of commercial relations with sub-Saharan Africa, where they procured gold and black slaves.

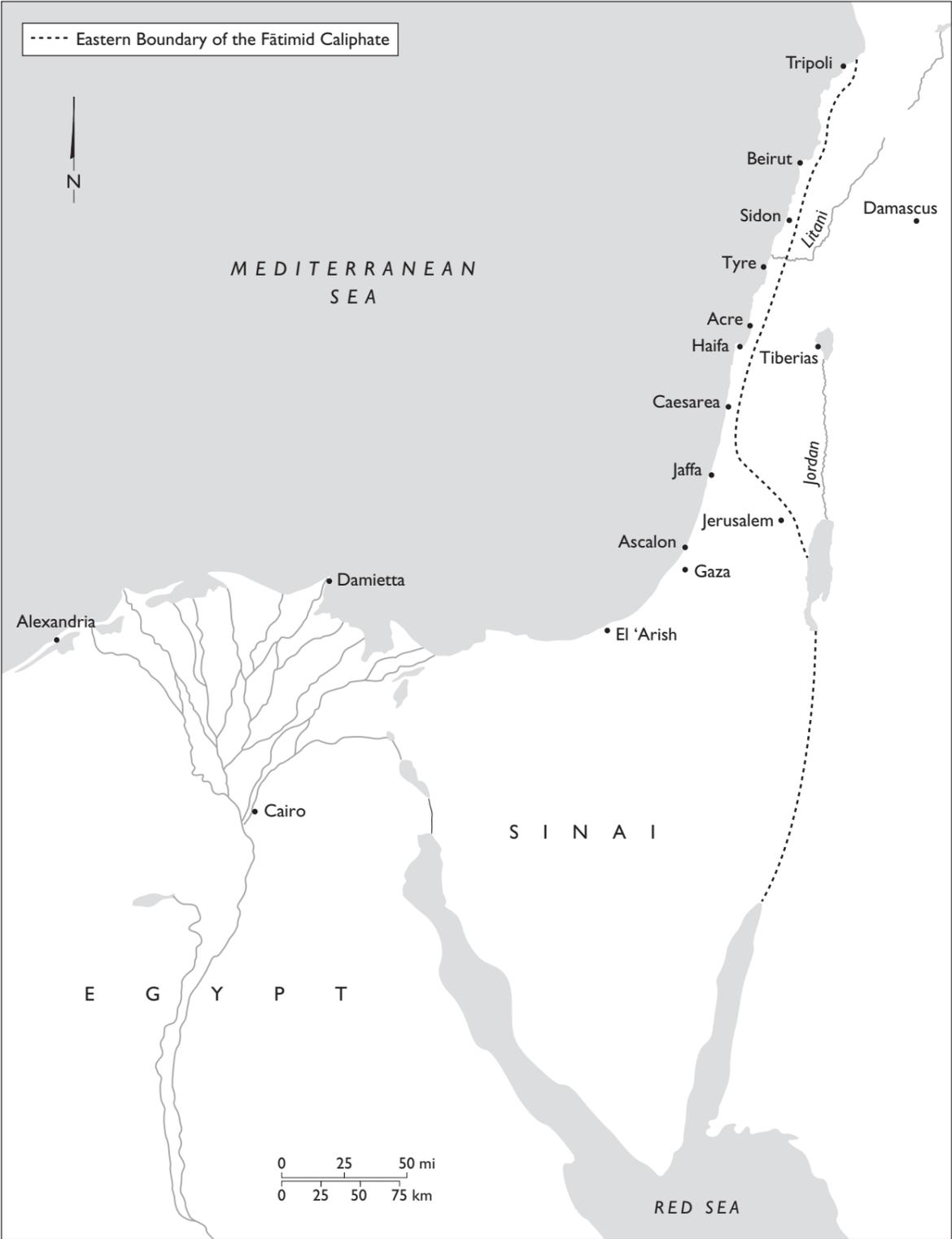
The Fāṭimid efforts to conquer Egypt were inspired not only by their difficulties in ruling North Africa (exemplified by the rebellion of Abū Yazīd in 944–947, which posed a serious challenge to the Fāṭimid rule) but mainly by their desire to reach Baghdad and supplant the ʿAbbāsīd caliphs. The conquest of Egypt in 969 was achieved after some initial failures, and the Near Eastern phase in the history of the Fāṭimid state began. Immediately after the conquest of Egypt, the Fāṭimids invaded Palestine and Syria, but their dream of

reaching Baghdad never materialized and their always precarious hold over Damascus and Palestine collapsed in the second half of the eleventh century with the arrival of the Turkish Saljūqs.

The impact of Fāṭimid rule on Egypt was manifold and outlived the Fāṭimids in two areas. The establishment of Cairo proved to be a great success. The town became the seat of the Fāṭimid rulers, a religious and cultural center and magnet for local and foreign merchants. During Fāṭimid rule in Egypt, a commercial network that connected India and the Mediterranean emerged, and it lasted well into the late Middle Ages, declining only during the Ottoman period. The trade of Egypt flourished, with merchants from the Muslim areas of the Mediterranean (Spain, North Africa, and Sicily), Italy, and Byzantium visiting Alexandria and Cairo in pursuit of spices and goods from India and the East Indies.

The majority of the Egyptian population were Sunnī Muslims, with minorities of Christians and Jews. The number of Shīʿites was small. The Fāṭimid regime depended largely on its control of the army, which was mostly made up of non-Egyptian elements. Although the Fāṭimid caliph was nominally the head of state, from the second half of the eleventh century the actual control of government was usually in the hands of a vizier. The Fāṭimids used missionaries outside the empire to spread Shīʿite doctrines, especially among the urban populations of Saljūq-controlled Syria, but there was no attempt to spread Shīʿism within Egypt, as this would have aroused antagonism within the majority Sunnī population.

The Fāṭimids misunderstood the intentions of the First Crusade (1096–1099) and initially tried to form an alliance with the crusaders for cooperation against the Saljūqs, who supported the rival ʿAbbāsīd caliphate. As it was the Saljūq territories that came under attack first, the Fāṭimids were able to take the opportunity to seize the city of Jerusalem from Saljūq control (June 1099). However, they were slow to recognize that Jerusalem itself was the main goal of the crusade, and their relieving army arrived too late to prevent the fall of the city to the crusaders (15 July 1099). The Fāṭimid army that camped around Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel) suffered a humiliating defeat by the crusaders at the battle of Ascalon (12 August 1099), allowing the crusaders to consolidate the territorial achievements up to that point. During the first decade of the twelfth century, the Fāṭimids lost the towns of Arsuf, Haifa, Beirut, Sidon, and Tripoli to the Franks of Jerusalem and Tripoli. The Fāṭimid land and



The Fāṭimid Caliphate in 1099

naval efforts were uncoordinated and their armies hesitant and unable to mount a serious military challenge to the Franks. The fall of Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon) in 1124 came about as the result of lack of cooperation between the Fāṭimids and the rulers of Damascus, while a contributory factor to the fall of Ascalon in 1153 was a coup that took place in Cairo while the Franks were besieging the town.

An examination of the battles that took place between the Fāṭimids and the Franks shows that the Fāṭimids failed militarily because their army collapsed in crucial battles fought in Palestine (1099, 1105, and 1123), due to a lack of cooperation between the cavalry and the infantry. This reflected a sociomilitary problem deriving from the inherent weakness of Muslim multi-ethnic armies. Traditionally, the Fāṭimid army was a multi-ethnic force dominated by a very large component of black slave infantry with a much smaller, but ethnically diverse, cavalry element. In the mid-eleventh century, the strength of the Fāṭimid army was probably over 100,000 soldiers, but the numbers dwindled from that point, and during the 1060s, the army consisted of only 40,000 African infantry and over 10,000 cavalry. The Fāṭimid multi-ethnic army was very difficult to handle on the battlefield, since such a heterogeneous force was ridden with ethnic animosities, exacerbated by the different status of freeborn troops and military slaves (Arab. *mamlūks*).

On three occasions (at Ramla in 1105, Ibelin in 1123, and Ascalon in 1153), the navy performed better than the army, but the navy on its own, without the support of the army, achieved nothing. The small Fāṭimid navy was vastly outnumbered by the European fleets that operated in the eastern Mediterranean in support of the crusades, and its ability to ship supplies and reinforcements was limited. For this reason the Fāṭimids were very hesitant about committing their navy to the support of coastal towns that were besieged

by the Franks and large European naval forces, as happened at Acre in 1104, Tripoli in 1109, and Tyre in 1124. In any case, naval battles were quite rare events, and only in the summer of 1123, off the south Palestinian coast, was the Fāṭimid navy involved in a disastrous naval battle with a Venetian fleet. Naval raids were more common, but the shipping lanes used by the European fleets on their way to the Levant were beyond the range of Fāṭimid warships operating from the Egyptian ports of Alexandria and Damietta. The Fāṭimid naval failure was a result of European naval superiority combined with geographical and naval factors characteristic of the eastern Mediterranean.

During the 1160s, the Fāṭimids became entangled in the conflict between Nūr al-Dīn, the ruler of Muslim Syria, and the Franks. Shāwar, an ousted Fāṭimid vizier, managed to involve both Nūr al-Dīn and the king of Jerusalem in the internal affairs of the Fāṭimid state. Each power coveted Egypt and was ready to do anything to prevent its rival from gaining control of Egypt. Politically the Fāṭimid state was weak and divided, and the Fāṭimid army was not a match either for the Franks or the forces of Nūr al-Dīn. In economic terms, Egypt was a valuable prize with its rich agricultural output and flourishing long-distance international trade. The Franks were well informed about Egypt's agricultural potential, and are known to have possessed a list of Egyptian villages and the incomes derived from them. The participation of Italian maritime republics in the crusades also posed a serious dilemma for the Fāṭimids, since the Italians stimulated trade with India because of their demand for spices and their presence in Egypt was crucial to maintain the momentum of this trade. Egypt was also dependent on its Mediterranean partners for supplies of timber, iron, and pitch. The Fāṭimids, like Saladin later on, continued to maintain commercial relations with the Europeans and allowed the presence of Italian and Byzantine merchants in their ports in spite of the wars of the crusades.

Between 1164 and 1171, the armies of Nūr al-Dīn and the kingdom of Jerusalem fought their wars on Egyptian soil with the Fāṭimids being unable to influence the course of events. Eventually, the Franks withdrew from Egypt, and Egypt came under the control of Nūr al-Dīn's general Shirkuh. On Shirkuh's death his nephew Saladin succeeded him as vizier. The Fāṭimid regime had failed to strike deep roots among the Muslim population of the country during the two centuries of its rule in Egypt, and it was overthrown by Saladin with ease. He broke up the Fāṭimid army and on the death of the

Fāṭimid Caliphs in the Period of the Crusades

al-Musta'ī	1094–1101
al-Āmir	1101–1130
Interregnum	1130–1131
al-Ḥāfiẓ	1131–1149
al-Ẓafir	1149–1154
al-Fā'iz	1154–1160
al-'Ādid	1160–1171

caliph al-ʿĀḍid (1171) recognized the religious authority of the ʿAbbāsid caliph in Baghdad, which effectively ended Fāṭimid rule. From the Franks' point of view, the rise of Saladin meant a change for the worst and, under Saladin's rule, Egypt became fully integrated in the Muslim wars against the Franks; the Fāṭimids had lacked any real zeal or motivation in their military efforts against the kingdom of Jerusalem.

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Fellin

Fellin (mod. Viljandi, Estonia) was a castle with an adjoining small town in Livonia, constructed on the site of an Eston-

ian hill fort. It was located at the point where the medieval waterway from Pernau (mod. Pärnu) via Dorpat (mod. Tartu) to Pskov was crossed by the road from north to south.

First besieged by the crusaders in 1211, during the subjection of the province of Sakkala (1217), Fellin developed into a center of crusader power, with improved fortifications and a church. The castle was briefly taken by an Estonian uprising, but was finally subjected to the Order of the Sword Brethren in 1223. Fellin later became a commandery of the Teutonic Order. It was regarded as one of the best-equipped and strongest castles in Livonia and housed the treasury of the Livonian branch of the order. In 1560 Fellin was conquered by Muscovite troops. In the following wars between Sweden, Poland, and Muscovy, the castle was ruined, and it lost its military importance by the beginning of the seventeenth century.

—Juhan Kreem

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Fellin, Battle of (1217)

The greatest battle between the pagan Estonians and the crusaders during the conquest of Estonia, fought near Fellin (mod. Viljandi, Estonia).

In the spring of 1217 an army of crusaders arrived in Livonia led by a vassal of the Danish king, Albert of Orlamünde, count of Holstein. At the same time, on the initiative of Lembitu, the prominent Estonian leader from the district of Sakkala, an army was gathered from almost all regions of Estonia. In September the Estonians waited for a Russian auxiliary army from Novgorod that failed to arrive. Against them assembled an army consisting of crusaders, Livs, Lettgallians, and members of the Order of the Sword Brethren under the leadership of Count Albert and Volkwin, master of the order.

Ferdinand II of Aragon (1452–1516) and Isabella I of Castile (1451–1504)

The two armies met on 21 September (St. Matthew's Day, after which the battle is also sometimes named) north of Fellin; the exact place of the battle is unknown. The Germans, who were positioned in the middle of the battle line, broke through the main unit of the Estonians, and then the Livs and Lettgallians on the wings forced Estonians to flee. Many of the Estonian leaders were killed, among them Lembitu. Caupo, the Christian leader of the Livs, also died. According to the chronicle of Henry of Livonia and the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, 6,000 Estonians and 3,000 Christians took part, and some 1,000 or 1,400 Estonians were killed. After the battle, the district of Sakkala accepted the crusaders' peace terms.

–*Anti Selart*

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Ferdinand II of Aragon (1452–1516) and Isabella I of Castile (1451–1504)

Ferdinand II, king of Aragon (1479–1516), and Isabella I, queen of Castile (1474–1504), became through marriage joint rulers of the central and eastern kingdoms of Spain. The two sovereigns were granted the title of “Catholic Monarchs,” or literally “Catholic Kings” (Sp. *Reyes Católicos*) by Pope Alexander VI in 1496 as a reward for their extension of the Christian faith, especially for their conquest of the last Muslim enclave in the Iberian Peninsula, the Naşrid kingdom of Granada.

Ferdinand and Isabella were married in 1469. After the struggle over the Castilian throne following the death of Henry IV was decided in favor of Isabella in 1474, she and her husband started preparations for a campaign that would wipe out the Muslim presence in the peninsula. Their main concern was to find ways of financing the war. As early as September 1477, they approached Pope Sixtus IV, and in November 1479 they obtained a first crusading bull, which was limited to the granting of a plenary indulgence to those participating in the war. Further negotiations produced a new and far more generous bull in August 1482, which followed a previous agreement in June 1482 on the division of crusade revenues between the pope, who was to attack the Turks, and the monarchs of Castile and Aragon. The accord and the sub-

sequent bull came after the first serious clashes between Christians and Muslims had already taken place. In December 1481 the frontier castle of Zahara was stormed by Moorish contingents. There was a swift Christian response. At the end of February 1482 the fortress of Alhama to the southwest of the city of Granada was taken. Ferdinand and Isabella exploited civil strife in Granada between King Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī and his son Muḥammad Abū 'Abd Allah (Muḥammad XII, known to the Christians as Boabdil), and later between the former's brother al-Zaghal and Muḥammad.

After severe setbacks at Loja and La Ajarquía in the winter 1482–1483, Ferdinand and Isabella managed to capture Muḥammad XII at the battle of Lucena in April 1483. Cunningly they set him free to foment disunion in the Granadan court, while they put pressure on Muslim fortresses in the western part of the Naşrid kingdom; Alora was taken in June 1484, while Ronda and its encircling mountain range (the Serranía) fell in 1485. Pope Innocent VIII renewed his predecessor's bull in January 1485; in August of that year he renounced his third of the crusade revenues in favor of the Crown, and later he extended the preaching of the crusade to other Iberian kingdoms. Increasing revenues made the war of attrition against the Muslims possible. As Castilian pressure grew tighter and the economic basis of the Naşrid kingdom feebler, the crisis within the Granadan court reached higher levels. Al-Zaghal rose to prominence, and Muḥammad XII had to take refuge in Christian Córdoba, where Ferdinand and Isabella offered him support to reorganize his party.

Meanwhile, the slow Christian advance proceeded. Loja was taken in May 1486, and the city of Málaga a year later. Among the participants in the campaign of the year 1486 were Edward Woodville, Lord Scales, with 300 English knights, showing the extent and success of crusade preaching outside the Iberian Peninsula. The fall of Málaga meant the final loss of the western section of the Naşrid kingdom; its eastern part was attacked from 1488 onward. In December 1489 Al-Zaghal surrendered and ceded Baza and Almería to the Christians. Only the central part of the Naşrid kingdom around the city of Granada remained in Muslim hands. In November 1491, Muḥammad XII was forced to capitulate, and in January 1492 Ferdinand and Isabella entered Granada. The initially tolerant treatment of the vanquished population by Hernando de Talavera, the first archbishop of Granada, was followed by the uncompromising attitude of Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, archbishop of Toledo, who

took responsibility for conversions in 1499. Harsh measures led to a Muslim revolt in 1500, which was suppressed in May 1501, and the archbishop forced the conversion or expulsion on the Granadan Muslims. That alternative was extended to all Castilian Muslims in 1502 and to the Muslims of other Iberian kingdoms in 1522, thus bringing about an acute Morisco problem until this minority of converts was expelled in 1609. Before and after Isabella's death (1504), crusader activities were extended to the North African coast (Melilla and Alcazarquivir among other points). Aragonese Mediterranean interests promoted these efforts to control both sides of the straits.

The use of the crusade by the Catholic Monarchs to promote territorial expansion over the last Muslim Iberian territories showed how contemporary monarchies used prestigious medieval institutions to foster their own policies. Castilian military orders, which had experienced monarchical encroachment since the fourteenth century, were finally brought under the direct authority of the Crown by the Catholic Monarchs. The orders of Santiago, Calatrava, and Alcántara began to be ruled by the monarchs, first as temporal and later as perpetual administrators.

—Luis Garcia-Guijarro Ramos

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Ferdinand III of Castile and León (1201–1252)

King of Castile (1217–1252) and León (1230–1252). Ferdinand III inherited the kingdom of Castile on the abdication of his mother, Queen Berenguela, daughter of King Alfonso VIII of Castile. In 1230 he succeeded his father, Alfonso IX, in the kingdom of León. From this point on both kingdoms remained united.

King Ferdinand is associated with the culmination of the offensive of Christian Spain against Islam. His plan for the reconquest of the country adopted the form of a crusade, thanks to the support of the papacy. However, from this time the crusade in the Iberian Peninsula developed specific characteristics that transformed it into a further expression of the strength of the royal power. The Christian offensive was aided by the increasing disintegration of the Almohad Empire, which gave rise to a fragmentation and weakening of political power among the Muslims of the peninsula. Its principal successes were the conquest of Córdoba (1236), Murcia (1243), Jaén (1246), and, finally, Seville (1248). As a consequence, al-Andalus was reduced to one independent kingdom, Granada, and two small protectorates, Niebla and Murcia. These three states were made subject to Castile, obliged to make tribute payments (*Sp. parias*). Military successes brought considerable territorial gains: the ancient kingdoms of Castile and León, amounting to some 250,000 square kilometers (96,500 sq. mi.), increased by a third with the incorporation of Andalusia and Murcia, some 100,000 square kilometers (38,600 sq. mi.).

This new situation permitted the kingdom of Castile and León to consolidate its power throughout the entire peninsula, and allowed Ferdinand III to establish the basis for a solid monarchy. The foundations on which this monarchy rested were of an extremely diverse nature, but four main elements can be distinguished: the unification of laws throughout its territory, submission to the church, an alliance with the nobility, and unequivocal support for the military orders. Ferdinand III extended the frontier law peculiar to the *fuero* (foundation privilege) of Cuenca to numerous towns and cities that had been recently incorporated; he revived the Visigothic law, or *Fuero Juzgo*, which held the authority of the king in the highest esteem; he was also responsible for the creation of a common judicial corpus for the whole kingdom, which was implemented by his son Alfonso X. The king also contributed decisively to increasing the power of the church: the offensives of the reconquest were accompanied by numerous restorations of old diocesan churches, which received generous grants; in return, the monarch demanded loyalty and submission from his bishops. The king was also generous in his treatment of the noble lineages; thanks to the victorious war against Islam, they experienced an increase in their patrimonial fortunes, and consequently few conflicts between Crown and nobility occurred during his reign. Finally, Ferdinand III

Fernández de Heredia, Juan (d. 1396)

gave strong support to the military orders, granting them extensive estates in the region between the River Tagus and the Sierra Morena; in return the orders provided efficient military collaboration, and they colonized the territory by means of a profitable livestock economy. Ferdinand III was canonized by the church during the Counter-Reformation of the seventeenth century. He was succeeded by his son Alfonso X.

—Carlos de Ayala

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Fernández de Heredia, Juan (d. 1396)

Juan Fernández de Heredia was an important religious, political, and cultural figure in Aragon and in the Roman Catholic Church during the fourteenth century.

Born around 1308 in the region of Albarracín into a family of the lesser nobility, he had joined the Order of the Hospital by 1326. In the following years, he held administrative responsibilities for the order in southern Aragon as lieutenant commander of Villel (1329) and commander of Alfambra (1334). He had probably become acquainted with King Peter IV of Aragon before Peter ascended the throne in 1336, because Fernández de Heredia was soon acting as counselor to the new monarch. Royal patronage saw him appointed in 1346 to the castellany of Amposta (the official name of the Hospitaller priory of Aragon), and soon he was able to show his allegiance to the king in the revolt of the *Uniones* (noble fraternities established to defend aristocratic privileges). The compilation of the six-volume Great Cartulary of Amposta was a test of his abilities as an efficient administrator of the Hospitaller domains in the castellany. In the early 1350s, he extended his range of activities to the papal court in Avignon where he became the assistant to several popes, who in return granted him posts and privileges. When the Hospitaller master died at Rhodes in 1377, Pope Gregory XI appointed Fernández de Heredia to this post; he was the first non-French Hospitaller to attain the mastership.

Fernández de Heredia went to Rhodes in 1379 and remained in the East for three years, where he found the closed atmosphere of the central convent less congenial

than Avignon. He returned to the papal court in southern France in 1382 and remained there until his death in 1396. Fernández de Heredia never lost interest in Aragon, where he managed to promote his own family to the highest social ranks, perhaps his main interest in life, above the order or the Aragonese monarchy. His translations of historical works, especially those relating to Greek history, helped to give literary standing to the Aragonese language.

—Luis Garcia-Guijarro Ramos

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Fidenzio of Padua

A Franciscan friar and author of a crusade treatise entitled *Liber recuperationis Terre Sancte*.

Fidenzio was born around 1230 in the area of Padua in northern Italy. By 1266 he was the vicar general of the Franciscan province of the Holy Land. After the conquest of the Templar fortress of Saphet in Galilee by the Mamlüks, he settled at Tripoli (mod. Trâblous, Lebanon). When news of the fall of Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) reached him there in 1268, he dedicated himself to the rescue of Christian prisoners. In 1274, Fidenzio attended the Second Council of Lyons, where plans for a new crusade were discussed. Commissioned by Pope Gregory X to write a report on the reconquest of the Holy Land, Fidenzio returned to Tripoli. When the Mamlüks conquered the city in 1289, he again became active in the liberation of prisoners.

Fidenzio completed the *Liber recuperationis Terre Sancte* at the beginning of 1291 and presented it to Pope Nicholas IV. It is divided into two main parts. The first part is a his-

torical dissertation that, according to scholarly traditions prevailing at Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), adopted a cyclical approach to history deriving from the seven days of Creation; six of these represented the periods of the past, while the seventh looked to the future, to say that the Holy Land would belong to the Christians. The account of the fifth period contains a critical analysis of the period of Frankish domination, insisting that by their faults, the Franks lost the Holy Land. One chapter is dedicated to an adverse biography of the prophet Muḥammad, followed by descriptions of the vices of the Islamic faith and the Saracens. The second part of the treatise deals with the detail of the military campaign that would be required to reconquer the Holy Land. Fidenzio insisted on the meticulous preparation of an army and navy and on the need to raise a sufficient number of fighters, who had to be united under a perfect commander. In order to assure the success of the future crusade, Fidenzio emphasized the necessity of the spiritual training and moral behavior of the crusaders.

–Aryeh Grabois

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Field of Blood

See Ager Sanguinis, Battle of

Fifth Crusade (1217–1221)

A crusade originally launched by Pope Innocent III (1198–1216), but actually implemented by his successor, Honorius III (1216–1227). Its objective was to reestablish Christian possession of Jerusalem and the interior of the Holy Land by means of an attack on Ayyūbid, Egypt, and thus to make good the failings of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), which had started with similar aims but had

been diverted to Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey). Despite the capture and temporary occupation of the port of Damietta in 1219, the crusade was obliged to withdraw from Egypt, having achieved almost nothing.

Origins

In a series of letters in April 1213, Innocent III announced his intention to summon a general council for the reform of the church and to launch a crusade. In the letter *Vineam Domini*, addressed to the hierarchy of the church and secular princes, he asked them for reports on the state of the church. In *Quia maior* he explained his plan for the crusade to all the faithful. Finally, *Pium et sanctum* was sent to those charged to preach the crusade. Clearly, Innocent wanted to allow time for recruitment and careful preparation. These steps were taken by a man who had already occupied the papal throne for fifteen years and who combined his commitment to the crusade with a strong desire to restore the unity of the various Eastern churches to Rome. He also recognized that there were serious obstacles to the achievement of that goal. His hopes for the Fourth Crusade had been frustrated by its diversion and conquest of Constantinople, which left bitterness among the Greeks and a sense of failure in the West. In all probability, the so-called Children's Crusade of 1212 was related to a continuing feeling that the leaders of society, especially in northern France and the Rhineland, had deserted their obligations in order to conquer the Byzantine Empire. Against this background of failure and frustration, Innocent launched his plan for the council and the crusade, linking the reform of the church to the crusade and thereby responding to a longtime concern that the failure of previous crusades stemmed from the corruption of Christian society.

Recruitment, Finance, and Organization

This linkage was made very clear both by the reform-minded individuals Innocent appointed to preach the crusade and the sermons that they preached. Crusade sermons were summons to the “vocation of the cross” as a pathway of salvation for the laity; they had little emphasis on the military aspect of the crusade, which was depicted often as an imitation of Christ's suffering and death, culminating in his resurrection. Those sermons that survive from the period of the Fifth Crusade are chiefly those of James of Vitry, which reflect his personal experience in the Holy Land but also emphasize the power of the cross. The connection between

Fifth Crusade (1217-1221)



Areas of campaigning during the Fifth Crusade (1217-1221)

this emphasis on personal salvation and the instructions of Innocent III is confirmed by the inclusion of the pope's letters in the *Rommendorf Letterbook*, compiled for use by the abbot of that monastery in his preaching of the crusade.

The pope's preachers were often bishops and abbots, most of whom would later participate in the Fourth Lateran Council. Some of those appointed (for example, Cardinal Robert of Courson) enjoyed the status of legate and were also charged with a mission to reform the church. The funding of the crusade was especially important, since the lack of adequate financial support had been largely responsible for the diversion of the Fourth Crusade, but this was a delicate issue, since some of the clergy had resisted a previous effort. What is evident is that *Quia maior* was not so much a crusade plan as a working paper laying out the tasks to be completed at the council in 1215. But that road itself faced various obstacles. Crusades were already under way in Livonia. The Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229), directed against Cathar heretics, was rapidly becoming a political conflict for control of southern France. The imperial title remained in dispute even after the victory of Philip II of France over Emperor Otto IV at Bouvines (1214), which benefited Otto's rival, Frederick (II) of Sicily. The bishops in France were increasingly unhappy with Robert of Courson's efforts to reform the church. These major issues would have to be dealt with at the council.

Although issues concerning the reform of the church dominated the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), the crusade occupied as much or more time. It was clear that Innocent was determined to resolve the causes of conflict in the West in order to advance his crusade agenda, but he was only partially successful. Otto IV's representatives got short shrift, as did the English barons' protest against King John, but Innocent had little success in securing agreement over southern France. His major achievements, however, were to be found in the crusade bull *Ad liberandam*, which was the most sweeping effort to date to provide focus for the crusade program. It set the date of departure for June 1217 and provided for spiritual guidance for the crusaders. It levied a new tax of 5 percent on all clerical incomes; the pope and cardinals would pay 10 percent. Members of the laity who could not afford to go on crusade could band together to support one or more crusaders. The church would take the crusaders and their properties under its protection and would exempt them from payment of interest on loans, as well as suspending collection of principal during their absence on cru-



Manuscript illustration of the taking of Damietta during the Fifth Crusade. (Archivo Iconografico, S.A./Corbis)

sade. This applied also to Jewish lenders, but there enforcement was put in secular hands, since Jews were not subject to ecclesiastical penalties. *Ad liberandam* also prohibited trade and other relations with the Muslims in the eastern Mediterranean and granted pardon for all sins that crusaders had repented of and confessed. But it dealt only with the crusade to the Holy Land. The wars against Muslims in Spain and North Africa, the crusades against heretics and pagans, and the continuing military adventures in the Byzantine East had also to be dealt with if the crusade was to stand any chance of success. Shortly after the council, the pope set out to reconcile conflicts among the Italian communes, but he died in March 1216. His successor, Honorius III, an experienced cardinal who shared his commitment to the crusade, took up the task.

King John of England had taken the cross, but he died in October 1216. King Andrew II of Hungary had been pressured to fulfill the crusade vow taken by his late father, but his commitment was in doubt. Honorius turned to the youthful German king, Frederick II, who had taken the crusade vow in 1215 but still faced opposition from supporters of the deposed Otto IV. This necessitated some interim

Fifth Crusade (1217–1221)

arrangement for leadership if the crusade was to stay on schedule. Such an arrangement, however, was to be left to the crusaders themselves. The German crusaders expected Frederick to join them shortly, but their expectations ran into the realities of prolonged negotiations with the papacy over terms for Frederick's imperial coronation, which lasted until 1220. Only then did Frederick return to his kingdom of Sicily, for the first time in eight years, where he faced rebellion. Despite papal pressure, he delayed his departure.

The Course of the Crusade

Contingents from the Rhineland and Frisia left Vlaardingen in 300 ships on 29 May 1217, crossing to England where they enacted laws for the crusaders and took part in what may have been a ceremony of reconciliation, since many among them had previously been enemies. Aware that they were in advance of Frederick and other crusaders, they were in no great hurry to reach the Holy Land. When they arrived in Lisbon in Portugal, the local bishops sought their aid to lay siege to Alcácer do Sol, whose Muslim garrison menaced Lisbon. The Frisians preferred to continue their journey, taking 80 ships to Italy, where they wintered, leaving the Rhinelanders with the rest of the fleet. After a protracted and costly siege, Alcácer do Sol fell on 21 October.

The first crusaders to arrive in the East were Andrew II of Hungary and Leopold VI, duke of Austria, who landed at Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) in September 1217. The situation of the kingdom of Jerusalem was tenuous, and the arrival of a large contingent from the West was welcome, since defenses needed to be bolstered and the territory under Latin control expanded. Although no significant gains were made by Andrew's forces in the short time he remained, their presence, together with that of Leopold, was helpful. Before the arrival of the Rhenish and Frisian contingents (April 1218), further operations were carried out in northern Palestine, including a rather halfhearted effort to capture Mount Tabor, which had been fortified by the Muslims.

This activity seems to have enhanced the short-term security of the kingdom; especially valuable were the efforts to strengthen Château Pèlerin (mod. 'Atlit, Israel) and Caesarea (mod. Har Qesari, Israel). As more crusaders arrived, and it became clear that Frederick was not yet prepared to come to the East, they turned their attention to organization and planning. The choice of leader in the person of John of Brienne, regent of Jerusalem for his daughter Isabella II, was based not merely on his status but also on his reputation as

a soldier. The decision to attack Egypt had already been taken, but now the crusaders decided to focus their main attack on the port of Damietta rather than Alexandria. As well as crusaders from the West, the army comprised troops from the kingdom of Jerusalem and the military orders.

Late in May 1218 the crusaders landed in Egypt near the Damietta mouth of the Nile. They met little resistance. In June, the cardinal legate, Pelagius of Albano, arrived, bringing some of the money raised by the tax on the clergy. With the arrival of John of Brienne, the crusaders began their attack on a tower near the west bank of the river. A stout chain stretched across the river to the wall of the city to prevent ships from moving further south. The siege was extremely difficult and dragged on through the heat of summer, and it was not until late August that the tower was taken. The victory had been costly. Only the arrival of large numbers of French and English crusaders in September restored the crusaders' strength, but they were further delayed by disease, which carried off many, including Cardinal Robert of Courson.

Throughout the winter, the crusaders were harassed by Ayyūbid forces under the command of al-Kāmil, the son of the sultan al-'Ādil I, who had died. Only a conspiracy against al-Kāmil that forced his withdrawal enabled the crusaders to cross the river and lay siege to the city. But the return of the sultan meant that they were virtually surrounded, with the river at their backs. Throughout the summer of 1219 there was a stalemate. Leopold of Austria departed with a large number of crusaders, and few reinforcements had arrived during the spring of 1219. Frederick II had postponed his planned arrival until spring 1220.

In the fall, Francis of Assisi, whose fame as a holy man was already widespread, arrived in the camp. While there, he preached to both the crusaders and the sultan. Although the details of his sermons are unknown, it seems that he advocated peace and conversion instead of military action. His arrival seems to have coincided with a period of truce. The sultan offered to surrender Jerusalem and other sites in the Holy Land in exchange for withdrawal. This was debated, but the crusaders rejected the proposal and additional concessions on the grounds that without the fortresses of Kerak and Montréal in Transjordan (which were excluded from the terms), the holy places could not be defended adequately.

The resumption of military operations in November 1219 resulted in the capture of Damietta, which forced al-Kāmil to move his forces further south. This victory had been

accomplished at a horrendous cost after several costly battles, and the crusaders were in no condition to follow it up. The sultan still had hopes of a negotiated settlement, since his first priority was to consolidate his position as the heir to his father. Although the crusaders had rejected his previous offer, they were still open to further negotiations. But, at the same time, al-Kāmil was awaiting additional military support from his brothers, al-Mu‘azzam, sultan of Damascus, and al-Ashraf of Iraq.

During the winter of 1220–1221 the crusaders worked to consolidate their position. Men and money were running low. Evidence based on deaths among the aristocracy suggests that the casualty rate was well over a quarter of the entire force. There were also disputes as to the ownership of Damietta between Pelagius, as leader of the crusade, and John of Brienne, who claimed it for the kingdom of Jerusalem. Eventually, fear of an attack on Acre and other sites in the Holy Land led John to take a significant contingent back to shore up defenses. The arrival of Frederick had become a necessity for any future action beyond defense.

Ludwig I, duke of Bavaria, who arrived in spring 1221, was viewed as the harbinger of Frederick’s arrival, and pressure to move against the enemy now increased. Pelagius, who was well aware of the shortage of men and money, supported those who wished to act immediately. Acting on instructions from the emperor and the pope, Ludwig was only willing to attack the camp of the sultan, but his caution was unpopular. The time of the Nile flood was approaching, and delay might make an advance up the Nile impossible. Pelagius recalled John of Brienne and circulated prophetic writings that seemed to promise success to the crusaders. On 7 July 1221 John rejoined the army at the head of a large force; this was slightly more than a month before the Nile would flood. On 17 July part of the army advanced while the remainder stayed behind to garrison Damietta. Were some of these reluctant to join a risky venture? We only know that there was opposition.

On 18 July the army reached Sharamsah. The Ayyūbids put up almost no resistance, and by 24 July the army was advancing into a triangle formed by the Nile and the canal from Mansurah (mod. El-Mansūra, Egypt) to Lake Manzala (Bahra el-Manzala).

John’s counsel to retreat, based though it was on information about reinforcements for al-Kāmil and the unusually high water of the Nile, was ignored by Pelagius, who was caught up in the euphoric spirits engendered by the ease of

the victorious advance. Yet al-Kāmil had moved ships through a canal that entered the Nile at El Baramūn, just north of the crusader fleet. On 26 August the army decided to retreat, but it was already too late. The fields were flooded, and the crusader fleet was impeded by four ships that al-Kāmil had ordered sunk in the Nile for just that purpose. With a danger of panic, the crusaders decided to negotiate, and on 29 August they agreed to surrender Damietta in return for being allowed to withdraw in safety. This decision was not popular with all, especially those who had remained behind in the city. The leaders tried, however, to save face by arranging that the eight-year truce would not be binding on Emperor Frederick II.

Conclusions

The Fifth Crusade failed largely for lack of resources. This lesson was not lost on others at the time. When Frederick II finally began to plan his own crusade, he put major emphasis on negotiations. This course was unpopular, but it was realistic in terms of his own resources and his understanding of the desires of al-Kāmil. Of course, there were bad decisions during the Fifth Crusade, but there was no consistency in the assignment of blame. Decision making was a collective process, and leaders were seldom able to make decisions without pressures from various parties in the army. Nor were these differences ideological; rather, they pitted those who supported one course of action against those who supported another. In the last months, some opposed action because they wanted to go home. There is, however, no question that the final move involved a feeling that this was probably a last chance. For Pelagius and those who supported him, the decision to advance was based more on hope than reality.

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Filangieri, Richard (d. before 1263)

A leading official in the administration of the kingdom of Jerusalem established by Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor and king of Sicily, after his crusade (1227–1229).

A descendant of a Norman aristocratic family, with lands in Capua, Rapara, and Salerno, Richard was appointed marshal of Sicily in 1224. In April 1228 he led the advance party of the imperial crusading contingent, and he acted as one of the leaders of the crusading army as a whole. On his return to Sicily he oversaw a campaign against the heretics in Naples (1231), before returning to Outremer as *bailli* (regent) of the kingdom of Jerusalem (1232–1240). He led the imperial forces that in 1231 clashed with the supporters of John of Ibelin in Cyprus, laying the foundations for a conflict that lasted throughout his time in office, and that ultimately spelled the end of Staufen rule in Outremer and Cyprus in 1242–1243.

Although Richard defeated John of Ibelin in the Holy Land in 1232, he was unable to establish control over Cyprus. From 1233 onward, Frederick II sought to gain the backing of Pope Gregory IX in securing a peaceful settlement with the Ibelins, but these efforts too failed by 1235. These failures left the regime of Richard Filangieri fundamentally weakened, and he was ordered back to Sicily in 1240. There he was imprisoned, though he was allowed to leave Sicily for Toulouse in 1244. After the emperor's death, Richard appeared again as governor of the city of Naples (1251); he died at some point before 1263 in Sicily.

–Björn K. U. Weiler

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Finance of Crusades

Issues of finance influenced the goals and military success of crusade expeditions and also determined the nature of participation in them.

Problems of Crusade Finance

Initially, individual crusaders mustered the funds for the arms and supplies necessary for themselves and their dependants, together with cash for their journey and sustenance on campaign. If insufficient funds were forthcoming from debt collection and loans or gifts from lords, allies, or relations, crusaders from the landowning classes often donated, sold, or mortgaged produce from land, livestock or forests, rights and revenues, or, as a last resort, property in exchange for cash or gifts of equipment. These transactions often took the form of a settlement of long-standing disputes over land, combining financial transactions with the confirmation of legal rights and the promise of spiritual benefits regarded as essential for crusaders to depart in peace. Crusaders also turned to moneylenders for loans, leading popes to grant crusaders a temporary moratorium on paying the principal of their debts, exemption from payment of interest, and freedom from taxes and tolls. Intended to aid crusaders in fulfilling their vows, these financial privileges in effect often ruined their credit rating, so that individuals occasionally waived them to obtain loans. These provisos could also threaten the income of rulers who relied on taxation of Jewish and Christian usurers for income crucial for fulfilling their own crusade vows or ensuring the safety of the realm.

Although the hordes of noncombatants who accompanied many crusading armies may have hoped to join the entourage of a lord or knight or to subsidize their meager financial resources by foraging or plunder, the latter proved negligible in offsetting the often ruinous costs of a crusading expedition. Many noblemen, prelates, and kings, including Richard I of England and Louis IX of France, sought to keep crusade armies from dissolving by retaining at their own expense fighters who had run short of cash; in surviving records, these impecunious crusaders and waged knights are often almost indistinguishable from professional mercenaries. Fleets from England and Italy and crusading contingents from urban areas organized themselves after corporate models familiar to them from domestic confraternities and communal governments, forming sworn associations whose members shared the financial burden of the

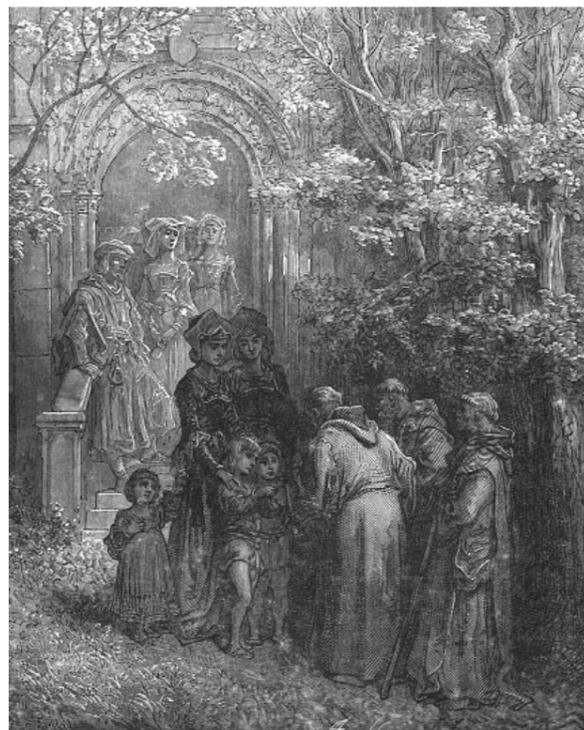
expedition. Affluent prelates and magnates contributed to communally organized and disbursed funds for needy crusaders, while formal agreements regarding the division of deceased crusaders' mobile possessions were often drawn up to ensure the equitable redistribution of resources within the crusading army rather than their bequest to relatives back home. Armies often also adopted elaborate rules for the partitioning of spoils, which were frequently put into a common pool and dispensed in payments scaled according to each category of crusader within the camp.

While a lack of material resources or military reverses could create a unified atmosphere characterized by penitential rituals and the perceived necessity of divine aid for success, infusions of booty or aid from home, which should in theory have bolstered an army's defensive and offensive capabilities, could render it liable to paralysis by debauchery or dissension over the partitioning or theft of resources.

Origins of Crusade Taxation

The changing nature of crusading, including the shift from overland to overseas routes to the Holy Land, reinforced endeavors by organizers to whittle down the numbers of noncombatant crusaders. Crusade finances also evolved in response to the hard lessons learned with each expedition, leading to attempts by kings and popes to create a system of legal privileges and finances to aid individuals in fulfilling their vows. Kings and noblemen also laid imposts (known as tallages) on Jews, townsmen, and peasants, and levied feudal aids from their secular and ecclesiastical vassals to finance their crusades. Such contributions soon evolved into formal taxes. In 1166, Louis VII of France and Henry II of England declared a five-year royal tax on the property and revenues of all laypersons and ecclesiastics in France and England. The fruits of this and of a three-year tax levied in 1185 upon incomes, bequests, and movable possessions were destined directly for the Holy Land. A similar tax intended to subsidize crusade preparations was levied in the same regions in 1188: the Saladin Tithe, as it became known, claimed a tenth of all income and movables from all except crusaders, who were entitled to receive the moneys paid by their noncrusading vassals.

Although occasional secular taxes were imposed throughout the thirteenth century, their contributions to the crusading movement were dwarfed by the papacy's taxation of the church. The first universal clerical income tax was instituted by Pope Innocent III in 1199, who asked



Clergy gathering donations for the holy war. (Pixel That)

ecclesiastics and communes to contribute a set number of warriors or a corresponding sum of money to the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204). The papal legate Peter Capuano persuaded the French clergy to agree to contribute one-thirtieth of their annual income, provided that no precedent was set for future taxation, a sum that Innocent soon reduced to one-fortieth in the face of concerted resistance. Collection proved problematic, particularly from monastic orders claiming exemption from taxation, including the Cistercians, who eventually agreed to a reduced “voluntary” contribution.

Innocent III learned from this episode and sought formal clerical approval for a triennial twentieth for the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221); it was imposed during the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) upon all ecclesiastics, with the exception of certain religious orders. Enforced by the penalty of excommunication for fraud or nonpayment, it set the pattern for future regular levies on clerical income in aid of the crusading movement, varying from a tenth to a hundredth.

Although initially attached only to crusades to the Holy Land, these taxes were soon transferred to crusades in other arenas, including the war against heretics in southern France and the anti-Staufen crusades, although not without serious protest. By the close of the thirteenth century, the tenth was also increasingly granted to secular rulers for purposes unconnected to the crusade, weakening its ties to the crusading movement.

Collection and Use of Taxes

These taxes were aided by enormous leaps in the sophistication and extension of ecclesiastical, papal, and royal accounting and administration. The precise method, however, of collection and disbursement to crusaders, the military orders, or settlers fighting in contested regions seems to have varied considerably. In England, royal agents collaborated with members of the military orders expert in the international transfer of funds and with local clergymen in the collection of the Saladin Tithe of 1188, and bishops were initially responsible for the evaluation and collection of the ecclesiastical income tax. The collection of clerical income taxes was often resisted or delayed, and its expenditure frequently shifted. For example, during the Fifth Crusade, the money collected from income tax, alms, and redemptions of vows by cash payments seems initially to have funded local contingents of crusaders departing for the Holy Land; yet as the campaign wore on, collection became increasingly centralized, and it was often diverted, in response to appeals for money, to the crusaders before Damietta.

The availability of funding directly affected those able to participate in the crusade. Poor or middling persons who took the cross hoping for subsidy from these sources could find themselves forced to redeem their vows when, as increasingly occurred, these sources of funding were granted to noblemen to organize and fund crusading contingents, and these noblemen were not minded to subsidize the participation of devout but untrained pilgrims. In response to pleas from local clergymen entrusted with gathering these moneys and to letters from crusaders, Honorius III appointed papal legates in England, Spain, Germany, Hungary, and Italy to increase the efficacy of their collection and transfer to the needy. The need to collect, store, transport, and efficiently disburse the money amassed for the crusades partly drove advancements in effective record keeping, currency exchange, transferal of funds, and banking. The military orders' expertise in these

matters was often utilized by individual crusaders, secular governments, and the Curia. In the later Middle Ages, Italian bankers served a similar function, transferring crusade revenues from local depositories or the Templar houses in London and Paris to the papal Camera or the crusade front, or advancing money in expectation of revenues yet to be collected.

Experiments with centralizing tax collection via papally appointed legates and collectors continued throughout the thirteenth century. However, the process of centralization was by no means inevitable, nor was it originally intended to enrich the papacy. Self-evaluation and collection by local clergymen and agents posed problems of efficiency, potential diversion, and lack of disinterestedness. Yet because papal collectors were often also entrusted with amassing the papal census or Peter's pence, or funds were diverted from local crusaders to those in greater need, clergymen and crusaders often accused the papacy and its collectors of attempting to profit from the crusading movement. Papal collectors countered with accusations of local obstructionism, while Innocent III and his successors stressed that the Curia was paying a tenth and more of its own revenues in support of various crusades. Yet the impression that crusade taxes were being diverted to Rome was fatally reinforced when Pope Gregory IX and his successors instituted clerical income taxes for the anti-Staufen struggle and granted levies initially intended for the Holy Land to papal allies, including Henry III of England, sparking enormous protest.

Popes continued to struggle with enormous logistical problems, including keeping assessments impartial and up-to-date, balancing impartiality and local knowledge in the appointment of local clergy or papal agents as collectors, circumventing tax evasion, efficiently transporting revenues to where they were most needed, and also keeping accurate accounts to prove that the money was actually spent on the crusade and to counteract suspicions of embezzlement or diversion to other projects. By 1274, Pope Gregory X divided Europe into twenty-six collectorates with agents for each and provided detailed guidelines for the income taxes' assessment, collection, and transport, a system that, by the pontificate of Boniface VIII (1294–1303), provided the means for collecting moneys essential for the crusading movement and the papacy's survival against various political enemies. Yet, although attempts at centralization from the mid-thirteenth to mid-

fourteenth centuries eventually led to greater control of collection by the papal Camera and the levying of new taxes over wider areas, it also resulted in mounting clerical resistance to crusade taxation and increasing demands for control over taxation by secular authorities whose own administrations were expanding. The French clergy deplored the relentless grant of crusade tenths throughout the thirteenth century, while English ecclesiastics protested against the levying of taxes for the papal-imperial struggle, which appeared merely to swell papal coffers. Although local resistance could only delay collection, it threatened good relations between the papacy and regional churches. Similarly, when, from the pontificate of Boniface VIII onward, crusade taxes were commonly transferred to the papal Camera, rulers felt threatened to see precious resources go to pay for foreign projects such as papal wars; their resistance contributed to a gradual loss of papal control over the tenths in France and England in the late thirteenth to early fourteenth centuries.

Despite the problems associated with the clerical income tax, including outdated valuations, slow and costly collection, and the tendency of the papacy to extract rights for clergymen from rulers in return for granting its proceeds to secular magnates, it provided a large and often quantifiable proportion of the funding for many crusades, including those of Louis IX of France. The custom of donating the tenth, vow redemptions, and other funds from a certain region to lay rulers who possessed the resources to organize a crusade also led eventually to the secular taxation of the clergy. As the crusades became increasingly intertwined with dynastic and national policies, rulers tended to spend money raised for the crusade on other more pressing projects, particularly if political considerations or a crisis led to the cancellation of a planned general departure. The failure of past crusades or planned expeditions led to increasing resentment of new taxation, while the inability to obtain sufficient funding through levies spelled the demise of many a projected expedition. Nevertheless, even after the fall of Acre to the Mamlūks (1291), strategic difficulties, rising costs, and repeated delays and diversions led some to lose hope for the recovery of the Holy Land, the collaboration of lay officials remained essential for the success of preaching tours, which used church taxes and the sale of plenary indulgences to finance crusades fought by professional soldiers in Italy, the Iberian Peninsula, and Northern Africa, as well as expeditions against the Turks and Hussites.

Other Sources of Funding: Donations, Alms, Redemptions, and Confiscations

Other sources of funding included gifts and legacies (including the diversion of indistinct bequests), the confiscation of the possessions of convicted heretics or rebels, donations deposited in chests placed in local churches, alms collected by crusade preachers, and the redemption of crusading vows, including those adopted voluntarily or imposed by secular and ecclesiastical courts as a penalty for serious sins or crimes. Grave qualms arose concerning some of these categories, especially when donations to the crusade were substituted for penances or for criminal sentences; Innocent III warned bishops to avoid the appearance of extortion or bribery and to ensure that payments were scaled to the seriousness of the offense and the penitent's means. Kings and noblemen also often exacted heavy tallages from towns and Jews to offset the extraordinary expenses incurred by participation in the crusading movement. Eventually, although not without hesitation and criticism, the incomes of vacant benefices and dubiously acquired possessions that could not be restored to the victims of the original crime (including money confiscated from Christian and Jewish moneylenders and the property of heretics and rebels) were also used for crusade projects.

Innocent III also sought to enable the financial participation of those unable to take the full crusading vow by ordering wooden chests or trunks to be installed in every church conducting the special liturgies organized in support of the crusade. He specified that those who gave alms would receive an indulgence proportionate to their devotion and the financial sacrifice their offering represented, while those who funded substitutes would receive the plenary indulgence. In a similar fashion, many urban confraternities and guilds financed by annual contributions helped to subsidize members who wished to participate in a crusade, while remissions of sin were offered to prelates, secular rulers, and communities who funded contingents of warriors from the late twelfth century onward. Although Innocent III and those he appointed to preach the crusade also encouraged all to take the cross without prior examination (perhaps intending that the fit but impoverished would be subsidized by the alms of the faithful), the reaction of military leaders who feared being burdened with hordes of noncombatants meant that the vows of many were eventually commuted to monetary donations. This led to confusion between the plenary indulgence earned by the full crusade vow and the partial

Finland

indulgences granted for almsgiving. Groups of crusaders unable to fulfill their vows were soon urged to band together to send a substitute in their stead, while several Tuscan communes declared hearth taxes during the Fifth Crusade or supported a communal contingent of fighters. Those who contributed to these efforts or paid crusade taxes were often rewarded with partial indulgences.

Innocent III has been labeled a prescient innovator who encouraged indiscriminate taking of the cross in order to convert the devotion of the militarily unfit into financial support for the crusade through vow redemptions. However, it seems that this was not his original intent, but only gradually became a general policy under pressure from military leaders in charge of the crusade, who sought to restrict crusading to salaried warriors by forcing noncombatants, who they felt consumed limited resources and undermined discipline, to redeem their vows. This policy met with only partial success in the mid to late thirteenth centuries; the masses' desire for personal participation persisted, despite criticism by the chronicler Matthew Paris of the attempts of papally appointed mendicant preachers to immediately redeem the vows of the impecunious or unfit whom they deliberately encouraged to take the cross during preaching campaigns. Originally voluntary, redemption could become forced when the clerical taxes, alms, legacies, and redemptions derived from a given region were handed over to a local magnate unwilling to subsidize the devout faithful. It was only with the loss of the Holy Land in 1291, however, that the outright sale of indulgences was used by the papacy and secular rulers to finance armies made up of hired mercenaries or career soldiers.

It is clear that crusade finance and taxation aided the evolution of social, financial, and legal institutions. Crusaders' quests to realise assets made property more available and increased the circulation of coinage and precious materials within Europe. Crusading expeditions also created immense demand for victuals, supplies, weapons, and shipping, benefiting local merchants and artisans. Levies for various crusades also contributed to the development of centralized financial administrations and the growth of papal and royal taxation, at the same time aiding the development of representative bodies whose consent was required for many forms of taxation.

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Finland

During the Baltic Crusades the peoples populating Finland became both targets and participants in the crusades. When the crusades began, the names "Finns" and "Finland" (Finn. *Suomi*) referred only to the inhabitants of the south-western parts of present-day Finland around Turku (Sw. *Åbo*), so-called Finland Proper. The extension of the name

to other Finnic neighbors to the east, the Tavastians (Finn. *Häme*) and the Karelians (Finn. *Karjalaiset*), was a direct consequence of the crusades. All three Finnic tribes lived in the vicinity of one of the ancient trade routes between east and west, and archaeological excavations suggest that by the middle of the eleventh century they had become acquainted with Christianity in both its Eastern and Western forms. However, their societies remained largely pagan, and the wholesale Christianization of the population and its incorporation into the Latin Church were the result of crusades that were launched from Sweden and, for a brief period, Denmark.

The importance of the crusades for Finland is reflected in the fact that the established term for the period 1150–1350 in modern Finnish historiography is the “Crusade Age.” This again reflects a tradition in Swedish historiography founded by the historian and poet Erik Gustaf Geijer (1783–1847). According to him, the Swedish conquest of Finland came about as a result of three successive crusades. The “First” Swedish Crusade is known only from the thirteenth-century life of the king and saint Erik IX Jedvardsson (d. 1160). This was a crusade to Finland Proper that is supposed to have taken place around 1155/1157, led by King Erik and one Henry, an Englishman alleged to have been bishop of Uppsala. Erik returned to Sweden, where he was killed soon after, while Henry stayed on in Finland, where he was martyred. Bishop Henry was considered to be the first bishop of the Finns and later became venerated as Finland’s patron saint.

The establishment of the Swedes in Finland during this period is confirmed in a bull from Pope Alexander III dating from 1171/1172. Rehearsing Swedish complaints that the Finns promised to observe the Christian faith whenever they were threatened by an enemy army, but, when the army retreated, denied the faith and persecuted the priests, the pope ordered the Swedes to force the Finns to observe the Christian creed. Although Bishop Henry’s role remains obscure, there is no doubt that this period saw the establishment of a missionary bishopric for the Finns and Finland, later permanently located at Turku and linked to the Swedish archbishopric in Uppsala.

In the early period the Swedes were not alone in organizing crusades to Finland. The Danes are recorded as having launched at least two expeditions there. Until the establishment of the archbishopric of Uppsala by Pope Alexander III (1164), the Danish archbishopric in Lund was the metropolitan of the Swedish bishoprics and therefore had a legit-

imate interest in the mission to Finland. Alexander also stipulated that the archbishop of Lund was to remain the primate of the Swedish church (Lat. *Swetiae primas*), and so for most of the century after 1164 much papal policy regarding the eastern Baltic region was channeled to the Swedish church through the Danish archbishop, who often had the status of papal legate for the region. This may explain why it was the Danish archbishop, rather than the Swedish one, who was authorized by Pope Innocent III to install a new bishop in Finland in 1209.

According to Danish annals, King Knud VI of Denmark sent an expedition to Finland in 1191 and “won it” [*Danmarks middelalderlige annaler*, ed. Erik Kroman (København: Selskabet for udgivelse af kilder til dansk historie, 1980), p. 18]. In 1202 another Danish army went to Finland under the leadership of Anders Sunesen, archbishop of Lund, and his brothers. They are also recorded as having led an expedition to Estonia in 1206. It is unclear whether these actions were undertaken in collaboration or competition with the Swedish crusades. The Sunesen brothers had close links with the Swedish king Sverker II Karlsson, who was married to their sister, and supported him against a rival claimant to the throne, Erik Knutsson. A more likely possibility is that the Danish activities in Finland were planned in conjunction with the Danish crusades to Estonia. In that case, it is probable that the Danes were not interested in the same areas as the Swedes, but rather, in the southern coastal regions along the Gulf of Finland. This is suggested by the evidence of the so-called *Danish Itinerary*, a thirteenth-century itinerary contained in a Danish manuscript (MS København, Rigsarkivet, C8), often known as Codex ex-Holmianensis A 41 or Kong Valdemars Jordebog. This work outlines a sailing route from the Danish territory of Blekinge (in mod. southern Sweden) across the Baltic Sea to Reval (mod. Tallinn, Estonia). A link with the crusades is indicated by the fact that it is transmitted together with a second itinerary from Ribe in Denmark to Acre (mod. ‘Akko, Israel) in Palestine. The Baltic itinerary follows the Swedish coast as far as the Stockholm Archipelago, then crosses to the southern coast of Finland, which it follows to the Porkkala Peninsula just west of present-day Helsinki. Here, where the distance is shortest, it turns south across the Gulf of Finland to Reval. The itinerary itself, its references to an island called Jutlanders’ Island, and both Danish and Finnish names for some localities all suggest that Danish interest in Finland was focused on the southern coast around the Pokkala Peninsula.

Finland

However, Danish authority in this part of Finland must have collapsed together with other parts of the Danish crusading empire after 1223, when King Valdemar II Sejr was kidnapped by his rebellious vassal Count Henry of Schwerin.

The sudden disappearance of Danish power may explain signs of a crisis of Christianity in Finland, which is revealed in two bulls of Pope Gregory IX. In 1232 Gregory appointed Baldwin of Aulne as his legate with authority to solve the current crises in both Livonia and Finland, and later that year, he found it necessary to ask the Order of the Sword Brethren in Livonia to help the Christians in Finland, who were allegedly threatened by the Russians. Soon after the Danish collapse, the Sword Brethren had taken control of Danish Estonia, and they may have been the Christian force best placed to intervene in Finland. However, it is unclear whether the Sword Brethren were able to intervene in Finland before their near-annihilation in 1236 at the battle of Saule. In December 1237, the pope issued a new bull at the instigation of the archbishop of Uppsala, who claimed that the Tavastians had apostatized and now threatened the Christian plantation in Finland. The pope ordered the archbishop and his suffragans to preach a crusade against the Tavastians.

The immediate result seems to have been the “Second” Swedish Crusade to Finland, led by Birger Magnusson, brother-in-law of the king. The actual campaign is only known from the rhymed *Erik Chronicle*, written in the 1320s. The chronicle gives no date for the crusade, but it presumably took place in 1238 or 1239: according to Novgorodian chronicles, in 1240 Birger Magnusson was able to lead his bishops in a further crusade to the river Neva against Novgorod, accompanied by both Finns and Tavastians. In Tavastia, a castle, presumably Hakoinen, was built as a center of Swedish power, later to be supplanted by a new fortress at Hämeenlinna (Sw. *Tavastehus*). The Tavastians must soon have been firmly integrated into the Swedish realm and church. In summer 1256 they once more participated in Swedish operations against Novgorod, together with the Finns. This time the Swedes sent their fleet across the Gulf of Finland, where they started to build a fortress on the Novgorodian side of the river Narva together with one of the Danish vassals in Estonia.

Around this time, the Swedes began to colonize the thinly populated areas on the coasts of the Gulf of Bothnia and, more importantly, along the Gulf of Finland, where the Danish strongholds had presumably been situated. Control of

this coastal region, which became known as Nyland (New Land), was a necessary precondition for the next stage in the Swedish crusades, which were now to be directed against Karelia, at this time under the rule of the Russian city-state of Novgorod. Plans for this so-called “Third” Swedish Crusade were being made by the mid-thirteenth century. King Valdemar Birgersson procured a crusading bull against the Karelians from Pope Alexander (1254–1261), who also issued a bull against the Russians. It took another thirty years before military operations in Karelia got under way. In 1293 the Swedes established a fortress at Viborg (mod. Vyborg, Russia), which blocked the entrance to the river Vuoksi. However, they failed to take and hold the Karelian center of Kexholm (Russ. *Korel'skii Gorodok* or *Priozërsk*) on the opposite shore of the Vuoksi at Lake Ladoga, and in 1301 they also lost the fortress of Landskrona, which they had started building the previous year. The war continued for another twenty years before Sweden and Novgorod concluded the Treaty of Nöteborg (Pähkinäsaari) in 1323, which fixed a border between Sweden and Russia for the first time.

Some subsequent crusades were launched against Russia by Sweden from Finnish territory, notably the crusade of King Magnus II Eriksson (1347–1351), but these had little importance for Finland. The further expansion of Finnish territory at the expense of Russia was the result of a gradual colonization in the north or later wars that had nothing to do with the crusades. Despite the evidence in papal letters of resistance by both Finns Proper and Tavastians, their respective incorporation into the Swedish realm and church progressed relatively smoothly. One reason may have been that there existed a tradition of collaboration between Swedes and Finns that predated the arrival of Christianity. Also, the Finns were not subjugated by a foreign aristocracy but instead incorporated into Swedish society on equal terms. Therefore, north of the Gulf of Finland, there is no evidence of a division of the population into a ruling upper class and a repressed lower class along ethnic lines, as was the case in Livonia south of the gulf. This state of affairs may also reflect the fact that from 1240 onward, Swedish rulers looked beyond Finland and wanted the Finnish tribes as allies in future drives toward the east. It is not surprising that after the Swedes had incorporated the Finnish provinces, the Finns and Tavastians are repeatedly named as their allies in Russian sources.

—John H. Lind

See also: Baltic Crusades; Karelia; Sweden

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First Crusade (1096–1099)

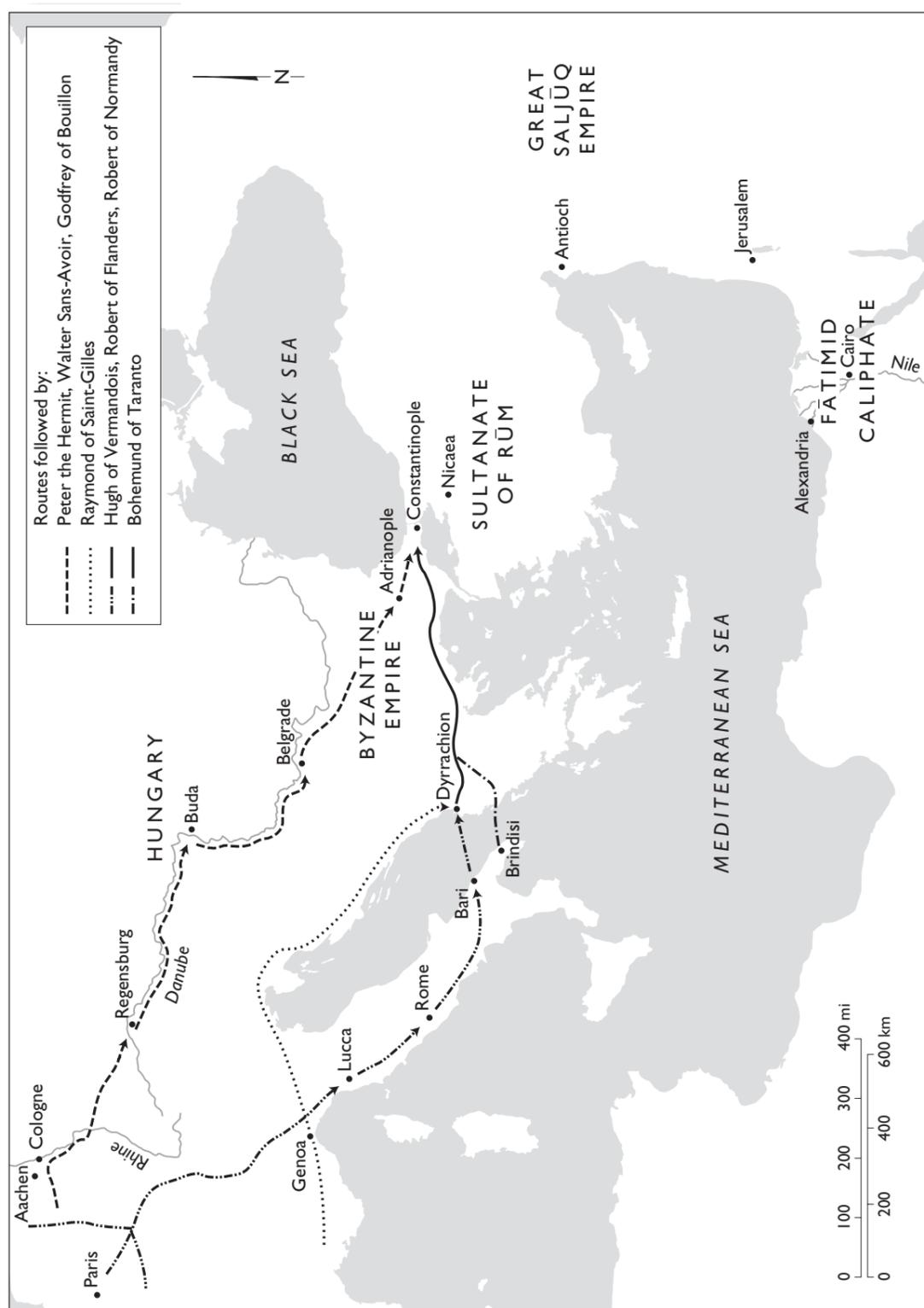
On 27 November 1095, toward the conclusion of a major ecclesiastical council at Clermont in Auvergne, Pope Urban II (1088–1099) launched an appeal for a military expedition to liberate the Christians of the Near East and the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem from Islamic domination. His appeal was successful, and this expedition established in the Near East a Frankish kingdom of Jerusalem, together with the county of Edessa, the principality of Antioch, and (later) the county of Tripoli. Because these states were greatly resented by Islam and needed Western support, out of the success of 1099 arose the crusading movement, which powerfully influenced the history of Europe and the Islamic world right down to the seventeenth century.

Origins

The trigger for the appeal of 1095 was a Byzantine imperial delegation that met with Urban II during the Council of Piacenza (1–7 March 1095). The Byzantine emperor, Alexios I Komnenos, had seen that the outbreak of a bitter and complex succession struggle in the ruling family of the Great Saljūq Empire offered a golden opportunity for him to recover Asia Minor, which the Saljūs and other Turks had captured in the 1070s. Alexios hoped to enlist Western mercenaries, and this was the nature of the appeal made at Piacenza. Earlier, in 1074, when the Turkish conquest was under way in the aftermath of the disastrous battle of Mantzikert in 1071, Pope Gregory VII (1073–1085) had tried to persuade the peoples of the West to rally to the cause of the embattled Eastern Christians, and even to capture Jerusalem. His hope, undoubtedly a factor that also influenced Urban, had been that in return the Byzantines would accept the authority of the Holy See. But Urban was moved by other factors. He had cultivated Alexios lest he ally with Henry IV of Germany (1056–1106) in the struggle between empire and papacy known as the Investiture Contest. Undoubtedly Urban saw in this appeal an opportunity to assert papal leadership in the war against the infidel, traditionally the task of the Holy Roman (German) emperor.

However, there was more than self-interest at work, for Urban had supported the Christian reconquest of Spain and

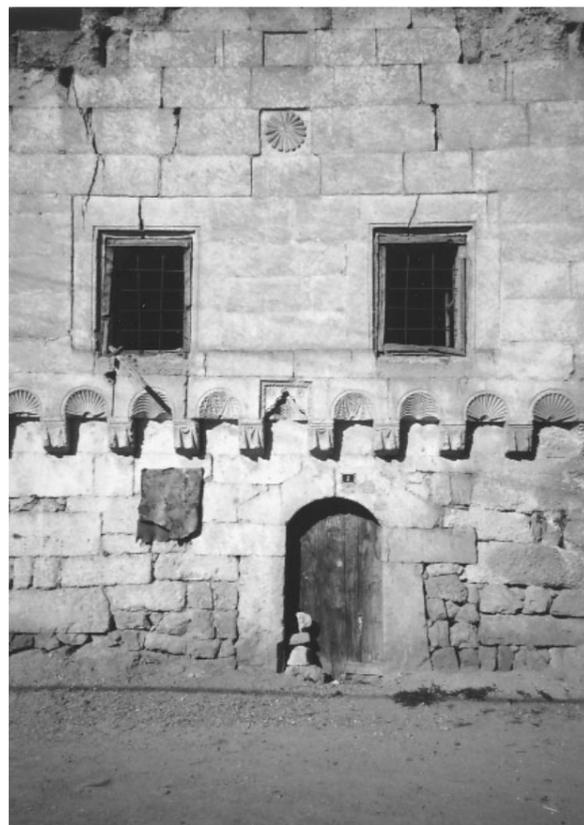
First Crusade (1096–1099)



The First Crusade: the march to Constantinople

seems to have been anxious to roll back the tide of Islam, which had conquered much of the old Roman world since the seventh century. Yet he must have known that Gregory's appeal had failed, and so Urban's problem was to attract support for his project. First and foremost he was anxious for the support of the arms bearers, the aristocracy and knights, because they dominated society and their support would draw in others. He could certainly count on a mood of confidence in an expanding Europe, but most of Europe's growth had hitherto been at a local level, with frontier lords annexing adjacent territory. The Norman conquest of southern Italy appears different, but was actually a slow process built on gradual implantation and alliance with native elites. What Urban proposed was on a scale and at a distance without precedent. Nor, outside the *Reconquista* (the reconquest of Muslim Iberia by the Christian kingdoms of the peninsula), was there any real tradition of such expansion having an ideological dimension, and even in the Iberian Peninsula, Gregory VII's attempt to interfere in local affairs had been resented. However, the later 1080s had seen more lords from northern Europe participating in the Spanish wars; the Investiture Contest had accustomed some to serving the papacy in an ideological conflict; and naval raids by Italian cities on Muslim lands had taken on a sacred character. Moreover, the papacy had developed a new awareness of the value of holy war.

Urban was a skillful diplomat. He eschewed the self-righteous extremism of Gregory VII, and his journey to France was intended to win more friends for his cause. He prepared carefully for his appeal at Clermont. After sending out the summons for the council from Le Puy around 15 August 1095, he turned south into the lands of Raymond of Saint-Gilles, count of Toulouse. It can be no accident that Adhemar, bishop of Le Puy (later the pope's legate on the crusade), was the first person, and Raymond of Saint-Gilles the first major magnate, to take the cross. Born as Odo of Lagery into a French noble family from Châtillon-sur-Marne around the year 1042, Urban knew the kind of people he needed to attract. This European elite was deeply catholic and profoundly hostile to any kind of outsider. Islam was no threat to them, and the Christians of the East were of little interest. At the same time, however, French lords were increasingly taking an interest in the wars in Spain. They were very aware that their military style of life, greed, and acquisitiveness were deeply at odds with the spirit of monasticism that was reckoned to be the most perfect form of the Christ-



Ancient church of St. Peter in Antioch, where the supposed Holy Lance was unearthed by the pilgrim Peter Bartholomew during the First Crusade. (Courtesy Alfred Andrea)

ian life, whose exponents, especially the Cluniac Order, often had great influence with the more pious amongst them.

At the Council of Clermont Urban appealed to Frankish pride of race. He urged the restoration of God's land, the Holy Land, and especially the Holy Sepulchre, a notion that resonated with an elite deeply concerned with landed property. They saw pilgrimage, above all to Jerusalem, as a vital way of expiating their sins, and Urban cast his expedition in the form of a pilgrimage. Above all he offered them an indulgence, forgiveness of all their sins, if they undertook this fighting pilgrimage to the most sacred of shrines. They were to be God's pilgrims, the chosen of the Lord for the Lord's sacred task. In token of their status they would wear crosses and enjoy the protection of their lands by the church during their absence. Forgiveness of sins was confined to the statement that "whoever, for devotion alone, and not to gain

First Crusade (1096–1099)

honour or money, goes to Jerusalem to liberate the Church of God, can substitute the journey for all penance” [Canon 2 of the Council of Clermont, in Riley-Smith and Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, p. 37]. However, Urban’s project by its nature involved conquest in a land proverbially flowing “with milk and honey” (Josh. 5:6 and Deut. 31:20) and therefore also embodied powerful material incentives.

Aims and Recruitment

Urban II’s appeal was transmitted to a wider world by the bishops present at Clermont, by the monks, who were strongly propal, and by preachers. Urban wrote letters, such as those to Flanders, to Bologna, and to Genoa, soliciting support. No pope had ventured north of the Alps since Leo IX (1048–1054), so Urban’s long journey through France excited enormous interest. Still, all this only partly explains the enthusiasm generated across Europe. The success of the appeal was that it came from a man and an institution (the papacy) that increasingly commanded respect and that it came at a time when the notion of fighting for God was becoming more widespread and when instability in the East was making itself felt in difficulties in reaching Jerusalem. At the same time, expansionism had engendered a sense of confidence and opportunity. Urban seemed to have suddenly opened a gateway to salvation, and many were ready to enter therein. We may surmise that the most pious of the aristocrats and knights were the first to join. Urban’s appeal to the elite drew in their wake their followers—knights, and even humble men, servants, and peasants: the crusade was an embodiment of Western society with its hierarchies and patronage groups. However, his message also appealed to large numbers of unattached noncombatants, and we can only suppose that they were taking the opportunity to make a pilgrimage.

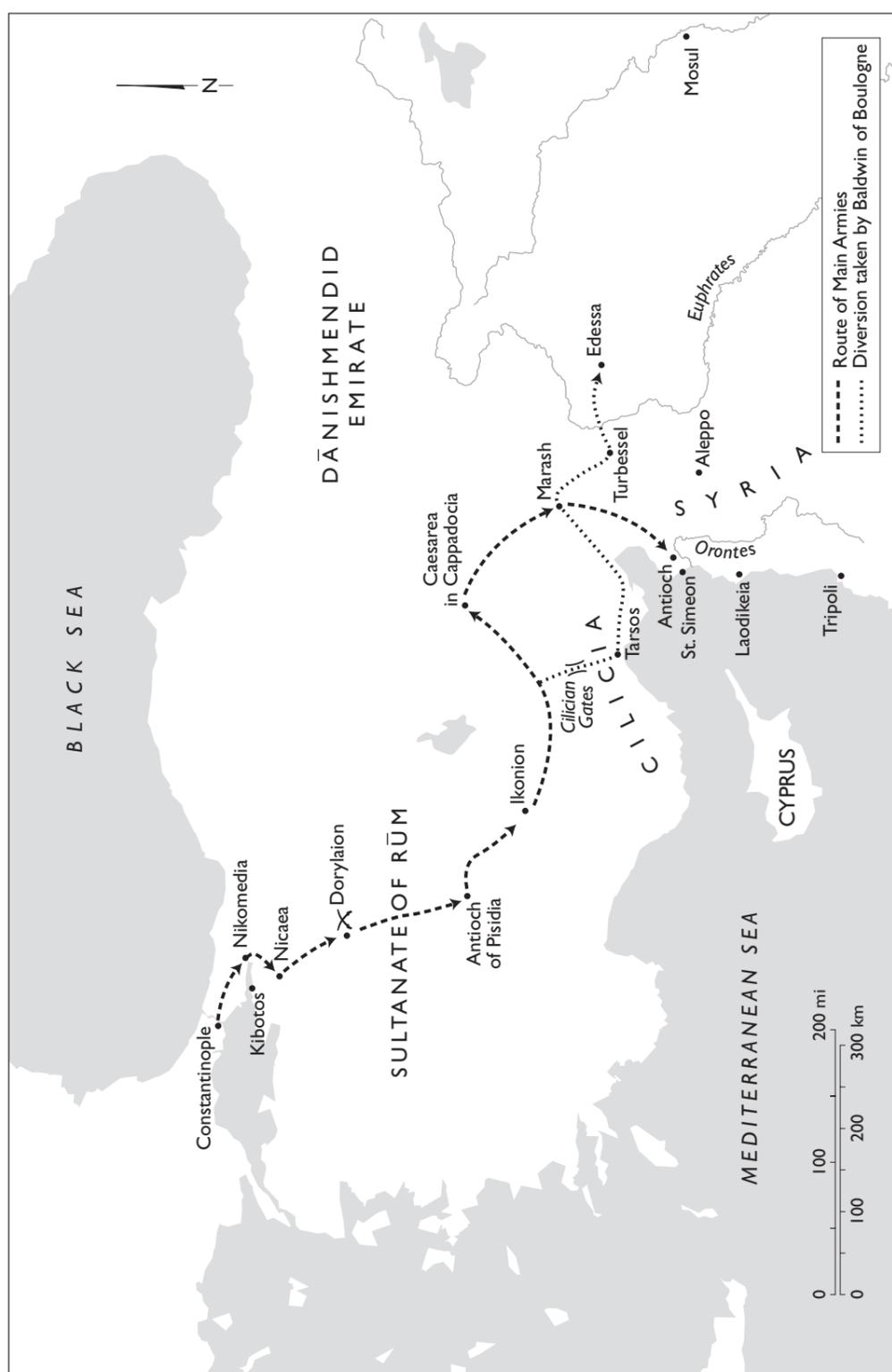
We are very badly informed about what Urban II intended his expedition to do. It is possible that Jerusalem was not mentioned at Clermont, or mentioned only in a minor key, and that the pope’s real intention was simply to express the Byzantine request for mercenaries made at Piacenza, but that public opinion focused on the liberation of Jerusalem and the project took on a life of its own. Since the work of H. E. J. Cowdrey, however, such ideas have had little currency among scholars in the field, and it is now generally thought that Jerusalem was always central to Urban’s message. For long it was considered that the lure of riches was the fundamental reason why people took up the cross, but Jonathan

Riley-Smith [*The First Crusade*, pp. 31–57] has convincingly made the case that the movement was fundamentally a religious one, although John France [*Victory in the East*, pp. 11–16] has more recently stressed that gain was a factor. Among the leaders, very great men like Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Robert II of Flanders seem unlikely to have been moved by hopes of profit. By contrast, for Robert of Normandy and Godfrey of Bouillon the expedition offered an escape from acute political difficulties, while Bohemund of Taranto seems to have been simply out for gain, and younger men like Tancred and Baldwin of Boulogne probably wanted to make their fortunes.

From the West to Constantinople (1096–1097)

The first expeditions to reach Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey), the appointed concentration point, were those of the so-called People’s Crusades: they were different from the later armies in that none of them were led by a great prince, and they probably contained a smaller proportion of arms bearers. In Northern France an army gathered around a charismatic preacher, Peter the Hermit; in the Rhineland he attracted more followers, and the mood of religious excitement triggered a persecution of the Jews. Although Peter’s force marched peacefully down the Danube, some of the later bands were poorly disciplined and clashed with local forces in Hungary. Peter’s men had their troubles over food supply in the Byzantine Empire, but they were well received by Alexios Komnenos at Constantinople. Once in Asia Minor they joined Germans and Lombard groups and ravaged the countryside. Without strong military leadership these forces, though substantial, were easily defeated in late October 1096 near Nicaea by Qilij Arslān I, the Saljūq sultan of Rūm.

The princely armies took various routes to Constantinople and departed at times of their own choosing. Hugh, count of Vermandois, the brother of King Philip I of France, was the first major leader to leave, taking a traditional pilgrim route to Italy. He crossed from Bari to Dyrrachion (mod. Durrës, Albania) in October 1096 with the intention of taking the old Roman road, the Via Egnatia, to Constantinople, but he was shipwrecked and his army scattered. Bohemund of Taranto, the leader of the Normans of south Italy, crossed on 1 November 1096. He had participated in the attempt of his father, Robert Guiscard, to conquer the Byzantine Empire in 1081–1085, and was anxious to avoid friction with Byzantine forces concentrated at Dyrrachion,



The First Crusade: the march from Constantinople to Antioch

so he landed to the south and cautiously marched to Constantinople, not arriving until 1 April 1097. Contingents from northern France, Normandy, and Flanders were led by Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy, Robert II, count of Flanders, and Stephen, count of Blois and Chartres. These only arrived in southern Italy in late November 1097; Robert of Flanders risked an immediate passage, but the others wintered in Italy, crossing in the spring and arriving at Dyrrachion only on 14 May 1097. Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lower Lotharingia, departed in August 1096 with troops from his own duchy and northeastern France, marched down the Danube Valley, and arrived at Constantinople before Christmas. Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Adhemar of Le Puy, the papal legate, led a huge army drawn from southern France and Provence, which seems to have marched across Lombardy and down the Dalmatian coast, arriving at Dyrrachion in early February 1097.

These were the main armies, but we hear of other smaller forces of whose journeys we know nothing. What arrived in the East in the spring of 1097 was not a single army, but a loose aggregation of armies. There was no overall commander, though the papal legate, Adhemar, seems to have enjoyed a preeminence. The various contingents evidently accepted the command of the major leaders, but they retained considerable freedom: Gaston of Béarn, originally attached to the forces of Toulouse, later changed his allegiance and helped the northern French with their siege equipment at Jerusalem.

The lack of any structure of command first became an obvious problem when the princely armies approached Constantinople in the spring of 1097. They needed to establish a relationship with Alexios Komnenos, but because they arrived separately, the emperor was able to deal with them as individuals. Adhemar fell ill and did not arrive at Constantinople until long after the others. Urban II wanted to aid Alexios, but it is unlikely that the emperor ever promised to lead the crusaders to their goal. Most of the princes, accustomed to wide freedom of action in the West, were wary of relations with the Greeks and unwilling to accept any subordination. Raymond of Saint-Gilles had actually conferred with Urban, but even he did not seriously suppose that Alexios would become their commander. Despite some incidental skirmishes, inevitable when large armies were passing through Byzantine territory, all the leaders ultimately took oaths to Alexios to be his men and to return to him any former Byzantine lands, though the extent of these was never defined.

From Constantinople to Antioch (1097–1098)

The working relationship with Byzantium was quickly put to the test at the siege of Nicaea (mod. İznik, Turkey), lasting from 14 May to 19 June 1097, which saw the individual contingents gathered as one army for the first time. The size of that army is a matter of dispute. France [*Victory in the East*, pp. 122–142] has argued for 60,000 participants, including 6,000–7,000 knights, but this has been contested by Bernard Bachrach [“The Siege of Antioch: A Study in Military Demography,” *War in History* 6 (1999), 127–146] who argues for 100,000. The sultan Qilij Arslān I was away from the city when the siege began, and his attempt to relieve it on 16 May was driven off. The siege was energetically pressed, and casualties were heavy. Because there was no single leader, a committee of the most important princes controlled the army, and as a consequence their assaults were poorly coordinated. Alexios supplied the crusaders with food and equipment, and sent boats to close the Ascanian Lake, on which Nicaea stood, a decisive move, which meant that the Turkish garrison was now isolated and had to face attacks on all sides. Alexios’s generals negotiated the surrender of the city to Byzantine forces, but he seems to have been generous to the crusaders. The capture of the city was a triumph for the alliance, and in its wake Alexios attached Byzantine troops to the army and advised them to open negotiations with the Fāṭimids of Egypt. By the spring of 1098 crusaders and Egyptians had reached some kind of *modus vivendi*, presumably on the basis of mutual hatred of the Saljūq Turks of Syria; this understanding was important because Egypt was a strong military power and controlled the only Muslim fleet in the Mediterranean.

The crusader army set off across Asia Minor on 26 June 1097, but divided command led to its separation into two groups, which gave Qilij Arslān the opportunity to attack its vanguard, led by Bohemund, at Dorylaion (mod. Eskişehir, Turkey) on 1 July 1097. The Turkish mounted archers outnumbered the Frankish knights, and they drove them back and besieged them in their camp. The Turks were then drawn into a fight at close quarters, which gave the main crusader force time to arrive and attack them in the rear. The Turkish tactics of enveloping their enemies, showering them with arrows, then exploiting gaps and weaknesses in their line, were an unpleasant shock to the divided and uncoordinated crusader army. But the battle of Dorylaion broke Turkish resistance in Asia Minor, even though the crusader army was sapped by climate and disease, and had lost the



The First Crusade: the march from Antioch to Jerusalem

First Crusade (1096–1099)



Conquest of Antioch by the Crusaders. (Archivo Iconografico, S.A./Corbis)

bulk of its horses. Guided by Byzantine troops, the crusaders marched via Caesarea in Cappadocia (mod. Kayseri, Turkey) in order to free Armenian centers in the mountains and thus secure a friendly base for the attack they now intended upon the city of Antioch on the Orontes (mod. Antakya, Turkey), where they arrived on 20 October 1097. This policy of friendship toward the Christian Armenians culminated in an invitation to Baldwin of Boulogne, brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, to take over the city of Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey), which in March 1098 became the center of the first Frankish principality in the East.

Turkish-controlled Syria was divided between the Saljūq princes Riḍwān of Aleppo and Duqāq of Damascus, and the rivalry between them had enabled cities like Antioch to establish a fair degree of independence. Alexios Komnenos

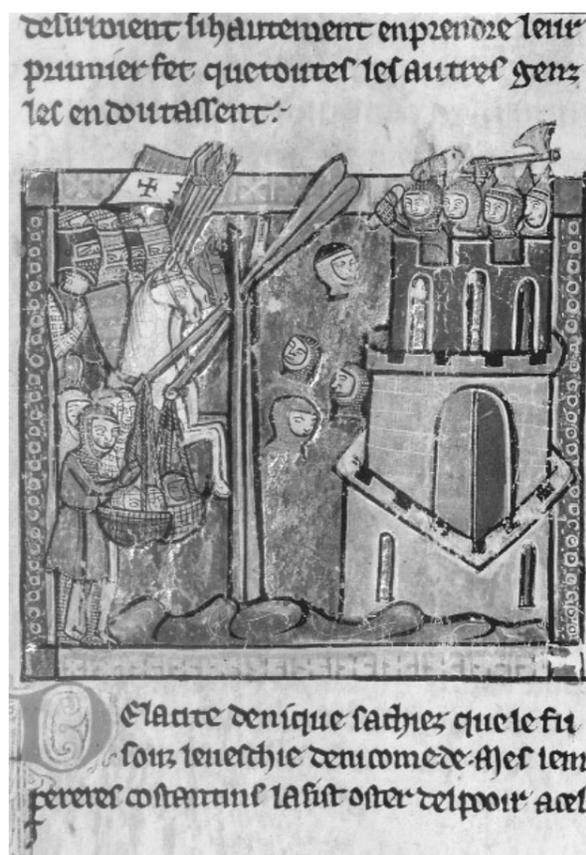
had judged his moment for an assault well, and so the crusaders faced no coordinated Islamic counterattack. Even so, Aleppo and Damascus could raise strong military forces and posed a severe threat to the depleted crusader army. Antioch had strong walls, and it was too big for the army to surround or storm. The crusaders established a close blockade, but this exposed them to harassment from enemy outposts nearby and to the threat of a relief force. Their major problem was food supply. They could draw on the Armenian lands to the north, and Raymond of Saint-Gilles had established an outpost at Rugia in the Syrian plain before the siege began. Most importantly, an English fleet, probably with Byzantine support, had captured St. Symeon (the port for Antioch) and nearby Laodikeia (mod. Al-Lādhiqīyah, Syria) even before the crusaders arrived, which opened up com-

munications with Byzantine Cyprus. In November 1097 a Genoese fleet arrived with timber and skilled labor, enabling the crusaders to fortify their camp. The Byzantine alliance was working well, and it was reinforced by the good ecclesiastical relations that Adhemar had established with the Greeks.

Even so, by Christmas the army was starving, and a large force, commanded by Bohemund and Robert of Flanders, was sent to forage in Syria. Near Albara, on 31 December, they defeated a relief force sent by Duqāq of Damascus. Although the Damascenes retreated, the crusaders were unable to forage, and the crisis in the army deepened when it became known that a Turkish relief force from Aleppo was approaching. In this emergency the leaders finally agreed to appoint a single commander, choosing Bohemund, whose military reputation stood high after his victory over the Damascenes. Although they could raise only 700 cavalry, the crusaders ambushed and crushed the army of Aleppo on 9 February 1098, a victory that impressed the Egyptian envoys who were then in Antioch. Shortly afterward a second English fleet arrived, enabling the crusaders to tighten the siege with new fortifications, and the coming of spring eased supply problems. Antioch was betrayed to Bohemund, who was by now the most famous of their leaders, by a tower commander on the night of 2/3 June, though the crusaders were unable to seize the citadel. On 4 June a huge Turkish relief army arrived under the command of Karbughā, lord of Mosul, trapping the crusaders in Antioch. Despite terrible hardships the crusaders fought off enemy attacks. Morale was revived by a series of visions, and the finding of a relic that was identified as the Holy Lance (the spear with which Christ's side was pierced during the Crucifixion), and on 28 June 1098 the crusaders sallied out and defeated Karbughā at the Great Battle of Antioch.

From Antioch to Jerusalem (1098–1099)

After the victory against Karbughā, the crusade leaders sent envoys to ask Alexios Komnenos to take possession of Antioch, in fulfilment of the oaths they had taken at Constantinople. This action is indicative of their adherence to the oath and of the value they attached to Byzantine help, which had been so important during the siege. However, by autumn they had learned that during Karbughā's siege, Alexios had been told about the army's plight by Stephen of Blois, who had deserted from Antioch, and had then turned back from coming to its aid, in the belief that all was lost. In



Crusaders bombard Nicaea with heads in 1097, from the *History of William of Tyre*, thirteenth century. (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris/Bridgeman Art Library)

a letter of 11 September 1098 to Urban II, the leaders expressed their anger at this turn of events. When they gathered at Antioch on 1 November to resume the march, Bohemund claimed the city.

Raymond of Saint-Gilles stood by the Byzantine alliance, but the other leaders were inclined to favor Bohemund. In the subsequent quarrels, personal feelings and old scores came to the fore; Adhemar, who might have been a moderating force, had died of plague (1 August 1098). As a result of this dispute, the army stalled in north Syria after capturing Ma'arrat al-Numan in December. Bohemund demanded that Raymond should abandon his strong points within Antioch and sought recognition of his control of the city. Not until 13 January 1099 did Raymond march south, but as only

Tancred and Robert of Normandy would accompany him, it seems unlikely that he intended an immediate attack on Jerusalem. His army settled down to besiege Arqah on 14 February, while Bohemund remained at Antioch, from which he evicted the garrison left by Raymond. Many knights, despairing of the delay, preferred to stay with Bohemund or joined Baldwin at Edessa. However, popular pressure from within their contingents forced Godfrey of Bouillon and Robert of Flanders south; when they joined the siege of Arqah, they were sullen and resentful. Divisions opened further when an imperial embassy asked the crusaders to delay their march so that Alexios could come to their aid, a development welcomed by Raymond but opposed by the other leaders.

In early May a Fāṭimid embassy arrived from Egypt. The Fāṭimids had seized Jerusalem from Saljūq control in July 1098 and had no intention of conceding it to the crusaders, who rejected anything less than full possession of the city. The leaders, divided as they were, and deeply concerned by the limited manpower available resulting from casualties and the partial breakup of the crusade at Antioch, now rallied the army and marched into Fāṭimid territory in a determined thrust to Jerusalem, which they invested on 7 June. The siege was a race against time, because the crusaders knew that a Fāṭimid relief expedition was in preparation. On 13 June they launched an initial assault, despite having only a single siege ladder. This assault failed, but the arrival of a Genoese fleet on 17 June brought timber, which enabled the construction of siege engines. Forces led by Godfrey of Bouillon began construction work at the northwestern corner of the city. They had to build a ram that would clear a way through the outer wall along the north perimeter of the city, while a tower was intended to dominate the strong inner wall and so to make possible assaults by siege ladders. The defenders observed this activity and strengthened the threatened part of the city's defenses, but on the night of 9/10 July the northern French transported their equipment to a weak spot on the northeastern section of the north wall, which critically undermined the preparations of the defenders. Raymond of Saint-Gilles prepared another tower to attack near the Zion Gate on the southwestern section of the wall, and on 13 July a systematic attack from north and south began. On 15 July 1099 the crusaders broke in across the northern wall and massacred many of the Muslim and Jewish inhabitants (the Christians having previously been expelled by the garrison): this was the normal fate of any city that fell by

storm. Not without much dispute, Godfrey of Bouillon was elected to rule the city, and on 12 August he led the crusaders to victory over the Fāṭimids at the battle of Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel).

Conclusions

The First Crusade was an astonishing success. As Alexios Komnenos had intended, the crusaders had taken advantage of the divisions of their Islamic enemies and exploited them skillfully. Their own army partially disintegrated because of serious disagreements, but the Muslim powers were never able to exploit them. The crusaders faced formidable military powers, but they triumphed because the longer they survived, the more coherent and effective they became as an army and the better they adapted to the tactics of their enemies. They enjoyed the support of Byzantine and Armenian allies, while Western fleets, in alliance with the Byzantines, commanded the sea and helped to supply them. Islamic and Western armies were on a par technically. Although Western horses were bigger than Eastern ones, they died very quickly and were replaced by local stock, and the victory over Karbughā was largely the victory of an infantry army. Other crucial factors in achieving victory were good military leadership, especially by Bohemund, and the profound religious conviction of the crusaders, who saw themselves as a pilgrim army, the chosen of God. Yet crusader success was limited: they had established only the nuclei of viable states at Antioch, Edessa, and Jerusalem, which would need further support. Moreover, the breach with Byzantium meant that there was no land bridge from the West to the Holy Land, so that the future of the new settlements in the East would depend very heavily upon sea power.

—John France

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First Shepherds' Crusade

See Shepherds' Crusade, First

Forbie, Battle of (1244)

A battle fought on 17 October 1244 at Forbie (Harbiyah) near Gaza by the Franks of Jerusalem, who were allied with the Ayyūbids of Damascus, Kerak, and Homs, against the Ayyūbids of Egypt. It was considered the worst Frankish defeat since Hattin (1187).

The battle resulted from disputes among the Ayyūbids after the death of Sultan al-Kāmil (1238). His son al-ʿĀdil II was recognized in Egypt, while another son, al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, seized Damascus, which was soon taken from him by his uncle al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl.

After al-ʿĀdil had been deposed, Ayyūb was able to install himself in Egypt and plan the reconquest of Damascus. This led to a coalition between Ismāʿīl of Damascus, al-Nāṣir Dāwūd of Kerak, al-Manṣūr Ibrāhīm of Homs, and the Franks, that was determined to prevent the unification of Damascus and Egypt under one ruler. Ayyūb allied himself with the Khwārizmians, a people displaced from Iraq by the Mongol offensives. In 1244 the Khwārizmians captured Jerusalem and joined Ayyūb's troops near Gaza, where they made contact with the Franks and their allies on 17 October. Contrary to the advice of their allies, the Franks, following the leadership of Count Walter of Jaffa, attacked because they outnumbered their opponents, but were defeated. There were more than 5,000 Frankish casualties (among them the archbishop of Tyre and almost all participating members of the military orders), and 800 prisoners were taken to Egypt. Patriarch Robert of Jerusalem reported the defeat to the West.

—Jochen Burgtorf

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Formentera

See Balearic Islands

Foucher de Chartres

See Fulcher of Chartres

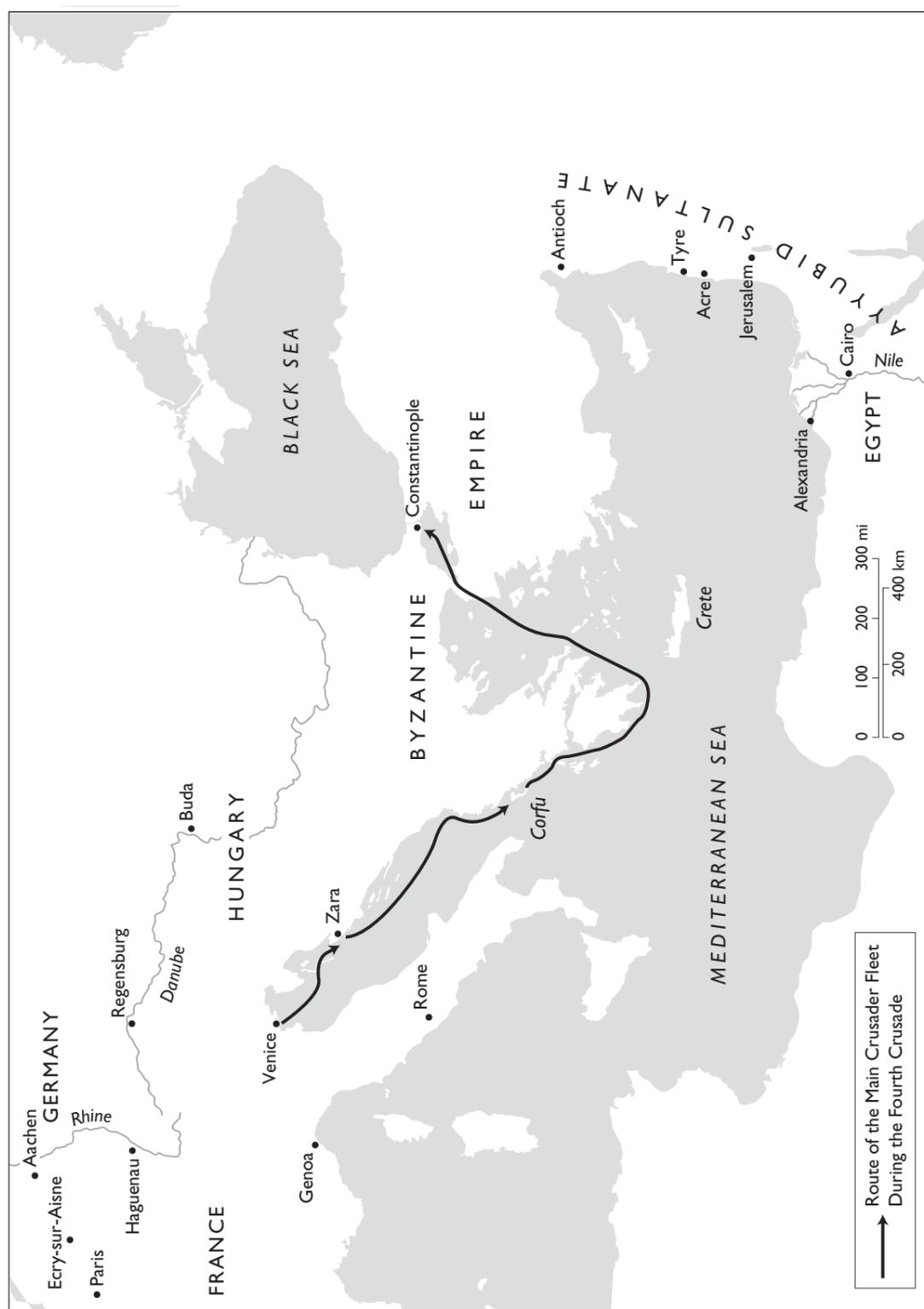
Foulques de Villaret

See Fulk of Villaret

Fourth Crusade (1202–1204)

A crusade launched by Pope Innocent III with the aim of liberating Jerusalem through an invasion of Ayyūbid Egypt, the chief center of Muslim power in the Levant. In the event, the main body of the crusade was diverted, initially to attack the Christian city of Zara (mod. Zadar, Croatia), and then to

Fourth Crusade (1202–1204)



Route of the Main Crusader Fleet during the Fourth Crusade



The Crusaders Take Constantinople (1204), by Eugène Delacroix, Louvre, Paris. (Erich Lessing/Art Resource)

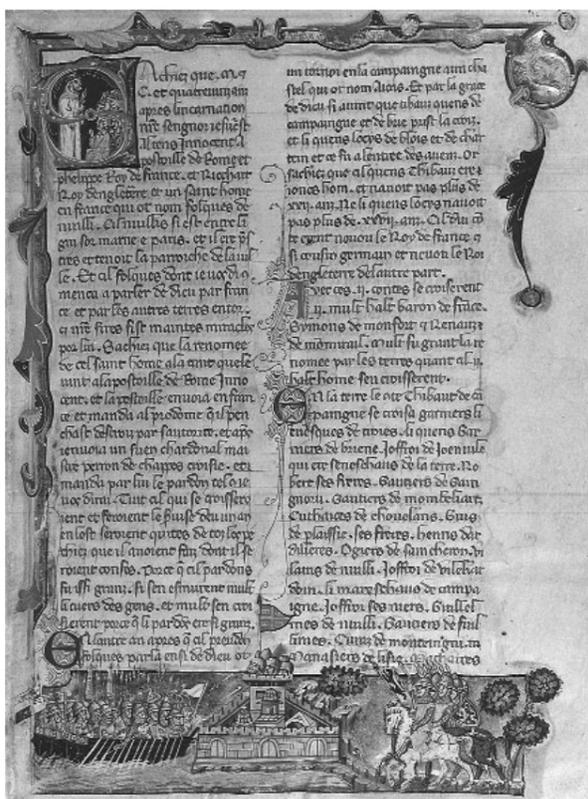
Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey), where it overthrew the Byzantine Empire and established a Latin regime in its place. Relatively few crusaders made their way to the Holy Land, but those who did were able to help the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem to stabilize and slightly extend its borders.

Origins

On 15 August 1198, Pope Innocent III published his first crusade encyclical, calling for an expedition to liberate Jerusalem that would leave in March 1199. Soldiers would serve a minimum of two years overseas, and in addition to the indulgences and other privileges accorded all crusaders,

the pope offered indulgences to anyone who subsidized a crusader. He appointed two crusade legates, the cardinals Soffredo and Peter Capuano. Soffredo was sent to enlist the aid of Venice, and because Innocent blamed Christendom's failure to recapture Jerusalem on the bickering of its rulers, he dispatched Peter to establish peace between the kings of England and France. He commissioned two other cardinal legates to negotiate an end to the war between Genoa and Pisa. The peace missions to Genoa and Pisa failed, and the five-year truce that Cardinal Peter negotiated between Richard I of England and Philip II of France died along with King Richard in March 1199.

Fourth Crusade (1202–1204)



Fulk of Neuilly preaching the Fourth Crusade. Lower border shows crusaders arriving at Constantinople. From *La Conquête de Constantinople*, by Geoffrey of Villehardouin, c. 1330. (The Art Archive/Bodleian Library Oxford)

Believing that spiritual reformation was another key to success, Innocent enlisted the services of the French evangelical preacher Fulk of Neuilly. On 5 November 1198, the pope granted Fulk permission to enroll monks and canons regular as assistants in preaching the cross. Fulk handed out thousands of crosses, largely to the poor. The high and mighty, who were essential if a crusade army was to take shape, were another matter.

March 1199 came and went with no discernible response from Europe's elites. On 31 December 1199, the pope dispatched a second crusade encyclical, in which he reduced the minimum time of service to a year and set up a church-wide system for raising funds for the Holy Land. He levied a 2.5 percent income tax on all nonexempt clerics, taxed tithe-exempt orders, such as the Cistercians, at a rate of 2 percent,

laid a tax of 10 percent on himself, and set up chests in churches throughout Europe for the reception of donations from the laity. In return, all donors would receive an indulgence. In this manner the pope hoped to involve all of Western Christendom in the crusade and thereby allow everyone to share in its graces. It was this second encyclical that established a new system for raising funds for crusading and other papal programs. Clerical taxes and donation chests in churches became fixtures in the Roman Church and remained so long after the crusades were over. However, the total amount raised for Innocent's crusade was disappointing, and it became clear that most individual crusaders would have to pay their own expenses.

Recruitment and Organization

The preaching of Fulk of Neuilly, Peter Capuano, and others bore fruit when Counts Thibaud III of Champagne and Louis I of Blois took the cross at a tournament at Ecry-sur-Aisne on 28 November 1199. Other lords and knights followed suit, including Baldwin IX of Flanders, Hugh of Saint-Pol, Geoffrey III of Perche, and Simon of Montfort. The great lords dispatched six plenipotentiaries to secure sea transport and supplies; they included Geoffrey of Villehardouin, marshal of Champagne, the future historian and apologist of the crusade. In late winter 1201, the envoys concluded a treaty with the republic of Venice for the transport and provisioning of 33,500 men and 4,500 horses for a payment of 85,000 marks of silver on the standard of Cologne. A fleet of ships sufficient to carry all of these men and their animals, as well as fifty war galleys to be provided at Venice's own expense, was to be ready to sail on 29 June 1202, along with provisions for nine months. The objective, Egypt, made strategic sense, as it was the center of Ayyūbid power and potentially the first step on a triumphal march to Jerusalem, but this destination was kept secret from the rank and file. Venice became a full partner in the crusade and was to receive a half-share of spoils. The city suspended commerce and turned to full-time ship refitting and construction, drafting half its able-bodied men as sailors and marines.

The Venetians upheld their contractual obligations, but the leaders of the crusades had far less control over circumstances surrounding their half of the compact. Thibaud of Champagne died on 24 May 1201. The nominal leadership of the crusade was then offered to, and accepted by, Boniface I, marquis of Montferrat in Lombardy. Boniface duly assumed the crusader's cross at Soissons in late sum-

mer 1201 and probably added a substantial number of followers to the crusade. They were not, however, enough to swell the army's forces to anything approaching the number that the French envoys had estimated would sail from Venice. What is more, the contracted embarkation date of 29 June 1202 arrived and passed with crusaders still straggling into Venice. Even Boniface did not leave home until early August. Many crusaders chose not to rendezvous at Venice but sailed to Outremer from other ports. The cost of passage also dissuaded many. In the end, no more than 12,000–13,000 warriors assembled at Venice. After their money was collected and after the great lords had contributed everything they had or could borrow, the army could only raise 51,000 marks, a shortfall of 40 percent. Venice needed to recoup its investment in time, lost commerce, and materials. To make matters worse, the army's campsite on the sands of the Lido became increasingly oppressive as the hot summer wore on, and the rate of deaths and defections rose alarmingly.

The Diversion to Zara (1202)

In the midst of this crisis, a compromise was proposed by Enrico Dandolo, doge of Venice: the republic would defer payment of the 34,000-mark balance until the army enriched itself with plunder in Egypt, if the army would assist Venice in regaining control over the rebellious city of Zara on the coast of Dalmatia. This proposal was consonant with contemporary mores, inasmuch as every lord or city had the right to secure the loyalty of subject territories before setting off on crusade. Yet it was dangerous, in that Zara, a Latin Christian city, had pledged its loyalty to King Imre of Hungary, himself a sworn crusader, which meant that his lands were under papal protection.

Faced with the choice of accepting the doge's offer or allowing the crusade to disintegrate, the lords agreed to go to Zara. The aged and blind doge requested permission from the Venetians to take up the crusader's cross himself, which he received on 8 September. In response to Dandolo's display of piety, many Venetians who had escaped being drafted for the crusade fleet now flocked to the cause. Venetian draftees and the new volunteers, as well as conscripts later enrolled from Adriatic port cities under Venetian hegemony, combined to raise the number of crusaders to probably over 44,000. This meant that 70 percent or more of the crusaders who sailed with the fleet were Venetians or citizens of cities subject to Venice.

Some of the non-Venetian crusaders from northern Europe who heard of the decision to go to Zara were troubled. These included Abbot Martin of Pairis and Bishop Conrad of Halberstadt, who were commanded by the legate Peter Capuano to stay with the army and work to reduce the level of violence at Zara. However, the Venetians, fearing Peter would forbid the attack once the fleet was under way, refused to accept him as a papal legate, and he returned to Rome, where he informed the pope of this turn of events. Innocent III forbade any attack on Zara under threat of excommunication and dispatched a letter to the army to that effect. It was a canonical yet ultimately impractical response to the crusaders' predicament.

The fleet, consisting of 50 war galleys, about 150 horse transports, and an unknown number of other transport vessels, set sail at the beginning of October 1202, reaching Zara in two divisions on 10 and 11 November. Initially the Zarans were ready to capitulate, but they were dissuaded by some dissidents within the army who believed the pope's warning would forestall any attack. It was bad advice. Despite hearing the pope's words forbidding any violence to the Zarans, most soldiers joined the Venetians in bombarding the city and undermining its walls. On 24 November the Zarans capitulated, and their city was sacked.

The Venetian and Frankish crusaders settled down in winter quarters in the captured city. During the winter, a number of dissident crusaders left the army, some for home and others to the Holy Land. Those who remained behind were eager to have the ban of excommunication lifted from their shoulders. They prevailed upon the clergy traveling with the army to absolve them and sent a legation to Rome to beg papal forgiveness.

Despite his anger, Innocent accepted the Frankish crusaders' profession of contrition and plea that they had acted out of necessity. In February 1203 he provisionally lifted the ban, provided that the crusade leaders bound themselves and their heirs to make full restitution to the king of Hungary. He also ordered them to swear formally never again to attack Christians, save in the most exceptional circumstances, and then only with the approval of the pope or his legate. The Venetians, who admitted no wrongdoing, did not at first seek papal absolution and remained excommunicated. Although Christians normally had to shun excommunicated persons, this extraordinary situation called for extraordinary measures, and Innocent allowed the army to continue to sail with the Venetians.

The Treaty of Zara (1203) and the Diversion to Constantinople

In Zara the crusaders' provisions were dwindling, and their funds were exhausted. While their legates were on their way to Rome, they received emissaries from Philip of Swabia, claimant to the throne of Germany, begging the army to help his brother-in-law, Alexios Angelos. Alexios's father, the Byzantine emperor Isaac II Angelos, had been deposed, blinded, and incarcerated by his brother, also named Alexios, who now reigned as Alexios III. Prince Alexios had fled to the West in 1201. Although rebuffed by the pope, Alexios the Younger continued to court Western help, including meeting Boniface of Montferrat at Philip of Swabia's court at Christmas 1201 and sending representatives from his base in Verona to the crusade leaders assembled in Venice, probably in September 1202. Young Alexios's plight and ambitions were already well known to the Frankish leaders, and Boniface clearly supported his cause. In return for the crusaders' help in ousting his uncle, Prince Alexios promised through Philip's emissaries to submit the Greek Orthodox Church to obedience to Rome, to subvent the crusade with 200,000 marks and provisions for a full year, to supply 10,000 mounted soldiers for the crusade, and to maintain 500 soldiers in the Holy Land for the rest of his life.

The army's leaders were deeply divided on this proposal. After spirited debate, Boniface of Montferrat, Baldwin of Flanders, Louis of Blois, Hugh of Saint-Pol, and Dandolo decided they could not refuse this offer, even though they were in the minority. Several influential clerics, such as Conrad of Halberstadt and Abbot Peter of Lucedio, also supported the baronial leaders. One factor in their decision was the belief that Alexios III was unpopular and would be deposed when the rightful heir appeared before the city. Thus, a small but decisively powerful faction of the army's baronage entered into a treaty with the Byzantine prince whereby he would join the army at Zara before 20 April 1203.

When the legation to the pope returned, the army's leaders conspired to suppress news of Innocent's prohibition of the Constantinopolitan adventure (rumors of which had reached him in Rome) and the Venetians' continued excommunication. As a result, all of the rank-and-file crusaders believed that they had received full absolution for the attack on Zara.

On 7 April the crusaders evacuated Zara. Unable to hold the city with their fleet on crusade, the Venetians reduced it to rubble. On 20 April the army set sail, with Boniface and

Dandolo remaining to wait for Prince Alexios, who arrived on 25 April. A month later they joined the army at Corfu, where the plan to sail to Constantinople met its severest test. Most members of the Frankish army still did not favor the diversion and were only persuaded when the leaders gave a solemn promise that the army would remain in Constantinople no more than a month, unless it freely consented to an extension of that limit.

The First Capture of Constantinople (1203)

The fleet reached the Bosphorus on 24 June. On 26 June the army encamped about a mile upstream from Constantinople and awaited the palace coup they believed was imminent. On 2 July a legation from Alexios III arrived offering the crusaders provisions and money if they promised to leave, and threatening resistance if they remained. The crusade barons countered by calling for Alexios III's immediate abdication. Believing that the people of Constantinople were still ignorant of Prince Alexios's presence, the crusaders sailed up to the city's walls and displayed the young man, while calling on the Byzantines to take action. They were met with missiles and insults.

On 4 July the leaders held a war council and decided their first objective had to be control of the Golden Horn (Turk. *Haliç*), the natural harbor to the north of the city. The following day, the army, which now numbered about 10,000 (not counting the fleet's sailors and marines), landed at the suburb of Pera (Galata) across the harbor from the city. Byzantine resistance was weak and ineffective. On 6 July the crusaders captured the Tower of Galata, which was located at the harbor's entrance, enabling them to break the chain that ran across the harbor from the tower to the city. The Venetian fleet was now able to sail into the Golden Horn, the only enemy fleet ever to do so.

On 17 July the army attacked the land walls at the Blachernae Palace and was repulsed. The Venetians attacked a nearby portion of the inner harbor wall and took twenty-five or thirty towers, about one-quarter of the harbor fortifications. Fierce resistance by the Byzantines prevented any meaningful advance into the city. To protect their perimeter, the Venetians set fire to nearby houses. The wind whipped the fires into a conflagration that consumed about 125 acres of the city. Emperor Alexios sallied out with a massive force in a feigned attack against the Frankish crusaders, inducing the Venetians to abandon their hard-won towers in order to assist their comrades.

By day's end, the crusaders had suffered numerous casualties and apparently gained nothing, but the fire and the emperor's retreat in the face of the smaller crusade army so enraged the citizens of Constantinople that Alexios III fled the city that night. The nobles in the city now reinstalled Isaac II Angelos, who summoned his son to join him in the city. The crusaders, however, refused to allow Prince Alexios to leave camp until Isaac agreed to confirm the Treaty of Zara and to accept Alexios as co-emperor. Isaac acceded, possibly in return for the crusaders' camping across the Golden Horn in Pera and not in the city. The coronation of Alexios IV took place on 1 August.

Alexios IV and Isaac II made an initial payment sufficient to allow the army to pay off its debt to the Venetians; after imperial funds dried up, they had to resort to confiscating church treasures, but even that was insufficient. A more difficult task was delivering on the promise to submit the Byzantine church to papal authority, and there is no evidence that the co-emperors even tried. Isaac and his son had a precarious hold on the throne and faced the grim prospect of not being able to fulfill all of Alexios's promises to the crusaders. On their part, the army's leaders were burdened with their vow to the soldiers to quit Byzantium within a month of their arrival. The most generous computation of the due date was one month from 18 July, when they entered the city. Alexios IV therefore proposed that the army remain in his service until March 1204 and campaign with him so that he could capture his uncle, secure control over the provinces, and gain the riches of empire. The plan made sense to the crusade leaders, who won over the soldiery to their point of view. With most of the crusaders remaining behind as a security force, Alexios and some of the crusaders marched into Thrace, where they won over some cities but failed to capture Alexios III.

Meanwhile two disasters struck in Constantinople. On or around 18 August, a riot broke out in which Greeks slaughtered a number of Latin resident aliens and looted their quarters. Many survivors fled to the crusader camp across the harbor. On 19 August a group of armed westerners (probably largely refugees from the riot) crossed the Golden Horn and attacked a mosque built by Isaac II as a token of friendship with Saladin. The Latins set the mosque on fire and set additional fires in the abandoned Latin quarters. These grew into one of history's greatest urban conflagrations. By the time the flames were under control two days later, about 450 acres of the city had been consumed and

approximately 100,000 inhabitants were homeless, although few, if any, had died in the flames. The city's remaining Latins fled across the harbor to the crusader encampment.

The Constantinopolitans blamed Alexios IV for having brought the destructive Westerners to their city. He now tried to distance himself from the crusaders following his return from the Thracian expedition in November, although he continued to use them to support his hold on the crown. Alexios IV suspended payments to the crusaders, and on 1 December armed conflict on both land and water broke out, with deaths on both sides. After a formal warning to Alexios IV was rebuffed, hostilities now began in earnest, although there is no reason to conclude that the crusaders intended at this time to conquer the city. They wanted to either force Alexios to honor his contract or plunder wealth equal to what the emperor owed them. Alexios's antipathy toward the crusaders appears to have been largely feigned, for he seems to have harbored hopes of reestablishing friendly relations with them.

The Second Capture of Constantinople (1204)

Following two unsuccessful Byzantine attempts to destroy the Venetian fleet with fire ships and the inglorious defeat of an imperial land force, Alexios IV's tenuous popularity plummeted. On 25 January 1204, an urban mob declared him deposed, and two days later they forced the imperial purple on a young nobleman, Nicholas Kanabos. In desperation, Alexios IV turned to the crusaders for assistance, but he was seized and imprisoned by the imperial chamberlain, Alexios Doukas (nicknamed Mourzouphlos), the leader of the faction opposed to the westerners, who declared himself emperor. With the execution of Kanabos and the death of Isaac II, who died from natural causes shortly before or after Alexios IV's deposition, Doukas had an uncontested hold on the throne.

Alexios V Doukas was crowned emperor on 5 February, and on 7 February he tried to negotiate a peaceful crusader withdrawal from Constantinople. The crusaders refused, neither trusting him nor wishing to abrogate their treaty with Alexios IV. The next night, Alexios V had the young emperor strangled. With no reason to hope for any accommodation with the Byzantines, the crusaders decided on a full-scale war against Alexios V and the imperial city. The clergy traveling with the army provided justification by assuring the crusaders that their cause was righteous, and even the moral equivalent of an assault on Muslim-held Jerusalem.

Fourth Crusade (1202–1204)

In March the crusade barons and the Venetians entered into a new treaty that arranged a division of the empire to follow the capture of the city. On 9 April all their forces concentrated an assault on the same area of harbor walls that the Venetians had held for a while in July 1203. They were repulsed with substantial losses but made another amphibious assault on 12 April. Thanks to gallantry, foolhardiness, and luck (largely by forcing an entry through a poorly defended postern gate along the harbor strand), the crusaders established a precarious forward position within the city. With the situation still in doubt, the crusaders set a defensive fire during the night. This—the third conflagration in nine months—brought the overall destruction by fire to about one-sixth of the total area of the city. During the night, Alexios V fled the city, and on the morning of 13 April the crusaders unexpectedly found themselves in uncontested possession of Constantinople. They then subjected the city to three days of pillage.

Conclusions

During the second week of May, the crusaders elected Count Baldwin IX of Flanders as the new emperor. His coronation on 16 May inaugurated the Latin Empire of Constantinople, which lasted to 1261. The crusading clergy had convinced the rank and file that their attack on Christian Constantinople, a city supposedly bathed in sin, schism, and heresy, was consonant with their crusade vow. Cardinal Peter Capuano even confirmed that their capture and defense of the city fulfilled that vow. He and Cardinal Soffredo released the Venetians from their ban of excommunication incurred at Zara, even though they still admitted no wrongdoing, and Peter dispensed from their crusade obligation all crusaders who stayed on in the Latin Empire for an additional year. Despite the consternation of Pope Innocent III, there was great hope in the West that the conquest of Constantinople would unify Christendom under Roman obedience and lay the foundation for the reconquest of Jerusalem. The reality was the opposite. The Latin Empire, teetering continually on the brink of disaster, soaked up crusade energy that could otherwise have been directed to the Holy Land. As for Christian unity, arguably the events of 1204 closed an iron door between the Orthodox East and Roman Catholic West that has not been reopened.

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See also: Constantinople, City of; Constantinople, Latin Empire of

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France

The histories of the kingdom of France and the crusades are entwined in both fact and medieval perceptions. Pope Urban II preached the First Crusade (1096–1099) at Clermont in Auvergne (mod. Clermont-Ferrand) in November 1095, and, with rare exceptions, French pilgrims and warriors made up the largest contingents of all subsequent crusades until King Louis IX's ill-fated journey to Tunis in 1270. Support came from all levels of society. Five kings of the Capetian dynasty in succession went on crusade in the thirteenth century. The so-called People's Crusades of 1095–1096 show the depth of the appeal of the crusade among nonnobles and peasants, although it was by no means confined to these groups. Moreover, numerous popular or revivalist crusading movements took place within the kingdom, such as the Children's Crusade of 1212 and the Shepherds' Crusades of 1251 and 1320. Finally, the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229), launched against the Cathars or "pure Christians," eventually brought most of the autonomous counties of southern France under royal control. Even the deaths of three kings on crusade in the course of the thirteenth century did not end French interests, or the royal family's perceptions of itself as the commanders of wars directed against "the enemies of Christ." For example, Pierre Dubois, a Norman lawyer, wrote *De recuperatione Terre Sancte* around 1306 in an unsuccessful attempt to inspire King Philip IV to continue the exploits of his grandfather, Louis IX.

Origins and Definitions

Although a comprehensive analysis of the crusading movement in France would require a survey of Capetian history, one must be mindful that what defined "France" changed geographically, politically, and culturally throughout the era. For example, the resources held by King Philip I (d. 1108) at the time of the Council of Clermont were strikingly paltry compared with those held by his descendant Louis IX in the 1260s. Yet, even as the people of Toulouse negotiated

with their count, Alphonse (a brother of Louis IX), over the contribution they would make to his participation in Louis's crusade of 1270, they spoke of the need to travel "to France" to meet with him, because they saw their territory as culturally and juridically distinct (although not independent) from the realm.

The degree to which one can speak of proto-crusades or "the idea of crusade" before 1095 is debated. Nevertheless, most historians agree that much of what made "the French" so responsive to Urban II's appeal depended on the vassalic-economic milieu and the lay religious associations of the eleventh century. Nobles often secured or aggrandized their powers by fighting their neighbors, and the feud was an accepted way to respond to disputes. Ecclesiastics sought to control such violence through the Peace and Truce of God, which were first proclaimed by southern French bishops in the decades around 1000. Sometimes the energies of knights could be channeled into punishing those who broke the episcopal peace or into expeditions further afield. For example, Raymond IV of Saint-Gilles, count of Toulouse, occasionally raided Muslim-held towns in northern Spain to capture booty that was denied him in Christian Occitania by the peace movements he supported. Such excursions helped establish the notion that taking war to non-Christians not only satisfied the need for wealth but also might be pleasing to God. More directly, the socioeconomic volatility of such a violent society was exacerbated by a spate of famines in the early 1090s that inspired spiritual reform throughout French society. Perhaps the genius of Urban's appeal, therefore, was that it offered everyone the opportunity to participate in a physical and spiritual battle against church-sanctioned enemies far removed from the difficult environment in which they found themselves. French crusaders happily co-opted the Latin term *milites Christi* ("soldiers" or "knights" of Christ), which had hitherto referred to monks.

The French Monarchy and the Crusades

Before his sermon at Clermont, Pope Urban II spent much of the summer of 1095 convening ecclesiastical councils in France, but deliberately avoided royal territory during his tour. The pope had excommunicated King Philip I because of his scandalous second marriage to Bertranda of Montfort. Papal relations with the Capetian king were nevertheless better than those with the Holy Roman Emperor, Henry IV, who supported the antipope Clement III. Urban's diplomatic

efforts pertinent to the crusade focused on the great noble houses of Boulogne, Blois-Champagne, Normandy, and Toulouse: their territories encircled those of the king, which largely lay in the area between Paris and Orléans.

Although Philip I was not allowed to participate in the crusade, the Capetian family was represented by his younger brother, Count Hugh of Vermandois. Excessively conscious of his status as a cadet of the royal family, Hugh soured relations between the crusaders and the Byzantine emperor, Alexios I Komnenos (whose aid the crusaders hoped to gain on their way to Jerusalem), even before his arrival in Constantinople (mod. Istanbul, Turkey). As the crusading armies marched across the Balkans in 1097, Hugh forwarded a letter demanding that he be received with all the pomp due a king: evidence of the prestige the Capetians sought to portray, though they held but limited power in their own realm.

The socioeconomic effects caused by the departure of the First Crusade in 1096 were profound: a generation of some of the most powerful lords of the realm, not to mention innumerable noncombatants and pilgrim-warriors, sold or leased their properties and delegated their powers to siblings or trusted vassals. Therefore, demand for a depleted food supply was lessened, labor markets had to be replenished, numerous properties and titles changed hands, and new (at least more expansive) means to turn land into cash were devised, all of which helped foster economic recovery. Moreover, once news of the capture of Jerusalem in July 1099 reached France, reformers saw their efforts justified, a new wave of armies mustered, and the processes of exchange and export began anew in 1100–1101.

Departing crusaders mostly sold or mortgaged their properties to local monasteries. One of the more significant sales of the era was that of the city and viscounty of Bourges by Odo Arpin to Philip I around 1100. Philip's purchase represented the first expanse of territory south of the river Loire brought directly under Capetian control. Moreover, Bourges was the seat of an archbishop, whose jurisdiction went far to the south. Royal possession of the viscounty and influence over the archbishopric marked a significant turning point in the fortunes of the Capetians.

Although the principalities of the Levant established by the first crusaders survived the destruction of the reinforcements who arrived in 1101, the city of Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey) was recaptured by the Muslims in 1144, an event that stirred Louis VII (1137–1180) to begin plan-

ning an expedition at the court held at Bourges that Christmas. Indeed, Odo of Deuil, a monk at the royal monastery of Saint-Denis, north of Paris, and chronicler of the Second Crusade (1147–1149), suggests that Louis was the one who spurred Bernard of Clairvaux and others to preach a crusade. Louis took the cross the following Easter, the first of five French kings to do so. However, despite the leadership of Louis and the king of Germany, Conrad II, the crusade further soured relations with the Byzantine emperor before it was defeated in Anatolia.

If Philip I had the good fortune to add to the royal demesne around 1101, King Louis VII had the ill fortune to lose Anjou and Aquitaine when he divorced his famously strong-willed wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine, soon after the surviving crusaders returned. Odo did not provide details of Eleanor's indiscretions while she accompanied Louis to the East, but nor was he disappointed to see such a "foreign" influence leave the royal court. Worse was to follow, however, for Eleanor married Henry II Plantagenet, count of Anjou, who became king of England in 1154. She quickly bore him several sons. Between Henry's hereditary domains in Anjou, Eleanor's extensive dowry of Aquitaine, and the duchy of Normandy held by the kings of England since 1066, the Plantagenets controlled more territory in France than did the Capetians. Although Louis's son Philip II resettled the territorial account slightly in the Capetians' favor, tensions between the kings of England and France colored all crusading plans after 1150 and brought outright war between the two kingdoms for much of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Philip II Augustus (1180–1223) did not share his father's enthusiasm for the crusade. Philip concentrated on strengthening royal governance and expanding Capetian authority in regions held by de facto autonomous barons, including those held by the king of England. Philip's support for the crusade was always contingent on the simultaneous departures of King Henry II and, later, of Richard I the Lionheart. This contingency brought numerous delays, although Philip continued to collect taxes and tithes meant to support his crusade. Finally, after Henry's death, Philip II and Richard I left on the Third Crusade (1189–1192). Unlike his father or his descendants, Philip embarked on no striking military quests, and thus Richard stole the attentions of chroniclers and poets. Philip considered his part in the recapture of the coastal city of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) enough of a contribution and, much to the consternation of

his contemporaries, returned to France in the summer of 1191. Although he left much of his army under the command of Hugh III, duke of Burgundy, such support for the embattled Frankish states betrays an aspect of Philip's realpolitik: He left the flamboyant Richard and many of the strongest lords of France to fight in the Levant while he returned to co-opt or capture a number of wealthy duchies and counties for the crown.

Despite Philip's domestic preoccupations, his reign witnessed a swell of crusading fervor. A large French contingent left on the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204). Moreover, southern French forces played a significant role in the victory at Las Navas de Tolosa in Spain (1212) against the Muslim lords of northwestern Spain. French knights also joined the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221), which sought, unsuccessfully, to destroy Ayyūbid power in Egypt. Their numbers were limited, though, because of a crusade that was raging within France itself.

The Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229) was launched to destroy the dualist religion of the Cathars in Occitania and adjoining regions of the south. Cathar believers were sometimes called Albigensians because the city of Albi was believed to be the spiritual and administrative center of the sect. The Albigensian Crusade was the first military campaign launched against a heretical group (as opposed to non-Christians), the first crusade to fight within western Europe, and arguably the most important crusade concerning France. The Roman Catholic Church had been aware of the sect's presence in France since Bernard of Clairvaux preached the Second Crusade there in the mid-1140s. The sect was probably quite small at its core, but it enjoyed a good deal of support from nobles eager to challenge episcopal power. Indeed, Pope Innocent III believed that the lack of royal and episcopal authority evident in the south was to blame for the spread of the doctrine. He thus attempted to enlist Philip II's support from at least 1204, but Philip consistently refused to commit royal resources. Innocent proclaimed a full crusade in 1208 in response to the murder of his legate, Peter of Castelnau, who was murdered, many believed, with the implicit consent of Count Raymond VI of Toulouse.

The launch of the crusade also meant an attack on the Saint-Gilles dynasty of Toulouse, a family that had provided one of the leaders of the First Crusade. The archbishops of Bourges were the most enthusiastic preachers of the Albigensian Crusade, and the city was host to a num-

ber of councils and military musters. Response was swift, but one must be aware of the complexities of support and resistance: many southerners initially welcomed the effort to extirpate heresy, whereas some northern clerics questioned the veracity of a crusade to coerce submission to Roman Catholic authority, and—as mentioned—Philip remained aloof from the entire enterprise. Moreover, the crusade was fraught with jurisdictional difficulties. The most pressing question concerned who should possess lands captured from Cathars and their sympathizers. In 1215 Simon of Montfort, commander of the first expedition, was accepted as having de facto possession. Yet, he was killed while fighting outside Toulouse in 1218, and Raymond's son Count Raymond VII was considered a good Catholic who had a legitimate claim to his father's lands. However, a council at Bourges in 1225 dispossessed Raymond VII in favor of Simon's son Amalric, who immediately offered the inheritance to King Louis VIII of France. Louis then marched south as the head of a crusading army. He met almost no armed resistance, but he died of an illness in October 1226, which brought his son Louis IX, still a teenager, to the throne.

The vagaries of battle and diplomacy meant that the Albigensian Crusade lasted until 1229, when Raymond VII submitted himself to Louis IX and a body of clerics in Paris. The Treaty of Paris, promulgated in March, forced Raymond to bequeath his possessions to his daughter Jeanne, who was to be married to a Capetian prince. The county of Toulouse would pass, therefore, into Capetian hands at Raymond's death. To hasten the fateful day, Raymond was required to undertake a crusade to the Levant. He was able to delay his departure for almost two decades, but the beleaguered count died near Nîmes in 1248, and Toulouse passed via his daughter to her husband, Louis IX's brother Alphonse of Poitiers. With this inheritance, most of the territory of modern France came into the possession of the Capetians, although it was not all held directly by the king.

Louis IX and his brothers Alphonse of Poitiers and Charles I of Anjou embarked on perhaps the two best-known crusades in French history. Though Jerusalem was captured by the Muslims in 1244, Louis's first crusade seems to have been his own decision, based upon the family's heritage, his religiosity in the face of severe illness, and a desire to break free from the interference of his domineering mother, Blanche of Castile. Louis's preparations for his Crusade to the East (1248–1254) included the circula-

tion of *enquêteurs* (commissioners) to review the work of local officials (a practice followed by Alphonse in the south, where, in fact, he rarely visited). Louis viewed the abuses and shortcomings found as a personal moral concern that had to be corrected to ensure God's protection of the realm. The reviews, which continued throughout the king's rule, increased his already commanding stature as "the most Christian king." So too did it ensure royal oversight of local tax collection, record keeping, and the enforcement of justice. Louis's efforts and the support he received from the church allowed him to spend perhaps six times the customary annual royal income on the crusade. He even had resources to purchase the relic of the Crown of Thorns from Baldwin II, Latin emperor of Constantinople (a relative he wanted to support financially), and to build the sumptuous Sainte-Chapelle in Paris to house it.

The crusaders were defeated at Mansurah (mod. El-Mansûra, Egypt) soon after their landing in 1250, and Louis was even held captive by the sultan of Egypt for a time. But nothing could deter the king's enthusiasm. Louis made a tour of the Holy Land after he was ransomed, where he purchased more relics and patronized local architectural and manuscript projects. Upon his return to France in 1254, Louis redoubled his efforts at reform, both administrative and personal, in an effort to regain God's favor and plan for a second crusade. Neither the Capetians nor their monastic chroniclers imagined defeat as a military or economic concern. It was invariably described as a divine warning to encourage reform, and Louis epitomized this understanding of the setbacks he and his ancestors had endured.

Though he and his brothers vowed immediately to return to Jerusalem, Charles of Anjou enrolled himself as the papal champion in a conflict with Manfred, illegitimate son of Emperor Frederick II, over Sicily. Charles was preemptively crowned king of Sicily by Pope Urban IV in January 1266, and he captured the kingdom a month later. Louis and Alphonse did not participate, but they awaited its outcome before pressing their plans for a crusade. Louis's piety and Charles's victory arguably marked the apex of Capetian influence throughout Western Christendom.

In the spring of 1267 the three brothers began their preparations in earnest, preparations that yet again reconfigured Capetian governance. Alphonse, for example, established one of the earliest registries of outgoing letters by any Capetian. He did so around Easter 1267, the same moment he took

the cross, in order to keep track of the exceptional financial demands he placed upon his subjects in Poitou and Toulouse. The resources backing Louis's Crusade to Tunis (1270–1271) were even greater than those for his first crusade, but so, too, were its failures. The king and his son Philip fell ill soon after their landing in Tunis. Disease spared the boy, but Louis died on 25 August 1270. Charles led a general retreat, but Alphonse and his wife, Jeanne, sailed to Genoa, from where they hoped to relaunch the expedition. They also died of an illness almost exactly a year after Louis's death. As they had no offspring, their possessions reverted to King Philip III (1270–1285), a reversion that doubled the size of the king's domains.

Possession of the county of Toulouse drew Philip III into Spanish dynastic struggles. Pope Martin IV encouraged Philip to lead a crusade, entirely political in nature and often criticized by contemporaries as such, against King Peter III of Aragon in 1284. After Philip's forces failed to capture Gerona in northeastern Spain, they hoped to pass the winter in Toulouse. The king died in October 1285 on the return. His cousin Charles II of Anjou died on a related campaign the following January, ending Capetian military adventures in the Mediterranean.

King Philip IV (1285–1314), not unlike other rulers of his generation, showed little interest in the crusade. He concentrated his efforts on extending French influence into Flanders to the north and Gascony (held by the kings of England) to the southeast. But so, too, did Philip fight to strengthen the prestige of his lineage by using every means at his disposal to ensure the canonization of Louis IX, granted in August 1297. All the testimonies submitted to support the petition discussed Louis's leadership on two crusades, of course. But many made mention that he was the culmination of a crusading tradition and religious devotion within the Capetian family—a family that deserved canonical recognition for their collective contributions and sacrifices.

After Philip IV's death, a series of short-lived kings who were unable to sire heirs meant that the Capetian line, which had ruled France since 987, gave way to a collateral branch, the Valois, in 1327. Dynastic concerns overshadowed the opportunity to prepare a crusade in the 1320s, although numerous appeals to launch one came from the papacy. Philip VI of Valois (1328–1350) successfully petitioned Pope John XXII to preach the crusade in 1333, and he initially had the support of King Edward III of England. Plans for the route and strategy for the expedition proved difficult to

establish, however. Delays into 1336 engendered distrust in the papal court, where Edward, who claimed the French crown via his mother, Isabella (daughter of Philip IV), spread rumors that Philip's military buildup was really in preparation to attack England.

The opportunity for Philip's planned crusade faded, although a few smaller expeditions embarked for Armenia. Philip indeed used the men and money raised for his crusade to fight the English during the early years of the Hundred Years' War. Nevertheless, the French economy fell into ruin and many noble houses were destroyed during the opening decades of the war, and leadership of the crusading movement passed to Italian city-states, the Holy Roman Emperor, and especially the Iberian kingdoms of Castile and Aragon.

Noble, Knightly, and Popular Participation

As early as the fall of 1095, Pope Urban II was keenly aware of the need to limit participation in the crusade to those capable of bearing arms. For most people, however, the crusade was a pilgrimage, and thus open to any Christian who wished to undertake the journey. Historians have recently delved into local archives throughout France to discover the depth of support for the crusade. Local records, especially contracts of sales, mentions of gifts, and wills, reveal individuals who needed to raise cash or make pious donations before they embarked for the Holy Land or Occitania as *peregrinati* (pilgrims) or (later and more rarely) *crucesignati* (those signed with the cross). In the Berry (the region around Bourges sold to Philip I), for example, local participation seemed to have surged between the crusade of Philip II Augustus in the 1180s and Louis IX's first crusade in the 1250s, although the phenomenon also reflects a greater survival rate of documents more generally. Departures of nonnobles certainly surged with royal preparations, but many left France in the 1160s and the 1240s (for example) as well, when the Capetians were not engaged in a crusade.

The Frankish principalities in Outremer established by the First Crusade were ruled, with occasional exceptions, by lesser French nobles who brought French language and law to the Levant. The kingdom of Jerusalem was ruled by descendants of the counts of Rethel for much of the twelfth century, and the family of Lusignan reigned for much of the thirteenth. The *Assizes of Jerusalem* pertained to procedures of succession of the kingdom and were based on French customs, although it is debated how pertinent the *Assizes* were

in practice. A similar dynamic took place during the Albigensian Crusade, when its commander, Simon of Montfort (a notable on the Fourth Crusade), drew up the *Statutes of Pamiers* in 1212. These were designed to protect the Catholic faith, the church, and the poor in captured lands in the south, and they often referred to establishing customs as practiced in France around Paris. Through such codes, noble French crusaders sought to expand their legal culture throughout many areas of the Mediterranean.

Generations of greater and lesser nobles participated on every crusade here mentioned. During the Fourth and Fifth Crusades, and the Albigensian Crusade that linked and overlapped with them, nobles commanded armies in lieu of kings, a development that might in retrospect appear to have been a tactical disaster of infighting and war-by-committee. Participants nevertheless saw their endeavors as the culmination of noble prowess and crusading zeal. Whereas the narratives of the first two crusades were written by clerics and monks, accounts from the Third Crusade onward were penned mostly by lesser nobles writing in their native French or Occitan. Robert of Clari and Geoffrey of Villehardouin gave veritable roll calls of the nobles who participated on the Fourth Crusade. Villehardouin in particular emphasized the role of the count and lesser nobles of Champagne both in instigating the crusade and in bringing about some form of order and success when Flemish crusaders broke their vows and embarked on their own plans. William of Tudela and his anonymous continuator, as well as troubadours who sang a decade later about the threatened destruction of Occitan culture and Catholic faith in the face of an Albigensian Crusade gone astray with the greed of northern Frenchmen, also named many noble houses on both sides of the conflict, as well as prominent bourgeois who defended their towns. Motivations for lesser nobles and commoners involved a dynamic mix of local and familial traditions, a desire for spiritual reward, and prospects to improve a family's status. Moreover, in such sources we see glimmers both of class consciousness and proto-nationalist sentiment (based mostly on dialect and territory, rather than boundaries and political allegiance).

France also saw numerous crusades led by nonnoble and charismatic men. Many in the twelfth century credited Peter the Hermit, a wandering monk from northeastern France, with inspiring Urban II to preach the crusade. He led a large and ill-prepared contingent of pilgrims to defeat in Asia Minor in 1096. Around 1212 Stephen of Cloyes claimed to

possess a divine letter encouraging him to lead a crusade of pure-minded young men to Jerusalem. His gathering, however, was dispersed along the southern coast of France, perhaps by cynical slave traders. Finally, town and country dwellers referred to as “shepherds” inspired two campaigns, one in 1251 (in response to Louis IX’s capture at Damietta) and the other in the early 1320s. Both movements turned violent toward Jews before they were dispersed by urban and royal authorities in central France. All these movements possessed the energies of religious revivals, and their leaders believed that God had called the humble to capture Jerusalem because kings and nobles had failed to do so.

The most difficult participants to gauge are women. Chroniclers (usually monks) often mentioned the queens and noble ladies who accompanied their husbands (such as Eleanor of Aquitaine, Jeanne of Toulouse, and Louis IX’s wife, Margaret), but little was said about the mass of supporters who followed all the crusades. It is clear that nonnoble women joined the expeditions as pilgrims. The French kings struggled to end prostitution on their crusades as well. After initial hesitation, both the Templars and Hospitallers accepted women into their ranks; this was done on separate estates, and the women usually joined when on their deathbeds, a tradition long practiced by religious orders. In Outremer, where war continually decimated the male population, queens and countesses carried the trappings of power to a much greater degree than in France, from where second or third husbands were often sought.

The search for nonnoble female participants is further hampered by the fact that local records that pertain to exchanges of property to finance pilgrimages invariably refer to the man who controlled the property. Historians are dependent, therefore, on mention of his wife, daughter, or sibling in the transaction. The Occitan *Chanson de la Croisade albigeoise*, however, occasionally refers to the women of Toulouse, who helped defend their city against Simon of Montfort’s attacks in 1216–1217. Though evidence is slim, it would be safe to say that women made up a significant minority of every crusade, and that noble women had notable influence on the decisions made by their husbands.

The Military Orders in France

The Order of the Temple was founded by Hugh of Payns, a nobleman from Champagne, around 1120. The Hospitallers, whose original foundation as a charitable organization took

place a generation before, soon followed the Templars’ example in becoming a military order. The orders had their headquarters in Jerusalem, yet both, especially the Templars, drew most of their membership and wealth from France. Nevertheless, they did not develop nationalist characteristics, unlike the cases of subsequently founded military orders such as the Teutonic Knights or the Spanish Order of Calatrava. The Hospitallers and Templars initially focused their recruitment and fund-raising efforts in Italy, but the support offered by the people of southern and eastern France encouraged them to move their western headquarters to Saint-Gilles, just west of the Rhône, by 1140. Their resources swelled exponentially in the mid-twelfth century through donations from lay people who saw in them the perfect fusion of corporate military strength and individual monastic piety, an image extolled by Bernard of Clairvaux in the 1140s as Louis VII prepared for his crusade.

The orders’ organization in France was initially governed as a province (Templars) or a priory (Hospitallers) run by commanders or priors, respectively. Their success and popularity meant that in the thirteenth century both orders divided their holdings into two or three provinces or priories, with headquarters in Saint-Gilles, Toulouse, Lyons, and Paris. The orders had simple hierarchies with few intermediate ranks between itinerant commanders and local chapters, an evolution that probably helped speed transfer of men and arms to the Levant. Although both orders held extensive property in southern France (invariably an autonomous province or priory), they went to great lengths to avoid participation in the Albigensian Crusade, a stance that would help foster a mythology of Templar gnosticism and even Satanism during the order’s trial in 1308 and subsequent suppression.

The Templars and Hospitallers concentrated their resources on fighting infidels, and the territories and treasures held in France were meant to support that vocation. Such was the wealth of the Templars that King Louis VII borrowed extensively from them to support his crusade in 1147, and his descendants depended on their commandery in Paris as the royal treasury. Philip IV, whose attentions were directed toward the English and Flemish armies in the Low Countries, saw the order as a source of desperately needed income. The king arrested the order’s members in October 1307 and confiscated Templar properties throughout France. The majority of those apprehended, however, were monkish and often older men who could not participate in

the wars in the Levant, but who hoped to support the order's ideals through prayer, almsgiving, and the raising of funds. Nevertheless, Philip pressed his charges, and although Pope Clement V remained unconvinced of the extreme allegations, he accepted the suppression of the Templars in 1311. Philip received little of the wealth of the order, however, as much of it was handed over to the Hospitallers.

Literary Images of the Crusades as a French Enterprise

One aspect of French participation that receives comparatively little attention is the way the French envisioned themselves, their allies, and their enemies via their historical narratives and literature pertaining to the crusades. The anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, written just after the First Crusade by a layman, emphasizes God's plan to liberate Jerusalem as realized through the Franks: Parisians, Angevins, Toulousans, and Burgundians united in their oath to defeat the infidel. Crusading songs of the twelfth century, most of which came from southern France, emphasized the need for a pure heart and chivalric honor for a crusader to succeed. Chronicles written by French clerics from the Second Crusade to the fourteenth century emphasize, not surprisingly, royal participation. Indeed, the kings of France, rather than the popes, were often given credit for launching expeditions. The men who accompanied the Capetians were described as devout and chivalrous. Blame for failure, by contrast, was placed on duplicitous Greeks or vainglorious Germans. Odo of Deuil, for example, contrasted the effeminacy of the Byzantine court with the manly and Catholic court of Louis VII.

Much effort was put into using such propagandistic imagery to describe French military expeditions in the fourteenth century, especially in reference to the campaigns against the Flemings and the English in the first half of the century. In the early 1310s, Philip IV portrayed the Flemings as undermining the peace that would allow him opportunity to organize a crusade against the Muslims. Some twenty years later, Philip VI hoped to convince Pope John XXII that a crusade against the English, who continued to raid areas of southwestern and northern France, was a prerequisite for the success of the crusade he was planning against the Muslims. In neither case did the papacy acquiesce, but it did pursue a notably pro-French agenda that encouraged a developing mythology of "the most Christian king" of France whose inability to lead a crusade was largely blamed on interference from belligerent neighbors. If the crusades were

Kings of France in the Period of the Crusades

Philip I	1060–1108
Louis VI	1108–1137
Louis VII	1137–1180
Philip II Augustus	1180–1223
Louis VIII	1223–1226
Louis IX (St. Louis)	1226–1270
Philip III	1270–1285
Philip IV the Fair	1285–1314
Louis X	1314–1316
John I	1316
Philip V	1316–1322
Charles IV	1322–1328
Philip VI	1328–1350
John II	1350–1364
Charles V	1364–1380
Charles VI	1380–1422
Charles VII	1422–1461
Louis XI	1461–1483
Charles VIII	1483–1498
Louis XII	1498–1515
Francis I	1515–1547

meant to expand the reach of Latin Christianity throughout the Mediterranean world, they in fact encouraged groups within Latin Europe to articulate ever more clearly the linguistic, legal, and cultural distinctions among them.

The Valois kings put great stock in the crusading traditions of their Capetian forebears, perhaps because they could not mount a crusade of their own. They continued, for example, a historical project begun at the royal abbey of Saint-Denis under Louis IX that was designed to exemplify the religious, cultural, and dynastic unity of France: the *Grandes Chroniques*. Jean Foulquet was commissioned by Charles VII to produce an illustrated version. Foulquet, immersed in the ideals and myths of the Valois court and in the triumphal narrative presented in the *Chroniques*, had the temerity to open the chapter relating the rule of Philip I with an image of the Council of Clermont of 1095, at which, according to Foulquet, the excommunicated king sat directly below Urban II as the pontiff preached the crusade [MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 6465, fol. 174r]. The image argues that every crusade had been led by a king of France. Although patently untrue, the myth could be perpetuated because, until the 1340s, the greatest and longest-

Francis of Assisi (1182–1226)

lasting gains of the crusading era were made in the governmental power, fiscal resources, and moral authority of the Capetian and Valois kings of France.

—Christopher K. Gardner

See also: Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229); Cathars; Crusade of Louis IX of France to Tunis (1270); Crusade of Louis IX to the East (1248–1254); First Crusade (1095–1099); Mahdia Crusade (1390); Nikopolis Crusade (1396)

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Francis of Assisi (1182–1226)

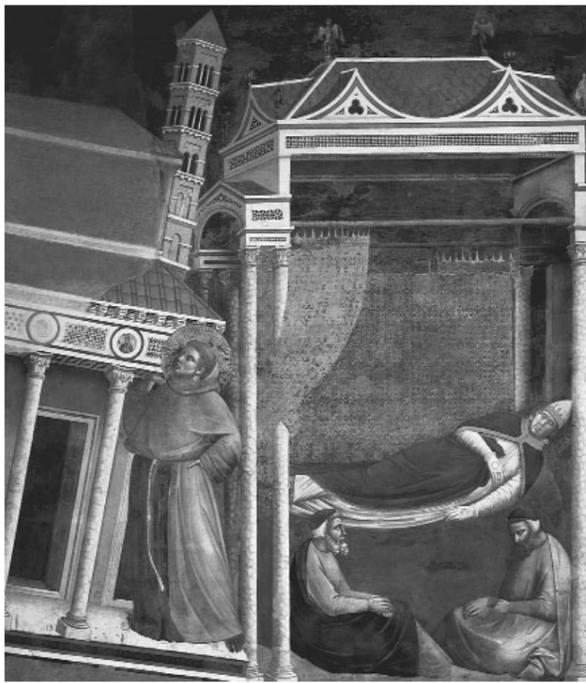
Born into a rich family of cloth merchants of Assisi, Francis in his early twenties had a conversion experience that

pushed him to attempt the apostolic life (Lat. *vita apostolica*), based on absolute poverty. He founded the Order of the Friars Minor, or Franciscans, who saw mission to infidels, and particularly to Muslims, as an integral part of the renovation of Christendom and of the living out of the *vita apostolica*.

Francis’s hagiographers affirm that he wished to live like the apostles, who preached to infidels, and to die like the apostles, martyred by infidels. It was this thirst for martyrdom, according to Franciscan hagiographers Thomas of Celano and Bonaventure, that drove Francis to embark for Outremer in 1212 in order to preach to Muslims, but contrary winds kept him in Italy. He subsequently set out for North Africa, but fell ill in Spain and did not reach Muslim territory. He finally set out for Outremer in 1219 and made his way to the camp of the crusaders who were then besieging Damietta in the course of the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221). Thomas of Celano tells how Francis preached in the crusaders’ camp and predicted a defeat in battle, a warning that went unheeded. Some historians have seen this incident as a testimony to Francis’s opposition to crusade or even his pacifism, yet there is no evidence to support this claim: according to Thomas, Francis warned against fighting on one ill-fated day; he did not preach against crusading in general.

Francis’s goal in coming to Egypt was to preach to al-Kāmil, the Ayyūbid sultan. According to the writer James of Vitry, Francis “came into our army, burning with the zeal of faith, and was not afraid to cross over to the enemy army. There he preached the word of God to the Saracens but accomplished little” [*Lettres de Jacques de Vitry 1160/70–1240, évêque de Saint-Jean d’Acre*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Leiden: Brill, 1960), no. 6]. In his *Historia Occidentalis*, James embellishes the incident, affirming that the sultan listened eagerly and attentively to Francis. Franciscan hagiography and iconography developed the encounter in ever greater detail, having Francis propose a trial by fire with the “Saracen priests,” or even having him secretly convert the sultan.

Francis returned to Italy without having gained the palm of martyrdom. The following year (1220), five Franciscan friars succeeded, through repeatedly preaching against Islam and Muḥammad in mosques and public squares in Seville and Marrakesh, in provoking the Almohad caliph al-Mustanşir into having them put to death. Francis, upon learning of their martyrdom, is said to have proclaimed, “Now I can truly say that I have five brothers!” [Arnauld de Sarrant,



Innocent III Dreaming of St. Francis Holding Up the Church, by Giotto di Bondone, c. 1290–1295. (Archivo Iconografico, S.A./Corbis)

Chronica XXIV Generalium Ordinis Minorum, in *Annales Franciscanorum* 3 (1897), 593]. Such missions were encouraged by the earliest extant version (1221) of the rule of the Friars Minor, the so-called *Regula non bullata* (or *Regula Prima*). A chapter of the rule encouraged those friars who were spiritually prepared to undertake mission among Saracens and other infidels and urged them not to fear death. Many Franciscans heeded these injunctions: over the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, scores of them died at the hands of Muslims and other non-Christians throughout North Africa, the Near East, and Asia.

—John Tolan

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Franciscan Order

The Order of Friars Minor (generally known as the Franciscan Order) was founded during the second decade of the thirteenth century. It was based on the ideal of apostolic poverty and followed a rigorous program of pastoral reform within the church. The Franciscan Order shows many points of contact with the crusades throughout the later Middle Ages. It came into existence during one of the most vital periods of the crusade movement, and its founder Francis of Assisi (canonized in 1228) was himself an active supporter of the crusade movement, joining the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221) at Damietta in 1219. Later the Franciscan friars, alongside their Dominican counterparts, became one of the most important and effective bodies of crusade preachers in the service of the papacy and thus played a vital role in spreading the crusade message and sustaining the crusade movement throughout Europe.

The common ground between the Franciscan Order and the crusade movement was the context of church reform. The bulk of the Franciscan friars supported the papacy's impetus toward spiritual and institutional renewal of the church, embracing an active role in reforming pastoral care by popular preaching and advocating penance. Their support of the crusade movement was to a large extent due to the fact that they saw individual participation in the crusade above all as a penitential and spiritual activity. Thus crusading could be understood in terms of Franciscan ideas of Christocentric theology and corresponded well to the overall importance the friars attached to penance as an expression of a life spent in accordance with the precepts of Christian religion.

Whether St. Francis openly supported all aspects of the crusade movement remains a moot point. As well as participating in the crusade, he was portrayed as a mediator between the Christian and Muslim forces, advocating peaceful mission alongside, though not necessarily instead of, crusading, since crusade and mission were at the time viewed as complementary rather than mutually exclusive activities. St. Francis seems to have been in favour of the spiritual and political objectives of the crusades as an expression of Christocentric spirituality on the part of individual participants and as a collective effort of the church to defend and spread Christianity and the Christian message. Throughout the later Middle Ages the Franciscan friars by and large followed their founder's attitude toward the crusade, leading to an active involvement in the crusade movement.

Early on in the order's history, the papacy was aware of the potential of the new mendicant friars for spreading crusade propaganda effectively over large areas. Following the rapid growth of the order throughout Europe, Pope Gregory IX began using friars as crusade preachers and money collectors for the crusade from the early 1230s. Throughout the thirteenth century and beyond, the popes made use of the Franciscan friars, alongside their Dominican counterparts, to target and control the propaganda for specific crusades in particular areas and at particular times. The large number of trained preachers and the strictly hierarchical organization of the order made this possible. The Franciscan Order thus became a sophisticated propaganda tool employed by the papacy for the promotion of the crusades in all parts of Christendom. Despite their insistence on poverty, the Franciscan friars also took on the role of collecting money given in support of the crusade during their propaganda activities. Through the practice of redeeming crusade vows for money, which became a regular feature in the later Middle Ages, the friars' activities provided the crusades with much needed financial resources. In contrast, the Franciscan friars were reluctant to collect crusade taxes on behalf of the papacy, as this brought them into conflict with the secular clergy and, being an activity solely concerned with money, could be seen as compromising their commitment to the ideal of poverty.

Of the two great mendicant orders of the Franciscans and the Dominicans, the Franciscan Order was perhaps the less reliable agent of crusade propaganda. Even though there is no doubt about the overall volume, importance, and impact of Franciscan crusade preaching, there were periods in the order's history when internal strife made it more difficult for the papacy to rely on the Franciscan friars as effective crusade propagandists. Although there seems to have been little internal resistance to the Franciscans' support of the crusades specifically, divisions within the order, especially in the fourteenth century, sometimes translated into political activism that obstructed papal crusade policy. This activism mainly played a role during the political crusades in Italy in the fourteenth century and had little bearing on the Franciscans' support of other crusading ventures. The Franciscans showed a particular interest in the crusades to the Near East and Northern Africa, as these provided them with a context for developing missionary activities in Muslim countries. By the thirteenth century, the Franciscans had established houses at Constantinople, in Cyprus, at Acre, and at

Ceuta in the wake of crusading campaigns. After their expulsion from Palestine in 1291, they returned to the Holy Land in the 1320s, establishing houses at Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and elsewhere.

—Christoph T. Maier

See also: Francis of Assisi (1182–1226)

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Frankish Greece

Frankish Greece refers to those parts of the Byzantine Empire conquered and ruled by Franks in central and southern Greece after the capture of Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) by the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204). The main states established were the principality of Achaia and the duchy of Athens and Thebes. Other possessions, particularly in the islands, were held by the Italian republics of Venice and Genoa.

Greeks and Franks were no strangers to each other by 1204, especially in the major commercial and administrative centers of the Byzantine Empire, where Italian merchants and Norman mercenaries had been a presence since the late eleventh century. As disrupters of imperial peace they had been prominent both when crusading armies passed through the empire and when the Normans from Sicily had attacked parts of the empire in 1085, 1149, 1157, and again in 1185. Some of them had married Greeks and learned Greek. In Byzantine literary sources the Franks were labeled as barbarians, polluters of altars, and despicable cooks and were compared to dogs in their unseemliness, an abuse that seems to have enraged them more than any other obloquy. Despite this invective, which was limited to times of tension



The Frankish states of Greece and their neighbors, c. 1215

and to the works of Constantinopolitan writers, the Greek authorities appreciated the political, commercial, and military value of the Franks.

After 1204 Westerners continued to serve as mercenaries in Greek armies: they served with the Epirote Greeks against their fellow Franks in Thessaly in 1210; made a significant contribution in 1211–1214 by fighting against the Saljūqs of Rūm and the Komnenoi of the empire of Trebizond in the forces of Theodore I Laskaris, ruler of the Byzantine successor state at Nicaea; and cleared much of western Asia Minor of the Turks for Emperor Andronikos II Palaeologos, through the Catalan Company, in 1305–1309. With the occupation of territories of the former Byzantine Empire, the Franks came as rulers and settlers, and as such they brought change to the majority Greek populations in the spheres of politics, economics, religion, and social intercourse, and along with it, the need for accommodation on both parties.

The scant nature and uneven distribution of the evidence in the region lends support to polarized views of the extent to which a Franco-Greek society evolved after the conquest of Greece in the thirteenth century. Reliance on the literary sources, which are not always devoid of cultural nationalism, means reliance on anecdotal evidence for one view or another regarding the extent of symbiosis between the two cultures. The most recent approach is to move away from the construct of ethnicity to focus on everyday issues of gender, religion, and social status as revealed in the notarial documents surviving from Venetian Crete.

Society

The initial reception of the Franks by the native populations differed dramatically; in Greece and the Aegean islands they were frequently welcomed as liberators and as guarantors of stability, whereas in Crete and Rhodes there was resistance that flared up into sporadic revolts throughout the period of Frankish occupation. Furthermore, there was little homogeneity among the invaders themselves. The Greeks referred to them in linguistic or religious terms as *Frankoi* (Franks) and *Latinoi* (Latins), but the Westerners were much more culturally diverse, being composed of (at various times and places) Burgundians, Catalans, Champagnards, Florentines, Genoese, Navarrese, Normans, and Venetians. These diverse groups were too small, and their effective control too brief and too limited, for anything other than an encounter between two societies rather than an acculturation between them to take place.

The Latin conquerors did not profoundly alter the society that they found in place in central and southern Greece. There was no attempt to remove the topmost rung of landlords (archons) and their client groups as had happened in Constantinople in 1204. This is the single most important difference between those areas of relatively peaceful conquest, such as Greece and the islands, and other areas of Latin settlement. Indeed, there was no need to do so, since the number of Franks was small and the available former imperial and ecclesiastical estates ample for their needs without dispossession of the native Greek archontic class. These were confirmed in the possession of their patrimonial lands together with the peasants settled there. Inheritance customs were also confirmed, and religious toleration was practically conceded for rural areas, although it was never given any legal sanction by inclusion in the *Assizes of Romania*. In Achaia, the archons prostrated themselves in front of William of Champlitte as a sign of submission and subordination and agreed to provide the homage and military service consonant with their rank. They had in effect been Frankicized or feudalized, yet there is much that is unknown behind this apparent easy integration.

Major campaigns outside Frankish Greece required Greek troops either as mercenaries or as vassals, as, for example, in Thessaly in 1259 and 1304 and the Tagliocozzo campaign in Italy in support of the Angevins in 1268. At some point prior to one of these engagements, as articles 70 and 71 of the *Assizes of Romania* make clear, there was an inconclusive discussion as to whether Greek archons could be summoned to provide mounted service on the same terms as Franks. In the pages of the *Chronicle of the Morea*, Greeks play substantial roles as military advisers and warriors in Latin armies as well as trusted functionaries and persons of influence in political and military society. Greek landowners seemed eager to attain Latin titles and honors; on Crete following sporadic risings, these were distributed as part of the pacification process. The majority group, the Greek peasantry, seems to have acquiesced passively in Latin rule. It seems that their status may well have been diminished. They were not allowed to buy, inherit, or bequeath landed property. No example of Frankish status being conferred on a Greek has yet come to light.

From the outset of the Frankish settlement, there was considerable cooperation between the conquerors and the majority population. Greeks served as guides and interpreters. Six Greeks served on the partition committee

chaired by the chronicler Geoffrey of Villehardouin, and likewise in the Morea (Peloponnese) five Greek landowners served on the committee of twelve responsible for the initial land allocations. Access and translations were provided to Byzantine cadastral and fiscal documents, and in Crete oral evidence was gathered from local Greeks of substance. For many people in the former provinces of the Byzantine Empire not closely connected with the Byzantine court or the Greek Orthodox hierarchy, the Franks were not seen as a threat.

There are no sure guides to the population of Frankish Greece. The invaders of the Morea in 1205 numbered between 700 and 1,000 men. Historians have no idea of the number of women present with the army; certainly the leading men brought their wives eastward after the fighting was over. The Latins have been estimated as constituting one-third of the population in the towns of central Greece in the fourteenth century, and this proportion has been accepted for Frankish Greece as a whole [Rubió y Lluç, "La Grecia catalana"]. Certainly the overall population of Franks was not large, given that they tended to live in towns, leaving the countryside largely to the majority Greek population. Underpopulation was a problem for the Franks in the East. Constantinople continued to exert its attraction for Western settlers, as did Cyprus, despite the fact that King Guy of Lusignan had advertised the attractions of the island widely to Western knights and the Greek landowners had been expropriated. Immigration from the West did not appeal to many. As early as 1212 there were insufficient Latin priests, and the attempt by Otho of La Roche to establish a parochial structure around a core of twelve Frankish residents met with no success. A century later, in 1336, it was noted that Franks in central Greece and on the island of Negroponte (Euboea) were attending Orthodox services and even having their children baptized into the Orthodox rite because of the scarcity of both Franks and Latin priests in the region; these circumstances were attributed by Pope Benedict XII to the unstable and dangerous conditions that prevailed there. It would appear that Franks were being absorbed into the Orthodox, who formed the vast majority of the population.

In 1224 Pope Honorius III had described Frankish Greece as Nova Francia (New France). It was to remain a frontier society throughout its existence. The incomers sought to maintain control by means of institutions imported from their homelands. They also attempted to maintain a racial, linguistic, and territorial distinctiveness from their Greek

subjects. The *Assizes of Romania* provided the framework for this. The Catalan chronicler Ramon Muntaner noted the purity of French diction in the early fourteenth century, and the marriage market he described following the battle of Halmyros seems to indicate a marked preference for Western brides on the part of the Catalans.

The *Chronicle of the Morea* gives many examples of bilingualism among the Frankish ruling class, however, by the second generation of Frankish rule. Interpreters had played an important role at the time of the conquest and continued to do so in the Angevin court of Naples, yet settlers in Romania learned Greek, perhaps after the example of Stephano Bon, who took lessons in a Greek monastery near Candia (mod. Irakleio) in Crete. He took a Greek wife, spent his life engaging in commercial endeavors that required him to negotiate with Cretan farmers, and was buried there after his death. Material regarding mixed marriages is patchy. There had been marriages between Greeks and Franks from the beginning of the Western influx into the eastern Mediterranean. The Latin and Greek churches seemed to have discouraged them, while acknowledging that rulers had to marry for reasons of state despite religious or social preference. Yet Western women were always in short supply. In the early fourteenth century intermarriage between nonnoble Westerners and Greek women is mentioned as an issue for the first time in papal letters; this has been taken as evidence that intermarriage was increasing, yet for some Greek chroniclers it was an issue before this time. In the main, mixed marriages, and the children of such unions, escaped official notice until times of tension, as in Constantinople in the 1260s when Greek chroniclers such as Akropolites and Pachymeres concerned themselves with the loyalties of the *gasmouloi* (children of mixed parentage).

Religious Life

Religious differences remained the great stumbling block to assimilation. There is some evidence to indicate that, following the crusader conquest of Constantinople in 1204, Pope Innocent III thought that Greek Orthodoxy as such would simply cease to exist. A Latin church hierarchy was imposed, but it failed to reach out into the countryside. It was not a missionizing church and did not appeal to the Orthodox population. Very few Greeks, indeed, adopted Catholicism. Greek priests who Latinized were often treated with violence to their property and isolated from their fellow Greeks. The new church depended on the Frankish

Franks

nobility and landowners to support it. Its attempts to extend ecclesiastical tithes and fees to the Greek rural population often led to violence against the archdeacons concerned; often such incidents were followed up with papal appeals to local Frankish landowners to intervene, apparently with little or no response from the latter.

Papal provision to bishoprics from the late thirteenth century onward led to increased absenteeism and a further weakening of the Latin Church. In 1404 a naval contingent made up of three galleys manned by the Knights Hospitallers tried to organize resistance against the Ottomans among the inhabitants of Galaxeidi, on the north coast of the Gulf of Corinth. The Galaxidhiots took their money and accepted the church that the knights built there but then threatened to hand them over to the Turks if they did not leave, since “the Franks do not believe in the true Christ and are in fact anti-Christ” [Rosser, “Byzantine ‘Isles of Refuge’ in the Chronicle of Galaxeidi,” p. 145]. This event as well as the appeal of the Orthodox population on Naxos to the Ottoman sultan in 1466 was a measure of how little love was lost between the two official religious communions and how the Orthodox community saw the advent of the Ottomans as a measure of relief.

Conclusions

More than just capitulation and acquiescence were required if a hybrid society was to develop. Changes in self-perception and in perception of the other, Frank or Greek, would have to take place. The two and a half centuries of Frankish rule in Greece led to a gradual assimilation of the minority Frankish population into Hellenic culture. Whatever members of the elites in both Byzantine and Western cultures might write, ethnic identities had become blurred and at the day-to-day level merged. Only where Latin rule persisted, as on Crete until 1669, did ethnic labels persist in law codes and other official documentation.

—Peter Lock

See also: Achaia; Archipelago, duchy of the; Athens, Lordship and Duchy of; Byzantine Empire; Castles: Greece and Cyprus; Constantinople, Latin Empire of;

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Franks

Franks (Lat. *Franci*, OFr. *Francs*) is probably the most common term used in medieval sources and modern scholarship to designate the ruling and privileged classes in the various principalities of Outremer, Cyprus, and Greece that were established in the course of the crusades. The Franks who occupied and settled these countries were of western European origin; they belonged to the Latin (Roman Catholic) Church and were predominantly French-speaking, key characteristics that were retained by the descendants of the original settlers, thus distinguishing them from the subject populations of the lands they controlled.

The term *Franks* in this sense most probably derives from established Byzantine and Arabic usages. During the migration period of Late Antiquity, the Franks, a Germanic people, conquered much of western Europe, expanding their dominion under the Merovingian and Carolingian (751–987) dynasties. Although the Frankish Carolingian Empire had fragmented into various successor kingdoms by the beginning of the crusade movement, the Byzantines continued to use *Frangoi*, the Greek word for Franks, as a generic designation for all Westerners. Similarly, Arabic speakers used the word *al-Ifranj* to refer to Western Christians in distinction to the Greek-speaking Byzantines. The Latin chronicles of the First Crusade (1096–1099) reveal a diverse use of the Latin term *Franci* (sing. *Francus*). In some contexts the word is applied only to those crusaders who were originally subjects of the king of France. However, it is also used to refer to all members of the crusader armies, irrespective of nationality or origins, particularly with reference to the later stages of the crusade and the beginning of the Latin settlement in Syria and Palestine. It seems likely that the chronicles, some of which were composed by eyewitnesses, reflect actual linguistic usage; having become familiar with Byzantine and Arabic terms for “Franks” in the course of the crusade, the crusaders themselves and, increasingly, their descendants who remained in the East adopted the name as a convenient self-designation to reflect the realities of life in a region where their own diverse origins were far less important than the crucial social and legal distinctions between dominant Latin Westerners on the one hand and the various native peoples on the other. The Arabic, Syriac, and Armenian sources that touch on events in Outremer generally refer to its Latin Christian inhabitants as Franks in their own languages.

This usage, which first developed during the conquest and settlement of Outremer, extended to the Westerners who ruled Cyprus after the Third Crusade (1189–1192), and to those who established their own principalities in Constantinople and Greece after the overthrow of the Byzantine Empire by the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204). The Greek term *Frankokratia* (“rule of the Franks”) is often encountered in modern scholarship with reference to the period of Frankish domination in former Byzantine territories.

–Alan V. Murray

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Frankokratia

See Franks

Frederick I of Austria (d. 1198)

Duke of Austria (1194–1198) and participant in the Crusade of Emperor Henry VI (1197–1198), in the course of which he died.

Frederick was the elder son of Leopold V, duke of Austria and Styria. He succeeded his father in the duchy of Austria; Styria passed to his brother Leopold VI. Frederick’s crusade journey was essentially penitential in character. His father had been excommunicated by Pope Celestine III for having arrested and imprisoned a fellow crusader, King Richard the Lionheart of England. The conditions imposed by the church for lifting the excommunication were the release of Richard’s hostages, the return of Leopold’s share of the ransom money he had obtained from Richard, and the promise to join a new crusade.

Leopold died, still excommunicate, as the result of a riding accident in December 1194. In order to permit his father’s burial and to avoid incurring a new sentence of excommunication, Frederick freed the hostages, although he was unwilling or unable to return the full amount of ransom money. His decision to join the emperor’s crusade should be seen as a penitential attempt to complete his reconciliation with the church: he is recorded as having taken the cross for the good of his father’s soul.

In the summer of 1197 Frederick traveled with Wolfger of Erla, bishop of Passau, to Sicily, where the crusade army was assembling. He is documented at Messina in July, and

Frederick I Barbarossa of Germany (1122–1190)

he sailed to the Holy Land with the main contingent of the crusade in September. Despite Frederick's rank, he seems to have played a relatively peripheral part in the direction of the crusade, possibly a reflection of his relative youth. He was, however, present at the foundation of the Teutonic Order in Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) in March 1198. Frederick died on 16 April 1198 while preparing for his return to Europe. The duchy of Austria passed to his brother Leopold.

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Frederick I Barbarossa of Germany (1122–1190)

Frederick I, king of Germany (1152–1190) and Holy Roman Emperor (1155–1190), known as Barbarossa ("Red Beard"), was the most powerful ruler of late twelfth-century Europe. Much of his long reign was spent trying to secure domestic peace among the German princes, attempting to enforce his direct rule over the north Italian cities, and supporting a series of rival popes to the generally acknowledged pontiff, Alexander III (during the years 1159–1177). He played an important role in the Second Crusade (1147–1149) as chief lieutenant to his uncle King Conrad III, and after the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187 he led the first of the Western armies that went to recover the Holy Land on the Third Crusade (1189–1192).

During the Second Crusade, Frederick's role was inevitably overshadowed by that of his uncle, though he may not have been fully in accord with the latter's pro-Byzantine policy—certainly Frederick was responsible for the destruction of a Greek monastery in reprisal for attacks on the German column, which came close to jeopardizing good relations with the Byzantines. Later, as emperor, he was markedly less committed to an alliance with Byzantium than was Conrad. Otherwise, his first experience of the crusade seems to have had little subsequent impact upon him,

although in 1158 he recalled that while at Jerusalem he had "seen with his own eyes the work of Christ for the poor" carried on by the Hospitallers [*Die Urkunden Friedrichs I.*, no. 152]. However, he made no response to pleas for help after the failure of the kingdom of Jerusalem's attack on Egypt in 1169, and in 1175 he even sent an embassy to Saladin. But at this stage he was still involved in major conflicts in Italy.

By 1187 Frederick's situation was very different. Peace had been made with the papacy and the Italian cities a decade earlier, and even the long-running dispute between Germany and the kingdom of Sicily had been brought to an end through the marriage of his eldest son, Henry (VI), with the Sicilian heiress Constance in 1186. His dominant position in Germany had been consolidated by the confiscation of most of the lands of Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, in 1180 and by the election of Henry VI as king in 1184. Frederick was thus in a position to lead the crusade to recover Jerusalem. Recruitment for this expedition began at his Christmas court at Strasbourg in 1187, although the emperor only formally took the cross at Mainz in March 1188, perhaps because he was waiting to see how much enthusiasm there was for the enterprise before committing himself. He also took the precaution of establishing diplomatic contacts with Sultan Qilij Arslān II of Rūm in an attempt to secure a peaceful passage through Asia Minor and thus to avoid the fighting that had so damaged the Second Crusade, and an embassy from the sultan was received at Nuremberg at Christmas 1188. (However, a letter purporting to be from Frederick to Saladin, ordering him to surrender the Holy Land, appears to be a contemporary forgery or propaganda document confected in England.)

Frederick was also anxious to limit the problems of supply and indiscipline that had hampered the German contingent on the Second Crusade: significant financial reserves were gathered, regulations were made for cash to be carried by individual crusaders, and stringent discipline enforced, even on those of noble birth. These measures were to stand the crusade in good stead on its march. Before leaving, Frederick took careful measures to ensure stability in Germany during his absence or in the event that he failed to return. A general land peace was proclaimed, and his heir, Henry VI, was left behind to rule the empire. His second son, Duke Frederick V of Swabia, accompanied him on the crusade. Henry the Lion, who was given the choice of joining him on the expedition or going into exile, chose the latter. The emperor also prevented a recurrence of the attacks on



The river Saleph in Cilicia where Emperor Frederick I died on 10 June 1190. The Armenian castle of Silifke dominates the hill in the background. (Courtesy Alfred Andrea)

the Jewish communities of Germany that had accompanied the First and Second Crusades. The German army left from Regensburg in May 1189. Frederick was accompanied by a very large force, including 11 bishops and some 28 counts, with possibly as many as 4,000 knights.

The early stages of the crusade proceeded smoothly, with the willing cooperation of King Béla III of Hungary. However, problems developed once the army crossed into Byzantine territory at the end of June 1189. The Byzantine emperor Isaac II Angelos had made an alliance with Saladin some years earlier and had promised the sultan that he would do his best to prevent the expedition from crossing his territory. He was also suspicious of Frederick's negotiations with the rulers of Serbia and with the Turks of Asia Minor—indeed, he arrested the envoys whom Frederick had sent to the Rüm sultanate on their return journey. When the German army reached Philipopolis (mod. Plovdiv, Bulgaria) at the end of August, relations were already breaking down, and while the

expedition remained in this fertile region for some eleven weeks, they grew worse. By the time the German expedition moved on to Adrianople (mod. Edirne, Turkey) in mid-November, there was open warfare with the Greeks. Indeed, there was strong pressure from within the army for an attack on Constantinople, not least because there appears to have been knowledge of Isaac's alliance with Saladin. But although Frederick was prepared to threaten Isaac with such an attack, and even to open negotiations for the assistance of the Bulgarians in this, he was anxious that the crusade should proceed to its intended destination and restrained his troops.

After wintering with his forces in Adrianople, he reached an agreement with the Byzantines on 14 February 1190. The army crossed the Hellespont from Gallipoli (mod. Gelibolu, Turkey) during Easter week at the end of March without incident, transported on both Pisan and Byzantine ships. Frederick kept his army well in hand as they marched



Silver penny minted at Aachen, from the Barbarossa Hoard.
(Courtesy Ulrich Klein)

southeast through Byzantine territory, but once they crossed into Turkish territory at the end of April, attacks on the crusaders started almost immediately. Frederick had hoped that his negotiations with Qilij Arslān II, which had continued while the army was at Adrianople, would have prevented this. However, during the winter of 1189/1190 the sultan's authority had been usurped by his eldest son, Quṭb al-Dīn Malik-Shāh, who was reluctant to allow the Christian army to pass through Saljūq territory, not least since he had recently married a daughter of Saladin. Furthermore, the latter's disputes with his brothers had led to a breakdown of the Saljūq state, which would have made restraining attacks on the crusaders difficult, even if the rulers had been so minded. A series of attacks were beaten off, but the crusaders soon began to run short of food, as well as fodder for their animals.

After defeating a major attack on 14 May, Frederick decided to attack the Saljūq capital of Ikonion (mod. Konya, Turkey), which was captured four days later. The Saljūqs then agreed to provide supplies if the army moved on, and while the expedition made its way toward the friendly territory of Cilician Armenia, attacks on the column were limited to minor harassment from Turcoman nomads. After 30 May, when the army reached this point, its problems were

caused more by the difficulties of the terrain and the privations already suffered than by enemy action. The most difficult part of the journey had been accomplished when the army reached the plain of Seleucia (mod. Silifke, Turkey) on the morning of 10 June 1190, but here disaster struck. The emperor, who insisted, despite the pleas of his entourage, in swimming his horse across the river Saleph, was drowned.

Command devolved upon the emperor's son Duke Frederick V of Swabia. The subsequent breakup of the army has often been ascribed to his shortcomings, with critics claiming that he lacked his father's authority and qualities of leadership. However, one should note that the expedition arrived in Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) only ten days after the emperor's death, and that Duke Frederick had played a prominent and effective part in the early fighting, including leading the assault on Ikonion. Casualties in Asia Minor had been heavy, especially among the infantry, and the loss of horses and baggage animals, many of which were eaten, had posed serious problems. One Arabic source described the crusaders abandoning and destroying armor and equipment that they could no longer carry. The army remained together as a fighting force until it reached Antioch. However, there it was ravaged by disease, the impact of which was no doubt made much more deadly by the earlier sufferings and lack of food, of which the contemporary sources give a graphic picture. At Antioch, according to one eyewitness, "there was such widespread sickness and death that scarcely anyone was spared, for both noble and poor, young and old, were all struck down indiscriminately" [*Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrichs I.*, p. 92]. Some of the survivors then went home; others accompanied Frederick of Swabia to the siege of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), but disease in the crusader camp continued its ravages there. Frederick of Swabia died in January 1191, and despite further reinforcements arriving by sea, the German contribution to the crusade was thereafter relatively minor.

The ultimate failure of the German expedition was a major setback to the Third Crusade. Its arrival in northern Syria did lead Saladin to withdraw substantial parts of his army from the siege of Acre, in an attempt to prevent the Germans from joining the other Christian forces, and those troops that did eventually arrive at Acre helped to prolong the siege until the French and Anglo-Norman armies arrived in 1191. Much more, however, had been expected. But it was disease, rather than Frederick's death, that ruined the German expedition, even if his death was a significant

blow to Christian morale. The sufferings of his army also showed that the land route across Asia Minor was no longer practical for crusader forces. The tragic, and seemingly random, nature of Frederick's death was much commented upon by contemporaries, although most concluded, like the author of the *Historia de Expeditione Friderici*, that "one who stood forth as a knight of Christ and wore his Cross, . . . notwithstanding his sudden end, will undoubtedly find salvation" [*Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrichs I.*, p. 91].

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Frederick II of Germany (1194–1250)

King of Sicily (1208–1250), king of Germany (1211–1220), and Holy Roman Emperor (1220–1250); leader of a crusade to the Holy Land that brought the city of Jerusalem back under Christian control.

The son of Emperor Henry VI (d. 1197) and Constance, heiress to the kingdom of Sicily, Frederick was born at Jesi (near Ancona in central Italy) on 26 December 1194. He was

initially named Frederick Roger after his two grandfathers, a name that embodied the twin poles of his political life: the Holy Roman Empire and the Norman kingdom of Sicily. Frederick's early years were dominated by rivalries between the German officials of his father and his Sicilian officials, with control of the regency at the heart of these struggles.

Frederick came of age as king of Sicily in 1208, but continued to face a restive baronage and powerful enemies at home and abroad. In Germany, the early death of Frederick's father had led to the election of two rival kings: Otto IV of Brunswick, count of Poitou, and Frederick's uncle Philip, duke of Swabia. All sides initially ignored the claims of the infant Frederick. However, when Otto (crowned emperor in 1209) invaded the kingdom of Sicily (1210), Pope Innocent III began to promote Frederick's candidacy for the German throne. Thanks to support from the papacy and within Germany, Frederick was elected king in 1211 at Nuremberg, and crowned at Mainz on 9 December 1212. This act was repeated on 25 July 1215, at Aachen, the traditional place for the coronation of the king of Germany, and there Frederick promised to lead a crusade to the Holy Land. Pope Innocent III insisted that when Frederick was crowned emperor, he should bestow Sicily on his infant son Henry (VII); the papacy was anxious to maintain the separation between Sicily and the empire, which together surrounded the Papal States around Rome. Frederick's actions soon demonstrated that he did not mean to keep to the undertaking he had made to the pope: he had Henry brought to Germany, and made him duke of Swabia, the traditional heartland of the Stauf dynasty, and rector of the kingdom of Burgundy. Finally, he had Henry elected king of Germany by the German princes in April 1220.

Nevertheless, Frederick received and depended upon ecclesiastical support. Pope Honorius III, who was keen to see him go on crusade, crowned him Holy Roman Emperor at Rome on 22 November 1220. Frederick had already (1213) confirmed Otto IV's grants to the papacy in the Golden Bull of Eger, and in 1220 he issued a confirmation of privileges to the prelates of the empire, the *Confoederatio cum principibus ecclesiasticis*. Many of these privileges referred to matters of economic organization (including restrictions on the expansion of towns, coinage, and mining), but they also helped to strengthen the political role of the ecclesiastical princes. Similarly, Frederick's coronation as emperor went hand in hand with draconian legislation against heresy and a public display of mutual support

between Frederick and Honorius III, including a renewal of the emperor's promise to lead a campaign to the Holy Land. The years immediately following Frederick's imperial coronation were, however, taken up with the affairs of Sicily and imperial Italy. In 1220, at a diet in Capua, he ordered a thorough investigation of royal grants since 1189 and began to attack several of the powerful baronial families that had established themselves on the mainland. Simultaneously, Frederick began to expand his lands and territories in Northern Italy, where he soon clashed with the Lombard League of northern cities led by Milan.

In 1222–1224 the emperor undertook several campaigns against the Muslims living in the mountainous regions of Sicily, and he resettled them at Lucera in Apulia. This campaign, fought with brutal ferocity on Frederick's part, should serve as a warning against a common misperception that Frederick was more liberal or tolerant in his attitude toward Muslims than his contemporaries. The surviving Muslims were used to provide the emperor's bodyguard, servants, and entertainment, but also found themselves exposed to systematic efforts to convert them to Christianity. To some extent this effort formed part of a more wide-ranging campaign against heretics and non-Christians within imperial domains. Frederick had set the tone by taking the cross in 1215 and issuing legislation against heretics in 1220, and sharpening it in his corpus of legal customs for the kingdom of Sicily (the *Liber Augustalis*, 1230). More importantly, by issuing the Golden Bull of Rimini (1226), the emperor laid the foundations for what was to become the territory of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, and encouraged it to take up the fight against the pagans in the Baltic region. Although Frederick maintained friendly relations with al-Kāmil, sultan of Egypt, the emphasis in his dealings with Muslim rulers remained on conversion and on the expansion of Christendom.

To some extent, the emperor's activities in these years formed part of the process of preparing for his imminent crusade. In 1226 he had the towns of Lombardy excommunicated because they were preventing him from setting sail for the Holy Land; a truce concluded in 1227 stipulated that they should provide him with a contingent of 400 knights for his campaign. After all, the pacification of a crusader's own lands was an essential precondition if he was to spend years away from his domains while on crusade. In the end, it was the collision between the needs of the Holy Land and Frederick's continuing inability to leave for the East that led to

his excommunication by Pope Gregory IX (September 1227). Frederick, however, set sail regardless, and in 1229 he arranged a truce that returned the city of Jerusalem to Christian control for a period of ten years.

Frederick pursued his policies with renewed vigor on returning from his crusade in 1229, attempting to extend and manifest imperial authority across the whole range of his territories. In Burgundy he sought to settle relations between the counts of Provence and Toulouse following the upheaval of the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229). In Germany he not only deposed his eldest son, Henry (VII), but he also issued the *Mainzer Reichslandfrieden*, which remained one of the basic legal texts defining the political structure of the Holy Roman Empire until its dissolution in 1806. In Italy he won a decisive victory over the Milanese at Cortenuova in November 1237. Frederick saw the Holy Land as part of this constellation, although his position there was a difficult one. His rights derived from his marriage in 1225 to Isabella II, queen of Jerusalem. However, Isabella died in 1227 after giving birth to a son, Conrad (IV). Thus Frederick exercised rights in the kingdom of Jerusalem at first only by right of his wife, and then on behalf of Conrad. Nonetheless, Frederick refused to acknowledge his lack of a clear legal right to the rulership, and crowned himself king of Jerusalem in 1239.

Frederick pursued a policy in the Holy Land not dissimilar to his policies in Italy, Burgundy, and Germany; that is, he sought to strengthen and expand what he believed to be royal or imperial rights and prerogatives. This policy soon led to clashes with the Frankish nobility of Outremer and Cyprus, in particular the Ibelin family. These tensions were aggravated by Frederick's appointment of his own officials to run the kingdom of Jerusalem: Richard Filangieri and Thomas of Acerra as imperial governors and Walter of Ocre as chancellor of Jerusalem. Furthermore, after Frederick secured the return of Jerusalem and additional territory to Christian control, many of the lands regained were awarded not to their former lords, but to those close to the emperor. In short, Frederick was prepared to ignore established customs and procedures in order to expand his own authority. Yet many of these initiatives were essential for securing the recovery of Jerusalem, and to prepare for the time after the expiry of the truce of 1229 with the Ayyūbids.

The emperor's handling of affairs in Italy and Sicily soon brought him into conflict with the papacy, leading to his second excommunication, by Gregory IX on 20 March 1239.

The bull of excommunication stressed Frederick's frequent infringements of ecclesiastical liberties, but also laid the foundations for his modern image as an "enlightened autocrat" by accusing him of illicit dealings with Muslims and of failing to defend the Christian faith against its enemies. These accusations were taken up by Pope Innocent IV, who, at the First Council of Lyons (1245), deposed Frederick as emperor, king of Sicily, and king-regent of Jerusalem. The pope's fight against the emperor now became embedded in a wider campaign against the enemies of Christendom. Innocent IV argued that Frederick consorted with the enemies of the faith, that he aided and abetted them by sowing discord among Christians, and that he therefore posed an even greater danger than Muslims, Mongols, Byzantines, and pagans combined. Frederick's deposition led to the election of Landgrave Henry Raspe of Thuringia (1246–1247) and then of Count William of Holland (1247–1256) as antikings in Germany with papal support. Frederick and his son Conrad IV (king of Germany since 1237) maintained control of most of Germany and Italy, but lost control in Burgundy and the kingdom of Jerusalem. By 1249–1250 it seemed as if Frederick might be able to decide the conflict in his favor by military means, but his death on 13 December 1250 near Lucera put an end to these hopes.

The needs of Outremer and the expansion and defence of Christendom played a major part in Frederick's actions from the moment he was crowned king of Germany in 1215. They provided a means to legitimize his political undertakings during the 1220s and 1230s, and they constituted an integral function of his understanding of the royal and imperial office. That understanding, however, went beyond merely fighting in the Holy Land or elsewhere; Frederick saw his mission as preparing Christendom internally for its external expansion. In order to be able to defeat its manifold enemies, Christendom had to be both politically and religiously reformed. Moreover, even after his second excommunication, and after the collapse of Staufan rule in Outremer in 1242, Frederick continued to be involved in the crusades. He supported the first crusade of King Louis IX of France (1248–1254), and was, in fact, recognized as regent of Jerusalem by Louis. He arranged several truces between the Latin Emperor at Constantinople and his Greek adversaries, and he sought to organize a campaign against the Mongols. More importantly even, like his papal opponents, he frequently sought to tie their conflict to the affairs of the Latin East, and his diplomatic initiatives thus played

a major part in the crusading preparations of Louis IX and Henry III of England, as well as in those of the rulers of Hungary, Castile, and Aragon.

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See also: Crusade of Emperor Frederick II (1227–1229); Germany; Sicily

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Frederick V of Swabia (1167–1191)

Commander of the German army in the Third Crusade (1189–1192) from the death of his father, Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa (1190), until his own death in 1191.

Frederick was the third son of Frederick Barbarossa and Beatrix of Burgundy, born at Modigliana in Romagna (central Italy) in February 1167. He was originally called Conrad, but received the traditional forename of the Staufan (Hohenstaufen) family after the death of his elder brother, also called Frederick (1169). As the second brother, Henry, was intended as future king of Germany and the Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick was given the duchy of Swabia, which

Frederick of Laroche (d. 1174)

had become vacant on the death of his cousin Frederick IV (of Rothenburg).

Frederick V of Swabia took the cross in March 1188 in Mainz at the gathering known as the Court of Jesus Christ (Lat. *curia Iesu Christi*) along with his father and numerous other German nobles and prelates. Unlike the other contingents that joined the crusade, Barbarossa's army travelled overland to the East. Frederick of Swabia was entrusted with many important diplomatic and military responsibilities during the march, and he led the crusader assault that captured Ikonion (mod. Konya, Turkey), capital of the Saljūq sultanate of Rūm (18 May 1190).

When his father was drowned in Cilicia (10 June 1190), Frederick was unanimously recognized as the commander of the German army. Although a large number of German crusaders quickly returned home, Frederick led the remainder via Tarsos (mod. Tarsus, Turkey) and Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) to Tripoli (mod. Tráblous, Lebanon), from where they traveled to Palestine by sea, arriving in October. They joined the other crusader contingents engaged in the siege of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), but Frederick succumbed to a pestilence and died on 20 January 1191.

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Frederick of Laroche (d. 1174)

Bishop of Acre (1148/1153–1164) and archbishop of Tyre.

Frederick was a son of Henry I, count of Laroche, a member of the comital family of Namur. He pursued a clerical career in the cathedral chapter of Liège during the episcopate of his cousin, Bishop Albero II, rising to become archdeacon and great provost by 1139. In 1142 Frederick migrated to the kingdom of Jerusalem, where his kinswoman Melisende had become sole ruler on the death of her husband, Fulk of Anjou. Frederick served as a royal chaplain and bishop of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), and in 1164 he was appointed

archbishop of Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon). After King Amalric's abortive invasion of Egypt (1168–1169), Frederick led an ultimately fruitless diplomatic mission to seek assistance from Henry II of England and Louis VII of France. He died at Nablus after an illness on 30 October 1174.

–Alan V. Murray

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Freidank (d. 1233)

A German didactic poet who gave an eyewitness account of the city of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) during the crusade of Emperor Frederick II (1227–1229) in his Middle High German ethical compendium *Bescheidenheit* ("Wise Judgment").

Swabian monastic annals record the death of a *Fridancus magister* in 1233; his poetry shows he had a theological education. A later history calls him *Frydancus vagus* ("itinerant poet" or "cleric without a benefice"), and Freidank could be a given name or a pseudonym expressing independence of mind.

In 268 lines of *Bescheidenheit*, Freidank gives a scathing caricature of Acre. The Franks of Outremer are in league with Islam to defraud pilgrims: "old and young, they speak heathen tongues. They value one heathen more than three Christians." Emperor and sultan should stop their "whispering," squabbling like "Stingy and Mean splitting three marks." Yet "what can an emperor do when heathen and priests both fight against him?" Gregory IX's excommunication of Frederick II is seen as malicious and invalid. Despite the pope, "God and the Emperor have freed the Holy Sepulchre." Had Pope and Franks supported Frederick, all "holy places where God's feet trod" might have been won back.

Despite doubts and disillusionment, Freidank clings to faith in the crusading idea: "Acre may torture the body, yet it fortifies the soul; so never doubt, whoever dies there in faith will be saved" [*Kreuzzugsdichtung*, ed. Müller, 102–109].

–Jeffrey Ashcroft

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French Language in the Levant

The language used among the Franks of Outremer and Cyprus in written and oral communication was a form of Old French, recorded from the beginning of the thirteenth century and articulated in different local varieties. Italian dialects were diffused among traders and sailors in the coastal cities. Arabic was the mother tongue of most of the local population of Outremer, whether Muslim, Christian, or Jewish, while Armenian, Syriac, and Greek were also spoken, especially in the northern states. In Cyprus, Greek was the language of the majority native population.

The early emergence of French as a literary language (and the high level attained by this literature in verse and prose) favored its spread all over western Europe, where, at the time, the choice of a vernacular for literary purposes was relatively independent of the nationality of the author. The diffusion of French in the Levant may be considered an important (although often ignored) step in this process: during the twelfth century, it became the language of the ruling class in Outremer, much of which had a Northern French origin. French acquired the status of an international vehicular language in the eastern Mediterranean, together with Greek, Arabic, and some Italian dialects, diffused in the same area but in different sociolinguistic domains.

In Outremer and Cyprus, French was used, together with Latin, for a wide range of written texts: chronicles (e.g., *Chronique d'Ernoul*, *Gestes des Chiprois*), moralistic treatises (e.g., *La Dime de penitance* by Jean de Jurny, *Quatre âges de l'homme* by Philip of Novara), legal handbooks (e.g., *Livre en forme de plait* by Philip of Novara, *Livre des Assises* by John of Ibelin), translations (e.g., *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and Cicero's *De inventione* as translated by John of Antioch, Boethius's *Consolatio Philosophiae* as translated by Peter of Paris), celebrative inscriptions, and funeral epitaphs.

French was employed as an administrative language, and many documents (e.g., charters, wills, commercial transactions, and statutes) were recorded in it. Given the influential position of its users, it could also serve as a diplomatic language in international political relations: the Venetian Archives preserve later copies of French documents addressed to Venetian authorities by al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, ruler of Aleppo (1254) and by the kings of Cilicia Leon II (1272), Leon III (1307), and Leon IV (1321). The originals were probably written in Arabic or Armenian and then translated into French in the chanceries of Aleppo and Sis.

Presumably, the use of French for written texts was par-

alleled in Outremer by its employment in oral communication, but evidence for this is scanty and often indirect. The upper layer of Frankish society was mainly of northern French origin, with significant Provençal (Occitan) and Italian elements. The spread of French in this aristocratic milieu seems plausible, and is witnessed by the vernacular literature addressed to or sponsored by this social class, mirroring its tastes and values. It is more difficult to assess the linguistic medium of the lower layers of society: probably there were many, depending on ethno-religious affiliations, on social and professional ranks, and on relationships with other groups and communities. French may well have experienced a massive expansion among Western settlers, who had quite diverse origins. A good number of these settlers arrived in Outremer together with their lords, either bound by feudal obligations or enticed by the possibilities of social ascent offered in a frontier land. And since the majority of the nobles of Outremer came from French-speaking areas, so too did their followers.

Arabic was employed as a literary, religious, and administrative language, but its knowledge was unusual among Franks, as may be inferred by the frequent reference to interpreters (often Eastern Christians) in contemporary sources, where the ability of Franks to understand, speak, read, or write Arabic is considered exceptional and worth mentioning. Greek, too, enjoyed the status of a language of culture and worship among many of the Arabic-speaking Christians on the mainland. In spite of the segmented character of the society of Outremer, there were contacts, and sometimes permanent relations, among individuals and groups belonging to different social layers or communities. These contacts are reflected in loan-words: hundreds of lexical items of Greek, Arabic, Persian, or Turkish origin entered western European languages during the Middle Ages; the focal points of this linguistic exchange were the Iberian Peninsula, Sicily, and Outremer. Most of the exotic words that came from Outremer refer to the fields of trade and navigation, and, not surprisingly, were brought to western Europe via Italian dialects, mainly Venetian, Genoese, and Tuscan. But French also played a role, although a minor one, in this impressive process of lexical borrowing.

Characterizing the French of Outremer is not an easy task: its description is necessarily based on written texts, and therefore ignores the language of the illiterate part of society, which made up the majority. Moreover, most of the literary (and some of the legal and administrative) texts orig-

inally written in Outremer were later copied elsewhere, so that they reflect the linguistic habits of their scribes more than that of their writers. Finally, the few surviving texts written and copied in Outremer have often been poorly edited, and therefore cannot be used as reliable sources for linguistic inquiry. However, thanks to some good (and usually recent) editions, it is possible to sketch a tentative characterization.

The French of Outremer was the outcome of a situation of interdialectal contact, due to the presence in Outremer of settlers from different French-speaking regions, in a wider context of interlinguistic contact. Because of its geographical remoteness and its peculiar nature, Outremer French was less affected by the leveling influence of the Parisian dialect, a long-lasting process of standardization that began in the thirteenth century and concluded only in modern times. Literary texts, especially those with artistic pretensions, were usually closer to European French norms than documentary or practical texts, which could more directly reflect everyday speech.

After the loss of Outremer to the Mamlûks in 1291, Cyprus inherited the role, cultural traditions, and to some extent the social structures of the Frankish states of the mainland, but it suffered a gradual weakening of its Latin or Frankish character. French was still widely used on the island in the fourteenth century as a literary and administrative language, and was commonly spoken by Franks. However, the local population (whether nobles, bourgeois, or peasants) predominantly spoke Greek, and the political and economic expansion of Venice and Genoa increased the growth of Italian colonies, leading to the spread of Italian dialects all over the eastern Mediterranean. In the fifteenth century, French was still used in the royal chancery of Cyprus, and probably in some aristocratic groups, but it was losing ground to its strongest competitors, Greek and Venetian. The native Cypriot nobility recovered its cultural self-consciousness, and through mixed marriages with Frankish aristocrats, it regained its powerful position as a ruling class, favoring the oral use of Greek and its literary revival after a long period of decline. Some Cypriot documents dating to the late fourteenth or to the fifteenth centuries show an inextricable intermingling of (northern) Italian and French, although it is difficult to say whether these texts portray an effective situation of language mixing or a written bureaucratic convention. The island's incorporation into the Venetian mercantile empire continued

until it was completed in 1489. For nearly a century, Cyprus was a Venetian island, and an Italianized form of Venetian (or a Venetianized form of Italian) replaced French in all its remaining official functions. On the eve of the Turkish conquest (1571), the Venetian Senate ordered the translation into Italian and publication of the *Assises de la Haute Cour du Royaume de Chypre*, the traditional legal texts that Venetian officers were no longer able to read.

It is possible to identify at least two local varieties of Levantine French: one in Outremer and the other in Cyprus; the latter is much better documented than the former, its documentation covering almost three centuries. Possibly this dialectal variation, at least at phonetic and lexical levels, was due to the linguistic substratum or adstratum, which was Arabic in the case of Outremer, and Greek in that of Cypriot French. Both varieties share a number of linguistic features, at graphical, phonetic, morphological, syntactic, and lexical levels. Among those, we can mention: use of the grapheme *-z-* for *-s-* (*espouze, iglize*) and *-h-* for *-s-* (*amohne, dihme*); preference for *-ou-* forms over those with *-eu-*, both from Latin long *Ō* (*doulour, seignour*); monophthongation of the diphthongs *-ei-* > *-e-* (*fes, saver*) and *-ui-* > *-u-* (*nut, redure*); preservation of the final consonant in words like *leuc, feuc*; extension to the singular of the plural ending *-au(s)* in words with final *-l* (*cazau, mareschau*); occasional post-position of the personal pronoun to the infinitive (*avoir les, tenir le*). The field of lexicon is certainly what gives Outremer French its characteristic flavor: there are general French words that acquired a specialized meaning in the Latin East (*bain, poulain*); some regional French words that gained general diffusion in Outremer (*mermer, delier*); and several loan-words from Arabic (*fonde* < Arab. *funduq*, *mathessep* < Arab. *muhtāsib*) and Greek (*apodixe* < Gr. *apodeixis*, *pitare* < Gr. *pitharia*). The word *apaut* (< Lat. *appactum*) was apparently coined by French and Italian notaries in Outremer and then spread overseas.

—Laura Minervini

See also: Cyprus; Jerusalem, (Latin) Kingdom of

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French Literature

In the twelfth century, coinciding with the period of the first four major crusades, there was a great flowering of vernacular literature in France and the Anglo-Norman realm. The genres of Old French imaginative literature most associated with a crusading theme are the *chansons de geste* (epic poems) and those lyric poems known as the *chansons de croisade* (crusade songs), but crusading themes and the conflict of Christian versus non-Christian are also found in other texts. Old French texts characterize the crusaders’ enemies as Saracens who are polytheistic pagans. Even chronicles, which generally show a more accurate knowledge of Islam, use the term “Saracen” to denote the opposing forces; the term can only be defined as “non-Christian.”

Chansons de Geste

The *chansons de geste* were long narrative poems written in *laissez* (strophes of irregular length) united by a common assonance or rhyme and often linked by devices of repetition. They are tales of heroic deeds, sometimes loosely based on historical fact, situated in the age of Emperor Charlemagne (771–814) or his immediate predecessors and successors. The literary techniques of these texts suggest an oral prehistory with the extant written texts destined for oral presentation. The best-known and earliest *chanson de geste* is the masterpiece of the genre, the *Chanson de Roland*, written down in its present form around 1100.

The *chansons de geste* are often grouped into cycles (Fr. *gestes*). These were first named by an epic poet, Bertrand de Bar-sur-Aube, in *Girart de Vienne* (c. 1180): the *Geste du roi*, the cycle of poems centered around Charlemagne; the *Geste*

de Garin de Monglane, more generally known as the Guillaume d’Orange cycle; and the *Geste de Doon de Mayence*, the ancestor of the traitor family. For Bertrand the key connection between the texts of one cycle seems to be family. To this classification can be added the texts of the *Cycle de la croisade* (Crusade Cycle) and the *Cycle des barons révoltés*, which was linked to the Mayence cycle; these two groupings are primarily thematic. Texts of the same cycle may be found grouped in compilation manuscripts, or, in the case of the Guillaume d’Orange cycle, rewritten to join texts together in great cyclical manuscripts that create a kind of family history.

The Crusade Cycle is composed of fictionalized accounts, primarily of the First Crusade (1096–1099). Its nucleus is formed by the *Chanson d’Antioche*, the *Chanson de Jérusalem*, and *Les Chétifs*, which survive only in cyclical form in a redaction that dates from the late twelfth century. The originally separate folktale of the Swan Children is attached to the semihistorical branches by making the character of the Swan Knight the ancestor of Godfrey of Bouillon, one of the leaders of the First Crusade and subsequently ruler of Jerusalem. A related but more loosely connected group of poems (sometimes known as the “Second Crusade Cycle”) extends the story of the Bouillon-Boulogne family beyond historical fact in the descendants of Godfrey and ends in the story of Saladin, which survives only in prose manuscripts of the fifteenth century.

The crusading background is also important in poems centered upon Charlemagne or Guillaume d’Orange, in which the heroes serve both God and their king in wars against the infidel; the ideal is that of the *miles Christi* (knight of Christ). The infidels, “Saracens,” or “pagans” are apparently followers of Muhammad, but the religion they follow is distorted; it is both a reflection of the pagans of the Old Testament and a distorted mirror image of the Christian religion, with a trinity of gods and worshipping of idols. The gods are not always the same, though Muhammad, elevated from his position as prophet, is a constant. Others found alongside him make up a trinity; Apollo, Jupiter, and Ter-vagent are the most popular. There are common motifs in the *chansons de geste*: Christian warriors destroy the statues of the idols in the *mahommerie* (a kind of pagan temple rather than a mosque), for example, in the *Chanson de Roland*, *Fierabras* (c. 1200), and *Aspremont* (c. 1190), and the Saracen leader rails against his gods, illustrating the fact that the Saracens are not only infidels, but are not even faith-

ful to their own gods, in *Fierabras*, and the *Siège de Barbastre* (late twelfth century). The action commonly takes place in northern Spain or Italy, but in *Acquin* (late twelfth century) Charlemagne drives the Norsemen out of Brittany. In Jehan Bodel's *Chanson des Saisnes* (written before 1202), the enemy is the Saxons, and in *Garin Le Loherain* (late twelfth century) they are Vandals, but generally they are Moors. The act of fighting the infidel is often explicitly referred to as a penance. Death in such a fight is martyrdom, as in the *Chanson de Roland* and *Aspremont*. The *Chanson des Saisnes* is an unusual text in several ways. It is one of the few chansons de geste for which we have a named author, one who is known to have written a number of other texts, although it may not be entirely his work. Bodel exploits the genre skillfully, using conventional representations of the Saracen applied to the Saxons.

Single combats between a Christian champion and a Saracen, in texts such as *Fierabras*, *Otinél* (thirteenth century), and the *Couronnement Louis* (twelfth century), are presented as contests between the Christian God and false gods, with the Christian champion eventually winning, with or without direct intervention from God. The Saracen will normally either convert or be killed, although there is from the time of the earliest texts some admiration for the bravery of Saracens. They are worthy enemies who would be noble if only they were Christian, an attitude also common in Latin and vernacular chronicles. In some texts (for example, *Fierabras*, *Anseïs de Carthage*, *Bueves de Conmarchis*, and *Huon de Bordeaux*), this potential for the Saracen to be noble is realized through conversion, while in others (such as *Otinél*) the conversion of the Saracen is not prepared for by nobility. Forced conversions, where the alternative is death, do exist, usually when a large group is converted at once (*Chanson de Roland*); Saracens may, however, choose death (*Aye d'Avignon*).

There is a tendency to demonize the enemy. Alongside the noble Saracen there are fierce Saracen emirs who refuse conversion and do not deserve to live (Balan in *Fierabras*), gigantic Goliath types (Corsolt in the *Couronnement Louis*), and absolute monsters, not recognizable as humans (Ago-lafre in *Fierabras*).

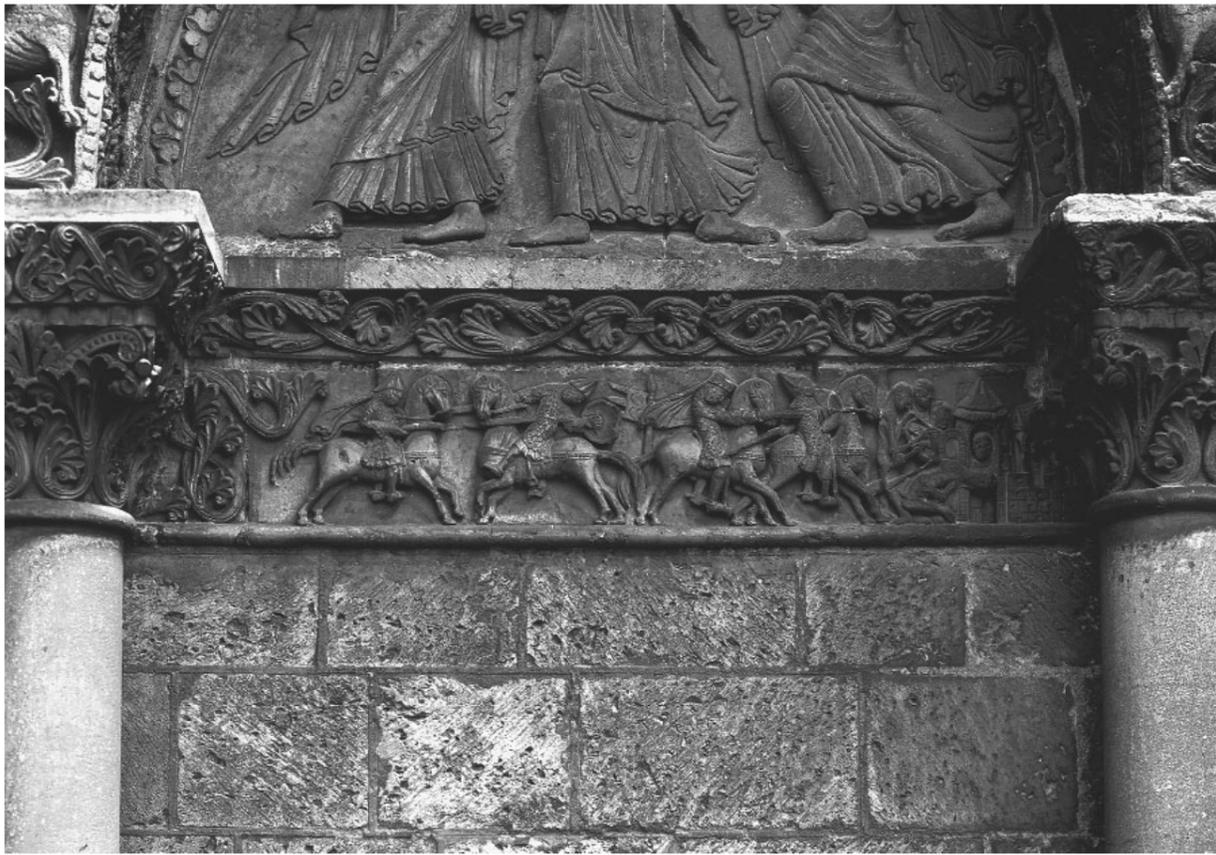
In the central texts of the Guillaume d'Orange cycle (the *Couronnement Louis*, the *Prise d'Orange*, and the *Charroi de Nîmes*) the struggle against the Saracens is linked inextricably to the gaining of land and the acquisition of a bride; Guillaume's bride is a converted Saracen queen who betrays

her people. These texts are concerned with political and religious ideals. The man who defeats the Saracens, taking over land held by the infidel, will also be faithful to his king. The king may not deserve this loyalty, but Guillaume is an exemplary vassal. Denied his rights by the king, Guillaume will carve out a fief for himself, taking land held by the Saracens. He thus upholds the authority of the king and extends the kingdom of God.

A significant figure is the converted Saracen princess, often improbably conforming to Western ideals of beauty. Guillaume's wife, who takes the name Guibourc on conversion, abandoning her pagan name of Orable, and her brother Rainouart, who also converts, figure in central texts of the Guillaume cycle, and the theme is important also in texts of the *Cycle du roi*. This is often ascribed to the influence of courtly romance, but the nature of that influence is not straightforward. Strongminded young women, such as Floripas or Guibourc/Orable, who act independently and against the interests of their own families, are very different from the heroines of romance. They may suffer for love, but they are prepared to take action, sometimes violently, to achieve their desired end; since this is generally to help the Christian knight with whom they are in love, this is condoned rather than condemned by the poet.

Conversion and marriage go together; the Christian knight may not even kiss the princess until she is baptized. Extramarital sex is the stuff of romance rather than epic, but there are two notable exceptions: in the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne a Constantinople* (a text with a strong religious theme, but not a crusading one), Oliver sleeps with the daughter of the emperor of Constantinople; in *Anseïs de Carthage*, Anseïs, left in charge of the conquered Spain by Charlemagne, seduces the daughter of one of the emirs, with disastrous consequences, including the reneging of the emir; the romantic in the end is subjugated to the ideological. In some texts, notably the thirteenth-century *Aiol*, the adventures and love interest seem more important than the crusading ethos, but conversion remains important. Although a Saracen prince is more likely to be converted by single combat than for love, Ganor in *Aye d'Avignon* is accepted by Aye as a husband on condition that he accepts Christianity.

Tensions between more "domestic" concerns and inter-religious conflict, and the awareness of the need to subject personal and feudal matters to the higher call of religion, can be seen in the person of the traitor/renege/rebel. The traitor damages not just the nation, but also the cause, as is



Scenes from the *Chanson de Roland* in the cathedral of St. Peter, Angoulême, France, twelfth century. (Giraudon/Art Resource)

made evident in the *Chanson de Roland*, where the treachery of Ganelon leads to the loss of Charlemagne's best warriors. In *Aspremont*, the rebellion of Girart de Fraite also threatens Christian success.

The same tension is seen in rebellion against the emperor; the rebel with just cause is treated with respect in the poems of the *Cycle des barons révoltés*—for example, Renaud and his brothers in *Renaud de Montauban*, Girart in *Girart de Vienne* and *Girart de Roussillon*, and Ogier in *La Chevalerie Ogier*. All these poems date from the early thirteenth century and may be linked to the situation in France at the time, with the king strengthening the central power of the monarchy. Ultimately the rebel subjects himself to the emperor. In *Ogier*, the poet indicates quite clearly that energies ought to be turned against pagans rather than dissipated in civil war, and Ogier finally subjects himself to Charlemagne for the sake of Christianity. Charlemagne and Ogier together defeat

the pagans. Similarly, in *Girart de Roussillon*, Christian unity, with Charlemagne and Girart fighting together against the Saracens following a reconciliation between them, is clearly preferable to the rift.

The renegade is a rare figure in the *chanson de geste*. Only a fragment remains of the twelfth-century text of *Gormont et Isembart* in which a French knight, Isembart, unjustly treated by the king like the heroes of the rebel cycle, goes beyond the acceptable line and joins forces with the pagan king, Gormont. Isembart dies in battle but is first reconciled to God. In the *Chanson de Guillaume*, by contrast, Guibourc's nephew Girart, a converted pagan like Guibourc herself, apostasizes just before his death. His role seems to be largely that of a foil to Guillaume's own nephews, who are faithful even unto death.

Some *chansons de geste*, surprisingly, do show an ambivalent attitude to the violent killing that is clearly an

integral part of any warfare, whether religious or merely political. The Guillaume cycle includes two poems in which the hero retires to a monastery to end his days in repentance: both the *Moniage Guillaume* and the *Moniage Rainouart* are a mixture of the heroic and the comic, as the hero cannot be contained within the restrictions of the monastic life. In the *Moniage Rainouart*, the ex-pagan Rainouart specifically wants to repent from his deeds of violence, and yet he continues to act violently. The poem reaches its climax with Rainouart fighting an army of Saracens led by his own son. Rainouart, naturally, wins; his son and the Saracens convert, and Rainouart retires again to his monastery. In *Gadifer*, a sequel, Rainouart is again forced to fight the Saracens. While these poems show that a hero's rightful place is in heroic, and therefore violent, combat, they also show an awareness of the problem of Christians committing acts of violence.

Many of the chansons de geste survived long after the peak period of the crusades, being incorporated into longer pseudo-historical texts, such as the fourteenth-century *Chronique rimée of Philippe Mouskés* or the *Chroniques et conquêtes de Charlemagne* of David Aubert (fifteenth century), or reworked as prose texts. Most of the prose adaptations date from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but the Crusade Cycle poems, *Hélias*, *Enfances Godefroi*, *Chanson d'Antioche*, *Les Chétifs*, and the *Chanson de Jérusalem*, were turned into an abridged prose version as early as the thirteenth century. Some of the prose texts were then translated and adapted into English and other languages.

The action-packed tales of knights and beautiful Saracen princesses had an appeal that outlasted their use as crusading propaganda, if that is what they were. Undoubtedly the religious element remained an important factor in their popularity; those texts most often adapted, translated, and turned into prose (such as *Fierabras*, *Otinel*, and the story of *Guillaume d'Orange*) often had at their heart themes of conversion or Christian triumph over Saracens. Their entertainment value was no doubt also enhanced by the combination of fantasy and humor found quite frequently in the chanson de geste.

The Chansons de Croisade

The Old French lyric owes much to its Occitan neighbor, and the chanson de croisade is no exception. Some of the earliest, and arguably finest, crusade songs are found among the works of the Occitan poet Marcabru. Because of the difficulty in defining this subgenre of the lyric, with poems centered

on the crusades and others where the reference is a more oblique one, scholars have compiled widely different lists of texts containing anything from six to around thirty-five poems. Various typologies have been attempted, the most enduring being Joseph Bédier's division of the poems into two groups: (1) exhortations to take up the cross, and (2) love poems. The second group can be further subdivided according to voice, that is, whether it is the crusader speaking, or the lady lamenting the loss of her beloved who is departing on crusade; a few poems alternate the voices of the man and the woman. There are also a few later poems that show an element of criticism about the conduct of the crusades, for example, by Philippe de Nanteuil and Rutebeuf.

Typically the chansons de croisade deal with how an individual is affected by the crusades. Many are anonymous, but some are by significant poets. The Châtelain Gui de Couci, whose death (1203) is mentioned by Geoffrey of Villehardouin in his chronicle of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), wrote several songs, and his own life became the stuff of legend. In the late thirteenth-century romance *Le Châtelain de Coucy*, given the name of Guy's successor, Renaut, he has his heart brought back from the Holy Land for his mistress, only for it to be intercepted by her husband and served to her as a meal.

Conon de Béthune (d. c. 1220) took part in both the Third Crusade (1189–1192) and the Fourth Crusade and was a significant figure as one of the negotiators in the latter; his role is also recorded by Villehardouin. Conon wrote two chansons de croisades; his *Ahi! amours, com dure departie* is one of the best-known examples of the genre and exemplifies the difficulties of any typology, as it combines a propagandist appeal with a love song. In *Bien me deüsse targier*, part leave-taking of his beloved, part polemic against those who take the cross for the wrong reason, Conon uses a fellow-poet, Huon d'Oisi, as a scapegoat, a target for those who disagree with him. *Maugré tous sainz et maugré Dieu ausi*, attributed to Huon d'Oisi, is a satiric response to Conon's work.

Thibaud IV, count of Champagne and king of Navarre, took part in a crusade to the Holy Land (1239–1240), arriving just after the battle of Gaza in 1239. He wrote several poems about the crusades. In *Seignor, sachiés qi or ne s'en ira*, he gives an impassioned polemic against those who do not take up the cross. In *Au tens plain de felonie*, he links the two main themes of the crusading poem, the crusades and love, but in a more clumsy juxtaposition. The expedition of 1239 would also be the inspiration for poetry by Philippe de

Nanteuil, whose only surviving poem, *En chantant veil mon duel faire*, criticizes the advice of the Hospitallers and the Templars that led to captive crusaders being abandoned.

With this later phase of the crusades comes the expression of a less straightforward approach to them. Philippe de Nanteuil laments the losses and the actions of the Christians; the thirteenth-century poet Rutebeuf also laments the loss of faith in his *Complainte de Constantinople* (1262) and *Complainte d'Outremer* (1265). Rutebeuf wrote a number of poems centered on the crusades, mostly *complaintes* (lyric poems, usually of love, in which the poet bemoans the cause of his melancholy); these make him arguably the most significant lyric poet of the crusades in France, although he himself seems to have remained in Paris. He calls on the faithful to succor Acre, the main surviving Christian stronghold in the Holy Land, and bemoans the lack of commitment to the crusades by the clergy, an aspect of his anticlericalism, which coexists with his zeal and piety.

More controversial is Rutebeuf's *Débat du croisé et du décroisé* (1268/1269) in which two knights in turn put the case for and against the crusades. While the crusader wins, persuading the *décroisé* (noncrusader) to take up the cross, the *décroisé* is given a strong voice. The reasons given by the *décroisé* no doubt express a view shared by many, and they are not entirely condemned by the poet. The crusader does not really have an answer to the questions raised by his opponent regarding his responsibilities to his family. The *décroisé*, having given his point of view, capitulates too suddenly for his change of heart to be convincing. The whole poem is based on exploitation of literary convention. The commonplace of the lover lost in abstraction is replaced by the poet lost in contemplation of the suffering of the inhabitants of Acre. The love debate is replaced by a debate of ideals.

The *chanson de croisade* shares characteristics with other lyric genres, such as the *chanson de congé* (departure poem), adapting literary conventions to fit the circumstances of crusading.

Other Works

The literary theme of crusading is not limited to specific genres. The *Ordene de Chevalerie* (c. 1220) offers a different treatment of the noble Saracen. Here Hugh of Fauquembergues, lord of Tiberias (Hue de Tabarie in the text), a prisoner of the Saracens, consents reluctantly to knight Saladin, whose reputation as a noble Saracen seems to have been established from the time of the Third Crusade. This com-

bination of infidel Saracen and Christian knighthood was seen to be an anomaly. Although Hugh consents to knight Saladin, this does not prevent him from classing him as "vile as regards the religion of goodness, baptism and faith" [*Ordene de Chevalerie*, ed. and trans. Keith Busby (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1983), 171].

Muhammad himself figures in some of the encyclopedic works of the thirteenth century, and legend and myth rose around him. In the *chanson de geste* we find a distorted awareness of the Islamic ban on alcohol and pork in the account given of Muhammad's death: in a state of drunkenness, Muhammad falls over and is eaten by a herd of pigs. Muhammad's fictionalized biography, written in Latin, was adapted into French verse by Alexandre du Point in 1258. This legendary and defamatory account owes more to literary tradition and myth than reality, though it clearly springs from the spirit of the crusades; the same is true of other texts.

In the unique *chantefable* (work that is part verse, part prose) *Aucassin et Nicolette*, the commonplaces of the literary treatment of the Saracens are both exploited and subverted. The beautiful Saracen slave girl turns out to be the daughter of the king of Carthage, and Aucassin is caught up in a series of mock-heroic adventures. "Saracen" in this case is more of a literary construct to be played with than a real threat to Christendom. Similarly, the popular romance *Floire et Blanchefleur* (1150/1160) takes as its starting point the attack by a Saracen king on a group of pilgrims traveling to the shrine of Santiago de Compostella in Spain, but its interest is in the romance between the young Muslim Floire and the Christian slave girl Blanchefleur. In this case, Floire's conversion comes after their marriage but precedes his coronation.

Jean Bodel, who develops the Christian/Saracen theme to good effect in his *Chanson des Saisnes*, makes parodic use of the same theme in the drama *Jeu de Saint Nicholas*, where a Saracen army defeats the crusaders. The text exploits commonplaces of the *chanson de geste* and specifically draws upon the tale of *Fierabras*. Despite the comic elements, the crusading theme is not subverted but rather upheld by the eventual conversion of the Saracen emir when, in response to the prayers of the only Christian survivor, St. Nicholas forces three thieves to return what they had stolen from the emir.

Finally, chronicles of the crusades, while not strictly "imaginative" literature, have an important place in Old French literary tradition. The earliest chronicles were dynas-

Friedrich von Hausen (d. 1190)

tic and domestic, but at the end of the twelfth century Ambroise's *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, a verse chronicle of the Third Crusade, demonstrates the potential literariness of the genre. The chronicles of the Fourth Crusade by Geoffrey of Villehardouin and Robert of Clari are among the earliest extant prose narratives in French.

Conversion in the French literature of the crusades is presented more in terms of baptism than conviction. Where clear conviction precedes baptism, whether as a result of defeat in combat or the work of the Holy Spirit, the Saracen is not presented as Christian until after baptism.

Many of the texts in Old French that deal with crusading material offer difficulties of interpretation unless they are read contextually. Some of the chansons de croisade require extratextual knowledge to make sense, and most are enhanced by some appreciation of the historical context. The Holy Land as the feudal patrimony of God is implicit in much of this literature. Intertextual reference and an understanding of literary tradition are equally important. Finally, it should be noted that although the texts reflect contemporary attitudes of crusaders or noncrusaders, they were primarily literary constructs and should be read as such.

—Marianne J. Ailes

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Friedrich von Hausen (d. 1190)

The first German lyric poet of crusade, and the only one whose death on crusade is documented.

Friedrich is named in charters of the imperial chancellor Christian, archbishop of Mainz (1171, 1175), and King (later Emperor) Henry VI (1186–1187), and he is recorded by the chronicler Gislebert of Mons as Frederick Barbarossa's counselor and judge (1187–1188). Five chronicles of the Third Crusade (1189–1192) record his death while repelling a Turkish attack against the rearguard of the German army near Philomelion (mod. Akşehir, Turkey) on 6 May 1190.

Hausen's courtly love lyrics foreground the lover's mordant critique of unrequited *hohiu minne* (high love). Having taken the cross, presumably in 1188, he exploited Minnesang (German love lyric) as propaganda for crusade. The crusader must choose between the irreconcilable claims of secular love and divine love. In the song *Si darf mich des zihen niet* ("She has no cause to reproach me"), the lover abandons the habitually indifferent lady in order to serve God, "who knows how to reward," and regrets having "forgotten God so long" [*Des Minnesangs Frühling*, V, 4]. Now his priority is to serve him, and "only after that shall my heart serve all women" (V, 5).

Min herze und min lip diu wellent scheiden (VI, "My heart and my body will go separate ways") takes its central motif of the divided self from the song *Ahi! amours, com dure departie* ("Alas, love, what painful parting") by the trouvère Conon de Béthune. The inner conflict of the knight, torn between "God's honor" and worldly pleasure, and unable to persuade his heart to crusade with him (VI, 1–3), is resolved only by repudiating secular love: "No one can accuse me of inconstancy if I come to hate the one I loved. However much I begged and beseeched her, she behaves as if she understood not a word. [. . .] I'd be a fool to put up with her stupidity—it will never happen again" (VI, 4). *Min herze den gelouben hât* (VII, "My heart believes") commends those the crusader leaves behind to God's mercy, trusting "good ladies" to

spurn lovers too cowardly to go on “God’s journey” (VII, 2). *Si waenent dem tôde entrunden sîn* (XVI, “They imagine they have escaped death”) castigates those who go back on their vow: “Whoever takes the cross and never sets off will see God at the last—when the gate is shut in his face which He opens wide for His own people” (XVI, 5–8).

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Frisia

Medieval Frisia was the coastal area between the north-western corner of Holland and the town of Bremen, whose inhabitants participated in nearly every crusade to the East, acquiring fame as freighters and marine fighters.

In the period of the crusades, Frisia consisted of a series of autonomous districts, each governed in a more or less communal way by a local elite, whose members considered themselves to be noble but rejected secular knighthood. As a consequence of its geophysical structure, the Frisian territory was partitioned between the four dioceses of Utrecht, Münster, Osnabrück, and Bremen, but its people were bound by a common language, laws, and a sense of origin that centered on the myth of Charlemagne granting the Frisians freedom of territorial lordship. In non-Frisian crusade sources, the Frisians are always treated as a collective. They traveled by ship and usually fought on foot, as their watery lands did not favor mounted combat.

During the First Crusade (1096–1099), some Frisians made up part of the pirate fleet of Guynemer of Boulogne that offered military and logistic support to Baldwin of Boulogne in Tarsos (mod. Tarsus, Turkey) in November 1097. As they are mentioned along with men from Flanders, Antwerp, and other parts of *Gallia* (Gaul), it is likely that they came from the neighboring territories of Zeeland or Holland, which still were regarded as Frisian up to 1100/1125. Frisian is also mentioned by the chronicler Fulcher of Chartres as

one of the languages spoken in the Lotharingian contingent of the crusade army.

Frisian participation in the conquest of Lisbon (1147) during the Second Crusade (1147–1149) is recorded only in Frisian sources. The author of an itinerary of the 1217 expedition which brought Frisians to Portugal revived the memory of the Frisian hero Poptetus Ulvinga who had died at the siege of Lisbon seventy years before. If he really had been one of the leaders of a Frisian contingent, then it must have sailed with the Germans from the Weser area, who were led by the archbishop of Bremen.

From the Third Crusade (1189–1192) onward, the Frisians are more clearly distinguished in the sources. A false letter of Frederick I Barbarossa, Holy Roman Emperor, to Saladin (dated 1189/1190) mentions Frisians as part of a series of Western peoples whose mobilization is announced, and indeed two groups of Frisians from the northern coasts are known to have taken part in this crusade. The first squadron, of more than 50 ships, left Frisia in February 1189. At the mouth of the Rhine, it joined crusaders from Holland and Cologne and sailed to Dartmouth, where English and Flemish squadrons were gathering. Their main goal was the city of Acre (mod. ‘Akko, Israel) in Palestine, but the crusaders were persuaded by the Portuguese to assist in the capture of the Moorish stronghold of Alvor in the Algarve (16 June 1189). Thereafter the Frisians embarked again for the Holy Land, together with some Danes. A speedy voyage via Messina in Sicily, where they chose the Hainaut knight James of Avesnes as their commander, brought them to Acre in time to help the Franks close the ring around the Muslim-held city at the beginning of September. At the end of April 1189, a second fleet of 11 ships, probably from eastern Frisia, departed from Blexen near Bremen, sailing via England to southern Portugal, where the crusaders took part in the siege of Silves (September 1189). This small squadron can only be traced up to 17 October, when it sailed into Marseilles, but it is assumed that it, too, ultimately reached Acre. Eight years later another Frisian unit is reported to have left for the Holy Land; it is likely that it accompanied the north German fleet of Bishop Hartwig II of Bremen, which formed part of the Crusade of Emperor Henry VI (1197–1198).

More numerous were the Frisians who took the cross on the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221). Recruitment (at least for the archbishopric of Cologne) was organized by the papal delegate Oliver, master of the Cologne cathedral school, in collaboration with the abbots of many newly founded monas-

teries in Frisia. Helped by a series of miraculous signs in the sky during his campaign, this preacher managed to recruit 13,000 Frisian fighters according to his own estimation. They sailed with crusaders from Germany, England, and Holland, manning no fewer than 86 out of 200 ships. In contrast to the other nationalities, who decided to campaign in Portugal, the Frisians obeyed the strict orders of Pope Honorius III to sail directly to the Holy Land, but were delayed by bad weather, wintering in southern Italy. In April 1218 they set sail for Acre, where their fleet was chartered by John of Brienne, king of Jerusalem, to transport the crusader army to the Nile delta. The Frisians also served the Christian cause by constructing a siege machine on 2 cogs, with which they were able to capture the chain tower of the port of Damietta (25 August 1218). However, immediately after this feat of arms, the majority of the Frisians went home; a huge flood that caused thousands of casualties in Frisia soon after their return was blamed on the premature departure of these crusaders.

In 1224 Oliver of Cologne again preached the crusade in Frisia. Although he had less success on this occasion, a small Frisian fleet departed from the island of Borkum in the spring of 1227; its further adventures are unknown. Shortly afterward the bishop of Utrecht acquired massive support in the Frisian parts of his diocese for three successive crusade expeditions against the rebellious population of Drenthe (1227–1233). Some Frisians also participated in a similar political crusade against another neighboring people, the Stedinger, who had been declared heretics by the archbishop of Bremen (1234).

In 1247 the Frisians were called on by Pope Innocent IV and King Louis IX of France to join the latter's crusade to the East (1248–1254), but the pope eventually allowed the Frisians to fulfill their vows in aiding William of Holland, king of the Romans, against the city of Aachen. By contrast, Frisians joined King Louis's second crusade (1270–1272) in large numbers. On 18 April 1270, 50 cogs left Borkum, and although they were too late to sail from Aigues Mortes in France with the main fleet, they managed to arrive in Tunis shortly before the king died. According to the Frisian chronicler Menco, abbot of Wittewierum, the Frisians fought in a battle under the command of the king's brother Charles I of Anjou, probably at El-Bahira. Like other nations in the crusader army, their group was decimated by an epidemic. The survivors left Tunis in September and sailed to Acre with 32 ships, only to discover that they could not be of any military

importance there. With this expedition, Frisian crusade participation came to an end.

In late medieval Frisian historiography, the memory of heroic crusaders is a central theme, connected with the idea that the chosen people of Frisia had earned its freedom because of its achievements for Christianity. The mythical stories were most popular in West Frisian districts, which were longest able to resist the territorial expansion of neighboring lords.

Enthusiasm for the crusade is reflected in the relatively high number of establishments of the military orders in Frisia: the oldest foundations date to before 1240, and by 1300 there were twenty-one separate houses of the Order of the Hospital and three of the Teutonic Order. The Teutonic houses, situated west of the Lauwers, were organized in the provincial district of Utrecht. The one commandery of the Hospitallers in the same region also came under a Utrecht house (St. Catherine's convent). All other Hospitaller establishments (situated in the modern Dutch province of Groningen and the German district of Ostfriesland) formed an administrative area of their own, the Bailiwick of Frisia, which came under the authority of the commander of Steinfurt in Westphalia. Peculiar to the houses of both military orders was the fact that they had no knight brethren. The wealthier establishments developed into either nunneries or convents of priests, some of whose members were active as parish ministers, while the poorer houses were peopled with lay sisters. The commanders were always priest brethren. This monastic structure can be explained by the character of the Frisian aristocracy, which lacked a knightly class from which knight brethren could otherwise have been recruited.

In the fourteenth century a series of conflicts broke out between the monastic communities and their respective provincial superiors on issues such as the recruitment of new members and the election of commanders. These were resolved by permitting the Frisian brethren autonomy in these matters. In the last quarter of the fifteenth century, the Hospitaller provincial commander at Utrecht and his Teutonic counterpart at Steinfurt both strengthened their grip on their Frisian houses by peopling them with non-Frisians and diminishing the number of lay brethren and sisters. In all of the Frisian lands, the Reformation brought an end to the houses of the military orders, first in the areas under the Lutheran counts of Eastern Frisia and Oldenburg, and later in the provinces of Friesland and Groningen, which in 1580

and 1594 respectively joined the Calvinist-oriented Republic of the United Netherlands.

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Froben Christoph of Zimmern

See Zimmern, Chronicle of

Frutolf of Michelsberg (d. 1103)

Prior of the monastery of Michelsberg near Bamberg, and author of a universal chronicle dealing with events from the Creation up to the year 1099.

Frutolf's work, which contains information about the First Crusade (1096–1099), particularly relating to the People's Expeditions, was used as the basis for the chronicle of Ekkehard of Aura, who provided a continuation up to the year 1125, including extended descriptions of the First Crusade and the Crusade of 1101.

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Fulcher of Chartres (d. c. 1127)

A participant in the First Crusade (1096–1099) and author of a Latin history dealing with the crusade and subsequent

events in Outremer up to 1127.

Fulcher was probably born in Chartres around 1059, and he was educated for the priesthood. He responded enthusiastically to Pope Urban II's preaching of the crusade (although it is disputed whether he was at the Council of Clermont in November 1095), and set off with the army of Stephen of Blois in October 1096. This army wintered in southern Italy, leaving Bari for Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) in April 1096, and proceeding from there into Asia Minor.

In October 1097 Fulcher became chaplain to Baldwin of Boulogne (later king of Jerusalem) until Baldwin's death in 1118, and he remained in Outremer until his own death in 1127 or soon thereafter. His close association with Baldwin meant that he was in Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey) and its environs during the sieges of Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) and Jerusalem 1097–1099, and so he was not an eyewitness to these events, which he described using the account of Raymond of Aguilers and the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*. However, Fulcher was able to give a first-hand account of how Baldwin achieved power in Edessa. When Baldwin went to Jerusalem as successor to his brother Godfrey of Bouillon (autumn 1100), Fulcher accompanied him and remained in the kingdom of Jerusalem as his chaplain. For the next twenty-seven years, Fulcher's history is a unique and invaluable source for the early years of the Frankish settlement.

Fulcher's *Historia Hierosolimitana* was written to celebrate the success of the First Crusade, in response to urging by "a comrade." This, along with his use of the other eyewitness accounts, suggests he began to write soon after he arrived in Jerusalem in 1100. The first version of his history appeared in 1106, and it may have been completed with a view to circulation as propaganda for a new crusade. Its enthusiastic reception encouraged Fulcher to continue his work in 1110, summarizing events in the intervening four years; thereafter he revised the early part of the work twice, and continued to write year by year until 1127, when his chronicle ends abruptly. Fulcher was the best educated of the Latin eyewitnesses of the First Crusade. He quoted, sometimes rather ineptly, from a range of classical and biblical texts and occasionally included short verse passages, some of them making enigmatic use of astrological dates and times. He had a keen interest in natural history and phenomena and described strange plants and animals he observed on his travels, though usually with reference to

Fulcher, Patriarch of Jerusalem (d. 1157)

Solinus, the classical author through whose work Pliny's observations on natural history were accessible to medieval schoolmen.

Although Fulcher was at the side of Baldwin I during his entire reign as king of Jerusalem (1100–1118), he is disappointingly reticent about the politics of church and state. He describes with enthusiasm an expedition beyond the Dead Sea in 1100 and seems to have been present on campaigns until 1111 or 1112, leaving detailed accounts of them. The evidence suggests that he spent more and more time in the city of Jerusalem, neither accompanying Baldwin I when he went north to assist Roger of Antioch in 1115, nor going with him into Egypt in 1116 or 1118. On this last journey Baldwin died, and Fulcher appears not to have served his successor, Baldwin II (1118–1131), as chaplain, nor traveled with him. He was in his sixties by this time, and apparently devoted his time to writing his history in Jerusalem. His loyalty to his adopted land is expressed in a remarkable and often quoted passage written in the 1120s, in which he tells how the Frankish settlers had come to think of themselves as Orientals and to be at home in Outremer.

Fulcher's work was eagerly adopted by other writers as early as 1105–1106, when two anonymous authors (one known as Bartolf of Nangis) produced versions with some added details. The same text was probably used by Guibert of Nogent, Ekkehard of Aura, and Radulph of Caen, all writing soon after 1106. Fulcher's first redaction, which finished in 1124, was used by Orderic Vitalis and by William of Malmesbury. William of Tyre, writing in the 1170s, also used Fulcher (with other sources) for his account of the First Crusade and the reigns of Baldwin I and Baldwin II. As in the case of other eyewitness accounts, William's elegantly written narrative overshadowed Fulcher's more naive history. More than fifteen copies of Fulcher's *Historia Hierosolimitana* are extant; the earliest is MS Cambridge, University Library, Ii.iv.4.

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Fulcher, Patriarch of Jerusalem (d. 1157)

Latin archbishop of Tyre (1135–1145) and patriarch of Jerusalem (1145–1157).

A Frenchman by origin, Fulcher started his career in Outremer when he fell out with his bishop in Angoulême over the disputed papal election of 1130. Fulcher became a canon of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre before his appointment as archbishop of Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon).

As archbishop, Fulcher worked tirelessly to assert his independence, even to the point of securing papal injunctions against Patriarch William. Ultimately Fulcher succeeded: the archbishop of Tyre became second only to the patriarch of Jerusalem in the hierarchy of the kingdom. After his election as patriarch in 1145, Fulcher continued to champion ecclesiastical privileges, which brought him into various conflicts with Queen Melisende, King Baldwin III, and the Order of the Hospital.

When Baldwin III finally decided to rule alone and began a civil war, Fulcher quietly backed the queen. Ultimately Melisende lost her official role in government, but Fulcher may have influenced the settlement that Baldwin III offered her in 1152. He himself seems not to have been reconciled with the king.

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Fulco

Missionary bishop of Estonia (1171–1180).

Fulco was a Benedictine monk at the abbey of La Celle who before 1171 expressed a desire to work among pagans.

He was consecrated as missionary bishop for the Estonians by Eskil, archbishop of Lund (who was then in exile), at the instigation of Peter, the previous abbot of La Celle, who had been abbot of Saint-Remi at Rheims since 1162. During 1171–1172 Fulco visited Pope Alexander III and procured a number of bulls in support of the mission. An Estonian monk in Norway was asked to join him, and the pope urged Scandinavian kings and their peoples to undertake a crusade against the Estonians.

Whether this crusade actually took place and whether Fulco ever reached Estonia are unknown. He was in Denmark in the late 1170s before going back to France and once more visiting Pope Alexander, seemingly on behalf of Absalon, the new Danish archbishop. Peter now tried to involve Absalon in Estonia, but there were apparently no Danish or Norwegian campaigns to Estonia until the 1180s and 1190s. No further information on Fulco exists from those decades, however, although some scholars have identified him with one Folquinus, who is mentioned in a fifteenth-century chronicle (*Catalogus et ordinaria successio episcoporum Finlandensium*) as the third bishop of the Finns around the year 1200.

—John H. Lind

See also: Baltic Crusades; Livonia

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Fulk of Anjou (d. 1143)

King of Jerusalem (1131–1143) through his marriage to Melisende, eldest daughter of King Baldwin II.

Fulk (Fr. *Foulques*) was born around 1090, the son of Fulk IV Rechin, count of Anjou, and Bertrada of Montfort, and succeeded to Anjou in 1109. Fulk's success in holding his hereditary lands, enlarging them by the annexation of Maine, and maintaining his position between the kings of England and France through a series of skillful alliances earmarked him as a capable ruler. These accomplishments, his ties to royal families, and his reputation for piety (marked by a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1120) made him an obvious candi-

date when Baldwin II of Jerusalem sought a husband for Melisende, his eldest daughter and designated heir, in 1127. Fulk ceded Anjou and Maine to his eldest son, Geoffrey Plantagenet (who was betrothed to Matilda, heiress to the throne of England), and married Melisende in 1129.

On his deathbed, Baldwin II designated Fulk, Melisende, and their son Baldwin III as joint heirs to the kingdom (1131). Disinclined to share power, Fulk increasingly cut his wife out of government and favored new men from Anjou over the established magnates of Jerusalem. Fulk was obliged to spend considerable time in northern Syria between 1132 and 1135. He put down an attempt by the Princess Alice to seize control of the principality of Antioch from its heiress, Constance, in alliance with Count Pons of Tripoli and Count Joscelin II of Edessa; later he returned to Antioch to attend to its defense and government. In 1134 Melisende's cousin Hugh of Jaffa started a rebellion in an attempt to restore the queen's royal power. Although Hugh's revolt quickly fell apart, Fulk had to compromise with Melisende and her supporters by allowing his wife to share rule with him. These events showed how crises in the northern Frankish states might require Fulk's attention, for a threat to any of them endangered all of Outremer. Yet if the king and the army headed north, Jerusalem was vulnerable to attack from Egypt. Three other issues further complicated the situation: Emperor John I Komnenos's interest in reasserting Byzantine claims over Antioch; the ambition of Zangī, ruler of Mosul, to conquer all of Syria; and Damascus's equally fervent wish to stay out of Zangī's hands.

Fulk dealt with all these problems effectively, for the most part. Between 1136 and 1142, he built a ring of castles around the Egyptian fortress of Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel) to guard Jerusalem's southwestern flank. Several of these strongholds became the property of the Hospitallers and prevented Egyptian raids. The king also encouraged magnates to expand into areas served by important trade routes. A strategic series of alliances helped keep the other problems in check. John Komnenos came to Syria in 1137 and 1143, trying to enforce his suzerainty over Antioch. Fulk declined to help the prince of Antioch contest imperial authority and at the same time prevented John from claiming power over his own kingdom. He also allied with John against Zangī until their pact fell apart in late 1137. Soon Fulk found another partner in Muslim Damascus, which Zangī's expansion in Syria finally pushed into an alliance with Jerusalem that lasted from

Fulk of Neuilly (d. 1202)

1139 to 1144. When Fulk died in a hunting accident, however, it became clear that his solutions had not fully settled Outremer's problems. Many of the same issues reemerged during the regency of Melisende and the majority of Baldwin III.

—Deborah Gerish

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Fulk of Neuilly (d. 1202)

A reformer and parish priest who preached in support of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204).

It is unknown whether Fulk waited for a papal commission by letter or from the legate Peter Capuano before beginning to recruit for the crusade in 1198. Pope Innocent III later granted Fulk the right to commission other preachers, who included Eustace of Saint-Germer-de-Flay and (despite initial resistance of their order's general chapter), the Cistercian abbots of Vaux-de-Cernay, Perseigne, and Cercanceaux. Fulk and his fellow preachers successfully recruited noblemen from the Ile-de-France, Champagne, Flanders, and Brabant, in addition to hosts of commoners whose personal participation they intended to subsidize with offerings collected from the devout. After Fulk's untimely death, these funds seem to have been transferred to the leaders of the crusade or sent to the Holy Land, lead-

ing to allegations that they had been embezzled by Fulk or his collaborators.

—Jessalynn Bird

See also: Fourth Crusade (1202–1204)

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Fulk of Villaret (d. 1327)

Master of the Order of the Hospital (1305/1306–1317/1319).

Fulk (Fr. Foulques) came from a family that had associated itself with the Hospitallers, and he was a nephew of the previous master, William of Villaret. Little is known of his early life. He was appointed admiral of the order in 1299 (the first recorded instance of such an office). In 1301 and 1303 he held the office of grand commander, and in 1303 he was made lieutenant master.

On William's death, Fulk was elected master and embarked at once on a series of ambitious projects that would permanently alter the character of the order. He sent a calculating proposal for a crusade to Pope Clement V, and together with the Genoese adventurers Vignolo di Vignoli and Boniface Grimaldi made plans in 1306 to seize the island of Rhodes (mod. Rodos, Greece) and establish a base there for the order. The crusade was eventually carried off, in modified form, in 1309–1310, and the conquest of Rhodes was completed around 1310, giving the Hospital an independent base and transforming it from a land-based knightly order to a Mediterranean naval power.

After 1307 Fulk had to deal with the stresses generated by the trial and suppression of the Order of the Temple. He spent the years 1307–1309 in the West, mostly near the papal court in Poitiers, in a dangerously exposed position but also well-placed to stay abreast of developments. Because of his swift and vigorous action in seizing an independent base for the Hospital, his persistent prosecution of the crusade of 1309–1310, and his evident political sophistication, he managed to bring about a successful acquisition of the property of the Temple and to prevent the French Crown and others from destroying the Hospital. Returning to the East, he became involved in the affairs of the kingdom of Cyprus. He

was designated briefly as Henry II's deputy in 1310, and he helped to arrange the marriage of Henry's sister to James II of Aragon in 1315. But his character appears to have been deteriorating, and what had been vigorous activity became overbearing tyranny.

In 1317 the Hospitaller brethren on Rhodes rebelled against Fulk and tried to assassinate him in his bed; having deposed him and elected Maurice of Pagnac as master in his stead, they then besieged Fulk in Lindos castle. Pope John XXII summoned both Fulk and Maurice to Avignon in 1319 and confirmed Fulk in his magistracy, apparently on condition that he resign. He was then appointed prior of Capua,

but after further trouble there Fulk seems to have lived as a pensioned brother from 1325 until his death in 1327.

—Paul Crawford

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G

Galilee

The name of the northern part of Palestine since the Herodian period, deriving from its Hebrew appellation Galil Hagoyyim, “the province of the Gentiles.” Due to its paleo-Christian reminiscences connected with Christ’s life, the name Galilee remained in constant use by Christians through the centuries thereafter.

In the summer of 1099, after his conquests in the region, Tancred, a Norman crusader from southern Italy, adopted the title of “prince of Galilee” and undertook a series of campaigns in order to extend his domination over its territory, from the Litani River in the north to the hills of Samaria in the south, as well as from the Terre de Suète (Arab. *al-Sawād*) and Golan in the northern Transjordan to the shores of the Mediterranean in the west. His attempt to extend his rule to Haifa (mod. Hefa, Israel) on the coast brought him in conflict with the new king of Jerusalem, Baldwin I, who appointed one of his vassals as lord of Haifa.

History of Galilee, 1101–1187

Tancred relinquished Galilee to the king on being called to the principality of Antioch to serve as its regent in 1101. In the following years Baldwin I implemented a new feudal organization of the province. Eastern Galilee became a new lordship based on the town of Tiberias (mod. Teverya, Israel), which was bestowed on one of Baldwin’s vassals, Hugh of Fauquembergues. Following the foundation of the Cluniac abbey on Mount Tabor in 1102, the neighboring villages were given to its abbot, forming an ecclesiastical lordship in the heart of the province. This was followed by the establishment of a lordship in the Bethsan Valley,

whereas the port of Acre (mod. ‘Akko, Israel) and western Galilee became part of the royal demesne. In 1108, with the establishment of a Latin archbishopric in Nazareth (mod. Nazerat, Israel), the city and its surroundings were detached to form a further ecclesiastical seignory. Finally, the castle of Toron (mod. Tibnin, Lebanon), built by Hugh of Saint-Omer, became the seat of a lordship in northern Galilee.

Although these measures augmented the effective authority of the kingship, they weakened the local lords, who did not dispose of sufficient forces to check the attacks of the Turkish rulers of Damascus. Thus, in 1111 Ṭughtigīn, the *atabeg* of Damascus, invaded Galilee, penetrating as far as Nablus. The kingdom was saved only due to internal conflicts of the Damascenes rulers, which obliged Ṭughtigīn to retreat. A revolt of Muslim peasants during the invasion posed a serious threat to the food supplies of the Franks, who were not settled in the rural areas. They therefore erected small castles in order to dominate the villages. Frankish control was assisted by the conquest of Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon) in 1123, the next major port of Galilee after Acre, and of Banyas (mod. Bānīyas, Syria) in 1129, which secured the sources of Jordan and the fertile valley of al-Huleh. Banyas was reconquered by the Muslims in 1132, although it was held by the Franks again between 1140 and 1168.

An important step in the Frankish domination of Galilee was the fortress-building campaign of King Fulk (d. 1143), who integrated the local fortifications in his strategic system of the defense of the kingdom. In the Galilee, this system was based on four lines of fortification, two in the east and two



View of Lake Tiberias (Sea of Galilee). (Library of Congress)

in the west. The eastern lines were based on castles built on the heights of the Golan, such as Qal'at Namrud, established after the seizure of Banyas in 1140, and Cave de Suète (Habis Jaldak), dominating the Yarmuq Valley; they were connected with smaller castles, built by the lords of Tiberias. On the western bank of the Jordan, fortresses erected on the hills, beginning with Beaufort, which dominated the Litani River, through Château Neuf (Qal'at Hunin) and Saphet (mod. Zefat, Israel), were connected with the fortified city of Tiberias and the fortress of Belvoir, which dominated the Jordan Valley south of Lake Tiberias. The western fortifications included a number of castles on the hills and the fortified cities of the Mediterranean shore, from Tyre to Haifa. Some of these fortresses were entrusted to the orders of the Temple and Hospital, which provided garrisons for them.

King Fulk's achievement brought about a period of peace and economic prosperity in the region. Trade flourished

along the protected routes of Galilee between Damascus, the outlet of oriental goods, and the coastal cities of Acre and Tyre, where the goods were loaded for shipping to the West. This brought about the emergence of a cosmopolitan society in the coastal cities where Jews, Byzantines, and Eastern Christians were active alongside the Franks. Merchants of various origins also settled in the towns of the interior, especially contributing to the growth of Nazareth.

The history of the province in the second half of the century was influenced by the new situation in the aftermath of the Second Crusade (1147–1149). It was characterized by the renewal of Muslim unity, first under Nūr al-Dīn, whose conquest of Damascus led to the union of Muslim Syria (1154), and then under Saladin, the ruler of Muslim Syria and Egypt. This situation caused a constant pressure on the Franks, who were now placed on the defensive, finally leading to the collapse of the Latin kingdom in 1187.

In 1157, Nūr al-Dīn attacked Banyas and the northern Jordan Valley; the Franks were compelled to mobilize all the forces of the kingdom under Baldwin III in order to check the Muslim attack and to secure Banyas. In 1163, a new offensive against Banyas resulted in the Muslim conquest of the city and of Qa'lat Namrud, which led to the loss of control of the fertile valley of the Huleh and the sources of the Jordan. To prevent further invasions, a fortress, called Le Chastellet, was erected at Jacob's Ford (1178–1179), south of Lake Huleh, controlling the caravan route from Damascus to Acre. But this measure proved to be only a temporary remedy. Profiting from the internal political disputes in the Latin kingdom, Saladin undertook repeated invasions of Galilee, destroying Le Chastellet and Cave de Suète, which enabled his forces to penetrate and devastate the province.

Saladin's final invasion of Galilee resulted in the defeat of the Franks at the Horns of Hattin (4 July 1187) and the collapse of the entire kingdom of Jerusalem. The Muslim peasants revolted, as did the Jewish villagers of Upper Galilee, and both attacked Frankish survivors in their flight to Tyre.

History of Galilee, 1187–1291

The Third Crusade (1189–1192) resulted in the Christian reconquest of Acre and the coastal area between Jaffa and Tyre as well as of a tiny hinterland in western Galilee, where some of the twelfth-century lordships were reestablished, notably Haifa, Casal Imbert, and Scandalion. The lords of the lost lordships and their heirs settled at Acre, retaining their titles and hoping to reconquer their possessions. Some of them emigrated to Cyprus and later to Frankish Greece. To provide a defense for Acre, the new capital of the kingdom after the loss of Jerusalem, the Franks built some new castles on the western Galilean hills; the most important was Montfort, given in 1227 to the Teutonic Order.

The Crusade of Emperor Frederick II managed to reopen Nazareth to pilgrimage (1229), but that of 1239–1241, led by Thibaud IV of Champagne, resulted in the temporary reconquest of the province. This was followed by the erection of a large castle by the Templars at Saphet in 1240, while the fortifications of Tiberias were restored by Odo of Montbéliard. The Khwārazmian invasion of 1244 caused the loss of eastern and central Galilee. Further unsuccessful attempts to recover the province were made by later crusade leaders, such as Louis IX, king of France, in 1254, whose campaign ended at Banyas.

After the victory of the Mamlūk sultanate over the Mon-

gols at 'Ayn Jālūt in 1261, the Mamlūk sultan Baybars undertook a series of campaigns against the last Frankish strongholds. In 1263 he conquered Nazareth and destroyed it; this was followed by the destruction of Haifa's castle (1265) and the conquest of Toron and of Saphet (1266), which became the capital of Mamlūk Galilee. In 1271 Baybars conquered Montfort, depriving Acre of its hinterland. Finally, in 1291 the conquest of Acre by a Mamlūk army under al-Ashraf Khalīl marked the fall of the Frankish enterprise in the Levant.

Christian Traditions in the Frankish Period

Christian tradition considered Galilee as part of the Holy Land, second only to Jerusalem in importance. From late antiquity onward, pilgrims came to see and venerate sites associated with St. Anne at Saphorie, the Annunciation, Christ's childhood and youth at Nazareth, the wedding at Cana, the Transfiguration on Mount Tabor, and Christ's ministry around the Sea of Galilee. The crusader conquest of Galilee and the establishment of a logistic infrastructure by the Hospitallers facilitated the renewal of pilgrimage in the province. Churches and monasteries were built on the holy sites, attracting both Franks from Outremer and pilgrims from the West, particularly on the appropriate feast days in the church calendar. The most important monument built by the Franks was the romanesque fortified cathedral of Nazareth, completed just before Saladin's conquest of 1187. Acre, where most pilgrims landed, was not considered part of the biblical Holy Land. However, from the mid-thirteenth century, when the loss of Jerusalem and the Galilean sites created difficulties for pilgrimage, new churches were erected there that became the scenes of processions symbolizing the rites of pilgrimage in the holy sites.

—Aryeh Grabois

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Gallus Anonymus

The anonymous author of a Latin chronicle, written in Poland in 1112–1116, now generally known as *Cronicae et gesta ducum sive principum Polonorum*.

The fifteenth-century historian Marcin Kromer attributed the chronicle's authorship to one Gallus, whom he regarded as probably having been a monk. This view has been generally accepted, and the *Gesta's* author is known in historiography as Gallus Anonymus. He arrived at the court of Bolesław III Krzywousty (Wrymouth), the ruler of Poland, before 1110. He probably originated from France (most likely Provence) and reached Poland via Hungary.

The *Gesta* is the oldest extant narrative source originating in and concerning Poland. It was written about twenty years after the First Crusade (1096–1099), and is a fundamental source, which established a chronology of Polish history focused on the lives of the rulers of the realm, although no precise dates are preserved in the text. The *Gesta* became the principal source for later authors and historians such as Wincenty Kadłubek and Jan Długosz. The *Gesta's* third book dwells especially on the wars fought by its protagonist, Bolesław Krzywousty, against the Pomeranians and Prussians, and reflects the crusading ideology of the leading families of Poland. The sources of the *Gesta* were oral history and the traditions of the ruling house.

—Darius von Güttner Sporzyński

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Garin of Montaigu (d. 1227/1228)

Master of the Hospitallers (1207–1227/1228).

A member of a family that originated in Auvergne, Garin occupied a high rank in the Hospitallers' central convent during the turbulent mastership of Alfonso of Portugal, who resigned in 1206. He served as preceptor (1204–1206) and marshal (1206–1207), and he was elected master after the death of Master Geoffrey Le Rat (1207). Garin attended the coronation of John of Brienne as king of Jerusalem (1210), played an active role during the crusade of Andrew II of Hungary (1217), and participated in the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221).

As a member of a prominent delegation from Outremer, he traveled to the West (1222) and witnessed the deliberations between Emperor Frederick II and Pope Honorius III concerning a new crusade (1223). Garin subsequently visited England, France, and Sicily, returning to Outremer in 1225; he was the only master of the Hospitallers between 1191 and 1291 who traveled from Outremer to the West. Garin died in 1227/1228 during the rebuilding of the fortifications of Sidon and was succeeded by Bertrand of Thessy.

—Jochen Burgtorf

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Gaudin, Thibaud

See Thibaud Gaudin

Gaza, Battle of (1239)

A battle fought on 13 November 1239 at Gaza between a contingent of crusaders and Franks of the kingdom of Jerusalem and the Ayyūbid forces of Egypt, ending in a devastating Christian defeat.

The crusaders under Thibaud IV, count of Champagne (since 1234 also king of Navarre), had decided to fortify the city of Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel) to protect the southern border of the kingdom of Jerusalem. While they were marching from Acre to Jaffa (2–12 November 1239), Egyptian troops moved up to Gaza. Several prominent crusaders and local nobles, namely Henry of Bar, Amalric of Montfort, Hugh of Burgundy, Walter of Jaffa, Balian of Sidon, John of Arsuf, Odo of Montbéliard, and Richard of

Beaumont, ignored the warnings of Thibaud, Peter of Dreux, and the masters of the Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights, and decided to lead a group of 400–600 knights against the enemy. Meanwhile the main army was to continue on to Ascalon.

On 13 November the detached force made a rest stop in a valley surrounded by sand dunes that it had failed to secure properly and was surprised by the Muslims. While Hugh of Burgundy and Walter of Jaffa argued in favor of a hasty retreat to Ascalon, Henry of Bar and Amalric of Montfort decided to stay with the infantry and fight. After an initial success of Amalric's crossbowmen, the Christians were lured into pursuing the Muslims, who feigned a retreat. The Muslims subsequently managed to surround the Christians. In the ensuing close combat, Henry was killed, while Amalric and many others were taken prisoner. Meanwhile Hugh and Walter had reached Ascalon, where they convinced the main army to move to the rescue of the Christians trapped at Gaza. However, help came too late. At the sight of the crusading army, the Muslims merely abandoned their pursuit of the Christians who were fleeing the battlefield.

Following the defeat, the Templars and Hospitallers convinced Thibaud of Champagne to retreat to Acre rather than to pursue the Egyptians and their prisoners. It fell to Richard of Cornwall, in 1241, to have the casualties of the battle buried at Ascalon and to negotiate the release of the prisoners taken by the Muslims. The main sources for this battle are the *Eracles*, the *Gestes des Chiprois*, and the historical work of al-Maqrīzī.

–Jochen Burgtorf

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Gaza, Town of

A castle and township in southern Palestine (in mod. Gaza Strip), occupying an ancient tell (mound) 4 kilometers (2½

mi.) from the sea between Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel) and Darum.

The castle, with stone walls and towers, was built by King Baldwin III of Jerusalem in the winter of 1149–1150 as one of several fortifications encircling the Fātimid enclave of Ascalon. There were insufficient men or resources to fortify the entire site, and the chronicler William of Tyre records that the castle occupied only part of it. It was granted with its surrounding lands to the Templars and soon afterward withstood a Muslim attack. After the fall of Ascalon to the Franks of Jerusalem (1153), the Arab writer al-Idrīsī described Gaza as populous, with a sea port called Tayda. The civilian faubourg (suburb), defended by low and rather feeble walls and gates, occupied the remainder of the tell. The jurist John of Jaffa records the existence of a burgess and justice court.

Together with nearby Darum, built in the 1160s, Gaza remained militarily important as a frontier fortress close to the border with Egypt. When Saladin laid siege to Darum in December 1170, King Amalric withdrew Gaza's Templar garrison to assist in its defense. Saladin therefore fell on Gaza, destroying the faubourg and slaughtering its inhabitants, who had been denied access to the castle by the temporary castellan, Miles of Plancy. In November 1177, the Templars again prepared to defend Gaza when Saladin raided Ascalon. In September 1187, they finally surrendered Gaza in return for the release of their master, Gerard of Ridefort.

Saladin ordered Gaza's destruction in September 1191. Although it was refortified and returned to the Templars by King Richard I of England in 1192, Gaza's fortifications were again demolished under the terms of the Treaty of Jaffa later that year. Thereafter Gaza developed as an Ayyūbid town, with the emir 'Alam al-Dīn Qayṣar as its first governor. A failed attempt to retake it was made by Count Henry of Bar and other nobles during the Crusade of 1239–1241; and a further attempt in 1244 ended in disaster at La Forbie.

Among the medieval buildings surviving in Gaza are a large three-aisled Latin church (now the great mosque) and a smaller Greek Orthodox church of St. Porphyrios, both dating from the twelfth century; however, nothing now remains of the castle or town walls.

–Denys Pringle

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Gediminas (d. 1341/1342)

Grand duke of Lithuania (c. 1316–1341/1342), who made this pagan state into a powerful opponent of the Teutonic Order during the Baltic Crusades.

Gediminas (Ger. *Gedimin*, Pol. *Giedymin*, Russ. *Gedimin*) was probably born in the 1270s. His father was Pukoveras, a Lithuanian noble; his mother is unknown. Gediminas seems to have inherited power in Lithuania from his brother, Grand Duke Vytenis (c. 1295–1315). His descendants, the Gediminids (Lith. *Gedimainaičiai*), ruled Lithuania until 1572.

Gediminas fought the crusaders led by the Teutonic Order and also attacked German territory in alliance with King Kazimierz III of Poland, who married Gediminas's daughter Aldona-Anna in 1325. Lithuanian and Polish forces ravaged the margraviate of Brandenburg in 1326, reaching Frankfurt an der Oder and taking many prisoners. Continuing a close alliance with Riga that had been established by Vytenis, Gediminas helped this city to resist the Teutonic Order until 1330. He fostered Lithuanian trade with Riga, the Hanseatic League, Russia, Ukraine, and points east, inviting foreign merchants to Lithuania and allowing even the merchants from towns of the Teutonic Order safe passage through his realm. This policy probably provided an economic base for resisting the crusaders and certainly allowed Lithuanians to buy and have made the latest military technology, so that the Christian technological advantage was slowly lost on the Baltic front.

Gediminas also attacked the Teutonic Order through diplomacy and propaganda. He sent letters written by Christian friars at his court to Pope Innocent IV, to the Hanseatic cities of northern Germany, and to German Franciscans and Dominicans, proclaiming his willingness to accept Christianity and accusing the Teutonic Knights of hindering Lithuania's conversion through their attacks. This diplomatic maneuver enabled Gediminas to conclude a peace for two years with the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order, and the pope sent important legates to confirm the treaty and offer baptism to the Lithuanian ruler. When they arrived, Gediminas renewed his complaints against the Teutonic Knights, but refused baptism. Lithuania remained pagan, but Gediminas had obtained a much needed peace.

Although Gediminas built several Christian churches for foreigners in Lithuania, had Franciscans and Dominicans at his court as scribes and advisors, and generally seems to have tolerated Christian worship, he would not allow attacks on his pagan gods. He executed two newly arrived Franciscans who had been seized in Vilnius by a mob angered at their preaching against the ancient Lithuanian religion.

Through conquest and marriage alliances, Gediminas expanded his power into present-day Russia and Ukraine. He obtained from the patriarch of Constantinople the appointment of a Greek Orthodox primate, a "Metropolitan of Lithuania" for territories under Lithuanian rule.

Gediminas had at least seven sons (Manvydas, Algirdas, Kęstutis, Karijotas-Mikhail, Liubartas-Dmitri, Narimantas, and Jaunutis) and five daughters (Aldona-Anna, Aigusta-Anastasia, Maria, Elizabeth, and Eufemia). His wife's name is unknown. His sons ruled Slavic and Lithuanian principalities, while his daughters married Christian princes, accepted baptism, and formed valuable alliances for Lithuania. He was succeeded by his son Jaunutis (1341–1345).

—Rasa Mažeika

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Genoa

A city in Liguria on the northwestern coast of Italy, which together with its hinterland formed an important maritime republic for most of the crusading period.

The crusade movement came into existence shortly before the beginning of communal government in Genoa and well before the commune finally supplanted episcopal rule in the city. Initially only a few Genoese decided to support the crusaders in 1097, and it was only some years later, after the successes of the First Crusade (1096–1099), that support was given to the crusade movement by the association known as the *Compagna Communis*. The *Compagna* was originally a voluntary, exclusive, and initially temporary association of citizens who were opponents of the existing town authorities. It was made up of very active Genoese merchants, as well as members of noble families who had emigrated from Genoa's hinterland (It. *contado*) to the city and invested their wealth in merchant ventures there. The *Compagna* developed into a commune, or public corporation, and thenceforth determined the political and economic course of the city. The result was that in Genoa there was both private involvement of individual citizens, as well as a more official public engagement in the crusades.

Genoa's Involvement in the Crusade Movement

Those Genoese who became involved in the First Crusade on their own initiative did business not only in supplying the crusaders with food, but also actively participated in the sieges and conquest of cities such as Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) in 1098 and Jerusalem in 1099, using their ships to bring supplies and providing siege equipment constructed from ships' timber. In doing so Genoese crusaders did not lose sight of either their own business dealings or the wider economic interests of Genoa itself. As the price of their assistance they obtained for themselves and their fellow citizens concessions for future trade at centers of potential economic interest, such as the city of Antioch (1098).

By the time that the survivors of this group returned to Genoa (1099/1100) the *Compagna* had been established, and this association subsequently took over the organization of almost all the Genoese assistance for the new Frankish states that were still establishing themselves in Syria and Palestine. The communal government decided on the size of nearly all the fleets that were sent to the East after the capture of Jerusalem (1099) in order to provide support for the Franks and also to secure an advantageous position for Genoese

commerce. Only on one occasion did Genoese entrepreneurs equip a fleet at their own expense, after the fashion of the Genoese expedition of July 1097: this was a squadron of 17 ships that set sail for Syria in August 1101. Once there, they participated in the conquest of the coastal town of Tortosa (mod. Tartūs, Syria) in February 1102, but had to return home in the autumn of 1102 without any further significant military success and—more importantly—without any of the material benefits they had evidently hoped to gain.

More impressive than these private efforts was the willingness of the commune to make a military and financial commitment to the consolidation of the Frankish states in the East, which lasted for almost a decade after the capture of Jerusalem. Between 1100 and 1109, Genoa sent a total of four fleets, amounting to at least 150 galleys and countless other ships, to Outremer in 1100–1101, 1103–1104, 1108–1109, and 1109–1110. The largest of these consisted of 60 galleys and transported an army from Provence under Count Bertrand of Saint-Gilles to the area of the future county of Tripoli in the autumn of 1108. At most half as large as this was the so-called Caesarea fleet (30 ships, including 26 galleys), with whose help King Baldwin I of Jerusalem captured the cities of Caesarea (mod. Har Qesari, Israel) and Arsuf (near mod. Herzliyya, Israel) in the spring of 1101.

A squadron of 40 galleys made a significant contribution to the conquest of Gibelet (mod. Jubail, Lebanon) and Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) in the spring of 1104. The smallest fleet was the squadron of around 22 galleys whose crews took part in the conquest of the inland city of Mamistra (mod. Misis, Turkey) during a layover on the Cilician coast in the autumn of 1109 and whose ships also afforded valuable support to King Baldwin I during the siege of the coastal city of Beirut in the spring of 1110.

It was not only the hope of spiritual benefits that motivated Genoa and its citizens in these military and financial endeavors. Just as important was the expectation of material reward, whether in the form of plunder or of trading concessions in a region where up to that time Genoese merchants had not been active. In some cases the Genoese had to be satisfied with a part of the spoils; in others the Frankish rulers, whose early conquests were largely dependent on naval assistance, granted what the Genoese requested: trading quarters along with legal and economic privileges. With the conquest of Beirut, the military cooperation between Genoa and the Frankish states ceased for a long time. After 1110, Genoa endeavored to consolidate its trade with Out-



Areas of Genoese crusading and commercial activity in the period of the Crusades

remer and to assert the privileges acquired during the period of conquest. In retrospect, the extent of these privileges often seemed to have been much too generous to some of the Frankish rulers, and particularly intense conflicts flared up over this issue from the middle of the twelfth century in the kingdom of Jerusalem and the county of Tripoli.

It was only after the collapse of the Frankish states after 1187 that Genoese assistance was sought to defend those areas still in Christian hands and to reconquer those occupied by the Muslims. During Genoa's participation in the Third Crusade (1189–1192), religious zeal and crusading ardor were of secondary importance. The Genoese were unwilling to endanger without good reason the trade relations they had built up in the course of the twelfth century with the Islamic world, above all with Egypt. When the commune took the decision to support the Third Crusade, it did so because it saw an opportunity to assert many of its older claims to privileges and property that rulers in Outremer, such as the kings of Jerusalem and the counts of Tripoli, had refused to recognize up to that point. The trading interests of the commune and of those families with the greatest political and economic power (such as the Embriaci, who were particularly active in Syria) were the motivating force behind the activities of Genoa in support of the Third Crusade. The Genoese were particularly keen to regain their trading bases in those coastal cities that had fallen into Muslim hands from 1187 onward.

In 1189, much later than the Pisans and Venetians, Genoa sent a fleet to the East under the command of Consul Guido Spinola. It carried many Genoese pilgrims, including many crusaders from the city's leading families, and was intended to take part in the siege of Muslim-held Acre. At the same time, the commune was keen to maximize the financial advantage that could be gained from the capacity of Genoa's dockyards and the skills of its sailors. In February 1190 the city concluded a contract of charter with Philip II Augustus, king of France, and within a few months equipped a fleet for the transport of 650 knights, 1,300 squires, 1,300 horses, gear for men and animals, and supplies of food, wine, and fodder. For this, the Genoese demanded not only a large cash payment, but also the assurance of extensive privileges in any areas that were reconquered; these effectively corresponded to the privileges that Genoa had previously claimed, largely without success, from the Frankish princes. The exact size of the fleet chartered by the French that sailed for Outremer under

Genoese command in the late summer of 1190 is not known. Both the charter fleet and that which had left in 1189 arrived somewhat late in the East, but the Genoese took part in the siege of Acre until its capture in July 1191; their commitment was no less than that of their Pisan rivals. The fate of these two Genoese war fleets thereafter is unknown.

Genoese participation in the crusades of the thirteenth century was determined by economic considerations to a far greater extent than in the twelfth century. It is true that the hire of ships, particularly to French crusaders, and the transport of crusade armies to the main theater of war on the Egyptian coast brought in a sizable income. Yet the city government and individual citizens were only willing to support crusades in these ways as long as they had the impression that trade relations with a Christian-ruled Egypt would be significantly more advantageous for Genoese merchants than if the country remained under Islamic rule. The Genoese, who after the Third Crusade immediately resumed and intensified trade with Egypt and also expanded their trade relations with North Africa (notably with Ceuta and Tunis), were not willing to put their existing commercial ties at risk by premature participation in any crusade that seemed doomed to failure from the outset. Genoa did not participate at all in the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), which was originally intended to attack Egypt; participants in this expedition did not find a war fleet awaiting them in Genoa, although they did find Genoese transports to take them to Acre in the kingdom of Jerusalem.

The overthrow of the Byzantine Empire by the Fourth Crusade in 1204 and the resulting dominant position of Venice in the newly established Latin Empire of Constantinople brought about the loss of all the possessions and commercial privileges that had been granted to Genoa by Emperor Manuel I Komnenos in 1170 and renewed by Alexios III Angelos in 1201. The piratical activities of Genoa and its allies against Venetian shipping in the Aegean Sea could not prevent the exclusion of Genoese merchants from Constantinople, the Aegean Sea, and the Black Sea until peace was concluded in 1218. This treaty readmitted the Genoese to trade in the Latin Empire on the basis of the privileges of 1201, and also restored their former possessions in the Venetian territories of the empire.

The crusading abstinence of the Genoese ended after the general call to crusade made at the Fourth Lateran Council (December 1215). The Fifth Crusade (1217–1221) met with a positive response from Genoa, which concluded a contract

with delegates of the French crusaders for the hire of Genoese ships to take them to the East in the summer of 1218. A year later Genoa equipped 10 galleys at its own expense, which put to sea at the end of July with Genoese crusaders on board, bound to join the crusader army in the siege of the Egyptian port of Damietta. They gained part of the spoils after the capture of Damietta in November 1219, but the subsequent failure of the crusade in the summer of 1221 dashed their hopes of improving the conditions for Genoese trade. For various reasons, the Genoese could expect no assistance from Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor and king of Sicily: these reasons included the rivalry between the Genoese and Sicilian merchants in the trade with North Africa, Genoa's refusal to recognize the emperor as its lord, and the city's membership of the anti-imperialist Lombard League.

It may have been with the hope of an improvement in their position in Egypt that the Genoese began negotiations in 1246 to provide ships to transport the crusade army of King Louis IX of France via Cyprus to the Egyptian coast at Damietta. In 1248 Genoa delivered 12 very large transports completely equipped for war, along with 4 smaller sailing ships, which formed a substantial part of the fleet commissioned by the king. Two Genoese employed as admirals of the French Crown supervised the construction and equipping of the ships. Bankers from Genoa assumed organization of the necessary financial transactions. However, with the failure of the Crusade of Louis IX to the East (1248–1254), the second major crusade undertaken against Egypt, Genoa's dreams of better conditions for its own trade with Egypt evaporated.

Yet the interest of the Genoese in commercial relations with the main trade centers in Egypt was so great that twenty years later they took advantage of the opportunity to earn money by providing and equipping ships to transport the army of the second crusade of Louis IX (1270). After negotiations in October 1268, Louis IX ordered part of the fleet he required from the city government and several Genoese shipowners: a squadron consisting of a few very large transports together with smaller sailing ships, which would set out together with the French-built transports from the port of Aigues-Mortes. Contrary to the usual practice of the time, they would not be under the command of a Genoese, but of a French admiral. A further contrast to King Louis's first crusade was that in 1270 many Genoese crusaders (infantrymen and crossbowmen) joined the pre-

dominantly French crusader army. Yet contrary to Genoese expectations, the fleet sailed not to Egypt, but to Tunis on the coast of North Africa. This change of plan was not at all to Genoa's liking, since many of its citizens were involved in trade with Tunis.

Thereafter the Genoese, who in 1283 decisively defeated their Pisan rivals in a naval battle off the island of Meloria, thus effectively eliminating them as competitors, could not be recruited for any new crusade enterprises, whether by papal appeals or any other means. It was only the prospect of realizing its political and commercial aims that caused Genoa to intervene once more in the internal affairs of the county of Tripoli in the 1280s, shortly before it was finally overrun by the Mamlūks.

Genoa and the Frankish States of Outremer

The assistance provided by Genoese fleets during the First and Third Crusades, as well as the numerous other occasions when they brought support to the rulers of Outremer, came at a price. Both the Genoese government and those individuals acting on their own initiative demanded privileges in exchange for their naval and military support. These privileges usually involved the transfer of urban property for the establishment of trading quarters (often provided with their own churches), the grant of legal privileges of varying dimensions, and financial advantages. During the phase of conquest between 1098 and 1110 many privileges were obtained from the Frankish rulers. Thus, options were secured with respect to the future development of trade in the most important coastal cities of the Levant: in the principality of Antioch (in the cities of Antioch and Laodikeia in Syria), in the kingdom of Jerusalem (Arsuf, Caesarea, and Acre), and in the county of Tripoli (Gibelet and the city of Tripoli).

The extent of the privileges secured by the Genoese during the conquest phase, and documented in written charters, has long been overestimated. This misinterpretation is the result of some unconventional methods, not to mention uncritical and contradictory arguments, of Genoese historians, who have concentrated their attention exclusively on conditions in the kingdom of Jerusalem. A tradition that arose in the mid-twelfth century in Genoa itself, and that was consciously created as a propaganda weapon in disputes with the kingdom of Jerusalem and the county of Tripoli over the extent of Genoese privileges, has been used as an argument for the existence of a magnificent inscription in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem dating from the

beginning of the twelfth century, which supposedly commemorated the contribution of Genoa to the conquest of the Holy Land. Despite the results of a critical study of all the charters granted to Genoa and its citizens by the rulers of Jerusalem, Tripoli, and Antioch in the first half of the twelfth century, Genoese scholarship has largely accepted as credible the authenticity of a document supposedly mentioned in the inscription, which has been identified with a charter issued in the name of King Baldwin I of Jerusalem (and preserved in the Archivio di Stato in Genoa). Although this document lends support to a Genoese claim to a third of the city of Acre, it is undoubtedly a forgery, whose existence is connected with the beginning of the historiographical tradition regarding this “golden inscription.”

With one exception (Antioch 1098), the early privileges for Genoa from the principality of Antioch and the county of Tripoli only survive in the form of forged versions. In fact the Genoese received far more modest concessions in the Frankish states of Syria and Palestine up to 1109 than the wording of the surviving privileges would suggest. Not least through comparisons with the exorbitant concessions granted to Venice, in particular in Tyre (mod. Sôûr, Lebanon) by the *Pactum Warmundi* (1123), and the restrictive treatment of their own legal claims, the Genoese realized with hindsight that the original privileges granted them so little that they made “improvements” to the documents in question and thus started a protracted conflict with the rulers of Jerusalem and Tripoli.

Genoa provided fleets and other forms of military assistance during the Third Crusade and the parallel struggle for the throne of Jerusalem only in exchange for complete or at least far-reaching recognition of their claims to privileges in the coastal trading centers of Outremer. However, they were unable to obtain complete recognition of their claims in any of the Frankish states even after the Third Crusade. As Genoese commercial interests gradually shifted to the Islamic world (Egypt and North Africa) and the territory of the former Byzantine Empire (Constantinople, the Black Sea, the Aegean Islands, and the Empire of Nicaea), the ports of Outremer declined in importance from a Genoese perspective.

Nevertheless, as a result of the weakness of Frankish rule in the thirteenth century and thanks to their own relative strength in internal political conflicts, the Genoese became sought-after coalition partners. They followed their own interests in the Latin East without regard to the wider con-

cerns of the Frankish states, and, just like the other Western trading nations, they were not afraid to indulge in open conflict with their opponents. An example of this was the War of St. Sabas, the first great colonial conflict between Genoa and Venice in the Levant. The war broke out over the long-running legal dispute concerning property of the monastery of St. Sabas in Acre, which was claimed by both republics. The dispute escalated as both sides sought allies among the other Western trading nations, the military orders, and the Frankish aristocracy. In the course of the fighting, the Genoese quarter in Acre was severely damaged. After the defeat of a Genoese fleet off Acre and an unsuccessful attempt to capture the city by their ally Philip of Tyre (1258), fighting died down, only to flare up again whenever fleets arrived from the West. Hostilities ceased only with a truce concluded in 1261. The Genoese were now excluded from Acre, but found refuge in Tyre, where their ally Philip of Montfort had expelled the Venetians. In 1270 Venice recognized Genoa's claims to its quarter in Acre, thus establishing the basis for a resumption of Genoese trade there.

Genoa's policies in Outremer and the conduct of its citizens there contributed, as did those of the other trading nations, to the weakening of Frankish rule. It is not without reason that the Genoese are held to a large degree responsible for the collapse of the Frankish states in 1291.

—Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie

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Geoffrey III of the Perche (d. 1202)

Count of the Perche (1191–1202), who twice took the cross, but who died while preparing to go on crusade.

Geoffrey was born before 1160, the eldest son of Rotrou III, count of the Perche in central France, and Matilda, daughter of Thibaud IV, count of Blois (1107–1152). Both his grandfather, Rotrou II of the Perche, and his great-grandfather, Stephen of Blois, had taken part in the First Crusade (1096–1099).

In 1189 Geoffrey married Matilda, daughter of Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, and niece of Richard I the Lionheart, king of England. Geoffrey and his father joined the Third Crusade (1189–1192), although Rotrou III seems to have joined the forces of King Philip II of France, while Geoffrey joined Richard. He was with Richard in Messina at Christmas 1190 and is mentioned in Richard’s best-known song, *Ja nus hons pris*. In May 1191 Geoffrey witnessed the marriage settlement of his cousin, Berengaria of Navarre, and King Richard at Limassol in Cyprus. Despite the death of his father in July 1191, Geoffrey remained in the Holy Land until 1192. He fought in an engagement outside Jerusalem in June 1192 in company with the bishop of Salisbury, Hubert Walter. Geoffrey returned to the Perche in 1192/1193, burdened by debt, and was given a subvention by the family foundation of Saint-Denis of Nogent-le-Rotrou.

Geoffrey was an equally enthusiastic prospective participant in the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204). He sought and received leave from King John of England to take mort-

gages on his lands in England and Normandy and borrowed from his cousin, William Marshal, as well as from a wealthy townsman of Mortagne, Lawrence Flaaut. He was not to return to the Holy Land, however, for during Lent 1202 he was taken seriously ill, and by Easter he was dead. On his deathbed he entrusted his brother Stephen with command of his troops and gave him access to extensive financial resources in the Perche. Stephen’s benefactions to local religious houses in the months after his brother’s death and before his own departure give some idea of the level of resource that Geoffrey had proposed to devote to the crusade.

—Kathleen Thompson

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Geoffrey Le Tor (d. c. 1265)

A member of a knightly family of Outremer first mentioned in sources dating from the 1120s, Geoffrey made his earliest appearance in sources in 1222. He later emerged as a supporter of the Ibelins in their struggle against the Emperor Frederick II, and on two occasions, in 1229 and 1236, they entrusted him with diplomatic missions to the West.

Though born in the kingdom of Jerusalem, Geoffrey came to acquire a substantial fief in Cyprus, where by 1247 he held the office of chamberlain. His chief claim to fame is as the author of two short treatises on the law and custom of the High Court. He would have been well known to Philip of Novara and John of Ibelin, the authors of the two major works on this topic, and his own writings indicate that he was familiar with Philip’s treatise. Internal evidence suggests that he was writing in the 1260s.

—Peter W. Edbury

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Geoffrey of Villehardouin (the Marshal)

Marshal of Champagne and Romania, a leading figure in the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), and its principal chronicler.

Geoffrey was born near Troyes around 1150, a member of the lesser nobility of Champagne. By 1172 he was a knight serving the count of Champagne, and he was appointed marshal of Champagne in 1185. He fought in the Third Crusade in 1190 and was captured by the Muslims during the siege of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel).

By 1194 Geoffrey of Villehardouin was back in Champagne, where he was an important member of the court of Count Thibaud III. He was chosen by the leading crusaders as one of the envoys sent to Venice to negotiate transport to the East, where he acted as the envoys' spokesman. When Thibaud III died, Villehardouin proposed Boniface of Montferrat as leader of the crusade, and at Zara (mod. Zadar, Croatia) he favored accepting the offer of the exiled Prince Alexios (IV) Angelos to divert the crusade army to Constantinople (mod. Istanbul, Turkey). After the arrival of the fleet at Constantinople he acted as one of the leaders of the knights from Champagne, and he was in charge of the army's rear guard during the confrontation with Alexios III (18 July 1203). After the restoration of Emperor Isaac II Angelos, Villehardouin led the delegation to the emperor to announce the crusaders' conditions. In November 1203 he went with Conon of Béthune to confront Alexios IV, who was not observing his agreement with the crusaders.

After the second capture of Constantinople by the crusaders and the election of Baldwin of Flanders as Latin emperor, Villehardouin acted as one of the commanders in the capital, while Baldwin and Boniface were campaigning in Thrace. He also played a prominent role in appeasing the quarrel between the two men: trusted by Boniface, he was able to persuade him to submit to arbitration. Villehardouin received a fief at Makre (autumn 1204) and was probably created marshal of Romania then. He led the vanguard when Baldwin went to lift the siege of Adrianople (mod. Edirne, Turkey). During the battle he was in charge of the camp guard (14 April 1205), and it fell to him to rally the fugitives and command the withdrawal to Rodosto.

In early 1206 Villehardouin accompanied Baldwin's successor, Henry, in his successful campaign against Kalojan (Joanitsa), the Bulgarian ruler, leading a dangerous mission to rescue Renier de Trit. He was sent by Henry to escort his bride, the daughter of Boniface of Montferrat, to Constantinople (January 1207) and was chosen by Henry as one of

the judges to fix the division between French and Venetian possessions in Gallipoli (mod. Gelibolu, Turkey). He was present at the last interview between Henry and Boniface (August 1207), when Boniface offered him Mosynopolis. In March 1208 he made gifts to religious houses in France, where his sisters and daughters were nuns, and in May of that year, when Henry defeated the Bulgarians under Boril, Villehardouin commanded the vanguard. He was left in charge of Constantinople when Henry campaigned against the Lombards (December 1208); this is the last mention of him by the chronicler Henry of Valenciennes. Villehardouin's name appears in two acts, one from 1210 and the other from 1212, after which there is silence until June 1218, when his son confirmed two gifts to religious houses to celebrate the birthdays of his father and mother. Four similar acts exist from 1218 and 1219, suggesting that Villehardouin had died quite recently.

Villehardouin's chronicle covers the period from the preaching of the crusade by Fulk of Neuilly (1198) until the death of Boniface of Montferrat (4 September 1207). It is written in unpretentious French prose with only a few dialectal features, and Villehardouin claims that he is writing about only what he himself witnessed. As one of the crusade's leaders, he had access to the inner councils and was both an eyewitness and a participant in everything that he describes. He was wholly committed to the success of the crusading army and regarded the preservation of the unity of the army as an end in itself. He is very critical of any who opposed the policies of the army leaders and full of contempt for the Greeks, who, in his eyes, were treacherous, schismatic, and unfit to hold their land. He is not blind to the faults of the crusaders in Greece, but remains convinced that only God's will could have secured the triumph of such a small army over the greatest city in Christendom. There has been intense, critical controversy over his sincerity, but his account remains the most important and detailed Western source for the progress of the Fourth Crusade.

—Peter S. Noble

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Geoffroy de Charny (d. 1356)

A crusader and author of a treatise on chivalry.

Geoffroy de Charny was a nobleman from Burgundy, with links to Champagne. He may have accompanied his father Jean and his brother Dreux to the Morea with Louis of Burgundy in 1315. He became well known as a soldier at the beginning of the Hundred Years' War. During a period of truce between France and England, he took part in the crusade of Humbert of Viennois, which left Marseilles in September 1345, but was back in France as early as July 1346. Perhaps he already owned (and certainly his homonymous son did) the Holy Shroud, which was kept in the collegiate church of Lirey he founded in 1349. He was killed while fighting against the English at the battle of Poitiers on 19 September 1356.

—Jacques Paviot

See also: Chivalry

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St. George

A pseudo-historical Christian martyr, revered especially by crusaders, whose death is usually dated to 23 April 303. The conventional image of the soldier-saint overcoming a dragon probably has little or no connection with any historically authentic personality.

Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea in the mid-fourth century, wrote of the martyrdom in 303 of an unnamed man during the reign of the Roman emperor Diocletian (284–305); this man is usually identified as St. George. Said to be of high rank, he tore down the edict outlawing Christianity that had been fixed to the door of the cathedral of Nikomedeia (mod. İzmit, Turkey), a town on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus, and was then tortured and executed when he refused to renounce his beliefs. No original text of the *passio* (martyrdom) of St. George is known, but the account, which seems to be the earliest extant version of the legend (c. 350–500), also sets the story at Nikomedeia and identifies the saint as a Cappadocian. However, despite this emphasis on the northeastern Mediterranean, St. George's cult soon came to be centered on the Palestinian towns of Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel) and Diospolis or Lydda (mod. Lod, Israel), places that both claimed to be the site of his martyrdom.

Lydda, in particular, proved important in the propagation of St. George's cult among the crusaders. Emperor Constantine the Great (d. 337) is said to have built a basilica over the saint's tomb there, and it is claimed that this church was subject to a series of razings and rebuilds during the period of the crusades. A cathedral is said to have been raised over the tomb between 1150 and 1170, only to be destroyed by Saladin in 1191. King Richard I (the Lionheart) of England is credited with rebuilding this cathedral, but there is little evidence to support this. It is also sometimes argued that returning crusaders were responsible for introducing St. George's cult into western Europe, but there is clear evidence of a cult, albeit of limited importance, in early medieval France, Germany, Italy, and England: if anything, crusaders were reinforcing a veneration that was already established. St. George has been recognized as patron of a wide variety of countries and cities across both eastern and western Europe. Most significantly in this context, he was especially venerated in both Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) and Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey), and his most notable contribution to the crusades, his miraculous "appearances" at the sieges of Antioch (1098) and Jerusalem (1099) during the First Crusade, may well be related to preexisting seats of devotion.

Late sources claim that Richard the Lionheart had a personal vision of the saint at Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) during the Third Crusade (1189–1192); this is in contrast to the more generalized appearances usually associated with the saint. For example, during the First Crusade, Godfrey of Bouillon was one of many who apparently saw a host of



Stone tympanum showing St. George, from Damerham (Hampshire, England), eleventh century. (Courtesy Duncan Givans)

ghostly warriors riding white horses and bearing white banners coming to the aid of the besiegers at Antioch, a legend recounted in the *Gesta Francorum*. St. George was understood to be their captain, and this is consistent with the many stories of the appearances of soldier-saints such as SS. Theodore, Demetrios, Mercurios, and Maurice, often in a group with St. George. The first mention of a manifestation of St. George relates to a battle between the Normans and the Sicilian Muslims at Cerami in 1063, and this may well relate to the development of an identification of St. George as a soldier-saint, a variation on the original story, which was by no means general before the twelfth century.

Vernacular imagery of St. George in battle arose during the period of the crusades, for example, on sculpted tympana at Fordington (Dorset) and Damerham (Hampshire), both from around 1100, and in a wall painting at Hardham (Sussex) from 1120/1140. This iconography was in time superseded by the topos of the dragon fight, but they may well have coexisted for a period. The mid-thirteenth-century *Legenda Aurea* version of the legend of St. George recounts the appearance of the saint at the head of a heavenly troop at the siege of Jerusalem, but this text also includes the

dragon story and was a principal progenitor of the concept of the saint as a dragon-slayer. This significant development consolidated the identification of the saint as a model of chivalry and authority, moving him still further away from his original construction as a tortured martyr. However, it is clear that St. George continued to be recognized in both roles throughout the late medieval period; even when his importance as a soldier fighting human enemies began to dwindle, the dragon-slayer was still understood as a suffering martyr. It is perhaps this fluidity of presentation that underlay his wide appeal and assured his continued popularity across both Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox churches into the present day.

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St. George of Alfama, Order of

Military religious order in the Crown of Aragon, founded in 1201 and incorporated into the Order of Montesa in 1400.

The conquest of the town of Tortosa from the Muslims in 1148 brought the lower Ebro Valley under the control of the Christians of Aragon, but the stretch of coast north of the Ebro delta remained uninhabited in the second half of the twelfth century and was an easy prey to Muslim naval raids. The area between the mountains and the sea was barren and so had not been affected by post-1148 resettlement of southern Catalonia. The existing military orders did not show any interest in the area. For those reasons King Peter II of Aragon decided to found there a new institution that would combine prayer, assistance to travelers, and defense against Muslim pirates. The royal privilege of 1201 granted to the new order, which received the symbolic name of St. George, the territory of Alfama, a coastal area between the Gulf of Sant Jordi on the northern side of the Ebro delta and the Cala Gestell facing the Coll de Balaguer about 20 kilometers (12½ mi.) to the north. A castle was built in the following years on the seaward side whose structure was unearthed in 1988.

The Order of St. George of Alfama did not go much further from these small beginnings. It never managed to control many territories beyond the coastal region. In the thirteenth century, only two commanderies were established to control distant areas. These were Bujaraloz in eastern Aragon, which in 1229 was sold to the Hospitaller monastery of Sigena to pay off pressing debts (an early sign of continuous economic problems), and Alcarrás near Lleida (Lérida). Several grants in the kingdom of Valencia and the church and castle of Riquer in eastern Catalonia were put under the rule of commanders in the fourteenth century. Some of the donations in Valencia, as well as minor ones in Mallorca, Menorca, and Sardinia, came as a result of mili-

tary contributions of the order to campaigns of the kings of Aragon. The order's modest domains produced meagre rents, which held back the development of the institution, and its eager quest for alms showed the insufficient amounts of other types of rents; an alms collector was even sent to France and England in 1368. The limited number of landed properties showed the order's lack of appeal in the Aragonese territories, despite firm support from the Aragonese kings, and professed members were few: only six brethren in the 1370s.

The foundation did not grow firm institutional roots either. Papal confirmation was delayed until 1373, and a proper internal structure took time to develop. The office of master did not appear until 1355, and the king appointed its holders in the second half of the fourteenth century, a clear indication of the leading role of the Crown, but also of the feeble character of the order. Religious life followed the Rule of St. Augustine, but this set of regulations was only officially recognized as the code of the house by a papal bull of 1373. It did not last long; it was replaced by a new rule in 1385. The fact that this new rule was composed by Peter IV of Aragon showed the complete control of the institution by the Crown.

The extreme weakness of the Order of St. George of Alfama forced its last master, Francesc Ripollés, to approach the king of Aragon for a solution. King Martin the Humane realized that the community could not exist by itself and in 1399 decided to merge it with the much bigger Order of Montesa. Pope Benedict XIII gave his assent in 1400. St. George of Alfama vanished as an independent institution, but the plain red cross of Alfama survived and became the distinctive sign of the joint order.

—Luis Garcia-Guijarro Ramos

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St. George's Night Revolt (1343)

A major uprising of the Estonian peasantry against the nobility of Danish North Estonia. The causes of the revolt were most probably agricultural crisis, famine, and oppression by the vassals of the king of Denmark. The main source for the rebellion is the *Jüngere Livländische Reimchronik* of Bartholomäus Hoeneke, who, although a participant in the events, represented the viewpoint of the Teutonic Order and tried to justify its intervention in Danish territory.

The revolt began with a massacre of the German nobility in the province of Harria and the monks of the Cistercian abbey in Padis (mod. Padise, Estonia) on St. George's Night (23 April) 1343. The peasants gathered in the vicinity of Reval (mod. Tallinn) and elected leaders, who sent a delegation to the Swedish authorities in Finland to negotiate about subjection. The Teutonic Order reacted with remarkable speed and sent forces into Danish territory. These forces gained a victory over the rebels near Reval. It took longer to pacify Harria and Wiek. On St. James' Eve (24 July), the Estonians on the island of Ösel (mod. Saaremaa) also rose up; they destroyed the stronghold of the order in Peude (mod. Pöide). The order suppressed this uprising with two campaigns in 1344 and 1345.

The St. George's Night Revolt has remained one of the most controversial issues in the historiography of medieval Livonia. Although it was primarily a peasant uprising, modern Estonian historiography has stressed the political goals of the rebels—driving out their German and Danish rulers. Consequently the event has gained in Estonia a symbolic meaning comparable to that of the fight against the crusade armies in the early thirteenth century.

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Georgia

Located among the mountains of Transcaucasia between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea, Georgia has a long history dating back to the second millennium B.C. Christianity was introduced in the region in the first century and became the state religion in 337. After the country was overrun by the

Arabs in the seventh century, Georgian principalities gradually emerged under the leadership of the Bagratid dynasty, which succeeded in uniting eastern and western Georgia into one kingdom by 1010.

The eleventh century was marked by Georgian-Byzantine rivalry, which was interrupted by the arrival of the Turkish Saljūq tribes. The Saljūqs raided Georgia in 1064–1068 and then began massive migration into the southern Caucasus, where they devastated the Georgian principalities and occupied large expanses of territory. King Giorgi II (1072–1089) was forced to recognize their supremacy and paid tribute to the Great Saljūqs, whose dominance continued unchecked for almost a decade. During this period the country was ravaged by invasions, internal dissent, and natural disasters. In 1089, a bloodless coup d'état forced King Giorgi II to resign his throne in favor of his sixteen-year-old son David. The new king faced a daunting challenge of defeating a powerful enemy and rebuilding his devastated country. Despite his age, David proved to be a capable statesman and military commander. In 1089–1100, he organized small detachments to harass and destroy isolated Saljūq troops and began resettlement of devastated regions.

King David took advantage of the arrival of the First Crusade in Syria and Palestine (1096–1099) and ceased paying annual tribute to the Great Saljūqs. Over the next ten years, he gradually liberated most of eastern Georgia. He also turned his attention to domestic problems. In 1103, the Ruis-Urbnisi church council reformed the Georgian Orthodox Church, limiting its authority and expelling rebellious clergy. The office of the powerful archbishop of Chqondidi was merged with that of *mtsignobartukhutsesi* (chief royal adviser), and the new office became the second highest in the realm, introducing direct royal authority into the church. King David then organized a new court system (Georg. *saajo kari*) and police apparatus (Georg. *mstovrebi*). As part of his reforms, he also began the construction of a monastery and academy at Gelati in 1106, which developed into a major educational and cultural center.

In 1110–1117, King David continued his conquests throughout southern Transcaucasia, capturing the key fortresses of Samshvilde, Rustavi, Lore, and others. Saljūq invasions in 1105, 1110, and 1116 were all crushed. To strengthen his army, King David launched a major military reform in 1118–1120. After marrying the daughter of a Qipchaq (Polovtsian) tribal leader, he resettled some 40,000 Qipchaq families from the northern Caucasus steppes to

Kartli and recruited one soldier from each family, securing a steady supply of manpower. The new army provided the king with much needed force to fight both external threats and the internal discontent of powerful lords.

In 1120, King David began a more aggressive policy of expansion. He established contact with the Franks in the Holy Land, and the two sides tried to coordinate their actions against the Muslims. In 1121, King David faced the most trying moment of his reign. Sultan Maḥmūd declared a holy war on Georgia and rallied a large coalition of Muslim countries against Georgia. A battle fought in the Didgori Valley, near Tbilisi, on 12 August 1121, ended in complete annihilation of the Muslim force. Following this triumph, King David captured Tbilisi, the last Muslim enclave remaining from the Arab occupation (1122), and declared it the capital of a united kingdom of Georgia. In 1123–1124, Georgian armies were victorious in neighboring territories of Armenia, Shirwan, and the northern Caucasus. By the time of King David's death (24 January 1125), Georgia was one of the most powerful states in the region.

During the reign of David's son Demetre I (1125–1156), Georgia continued to dominate southern Transcaucasia and neighboring territories. In 1138, Georgians captured the strategic fortress of Gandja (in mod. Azerbaijan); a trophy of this expedition was the city's iron gate, which is still kept in the Gelati monastery. However, Demetre also had to make concessions in his relations with the Saljūqs, relinquishing the Armenian capital of Ani.

Under King Giorgi III (1156–1184), a new wave of Georgian expansion was initiated, as his armies restored Georgian control over Ani in 1161 and conquered Shirwan in 1167. However, internal dissent among the nobles grew as the king grew older and it became apparent that he would be succeeded by his daughter Tamar. In 1177, the nobles, led by the powerful Prince Demna (Demetre) and Lord Ioane Orbeli, rose in rebellion but were suppressed. The following year, King Giorgi III ceded the throne to Tamar but remained co-ruler until his death in 1184. Powerful lords took advantage of the passing of the king to reassert themselves. Queen Tamar was forced to agree to a second coronation that emphasized the role of noble families in investing her with royal power. The nobility then demanded the establishment of the *karavi*, a political body with legislative and judicial power; Tamar's refusal to satisfy these demands brought the Georgian monarchy to the verge of civil war, but that was averted through negotiations. In the end, royal authority was

significantly limited, and the responsibilities of the royal council, dominated by the nobles, expanded.

Despite internal dissent, Georgia remained a powerful kingdom and enjoyed major successes in its foreign policy, and the characteristic trait of Tamar's rule was her successful policy. The Bagratid dynasty enjoyed close relations with the Byzantine Empire and Kievan Rus' after Tamar's great aunt Kata (a daughter of David IV) was married to Alexios Bryennios-Komnenos, and her aunt (sister of Giorgi III) wed Prince Izyaslav II of Kiev. After its crushing defeat in 1176 by Qilij Arslān II, Saljūq sultan of Rūm (1156–1188), the Byzantine Empire entered the dark period of the Angeloi, which eventually led to the fall of Constantinople in 1204. The sultanate of Rūm enjoyed the leading political position in Asia Minor, but Georgia under Tamar successfully contained the neighboring Muslim states and expanded her own sphere of influence. In 1195, a large Muslim coalition was crushed in the battle at Shamkhor. In 1203, Tamar achieved another triumphant victory when the sultan of Rūm was crushed at Basiani. The Georgians annexed Ani, Arran, and Duin in 1201–1203, and, in 1209 captured the emirate of Kars, while the mighty Armen-Shahs, the emirs of Erzurum and Erzincan, and the north Caucasian tribes became vassals of the kingdom.

Tamar was also involved indirectly in the events of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) and in the establishment of the empire of Trebizond. In 1185, a violent revolution resulted in the death of Emperor Andronikos I Komnenos. However, his two infant grandsons Alexios and David, sons of the *sebastokrator* Manuel and a Georgian princess, were saved through Georgian intervention and taken to Tbilisi, where they were raised at the court of Tamar. In 1203, Tamar donated large sums of money to the Georgian monasteries in Antioch and Mount Athos. However, Emperor Alexios III Angelos confiscated Tamar's donation; infuriated by this action, Tamar used this hostile act as a pretext for her expansion along the southwestern coastline of the Black Sea. In 1204, as the Fourth Crusade attacked the Byzantine capital, a Georgian army under the command of Alexios and David Komnenos attacked the Byzantine realm from the east and seized the city of Trebizond (mod. Trabzon, Turkey), where they established a pro-Georgian state. The following year, David Komnenos commanded the Georgian troops in a successful campaign that resulted in the conquest of territory between Trebizond and Herakleia Pontike (mod. Ereğli, Turkey). David even threatened the

Niceaean Empire, but was beaten back by Theodore Laskaris in 1205. In the meantime, Tamar carried war into Azerbaijan, and her troops advanced into Persia (1208–1210).

These victories brought Georgia to the summit of its power and glory, establishing a pan-Caucasian Georgian Empire stretching from the Black Sea to the Caspian Sea and from the Caucasus Mountains to Lake Van. Centralized royal power facilitated the growth of cities and towns and the development of trade and crafts. A sophisticated irrigation system in the Samgori and Alazani valleys covered some 53,000 hectares of land. Changes in agricultural technology led to the invention of a large “Georgian plough,” which improved cultivation of land and increased productivity. Tbilisi, with a population of some 100,000, became a center of regional and international trade, with one of the routes of the Silk Road, linking China, Central Asia, and the West, passing through it [*Sakartvelos istoria*, ed. N. Asatiani, pp. 160–165].

The period also witnessed a renaissance of Georgian sciences and art. Georgian craftsmen, notably Beshken and Beka Opizari, gained fame for their unique goldsmithery. Georgian architecture rose to a new level and is well represented in Gelati cathedral, the domed church at Tighva, the churches of Ikorta and Betania, and the rock-cut monastic complexes of David Gareja and Vardzia. Georgian monasteries were constructed and flourished beyond Georgian territory: they included the monasteries of Gethsemane, Golgotha, Karpana, and the Holy Cross in Jerusalem, the Mangana and Trianfios in Constantinople, the Petritsoni in Bulgaria, and St. Athanasios and the Iveron on Mount Athos. Numerous scholarly and literary works (such as *Amiran-Darejaniani*, *Abdulmesia*, and *Tamariani*) were produced both within Georgia and abroad, while the art of illumination of manuscripts and miniature painting reached its zenith. Georgian philosophers and scholars such as Giorgi Mtatsmindeli, Eprem Mtsire, Giorgi Khutsesmonazoni (Mtsire), Arsen Ikaltoeli, and others enjoyed international eminence, while Shota Rustaveli wrote his epic poem *The Knight in the Panther's Skin*, the greatest cultural achievement of this age, which combined cultural, philosophical, and moral values of the East and the West.

Tamar died in 1213 and was succeeded by her son Lasha-Giorgi. In the late 1210s, according to the Georgian chronicles, he began making preparations for a campaign in the Holy Land to support the Franks. However, his plans were

cut short by fateful events. The Mongols raided Georgia in 1220, followed by the Khwarāzm-Shah Jalal al-Dīn, who spread death and destruction in eastern Transcaucasia. The shroud of Mongol domination thus fell on Georgia.

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Gerard of Nazareth

A hermit of the Black Mountain near Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) and Benedictine monk at Mount Tabor in his native Galilee, Gerard became bishop of Laodikeia in Syria (mod. Al-Lādhiqīyah, Syria) around 1140.

In 1159 Gerard was involved in the reconciliation of Prince Reynald of Antioch with Emperor Manuel I Komnenos, but soon after this, perhaps as a result of the agreement, he seems to have been replaced in his see by a Greek Orthodox bishop. He appears sporadically in witness lists in the kingdom of Jerusalem in the early 1160s.

Gerard's importance lies in his pastoral, theological, and polemical writings, which, even in their fragmentary condition, advance our knowledge of the intellectual life of the Latin Church in Outremer. Passages of his *De conversatione servorum Dei*, *Vita abbatis Eliae*, *De una Magdalena contra Graecos*, and *Contra Salam presbyterum* survive in the sixteenth-century *Historia Ecclesiastica* of the Magdeburg Centuriators, and shorter fragments in Carmelite manuscripts from the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. The first two of these works deal with Frankish hermits and reforming monks, largely in Galilee and on the Black Mountain, and show Gerard to have been sympathetic to new eremitical foundations inspired by Cistercian austerity. His vivid bio-

Gerard of Ridefort (d. 1189)

graphical sketches of Bernard of Machanath and Elias of Narbonne demonstrate the difficulties faced by reformers in the face of opposition from traditionally minded monks, and recall familiar episodes in Western reform foundations at the same period. The *De una Magdalena*, which propounds the Western identification of Mary Magdalene with Mary the sister of Martha, was a defense of an earlier sermon, *Ad ancillas Dei ad Bethaniam*, written for the nuns of Bethany, against Orthodox criticism. This polemic was widened in the *Contra Salam*, written against a Greek priest of Laodikeia, which defends Latin episcopal authority over Orthodox clergy. The English historian John Bale (1495–1563) claimed Gerard as a Carmelite.

—Andrew Jotischky

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Gerard of Ridefort (d. 1189)

Master of the Order of the Temple (1185–1189).

A knight of Flemish or Anglo-Norman origin, Gerard entered the service of Count Raymond III of Tripoli in the early 1170s and became marshal of the kingdom of Jerusalem by 1179. However, in 1180 he joined the Templars and rapidly rose within the order, becoming seneschal by 1183 and master by 1185. Gerard supported the claims of Princess Sibyl and her husband Guy of Lusignan to the throne of Jerusalem after the death of the young Baldwin V in 1186; he was thus in opposition to the party led by Raymond of Tripoli. Gerard facilitated the coronation of Sibyl and Guy by surrendering the Temple's key to the royal treasury (where the crowns were located) and by collecting the key that the master of the Hospital, Roger of Les Moulins, had discarded. The chronicle known as *Eraclès* ascribes Gerard's actions to his enmity toward Raymond of Tripoli. Ray-

mond had promised Gerard an advantageous marriage, and around 1180 Gerard had expected to marry the heiress of Botron (mod. Batrūn, Lebanon) in the county of Tripoli; however, Raymond had given her to a wealthy Pisan merchant instead. It is possible that this disappointment prompted Gerard to join the Templars.

Faced with the growing threat from Saladin, King Guy selected Gerard as one of a delegation that was intended to make peace with Raymond of Tripoli in April 1187. At the Templar castle of La Fève, he and Roger of Les Moulins learned of a large Muslim force in Nazareth. Accounts vary as to whether both masters decided to attack or whether Gerard persuaded Roger against his better judgment. Roger was killed, along with most of the Christian forces, at the ensuing battle of the Springs of Cresson (1 May 1187); Gerard was one of only three Templar knights who escaped. The defeat reduced Christian forces, and Gerard hired mercenaries with the money that King Henry II of England had deposited with the Templars.

When Saladin mounted his great invasion of Galilee later that year, Gerard advised King Guy to fight Saladin, contrary to Raymond of Tripoli's counsel. Gerard was the only Templar to survive the defeat at Hattin (4 July 1187), and was apparently ransomed in exchange for the Templar castle at Gaza. He joined King Guy's army in besieging Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) in August 1189 and died during the siege on 4 October 1189.

—Theresa M. Vann

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German Literature

Poetry of holy war in German survives from Carolingian times, and pilgrimage hymns of the eleventh century anticipate aspects of crusade, but literature that engaged with the idea and reality of the crusades began in the second half of the twelfth century, following the first major involvement of Germans in crusading in the form of the various expeditions that made up the Second Crusade (1147–1149). From the 1180s onward, a lyric of the crusades (songs propagandiz-

ing specific military expeditions) exploited the allure of courtly love poetry or expounded the themes of sermons and church pronouncements. Before and after 1200, major narrative works articulated a specifically German conception of crusade as imperial holy war. From the later thirteenth century onward, lyric and narrative texts reflect the decline of the crusading movement up to a last revival in the verse chronicles of the Teutonic Order.

Pre-crusade Traditions

“Pre-crusading” literary traditions can only be briefly illustrated. The Old High German *Ludwigslied* (881/882) adapts ancient traditions of Germanic heroic song to propagate a conception of just war, eulogizing Louis III, king of West Francia, for his victory over Norse invaders at Saucourt in 881. In Old Testament fashion, God punishes the Franks for their sins by sending the Vikings to scourge them, testing the mettle of the king, his chosen leader. Louis heeds God’s summons and leads his penitent men into battle, singing the *Kyrie eleison*. God’s might gives Louis victory. Though they fight as “God’s vassals,” the warriors’ reward is restricted to the secular. Military service of God in holy war by warriors whose fealty to God is channeled through their allegiance to a sacral monarch will later become a central theme of crusading epic.

Religious lyrics in Middle High German from the years just before the First Crusade (1096–1099) that express a more personal spirituality centered on pilgrimage and the veneration of the Cross survive. The *Ezzolied*, a song sung on the pilgrimage to Jerusalem led by Bishop Gunther of Bamberg in 1064–1065, expounds the ancient image of life as a voyage to the Heavenly Jerusalem and apostrophizes the Cross, which is the mast of the pilgrims’ boat. A little strophe, *In gotes namen fara wir* (“We journey in God’s name”), sung by the army of Emperor Henry VI at the battle of Tusculum in 1191, is quoted in sources up to the fifteenth century but may go back to the eleventh century. The full verse is “We journey in God’s name, seeking his grace. May His strength aid us, and the Holy Sepulchre in which he was laid. Kyrie eleison” [Müller, *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, p. 9]. The Middle High German word *faren* ranges in meaning from going to war to making pilgrimage, setting out on crusade, and traveling in general. The song suggests how fluid the boundaries were between different forms and conceptions of Christian and secular life in the Middle Ages, and how flexible our notions of a literature of crusade should be.

Lyric Poetry

Middle High German lyric, beginning with songs of the Third Crusade (1189–1192), relates most closely to major historical expeditions to the Holy Land and thus matches a strict definition of literature of the crusades. The 1180s saw a first flowering of courtly love lyric at the imperial German court, and poets in the entourage of Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa responded with propaganda songs when he took the cross in 1187. Friedrich von Hausen, well documented as a soldier and diplomat in the service of Barbarossa and his son Henry VI, borrowed the melody of an Old French lyric by Conon de Béthune and with it the motif of conflict between heart, in thrall to a lady, and body, committed to service of God. In two further songs, Hausen resolves the conflict by contrasting the sure rewards of divine love with the foolish deceit of secular passions. This model is imitated by Heinrich von Rugge, notably in a long lament for the death of Barbarossa. Albrecht von Johansdorf, in another imitation of Conon’s song, offers an alternative rationale for the knight caught between worldly and divine love. In his songs, the beloved woman reinforces the crusader’s commitment and hope thus to share in his spiritual reward.

These alternative ways of exploiting the cultural allure of courtly love poetry for the propagation of crusade are developed in songs that relate to the crusade of 1197. The poets Reinmar (der Alte), at the Austrian ducal court, and Otto von Botenlauben, in the service of Henry VI, composed elegant variations on the theme of the divided self. Hartmann von Aue exploits both approaches in songs that vehemently renounce courtly love and love-song or that recruit the courtly lady to send her lover on crusade and claim half his reward. Hartmann’s songs are innovative in their fervent expression of a personal spiritual conversion prompted by the death of his (unidentified) lord, which impels him to fight “in Christ’s host.”

We may assume that poet-singers who performed to their courtly public in the persona of crusader had themselves taken the cross. Friedrich von Hausen died in combat at Philomelion in Asia Minor in 1190. Otto von Botenlauben went on crusade in 1197 and settled near Acre, having married Beatrix, daughter of Joscelin III of Courtenay, seneschal of Jerusalem. Hausen vilifies Conon de Béthune for reneging on his vow. Walther von der Vogelweide, cleric and the first non-noble, professional singer in German courtly literature, cannot assume the role of courtly lover turned crusader. His songs, which span the decades between the cru-

sades of 1197 and 1227–1229, adapt the manner and content of sermons and encyclicals, ranging from vigorous images of imminent apocalypse to intense meditations on the theology of the Cross, but always stressing the necessity of inner conversion. Only in his *Palästinalied*, where the pilgrim retraces the earthly footsteps of Christ, does he speak as if from first-person experience. Walther's verses of political comment and satire, produced over the same thirty-year span, are often savagely critical of temporal and ecclesiastical leaders. Leopold V, duke of Austria, is savaged for his capture of the crusader Richard I of England. The emperors Otto IV and Frederick II are harassed into taking or fulfilling their crusading vows. Pope Innocent III is lampooned for extorting crusade taxes from guileless Germans to fill his own coffers. In this pivotal phase of crusading history, Walther's songs reflect both its continuing spiritual energy and its ensnarement in politics. A younger contemporary known as Bruder Werner imitates Walther's political satire in songs urging Frederick II to set off to the Holy Land.

Frederick II's extraordinary expedition of 1227–1229 provoked lyrics that again illuminate a wide diversity of attitudes. Rubin and the poet known as Burggraf von Lienz return to the tradition of adapting forms of courtly love-song to express the emotions of departing crusaders. The clerical moralist Freidank, torn between pilgrim fervor, relief that Jerusalem is in some sense "ours" again, and disgust at the behavior of the pope and the Franks of Outremer, delivers a devastating critique of Frederick's dealings with the Ayyūbid sultan and condemns the cynical exploitation of crusaders by the inhabitants of Acre, who are "undistinguishable from the heathen." The two most prominent lyric poets of the period, Neidhart and Tannhäuser, sing facetiously of homesickness and seasickness as the worst terrors the crusader contends with. Ulrich von Lichtenstein's self-ironical alter ego in the *Frauendienst*, his lyric autobiography composed around 1250, argues that love for the woman who promises him sexual reward for fighting on crusade is the only persuasive argument for taking the cross, and that this will move God to add spiritual benefits. A rare return to older religious commitment in Hawart's two devotional songs may perhaps be associated with the Crusade of Louis IX of France to Tunis (1270–1272). But what may be deemed to be the last medieval crusading song in German, by the Tyrolean knight Oswald von Wolkenstein (c. 1410), is a burlesque dialogue of parting lovers in which a woman instructs the knight sailing in a boat and teaches him the polyglot

names of the Mediterranean winds. The pilgrim is now little more than an adventurous tourist.

Epic Poetry and Vernacular Verse Chronicles

The first narrative account of crusade in German occurs in the *Kaiserchronik*, a Middle High German verse history of Roman emperors, written in Regensburg after 1150. The chronicle propounds the ideal of cooperation between Roman Church and Roman Empire, exemplified in its depictions of Constantine the Great and Pope Sylvester I, and Charlemagne and Pope Leo III. In recounting the conflict of empire and church in the later eleventh century, it firmly supports Pope Gregory VII against Emperor Henry IV. Its account of the First Crusade provides a kind of compensation for Henry's disturbance of the divine order. Though the anonymous clerical poet draws in detail on the chronicles of Ekkehard of Aura and Albert of Aachen, he depicts Godfrey of Bouillon as the divinely ordained, sole leader of the crusade, acting without papal authorization, and, within the *Kaiserchronik's* structure of imperial biographies, a surrogate for the absent and unworthy emperor. This inaugural narrative of crusade assimilates it into a Carolingian model of imperial holy war. Ironically, the manuscript of the *Kaiserchronik* breaks off at that point when Bernard of Clairvaux recruits King Conrad III as a crusade leader in 1147.

The first major German epic of crusade also has its roots in the Second Crusade. Around 1170, Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, commissioned the *Rolandslied* from a cleric named Conrad, probably the court chaplain of that name documented in the 1170s. It had been Henry and other northern European nobles who persuaded St. Bernard to obtain papal approval in 1148 for the extension of crusading status to a campaign against the Slav-speaking, still largely pagan peoples in the lands beyond the Elbe, which had been a theater of imperial wars of conquest and conversion since the reign of Emperor Otto I. Henry, grandson of Emperor Lothar III and a member of the Welf dynasty, which claimed descent from Charlemagne and thus qualification for royal status, fought throughout the 1150s and 1160s to establish his control over these colonial territories. Marriage to Mathilda, daughter of Henry II of England, gave him access to a manuscript of the French *Chanson de Roland*, which he used as the basis for his German poem.

The priest Conrad infuses the chivalric ethos and redemptive spirituality of crusade into Carolingian imperial holy war. God's angel commands the emperor, Karl, to conquer

and convert pagan Spain. His warriors wear the badge of the cross, and he promises them the penitential benefits of crusade. Conrad's verse is suffused with echoes of Bernard's writings for the Templars and his sermons of 1147–1148, as also with the arsenal of biblical reference familiar from crusade chronicles. The *Rolandslied* assimilates crusade into the narrative tradition of imperial holy war and allows the pope no role in its direction. Henry the Lion may have looked to Conrad's epic for an idealized image of his pagan wars, for a confirmation of his Carolingian lineage, and, as seen in Roland, on whom Conrad confers lion heraldry, for a paradigm (in the event perhaps uncomfortably austere) of crusading knighthood.

In fact it was Henry's great rival, Frederick I Barbarossa, who came closest to realizing Conrad's vision of imperial crusade, but his death at the outset of the Third Crusade, then Henry VI's death on the eve of the crusade of 1197, made Germany's experience of crusade deeply problematic. It was full forty years after the writing of the *Rolandslied* that the greatest of medieval German narrative poets, Wolfram von Eschenbach, received the manuscript of another French *chanson de geste* (epic poem) from his patron Landgrave Hermann of Thuringia. Hermann, his elder brother Ludwig III, and his son Ludwig IV were all crusaders between 1190 and 1227, and their dynasty was prominent in royal and imperial service. But the story Wolfram tells, in the very different climate of the 1220s, is that of a weak King Louis (a historically inaccurate version of Emperor Louis the Pious) and Willehalm, whose marcher lordship in Provence is imperiled by an aggressively militant Islam.

This recourse to older Christian epic in quest of validating narratives for the medieval crusade presents the age of barbarian threat and pagan resurgence in the later ninth century as a metaphor for crisis in empire and Holy Land around 1200. Charlemagne's son is a feeble cipher, lacking all resolve or military capacity to wage holy war. Although Willehalm and his warriors wear the cross and the fallen go as martyrs to Paradise, their crusade wins only desperate knife-edge victory in what threatens to be an interminable war of mutual attrition between two entrenched ideologies. More than that, key characters, and Wolfram von Eschenbach in his authoritative narrator's voice, raise questions that potentially strike at the heart of the idea of crusade itself.

Human love and the mutual recognition of chivalric virtue cross the battle lines of warring faiths, yet these crossings of armed frontiers simultaneously break through and trans-

gress boundaries. The Muslim queen Giburg falls in love with Willehalm and with Christ, but it earns her the hatred of her kinsmen. Her brother Rennewart, who is alienated from his Muslim family but not integrated into the Christian world, loses faith in heathen gods yet cannot commit himself to the Christian God. He fights for Willehalm and wins victory for the Christian army, yet only by killing his own kind. The work is unfinished, and we cannot know whether the nobility of individuals would prevail against the intransigence of ideologies. What Wolfram does say, before the story breaks off, is that he believes it is a sin to slaughter like cattle those who are the handiwork of God the Creator merely because they had no knowledge of Christian baptism.

The *Rolandslied* and *Willehalm*, commissioned by crusading princes, reflect major issues in the history of crusade and articulate a distinctive German conception of the holy war of empire and church. From the later twelfth century, though often preserved only in late medieval manuscripts, a group of short narrative poems, of anonymous authorship, documents the reception of crusade at a less ambitious cultural level. *Herzog Ernst* (c. 1180) adapts elements from the contemporary conflict of Henry the Lion and Frederick Barbarossa. In *Oswald* (after 1196), God's angel charges the king with a dual mission, to win a heathen queen and to convert the heathen. *König Rother* (c. 1195) and *Graf Rudolf* (before 1200) have the same merging of reflexes from the *Rolandslied* with the folktale motif of bride-quest. *Orendel* (after 1196?) links the bride-winning journey with the legend of the Grey Mantle, the seamless garment worn by Christ at the Crucifixion. These short narratives suggest that in the last quarter of the twelfth century, alongside the rise of high courtly lyric and epic of crusade, contemporary interest in the events in the Holy Land was sufficiently strong to generate a more informal genre of adventure story.

In the thirteenth century, a heterogeneous body of narrative poetry was generated partly by the enduring influence of Wolfram von Eschenbach, though none of these works matches either the aesthetic or the spiritual achievement of *Willehalm*. In the 1260s, Ulrich von dem Türlin composed *Arabel*, a prelude to *Willehalm* that expands the story of Willehalm's imprisonment and his wooing of Arabel, who escapes with him, marries him, and in baptism becomes Giburg. Ulrich von Türheim's *Rennewart* (1240s) sets out to complete Wolfram's story. At inordinate length, and without the psychological and thematic complexity of Wolfram's characterization of Rennewart, Ulrich deploys an older appa-

ratus of miraculous divine interventions in battle and depicts Rennewart as a crudely aggressive warrior, unaware of any potential for mediating between Christendom and Islam. A more profound tribute to Wolfram is Ulrich von Etzenbach's *Wilhelm von Wenden*, composed at the court of King Wenceslas II of Bohemia between 1287 and 1297. Wilhelm is a heathen Wendish prince moved by an encounter with Christian pilgrims to surrender all and imitate Christ. Baptized by the patriarch of Jerusalem, he takes the cross, though, like the patriarch, he is imbued with a sense of pity and mercy for the unbaptized handiwork of God.

A less specific but still significant obligation to Wolfram's narrative art is discernible in two verse romances composed soon after 1300. In these, crusading themes and oriental milieu become more and more a matter of exotic surface than of deep structure; the end of the Christian kingdom in the Holy Land seems to relegate crusade to a legendary past. *Reinfried von Braunschweig* (c. 1300) is an account by an anonymous poet of a crusading expedition prompted by the fall of Acre in 1291. It is quite unhistorical, drawing motifs from *Herzog Ernst* and, particularly, Arthurian romance. Reinfried's crusade is prompted by the Virgin's pledge that he will be granted a male heir if he goes to the Holy Land, from which she promises him safe return. The motivation of his army is still more mixed. Of eight reasons the narrator cites for taking the cross, six are wholly secular and material. Battle with the heathen is in the spirit of courtly joust, and Reinfried lacks the conviction to refute the defeated opponent, who rejects baptism, arguing that enforced or hypocritical conversion is valueless. In Johannes von Würzburg's *Wilhelm von Österreich* (before 1314), the story of the conversion of the heathen King Agrant is interwoven with the love story of Wilhelm and the heathen princess Aglye. Wilhelm fights at different times for and against the heathen, always on expedient rather than religious grounds. Crusading motifs and themes are incidental to erotic and chivalric adventure, as when Richard the Lionheart and Philip II of France interrupt their siege of Damietta to defend the (heathen) queen of Candia against King Agrant.

The classic epics of crusade make a quite different claim to historical truth: both Conrad and Wolfram insist on the *warheit* (truth) of their stories, and narrator and characters of *Willehalm* cite events of the *Rolandslied* as though they were authoritative instances for their own historical experience. Abridgements of both works then appear in redactions

of the *Weltchronik* of Heinrich von München (the *Rolandslied* in the revised version by Der Stricker), along with *Arabel* and *Rennewart*. Vernacular verse chronicles of the historical crusades arise only at a late stage. *Die Kreuzfahrt des Landgrafen Ludwig* (completed 1301) has first an account of the deeds of the kings of Jerusalem up to Saladin's victory at Ascalon, then relates the Third Crusade, foregrounding the figure of Ludwig III, landgrave of Thuringia, with little regard for historical fact. Ottokar von Steiermark's *Österreichische Reimchronik* (c. 1300–1320) contains a description of the siege of Acre during the Third Crusade. It is not reliable as historiography either, conflating the sieges of Acre and Damietta and importing to Acre a cardinal legate clearly modeled on the figure of Pelagius from the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221). Criticism of the military orders for their arrogance and worldliness does echo contemporary sources. The Teutonic Order, however, is shown as the ultimately faithful servant of Rome. Ottokar places blame for the dire situation of the Latin kingdom squarely on the church and has heathen leaders criticize crusading theology, notably the perceived absurdity that Christians may earn absolution for murdering fellow Christians by slaughtering Muslims.

The pervasive sense of waning belief evident in narrative sources by 1300 is not, however, the final state of German literature of the crusades. In the areas of northeastern Europe to which the sanction and privileges of crusade were transferred in 1147, crusading enthusiasm held firm throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Soon after 1200, the popes encouraged the transfer of the Teutonic Order, founded in Acre in 1190, to Prussia and the Baltic lands, which became its exclusive concern after 1291. The order provided its knight brethren with libraries of vernacular texts, which included Der Stricker's *Karl*, the thirteenth-century modernization of the *Rolandslied*, verse paraphrases of biblical narrative, notably the Books of the Maccabees, and legends of the Virgin, patron saint of the order. Its most interesting commissions are vernacular chronicles of its own military history, such as the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle* (1291/1297), dealing with the conquest and conversion of Livonia, and the German translation by the chaplain Nikolaus von Jeroschin (1330/1340) of the slightly earlier Latin chronicle by Peter von Dusburg, which provides a full-scale history of the order from its beginnings to the time of composition.

The transmission of the order's crusading ideology and the education of the knight brethren in the aims and ethos

of missionary war are Jeroschin's overriding priorities. His work was a response to a historical moment when the order had vital need of effective propaganda for its work and for its defense against powerful critics, even in Rome. The utter conviction with which he deploys a vision of crusade close to that of Conrad the Priest around 1170 brings the history of German crusading literature startlingly full circle after all the vicissitudes of the movement and its poetry over almost two centuries.

—Jeffrey Ashcroft

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German Order

See Teutonic Order

Germany

Although the German contribution to the First Crusade (1096–1099) was insignificant, German knights and German rulers, from King Conrad III in the Second Crusade (1147–1149) to Emperor Frederick II in 1228, made major commitments to campaigns for the defense and recovery of the Holy Land. The year 1147 also saw the first papal recognition of the crusade against the pagan Slavs to the east of the river Elbe, whereas campaigns against the pagan Baltic and Finno-Ugrian peoples in the lands to the south and east of the Baltic Sea became a major focus of crusading warfare between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.

In the following account, "German" and "Germany" refer essentially to the medieval German-speaking lands, roughly coextensive with modern-day Germany, Austria, and German-speaking Switzerland. The medieval kingdom of Germany also included lands that were not (or not exclusively) German-speaking: to the west, the counties of Holland, Brabant, and Hainaut and the duchies of Lower and Upper Lotharingia; to the east, the kingdom of Bohemia and the margraviate of Moravia. Many of the kings of Germany were crowned as Holy Roman Emperors and thus also exercised authority in the other two kingdoms regarded as making up the Holy Roman (also Western or German) Empire: the kingdom of Burgundy (parts of modern southeastern France, northwestern Italy, and western Switzerland) and the medieval kingdom of Italy (Lombardy, Veneto, and Tuscany). From 1194, the Staufens emperors Henry VI and Frederick II also ruled the kingdom of Sicily, which included the southern half of mainland Italy.

The First and Second Crusades (1095–1149)

The early medieval Western Empire inherited from Carolingian times a tradition of imperial holy war against the non-Christian peoples of western and central Europe, exemplified in Charlemagne's campaigns of conquest and conversion against Muslims in Spain and against the pagan Saxons. In their later medieval manifestations, the Spanish *Reconquista* and the crusade against heathen Slavs, these older forms of holy war became absorbed into the wider ambit of crusading. The ancient association of Christian Empire and warfare sanctioned by the church is invoked in one contemporary version of Pope Urban II's sermon at the Council of Clermont in 1095, which reports him citing Charlemagne as a prototype crusader.

Germany shared with France other preconditions of the

emergence of the idea of crusade in the eleventh century. Both had undergone a similar militarization of feudal society and had dominant warrior elites. Monastic reform in Germany followed the example of Cluny, and it was Emperor Henry III who at the Synod of Sutri in 1046 initiated the reform of the papacy that led to the church's efforts to control feudal violence, the motive for the Council of Clermont. The Truce of God that Pope Urban proclaimed in his sermon had parallels in Germany, notably the Cologne truce of 1083. The deeper penetration of lay piety among the feudal warrior caste in France and Germany, which encouraged the practice of pilgrimage and helped give the Holy Land and Jerusalem their strong appeal to crusaders, was evident in both countries, as in the major pilgrimages of Duke Robert I of Normandy in 1035 and of Bishop Gunther of Bamberg in 1064–1065.

Germany did not respond to the crusading appeal in 1095 with the same fervor as France because it was in the grip of the Investiture Contest, the conflict between Emperor Henry IV and the papacy over the powers of ecclesiastical and lay rulers. No German bishops attended the Council of Clermont, and the crusade was not preached officially or systematically in Germany; the chronicler Ekkehard of Aura explains that this was "because of the schism between royal and priestly authority which . . . has made us hated by the Romans and them by us" [Ekkehard of Aura, "Chronicon universale," in *Frutolfs und Ekkehards Chroniken und die anonyme Kaiserchronik*, ed. Franz-Josef Schmale and Irene Schmale-Ott (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1972), p. 140]. However, the large army of Godfrey of Bouillon marched across Germany along the land route to Byzantium, and though it contained relatively few German knights, Godfrey himself was a vassal of the emperor as duke of Lower Lotharingia, and a large part of his force came from the northwestern marches of the empire, where French and German linguistic and political identities merged. The chronicler Albert of Aachen also shows particular interest in German participation. But the bulk of German participants in the First Crusade, warriors and noncombatants alike, appear to have joined the two cohorts of the "People's Crusades" led by the priest Gottschalk and Count Emicho of Flonheim, almost all of whom perished before they even reached the borders of the Byzantine Empire. The purported participation of large contingents of nobles and clerics from Swabia and the Rhineland, as claimed in the sixteenth-century *Chronicle of*

Zimmern, is an invention of its compiler, Count Froben Christoph of Zimmern (d. 1566).

Contingents of German knights are recorded in expeditions of 1098 (the so-called third wave of the First Crusade) and 1101, and early awareness of one key development in the Holy Land is documented by Emperor Lothar III's gift of property to the Hospitallers in 1130. Yet the most remarkable testimony to German reception of the crusading idea in the aftermath of the capture of Jerusalem in 1099 is the appeal of Archbishop Adelgot of Magdeburg and east Saxon clerical and lay leaders, addressed to the churches and lay nobility of northern Germany, Lotharingia, and Flanders, to imitate the deeds of the French, who had liberated Jerusalem, and to "hasten to join the war of Christ and assist the warriors of Christ" in the defense of "our Jerusalem," the missionary church in the heathen Slav territory beyond the Elbe [*Urkunden und erzählende Quellen zur deutschen Ostsiedlung im Mittelalter*, ed. Herbert Helbig and Lorenz Weinrich (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1975), pp. 100–101]. The transferral in this text of the idiom and imagery of crusade sermons and chronicles to religious war on the eastern marches of the empire foreshadows aspects of the first full engagement of Germany with the crusade in 1145–1148.

In response to the fall of the city of Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey) to Zangī in 1144, King Louis VII of France conceived a military expedition to support the Frankish states of Outremer. To preserve papal control of crusading initiatives, Pope Eugenius III and Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux launched a general appeal in France. When the crusade was preached without their authorization in Germany, precipitating pogroms against Jews, Eugenius and Bernard were compelled to enlist King Conrad III, who took the cross at Christmas 1146. By March 1147, the Saxon nobles were demanding the church's permission to fulfill their vows by campaigning against the Slavs (known to contemporaries as Wends) who populated the regions east of the river Elbe. At the same time, King Alfonso VII of Castile requested crusading privileges for a campaign against the Moors in Spain. Bernard and Eugenius were compelled to accept the principle of a crusade that did not have the Holy Land as its goal, so that the Second Crusade became a general Christian offensive in three theaters of holy war, in which all participants fought under the sign of the cross and were regarded as detachments of a single host.

In the East, both French and German armies suffered defeats and setbacks before they joined forces at Acre

(mod. 'Akko, Israel). Together with an army led by King Baldwin III, they launched an assault on Damascus in July 1148. Repulsed by the defenders of the city, the crusaders were forced by lack of water and strong counterattacks to abandon the siege. The Saxon campaign was equally futile. Attacks on Dobin, Demmin, and Stettin ended in truces with their Slav defenders. Only in Spain were significant gains achieved, with the capture of Lisbon, Faro, Almeria, and Tortosa by the Iberian kings, with the support of crusaders from northern Europe and Genoa. Although the fiasco in the Holy Land caused widespread consternation in Europe, it did not inhibit the subsequent growth of enthusiasm for the idea of crusade in Germany. This was fueled by the two highly significant innovations of the Second Crusade: the enlistment of kings as sponsors and military leaders, and the extension of the sanction and spiritual rewards of crusade to warfare against the heathen Slavs on the northeastern marches of Germany. Although it was to be forty years before the next major crusade was launched in 1188, the impact of these new dimensions of crusading is apparent in the meantime, both on the level of high politics and in the reception and depiction of crusade in vernacular literature.

The Crusades of Frederick I Barbarossa and Henry VI (1189–1198)

Already in the 1150s, the *Kaiserchronik*, a verse chronicle of Roman and German emperors, inserts into its biography of Henry IV an account of the First Crusade, in which Godfrey of Bouillon is presented as the instigator of the crusade, without papal involvement, and as its sole military leader, acting seemingly as a surrogate emperor in place of the disqualified Henry. The chronicle breaks off in mid-sentence as the writer describes Conrad III's departure on the Second Crusade. Around 1170, at the court of Duke Henry the Lion of Saxony, the priest Conrad adapted the Old French *Chanson de Roland* into Middle High German. Charlemagne's campaign in Spain is transformed into a formal crusade, with sermons and indulgences, but summoned and led by the emperor without papal sanction. The chivalric heroes are motivated by a crusading piety strongly reminiscent of Bernard of Clairvaux's *De laude novae militiae*. Conrad's epilogue extols Henry as crusader, as converter of the heathen, and as the Charlemagne of his age.

This symbiosis of imperial holy war and crusade can be traced in the political and military projects of Emperor Fred-



Statue of Frederick I Barbarossa, Nuremberg. (Studio Patellani/Corbis)

erick I Barbarossa and major German territorial princes through the decades between the Second and Third Crusades. Barbarossa had gone on crusade with Conrad III in 1147–1148. From the beginning of his reign in 1152, the relationship of the German Empire with Byzantium, and hence also the Islamic sphere, was a continuing concern of imperial diplomacy. In 1172 Frederick sent envoys to Saladin, probably in order to strengthen his position in negotiations with Emperor Manuel I Komnenos. Saladin responded by sending his own ambassadors, who proposed a marriage between his son and a daughter of Barbarossa. They spent almost six months accompanying the imperial court on its travels through Germany in 1173–1174. A German diplomatic mission was sent to Egypt and Syria in 1175. An exchange of letters between Frederick and Saladin, preserved in the chronicle *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta Regis Ricardi*, though clearly not authentic, presents the start of the Third Crusade in 1188 as a declaration of war between two empires in ideological confrontation. This echoes the genuine letter to Barbarossa from the papal legate Henry of Albano, which describes the crusade as an obligation laid upon the Christian emperor by God. At the same time, the recruitment of German crusaders drew on vernacular lyrics

composed by chivalric poets at the imperial court, which testify to the extent to which the ideals of redemptive knight-hood had taken root in courtly culture during the period since 1147.

The imperial princes, whose transformation of the ancient tribal duchies into territorial lordships was strongly promoted by Frederick I Barbarossa, also showed a continuing interest in crusade. Henry Jasomirgott, margrave and later duke of Austria, who had gone on crusade with King Conrad III, became an active patron of the Hospitallers, securing Barbarossa's confirmation of the order's Austrian possessions in 1156. His brother Bishop Otto of Freising, his son Leopold V, and his grandsons dukes Frederick I and Leopold VI all shared the Babenberg dynasty's commitment to the crusades between 1147 and 1217, surpassing even the record of the landgraves of Thuringia. In the north of Germany, the Welf prince Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, had taken part in the campaign against the Slavs in 1147 as a very young man. He became a major patron of the Templars and the Cistercians, a connection perhaps attributable to the influence of Bernard of Clairvaux.

The church never revoked its recognition of the Slav wars as crusades, and in 1171 Pope Alexander III confirmed that the war against pagans in northern Europe had exactly the same status as the crusade to the Holy Land. Between the late 1150s and 1170, Henry pursued the colonial expansion of Saxony and the conquest and conversion of the pagan Slavs. His brutality and ruthless self-interest frequently provoked the censure of the church, but by around 1170 the often critical chronicler Helmold of Bosau hails him as a reborn Emperor Otto the Great for his extension of empire and Christendom. The priest Conrad in the epilogue of the *Rolandlied* dubs Henry the new Charlemagne for his conquest and conversion of the heathen. In 1172 Henry led over 1,000 followers, knights, and clerics, including the converted Abodrite prince Pribislav, on an armed pilgrimage to Jerusalem. In Byzantium he was treated as an envoy of Barbarossa. Thwarted of the opportunity to lead his army in warfare in the Holy Land, he made lavish donations to the Templars and to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

Frederick Barbarossa may have planned a relief expedition to the Holy Land as early as 1184, but the catastrophe of Hattin and the fall of Jerusalem precipitated action in 1187. Frederick, though now sixty-five years old, took the cross and vigorously promoted the crusade. With an army of up to 15,000 men, he set off in May 1189 along "Charle-

magne's road" to the East. Encountering hostility from Byzantium, he came close to attacking Constantinople. Only in late March 1190 did the army cross the Hellespont. After difficult progress through Asia Minor, the Germans took Ikonion (mod. Konya, Turkey) on 13 May. On 10 June, while bathing in the river Saleph on a baking hot day, Frederick suffered a fatal heart attack. Many of his followers fled homeward in despair, but his son, Duke Frederick V of Swabia, persevered with the remnant of the army and reached Acre. He, in turn, died there in January 1191. Duke Leopold V of Austria brought German reinforcements by the sea route, but the major roles in the siege of Acre and the forays along the Mediterranean coast, which brought the Third Crusade its meager successes, were played by the French, and, above all, by Richard I's English and Angevin army.

At the capture of Acre, Leopold V found himself so marginalized in the sharing of booty by Richard I that he departed the Holy Land swearing vengeance on the English king. When shipwreck forced Richard to travel incognito through Austria, Leopold seized him and held him to ransom. Handed over to Emperor Henry VI, Richard was eventually freed. Pope Celestine III excommunicated Leopold and demanded that he, and his son Frederick, undertake a new crusade, to last at least as long as Richard's captivity. The German Crusade of 1197–1198 was thus, for the large Austrian contingent at least, a penitential pilgrimage. Henry VI, who had succeeded to the kingdom of Sicily through marriage to its heiress, Constance of Hauteville, took a "secret" vow of crusade at Bari on Good Friday 1195. Despite the symbolic timing of his act, his motives were less transparent. The crusade vow was also a quid pro quo for papal acceptance of Henry's plan to secure the succession of his infant son Frederick's succession in Germany as well as in Sicily, and part of a larger strategy to extend the power of the Staufens dynasty in the Mediterranean, and perhaps also to threaten the Byzantine Empire. Tension between pope and emperor dogged the preparations for crusade. Then, a few weeks after the bulk of his knights had set sail from Palermo, in April 1197 Henry's Sicilian nobles rose in revolt. Scarcely had the emperor suppressed the uprising when he died of a malarial fever on 28 September. Despite this second catastrophic death of a crusading emperor, the substantial German army of imperial troops and contingents from Austria, Thuringia, Brabant, and elsewhere made some modest gains, restoring the land-link between the county of Tripoli and the kingdom of Jerusalem by the capture of Sidon and

Beirut. Significant for the future was to be the formal incorporation by the German princes of the Teutonic Order, which had begun as a field-hospital at Acre in 1190 and now acquired a charter from the pope and a rule based on that of the Templars.

Crusading during the Struggle between the Staufen and Welf Dynasties (1198–1215)

The death of Henry VI led to the election by rival parties of two competing kings, Henry's younger brother Philip of Swabia and the Welf prince Otto IV (of Brunswick), son of Henry the Lion. Intermittent civil war persisted until 1208, when Philip was assassinated. Otto IV briefly ruled unchallenged. However, it was not long before the Staufen family put forward Henry VI's son Frederick II, the young king of Sicily, as a rival candidate.

Pope Innocent III, elected in 1198, intervened actively in the political conflict in Germany and vigorously reasserted papal control and direction of the crusade. Already in August 1198 he began the preaching of a new expedition and found support not only in France and the Low Countries, but also in northern Italy and the Rhineland, though the political and military situation in the empire ruled out organized German participation. Nonetheless, King Philip acquired a strong interest in the crusade. At Whitsun 1197 he had married Irene (who took the new name Maria), daughter of the Byzantine Emperor Isaac II Angelos, a marriage that had formed part of the long-term policy of Frederick Barbarossa and Henry VI to gain influence in the eastern Mediterranean and work toward the reuniting of the Eastern and Western empires and churches. Isaac had been deposed, blinded, and imprisoned with his son Alexios IV in 1195. Innocent's expedition, the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), did not depart until late 1202. In order to pay the Venetians for providing the army with sea transport, the crusade's leaders were forced to divert the campaign to recover the Venetian city of Zara (mod. Zadar, Croatia), lost to Hungary in 1186. Alexios had escaped from Constantinople and now persuaded the leaders of the crusade to restore him and his father to power. In return, he would pay 200,000 marks to finance the crusade and reunite the Greek Orthodox and Latin churches. Constantinople surrendered to the crusaders in July 1203. Alexios IV and his father were then deposed once more—and murdered—by a popular uprising. On 15 April 1204 the crusaders took control of the city, crowned Count Baldwin IX of Flanders as first Latin ruler of the new empire of Romania, and established new cru-

sader states across its territory. With that, a long-nurtured strategic interest of the Staufen dynasty in the Byzantine Empire was extinguished without the possibility of German military involvement.

Until 1227, when Frederick II fulfilled the crusading vow he first took in 1215, German participation in crusading ventures of different kinds remained more or less marginal. With the Albigensian Crusade against the heretical Cathar sect in southern France (1209–1229), Innocent III extended the status of crusade to what Pope Gregory VII had called the *militia sancti Petri* (military service of St. Peter), that is, holy war within Christendom in defense of papal interests. Though overwhelmingly a French affair, the crusade was preached also in the Low Countries, Lotharingia, Saxony, Bavaria, and Austria. Its most prominent German participant was Duke Leopold VI of Austria, who followed his father and brother as a devoted crusader. Beyond papal or secular control was the calamitous Children's Crusade (1212), which is poorly documented but was evidently sparked off in Cologne by the ferment aroused by popular preaching for the Albigensian Crusade.

Frederick II and the Crusade

Pope Innocent's repeatedly frustrated attempts to organize a crusade that would recover Jerusalem ended with his appeal at Easter 1213. This campaign, the so-called Fifth Crusade (1217–1221), did not begin until after his death (1216). It was not the young German king Frederick II, despite the vow he took after his coronation at Aachen in 1215, but Leopold VI of Austria who departed first. He was joined at Acre by the kings of Hungary and Cyprus. Only in the spring of 1218 were sufficient forces assembled to mount an attack on Egypt, including "men of noble birth, and the great soldiery of the Teutonic king," according to Oliver of Paderborn [*Christian Society and the Crusades 1198–1229*, ed. Edward Peters (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971), p. 52]. Under Leopold's command, the knights of the Teutonic Order for the first time joined the Templars and Hospitallers in warfare. Leopold fought with distinction in the siege of Damietta, alongside Count Simon of Saarbrücken and Count Adolf of Berg, brother of Archbishop Engelbert I of Cologne. However, the duke returned home in May 1219, having "for a year and a half fought faithfully for Christ, full of devotion, humility, obedience, and generosity" [Oliver of Paderborn, in *Christian Society and the Crusades 1198–1229*, p. 78].

Once Damietta was taken, the papal legate Cardinal Pelagius of Albano waited twenty months for Frederick II to arrive. The Teutonic Knights, as well as nobles such as Count Henry of Schwerin and Count Diether of Katzenellenbogen, maintained a German presence, and Duke Ludwig I of Bavaria arrived as Frederick's representative legate, with Bishop Ulrich of Passau and Margrave Hermann V of Baden. However, the recently crowned Emperor Frederick II never came, thus escaping or failing to avert the capitulation of Pelagius's army in August 1221.

Frederick II had made his vow of crusade immediately after his coronation as king of Germany in Aachen on 25 July 1215, his enthronement on the seat of Charlemagne, and his ceremonial sealing of the refurbished shrine of the great emperor. This reassertion of the imperial prerogative of leading the holy war of Christendom implied a challenge to Innocent III's papal control and direction of the crusade. In the immediate term, Frederick needed to complete his hold over his German territories. That he played no role in the siege and capture of Damietta scarcely needs excusing. Innocent's successor, Pope Honorius III, first attempted to enforce the king's vow in late 1218. Frederick assured the pope that he and his nobles would depart on crusade by 24 June 1219, provided Honorius did all that was possible to force the German princes to cease their obstructive stratagems. Should all that fail, he urged the pope to excommunicate him and the princes. Frederick hoped by this device to force the princes to elect his young son Henry (VII) to the German crown and to ensure his own imperial coronation before his departure on crusade. It was not until November 1220 that these preconditions were fulfilled. The crucial issue that remained was Frederick's resumption of control over the kingdom of Sicily, which his father, Henry VI, had acquired through his marriage to Constance of Hauteville.

The specter of an emperor with a firm basis of power in southern Italy as well as an effective cooperation with the German princes had haunted Rome since 1191. Honorius was nonetheless prepared to accept Frederick's restoration of imperial power, provided the emperor was committed to defend the church against heresy and to unite the laity in crusade to recover Jerusalem. What brought church and empire into final collision was Frederick's continuing failure to fulfill promises of action. In March 1223 Frederick had sworn that he would depart on crusade by June 1225; he coupled this with an undertaking to marry Isabella II (also known as Yolande), daughter of John of Brienne and queen of

Jerusalem through succession to her mother, Maria of Montferrat ("la Marquise"). It may have been the pope who proposed this marriage in order to strengthen Frederick's commitment, but the ideological resonance of adding the kingship of Jerusalem to the German imperial and Sicilian royal crowns must have been a powerful inducement to Frederick. Efforts to raise enthusiasm for a crusade met with no success in England or France. In July 1225 a papal delegation met Frederick in San Germano and extracted from him a new pledge to lead 1,000 knights and 150 ships and galleys to the Holy Land, on pain of excommunication, by August 1227. On 9 November 1225 Frederick married Isabella II in Brindisi and claimed the title and rights of king of Jerusalem. For the first time, a crusade was to be the obligation of a single monarch, and one who would go not merely as a crusader but as the first Western ruler to wear the crown of Jerusalem.

When Honorius III died in March 1227, the cardinals elected the eighty-six-year-old Gregory IX. His choice of adopted name signaled his intention to assert papal interests against the empire. When August 1227 came, Frederick's fleet began to leave Brindisi. Frederick himself set sail on 8 September with Landgrave Ludwig IV of Thuringia, but he returned to land within two days when an epidemic broke out on board, from which Ludwig died. Gregory excommunicated the emperor for his technical breach of the agreement of San Germano. When Frederick embarked again on 28 June 1228, the pope renewed the ban, and the emperor reached Acre as excommunicate crusader. Not only in this further sense was Frederick's expedition unique. He immediately took up earlier preparatory contact with Sultan al-Kāmil of Egypt, and on 11 February 1229 they concluded a treaty that ceded to the Christians most of Jerusalem, along with Bethlehem, Nazareth, and a land corridor to Acre. Jerusalem and Montfort could be refortified, and a ten-year truce was agreed. On 17 March the emperor entered Jerusalem, where he crowned himself king in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, though the papal ban disqualified him from hearing Mass, and he issued an imperial encyclical extolling himself as soldier of Christ and divinely ordained instrument of God's plan of salvation.

On 1 May 1229 Frederick left the Holy Land, never to return, though he used the title of king of Jerusalem until his death and continued to support the kingdom financially and diplomatically. Gregory IX responded to Frederick's defiance by releasing his subjects in Sicily from their alle-

giance to their king and invading the kingdom. Though forced to come to terms with Frederick in 1230, Gregory was determined to secure the papal states of central Italy against imperial domination. He fomented opposition against Frederick in the north Italian imperial territories, which led to open war in 1237. The emperor fought to crush resistance and marched on Rome itself in 1240. Pope Gregory proclaimed a crusade against Frederick but died, aged 100, in 1241. His successor, Innocent IV, issued a new bull of crusade in 1244, and a general council of the church deposed the emperor in July 1245. Forces of the north Italian cities defeated Frederick's army at Vittoria in 1248, and Frederick died on 13 December 1250. After the brief reign of Frederick's son Conrad IV (d. 1254), further "crusades" led by Charles I of Anjou ended in the defeat and death of Frederick's illegitimate son Manfred in 1266 and of his grandson Conradin in 1268. Thus the search for a synthesis of empire and crusade reached its bitter conclusion.

After 1254 the German kings were usually too preoccupied with struggles against rival claimants to undertake crusades, even if they proclaimed their intention to do so, and it was not until the reign of Sigismund, king of Hungary and Holy Roman Emperor, that a German monarch played a major role in the crusade movement. Some individuals and groups, such as the Rhineland Crusade of 1267, did go to the Holy Land, but the main crusading activity of Germans in the later Middle Ages was to be directed toward the Baltic front.

The Teutonic Order and the Baltic Crusades

Sometime before 1118, a "Hospital of St. Mary of the Germans in Jerusalem" was founded as a hostel for German pilgrims, providing also medical care for the sick. It acquired a small church dedicated to the Virgin. At papal insistence the Hospitallers supervised its functioning. It ceased to exist with the fall of Jerusalem in 1187. In 1190 at the siege of Acre a group of merchants from Bremen and Lübeck set up a field hospital, with encouragement from Duke Frederick V of Swabia. When Acre was captured, it became a permanent hospital with the revived name of the Hospital of St. Mary. Emperor Henry VI envisaged a more prominent role for it and took the first steps to develop it as a military order following the model of the Hospitallers and Templars. Henry and Duke Leopold VI of Austria were among its first patrons. It built castles, notably Montfort, in the north of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

The order's rapid evolution in the early thirteenth century

owed much to its third grand master, the Thuringian nobleman Hermann von Salza, who became a key adviser of Emperor Frederick II. The order's knights played a prominent role in the Fifth Crusade. Frederick was not only a generous source of donations and privileges, but looked to the Teutonic Order as his prime military presence in the kingdom of Jerusalem from 1228. That led Pope Gregory IX to attempt to renew the supervisory role of the Hospitallers over the order, and both the older military brotherhoods resented its rapid rise. This enmity climaxed in 1241 in armed conflict between Teutonic Knights and Templars.

What set the Teutonic Order apart from the two older military orders in the Holy Land was its almost exclusively German national composition and support. At the outset its mission was to care for German pilgrims; it recruited only German knights, and although it attracted donations from across Europe, its material base was essentially in Germany, even if it also held lands and occasionally fought in Italy and Spain. The Hospitallers had extensive possessions in Germany; the Templars were less favored, with the exception of some houses in Bohemia and Moravia. The Teutonic Order came to outstrip both in popularity within the German-speaking lands. As Frederick II's power waned, and as the Holy Land came under increasing threat in the thirteenth century, the order's influence and role in Syria and Palestine began to diminish. Already in the early thirteenth century a new theater of holy war began to open up. Popes Celestine III and Innocent III began in the 1190s to take a new interest in the Baltic Crusades, authorizing indulgences for the defense of the church in Livonia in 1193 and 1197 and proclaiming a Livonian crusade in 1199. By 1202 Albert of Buxhövden, bishop of Riga, formed a small military order, the Sword Brethren, and around 1222 Bishop Christian of Prussia recruited fourteen German knights to form the Brethren of the Knighthood of Christ, known after their fortress as Knights of Dobrin.

The lack of success of the crusading campaign in Prussia led Duke Conrad of Mazovia to urge the Teutonic Order to take over the conquest and conversion of Prussia. Hermann von Salza was wary, in light of a failed involvement of the order in Hungary, whereas Frederick II was looking to the order for a major military role in the Holy Land. However, by 1229, with Frederick's crusade accomplished, Hermann deployed a detachment to the River Vistula, and Frederick, in the Golden Bull of Rimini, granted the grand masters the rights of an imperial territorial prince in the lands to be con-

Germany

quered. Gregory IX countered this in the Bull of Rieti in 1234, taking all lands conquered by the order under the protectorate of the Holy See.

By 1236 the Teutonic Order had assimilated the Sword Brethren. The response to the order's new focus in the eastern Baltic region stimulated a flood of recruits and donations from those areas of northern and central Germany that preserved the ancient tradition of the Slav wars from Ottonian times, and where these wars had been regarded as crusades since 1147. From the mid-thirteenth century onward, the Baltic or Northern Crusades became gradually more an

aspect of German expansion along the Baltic than of the crusading movement in a precise sense. By 1240 the conquest of the western Prussians was accomplished and by 1283 that of the Curonians and southern Letts. Victory on the Baltic coincided with the relentless fall of Christian strongholds in the Holy Land. In 1309 the order's headquarters were transferred to the Marienburg (mod. Malbork, Poland) in Prussia.

The Teutonic Order did not escape the criticism that was leveled at the Templars and Hospitallers once they had lost their primary role in the Holy Land. As early as 1268 the philosopher Roger Bacon had accused them of behaving as brutal conquerors instead of converting the heathen. In 1297–1299, discord between Archbishop John III of Riga and the citizens of the town, on the one hand, and the order, on the other, led to an alliance of the burgesses with the heathen Grand Duke Vytenis of Lithuania against the Teutonic Knights. Echoing Bacon's strictures, the archbishop took their complaints to the Curia between 1300 and 1306, forcing the order to defend its record. When the order then seized Danzig (mod. Gdańsk, Poland), the Polish monarchy likewise appealed to Rome, and in 1309 the pope authorized envoys to investigate the order's activities.

Under the reforming grand masters Werner von Orseln, Luder von Braunschweig, and Dietrich von Aldenburg between 1324 and 1341, the Teutonic Order was able to strengthen its spiritual and military disciplines and to reestablish its legitimacy in the eyes of the church. Its possession of rich agricultural lands and the economic prosperity generated by the Hanseatic League took the order to the peak of its prestige and success in the later fourteenth century. Royal and noble knights from all over Europe flocked to join its summer campaigns against pagan Lithuania. However, the Lithuanians, once converted, entered into alliance with Poland, and in 1410 the knights were crushingly defeated by these fellow Christians at the battle of Tannenberg (Grunwald). As the order discharged its perpetual crusade and lost its ideological reason for existence, German and Polish nobles and burgesses came to resent its unchecked power and wealth. In the Thirteen Years' War of 1454–1466, they ousted the order from West Prussia, and the grand masters became vassals of the Polish kings.

The Crusades against the Hussites

The abuses of theocracy in the Teutonic Order became one of the many issues debated at the Council of Konstanz

Kings of Germany in the Period of the Crusades

Note: Particularly in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, there were often rival claimants to the throne. Dates in parentheses give the years of coronations as Holy Roman Emperors.

Henry IV	1056–1105 (1084)
Henry V	1105–1125 (1111)
Lothar III	1125–1137 (1133)
Conrad III	1138–1152
Frederick I Barbarossa	1152–1190 (1155)
Henry VI	1190–1197 (1191)
Philip of Swabia	1198–1208
Otto IV	1198–1218 (1209)
Frederick II	1212–1250 (1220)
Henry Raspe	1246–1247
William of Holland	1247–1256
Conrad IV	1250–1254
Richard of Cornwall	1257–1272
Rudolf of Habsburg	1273–1291
Adolf of Nassau	1292–1298
Albert I	1298–1308
Henry VII	1308–1313 (1312)
Ludwig IV	1314–1347 (1328)
Frederick of Habsburg	1314–1330
Charles IV	1346–1378 (1355)
Günther of Schwarzburg	1349
Wenceslas	1378–1400
Rupert of the Palatinate	1400–1410
Sigismund of Luxembourg	1410–1437 (1433)
Albert II	1438–1439
Frederick III	1440–1493 (1452)
Maximilian I	1493–1519 (1508)
Charles V	1519–1558 (1530)

between 1415 and 1418. Another was the heretical movement in Bohemia led by Jan Hus, who was burned at the stake in Konstanz in 1415. Sigismund, German king from 1410, king of Bohemia from 1419, and crowned emperor in 1433, was persuaded by Pope Martin V to lead a crusade against the Hussites in 1420, but was defeated at the battles of Vitkov and Vyšehrad and forced out of Prague and Bohemia. In no less than five crusades between 1420 and 1431, mounted by Sigismund and the German princes from Silesia and Hungary, Meißen, Bavaria, and Austria, the Hussites maintained the military advantage, until Emperor Sigismund was compelled to reach a politico-religious compromise with them in 1436.

The Roman Catholic Church, at the Council of Trent, linked the combating of the Protestant Reformation with the idea of the crusade against the Turkish infidels. Knights of the Teutonic Order played a small part in the wars to halt the Turkish advance in the seventeenth century. But in reality, the profession of the Lutheran faith by Albrecht von Brandenburg-Ansbach, grand master of the Teutonic Order in 1525, and the consequent transformation of the order's Prussian lands into a Protestant duchy of the kingdom of Poland, then the secularization of the Livonian territories in 1561, marked the end of the long history of German imperial holy war and crusade in the eastern Baltic lands and along the eastern marches of the empire. Those Teutonic Knights who remained Catholic retreated to a small free imperial territory around Mergentheim in southwestern Germany, where—like the Hospitallers—they turned increasingly to an auxiliary medical role. In 1809 the order moved its headquarters to Vienna, where a grand master still presides over its charitable activities.

—Jeffrey Ashcroft

See also: Baltic Crusades; Crusade of 1267; Crusade of Emperor Frederick II (1227–1229); Crusade of Emperor Henry VI (1197–1198); German Literature; Teutonic Order; Third Crusade (1189–1192); Wendish Crusade (1147)

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Gerold of Lausanne (d. 1238/1239)

Latin patriarch of Jerusalem (1225–1238/1239) and papal legate.

Born into the nobility of Burgundy, Gerold served as abbot of Molesme (1208–1215), abbot of Cluny (1215–1219/1220), and bishop of Valence (1220–1225). Gerold's accession to the patriarchate occurred when the Frankish states of Outremer needed powerful Western allies after the failure of the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221). While still bishop of Valence, he attended the meeting at Ferentino in March 1223 to discuss the possibility of a marriage between Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor and king of Sicily, and Isabella II, daughter of John of Brienne and heiress to the kingdom of Jerusalem.

On the death of Ralph of Merencourt (1124), the canons of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre nominated Cardinal Thomas of Capua to the patriarchate, but Pope Honorius III refused their postulation and appointed Gerold as patriarch and papal legate. The new patriarch set out for Palestine in September 1227 along with Frederick's long-promised cru-

sade, although the emperor, who remained in Italy pleading that illness made him unfit to travel, was excommunicated by Pope Gregory IX for failing to fulfil his obligations as a crusader (29 September 1227), supposing that the emperor was using the deferred crusade to neutralize papal opposition to his Italian policies.

The eventual arrival of the excommunicate emperor in Palestine (September 1228) posed problems for the patriarch and the Latin hierarchy. In February 1229 Frederick II agreed on a ten-year truce with al-Kāmil, Ayyūbid sultan of Egypt, and thereby gained Jerusalem, Lydda (mod. Lod, Israel), Bethlehem, and a strip of land as far as the coast. Gerold, along with the Templars and Hospitallers, fought against this treaty, believing that it implied the abandonment of the rest of the former kingdom, and that the places restored were indefensible.

After Frederick entered Jerusalem on Saturday 17 March 1229 with his army and wore the crown, Patriarch Gerold had an interdict placed on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the other holy sites in Jerusalem by the archbishop of Caesarea (19 March). The patriarch and the Curia vacillated between dismissing Frederick's performance in the holy city as a miserable spectacle and condemning it as the ultimate sinful endeavour. The conflict was brought to an end when news reached Frederick that a papal army, led by his father-in-law, John of Brienne, had invaded the kingdom of Sicily, and he left with his troops for the West on 1 May 1229. Thereafter, the patriarch and the bishops reconsecrated the regained holy sites.

In the continuing conflict between supporters and opponents of Frederick II in Palestine, the patriarch's position was not simple, not least because Frederick II made peace with the pope in 1230 (Treaty of San Germano) and was thenceforth recognized by Gregory IX as lawful king of Jerusalem. Gerold and Bishop Peter of Caesarea, together with the masters of the Temple and the Hospital, attempted to mediate peace between the two factions during the civil war, but met with no success. The emperor was persuaded that the patriarch was his enemy, and on 7 July 1232 prevailed on the pope to recall Gerold to Rome. The patriarch did not evidently obey this summons for over a year, but when he finally reached Rome in 1233, he was detained there for four years.

Gerold returned to Syria in 1237 with his full legatine powers restored. He attended to conflicts between the Order of the Temple, the Teutonic Knights, and the Order of St. John, and he filled a number of vacant sees (Caesarea,

Nazareth, Bethlehem) without reference to Frederick, since the emperor's authority was not recognized in most of the kingdom. Gerold continued to reside in Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), not wishing to live in Jerusalem, because the Holy City was partly held by the Muslims under the terms of the treaty of 1229. He appointed the dean of Jaffa and the abbot of the Mount of Olives as his vicars in Jerusalem, but does not seem to have visited the Holy City himself.

The truce with al-Kāmil expired in 1239. Gerold accompanied the Crusade of 1239–1241, led by Thibaud IV of Champagne, in its campaign against Egyptian-held territory in southern Palestine, but the attack was defeated near Gaza (November 1239). This was Gerold's last known public act: he died later that winter, leaving a fortune estimated at more than 16,000 bezants, which he deposited with the Templars for the defense of the Holy Land.

—Klaus-Peter Kirstein

See also: Jerusalem, Latin Patriarchate of

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Gervase of Bazoches (d. 1108)

A probable participant in the First Crusade (1096–1099), and later lord of Tiberias (1106–1108).

Gervase was the second son of Milo, lord of Bazoches-sur-Vesle in the county of Soissons. He was appointed as lord of Tiberias by King Baldwin I of Jerusalem, as successor to Hugh of Fauquembergues (1106). In May 1108 he was captured while attempting to repel an invasion of Galilee by ʿUḡtīgīn, atabeg of Damascus. Baldwin offered a large cash ransom for Gervase's release, but would not accept ʿUḡtīgīn's demands for the surrender of the cities of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), Haifa (mod. Hefa, Israel), and Tiberias (mod. Teverya, Israel). Gervase was executed after refusing to convert to Islam.

—Alan V. Murray

See also: First Crusade (1095–1099); Jerusalem, (Latin) Kingdom of; Tiberias, Lordship of

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Gesta Francorum

The *Gesta Francorum* (*et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*) is a short and apparently simple eyewitness account of the First Crusade (1096–1099), written in Latin by an anonymous author, that has profoundly shaped views of the First Crusade and of the whole crusading idea.

The work seems to have been written immediately after the capture of Jerusalem in 1099, as the Provençal priest Raymond of Aguilers used it to produce his own account, which was certainly finished by 1105. It was long thought to be an abbreviated version of the very similar account by Peter Tudebode, but since Heinrich Hagenmeyer's edition (1890) it has generally been accepted that the *Gesta* was actually Tudebode's source.

We know nothing of the author except what he tells us in his account. It is evident from his standpoint that he traveled in the army of Bohemund, leader of the South Italian Normans, whom he often refers to in terms such as "my lord Bohemund," suggesting that he was one of Bohemund's followers. However, he was clearly not a person of rank; he writes of the doings of the leaders from an outsider's viewpoint with little understanding of their problems. For example, at Constantinople he objected to the agreement they reached with Emperor Alexios I Komnenos, although it was

obviously necessary. He seems to have taken part in military events, notably the assault after the betrayal of Antioch on the night of 2/3 June 1098, and most commentators have surmised that he was a knight who either wrote the account or dictated it to a clerical amanuensis.

The Anonymous has been seen as very devout, because when Bohemund left the crusade to secure control of Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey), he continued with the main army to Jerusalem. The apparently simple Latin and the vividness of the account, enhanced by the constant use of the first-person plural and the lack of overt reflection on events, led Rosalind Hill to portray him as a simple knight telling a straightforward tale. This assessment, however, is at odds with some literary and highly imaginative passages in the work. Colin Morris argued that the Anonymous's Latin style was far from poor and that he wrote in an epic tradition rooted in vernacular literature, suggesting that there is more religious reflection than we might expect from a simple knight.

The Anonymous's account was probably circulated in northern France in support of Bohemund's crusade against Byzantium in 1106–1107, and this seems to have given it a wide currency. It was extensively used by early twelfth-century writers and powerfully influenced subsequent historians' views of the events of the First Crusade. Moreover, the monastic writers of the generation after the crusade were concerned to give the crusade a coherent ideology and a place in the divine dispensation, and the Anonymous's work, with its emphasis on pilgrimage, was therefore highly influential on the emergence of the crusading idea.

—John France

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Gestes des Chiprois

An Old French prose chronicle, completed around 1315–1320, dealing with the history of Cyprus and Outremer, and based on different sources.

The anonymous author was probably born in Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon), and later became a member of the chancery of the Order of the Temple in Acre (mod. Akko, Israel). After 1291, he moved to Cyprus, where he was active in the entourage of King Henry II (1285–1324), working as a secretary and a copyist. He apparently belonged to a family of the lesser nobility, and in his work he expressed the perspectives, values, expectations, and class consciousness of the aristocracy. Nevertheless, he was not hostile to merchants (especially to the Genoese), and sometimes drew on their eyewitness testimony for some details of his chronicle.

Les Gestes des Chiprois survives in a single, humble manuscript (MS Torino, Biblioteca Reale, Varia 433), lacking a beginning and end; it was copied in the castle of Kyrenia in Cyprus in 1343 for the lord of Mimars by his prisoner Johan le Miege. The chronicle comprises three different parts: the first is based essentially on the *Annales de Terre Sainte*, known in Latin, French, Castilian, and Italian versions; it covers the years 1132–1224, but it originally began with the Creation of the World. The second part incorporates the memorials of Philip of Novara concerning the war (1223–1242) between Emperor Frederick II and part of the Cypriot nobility, led by the powerful Ibelin family; it also preserves five poems written by Philip on some relevant episodes of the war. For the third part the author drew on the French continuation of the chronicle of William of Tyre

(the so-called *Eracles*, here referred to as *Livre dou Conquest*) and, from the year 1270 onward, on his own experience and the oral testimony of his most reliable informants. This last part, conventionally called *Chronicle of the Templar of Tyre*, is considered the richest and most accurate source for the last decades of Outremer, and gives an exceptional firsthand account of the fall of Acre. In its unique manuscript the chronicle ends abruptly with the year 1309, although it also gives a detailed and dispassionate description of the trial of the Templars (1314).

—Laura Minervini

See also: Jerusalem, (Latin) Kingdom of

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Ghāzīs

Ghāzīs (Turk. *Ġazi*) were Muslim warriors who fought to uphold and expand the Islamic faith in the medieval Arabic and Turkish periods down to the early Ottoman centuries, inclusive of the crusading period.

It should be noted that the fighters of the twelfth-century Muslim rulers such as Zangī, Nūr al-Dīn, and Saladin were not composed of *ghāzīs*, but of professional Turkish and Kurdish soldiers. The term *ghāzī* originates from Arabic *ghazw[a]*, meaning a military expedition or raid, and is connected with *ghaza* or "holy war," otherwise mostly referred to in Arabic as *jihād*. The holy war was waged from the "abode of the true faith" (Arab. *dār al-Islām*) against the "abode of confrontation" (Arab. *dār al-Ḥarb*) against both infidels and heretics, but, as was to be expected, often

ghāzī bands degenerated into wandering bands of brigands and freebooters.

During the wars of the Arabs and Turks against the Byzantines, the ghāzīs were thought to be the equivalent of the Byzantine *akritai* (frontier guards). The first known Muslim ghāzī to perish against the Byzantines, at the battle of Akroinon (740) was the semi-legendary ‘Abd Allah al-Baṭṭāl (from *baṭṭāl*, “hero,” “the brave one”). From the ninth century onward, the ‘Abbāsids introduced Turkish mercenaries and slave soldiers into their armies, with the result that Arabo-Byzantine battles eventually developed into Turco-Byzantine warfare.

In early Turkish times (eleventh century onward), the ghāzīs became fighters of the frontier zone (Turk. *uc*, “borders”) under their leaders (*udj beys*) especially in central Asia (among the Sāmanids and Ghaznavids) and in Anatolia (chiefly among the Turcoman bands of the Saljūqs of Rūm and the Dānishmendids). The first pre-Ottoman ghāzī state in Anatolia following the defeat of the Byzantine Empire at Mantzikert (1071) was that of the Dānishmendids under their first two notable emirs, Malik Dānishmend Ghāzī and Amir Ghāzī Gümüştegin, when the local ghāzī element was reinforced by the massive immigration of Oghuz tribes from the East. Gradually, the “ghāzī corporations” of Anatolia became closely associated with the mystic *futuwwa* (organizations influenced by Sufi Islam), especially following the reforms introduced around 1200, by the ‘Abbāsīd caliph al-Nāṣir, whereby a special investiture conferred the title of *ghāzī* and granted weapons and insignia. Ghāzī ideology survived the collapse of the Saljūq sultanate of Rūm and the Ilkhanid Mongols of Persia (late thirteenth century) and was transmitted in the period of the Turcoman principalities (known as emirates or beyliks), as well as in the early Ottoman emirate, which was to emerge as the strongest of these principalities. Important texts describing the Turcoman and Ottoman ghāzīs as divine instruments of Allah’s will have survived in Aflākī’s *Manakib al-arifin* (*Virtues of the Gnostics*) and in the works of the early Ottoman historians Ahmedī, Yakhshī Fakih, Ashikpashazade, and Urūj. The first three Ottoman sultans (Osman I, Orhan, and Murad I) added the honorific title of *ghāzī* to their names.

—Alexios G. C. Savvides

See also: Dānishmendids; Ottoman Empire; Rūm, Sultanate of; Ottoman Empire

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Gibelin of Arles (d. 1112)

Latin patriarch of Jerusalem (1109–1112). Born in France around 1050, Gibelin was appointed archbishop of Arles in 1080 by Pope Gregory VII in place of the imperialist Archbishop Aichard (d. 1090), but he did not secure full control of the province until about 1094.

Pope Paschal II employed Gibelin as a legate to the Iberian kingdoms in 1100–1101 and in 1108 appointed him as legate to the kingdom of Jerusalem. Gibelin presided at a council there in 1108 at which the incumbent patriarch, Evremar of Chocques, was deposed and appointed to the vacant archbishopric of Caesarea (mod. Har Qesari, Israel).

Gibelin himself was elected as new patriarch in the autumn of 1109; he retained his legatine powers and reorganized the Latin Church in Palestine. He transferred the bishopric of Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel) to Bethlehem and defined the respective powers of the abbots of Mount Tabor and the bishops of Nazareth in Galilee. He also advised Paschal II to rule that the Latin patriarchate of Jerusalem should be coextensive with the boundaries of the kingdom. This decision was of crucial importance because King Baldwin I of Jerusalem was making extensive territorial conquests at this time, and despite complaints by the Latin patriarchs of Antioch, it was never reversed in practice. Gibelin died on 6 April 1112. His deathbed wish, that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre should be served by canons regular, was implemented in 1114.

—Bernard Hamilton

Gibraltar, Siege of (1349–1350)

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Gibraltar, Siege of (1349–1350)

Gibraltar was the eastern rock that closed the Bay of Algeciras at the southern end of the Iberian Peninsula.

Its strategic importance in the long struggle for the control of the straits between Africa and Spain was not as great as that of Tarifa or Algeciras, but its conquest became an obsession for King Alfonso XI of Castile. This was because the place had been lost during his reign to the Marīnid forces of Abu'l-Ḥaṣan (1333) after over twenty years of Castilian rule, and also because its capture would deny landing bases in the Iberian Peninsula to African forces and isolate inland Marīnid settlements like Ronda.

The siege began in early July 1349. Alfonso XI had previously guaranteed enough funds for the campaign. The collection of the *alcabala* (a new sales tax) was prolonged; royal domains were sold, and contributions from the church were imposed, as in the case of the cathedral of Ávila. The siege was cut short by Alfonso XI's death on 27 March 1350; he was the only Western Christian monarch to die from the Black Death. The plague had entered the Christian camp, but the king disregarded his council's advice to leave the place and soon became infected. The Marīnids controlled Gibraltar until 1375. Rodrigo Ponce de León, son of the count of Arcos, conquered it in 1462, but the duke of Medina-Sidonia took charge of the strongpoint immediately; later his successor had to give it to the Castilian Crown.

–Luis García-Guijarro Ramos

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Giedymin

See Gediminas

Gilbert de Lannoy (d. 1462)

A Burgundian crusader and diplomat.

Gilbert was born around 1386 in French Flanders and began his military career in the war against the English (1403–1404). He followed Jean de Werchin, seneschal of Hainaut, to the Holy Land (1405–1406), and went on to fight the Muslims in Spain under Jacques de Bourbon, count of La Marche (1407). He returned there in 1410. He was knighted in Prussia in 1413 and was made a prisoner fighting against the English at the battle of Agincourt (1415). After the Treaty of Troyes (1420), King Henry V of England and Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy sent Gilbert to the Levant to undertake a spying tour of Egypt, Syria, and the Dardanelles (he was unable to enter Turkey). He returned with a detailed report on the places and the harbors of the region, of which the maps are lost (1421–1423).

In 1428, Gilbert served as Philip's ambassador to Sigismund, the Holy Roman Emperor and king of Hungary, in the matter of the crusades against the Hussites of Bohemia. Gilbert was one of the first knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece, founded by Duke Philip in 1430. He went to the Holy Land for the third time in 1446 to undertake a pilgrimage and a diplomatic mission to Cyprus. He took part in the Vow of the Pheasant, an event intended to raise support for a new crusade, in Arras in 1454.

–Jacques Paviot

See also: Burgundy

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Gilo of Paris (d. after 1139)

Author of a Latin poem on the First Crusade (1096–1099).

Born in Toucy near Auxerre, Gilo (Egidius) became a cleric in Paris and afterward a monk in Cluny. By 1121 he was cardinal-bishop of Tusculum, and in 1129–1130 he served as papal legate in the kingdom of Jerusalem.

At some point before 1120 Gilo composed the earliest Latin epic about the First Crusade, of which six manuscripts survive. It is initially written in rhymed hexameters, which are replaced by unrhymed ones when the narrative reaches Jerusalem. Later in the twelfth century, substantial additions to Gilo's poem were made by an anonymous author from Champagne or Lorraine. He was once erroneously known as Fulco, but is today known as the Charleville Poet, as the only extant manuscript of this version is preserved in MS Charleville-Mézières, Bibliothèque municipale, 97. Gilo starts his poem with the siege of Nicaea (1097); his finale is the election of Godfrey of Bouillon as ruler of Jerusalem (July 1099). The Charleville Poet added previous stages of the expedition such as the Council of Clermont (1095). Whereas Gilo clearly showed his preference for Bohemund of Taranto, the Charleville Poet favored Godfrey of Bouillon. Before the end of 1121, Gilo wrote a prose life of Hugh I, abbot of Cluny.

–Peter Orth

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Girbert Eral (d. 1200)

Master of the Templars (1193/1194–1200).

Girbert's early career is unknown. In 1183 he served as grand preceptor in the Templars' central convent, and from 1185 to 1189 functioned as provincial master in parts of Provence and Spain, and accepted numerous donations on behalf of the order. After the death of Master Gerard of Ridefort (1189), Girbert briefly traveled to Outremer (1190), served as grand preceptor, and took part in the siege of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) during the Third Crusade.

In 1191 Girbert was appointed master of all Templars in the West and returned to France, but after the death of Master Robert of Sablé (1193), he was elected master of the order in absentia. He postponed his departure for Outremer until he had visited Spain for one last time (1195–1196). At his request, the papal Curia repeatedly confirmed the Templars' most important papal privilege, *Omne datum optimum*, between 1194 and 1200. In the central convent the powerful office of seneschal disappeared during Girbert's mastership. Girbert died in 1200 and was succeeded by Philip of Plessis.

–Jochen Burgtorf

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Godevaert van Boeloen

See Dutch Literature

Godevaerts kindshede

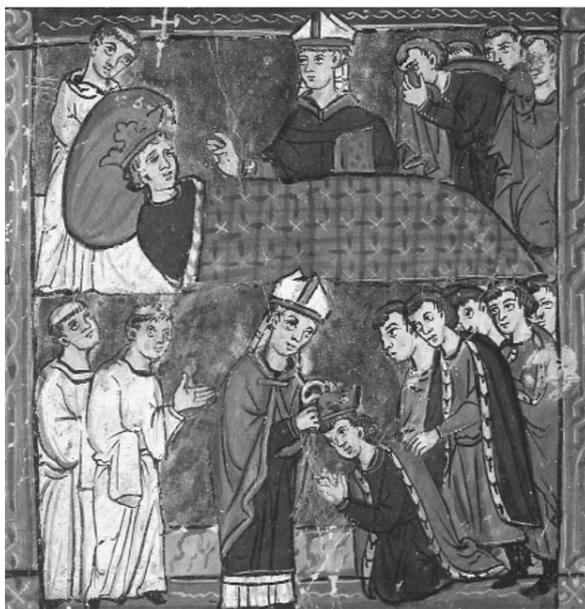
See Dutch Literature

Godfrey of Bouillon (d. 1100)

One of the leaders of the First Crusade (1096–1099), and subsequently the first Frankish ruler of Jerusalem (1099–1100) after its capture from the Fāṭimids.

Godfrey was born in the third quarter of the eleventh century, the second son of Eustace II, count of Boulogne, and

Godfrey of Bouillon (d. 1100)



Death of Godfrey of Bouillon (1100) and crowning of his brother Baldwin I as king of Jerusalem. Fourteenth-century manuscript from Jerusalem, Bibliotheque municipale, Lyon, France. (Snark/Art Resource)

Ida of Bouillon, daughter of Godfrey II “the Bearded,” duke of Upper and Lower Lotharingia. Since his elder brother Eustace III was intended to inherit the paternal inheritance, Godfrey was groomed as heir to his childless maternal uncle, Godfrey III, duke of Lower Lotharingia, on whose death he inherited the county of Verdun, the territory of Bouillon, and other domains in the Ardennes region, Brabant, and the valley of the middle Meuse (1076). However, the office of duke of Lower Lotharingia, which had been held by several of his ancestors, was withheld from him by the Emperor Henry IV (1056–1106), who compensated him with the largely powerless office of margrave of Antwerp.

From the outset Godfrey’s possession of his hereditary domains was disputed by rival claimants and other enemies: Countess Mathilda of Tuscany (estranged wife of Godfrey III), Count Albert III of Namur, Count Arnulf II of Chiny, the bishop of Verdun, and others. Since most of his opponents were adherents of the papal party in the struggle then raging between the German monarchy and the Reform papacy, Godfrey benefited from the support of the imperialist bishop of Liège, Henry of Verdun. Nevertheless, for most of the two

decades following his accession, Godfrey was engaged in a relentless struggle to defend his inheritance, and although he was finally made duke of Lower Lotharingia by Henry IV in 1087, he was never able to exercise effective ducal authority.

Godfrey’s decision to take part in the First Crusade was the occasion for the dissolution of his inheritance, since the disposal of his landed territories offered the most effective means of raising funds for the forthcoming expedition, as well as presenting an opportunity to resolve outstanding disputes with his enemies. By the summer of 1096, he had sold his rights in the county of Verdun to the bishop of Verdun and mortgaged the territory of Bouillon to the bishop of Liège, while smaller domains were sold off or donated to the church. Godfrey was accepted as leader by a large number of crusaders from Lower and Upper Lotharingia and north-eastern France, including his younger brother, Baldwin, and many other kinsmen and allies. This army left Lotharingia in the middle of August 1096, marching up the Rhine and along the Danube, then through Hungary and the Balkans, arriving at Constantinople in December 1096. There, like most of the other crusade leaders, Godfrey took an oath to the Emperor Alexios I Komnenos, promising to restore to him any former Byzantine territories recaptured by the crusade, and receiving in return a cash subsidy from the imperial treasury (spring 1097).

After crossing to Asia Minor, Godfrey’s largely Lotharingian army was joined by many crusaders who had come east with other contingents, such as his elder brother, Count Eustace III of Boulogne, and numerous French and German crusaders from the “People’s Crusades” defeated by the Turks in the autumn of 1096. In the course of the march from Nicaea (mod. İzmit, Turkey) to northern Syria, Godfrey figured as an active commander who had generally good relations with the other leaders. During the winter of 1097–1098, he provided his brother Baldwin with troops and resources for the conquest of the territories of Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey) and Turbessel (mod. Tellbaşar Kalesi, Turkey); he was repaid by Baldwin in the form of money and supplies, and the duke’s financial and logistic strength enabled him to maintain and attract the service of numerous crusaders in the course of the march to Palestine.

During the six-week siege of Jerusalem by the crusade (June–July 1099), Godfrey and his troops undertook the investment of the northeastern section of the walls, but took up new positions facing the northwestern walls for the assault beginning on 13 July. On 15 July he fought in a siege tower

that the crusaders dragged up to the walls, and it was troops under his command who achieved the first breakthrough into the city the same day. On 22 July Godfrey was chosen as ruler of Jerusalem by the leading members of the crusade in preference to Raymond of Saint-Gilles, count of Toulouse. To forestall objections by Raymond and others that it was sacrilegious for a king to be crowned in the city where Christ had worn a Crown of Thorns, Godfrey declined to adopt a royal title, taking that of prince (Lat. *princeps*) and defender of the Holy Sepulchre (Lat. *advocatus Sancti Sepulchri*). The territory under his control consisted of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Hebron, and environs, and the coast between Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel) and Lydda (mod. Lod, Israel).

The crusade armies successfully repulsed a Fāṭimid invasion at the battle of Ascalon (12 August 1099), but the subsequent return of the majority of crusaders to the West left Godfrey with only around 300 knights and 2,000 foot soldiers to defend and expand the Christian-held territory. Looking to conquer the Fāṭimid cities of the coast, Godfrey came to an agreement with the papal representative Daibert, archbishop of Pisa, who had arrived with a fleet in the autumn of 1099. In order to secure the services of the Pisan ships, Godfrey was obliged to accept Daibert as patriarch of Jerusalem in place of the patriarch-elect Arnulf of Chocques (Christmas 1099).

The next year Daibert demanded sole possession of the cities of Jerusalem and Jaffa, a concession that would have reduced Godfrey to impotence, but the departure of the Pisan fleet in the spring of 1100 deprived Daibert of his principal bargaining counter. The relationship between the ecclesiastical and secular powers was still unresolved when Godfrey fell gravely ill in June 1100, and on his death (18 July) Godfrey's household knights, led by Warner of Grez, seized control of Jerusalem and Jaffa, and defied Daibert and his ally Tancred until Baldwin I arrived from Edessa to take up his brother's inheritance.

Godfrey was buried in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. His distinction as first Frankish ruler of the liberated Holy Land, his death at a relatively early age, and his reputation for valor and personal piety combined to ensure that subsequent generations regarded Godfrey as the principal hero of the First Crusade. He was celebrated in literature, notably as the central figure of a whole series of epic poems in the Old French Crusade Cycle, with the legendary Swan Knight as his ancestor. He was also generally regarded as one of the three Christian members of the configuration of chivalric heroes known as the Nine Worthies. In Jewish

folklore, by contrast, Godfrey acquired a largely undeserved reputation as a notorious persecutor of the Jews.

—Alan V. Murray

See also: Crusade Cycle; Domus Godefridi; French Literature; First Crusade (1095–1099); Jerusalem, (Latin) Kingdom of

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Golden Bull of Rimini

See Rimini, Golden Bull of

Golden Fleece, Order of

The Golden Fleece (Fr. Toison d'Or) was an order of chivalry founded by Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy (d. 1467), on the occasion of his wedding with Isabella of Portugal, in January 1430.

Philip promulgated the statutes of the order at the first meeting of its chapter, held at Lille in November 1431. Like other orders of chivalry, the Golden Fleece was founded for the defense of the Catholic faith of the Holy Church, as well as the tranquillity and prosperity of the common weal; if the head of the order (Philip himself) were to take up arms in defense of the Christian faith or to fight for the church or the Holy See of Rome, the knights of the order were obliged to accompany him. For its chancellor, Philip twice chose bishops who were in favor of the crusade: Jean Germain (1430–1461) and Guillaume Fillastre (1461–1473). In fact, the crusade only figured in two meetings of the chapter of the order, at Mons in 1451 and Valenciennes in 1473.

At Mons in 1451, Philip the Good vowed to go on a crusade (without having any precise aim) and asked his fellow

knights to go with him, but they showed no such enthusiasm. Jean Germain presented his works, the *Débat du Chrétien et du Sarrasin* (also known as *Trésor des simples*) and the *Mappemonde spirituelle*. During the homily of the Mass, he described the desolation of the militant church and called for its defense. It was decided to organize a feast to publicize this aim, which was held at Lille in 1454 (the Feast of the Pheasant). However, the subsequent preparations for a crusade and the dispatch of a fleet under Anthony, the Great Bastard of Burgundy (1464), was not directly connected with the order.

At Valenciennes in 1473, the papal legate called on the knights to fight against the Turks, as did the Venetian and Napolitan ambassadors. Although Philip's son Duke Charles the Bold made repeated promises to launch such an expedition, he never fulfilled them.

After the turmoil following the death of Charles the Bold at the battle of Nancy (1477), the new head of the order was Maximilian of Habsburg (d. 1519), the husband of Charles's heiress Mary of Burgundy. Maximilian considered suppressing the Golden Fleece or splitting it into two orders, a Netherlandish one and a German one. The order regained its splendor under Mary's grandson Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor and king of Spain, who opened its membership to subjects from all his dominions. It continued to hold chapters until 1559. After that, new knights were no longer elected, but nominated by the sovereign. With the advent of the Bourbon dynasty in Spain (1700), the order split into separate Spanish and Austrian branches.

—Jacques Paviot

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Gormond of Picquigny

See Warmund of Picquigny

Gran Conquista de Ultramar

A romanced chronicle (Sp. *crónica novelesca*) in prose, dating from the end of the thirteenth century, dealing with historical events of the crusades between the years 1095 and 1271.

The original text of the chronicle is in Castilian (Old Spanish), drawing primarily on French sources. It is preserved in three incomplete manuscripts of the fourteenth–fifteenth centuries (MSS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, J-1 and 2454; Madrid, Biblioteca de Palacio, no shelfmark) and a complete first printed edition (Salamanca, 1503). Two other versions of the chronicle, in Catalan and Gallego-Portuguese, are adaptations of the Castilian text.

There is reason to assume that the *Gran Conquista* was originally written or compiled by Alfonso X, king of Castile (1252–1284), for propagandistic purposes, as he showed interest in participating in the crusades proclaimed by the two councils of Lyons (1245 and 1274) after the fall of Jerusalem in 1244. The *Gran Conquista* shows certain conceptual parallels with another of Alfonso's works, the *Estoria de España*. However, Alfonso's successor Sancho IV (1284–1295) can be considered as responsible for at least parts of the *Gran Conquista*. It is possible that Alfonso's text ended with the description of the fall of Antioch (1098), and that it was completed by Sancho, motivated by his own wars against the Muslims on the Iberian Peninsula, which ended with the capture of Tarifa in 1292.

The *Gran Conquista* is a compilation and translation of several French and Occitan sources, which explains its lack of structural unity. The original narrative nucleus was the text known as the *Eracles*, the French translation and continuation of the Latin chronicle *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* by Archbishop William of Tyre, written between 1170 and 1183 and later continued up to 1291. Another contributory text is a separate French work, the *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le trésorier*, which treats events in the Holy Land up to 1229. The *Eracles* was augmented by various works of fiction, such as the *Chanson du Chevalier au Cygne*, the *Chanson de Godefroi de Bouillon*, *Les Chétifs*, the *Chanson d'Antioche*, the *Chanson de Jérusalem*, *Berte aus grans pies*, and *Mainet*. These French poems (in Alexandrine monorhymed stanzas), some of which are drawn from the Old French Crusade Cycle, together make up one third of the *Gran Conquista* text. It is unclear whether the Spanish translator found this poetic compilation in a French version or whether he undertook the work of compilation himself.

The principal figure of the Castilian text is Godfrey of Bouillon (Sp. *Godofredo de Bouillon*), ruler of Jerusalem (d. 1100), whose supposed legendary origin as a descendant of the Swan Knight is explained in the *Leyenda del Caballero del Cisne*, which forms part of book 1. Carolingian themes are treated in book 2, dealing with Charlemagne's mother *Berta, la de los grandes pies* (*Berta with the Big Feet*) and *Mainete*, dealing with the youth of Charlemagne. Book 3 relates the history of the First Crusade (1096–1099), culminating in the capture of Jerusalem by Godfrey of Bouillon, who is then elected king of Jerusalem (1099–1100). Book 4 follows the chronicle of William of Tyre, narrating the reign of Baldwin V, the child king of Jerusalem (d. 1186), the complete defeat of the Christians by Saladin at the battle of Hattin, and the loss of Jerusalem and most of the Holy Land (1187).

The most elaborate of the legends included in the *Gran Conquista* concerns the mythical origins of Godfrey of Bouillon as a descendant of the legendary Swan Knight, as told in the *Leyenda del Caballero del Cisne*, which combines a lost French epic called *Isomberta* with the *Chevalier au Cygne* and the *Godefroi de Bouillon* epics. Numerous marvellous and legendary elements are combined with the historical life of the real hero, told from birth to death, as is typical of this literary genre.

Whereas the legendary background of the Swan Knight is closely connected with the key figure of the crusader Godfrey of Bouillon, the Castilian *Berta, la de los grandes pies* and the legend of the youth of Charlemagne in the *Mainete* are not essential to the central theme of the *Conquista*. The various narratives and characters, well known from French epic poems, are now adapted for a Spanish public: Flores and Blancaflor are no longer monarchs of Hungary but of Almería; Flores conquers great parts of Africa and Spain, while Blancaflor promises to give the realms of Córdoba, Almería, and the rest of Spain to her grandson Charlemagne. However, when the queen dies, all her territories are lost to the Muslim kings. In a subsequent episode of the Castilian *Mainete*, Charlemagne has to fight against his bastard brothers and is sent to Spain, where he fights against the Muslim kings of Córdoba and Zaragoza on the side of the Muslim king of Toledo, whose daughter (after she has been baptized and named Sevilla) he will marry. After having defeated his stepbrothers, Charlemagne is crowned king of France. On his way to Spain, where he is to receive the realm of Toledo from his father-in-law, he is informed of an attack

by the Saxons on Cologne and returns there. This is the end of the *Mainete* episode.

The Catalan version of the *Conquista* was made at the request of King James II of Aragon (1264–1327). The Gallego-Portuguese version is included in the *Crónica general* of 1404, where it is interpolated into the reign of Alfonso VI, king of Castile and León (d. 1109).

—Elisabeth Schreiner

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Granada

The city of Granada was the capital of one of the most important of the Taifa kingdoms of eleventh-century Spain, and from around 1250 until 1492 it was the only surviving Muslim kingdom in the Iberian Peninsula.

The city became important for the first time under the Zirid dynasty and their Ṣanhāja Berber supporters when they established an independent kingdom there after the sack of Córdoba in 1013. Granada on its easily fortified hill-top site replaced Elvira, in the plains below, as the main local urban center. The Zirids built a citadel on what is now the Albaicin hill, and it rapidly became one of the most important cities in al-Andalus. During the course of the eleventh century, many of the smaller Taifa kingdoms were swallowed up by their larger neighbors and Granada was the only one of the Taifas of Andalusia strong enough to resist the expansion of Seville.

In 1056 the Zirids were able to take Malaga, which became a sort of second capital for the kingdom, entrusted to younger members of the ruling family. The kingdom was also noted for its influential Jewish community. Samuel ibn Naghrila was both the chief minister of the Zirid sovereigns

Granada



King Muḥammad XII (Boabdil) hands over keys of the city to the Catholic monarchs, 1492. (Snark/Art Resource)

and an important Hebrew intellectual. In 1066 his son Joseph attempted a coup d'état to put the ruler of Almería, al-Mufitaṣim, on the throne. The attempt was thwarted by the Sanhāja Berbers, and the subsequent massacre greatly reduced the influence of the Jews. The Zīrids maintained their independence until the last of them, 'Abd Allāh ibn Buluggīn, author of the famous memoirs known as the *Tibyan*, was deposed by the Almoravids in 1090 and carried off into exile in Morocco.

Under Almoravid and Almohad rule (1091–1250), Granada remained an important provincial center, although Seville was the real capital. With the collapse of Almohad rule in the 1230s and 1240s, the position of the Muslims in al-Andalus became increasingly desperate. When Córdoba (1236) and Seville (1248) were taken by Ferdinand III, king of Castile, the rich and fertile lands of the Guadalquivir Valley were lost, and it must have seemed as if the days of Muslim political power were coming to an end.

Around 1246 Granada was seized by Muḥammad ibn

Yūsuf ibn Naṣīr, known as Ibn al-Aḥmar. He came from a family of Arab origin long established in al-Andalus that does not seem to have played an important political role before. He realized that the only way to preserve his independence was by cooperation with the Castilians. He accepted Ferdinand III of Castile as his overlord and sent troops to help the Castilians in the final assault on Seville in 1248. He made no effort to help the insurgents in the great Muslim rebellion of 1264–1266 in Andalusia. As a reward, he was allowed to consolidate his power, and no effort was made to conquer his mountain kingdom. When he died in 1272, his power was inherited by his son, also named Muḥammad (1272–1302), and the Naṣrid dynasty was founded.

The fourteenth century was the golden age of the kingdom of Granada. It stretched along the south coast of Spain and into the mountains behind from beyond Almería in the east to Algeciras in the west. The city of Granada itself expanded greatly. The Naṣrids established themselves in the fortified

palace since known as the Alhambra. Here, throughout the fourteenth century, they constructed the network of courts and palaces that have survived as the most perfect example of a medieval Muslim palace. The city below was developed as a commercial and silk-making center. There were important colonies of Genoese merchants in Granada itself, Malaga, and Almeria.

The frontiers with Castile remained more or less static throughout the fourteenth century and the early part of the fifteenth, apart from the definitive loss in 1344 of Algeciras, which was taken by King Alfonso IX, assisted by northern European crusaders, including Henry of Lancaster. The survival of the kingdom against the might of Castile can be attributed to a number of factors. The geography of the southern mountains meant that the kingdom was well protected by steep mountains and narrow passes. It was also fairly densely populated. Many Muslim refugees had come from the neighboring lands now under Christian rule, while much of Christian Andalusia was very sparsely inhabited; there was no demographic pressure on the kingdom.

In the early years the kingdom also gained some support from the Marīnids, who had succeeded the Almohads in Morocco. The Naṣrids were able to play off Marīnids and Castilians and give themselves some diplomatic room for maneuver. After their defeat at the battle of the Rio Salado (1340), however, the Marīnids were no longer a power in the Iberian Peninsula, and the Naṣrids were left without allies. Marīnid power in North Africa soon disintegrated. They were helped by internal political dissension in Castile, the ambitions of King Alfonso X to become Holy Roman Emperor, the upheavals of the Trastámara revolution in 1369, and the almost continuous strife between the Castilian Crown and nobles in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The kingdom of Granada paid valuable tribute to the kings of Castile, who were always short of money, and it was probably more valuable to them as a source of tribute than it would have been conquered and divided up among the nobility. The frontier with Granada became the scene of chivalric skirmishes and the setting for frontier ballads. But until the end of the fifteenth century and the reigns of the "Catholic Monarchs," Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile, there was little serious attempt at conquest.

In 1482 a Castilian force took the town of Alhama de Granada in the heart of the kingdom, and this marked the beginning of a new, aggressive policy, while Granada was weakened by continual internal feuds. The Christians were

now using new and more effective artillery to reduce Muslim fortified towns, such as Ronda, which fell in 1486. In the same year the fall of Loja left the plain of Granada wide open to Christian attack. Throughout 1490 and 1491 the Christians closed in on Granada. On 25 November 1491 the surrender of the city was negotiated, and on 1 January 1492 the Christian forces entered the Alhambra itself.

The terms under which the city had surrendered allowed wide freedoms to the Muslim population, who were entitled to keep their property and practice their religion openly. For eight years the provisions were respected; Granada was essentially a Muslim city with a small Christian ruling elite. From 1500 things began to change. A revolt in the Alpujarra Mountains against the oppressive policies of Cardinal Cisneros gave the more militant Christians their excuse. Within a generation, the practice of Islam and Muslim customs had been effectively exterminated, and Granada became a truly Christian city.

—Hugh Kennedy

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Granarius

See Eustace I Granarius

Greece

See Frankish Greece

Greek Orthodox Church

See Melkites

Greek Sources

Histories, panegyrics, and letters written in Greek are a vital source of information, not only about the first four major

crusades, which passed through Byzantine territory, but also for the later period when containment of the Ottoman Turks came to replace the recapture of Jerusalem as the main aim of crusades. The Greek sources have to be read, however, in the context of the culture, genre, and political circumstances in which they were created.

Authors writing in Constantinople (mod. Istanbul, Turkey) during the Byzantine period were mostly connected in some way to the imperial court and were influenced by two all-important factors. The first was a literary convention dictating that they write in an artificial and archaic language. It was considered unacceptable to write in the everyday Greek that was no doubt spoken in the streets of Constantinople. Instead, authors were expected to employ the ancient Greek of classical Athens. This was the language of authors such as Thucydides and Plato in the fourth and fifth centuries B.C., but it was no longer spoken by the period of the crusades. The use of this highly complex idiom inevitably engendered a certain artificiality into Byzantine prose and explains why Byzantine authors are so difficult to read. It also explains the sharp distinction that they drew between the “Romans”—that is, themselves—and the “barbarians”—that is, all others: they were simply imitating their ancient exemplars, who distinguished between the civilized and intelligent Greeks and the barbarians who lived to the north and east. The second major factor influencing Byzantine authors was an internal political agenda. Political activity in Byzantium was centered around the imperial office, and support or opposition to particular policies was voiced in terms of praise or criticism of individual emperors. Byzantine historical writing has therefore been described as *Kaiserkritik* (the attempt to assess or judge emperors). These two factors are important to bear in mind when reading Byzantine accounts of crusades.

Byzantine Narrative History

Four Byzantine authors provide information on the First Crusade (1096–1099). The contemporary John Zonaras gives a very short description that contains demonstrable errors. The late thirteenth-century writer Theodore Skoutariotes also gives a short account and adds the intriguing detail that Emperor Alexios I Komnenos deliberately encouraged Western knights to liberate Jerusalem when he made his appeal to Pope Urban II in March 1095, a remark that has been hotly debated by modern crusade historians. Alexios I himself offers an insight into his attitude toward the First

Crusade in his *Mousai*, his political testament to his son and successor, John II. He counseled John to store up gold and treasure so that he would be better able to deal with any “massed movement hither from the West” [Maas, “Die Musen des Kaisers Alexios I,” pp. 356–358].

The fullest account of the First Crusade, however, is to be found in the *Alexiad* of Alexios’s daughter Anna Komnene. The *Alexiad* is a typical work of Byzantine historiography. It is written in archaic Greek and is full of allusions to classical Greek literature. It reproduces the conventional distinction between Greeks and barbarians, designating Godfrey of Bouillon, Bohemund of Taranto, and the other crusaders as barbarians. The use of this convention does not necessarily denote contempt or disdain for the crusaders, whose military prowess Anna clearly admired. Rather, it represents an effort to write within the acceptable literary framework of the circles in which Anna moved. Her main concern is not with the crusaders at all, but with advancing her own political agenda. By praising Alexios I as the ideal emperor and extolling his wise handling of the perceived threat of the First Crusade, Anna was, by implication, criticizing his successor, John II, to whom she had lost out in the power struggles after Alexios’s death.

The same mixture of literary convention and political *Kaiserkritik* appears in the work of John Kinnamos, who gives an account of the Second Crusade (1147–1149) and of John II’s and Manuel I’s relations with the Frankish principality of Antioch. Kinnamos’s hero is Manuel I, whose secretary he was, and he sometimes plays down the exploits of John II, the better to reflect the achievements of Manuel. Kinnamos also adheres to the literary conventions, though he was by no means as accomplished a stylist as Anna Komnene. His description of the relations between Manuel I and Conrad III, king of Germany, during the passage of the Second Crusade through Byzantine territory in 1147–1148 portrays the latter as an unruly buffoon brought to heel by the superior wisdom of the Byzantine emperor.

The historical work of Niketas Choniates covers the period 1118 to 1207 and is particularly important for two events that Choniates witnessed personally: the passage of the army of Frederick I Barbarossa, the Holy Roman Emperor, through Byzantine territory in 1189–1190 during the Third Crusade (1189–1192), and the sack of Constantinople in April 1204 by the army of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204). Choniates is sometimes regarded as virulently anti-Latin, but he was following the same literary style and political agenda as Kin-

namos and Anna Komnene, and his criticisms of crusaders are often less strident than those leveled against Byzantine emperors. He revised his history in exile in the Byzantine successor state of Nicaea after 1204, introducing stinging criticisms of the emperors of the Angelos family who ruled between 1185 and 1204, and who, in Choniates' opinion, delivered the empire into the hands of the crusaders. By implication, Choniates was praising Theodore I Laskaris of Nicaea, at whose court he was writing.

Byzantine Panegyric Literature and Letter Collections

Along with histories, there survive numerous panegyrics, or laudatory speeches, addressed by members of the imperial court to Byzantine emperors, praising their policies toward passing crusades and the Frankish states of Outremer during the twelfth century. Often couched in long-winded and pretentious language, these florid orations contain little in the way of concrete historical information, but they are a good guide to how emperors wanted themselves and their actions to be seen. The court orator Michael Italikos, for example, wrote in praise of the expedition of John II against Outremer in 1137–1138, claiming, with some exaggeration, that the count of Edessa had offered the emperor the help of his lance, that the king of Jerusalem had set down his crown and recognized John as the only emperor, and that the sovereignty of Constantinople had been extended over Antioch. Manganeios Prodromos addressed two such speeches to Manuel I. In one he praised Manuel for saving Constantinople from the wild beast from the West, by which he meant Conrad III and the Second Crusade. In another he exulted because the prince of Antioch, Reynald of Châtillon, had been compelled in 1159 to “curl up like a small puppy” at Manuel’s “red-slippered feet” [Magdalino, “The Pen of the Aunt,” p. 19]. Even Niketas Choniates, in sharp contrast to the criticisms later leveled in his history, produced a similar speech in praise of Isaac II Angelos, lauding Isaac for his handling of Frederick Barbarossa during the Third Crusade and extolling him in Homeric terms as the godlike emperor. Just how far these orations could go in presenting inept handling of passing crusades as a resounding success is demonstrated by that delivered by Nikephoros Chrysoberges before Alexios IV Angelos on 6 January 1204. Chrysoberges eulogizes the emperor because he was able to persuade the leaders of the Fourth Crusade, by then camped outside the walls of Constantinople, that they would prosper only as long as they sided with him. In fact, Alexios’s policy toward the

Fourth Crusade was rapidly unraveling, and he was deposed and murdered shortly afterward.

Byzantine writers are less informative about subsequent crusades and the states of Outremer after 1204. This was no doubt partly because no more crusading expeditions crossed Byzantine territory and partly because the emperors were no longer powerful enough to attempt to impose their will on Antioch and Jerusalem. George Akropolites and George Pachymeres, who between them cover the period 1204 to 1308, devote little space to events in the Latin East. However, they have preserved a great deal of information on the period when crusades were being preached against the Byzantines for the defense of the Latin Empire of Constantinople and, after 1261, for the recovery of the city from the Byzantine emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos. Akropolites makes the recapture of Constantinople by Michael VIII in 1261 the climax of his work, and Pachymeres writes at great length about the plans hatched by the king of Sicily, Charles I of Anjou, to lead an expedition against Constantinople after 1267. As is the case with earlier Byzantine historians, there is a strong political agenda at work, and *Kaiserkritik* provides the central focus of both works. Akropolites, who held high office under Michael VIII, not surprisingly, adopts Michael as his hero, quietly ignoring Michael’s brutal sidelining and blinding of the legitimate emperor of Nicaea, John IV Laskaris. Pachymeres takes a less enthusiastic line toward Michael VIII because he was unable to forgive the emperor’s decision to end the schism between the Eastern and Western churches on papal terms at the Second Council of Lyons (1274), in the hope of defusing the threat from Charles of Anjou.

No major Byzantine histories were written after 1360, but there are a number of letter collections that describe the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans and the crusade of Nikopolis, which unsuccessfully attempted to relieve the Turkish siege of Constantinople in 1396. Of these, the most important are the letters of Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos, all written in complex literary Greek and displaying a touching resignation to the desperate straits in which the Byzantine Empire now found itself. The memoirs of the Byzantine courtier George Sphrantzes chronicle the efforts of the Byzantines to persuade the pope to send a crusade to help them against the Turks and their bitter disappointment when it failed to materialize. Recounting the fall of Constantinople in 1453, Sphrantzes bitterly concludes that the Byzantines received as much help from Rome as they did from the sultan of Cairo.

History Writing in Frankish Greece and Cyprus

As well as literature written in Constantinople, there are a number of works in Greek produced in those areas of former Byzantine territory that were under Frankish rule after 1204. These works are often written in a more colloquial Greek and display none of the obsession with the person of the emperor that dominates Byzantine histories. *The Chronicle of Morea*, for example, exists in a Greek version that was probably compiled for the benefit of Greek-speaking Franks and describes the history of Frankish Greece up to 1388. Another Greek version was made in the fifteenth century in which the pronounced anti-Greek bias was removed.

Two Greeks writing on Cyprus under Lusignan rule have left sources of information on the crusades. The monk Neophytos (1134–c. 1214), a recluse who spent most of his life living in a cave on the island, wrote a short description of the conquest of Cyprus by Richard the Lionheart, king of England, in 1191. Surprisingly, although Neophytos denounces Richard as a wretch and a sinner, his hostility is mainly reserved for the Greek usurper and ruler of the island, Isaac Komnenos. The demotic Greek chronicler Leontios Makhairas was the author of a history covering the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and part of the fifteenth, including episodes such as the capture of Alexandria in 1365 by Peter I, king of Cyprus. Makhairas has been accused, however, of being more of a storyteller than a historian, and his chronicle tends to be narrowly focused on events that took place on the island of Cyprus.

There are two major histories in Greek written during the later fifteenth century covering the rise of the Ottoman Turks, the Crusade of Nikopolis (1396), the Crusade of Varna (1444), and the fall of Constantinople (1453). Doukas was writing on the island of Lesbos under the Genoese Gattilusi family, whom he served as secretary and interpreter. A convert to Roman Catholicism, Doukas regards the fall of Constantinople as a well-merited punishment visited on the Byzantines for their refusal to accept ecclesiastical union with Rome. He gives a brief and garbled account of the Crusade of Nikopolis. His treatment of the Crusade of Varna is fuller but still muddled and inaccurate. Predictably, he attributes its failure to the sins of the Christians but makes no mention of what he considers those sins to have been.

Laonikos Chalkokondyles was originally from Athens, which was ruled by the Florentine Acciaiuoli family, and wrote his *Demonstrations of History* during the 1480s. Unlike

Doukas, Chalkokondyles wrote in archaic Greek and adopted a far more sophisticated approach to historical causation. He believed that the Ottomans were successful because of their superior courage, along with a healthy dose of luck, but that their empire would ultimately be overthrown. The defeat of the Crusade of Nikopolis is put down not to divine punishment but to the arrogance and overconfidence of the French, who failed to wait for the arrival of King Sigismund of Hungary. The defeat at Varna is largely blamed on Cardinal Cesarini, who is identified as the prime mover in the decision to break the oath sworn to the Ottoman sultan, Murad II. Chalkokondyles' account of both battles is rather vague and contains inaccuracies.

Doukas and Chalkokondyles are not, therefore, primary sources of information on crusading expeditions themselves. They are far more informative in their accounts of Latin rule over areas that had once been part of the Byzantine Empire, of the rise of the Ottoman Turks, and of the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

—Jonathan Harris

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Greenland

In the last decades of the tenth century, Scandinavians settled in two areas on the west coast of Greenland (the so-called Western and Eastern Settlements). With their conversion to Christianity and the foundation of a bishopric at Garðar in the Eastern Settlement during the eleventh century, the Scandinavian settlements joined the periphery of Latin Christendom.

The Scandinavian Greenlanders were aware of the heathen Inuit peoples (whom they called *Skraelings*) living to the north and west of them, and both Latin sources and the sagas describe contacts in terms of a meeting between Christianity and paganism as well as of conflict; the sagas even relate a few instances of forced conversion. From the middle of the thirteenth century, Greenland became one of the tributary lands of the king of Norway.

The Scandinavian settlements were probably abandoned in the first half of the fifteenth century for various reasons, including climatic changes, but probably not as a result of attacks by heathens, as is sometimes claimed, although the Icelandic annals do tell of one raid by the Inuit resulting in eighteen deaths among the Greenlanders. However, Greenland was not forgotten in Scandinavia, and in the fifteenth century the kings of Denmark maintained their rights to the trade with Greenland, which had become part of their realm on the formation of the Union of Kalmar (1397) uniting Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. They claimed, however, that Greenland had been lost to the heathens, as was reported to Rome in the 1420s, 1448, and 1492. In 1427 the Danish cartographer Claudius Clavus claimed that the heathen Karelians, who lived in Finland, were able to reach Greenland with large armies from the other side of the North Pole via an



European and pygmy fighting on Greenland. Detail from the map *Carta Marina*, by Olaus Magnus (1539). (Courtesy Janus Moller Jensen)

unknown land. The idea of a continental connection between Greenland and Europe can be traced back at least to the thirteenth century, and by the fourteenth there was a widespread belief that the Karelians lived north of Greenland.

In the fifteenth century, Greenland came to figure in Danish plans to reach India. From the reign of King Christopher III (1440–1448), Danes participated in the Portuguese crusades in North Africa that, among other goals, aimed to find a passage to India and the mythic realm of Prester John. During the reign of Christian I (1448–1481), Danes continued to participate in the Portuguese crusades, and the king also launched expeditions in cooperation with the Portuguese in order to discover new lands by sailing toward Greenland, and in this context the claims that Greenland had been lost to the heathens were important.

Very little is known of these northern expeditions, but there is no reason to assume that they were conceived as being different in character from the Portuguese crusades to Africa. King Christian II of Denmark (1513–1523) applied to the papacy in 1514 for indulgences for the participants of an expedition that was to go to the islands on the other side of the Arctic Ocean, and in 1519 Pope Leo X

Gregory VII (d. 1085)

issued a bull nominating a new bishop of Garðar because Christian II wanted to “re-conquer the city of Garðar from the hands of the heathens with a mighty fleet” [*Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, ed. Christian C. A. Lange et al. (Kristiania: Malling, 1902–1913), 17: 1164–1166]. This crusade, which was to be led by the experienced sailor Søren Nordby, was abandoned at the last minute as a result of events in Sweden that eventually led to the dethronement of Christian II in 1523. The latest geographical knowledge at this time (for example, as expressed in the Ruysch world map of 1508) viewed Greenland as a peninsula on the continent of Asia, and from other sources it is evident that India was the ultimate goal of this crusade, as it had probably been for the fifteenth-century expeditions as well.

Contemporaneously with these plans, the legend of a Danish hero was being created that told how in the ninth century India had been conquered by Ogier the Dane, who took possession of all the countries from Jerusalem to Paradise and subsequently founded the realm of Prester John. In a small work (*En wdschrifft aff gamble krönnicker . . .*) originating in the court circle of Christian II in 1521, Prester John was counted as one of the three greatest heroes ever to have left Denmark to win great dominion in the world. Such legends were part of a larger ideological program of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries that presented the Danish kings as crusading monarchs and must be seen in connection with plans for crusades to Greenland.

—Janus Møller Jensen

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Gregory VII (d. 1085)

Pope (1073–1085). Originally named Hildebrand, he was born probably about 1015 into a Tuscan family; he became

a prominent figure at the papal court from about 1050 and archdeacon of Rome in 1059. He was elected pope in April 1073.

Gregory was a vigorous proponent of ecclesiastical reform, an opponent of the control of the church by the laity and of abuses such as simony and clerical marriage. His opposition to lay interference in church affairs led to the commencement of the Investiture Contest, the papal dispute with the Holy Roman Empire that was to dominate the politics of Christendom for the next two centuries, and Gregory’s ideas concerning papal authority were to be immensely influential under his successors.

Gregory’s importance in the context of the crusade was fourfold. First, in 1073–1074 he proposed a military expedition intended to subdue the unruly Normans of southern Italy (with whom he was then in dispute), and then go on to assist the Byzantine Empire against the Saljūq Turks; Gregory proposed to lead this enterprise in person. Toward the end of 1074, he developed this plan further, with the intention of ultimately proceeding on to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, but although he attempted to enlist the support of a number of Western princes for this expedition, the response was lukewarm, and it never actually took place. The failure to offer any direct spiritual reward to participants may have discouraged recruitment. However, it is probable that knowledge of this plan underlay Urban II’s successful call to crusade in 1095. Furthermore, Gregory’s hope that by successfully assisting the Byzantine Empire he would restore the unity of the universal church under papal leadership also served as a model for Urban’s enterprise.

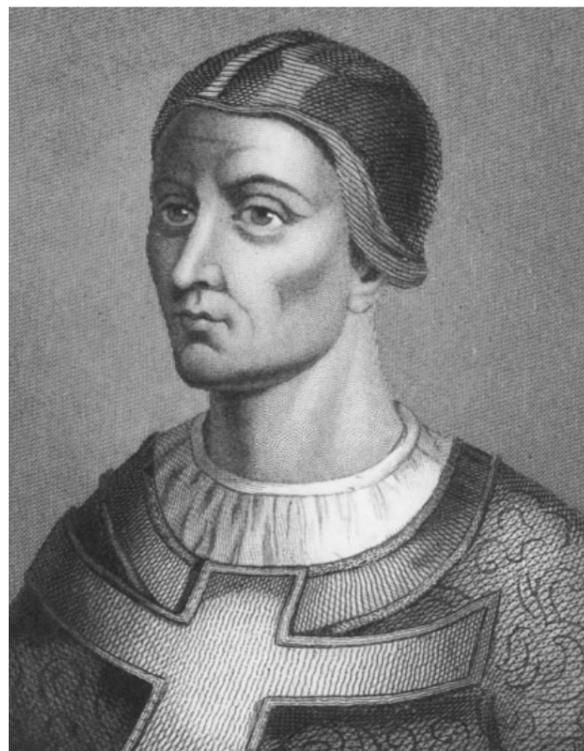
Second, Gregory’s pontificate saw significant developments in Christian ideas about both warfare and the role of the laity within the Christian commonwealth. From the start of his pontificate he encouraged the Pataria, a primarily lay movement for religious reform at Milan, to fight the supporters of simony and other enemies of the church, if that should be necessary. Much more important, however, were the consequences of the breach with the empire, which led to Gregory excommunicating the king of Germany, Henry IV, first in 1076, and then (after a period of reconciliation) once again in 1080.

The first time he probably intended only to suspend Henry from office, hoping that there would be a peaceful settlement to the dispute, albeit on his own terms, but in 1080 he declared Henry definitively and irrevocably deposed and replaced by his German rival, Rudolf of Rheinfelden, duke

of Swabia. This crisis led to open war between papal and imperial supporters, during which Gregory preached not just the legitimacy but the positive duty of all good Christians to oppose forcibly the enemies of the church and therefore of Christ. He appealed to the laity to act as the *militia Sancti Petri* (“soldiers of St. Peter”) in fighting the church’s battles against those who sought to destroy or pollute it. By doing so, in a proper spirit of righteousness, laymen would also be ensuring their own salvation. In the later part of his pontificate Gregory claimed that by fighting in the church’s cause, laymen would secure absolution for their sins. Indeed, on occasion Gregory praised those who died fighting for righteousness as martyrs. He thus directly anticipated several key ideas in the First Crusade. Throughout his pontificate Gregory also showed a vigorous concern for the general spiritual welfare of the laity, not least by refining and developing the concept of penance, a concept that also underlay Urban’s preaching in 1095–1096. Gregory saw the role of the laity within the church as being to act where directed under papal instruction, thus anticipating how later popes saw their function in the crusades.

Gregory’s ideas about warfare were extremely controversial, primarily because after 1080 he was promoting a holy war against fellow Christians. Pro-imperial propagandists offered extended and often very effective criticism of a pope whose policies, they argued, were leading to the shedding of Christian blood. Gregory’s intransigence undoubtedly alienated some of his more moderate supporters, including a number of the cardinals, who deserted him and went over to the imperialist antipope Clement III in 1084. However, his supporters, notably Bishop Anselm II of Lucca and the circle of reformers at the court of Gregory’s lay ally Countess Mathilda of Tuscany, justified and expanded Gregory’s ideas concerning the righteousness of Christian warfare, and helped to prepare the climate of opinion for the crusade.

Third, there was Gregory’s interest in Sicily and Spain, where the frontiers of Christendom were already expanding before 1095. He encouraged Count Roger I of Sicily in his campaign against the Muslims on that island, which he argued should be conducted in a spirit of penitence. He similarly promoted the campaign of Duke Robert Guiscard (leader of the south Italian Normans) against Byzantium in 1081 within the parameters of Christian just war theory: participants should display a sense of penitence and true faith. Here again Gregory anticipated the ideas of the First Crusade. While there is little evidence for Gregory directly



Pope Gregory VII. (Pixel That)

encouraging Christian campaigns against the Muslims in Spain, he was concerned to vindicate claims for papal authority over the Spanish kingdoms, whose rulers he argued should be direct vassals of St. Peter (i.e., of the pope). He thus played a part in developing papal interest in Spain, which was to lead to the encouragement by later popes of military campaigns there against Islam and ultimately to the incorporation of the Reconquest in Iberia within the overall concept of the crusade. Gregory thus played an essential part in developing and publicizing a concept of Christian warfare that was to find its full expression in the crusade.

Finally, Gregory forcefully developed papal claims to supreme authority within Christendom. These claims were far from generally accepted, and indeed in 1084 Gregory was forced to abandon Rome to Henry IV and take refuge with the Normans of southern Italy, where he died (25 May 1085). Later popes, however, went a long way to transform these claims into reality: Urban II’s preaching of the First Crusade was an important step along this road, displaying

Gregory IX, Pope (d. 1241)

the pope as the true leader of Christendom. Yet Gregory VII had anticipated many of the ideas of the later crusade, and his proposed expedition in 1074 might be considered as a first draft for the one that actually took place in 1096. It was Urban who linked the idea for an expedition to Jerusalem with the spiritual benefit for the laity that Gregory suggested could be obtained by fighting on behalf of the church, but without the ideological developments during the pontificate of Gregory, the First Crusade would probably not have occurred, and certainly not when, and with the ideas, that it did.

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Gregory IX, Pope (d. 1241)

Pope (1227–1241).

Hugo (Ugolino) of Segni, who as pope took the name Gregory, was born around 1170. While a cardinal (1198–1226), Hugo preached the Fifth Crusade in northern Italy as a joint papal-imperial legate (1217–1221) and witnessed the deleterious effects of the emperor Frederick II's repeatedly delayed departure upon the enterprise.

Elected pope on 19 March 1227, Gregory invoked the excommunication previously accepted by Frederick as the penalty he would have to pay if he failed to fulfill his crusading vow on schedule (September 1227). Although Frederick's crusade gained Christians access to Jerusalem through a ten-year truce with the Ayyūbid sultan al-Kāmil

(February 1229), his excommunicate status and his political claims as husband of Isabella II, heiress to the kingdom of Jerusalem, caused lasting and debilitating divisions among the leaders of Outremer. The emperor returned to rout the papal army that Gregory IX had sent to invade Sicily, leading to a temporary settlement of the papal-imperial conflict at the Treaty of San Germano (1230).

Although Gregory initially condemned Frederick's treaty with al-Kāmil, it enabled him to pursue plans for crusades in other areas. After the legate Romanus successfully concluded the Albigensian Crusade at the Peace of Paris (1229), Gregory drew the mendicant orders, whom he had fostered from their very origins, into the earliest papal antiheretical inquisitions, as well as into crusade recruitment, mission work, and negotiations concerning reunion with the Greek church. Seeking to protect recent converts in the Baltic region from oppression by the Order of the Sword Brethren and other crusaders, Gregory used the Dominican Order to channel aid, in addition to papal and imperial privileges, to the Teutonic Order. In 1234 he began planning a crusade in expectation of the expiration of Frederick's treaty in 1239, although a general passage to the Holy Land never materialized, as crusaders were diverted to other projects. Delayed by the papal-imperial struggle, yet hoping to protect Frederick II's gains in the Holy Land, some crusaders led by Thibaud IV of Champagne and Richard of Cornwall reached Outremer in 1239 and 1240.

Gregory's pontificate saw the first full application of crusading indulgences, privileges, and taxes to the struggle against the emperor, as well as the increasingly forceful commutation of crusaders' vows from expeditions to Outremer to other enterprises that were portrayed as more urgent or equally essential for the preservation of the Holy Land. These measures and the diversion of the clerical income tax normally reserved for the crusade to the papal-imperial conflict foreshadowed the full development of political crusades against papal enemies by Gregory's successor, Innocent IV. For after Frederick II sought greater influence in areas technically subject to the papacy, including Lombardy and Sardinia, Gregory excommunicated him in 1239, ordered a crusade to be preached against him in Lombardy and Germany, and convoked a general council meant to depose the emperor to be held in Rome in 1241. However, this project was ended by a blockade imposed on Rome by the emperor, during which Gregory died (22 August 1241).

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Gregory X (1270–1276)

Pope (1271–1276). Tedaldo Visconti was an archdeacon of Liège on pilgrimage in Outremer when he was elected pope in 1271. His predecessor, Clement IV, had died on 29 November 1268, and the interval that followed constituted the longest vacancy in papal history. Gregory's election occurred only because St. Bonaventure and the mayor of Viterbo locked the cardinals in a palace on a diet of bread and water until they elected a pope. The length of Gregory's journey back from Outremer to Rome further delayed his coronation until 27 March 1272.

Because his predecessors had succeeded in obliterating the political power of the Staufers emperors, Gregory was free to develop his plans for the reunion of the Greek Orthodox and the Latin churches; in his eyes, this was necessary for a new crusade and the protection of Outremer. While still in Outremer, Gregory wrote a letter to the Byzantine emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos expressing his interest in opening negotiations for union. Once in Rome, the new pope called for a council to be held in Lyons to discuss union with the Orthodox, a new crusade, and reform of the church.

The council opened on 7 May 1274. The Orthodox delegation sent by the Byzantine emperor was small but was authorized to accept Latin definitions of papal authority, purgatory, and the procession of the Holy Spirit. Gregory demanded that the Byzantines fully accept Latin teaching but acknowledged that it would take time for change to take place. Although some Orthodox theologians were interested in Latin theology, much of the Byzantine interest in union was predicated on the belief that it would prevent Western attacks on the empire.

Gregory overturned previous papal support for Charles I of Anjou, king of Sicily, seeing his growing influence in northern Italy as a threat to papal independence. This furthermore pleased the Byzantines, for an invasion by Charles was one of the threats the Byzantine emperor feared the most. Gregory's planned crusade never materialized, mainly as a result of European conflicts that lessened monarchical interest in joining the crusade. Gregory died on 10 January 1276 in Arezzo.

—Christopher MacEvitt

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Gregory Bar Hebraeus

See Bar Ebroyo

Gregory the Priest

An Armenian historian active in the mid-twelfth century, who is known for a single work covering the history of his people in Cilician Armenia from 1136 to 1162. Gregory's history is a continuation and conclusion of the much longer chronicle of Matthew of Edessa. Given its modest length as well as its limited chronological and geographical scope, Gregory must be ranked as one of the lesser historians of the crusading period.

Other than that he was a priest and came from Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey), nothing seems to be known about Gregory or how he came to continue the history of Matthew. He evidently drew all his information from his own experi-

Guibert of Nogent (1055–c. 1125)

ence as an eyewitness. The central theme of his history is the repeated attempts of outsiders (Greeks, Turks, and crusaders) to impose their rule over Cilician Armenia and the increasing inability of the Armenians to resist.

At least twenty manuscripts of the history survive today. The Armenian text was edited twice in the nineteenth century; it was translated into French in 1858, Turkish in 1962, modern Armenian in 1973, and English in 1993.

–George T. Beech

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Grigor of Akanc'

See Armenian Sources

Guibert of Nogent (1055–c. 1125)

Chronicler of the First Crusade (1096–1099) and the early years of Frankish Outremer.

Born into a noble but obscure French family, Guibert entered the abbey of Saint-Germer-en-Fly as an adolescent, and in 1104 he was elected abbot of Nogent-sous-Coucy. The outlines of his life are known from his autobiography. An accomplished Latinist, he cultivated a difficult style that failed to please either contemporaries or posterity. He was one of three key Western churchmen to rework the popular account of the First Crusade, the *Gesta Francorum*, and to fashion from it the elements of a crusade theology in his revealingly named and unjustly neglected *Dei Gesta per Francos* (1109). His extraordinary knowledge and extreme prejudice is visible from the opening of Book I, which gives some account of the religious background to the crusade, starting with the heresies of Pelagius, Arius, and Manes and proceeding through the degeneration of the Greek Church.

His account of the Prophet Muḥammad and the "pagan heresy" of Islam would offend a Muslim but is striking for its rarity in a Christian source of this period. He preserves a letter of the Byzantine emperor Alexios I Komnenos to Duke Robert I of Flanders, detailing the menace from the Turks faced by the empire and its holy places.

Dei Gesta goes far beyond its main source in providing additional material, both written (from Fulcher of Chartres and the letters of Anselm of Ribemont) and oral. It provides unique insights into medieval mentality in its disdain of the poor and their leader Peter the Hermit, and in its attempt to exculpate fallible nobles such as Stephen of Blois.

–K. S. B. Keats-Rohan

See also: First Crusade (1096–1099)

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Guilhem de Tudela

See *Chanson de la croisade albigeoise*

Guillaume de Machaut (d. 1377)

One of the greatest French poets and musicians of the Middle Ages, whose works included *La Prise d'Alexandre*, an account of the crusade of King Peter I of Cyprus against Egypt (1365).

Born in Champagne around 1300, Machaut served various members of the French nobility and royalty as well as John of Luxembourg, king of Bohemia. Machaut evidently met Peter I when the latter was touring Europe in 1364 to

raise support for a new crusading venture. After the failure of Peter's expedition, Machaut wrote a verse history in French dealing with the crusade and its brief capture of Alexandria. It presents Peter as an epic hero in the style of the Arthurian and Alexandrine romances of the day. Machaut relied on secondhand information, although much of this came from eyewitness reports and sources now lost.

—Paul Crawford

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Guillaume de Puylaurens

See William of Puylaurens

Gunther of Pairis

A Cistercian monk of the abbey of Pairis in Alsace and author of the *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, an account of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204).

Inspired by the crusade exploits of Martin, abbot of Pairis, Gunther crafted his initial version of the *Hystoria* before the end of 1205. Originally it contained twenty-four prose chapters, each followed by a poem; in 1207 or 1208 he added a twenty-fifth, anticlimactic, and structurally disharmonious chapter and poem. Gunther's main objectives were to celebrate the actions of Abbot Martin and to justify the crusaders' capture and sack of Constantinople, acts that Gunther interpreted as directed by God. To achieve this dual purpose, he employed a number of artistic devices. One was irony, which underscored the theme that the ways of God transcend human understanding. Thus, Abbot Martin's theft of relics was "sacred sacrilege," because this apparently sacrilegious act was part of the Divine Plan—a plan that Gunther attempted to mirror in the *Hystoria*'s structure. By

juxtaposing the first twelve chapters with the last twelve, which enabled him to echo scenes, themes, and motifs, Gunther argued in word and form that God used human agents to achieve ends they could never imagine. Because of its apologetic purposes and artistry, the *Hystoria* contains numerous factual errors. Gunther died around 1210.

—Alfred J. Andrea

See also: Fourth Crusade (1202–1204)

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Guy of Lusignan (d. 1194)

King of Jerusalem as consort to Queen Sibyl (1186–1190/1192) and subsequently lord of Cyprus (1192–1194) after its conquest in the course of the Third Crusade.

Guy was a son of Hugh VIII of Lusignan, a nobleman from Poitou in the Plantagenet sphere of influence in southern France. In 1180 his brother Aimery, who had gone to the Holy Land in 1174, proposed Guy as a suitable husband for Sibyl, elder sister of Baldwin IV, king of Jerusalem. Baldwin wanted an ally in case Raymond III of Tripoli, Bohemund III of Antioch, and the Ibelin clan grew too powerful in Outremer. On his marriage Guy was made count of Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel) and Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel); as a protégé of the king and the king's mother, Agnes of Courtenay, he became an enemy of the opposing faction (the side favored by the chronicler William of Tyre).

In 1183 the leper king named Guy as his regent and handed over all the Crown lands except Jerusalem. However, the two men very quickly quarreled over these lands and over Guy's performance on the battlefield. When Saladin invaded Galilee in October, Guy led the army to meet him at Saforie but avoided battle. These were reasonable tactics but could be interpreted as cowardice. Baldwin IV then acted to prevent Guy from ruling, designating as heir his young nephew Baldwin V (Sibyl's son by her first husband, William of Montferrat). The king also tried to have his sister divorced in 1184, so that Guy could not serve as

regent. Although this attempt came to nothing, it deepened the breach between the king and his sister's family, to the point that Guy and Sibyl refused to let Baldwin enter Ascalon. When Guy failed to appear at court that same year, Baldwin IV confiscated Jaffa. He then convened the High Court of the kingdom to make further arrangements for the regency of Baldwin V, so that Guy could not even act as his stepson's guardian. Baldwin IV had effectively closed off all Guy's avenues to power save one, for he had failed to separate his sister from her husband.

After the deaths of Baldwin IV in 1185 and Baldwin V in 1186, the barons of Jerusalem turned to the king's sisters. Sibyl seized power with the help of Reynald of Châtillon, lord of Transjordan, and Eraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem. She agreed to a divorce from Guy and was crowned by the patriarch, who then asked her to select a suitable husband. Sibyl chose Guy, negating the divorce and reopening all the quarrels that had divided the kingdom during her brother's lifetime. A significant number of powerful lords, including Reynald, refused to accept the situation. Raymond III urged Isabella's husband, Humphrey IV of Toron, to press his wife's claims, but Humphrey recognized Guy and Sibyl as his sovereigns. Although civil war had been averted, the new king and queen had angered several magnates. Balian of Ibelin, Isabella's stepfather, and his brother Baldwin, who had once planned to marry Sibyl, never became reconciled.

Reynald showed his independence by refusing to honor the king's truce with Saladin. When Saladin invaded Galilee in 1187, the largest Frankish army ever assembled advanced to the relief of Tiberias (mod. Teverya, Israel), where Eschiva, Raymond III's wife, was under siege. Guy and the Templars decided to attack, despite Raymond's strenuous objections against leaving their position. Historians have long discounted chivalry as the reason behind this strategy. It seems much more likely that Guy felt he had to act, either because his refusal to move in 1183 had cost him the regency, or because he and the Templars needed a victory to justify spending funds sent by King Henry II of England for the defense of the kingdom. The Franks were trapped at Hattin and virtually wiped out (4 July 1187). Guy was captured, and most of Outremer's barons suffered a similar fate or died that day. Saladin took Jerusalem later that summer, marking the end of the First Kingdom, though not of Guy's bids for power.

When Guy was released in 1188, he returned to a desperate situation, for himself and for the kingdom. The Franks

had retained control of Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon) with the help of Conrad of Montferrat, a brother of Sibyl's first husband, who had joined the Ibelin clan in opposing Guy. In 1189 Conrad refused to allow Guy entry into Tyre, so Guy laid siege to the city. Here he gained the assistance of men who had arrived from Europe on the Third Crusade (1189-1192). However, the deaths of Sibyl and her two daughters in 1190 further weakened Guy's claim to the throne. The Ibelins proclaimed Isabella queen, divorced her from Humphrey IV of Toron, and married her to Conrad. Guy refused to acknowledge Conrad and attacked the Muslim-held city of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel).

At this point, Philip II Augustus, king of France, arrived in Outremer. He supported Conrad; together the two joined the siege of Acre in 1191. Guy then left for Cyprus, where he helped Richard I of England conquer the island. Because Richard backed Guy's claim, his problems with Philip grew. Finally the two kings arranged that Guy would reign and Conrad would be his heir. In July 1191 Acre fell to the crusaders and Philip returned to France. Conrad then moved to exclude Guy from power. By this point, Richard's support for Guy's kingship had worn thin. He sold the island of Cyprus to Guy, hoping this would ease the tension.

In April 1192 Conrad was assassinated. His widow, Queen Isabella I, retained the throne, and the barons quickly married her off to Henry of Champagne. Guy then took part in an unsuccessful scheme to wrest Tyre from Henry's grasp. Richard withdrew all aid for Guy and left Outremer later that year. Realizing that his hopes for the throne could not be realized, Guy moved to Cyprus with his remaining supporters. He encouraged magnates from the mainland to relocate, offering land and money fiefs as an incentive. Great families of Outremer built up estates on the island as well as the mainland; their interests in both places shaped politics over the next century. Guy died in late 1194. His brother Aimery became lord and later king of Cyprus. This kingdom stayed in the hands of the Lusignan family until 1489.

—Deborah Gerish

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Guy of Vaux-de-Cernay (d. 1225)

A Cistercian monk who preached in support of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) and the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229).

While he was serving as abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Vaux-de-Cernay (1181–1212) near Paris, Guy's association with the king of France and the school of Peter the Chanter drew him into preaching the Fourth Crusade with Fulk of Neuilly. By 1200, Guy and the abbot of St. Victor (Paris) were commissioned to help organize the new crusade

and collect the clerical income tax imposed for it. Guy also successfully recruited many noblemen with ties to his monastery and acted as their spiritual director, leading Simon and Guy of Montfort and many others to proceed directly to the Holy Land, rather than accept the expedition's diversion to Zara (mod. Zadar, Croatia) and Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey).

Abbot Guy was one of twelve Cistercian abbots who preached against heresy in southern France with Diego of Osma, Dominic Guzman, and the legate Arnold Amalric from the spring of 1207 onward. By 1208 he had joined masters trained in Paris in recruiting individuals for an antihetical crusade in Languedoc, including Simon of Montfort and many who had previously participated in the Fourth Crusade. Guy and other preachers continued to combat heresy through preaching while acting as spiritual directors for the crusading army. Appointed bishop of Carcassonne (1212–1223), Guy sought to combine these activities with the spiritual and temporal renovation of his diocese, attendance at reforming councils, sponsorship of Dominic's new religious house at Prouille (which adopted Cistercian customs), and crusade-recruiting missions that took him and Bishop Fulk of Toulouse to northern France. From 1212 onward, he was accompanied by his nephew, Peter of Vaux-de-Cernay, whose *Historia Albigensis* provides valuable evidence of his uncle's career.

—Jessalynn Bird

See also: Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229); Fourth Crusade (1202–1204)

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H

Habis Jaldak

See Cave de Suète

Ḥafṣids

A North African dynasty (1229–1574) whose power base was Tunisia (Arab. Ifriqiya), characterized by strong ties with Christian powers and domestic infighting. The founder, Abū Zakariyyā', had trade agreements with French and Italian principalities, and by the 1270s the major partner was the Crown of Aragon. Frequent struggles with the towns of Constantine and Bougie (mod. Bejaïa, Algeria) undermined Tunis's power, allowing Aragonese influence to increase after King Peter III sent an expeditionary force to support his candidate in 1279. As relations declined, Aragon took the island of Jerba and allied with the rival Marinids.

Internal disarray and invasion (by Bedouins and Marinids) characterized the fourteenth century. Stability returned with the rule of Abū'l-'Abbās, who reunited the Ḥafṣid realms and resisted the French-Genoese invasion of Mahdia in 1390. In 1432 Abū Fāris reestablished control over Jerba (initially retaken in 1335), after defending the inhabitants from Aragonese invasion, and conquered Tlemcen and Ceuta.

Under 'Uthmān the situation deteriorated: the succession faltered and Muslim neighbors encroached. The coast became a lair for pirates, who raided the northern shore and attacked the Ḥafṣids. Bougie and Tripoli were lost to the Spanish in 1510; Tunis fell to Turkish-led Algerian forces in 1534. Restored by the French, the dynasty persevered

with Spanish assistance until 1569 against the Turks, who had taken Mahdia in 1554.

The Ḥafṣids readily engaged Christians as diplomatic partners, playing them off against each other and against Muslim rivals. In 1254 Pope Alexander IV disauthorized a crusade proposed by the bishop of Tarragona against Tunis. In the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, diplomacy and exchanges of soldiers continued with Aragon. The Mallorcan missionary Ramon Llull was expelled for preaching in Bougie in 1307; he returned in 1314 and was rumored to have been stoned to death. Another Mallorcan, the Franciscan Anselm Turmeda, converted to Islam and wrote anti-Christian polemics from Tunis. In the end, the Ḥafṣids depended on Christian allies to save them from the Muslim Ottomans.

–Brian A. Catlos

See also: Africa; Crusade of Louis IX of France to Tunis (1270); Mahdia Crusade (1390)

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Haifa

A town and port in northern Palestine, known in Latin as Cayphas (mod. Hefa, Israel), a lordship in the kingdom of Jerusalem.

On the eve of the First Crusade (1096–1099), Haifa was a small town, mainly populated by Jews, with its own harbor and a castle manned by a Fāṭimid garrison. The crusaders decided to attack it in the summer of 1100 in the search of a better port than that of Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel). The conquest was planned by Godfrey of Bouillon, Frankish ruler of Jerusalem, before his death: it was intended to be a combined naval expedition by a Venetian fleet and terrestrial forces commanded by Tancred, prince of Galilee, who was promised the lordship of the town. However, surprised by the fierce defense of the garrison, the Venetians withdrew, and Tancred's knights were challenged by the inhabitants and compelled to conduct a long siege. They finally set fire to the fortress and conquered the town, having massacred the Jewish population.

The death of Godfrey of Bouillon and the succession of Baldwin I as king of Jerusalem, despite Tancred's opposition, brought a revision of the royal policy concerning Haifa. Baldwin enfeoffed it to Tancred's rival, Geldemar Carpinel, whose claims were based on an earlier promise by Godfrey. Geldemar settled in the restored fortress of the town with his vassals and until 1108 held a lordship separate from the principality of Galilee; it extended over Mount Carmel and included several villages on the coastal area between Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) and Atlit (mod. 'Atlit, Israel). According to the Arab geographer al-Idrisī, who wrote in the middle of the twelfth century, the harbor of Haifa was the main seaport for Galilee and its revenues were the principal source of prosperity of its lords.

After Geldemar's departure to Hebron, Baldwin I granted the lordship to another of his vassals, Pagan, who founded a dynasty that ruled until the second half of the thirteenth century. The lords enjoyed baronial privileges, such as rights of justice and use of a seal bearing the symbol of the castle of Haifa. They had to provide ten knights to the royal army. Despite their relatively high rank within the Frankish nobility, the lords of Haifa did not play an important role in the political life of the Latin kingdom and dedicated themselves to administering their lordship. In the aftermath of the battle of Hattin (1187), Haifa was conquered by Saladin's army.

This conquest proved to be important during the Third Crusade (1189–1192), especially when the crusaders laid siege to Acre. Haifa became a rear base of Saladin in his efforts to rescue Acre; Egyptian vessels carried supplies to his army, and the harbor became an important store for food.

Its strategic importance was obvious to King Richard I of England, who attempted to conquer it. In order to prevent Haifa and its stores from falling into crusader hands, Saladin ordered its evacuation and the destruction of its walls. After the reconquest of Acre, Haifa was restored to its former lords. However, its fortifications were not rebuilt until a program of reconstruction was carried out by Louis IX, king of France (1250). During the struggles among the nobility of the kingdom after Frederick II's crusade, the lords of Haifa supported the emperor, and one of the members of the family, Reynald, was appointed as governor of Jerusalem.

Due to the expansion of monasteries near Haifa and their endowment with some of the villages of the lordship, the lords of Haifa became more dependent on revenues from its harbor. Although a minor port compared with Acre, Haifa had an important share of the maritime trade. It attracted the interest of Genoese merchants, who in 1244 obtained trade privileges in Haifa, although these did not include the establishment of an autonomous commune.

The history of Frankish Haifa came to an end in 1265, when the Mamlūk army of Baybars I stormed the city and destroyed it. Part of the population remained within its ruins until its final conquest in 1281.

–Aryeh Grabois

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Al-Ḥākīm (985–1021)

Al-Ḥākīm bi-Amr Allāh was the sixth Fāṭimid caliph (996–1021).

He was only eleven when he acceded to the caliphate, so for the first five years of his reign effective power lay in the hands of his subordinates. However, in April 1000 he had Barjuwān, his tutor and the current *wāsiṭah* (prime minister), killed, and from then on he reigned as absolute ruler of the Fāṭimid state in Egypt and Palestine. His reign was characterized by numerous executions and the promulgation of unpopular and seemingly bizarre legislation, the latter often followed by the mitigation or abolition of said laws, followed by their reintroduction, apparently according only to his whims. He took measures against Sunnīs,

women (including his own sister and wives), and dogs; prohibited various foods, questionable pursuits, and the game of chess; and most importantly for crusade studies, enacted several measures against Christians and Jews. These included forcing them to wear distinctive dress, demolishing churches or converting them into mosques, banning processions on holy days, and confiscating the property of monasteries. In 1009–1010, he had the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem demolished, an event that sent reverberations through Christendom and probably contributed to the buildup of support for the First Crusade (1096–1099).

At times al-Ḥākim also legislated in favor of Sunnīs, Christians, and Jews. For example, in 1013 he allowed Christians and Jews to emigrate to Byzantine territory; in 1021 he allowed Christian converts to Islam to celebrate Mass, restored monasteries, and returned their possessions; and at times he authorized the use of the Sunnī fasting practices and *adhān* (call to prayer).

Toward the end of his reign, he became increasingly ascetic, wearing ragged clothes, abstaining from food and bodily pleasures, riding only a donkey, and forbidding his subjects from prostrating themselves before him. Then in February 1021 he vanished while wandering in the Muqāṭṭam hills on the outskirts of Cairo. Various explanations have been given for this. Some believe that he was murdered at the instigation of his sister, Sitt al-Mulk, with whom he was at odds. However, the Druze, a Shīʿite sect regarding him as a manifestation of the Divinity, believe that he entered occultation and will return at the end of the world.

Scholars have remained divided on the issue of al-Ḥākim's sanity. Some regard him as having been a dangerous lunatic, while others maintain that his actions had sensible motivations. Whichever is correct, his reign was filled with inconsistent attitudes toward his subjects that defy full explanation.

–Niall Christie

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Hakon Palsson (d. c. 1123)

Earl of Orkney (1103–c. 1123), who went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem around 1120, probably in expiation of his sins relating to the murder of his cousin and co-ruler, Magnus I Erlendsson.

Hakon was born around 1170, the son of Earl Paul I, who ruled Orkney jointly with his brother Erlend II until 1098, when King Magnus III Barelegs of Norway took control of the islands and sent the earls to Norway, where they both died soon after. In 1103 Sigurd, the ruler installed by Magnus, was recalled to Norway to be crowned joint king, whereupon Hakon claimed his birthright to Paul's share of the earldom of Orkney.

A few years later, Erlend's son Magnus obtained his father's share, and the two cousins ruled the earldom jointly until Hakon murdered Magnus on the island of Egilsay (1115/1117). Hakon's pilgrimage took him via Rome to the Holy Land, where he saw the holy places in and around Jerusalem and bathed in the river Jordan, where, as was customary, he brought back a palm frond from the far bank. A round church at Orphir on the mainland of Orkney may have been built by Hakon on his return from the Holy Land in imitation of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, but its circular shape might also be the result of inspiration from southern Scandinavia or Bohemia.

–Janus Møller Jensen

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Halmyros, Battle of (1311)

A battle fought on 15 March 1311, between Walter I, duke of Athens, supported by many of the leading knights of Frankish Greece, and the Catalan Company, the duke's former mercenaries, whom he was trying to dismiss from his service and remove from his duchy.

The battle was decisive in that many members of the French ruling element in central Greece were slaughtered and replaced by the victorious Catalans. Like other battles of the fourteenth century, it demonstrated how well-drilled foot soldiers with crossbow support could trounce an army of mounted knights. The site of the battle is not securely known. The medieval writers Ramón Muntaner and Nikephoros Gregoras both located the battle on the marshy plain of the Kephissos in the region of Orchomenos; in this they were followed by all writers before 1940, who thus named the engagement the battle of the Kephissos. In 1940 a hitherto unknown letter of Marino Sanudo came to light; written in 1327, it referred to the battle taking place near Halmyros, presumably at or near the modern town of Halmyros, just south of modern Volos on the Pagasaitic Gulf.

—Peter Lock

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Hamburg-Bremen, Archbishopric of

The northernmost archbishopric of medieval Germany, founded on the two missionary bishoprics of Bremen and Hamburg. In Bremen the first cathedral was built as early as 789, whereas the bishopric of Hamburg came into being in 831.

In 832 Pope Gregory IV turned Hamburg into an archbishopric and gave Archbishop Ansgar the task of Christianizing the Swedes, the Danes, and the western Slavs. In 847 Ansgar was expelled from Hamburg by the Danes, who raided and burned the town. He took refuge in Bremen and was able to take over the bishopric there, which was vacant.

Shortly afterward, Hamburg and Bremen were made into one joint archbishopric. Like the Christianization of the Scandinavians, the mission to the Slavic peoples east of the river Elbe was a central concern for the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen, especially from the tenth century, when a missionary bishopric was founded at Oldenburg in Holstein and placed under the jurisdiction of Hamburg-Bremen.

It was not until the mid-twelfth century that the Christianization of the western Slavs met some lasting success after the so-called Wendish Crusade of 1147 and the involvement of Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, in the conquest of the Slavic lands. The old bishopric of Oldenburg was now moved to Lübeck and in 1160, together with two new bishoprics in Schwerin (originally in Mecklenburg) and Ratzeburg, formally subjected to Hamburg-Bremen by a new papal decision.

In the 1180s the archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen also became engaged in the Christianization of the peoples of the eastern Baltic region through the work of Meinhard, a cleric from Segeberg in Holstein. For some time Meinhard had been committed to the work of preaching to and baptizing the pagan Livonians, with the support of the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen. In 1186 Archbishop Hartwig II appointed Meinhard as first bishop of Livonia and made the new diocese part of the archbishopric. This arrangement lasted only until 1210, when the bishopric of Livonia (Riga) became exempt; later it was raised to the status of an archbishopric itself.

In the early 1230s the archbishop initiated a new series of crusades, this time against the population of the northwestern parts of the archbishopric, who were known as the Stedinger. Archbishop Gerhard II accused them of heresy and persuaded the pope to call for a crusade against them. It was, however, only after a series of hard-fought campaigns that the crusaders were finally able to defeat the Stedinger in 1234.

The engagement of the archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen in the crusading movement in general, particularly in the Baltic Crusades, continued over the years, inasmuch as clerics preached crusades, collected alms and crusade taxes, and also recruited crusaders within the boundaries of the archbishopric. The city of Lübeck, also located within the archbishopric, became the most important crusade harbor of the region, with seasonal shipments of crusaders to the eastern Baltic region.

—Carsten Selch Jensen

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Ḥanbalīs

The adherents of one of the four schools of Islamic law (Arab. *madhāhib*, sing. *madhhab*), who played an important role in propagating opposition to Frankish rule in the Levant. Ḥanbalī scholars served this cause while acting as propagandists of jihad (holy war) in the courts of local rulers, as popular preachers (some of whom joined the army on military campaigns), as authors of religious treatises of various genres, as emissaries to the caliphal court in Baghdad, and, in one case, as a leader of an emigration of villagers from Frankish Outremer to Muslim-ruled territory.

The Ḥanbalī school struck roots in Syria and Palestine in the eleventh century with the establishment of Ḥanbalī communities in Damascus, Jerusalem, Harran, Baalbek, and Mt. Nablus. It is considered to have been founded by the Baghdadi Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 855), who preached a strict reading of the letter of the law, literal interpretation of theological maxims in the Qurʾān, rigid mores, an ascetic lifestyle, and material independence from rulers. Ibn Ḥanbal's followers, especially between the ninth and thirteenth centuries, clashed with Shīʿites, with adherents of schools of speculative theology (the Muʿtazila and Ashʿariyya), and with any individual or group they considered heretic or corrupt. Ḥanbalīs stood in the forefront of the political-religious movement of Sunnī restoration, initiated in the court of the ʿAbbāsīd caliph in face of the Shīʿite-Buyid occupation of Baghdad in the eleventh century, which was taken up by the Zangid and Ayyūbid rulers of Syria in the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

–Daniella Talmon-Heller

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Harran

A city in Upper Mesopotamia, some 35 kilometers (c. 22 mi.) south of Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey).

In ancient times Harran was the site of a famous moon cult, which survived well into the Islamic period. In the seventh century Harran was briefly the Umayyad capital; parts of the Great Mosque date from this period.

Though repeatedly threatened by the Franks during the first quarter of the twelfth century, Harran remained an important Muslim shield against the county of Edessa. Divisions in the Muslim world made Harran a target for the Franks in 1104; a siege mounted by Baldwin II of Edessa, Joscelin I of Courtenay, Bohemund I of Antioch, and Tancred was lifted at the approach of a relieving Muslim army. Jökürmish of Mosul and Suqmān ibn Artūq of Mardin cut the Franks of Edessa to pieces; both Baldwin and Joscelin were captured.

Harran was taken by Zangī in 1127; his governor there informed him of the weakening of Edessa's garrison in 1144, leading to the capture of that city. Saladin used Harran, controlled by his follower Gökböri, as a base in his operations against Mosul (1182–1186). The city and citadel were strengthened by Nūr al-Dīn and by the Ayyūbids, but Harran was systematically depopulated and destroyed by its Mongol rulers in 1271. The Mamlūks garrisoned the citadel for a time, but the town never recovered.

–Angus Stewart

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Harria

Harria (Est. Harjumaa) was a province of medieval Livonia, corresponding to the northeastern coast of modern Estonia,

conquered in the course of the Baltic Crusades in the thirteenth century. Harria was originally a central province south of the coastal land called Revalia, but during the thirteenth century the name came to be applied to both areas. The name of Revalia survived only in the name of the city and castle of Reval (mod. Tallinn, Estonia).

The chronicle of Henry of Livonia mentions important Estonian hill forts at Lone (mod. Lohu), Warbola (mod. Varbola), and Keava; Raigele (mod. Raikküla) was known as a meeting place of the surrounding Estonian tribes. The German crusaders based in Riga began to mount raids into Harria in 1216, but after the Danes gained control of Reval in 1219, Harria was disputed between the two Christian powers until the Treaty of Stensby awarded the province to the king of Denmark (1238). Harria was the region with the greatest development of new manors, and the royal vassals in Harria and Vironia emerged as a powerful corporation able to pursue its own interests and policies. The rapid development of a manorial system has been regarded as a main reason for the St. George's Night revolt of the native Estonians, which started in Harria in 1343.

In 1346 Harria was sold together with the rest of North Estonia to the Teutonic Order. Reval became the center of administration. The order extended the inheritance rights of the nobility of Harria and Vironia in 1397 to secure their support for the policies of the order in Livonia, but it was also to develop its own domains in Harria.

—Juhan Kreem

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Hartmann von Aue

A German poet active in the period 1180–1200, known as the first adapter of Arthurian romance in Middle High German (*Erec and Iwein*). Hartmann also wrote religious narratives (*Der Arme Heinrich* and *Gregorius*), love songs, and three

crusading songs, either for the Third Crusade (1189–1192) or the crusade of Emperor Henry VI (1197–1198). In two of these, Hartmann laments the death of his lord, possibly Berthold IV, duke of Zähringen (d. 1186), or Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa (d. 1190), or even Emperor Henry VI (d. 1197), giving a rare glimpse into personal motivations for taking the cross.

The song *Swelch vrowe sendet ir lieben man* (VI) argues, like works by the poet Albrecht von Johansdorf, that the woman who sends her lover on crusade will earn half his spiritual reward—if she keeps faith with him and prays for them both, while he fights for them both. Argued with powerful emotion, *Dem kriuze zimet wol reiner muot* (V, "Purity and chastity befit the crusader") requires radical renunciation of the world and the devil, insists that the crusader bring both faith and works to the service of God, and rejoices at the promised entry to the tenth choir of heaven. Hartmann mourns the death of his unnamed lord, praying that half the crusader's reward should accrue to his lord's salvation. For all its austerity, the song promises "praise in this world" as well as "the soul's salvation" [*Des Minnesangs Frühling*, V, 2].

In *Ich var mit iuweren hulden* (XVII), the poet seeks leave of lords and kinsmen. Love has taken him captive and demands he fight in her cause—but not that love the Minnesinger praise, all words not works, vain hope that is not reciprocated. It is love of God and sorrow at the death of his lord that together make him go out to fight "Saladin and all his army" (XVII, 1)—though without this personal bereavement, as the ambiguous manuscript text appears to say, the crusade would not have drawn him abroad.

—Jeffrey Ashcroft

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Hattin, Battle of (1187)

A decisive defeat of the armies of Outremer by the forces of Saladin on 4 July 1187, leading to the collapse of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem and the loss of the city of Jerusalem to the Muslims.

From the 1170s on, Saladin, the most powerful Muslim ruler in the Near East, launched a series of attacks against the kingdom of Jerusalem. In 1185, however, a truce was concluded. When Reynald of Châtillon, lord of Transjordan, attacked a Muslim caravan traversing his territory in late 1186 or early 1187, Saladin demanded restitution. Reynald refused to comply, and Saladin raided Transjordan in May 1187. He also proclaimed the *jihād* (holy war) and assembled 30,000 troops, including 12,000 mounted men, from his empire in Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia. In the same month Guy of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, called all able-bodied men of the kingdom to arms. They were reinforced by men drawn from the fortresses, mercenaries, and pilgrims, as well as by contingents from the principality of Antioch, the county of Tripoli, and the military orders. In June some 1,200 knights, 4,000 light cavalry, and 11,000–14,000 infantry assembled at the springs of Saforie, some 25 kilometers (15½ mi.) west of Tiberias (mod. Teverya, Israel).

On 27 June 1187 Saladin crossed the Jordan south of Lake Tiberias. The situation was reminiscent of events in 1183. At that time Saladin's invading forces had to withdraw (although after extensive raiding) because the Frankish army, then led by Guy of Lusignan as regent for King Baldwin IV, refused to be drawn from its advantageous position at La Fève to join battle. The operational concept of 1183 acknowledged the strategic disparity between the Frankish and Muslim sides: the Franks could not afford to lose a pitched battle for fear that their cities and fortresses—stripped of manpower to bolster the field army—would become easy prey for the victors if the battle was lost. Although Guy's tactics in 1183 were operationally sound and eventually successful, his course of action was severely criticized in the kingdom, and as a consequence he lost the office of regent. Saladin, by contrast, could afford to lose substantial forces in battle, as he could easily replace them from his vast dominions. He sought to draw the Franks from their position at Saforie by laying siege to Tiberias on 2 July 1187. The city fell quickly, but the citadel held out. The besieged Franks sent an appeal for help to the Frankish army.

The decision to leave the base at Saforie was debated at a council of war held on the evening of 2 July. A number of fac-

tors contributed to this decision. Among the Franks, two principal strategies to counter the Muslim numerical superiority were in evidence in the 1180s: One school, represented by Count Raymond III of Tripoli among others, favored avoiding a decisive encounter with the Muslims for fear of the possibly disastrous outcome. Another group, among them Reynald of Châtillon and Gerard of Ridefort, master of the Templars, advocated striking a decisive blow before the balance of power shifted even more in favor of the Muslims. More immediately, the loss of Tiberias threatened to give Saladin a permanent base in Galilee and close to the heart of the kingdom of Jerusalem. The Franks may also have underestimated the strength of the invaders. And last but not least, Guy's personal negative experience of 1183 may have influenced the decision to confront Saladin's forces in 1187.

On the morning of 3 July, the Frankish army left Saforie in order to relieve Tiberias. The Franks' main problem was access to water, which could only be found at the springs of Saforie, Turan, and Hattin along the way, whereas the Muslim forces could easily be supplied from Lake Tiberias. Once the Franks had passed Turan, the army was encircled by the Muslims, slowed down, and continually harassed. Fighting on the march, the Franks reached Maskanah where they spent the night. The Muslim forces, led by Saladin in person, converged on the encircled Franks.

On the morning of 4 July, the Franks progressed about 2 kilometers (1¼ mi.) along the road toward Tiberias. The rear-guard came under heavy attack by the main body of the Muslim forces. The Frankish advance came to a halt near the Horns of Hattin, a small elevated plateau, as a result of the continuing harassment by the Muslim light cavalry and bowmen, the lack of water, and the smoke from the fires that had been lit by the Muslims. Raymond of Tripoli and the vanguard had become separated from the main body of the Frankish forces. He and his mounted men broke through the Muslim lines to the northeast and escaped to Saphet.

The Franks' only hope was a breakthrough along the road toward Lake Tiberias. Their forces, however, had become disordered. Against the express orders of King Guy, the Frankish infantry retreated to the relative safety of the Horns of Hattin. But there was no water on the Horns, and the infantry could not be moved to resume the march. The mounted Franks had to retreat to the heights as well, as they could not hold their position without infantry support. From the Horns the mounted knights launched two charges at the Muslim center, but both were repulsed. The Muslims fought

Hattin, Battle of (1187)



The Horns of Hattin. (Courtesy Alfred Andrea)

their way onto the Horns against fierce resistance and captured the relic of the Holy Cross and the king's tent. When King Guy himself was captured, the battle was over. The surviving Franks surrendered. The infantry were enslaved or killed, while the secular knights were held for ransom. The knights of the military orders, however, were purchased by Saladin from their captors and decapitated. The only secular knight to share their fate, at Saladin's personal behest, was Reynald of Châtillon.

After the crushing defeat of the Franks, the kingdom of Jerusalem collapsed for lack of defenders. Most of the fortified places in the kingdom surrendered to Saladin or were captured soon after the battle; Jerusalem surrendered on 2 October 1187. The loss of Jerusalem brought about the Third Crusade (1189–1192), which resulted in the recapture of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) in 1191 and the reconstitution of the kingdom of Jerusalem (although with greatly reduced

territory and without the city of Jerusalem) under King Guy, who had meanwhile been released from captivity. But the Franks were never able to recover fully from the defeat at Hattin, nor to regain a territorial basis that would have enabled them to perpetuate their hold on the East.

—Martin Hoch

See also: Guy of Lusignan (d. 1194); Saladin (1138–1193)

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Hauran

See Terre de Suète

Hebrew Sources

The Hebrew sources for the First Crusade (1096–1099) are especially rich, comprising three narratives, which constitute some of the oldest examples of medieval Jewish historiography, and a considerable number of *piyyutim* (liturgical poems). For the Second Crusade (1147–1149) we have, besides poetry, one chronicle, which also contains some brief additional material in an appendix on the York pogrom in the Third Crusade (1189–1192). A second short work concerns Mainz at the time of the First Crusade.

The material for the First Crusade has engaged scholars since the end of the nineteenth century. Recent decades have seen a spate of new assessments of the material, especially in the United States and Israel. The three narratives consist of one long composite text ascribed to Solomon bar Simson, a shorter prose text interspersed with four pieces of liturgical verse by Eliezar bar Nathan, a halakhist (Jewish legal expert) from Mainz, who lived from about 1090 to about 1170, and another shorter text by the so-called Mainz Anonymous. The manuscript transmission of all three is sparse and faulty. Only Eliezar bar Nathan's chronicle has been transmitted in more than one manuscript, the oldest dating to the fourteenth century. The Mainz Anonymous exists only in one incomplete manuscript of the fourteenth century. The so-called Solomon bar Simson text exists in a single fifteenth-century manuscript. Because there is a great deal of overlap between the material covered in each of the narratives, many theories have been advanced about the relationship between them. Some have argued that their

interrelationship is indirect, with all three relying on common source material, such as an earlier report or communal letters; others have suggested that the shorter texts rely directly on the longer one, while still others have asserted the exact opposite. Some have combined all three propositions in a number of different ways. Generally most scholars agree that the three narratives were composed within fifty years of the 1096 pogroms, in other words, before the Second Crusade, although Robert Chazan has dated Eliezar bar Nathan's chronicle to after the Second Crusade. Most scholars also agree that of the three, the Mainz Anonymous was completed first.

The three chronicles describe the confrontation between the crusaders of the so-called People's Crusades (1096) and the Jews of the Rhineland. Considerable detail is given about relations between Jews and Christians in these towns, which seem to have been on the whole good in the beginning. Many Christians seem at first to have been prepared to help their Jewish neighbors. Graphic accounts are given about how the Jews sought protection of the bishops or archbishops of their towns. There are suggestions concerning the motives of Christians (crusaders, and later townsfolk, too) for attacking Jews (vengeance and greed) and offering them the choice between baptism and death, and also information about Jewish self-defense and the conversion many Jews were forced to endure. Attention is drawn to the plight of the converted and to the fact that most returned to Judaism as soon as they could. Particularly evocative are the heartrending scenes in which whole Jewish families decide they should martyr themselves in order to sanctify God's name (Heb. *kiddush ha-Shem*) rather than risk death or baptism at the hands of their enemies. The sacrificial slaughter of the young and old is an essential component of these texts. Very striking is the prominence given to female protagonists. The narratives are written in passionate Hebrew, celebrating the heroic deeds of the martyrs and invoking God's aid for his people.

All of these elements raise crucial questions about these texts. Were they written as history or as liturgy? How accurate is the information they give about what actually happened in 1096? How do they compare with the Latin sources concerning these events? Can so many Jews have martyred themselves and sacrificed their children? If so, how can this novel response to persecution, which hardly conforms to conventional halakhah (Jewish law), be explained? If not, what do these texts mean? What do these texts tell us about

Jewish experience in the Rhineland in this period? In short, what are these narratives really about?

Historiography of the nineteenth and much of the twentieth century assumed that the narratives are essentially historical. Although the Latin sources for these events are much shorter, they corroborate the fact that many Jews were killed and forcibly converted; they also attest that many Jews committed suicide and killed their children rather than be baptized. Scholars accepted the scale of martyrdom as accurate and tended to interpret this as a particular feature of the Jews of Ashkenaz (northern Europe). In the wake of the Holocaust, an extra dimension of emotionality was added to research into the 1096 pogroms, and many scholars took the acts of martyrdom as proof of the special tenacity of Ashkenazi Jews in resisting apostasy against all odds.

In recent years scholars have gone beyond examining the narratives for factual material and have paid much more attention to possible underlying meanings of the texts. A combination of literary and anthropological methods has been employed to decode their rich biblical imagery. These methods have produced suggestions that the chronicles contain far more information about the survivors of the pogroms, who wrote the texts, than about the martyrs themselves. Seen in this light, the narratives would bear testimony to how those who remained alive by succumbing to baptism came to terms with the guilt and ambivalence they felt toward those who had the courage to die. The underlying assumption here is that many more Jews were forcibly baptized than the chronicles were willing to admit. This methodology has also produced a reading of the texts as an *ex post facto* explanation of the 1096 pogroms. According to this assessment, the narratives would constitute a legitimization of the new kind of martyrdom that had occurred. By referring over and over again to Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, the texts place the mass sacrifice of life in the Rhineland within the context of the Temple. Abraham bound Isaac on Mount Moriah, the supposed site of the future Temple of Jerusalem. Isaac was only one person; the Jews of Mainz outdid his sacrifice by over a thousand. By turning themselves and their children into Temple sacrifices, they brought Jerusalem to Mainz, robbing the crusaders of the very goal toward which they were marching. (Interestingly enough, no reference is made to those Jews who chose martyrdom through suicide rather than surrender to the Roman forces at the siege of Masada in 73, even though the Jews of Ashkenaz would have known about Masada through a Hebrew version of Jose-

phus's *History of the Jewish War*.) The narratives come alive through this kind of interpretation as a creative response to persecution and a dramatic statement of firm Jewish identity. Especially striking is the way close reading of the texts seems to reveal remarkable similarities with Christian images and values. The chronicles seem to reveal Jewish communities that were very much part of their surrounding society, notwithstanding the religious gulf that separated them from it.

Others have used similar methods, even as they have interpreted the texts as more accurate reflections of the actual events. A storm of debate was caused by a recent suggestion that the reports of martyrs slaughtering their own children before committing suicide themselves helped stimulate medieval Christians to suspect Jews of killing Christian children. These suspicions would have fed into blood libel accusations against Jews, which began to surface in the twelfth century, and they would have been strengthened by eschatological passages in the narratives that expressed the hope that the blood of the martyrs would hasten God's revenge on the enemies of Israel.

Another recent approach has been to distinguish carefully between different voices within the three narratives: the Mainz Anonymous, the author of the Trier section in the long composite text, the author of the Cologne section of that composition (Solomon bar Simson is named in this unit as the recorder of the persecutions in a village outside Cologne), the voice of the editor of the composition, and, finally, the voice of Eliezar bar Nathan. Voices one and two probably stand closest in time to the 1096 persecutions and seem to be particularly interested in the actual occurrences of spring and summer 1096. The other voices seem to be more concerned to give broader meaning to what occurred. They seem more ideologically propelled, with the aim of presenting a counterideology to the crusading ethos that was threatening Jewish survival. By extolling the heroism of the martyrs, they invoke God's future intervention on behalf of the Jews. It is the Jews undergoing *kiddush ha-Shem*, rather than the *milites Christi* (soldiers of Christ), who thus become the true servants of God. By contrast, the chroniclers' interest in the actions and intentions of individual Jewish men and women betray the twelfth century's widespread interest in the human condition, which is known so well from contemporary Christian sources.

In summary, one can say that it does seem likely that more Jews were forcibly baptized than the chroniclers wished to

portray. To a certain extent, they probably describe in broad terms what occurred, but at the same time the narratives should certainly also be read as the interpretations of events by people who survived the carnage of 1096. Seen in this light, the narratives present us with a vivid picture of robust Jewish communities engaged in an uncompromising rejection of Christianity even as the very terms of their response betray considerable knowledge and even absorption of Christian values and culture. The response of martyrdom to religious persecution, as recorded in the chronicles, became normative among Ashkenazi Jews and found its way into their liturgy.

The Hebrew narrative of the Second Crusade is the *Sefer Zekhirah* (*Book of Remembrance*), written by Ephraim of Bonn (died after 1196), a liturgist who headed the rabbinical court in Bonn for some years. The chronicle contains a number of poems, and the text was transmitted in the same manuscripts that contain Eliezar bar Nathan's narrative on the First Crusade. The narrative is particularly interesting in that it records how Bernard of Clairvaux stopped the monk Ralph from preaching violence against the Jews. An additional section describes anti-Jewish violence from 1171 to 1196 and contains some material on the martyrdom of the Jews of York in 1190. It is the Latin source material, however, that provides the greater amount of detail for that event. The *Divrei Zikhronot* (*Words of Remembrance*) by the pietist Eleazar ben Judah of Worms (c. 1165–c.1230) provides valuable information on the situation in Germany in the years 1187–1188.

—Anna Sapir Abulafia

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Hebron

Hebron (mod. Al-Khalil, West Bank) is a town 30 kilometers (18³/₄ mi.) south of Jerusalem. A pilgrimage center and bishopric of the kingdom of Jerusalem, it was known to the Franks of Outremer as St. Abraham.

Hebron was renowned among Jews, Muslims, and Christians as the burial place of the biblical patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob and their wives Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah. Various traditions also associated the site with the resting place of Adam and Joseph. The ancient sanctuary housing the saints' cenotaphs, converted into a church in the fourth century and then into a mosque after the seventh-century Muslim conquest, was plundered by the crusaders following the fall of Jerusalem in July 1099.

In late 1099 or early 1100, the town and sanctuary were taken by Godfrey of Bouillon, the ruler of Jerusalem, who appointed Geldemar Carpenel (d. 1101) as the first lord of Hebron. The territory changed hands several times over the following years, periodically reverting to the Crown and allowing the kings of Jerusalem to restructure the lordship on favorable terms. By 1112 a priory of Augustinian canons had been installed at the patriarchs' tomb. In 1119, during the lordship of Baldwin of St. Abraham (1119–1136), the Latin clerics at the site announced that they had discovered the relics of the biblical patriarchs, an event celebrated by Arabic chroniclers but greeted with indifference by the Patriarch Warmund and the Latin Church of Jerusalem.

In 1168, due to its strategic importance, coupled with its significance as a pilgrimage site, Hebron became the second Latin parish to be raised to the status of bishopric without precedent in the Greek ecclesiastical lists. Rainald, nephew of Patriarch Fulcher, became the first bishop, and the priory

Heinrich von Plauen (d. 1429)

was established as the city's cathedral chapter. Although the Frankish possession of the patriarchs' tombs caused difficulties for non-Christian devotees, in some cases forcing Jewish pilgrims to bribe the caretakers or to enter the sanctuary disguised as Christians, the site saw its share of Muslim and Jewish visitors throughout the crusader period, including the well-known traveler Benjamin of Tudela. Hebron was captured by Saladin in August 1187, and the Latin bishopric lapsed until around 1252, when it was resurrected and continued in titular form. In 1266, the Mamlük Sultan Baybars I formally barred Jews and Christians from the sanctuary, which had been changed back into a mosque, although as late as 1267 Pope Clement IV directed the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem to supply Hebron with a priest.

—Brett Edward Whalen

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Hein van Aken

See Dutch Literature

Heinrich von Plauen (d. 1429)

A commander of the Teutonic Order who saved the territory of the order in Prussia after the battle of Tannenberg (1410) and subsequently became grand master (1410–1413).

Born around 1370 into a ministerial family from Plauen in the Vogtland (Saxony), Heinrich came to Prussia as a crusader in 1391 and probably joined the Teutonic Order then. From 1397 to 1407 he held different offices before becoming commander of the castle at Schwetz (mod. Swiecie, Poland). After the order's high officers had been killed in the defeat by the Poles at the battle of Tannenberg, he organized the defense of Marienburg (mod. Malbork, Poland) and became deputy grand master. Because of his leading role in

the reconquest of Prussia, Heinrich was elected grand master on 9 November 1410. A peace with Poland was concluded early in 1411. To ransom prisoners, pay its mercenaries, and compensate war damages, the order levied several extraordinary taxes, which aroused opposition among the Prussian estates. When Heinrich prepared for another war, the high officers resisted his warlike and high-handed policy and removed him from office (9 October 1413). After ten years of imprisonment he was sent to Lochstädt, where he died in 1429. Heinrich was buried in the chapel of St. Anne at Marienburg castle.

—Axel Ehlers

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Helmold of Bosau (d. after 1177)

A German cleric and author of the *Chronica Slavorum*.

Born around 1120, in his youth Helmold joined the Augustinian canons in Segeberg in Holstein. As a result of Slavic attacks, the canons later had to move to Neumünster. Helmold then went to Braunschweig to receive further education. On his return, his friend and mentor Bishop Gerold of Oldenburg and Lübeck made Helmold a priest in Bosau around 1156.

Helmold probably began writing his chronicle shortly after 1167, incited, as it seems, by an erupting conflict between the newly elected Bishop Conrad I of Lübeck and Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony. The chronicle, dedicated to the canons of Lübeck, describes in great detail the Christianization of the Slavic peoples northeast of the river Elbe from the time of Charlemagne until 1171, emphasizing the importance of the Saxon mission and expansion in the region. Helmold recounts the frequent rivalries between the Saxons (notably Duke Henry the Lion), the archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen, and the kings of Denmark as background to the crusades against the Slavs. His writings undoubtedly influenced later chroniclers, but they also provoked others,

such as the Danish chronicler Saxo Grammaticus, into presenting events differently.

–Carsten Selch Jensen

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Henricus de Segusio

See Hostiensis

Henry I of Cyprus (1217–1253)

King of Cyprus (1218–1253), the son of King Hugh I (d. 1218) and Alice of Champagne (d. 1246).

Hugh I died at a relatively young age when Henry was only eight months old. Henry’s mother then formally acted as regent, but in reality Cyprus was controlled by the powerful Ibelin family. However, in 1228–1229 Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor, visited the island. Frederick was suzerain of Cyprus because his father, Henry VI, had crowned the first Cypriot king, Aimery (1197), and he now claimed the regency for himself. From 1228 onward this state of affairs sparked a civil war between Frederick’s supporters, who initially controlled Henry, and the Ibelins, who gained possession of the king in 1230 and emerged victorious in 1233. Thereafter, Henry, who had come of age in 1232, consistently showed great favor toward the Ibelins.

From 1246 onward Henry acted as regent in the kingdom of Jerusalem on behalf of King Conrad, a son of Frederick II, but he rarely visited the mainland and left its administration to his Ibelin supporters. During the winter of 1248–1249 Henry played host to the first crusade of King Louis IX of

France, and the following spring he briefly accompanied Louis to Egypt, where 120 Cypriot knights subsequently participated in Louis’s failed campaign. Henry died in Nicosia (mod. Lefkosia, Cyprus) on 18 January 1253 and was succeeded by his son Hugh II.

–Kristian Molin

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Henry I of Jerusalem

See Henry of Champagne

Henry II of Cyprus and Jerusalem (d. 1324)

King of Cyprus and Jerusalem (1285–1324), the last Frankish king to rule on the mainland of Palestine.

Henry was a younger son of Hugh III, king of Cyprus and Jerusalem, and Isabella of Ibelin. He came to the throne on the death of his older brother, John I. In 1286 Henry regained control over Acre (mod. ‘Akko, Israel) from the supporters of Charles I of Anjou, his rival for the crown of Jerusalem. They had held Acre since 1277, but their position worsened considerably following Charles’s loss of Sicily in 1282 and his death in 1285. This strengthened Henry’s grip on the fragmented kingdom of Jerusalem, but he still failed to prevent the Mamlūk conquest of Tripoli (mod. Trâblous, Lebanon) in 1289 and of all remaining Frankish possessions in Outremer, including Acre, in 1291.

Thereafter, Henry organized seaborne raids from his kingdom of Cyprus against the mainland of Syria and Palestine in 1300–1301. However, these failed to meet up with Mongol forces attacking Syria, as had been planned, and ended after the Mamlūks captured Ruad (mod. Arwād, Syria), a fortified Templar island off Tortosa (1302). Meanwhile, tensions were growing on Cyprus between various competing factions previously based on the mainland. Henry tried to prevent the military orders from acquiring too many estates, provoking the Hospitallers into undertaking the conquest of Rhodes

Henry II of England (1133–1189)

(mod. Rodos, Greece) in 1306–1310 and the Templars into siding with his political opponents, until the order was suppressed in 1308–1313. As competition for Cypriot trade intensified, Henry favored the Venetians in their war (1294–1299) with the Genoese, who later carried out raids near Paphos (mod. Pafos, Cyprus) in 1312 and 1316.

In 1306 these problems resulted in Henry being deposed by one of his younger brothers, Amaury of Tyre, who was supported by most of the Cypriot nobility and the military orders. Amaury styled himself “governor and rector” of Cyprus and forced Henry into retirement. At first Amaury was popular, especially with the Genoese and his brother-in-law, King Oshin of Cilicia. However, Amaury failed to gain permanent recognition of his title either from Henry or from the papacy. From 1308 onward, more and more nobles as well as the Hospitallers switched allegiance. Amaury responded by sending Henry into exile in Cilicia (1309), but in 1310 he was mysteriously murdered and Henry regained power.

Henry’s reign was also dominated by plans for a new crusade to the Holy Land. However, the fact that it never materialized was not entirely disadvantageous to Henry and Amaury because its key backers, the papacy and the French monarchy, supported the claims to Jerusalem maintained by the descendants of Charles I of Anjou. Nevertheless, Henry tried to garner Western support against potential Mamlūk attacks by marrying his sister Maria to King James II of Aragon in 1315 and by (officially at least) enforcing the papal embargo on Christian trade with the Mamlūks. He was succeeded by Hugh IV, the son of another of his brothers, Guy.

–Kristian Molin

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Henry II of England (1133–1189)

King of England (1154–1189), who promised to go on crusade in 1170, 1172, and 1177, and even took the cross, but never went to the East in person.

The son of Matilda, heiress of Henry I of England, and

Geoffrey V, count of Anjou, Henry succeeded to the kingdom of England and vast domains in France. He had a dynastic interest in the affairs of the kingdom of Jerusalem as a relative of its ruling family, who were descendants of Henry’s grandfather Fulk V of Anjou. Henry’s promise to go on crusade in 1172 was part of his penance for the murder of Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury; the undertaking of 1177 arose from an agreement with King Louis VII of France. Henry’s endorsement of English participation in Philip of Flanders’s crusade of 1177 was motivated by a desire to curb Philip’s ambitions in the East.

Henry showed little interest in the appeals for aid made by Eraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, on the latter’s visit to England in 1185, and he took the cross in 1188 only after his son Richard. Henry did, however, support the crusade financially, and the crusade taxes he raised in 1166 and 1185, along with the famous Saladin Tithe of 1188, were important in the development of direct taxation in England. Money sent to the East by Henry helped pay for the Hattin campaign of 1187, and he left funds for the support of the Holy Land in his will.

–Michael R. Evans

See also: England

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Henry III of England (1209–1272)

King of England (1216–1272), who twice took the cross, but never actually went on crusade.

The eldest son of King John, Henry came to the throne at the age of nine and did not assume full control of government until 1225. His reign was dominated by two themes: first, the implementation of Magna Carta, the treaty forced upon John by his barons (1215); second, Henry’s attempt to recover his inheritance in France: Normandy, Anjou, and Maine, which had been seized by King Philip II Augustus of France in 1204, and Poitou which was conquered by Louis VIII in 1224. Henry III eventually surrendered his claims to Normandy and Poitou, in the Treaty of Paris (1259). A series of military failures, combined with competition for patronage between the English aristocracy and the king’s

Lusignan and Savoyard relatives culminated in the reform program of the Provisions of Oxford (1258) and civil war between the king's supporters and the barons, the latter under the leadership of Simon of Montfort (the Barons' War, 1263–1265).

Henry took the cross in 1216, which gained him protection and papal support against those backing the bid of Prince Louis of France (the future Louis VIII) for the English throne. However, the political situation faced by his minority government did not permit Henry's absence from the kingdom. He took the cross again in 1250 to provide reinforcements for the crusade of Louis IX of France to the East, but did not set an immediate date for his departure.

Plans for Henry's second crusade soon ran into difficulties. Henry refused to set sail or to allow his subjects to join Louis's campaign until the question of his claims to Normandy and Poitou had been settled. Furthermore Henry had frequently clashed with Alfonso X, king of Castile, over the possession of Gascony. In 1254, Alfonso surrendered his claims in exchange for Henry's promise that he would join Alfonso on a crusade to North Africa (rather than Palestine). This could not be done without papal authorization, which Henry failed to receive because of his entanglement in the affairs of Sicily: in early 1254, Henry had accepted the throne of Sicily on behalf of his son Edmund. The kingdom had yet to be wrested from its lord, Conrad IV of Germany, and securing the financial and military means necessary preoccupied Henry for the next decade or so. This involvement not only limited the amount of troops available for a crusade, but also led to increasing dependence on the papal court. Successive popes refused Henry's request that his crusading vow be commuted from a campaign to the Holy Land to one in North Africa (thus making it difficult for Henry to meet his obligations toward Alfonso), but suggested that it could be fulfilled by a campaign in Sicily. These difficulties not only led to a worsening of Henry's relations with Alfonso; they also weakened his ability to make demands of Louis IX of France and brought him into increasing conflict with his barons.

The king's subjects had not taken kindly to his crusading plans. In fact, one chronicler described the king's vow as a little more than a means of extorting money from his barons and clergy. Henry's refusal to allow English crusaders to join Louis's campaign did little to restore confidence, and many contemporaries viewed the "Sicilian Business" as an expensive aberration. They were unwilling to join the king volun-

tarily, and few took up the papacy's offer to fulfil their vows by fighting in Sicily. The use of crusading taxes to fund the Sicilian scheme further alienated the king from both secular lords and clergy. These tensions culminated in the baronial movement that in 1258 led to demands for a reform of the king's government. When these demands led to the outbreak of civil war in England (1263–1265), Henry III's crusading plans were doomed. Although the rebellion was ultimately defeated, and Henry's status as a crusader was never revoked, he lacked the military and financial means to embark on crusade.

Henry's experience, abortive as it was, is helpful in understanding key themes in thirteenth-century crusading. It illustrates both the geographical range of crusading and the political uses and challenges of the crusading movement. Last but not least, it highlights the conflict between official concepts of a crusade as directed against all enemies of the faith and the continuing primacy commonly given to those campaigns aimed directly at recovering or defending the Holy Land.

– Björn K. U. Weiler

See also: England

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Henry IV of England (1367–1413)

Henry Bolingbroke, earl of Derby (later king of England as Henry IV), was a dedicated crusader in the years before he seized the throne in 1399. He took part in two crusades to Prussia and one pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He planned to take

Henry VI of Germany (1165–1197)



Henry IV of England. (Corel)

part in a crusade as king, but the troubles of his reign never allowed him to do so.

Henry was a son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster (d. 1399). After taking part in the Appellant movement, which aimed to limit the powers of King Richard II, Henry was politically sidelined after Richard's reassertion of his personal power in 1388. This marginalization provided the context for Henry's devotion to crusading in the early 1390s. He planned to take part in the crusade of Louis, duke of Bourbon, to Tunis (1390), one of several Franco-English crusading ventures mooted in a period of truce between the two countries (1390–1398). However, Henry was prevented from entering France, and so went on crusade to Prussia, largely financed by his father.

Accompanied by some French knights, Henry arrived in Prussia in the autumn of 1390. He fought alongside the Teu-

tonic Knights and was involved in a victory over the Lithuanians on the river Memel, and in the siege of Vilnius, which was abandoned after a successful start when disease broke out in the besiegers' camp. Henry enjoyed the subsequent Baltic winter in style at Königsberg (mod. Kaliningrad, Russia) and Danzig (mod. Gdańsk, Poland), feasting and spending large sums on gambling expenses. He took part in a second crusade to the Baltic region in 1392, but did not see any military action. Before returning to England, he went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the winter of 1392–1393, traveling via central Europe and Venice.

Henry became king of England following his overthrow of Richard II in 1399. As king, he hoped to lead a crusade against the Turks; his interest in the crusade reflected his own military career before becoming king, his orthodox religious views (he was a persecutor of the heretical Lollards), and a desire to legitimize his rule. Even as he lay dying in the winter of 1412–1413, he was planning an expedition to the Holy Land. The chronicler Adam of Usk, who liked to record prophecies and omens, claimed that Henry died in the Jerusalem Chamber of the abbot's palace at Westminster, thereby fulfilling a prophecy that he would die in Jerusalem.

—Michael R. Evans

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Henry VI of Germany (1165–1197)

King of Germany (1169–1197) and Sicily (1194–1197), Holy Roman Emperor (1191–1197), and organizer of a crusade to the Holy Land (1197–1198).

Henry was born in Nijmegen in 1165, the second son of Frederick I Barbarossa, Holy Roman Emperor (d. 1190), and his second wife, Beatrix of Burgundy. In that same year Frederick secured the canonization of his predecessor Emperor Charlemagne (d. 814) from the imperialist antipope, Paschal III (d. 1168), who had been elected in opposition to Alexander III. By underlining Charlemagne's role as defender of

Christendom, the canonization was intended to support and exalt the imperial ideology of the Staufen dynasty, which already had acquired a crusading tradition of its own through the participation of Frederick Barbarossa and his uncle Conrad III in the Second Crusade (1147–1149).

The death of his elder brother Frederick (1168/1169) left Henry as the heir to the German monarchy of the Staufen family. At the age of four Henry was elected king by the German princes at a diet in Bamberg (June 1169) and crowned at Aachen on 15 August. During this summer Frederick Barbarossa recognized Paschal III's successor, Calixtus III, thus prolonging his dispute with the Roman pope Alexander III and the Lombard League of northern Italy, which was not finally resolved until the Treaty of Konstanz (1183).

When Henry came of age in 1178, he began to take over political responsibilities. At a great festival held in Mainz at Whitsun 1184, Henry was knighted, together with his younger brother Frederick, duke of Swabia (originally named Conrad). Later that year Henry was betrothed to Constance, the daughter of King Roger II of Sicily and aunt of the ruling King William II of Sicily (29 October 1184). William's marriage was childless and the line of succession uncertain; by allying himself to the mighty Staufen dynasty, he hoped to secure the position of the Hauteville family in Sicily. For Frederick Barbarossa the Sicilian alliance brought a powerful ally in the Italian peninsula, but also offered at least a prospect that Henry might eventually succeed to the Sicilian kingdom. At the end of 1185, Henry joined his father in Italy, where the Barbarossa was again attempting to assert imperial control. The next year Henry's marriage to Constance of Sicily was celebrated in Milan (27 January 1186). About this time he seems to have received the title of Caesar, probably as a signal of Frederick Barbarossa's intention to have him recognized as co-emperor, a desire that was opposed by the papacy.

Henry remained in Italy until 1187. In the autumn news of the great defeat at Hattin and the subsequent fall of Jerusalem to Saladin reached the West. Frederick Barbarossa and Frederick of Swabia took the cross at the so-called Court of Jesus Christ (Lat. *Curia Iesu Christi*) at Mainz on 27 March 1188 in the presence of Henry VI, who was to take over government in the absence of his father.

During the Third Crusade (1189–1192), Frederick Barbarossa was in frequent contact with Henry, among other things admonishing him to have the Italian cities equip a fleet and send it to the East to persuade the Byzantine

emperor to support the crusade. William II of Sicily died childless on 18 November 1190 and was succeeded by an illegitimate half-brother, Tancred of Lecce. Henry now made peace with his enemies in Germany (the Welf family and their supporters), with the intention of pursuing his wife's claims to the throne of Sicily. However, these plans received a setback when news of the death of Frederick Barbarossa during the crusade (10 June 1190) reached Germany in the autumn of that year. A German army went to Italy, and Henry followed across the Alps in early 1191. He was crowned Holy Roman Emperor on 14 April in Rome by the new pope, Celestine III.

Emperor Henry now launched a campaign to realize his claims to Sicily. However, he met with defeat outside Naples, and Constance was taken captive. Yet Henry still had strongholds in southern Italy, and he managed to secure his position in Germany. The pope tried to negotiate peace between Henry and Tancred, to little avail, although Constance was released in 1192. Then events turned to Henry's advantage. At Milan he met with Philip II Augustus, king of France, who was on his way back from the Third Crusade. Henry and Philip concluded an alliance directed against King Richard I Lionheart of England, who was the principal ally of both King Tancred of Sicily and Henry's enemies in Germany. The turning point came when Richard was taken captive on his way back from the Third Crusade in 1192 by Duke Leopold V of Austria, who handed him over to Henry. As a condition of his release, Richard was to pay a vast ransom and also to supply 50 ships for the campaign against Sicily. Deprived of a powerful ally, the German opposition collapsed; its leader, Henry the Lion, sought an accommodation with the emperor (March 1194).

In May 1194 Emperor Henry marched south with a land army consisting of perhaps 20,000 men supported by Genoese and Pisan fleets. In August these forces attacked the Sicilian kingdom, and after the capture and sack of Salerno in September the other cities surrendered one by one. In November Henry entered Palermo in triumph. On 25 December 1194 he was crowned king of Sicily; the next day Constance gave birth to a son, who was named Frederick Roger after his two grandfathers.

Henry's main political aims from this point were to assert the authority of the Holy Roman Empire throughout Christendom and to secure the succession for his son in both the empire and Sicily. Continuing negotiations begun by his father, in 1197 Henry agreed to bestow royal crowns on Leon

Henry of Champagne (1166–1197)

II, the Rupenid prince of Cilicia (king as Leon I), and Aimery of Lusignan, the ruler of Cyprus. Both of the newly created kings thereby became Henry's vassals, accepting the overlordship of the Holy Roman Empire. In the meantime Henry had also concluded a marriage alliance between his younger brother Philip, duke of Swabia, and Irene, daughter of the Byzantine emperor Isaac II Angelos.

These diplomatic successes greatly enhanced Henry's prestige and authority throughout the eastern Mediterranean region. In 1195 he proposed to organize a crusade to the Holy Land, hoping that this would help him gain the agreement of the papacy to his plans for hereditary rule of the Staufen dynasty in the empire and Sicily. Yet Henry was unable to reach an accommodation with Pope Celestine III, although the German princes were prepared to recognize his son Frederick (II) as king of Germany. The emperor returned to the kingdom of Sicily in April 1197, but his preparations for the crusade were delayed by a rebellion that broke out in May. It is uncertain whether Henry intended to lead the crusade himself, although he does appear to have taken the cross in March 1195. In the event, he appointed Conrad of Querfurt, bishop of Hildesheim, and the imperial marshal Henry of Kalden as leaders of the expedition. During the summer Henry fell ill with malaria, to which he succumbed on 28 September. He was buried in the cathedral of Palermo.

Like his father, Henry did not live to see the completion of the crusade he had launched. He was widely regarded by contemporaries as the most powerful ruler in Christendom, and his death at the age of not yet thirty-two plunged the empire into crisis. In Sicily he was succeeded by the infant Frederick, who had also been intended for the German throne. However, with the prospect of a rival Welf candidate emerging there, it was Henry's younger brother Philip of Swabia who was crowned king of Germany by the supporters of the Staufen family.

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Henry Bolingbroke

See Henry IV of England

Henry of Champagne (1166–1197)

Ruler of the kingdom of Jerusalem (1192–1197) as consort of Queen Isabella I.

The eldest son of Henry I "the Liberal," count of Champagne, Henry (II) succeeded to his father's lands in 1181. In 1190 he arrived at Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) at the head of a large contingent of French knights to join the Third Crusade (1189–1192). As a nephew of both Richard I of England and Philip II of France, Henry was one of the crusade army's early leaders.

Henry played a prominent part in the siege of Acre (1190–1191) and led a contingent on campaign with Richard. On the assassination of Conrad of Montferrat (April 1192), who had just been recognized as king of Jerusalem, Henry was asked to marry his widow, Queen Isabella I, and rule the kingdom. With King Richard's consent, and having been persuaded that the English monarch would return to Outremer with reinforcements, he agreed. Henry was de facto ruler of the realm but was never crowned. He styled himself count palatine of Troyes and only once (1196) used the title "lord of the kingdom of Jerusalem."

Henry was not associated with the discord that had prevailed within the kingdom during the 1180s and secured peace. He concluded a treaty with Cyprus intended to safeguard the future of Outremer. It included an attempt to unite the two ruling houses through the marriage of Henry's three daughters to the three sons of Aimery of Cyprus. Henry also reconciled Bohemund III of Antioch with Leon II of Armenia, used his revenues from Champagne for the benefit of the kingdom, and extended the truce with the Muslims. When the truce expired in 1197, Henry mustered his troops to

defend Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo), but he died on 10 September, having fallen from a window when the railings he was leaning upon broke.

—Linda Goldsmith

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Henry of Constantinople (d. 1216)

Second (and most successful) Latin emperor of Constantinople (1206–1216).

Sometimes referred to as Henry of Flanders or Henry of Hainaut, he was probably born at Valenciennes around 1178, the third son of Baldwin V, count of Hainaut, and Margaret, countess of Flanders.

Henry took the cross in 1200 and followed his brother Count Baldwin IX of Flanders (VI of Hainaut) on the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204). He is mentioned only rarely in the early stages of the crusade. Once the crusaders had arrived at Constantinople (mod. Istanbul, Turkey), he was put in charge of the second squadron and accompanied his brother, who commanded the vanguard when the crusading army confronted the army of Alexius III Angelos outside the walls of the city (17 July 1203). In 1204 Henry led a successful foraging raid against the Greek city of Philea. On the way back to Constantinople, he defeated an ambush prepared by Alexios V Doukas Mourtzouphlos, capturing a holy icon of the virgin that Alexios V had brought to assure himself of victory.

After the election of Baldwin as Latin emperor (May 1204), Henry was one of the leaders in the conquest of Greek lands, participating in the occupation of Thrace and then crossing the Dardanelles to capture Adramyttum (mod. Edremit, Turkey). There he was supported by the local Armenians, who followed him with their families across the straits when Henry was recalled in haste by Baldwin in the face of a Greek rebellion in Thrace. As the Armenians were

unable to keep up with him, he left them between Gallipoli (mod. Gelibolu, Turkey) and Rodosto (mod. Tekirdağ, Turkey), where they were massacred by the Greeks. Henry was too late to bring any aid to his brother, who was captured by the Bulgarians at Adrianople (mod. Edirne, Turkey), but he encountered the survivors under the command of Geoffrey of Villehardouin at Rodosto.

Henry was recognized as regent of the empire while there remained any hope of the survival of Baldwin and fought to hold his brother's empire together. In July 1205 he unsuccessfully laid siege to Adrianople and Demotika, and in October he renewed the treaty of partition with the Venetians. A new Bulgarian invasion (January 1206) forced the Greeks to appeal to Henry, who advanced to Adrianople and then pursued the retreating Bulgarians far into their own territory.

With the confirmation of the death of Baldwin in 1206, Henry was chosen as the second Latin emperor and crowned on 20 August 1206. A new invasion by Kalojan was driven off and 20,000 prisoners were rescued as the new emperor ravaged the lands of Kalojan. Two squadrons were then sent across the straits to occupy Cyzicus (near mod. Erdek, Turkey) and Nikomedia (mod. İzmit, Turkey), and a reconciliation with Boniface of Montferrat was sealed by the marriage of Henry with Agnes of Montferrat (4 February 1207). Each attempt to attack Kalojan was thwarted by the need to rescue the Franks in Asia Minor, so that to secure his rear, Henry negotiated a two-year truce with Theodore I Laskaris, the Greek emperor of Nicaea. He then reoccupied Thrace and raided deep into Bulgaria. He had a last meeting with Boniface to coordinate their policy and to tell him that Agnes was pregnant, but before they could combine forces, Boniface was killed in a skirmish (4 September 1207). Henry then had to rescue his Greek ally, David Komnenos, ruler of Paphlagonia, from the attacks of Theodore Laskaris before facing one of the greatest crises of his reign, the revolt of the Lombards of Thessalonica against the regency of Boniface's widow, Margaret (Mary) of Hungary, for her infant son Demetrius. During the bitter winter of 1206–1207, Henry outmaneuvered the plotters and in a brilliant campaign smashed the resistance of the Lombards further south so that Thessaly came under his control.

In May 1209 Henry held an assembly at Ravennika at which Geoffrey I of Villehardouin (nephew of the marshal of Champagne) and Otho of La Roche did homage for the Morea and Athens, respectively. Lombard resistance was

Henry of Grosmont (d. 1361)

finally crushed at the siege of Thebes, and in June 1209 the emperor entered Athens and subsequently made sure of the loyalty of the Italians in Negroponte. Another parliament at Ravennika in May 1210 regularized the position of the church in the kingdom of Thessalonica.

The year 1211, however, was the year of the four enemies. From the west, Thessalonica was attacked by Michael Komnenos Doukas, the ruler of Epiros, in alliance with Henry's former ally, the Vlach prince Strez. No sooner had Henry driven them back and invaded their lands than he was recalled to Constantinople by the threat of an attack by Theodore I Laskaris. His army was threatened on the march through Thrace by Boril of Bulgaria. Having disposed of these enemies, Henry carried the war to Theodore by crossing the straits and defeating him in a battle near the river Luparchos. He then recaptured Adramyttum and advanced south to the frontier with the Saljūq sultanate of Rūm. The outcome of these campaigns was a peace with Nicaea that left the Franks in possession of the southern coast of the Dardanelles and the Sea of Marmara. Boril of Bulgaria sought peace, offering his daughter as a bride to the now widowed emperor. With some reluctance, Henry married the Bulgarian princess and together with his son-in-law advanced to Niš against the Serbs with whom Strez had sought shelter. A disagreement between the allies meant that Henry had to withdraw. A second expedition against Niš, this time in conjunction with the king of Hungary, also had to withdraw when the king made a separate peace with the Serbs. Henry died suddenly on 11 June 1216. Although there were some rumors that his Bulgarian empress had poisoned him, there is no evidence that his death was due to anything other than marsh fever.

Henry was by far the most successful of the Latin emperors of Constantinople. He was an energetic and talented soldier who defeated both internal and external enemies. He was a shrewd diplomat and made great efforts to conciliate and protect the Greeks who rallied to him. He healed the breach within the ranks of the crusaders by his alliance with Boniface of Montferrat and after the death of the latter showed himself to be the active protector of Boniface's widow. He won over all but the most embittered of the Lombard rebels and pursued a successful policy of establishing client states, such as Thessalonica (governed by Maria) and the principalities of his brother Eustace, the Vlach and Bulgarian chieftains Strez and Slav, David Komnenos in Paphlagonia, and Geoffrey I of Villehardouin in the Morea.

He worked closely with the Venetians under their podestà, Marino Zeno.

The first part of his reign is fully documented by the chroniclers Villehardouin and Henry of Valenciennes, but after 1211 there are no detailed contemporary sources that survive. He was succeeded by Peter of Courtenay, the husband of his sister Yolande. Peter died en route to his new domains, and thereafter Yolande ruled until her death in 1219, to be succeeded by her son Robert of Courtenay.

—Peter S. Noble

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Henry of Derby

See Henry IV of England and Henry of Grosmont

Henry of Flanders

See Henry of Constantinople

Henry of Grosmont (d. 1361)

Duke of Lancaster and earl of Derby, born around 1300. Henry of Grosmont was one of the leading nobles of England, who took part in two crusading expeditions: to Spain in 1343, and to Prussia in 1352. He also played an important role in the wars with France.

Henry fought alongside King Alfonso XI of Castile in the siege of Algeciras, which was controlled by the Muslim Marinids, as well as taking part in a Castilian naval engage-

ment with the Marinid fleet off Ceuta. At the same time, Henry pursued negotiations for a marriage between Alfonso's son and heir, Peter "the Cruel," and a daughter of Edward III of England. Henry probably saw no fighting during his expedition to Prussia in 1352, as a truce was in force between the Teutonic Knights and the Lithuanians. A claim that Otto V, duke of Brunswick, had plotted to kidnap him on his return journey through Germany led to a duel between the two men in Paris that December, which was settled by the mediation of King John II of France.

—Michael R. Evans

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Henry of Huntingdon (c. 1088–1156/1160)

Author of the *Historia Anglorum*, a history of England containing important information on the early crusading movement.

Henry succeeded his father, Nicholas, as archdeacon of Huntingdon between 1113 and 1123. The history, his greatest work, was commissioned by Alexander, bishop of Lincoln; its post-Conquest sections, constantly updated during the 1130s and 1140s, benefited from Henry's extensive contacts in England and abroad.

Henry's account of the First Crusade (1096–1099) in Book VII was based upon the *Gesta Francorum* but added material from oral sources. He alone alleged that in 1099 the rulership of Jerusalem was first offered to Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy, whose refusal blighted the rest of his life. Henry's forte was the good story that pointed a moral. He was much briefer on the Second Crusade (1147–1149) and highly critical of its failure in Outremer, which he attributed to the moral failings of the crusaders as well as to Greek treachery (Book X). He pointed to the successes in Iberia achieved by a smaller, humbler army, which included his kinsman Hervey de Glanville, as well as Seher de Arcelles, a benefactor of Lincoln cathedral and his probable source for this campaign.

—K. S. B. Keats-Rohan

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Henry of Kalden

Marshal of the Holy Roman Empire and military commander of the Crusade of Emperor Henry VI (1197–1198).

Henry of Kalden was probably a member of the knightly family of Pappenheim in Swabia, whose members held the hereditary office of imperial marshal. He is first documented as a marshal in the entourage of Frederick I Barbarossa, Holy Roman Emperor, in 1185. Four years later he took part in the emperor's expedition to the East in the Third Crusade (1189–1192). During this campaign he led the attack that captured the Byzantine fortress of Skribention and also commanded a division during the assault on Ikonion (mod. Konya, Turkey), the capital of the Saljūq sultanate of Rūm.

The marshal continued to serve Frederick's son, Henry VI, Holy Roman Emperor and king of Sicily, as a commander and confidante in both Germany and Italy. At the end of 1196, he was sent at the head of an embassy to Byzantium to demand financial and military support for the emperor's planned crusade to the Holy Land. He returned to Apulia shortly after the outbreak of a major rebellion against the emperor's rule in the kingdom of Sicily (May 1197). The marshal's leading role in its suppression brought him rewards in the form of extensive estates around Neuburg an der Donau.

Henry of Kalden's outstanding military abilities were undoubtedly the main reason for his appointment by Henry VI as military commander of his crusade, although its political leadership was entrusted to the imperial chancellor, Conrad of Querfurt, bishop of Hildesheim. The marshal sailed to Palestine with the main contingent of the crusade fleet, leaving Brindisi on 1 September 1197 and arriving at Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) probably at the end of the month. He took part in the crusader capture of Sidon (mod. Saïda, Lebanon) and Beirut and the siege of Toron, and returned to Germany in the summer of 1198. After the death of Henry VI (1197), Henry of Kalden served his successors Philip of Swabia, Otto IV, and finally Frederick II. He probably died soon after February 1214, when he is last documented.

—Alan V. Murray

Henry the Lion (1129/1131–1195)

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Henry the Lion (1129/1131–1195)

Duke of Saxony (1142–1180) and Bavaria (1154–1180), participant in the Wendish Crusade (1147), and leader of an armed pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1172.

Through his parentage on both sides, Henry had royal connections. His mother, Gertrude, was the daughter of Lothar III, Holy Roman Emperor. The Welf dynasty of his father, Henry the Proud, duke of Bavaria and Saxony (d. 1139), had Carolingian marriage links. His father competed for the German crown with Conrad III in 1138, and a sense of royal status remained a powerful factor throughout Henry's career.

Henry's youth was dominated by the struggle to recover Saxony and Bavaria, forfeited as a result of his father's opposition to the election of Conrad III. By 1142 he was confirmed as duke in Saxony, but Bavaria had been secured by Henry Jasomirgott, margrave of Austria. Thwarted in this claim, Henry the Lion and the Saxon magnates refused in 1147 to join Conrad's army for the Second Crusade (1147–1149). Yet Bernard of Clairvaux acceded to their proposal that a war against the unchristianized Slavs on the northeastern marches of the empire should carry crusading status and privileges. Though the campaign was no more successful than that in the Holy Land, it helped establish Henry in the role of conqueror and converter in the lands beyond the Elbe.

Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa granted Henry powers to refound and invest bishoprics in these territories and in 1156 restored him as duke of Bavaria. For the next twenty years, duke and emperor cooperated to their mutual advantage: in return for Henry's military support in Italy and his recognition of Pope Victor IV, Barbarossa left him a free hand in transforming Saxony into a territorial principality. While in Bavaria he had no allodial lands, in Saxony he had extensive landholdings, the advocacy of around fifty churches, and some 400 ministerial knights, and it was there that he sought to create a compact territorial state as his main power base.

Central to Henry's ambitions was the colonial expansion of Saxony beyond the Elbe. Campaigns, climaxing in the

1160s with the conquest of the Abodrites, allowed the chronicler Helmold of Bosau to hail him in 1171 as a reborn Otto the Great for his extension of empire and Christendom. Henry controlled swathes of new land between the rivers Elbe and Oder, exercised quasi-royal investiture rights in the bishoprics of Ratzeburg, Oldenburg in Holstein, and Mecklenburg-Schwerin, refounded Lübeck as a trading town, and remodeled Braunschweig as a ducal residence. In 1168 he married Mathilda, daughter of Henry II of England, and in 1172 he led more than 1,000 followers on an armed pilgrimage to Jerusalem. At the same time, his ruthless pursuit of power provoked the mediatized Saxon nobles to rebel against him in 1166–1167.

In 1176 Henry refused military support for Frederick I in Italy, and the emperor blamed Henry's defection for his defeat in the battle of Legnano. The Peace of Venice with Pope Alexander III left the emperor free to move against the overmighty duke. Found guilty in 1179 of breaching the peace of the kingdom, and outlawed, then arraigned, under feudal procedure in 1180, Henry was stripped of his fiefs, his two duchies were alienated and divided, and in 1182 he was banished to England. Allowed to return in 1185, he was banished again as a precaution when Barbarossa left on the Third Crusade in 1189. Returning illegally the same year, he campaigned to recover Saxony until 1193, when the Emperor Henry VI finally subdued the Lion.

Henry's campaigns east of the Elbe in the 1150s and 1160s were an important step toward the later Baltic Crusades; the church never revoked its sanction of the Slav wars as crusades. However, Henry's ruthless pursuit of his interests, and the ambition and arrogance that his contemporaries accused him of, were at odds with the ideal of the soldier of Christ. The fullest account of Henry's wars, the *Chronica Slavorum* by Helmold of Bosau, captures the ambivalence of his motives and actions. Seeing Henry in the long historical perspective of holy war against pagan Saxons and Slavs, led by Charlemagne and Otto the Great, Helmold often finds him wanting, even as a military tactician. He especially contends that in Henry's campaigns in 1149 "there was no mention of Christianity, but only of money"; once they pay the duke his tribute, "the Slavs still sacrifice to their demons and not to God" [Helmold of Bosau, *Slawenchronik*, ed. Heinz Stoob (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1973), 240]. From around 1160, however, Helmold depicts Henry as combining conquest and conversion in cooperation with the missionary church, an exemplar

more of the Carolingian and Ottonian imperial mission than of the twelfth-century crusader.

A second *Chronica Slavorum*, by Arnold of Lübeck, enhances the picture of Henry as crusader. Its opening episode narrates Henry's triumphal pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1172. In this account, 1,200 armed men and a large contingent of clergy follow the traditional route of Emperor Charlemagne's road to Byzantium, where Henry is received like a king. In Jerusalem, he hopes for military venture until dissuaded by the Templars, to whom he donates money and weapons.

Henry's sense of royal status, his imitation of Carolingian and Ottonian holy war in the lands beyond the Elbe, and his desire to play the crusader generated striking representations of his power and prestige. From the time of his royal marriage in 1168, he developed Dankwarderode into a palatial ducal residence in Braunschweig, taking royal palaces, especially Goslar, as his model. Before the palace stands a monumental bronze lion, symbol of the Welf dynasty and Henry's personal heraldic image. He rebuilt the church of St. Blasius as a dynastic shrine, and its canons served as his chaplains and chancery staff. The effigies of Henry and Mathilda lie before the high altar, surrounded by the liturgical artifacts with which the ducal couple endowed their church. The marble altar houses relics brought back from Byzantium, and a great seven-branched candelabra associates the church with Solomon's Temple. The Helmarshausen Evangeliary (MSS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 105 Noviss., and München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm.30055), commissioned for the altar, links Henry in its dedicatory poem with Charlemagne. One of its sumptuous miniatures shows him and Mathilda flanked by royal forebears, holding crosses, being crowned by the hands of God.

The symbiosis of imperial mission and crusading piety finds most explicit expression in the translation commissioned by Henry around 1172, at Mathilda's prompting, of the Old French *Chanson de Roland*. Its author, the priest Conrad, turns Charlemagne's campaign in Spain into a formal crusade, with sermons and indulgence, albeit one summoned and led by the emperor without papal sanction. The chivalric heroes shed all secular concerns and are motivated by a crusading fervor voiced in language strongly reminiscent of St. Bernard's *De laude novae militiae*. Conrad's epilogue extols Henry as crusader, as converter of the heathen, and as the Charlemagne of his age.

—Jeffrey Ashcroft

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Henry of Livonia

Henry of Livonia (Lat. Henricus de Lettis) was a priest and chronicler of the crusader conquest of Livonia. His *Chronicon Livoniae*, written and twice reworked in the period 1225–1227, is in large parts based upon his own eyewitness accounts and is the main source for the Baltic Crusades in the period 1180–1227.

Biographical details for Henry must be largely deduced from his chronicle. He was born around 1188 into a family of the lower nobility, probably from Poppendorf near Magdeburg in northern Germany. He was educated in the Augustinian canonry of Segeberg, with a thorough knowledge of the Vulgate and of the missal and the liturgy of the Roman church. In 1205, Henry went to Livonia to support the mission of Bishop Albert of Riga and was employed as a translator for the Estonian, Lettish, and Livonian languages. In 1208 he was ordained and sent to Rubene on the river Ymera to preach and baptize.

Over the years in his parish, Henry participated in several battles against the surrounding pagans. His church was burnt on three occasions, and he and his followers had to flee several times. In 1213–1215, Henry worked as an assistant to Bishop Philip of Ratzeburg, himself a coadjutor to Albert of Riga, and may have joined Philip at the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). In 1222–1224 Henry was possibly in Germany with Albert of Riga, and in 1225–1226 he acted as assistant to the papal legate William of Sabina, who may have urged him to write his chronicle.

The chronicle shows Henry as an ardent believer in the divine right of the Germans to conquer and convert the eastern Baltic region and manifests a staunch support for the

Henry the Navigator (1394–1460)

young church of Riga against intrusions from other Christian powers. However, Henry was also critical of the Christian administration of the conquered lands. Among other things, Henry expresses his contempt for appointed judges more concerned with filling their purses than with furthering Christianity. The chronicle also displays Henry's interest in the tactics and technology of warfare.

—Torben K. Nielsen

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Henry the Navigator (1394–1460)

Portuguese prince, the third son of King John I and Philippa of Lancaster. As duke of Viseu, lord of Covilhã, and administrator of the Order of Christ, Prince Henry (Port. *Henrique*) played a decisive role in many of the political conflicts of his time, although his image and his historiographical fortunes are still largely coupled with the maritime discoveries of the period.

Henry's participation in the Portuguese conquest of Ceuta

in North Africa (1415) and the subsequent responsibility for the defense of the city given him by the Crown (1416) gave him an interest in projects for holy war in Africa. However, these projects did not have the consensus of the Portuguese court and were successively put off during the reign of John I. The king's wish to renew the expeditions to Morocco led Henry to envisage himself as the inheritor of his father's African policies, putting pressure on the Crown to embrace his project for an attack on the territories of the Moors (1434). The attack that Henry led against Tangier (1437), which should have launched a prolonged campaign, ended with defeat and the capture of his younger brother, thus obliging him to consider abandoning Ceuta as the price to be paid for his brother's release. Ceuta was not surrendered to the Moors, but the captivity of Henry's brother put an end to Portuguese conquests in Africa until the second half of the fifteenth century, even though Henry had obtained papal blessing to renew the offensive in 1442.

In the meantime, the defense of Ceuta led him to establish a fleet, whose ships occupied the island of Madeira (1419), and headed toward the waters of Bojador in the western Sahara, probably in an attempt to encounter a Christian ally whose help would enable him to attack the kingdom of Fez from the south. This change of interests caused Henry to organize many expeditions to the Canary Islands, and also led to the discovery of the Azores (1427) and the exploration of the African coast to the south of Bojador. The importance of the navigational expeditions only became evident during the early 1440s, when the income from plunder and slave trading aroused the interest of some nobles and the Crown, which granted Henry a monopoly on expeditions beyond Cape Bojador. Nevertheless, the struggle against the infidels was not forgotten, making him publicize a new desire to settle in Ceuta (1450), where he wished to end his days fighting for the honor of the kingdom and for the praise of the Christian faith. In spite of this dream of a crusade, he only returned to Africa shortly before his death, when he served in the army that conquered Alcacer-Ceguer in 1458.

—Luís Filipe Oliveira

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Henry of Susa

See Hostiensis

Henry of Valenciennes

A chronicler at the court of Henry, Latin emperor of Constantinople (1206–1216).

Little is known about the life of Henry of Valenciennes, but he probably wrote in other genres (poetry and hagiography) before completing his chronicle, which describes events that occurred at the beginning of Emperor Henry's reign (1208–1209), continuing the narrative of Geoffrey of Villehardouin, whose work he undoubtedly knew. There is a short break of eight months between the end of Villehardouin's account and the start of Henry's. The narrative covers two of Henry's campaigns: one against the Bulgarians and another against the rebellious Lombards of Thessalonica, who had risen against Demetrius, the infant son of Boniface of Montferrat and Margaret (Maria) of Hungary, the regent. Henry crushed the resistance of the Lombards after campaigning throughout northern and central Greece. The end of the chronicle is hurried, suggesting that the author did not have time to polish it before sending it to the West, probably with Peter of Douai, who returned home in the autumn of 1209.

Henry of Valenciennes is our only source for the first part of Emperor Henry's reign and almost certainly was an eyewitness of some of the events, which he describes with color and panache. His admiration for the emperor is patent throughout. His style is slightly influenced by the hyperbole of epic poetry, but he gives an honest account by his lights of the events of 1208–1209.

—Peter S. Noble

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Henryk of Sandomierz (d. 1166)

A prince of the Polish Piast dynasty, duke of Sandomierz, crusader, and pilgrim to Jerusalem.

Born between 1127 and 1134, Henryk was the third surviving son of the Polish ruler Bolesław III Krzywousty (Wrymouth) and Salome, daughter of Henry, count of Berg. According to an act of succession dating from 1138, Henryk ruled the duchy of Sandomierz in the eastern part of Poland from about 1146, with his court based in Wiślica. Henryk was a close ally of his elder brother, Prince Bolesław IV Kędzierzawy (the Curly) (d. 1173).

Henryk and his elder brothers formed a coalition of the younger sons of Bolesław III, who are known to scholars as the "Piast Juniors." They opposed the rule of their stepbrother, Prince Władysław II Wygnaniec (the Exile) (d. 1155) and, with the support of the Polish magnates and prelates, defeated him during a civil war (1142–1146). Henryk was evidently greatly influenced by the preaching of the Second Crusade (1147–1149), and it is probable that he was the "King of the Poles" listed by the Greek chronicler John Kinnamos as leading the Polish contingent in the crusade. If this hypothesis is correct, it means that Henryk went on crusade to the Holy Land at least twice.

Henryk's participation on crusade in 1153–1154 is confirmed by a number of Polish annals, which report in an almost uniform way under the year 1154 that he went to Jerusalem. It is likely that Henryk and his troops took part in some military action under the direction of King Baldwin III of Jerusalem. A fifteenth-century narrative, the *Annals* of Jan Długosz, commented that Henryk went to Jerusalem and spent about a year in the Holy Land, together with a group of Polish knights. After his return to Poland, he was revered by his compatriots for his chivalric prowess and his pursuit of crusading, and esteemed as an example of a Christian knight and Christian ruler.

Henryk's involvement in the crusading movement is also highlighted by his close relationship with the military Order of the Hospital. At some point between 1154 and 1166, Henry granted the Hospitallers an estate in Zagość, where the order soon established a church, hospice, and commandery. Henry's contacts with and subsequent adherence to the culture of crusading, courtliness, and the art of chivalry were a significant conduit for the introduction of these cultural influences to Poland and led to their imitation by the court circle. For example, the romantic tale of Walter and Helgunda was sung at Henry's court in Wiślica, and preserved in the thirteenth-century *Chronica Poloniae Maioris*.

Henryk was killed on 18 October 1166 during an expedition of his brother Bolesław against the pagan Prussians. His

Heraclius (d. 641)

remains were probably buried in the collegiate church in Wiślica, where his grave is marked by an ornamental tombstone donated by his younger brother and heir, Kazimierz II Sprawiedliwy (the Just).

–Darius von Guttner Sporzyński

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Heraclius (d. 641)

Byzantine emperor (610–641), famous during the crusade period for his recovery of the relic of the True Cross from the Persians.

Heraclius came to power after overthrowing his predecessor, Phokas. At the time of his accession, Byzantium faced major military threats from the Slavs and Avars in the Balkans and from the Persians in the eastern provinces. In 614, the Persians took Jerusalem, capturing its most holy relic, the True Cross. By 629, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt had fallen, and Constantinople was deprived not only of fiscal revenues but substantial grain supplies. After making peace with the Avars by paying them a vast tribute, Heraclius turned his attention eastward and campaigned far into Persia. In 627 internal strife led to the overthrow of the Persian shah, Chosroes II. The True Cross was returned in triumph to Jerusalem in 630. However, the end of Heraclius’s reign was marked by the rise of Islamic power, culminating in the defeat of his armies at the battle of the Yarmuk in 639. By 642, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Egypt had been overrun by the Arabs. In 636 Heraclius returned to Constantinople, where, in the last years of his reign, he became

increasingly unpopular; criticism centered on his unsuccessful attempts to resolve theological disputes and on his marriage to his niece Martina.

Heraclius’s defense of the Holy Land and his recovery of the True Cross meant that he was sometimes regarded as a kind of proto-crusader in later ages, notably by the twelfth-century crusade chronicler William of Tyre, who began his history of Outremer with an account of the wars fought by the emperor.

–Rosemary Morris

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Hermann I of Thuringia (d. 1217)

Landgrave of Thuringia (1190–1217), count palatine of Saxony (1181–1217), and participant in the Crusade of Emperor Henry VI (1197–1198).

Born about 1155, Hermann was the youngest son of Ludwig II, landgrave of Thuringia (d. 1172), and Jutta, daughter of Frederick II, duke of Swabia; he was thus a nephew of Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa. From 1178 to 1180 Hermann and his elder brother, Landgrave Ludwig III (d. 1190), supported the emperor in his struggle against Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony. After Duke Henry was deprived of his fiefs (1180), the emperor enfeoffed Hermann with the palatinate of Saxony in the following year. In 1190 Hermann became landgrave of Thuringia in succession to Ludwig III, who had died without male heirs in October 1190 while returning from the Third Crusade (1189–1192).

Hermann took the cross in October 1195 in response to an appeal for a new crusade from Pope Celestine III. In spring 1196 Emperor Henry VI offered the German princes unlimited heritability of all their imperial fiefs in order to obtain their support for the crusade that he proposed to lead. In return, the emperor wanted them to renounce their right to elect the king of Germany. Hermann was one of the most influential among the German princes who succeeded in forcing the emperor to abandon this demand.

In spring 1197 Hermann set off for Palestine. Nothing is known about his involvement in military action from 1197 to 1198, but in March 1198 he took part in the meeting of numerous bishops and German princes in the camp at Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), which requested that the pope elevate the fraternity of German hospitallers in the Holy Land into a military religious order of knights. Papal confirmation was given in 1199, laying the foundation for the development of the Teutonic Order. The ties between the land-graves of Thuringia and the order grew closer when Hermann's son and successor, Ludwig IV (d. 1227), granted the order his special protection in 1222. Hermann returned to Thuringia in summer 1198. During the next twenty years, until his death, he played a major role in the struggle for the crown in Germany between the Staufens and Welf dynasties.

–Stefan Tebruck

See also: Crusade of Emperor Henry VI (1197–1198)

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Hermann Balk (d. 1239)

Prussian master (1230–1238) and Livonian master (1237–1238) of the Teutonic Order.

Hermann probably belonged to a family from the east of Lower Saxony. He went to Prussia as leader of the order's second contingent of brethren and servants in 1230. They crossed the river Vistula in 1231, (re-)erecting a castle at Thorn (mod. Toruń, Poland). When a crusading army reached the Vistula in 1232, Hermann and the brethren of the order built another castle at Altkulm (mod. Starogród, Poland) and probably subdued most of the Kulmerland (ter-

ritory of mod. Chełmno, Poland). In the summer of 1233 he was in Bohemia (and Silesia) to subject the order's bailiwick to the control of the Prussian branch and to gain men and money for Prussia. After this, Hermann turned to neighboring Pomesania, where the towns of Marienwerder (mod. Kwidzyn, Poland) and Elbing (mod. Elbląg, Poland) were founded in 1234 and 1237. Hermann probably instituted two land commanders for the Kulmerland and Prussia.

After the Order of the Sword Brethren was defeated by the Lithuanians at the battle of Saule in September 1236 and its unification with the Teutonic Knights was publicly declared in June 1237, Grand Master Hermann von Salza nominated Hermann Balk as first master of Livonia. There, he had to face stern opposition by the former Sword Brethren because of the surrender of northern Estonia to Denmark as part of an agreement with Pope Gregory IX. Finally Hermann was forced to resign in favour of Dietrich von Grüningen, and he returned to Germany. In February 1239 he was at Würzburg, and he probably died in the following month.

–Jürgen Sarnowsky

See also: Baltic Crusades

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Hermann von Salza (d. 1239)

Fourth grand master of the Teutonic Order. In some respects Hermann von Salza can be considered as the second founder of the order; during his period of office the Teutonic Knights rose from humble origins to become nearly as influential as the Templars and Hospitallers.

Hermann was probably born around the year 1180 as a member of a Thuringian ministerial family from the area of Gotha and Langensalza. He entered the Teutonic Order when Thuringia was its main German territory. He is first mentioned as grand master in June 1209 and was largely resident in the Mediterranean countries; after 1209 he only spent about four years in Germany. In the Holy Land, he tried to expand the order's possessions through donations and purchases. His first acquisitions were in Cilicia, which

Het'um I of Armenia (d. 1270)

he visited in 1211–1212, but his policies only really began to bear fruit after his participation in the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221). With the help of a donation of 6,000 marks of silver by Duke Leopold VI of Austria (1220), Hermann acquired the possessions of Otto and Beatrix of Henneberg, the heirs of Joscelin III of Courtenay. This was the *Seigneurie de Joscelin*, comprising the barony of Toron with the castles of Banyas and Châteauneuf, which enabled him to start building the order's main castle, Montfort, though Toron itself was never conquered from the Muslims. The order also received donations in Greece, Italy, and Spain (1222).

The most important acquisition during Hermann's mastership was the Burzenland, a part of southeastern Hungary (today in Romania), where King Andrew II commissioned the order to fight against the heathen Cumans (1211). When the Teutonic Knights were expelled after trying to establish their own lordship in 1225, Hermann personally intervened with the pope and acquired papal letters, but these had no effect with the Hungarian king. It was also probably due to Hermann's decision that the order afterward followed the call of Duke Conrad of Mazovia to fight the heathen Prussians (1225/1230). On this occasion, Hermann secured imperial and papal privileges and thus laid the foundations for the independent territory of the order in Prussia. In 1236–1237, after the heavy defeat of the Sword Brethren, the order also took over a leading role in Livonia, although it was obliged to share government with the (arch)bishop of Riga, the other bishops, and the regional knighthood.

Hermann not only consolidated and expanded the order, he also was a gifted diplomat, who mediated between Emperor Frederick II and Pope Gregory IX when the latter excommunicated the emperor for postponing his crusade. His first contacts with the Curia probably went back to the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). He met Frederick the first time in 1216, and afterward he undertook negotiations with the Curia on his behalf. In 1228–1229, he accompanied Frederick on his crusade to the Holy Land, during which the emperor had himself crowned king of Jerusalem and regained the city of Jerusalem through negotiation with the Ayyūbids. Hermann was rewarded by imperial donations, notably the German hospital in Jerusalem.

In 1230, Hermann reconciled pope and emperor by the Treaty of San Germano. Afterward he mediated during conflicts in Germany and the Holy Land, even in the dispute between Frederick and his rebellious son Henry (VII) in 1235. It was perhaps also due to Hermann's influence that Freder-

ick made Lübeck an imperial town in 1226. Just when the conflict between emperor and pope was renewed, Hermann fell ill and withdrew to Salerno, where he died on 20 March 1239.

—Jürgen Sarnowsky

See also: Baltic Crusades

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Het'um I of Armenia (d. 1270)

King of Armenia (1226–1269) and leading promoter of Christian alliance with the Mongols.

The rival Armenian dynasties of the Het'umids and Rupenids were reconciled under King Leon I (1219), and the marriage of Het'um to Leon's heiress, Isabel, ended the feud in 1226.

Het'um initially acknowledged the overlordship of the Saljūq sultanate of Rūm but used the arrival of the Mongols to exchange suzerains: after the battle of Köse Dagh (1243), he ingratiated himself with the Mongols by handing over the Saljūq sultan's family. His brother, Smpad, and then Het'um himself traveled to the Mongol capital, Qaraqorum, to obtain recognition from the Great Khan (1253–1256).

Following the Mongol invasion of Syria under Hülegü in 1260, the Armenian kingdom expanded eastward to the Euphrates, and Het'um had a notable role in the Mongol occupation of Aleppo and Damascus, gaining the enmity of the Mamlūks.

Het'um continued to fight for the Mongols, but by 1266 the Mamlūks had turned to the offensive. Despite Het'um's attempts to negotiate a truce, a Mamlūk force attacked Cilicia, defeating the royal army trying to hold the Amanus Gates and going on to ravage most of the Cilician plain; in the fighting, Het'um's son Leon was captured and another son killed. In 1268 Het'um surrendered to the Mamlūks a series of castles on his eastern borders and obtained the release of his son. Having consulted the Ilkhan Abagha, Het'um abdicated in favor of Leon in 1269, dying a year later.

—Angus Stewart

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Ḥisn al-Akrād

See Krak des Chevaliers

Historia Belli Sacri

A Latin compilation dealing with the First Crusade (1096–1099) and the earliest years of the principality of Antioch, written around 1130 by a monk at the abbey of Monte Cassino in Italy. It draws primarily on the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* and the *Gesta Tancredi* of Radulph of Caen, but also incorporates the work of other chroniclers as well as some original material.

–Alan V. Murray

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Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris

The *Historia* is a detailed narrative of the Third Crusade (1189–1192), whose core consists of an account of the expedition of Frederick I Barbarossa, Holy Roman Emperor, from its departure from Regensburg (11 May 1189) up to Frederick's death (10 June 1190).

The work was originally composed as three separate reports sent to Germany by an eyewitness who was probably a member of the imperial chancery. One of the four manuscripts (MS Praha, Strahovska knihovna, DF.III.1), written between 1202 and 1221, adds an introduction containing

texts of five letters concerning the summoning of the crusade, as well as a continuation dealing with events up to 1197. An Austrian cleric called Ansbert, who is named in this manuscript, can probably be regarded as the author of one or more of the original reports and the compiler of the longest version of the *Historia*.

–Alan V. Murray

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Historia de profectione Danorum in Hierosolymam

A short narrative describing the participation of a Danish-Norwegian fleet in the Third Crusade (1189–1192).

The work was written by an unknown canon from the Premonstratensian monastery in Tønsberg (Norway) at the instigation of a superior cleric known only as Dominus K, and some of the participants, probably in the late 1190s and certainly before 1202.

The narrative tells of five Danish nobles and their followers who left for the Holy Land in 1191 on four ships ahead of a Norwegian contingent of 200 men. The Danish ships were abandoned on the Frisian coast after a violent storm in the North Sea where one ship was lost and several people drowned. The survivors continued by land but only reached the Holy Land after the peace of September 1192. The text was probably written to demonstrate that the expedition was a real crusade, in view of the fact that the participants reached the Holy Land too late for the actual fighting.

–Janus Møller Jensen

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Historia Nicaena vel Antiochena

A Latin prose chronicle composed around 1146, commissioned by King Baldwin III of Jerusalem. Its anonymous author, who wrote in Outremer, used the account of the First Crusade (1096–1099) given by Robert of Rheims, then drew on Fulcher of Chartres for the early history of the kingdom of Jerusalem up to 1123.

The work opens with a verse prologue describing all the rulers of Jerusalem up to Baldwin III. The narrative commences just prior to the Council of Clermont (chapters 1–3), traces the course of the First Crusade (chapters 4–60), and briefly covers events in Outremer up to the capture of Baldwin II by the Turks in 1123 (chapters 61–80). The author relies heavily on his sources, repeating them almost verbatim, but instead of embellishing, omits all rhetorical flourishes. The prologue reveals the author's attitudes: he greatly admired the prowess of Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin I, but had little to say about their successors.

–Deborah Gerish

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Historiography, Medieval

See Arabic Sources; Armenian Sources; Greek Sources; Russian Sources; Syriac Sources; Western Sources

Historiography, Modern

Describing and interpreting the Christian holy wars now known as the crusades began with the earliest Western accounts of the First Crusade (1096–1099) in the first decade after the fall of Jerusalem in 1099, such exegesis forming part of the phenomenon itself. From the early twelfth century, images and morals drawn from the history of previous expeditions were employed to incite enthusiasm and devotion for new campaigns. Such early historiography, part homily, part adventure story, proved, like much subsequent study, mutable and partisan, as with the emergence

only after 1200 of the primacy of the story of Peter the Hermit, transmitted from Albert of Aachen via William of Tyre and James of Vitry.

The later Middle Ages witnessed no cessation of attention to a glorious crusading past in the quest to bring about a glorious crusading future. By the fifteenth century, appreciation of crusade history underpinned all serious discussion of crusading, such as Jean Germain's *Discours du voyage d'Outremer* (1452). Provoked by immediate political concerns, such studies tended to polemic and self-interest, unable to distinguish the past of legend from the past of evidence. Only with humanist scholarship and theological hostility could a historiography emerge independent of the phenomenon it was trying to assess, even if still contingent on the interests of the historians themselves. Thus, the Florentine humanist scholar and civil servant Benedetto Accolti's extensive history of the First Crusade, based on William of Tyre, operated as part of attempts to drum up support for the crusade of Pope Pius II (d. 1464).

The Early Modern Period

In the sixteenth century, study of the crusades received encouragement, urgency even, from the two major crises that tore Christendom apart: the advance of the Ottoman Turks and the Protestant Reformation. Traditional wars of the cross seemed to offer military and spiritually penitent and redemptive solutions to the problem of the recrudescing infidel. Yet such wars also stood as symbols of papist superstition and corruption of the pure religion of the Faithful. The continuous dialogue between present and past was lent added vitality by the new technology of printing. Later medieval libraries were littered with manuscripts of crusade chronicles and romances, not all of them unread. Printing encouraged examination of their significance, topicality, popularity, or suitability as polemic.

While the Turkish wars sharpened interest (some of it, as in the case of the humanist Erasmus, critical) in holy war as a political option, the Reformation inspired different concerns in crusading. Protestants claimed to be returning the church to pristine purity. Consequently, they needed to sift acceptable elements from the past and to identify where the Roman Church had sullied or corrupted the faith. The crusades provided an excellent case study of what the English martyrologist John Foxe described in his *History of the Turks* (1566) as papal idolatry and profanation. In this context, war against the infidel was laudable; crusading, dependent on the

doctrines of papal power and indulgences, was damnable, especially when directed against religious dissidents within Christendom. Conversely, certain Roman Catholic writers looked to the crusades as providing precedents for dealing with heretics. These distinctive confessional strands of historiography shared certain features. The crusaders, whatever their leaders' faults of ideology and sin, appeared as sincere; their cause, when fighting infidels, just.

Increasingly, both Roman Catholic and Protestant displayed an uneasiness at regarding war as a religious exercise, preferring wars for territory rather than faith, a secularization that revived juristic ideas of just war to which Lutherans and Calvinists, as well as Roman Catholics, could subscribe. Indulgences were increasingly marginalized in Roman Catholic tracts on fighting the Turks. In the writings on secular international laws of war by Alberico Gentili (1552–1608) and Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), religion was discounted as a legitimate cause, although such views competed with more traditional behavior: popes persisted in issuing crusade bulls for generations.

The major sixteenth-century historiographical development revolved around the editing of texts. Prominent, perhaps surprisingly, were Protestants. Foxe's *History of the Turks* could rail against faith corrupted, but his themes received more nuanced treatment from the Lutheran Matthäus Dresser (1536–1607), university professor and official historiographer to the elector of Saxony. The only fault of the first crusaders was their credulity in being misled by pope and profane monks. Dresser went behind confessional diatribe in identifying the clash between temporal and spiritual motives; the role of papal policy and self-interest; the driving force of popular piety and ecclesiastical manipulation of common superstition. In particular, Dresser appeared eager to affirm the great deeds performed by those he saw as German, from Godfrey of Bouillon onward, and rejected any crude judgmental link between action and outcome of the sort that permeated so many medieval chronicles. This absence of downright dismissal of crusading by non-Roman Catholic scholars operated as part of a wider cultural enterprise providing a bridge between the papist past and Protestant future through reconciling changed circumstances with proud tradition, a process crucial in the maintenance of a sense of inherited national identity and, ultimately, the creation of a secular concept of Europe transcending confessional divides.

Dresser's coadjutor Reinier Reineck (1541–1595) played an important role as editor of numerous editions of crusade texts, notably the chronicle of Albert of Aachen, but he was overshadowed by one of the greatest editors of crusade texts, the French Calvinist diplomat Jacques Bongars (1554–1612). In his widely circulated *Gesta Dei per Francos* (1611), whose two volumes ran to over 1,500 pages, Bongars published all the main narrative sources for the First (1096–1099) and the Fifth (1217–1221) Crusades, as well as the chronicle of William of Tyre, the *Secreta Fidelium Crucis* of Marino Sanudo Torsello (1321), and the *De recuperatione Terrae Sanctae* by Pierre Dubois (1306). Bongars followed a path away from religious controversy, appropriately for a servant of King Henry IV of France, a Huguenot turned Roman Catholic. Instead of confessional polemic, Bongars emphasized the distinguished roles played by kings of France, to whose successor Louis XIII he dedicated his book.

Such pioneering textual scholars established two dominant themes of subsequent crusade historiography: intellectual or religious disdain contrasted with national or cultural admiration. As crusading ceased to exert more than a technical impact on actual wars, it provided images of noble and often lost causes, as in Shakespeare's *Henry IV, Part II*, or excuses for excursions into chivalric fantasy or the exotic, notably in Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* (1580), a reinvention of Godfrey of Bouillon and the First Crusade as a romantic story of love, magic, valor, loyalty, honor, and chivalry. Translated widely and regularly, Tasso's romance heavily influenced subsequent popular ideas of the crusade. The tradition of moral and religious disapproval was sustained in the influential *History of the Holy Warre* (1639) by the Anglican divine Thomas Fuller, who added to his theological hostility a lofty condescension: "Superstition not only tainted the rind, but rotted the core of this whole action. Indeed most of the potage of that age tasted of this wild gourd." [Fuller, *History of the Holy Warre* (Cambridge: Buck, 1639), 5, c. ix–xvii].

The tradition of national pride and admiration for distant heroism was embodied in Louis Maimbourg's populist and royalist *Histoire des Croisades* (1675), its rhetoric of excitement praising this "famous enterprise," its "heroic actions . . . scarcely to be outdone," its scope embracing "the Great Concerns and the Principal Estates of Europe and Asia" [Maimbourg, *The History of the Crusade*, trans. J. Nalson (London: Dring, 1685), pp. 2–3, 200–1, 407–10]. Maim-

bourg and Fuller both brought their narratives into the seventeenth century; both works were internationally popular; both pushed their subject beyond the judgment of religion. The secularization of crusading history increasingly depicted the wars of the cross as features of a distant past, a quarry for good stories or edifying or repulsive models.

The Enlightenment

By the early eighteenth century, historians had begun to give crusades numbers, some eight, others, like Georg Christoph Müller of Nuremberg in 1709, five (1096–1099, 1147–1149, 1189–1192, 1217–1229, and 1248–1254, i.e., those large expeditions that reached the eastern Mediterranean). With this trend came a narrowing of the chronological and geographical frame. As the living experience of holy wars receded, the historical perception increasingly focused on expeditions to the Levant and the history of the Western settlements in Syria and Palestine within the familiar terminal dates of 1095 and 1291.

As the Ottoman threat evaporated in the eighteenth century, the prevalent intellectual tone, spiced by anticlericalism, was set by disdain for the apparent ignorance, fanaticism, and violence of earlier times, a view expressed by four of the most influential writers of the period: Denis Diderot (1713–1784), Voltaire (1694–1778), David Hume (1711–1776), and Edward Gibbon (1737–1794). Diderot regarded the material effects of the crusades as uniformly dire, its ideology framed by “imbecility and false zeal” for “a piece of rock not worth a single drop of blood” [Diderot, *Oeuvres*, 26 vols. (Paris, 1821–1834), 14:496, 511]. Hume memorably dismissed the whole enterprise as “the most signal and most durable monument of human folly that has yet appeared in any age or nation” [David Hume, *History of England*, 2 vols. (London: Millar, 1761), 1:209].

Yet no monolithic orthodoxy emerged. Voltaire, in his internationally circulated *Essay on the Manners and Spirit of Nations* (1753), tempered his disapproval with admiration for individuals. Gibbon’s *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776–1788) went further, presenting heroism as a cultural rather than merely personal feature, an active energy that, once freed of savage fanaticism (i.e., religion), offered future advantages to the West. More than is often realized, Gibbon concerned himself with the fate of Byzantium, pointing the contrast between its effete of cultured decadence with the vigor and brutality of its conquerors, crusaders, and Muslims. Adopting the ideas of Joseph de Guignes’s *Histoire*

des Huns (1756–1758) that the crusades opened new horizons for Western trade, manufacture, and technology, Gibbon foreshadowed what became a major concern of the next generation, as he did in evoking the conflict between Christianity and Islam in terms of “the World’s Debate.”

Romanticism, Orientalism, Empire, and the Revival of Chivalry

To Gibbon’s contemporaries, that debate appeared to have been won by the West, if not necessarily by Christianity. Fear of the Ottomans was replaced by a patronizing orientalism, by turns contemptuous and fascinated. The Muslims of the Near East became curiosities, their culture exotic, pathetic, comic, or bizarre. Inevitably, the past was rearranged to suit the new commercial, intellectual, and political dominance of the West. This shift required shining the spotlight on the motives and behavior of the crusaders themselves rather than on the outcome of their exertions, on the cultural values rather than the undoubted failure. External stimulus to shifting perceptions came from a growing elite fashion for oriental and Near Eastern artifacts, clothing, and cultural anecdotes.

More direct contact with the Near East followed Napoleon’s campaign in Egypt and Syria in 1798–1799, consolidating the view, especially among Frenchmen, that the crusades primarily concerned the occupation of the Holy Land. Contemporary with the reconfigured interest in the Near East was the popularity of neomedievalism, a different sort of otherness to contrast the self-perceived settled modernity of Enlightenment Europe. In the crusades orientalism and medievalism combined in forms that were lent further definition by political reaction to revolution and the sentimentality of romanticism. The Middle Ages received more positive appreciation, as in Frederick Wilken’s *History of the Crusades* (1807–1832), which pioneered use of Eastern sources. The new cult of chivalry supplied moral, religious, and cultural buttresses for an aristocratic ancien régime losing much of its exclusivity. The effect on the study of the crusades was profound, although not uniform. Popular literary admirers of chivalry, such as Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832), in his novels *Ivanhoe* (1819) and *The Talisman* (1825), or Charles Mills (1788–1826), in his widely circulated *History of the Crusades* (1820), remained equivocal in their admiration of the ideology and violence of crusading despite the heroism of participants. Hesitation over what Henry Stebbings described as the crusades’ “grand but erring spirit

of enthusiasm” [Stebbing, *History of Chivalry and the Crusades*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Constable, 1829–1830), p.1] persisted, especially among Protestant writers. However, in the face of the unsettling change consequent on galloping, indiscriminate industrialization, crusaders and crusading increasingly received the benefit of the doubt from nostalgic or escapist apologists, popular historians, and imaginative travelers returning from the newly popular Levantine package tours.

The most influential historian of the crusades in the nineteenth century was Joseph François Michaud (1767–1839) in his *Histoire des croisades* (1812, revised after 1831) and its companion collection of texts, the *Bibliothèque des croisades* (1829). Antiquarian and uncritical, Michaud, a monarchist, nationalist, antirevolutionary Christian, allied admiration with supremacist triumphalism, regarding the crusade achievements as “heroic victories . . . astonishing triumphs which made the Muslims believe that the Franks were a race superior to other men,” sapping the spirit of Islam even in defeat. More insidiously, “the victorious Christian law began a new destiny in those far away lands from which it had first come to us,” the “holy wars,” Michaud argued, having “as their goal the conquest and civilisation of Asia.” At a time of nascent European commercial and political colonialism in the Near East, such “precedents” were seized upon, Michaud even describing the crusaders as founding “Christian colonies” [Michaud, *Histoire des croisades*, 6 vols. (Paris: Furne, 1817–1841), 6:371].

With colonialism as the litmus test of European hegemony, the crusades could be transformed into precursors of that superiority and cultural ascendancy, taking their place in the march of Western progress, at once a defensive shield against alien infidel culture, a harnessing and softening of the primitive military barbarism of the early Middle Ages, and, confusingly, a conduit for the reception of the material and intellectual riches of the East. Michaud’s convenient and seductive vision of crusading cast long and dark shadows. An exasperated T. E. Lawrence at the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919 had to remind Frenchmen claiming control of Syria that “the Crusaders had been defeated; the Crusades had failed” [Margaret Macmillan, *Peacemakers* (London: Murray, 2001), p. 401].

The French academic tradition of seeing the crusaders as colonial forerunners remained tenacious. In 1917, Louis Madelin described a supposedly beneficent and benevolent Franco-Syrian society in Outremer, an attitude with clear

attractions during the French mandates in Syria and the Lebanon after 1919. The lengthiest exposition of this strand of interpretation was almost the last. René Grousset’s three-volume *Histoire des croisades* (1934–1936) talked of *La France du Levant* and ended with the comment that “the Templars held on only to the islet of Ruad (until 1302) south of Tortosa through which one day—in 1914—the ‘Franks’ were to set foot once again in Syria” [Grousset, *Histoire des croisades*, 3 vols. (Paris: Plon, 1934–1936), 3:763]. Even Jean Richard, in many ways a radical revisionist of such interpretations, in 1953 described the kingdom of Jerusalem as “the first attempt by Franks of the West to found colonies” [Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: North Holland, 1979), 2:463]. The literal acceptance of the concept of *Gesta Dei per Francos* had a long history.

Ironically, Michaud’s vision of the crusades set the agenda for Muslim attitudes as well. Until the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the penetration of European power, the crusades failed to arouse interest among Islamic and Arabic scholars. By the second half of the nineteenth century, this changed. The Christians once again intruded into the *Dār al-Islām* (“abode of Islam”), intent on rewriting the past. In the first modern Muslim account of the crusades using medieval Islamic sources, *Splendid Accounts in the Crusading Wars* (1899), the Egyptian Sayyid ‘Ali al-Hariri quoted the Ottoman sultan’s remark that “Europe is now carrying out a Crusade against us in the form of a political campaign” [Emmanuel Sivan, “The Crusaders Described by Modern Arab Historiography,” *Asian and African Studies* 8 (1972), 112]. The earliest modern Islamic biography of Saladin, by the Turkish Namik Kemal (1872), explicitly challenged the distortions in Michaud’s *Histoire*, recently translated into Turkish. Much of the subsequent Islamic discourse on Western attitudes to the crusades and to the Near East has been colored by a negative acceptance of the Michaud version of crusade history, as if this version was the immutable Western response. Thus criticisms of the West and the crusades, such as Edward Said’s tendentious *Orientalism* (1979), tend to operate within as well as against this essentially nineteenth-century Western construct.

The Modern Age

The academic study of the crusades was transformed by the publication of Heinrich von Sybel’s *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges* (1841). A pupil of Leopold von Ranke (1795–

1886), Sybel developed his mentor's suggestion of 1837 that William of Tyre's account of the First Crusade (accepted as authoritative since around 1200) was secondary. Through close textual analysis instead of mere compilation, Sybel revealed the different stands of narrative, arguing for an appreciation of sources as transmitters of variant stories and legends, not statements of unadorned fact. Sybel's application of what he called critical method to the history of the crusades and his use of sources other than narrative chronicles ushered in a golden age of crusade scholarship, even if they left the popular image largely unchanged.

The foundations of modern scholarship were laid between the 1840s and the First World War. In France, the main Western texts, as well as Arabic and Armenian texts, were edited in the monumental series *Recueil des historiens des croisades* (1841–1906). A Société de l'Orient Latin, inspired by the Comte Riant (1836–1888), briefly concentrated publications of new texts in the 1870s and 1880s. New areas of research were explored: Joseph Delaville Le Roulx (1855–1911) on the Hospitallers and on fourteenth-century crusading; Louis de Mas Latrie (1815–1897) on Latin Cyprus; Riant himself on narrative sources for the Fourth and Fifth Crusades; Gustave Schlumberger (1844–1929) on coins and seals of the Latin East; Camille Enlart (1862–1927) on crusader castles. In Germany, the history of the kingdom of Jerusalem was set on a sound archival footing by another prolific editor of texts, the austere Prussian schoolmaster Reinhold Röhricht (1842–1905), editor of the *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani* (1893); and that of the First Crusade by Heinrich Hagenmeyer (1834–1915) through his editions of texts. His *Peter der Eremit* (1879) established an orthodoxy on the crusade's origins and course not seriously challenged until the 1980s.

Scholarship does not exist in a cultural vacuum. The crusade remained harnessed to political polemic: of national identity, religious duty, and cultural dominance. In the absence of devastating general conflicts after 1815, nineteenth-century Europe spawned a cult of war that could be projected back onto the crusades, as by Ernest Barker in his brilliant essay on the crusades for the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*: “It would be treason to the majesty of man's incessant struggle towards an ideal good, if one were to deny that in and through the Crusades men strove for righteousness' sake” [*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., 29 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910–1911), p. 550]. The association of just causes and

sanctified violence, sealed with the muddled sentimentality of neochivalry, found stark, concrete form in countless war memorials across western Europe after 1918, yet after the horrifying First World War, crusading ceased to attract the positive responses it had enjoyed over the previous century. Not just because he saw the crusades as having willfully destroyed the civilization of Byzantium did Steven Runciman end his highly influential *History of the Crusades* (1951–1954) with the chilling judgment: “the holy war itself was nothing more than a long act of intolerance in the name of God, which is the sin against the Holy Ghost” [Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951–1954), 3:480]. To the mid-twentieth-century West, war may have appeared necessary but never good, still less sanctified or personally redemptive.

Since what is now known as the Wisconsin collaborative *History of the Crusades* (1969–1989) under the general editorship of Kenneth M. Setton was originally planned in the early 1950s, an explosion of research has cast doubt on the coherence as well as the nature of the subject. Leading this development has been the school of Israeli scholars led by Joshua Prawer. Prawer, in parallel with the Frenchman Jean Richard, rewrote the history of the Latin East through a re-examination of legal practices and institutions to produce a new constitutional history overthrowing the idea of the Latin East as some model “feudal” society or state, notably in the *Histoire du royaume Latin de Jerusalem* (1969–1970). Prawer and his pupils, informed by their sense of place, revisited the notion of the Latin settlements in the East as protocolonies, an idea Prawer derived from his own mentors of the French school of earlier in the century and maintained in *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (1972). Implicitly, Prawer was intent on demonstrating that, unlike the state of Israel in modern times, Frankish settlement was always too limited to promise permanency and that the Franks failed to engage with the local culture or environment; their system he described as apartheid. Much of this model, supported by R. C. Smail, author of a highly influential study of crusader warfare (1956), was aimed at revising the Franco-Syrian construct of Louis Madelin and Grousset.

Recently the Prawer thesis itself has received serious modification if not contradiction from a younger Israeli scholar, Ronnie Ellenblum, whose *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (1998) argues for a

more extensive Latin settlement in the countryside. The work of Israeli scholars and Westerners such as Claude Cahen, especially in his groundbreaking *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades* (1940), has established the study of the Latin settlements as features of Near Eastern history, increasingly detached from the concurrent debates about Western responses. Yet Hans Eberhard Mayer, whose *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (1965, English translation 1972) reopened debate about the definition of the crusades, is also the historian of the chancery of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem and a pioneer in the study of Latin lordships in the East. Jonathan Riley-Smith, a leading disputant on the nature of the crusade in the West, began as a scholar of the Latin East and straddles the two arenas in studies on the actions as well as motives of the earliest crusaders. However, just as crusading in the West has increasingly been integrated into mainstream study of theology, the church, law, popular religion, aristocratic society and values, and politics, the Muslim world's context of the Western incursions in the Near East has begun to receive serious and distinctive attention from Islamicists such as Peter M. Holt, Robert Irwin, and Carole Hillenbrand.

Among historians of the crusades as a feature of the medieval West, the disdainful judgmentalism of Runciman has given place to attempts to locate crusading within its social, cultural, intellectual, economic, and political context. In common with other medievalists, crusader historians employ wider ranges of evidence, including charters, archaeology, and the visual arts, to supplement chronicles and letters. Local studies have lent precision as well as diversity to previously monolithic generalities, although some scholars still see almost universal significance in the crusade. One contentious issue revolves around the definition of the crusade. As with the very first observers after 1099, the nature of the enterprise excites explanation and definition. All seem to agree with Riley-Smith that "everyone accepted that the crusades to the East were the most prestigious and provided the scale against which the others were measured" [Riley-Smith, "The Crusading Movement and Historians," p. 9]. However, there is disagreement over whether only those campaigns launched to recover or protect the Holy Sepulchre should be classed as proper crusades (as Mayer and, for different reasons, the French historian of chivalry Jean Flori would have it), or whether all those wars to which popes applied the temporal and spiritual privileges originally associated with the Jerusalem cam-

paign were equally legitimate and respected, as maintained by Riley-Smith and Norman Housley, historian of the Italian wars of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and of the later medieval crusades. Neither argument places what only appeared as a remotely coherent set of institutions around 1200 in the wider context of Christian holy war from the early Middle Ages, as suggested by John Gilchrist, who insists, against the hugely influential study on the origins of the crusade by Carl Erdmann (1935), that the Wars of the Cross occurred as the result, not of ecclesiastical initiative but of the submission of the church to secular militarism and militancy, a process Gilchrist sees as complete only in the early thirteenth century.

Crusade historians today study all areas of Europe, the Baltic, the Mediterranean, the Near East, even the Atlantic, and all aspects of crusading's position in and derivation from host and victim societies: Muslim, Jew, pagan, and Christian dissident. Chronological horizons match the geographic, crusades limping into the early modern world. The survival of the Order of St. John on Malta until 1798 has become as much an object of scrutiny as the fall of Acre in 1291. Crusading is now recognized as integral to European culture, therefore both more and less influential than was once understood: one form of legitimate war combining novelty and tradition; one sort of spiritual exercise; one strand in the rich polemic of Christian action, self-justification, and self-awareness, originally elevated by its connection with the liberation of the Holy Sepulchre.

—Christopher Tyerman

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Hittin

See Hattin, Battle of

Hoeneke (Höneke), Bartolomäus

A German from Osnabrück who was chaplain to three Livonian Masters of the Teutonic Order. He wrote a rhymed chronicle, which is usually called the *Jüngere Livländische Reimchronik*.

Hoeneke’s chronicle was written in the 1340s and covers the period 1315–1348. The original text, probably in Middle Low German, is now lost, but the sixteenth-century chronicler Johannes Renner recounted its contents in prose in his *Livländische Historien*. Hoeneke’s chronicle covers the wars of the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order against Russians, Lithuanians, and the townspeople of Riga, as well as the Estonian uprising of 1343. Although the author’s sympathies are with the Teutonic Knights, he portrays the subject Estonians’ hatred of their conquerors very realistically, and his chronicle is considered an important historical source based on now lost documents and oral traditions. It was utilized by Wigand von Marburg and Hermann von Wartberge as a source for their chronicles.

—Rasa Mažeika

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Holy Lance

A relic discovered at Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) on 14 June 1098, identified by many participants in the First Crusade (1096–1099) with the weapon that pierced Christ’s side during the Crucifixion (John 19:33–34).

According to the eyewitness chronicler Raymond of Aguilers, a week after the capture of Antioch from the Turks on 3 June 1098, a Provençal peasant called Peter Bartholomew approached Bishop Adhemar of Le Puy and Raymond of Saint-Gilles, claiming that he had received a series of visions from St. Andrew during the previous months. On one of these visitations, Andrew had revealed to him the spot where the lance that pierced Christ’s side lay hidden within the Church of St. Peter in Antioch. After five days of fasting and penance, twelve men (including Raymond of Aguilers) accompanied Peter Bartholomew to the church on the morning of 14 June 1098 and began to excavate the site in search of the relic. That evening the lance was uncovered by Peter Bartholomew himself. Both Raymond of Aguilers and the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* report that the discovery of the Holy Lance was greeted with great enthusiasm by the crusaders, at that point themselves besieged within Antioch by Turkish forces. These same sources, as well as a letter sent by the crusade leaders to Pope Urban II on 11 September 1098, relate that the lance was carried into combat when the crusaders broke the siege of Antioch on 28 June 1098. From these accounts, it seems clear that the crusaders attributed their success in that battle to the inspiration and divine protection offered by the holy relic.

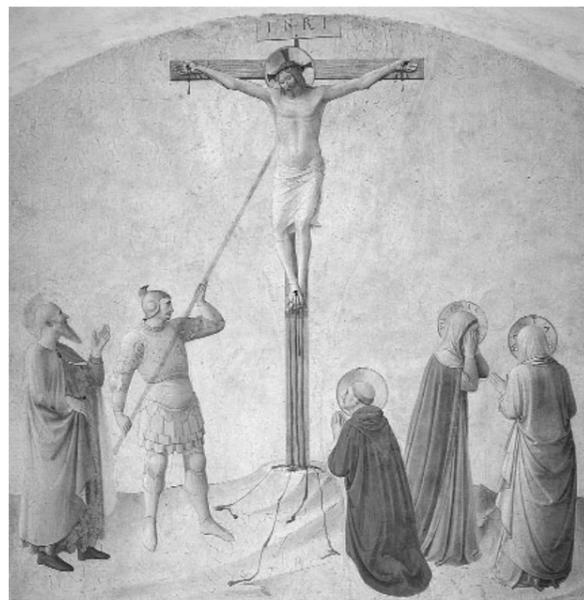
Over the following months, however, while factionalism among the crusade leaders delayed the army’s departure for Jerusalem, the authenticity of the lance was called into question, particularly by the Norman followers of Bohemund I, future prince of Antioch. In addition to claiming lordship over the newly conquered city, Bohemund was vying for authority over the crusade army with Raymond of Saint-Gilles, the guardian of the lance, and his southern French supporters. This situation came to a head when certain nobles and the less privileged elements of the army beseeched Count Raymond to lead them to Jerusalem or surrender the lance to those who were willing to continue the march. Raymond acquiesced and led a substantial portion of the crusaders toward Jerusalem in early January 1099. Nevertheless, a faction led by Arnulf of Chocques, chaplain to Robert, duke of Normandy, persisted in ques-

tioning the legitimacy of the relic. This situation encouraged Peter Bartholomew to undertake an ordeal in order to prove the lance's authenticity. On 8 April 1099, Peter hazarded an ordeal by fire while bearing the lance. Raymond of Aguilers reports that Peter crossed safely between two piles of burning wood, but was mortally crushed by the thronging crowds that greeted him on the other side. Regardless of the exact circumstances, Peter Bartholomew died on 20 April 1099.

Though this turn of events did not diminish Raymond of Aguilers's enthusiasm for the lance, it clearly contributed to the relic's controversial status among contemporary crusade historians. Fulcher of Chartres, who was at Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey) when the lance was discovered, expressed his skepticism about its authenticity and wrote that Peter Bartholomew's death was a clear sign of his duplicity in the matter, adding that the ordeal's outcome greatly disheartened the bulk of the relic's supporters.

Writing around 1115 in praise of the recently deceased Norman crusader Tancred, the chronicler Raduph of Caen excoriated both Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Peter Bartholomew for their fabrication of the supposedly holy relic. Raduph asserts that Peter Bartholomew's demise was clear proof of the lance's falsity. Writing from a less polemical standpoint, subsequent generations of crusade historians, including Albert of Aachen, Guibert of Nogent, and William of Tyre, present the discovery of the lance as a moment of great significance during the course of the First Crusade, but also acknowledge the controversy that surrounded the relic and its discoverer's ordeal.

The question of the Holy Lance's authenticity was further complicated by the existence of well-known competitors, including a lance kept at Constantinople (mod. Istanbul, Turkey) since the seventh century and one possessed by the Holy Roman Emperors since the tenth century. The ultimate fate of the lance found at Antioch is unclear. Raymond of Aguilers writes that it was carried into battle when the crusaders marched against the Fāṭimid-held city of Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel) in August 1099, while Fulcher of Chartres comments that Raymond of Saint-Gilles kept the relic for a long time after Peter Bartholomew's disappointing ordeal. According to secondhand sources, Count Raymond may have given the lance to the Byzantine emperor, Alexios I Komnenos, or he may have lost it during his participation in the ill-fated Crusade of 1101. If the lance dis-



The Crucifixion with Longinus and Saints, by Fra Angelico.
(Arte & Immagini/Corbis)

covered by the crusaders did find its way to Constantinople, it may have been the same one purchased in 1241 by King Louis IX of France from Baldwin II, Latin emperor of Constantinople.

—Brett Edward Whalen

See also: Antioch, Sieges of (1097–1098); First Crusade (1095–1099)

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Holy Sepulchre

Holy Sepulchre

The site traditionally identified as both the place of the Crucifixion and the tomb of Jesus Christ, subsequently a church and pilgrimage center in the city of Jerusalem.

According to the New Testament, Jesus was crucified at Golgotha, “the place of the skull” (Matt. 27:33–35; Mark 15:22–25; John 19:17–24). This has been identified as an area of abandoned stone quarries just outside the city wall of the time (known as the “second wall” to archaeologists). About ten years after the Crucifixion, a third wall was built that enclosed the area of the execution and burial within the city, and this accounts for the Holy Sepulchre’s location inside the Old City of Jerusalem today.

The Roman emperor Constantine the Great (308–337), a Christian, had the temple of Venus in Jerusalem demolished to make way for a church. In the course of the demolition a tomb was discovered that was recognized as the tomb of Christ. The first Church of the Holy Sepulchre was approached by a flight of steps from the *Cardo* (the main

street of the city). Then pilgrims went through a narthex, a basilica, and an open area, the “holy garden,” which had in it the rock of Golgotha, finally reaching the Holy Sepulchre itself. The rock-cut tomb was initially open to the elements, but later it was protected by an edicule (small building). The whole complex was richly decorated, as we know from the description by Constantine’s biographer Eusebius (337), from pictures in the Church of St. Pudenziana in Rome dating from early in the fifth century, and on the Madaba mosaic map from the sixth, and from modern excavations. In 326 Constantine’s mother, Helena, made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where, according to legend, she discovered the relic of the cross of Jesus. The story of the Invention (that is, discovery) of the Cross was current early in the fifth century, and in the eleventh a cave deep below the ruins of the basilica came to be known as the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross.

In 614 a Persian army sacked the church and the True Cross was taken away, but in 631 the Emperor Heraclius



Pilgrim graffiti at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Tens of thousands of crosses and names were carved into the church’s stone by medieval pilgrims. (Courtesy Alfred Andrea)

negotiated its return. The Arab conquest in 638 was initially less disruptive, as Christians were treated tolerantly, but 300 years later (938) the entrance to the basilica was converted into a mosque, and in 966 the dome was destroyed by fire during anti-Christian riots. In 1009 the fanatical Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākīm ordered the destruction of the church. The Byzantine emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–1055) funded its rebuilding, but on a different plan, with the entrance on the south side. This was the church that drew pilgrims from all over Christendom in the later eleventh century, and for much of that period the Muslim rulers of the city treated them well. It was only after the capture of the city by the Saljūq Turks (1077) that rumors began to circulate that Christian pilgrims were being ill treated and denied access to the church. The liberation of the holy places, the foremost of which was the Holy Sepulchre, was an important motivation for the First Crusade (1096–1099).

After the capture of the city by the crusaders (15 July 1099), eyewitnesses tell how the survivors of the expedition prayed in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which struck them as unusual because it was open to the sky. During the next half-century the church of Constantine Monomachos was largely reconstructed. Although the building's footprint was preserved, the church acquired the attributes of a cathedral on the Western model. The holy garden became the basilica of the crusaders' church, and the rock of Golgotha was given its own chapel. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre was reconsecrated on 15 July 1149, fifty years to the day after the capture of Jerusalem by the First Crusade, but in fact work continued on the building for some years afterward. Nevertheless, the church of the crusaders is essentially the church that is to be seen today.

The crusaders' church attracted enormous numbers of pilgrims, whose entry and circulation had to be controlled: the twin doorways can still be seen, although the elaborately carved lintels under which the pilgrims passed were removed after the earthquake of 1927 and are now in the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem. The right-hand door was blocked up after the Muslim reconquest of the city in 1187. However, even during periods of Muslim occupation, pilgrims continued to be admitted to the site, and indeed Western leaders were anxious to negotiate rights of entry. Some features of the medieval church can no longer be seen—for example, the tombs of the first rulers, Godfrey of Bouillon (1099–1100) and Baldwin I (1100–1118), which were removed in the early nineteenth century when the

Greeks were carrying out restoration work. All of the kings of Jerusalem up to 1187 (but not Queen Melisende) were buried in the Calvary Chapel.

As twelfth-century maps reveal, the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem was the spiritual focus of Christendom and its most important pilgrimage center. The church was laid out to enable pilgrims to move from chapel to chapel, their visit culminating in the Holy Sepulchre itself. At Golgotha, to mark the completion of their pilgrimage they would leave the crosses they had carried on the journey, and a great pile of these would be burnt on Easter Eve. On the same day, Holy Saturday, the ceremony of the Holy Fire took place. The patriarch entered the edicule, where the Easter Fire was miraculously kindled and then passed from hand to hand. This was witnessed by the chroniclers Ekkehard of Aura in 1101 and Caffaro in 1102.

—Susan B. Edgington

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Holy Sepulchre, Canons of the

The religious Order of Canons of the Holy Sepulchre (Lat. *Ordo Canonicorum regularium Sancti Sepulchri Hierosolymitani*) goes back to the cathedral chapter established after the First Crusade (1096–1099) by Godfrey of Bouillon at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

Under the direction of a prior, the chapter assisted the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem in the administration of his archdiocese and the performance of the liturgy. In 1114 the patriarch Arnulf of Chocques reformed the chapter, which initially was heavily involved in the disputes concerning the organization of the Latin Church of Jerusalem and the nature of its relationship to the monarchy of Palestine. From this time it followed the Rule of St. Augustine and constitutions modeled on French centers of reform and based its liturgy on usages that, though also corresponding

to native Greek Orthodox customs, took local idiosyncrasies into consideration.

The spiritual life of the canons was characterized by their guardianship of Christendom's most holy sites and the incumbent liturgical duties. The popes gave them the specific duty of placing the Lord's Passion and the triumph of the Cross at the center of the liturgy and ecclesiastical life. In Jerusalem, the canons provided pastoral care for their parishioners in the city, saying Mass at the parish altar in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and administering the sacraments there. They are also known to have instructed Jews and Muslims who intended to convert to Christianity. The canons also carried out pastoral duties in their Palestinian and Syrian dependencies, in the episcopal churches of Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon), Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel), and Nablus, and in the churches and chapels on their estates, notably at Magna Mahomeria (mod. al-Bira, West Bank) and Parva Mahomeria (mod. al-Qubaiba, West Bank). The chapter also trained its own clergy. In its scriptorium, manuscripts of all kinds were produced, and theological texts like Ambrose's *Hexameron* and Augustine's *Tractates on the Gospel of John* were copied. It must also be assumed that the canons participated in the architectural modification of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, as well as the establishment of pictorial programs and inscriptions in it.

The chapter had additional responsibilities that were only rarely performed by Western spiritual institutions. These included dealing with non-Christians and Christians of other denominations, looking after a never-ending stream of pilgrims and crusaders, and participation in the country's defense. The canons were—more or less—capable of coordinating these functions. Even in the first years after the conquest of the Holy City, the canons, in conjunction with the patriarchs, employed knights to carry out the military service owed to the king by the chapter and patriarch, without, however, turning them into a military order comparable with the Templars or Hospitallers. As early as 1112, the chapter combined with other spiritual institutions to form communities in prayer, for example, in Italy, France, Poland, Germany, and Spain.

The status of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as the patriarch's titular church, the burial site of the kings of Jerusalem, the repository of important relics, and (from 1131 to 1186) the coronation venue, all helped the canons to attain a leading position within the church and kingdom of Jerusalem. This facilitated the order's acquisition of large

estates and establishment of numerous branches in Outremer and Europe. The loss of Jerusalem in 1187 and the fall of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) in 1291 led to restrictions concerning the original function of the chapter, which underwent a reorganization under Pope Urban IV.

From 1291, the prior (later known as archprior) and chapter resided in Perugia in Italy. Pope Innocent VIII's command to disband the order and transfer its property to the Order of St. John in 1489 was only partly successful. The establishment in Perugia and a number of houses in Italy, Spain, France, and parts of Germany were lost, but the congregations in Spain, Poland, Hungary, Bohemia, Savoy, and Germany continued to exist. The English houses, which had become independent in the late Middle Ages, and the houses in the north of Germany fell prey to the Reformation, but other houses of the order in Europe retained their autonomy, in spite of the attempt of the house at Miechów in Poland to become the headquarters of the order (Lat. *caput ordinis*) in the course of the nineteenth century.

Another development in the order went back to the middle of the fifteenth century, when Dutch branches of the cloister of Denkendorf in Württemberg started a profound process of *renovatio* (renewal). Their most important results of this were the female branches of the order, which still exist in Belgium, England, southwestern Germany, and the Netherlands, conserving the tradition of the cathedral chapter of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem from 1099.

—Klaus-Peter Kirstein

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Holy Sepulchre, Order of the

The Order of the Holy Sepulchre (Lat. *Ordo Equestris Sancti Sepulcri*) is a lay association whose organization and objectives have often changed during the course of its history. It originated as a lay order or association of knights, and was thus quite different in character from religious knightly orders such as the Templars or Hospitallers.

The origins of the order go back to the fourteenth century, when it became customary for noble Western pilgrims to be knighted at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem or to ask for a renewal of an earlier ceremony of knighting. It was undoubtedly influenced by the revival of pilgrimage and the idea of recovery of the Holy Land after the fall of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) to the Mamlūks in 1291. The first attested knighting ceremony dates from 1332/1336. In contrast to the forms of knighting (dubbing) common at this time in western Europe, the ceremony at the Holy Sepulchre distinguished itself through the special holiness of the place where it was carried out. As part of his obligations, the new knight also undertook to take the cross in the case of a future crusade.

In 1312, following the departure of the Franks and the end of the Latin patriarchate of Jerusalem, Pope Clement VI entrusted the Franciscans of Mount Zion with the mission of representing the papacy in the Holy Land. But this religious community was only officially recognized by the Turks in 1333, when the king of Naples got the Sultan to agree (upon payment of 32,000 gold ducats) that the Franciscans could remain in Palestine and continue to guard the holy places. The prerogative of dubbing knights before the tomb of Christ, in the past exercised by the canons, was thus transferred to the Franciscan custodian, who had the rank of bishop and

who alone upheld the presence of the papacy in the Holy Land until 1847, often under adverse conditions. It was a great privilege to receive the spurs of a knight before the tomb of Christ, this being the reward for an exceptional act of piety.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, many pilgrims travelled to Jerusalem to be dubbed knights of the Holy Sepulchre, including such important persons as Frederick, duke of Austria (the future Emperor Frederick III) in 1436. Chronicles from this time report that individual dubbing of knights before the Holy Sepulchre continued over the centuries. In 1806, the Vicomte de Châteaubriand described his own investiture at the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre in his *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe*. The knights, whose elevation was registered and recorded in a patent, were received into a community that demanded the fulfillment of the usual chivalric obligations plus compliance with religious rules as they are found in the statutes of those fraternities counseled by the mendicant orders. However, the order had no organizational ties; the knights did not assemble in chapters of the order and were not subject to any leadership. Attempts to unite and organize all knights of the Sepulchre, for which evidence can be found from the sixteenth century onward, were to no avail.

It was only in 1868 that a permanent association of all knights of the Holy Sepulchre was established at the instigation of the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem by Pope Pius IX, who gave the association the formal character of a papal order of knights. It was placed under the pope as supreme sovereign, with the Latin patriarch serving as the actual head, and organized in national bailiwicks. The order's organizational structure was reformed several times during the twentieth century. Its objectives are the promotion of its members' Christian way of life and the spiritual and material support of the activities and facilities of the Roman Catholic Church in Israel, the West Bank, Gaza, and Jordan. These include the construction and operation of churches, schools, kindergartens, old people's homes, and hospital wards, and the provision of assistance for the old and infirm. The order is now represented in thirty countries and has about 20,000 members.

—Klaus-Peter Kirstein

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Holy War

The idea of holy war originates in the Old Testament, with the conquest of the Promised Land by the Israelites in the time of Joshua, ordained and directed by God. When his people are loyal to him, God facilitates their victories by unleashing forces only he can control, such as earthquakes, hornets, and celestial armies; Jehovah is held to be the sole protector of the Israelites, whose rebellions he chastises by subjecting them to the rule of gentiles.

These ideas of ethnic exclusivity are completely overturned in the New Testament: now the elect are those who, without distinction of race, accept Jesus Christ as their Savior. The Kingdom of God does not belong to this world and will not be established by force. It will be accomplished by God himself at the end of time, when Jesus will come down from heaven to destroy once and for all the forces of evil led by the Antichrist. Christ preaches a religion of love extended to all, and his disciples take no interest in worldly quarrels, which Jesus condemns in both word and deed. In his Sermon on the Mount, he refines the Mosaic Law, extending the idea of one's neighbor to include all of humankind, and advocating a morality in which intention plays an important part: not only is it wrong to kill, but even anger and animosity should be banished. Even when acclaimed in Jerusalem as "king" and liberator of the Jews from Roman occupation, Jesus refuses to take any political actions; he chooses not to defend himself when arrested and forbids his

disciples to defend him: "For all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword" (Matt. 26:52). Found guilty and sentenced, he prays for those who nail him to the Cross.

Over the next three centuries Christians followed this teaching and practiced nonviolence: when persecuted, they did not attempt to defend themselves, but either fled, or allowed themselves to be arrested and sentenced. They generally refused to do military service, to avoid having to kill others, but otherwise tried to be good citizens of the Roman Empire. According to the Christian leader Hippolytus of Rome (d. 235), Christians should not become soldiers, while those soldiers who became Christians should undertake not to kill, even if ordered to do so by their commander. According to the theologian Origen (d. 253/254), their prayers were of more use to the empire than their arms.

With the conversion to Christianity of Emperor Constantine I (the Great) in 312, perspectives shifted dramatically: the Christian Church was now favored, and the ensuing phenomenon of mass conversions led to less intense faith among believers, as well as a greater division between the clergy and their lay followers. Faced with the threat of barbarian invasions, Christians, by this time a majority, were forced to take up arms to defend the empire and civilization. The church began to excommunicate laymen who refused to take up arms, as, for example, at the Council of Arles (314), although the clergy, by contrast, were required to abstain from shedding blood.

St. Augustine of Hippo (d. 430) argued that one could still find favor with God by pursuing a military career, citing the biblical wars of the Lord as evidence. Morally acceptable wars still existed, even if they were not directed by God. Without actually developing a full-fledged theory of just war (which was to be the task of canonists of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries), Augustine laid down the foundation of the future doctrine of a just war: it should be declared by a legitimate authority (the emperor); it should be undertaken for morally acceptable reasons (such as the recovery of stolen property, the reestablishment of justice, or protection of the population against invaders); and it should be carried out by soldiers without hatred or personal interest in the conflict. If this was the case, the soldier who killed under orders was not committing homicide. Despite the influence of Augustine's doctrine, medieval penitentials for a long time reflected older attitudes: a soldier who killed in a "public" war had committed a sin and had to do penance for it.

The breakdown of political unity after the collapse of the Roman Empire obscured the definition of legitimate authority: the idea of the state lost its influence, to be replaced by personal allegiances. The church became the primary ideological point of reference. This shift prematurely ended the incipient legal concept of the just war. Yet the use of arms was more than ever necessary in a fragmented medieval society dominated by aristocrats and warriors, in which the church itself required protection. This situation resulted in a progressive ideological glorification of certain wars, which led to the development of the concept of “holy war,” which up to that time had been alien to Christianity.

Several factors contributed to this doctrinal revolution, which in the course of a millennium took the church from pacifism to the crusade. The first of these was already in existence: the glorification of the defense of one’s country. Self-evident in the age of the Christian Roman Empire, it dwindled in importance after the establishment of the barbarian kingdoms in the West. Yet it reemerged when Clovis, king of the Franks (d. 511), a convert to Christianity, chose to champion the Roman Catholic form of Christianity against the Arianism of the other barbarian kingdoms and forged an alliance between the Merovingian monarchy and the papacy. The idea gained in importance under the Carolingian dynasty, which rose to power with papal support: Charlemagne (d. 814) styled himself the renovator of the empire and protector of the church and of “Christendom,” a concept that was still in the process of formation.

The task of protection of ecclesiastical personnel and property against the Norman invaders and against neighboring lay lords gave a new dimension to the idea of the sanctification of warriors fighting for the church. The movement known as the Peace of God demonized and anathematized warriors (Lat. *milites*) who despoiled church property, but praised those who protected it. Tales of miracles highlighted the violent punishments inflicted by the patron saints of monasteries upon those who caused damage to them; they glorified those who, led by the saints themselves, fought to defend them. The church blessed their weapons and their banners. Warriors fighting for the church were thus the object of a genuine sanctification, which was evident in the liturgy, in particular in the investiture rituals of lay advocates of monasteries (Lat. *advocati*) and of defenders of churches (Lat. *defensores et milites ecclesiae*).

This trend intensified when the papacy was threatened by enemies deemed to be “pagans,” and thus easy to demonize, notably Vikings and Saracens. The monarchical development of the papacy encouraged it increasingly to identify its own interests with those of the entire church, or even of Christendom as a whole; this identification brought about a greater sanctification of battles fought on its behalf, as well as the development of doctrinal elements characteristic of holy war: spiritual rewards for the living and the status of martyrs for those who had been killed. These elements had existed from the very beginning of the Islamic concept of holy war (Arab. *jihād*), and they now appeared in Christianity at the time when Islam threatened Rome. In 846, faced with a Muslim raid, Pope Leo IV called upon the Frankish warriors with spiritual promises: to those who died in battle to protect Rome “the heavenly kingdom would not be denied” [*Epistolae Karolini aevi*, vol. 3, ed. Ernst Dümmler (Berlin: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1899), p. 601]. Pope John VIII renewed this promise in 879.

The sanctification of warfare, either on behalf of the papacy or against the Muslims, did not cease with the end of the Muslim threat to Rome. The idea of holy war that eventually led to the crusades came about through the conjunction of two factors: the consolidation of papal authority as a result of the Gregorian Reform movement, and the beginnings of Christian reconquest in the West. In its battle for preeminence, the church reform movement of the eleventh century demonized all of its adversaries: heretics, “schismatic” clergy, and rebellious lay powers, as well as Muslims. Conversely, it praised and sanctified those who fought against them. Thus, in 1053 Pope Leo IX claimed to have had a vision of how soldiers who died fighting for him against the Normans at Civitate shared in the rewards of saints and martyrs. Thereafter various ecclesiastical writers stressed the merit of their struggle, emphasizing the heavenly rewards that accompanied it. In 1075 a knight named Erlembald, who had been killed in combat during the struggle of the reform party of Milan (known as the Pataria) against the “schismatic” (i.e., traditionalist) clergy of the archbishopric, was called a “soldier of Christ” (Lat. *miles Christi*), an expression that, after 1095, referred to crusaders. Erlembald was regarded as a martyr, miracles occurred at his tomb, and Pope Urban II beatified him shortly before the beginning of the First Crusade. The canonist Bonizo of Sutri saw him as a hero waging “the war of the Lord” (Lat. *bellum domini*), an expression borrowed from

the Old Testament. The idea of holy war had made its appearance.

These ideas continued to manifest themselves when the enemies of the church were Muslims, who were identified with the pagans of earlier struggles. The fight against Islam, particularly in the Iberian Peninsula, thus took on the characteristics of a sanctified war of reconquest. As early as 1035, the chronicler Ralph Glaber related that monks who had been killed after having taken up arms to defend the population against the attacks of the vizier al-Manṣūr (c. 1000) had gained the status of martyrs and been admitted into paradise. Pope Alexander II, perhaps in the context of the Barbastro expedition (1064), encouraged the clergy to help those who, "inspired by God," decided to go to Spain; he lifted their penances and granted them absolution of their sins. Around 1073, Pope Gregory VII encouraged the French nobleman Ebalus of Roucy to go and liberate lands occupied by Muslims in Spain in order to restore the legitimate rights of St. Peter there. Pope Urban II, too, glorified and sanctified the reconquest in Iberia. According to him, Muslim rule was a temporary punishment inflicted by God upon his people and was nearing its end: the Christian reconquest thus had to continue in Spain, Sicily, Corsica, and the Near East. This armed reconquest was for him a pious and worthy enterprise, to be undertaken by princes as a penance. Writing to the princes of Catalonia, the pope encouraged them to recover the city of Tarragona rather than go on a pilgrimage to distant Jerusalem. Thus, military action linked to the reconquest of Spain was thought to be holy enough to be prescribed in atonement for sins, that is, as a penance; it was also considered as equivalent to the most prestigious of pilgrimages, that to Jerusalem.

For Pope Urban II, the reconquest of Iberia from the Muslims was just as holy an undertaking as the crusade for the liberation of Jerusalem that he proclaimed in 1095. He stated this in letters to Peter, bishop of Huesca, and to the Catalans, between 1096 and 1099; in them he emphasized the praiseworthiness of this reconquest, stating that the two wars against the Muslims, in Spain and in the East, were equally meritorious. Previously Pope Gregory VII had expressed in several of his letters his intention of personally leading an army to rescue the Christians of the East, driving out the Muslims, and liberating the Holy Sepulchre, accompanying this call with promises of spiritual rewards (1074). Urban II developed this idea by recommending the crusade to warriors as a penitential expedition, thus laying

the foundations for the doctrine of indulgences that developed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. From 1095, however, the preaching of the crusade testified to the fact that the church had accepted the idea of holy war. It was regarded as meritorious, was recommended by preachers as a penance through which one could atone for one's sins, and was thought to guarantee a place in Heaven to those who died in it, since they became martyrs for the faith. The diversification of crusading would later lead to a greater popularization of the idea of holy war. However, for the medieval church the crusade to the Holy Land remained the most commendable of all holy wars. At one and the same time it was a pilgrimage and a war sanctified by both the religious authority that proclaimed it (the pope) and by its aim, the liberation of the Holy Sepulchre, foremost among the holy places of Christendom.

—Jean Flori

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Homs

Homs or Emesa (mod. Ḥims, Syria) is a city situated on the eastern bank of the river Orontes in the center of a cultivated plain.

At the start of the crusading period, it was held by Riḍwān, the ruler of Aleppo. Riḍwān's atabeg, Janāḥ al-Dawla Ḥusayn, made himself independent there in 1097. After his death in 1103 it passed under the control of the rulers of Damascus, although at times this control was only nominal. The city became a major Muslim military camp, supplying large numbers of troops, and was also used as an

assembly point and a depot for weapons and siege equipment.

In 1138, after a number of attempts to subjugate it by force, ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī received the city as part of a matrimonial alliance. Upon his death in 1144, Homs passed under the control of Muʿīn al-Dīn Unur of Damascus. In 1148 it proved to be a valuable rallying point for the Zangid troops assembling to oppose the Second Crusade. It came under the control of Nūr al-Dīn in 1149 and of Saladin in 1175. The latter gave the city to his cousin, Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad, who founded the Asadī dynasty (named after Saladin's uncle, Muḥammad's father, Asad al-Dīn Shirkūh). The Asadīs ruled almost without interruption until 1262, after which the importance of the city declined. The great victory won by the Mamlūk sultan Qalāwūn over the Mongols in 1281 was fought at Homs, but the city remained merely a minor governorship in the Mamlūk sultanate until the Ottomans took over Syria in 1516.

—Niall Christie

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Homs, Battle of (1281)

The battle of Homs was fought on 29 October 1281, between Homs (mod. Ḥims, Syria) and Rastan, when Mamlūk forces led by the sultan Qalāwūn halted the invasion of Syria by the Mongol armies of the Ilkhan Abaqa, ruler of the Mongol state in Persia. As a result, the immediate Mongol threat to Mamlūk territories was removed, and Qalāwūn turned his attention to the elimination of the Frankish states of Outremer.

Mamlūk intelligence had learned of an imminent Mongol invasion, and on 6 September Qalāwūn learned details from a captive Mongol officer. He proceeded to assemble his forces, and began deliberations over where to meet the enemy. Sources suggest he favored Damascus, but his emirs wished to advance to Homs, and when they simply

announced they would go there with or without the sultan, he followed.

From a deserter, the Mamlūks learned that the Mongols' strength was concentrated at their center, with which they hoped to break the Mamlūk center. The Mongol right was also strong, and contained the Armenian and Georgian contingents led by their kings. Qalāwūn decided to strengthen his left, where he placed Turcoman troops and the forces of some leaders who had rebelled against him, as well as other emirs.

During the battle, the Mongol right crushed the Mamlūk left, and pursued the enemy as far as the Lake of Homs, where they paused to wait for the rest of their army. However, the other Mongol forces had not fared so well, and were routed. The Mongol left was crushed, and the center gave way when the commander, Mengü Temür, fell wounded. Abaqa died a few months later.

—Brian Ulrich

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Honorius III (d. 1227)

Pope (1216–1227). Honorius III was born Cencio (Cencius) Savelli in Rome at an unknown date. He was a canon at St. Maria Maggiore, served in the household of Giacinto Bobone (cardinal deacon of St. Maria in Cosmedin), and became papal subdeacon and chamberlain under Pope Clement III (1187–1191).

Giacinto Bobone became pope as Celestine III in 1191 and Cencio served under him as papal chamberlain and chancellor. In 1192, he compiled the *Liber Censuum*, a list of the regular payments owed to the papacy, plus additional documents. Cencio was made cardinal deacon of St. Lucia in Orthea in 1193 and cardinal priest of SS. Giovanni e Paolo in 1200, but after the succession of Pope Innocent III in 1198, Cencio's role in papal government was limited. While a cardinal, he wrote a number of sermons that were later distributed to several religious houses.

Upon his election to the papacy at Perugia on 18 July 1216, Cencio took the name Honorius. He immediately stated his intention to follow in the footsteps of his prede-

Hospital, Order of the

cessor, Innocent III. He adhered to the judgments of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) in supporting first Simon of Montfort and then King Louis VIII of France against the Saint-Gilles family in Languedoc in the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229). Honorius also followed Innocent's lead by approving the rules of the Dominican and Franciscan friars and by issuing a collection of his own decretals (*Compilatio Quinta*). His legates Guala and Pandulf, both of whom had served under Innocent, played major roles in the government of England during the minority of King Henry III. Honorius tried, as Innocent reportedly did, to institute an income tax on churches in order to finance papal government, but he abandoned the plan in the face of strong opposition.

The major projects Honorius inherited from Innocent III were the reform program of Lateran IV and the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221). His efforts to carry out the moral and institutional reforms mandated by Lateran IV seem to have been modest and of little effect, but he was an enthusiastic supporter of the crusade.

Honorius hoped that Frederick II, king of Germany and Sicily and emperor-elect, would act as leader of the crusade and that he would maintain a legal separation between the empire and the kingdom of Sicily, thereby assuring the security of papal rule in central Italy. He crowned Frederick as Holy Roman Emperor in 1220, but their relationship gradually deteriorated as Frederick delayed his departure for the crusade, at the same time attempting to exert authority over most of Italy. Without Frederick, a crusading army began to arrive in Outremer in 1217 and moved on to Egypt in 1218. There it was joined by other crusaders and Honorius's legate Pelagius of Albano, one of the principal leaders of the army until its defeat in 1221. Honorius continued to recruit crusaders in the hope that Frederick would fulfill his oath to go on crusade, and Frederick continued to encourage that hope. But the emperor did not depart until after the death of Honorius on 18 March 1227.

Among his contemporaries, Honorius had a reputation for holiness. Earlier views of Honorius that saw him as ineffective because of old age, ill health, and personal ineptitude have been challenged by some modern scholars who portray him as an effective administrator who faithfully pursued Innocent's projects.

—John C. Moore

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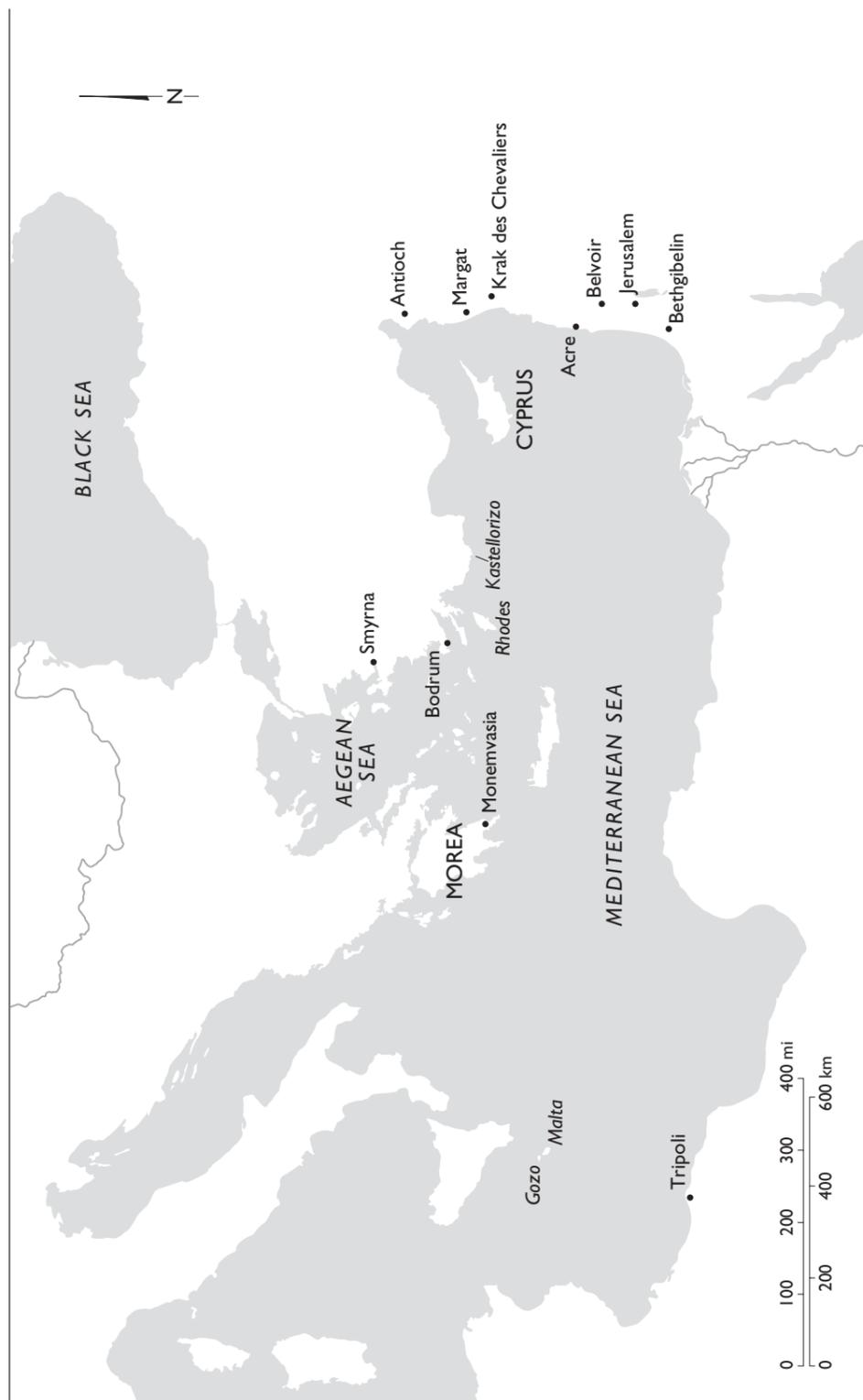
Hospital, Order of the

The Order of the Hospital (also known as the Order of St. John, and later as the Knights of Rhodes and the Knights of Malta), was an international military religious order that originated in the city of Jerusalem before the First Crusade (1096–1099). Originally established as an order whose function was to provide hospital service, it gradually assumed military responsibilities and became involved in the defense and internal politics of the Frankish states of Outremer. At the same time, the order received European properties that were organized into *langues* (literally, “tongues”) that paid annual dues, called responsions, to the central convent.

The order moved its central convent and hospital to Acre (mod. ‘Akko, Israel) when Saladin captured Jerusalem in 1187. After the fall of Acre in 1291, the order briefly moved to Cyprus. By 1310 it had captured the island of Rhodes (mod. Rodos, Greece) from the Byzantines, and it became a naval power in the eastern Mediterranean, maintaining a fleet of galleys and garrisoning castles. On Rhodes the Hospitallers faced several major sieges, including two by the Mamlūks in 1440 and 1444 and two by the Ottomans in 1480 and 1522. The Hospitallers surrendered Rhodes to the Ottomans in 1522. In 1530 Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor and king of Spain, gave the order the island of Malta. The Hospitallers ruled Malta until 1798, when Grand Master Ferdinand von Hompesch surrendered the island to Napoleon Bonaparte. Subsequently the order briefly found refuge in Russia and in Italy. Today, the order is still sovereign and devoted to hospitaller activities, administering medical charities worldwide from its headquarters in Rome. It no longer has a military character.

Origins and Militarization

The Order of the Hospital began as a pilgrim's hospice, established in the city of Jerusalem by merchants from the



Areas of activity of the Order of the Hospital in the Eastern Mediterranean region



A Knight Brother of the Order of the Hospital, painting by Pinturicchio (1454–1513). (Bettmann/Corbis)

Italian city of Amalfi. The hospice was operated by a lay confraternity under the auspices of the Benedictine abbey of St. Mary of the Latins. The Hospitallers of St. John began receiving grants of lands and properties in Europe and Outremer after the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 and were recognized as a separate order by Pope Paschal II in 1113. The first master, Gerard, died in 1120 and was succeeded by Raymond of Le Puy (1120–1158/1160), a French knight who had come to Jerusalem with the First Crusade (1096–1099). Raymond's leadership shaped the order, and it was under his mastership that the Hospitallers began to assume military duties in addition to the care of pilgrims and the sick in their Jerusalem hospital. References to the Hospitallers as a primarily charitable institution appear in papal documents until the late twelfth century. However, it appears that the entry of Raymond and other former knights into the order, the need to police pilgrimage routes, and a new definition of the Christian knight as a lover of justice and defender of the weak, influenced by Bernard of Clairvaux's *De laude novae militiae ad milites Templi* (1128), caused the Hospitallers to gradually assume military responsibilities.

By the end of the twelfth century, the Hospitallers, along with the Templars, provided military forces for the Christian states of Outremer and garrisoned frontier castles. They

were granted their first castle, Bethgibelin (mod. Bet Guvrin, Israel), in 1136 by Fulk of Anjou, king of Jerusalem. In 1142/1144 Count Raymond II of Tripoli gave them the Krak des Chevaliers (mod. Ḥisn al-Akrād or Qal'at al-Ḥisn, Syria). This castle and the castle of Margat (mod. Marqab, Syria, acquired in 1186) became major administrative centers with extensive domains that provided income for the order.

The early charters do not indicate whether Hospitallers initially garrisoned the castles themselves, and there is no definite reference to military personnel as members of the order before the middle of the twelfth century. Hospitallers did, however, serve in the armies of Outremer. Raymond of Le Puy fought in the army of Baldwin II of Jerusalem in 1128, and according to the chronicler William of Tyre, Hospitallers served at the siege of Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel) in 1153. In Aragon, Hospitallers were present at Tortosa in 1148 and received the castle of Amposta in 1149. The order may have reexamined its military role following the resignation of the master Gilbert of Assailly (1163–1169/1170), who had encouraged King Amalric of Jerusalem in his unsuccessful invasion of Egypt and left the order in debt.

It is probable that the order initially followed the Rule of St. Benedict until the promulgation of its first rule, attributed to Raymond of Le Puy and strongly influenced by the Rule of St. Augustine. Subsequent masters augmented the rule with statutes approved by meetings of the chapter general of the order. By the 1170s these statutes had institutionalized the Hospitallers' military duties. The 1206 statutes of Margat first describe the offices of knights and sergeants-at-arms, and by the 1270s knights held all the high offices in the order. The 1206 statutes also reveal the international structure of the order and were influential in shaping its development. At the end of the thirteenth century, William of St. Stephen compiled the customs of the order (called *esgarts* and *usances*), which were based upon decisions made at meetings of the chapter general. The statutes of the order were not compiled and organized until Guillaume Caoursin, the vice-chancellor, published the *Stabilimentum* in 1494.

The Hospitallers in Outremer (to 1291)

Under Roger of Les Moulins (1177–1187), the Hospitallers became more involved in the politics of the Frankish states of Outremer, particularly the succession of Guy of Lusignan and his wife Sibyl to the throne of Jerusalem in 1186. Roger, a supporter of the faction led by Count Raymond III of

Tripoli, vied with Gerard of Ridefort, the master of the Temple, who supported the Lusignans. Roger was killed in May 1187, at the battle of the spring of Cresson, leaving the Hospitallers leaderless at the battle of Hattin (4 July 1187). There the order suffered considerable losses, and in the aftermath of the battle lost its castles of Bethgibelin and Belvoir (mod. Kokhav ha-Yarden, Israel), although Saladin did not attempt to besiege Margat and Krak des Chevaliers.

After Hattin, the Hospitallers and Templars became more important as military and political advisors to the Frankish rulers, and their Western resources became essential for the survival of European rule in Outremer. The Hospitallers received money and provisions from their Western priories in addition to income from their properties in Outremer and from their participation in the coastal sugar trade. They contributed substantially to the campaigns of the Third Crusade (1189–1192), serving as senior advisors to King Richard I of England.

The two major military religious orders also assumed some administrative responsibility in the kingdom of Jerusalem, which for much of the thirteenth century was ruled by a series of regents for an absentee monarchy. As Mamlūk power increased in the later part of the thirteenth century, the Hospitallers played an important role in making treaties with Egypt. Masters such as Hugh Revel actively acquired properties around the Krak des Chevaliers and adopted an aggressive policy against the Mamlūks. However, the Mamlūks took Krak des Chevaliers in 1271 and Margat in 1285. The Hospitallers left Outremer after the fall of Acre in May 1291, when the master, John of Villiers, was severely wounded during the city's defense and was evacuated to Cyprus with the remains of the convent.

The Hospitallers on Rhodes (1310–1522) and Malta (1530–1798)

After the fall of Acre, there was some discussion in western Europe about combining or dissolving the Hospitallers and the Templars. The two biggest military religious orders had been criticized for their sometimes rancorous participation in the politics of Outremer and their apparent hesitancy to pursue the immediate recovery of the Holy Land. The Hospitallers' establishment of their central convent and infirmary on Rhodes coincided with the dissolution of the Order of the Temple and the confiscation of its properties. Although there is no evidence that the Hospitallers planned for this eventuality, they avoided a fate similar to that of the

Templars by removing their convent from any possible interference from European rulers.

From 1306 to 1310 the Hospitallers conquered the island of Rhodes (located off the southwestern coast of Anatolia) from the Byzantines. They subsequently acquired other islands and territories in the Dodecanese, notably Kos, Simi, Kastellorizo, and Bodrum. On Rhodes, although still subject to the authority of the pope, the order became a sovereign state and naval power involved in the politics of the eastern Mediterranean. The order entered into treaties with and collected tribute from Muslim potentates.

Individual popes, such as Innocent VI, pressured the order to move to the Anatolian mainland and fight against the Turks, under the threat of losing its lands to a new military religious order. These plans did not come to fruition, however, and Rhodes served as the base for several crusading expeditions in the fourteenth century. The Hospitallers participated in Pope Clement VI's crusade to capture Smyrna (mod. İzmir, Turkey) in 1343–1349, and then contributed 3,000 florins a year to its defense until it was lost in 1402. In 1365 Rhodes was the staging place for the crusade of King Peter I of Cyprus against Alexandria in Egypt. The sack of Alexandria in October 1365 alarmed the master of the Hospital, Raymond Berengar, who feared that the Mamlūk sultan would retaliate by blockading Rhodes and Cyprus; this concern demonstrates the extent of Hospitaller reliance upon the mainland of the Near East for food and other supplies.

The Great Schism between rival popes in Rome and Avignon (1378–1417), combined with the order's financial difficulties, prevented any military campaigns against the Turks, although the Hospitallers leased Morea in Greece from the Byzantines between 1376/1381 and 1404 and began construction of the castle of Bodrum on the mainland of southwestern Anatolia in 1404. The increasing Mamlūk and Ottoman activity in the eastern Mediterranean in the fifteenth century caused the Hospitallers to update their fortifications. The Mamlūks attacked Rhodes and Kos in 1440, and Rhodes again in 1444. The Ottomans attacked the Morea in 1446, completing its conquest in 1460; in 1453 they captured Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) and thus extinguished the Byzantine Empire. The Hospitallers assisted the Venetians when Sultan Mehmed II, the conqueror of Constantinople, besieged Venetian Negroponte (Euboia) in 1470, although the Venetians lost the island. Mehmed's fleet unsuccessfully besieged Rhodes itself in

1480. Mehmed died the following year; when his son Bayezid II became sultan his other son, Cem (Djem), fled to the Hospitallers on Rhodes for sanctuary. Bayezid paid the Hospitallers an annual income to keep Cem hostage. After Cem's death, hostilities resumed between the Hospitallers and the Ottomans. Grand Master Philippe de Villiers de l'Isle Adam surrendered Rhodes to the forces of Sultan Süleyman II in 1522.

Süleyman permitted the Hospitallers to withdraw from Rhodes with many of their possessions and archives. The order debated where to relocate the central convent; the French knights, who were in the majority, preferred France, which the Spanish knights opposed. Emperor Charles V offered the Hospitallers the island of Malta, together with the islands of Gozo and Comino, and Tripoli (mod. Tarābulus, Libya) in North Africa. The order considered his offer for some time before accepting it in 1530, noting Malta's relative poverty, its fine harbor, and its importance for the defense of Sicily. Tripoli proved to be indefensible and was abandoned in 1551.

On Malta, the Hospitallers decided not to establish the convent in the city of Mdina, and settled initially in the village of Birgu on the Grand Harbour. There they defended the island against the forces of Süleyman II in the Great Siege of Malta, lasting from May to September 1565. This was the last great battle between Christians and the Ottomans in the Mediterranean until Lepanto in 1571. Even after Lepanto ended the threat of Ottoman fleets to western Europe, Hospitaller ships continued patrols against North African corsairs until 1798.

After the Great Siege, the grand master, Jean de la Valette, decided to build a city on the Sciberras peninsula jutting into the Grand Harbour. This city, named Valletta, was the first planned city in Europe. Behind its massive walls, the streets followed a grid plan; each house was required to have a cistern to enable the household to sit out a siege. The order also built a hospital (the Sacra Infermia), the conventual church, a palace for the grand master, and, in the late eighteenth century, the library. This structure, today the National Library of Malta, still contains the main archives of the order.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the order's identification with the Ancien Régime, plus the loss of its properties resulting from the French Revolution, weakened its moral authority and financial resources. The last grand master on Malta, Ferdinand von Hompesch, surrendered the island to Napoleon Bonaparte and his fleet in 1798.

Structure and International Organization

As an exempt order of the church, the Hospitallers were under the direct jurisdiction of the pope. The head of the order was the master, who governed with the central convent through meetings of the chapter general. The extent of the master's executive powers is unclear for the early period, although it appears he shared authority with the convent. The chapter general, which did not meet annually, acted as a court to decide disputes among members, issued licenses for travel, and discussed the military preparedness of the convent. Generally, the meetings took place at the location of the main hospital, although some were held in Rome, most notably in 1462. Attendance at the meetings of the chapter general consisted of the master, the senior members of the order, the order's top officials, and two representatives from each province (Fr. *langue*). The master became known as the grand master in the fifteenth century, was given the status of a cardinal in the sixteenth century, and claimed princely rank by the eighteenth century. The chief officials of the order served as advisors to the master and formed part of his council at the central convent. The offices were those of the conventual prior, grand preceptor, hospitaller, marshal, admiral, turcopolier (originally the officer in charge of the Turcoples, or light cavalry), draper, and treasurer. By the fourteenth century each of these offices was assigned to a specific *langue*, except for that of the conventual prior, who supervised the conventual chaplains.

The Hospitallers were a lay order whose members took vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience to the master. Serving brethren formed the majority of the members in the twelfth through fourteenth centuries and did most of the work in the hospital. Fighting men of free, but not necessarily knightly, birth served as brother sergeants. Conventual chaplains tended to the spiritual needs of members of the order. The knight brethren fought on behalf of the order, and by the mid-thirteenth century had attained higher status than the conventual chaplains. The office of the master was reserved to knights by 1262, and by 1270 knights held all the high offices of the order. By the sixteenth century, prospective knights had to produce proofs of noble birth for several generations (the number varying according to *langue*) before admittance to the order. Around this time the order created two ranks of knights: the knights of justice, who were of noble birth, and the knights of grace, nonnobles who performed service for the order. The knights of grace remained of lower status and could not hold high office in the order.

It is possible that in the twelfth century female members served in the hospital, although they were not mentioned in the Hospitaller rule. At the end of the twelfth century, cloistered female convents dependent on the order emerged. Of these, the most important was the convent of Sigena, founded in Aragon in 1187. The cloistered female Hospitallers neither fought nor served in the hospitals, although they contributed responsions to the main convent. There were also associate members (called donates): men and women who took vows of obedience and promised to join the order in the future. Confraters and consors gave an annual donation to the order and were promised care in their old age and a Christian burial in return.

The Hospitallers acquired property throughout those parts of Europe that belonged to the Latin Church. Initially, the first grants were in southern France and Iberia. In the aftermath of the Second Crusade (1147–1149), the order began to receive more donations elsewhere, particularly in the British Isles, France, Germany, and Italy. Eventually it also acquired property in Hungary, Bohemia-Moravia, Poland, and Scandinavia. The basic unit of Hospitaller property was the commandery, usually an estate with a small religious house attached. Serving brethren and novice knights lived in the commandery, with a chaplain. By the fourteenth century, a knight who had served some time in the central convent and made at least three trips in the order's galleys could be granted a commandery within his own province. He then administered the commandery and received a portion of its income.

Commanderies were grouped by region into priories, each headed by a prior. The oldest priory was the Priory of Saint-Gilles, founded circa 1115; the Priory of Aragon (later the Castellany of Amposta) was founded in 1149. By the late thirteenth century, the priories were grouped into *langues*, "tongues," according to nationality. Initially there were seven *langues*: Saint-Gilles (or Provence), Auvergne, France, the Castellany of Amposta (Aragon), Italy, England (which included Ireland, Scotland, and Wales), and Germany (which included central and eastern Europe). These priories were enlarged when the Hospitallers acquired former Templar lands in France, Aragon, England, Scotland, and Brandenburg after the Templars' dissolution in 1312. In 1462 the order created the *langue* of Castile-Portugal.

Each *langue* was headed by the conventual bailiff (pillier) who held one of the chief offices of the order and served as an advisor to the master. The office of grand preceptor, who func-

tioned as the second-in-command, was traditionally held by the bailiff of Provence. The bailiff of France was the hospitaller, responsible for the infirmary. The bailiff of Auvergne was the marshal, the chief military officer of the order. The bailiff of Italy was the admiral, commanding the fleet of the order. The bailiff of England was the turcopolier, commanding the mounted native mercenary troops. This office was later assumed by the grand master when the English priory was dissolved in 1540. The bailiff of Aragon was the draper, an office that initially issued clothing, fabric, and alms, and later provisioned the order's military forces. The bailiff of Germany was the treasurer, but when Germany was demoted to a province, the treasury was subordinated to the grand preceptor. When the new *langue* of Castile-Portugal was created in 1461, the office of chancellor was elevated to the council and became the bailiwick of the *langue* of Castile-León. In addition to assuming responsibility for each of the chief offices of the order, each *langue* maintained and defended a portion of the town defenses of Rhodes and, later, Valletta.

The archival records from the Rhodian era reveal more information about the role of the *langues* in the organization of the order. Although the central convent had income from local revenues, first from the Hospitallers' estates in Outremer, and then from coastal trade and the estates on Cyprus, the Western priories paid yearly responsions that subsidized the hospital, the necessities of the convent, and its defense. In times of emergency, the *langues* provided men, money, and materials for military campaigns. The *langues* also formed the basis for conventual life and administration. Knights were admitted to the order through their native *langue*, and, when in residence in Rhodes or Malta, lived in their *langue's* own *auberge* (residence). The system by which bailiffs of the *langues* served as the chief officials of the order broke down during the Great Schism; between 1378 and 1409 local obedience in some *langues* to the Roman pope reduced the payment of responsions to the central convent, which obeyed the Avignon pope. During the fifteenth century, the order faced a severe financial crisis, and Pope Paul II had to call a meeting of the chapter general in Rome in 1462 to reform the statutes and to collect the responsions. The power of the grand master to collect responsions increased, thus improving the revenues of the main convent.

Medical Activities

The order maintained a hospital at the site of the central convent, allocating one-third of its yearly income from its

Masters of the Order of St. John

Gerard	–1120	Jacques de Milly	1454–1461
Raymond of Le Puy	1120–1160	Pedro Raimondo Zacosta	1461–1467
Anger of Balben	1160–1162	Giovanni Bastista degli Orsini	1467–1476
Arnold of Comps	1162	Pierre d'Aubusson	1476–1503
Gilbert of Assailly	1162–1170	Emery d'Amboise	1503–1512
Castus of Muralo	1170–1172	Guy de Blanchefort	1512–1513
Joubert	1172–1177	Fabrizio del Carretto	1513–1521
Roger of Les Moulins	1177–1187	Philippe Villiers de l'Isle Adam	1521–1534
Armengarde of Aspe	1188–1190	Pierino del Ponte	1534–1535
Warner of Nablus	1190–1192	Didiers de St. Jalle	1535–1536
Geoffrey de Donjon	1192–1202	Juan de Omedes	1536–1553
Afonso of Portugal	1202–1206	Claude de la Sengle	1553–1557
Geoffrey Le Rat	1206–1207	Jean Parisot de la Valette	1557–1568
Garin of Montaigu	1207–1227	Pietro del Monte	1568–1572
Bernard of Thercy	1228–1230	Jean l'Evêque de la Cassière	1572–1581
Guérin	1230–1236	Hugh Loubenx de Verdalle	1582–1595
Bertrand of Comps	1236–1239	Martin Garzes	1595–1601
Peter of Viellebride	1239–1242	Alof de Wignacort	1601–1623
William of Châteauneuf	1243–1258	Luiz Mendez de Vasconcellos	1622–1623
Hugh Revel	1258–1277	Antoine de Paule	1623–1636
Nicholas Lorgne	1277–1284	Jean Paul de Lascaris Castellar	1636–1657
John of Villiers	1285–1293	Martin de Redin	1657–1660
Odo of Pins	1294–1296	Annet de Clermont de Chattes Gessan	1660
William of Villaret	1296–1305	Rafael Cotoner	1660–1663
Fulk of Villaret	1305–1317	Nicolas Cotoner	1663–1680
Hélion of Villeneuve	1319–1346	Gregorio Carafa	1680–1690
Deodat of Gozon	1346–1353	Adrien de Wignacort	1690–1697
Peter of Corneillan	1353–1355	Ramon Perellos y Roccaful	1697–1720
Roger of Les Pins	1355–1365	Marc'Antonio Zondadari	1720–1722
Raymond Berenger	1365–1374	Antonio Manoel de Vilhena	1722–1736
Robert of Juillac	1374–1377	Ramon Despuig	1736–1741
Juan Fernández de Heredia	1377–1396	Emanuel Pinto de Fonseca	1741–1773
Philibert de Naillac	1396–1421	Francisco Ximenes de Texada	1773–1775
Antoni Fluviá	1421–1437	Emanuel de Rohan Polduc	1775–1797
Jean Bonpart de Lastic	1437–1454	Ferdinand von Hompesch	1797–1798

Source: Helen Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller*

European priories for its needs. The first hospital, in Jerusalem, was located in the Muristan, near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Recent archaeological excavations have revealed the true size and layout of the hospital complex in Acre. The infirmary buildings in Rhodes and Malta survive intact. The physical remains suggest that the hospitals of the order were large and able to accommodate many patients. Hospitaller concerns with hygiene and isolation of infec-

tious diseases were influenced by the desire to provide luxuries for the sick, as well as by Greek and Muslim medical practices. The rule of the order referred to the patients as "our lords the sick," illustrating the order's precepts that the sick represented Christ, and that the Hospitallers served Christ by caring for them. In this spirit of hospitality, the statutes of the order dictated that patients should receive white bread and comfortable beds in addition to their spir-

itual care. The Hospitallers had separate wards for male and female patients, provided obstetric care, and made provisions for child and infant care within the hospitals. The order employed qualified physicians and surgeons to diagnose and care for the patients' ailments. Serving brethren worked in the hospital, and chaplains attended to the patients' spiritual health. In acknowledgment of their hospitaller duties, the chief officers of the convent, including the master, performed regular service in the infirmary on Rhodes and on Malta.

Hospitallers and the Arts

The Hospitallers in Outremer were not noted patrons of the arts, although frescoes in their church at Abu Ghosh survive. On Rhodes, Master Juan Fernández de Heredia was a noted humanist, with strong connections to the Avignon papacy and the king of Aragon. It was on Malta that the Hospitallers left a lasting artistic legacy, with the construction of the city of Valletta, and the patronage of the painters Caravaggio and Matteo Preti. The order's most noted contributions were to the field of military architecture, particularly with the castles of Belvoir, Lindos, and Bodrum, the citadel of Rhodes, and the fortifications of Valletta.

—Theresa M. Vann

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Hospital of St. John (Jerusalem)

An institution in the city of Jerusalem, initially for the accommodation of pilgrims, that developed into a facility for the infirm under the care of a dedicated military order, the Knights of St. John (or Hospitallers).

The hospital was founded in the middle of the eleventh century by a group of merchants from Amalfi in Italy as a hostel for pilgrims visiting the holy places in Jerusalem. It was situated in the Christian quarter of the city, near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Italian monks staffed the hostel, which they dedicated to St. John the Baptist. After the First Crusade captured Jerusalem in 1099, making it safer and more attractive as a pilgrimage center, the hostel was expanded to cope with the influx of pilgrims. Archaeology has revealed an ambitious building program in the middle of the twelfth century.

Travelers described an institution that could house up to 2,000 patients in the 1170s. When Saladin captured Jerusalem in 1187, he was so impressed by the hospital that he allowed it to remain open for a year so that it could dispose of its affairs in good order. Documents from a few years before confirm the exceptional size of the hospital, though its maximum capacity may only have been achieved at the expense of the brethren's own beds. Pilgrims were received into the wards of the hospital. There were ten general wards and one for the weakest patients. All were housed in comfort, with sheepskin covers and dressing gowns. Salaried staff comprised four doctors, a physician for the weakest patients, and three or four surgeons, plus blood-letters. The hands-on nursing was done by sergeants of the order, though the hospital regulations stipulated that the



Interior of St. John's Hospital, Jerusalem. (Library of Congress)

knights should also be prepared to take on menial tasks.

The most important recourse was the power of prayer ("celestial medicine"). Almost equally important was dietary regulation. In accordance with the science of the time, the patients were prescribed strengthening foods to counteract the cold, moist humors of old age and infirmity. Their diet included luxuries such as wine, sugar, and almonds, as well as meat, vegetables, and white bread. Much less is known about medicines administered. Surgery was important after battles, and one source claims that the knights had first-aid stations on the battlefield, from which the wounded were brought back to the hospital. A separate women's facility (dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene) had female attendants and wards for lying-in and for the care of foundlings.

—Susan B. Edgington

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Hostiensis (d. 1271)

Henry Bartolomei of Susa (Lat. *Henricus de Segusio*) was one of the foremost canonists of the thirteenth century and an influential writer on legal aspects of crusading. He was known in later life and to posterity as Hostiensis from his

title of cardinal bishop of Ostia.

Probably born around 1200, Henry of Susa seems to have taught canon law in Paris before 1240. After becoming a papal chaplain and bishop of Sisteron in 1243/1244, he probably attended a crusade planning council at Lyons (1245). As archbishop of Embrun (1250–1261), he replaced Philip Fontana as papal legate to northern Italy in 1259 during the denouement of the political crusade against Ezzelino of Romano and his supporters. Appointed cardinal of Ostia in 1262, he participated in the conclave that eventually elected Pope Gregory X (1271–1276) before ill health ended his career.

Hostiensis composed two influential commentaries on the decretals of Gregory IX, known as the *Summa aurea* (c. 1253) and the *Lectura in quinque libros Decretalium* (c. 1271). These and his *Lectura* (1245/1246–1253) on the *Novellae* of Pope Innocent IV (whom Hostiensis met while studying canon and Roman law in Bologna in the 1220s) illuminate how extensively the legal obligations and privileges of the crusading vow had been defined by the mid-thirteenth century.

—Jessalynn Bird

See also: Indulgences and Penance

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Hromgla

Hromgla (mod. Rumkale, Turkey) was a fortress-town on a promontory above the Euphrates, 90 kilometers east of Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey) and 50 kilometers northwest of Aintab (mod. Gaziantep, Turkey). It was known as Ranculat by the Franks, Hromgla in Armenian, and Qal‘at al-Rūm in Arabic; all of these names derive from forms that mean “Castle of the Romans.”

Probably originally a Byzantine frontier fortress guarding a Roman road that ran along the Euphrates, Hromgla was settled by the Armenians in the eleventh century. At the time of the First Crusade (1096–1099), it was part of the principality of the Armenian Kogh Vasil (Basil the Robber), who

was based at Kaysoun further north. It was in Frankish hands (probably of the counts of Marash) from at least 1116, when Count Baldwin II of Edessa captured its Armenian ruler. It survived the collapse of the county of Edessa (1144) and the death of Baldwin of Marash; in contrast to the other remaining Edessan fortresses, which were sold to the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos and then taken by the Saljūqs of Rūm or Nūr al-Dīn, Hromgla was given to the head of the Armenian church, the catholicos. It remained his headquarters, generally isolated from the rest of Armenian-held territory, until its capture in 1292 by the Mamlūks, who refortified and garrisoned it, changing its official name to Qal‘at al-Muslimūn (“Castle of the Muslims”). It is now ruined and partially flooded.

—Angus Stewart

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Hugh I of Cyprus (1195–1218)

King of Cyprus (1205–1218).

As Hugh was only nine years old on the death of his father, King Aimery (1197–1205), the regency of Cyprus passed to Walter of Montbéliard, husband of Hugh’s elder sister Burgundia. In 1210 Walter oversaw Hugh’s marriage to Alice, the daughter of Henry of Champagne, lord of Jerusalem (d. 1197). However, when Hugh came of age later that year he accused Walter of incompetence and embezzlement. Walter sought refuge with his cousin John of Brienne, king of Jerusalem (1212–1225), whose relations with Cyprus remained tense for several years. In the war over the succession to the principality of Antioch then raging, John of Brienne supported Bohemund IV and the Templars, whereas Hugh supported the Hospitallers and King Leon I of Cilicia, the husband of Hugh’s half-sister Sibyl. However, with papal encouragement Hugh was reconciled with John of Brienne sufficiently to participate in the opening campaign of the Fifth Crusade in Galilee (autumn 1217). Shortly

Hugh II of Cyprus (1253–1267)

afterward, one of the leading crusaders, King Andrew II of Hungary, decided to return home, and Hugh accompanied him as far as Tripoli (mod. Trâblous, Lebanon), where he died suddenly on 10 January 1218.

–*Kristian Molin*

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Hugh I of Jerusalem

See Hugh III of Cyprus and I of Jerusalem

Hugh II of Cyprus (1253–1267)

King of Cyprus (1253–1267).

The son of King Henry I and Plaisance of Antioch, Hugh II came to throne while still an infant. His mother ruled on his behalf in Cyprus and also in the kingdom of Jerusalem, where in 1258 Hugh was confirmed as regent for its underage king, Conradin (1254–1268), because the High Court of Jerusalem considered Hugh to be Conradin's closest living relative in the East. Plaisance and her supporters (notably John of Arsuf and Geoffrey of Sergines, her representatives in the kingdom of Jerusalem, and her brother, Bohemund VI of Antioch-Tripoli) enjoyed considerable power in the 1250s. In 1258 their support helped the Venetians to win the War of St. Sabas, a bitter power struggle then raging in Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) between Venice and Genoa.

After Plaisance died (1261), her right to rule Cyprus and to hold Conradin's regency on Hugh II's behalf passed to Hugh's aunt, Isabella. Isabella appointed her own son, Hugh of Antioch-Lusignan, to govern Cyprus for her, and after she died (1264), he saw off a legal challenge by his cousin, Hugh of Brienne, to be recognized as holder of the regency in Jerusalem as well. When Hugh II died on 5 December 1267, having never come of age, it was Hugh of Antioch-Lusignan who succeeded in Cyprus (as Hugh III).

–*Kristian Molin*

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Hugh III of Cyprus and I of Jerusalem (d. 1284)

King of Cyprus (1267–1284) and Jerusalem (1268–1284).

Hugh of Antioch-Lusignan, as he was originally known, was the son of Isabella, sister of King Henry I of Cyprus, and Henry, brother of Prince Bohemund V of Antioch. In 1261 Hugh was appointed by his mother as regent for his cousin and namesake, the underage Hugh II of Cyprus. In 1267 he was also confirmed as regent for the absent King Conradin of Jerusalem (1254–1268). When Conradin was executed in 1268 after his attempt to gain the kingdom of Sicily, Hugh, who by now was king of Cyprus, succeeded to the throne of Jerusalem (as Hugh I).

Hugh was the first king of Jerusalem to be actually present in the East since the 1220s, and he tried to restore royal authority weakened by decades of absentee rulers. He regained some influence over Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon), which was theoretically part of the royal domain, through good relations with its lord, Philip of Montfort. However, Hugh's other attempts to extend his authority beyond Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) generally failed, partly because after 1271 his Cypriot vassals, having accompanied him to the mainland repeatedly in the 1260s, no longer agreed to serve him outside Cyprus except for limited periods. Hugh's efforts were also undermined because his status as regent and then as king of Jerusalem was challenged by another relative of Conradin, Maria of Antioch. In 1268 the High Court of Jerusalem had rejected her claim and confirmed Hugh as Conradin's closest living relative in the East. However, in 1277 Maria, supported by the papacy, sold her claim to Charles I of Anjou, king of Sicily and brother of King Louis IX of France. Thereafter, Charles's representatives took control of Acre, which Hugh, frustrated at his limited authority, had effectively abandoned in 1276. Some now recognized Charles as king of Jerusalem in the hope that he would bring greater military aid against the Muslims than Hugh. Charles

was particularly welcomed by the Templars, because of their close links with the papacy and the French monarchy, and by the Venetians, whose rivals, the Genoese, were based in pro-Cypriot Tyre. Hugh responded by confiscating the Templars' Cypriot properties (1279–1282). In 1279 he landed at Tyre in a failed bid to regain Acre from Charles's representatives. In 1283 he sent forces to Beirut and Tyre in another attempt, but he died in Tyre on 24 March 1284.

The period between 1265 and 1271 also witnessed numerous conquests by Baybars I, the Mamlūk sultan of Egypt, including Caesarea, Arsuf (1265), Saphet (1266), Jaffa, Beaufort, Antioch (1268), Montfort, and several Tripolitan strongholds (1271). In 1271 Baybars also made a failed naval attack against Limassol (mod. Lemesos, Cyprus). In response, Hugh brought troops to the mainland occasionally in the 1260s, and in 1271 he joined the Crusade of the Lord Edward of England in two major raids in the Holy Land. In April 1272 hostilities ended with a truce that lasted for the rest of Hugh's reign.

–Kristian Molin

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Hugh IV of Cyprus (1295–1359)

King of Cyprus and titular king of Jerusalem (1324–1359).

The son of Guy, a younger son of King Hugh III of Cyprus, and Eschiva of Ibelin, Hugh succeeded his uncle, Henry II (1285–1324) to the throne of Cyprus in preference to two elderly aunts whose claim to the succession was arguably stronger. During his reign, at least until the time of the Black Death (1348), Cyprus enjoyed its greatest period of prosperity during the Middle Ages.

Hugh participated in various Christian leagues against the Turks in the Aegean region and was able to place the Turkish emirates of southern Anatolia under tribute. However, he appears to have been careful to avoid conflict with the Mamlūk sultanate. He seems to have been of a curmudgeonly disposition, treating his own kinsmen with considerable

harshness, and even imprisoning his own sons, Peter (the future Peter I) and John, after they had absconded to the West.

Hugh married twice. A son by his first marriage, Guy, predeceased him, leaving a son of his own, Hugh of Galilee, and it was probably to prevent this grandson from asserting a claim to the throne that Hugh had Peter I, his eldest son by his second marriage, crowned in his own lifetime shortly before he died.

–Peter W. Edbury

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Hugh of Fauquembergues (d. 1106)

A participant in the First Crusade (1096–1099) and later lord of Tiberias (1101–1106).

From Fauquembergues near Saint-Omer in the diocese of Thérouanne, Hugh was installed by King Baldwin I of Jerusalem in March 1101 as lord of Tiberias (mod. Teverya, Israel), a position that had been vacated by the Norman Tancred. Hugh secured the defense of the frontier lordship through the construction of castles at Saphet (mod. Zefat, Israel), dominating central Galilee, and Toron, to control communications between Muslim Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon) and the interior, and attempted to extend Frankish control into the Terre de Suète.

In 1105 Hugh began construction of a castle at Qasr Bardawil, east of Lake Tiberias, which, however, was destroyed before completion by ʿUghtigīn, atabeg of Damascus, but he was later able to establish a forward position further east at the cave fortress of Cave de Suète (Habis Jaldak). It was while returning from a successful raid in this region that Hugh was killed in an ambush by ʿUghtigīn's troops (September 1106).

–Alan V. Murray

See also: First Crusade (1095–1099)

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Hugh of Jaffa

One of the leading nobles of the kingdom of Jerusalem during the reign of Baldwin II (1118–1131). He held the lord-

Hugh of Payns (d. c. 1136)

ship of Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel) but was dispossessed by Baldwin's successor Fulk.

Hugh was the son of Hugh II of Le Puiset, a lordship near Chartres in France, and was thus a member of a family related to many of the nobility of northern and northeastern France. Hugh II came to Outremer some time after 1106, and some time after the accession of his cousin Baldwin II (of Bourcq) as king of Jerusalem (1118), he was made lord of the important town of Jaffa.

The younger Hugh succeeded his father around 1123; the fact he was the first member of the nobility of Jerusalem to be given the title of count is an indication of his high status. He also seems to have made claims to the future lordship of the Muslim city of Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel), situated to the south of the county of Jaffa. Hugh's fortunes went into decline after the accession of Baldwin II's daughter Melisende and her husband Fulk of Anjou (1131). The chronicler William of Tyre, writing fifty years later, claimed that Hugh was the queen's lover. In fact it is clear that Fulk was attempting to govern on his own, in breach of the settlement made by Baldwin II, which made over the kingdom to the joint rule of Fulk, Melisende, and their young son Baldwin III. Hugh of Jaffa was Melisende's closest adult male relative in the kingdom, and his opposition to Fulk derived from his desire to safeguard the rights of his kinswoman and her son.

This constitutional crisis culminated in a rebellion led by Hugh, which lost support after he allied himself with Muslim Ascalon (1133–1134). Hugh was obliged to submit and go into exile. He went to Sicily, where he died. Jaffa returned to the royal demesne until Baldwin III granted it to his younger brother Amalric.

–Alan V. Murray

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Hugh of Le Puiset

See Hugh of Jaffa

Hugh of Payns (d. c. 1136)

First master of the Order of the Temple, Hugh was a vassal of the count of Champagne from Payns, northwest of Troyes in France. He settled in the kingdom of Jerusalem after 1113, and in 1119, together with Godfrey of Saint-Omer and a few other companions, began to patrol the road from Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel) to Jerusalem in order to protect pilgrims from Muslim attack. They were sustained by benefices centered on the Temple platform in Jerusalem.

In 1127, Hugh was part of a delegation sent by King Baldwin II to accompany Fulk V, count of Anjou, to Jerusalem, where he was to marry Melisende, Baldwin's eldest daughter. While in the West, Hugh traveled extensively in France, Normandy, Flanders, England, and Scotland in order to recruit forces for an attack on Damascus planned for late 1129. In January 1129 the Templars received a rule at the Council of Troyes following an oral explanation of their original customs by Hugh himself. At about the same time, Hugh asked Bernard of Clairvaux to write in their support, a request that resulted in the treatise *De laude novae militiae*. A contemporary letter by a "Hugo Peccator," intended to strengthen Templar morale, may have been Hugh's own work.

–Malcolm Barber

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Hugh Revel (d. 1277/1278)

Master of the Order of the Hospital (1258–1277/1278).

During William of Chateaufort's mastership (1242–1258), Hugh served as castellan of the Krak des Chevaliers (1243), preceptor of Acre (1251), and grand preceptor of the order's central convent (1252–1258). In disputes involving

the Hospitallers and John of Ibelin (1256), as well as Bohemund VI of Antioch-Tripoli (1256/1257), he served as arbiter.

Hugh was elected master after the death of William of Châteauneuf (1258). He reached an agreement with the Templars and the Teutonic Knights to establish procedures for the settlement of disputes between the military orders (1258); these procedures were successfully implemented when Hospitallers and Templars achieved a compromise over disputed possessions in Valania, Margat, Sidon, and Beaufort (1262). On the Hospitallers' behalf, Hugh concluded truces with Baybars I, sultan of Egypt, in 1267 and 1271 (after the Mamlük capture of the Krak des Chevaliers).

Hugh is considered the most influential of the thirteenth-century Hospitaller masters. He played a crucial role in the order's constitutional development and presided over several general chapters that confirmed old and enacted important new statutes (1262–1276). Hugh's successful administration benefited from Joseph of Cancy's long tenure as treasurer of the Hospitallers' central convent (1248–1271). Hugh died in 1277/1278 and was succeeded by Nicholas Lorgne.

–Jochen Burgtorf

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Hugh of Vermandois (1057–1101)

One of the leaders of the First Crusade (1096–1099) and a participant in the Crusade of 1101.

Hugh was a younger son of Henry I of France (d. 1060) and Anna Yaroslavina of Kiev (d. 1076). He was nicknamed “the Great,” which possibly stems from a Latin mistranslation of the French for “the Younger.” Around 1064 he married Adele of Vermandois (d. 1120) and had twelve children, including Ralph I, count of Vermandois (d. 1152). Hugh's elder brother King Philip I of France (d. 1108) had been excommunicated at the Council of Autun in 1094 for adultery, a decision confirmed by Pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont in 1095. In July 1096 Hugh took crusading vows, and Philip wrote to Urban II announcing his submission; Hugh's decision to join the First Crusade appears to have been the result of the political difficulties of his brother.

Hugh's crusading activity suggests he was a reluctant crusader. He was the first of the crusading princes to depart, leaving in late August 1096. At Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) he swore an oath of fealty to the Byzantine emperor Alexios I Komnenos for any lands the crusaders might gain. He participated in the battle of Dorylaion in July 1097 and the capture of Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) in 1098, but then was sent by the crusading leaders to ask Alexios to take possession of Antioch. Hugh remained in Constantinople and then returned to France.

Hugh later joined the Aquitanian expedition commanded by Duke William IX on the Crusade of 1101 and fought in the second battle of Herakleia (mod. Ereğli, Turkey) around 26 August 1101, where he was injured. Hugh escaped to Tarsos (mod. Tarsus, Turkey), only to die there on 18 October 1101.

–Alec Mulinder

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Hülegü (d. 1265)

Mongol prince and founder of the Ilkhanate, the Mongol state in Persia. Hülegü was born around 1217, the son of Chinggis Khan's youngest son Tolui.

In 1253 Hülegü's elder brother, the Great Khan (Mong. *qaghan*) Möngke, dispatched him westward with an army to assume overall command of the Mongol forces operating in Persia and the Caucasus. Having largely annihilated the Ismā'īlī Assassins (1256) and destroyed the 'Abbāsīd caliphate in Baghdad (1258), Hülegü entered Syria and captured Aleppo in January 1260. But in the spring he withdrew into Azerbaijan with the bulk of his army, and a smaller force left in Palestine under his general Kitbuqa was overwhelmed by the Egyptian Mamlüks at 'Ayn Jālūt on 3 September 1260; Syria and Palestine were lost.

Hülegü was unable to avenge this defeat, owing to the disintegration of the empire following Möngke's death (1259) and the outbreak in 1261 of war with his cousin Berke, khan of the Mongols of the Golden Horde. It was probably at this juncture that he established himself as virtually an autonomous ruler in Persia and Iraq, recognized by his brother, the new *qaghan* Qubilai (Kublai) in the Far East.

In 1262 Hülegü inaugurated a series of Ilkhanid overtures to the Latin West by writing to King Louis IX of France, urg-

Humbert II of Viennois (1312–1355)

ing concerted action against the Mamlūks. His envoy to Pope Urban IV reported his desire for baptism (c. 1263). Hülegü's mother, Sorqaqtani, had been a Nestorian Christian, as was his principal wife, Doquz Khātūn. Nevertheless, he also manifested a marked interest in Tibetan Buddhism and remained attached to the shamanistic practices of his forebears until his death (8 February 1265).

—Peter Jackson

See also: Ilkhans; Mongols

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Humbert II of Viennois (1312–1355)

Humbert II, dauphin of Viennois (1333–1349), was leader of a crusade that went to the relief of Smyrna (mod. İzmir, Turkey) in western Anatolia in 1346.

Humbert was the son of John II, dauphin of Viennois, and Beatrix of Hungary. He spent his youth in Hungary and Naples, where he married Marie of Baux in 1332. He became dauphin of Viennois on the death of his elder brother Guiges in 1333.

Ambition and vanity, but also piety, motivated Humbert to take part in a crusade. At the beginning of 1345, like other rulers, Humbert received appeals from Pope Clement VI for a new crusade to aid Smyrna, which had been captured by a Christian naval league in October 1344 from Umur Beg, emir of Aydin. Humbert wanted to lead this expedition, against the misgivings of the pope, the cardinals, and even his own councillors, but Clement VI yielded. On 26 May, in Avignon, Humbert was named captain general of the Holy See against the Turks, took the cross, and received the standard of the church.

Humbert sailed from Marseilles in late August, and proceeded to Venice, collecting Italian crusaders on his way. He left Venice at the beginning of November and sailed to the island of Negroponte (Euboia), situated off eastern Greece. In February or more likely March 1346, the crusaders

defeated the Turks on the island of Mytilene. In June they arrived at Smyrna and fortified the town against the castle, which was still occupied by Umur Beg. Skirmishes took place, but more people were killed by disease than by fighting. Humbert left Smyrna for Rhodes (mod. Rodos, Greece). He was so ill that he wrote his will on 29 January 1347, although it was his wife who died several weeks later. On 19 March Clement VI relieved him of his crusade vow and authorized him to return to his lands, giving him permission to trade with the Muslims of Egypt with 2 ships and 12 galleys.

Humbert II's expedition was a complete failure: he lost his beloved wife, a great deal of money, and most of what little renown he possessed. In 1349 he ceded the Viennois to the king of France and entered the Dominican Order. He became titular Latin patriarch of Alexandria in 1351.

—Jacques Paviot

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Humbert of Romans (d. 1277)

A preacher and theorist of crusade.

Born around 1200, Humbert joined the Dominican Order as a theology student in Paris in 1224. While serving as provincial minister of the order in northern France (1244), Humbert organized its substantial contributions to the preaching and organization of the first crusade undertaken by Louis IX, king of France. He continued to promote the crusading movement as Dominican master general (1254–1263) and during his subsequent retirement at Lyons.

His *Opus tripartitum*, a treatise written for the Second Council of Lyons (1274), reiterated earlier moralists' assertions that the reform of the institutional church and laity was essential for the success of the crusades.

Humbert also described contemporary criticism of the crusading movement, dealt with the proposed reunion of the Latin and Greek Orthodox churches, and suggested that traditional crusade expeditions should be replaced by a permanent military force stationed in the Holy Land, supported by taxation and donations. His *De predicatione crucis* (1266/1268) was intended to provide preachers with material and guidance for the construction of crusade sermons. Humbert's own sermons to pilgrims and crusaders were reworked as part of the material included in his *De eruditione praedicatorum* (1266/1277).

–Jessalynn Bird

See also: Dominican Order; Sermons and Preaching

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Hungary

Up to 1526 the medieval Hungarian kingdom included not only the modern state of Hungary, but also areas then known as Upper Hungary (mod. Slovakia), Transylvania (mod. western Romania), and Slavonia and Dalmatia (the Adriatic coast of mod. Croatia). Hungary converted to Christianity in the reign of King Stephen I (1000–1038), who stabilized the kingdom after a period of civil war. After 1018 Hungary figured as a place of transit for pilgrims going from the West to Constantinople and the Holy Land. Pilgrims followed the river Danube, passed the city of Győr, and crossed the country via the royal center of Székesfehérvár and southward in the direction of Belgrade.

The Earlier Crusades, 1096–1290

The idea that King Ladislas I (1077–1095) was asked to become the military leader of the First Crusade (1096–1099)

was an invention of later Hungarian historiography, influenced by his canonization in 1192; in fact the king died before the crusade was proclaimed by Pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont (1095).

Many of the armies of the First Crusade crossed Hungary in 1096. The badly disciplined and often rapacious contingents of the so-called People's Crusades especially provoked hostile reactions, while the crusaders seem to have been shocked by the Hungarians' oriental way of life, which gave rise to unfavorable depictions in medieval historiography of the crusade. The French leader Walter Sans-Avoir passed through the country with only minor incidents, but later the army of Peter the Hermit conquered the southern border castle of Zemun (Hung. Zimony, part of mod. Belgrade). In the second wave of the People's Crusade, the crusaders of Gottschalk were annihilated by the royal army led by King Koloman (1095–1116) near Székesfehérvár; the army of Emicho of Flonheim was defeated while besieging the castle of Moson on the western border. Godfrey of Bouillon's army, which gave hostages to the king, marched through the country peacefully.

The Second Crusade (1147–1149) saw an important change in relations between Hungary and crusaders, when King Conrad III of Germany and King Louis VII of France were received solemnly by King Géza II (1141–1162). This event evidently had a major significance for the reception of the military orders in Hungary: the orders of the Temple and the Hospital of St. John settled in the country during this reign, receiving property from the king and his queen Eufrosina. Moreover, the foundation of a separate Hungarian hospitaller order, dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St. Stephen, has been recently attributed to Géza II; its rule was approved by Pope Urban III in 1187. The order's center was at Esztergom-Szentkirály near Székesfehérvár, and it is last mentioned in sources in 1439; however, its history has often been confused with that of the Hospitallers of St. John.

The impact of the Second Crusade was surpassed by that of the campaign of the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa during the Third Crusade (1189–1192). This expedition communicated chivalric ideas to the Hungarian royal court, and motivated a larger-scale Hungarian participation in the crusade. In the event, most of the 2,000 Hungarians who joined were ordered home from Thrace by King Béla III (1172–1196) as a result of the tensions between crusaders and Byzantines, but a few of them fulfilled their

vows. Béla III himself took a crusade vow during the 1190s but died before he could go.

The military orders were enriched with substantial properties by Béla III and his sons Emeric (1196–1204) and Andrew II (1205–1235). The first known master of the Templars in Hungary appeared in 1194; their central seat was at Vrana on the Adriatic coast, which became the headquarters of the Hospitallers in Hungary after 1336. Most of the possessions of the Hospitallers and Templars were situated in the western, more developed part of the country, mostly in Transdanubia, Slavonia, and Croatia. The Hospitallers settled around the royal centers of Esztergom, Buda, and Székesfehérvár, and also had houses in the rich coastal cities of Biograd na Moru, Zara (mod. Zadar, Croatia), and Šibenik. The first master of the Hospitallers in Hungary was mentioned in 1186; by the fourteenth century the order had eighteen commanderies. Though recruited mostly from non-Hungarians, both orders were integrated into Hungarian society by their public notarial activities, provided at so-called places of authentication (Lat. *loca credibilia*), which also provided an important part of their revenues.

The Teutonic Order also found its way into Hungary when it was settled by King Andrew II in the Burzenland, a sparsely populated area of southern Transylvania, in 1211. Through his wife and his brother-in-law Ludwig IV, landgrave of Thuringia, the king had family ties to Hermann von Salza, grand master of the order; it was invited primarily to defend and advance the frontiers of the kingdom against the heathen Cumans, a nomadic people settled to the east of Hungary. The order's privileges were gradually extended to an extent that was eventually considered intolerable by the local lay and ecclesiastical magnates. The aspirations of the order also came to be unacceptable to the centralized Hungarian kingdom. After provoking royal authority by activities such as illegal minting, they were expelled by royal troops in 1225, despite their successful policy of castle building and the support they enjoyed from the papacy.

The only Hungarian crusading expedition to the Holy Land was launched by King Andrew II as part of the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221). The popes had frequently had occasion to remind Béla III and Andrew II of their crusading vows. The Hungarian crusade was further delayed by the capture of the Hungarian city of Zara in 1202 by the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204). Andrew also had aspirations to the throne of the Latin Empire of Constantinople as a result of his marriage to Yolande (1215), daughter of the future Latin

emperor Peter of Courtenay, although these were never realized. Andrew II finally departed in September 1217, together with his cousin Duke Leopold VI of Austria, and accompanied by his dignitaries, bishops, and abbots. An army of some 2,000–3,000 crusaders embarked on 10 large ships and an unspecified number of smaller vessels, hired mostly from Venice, at the port of Split. Yet even this limited enterprise tried the country's financial resources: the king gave up his rights over Zara to Venice in compensation for the ships, but also spent much of the royal treasury. The Hungarian contingent in the Fifth Crusade was largely led by John of Brienne, king of Jerusalem, while Andrew II apparently kept a distance from the military operations. The active Hungarian involvement was limited to a relatively short period of time, from 4 November 1217 up to January 1218.

The campaign was not entirely unsuccessful, as the Hungarians pillaged Bethsan, and besieged and almost captured Mount Tabor; they were defeated only once, in the mountains of Lebanon. The decision of Andrew II to return home in early 1218 was regarded as treason by many contemporaries, but it was justified by the local military situation and the unstable political climate in Hungary. The return to Hungary by land took longer than the outward journey by sea, but it offered the opportunity of establishing marriage contracts and buying precious relics. A few Hungarian nobles remained in the East and fought in the Damietta campaign. A horde of thirty-two Eastern coins found in Hungary in 1982 is probably connected with this crusade.

During the thirteenth century, some Hungarian crusade vows were fulfilled by attacks on heretics in Bosnia and Bulgaria, or by assistance to the Byzantines, as in the case of a contingent of 300 crusaders in 1231–1232, mentioned in letters of Pope Gregory IX. The great Mongol invasion of Hungary (1241–1242), which culminated in the defeat of King Béla IV at the battle of Muhi (11 April 1241), brought forth calls for a new crusade. However, the crusade was prevented by the rivalries between the papacy and the Holy Roman Emperor and ultimately by the death of the pope. Similarly, in 1281 Hungary faced the second Mongol attack without any foreign help.

The Hospitallers were authorized to organize the defense of the southern borderlands by Béla IV in 1247, but when they proved unable to do this, they lost this responsibility by 1260. The long process of settling and Christianizing the heathen, nomadic Cumans (from 1242), as well as King Ladislas IV's controversial favor toward them, increased ten-

sions between the papal legates, the Hungarian church, and the king, who was twice excommunicated; a Cuman rebellion (1282) and a Mongol incursion into northern Hungary (1285) were defeated by royal armies. After 1290 inner turmoil paralyzed the kingdom's political activities abroad. This state of affairs ended only after the accession of the Angevin dynasty in the person of King Charles Robert (1307–1342).

The Later Middle Ages and the Ottoman Threat

Hungarian participation in the later crusades reached its peak between 1342 and 1490. By this time several long-lasting campaigns by the Angevins of Hungary aimed at conquering the kingdom of Naples had failed, while papal-Hungarian relations were consolidated by the peace of 1352 between Louis I the Great of Hungary (1343–1382) and Queen Joanna I of Naples. After 1353 Hungary became one of the most important foreign allies of the popes in Avignon. As a consequence, Louis I obtained a tithe of church incomes first for four, and later for seven years, to be used for crusading against the Ottoman Turks and heretics in the Balkans, and against the pagan Lithuanians, and for assisting the papacy in Italy. In fact Louis I never fought against the Ottomans, although he twice fought their allies: the Bulgarians of Vidin in 1365 or later and the Wallachians in 1375. He established a foundation at Mariazell in Styria in memory of his victory, although some scholars have suggested that this explanation is a fiction of the fifteenth century.

Crusades launched under the pretext of combating heresy became an integral part of Hungarian strategy to advance the southern borders of the kingdom into Bulgaria, Bosnia, Serbia, and Wallachia. This strategy had limited success, as a result of local pro-Ottoman parties and rivalries between Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox powers, and it was disastrously weakened by the defeat of the Serbs by the Ottomans at the battle of Kosovo Polj (1389). From this time on, the Ottomans were able to raid southern Hungary at any time, resulting in a period of continuous warfare between Hungary and the ever more menacing Ottoman Empire.

The years between 1389 and the Nikopolis Crusade of 1396 were a spectacularly active period of anti-Ottoman warfare, which attracted Germans and Burgundians for short campaigns intended to counter the enemy advance. From 1394 King Sigismund (1387–1437) negotiated with the papacy and European courts with a view to organizing a major crusade against the Turks. Sigismund's troops took

the castle of Nikopolis Minor on the lower Danube in 1395. Meanwhile Western crusaders assembled in Hungary: Burgundians and Germans coming by land, and French by sea. They joined Sigismund and the Hungarian royal army under the Palatine Leusták Ilsvai and the *voivod* of Transylvania, Stibor, arriving at the departure point of Orsova on 13 August 1396. The combined crusader army of some 15,000–20,000, together with light cavalry under Prince Mircea of Wallachia, advanced slowly and besieged every fortress on the road. While assaulting the fortress of Nikopolis, they were surprised by the army of Sultan Bayezid and fought a battle by the Danube on 25 September (or 28 September according to some scholars). As a consequence of poorly chosen battle tactics, the best equipped crusader knights began the battle, but were stopped by obstacles and pits, and then either annihilated or captured within a few hours by the Turkish janissaries and the Serbian heavy cavalry fighting on the side of the Ottomans. Sigismund escaped to Constantinople. Over the succeeding decades he adopted a new and effective defense strategy that involved military, financial, and recruitment reforms, the import of firearms, and the organization of a system of fortifications on the southern border. This system was centered on Belgrade and was supported by a large administrative hinterland.

After Sigismund's death (1437), Ottoman attacks intensified, and were stopped only by the successful three-month defense of Belgrade in 1440. The response to the Ottoman advance in the Balkans was increasingly seen as a common task of Christendom, with the popes at its heart sending regular financial aids, trying to harmonize the diverse interests of the European powers and attempting to organize large crusades, although without any significant results. Hungary became the main theater of the anti-Ottoman wars, in addition to the eastern Mediterranean, and a permanent papal legate resided in Buda. As a sign of Rome's goodwill, these papal representatives were usually very active and high-ranking figures, especially in the sixteenth century. They included the cardinals Tommaso de Vio, Lorenzo Campeggio, and Giovanni Antonio Burgio.

The last active phase of the Hungarian wars against the Ottomans was represented by the activity of John Hunyadi (Hung. Hunyadi János). This nobleman and professional soldier proved to be the most talented warlord of his time, with outstanding tactical sense. He advanced deep into the Ottoman Empire during the so-called Long Campaign of 1443–1444, during which he occupied Sofia and reached

Hungary

Varna. However, he suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Sultan Murad II's army at Varna on 10 November 1444. The deaths in this battle of King Vladislav I (king of Poland as Władisław III) and of the papal legate Giuliano Cesarini, as well as another defeat of Hunyadi at Kosovo Polje in October 1448, made clear the limits of Christian military potential in the Balkans, although Hunyadi was able to advance into Ottoman territory again in 1445, in cooperation with a Burgundian fleet in the Black Sea.

By the mid-fifteenth century, the human and economic resources of the Ottoman Empire far surpassed those of

Hungary, overburdened by the costs of defense and often involved in the affairs of other kingdoms as a result of dynastic unions. The relative weakness of Hungary is one of the reasons why the kingdom did not assist Byzantium in 1453, while even the successful defense of Belgrade in 1456 was partly due to good luck. Sultan Mehmed II personally led an army of 90,000 troops against the carefully reinforced city on 2 July 1456. John Hunyadi mobilized a force consisting of 10,000 regular troops and some 20,000 poorly equipped and undisciplined crusaders organized by the papal legate Juan de Carvajal and the Franciscan friar John of Capistrano, as well as a flotilla on the Danube. The Christian forces surprised the Ottoman besieging army, broke through its lines on 14 July, and finally overran the Ottoman artillery with an assault on 22 July and put the sultan to flight. However, the plague killed Hunyadi and Capistrano after the victory, and Serbia (1457) and Bosnia (1463) collapsed in the face of the Ottoman advance, though some of their territories were incorporated into the Hungarian frontier defense zone. The years between 1466 and 1521 could be characterized as a period of static warfare, with minimal differences between peace and wartime. By that time the kingdom was defended by two parallel lines of castles established on former Bosnian, Serbian, and Croatian territories, extending from Orşova and Timișoara in the east via Belgrade to Senj, Klis, and Skradin on the Adriatic coast.

The election of Matthias Corvinus as king of Hungary (1458–1490) was largely due to the anti-Ottoman achievements of his father, John Hunyadi. King Matthias, a better strategist than his father, followed a defensive policy toward the Ottomans, and an aggressive one against his Christian neighbors (the Holy Roman Emperor, Poland, and Venice) and the Hussites of Bohemia, whose king George of Poděbrad had been declared a heretic in 1466. The Hungarian king received significant and regular financial aid from the popes, amounting to some 250,000 golden florins in 1459–1476. He developed one of the best mercenary armies of his time, but even with this military machine, he had only minor successes against the Ottomans: a campaign in Bosnia in 1463–1464, the capture of the castle of Szabács (15 February 1476), and the dispatch of an expeditionary force to the kingdom of Naples during the occupation of Otranto by the Turks (1480–1481). Nevertheless, his rhetoric and excellent humanistic propaganda secured him a more positive fame in Europe. His general Pál Kinizsi defeated a huge raiding army of 15,000 Turks in the most outstanding battle of the

Kings and Queens of Hungary in the Period of the Crusades

(Hungarian forms of names in parentheses)

Ladislav (László) I	1077–1095
Koloman	1095–1116
Stephen (István) II	1116–1131
Béla II	1131–1141
Géza II	1141–1162
Stephen (István) III	1162–1172
Ladislav II (László)	1162–1163
Stephen IV (István)	1163–1165
Béla III	1172–1196
Emeric (Imre)	1196–1204
Ladislav (László) III	1204–1205
Andrew (András) II	1205–1235
Béla IV	1235–1270
Stephen V (István)	1270–1272
Ladislav (László) IV	1272–1290
Andrew (András) III	1290–1301
Wenceslas	1301–1305
Otto of Bavaria	1305–1307
Charles (Károly) I	1307–1342
Louis (Lajos) I the Great	1342–1382
Mary	1382–1385
Charles (Károly) II	1385–1386
Mary (again)	1386–1395
Sigismund (Zsigmond) of Luxembourg	1387–1437
Albrecht of Austria	1437–1439
Vladislav (Ulászló) I (king of Poland as Władisław III)	1440–1444
Ladislav (László) V Posthumus	1445–1457
Matthias (Mátyás) Corvinus	1458–1490
Vladislav (Ulászló) II (also Bohemia)	1490–1516
Louis II (Lajos)	1516–1526

period (13 October 1479) at Kenyérmező (mod. Ciimpul Pîinii, Romania) in southern Transylvania, but his policies with respect to the Ottomans were criticized at home, and even led to a revolt against him. Matthias's marriage alliance with the court of Naples (1476) involved him in Italian conflicts to the extent that the papal aids were stopped and his attempts to get possession of the exiled Ottoman prince Cem (Djem) were upset.

After Matthias's death, the country never recovered militarily or economically. The supremacy of the estates, the middle nobility, and the magnates, as exercised through the diets, blocked royal efforts to centralize power, weakened the fiscal system, and thus hampered the possibility of any centrally organized campaigns. In fact effective state administration had been paralyzed long before the Ottoman attacks of the 1520s. The Ottoman menace again brought regular financial help from the papacy (amounting to 106,000 golden florins in 1501–1502), but it was not used with the expected effectiveness, since the kingdom had no clear anti-Ottoman strategy. Nevertheless, this foreign aid was vital and greatly helped to balance the constant deficit of the defense budget, and it was often paid directly to leaders in the border areas.

In 1513 Pope Leo X declared a new crusade. It was launched in Hungary on 23 March 1514 under the leadership of the Hungarian cardinal Thomas Bakócz, but the court and magnates remained indifferent to it, and it was officially cancelled on 15 May. However, by this time it was too late, and the crusade developed into a bloody civil war between some 40,000 peasants and the conservative establishment of the nobles. By July 1514 the main peasant force had been defeated by John Szapolyai, voivod of Transylvania; its leader, the lesser noble George (György) Dózsa was executed, and internal order was reestablished. The bloodshed of this war was not the main reason for Hungary's subsequent defeat by the Ottomans, as was long believed. It did, however, show how traditional religious conviction could cause a crusade to develop into a revolt in an unstable social environment, for which the economic and legal position of the nobility and their selfish reluctance to defend the country were responsible.

The papacy and the Hungarian monarchy tried to develop the military potential of the country, but the lack of coordination between local and foreign efforts brought these efforts to naught. In 1518 the papal delegate Nicolaus of Schönberg even prevented a Hungarian-Turkish peace treaty in order to push the king into a more offensive strategy, all in vain.

This failure was a telling sign of the way that papal crusade efforts tended not to coincide with the actual military needs and possibilities in Hungary itself. By 1521 the fall of Belgrade to the Turks, together with the lesser strongholds of Zemun and Szabács, marked the collapse of the first line of border castles. In 1526 the final blow came when the Hungarian army was defeated at the battle of Mohács (29 August 1526), where King Louis II Jagiełło died.

The defeat of Mohács led to the Ottoman occupation of Buda (1541) and the division of Hungary into three parts: the largest was Turkish Hungary, comprising the Hungarian plain and Slavonia; the northern and eastern rump became imperial Hungary, which passed under the rule of the Austrian Habsburg dynasty; Transylvania was ruled by its own princes, mostly under Turkish overlordship. The Habsburgs also took over the idea of Hungary as the "bastion of Christendom" (Lat. *antemurale Christianitatis*), originally conceived by King Béla IV after 1241–1242 in connection with resistance to the Mongols, and later extensively used to describe both the country and its leadership.

—László Veszprémy

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Hussites, Crusades against the

A series of crusades launched in the fifteenth century against the Hussites, a religious movement in Bohemia that was held to be heretical by the Roman Catholic Church.

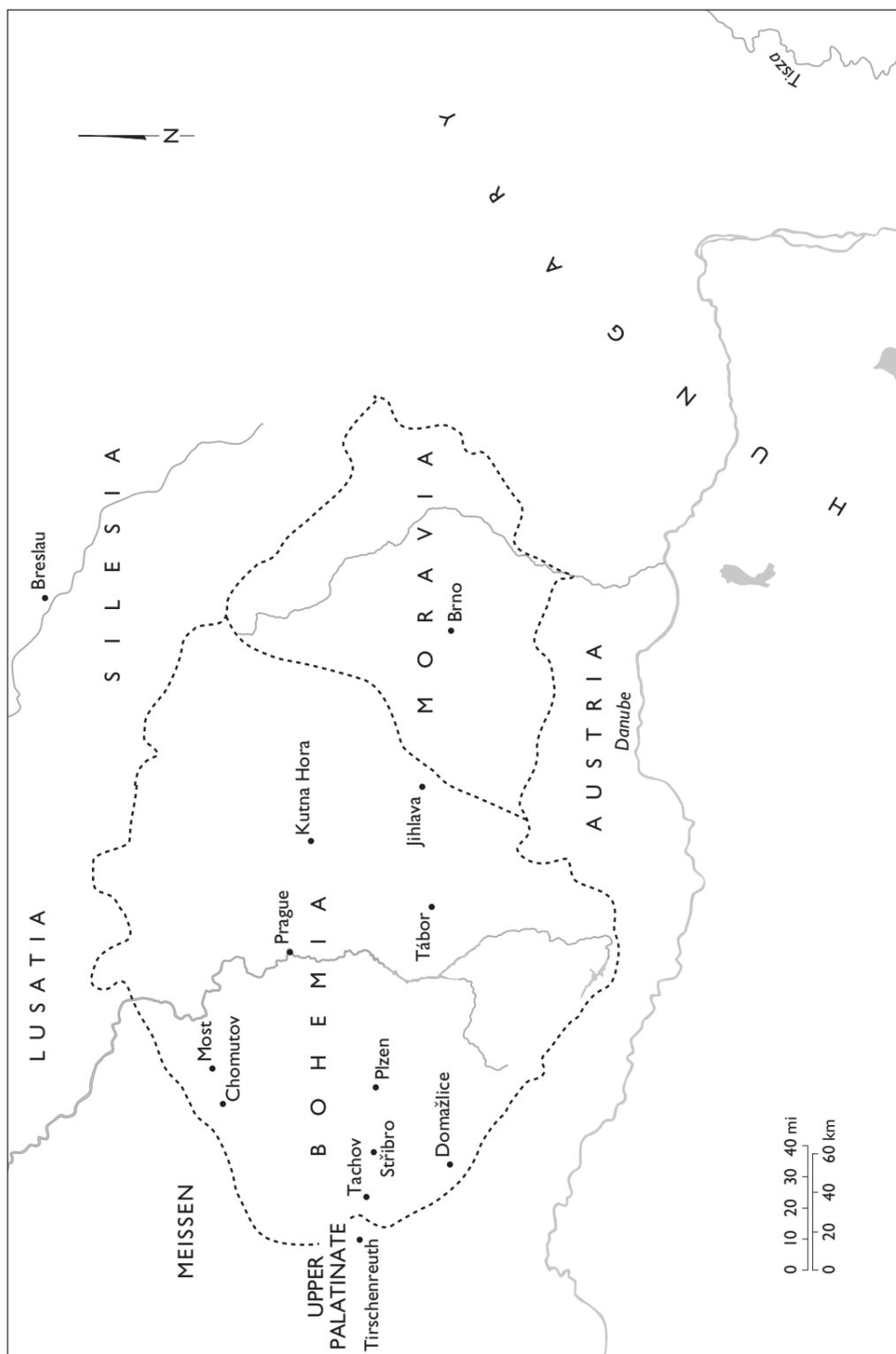
The Hussite movement derives its name from Jan Hus, an influential teacher at the University of Prague, who became popular as an eloquent and fervent preacher who severely castigated clerical vices. His theology was neither unique nor entirely revolutionary. But the situation in Bohemia was favorable for him. The Czech aristocracy and the mostly Czech citizens of lower rank resented the higher clergy and the leading citizens, who were predominantly German and supported the Crown. In 1409 Hus and his friends induced King Wenceslas IV of Bohemia to change the constitution of the university in order to secure better promotion of Czech students. As a consequence, many German students left Prague, and soon charges of heresy were made against Hus because he shared some views of the late John Wyclif, the English Lollard heretic.

Hus was forced to leave Prague in 1412 because of his criticism of a papal indulgence against King Ladislas of Naples. Sheltered by nobles in southern Bohemia, Hus came into closer contact with peasants and radicalized his preaching. The church Council of Konstanz, which convened in 1414, invited Hus to defend his opinions. He was given a safe-con-

duct by the protector of the council, Sigismund, king of the Romans, but he was burned to death on 6 July 1415. Embittered and enraged, 452 Czech lords and nobles issued a fierce protest. The religious reformers in Bohemia now began to be called Hussites. In March 1417 the University of Prague asserted that laymen should receive communion in both kinds (Lat. *sub utraque specie*), that is, wine as well as bread. This belief, known as Utraquism, became the dominant characteristic of the Hussite movement.

When the Hussites were expelled from their churches in Prague, rebels led by a former Premonstratensian monk, Jan Želivský, took over the city on 30 July 1419. King Wenceslas died on 16 August 1419. His brother and heir Sigismund was held responsible for the burning of Jan Hus, and was therefore unacceptable to the Hussites. Sigismund assembled his forces at Breslau, the capital of Silesia and the second city of the Bohemian realm, where on 17 March 1420 a crusade against the Hussite heretics was officially proclaimed. The royal troops conquered the western part of Prague with the royal palace and the cathedral, where Sigismund was crowned as king of Bohemia. On 14 July 1420, however, Jan Žižka, a former captain of Wenceslas’s palace guard, defeated the royal army near Prague. Bohemia proper—although not Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia (Lausitz)—was lost to the king, with the exception of a few isolated towns that had German majorities or were anxious not to lose their commercial relations outside Bohemia. Fearing that the end of the world was near, radical preachers and peasants formed Christian model societies in southern Bohemia on a mountain called Tábor and in the northeast on a mountain called Horeb. The breakdown of traditional authority was followed by rioting. Lower-class radicals were defeated both at Prague, where Jan Želivský perished, and at Tabor, where Jan Žižka emerged as a military dictator.

In June 1421 a diet at Čáslav deposed Sigismund and agreed on four principles proposed by the University of Prague, which became known as the *Four Articles of Prague*: freedom of preaching, reception of the chalice by laymen, relinquishing of worldly power and wealth by the church, and proper punishment of all public mortal sins. This program was accepted even by the highest officer of the realm, the burggrave Čeněk of Wartenberg, and by the archbishop of Prague, the German-born Konrad von Vechta, who had recently crowned Sigismund. In order to replace Sigismund, Grand Duke Vytautas of Lithuania and then his nephew Sigismund Korybut were invited to Bohemia, but Hussite



Crusades against the Hussites

military leaders such as Jan Žižka (d. 11 October 1424) and his successor Prokop the Great opposed any restoration of the monarchy.

Despite these quarrels, the Hussites successfully survived a second and a third wave of crusades in 1421 and in 1422. From August to October 1421, two incursions were made into Bohemia from the north and from the west. The Hussites defeated Margrave Frederick of Meissen near Most, and Cardinal Branda and several princes of the Holy Roman Empire near Žatec. In October 1421 Sigismund, who was also king of Hungary, moved into Moravia, where he was largely accepted, especially in the towns of Brno and Jihlava, which were controlled by Germans. But when he passed on into Bohemia proper to attack Kutná Hora, he suffered defeat. In October 1422 Margrave Frederick I of Brandenburg advanced into Bohemia from the west and Margrave William of Meissen moved from the north. Both were defeated, William near Chomutov in November 1422 and Frederick near Tachov in December 1422.

The Hussite successes were due to several reasons. Sigismund, his subjects in Silesia and Hungary, and the German princes were unable to coordinate their invasions effectively. By contrast, the Hussites profited from the short lines of communication within Bohemia. Their forces included many religious fanatics who fought fiercely to defend their faith and their country, whereas the crusader armies were led by politicians and suffered from indiscipline, because their rank-and-file soldiers were serving for pay and looking for easy looting. Furthermore, the crusaders were surprised by military innovations such as war-wagons and battle flails. The Hussite use of a mobile barrier of wagons started as an improvised defense for the vulnerable infantry, but developed into rectangular formations strengthened by ditches. This tactic resulted in a virtually impregnable fortification, which could, however, be rapidly dismantled for counterattacks. The battle flails, too, started as an improvisation, because the Hussite peasants were initially armed only with the flails that they used to thresh grain. Žižka and other military leaders also taught their troops how to use firearms and other long-distance weapons, which were despised by traditional knightly ethics of warfare.

The fourth crusade against the Hussites was not launched until 1427. Margrave Frederick I of Brandenburg, Cardinal Henry Beaufort, and the archbishop-elect of Trier Otto von Ziegenhain assembled at Tirschenreuth in Franconia, the same place where Frederick had begun the third crusade in

1422. This time the crusaders bypassed Tachov, but were soon routed near Stříbro. A trade embargo on the Hussite lands and the massive devastation caused by the fighting induced the Hussite military leaders to invade neighboring countries for plunder and also to spread religious propaganda. Hungary, Austria, Franconia, Meissen, Brandenburg, Poland, and even Prussia were raided, and the Hussites occupied strongholds from Lusatia through Silesia and Moravia to northern Hungary (mod. Slovakia). The heretics won little sympathy and aroused much hatred, and as the Hussites were predominantly Czech, national antipathies were used to stir up resistance. Although the religious zeal of the Hussites aimed at universal conversion, they sometimes deliberately played on Slavic resentment against German predominance. This approach was not enough, however, to win the support of Catholic Poland.

In August 1431 the fifth and last crusade again concentrated efforts from the east and from the west. Sigismund's son-in-law and heir-presumptive, Duke Albrecht of Austria, moved from Austria into Moravia, but his troops fled at Přerov. In the meantime the main forces assembled near Weiden in the Upper Palatinate under Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini, Margrave Frederick I of Brandenburg, and Duke Frederick II of Saxony. This time they avoided Tachov and Stříbro, using a more southern road to Pilsen (mod. Plzeň, Czech Republic), a Catholic stronghold. Near the Taborite town of Domažlice, they were routed by the Hussites on 15 August 1431.

Now both sides realized that a compromise had to be reached. Negotiations began with the Council of Basel and with Sigismund. When the Compacts of Prague permitted the chalice to laymen in 1433 (the main Utraquist goal), the military leader Prokop the Great and his radical supporters were defeated at Lipany in 1434 by the more moderate nobility and citizens. When Sigismund permitted the great nobles to retain former ecclesiastical property, he was finally accepted as king by the victorious Hussite majority. The archbishopric of Prague, however, had to be left vacant, because the Utraquist candidate Jan Rokycana was not recognized by the Catholics.

On Sigismund's death in 1437, his son-in-law Albrecht of Austria met with strong opposition by the Utraquists, who maintained that the ruling dynasty had become extinct in the male line and that the Bohemians had the right to elect a new king. On Albrecht's death (1439), the lords, nobles, and towns of Bohemia did not agree upon a royal election or succession

for years. Finally, an Utraquist nobleman called George of Poděbrad conquered Prague and defeated both the radical Hussites from Tábor and the Catholic lords under Ulrich of Rosenberg. George was appointed governor for the boy-king Ladislav, the posthumous son of King Albrecht. When Ladislav died, George himself was elected king in 1458. After swearing a secret oath that he would return to Catholicism, George was legitimately crowned by two Catholic bishops from Hungary. His hopes, however, that Pope Pius II would confirm the Compacts of Prague of 1433 and accept Jan Rokycana as archbishop of Prague proved to be futile.

George was deposed as a stubborn heretic by Pope Paul II in 1466, and in 1467 crusades were again preached against Bohemia. Although the papal legates appealed to the national pride of the Germans, nothing substantial was achieved. Only pro-Catholic Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia were conquered by the Hungarian king Matthias Corvinus, who was also elected as king of Bohemia in 1469 by magnates and towns of Moravia and Silesia, despite the fact that the papacy would have preferred him as a crusader against the Ottoman Turks. In 1471 the Utraquists accepted the Catholic prince Vladislav from Poland as George's successor; in 1479 he ceded the territories of Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia to Matthias. In 1483 Vladislav recognized the Utraquists as a legal church with a status vaguely similar to the Orthodox Church in Poland and Lithuania. Nevertheless, Vladislav was reconciled with Pope Innocent VIII in 1487. This series of events proved that traditional crusades within Europe were no longer successful, because papal or conciliar definitions no longer controlled the internal affairs and the external relations of states. So the instrument of crusades against heretics that had been developed by Innocent III and his immediate

successors in the thirteenth century failed against the Hussites in the fifteenth century and could no longer be used against the Reformation from the sixteenth century onward.

—Karl Borchardt

See also: Bohemia and Moravia

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Ibelin, Battle of (1123)

A defeat of an Egyptian invasion by the Franks of the kingdom of Jerusalem on the plain near Ibelin (mod. Yavne, Israel).

In May 1123 the Fāṭimid regime of Egypt sent a joint naval and land expedition to its forward base at the coastal city of Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel) in southern Palestine, seeking to capitalize on the absence of King Baldwin II of Jerusalem, who had been captured by the Turks of northern Syria. When the Fāṭimid navy laid siege to Jaffa, the regent of Jerusalem, Eustace Granarius, sent for assistance to a Venetian fleet that was en route to the Holy Land and assembled the kingdom's forces at Caco, south-east of Caesarea (mod. Har Qesari, Israel). They marched south, bypassing Jaffa, and met the Egyptian land army near Ibelin on 29 May 1123.

The Egyptians fled in the face of the first Frankish attack, which resulted in a major rout and a massacre of the Egyptian infantry. The Egyptian naval force was subsequently dispersed by the Venetian fleet. This was the last great Fāṭimid invasion of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

—Alan V. Murray

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Ibelins

A Frankish noble family in the kingdoms of Jerusalem and Cyprus.

In 1141 King Fulk of Jerusalem granted to Barisan, the constable of Jaffa, the newly built castle of Ibelin (mod. Yavne, Israel), about 20 kilometers (12½ mi.) south of Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel), and its lordship. It was from there that his descendants took their name. Barisan had been constable of Jaffa since before 1115 and came to prominence in about 1134 when he turned against his lord, Count Hugh of Jaffa, and sided with King Fulk when the two came into conflict.

Ibelin itself, part of a strategic ring of castles formed to put pressure on Muslim-held Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel), was never of any great significance, and later in the 1140s Barisan considerably enhanced his own standing and that of his family by acquiring the much more important town of Ramla, his wife's patrimony. Barisan's origins are unknown, although his name suggests he may have come from Genoa or thereabouts. He is the quintessential example of a successful seigneurial officer who rose to eminence by entering royal service and making a good marriage. He died in 1150.

Barisan had three sons, all of whom were to play an important role in the politics of the kingdom of Jerusalem during the second half of the twelfth century. In 1163 the eldest, Hugh, married Agnes of Courtenay, the divorced wife of King Amalric, thus bringing his family into the ranks of the highest aristocracy in the East. Hugh died childless around 1170. His next brother, Baldwin, thereupon inherited the lordship of Ramla, and at some point the third brother, Balian (a variant of the name "Barisan"), was provided for with Ibelin. Baldwin and Balian were leading figures among the nobility of Jerusalem in the time of King

Baldwin IV. Both made good marriages, especially Balian, who in 1177 married King Amalric's widow, Maria Komnene. More than any other single event, it was this marriage that laid the foundations of the family's dominance in the thirteenth century. On the eve of the battle of Hattin (1187), Baldwin and Balian found themselves opposed to King Guy of Lusignan, so much so that in 1186 Baldwin preferred to go into exile than serve under him. Both were powerful figures: as lord of Ramla, Baldwin owed forty knights to the crown, while Balian owed ten as lord of Ibelin and eighty-five from his wife's dower lands at Nablus.

With the collapse of the kingdom of Jerusalem in 1187, the Ibelins lost most of their lands. Baldwin evidently died in about 1187, and his only son clearly failed to survive to manhood. At some point in the 1170s, however, his daughter Eschiva had married a young newcomer to the East named Aimery of Lusignan, and it was their descendants who were to rule as kings of Cyprus for the next three centuries. Balian survived Hattin and went on to oversee the Christian evacuation of Jerusalem later in 1187. He evidently lived until the latter part of 1193 and at the close of his life was a leading counselor of Henry of Champagne, who was then ruling as the husband of Balian's stepdaughter, Queen Isabella I of Jerusalem.

Although Ibelin and Ramla remained under Muslim control after 1192, Balian's children did well. His elder son, John, was made constable of Jerusalem, and then, at some point during his reign, King Aimery (1198–1205), who by now had married Queen Isabella, gave him Beirut, recovered from the Muslims in 1197. The king's generosity is not surprising: John and his brother Philip were Aimery's first wife's first cousins and his second wife's half-brothers. Apparently cold-shouldered by King John of Brienne after 1210, the brothers now took the lead among the nobility in Cyprus, where Philip became regent after the death of King Hugh I in 1218, while John steadily built up the importance of Beirut. The scene was now set for the showdown between John and Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor and king of Sicily, who claimed royal power in the kingdom of Jerusalem through his marriage to Isabella II. By the time of his death in 1236, John had defeated his opponents in the civil war in Cyprus (1229–1233). He or his allies controlled most of the kingdom of Jerusalem, with the exception of Tyre (mod. *Soûr*, Lebanon) and Jerusalem itself.

The dominant position the Ibelins had now acquired was set to continue long after. John had four sons who survived

to have children of their own, and a fifth branch of the family was represented by another John of Ibelin, the son of Philip. In the kingdom of Jerusalem, John's eldest son, Balian, and his son, John II, were successive lords of Beirut, which then passed into the hands of John II's two daughters in turn, who continued to possess it until it fell to the Muslims in 1291. Another of John's sons held the lordship of Arsuf, and in 1246 or 1247 John son of Philip received the county of Jaffa and with it the lordship of Ramla, which had been restored to Christian control in 1229. What is more, between them the family effectively ran the government of the kingdom in Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) from the early 1230s until 1258.

In Cyprus all five branches of the family had estates. John of Beirut's other two sons, Guy and Baldwin, were constable and seneschal, respectively, of Cyprus, and the links with the Cypriot royal house were reinforced when Guy's daughter married the future King Hugh III (1267–1284). In the later thirteenth century as the Christian lordships in Outremer were conquered by the Mamlûks, the members of the other branches of the Ibelin family came to live in Cyprus. The senior branch, the lords of Beirut, failed in the male line in 1264, but the other branches all continued until the middle of the fourteenth century. At the beginning of the century King Henry II was accused of relying on the counsel of his maternal uncle, Philip of Ibelin, seneschal of Cyprus, to the exclusion of his other nobles, and in the political crisis of 1306–1310 members of all the branches of the family played leading roles. In the end it was descendants of Baldwin the Seneschal and the counts of Jaffa who suffered for their opposition to the king. The success of the family continued: both of the wives of King Hugh IV (1324–1359) were Ibelins, as was the bishop of Limassol between 1357 and 1367.

The final member of the family to have played a significant role was Philip of Ibelin, titular lord of Arsuf. In 1369 he was one of the assassins of King Peter I of Cyprus, and he was subsequently executed along with the other culprits in 1374. The last known man to bear the Ibelin name was a certain Nicholas of Ibelin who was taken to Genoa as a hostage at the end of the Genoese war with Cyprus of 1373–1374.

—Peter W. Edbury

See also: Cyprus; Jerusalem, (Latin) Kingdom of

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Ibiza

See Balearic Islands

Ibn al-ʿAdīm

See Kamāl al-Dīn

Ibn al-Athīr (1160–1233)

ʿIzz al-Dīn Abuʿl Ḥasan ʿAlī Ibn al-Athīr was an Arabic writer who is a major source for the history of the Muslim world at the time of the crusades.

Born on 13 May 1160 to a well-known family of Mosul in northern Iraq, Ibn al-Athīr spent most of his life in the city as a private scholar. In 1188 he served in Saladin’s army campaigning against the Franks of Outremer, and in 1228–1231 he stayed in Aleppo as a guest of the *atabeg* of the city. He died in May–June 1233. He is best known for his historical works. The short *Bāhir* treats the history of the Zangids of Aleppo, and the much longer *al-Kāmil fiʾl-Taʾrīkh* (*The Universal History*) deals with the whole of Islamic history up to the year 1231.

—Hugh Kennedy

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Ibn al-Jawzī

See Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī

Ibn Jubayr (1145–1217)

Abuʿl-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn Jubayr al-Kinānī was a Muslim Andalusian author of a travelogue that contains valuable insights into life in the Levant at the time of the crusades.

Ibn Jubayr, secretary of an Almohad governor of Granada, left his home during February 1183 on a penitential pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. He traveled for more than two years, visiting the North African coast, Sicily, Alexandria, Cairo, and Jeddah. Having completed his pilgrimage, he proceeded to Kūfa, Baghdad, Aleppo, Damascus, Tyre (mod. Soūr, Lebanon), and Acre (mod. ʿAkko, Israel) and finally returned home on a Genoese ship through the straits of Messina.

Ibn Jubayr recorded his experiences in a diary known as *al-Riḥlah* (*The Journey*), a detailed and vivid mine of information on the demography, politics, sociology, navigation, and architecture of his age. It is told from the perspective of a devout Muslim who was also a keen observer of people and places. Ibn Jubayr’s impressions of his relatively short stay in the kingdom of Jerusalem (thirty-two days, of which thirteen were spent on a ship in the harbor of Acre) are frequently cited in modern works pertaining to Muslims under Frankish rule. Best known are the passages concerning the plight of Muslim war prisoners, the fair treatment of Muslim villagers in the region of Tibnin by Frankish lords, the efficient and civil port administration of the otherwise filthy Acre, the right of Muslims to worship in their mosques, the ambivalent description of Raymond III of Tripoli, and the eulogy of Saladin.

Despite Ibn Jubayr’s deep antagonism toward the Franks—whom he does not mention without adding curses, and regardless of his indignation with Muslims who chose

Ibn al-Qalānīsī (d. 1160)

to remain under their rule rather than emigrate to Muslim territory—he seems to have been a fair and rather even-handed observer of Outremer.

—Daniella Talmon-Heller

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Ibn al-Qalānīsī (d. 1160)

Abū Ya‘lā Ḥamza ibn Asad ibn al-Qalānīsī al-Tamīmī was a member of an important family in Damascus, born around the year 1073. He twice occupied the position of *raʾīs* of Damascus (leader of the townspeople and controller of the urban militia). He is best known for his *Dhayl Taʾriḫ Dimashq* (*Continuation of the History of Damascus*), a two-part chronicle continuing a (now lost) annal by the historian Hilāl ibn al-Muḥassin al-Ṣābiʿ (d. 1056).

Ibn al-Qalānīsī’s chronicle begins in 1056 and recounts events up to the year of his own death in 1160. Unlike the work of al-Ṣābiʿ, which was a universal history, Ibn al-Qalānīsī’s history, which includes relevant extracts of his predecessor’s chronicle as a preface, is concerned above all with Damascus and its surroundings, dealing with events in other regions in a much more incidental fashion. It is one of the few Arabic histories contemporary with the First (1096–1099) and Second Crusades (1147–1149), and it served as a major source for later writers, including Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1233), Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 1256), and Abū Shāma (d. 1268).

In writing his history, Ibn al-Qalānīsī used a mixture of material drawn from Syro-Egyptian archives and chronicles and accounts of events witnessed by both himself and his contemporaries. His work is an essentially straightforward account of the history of Damascus, but unfortunately it is rather lacking in detail, and its concentration on the city and

its territories makes it of relatively little value for details of events taking place outside the region. In addition, the author rarely cites the sources of his information, making it difficult to assess his reliability, particularly in the case of oral reports. He also shows an understandable partiality toward Damascus and its rulers, although this does not seriously compromise the narrative.

—Niall Christie

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Ibn Shaddād (1145–1234)

One of two Muslim writers known as Ibn Shaddād (the other being ‘Izz al-Dīn, the biographer of Baybars), Bahā’ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Shaddād was born and educated in Mosul. He taught for four years in Baghdad, then in 1173–1174 he returned to Mosul, where he continued to teach, also serving the Zangid rulers as an ambassador. After completing the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1188, he passed into the service of Saladin, who made him *qāḍī* (judge) of the army. He was a close companion of the sultan until the latter’s death in 1193.

In 1195 Ibn Shaddād moved to Aleppo, where he served the Ayyūbid rulers as an ambassador and peacemaker until 1232. Although he wrote several works, Ibn Shaddād is best known for his biography of Saladin, *al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniyya waʾl-Maḥāsin al-Yūsufiyya* (*The Rare Qualities of the Sultan and the Merits of Yūsuf*), which is a vital source for the life of the sultan.

—Niall Christie

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Ibn Wāṣil (1208–1298)

Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Wāṣil was a Syrian *qāḍī* (judge) and historian.

After completing his education, he served a number of Ayyūbid rulers, including the sultan al-Mu‘azzam Tūrān Shāh. In 1261 he was sent as an ambassador to Manfred, king of Sicily, by the Mamlūk sultan Baybars I. About three years later he became chief *qāḍī* of his native city of Hamah in Syria, where he remained until his death.

Ibn Wāṣil wrote several works, the most valuable of which is his history of the Ayyūbids, *Mufarrij al-Kurūb fī Akhbār Banī Ayyūb* (*The Remover of Worries about Reports of the Scions of Ayyūb*).

–Niall Christie

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Ideology

Crusade ideology can be described as the ideas and the modes of perception that defined and justified the institution of the crusade and informed the way in which people at the time conceptualized crusades and the crusade movement.

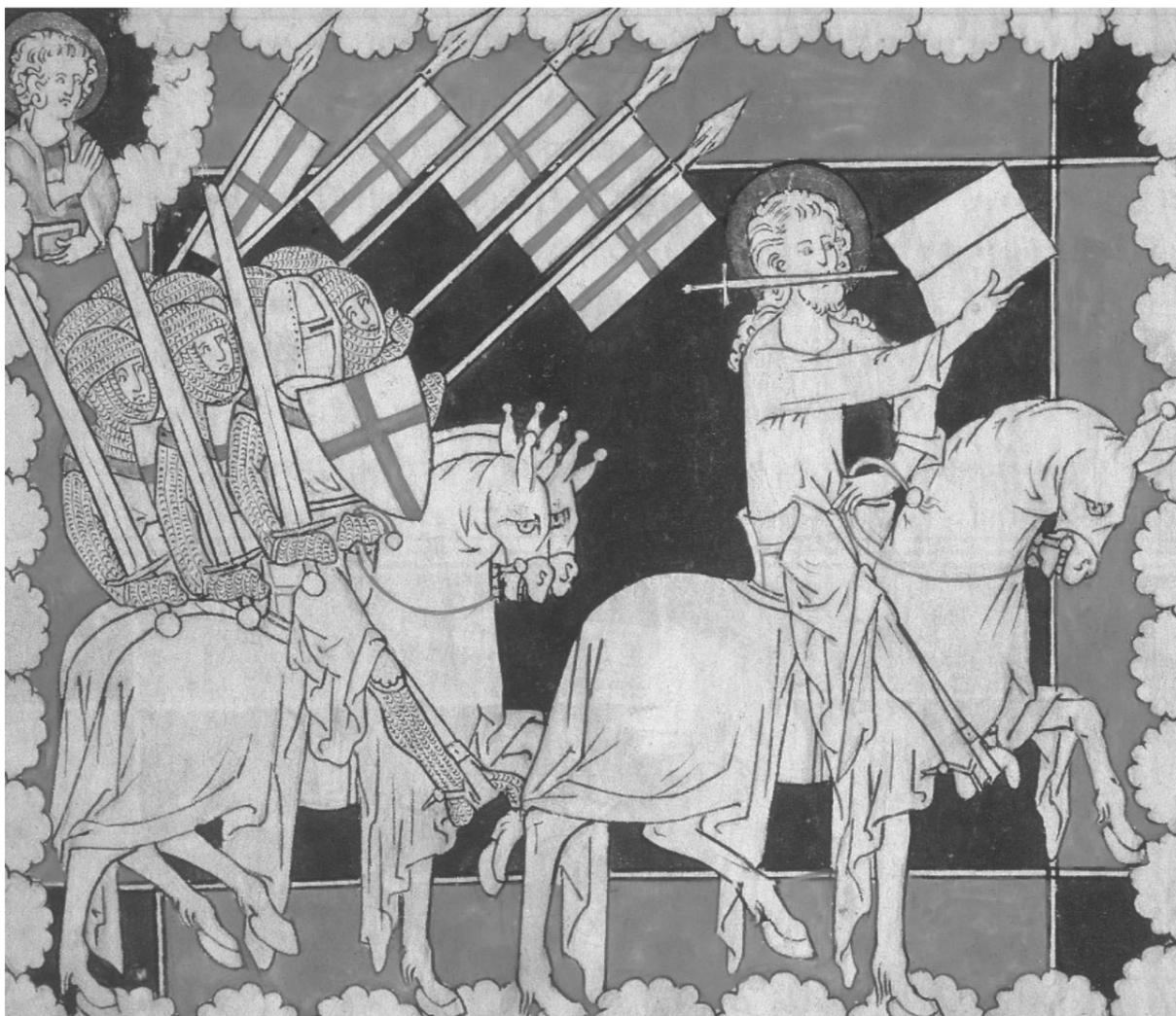
The ideology of the crusade becomes apparent in all

kinds of historical sources about crusading, most clearly in texts concerned with the definition, regulation, and promotion of crusades. Crusade ideology was based on both legal theory and theology. In legal and institutional terms, the idea of crusade rested on the twin pillars of the theory of holy war and the model of pilgrimage, which represented the collective and individual aspects characterizing the activity of crusading. The traditions of holy war and pilgrimage reached far back into the history of Christianity, its intellectual foundations, and pastoral practice, and both played important roles during the eleventh century, the period leading up to the First Crusade (1096–1099). In theological terms, crusading was couched in both Old and New Testament thought. Whereas crusades were presented as parallels to the wars fought by the people of Israel in the Old Testament with the help and on the instigation of God, the spirituality of the individual crusader was based on New Testament theology and seen in Christocentric terms as forming a personal relationship with Christ.

The ideology of the crusade thus rested on four principal elements: holy war theory, the model of pilgrimage, Old Testament history, and New Testament theology. Early on in the history of the crusade movement, these four elements were fused into one more or less coherent cluster of ideas, giving the crusade a firm intellectual foundation, which among other factors accounted for the dynamism and longevity of the institution of the crusade and the activity of crusading.

Holy War

The theory of holy war was central to the formation and justification of the idea of crusading. The medieval concept of holy war goes back to the idea of just war (Lat. *bellum iustum*) of antiquity, which was adapted to a Christian context by St. Augustine of Hippo. Based on his writings, theologians and canon lawyers from the eleventh century onward elaborated a full-fledged theory of Christian holy war (Lat. *bellum sacrum*). There were three main conditions that had to apply for a war to be called holy. First, holy war had to be initiated by a legitimate authority. Initially this meant the pope or the emperor, as they were understood to act with divine authority on the guidance or instigation of God as the supreme ruler of the universe. Later medieval theorists discussed the question whether the authority to call for a holy war might extend to princely rulers in general. Second, holy war required a just cause (Lat. *causa iusta*). The enemy had to have committed a seri-



Crusaders led by Christ; above left is St. John the Evangelist, fourteenth century. Detail from *The Apocalypse*, roy.19.B.XV. Folio No: 37. British Library, London. (HIP/Art Resource)

ous offense, overt aggression, or injurious action that justified the use of military force. In the case of holy war, the enemy had to have caused damage or insult or posed a threat to Christian religion in general or to peace and right order within Christian society. Third, holy war had to be conducted with the right intention (Lat. *intentio recta*). The initiators and participants of holy wars were supposed to act with pure motives and solely for the good of their religion and their fellow Christians. In essence, the Christian theory of holy war was meant to justify, in specific cir-

cumstances, the transgression of the divine prohibition of homicide enshrined in the Fifth Commandment.

The theory of holy war was fully elaborated in the twelfth century by the canonist Gratian and the Decretists and was given authoritative treatment by St. Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth. The suggestion of Hostiensis (Henry of Segusio) that holy war against non-Christians could be justified simply by their opposition to the Christian religion was never universally accepted. The theory of holy war underpinned some of the most important constitutive elements of the cru-

sade. Legitimate authority was provided by reserving the right to call crusades to the papacy, based on the claim that God himself could authorize the crusade only through his vicar on earth, the pope. The character of the crusade as a war fought in defense of the church and for the support of the Christian religion was directed by the idea of just cause as laid down in the theory of holy war. The fact that crusaders took a vow and were supposed to lead an exemplary Christian life in accordance with that vow answered to the requirement of right intention applied to the individual participants. In general, the regulation of all aspects of crusading by canon law was meant to guarantee that crusades were called and conducted within the rules set down by the theory of holy war.

Pilgrimage

The tradition of pilgrimage provided the model for shaping the perception of the individual crusader. A crusade was thought of as a special pilgrimage, a journey both physical and spiritual in the service of God or Christ, rather than a particular saint. But whereas ordinary pilgrims traveled to a shrine to pray for the good of their own soul, crusaders were armed warriors, or at least members of an army, not only in pursuit of personal salvation. Crusaders were serving the church and making a personal effort to benefit the whole of the Christian community. In terms of legal obligations and privileges, the status of the crusader was closely modeled in the mold of pilgrimage. Like pilgrims, crusaders were in theory subject to ecclesiastical jurisdiction and enjoyed the legal protection of the church. In turn, crusaders vowed to serve in crusade armies on the conditions set out by the papacy. The model of pilgrimage was thus important for defining the legal position of crusaders and their relationship with church institutions. It also established the aspect of penance as a fundamental element of crusading. Both pilgrimage and crusade were in essence acts of penance by which individuals tried to cleanse their souls from sin.

In the case of the crusader, the act of penance was accorded special recognition because it was linked to a plenary indulgence promised by the popes. By earning a plenary indulgence, crusaders were believed to be granted the remission of all temporal penalties that God was said to impose on sinners. In the popular mind, the crusading indulgence provided the most comprehensive way of dealing with the consequence of sin and, for those who died on crusade, a direct way into heaven.

Old Testament History

From the very beginning of the crusade movement, crusades were described with reference to the wars fought by the Israelites, God's chosen people of the Old Testament, for the recovery and the defense of the Promised Land. The most frequent parallels were drawn with the Israelites' conquest of Canaan after the Exodus from Egypt and the wars of the Maccabees against the enemies of Israel. Both were perfect examples of wars fought by God's people, led by the Lord against the enemies of his religion, and were well suited to serve as historical models for the crusades. This historical comparison suggested that, just as God initiated and supported the wars of his people in ancient times, so, too, he was the prime mover behind the contemporary crusades. The historical parallel thus emphasized the idea of the crusades as sacred warfare conducted with God's authority and supported by the powers of divine grace. Individual exponents of these Old Testament wars, such as, for example, Joshua or Judas Maccabaeus, were also presented as figures to be emulated by the crusaders, heroes displaying extraordinary military prowess and war leaders who, trusting God's commands in war, successfully fought for the good of their people and religion. The comparison with the wars of the Old Testament thus helped explain and justify the idea of the crusades as wars against enemies of the faith led by the church on behalf of God and fought by religious warriors.

New Testament Theology

Crusaders were viewed as soldiers of Christ (Lat. *milites Christi*) forming an army of Christ (Lat. *militia Christi*). Whereas prior to the First Crusade, the concept of the "soldier of Christ" was only used in a metaphorical sense (most often to describe monks), the transfer of the concept to secular soldiers fighting for the honor of the church and the defense of Christendom in essence created a type of Christian holy warrior. From the end of the twelfth century the most common way of referring to a crusader was the Latin word *crucesignatus* (male) or *crucesignata* (female), meaning "one signed by/with the cross." This referred to the crosses of cloth that crusaders attached to their garments as an outward sign of their crusading vow, starting with the First Crusade of 1095.

As a symbol, the crusader's cross represented the True Cross of Christ. The religious significance of the Cross of Christ shaped the ideas informing the individual crusader's spirituality, which was seen in terms of forming a special relationship with Christ. Taking the cross made the cru-

sader a follower and devotee of Christ responding to the New Testament call “to carry one’s cross and follow [Christ]” (Luke 9:23).

The special relationship between crusader and God was understood to be governed by the mechanisms of love, duty, and reward (*largesse*). The crusader expressed his love of God by taking upon himself the duty of fighting in the army of the crusades or supporting the crusades by other means, such as money or prayer. God returned his love for the crusader by letting him or her participate in the powers of redemption of Christ’s death on the cross and saving his or her soul from the punishments of sin. The cross thus symbolized the crusader’s devotion to Christ as well as the penitential aspect of the act of crusading. It was this personal relationship between crusader and God that, based on the theology of redemption and salvation, marked the core of the crusader’s spirituality. This explained why it was believed that, in principle, everybody could become a crusader, irrespective of gender, wealth, or social standing.

At times, the act of crusading was also seen as a form of imitation of Christ (Lat. *imitatio Christi*), an act of sacrifice motivated by charity for one’s fellow Christians after the example of Christ’s suffering for humankind. Crusaders who died on campaign were sometimes said to imitate Christ in the most radical way, by giving their lives as martyrs in imitation of Christ’s death on the cross.

The New Testament, in particular the figure of Christ, also played an important role in justifying specific crusades on a spiritual level. Thus, for example, the Holy Land was represented as the patrimony of Christ that the crusaders were recovering on God’s behalf. The Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229) was called a war in defense of the French church as the spouse of Christ; the Baltic Crusades were conceptualized as campaigns to conquer for Christianity lands beloved of Mary, the mother of Christ.

Conclusions

The theory of holy war, the model of pilgrimage, Old Testament precedent, and New Testament theology were the main foundations of crusade ideology. The combination of these four elements was what made crusade ideology distinct from the ideology of other types of religious wars or devotional activities. The perception of the crusade as a holy war was set against the background of historical parallels with the wars of the Israelites in the Old Testament. This combined the idea of a war led by the church for the good of

Christianity with the concept of a war initiated by divine authority and fought by God’s chosen people. The idea of pilgrimage as a devotional activity imbued in New Testament theology contributed toward the definition of a specific crusader spirituality. In ideal terms, the crusader was seen as a special pilgrim who carried arms or actively supported a military venture and whose spiritual journey in the act of crusading was aimed at salvation by forming a closer relationship with God or Christ.

From the beginning of the movement, crusading was closely associated with the recovery of Jerusalem and the Christian holy places in Palestine. The symbolic significance of Jerusalem in Christian history, in particular as the setting for Christ’s act of redemption, was pivotal in bringing about the First Crusade and successfully establishing the institution of crusading. This explains why throughout the Middle Ages crusades to the Holy Land always met with the greatest enthusiasm and support and gave the most forceful expression to the idea of the crusader as a soldier fighting on Christ’s behalf.

But the idea of crusading was not exclusively tied to the significance and symbolism of Jerusalem and the Holy Land. Already in the first half of the twelfth century the practice of crusading was transferred to other theaters of war between Christians and non-Christians on the periphery of Christian Europe, in particular on the Iberian Peninsula, where crusading became an integral element of the *Reconquista*, and in northeastern Europe in the wars against the Wends. By the thirteenth century the crusade movement also encompassed the missionary crusades in the Baltic region, wars against dissident groups of heretics in France, Germany, and Hungary, and campaigns against political enemies of the papacy in Italy and elsewhere.

Common factors in all these conflicts were their authorization by the papacy and justification as wars fought for the integrity of the church and the honor and defense of Christendom. Crusade ideology was thus closely linked to the medieval concept of Christendom as one single Christian community represented by the church, headed by the papacy, and distinguished from all nonbelievers (Lat. *gentiles*). The crusades were called by the pope as the spiritual leader of Christendom, were fought by participants from all over Christendom, and were aimed at furthering the cause of Christendom and the Christian religion in its entirety.

Crusade ideology was surprisingly uniform throughout the centuries spanned by the crusade movement. Its formation, vitality, and survival were ultimately dependent on two prin-

cial factors: the idea of Christendom as a geopolitical reference, and the penitential practice of the medieval church. The rise and fall of the idea of Christendom represented by one church led by the pope, which was actively promoted by the Gregorian Reformers of the eleventh century and died down in the aftermath of the Reformation, mirrored the beginning and end of the idea and the practice of crusading. By the same token, the universal acceptance of penitential practice and the belief in the effectiveness of the indulgence enshrined in Roman Catholic doctrine, which were preconditions for creating and sustaining the ideology of the crusade, gained momentum with the crusade movement and were dealt a serious blow during the Reformation. Even though the ideology of the crusade was kept alive after the sixteenth century, most notably in the aspirations of the military orders, its impact dwindled as the arrival of other forms of religious wars led to the formation of new ideologies.

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See also: Chivalry; Eschatology; Holy War; Indulgences and Penance; Just War; Cross, Symbol; Motivation; Sermons and Preaching

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Ignatius III of Antioch (d. 1252)

Ignatius III David was Syrian Orthodox (Jacobite) patriarch of Antioch (1222–1252), renowned for his reform activities

and generosity. He especially sponsored education and learning, as well as the construction of ecclesiastical buildings, notably in Frankish Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey).

Educated in the famous monastery of Mor Barsaumo near Melitene (mod. Malatya, Turkey), he was elected *maphrian* (primate) of the eastern part of the Syrian Orthodox Church in 1215, but resided in Cappadocia from 1219, and became the first *maphrian* to be elected patriarch (1222). Raids on Mesopotamia by the Mongols and encroachments on Christian territory by Muslim rulers explain why Ignatius spent his patriarchate largely in areas under Armenian and Frankish protection, particularly in Antioch.

Latin sources, among them letters of Pope Gregory IX, tell of Ignatius’s submission to papal authority. However, the Syriac chronicle by Gregory Bar Ebroyo (Bar Hebraeus) mentions nothing of the kind but describes Ignatius’s diplomatic maneuvers as calculated rather than straightforward, because of his delicate position. He was buried in the Armenian cathedral in Hromgla (mod. Rumkale, Turkey).

—Dorothea Weltecke

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Ile de Graye

See Aila and Ile de Graye

Īlghāzī (d. 1122)

Najm al-Dīn Īlghāzī ibn Artūq was founder of the Mardin-Mayyafarikin branch of the Turkish Artūqid dynasty. He contributed significantly to the check of the Frankish advance to the north and east of Outremer before the time of Zangī and Saladin, although personal vice (drunkenness) and self-interested aspirations (consolidation of his Mardin possessions) prevented him from effecting a decisive victory against the principality of Antioch.

Īlghāzī was born around 1062, the son of Artūq, a Turcoman leader. He was initially in the service of the Great Saljūq Empire, but in 1108–1109 he seized the town of Mardin. He fell out with the Saljūqs because of his reluctance to join the

Ilkhans

Muslim coalition against the Franks in 1111–1115 and also because of his part in a Turcoman alliance against the Saljūq emir of Mosul; it was only after 1118 that he reestablished good relations with Sultan Muḥammad I's successor, Maḥmūd I. In 1117–1118 Īlghāzī seized power in Aleppo in response to its inhabitants' plea to save the city from the power of Roger of Salerno, regent of Antioch, thus ending the short-lived rule of the Saljūq dynasty there.

Around 1118 Īlghāzī became master of Diyar Bakr, and subsequently took possession of Martyropolis (Mayyafarikin), which had experienced successive Saljūq and Dānīshmendid rule. In the summer of 1119 he mounted an invasion of the principality of Antioch, inflicting a major defeat on the forces of Prince Roger in a battle known as the *Ager Sanguinis* (Field of Blood), yet wasted this great victory (won without the support of the Saljūq sultan) by failing to capture the city of Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey).

In 1120 and 1122 Īlghāzī launched further attacks against Frankish northern Syria, while in 1121 he participated in an abortive Saljūq campaign in Georgia. He died at Mayyafarikin in late 1122, and his inheritance was divided among his sons and nephews.

—Alexios G. C. Savvides

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Ilkhans

A dynasty of Mongol rulers in Persia (c. 1261–1353), founded by Chinggis Khan's grandson Hülegü, and viewed as possible allies of the Christian West in the war against the Mamlūk sultanate of Egypt.

The term "Ilkhan" appears to mean "subordinate khan." Some uncertainty surrounds the creation of the Ilkhanate around the year 1261, as the Mongol Empire dissolved in civil war. Mamlūk sources allege that Hülegü, hitherto merely lieutenant on behalf of his brother, the Great Khan Möngke, now usurped control over Persia and established himself as a khan on a level with the other regional Mongol

rulers. But according to the Ilkhanid minister and historian Rashīd al-Dīn, Möngke had privately intended Hülegü and his descendants to rule the country in perpetuity. The Ilkhans were repeatedly called upon to repel invasions from north of the Caucasus by their relatives, the khans of the Golden Horde, who claimed the pasturelands of Azerbaijan and northwestern Persia. Hülegü and his successors, prevented from devoting their full attention to the war against the Mamlūks, therefore negotiated with the pope and Western monarchs for concerted action against Egypt.

These exchanges became more frequent in the reign of Hülegü's son and successor Abaqa, who was in touch with the Crusade of the Lord Edward of England (1270–1272) and whose envoys attended the Second Council of Lyons (1274). Renewed after a brief hiatus in the reign of the Muslim Aḥmad Tegüder, they peaked under Arghun (1285–1291). The ambassadors to the West were often Christians, either Nestorians like Rabban Sawma (1287) or expatriate Italians like Buscarello di' Ghisolfi (1289), and they emphasized their master's readiness to embrace the Christian faith. Yet no Ilkhan became a Christian, and no synchronized campaign ever occurred. Some Hospitallers from Margat joined an invading army sent into northern Syria by Abaqa in 1281, and King Henry II of Cyprus and the Templars endeavored to collaborate with the Ilkhan Ghazan when his forces drove the Mamlūks temporarily from Syria and Palestine in 1299–1300, an episode greeted with widespread and unrealistic enthusiasm in Western Europe.

Ghazan's successor Öljeitü (1304–1316), the last Ilkhan to launch an invasion of Syria or to make overtures to the West, was followed by Abū Sa'īd, who in 1323 made peace with the Mamlūks. Ilkhanid efforts to secure Western cooperation had failed for various reasons, including logistical difficulties and residual Latin distrust of Mongol rulers who were as yet unbaptized. That Ghazan and Öljeitü were Muslims was apparently unknown in the West, perhaps in part because it did not affect their foreign policy.

—Peter Jackson

See also: Mongols

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‘Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī*See Al-Iṣfahānī***‘Imād al-Dīn Zangī***See Zangī***Inab, Battle of (1149)**

A major defeat of the Franks of Antioch under Prince Raymond of Poitiers at the hands of Nūr al-Dīn, Muslim ruler of Aleppo.

After the failure of the attempt to capture Damascus by the Second Crusade (1148), Nūr al-Dīn intensified his attacks on the southern part of the principality of Antioch. In the summer of 1149, he assembled a force of some 6,000 cavalry from his own troops and those of Unur, ruler of Damascus, and moved to besiege Inab, one of the main Antiochene strongholds east of the Orontes. Raymond marched to its relief with a smaller force, which included a band of Assassins under their leader, the Kurd ‘Alī ibn Wafā, and the Muslims fell back, having initially overestimated their opponents’ numbers. While ‘Alī counseled a withdrawal, Raymond’s vassals pressed for an advance. On 28 June Raymond’s troops camped on low ground in the plain between Inab and the marshes east of the Orontes, and during the night Nūr al-Dīn, now apprised of the Frankish strength, surrounded their positions.

The next day (29 June), the Franks tried in vain to fight their way out of encirclement; almost all were captured or killed, including Prince Raymond, whose skull Nūr al-Dīn had mounted as a trophy of victory. Antioch was now left without a ruler, as Raymond’s son Bohemund III was still a minor. In the course of the summer Nūr al-Dīn was able to capture all of the remaining Antiochene strongholds east of the Orontes, including Artah, Harenc (mod. Ḥarim, Syria), and Apamea (mod. Afamiyah, Syria); his victory at Inab brought him huge renown in the Muslim world and constituted a major milestone in his career.

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Indulgences and Penance

The term *indulgence* is typically defined as the remission of temporal punishment due to God for sin. The term penance refers to a sacramental rite comprising the contrite oral confession of one’s sins to a priest, the penitent’s acceptance and eventual completion of acts of satisfaction imposed by the priest, and the priest’s absolution of the penitent from the guilt incurred by those sins.

Several problems complicate the historical study of indulgences. The use of indulgences in practice long predated theologians’ attempts to precisely explain and justify the way in which indulgences functioned and the spiritual benefits they provided. Moreover, conceptions and uses of indulgences evolved dramatically throughout the Middle Ages; definitions and usages that hold true for one period may not hold true for another. Both in theory and in practice, indulgences were closely tied to pilgrimage, the veneration of saints and their relics, and changing conceptions of purgatory and the sacrament of penance.

Penance and the Origin of Indulgences

By the twelfth century, the concept of indulgences and the sacrament of penance both rested upon what was known as the doctrine of the keys, deriving from Matthew 16:19. This was the belief that Christ had granted to the first pope, St. Peter, and his ecclesiastical successors, the ability to refuse or grant to penitents absolution from the guilt and the punishment attached to their sins. Some theologians claimed that the penitent’s contrition for his sin absolved him from his guilt. However, true contrition would be manifested by confession to a priest (unless one were unavailable). The priest’s absolution of the confessing penitent represented God’s forgiveness of the guilt incurred by his sin, freeing him from the danger of hellfire. However, the penalty, or punishment, due for sin still remained. Ideally, the penance imposed by the priest upon the sinner would achieve two things. It would counteract the nature of the sins committed. It would also enable the penitent to pay the penalty incurred by his sins in this world through works of satisfaction in order to avoid having to pay it in the next through purgatorial torments.

Penitential handbooks had customarily prescribed rigorous set penances for many sins, such as years of harsh fasting. For fear that penitents genuinely unable to complete imposed penances within their lifetimes would despair or ignore them, confessors soon adapted the nature and quan-

tivity of the penance imposed to the personalities and circumstances of penitents. The degree of the penitent's contrition was another important factor, as it was believed to directly affect the validity of any penance performed. Pences, whether undertaken voluntarily or imposed, could include works of charity (and financial sacrifice) such as almsgiving, acts of devotion such as prayer or pilgrimage, and forms of self-denial and physical hardship such as fasting or physical discipline. Through the power of the keys, priests and other ecclesiastics possessing jurisdiction over the penitent could also commute penances by substituting alternative works of satisfaction. This could result in a shorter but harsher penance, such as an arduous pilgrimage. Alternatively, the individual could be assigned less exacting penances such as prayers or the giving of alms. In this case, the responsibility of supplementing the remitted penance fell upon other members of the church, whose prayers, austerities, and good works would make up for any penance the penitent failed to perform before death.

The power of the keys was also invoked by popes, abbots, and bishops to grant indulgences, that is partial remissions of the penance originally imposed by an absolving priest, to individuals who performed a specified work of devotion. These could include attending particular churches or religious festivals (often feasts that marked the canonization of a saint or translation of relics), reciting prayers, visiting pilgrimage shrines, or giving alms for the building or sustenance of religious houses, hospitals, bridges, and churches. These partial remissions were often expressed in terms of days, weeks, or years, or a percentage subtracted from the estimated penance or satisfaction owed for sin. Despite persistent doubts concerning the precise functioning and potential spiritual dangers attached to indulgences, many bishops and popes appear to have viewed them as essential instruments for encouraging lay confession and for stimulating, channeling, and rewarding charitable works and devotion.

Indulgences and the Crusade

Many historians attribute the first offer of a plenary indulgence, or full remission of all the penance due for contritely confessed sins, to Pope Urban II. While preaching the First Crusade in 1095, he is reported to have offered it to all who, with pure motives, vowed to make an armed pilgrimage in order to aid the Holy Land. However, some scholars have argued that the crusade indulgence was not fully institutionalized until the late twelfth century. Many participants seem

to have viewed the First Crusade (1096–1099) as an extraordinary and not necessarily repeatable opportunity for a form of arduous yet relatively brief penance. The crusade campaign fused military service for Christ with pilgrimage and offered the possibility of erasing one's confessed sins and earning salvation without the complete and permanent renunciation of the world required by the monastic profession. Granted in acknowledgment of the possible hardships endured by those who took the crusader's cross and their potential martyrdom in defense of the faith, the plenary crusade indulgence was also at first conceptually linked to the remissions of sin traditionally granted to those who made the arduous pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. This understanding led some early crusaders to fear that if they died before reaching Christ's tomb, they would not receive the crusade indulgence.

After the crusade indulgence was applied to struggles against Muslims in Spain, pagans in the Baltic region, Cathar heretics in southern France, and political opponents of the papacy, the original association of the crusade with the Holy Land was gradually weakened. This meant that the exact nature of the service required to obtain the plenary became the subject of debate. Theologians and canon lawyers stressed that the indulgence was a reward for the penitent's imitation of Christ's sufferings and the death he risked while combating the enemies of the faith. Some individuals took the crusade vow on their own initiative or in response to appeals from the East without waiting for the pope to formally offer an indulgence, although the papacy largely successfully defended its exclusive right to grant various indulgences for the crusades. Some popes attempted to stipulate the term of military service necessary to earn the plenary, varying from one to three years for crusades to the Holy Land to forty days for the Albigensian Crusade in southern France (1209–1229). However, many crusaders considered shorter periods sufficient and left after their resources petered out, or after an important military or devotional objective was achieved.

Similarly, concepts of the precise extent and applicability of the crusade indulgence could vary widely according to the enthusiasm of those who preached the crusade and the interpretation given to their promises by their audiences. Many believed that the plenary indulgence granted to those who devoutly fulfilled a crusading vow replaced all penances imposed for previously committed but contritely confessed sins (and in some instances, forgotten and future sins as well!). Even in papal bulls, the precise formulation of the crusade indulgences' conditions and benefits continued to vary

until Innocent III established several categories of remissions granted in *Ad liberandam* (1215). This decree's categories and phraseology were adopted by most later crusade bulls. Those who performed the labor and undertook the expense of the crusading pilgrimage in a devout frame of mind received a full remission of contritely confessed sins, as did those who paid for substitutes to fulfill their vow or served as substitutes themselves. Those providing assistance or counsel also partook in the crusade indulgence according to their devotion and the type of aid rendered. Partial indulgences similar to those granted to persons giving alms to charitable projects also came to be awarded to those who dutifully paid crusade taxes, attended crusade sermons, liturgies, and processions, lent substantial advice or aid to crusading projects, or made voluntary donations or bequests. Ideally, these partial indulgences were rated according to the penitents' devotion and the financial hardship their donation or participation represented.

The crusade thus remained firmly linked in conception and practice to other penitential practices rewarded by partial indulgences, including local pilgrimages to devotional sites and the financial support of charitable enterprises. Similar to other works of satisfaction or pilgrimage vows, the commitment to armed pilgrimage held necessary to obtain the full crusading indulgence could, in cases of poverty, illness, age, or debility, be commuted into another form of penance. This might include sending a substitute or donating the money that would have been spent on the journey to the crusade or another charitable project. This meant that over time, despite many attempts to curtail the practice, the full indulgence gradually became attached to activities such as almsgiving that originally had been granted only partial indulgences. This transferral and the offer of partial indulgences for the crusade were not initially motivated by a desire to convert the devotion of the faithful into cash for the crusade. On the contrary, both appear to have stemmed from a desire on the part of the papacy and those preaching the crusade to allow those unable to participate personally in the military expedition to contribute to the crusade effort and partake in its spiritual rewards.

Until the late twelfth century, dispensations from the crusade vow were generally difficult to obtain. Individuals were screened before being allowed to take the cross and were granted commutations or redemptions of their crusading vow only on the grounds of extreme poverty, the safety of the realm, old age, or permanent disabilities. However, Pope

Innocent III and many of his preachers insisted that the crusade vow should be granted to all who desired it. They appear to have intended to financially subsidize those hardy enough to make the journey. The devotion of other militarily unfit individuals who took the crusader's cross and had fully intended to join the expedition until their vows were commuted just before the departure of the crusading army would be rewarded by being granted the plenary indulgence in return for other forms of contribution to the crusade. Yet this plan for universal participation unwittingly enabled individuals technically capable of fulfilling their vows in person to gain the plenary indulgence through deliberately commuting their personal participation into a donation to the crusade effort.

By the mid-thirteenth century, as the offices of preacher and commutator of vows became increasingly combined, critics complained that the plenary indulgence was being "sold" when the unfit, aged, and deathly ill were urged to take crusading vows, which were redeemed immediately. The instantaneous nature of these vow redemptions tended to erode the intention for personal participation present when redemptions were made at a much later date (if at all). Speedy redemptions also contributed to erasing the distinction between the putatively greater labor required for the plenary indulgence and the relatively minor almsgiving required for partial indulgences. Moreover, in response to pressure from military leaders responsible for organizing crusading contingents (who were worried about managing mobs of devout but untrained crusaders), crusade preaching very gradually shifted its emphasis from recruiting individuals to mustering funds. Categories deemed militarily useless were encouraged, and in some instances obliged, to redeem their crusade vow with money while still receiving the full crusading indulgence. However, the ideal of personal participation in the crusade remained strong.

Theory, Practice, and the Changing Conception of Indulgences

Variation, confusion, and evolution in practice were exacerbated by the fact that indulgences effectively operated without a theoretical explanation until theologians began systematically considering the sacrament of penance in the mid- to late twelfth century. They were soon forced to retroactively justify indulgences while defending the validity of the sacrament of penance, saintly intercession, penance by proxy, the concept of purgatory, and the priestly

power of the keys against criticism by “heretics.” However, they also sought to ensure that indulgences did not become a means for mulcting the faithful for money or enabling the cynical to escape the penance enjoined upon them by their priests. Some theologians insisted that all indulgences were mere spiritual insurance policies. They became valid only if the penitent could not physically perform the original penance assigned to him by his confessor, who had to approve any indulgences obtained. Remissions could only be granted by an ecclesiastical authority possessing penitential jurisdiction over the penitent, such as his bishop or the pope.

Many theologians claimed that an indulgence’s efficacy depended upon the substituted act that the penitent was responsible for performing (which ought to be proportionate to the remission granted) and his or her contrition and devotion. It was also contingent on variables outside the penitent’s control, including the quantity and quality of the good works, prayers, masses, and so on, organized by the authority offering the indulgence. These constituted a reserve that could be drawn upon to vicariously fulfill the penitent’s remitted original penance. This highly conditional conception of indulgences tended to limit the extent and number of remissions granted, since the reserves generated by the church militant (i.e., the members of the church alive on earth) was not bottomless. For this very reason, Innocent III and other popes organized special crusading liturgies and processions designed to earn enough spiritual credit to back up the partial and plenary indulgences offered for the crusade.

Unlike earlier secular theologians who had based their theory of indulgences upon the limited powers of priests and bishops to remit penance, mendicant theologians working in the second half of the thirteenth century theoretically mirrored current practice by gradually eroding the concept that indulgences should be proportionate to the suffering incurred by the recipient’s donation or labors. They severed the validity of indulgences from the limiting factors of the penitent’s own efforts and those of the church on earth by emphasizing the power of the penitent’s contrition and formulating the concept of the *treasury of merits*. According to this theory, by a special exercise of the power of the keys, the pope and those to whom he delegated his authority could dispense merit bankrolled from the limitless virtues of Christ and of the church triumphant (i.e., the saints and martyrs in heaven) in order to disproportionately relieve sinners of their enjoined penance, although the penitent’s contrition and confession

were still essential. The concept that the power of an indulgence was linked to the merits of the saints and Christ was by no means entirely novel. Yet the formulation and acceptance of this theory accompanied the widespread granting of the plenary indulgence in return for donations to the crusade and the plenary’s gradual, though by no means inevitable, disassociation from the crusading movement.

Criticism and Evolution

Complaints about the abuse of indulgences proliferated throughout the Middle Ages, but initially focused largely on the activities of wandering fund-raisers, or pardoners, who toured with relics and letters of indulgence to gather alms for charitable projects. The Fourth Lateran Council (1215) sought to restrain these fund-raisers and to combat bishops’ perceived tendency to inflate partial indulgences granted to those attending church dedications and anniversaries. Preachers bent more on offerings than on the good of souls were also accused of claiming the ability to free the souls of specific persons from purgatory or even hell through the grant of transferable indulgences in return for donations. However, the theoretical qualms expressed by theologians and many bishops were often strikingly absent from their presentation of indulgences in devotional works intended for lay audiences. Crusade sermons often portrayed the plenary indulgence as a key that granted instant access to heaven to the contrite, even if they died with only the intent of fulfilling their crusading vow in person. Preachers also insisted that crusaders’ spouses and family, dead or alive, share in the benefits of the crusading indulgence long before these benefits were enshrined in papal bulls.

The generous terms of indulgences gradually increased during the thirteenth century, leading eventually to the grant of the plenary indulgence for the pilgrimage to Rome by Boniface VIII and his successors. Complaints regarding the hyperinflation of indulgences and the number of projects to which they were applied also continued to grow, reaching their zenith during the publicizing of plenary indulgences for the crusades against the Ottoman Turks in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Moreover, by the late fifteenth century, the advent of the printing press exacerbated the already existing mass production of “pardons.” Typical of the late medieval period, these standardized letters granting indulgences and other spiritual privileges were sold by professional pardoners in return for a minimal contribution to any one of a long list of charitable causes (including various crusades). Par-

doners' hyperbolic promotional techniques and unscrupulous activities invoked the scorn of writers such as Geoffrey Chaucer and the ire of reformers, including Martin Luther.

Many popes and church councils attempted to redress abuses associated with indulgences. Nevertheless, secular rulers, conciliarists, and other reformers resented the perceived diversion of money to Rome and the dubious methods employed by some preachers, particularly as the donations required to receive the increasingly inflated benefits ascribed to the plenary indulgence continued to decrease. Critics' disillusionment with the "sale" of indulgences grew after money raised by preaching tours for the Holy Land or the anti-Ottoman crusades was consumed by local princes or diverted to other enterprises. Moreover, despite attempts to reclaim the plenary indulgence for the crusade alone, it was increasingly applied to other causes, including papal wars, almsgiving, donations to church building projects, and the pilgrimage to Rome or Jerusalem. This transfer paralleled the gradual loss of the crusades' allure, as rulers and populace alike reluctantly came to accept that the Holy Land would not be recovered by a traditional crusade.

—Jessalynn Bird

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Ingria

Ingria, or Izhoria, was a region of northwestern Russia, situated on the southeastern shore of the Gulf of Finland, that was a target for crusader attacks from Sweden and Livonia in the period of the Baltic Crusades.

Ingria included the basins of the rivers Kovashi and Izhora, and extended to the east as far as the river Neva. It was inhabited by a Finnic people known to the Russians as Izhorians and in Latin sources as Ingrians; their native names were Ingeri, Inkeri, or Inkerikot.

Ingria was incorporated into the territory of the Novgorodian state in the eleventh century, forming an administrative unit called the *Izhorskaya Zemlya* (Izhorian Land). The Ingrian "elders" (the social elite) had extensive landed possessions and controlled external trade. Some of them, together with their dependents, had adopted Orthodox Christianity and served the Novgorodian state, but the majority of the Ingrians remained pagan up to the mid-thirteenth century. Only one Ingrian elder is known by name: Pelgusii (baptized as Philip), who owned lands between the rivers Neva and Izhora and served Novgorod by watching over navigation at the mouth of the Neva with his followers. In 1240 the Swedes launched an expedition into Ingria with the aim of establishing control by building a fortress at the mouth of the river Izhora and cooperating with Ingrian elders who opposed Novgorod. Thanks to Pelgusii's watchmen, the arrival of the Swedish ships was quickly communicated to the Novgorodians, who were able to surprise and defeat the Swedes in battle at the Neva (15 July 1240).

The Swedes were more successful in 1300 when they built a fortress called Landskrona on an island in the mouth of Neva, but being unable to come to terms with the Ingrians they had to abandon it. Ingrians joined with the Novgorodians to drive the Teutonic Knights of Livonia and their allies out of Votia in the winter of 1241–1242, and they also repelled Swedish attacks in 1292 and 1348. In the winter of 1444–1445 the Livonians devastated the Ingrian lands as far

Innocent III (1160/1161–1216)

as the Neva. After the Russian-Livonian Treaty of 1448, there were no more major attempts by Swedes or Livonians to conquer Ingria in the Middle Ages, although sporadic smaller-scale hostilities continued.

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See also: Baltic Crusades; Novgorod; Russia (Rus')

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Innocent III (1160/1161–1216)

Pope (1198–1216), born Lothar (Lothario) dei Conti di Segni, of aristocratic parents, in Gavignano, south of Rome, in 1160 or 1161.

Educated at Rome, Paris, and Bologna, Lothar became a cardinal in 1189 or 1190, was elected pope 8 January 1198, and consecrated on 22 February, after first being ordained priest and bishop. His main goals throughout his papacy were to safeguard what he called the liberty of the church (especially the independence of the Papal State in central Italy), to regain the Holy Land from Muslim control, and to reform the church in all its members.

The death in 1197 of Henry VI, the Holy Roman Emperor, gave Innocent the opportunity to seek a replacement who would honor the pope's claim to the Papal State. Two rival candidates claimed the imperial crown: Otto of Brunswick and Philip of Swabia. After Philip was assassinated in 1208, Innocent crowned Otto, but Otto's violation of earlier promises to respect papal claims led Innocent to excommunicate him and give his support to Henry VI's son Frederick (II), king of Sicily. The full consequences of Frederick's accession were not to become evident until after Innocent's death. Innocent had conflicts with other princes, notably with Philip II Augustus of France over Philip's repudiation of his wife and with King John of England over John's rejection of Innocent's candidate for the archbishopric of Canterbury. The latter conflict led to a lengthy interdict on England and finally, in 1213, to John's surrender of England and Ireland to the pope, to be held by John as fiefs. This act gave John papal support against the barons of England, who forced

upon him Magna Carta (1215). It also deprived Philip Augustus and his son of an excuse for their planned invasion of England.

Innocent initiated the crusades commonly called the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229), and the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221) and gave his continuing support to crusades against Muslims in Spain and against heathens in the Baltic area. The crusading efforts in southern France, Spain, and Livonia achieved some success; those aimed at recovering the Holy Land did not. A few times he hinted that he might turn a crusade against non-heretical Christians whom he saw as obstructing crusading efforts, but nothing came of the threats.

Even before Innocent became pope, the papal Curia had come to see the fall of Jerusalem to the Muslims in 1187 as divine punishment for the sins of Christians, especially the sexual sins of Latin princes. Innocent embraced this view and consequently saw the reform of the church and the recovery of Jerusalem as inseparable goals to be sought by all Christians, especially by him as the vicar of Christ. The first call for the Fourth Crusade was issued in August 1198. Innocent offered a full indulgence to crusaders for those sins that they had confessed and repented, together with other privileges, notably exemption from interest payments and papal protection for the crusaders and their lands. To those who stayed at home but offered money to support other crusaders, he offered an indulgence in proportion to their donations and their fervor. This call for crusaders, and a papal tax of 2.5 percent to be imposed on clergy to finance the crusade, were generally ignored. Gradually, however, enthusiasm for the crusade began to develop, and in late 1199 and early 1200 a number of French princes took the cross.

Although Innocent intended the crusade to be under the direction of papal legates, from the very beginning its direction was in the hands of princes of France, and in 1201 they offered the leadership to Boniface, marquis of Montferrat. A few months earlier in 1201, envoys of the French princes had entered into an agreement with Venice whereby they promised to arrive in the city with a predetermined amount of money and a military force of a certain size, which would be transported to Egypt by a Venetian fleet. But as the army gathered at Venice in 1202, it had neither the money nor the numbers that the envoys had promised. The Venetians, who had produced the fleet they had promised, offered to postpone payment of the debt if the crusaders would join them in an attack on Zara (mod. Zadar, Croatia), a city



Thirteenth-century Italian fresco of Pope Innocent III. Sacro Speco (S. Scolastica), Subiaco, Italy. (Archivo Iconografico, S.A./Corbis)

claimed by the Venetians. Although Innocent had forbidden the crusaders to attack Christians except under very special circumstances and only with approval of papal legates, most of the crusaders reluctantly agreed to participate in the attack. The city was captured and sacked in November 1202, and those who participated were automatically excommunicated, although most of the crusaders other than the Venetians soon sought and received papal absolution. The crusading force defied papal orders a second time by proceeding to Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) to restore the dethroned Byzantine emperor, Isaac II Angelos, and his son, Alexios (IV). Alexios promised substantial Greek support for the crusade once he was restored.

The Latins went to Constantinople with the expectation that they would be welcomed and supplied with men and money to continue the crusade, but continuing conflicts between the Greeks and the Latins led the latter to capture and sack the city in April 1204. They then elected one of their leaders, Count Baldwin IX of Flanders, as Latin emperor of Constantinople and declared the Greek Church reunited with Rome. Some have suggested that Innocent III was part of an early conspiracy aimed at diverting the crusade to Constantinople in order to bring the Greek Empire under Latin control. Most modern scholars, however, see the diversions as the pragmatic response of the crusaders to several difficult situations. Although Innocent had forbidden the diver-

sion to Constantinople, he chose to see the fall of the city as a miraculous act of God, reuniting the Greek and Latin branches of the Christian church under papal authority. His enthusiasm waned somewhat as he learned of the atrocities that had accompanied the sack of the city, and the following years showed that the Latin occupation was troubled by conflicts between Latins and Greeks and among the Latins themselves, but Innocent continued to hope for the complete integration of the two churches and their combined movement to regain Jerusalem.

From early in his papacy, Innocent was concerned about heresy in Europe, especially in Italy and southern France. He authorized papal legates to work against heresy in France through preaching, reforming local clergy, and recruiting the aid of local princes. In 1208, however, after the murder of his legate Peter of Castelnau, Innocent intensified his efforts to recruit the aristocracy of France for a crusade against heretics and their supporters in the south, especially against Count Raymond VI of Toulouse. In 1209 a crusading army led by Simon of Montfort and the papal legates Milo and Arnold Amalric, abbot of Cîteaux, moved from Lyons into southern France. Raymond had been accused of protecting heretics in his territories, but he himself was able to make peace with the pope. Nevertheless, the army conquered most of Raymond's lands, as well as those of his nephew Raymond-Roger, viscount of Béziers and Carcassonne, and of Raymond-Roger, count of Foix. In 1215, with the reluctant approval of Innocent, the Fourth Lateran Council awarded the title of count of Toulouse to Simon, but warfare in the area continued until the region was brought under the control of the French monarchy in 1229. This crusade, like the Fourth Crusade, was scarcely under papal control from the time it was set in motion, but it did achieve its goal of making southern France less hospitable to heretics than it had been before. Still, Innocent's approval of Francis of Assisi and Dominic of Osma, founders of the Franciscan and Dominican orders, respectively, was probably more important than the crusade in the long-range effort to control heresy.

Throughout most of Innocent's papacy, the Christian kings in Spain were so often at odds with one another that the area was extremely vulnerable to Muslim expansion. Innocent continued crusaders' privileges for those who came from other parts of Europe to defend Spain, and he worked to stop the fighting among the kings, hoping to unite them against the Muslim threat. Alfonso VIII of

Castile, Peter II of Aragon, and Sancho VII of Navarre did in fact unite and in 1212 led a combined force against Almohad Muslims from Africa. Against great odds, they achieved a remarkable victory at Las Navas de Tolosa, thereby ending the Almohad threat.

Encouraged by the success in Spain and southern France, Innocent informed Latin Christendom in 1213 that he was summoning an ecumenical council (Lateran IV), the twofold purpose of which would be the recovery of the Holy Land and the reform of the church. Innocent now expanded the notion of crusade so as to include all Christians and set up more elaborate preparations than had been attempted in the past. He appointed regional commissioners to supervise recruiting and fundraising and instructed them to allow all Christians, regardless of their suitability for combat, to take the cross, offering all, men and women alike, the indulgences and other benefits accorded to crusaders. As was the case with the Fourth Crusade, those who could not actually participate were to make contributions and would receive the indulgence in proportion to the amount of their contribution and the quality of their devotion. Prayers and processions were to be organized throughout Christendom, and chests for donations were to be placed at the churches where the processions ended. In order to focus volunteer efforts on the Holy Land, Innocent also withdrew the indulgence that had previously been offered to those crusading in Spain or southern France. In late 1215, after Lateran IV, he issued more instructions, including an itinerary to be followed through Italy or Sicily (where he would himself greet the crusaders) and a 5 percent tax to be levied on all clergy to finance the crusade.

In 1213, Innocent wrote to al-'Adil I, Ayyübid sultan of Egypt, encouraging him to surrender the holy places so as to avoid bloodshed. But short of that unlikely development, Innocent saw crusading as an opportunity for the faithful to enrich their spiritual lives; as a duty owed to the Lord, whose lands had been occupied by the infidel; as an act of charity to those Christians suffering under Muslim control; and as a stage in God's plan to unite the whole world under Christ and his vicar, the pope. His pontificate saw the real or apparent addition of Livonia, Bulgaria, Vlachia, Armenia, and the Byzantine Empire to the papal fold, not to mention successful military operations in Spain and southern France. He looked forward to the conversion of Jews and pagans and saw in the number 666 of the Book of Revelation a sign that the territories conquered by Muslims some 600 years earlier would soon be regained for

Christianity. However, he did not live to see the formation of his crusading army or its collapse in Egypt.

As a cardinal, Innocent wrote treatises of enduring influence, and many of his papal decretals were incorporated into canon law. He is generally regarded as one of the most important popes of the Middle Ages, second only to Gregory VII in his influence. He died at Perugia on 16 July 1216.

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Innocent IV (d. 1254)

Pope (1243–1254). Sinibaldo Fieschi, born around 1190, was elected pope as Innocent IV in June 1243 after an interregnum that, apart from the short pontificate of Celestine IV, had lasted since the death of Pope Gregory IX in August 1241.

From Gregory, Innocent inherited a continuing political confrontation with the Holy Roman Emperor and king of Sicily, Frederick II, as well as a crusading policy that targeted the Orthodox Russians. Innocent was, however, the first pope to seriously face the challenge posed by the Mongol onslaught on western Europe in the course of 1241. After the First Council of Lyons (1245), Innocent sent envoys to the Mongols in order to explore the possibilities of either converting them or turning them into allies of the crusading movement. One of these envoys, John of Plano Carpini, also negotiated with Russian princes over church union with Rome. As both Daniel Romanovich of Galicia-Volhynia and Yaroslav II, grand prince of Vladimir, seemed to respond positively, Innocent abandoned the idea of an alliance with

the Mongols and aimed instead to form a grand alliance against them that would include the Russians. In January 1248 Innocent circulated letters to Daniel and to Yaroslav's son Alexander Yaroslavich (Nevskii), with copies to the master of the Teutonic Order in Prussia; he urged them to warn him through the Teutonic master of impending Mongol attacks on Christianity and to unite under papal protection in the defense against the Mongols. Both Russian princes accepted the proposal. In 1250 Alexander's brother, Grand Prince Andrei, joined Innocent's alliance when he married Daniel's daughter, and in 1251 even the pagan Lithuanian prince Mindaugas accepted baptism. All eastern European rulers still not under Mongol domination had now joined Innocent's alliance.

Soon, however, this alliance began to dissolve because Innocent was unable to match his diplomacy with military forces that would enable the Russians and Lithuanians to withstand Mongol attacks. In 1253 he tried to salvage the alliance by offering royal crowns to Mindaugas and Daniel. They, in turn, established mutual marital links. However, both succumbed to Mongol attacks in the following years: the church union broke up and Lithuania returned to paganism.

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Innocent VIII (1432–1492)

Pope (1484–1492), original name Giovanni Battista Cibo.

As pope, Innocent VIII at first showed little interest in sponsoring a crusade against the Ottoman Turks, in spite of the threat that they now posed to Italy. In 1489, however,

Iqtāʿ

Cem (Djem), brother of Sultan Bayezid II and pretender to the Ottoman throne, arrived in Rome. Innocent now had a useful political pawn in his hands, since releasing Cem could spark civil war in the Ottoman Empire, and the mere threat to do so could put a brake on Ottoman expansion in the Balkans.

Innocent summoned a crusade congress to Rome to consider how to make the most of this advantage and overcome the practical problems of mounting an expedition against the Turks. The congress met in March 1490, but its deliberations ultimately came to nothing. Of the two powers on which such an expedition would depend, Venice was reluctant to renew the war against the Turks, and Hungary was in a weak position following the death of its king, Matthias Corvinus. Nevertheless, the possession of Cem was a useful lever against Bayezid, who was careful to cultivate Innocent by sending him a gift in 1492—the iron head of the Holy Lance, which was supposed to have pierced Christ’s side during the Crucifixion.

—Jonathan Harris

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Intercultural Relations in Outremer

See Outremer: Intercultural Relations

Iqtāʿ

The Arabic word *iqtāʿ* literally means “a portion” or “a section”; more specifically, in the period of the crusades it was used to refer to an assignment of land or other source of revenue (such as a factory or a caravanserai) to a soldier or other functionary in the employment of a Muslim ruler in return for his service.

The term *iqtāʿ* has sometimes been translated by scholars as “fief,” but this is misleading, as these grants were not, in theory at least, hereditary, nor did they convey ownership over the land or judicial rights over those who worked on the land. The grant of an *iqtāʿ* merely conferred the right to collect taxes on a particular village or other revenue source and to keep those revenues. It can therefore be seen as a kind of tax farm. In most cases, the main revenue collected

by the *iqtāʿ* holder (Arab. *muqṭaʿ*) was the *kharāj* (land tax), which would normally be collected in kind as a proportion of the crops. One consequence of this was that the soldiers who held the *iqtāʿ* assignments tended to be reluctant to campaign during the harvest time, for that was when they or their agents collected their revenue. *Iqtāʿ* revenue was often supplemented by pay (Arab. *jāmakīyya*) and campaign handouts.

The institution seems to have originated under the Saljūqs in Persia. It was imported to Egypt by Saladin. The Mamlūk military regime in Egypt and Syria from the late thirteenth century onward was founded on the institution of *iqtāʿ*. Theory notwithstanding, in practice some of the *iqtāʿ* holders did acquire wider powers over their estates and were successful in transmitting them to their descendants. This particularly happened in Persia and Iraq during the late Saljūq period. Occasionally, the term *iqtāʿ* could be used in a much looser sense. For example, the word is sometimes used to refer to the princely appanages of the Ayyūbids. It was also sometimes used to recognize the jurisdiction of a hereditary tribal chieftain, particularly in highland Palestine and Lebanon.

—Robert Irwin

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Isaac II Angelos (1153/1156–1204)

Byzantine emperor (1185–1195 and 1203–1204).

The founder of the Angelos dynasty, Isaac came to the throne upon the violent overthrow of the last Komnenian emperor, Andronikos I (12 September 1185). He succeeded in expelling the Norman conquerors of Thessalonica (mod. Thessaloniki, Greece) from Macedonia in 1185–1186, but was unable to subdue either Isaac Komnenos, the rebellious ruler of Cyprus, or the Bulgarian Asenid dynasty, which (with Vlach and Cuman support) established the Second Bulgarian Empire, which Isaac was forced to recognize (1186/1187).

In 1189–1190 the depredations on Byzantine territory by the land army of the Third Crusade (1189–1192) led by the

Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick I Barbarossa, resulted in Isaac's approach to Saladin, Ayyūbid sultan of Egypt; Frederick threatened Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) itself and forced Isaac to conclude the Treaty of Adrianople (February 1190), which obliged him to transport the crusader army across the Hellespont to Anatolia. In the early 1190s Isaac faced insurrections by the Serbs and Byzantine pretenders in Anatolia and the Balkans.

In April 1195, while preparing a campaign against the Serbs, Isaac was arrested and blinded by his brother, Alexios III Angelos, who seized the throne. Isaac remained a prisoner until August 1203, when he was freed by the victorious army of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) and restored to the throne with his son, Alexios IV Angelos, as co-emperor. The two Angeloi were overthrown by a coup led by Alexios V Doukas Mourtzouphlos (January 1204). Isaac died a broken man (28/29 February 1204) a few weeks following the assassination of his son (8 February).

–Alexios G. C. Savvides

See also: Alexios III Angelos (d. 1211); Byzantine Empire

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Isaac Komnenos (d. 1195/1196)

Independent Byzantine ruler of Cyprus (1184–1191), overthrown in the course of the Third Crusade (1189–1192).

Isaac Doukas Komnenos was born around 1155, a great-nephew of the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos. After serving as *doux* (governor) of Cilicia, he seized power in Byzantine Cyprus around 1184, ruling despotically with

the title *basileus* (king) and even minting his own coinage, where he is portrayed in imperial garments. His rule, the last period of Byzantine control over the island, was ended by the arrival of the Third Crusade (1189–1192). In May 1191 King Richard I of England, using as a pretext Isaac's maltreatment of crusader pilgrims in Cyprus and fearing his amicable relations with Saladin, landed at Limassol (mod. Lemesos). Richard's forces defeated Isaac in two battles at Kolossi and Tremethousa, and occupied the entire island within 20 days.

Isaac was captured and delivered by Richard to the Hospitallers, who incarcerated him in the fortress of Margat (mod. Marqab, Syria), where he most probably died, although one account records that he was released around 1194 and then went to the Saljūqs of Rūm, where he was poisoned after attempting to foment rebellion against Emperor Alexios III Angelos.

–Alexios G. C. Savvides

See also: Cyprus

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Isabella I of Castile

See Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile

Isabella I of Jerusalem (1172–1205)

Queen of Jerusalem (1192–1205), whose last two husbands ruled the kingdom in her name.

Isabella II of Jerusalem (1211/1212–1228)

Isabella was the only child of King Amalric of Jerusalem and his second wife, Maria Komnene. Isabella married her first husband, Humphrey IV of Toron, in 1183. In 1186, some Frankish barons tried to establish the couple as rivals to Queen Sibyl (Isabella's half-sister) and her husband, Guy of Lusignan, but the plan was abandoned when Humphrey swore fealty to his sister-in-law. In 1190 Sibyl died, and an annulment of Isabella's marriage was procured by Maria Komnene and Conrad of Montferrat, to whom Isabella was now promptly married in order to bolster Conrad's claim to the throne of Jerusalem against Guy.

In 1192 Conrad was recognized as king, but he was assassinated before he and Isabella could be crowned. Within eight days Isabella was married to Henry of Champagne, who ruled the kingdom in right of his wife, although the couple were never crowned. On Henry's death (1197), the barons of the kingdom selected Aimery, king of Cyprus, as Isabella's new husband, and the two were crowned in October.

Isabella was regularly associated with Henry and Aimery in the charters they issued, but there is little evidence that she took an active political role. The date of her death is unknown but probably occurred soon after that of Aimery (April 1205). She was predeceased by her only son (also called Aimery) and survived by five daughters: Maria of Montferrat (by Conrad), who succeeded her; Alice and Philippa (by Henry); and Melisende and Sibyl (by Aimery).

–Linda Goldsmith

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Isabella II of Jerusalem (1211/1212–1228)

Queen of Jerusalem (1225–1228), coming to the throne as a minor in succession to her mother, Maria of Montferrat. Isabella was nominal ruler until her death in 1228, although power was exercised on her behalf by her father, John of Brienne, and then her husband, Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor.

Nothing is known of Isabella's early life, but in March 1223 it was agreed that she should marry Frederick in order to secure his support for the kingdom of Jerusalem. The wedding took place by proxy in Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) in 1225, and Isabella was then crowned. In August she sailed

for Europe, accompanied by senior prelates and barons from the realm, and the marriage was solemnized on 9 November 1225 in Brindisi. Isabella remained in the West and died soon after the birth of her son, Conrad (IV), heir to the throne of Jerusalem, in April 1228.

–Linda Goldsmith

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Al-İşfahānī (1125–1201)

ʿImād al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, known as al-Kātib al-İşfahānī, was a historian and *kātib* (secretary-scholar) born in Isfahan in Persia and educated in Baghdad.

In 1157, he caught the attention of the vizier Ibn Hubayra, who appointed him as his *nāʾib* (representative) at Wasit and Basra. When Ibn Hubayra died in 1165, al-İşfahānī lost his position, but two years later he became a *kātib* in the service of Nūr al-Dīn and soon rose in prominence. After the death of Nūr al-Dīn (1174), al-İşfahānī was supplanted by rivals and eventually fled to Mosul. There he fell ill, but he recovered, and upon hearing that Saladin was advancing on Damascus, he sent the sultan greetings in the form of a poem. He passed into Saladin's service, eventually becoming both his official secretary and close companion. He remained in almost constant attendance upon his master until the latter's death in 1193, after which he settled in Damascus and spent the rest of his life on literary work.

Al-İşfahānī wrote several important works, including a chronicle of the years from 1187 to just after the death of Saladin, *al-Faḥ al-Qussī fī'l-Faḥ al-Qudsī* (*Qussian Eloquence on the Conquest of Jerusalem*) and an autobiographical account of the sultan's military expeditions, *al-Barq al-Shāmī* (*The Syrian Lightning*). He also collected a great anthology of the Arab poets of the twelfth century, *Kharīdat al-Qaṣr wa-Jarīdat Ahl al-ʿAṣr* (*The Pearl of Selection and Roll of the People of the Age*), and wrote other historical chronicles.

–Niall Christie

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Islam

According to the traditional account unquestioningly accepted by all Muslims in the Middle Ages, around the year 610 Muḥammad, an illiterate forty-year-old Arab, began to receive revelations from Allah that were relayed to him by the Archangel Gabriel. After Muḥammad’s death in Medina in 632, these revelations were written down and collected in the Qur’ān. It is important to note that, while the Prophet was not himself in any sense divine, the revelation he received is regarded as the eternal word of God, making the Qur’ān a sacred text in a sense that the Bible is not.

According to Muslim belief, the Qur’ān supersedes the earlier Jewish and Christian revelations. During his lifetime, the Prophet faced considerable opposition from his own tribe, the Quraysh, as well as from other Arab tribes and from the large numbers of Jews then living in the Ḥijaz. The Quraysh were mostly idol-worshipping polytheists who rejected the new and somewhat austere monotheism of Islam (which in Arabic literally means “submission”). In 622 Muḥammad was forced to withdraw from Mecca to Medina, and Muslims date the start of their calendar from this event. Ultimately, Muḥammad returned in triumph to Mecca. After Muḥammad’s death, Arab Muslim armies went on to conquer the rest of the Arabian Peninsula. They occupied the territory of the Persian Sassanian Empire as well as much of the territories formerly ruled by the Byzantine emperor Her-

aclius. By 750 the armies of Islam had reached the frontiers of China in the East; in the West they had conquered most of the Iberian Peninsula and pushed on into parts of modern France and Switzerland.

After Muḥammad’s death, political and spiritual leadership of the Islamic community passed successively to Umar, Abū Bakr, ‘Uthmān, and ‘Alī, who were later referred to as the so-called Rightly Guided Caliphs; the Arabic word *khalīfa*, or caliph, means “deputy” or “successor.” The caliphate of ‘Alī was tumultuous, and his sons were killed by supporters of the Umayyad clan. The Umayyad dynasty monopolized the caliphate from 661 until 750. Since almost all that has survived concerning the Umayyads was written by historians and propagandists of the ‘Abbāsids, who eventually displaced them, the Umayyads did not receive a good historical press. It was in the Umayyad period that the schism between Sunnī and Shī‘ite Muslims began to form, although the two rival versions of Islam were only slowly articulated. The rift was originally a political one concerning the leadership of the Muslim community. The Shī‘a (a word that means “party”) maintained against the partisans of the Umayyads that only descendants of ‘Alī, the Prophet’s cousin, and Fāṭima, the Prophet’s daughter (and the wife of ‘Alī), could rightfully assume the caliphate. In the longer term, the Shī‘a would develop their own distinctive and somewhat esoteric theology as well as their own rituals and law schools. Even so, distinctions between the two versions of Islam were not as hard-edged in the medieval period as they have since become, and many Sunnīs had Shī‘ite sympathies and vice versa.

Sunnī Muslims are so called because of their adherence to the *Sunna*, that is, the sayings and doings of the Prophet, later established as legally binding precedents. These precedents, which supplemented those legal rulings to be found in the Qur’ān, could be extended, and were, by various analogical procedures and formed the *sharī‘a*, the religiously based law. In time, four major *madhhabs* (law schools) developed within the Sunnī community. These were the Shāfi‘ī, Ḥanafī, Mālikī, and Ḥanbalī madhhabs, which tended to differ one from another on relatively minor points of ritual and law. Most North Africans adhered to the Mālikī madhhab, whereas Turks tended to favor the Ḥanafī madhhab. The Ḥanbalī madhhab was particularly rigorous; many of the leading preachers of *jihād* (holy war) were Ḥanbalīs. Not only did the sayings and deeds of the Prophet furnish much of the core of Islamic law, they also guided

Muslim individuals in such everyday matters as sleeping and eating.

The five pillars of Sunnī Islam are: the *shahādah*, the attestation of faith in Allah and his Prophet Muḥammad; *ṣalāt*, prayer, performed, if possible, at five fixed times during the day; *zakāt*, charity; *ṣawm*, fasting, especially during the month of Ramadan; and the *hajj*, pilgrimage to Mecca. *Jihād*, or “holy war” (but more literally “striving”), is sometimes referred to as the sixth pillar of Islam. It is sanctioned by several passages in the Qur’ān and imposed a twofold duty. First, it was incumbent on the Muslim community as a whole to extend Muslim territories by fighting; second, it was incumbent on every able-bodied male Muslim to respond to a call to arms to drive out infidel aggressors who had occupied territory previously held by Muslims. Sufis and pietists also wrote about the inner jihād, an interior struggle by the individual to purify him or herself. Conversion to Islam only requires the would-be convert to pronounce the *shahādah*, the attestation of belief in Allah and his Prophet, in front of witnesses. The Muslim conquerors rarely put pressure on their newly conquered subjects to convert, in part because the conquered peoples paid an extra poll tax, known as *jizya*. Christians, Jews, and Sabians (the *Ahl al-dhimma*, or “People of the Pact”) were tolerated under somewhat circumscribed circumstances. Conversion from Islam to another faith was and is punishable by death.

The Umayyad caliphate was overthrown in 750. Although many who took part in the uprising had hoped to see a descendant of ‘Alī and Fāṭima installed as the new caliph, in fact power was usurped by the ‘Abbāsids, a clan descended from the Prophet’s uncle al-‘Abbās. The capital of the caliphate was moved from Damascus to the new city of Baghdad. By the time that the First Crusade (1096–1099) arrived in the Near East, the ‘Abbāsīd caliphs only enjoyed a nominal, ceremonial authority, and they were under the tutelage of the Turkish Saljūq sultans. Moreover, many territories that had formerly been part of the ‘Abbāsīd caliphate had either broken away or professed a merely formal allegiance to the caliph and sultan. In particular, Egypt and much of North Africa had come under the suzerainty of the Shī‘ite Fāṭimid caliphs. Muslim Spain never formed part of the ‘Abbāsīd caliphate, but from the late eighth century to the early eleventh century it was ruled by a branch of the Umayyad clan.

In general, Turkish generals, warlords, and *mamlūks* (slave soldiers) tended to exercise effective power in the

fragmented territories of the Near East. *Atabegs*, Turkish military governors whose rule was based on the pretence of “protecting” Saljūq princelings, controlled key cities in Iraq and Syria. Together with Palestine, Syria was a war zone where Fāṭimid armies fought against partisans of the Saljūqs. The struggle was also an ideological one, and during the Saljūq period *madrasas* (religious colleges) were established for the study and propagation of Sunnī theology and law. At the same time, Sufism, which had hitherto been a form of mysticism mostly pursued by individuals, began to develop a more institutional and populist character. Sunnī patrons established quasi-monastic centers, variously known as *zawiyas*, *khanqas*, or *ribāṭs*, for the pursuit of the Sufi life.

After the Mongol conquest of Baghdad in 1258, a puppet ‘Abbāsīd caliphate in Cairo was established under the “protection” of the Mamlūk sultans in Egypt (which was suppressed by the Ottomans in the early sixteenth century). The Mamlūk sultanate derived much of its prestige from its elimination of the Frankish states of Outremer, which was completed in 1291. The Mongols, who had at first seemed to threaten the very survival of Islam, converted to that religion in large numbers in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Throughout the Middle Ages, Muslims’ confidence in their religious and political destiny remained high, despite the shock caused by the fall of Granada to the Christians of Spain in 1492. Only after the Ottoman Turks started to surrender Muslim territory in the Crimea and Balkans from the late seventeenth century onward did some Muslim thinkers begin to ask themselves whether the traditional Muslim ways would suffice to counter the growing military and economic power of the West.

—Robert Irwin

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Italian Communities in Outremer

See Outremer: Italian Communities

Izborsk

A fortress situated southwest of the city of Pskov in Russia.

The first fortified settlement at Izborsk was founded at the end of the eighth century on high ground with steep slopes by the confluence of a small river with Lake Gorodishchenskoye; it was linked by a system of watercourses to Lake Pskovskoye. A stone fortress was built in the second half of the eleventh century when Izborsk became the main outpost on the western frontier of the Novgorodian state. Thereafter it was considered by the crusading orders of Livonia as the key to the city of Pskov, and was frequently subject to attack by them.

In 1233 the troops of the vassals of the bishopric of Dorpat and their ally Prince Yaroslav of Pskov, who was attempting to restore his rights to the Pskov principality, captured

the fortress, but they soon retreated after troops from Pskov came to its relief. In September 1240 Izborsk was occupied by the Teutonic Knights from Livonia and their allies after a week-long siege and was freed only in March 1242; it was burned down by the Livonians before the siege of Pskov in May 1269. In 1330 a new fortress was built on higher ground to the south, and from that time it was practically unassailable, withstanding several sieges by the Livonians, notably in 1341 and in 1348.

—*Evgeniya L. Nazarova*

See also: Baltic Crusades; Russia (Rus')

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Izhoria

See Ingria

J

Jacobites

See Syrian Orthodox Church

Jacob's Ford

Jacob's Ford (Lat. *Vadum Jacob*) was the traditional biblical site between Lake Tiberias (the Sea of Galilee) and Lake Huleh where Jacob crossed the Jordan to meet his brother Esau (Gen. 32:10). During Frankish rule, it was a key river crossing on one of the main roads between Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) and Damascus.

Here Baldwin III of Jerusalem suffered a major defeat at the hands of the forces of Nūr al-Dīn while marching to the relief of Banyas, escaping to the nearby castle of Saphet (mod. Zefat, Israel) on 19 June 1157. The ford remained unfortified until Baldwin IV constructed a fortress, called Le Chastellet, on the western bank between October 1178 and April 1179. It consisted of an enceinte on a low hill, with the main gate on the south side, along which was a rock-cut ditch, and postern gates on the other three sides. Inside the castle were a cistern and a communal oven. Although there is no evidence of towers along the walls, written sources suggest the existence of a keep or citadel. The castle was never fully completed, and perhaps a double line of walls was ultimately intended, or, alternatively, a sloping talus around the curtain wall. Excavations, begun in 1993, have led to many new discoveries, including a wide range of iron tools.

The purpose of the fortress was both to defend Galilee and to threaten communications between Egypt and Damascus, although the religious significance of the site for both

sides added extra impetus to the conflict. The castle was granted to the Templars, who, since 1168, had held Saphet, 15 kilometers (c. 9 mi.) to the southwest, and who regarded this region as one of their spheres of influence. Saladin took the threat extremely seriously, unsuccessfully offering the Franks 100,000 dinars to dismantle it, as well as raiding the surrounding area. In June 1179 at Marj Ayun, the Franks defeated a section of his forces under Farrūkh-Shāh, Saladin's nephew, but this victory was quickly reversed when they encountered the main Muslim army.

Saladin began a full-scale siege on 24 August, capturing the outer compound on the first day, although it was another five days before the keep itself was undermined and the castle taken. Around 700 Frankish captives were either executed or enslaved, and the fortifications completely demolished. The destruction of Le Chastellet and its environs severely curtailed the Franks' capability for offensives against Saladin's domains and left the Gallilee increasingly vulnerable to his attacks. During the 1180s, Saladin generally held the military initiative, and it is arguable that these events made a significant contribution to his victories in 1187.

—Malcolm Barber

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Jacques de Molay

See James of Molay

Jacques de Vitry

See James of Vitry

Jaffa, Battle of (1102)

A defeat of the great Egyptian invasion of 1102 by King Baldwin I of Jerusalem.

A Fāṭimid army had advanced from Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel) to Ramla, and on 17 May defeated Baldwin's hastily thrown together relieving forces, consisting of his own knights and many of the crusaders of 1101. The king was able to escape to Arsuf with a few companions, where he waited for reinforcements to arrive from Tiberias and Jerusalem. On 27 May the Franks encountered the Egyptian army, which was in the process of besieging Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel).

The course of the subsequent battle is unclear, but it is evident that although heavily outnumbered, the Franks were well disciplined and fortified by the presence of the relic of the True Cross, and were able to rout their opponents, taking large amounts of booty.

—Alan V. Murray

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Jaffa, Battle of (1192)

The name given to clashes between the forces of King Richard I of England and Saladin at the port of Jaffa (mod.

Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel) that enabled the crusaders to keep most of the gains they had made during the Third Crusade (1189–1192) just when it seemed that they were about to lose them.

After a second unsuccessful advance on Jerusalem, the crusade began to break up when many crusaders left Palestine to return to the West during the early summer of 1192. On 28 June Saladin then made an unexpected attack on the coastal town of Jaffa. The extraordinary courage of the garrison won just enough time for news to reach Richard, who was then at Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel). He sailed to Jaffa, taking Saladin by surprise on 1 August and forcing him to withdraw when on the brink of victory.

Richard had too few men to defend Jaffa's broken walls, so he set up camp outside them. Saladin saw the opportunity and, after a night march, ordered his men to attack at dawn on 5 August. But Richard managed to get his spearmen and crossbowmen into battle array, and Saladin's troops, despite their great numerical superiority, were so demoralized that they retreated again after allowing Richard to put on a display of the kind of knightly heroism that impressed both Muslims and Christians. To the chronicler Ambroise, it all seemed a miracle, and to others an incredible victory.

—John Gillingham

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Jaffa, Treaty of (1192)

See Third Crusade

Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Wāṣil

See Ibn Wāṣil

James I of Aragon (1208–1276)

King of Aragon, Mallorca, and Valencia, count of Barcelona (1214–1276), known as "the Conqueror," principal figure of the Aragonese-Catalan *Reconquista* (reconquest of Spain from the Muslims).

Barely a child when his father Peter II died in the battle of Muret (1213) during the Albigensian Crusade (1209–

1229), James effectively acceded to the throne in the early 1220s. One of his first independent actions was a failed attack on the Muslim-held fortress of Peñíscola in 1225, and campaigns against Muslim Spain were a recurring element of his reign. The conquest of the island of Mallorca was achieved with substantial support from the wealthy Catalan towns between September 1229 and July 1231; Menorca accepted Christian sovereignty in 1231, and Ibiza was conquered in 1235. The Taifa kingdom of Valencia fell to a prolonged series of campaigns that lasted from 1233 until the conquest of the capital on 9 October 1238, although it took until 1245 to subdue the entire realm. Contrary to the situation in Mallorca, the Muslims of Valencia who had capitulated were permitted to stay; they formed a considerable Mudejar population, parts of which carried out a series of ultimately futile uprisings between 1245 and 1277. A similar revolt by Mudejars of Andalusia and Murcia against Castilian lordship led James to intervene on behalf of King Alfonso X of Castile, his son-in-law. Between November 1265 and April 1266, Murcia was subdued and then returned to Alfonso X.

The champion of the Iberian reconquest also hosted a crusade to the Latin East. In 1245/1246 and in 1260, he had made tentative plans for military action in the eastern Mediterranean, but only in 1269 was a campaign undertaken. By September of that year, around 800 knights, several thousand foot soldiers and Catalan mercenaries (*Cat. almogàvers*), and a large fleet had been mustered. However, ill weather sabotaged the campaign: many crusaders, including the king, turned back. Out of over 30 ships, only 21 vessels carrying 424 knights reached Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), and slightly more than half the contingent abandoned the Holy Land on hearing of the king's misfortune. The remnant, under the leadership of James's illegitimate son Peter Ferrandis, participated in the defense of the town against the Mamluks for some weeks and returned home in early 1270. On his death, King James was succeeded in Catalonia, Aragon, and Valencia by his son Peter III.

—Nikolas Jaspert

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James I of Cyprus (d. 1398)

King of Cyprus and titular king of Jerusalem (1382–1398).

James was a younger son of Hugh IV of Cyprus and Jerusalem and Alice of Ibelin. In 1369 he and his brother John may have been behind the murder of their older brother, King Peter I, who was probably assassinated because of the economic and political strains caused by his overambitious war against the Mamluks. James was nevertheless loyal to Peter's son Peter II (1369–1382), particularly during the Genoese invasion of 1373–1374. When the Genoese captured Peter II in the castle of Famagusta (mod. Ammochostos), James avoided the trap and halted the invasion, successfully defending Kyrenia (mod. Kyreneia). In a subsequent peace deal, Genoa kept Famagusta as security for a massive Cypriot indemnity, while James agreed to go into exile. However, the Genoese seized him on Rhodes (mod. Rodos, Greece) and imprisoned him in Genoa until 1383. Having been recognized as Peter II's successor by the Cypriot High Court, he was then released, but only after agreeing to a permanent Genoese occupation of Famagusta and further Cypriot repayments.

Although James's reign was dominated by economic problems and fruitless schemes to recover Famagusta, in the late 1380s he contributed galleys to a Christian naval league against the Turks. After the last Armenian king, Leon VI, died in 1393, James laid claim to his title. James was succeeded as king of Cyprus by his son Janus.

—Kristian Molin

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James II of Cyprus (1440/1441–1473)

King of Cyprus and titular king of Jerusalem and Cilicia (1460–1473).

James was the illegitimate son of King John II of Cyprus (1414–1458), who was initially succeeded by his daughter Charlotte and her husband, Louis of Savoy. However, James gained recognition from the Mamlūk sultan al-Ashraf Ināl, who was the suzerain of Cyprus, and in 1460 Mamlūk military assistance enabled James to conquer Cyprus (with the exception of Kyrenia castle and the Genoese colony of Famagusta [mod. Ammochostos], which held out until 1464).

Living in exile in Italy and Rhodes (mod. Rodos, Greece), Charlotte and Louis subsequently sought the aid of Savoy, the papacy, Milan, Naples, Genoa, and the Hospitallers in fruitless projects to regain Cyprus. After Louis died (1482), Charlotte ceded her title to the house of Savoy (1485). She died in 1487. Meanwhile, James, fearing Ottoman aggression or an invasion by Charlotte's supporters, fostered closer links with Venice. In the 1470s James supported Hospitaller and Venetian efforts against the Ottomans and favored plans to help Persia block Ottoman expansion.

In 1468 James married Catherine, a member of the powerful Venetian Cornaro family. Venice undertook to protect Cyprus and declared Catherine a "daughter of Venice," giving it a claim to control Cyprus after James died on 6 July 1473.

–Kristian Molin

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James III of Cyprus (1473–1474)

King of Cyprus and titular king of Jerusalem and Cilicia (1473–1474).

James was born shortly after the death of his father, King James II (1460–1473), who had conquered Cyprus from his own half-sister, Queen Charlotte. James III's short reign was dominated by rivalry between Charlotte, then living in exile in Italy, and Catherine Cornaro, James's Venetian mother. These women increasingly became pawns in a broader struggle between Venice, which had arranged Catherine's marriage to James II as a means of dominating Cyprus, and Venice's Mediterranean rivals.

The kings of Naples hatched various schemes to gain control over Cyprus, including marriage alliances with Catherine and James II's illegitimate daughter Charla, and also by supporting Charlotte's claim. In November 1473 a failed anti-Venetian conspiracy backed by Naples resulted in the murder of Catherine's uncle, Andrew Cornaro. After the death of the infant James III (August 1474), the risk of further conspiracies or invasion remained because of Charlotte's constant appeals for help from Venice's rivals. However, Venice gradually increased its hold on Cyprus, reducing Catherine to a mere figurehead and garrisoning Cypriot castles.

After Charlotte's death (1487), Catherine was persuaded to retire to Venice, and direct Venetian rule over Cyprus began (1489).

–Kristian Molin

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James of Molay (d. 1314)

The last master of the Order of the Temple (1293–1307), which he entered in 1265 at Beaune in Burgundy.

From around 1275, James served in the East, and in 1292 he was elected master. Thereafter, from his base in Cyprus, he organized naval raids against the Palestinian coast, and in 1301–1302 he attempted to reoccupy the island of Ruad (mod. Arwād, Syria), off the coast of Syria near Tortosa. At the same time, he obtained privileges and material help from the papacy and leading secular rulers.

James twice visited the West for these purposes, in 1293–1296 and in 1306–1307. On the second occasion, he was responding to a request from Pope Clement V for advice on two controversial issues: the union of the military orders and the organization of a new crusade. James wrote short reports on both of these subjects. In October 1307, in Paris, James was among the Templars arrested by officials of King Philip IV for a range of heretical crimes. He confessed to the denial of Christ and to spitting on a crucifix, a confession he repeated before an assembly of university masters. However, at Christmas, in the presence of papal representatives, he recanted, leading Clement to suspend the whole trial.

Nevertheless, when the proceedings were restarted in August 1308, James apparently returned to his original confession, and in November 1309, in three appearances before the papal commission appointed to investigate the order as a whole, he failed to offer any convincing defense, instead relying on a personal hearing. It was not until March 1314, when he was brought before three cardinals representing the pope, that he was condemned to life imprisonment. He then denied the charges again, asserting that the order was pure and holy. Handed over to the secular authorities at Paris, he was burned as a relapsed heretic on 18 March 1314.

—Malcolm Barber

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St. James, Order of

See Hospital, Order of; Santiago, Order of

James of Vitry (d. 1240)

Crusade preacher and writer; active in the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229), the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221), and the Crusade of Frederick II (1227–1229).

Born in France sometime between 1160 and 1170, James studied in Paris before joining the canonry of St. Nicholas at Oignies in the diocese of Liège. He recruited for the crusade against heresy in southern France and wrote a life of the mystic Mary of Oignies as antiheretical propaganda at the request of Fulk, bishop of Toulouse. Although his recruiting work for the Fifth Crusade meant that he was proposed as a potential replacement for Robert of Courson as legate for the crusade in France, James was instead elected bishop of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) in Palestine. There he attempted a program of reform in preparation for the arrival

of a crusading army, conducting a revivalist preaching tour and debates with representatives of various native Christian and Muslim sects.

During the campaign of the Fifth Crusade, James collaborated closely with Oliver of Paderborn and joined him in sending reports of its progress to Pope Honorius III and preachers active in the West, publicizing prophecies that predicted that the combined advent of a Western emperor (identified as Emperor Frederick II) and King David (identified as an Eastern Christian potentate) would see the capture of all Egypt and the recovery of Jerusalem.

After the fall of the city of Damietta in 1221, James returned to the West and helped organize the delayed crusade of Frederick II, mediating between the emperor and the pope on numerous occasions. Shortly after resigning his bishopric, he was appointed cardinal of Tusculanum (1229–1240). As cardinal, James compiled his numerous sermons into four major collections and continued to actively support the mendicant orders and Pope Gregory IX's use of them as crusade preachers, missionaries, and inquisitors. He died on 1 May 1240.

James was the author of extensive writings that dealt with crusading, including the *Historia Iherosolimitana*, a tripartite work begun during the campaign of the Fifth Crusade. Its first book, the *Historia Occidentalis*, outlined the reforms he felt necessary for the success of the crusade. A far more copied and translated companion volume, the *Historia Orientalis*, described the successes and failures of past crusades while outlining the beliefs and customs of the inhabitants of the East and the geography, natural phenomena, and resources of these regions. James never completed a third book, meant to describe the course of the Fifth Crusade and the triumph of the Fourth Lateran Council, but an immensely popular substitute was soon compiled from various materials by anonymous copyists, including the *Historia Damiatina* of Oliver of Paderborn. James evidently intended all three books, known collectively as the *Historia Iherosolimitana*, to serve as a manual for future crusade recruiters and planners. The *Historia Orientalis* and the anonymous third book proved widely influential, inspiring missions, attempts at church reunion, and crusade proposals into the early modern era. James's *Historia Occidentalis* and model sermons (including homilies for crusaders and pilgrims) also influenced crusade propagandists and reformers, including Guibert of Tournai and Humbert of Romans.

—Jessalynn Bird

Janus of Cyprus (d. 1432)

See also: Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229); Fifth Crusade (1217–1221); Crusade of Emperor Frederick II (1227–1229); Sermons and Preaching

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Janus of Cyprus (d. 1432)

King of Cyprus and titular king of Jerusalem and Cilicia (1398–1432).

Janus was born around 1374, the son of King James I and Helvis of Brunswick. His early reign was overshadowed by the effects of the Genoese invasion of 1373–1374, which had enabled Genoa to occupy the port of Famagusta (mod. Ammochostos), dominate Cypriot trade, and demand substantial war indemnities. In 1402 Janus launched a failed attack on Famagusta; despite peace negotiations in 1403, hostilities continued sporadically until 1410.

Janus, faced with a general decline in the Cypriot economy, resorted to seeking loans, imposing taxes, and debasing the coinage to pay for indemnities and military campaigns. Meanwhile, raids on Mamlūk shipping by corsairs based on Cyprus caused relations with Egypt to deteriorate. A Mamlūk attack on pirates off Limassol (mod. Lemesos) in 1424 was followed by a Christian raid on Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon) in March 1425. That summer a fleet sent by Sultan Barsbay al-Zahīrī of Egypt ravaged areas around Limassol. The next year another Egyptian force brought by more than 150 ships sacked Limassol and Nicosia (mod. Lefkosia), capturing Janus in battle (7 July 1426).

Janus did not return to Cyprus until May 1427, after agreeing to a ransom of 200,000 ducats, Egyptian sovereignty over Cyprus, and an annual tribute of 5,000 ducats. When Janus died on 28/29 June 1432, the Cypriot monarchy was heavily in debt. He was succeeded by his son John II.

—Kristian Molin

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Jaume I of Aragon

See James I of Aragon

Jean de Joinville

See Joinville, John of

Jean sans Peur

See John of Nevers

Jehosaphat, Abbey of

St. Mary of the Valley of Jehosaphat (Josaphat) was a Benedictine abbey situated east of the city of Jerusalem.

Reputedly founded by Godfrey of Bouillon, the first ruler of Jerusalem, on the site of the Virgin Mary's tomb, the abbey was built near a Byzantine church containing the shrine of Mary's Assumption. According to tradition, its first monks came from Godfrey's entourage. They managed the Church



Church of the Tomb of the Virgin outside the walls of Jerusalem. Rebuilt from 1112 onward by Benedictine monks in the Romanesque style. In 1161 Queen Melisende, a patroness of church, was buried in one of its small chapels. (Courtesy Alfred Andrea)

of St. Mary (which retained an Orthodox altar), the Grotto of the Agony, and the Church of Gethsemane, all located near the Mount of Olives.

The abbey soon enjoyed extensive properties donated by Latin patriarchs, the royal family, and important magnates of Outremer. Patriarch Arnulf of Chocques helped finance a renovation of the church in 1112 and encouraged noble families to endow the house. Morphia, wife of King Baldwin II, was buried there around 1129, starting a precedent whereby queens of Jerusalem were buried apart from their husbands in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Queen Melisende commissioned a tomb in the Church of St. Mary in the 1150s. Its construction and decoration, which she may have overseen herself, clearly intended to heighten the royal family's majesty: her burial chamber lay just off the staircase leading to Mary's shrine, connecting the queen to the Virgin, while architectural motifs borrowed from the Holy Sepulchre associated Melisende with Jerusalem's kings. But Jehosaphat's fame as the center of the Marian cult

in Outremer prevented the house from becoming associated only with royal women.

Jehosaphat attracted numerous donations from all over Outremer and Western Europe, and it was exempted by papal decree from various tithes and from any sort of episcopal control over its property in Outremer. This combination of wealth and independence meant that at times the abbey reduced both the income and the power of Latin bishops and patriarchs. Extensive records of litigation involving the abbey have survived, making it the best-documented monastic house of Outremer. The abbey's fortunes waned after Jerusalem fell to Saladin in 1187. Although the monks built a new church in Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), they sold it to the Hospitallers in 1289 because they had no money for repairs.

—Deborah Gerish

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Jeroschin

See Nicolaus von Jeroschin

Jerusalem, City of

As the scene of Christ's death and resurrection, the city of Jerusalem had long been the principal goal of Christian pilgrimage by the time that it was captured by the Saljūq Turks in 1073. The city and its shrines became the focus of the crusading movement after the recovery of the Holy Land was proclaimed by Pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont in 1095. Having been seized by the Fāṭimids of Egypt in 1098, Jerusalem was captured by the army of the First Crusade (1096–1099) on 15 July 1099 after a four-week siege, and became the capital of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem until 1187, when it was lost to Saladin. The recovery of the Holy City remained a major objective of the crusading movement, but Christian rule was restored only for the short period 1229–1244.

Population

The crusader conquest destroyed or dispersed the native population of Jerusalem. When they took the city by storm, the crusaders massacred most of its Muslim and Jewish inhabitants. Although some of the native Christians who had been expelled by the Fāṭimid garrison now returned, they and the Frankish newcomers initially amounted to only a few hundred souls. The problem of repopulation was exacerbated by the Franks' policy of prohibiting the settlement of Muslims and Jews in the city, in order that their presence might not pollute its holiness. If Jews or Muslims appeared in the city later, they were usually pilgrims or people who had obtained special permission to settle for business purposes (paying a tax for the favor), such as the four Jewish families mentioned by the traveler Benjamin of Tudela living oppo-

site the citadel in the 1170s, who had worked as dyers there since the time of King Baldwin II (1118–1131).

During the first two decades of the kingdom, the city's population was so small that only the former Christian Quarter around the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was inhabited. Baldwin I brought in Syrian Christians from Transjordan, who settled in the former Jewish Quarter. An additional initiative to repopulate the city was a law passed in 1120 exempting all foodstuffs from customs payments levied at the gates to the city. Royal privileges also granted land and houses in the city to the military orders. The result of these various initiatives was that by the 1180s the population of Jerusalem had reached some 20,000–30,000 [Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 82]. According to the pilgrim John of Würzburg, who stayed in the city in the early 1160s, the Latin population was predominantly of French origin, with some Italians and Spaniards, and a few Germans. The Eastern Christians included Greek Orthodox, Syrian Orthodox (Jacobites), Armenians, Georgians, Nestorians, and Copts.

Topography and Principal Buildings

Jerusalem is situated in the Judaeian highlands, about 58 kilometers (36 mi.) east of the coast and 30 kilometers (19 mi.) west of the river Jordan. The general layout of the medieval city roughly corresponds to the present-day Old City. The city was divided into four sections by its two main streets. The Romano-Byzantine *Cardo* ran from north to south, from St. Stephen's Gate (mod. Damascus Gate) to the Zion Gate (east of the present gate), while the street running west to east, from David's Gate (mod. Jaffa Gate) to the Beautiful Gate (mod. Gate of the Chain) corresponded to the Roman *Decumanus*. The city was protected by some 4 kilometers (2½ mi.) of walls (mostly constructed in the eleventh century) and a citadel (known as the Tower of David) situated on the western wall by David's Gate.

The greater part of the northwestern section formed the Patriarch's Quarter, which constituted a separate lordship under the rule of the Latin patriarch, with its own administrative and judicial institutions. It included the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the patriarch's palace, as well as a hospital, hospices, churches, monasteries, a grain market, a pig market, bath houses, bakeries, houses, and shops. There was a major water source, the so-called Pool of the Patriarch (mod. Hezekiah's Pool). South of the Patriarch's Quarter as far as David Street was the quarter of the Order of the Hos-



Aerial photograph of the Old City of modern Jerusalem (from the east), showing the layout of the medieval city. At the center of the western (top) section of the walls is the citadel (Tower of David) and nearby Jaffa Gate; to its right and below, the cupola of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The entire southeast section (bottom left) is taken up by the temple area (Haram al-Sharif) centered on the Dome of the Rock. (Courtesy Benjamin Z. Kedar)

pital of St. John, which was bounded to the west by the Street of the Patriarch and to the east by the triple market. It included the Church of St. Mary Latin (Minor) with a monastery, the Church of St. Mary Major with a hospital, the Church of St. John the Baptist, and a market for poultry, fish, and cheese. The order maintained a hospice to provide accommodation for pilgrims as well as a large infirmary.

The northeastern section of the city had been the Jewish Quarter (Fr. *Juiverie*) until 1099; it became the Syrian Quarter when it was repopulated with Eastern Christians from Transjordan. Churches located here included St. Mary Magdalene situated near the northern wall, St. Agnes, St. Elias, and St. Bartholomew (all belonging to non-Latin denominations) and the Latin Church of St. Anne, built in 1140 as the chapel of a Benedictine nunnery.

Much of the southeastern section of the city was formed by the vast Temple Mount (Arab. *al-Haram al-Sharif*), where crusaders found two magnificent Muslim buildings: the Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqṣā mosque. The Dome of the Rock was converted into a church, which the Franks called *Templum Domini* (Temple of the Lord), which was consecrated on 9 April 1141. Al-Aqṣā was known by the Franks as the *Templum Salomonis* (Temple, or more accurately, Palace of Solomon). It was used by King Baldwin I as the royal palace, although it had been plundered during the conquest and remained dilapidated; his financial difficulties prevented him from restoring it, and even forced him to strip the lead from the dome in order to sell it. It was granted by Baldwin II to serve as the headquarters of a newly founded order of knights, which became known as the Order of the



The citadel of Jerusalem, known as the Tower of David. The minaret was added when the walls were rebuilt by the Ottoman sultan Süleyman the Magnificent in the sixteenth century. (Courtesy Alfred Andrea)

Temple. The wealth of the Templars enabled them to undertake its restoration and to cover the surrounding area of the Temple Mount with new buildings. On the western side they built a new cloister, as well as courtyards, antechambers, vestibules, cisterns, storehouses, baths, and granaries, and laid the foundations of a great new church, which they never completed. The Templars also repaired the underground of al-Aqṣā, called Solomon's Stables, which were used to accommodate large numbers of horses and grooms. To improve access to them, the Templars opened a new postern on the southern Temple Mount wall, known as the Single Gate (now blocked).

To the west of the Temple Mount, the southeastern quarter was bordered by the southern wall and the streets built along the line of the *Cardo* to the west. In the center of the quarter were located money exchanges, the Latin exchange to the south and the Syrian exchange farther north. To the south were the German hospice and church, and farther

south, the cattle market and tanneries. A covered market and parallel streets bordered the quarter to its west.

The southwestern quarter of the city was occupied (as it is today) by the Armenians, bounded by the city wall south of David's Gate and by the southern wall up to Zion Gate. Churches in this quarter included St. James, St. Thomas, St. Mark, and St. Sabas.

Outside the city's walls the most important buildings were the Cenacle (Lat. *Coenaculum*), or chapel of the Last Supper, on Mount Zion, the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives, the Church of St. Mary in the Valley of Jehosaphat, and St. Stephen's Church to the north of St. Stephen's Gate. To the west of the latter church were a leper house and other buildings belonging to the Order of St. Lazarus.

The crusader period saw a major rebuilding in the city. The walls and citadel were renovated, and several of the city's gates were either renovated or embellished, while some forty churches were either rebuilt or newly constructed, all

in the Romanesque style. One of the most ambitious of the construction projects undertaken by the Franks was the rebuilding of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in order to unite all the buildings on the site of Christ's Crucifixion, burial, and resurrection under one roof. The new church was consecrated on 15 July 1149, the fiftieth anniversary of the capture of the city. Another fine example of Frankish Romanesque construction was the Church of St. Anne, erected near the Pool of Bethesda at the traditional site of the house of the parents of the Virgin Mary, Anne and Joachim. It housed a few Benedictine nuns until Baldwin I repudiated his second wife and placed her in this convent, increasing its patrimony and possessions. The nunnery of St. Anne remained in royal favor, and it was there that Yvette, sister of Queen Melisende, made her profession in 1130. Another important church rebuilt by the Franks on the ruins of a Byzantine one was the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives.

Administrative Status and Institutions

Up to 1187, the city was the administrative center of the kingdom, being the normal place of residence of the king and the meeting place of the High Court (Fr. *Haute Cour*), which met first in the Temple of Solomon and from the 1120s in the new royal palace next to the citadel. Apart from the Patriarch's Quarter, the city and its surrounding territory formed part of the royal demesne. The main court of the city proper was the Court of Burgesses (Fr. *Cour des Bourgeois*), which dealt with civil cases concerning the Frankish burgesses and their property and also had supreme criminal jurisdiction over all non-noble inhabitants of the city, including Eastern Christians. The Court of the Market (Fr. *Cour de la Fonde*) had jurisdiction over the entire non-Frankish population in all except criminal cases. Both courts met in the Tower of David. Preservation of the peace was the responsibility of a viscount, who acted as governor of the city, presided over the Court of Burgesses, organized police duties, oversaw the city's markets, and collected royal revenues deriving from the city. The defense of the city and its citadel was the responsibility of a castellan, who acted as commander of the garrison.

Economic Life

Jerusalem was not involved in long-distance trade, and unlike the kingdom's ports, it had no Italian commercial quarters. The city's main economic activity was providing

services for its secular and ecclesiastical institutions and their personnel and for the pilgrim traffic from the West. In the very heart of the city, north of the intersection of the two main axes, were located the main bazaars of Jerusalem, consisting of a triple market of three parallel vaulted streets. The central street was known as the Street of Evil Cooking (Fr. *Malcuisinat*) from its principal activity, the sale of ready-cooked meals to pilgrims visiting the city. The shops and bazaars belonged to Frankish and Eastern Christian merchants, as well as to various convents and the military orders: inscriptions reading (SCA) ANNA or T can still be seen on some of the shop walls, indicating ownership by the convent of St. Anne or the Templars. There was a cotton market on the western side of the Temple Mount esplanade, a chicken market at the southern side of the Hospitaller complex, and a butchers' market opposite the street leading to St. Mary of the Germans. There were also open streets lined with shops (for example, on the northern side of David's Street) and open markets in the fields outside the city walls, including a large grain market north of David's Gate and a cattle market to the south of the city. Jerusalem also had a mint, whose precise location is uncertain.

Religious and Secular Festivals

The liturgical life of the city was focused on the two main churches, which were also the main objects of pilgrimage: the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as the symbol of New Testament Jerusalem and the Temple of the Lord representing the Jewish Temple, the center of Old Testament Jerusalem. Besides the great feast days common to all Christendom, were some unique to the city. The miracle of the Holy Fire, attested from the mid-ninth century under the Greek Orthodox Church, continued to be celebrated on the eve of Easter Day in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the presence of the massed clergy and people, who waited anxiously until a light appeared miraculously in one of the lamps that hung above the tomb of Christ, to be greeted with great rejoicing.

A new feast introduced by the Franks was held on 15 July to commemorate the capture of the city in 1099 and the consecration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre fifty years later. It began with a procession led by the patriarch from the Holy Sepulchre to the Temple of the Lord, and from there across the Temple Mount esplanade to the burial place of those who died during the siege of 1099; this place was located just outside the city, not far from the spot in the northeastern angle

of the walls, marked by a cross, where the knights of Godfrey of Bouillon first penetrated the city. Here the patriarch preached a sermon to the assembled clergy and populace and offered thanksgiving prayers commemorating the event.

Of the nine rulers of the first kingdom (1099–1187), seven were crowned in Jerusalem. The future king, members of his family, and officials rode from the royal palace to the Holy Sepulchre, where he was crowned by the patriarch. The procession then made its way to the Temple of the Lord, where the new monarch placed his crown on the altar, symbolically commemorating the presentation of Jesus in the Temple (Luke 2:25–35). The last full coronation ceremony, that of Queen Sibyl and Guy of Lusignan, took place on 20 July 1186.

Jerusalem after 1187

Following the defeat of Guy of Lusignan's army by Saladin at the battle of Hattin (4 July 1187), Jerusalem surrendered after a fortnight's siege (2 October 1187). Most of the Frankish inhabitants were able to buy safe passage to the coast, but many were enslaved. Following Saladin's entry, the cross over the Temple of the Lord was taken down and all signs of Christian worship removed, while al-Aqṣā was cleaned of all traces of its occupation by the Templars. Both buildings were dedicated once more to the service of Islam, and on Friday, 9 October 1187, Saladin was present with a vast congregation to give thanks to his God in al-Aqṣā.

Jerusalem reverted to Frankish rule during the period 1229–1244, when as a result of the Treaty of Jaffa (18 February 1229) between Emperor Frederick II and Sultan al-Kāmil of Egypt, the kingdom regained Jerusalem and Bethlehem with a corridor of territory to the coast at Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel), although the Temple Mount remained in Muslim hands and Muslims were allowed the right of entry and freedom of worship. On Saturday, 17 March 1229, Frederick entered Jerusalem with his troops, members of the Teutonic Order, and some of the local baronage; the next day he had a royal crown laid on the altar of Calvary and placed it on his own head, despite an interdict laid against the city by Patriarch Gerold if it should receive the excommunicated emperor.

During the period 1229–1244, some repairs were carried out to the city's walls, which had been destroyed by the Ayyūbids in 1219, while certain institutions such as the military orders sent representatives to claim back their possessions in the city. There is also evidence of reorganization of municipal administration through the reestablishment of the

offices of castellan and viscount, but the city lacked an adequate garrison. When al-Nāṣir, the Ayyūbid ruler of Kerak, assaulted the city in 1239 in retribution for an attack by the forces of the crusader Thibaud IV of Champagne on a Muslim caravan, he was able to occupy it without difficulty. The soldiers in the citadel held out for twenty-seven days until their supplies were exhausted, surrendering on 7 December in return for a safe-conduct to the coast. Al-Nāṣir withdrew after destroying the citadel and other fortifications, and the city remained unfortified until the walls were rebuilt by the Ottomans in the sixteenth century.

The Temple Mount was restored to the Franks in 1244 as a result of a treaty between the Franks and a coalition of the rulers of Homs, Kerak, and Damascus against the Ayyūbids of Egypt. However, a few months later the Egyptian sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb called in nomadic Khwārazmian mercenaries; as they approached the defenseless city, the remaining inhabitants left in an effort to march to safety (23 August 1244), but almost all were massacred by the Khwārazmians, only a few hundred reaching Jaffa. Most of the churches of Jerusalem were burned, and the houses and shops pillaged; the bones of the kings of Jerusalem in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre were torn out of their tombs before the building itself was consigned to the flames.

The Khwārazmian conquest ended Frankish rule in Jerusalem. The recovery of the Holy City continued to figure in crusading plans of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but this goal receded with the advance of the Ottoman Turks into Europe. Jerusalem continued to attract Christian pilgrims, but it had no permanent Latin Christian inhabitants until the Franciscans were permitted to settle at Mount Zion in the mid-fourteenth century.

—Sylvia Schein

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Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of

From the time of its establishment as the fifth patriarchate of Christianity during the Council of Chalcedon (451), the patriarchate of Jerusalem formed part of the hierarchy of the Greek Orthodox Church.

In Pope Urban II's initial plan for the First Crusade (1096–1099), he had not intended to found a Latin Church in the East. Apparently, the crusaders followed Urban's instructions until Jerusalem was conquered in summer 1099, acknowledging the authority of the Greek Orthodox patriarch, Symeon II, because they had simply not yet found a form for the ecclesiastical order in the country. In the course of the year 1099, however, they seem to have become convinced that as the new sovereigns of the Holy Land, they needed the ecclesiastical structures familiar to them from their homes. Soon after the capture of Jerusalem, the Latin cleric Arnulf of Chocques was elected as representative of the Latin Church. When the papal legate Daibert of Pisa arrived

in the Holy City at the end of 1099, shortly after the death of Urban II, the Latin patriarchate was finally authorized by the new pope. From then on, the Latins felt justified in incorporating the existing structures of the Greek Orthodox Church into the newly created Latin patriarchate of Jerusalem, arguing that the Orthodox hierarchy (in contrast to the non-Chalcedonian churches) belonged to the one church encompassing West and East. In doing so, they adopted the principle that each diocese could have only one bishop. The appointment of Latin bishops meant that the Greek Orthodox hierarchy was superseded and its clergy forced to acknowledge the supremacy of the Latin patriarch and bishops. The establishment of a Latin Church in Palestine was important in order to remain independent from Byzantium and to create a precedent for the future conquest of lands with Orthodox populations.

At least during the first years of Frankish rule, the presence of Patriarch John VIII, the successor to Symeon II, seems to have been tolerated in Jerusalem until the Latin Church was firmly established. In 1106/1107 John had to leave Palestine, and during the remainder of the twelfth century, the patriarchs of Jerusalem as well as some of the Greek Orthodox bishops spent their lives in exile in Constantinople. Soon, the main activity of the exiled patriarchs consisted in keeping alive the Orthodox Church's claim to the patriarchate in Jerusalem. Yet Greek clergy continued to serve in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre throughout the twelfth century, and the Melkites, as the Orthodox community was known, remained loyal to the exiled patriarchs. If the authority of the Latin patriarch and his bishops was accepted, this was simply a recognition of the realities of power, but it was largely done for the sake of appearances.

In 1176/1177, the new patriarch Leontios II was sent to Jerusalem by the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos. Because of his leprosy, King Baldwin IV was not able to marry a Byzantine princess as his predecessors had done, and Manuel had sent Leontios to Jerusalem to act as his representative there. According to his Vita, Leontios was enthusiastically welcomed by the entire Melkite community. As a result of pressure exerted by the Latin patriarch, however, he soon had to leave the city again; the Latin Church obviously felt that its position was jeopardized by the presence of a Greek Orthodox patriarch in Jerusalem.

The Greek Orthodox Church profited from the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin in 1187. The most important sanctuaries were returned to it, and between 1204 and 1206/1207

Jerusalem, (Latin) Kingdom of

the patriarch (whose name is not known) returned to the Holy City from Constantinople. The patriarchate maintained lively contacts with the wider Orthodox world, and many Orthodox pilgrims from as far away as Serbia and Russia visited the holy places. The restoration of Frankish rule over Jerusalem between 1229 and 1244 changed nothing in this respect: the Latins were in too weak a position, and the Latin patriarchs preferred to stay in Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel). However, this period of relative stability came to an end when the Khwārazmians conquered the city (1244) and Patriarch Athanasios II was murdered.

—Johannes Pahlitzsch

See also: Byzantine Empire

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Jerusalem, (Latin) Kingdom of

The Latin kingdom of Jerusalem was the largest of the Frankish principalities or states established in the Near East by the First Crusade (1096–1099), taking its name from its capital city of Jerusalem. The kingdom was ruled and dominated by a minority of Christian settlers who originated in western Europe; they belonged to the Latin (Roman) Church, in contrast to the majority of the subject population, and were known to contemporaries as Franks or Latins (hence the name "Latin kingdom").

At its widest extent, attained by the third quarter of the twelfth century, the kingdom occupied most of historical Palestine. In the north it bordered on the county of Tripoli

a few miles north of Beirut; in the south, Frankish rule extended as far as the port of Aila on the Gulf of 'Aqaba. The kingdom thus covered an area corresponding to all of modern Israel, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip, together with some adjacent parts of modern Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon.

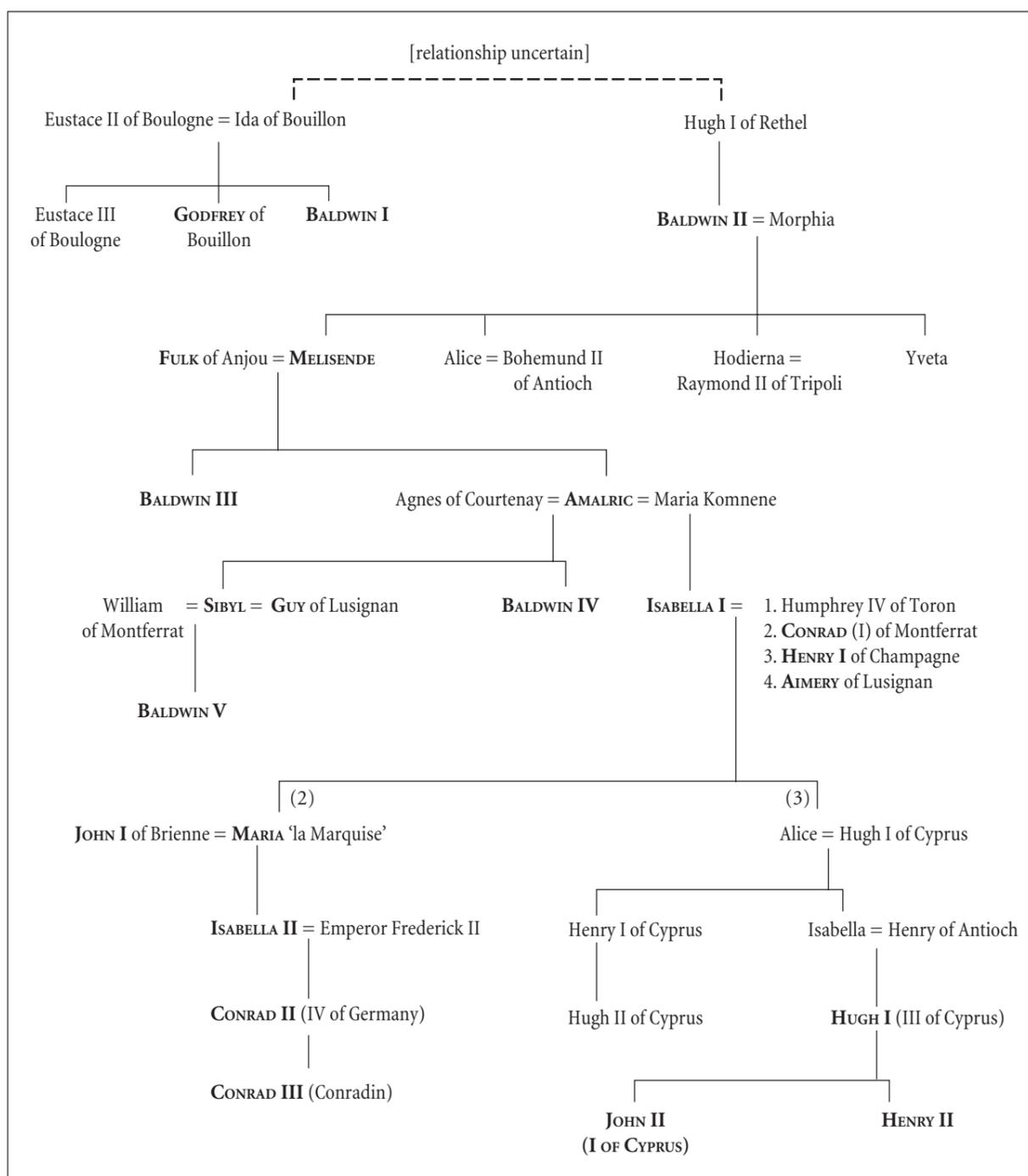
In 1187 the Muslim leader Saladin defeated the kingdom's army at the battle of Hattin and proceeded to reduce its territory to a coastal enclave around the city of Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon). The military assistance brought to Outremer by the Third Crusade (1189–1192) recovered most of the Palestinian coast, and some parts of the interior were also subsequently recovered. However, in the later thirteenth century this reduced kingdom, with its capital at Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), was gradually worn down by the Mamlūk sultanate of Egypt and Syria, which finally captured its last surviving stronghold in 1291.

Foundation (1099–1100)

On 15 July 1099 the army of the First Crusade captured the city of Jerusalem from the Fāṭmids, who had managed to seize it the previous year from its Saljūq governor. The crusaders had already captured the port of Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv–Yafo, Israel); the nearby town of Lydda (mod. Lod, Israel), where they installed a Latin bishop; and Bethlehem.

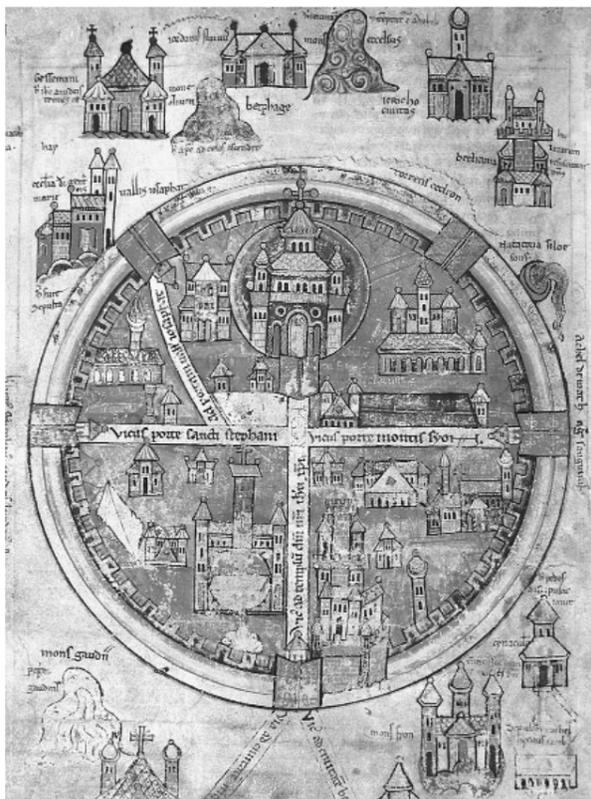
The leaders of the crusade seem to have accepted that Palestine formed a kingdom (Lat. *regnum*), although there was no agreement about its precise form of government or its future ruler. Some crusaders regarded this kingdom as belonging to Christ and thought it would be sacrilegious to appoint a king to rule it, but on 17 July it was decided to proceed with the election of a secular ruler, to be chosen by the leading men of the army. Raymond of Saint-Gilles, count of Toulouse, clearly hoped to be made ruler, having previously been thwarted in his designs to establish a principality in northern Syria. However, Raymond had antagonized large sections of the army, and on 22 July the leaders elected Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lower Lotharingia. Godfrey took the titles of prince and defender of the Holy Sepulchre, thus sidestepping the objections of those who objected to the use of a royal title in the city of Christ. On 1 August Arnulf of Chocques was elected as Latin patriarch.

On 12 August the nascent Latin principality survived its first major threat when the crusaders defeated a major Fāṭimid invasion near Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel). However, the subsequent departure of the majority of the crusaders to their homes exposed the weakness of the



Succession to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099–1291

Jerusalem, (Latin) Kingdom of



Medieval map of Jerusalem from Robert the Monk's *Chronicle of the Crusades*, c. 1099. (Gianni Dagli Orti/Corbis)

Franks of Palestine. Godfrey had only some 300 knights and 2,000 foot soldiers available to him, and he controlled Jerusalem and southern Judaea, including Bethlehem and Hebron, and a coastal strip around Jaffa, Lydda, and Ramla. Jaffa, the only Christian-held port, did not have a good deep-water harbor; the Muslims still controlled the rest of the coast, including the major ports of Acre and Tyre, as well as Beirut, Sidon (mod. Saïda, Lebanon), Haifa (mod. Hefa, Israel), Caesarea (mod. Har Qesari, Israel), Arsuf (near mod. Herzliyya, Israel), and Ascalon. Communications between Godfrey's two blocs of territory were unsafe and could easily be disrupted by Fātimid forces operating from their base at Ascalon. A third bloc of Christian-held territory was found in Galilee, where the crusader Tancred and his predominantly Norman followers clearly intended to found an independent principality and were not necessarily disposed to defer to Godfrey of Bouillon.

If Frankish rule in the Holy Land was to survive, it was essential to extend control over all of Palestine, and above all to capture the major ports necessary to secure communications with the West. The requisite naval assistance soon arrived in the form of a fleet under the command of Daibert, archbishop of Pisa. As the price of this support, Godfrey was obliged to accept Daibert as patriarch of Jerusalem in place of Arnulf of Chocques. Daibert of Pisa was given a quarter of the city of Jerusalem as a patriarchal lordship, but he soon began to make further territorial claims, which produced a breach between him and Godfrey, who died unexpectedly of illness on 18 July 1100. Fearing the ambitions of Daibert and Tancred, the knights of Godfrey's household (Lat. *domus Godefridi*), led by the Lotharingian nobleman Warner of Grez, seized the citadel of Jerusalem. Determined that the rulership of Palestine should be subject to principles of hereditary succession, they summoned Godfrey's younger brother, Count Baldwin I of Edessa, to take up his inheritance. Unable to prevent Baldwin's arrival, Daibert was forced to agree to crown him king as the price of retaining the patriarchate.

History, 1100–1174

The coronation of King Baldwin I (1100–1118) took place in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem on Christmas Day 1100; this venue, rather than the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, was a gesture intended to conciliate patriarchal sensibilities, but Baldwin's assumption of the royal title was a clear signal that he was determined to tolerate no ambiguities as to the limits of his power. He was able to have Daibert of Pisa deposed in 1102, and thereafter the king (originally a cleric by training) was able to appoint candidates of his own choice to the patriarchate, usually with papal approval. The king was also able to force Tancred to accept that Galilee was part of the kingdom.

Baldwin I was tireless in his efforts to extend Frankish control over the rest of Palestine. He countered and defeated Fātimid invasions in 1101, 1102, and 1105. He secured naval support by making agreements with the Italian republics of Genoa and Venice. It was necessary to concede to them property, trading privileges, and ultimately autonomous quarters in various cities of the kingdom, but the arrangement did give the republics a significant interest in the kingdom's survival. Genoese and Venetian (and later Pisan) fleets were also important in bringing large numbers of seasonal pilgrims, keen to visit the newly liberated holy places, who

could also be enlisted during their stays to fight alongside the king's meager forces. With the help of these external forces, Baldwin I was able to capture the ports of Arsuf and Caesarea (1101), Acre (1104), and Beirut and Sidon (1110). By the end of the reign, only Tyre and Ascalon remained in Muslim hands. The king had also begun to penetrate the region south and east of the Dead Sea and to mount an invasion of Egypt, in the course of which he died (1118).

The childless Baldwin I had designated his surviving elder brother, Count Eustace III of Boulogne, as his successor. However, Eustace's partisans among the magnates were outmaneuvered by a more powerful party, which chose the late king's distant cousin Baldwin (II) of Bourcq, then count of Edessa. The reign of Baldwin II (1118–1131) saw a growth of the influence of nobles connected by ties of kinship and vassalage with his family in north-central France (some of them new immigrants), in contrast to the Flemings, Normans, and Lotharingians favored under Godfrey and Baldwin I. The defeat of the Franks of Antioch by the Turks of northern Syria at the battle of the *Ager Sanguinis* (1119) meant that Baldwin was obliged to spend most of the next four years in the north, acting as regent of Antioch and defending the Frankish territories. In 1123 he was captured by the Turks, and he remained a captive for over a year. Resentment grew because of the king's long absences and the demands of repeated campaigns in the north, and during his captivity an unsuccessful attempt was made to depose him. More importantly, the barons and prelates of the kingdom concluded an alliance with the Venetians that defeated a Fāṭimid invasion and captured the port of Tyre (1124).

From this time the kingdom was secure from major Muslim invasions until the 1160s. On his release, Baldwin II pursued a foreign policy calculated to appeal more to his nobles. In 1126 he invaded the Hauran, the fertile Damascene territory east of Lake Tiberias; in 1129 he enlisted crusaders from the West to mount an unsuccessful attack on Damascus itself. A further important feature of the reign was the establishment of military religious orders, which came about through the foundation of the Order of the Templars and the militarization of the existing charitable Order of the Hospital. These new institutions were to subsequently play an increasingly important part in the defense of the kingdom.

The succession to Baldwin II was secured through the marriage of his eldest daughter, Melisende, to Fulk V, count of Anjou. The joint reigns of Melisende (1131–1162) and Fulk (1131–1143) were disrupted by a revolt in 1133–1134

staged by Melisende's kinsman Hugh of Jaffa, who feared that Fulk intended to set aside arrangements that vested joint rule in the royal couple and their young son Baldwin III. Although the revolt was put down, Fulk was forced to abide by the existing constitutional settlement. The king was also obliged to devote considerable time to affairs in the north, where he exercised the regency of Antioch (1131–1136). However, Fulk put considerable efforts into improving the security of his own kingdom by constructing castles around Fāṭimid-held Ascalon, in Galilee, and also in Transjordan. On Fulk's death, sole rule passed to Melisende, as Baldwin III was still a minor.

By this time a new Muslim leader had arisen to fill the power vacuum in northern Syria: 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī, ruler of Mosul and Aleppo. In 1144 he captured the Christian city of Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey). Zangī was a brilliant and ruthless military leader whose Muslim contemporaries regarded him as waging a holy war (Arab. *jihād*) against nonbelievers. After Zangī was murdered in 1146, his lands were divided between his two sons. The elder son, Saif al-Dīn Gazī, succeeded him in Mosul; the younger, Nūr al-Dīn, took over the government of Aleppo and concentrated on expanding his power in Syria. Since 1139 the Franks of Jerusalem had maintained an alliance with Damascus, which was the most important Muslim state in the Near East still independent of Zangī and his successors.

The Second Crusade (1147–1149) was launched in response to the victories of Zangī and Nūr al-Dīn, but only much-reduced Western forces reached Outremer after their difficult passage through Anatolia. Neither King Conrad III of Germany nor Louis VII could be persuaded to attack Aleppo, as argued by Prince Raymond of Antioch. In June 1148 Baldwin III (1143–1163), Queen Melisende, the magnates of the kingdom, and the crusade leaders decided on an attempt to capture Damascus. As a strategic decision, this was by no means as senseless as scholars once believed. The regime of Unur, *atabeg* of Damascus, was becoming increasingly unstable, and in 1147 he had concluded an alliance with Nūr al-Dīn. A combined Frankish-crusader attack may well have been the last opportunity to secure Damascus and parts of its territory before it passed under the influence of Nūr al-Dīn. However, in the event, the campaign was executed incompetently and the siege failed; in 1154 the people of Damascus expelled their ruler and welcomed Nūr al-Dīn as lord of the city.

In the years following the Second Crusade, the young King

Baldwin III became increasingly impatient at having to share power with his mother. In a short civil war in 1152, Baldwin III displaced Melisende's major supporter, Manasses of Hierges, and excluded his mother from government. The following year Baldwin flexed his muscles by besieging and capturing Ascalon, the last Muslim-held city in Palestine. In 1158 he married Theodora, a niece of the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos. The Byzantine emperors had no territorial claims on Jerusalem, in contrast to their ambitions to establish control over the principality of Antioch, and relations between Byzantium and the kingdom were generally cordial during this period.

The childless Baldwin III was succeeded by his younger brother Amalric (1163–1174), who, however, was obliged to divorce his wife, Agnes of Courtenay, as their marriage was regarded as bigamous by the Latin Church and leading magnates. Amalric's main energies during his reign were devoted to attempts to invade and conquer Egypt. That country's wealth appealed to the Franks of Jerusalem as well as to potential allies such as Byzantium and the Italian maritime republics. The increasing instability of the unpopular Fāṭimid caliphate, Shī'ite in faith in contrast to the majority Sunnī population, meant that a Frankish intervention was becoming increasingly necessary to prevent Egypt from falling under the control of Nūr al-Dīn. Amalric mounted invasions of Egypt in 1163, 1164, and 1167, forcing the Egyptian vizier, Shāwar, to abandon his alliance with Nūr al-Dīn and pay a huge tribute to the king.

Still hoping to establish control over Egypt, the king concluded a treaty of assistance with Emperor Manuel Komnenos, whose niece Maria he married in 1168. At the end of that year Amalric launched another major invasion of Egypt, but without coordinating the campaign with the Byzantine navy. Nūr al-Dīn countered by sending an army under his general Shīrkūh, who seized control in Egypt. Shīrkūh was succeeded as vizier of Egypt by his own nephew Saladin, who repulsed a final invasion led by Amalric in 1169. Saladin dissolved the Egyptian army and abolished the Fāṭimid caliphate.

On Nūr al-Dīn's death (1174), Saladin, already de facto ruler of Egypt, seized Damascus, Homs, and Hama from Nūr al-Dīn's heirs. King Amalric of Jerusalem died later that year, his inheritance now surrounded by territories controlled by Saladin. The chronicler William of Tyre perceptively attributed the geopolitical predicament of the kingdom to this new circumstance: "all the neighbouring realms are subject to the

rule of one man" [Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, ed. Robert B. C. Huygens (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), p. 971].

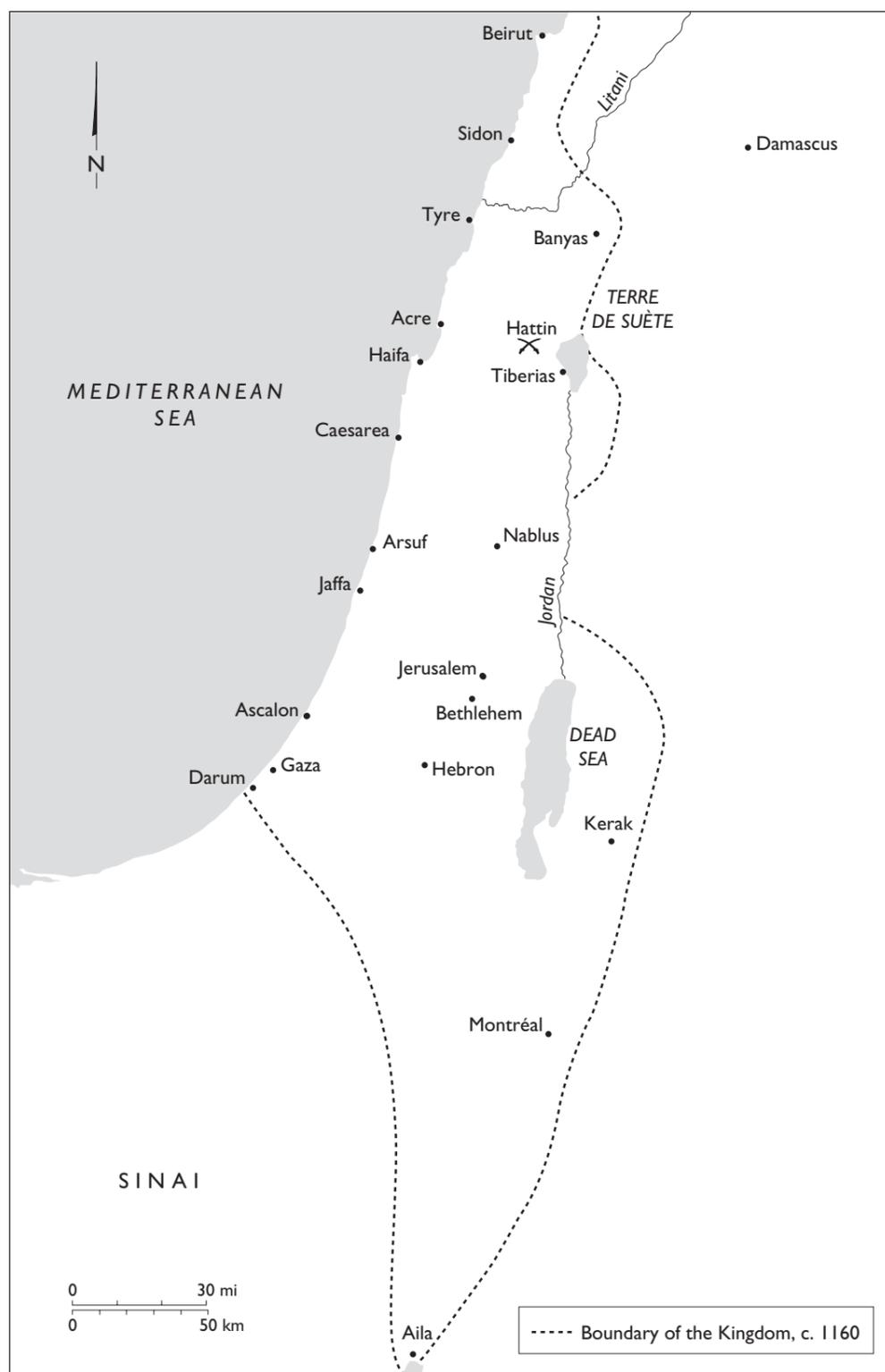
History, 1174–1200

The reigns of Amalric's son Baldwin IV (1174–1185) and his heirs were characterized by the ever-growing threat from Saladin, who was determined to liberate Jerusalem for Islam and recover Palestine from the Franks. His forces invaded the kingdom in 1177, 1179, 1182, 1183, 1184, and 1187. Invasions were interspersed with periods of truce, during which Saladin attempted to extend his control over Muslim Syria, seizing Aleppo and its territory in 1183. Individual crusaders and their retinues came to the Holy Land during this time, but there was no major crusading effort from the West on the scale of the Second Crusade, despite appeals from the secular and ecclesiastical leadership of the kingdom.

Baldwin IV suffered from leprosy and could not be expected to marry and produce an heir. A regent was thus required not only at first, during the young king's minority, but in subsequent periods when he was incapacitated by illness. A suitable husband also had to be found for his next heir, his sister Sibyl. Repeated disputes concerning these two issues, added to wider political rivalries among the ruling classes of the kingdom, greatly hampered its efforts to resist Saladin. Baldwin IV died in May 1185, worn out by his crippling disease and the rigors of repeated military campaigns.

Baldwin V (1185–1186), the son of Sibyl and her first husband, William Longsword, had been crowned as co-king during the reign of his predecessor. As Baldwin was a minor, the regency had been entrusted to Count Raymond III of Tripoli, who was opposed by a significant party around Sibyl and her second husband, Guy of Lusignan. This faction seized power when Baldwin V died, and Sibyl and Guy were crowned rulers. The kingdom was thus politically divided when Saladin led a great invasion into Galilee. Against the advice of Raymond of Tripoli and others, King Guy gave battle at a site known as the Horns of Hattin, where the Franks of Jerusalem suffered their greatest ever military defeat (3–4 July 1187). Guy himself was taken prisoner, while most of the kingdom's leaders and fighters were killed or captured. In the aftermath of the battle Saladin's troops were able to overrun the entire kingdom, with the exception of the port of Tyre.

The defeat at Hattin, and above all the surrender of the city of Jerusalem in October 1187, sent shock waves around



The Kingdom of Jerusalem at its greatest extent

the West. Pope Gregory VIII proclaimed a new crusade in his encyclical *Audita tremendi*. Some military and naval assistance reached Outremer quickly, but it was a considerable time before major armies arrived in the course of the Third Crusade (1189–1192). A land army from Germany under Frederick I Barbarossa, the Holy Roman Emperor, broke up after the emperor died in Cilicia (1190). However, seaborne expeditions led by King Richard the Lionheart of England and King Philip II of France succeeded in recovering most of the coast from Tyre to Ascalon, although it proved impossible to retake the city of Jerusalem itself. The kingdom's capital was now the port of Acre, where most of the leading governmental and ecclesiastical institutions established themselves. Additional territory to the north of Tyre was later secured by the German crusade sent by Barbarossa's son, Emperor Henry VI (1197–1198).

The Christian recovery was hampered by disputes over the throne of Jerusalem. Guy of Lusignan (released from captivity in 1188) was supported by Richard of England, whereas Philip and others favored Conrad of Montferrat, an Italian nobleman who had won distinction while leading the defense of Tyre. The death of Sibyl and her daughters left Guy without any legitimate rights to the throne. A compromise reached in 1192 awarded the throne to Conrad (I), who was married to Sibyl's younger sister and heir, Isabella I. Guy was compensated with the island of Cyprus, which Richard had conquered before arriving in Outremer. Conrad was assassinated before he could be crowned, and so the kingdom passed, along with the hand of Queen Isabella, first to Henry of Champagne (1192–1197) and then to Aimery of Lusignan, king of Cyprus (1198–1205).

History, 1200–1291

From the death of Saladin in 1193 until 1260, the Muslim powers that surrounded the kingdom were divided. Damascus, Aleppo, Kerak, and Egypt were ruled by different members of Saladin's family (the Ayyūbids), who were constantly at war with each other, a circumstance that the Franks were able to exploit. In 1250 there was a change of government in Egypt when power was seized by a group of Turkish *mamlūks* (slave soldiers), who established a regime known as the Mamlūk sultanate. Yet as Aleppo and Damascus were still ruled by the Ayyūbids, the Franks could still play the rival powers off. So between 1193 and 1260 there was a repeated pattern of a truce, followed by a crusading expedition that tried to recover new territory, followed by another truce.

Richard the Lionheart had planned to attack Egypt in 1192 but had been unable to persuade the whole crusade army to accompany him. Nevertheless, many of the later crusades saw Egypt as the key to the Holy Land. It was believed that if Egypt could be conquered, then the Holy Land would be secure; even if Egypt proved impossible to hold permanently, a strike against the major center of Muslim power might be sufficient to force the Ayyūbids and later the Mamlūks to surrender enough territory in Palestine to enable the Franks to hold a restored kingdom of Jerusalem (including the Holy City itself) with defensible frontiers. This is why Egypt was chosen as the original goal of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), although it was eventually diverted to Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey). The Fifth Crusade (1217–1221) was initially successful in capturing the Egyptian port of Damietta, but its chances of success were destroyed by quarrels between the papal legate and the secular princes.

The lack of a strong central authority in the kingdom, which was already apparent after 1174, became even more serious during the thirteenth century. Up to 1268 several of the monarchs were either underaged (Maria la Marquise and Isabella II) or absentees (Conrad II and Conradin), requiring regents to govern for them. There were frequent disputes about the choice of regent, as well as resistance to the policies of both regents and monarchs. Effective power passed to a number of different groups and institutions which struggled to defend their interests and to control the kingdom. First, there was a relatively small group of noble families, notably the Ibelins. Many of these families produced or employed jurists who became expert in manipulating the High Court, which was the highest governing body of the kingdom. Second, there were the great military orders—the Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights—that now had much greater political weight than in the period before Hattin. They acquired large areas of land and castles, which they often bought from impecunious nobles. With sources of income in the West, the orders were one of the few institutions that had sufficient financial resources for the purchase of lands and the costly construction and upkeep of castles. However, they also sometimes followed opposing policies and became embroiled in factional disputes; after Frankish Palestine was lost, some people blamed them for fighting among themselves when they should have been fighting the Muslims. Third, there were the communities from the Italian trading cities of Genoa, Venice, and Pisa,

which had their own quarters in the major ports, such as Acre and Tyre, where they had privileges such as being able to hold their own courts to deal with their own legal business. Although they provided a vital link with the West by bringing pilgrims and supplies, they were rivals in Europe and brought their disputes and wars to the Holy Land. Fourth, there were burgher confraternities, groups of freemen who formed associations to defend local rights. On occasion, the confraternities would join with nobles and non-Frankish inhabitants in communes. These were sworn associations formed to achieve political aims, as in the case of the Commune of Acre, which opposed the rule of the German-Sicilian Staufien dynasty. Finally, various monarchs and other powerful figures who arrived from the West on crusade expeditions often overruled or ignored local institutions.

In 1228–1229 Frederick II, the Holy Roman Emperor and king of Sicily, came to the East, having previously married the heiress to the throne, Isabella II, granddaughter of Isabella I. Frederick recovered the city of Jerusalem by negotiation as part of a ten-year truce concluded with al-Kāmil, the Ayyūbid sultan of Egypt, rather than by fighting. As Jerusalem technically belonged to Damascus, not to Egypt, and as the Franks were not allowed to fortify the city, many of them considered that this truce was more for Frederick's interests than theirs. It seemed that Frederick was more interested in making a treaty to protect the commercial interests of his kingdom of Sicily than in protecting Outremer. Supported by the Teutonic Knights, the Genoese, and Pisans, Frederick staged a crown-wearing ceremony in the church of the Holy Sepulchre. However, he was opposed by the secular church, the other military orders, and the majority of the nobility. As Isabella II had died in 1228, this party refused to recognize Frederick's rights to the throne, accepting only that he was regent for his infant son Conrad II (IV of Germany).

Frederick's return to the West (1229) was followed by an intermittent civil war between Frederick's supporters and mercenaries (known as Lombards) and the majority of the Franks, led by the powerful Ibelin family. More crusaders from the West arrived in 1239–1240, led by Thibaud IV of Champagne and Richard of Cornwall, to coincide with the expiry of Frederick II's truce. They succeeded in refortifying Ascalon as well as in gaining territory in Galilee. However, in 1244 the city of Jerusalem was captured by the Khwārazmians, nomadic mercenaries in the service of Sultan al-Šāliḥ Ayyūb of Egypt, and the Egyptians destroyed a

Frankish army in battle at La Forbie near Gaza. Most of the recent territorial gains were lost again soon after. The kingdom's territory now consisted of the area between Beirut and Caesarea from the coast to the line of the Jordan, with a much narrower coastal strip extending south as far as Jaffa.

The marriage of Frederick II to Isabella II brought the Staufien dynasty to the throne. Yet neither of their two successors, Conrad II (1228–1254) or his son Conrad III, better known as Conradin (1254–1268), ever visited their kingdom. Government was carried out by a series of regents appointed by the High Court. The death of Conrad III without heirs meant the extinction of the line that was descended from Maria la Marquise, daughter of Queen Isabella I and her second husband, Conrad of Montferrat. The throne now passed to King Hugh III of Cyprus (I of Jerusalem), who was descended from Isabella I and her third husband, Henry of Champagne. Hugh I/III (1268–1284) was succeeded, in turn, by his son Henry II (1285–1324), who was to be the last reigning king of Jerusalem.

Up to the mid-thirteenth century the Franks were still in a relatively strong position, and the kingdom was still rich from the trade that passed through its ports. But from that time the economy began to decline. From 1256 trade with the West was disrupted by wars between the Italian merchant cities of Genoa, Venice, and Pisa and by the conquests of the Mongols in Central Asia. The Mongols swiftly advanced into the Middle East, and in 1260 they captured Aleppo and Damascus. The Christian rulers in their path had to decide whether to negotiate with the Mongols or to risk being destroyed by them. The leaders of the kingdom of Jerusalem decided to remain neutral, assisting neither the Mongols nor the Mamlūks of Egypt. However, in September 1260 the Mamlūk sultan, Qūṭuz, defeated the Mongols at 'Ayn Jālūt in Galilee.

The decisive victory of 'Ayn Jālūt saved the kingdom of Jerusalem and Egypt from the Mongols, but it also enabled the Mamlūks to take over Aleppo and Damascus, which had previously opposed them. The kingdom was again surrounded, and over the next three decades the Mamlūk generals captured fortress after fortress and city after city, until the kingdom was reduced to a few fortified cities along the coastline. The Mamlūks' repeated campaigns in Palestine also destroyed the agriculture and infrastructure of the kingdom; they adopted a scorched-earth policy, destroying everything, so that the Franks could not regroup and recover as they had done during the Third Crusade. Unlike Saladin,

who used to allow the Christian defenders of a castle or town to go in peace if they surrendered, the Mamlūks would routinely kill the defenders of the castles and towns they captured. Saladin's policy had been intended to encourage quick surrenders. The Mamlūks relied on their superior siege machinery to capture fortresses quickly and aimed at destroying their enemy completely.

In May 1291 the last Frankish-held stronghold, the city of Acre, fell to the troops of the Mamlūk sultan Khalīl. Some of those in the city managed to escape by sea to Cyprus, but the rest were either killed or taken prisoner. Many plans were drawn up to recover the Holy Land, but these all came to nothing. The Lusignan kings of Cyprus continued to call themselves "king of Jerusalem" after 1291, though the title was also claimed by the kings of Naples and Sicily and by the kings of Aragon. The ecclesiastical institutions of the kingdom, such as the patriarch of Jerusalem, also continued in name.

Settlement, Economy, and Society

When the crusaders arrived in Palestine at the end of the eleventh century, they found an extremely wealthy country. There were large, rich trading ports, such as Acre and Tyre. By the thirteenth century Acre was a world trade center as important as Constantinople or Alexandria. It was a great spice market, exported most of the sugar consumed in Europe, and also had an important slave market, although the pope tried to restrict the last. The new Christian lords of these towns encouraged this trade. They extended the ports and gave privileges to merchants, most of them from Italy. Most of Palestine north of Gaza and Hebron was agriculturally rich, producing crops such as wheat, olives, wine, sugar, and citrus fruits. The Terre de Suète east of Lake Tiberias, especially productive of wheat, was a major area of contention between the Franks and whichever Muslim power ruled Damascus.

There was a marked difference in the character of the urban and rural populations under Frankish rule. As the Franks gradually conquered the coastal towns, they either massacred or expelled the Muslim and Jewish urban populations, although native Christians were allowed to remain, and some Jews were later permitted to return. The majority of the Franks settled in the towns, as did the Italian colonists later on, in their own designated quarters. The countryside continued to be inhabited by predominantly Arabic-speaking peasants living in villages (Lat. *casalia*), each governed

by its headman (Arab. *raʿīs*). The majority of these peasants were either "Saracens," that is, Muslims, or "Syrians," a term that could refer either to the Greek Orthodox (Melkites), who constituted the majority among the native Christians, or to the Syrian Orthodox (Jacobites). There were much smaller numbers of rural Jews (in Galilee), Samaritans (in the area around Nablus), and Druzes (in the mountains above Sidon), as well as nomadic Bedouin in the frontier areas. There was no Turkish population in the kingdom, although Turks formed the ruling and military classes of many Muslim territories in the Near East. There was no manorial system in the countryside, as was the case in much of western Europe. Those Franks who lived in the countryside were to be found living either, on one hand, in or alongside the Frankish castles, or, on the other, in fortified villages, such as Magna Mahomeria (mod. al-Bira, West Bank) and Bethgibelin (mod. Bet Guvrin, Israel), in some cases alongside native Christians.

The city of Jerusalem was a special case in terms of population and economy during the periods when it was under Frankish control (1099–1187 and 1228–1244). Largely depopulated in the course of the crusader conquest, its initially small number of Frankish settlers was augmented by Syrians brought from Transjordan by King Baldwin I. In the course of the twelfth century, the city also became host to more Latins, members of other Eastern Christian denominations, and a transient population of pilgrims from the West. However, Muslims and Jews were not permitted to settle there. Jerusalem's main role was as a pilgrimage and administrative center, but as it lacked significant trade interests it did not attract settlement by Italian colonists.

The kingdom had very long land frontiers, although the realities of geography and supply meant that there were relatively few invasion routes that could be used by large Muslim armies. From Egypt, armies usually marched along the northern coast of Sinai toward the area of Ascalon and Jaffa; alternately, they could proceed due east across Sinai toward the Gulf of 'Aqaba and Transjordan. The usual invasion route from Syria was either north or immediately south of Lake Tiberias into Galilee. The Franks built numerous castles where military forces and supplies could be placed, and these could be used as bases from which to raid enemy territory or in order to halt enemy incursions into Frankish territory. In the twelfth century, castle building was concentrated in three areas: (1) in northern Galilee and the Terre de Suète to the east, (2) on the southwestern frontier facing

Fāṭimid-held Ascalon, and (3) in Transjordan, from Kerak in the north to Aila on the Gulf of 'Aqaba in the south. In the thirteenth century, as the Franks were pushed back to the west, more castles were built further west toward the coast to defend the reduced Frankish territory.

The Franks never constituted more than a large minority among the total population of Palestine. They were divided legally into three classes. The Frankish nobility was a relatively small group, originating primarily from northern France, Lotharingia, and the Low Countries. They provided the main fighting forces of the kingdom. The clergy was also small in number, and those who held high office tended to be immigrants from the West. The majority of Franks belonged to the burgess class. They originated from the same lands as the nobility and also from Italy, southern France, and Spain.

Westerners who came to the East complained that the Franks had become too native in their habits. Up to a point these accusations had some truth. The Franks wore local styles of dress, bathed regularly (unlike western Europeans), and ate local food. What was more, they made alliances with local Muslims and sometimes had Muslim friends. Some Westerners argued that this fraternizing with Muslims angered God and that this was why God allowed the Christians in the Holy Land to be defeated by the Muslims. Yet most of the local customs were sensible, and they were superficial compared to other characteristics. Although a few Franks learned Arabic, the vast majority continued to speak French and used Latin as their written language; of course, they continued to adhere to the Latin Church. They regularly made truces and alliances with Muslim rulers, but this was necessary for the survival of the kingdom. There was some intermarriage between burgesses and native Christians, and even converts from Islam, although the ruling class only married other Franks, Byzantines, Armenians, or immigrants from Europe. Native Christians served as minor officials in urban and rural administration, but after centuries of Muslim rule they had no noble class and no real military traditions. They could therefore make little contribution to the kingdom's defense, in contrast to the situation in the northern states of Outremer.

Government and Institutions

From 1100 the kingdom was a hereditary monarchy, whose head was officially known as "king of the Latins in Jerusalem," a title that reflected the fact that the Franks (or Latins) were the only group in full possession of political and

Rulers of the Kingdom of Jerusalem

Godfrey of Bouillon	1099–1100
Baldwin I (of Boulogne)	1100–1118
Baldwin II (of Bourcq)	1118–1131
Melisende	1131–1152
Fulk of Anjou	1131–1143
Baldwin III	1143–1163
Amalric	1163–1174
Baldwin IV	1174–1185
Baldwin V	1185–1186
Sibyl	1186–1190
Guy of Lusignan	1186–1192
Isabella I	1190–1205
Conrad I of Montferrat	1192
Henry I of Champagne	1192–1197
Aimery of Lusignan	1197–1205
Maria la Marquise	1205–1212
John of Brienne	1210–1212
Isabella II	1212–1228
Frederick (II) (Holy Roman Emperor)	1225–1228
Conrad II (IV of Germany)	1228–1254
Conrad III (Conradin)	1254–1268
Hugh I (III of Cyprus)	1268–1284
John II (I of Cyprus)	1284–1285
Henry II (also Cyprus)	1285–1324

legal rights. The king of Jerusalem was sometimes recognized as having a kind of overlordship over the other Frankish states, which manifested itself in acts of homage by their rulers and in the fact that the king could act as regent for them during minorities. However, this relationship was never formalized beyond such acts, and the northern principalities did not form part of the kingdom proper.

The central royal administration was based at Jerusalem until 1187, and later at Acre. It had a chancery headed by a cleric, plus lay officers along the lines found in the West: a constable, marshal, seneschal, butler, and chamberlain. A substantial part of the country, the royal demesne, remained directly under royal control and was administered by viscounts. The royal demesne varied in extent, but before 1187 it consisted of two main territorial blocs: northern Judaea and southern Samaria (including Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nablus), and the coastal area around Tyre and Acre. The rest of the country was divided into lordships. Most of these were held by nobles, but some were ecclesiastical lordships,

such as those held by the bishops of Nazareth and Lydda, as well as the Latin patriarch's quarter in Jerusalem. At times, Jaffa and Ascalon formed part of the demesne or were given to members of the royal family.

Most towns in the royal demesne and the lordships had a burghess court (Fr. *Cour des Bourgeois*), which was the main court for Frankish burghesses and more serious cases involving non-Franks. The native communities originally had their own courts for lesser cases, but these competencies were taken over by the Court of the Market (Fr. *Cour de la Fonde*), which originated as a court dealing with commercial matters involving Franks and non-Franks. There were also courts for the vassals of each lordship and ecclesiastical courts for the clergy.

The royal demesne provided the main stream of royal income in the form of rents, agricultural revenues, and, above all, tolls from the wealthy ports. Much of this income was paid out in the form of money fiefs to support knights who were the king's vassals in the royal demesne. Other sources of royal income were the profits of justice, coinage, and shipwreck; feudal dues; occasional tribute payments from Muslim powers; and subsidies from Byzantium. General taxation was rare and only conceded on exceptional circumstance. The lordships and the royal demesne provided about 600–700 knights for the kingdom's army in the twelfth century, plus some 5,000 more lightly armed troops, known as sergeants. A substantial number of knights and sergeants was also maintained by the military orders.

The king was expected to rule with the consent and cooperation of the great nobles and ecclesiastical dignitaries, just as kings did in Europe. The main forum for this was the High Court (Fr. *Haute Cour*), which was not only the highest court of law, but also an institution for political consultation and decision making. For much of the twelfth century, kings were relatively strong, although most of them encountered opposition at some point. They exercised a strong control over higher ecclesiastical appointments. Before 1118 few secular lordships were created, and even thereafter the kings often intervened to reorganize lordships and remove their holders. However, from 1174 onward kings were frequently minors or absentees or incapacitated by illness. Nobles and clerics had a major role in appointing regents; in the thirteenth century they also increasingly used the High Court to defend their own privileges and prevent any extension of royal prerogatives.

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Jerusalem, Latin Patriarchate of

The organization and hierarchy of the Latin (Roman Catholic) Church established in Palestine after the conquest by the First Crusade (1096–1099), with ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the kingdom of Jerusalem.

Although the leaders of the First Crusade had established cordial relations with Symeon II, the exiled Greek Orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem, during the siege of Antioch, they do not seem to have considered the possibility of restoring the Greek Orthodox hierarchy when they captured the city of Jerusalem in 1099. Instead, the senior Western clergy present with the crusade army chose Arnulf of Chocques, the chaplain of Duke Robert of Normandy, as first Latin patriarch.

The Latin patriarchate claimed continuity with the Greek Orthodox patriarchate, but differed from it in some significant ways. Whereas the Orthodox patriarch had been the autonomous head of his church, the Latin patriarch was subordinate to the pope, and his powers were more like those of a metropolitan archbishop. The kings of Jerusalem persuaded the papacy that the patriarchate should be coextensive with the boundaries of the kingdom. This led to friction with the Latin patriarchs of Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey), who claimed jurisdiction over the province of Tyre. However, despite prolonged litigation, the archbishops of Tyre and their suffragans at Beirut, Sidon, and Acre, remained subject to the patriarchs of Jerusalem.

Diocesan Organization

The Franks made some significant changes to the traditional Greek Orthodox organization of the hierarchy. The Latin patriarchal see of Jerusalem eventually had three suffragan sees: (1) The double bishopric of Lydda (mod. Lod, Israel) and Ramla was set up in 1099. (2) Bethlehem (in mod. West Bank), in Greek Orthodox times a shrine church in the diocese of Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel), was erected into a bishopric in 1108. (3) Hebron (mod. Al-Khalil, West Bank), the burial place of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, administered by Augustinian canons from around 1112, became a bishopric in 1168, at which time the canons formed the cathedral chapter.

In the coastal city of Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon), captured by the Franks in 1124, an archbishop was enthroned in 1128. Although none of the bishops was actually consecrated until the archbishop of Tyre was in office, Tyre had four suffragan sees: (1) Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), captured in 1104, whose first bishop is recorded in 1135; (2) Sidon (mod. Saïda,

Lebanon), captured in 1110, whose first Latin bishop is recorded in 1133; (3) Beirut, captured in 1110, where a bishop was nominated in 1112 but not consecrated until 1133; and (4) the inland city of Banyas (mod. Bāniyas, Syria), the Caesarea Philippi of the New Testament, which had a bishop during the period while it was held by the Franks (1140–1164).

An archbishop of Caesarea (mod. Har Qesari, Israel), the ancient Caesarea Maritima, was appointed when the city was captured in 1101. It had one suffragan see, Sebastea (mod. Sabastiyah, West Bank) in Samaria, established in 1129.

The archbishopric for Galilee had been Bethsan (mod. Bet-Shean, Israel), known as Scythopolis in Greek Orthodox times. In 1103 Pope Paschal II recognized the abbot of Mount Tabor as archbishop of Galilee, but those powers were later transferred to the bishops of Nazareth (mod. Nazerat, Israel), a see established in 1109 and raised to an archbishopric in 1128. Nazareth had one suffragan see, Tiberias (mod. Teverya, Israel), founded around 1144.

An archbishopric with the title Petra Deserti was set up in 1168 for the lands of Transjordan. The archbishop was resident in the township of Kerak (mod. Karak, Jordan) and had no suffragan bishops.

Until 1187 the Crown normally appointed the patriarch and bishops of the kingdom, though canonical election procedures were formally observed and cathedral chapters might appeal to Rome to scrutinize the results. On the whole, relations between the Crown and the patriarchs were harmonious, except during the patriarchates of Daimbert of Pisa (1099–1101) and Stephen of Chartres (1128–1130), who sought to gain temporal independence from royal control.

Religious Life, 1099–1192

A large number of secular Latin priests and clergy in minor orders must have been employed in the Latin kingdom to serve the parish churches and chapels in the cities and townships there. In twelfth-century Jerusalem and in thirteenth-century Acre and Tyre, such foundations were very numerous, while all Frankish lords employed one or more domestic chaplains. Denys Pringle has also identified a substantial number of Latin churches and chapels in the rural areas of the kingdom, where, as Ronnie Ellenblum has shown, there were some 200 Frankish settlements in the twelfth century [*Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)].



Diocesan organization of the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem



Church of St. Anne in Jerusalem. Built on the site believed to have been the childhood home of the Virgin Mary and her parents, Anne and Joachim, it served as the center of worship for a convent of Latin nuns. Completed in the 1140s, it is a striking example of Crusader Romanesque architecture. (Courtesy Alfred Andrea)

The principal shrine churches were in many cases rebuilt by the Franks, and were served by religious communities. In the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem (the patriarchal cathedral), the original secular canons installed after the crusader conquest were replaced by Augustinian canons in 1114. Augustinians also formed the chapters of the three other cathedrals that were important shrines: Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Hebron. The remaining cathedral chapters were composed of secular canons. By 1112 Augustinian Canons also administered three shrines in Jerusalem: Our Lady of Zion, the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives, and the Temple of the Lord (formerly the Dome of the Rock). Other shrines in the holy city were administered by Benedictine monks. The monastery of St. Mary of the Latins and the adjacent convent of St. Mary Major dated from before the First Crusade and flourished under Latin

rule. The Church of Our Lady of Jehosaphat was served by Benedictine monks, said to have accompanied Godfrey of Bouillon on crusade. The Benedictine convent of St. Anne was in existence by 1104, and in 1138 Queen Melisende founded a Benedictine convent at Bethany. In Galilee there was a Benedictine monastery on Mount Tabor founded by Prince Tancred in 1100, and one at Palmaria, established around 1130, which later became a dependency of the abbey of Cluny. The Benedictine priory of St. Catherine was founded by King Baldwin IV in thanksgiving for his victory over Saladin at Mont Gisard in 1177. The Premonstratensian canons established communities at St. Samuel on Montjoie before 1131 and at SS. Joseph and Habakkuk near Lydda in 1136. Two Cistercian monasteries were founded near Jerusalem: Salvatio in 1169 and St. John in Nemore in 1169. Substantial numbers of Latin-rite hermits lived in and

around Jerusalem and on the wooded slopes of Mount Tabor in Galilee.

The “new monasticism” of the military religious orders originated in the kingdom of Jerusalem. The Order of the Hospital (Knights of St. John), which became an independent order in 1113, had its headquarters in Jerusalem. The Templars, whose rule was licensed by the papacy in 1128, had their headquarters in the former al-Aqṣā Mosque on the Temple Mount, while the Order of St. Lazarus, founded in the 1130s for the care of lepers, had its headquarters just outside the city walls. The combined holdings of the military orders in the kingdom of Jerusalem before 1187 were fairly modest, so that although their property was in some circumstances exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, the rights of the Latin patriarchate were not greatly diminished by their presence in the twelfth century.

This large religious establishment was not a serious strain on the economic resources of the kingdom. Many of the communities that served the shrine churches, together with the military orders, derived much of their income from western European endowments. Moreover, the archbishops of Nazareth and the bishops of Lydda-Ramla were the only prelates to hold ecclesiastical lordships: between them they owed service of sixteen knights to the Crown. Yet the bishops and heads of religious communities were jointly responsible for providing the service of 2,750 sergeants to the crown: this amounted to over half the sergent-service of the entire kingdom. This would have been a heavy financial burden to meet in a society almost permanently at war, and it is possible that the obligation was not regularly enforced in full.

The many Greek Orthodox Christians in Outremer were regarded by the Latin hierarchy as members of the same church as themselves. Although the Latins took over some important Orthodox churches, the Orthodox were allowed to keep most of their lesser churches and all of their monasteries. By the 1170s, and perhaps earlier, Greek Orthodox canons were allowed to officiate in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre alongside the Latins, there was a revival of Orthodox monasticism in Judaea, and some Orthodox coadjutor bishops were allowed to minister to the Orthodox faithful in Latin dioceses. Nevertheless, the Byzantine church and state refused to accept this subordination of the Greek Orthodox to the Latin hierarchy, and from around 1118 Orthodox patriarchs of Jerusalem were appointed who lived in Constantinople.

All of the Eastern churches, except the Ethiopians, had chapels in Jerusalem in the twelfth century, and there were

large communities of Armenians, Maronites, and Syrian Orthodox (Jacobites) there and in some other parts of the kingdom. These Eastern Christians were allowed complete religious independence.

Ecclesiastical Reorganization after 1192

After their defeat by Saladin at the battle of Hattin in 1187, the Franks lost almost all their territory. The much reduced kingdom of Jerusalem as it was restored after 1192 had boundaries that fluctuated a good deal throughout the thirteenth century until the loss of the new capital, Acre, in 1291. The Latin hierarchy adapted to those developments with various organizational changes.

The Latin patriarchs of Jerusalem and the canons of the Holy Sepulchre lived in Acre throughout this period. From 1262 the patriarchs became *ex officio* bishops of Acre. They had three suffragans: (1) The bishops of Ramla-Lydda, who lived in Acre throughout this period. (2) The bishops of Bethlehem, who lived in Acre, except from 1229–1244 when their see was restored to Christian rule and they returned there. (3) The bishops of Hebron, whose see was revived in 1252 by Pope Innocent IV; the bishops lived in Acre and had few resources.

Tyre remained in Frankish hands until 1291, and the Latin archbishops lived there throughout this time. Their suffragans were (1) The bishops of Acre, whose office was merged with that of the patriarch of Jerusalem in 1262; (2) the bishops of Sidon, who lived in that city when practical throughout this period; (3) the bishops of Beirut, who lived in that city from 1197 to 1291.

The archbishops of Caesarea lived in that city until it was captured by the Mamlūks in 1265, when they moved to Acre.

The archbishops of Nazareth lived in Acre, except between 1229 and 1263 when Nazareth was restored to Frankish control. Their sole suffragan see was Tiberias, vacant until 1241, when Galilee was recovered by the Franks. Bishops were then appointed until 1291, but probably lived in Acre throughout those years.

The archdiocese of Petra Deserti and the see of Sebastea were left vacant after 1187, although popes sometimes appointed titular bishops to them in the thirteenth century.

Religious Life, 1192–1291

Thirteenth-century Acre was overflowing with ecclesiastical establishments, for after 1192 religious communities from territories occupied by the Muslims, as well as the exiled

bishops, took refuge there. Among them were the Augustinian canons of Mount Zion, of the Mount of Olives, and of the Temple of the Lord; the Benedictine monks of St. Mary of the Latins, Our Lady of Jehosaphat, the Mount Tabor monastery, and St. Catherine on Mont Gisard; the Benedictine nuns of St. Anne, St. Mary Major, and the convent of Bethany; and the Premonstratensian canons of St. Samuel on Montjoie. During the thirteenth century they were joined by groups of Franciscans, Dominicans, members of the Trinitarian Order, and communities of Cistercian nuns and Poor Clares, as well as by representatives of other, smaller orders. Most of the refugee communities remained in Acre throughout the thirteenth century. The Templars, Hospitallers, and the Order of St. Lazarus all had their headquarters in Acre throughout this period, as did the new Order of the Teutonic Knights, from its inception in 1198 until it moved to the castle of Montfort in 1227.

The Latin patriarchate showed evidence of religious vitality in the thirteenth century. A new contemplative order, the Carmelites, evolved on Mount Carmel during this period. Rooted in both the Greek Orthodox and Latin eremitical traditions, its rule was ratified by Pope Honorius III, and by the middle of the century the order had begun to found daughter houses in Western Europe. The Latin hierarchy included some men of exceptional ability, such as James of Vitry, whom Pope Innocent III presented to the see of Acre in 1216, and James Pantaleon, made patriarch by Pope Alexander IV in 1255, whom he succeeded in 1261 as Pope Urban IV. It is very much to the credit of the Latin hierarchy in the thirteenth century that most of them resided in their sees, despite the problems they faced, among which was fierce competition for economic resources. Logistical problems often made it difficult for Western agents to transmit responses promptly to the military orders and the religious communities in the Latin East, and this led to a good deal of acrimonious litigation between them and the Latin bishops about the payment of tithes and the ownership of property.

Relations between the Latin hierarchy and Eastern Christians were mixed in the thirteenth century. The Maronites, who had come into communion with Rome around 1181, and the part of the Armenian Church that had done so in 1198, enjoyed Uniate status, preserving their own liturgy and canon law in so far as these were compatible with Latin norms, and keeping their own hierarchy, whose members were directly subject to the pope and not to the Latin patriarch. Pope Innocent IV wished to give parallel rights to the

Greek Orthodox Christians of Jerusalem, but the Latin hierarchy was unwilling to accept this. The Greek Orthodox living under Frankish rule therefore deeply resented their subordinate status.

In 1291 the Mamlūks conquered the remaining Frankish strongholds. This marked the end of the Latin patriarchate, although titular patriarchs continued to be appointed by the papacy, while some of the religious communities of the Latin kingdom took refuge in Cyprus or on their Western estates, hoping that one day they might return to the Holy Land.

—Bernard Hamilton

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Jerusalem, Siege of (1099)

The siege of Jerusalem took place during the First Crusade (1096–1099) and culminated in the capture of the Holy City

Jerusalem, Siege of (1099)



Second Assault of Jerusalem: The Crusaders Repulsed, by Gustave Dore, 1877. (Bettmann/Corbis)

on 15 July 1099. The liberation of the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the Islamic enemy was the fundamental inspiration for the crusade. When the crusaders began the siege on 7 June, it was not merely a military objective but the emotional mainspring of the whole expedition, although the army faced substantial problems in undertaking it.

Perhaps 60,000 crusaders had gathered at Nicaea (mod. İznik, Turkey) in June 1097, but a member of the army estimated that when they got to Jerusalem there remained only 1,200–1,300 knights and 12,000 crusaders on foot. They had suffered heavy losses, and many crusaders had stayed behind with Bohemund of Taranto at Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) and Baldwin of Boulogne at Edessa (Şanlıurfa, Turkey). This small army was very isolated; its nearest secure base was Laodikeia in Syria (mod. Al-Lādhiqīyah, Syria), over 480 kilometers (300 mi.) to the north. Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel), the port for

Jerusalem, had been largely demolished, so that the sea power that had hitherto been so useful could now only be exercised precariously, for there was a powerful Fāṭimid fleet based at Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel), while Jerusalem itself was held by a Fāṭimid garrison. The Fāṭimids of Egypt had been content to support the crusaders against the Saljūq Turks, from whom they had seized the city of Jerusalem in July 1098, but the crusaders broke this arrangement when they marched south to the Holy City. Now they knew that a mighty Fāṭimid force would gather at Ascalon. The attack on Jerusalem was a race against time: this was why the crusaders first assaulted the city on 13 June, although they had only one siege ladder.

The Fāṭimid garrison had expelled the native Christian inhabitants and made the springs outside the walls unusable. There was little wood in the vicinity, and raiders from Ascalon harassed the army. Jerusalem, though a mighty city, was vulnerable on the north wall, which was somewhat overlooked by rising ground. The east wall crowned a steep slope down to the Valley of Jehosaphat. The land did not fall away quite so steeply on the west, but here the wall was reinforced by a citadel (the Tower of David) and an outer wall and ditch that extended around to reinforce the north wall. To the south there was a small, level plateau outside Zion Gate, and here Raymond of Saint-Gilles, count of Toulouse, prepared his attack, while the rest of the army concentrated to the north. The crucial event was the arrival of a crusader fleet at Jaffa on 17 June. A crusader force defeated Egyptian forces, opening the way to the coast on 18 June, and escorted back food, timber, and sailors, who provided skilled labor for the manufacture of siege equipment, for their fleet was destroyed in the port by the Egyptians. Thus reinforced, the army began to erect two siege towers. The North French and Lotharingians built one, with a ram to breach the outer wall, at the northwest corner of the city, while the Provençals constructed theirs outside Zion Gate.

On the night of 9–10 July, the northern tower and ram were moved from the west to the east end of the north wall, surprising the defenders. A two-pronged attack was launched on 13 July. On 15 July the North French and Lotharingians broke into the city, causing the garrison of the citadel to surrender to the Provençals in the south. The crusaders massacred most of the city's Muslim and Jewish inhabitants, but this was the fate of any medieval city that refused to surrender. The capture of Jerusalem was remarkable for the courage and skill of the attackers and for the fact

that it was achieved before the Fāṭimids could gather their relief force at Ascalon.

–John France

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Jerwia

Jerwia (Est. Järva) was a province of medieval Livonia, conquered during the early thirteenth century in the course of the Baltic Crusades. It was surrounded by marshes, bordering Vironia to the east and Harria to the west, and inhabited by Estonians.

In 1217 the chieftains of Jerwia made peace with the German crusaders at Riga and accepted baptism. Nevertheless, they fought alongside other Estonian tribes against the crusaders in the battle of Fellin the same year. In 1219 the Order of the Sword Brethren subjected the land again, but the territory remained in dispute between the Danes and Riga until its status was settled by the Treaty of Stensby (1238). The king of Denmark gave Jerwia to the Teutonic Order on condition that the order would aid the king in the future and would not build fortifications there without the king’s permission. Jerwia was the first district in Livonia that the order had not received from the bishops of Riga. The castle of Weissenstein (mod. Paide, Estonia), built in the 1260s, remained the northernmost stronghold of the order until the purchase of Harria and Vironia in 1346, and the bailiff of Jerwia who resided in Weissenstein rose into the circle of the most important officials of the order. By the end of the thirteenth century a town had grown up in Weissenstein, which was given the right to use the law code of the town of Riga in 1291.

The manorial system in Jerwia was complex. The Sword Brethren enfeoffed some land to vassals from the island of Gotland, while the Cistercian monastery of Roma on Gotland owned some villages; Gotlandic influences can be seen in the early church architecture in Jerwia. In the later centuries, however, the greater part of the land was retained by the order and not enfeoffed. A large number of free peasants and relatively better-off peasant households were characteristic of medieval Jerwia.

–Juhan Kreem

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Jews and the Crusades

Crusaders had many motives for taking the cross, but it is fair to say that crusades to the Holy Land were characterized by the enthusiasm of participants about becoming soldiers of Christ to reconquer for Christendom the land that Jesus Christ had inhabited as a human being. It is hardly surprising, then, that such a movement should have had grave repercussions for the Jews of Europe when crusades were preached and crusading armies gathered before departing for the East.

The call to crusade by Pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont in 1095 was far more successful than anyone could have envisaged. Besides the princely armies, bands of unofficial armies gathered in northeastern France, Lotharingia, Flanders, and the Rhineland. These armies constituted what are commonly called the popular, or People’s Crusades because they included poor men and women and undisciplined children, although many of their leaders, such as Emicho, count of Flonheim, were far from lowly in status, while many participants were men of military skill and experience. These armies left for the Holy Land in spring and early summer 1096, before the departure of the princely armies in August,



Crusaders murdering Jewish citizens. (Pixel That)

choosing a land route to the East that took them through cities along the Rhine and Moselle that contained flourishing Jewish communities. Their encounters with these Jewish communities resulted in the first well-documented major attack on Jews by Christians in medieval Europe (excluding the persecutions in seventh-century Visigothic Spain). The chronicler Guibert of Nogent (d. c. 1125) writes about an attack on the Jews of Rouen, and Hebrew material relates that northern French Jewry sent warning letters to the Jews of Mainz about the impending danger. It seems that the Jews in Germany were able to meet any demands early French crusaders made on them for supplies. In the Rhineland, deaths started occurring when German crusaders together with burgesses attacked the Jews; Speyer is portrayed as the first scene of trouble, but the disorganized nature of the attack made it relatively easy for Bishop John to come to the aid of the Jews, and only a few Jews died.

It is important to emphasize that murdering Jews or forcing them to convert ran against official church law. Accord-

ing to St. Augustine of Hippo's maxim of *Testimonium veritatis* (witness to the truth), Jews were granted a place in Christian society in order to function as witnesses to the truth of Christianity. They were seen as the bearers of the books of the Hebrew Bible, which contained the prophecies concerning the birth, life, and Passion of Christ. Nor were episcopal leaders of towns keen to risk public disorder by accommodating hordes of crusaders. The archbishops of Mainz, Trier, and Cologne and the bishop of Worms all tried to protect the Jews of their cities from harm, and, in many cases, Christian neighbors initially offered help, too. Yet as the weeks went by, help from the burgesses seems to have diminished, and many joined the crusaders in their attacks on Jews; when skirmishes claimed Christian casualties, bishops seemed unable or unwilling to restrain the crowds. In Worms the attacks by crusaders, burgesses, and inhabitants of surrounding villages seem to have been more organized. Jews who chose to stay at home were murdered or forcibly baptized; those who had taken refuge in the bishop's palace were besieged and eventually overcome; many chose to slaughter themselves and their children in sanctification of God's name (Heb. *kiddush ha-Shem*).

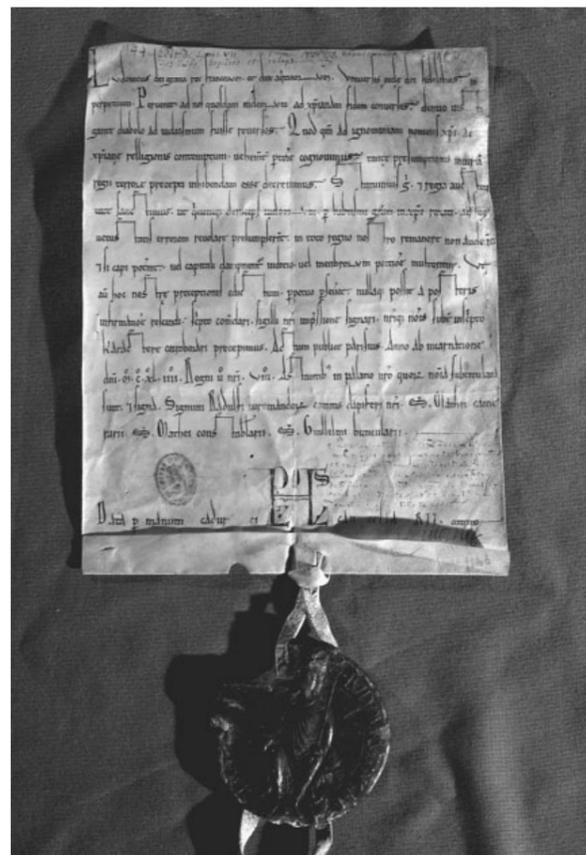
The Jews of Mainz were subjected to concentrated attack by Emicho of Flonheim, supported by burgesses who had opened the city gates to his forces on 27 May 1096. Emicho first besieged the palace of Archbishop Ruothard where many Jews had taken refuge, and after their armed resistance failed, many Jews martyred themselves. Those who had fled to the palace of the burgrave met a similar fate. The Jews of Cologne were sent by Archbishop Hermann III to seven surrounding villages for safety, but during June they were hunted down by crusaders. Trier had been visited by Peter the Hermit and his army in April 1096. The Jews there successfully bribed him to go on his way without harming them, but after his departure the townspeople turned on them. When in June the attackers were joined by burgesses from other towns who had travelled to Trier to attend a market, Archbishop Engilbert was not strong enough to protect the Jews, who were forcibly baptized. Jews were also forcibly converted in Metz and Regensburg. In the wake of the crusade Emperor Henry IV (1056–1106) allowed Jews who had been forcibly baptized to revert to Judaism. His leniency in this matter was, in fact, contrary to canon law; although forced baptism was prohibited, anyone who had been baptized was considered to be a Christian.

That far fewer Jews died during the Second Crusade

(1147–1149) was partly due to the timely intervention of the Cistercian abbot Bernard of Clairvaux, who stopped the inflammatory anti-Jewish preaching of the Cistercian monk Ralph. Reminding his audience of the Augustinian principle, Bernard stressed that Jews should not be harmed because, unlike the Muslims, they had not attacked Christendom. In addition, Bernard expressed the fear that if there were fewer Jews, the numbers of Christian usurers would increase. Bernard used the word *judaize* for the concept of lending money on interest. In his bull *Quantum praedecessores* (1145), Pope Eugenius III had legislated that crusaders should not be charged interest on their loans by Christian moneylenders. Encouraged by Bernard, King Louis VII of France probably extended this rule to Jewish loans as well, causing great financial hardship to the Jews involved. Besides incidental local attacks on Jews, twenty-two Jews are reported to have been killed in Würzburg in February 1147 after they had been accused of having murdered a Christian found in the River Main. The crusaders began to venerate the Christian as a martyr.

In the run-up to the Third Crusade (1189–1192), Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa curtailed anti-Jewish violence in the Rhineland. But great loss of life occurred in England, where the crusades had so far not exacted Jewish casualties. Anti-Jewish riots accompanied the coronation of King Richard I in September 1189 in London. In the absence of the king, who was preparing to go on crusade, the riots spread to Norwich, King's Lynn, Bury St. Edmunds, Stamford, Lincoln, and York. In March 1190 the Jews of York took refuge in the city's castle, but through a series of misunderstandings lost the support of local royal officials and were attacked by the sheriff and his knights. The inhabitants of York joined in the attack and soon took over. As the castle burned, most of the Jews took their own lives in sanctification of God's name, while those escaping the castle were butchered. Immediately following the carnage, the rioters destroyed evidence of all debts to Jews, which was kept in York Minster. During later crusades, major incidents of physical violence against Jews were by and large prevented by those in authority. An exception is the Second Shepherd's Crusade (1320), which caused many casualties in the Jewish communities of France to the south of the Loire. Many Jews were also forcibly converted.

Why did crusaders persecute Jews? The Hebrew material together with the evidence of Guibert of Nogent says plainly that crusaders in 1096 wondered why they should march to Jerusalem to wreak vengeance on the Muslims when so



Edict of King Louis VII of France banishing relapsed Jews from the kingdom, 1144–1145. Musée de l'Histoire de France aux Archives Nationales, Paris, France. (Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource)

many Jews lived in their midst, whom they considered guilty of crucifying Jesus Christ. They decided they should avenge themselves on the Jews before doing anything else. The chronicler known as Annalista Saxo echoes this in the mid-twelfth century. Indeed the call to crusade was permeated with calls to avenge Christ for all the dishonors heaped upon him by the Muslims. These calls echoed contemporary views concerning vendettas and family honor. It seems that the call for vengeance was all too easily transferred from Muslims to Jews. Economic reasons were also given for the persecutions. Greed is often mentioned, as, for example, by the German chronicler Albert of Aachen in the context of the First Crusade. The Hebrew First Crusade sources dwell on this theme, reporting that the Jews tried to bribe their way

to safety and also that crusaders preyed on Jewish goods. The role of greed must reflect to a large extent the simple fact that the bands of the popular crusade had started their march to Jerusalem before the harvest of 1096. Even more than other crusading armies, they were dependent on alms, extortion, or plunder for their survival. Perhaps it was felt right that Jews, who were considered to be the enemies of Christ, should be made to finance the crusade.

Economic themes increased in importance during the Second and Third Crusades, as crusaders turned more and more to moneylenders to finance their undertaking. As papal strictures dried up the Christian supply of crusading loans, more and more crusaders turned to Jewish finance. By the mid-twelfth century ill feeling toward Jewish money lending had already increased. Abbot Peter the Venerable of Cluny wrote a scathing letter in 1146 to Louis VII of France, damning the Jews for their engagement in usury and specifying that they should bear the cost of the crusade. Bernard's use of the word *judaize* for lending money on interest exemplifies how, in the minds of some, usury was somehow the special forte of Jews, despite the fact that Christian usurers abounded. All of these factors reflect contemporary tensions caused by a booming economy in areas of Europe unused to rapid and widespread economic growth, coupled with ecclesiastical qualms about the morality of pursuing wealth. For various theological reasons, Jews were identified with greed and were used as scapegoats for unloading feelings of guilt about engaging in a profit economy. There was also a growing tendency in northern Europe to restrict most Jewish economic activity to money lending. By the time of the Third Crusade, Jews were important figures in crusade finance, while the royal government in England closely controlled and supported Jewish money lending. When Richard I ascended the throne, he did not curtail the right of Jewish moneylenders to collect interest on loans to crusaders. The events in York must reflect at least in part how explosive an issue this turned out to be.

Interconnected with different kinds of economic motives and the motive for revenge was the fact that enthusiasm for late eleventh- and twelfth-century crusading seems to have interacted with growing empathy for the figure of Jesus Christ and his mother. Theological tracts, monastic devotional tracts, miracle stories of the Virgin, artistic representations of the suffering Christ, and mystery plays in churches all attest to this trend. These manifestations are part of a society that was in the process of becoming more Christianized, a process that seemed to make it harder and harder to accom-

modate Jews, who were increasingly identified as Christ-killers. Part and parcel of this trend was the spiritual aspect of crusade preaching, which exhorted Christians to purify their own society so that they could be assured of divine assistance. This need for purification became especially important as crusading became less and less successful.

The persecutions of the Jews in 1096 obviously left their mark on medieval Jewry, but they should not be seen as a watershed in Jewish history. It is not true that after 1096 we can only speak of Jewish decline. On the contrary, the Hebrew sources for the First Crusade reveal a vibrant community fully in touch with its non-Jewish surroundings. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries display enormous advances in Jewish learning and spirituality in Ashkenaz (northern Europe) as well as in Sefarad (southern Europe). Nor is it true that relations between Christians and Jews were unequivocally positive before 1096. The history of medieval Christian-Jewish relations involves a range of complex and ambiguous ideas, which interact with diverse political, socioeconomic, religious, and cultural circumstances at any given time or place. What the persecutions of 1096 do show are early signals of the kinds of problem that could arise when Jews were faced with a Christian movement so replete with anti-Jewish motifs. The persecutions during the Second and Third Crusades reveal the growing importance of economic features, but anti-Jewish crusading violence is only one of the many factors that need to be considered when charting the course of Jewish history in medieval Europe.

—Anna Sapir Abulafia

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Jews in Outremer

The first ten years of Frankish rule in Outremer witnessed significant changes in the number and size of the Jewish communities. The capture of Jerusalem on 15 July 1099 was followed by the massacre of its Muslim and Jewish populations. Some Jews survived, including those who were either ransomed or sold into slavery, and those who found refuge in the citadel were allowed to go to leave with the Fāṭimid garrison.

The crusader conquest thus put an end to the Jewish community in the Holy City, for the first time since the seventh century. Jews were not permitted to return to Jerusalem, as the Franks promulgated a law forbidding non-Christians to dwell in the city. As the Franks massacred much of the indigenous non-Christian population in towns taken by storm in the period 1100–1110, the Jewish communities of Haifa (mod. Hefa, Israel), Caesarea (mod. Har Qesari, Israel), Acre (mod. ‘Akko, Israel), and Beirut were temporarily extinguished, while those of Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel) and Ramla fled on the eve of the crusader conquest.

As a result, Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon) and Fāṭimid Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel) became the biggest Jewish communities in Palestine. Later Jews were allowed to return to their cities, with the exception of Jerusalem. By 1170, as attested by the Spanish Jewish pilgrim Benjamin of Tudela, there were communities in the coastal cities of Beirut, Sidon (mod. Saida, Lebanon), Tyre, Acre, Caesarea, and Ascalon. In the hinterland there were urban communities in Tiberias (mod. Teverya, Israel), Saphet (mod. Zefat, Israel), and Banyas (mod. Bāniyas, Syria), and in some villages of Galilee. Individual Jews (often one or two families of dyers)

were found in towns and villages elsewhere. Although there were Jewish communities in the principality of Antioch and county of Tripoli, most surviving evidence relates to Jews in the kingdom of Jerusalem.

The legal status of the Jews in Outremer was similar to that of the other non-Frankish communities, and thus not much different from that during Muslim rule, when they belonged to the *dhimmī* (protected peoples) of the Muslim state. Like all non-Franks, Jews were forbidden by law to hold landed property, and depended on Frankish lords, the king, ecclesiastical institutions, or the Italian maritime communes. Jewish males over fifteen had to pay the poll tax. Though the inhabitants of the cities enjoyed freedom of movement, those who lived in the villages were probably serfs. Jews were judged in the Court of Burgesses (Fr. *Cour des Bourgeois*) in criminal cases and in the Court of the Market (Fr. *Cour de la Fonde*) in other cases, whenever defendant and plaintiff were from different religious communities. Where both were Jews, cases were dealt with by the communal Jewish courts.

The conquest probably caused a decline in the economic conditions of the Jews of Palestine; much property was damaged, while even those communities that were not directly affected, such as those of Ascalon and Egypt, had to spend large sums of money on the ransom of captives. Notwithstanding the economic decline, Jews continued to work in their traditional professions, particularly glass manufacture and commerce in the cities, and agriculture in the countryside; other typical professions were medicine, pharmacy, and dyeing. In the thirteenth century the Jews of Acre became involved in international maritime trade, and were also increasingly active in money lending.

The conquest of much Christian territory by Saladin had a great impact on the fate of the Jewish communities, as many of them remained under Muslim rule after 1192. A community was established once more in Jerusalem, but Ascalon was abandoned when the city was razed to the ground on Saladin's orders. The largest community was at Acre, which grew as a result of immigration from Europe and the neighboring countries (particularly Egypt). Acre became one of the most important centers of Jewish studies in the entire region, and the ordinances of its rabbinical court were accepted even by the communities of Egypt and Syria. The reestablished community of Jerusalem was heterogeneous, including refugees from Ascalon, Jews from North Africa, and immigrants from France and England who arrived in

1209–1211. These three groups led a quarrelsome existence until the destruction of the city walls by the Ayyūbids (1219), when most of the Jewish population left. A new community was established after 1244, but dispersed on news of the Mongol invasion of Palestine in 1260.

Attempts to reestablish a community in Jerusalem during the second half of the thirteenth century failed. Rabbi Moshe ben Naḥman (Naḥmanides), who moved to Jerusalem from Spain in 1267, replaced the precept of pious pilgrimage to the Holy Land with that of its settlement; he considered the return of the Jewish people to the Holy Land as a historical necessity and argued that the defeats of the Franks and the state of constant warfare were proof that no gentile nation could hold the land of Israel for long, since it was divinely destined for the Jewish people. Naḥmanides restored a house to serve as Jerusalem's synagogue, but after only a few months he moved to Acre.

The second major community in the thirteenth century was Tyre, which had been continuously in Christian hands since 1124, and which grew due to immigration from the West, while communities also existed in Beirut and Gaza. Those of Jaffa, Caesarea, and Sidon evidently disappeared, but the rural communities of Galilee were little affected by political upheavals. The community of Saphet was relatively large, but seems to have disappeared during Frankish rule of the city (1240–1266) and was only reestablished following the Mamlūk conquest in 1266. Tiberias, a traditional burial place for the Jewish diaspora from the third century, remained an important place of pilgrimage for Jews. At Hebron (mod. Al-Khalil, West Bank), the site of the Tombs of the Patriarchs, a community was reestablished after 1187, having been abandoned by Jews in 1099.

The general trend during Frankish rule was that the communities in the coastal cities flourished, whereas those in the hinterland declined. The fall of the residual kingdom of Jerusalem in 1291 put an end to the two most important Jewish communities in Palestine, Acre and Tyre, and also affected the close contacts between the Jews of Palestine and Europe, resulting in a decline in pilgrimages and immigration from Europe. The Jewish communities reverted to the predominantly Eastern character they had had before the crusader conquest, with links primarily to the Jews of Egypt.

—Sylvia Schein

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Jihād

The Arabic word *jihād* relates to the religious commandment to struggle toward a commendable cause, generally used to denote warfare for the defense and expansion of Islam. The term was employed to designate the Muslim counter-crusade, particularly after its consolidation in the middle of the twelfth century.

The imperative to fight unbelievers evolves gradually in the Qur'ān. It concludes in an unconditional command, with the promise of ample reward for those who fight "in the way of God" and with the definition of warriors slain on the battlefield as privileged martyrs of the faith (for example, *sūras* 22:39, 2:218, 9:14, 36, 88–89). In legal literature *jihād* is generally considered to be a collective duty. That is, it is incumbent upon the community as a whole but not upon every individual in every generation, although under certain circumstances it may become an individual obligation for all able-bodied men. In principle, *jihād* is to be carried on until the whole world comes under the rule of Islam, polytheism is exterminated, and the adherents of the other monotheistic religions are subjugated to Muslim rule and agree to pay a poll tax—or until all of mankind accepts Islam. Warfare may be suspended altogether only temporarily and only if a truce with the enemy better serves the Muslim cause.

From early times, Muslim tradition, especially that of pietistic and Sufi circles, also developed a different notion of *jihād* to mean the spiritual struggle for moral perfection. Some scholars consider this form of *jihād* even more meritorious than *jihād* on the battlefield.

Historically, during the decades preceding the arrival of the crusaders in Syria and Palestine there was hardly any zeal for jihād, either in the Levant or at the caliph's court in Baghdad. It reemerged in twelfth-century Syria, at the instigation of religious scholars and poets (some of them refugees from Frankish-held territory) who called for a counter-crusade. The systematic Muslim counter-crusade, beginning with Zangī's capture of Edessa (1144) and culminating in Saladin's conquest of Jerusalem (1187), was propagated as jihād in treatises and poems, in inscriptions on various edifices, in circular letters to neighboring Muslim rulers and emirs, and through public preaching. During that period, the liberation of Jerusalem and its holiness for Islam became the centerpiece of the propaganda for jihād.

Ideologically, jihād against the Franks was incorporated in a wider political-religious program, namely the revivification of the Sunna (Arab. *ihyā' al-sunna*), launched in Baghdad more than a century earlier in face of the political and spiritual decline of the Sunna. Muslim rulers who participated in combat against the Franks were presented in the double roles of *mujāhidūn* (jihād warriors) and patrons or revivers of religion.

In practical terms, the counter-crusade went hand in hand with the reunification of Muslim territories in Syria and Mesopotamia. At times, the religious aspects of jihād were no doubt exploited as an ideological cover for the expansionist policies of rulers and for the usurpation of power from their political rivals. Most of Saladin's successors, the later Ayyūbids (1193–1260), preferred negotiation, accommodation, and commercial relations to military campaigns or were too preoccupied with internal struggles within the Ayyūbid confederation. Religious scholars, however, continued to propagate jihād in writing and in public preaching. Occasionally, they confronted rulers for their lack of commitment to the Islamic cause or mobilized the populace to raid Frankish territory. The Mamlūk sultanate in Egypt and Syria showed an invigorated interest in jihād and achieved a series of victories over the Franks, concluding with their final expulsion from the Levant in 1291.

A major role in the theorization of jihād in Mamlūk times was played by the Damascene Ḥanbalī scholar Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328), who presented war against the infidels within a comprehensive framework, calling for the purification of Islam from all "contaminations" and the return to true Prophetic tradition. Saladin's jihād for Jerusalem and Ibn Taymiyya's theory of jihād inspired latter-day

political-religious movements in Islam, and they continue to do so today.

—Daniella Talmon-Heller

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Jogaila

Grand duke of Lithuania (1377–1392), king of Poland (1386–1434), and suzerain of Lithuania (1392–1434), who made Lithuania into a Christian state and united Lithuania and Poland in personal union, thus accumulating power sufficient to crush the Teutonic Order.

Jogaila (Pol. *Władysław Jagiełło*, Russ. *Yagailo*) was born around 1351, the son of Algirdas, grand duke of Lithuania, and Juliana, princess of Tver.

Jogaila succeeded to the Lithuanian throne after his father's death, supported by Kęstutis, duke of Trakai, the most powerful of Algirdas's brothers. However, in 1380 war with Moscow, which supported Jogaila's rebellious brothers, forced Jogaila to conclude a secret armistice with the Teutonic Order, from which Kęstutis was excluded. The order passed this information to Kęstutis, thus provoking an internal war in Lithuania. Kęstutis overthrew Jogaila in 1381, but in 1382 Jogaila captured Kęstutis and his son Vytautas; Kęstutis was murdered in prison. In return for the support

John I of Cyprus (II of Jerusalem) (d. 1285)

of the Teutonic Order in this dispute, Jogaila had to conclude agreements at Dubysa on 31 October 1382, undertaking to accept Christianity and to cede Samogitia to the order. Later Jogaila refused to confirm these treaties, and the order declared war on 30 July 1383 on behalf of Vytautas, who escaped from his captivity.

In July 1384 Jogaila reached a reconciliation with Vytautas. By the Treaty of Krewo on 14 August 1385 he arranged to marry Jadwiga, heiress to the kingdom of Poland, and accept the Polish crown. Jogaila's baptism (with the name Władysław II), marriage, and coronation took place in February and March 1386. In 1387 Jogaila accepted Christianity for Lithuania and appointed his brother Skirgaila as his vicegerent. But Vytautas was dissatisfied with the position he received in Lithuania and fled to Prussia again to continue his fight against Jogaila. On 5 August 1392 Jogaila was forced to recognize Vytautas as his vicegerent and actual ruler of Lithuania. From this moment Jogaila and Vytautas jointly fought against the Teutonic Order, which continued its attacks on Lithuania despite the grand duchy's acceptance of Christianity.

In 1401 Jogaila officially recognized Vytautas as grand duke of Lithuania by the Treaty of Vilnius-Radom. Jogaila supported Vytautas in his war against the Teutonic Order (1409–1411), and together they led the Polish and Lithuanian armies to Prussia, where the order suffered its fatal defeat at the battle of Tannenberg (Grunwald) on 15 July 1410. According to the peace treaty of 1411, Poland and Lithuania regained their recently lost lands: Dobrin and Samogitia. Having reestablished the University of Kraków (1400), Jogaila used its intellectual potential in his diplomatic fight against the Teutonic Order concerning the status of the disputed lands. Jogaila's delegation to the church's Council of Constance successfully dismissed the claims of the order and promoted the establishment of a diocese for Samogitia (1417). However, diplomatic efforts achieved few practical results, and in 1422 Jogaila and Vytautas attacked Prussia again, forcing the order to recognize the Lithuanian claims to Samogitia.

Jogaila died on 1 June 1434 in Horodok (in mod. Ukraine). He was married four times: to Jadwiga of Anjou (d. 1399), Anna of Cilli (d. 1416), Elisabeth of Pilica (d. 1420), and Sophia of Halshany (d. 1461), the latter a representative of the Lithuanian nobility and mother of Jogaila's successors Władysław III and Kazimierz IV.

—Tomas Baranauskas

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John I of Cyprus (II of Jerusalem) (d. 1285)

King of Cyprus and Jerusalem (1284–1285).

John was the eldest son of Hugh III, king of Cyprus (I of Jerusalem), and Isabella of Ibelin. John received his Cypriot crown in Nicosia (mod. Lefkosia, Cyprus) on 11 May 1284, but the belief that he was crowned king of Jerusalem in Tyre (mod. Sôur, Lebanon) appears to be false and does not pre-date the sixteenth century. Later rumors that John's death on 20 May 1285 was caused by an incurable disease or poisoning also seem untrue.

Had he lived longer, John might have succeeded in gaining control over Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), the effective capital of the kingdom of Jerusalem. However, the city was held by the representatives of Charles I of Anjou, king of Sicily, John's rival for the throne of Jerusalem. Charles's power had suffered a severe blow after he lost the island of Sicily to Peter III of Aragon in the uprising known as the Sicilian Vespers (1282). Charles's death (7 January 1285) presumably gave John hope of regaining Acre in the way that his brother and successor, Henry II, eventually did in 1286.

John's reign also witnessed a deterioration in relations with the Muslims: in the same month that he died, Sultan Qalāwūn of Egypt captured the Hospitaller fortress of Margat, the first major Christian territorial loss since 1271.

—Kristian Molin

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John II of Cyprus (1414–1458)

King of Cyprus and titular king of Jerusalem and Cilicia (1432–1458).

John was the son of King Janus of Cyprus and his second wife, Charlotte of Bourbon. War indemnities and the continuing occupation of the port of Famagusta (mod. Ammochostos, Cyprus) by the Genoese, combined with the imposition of Egyptian tribute after the Mamlūk invasion of 1426, meant that John's reign was overshadowed by economic problems.

John spent years arguing with Genoa over outstanding indemnities and made a failed attack on Famagusta in 1441. He ran up debts with Venice and had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Mamlūk sultanate of Egypt, to which he was obliged to pay an annual tribute. The Cypriot economy was in decline, as Turkish expansion, including the conquest of Constantinople (1451), affected international trade. Appeals for Western aid proved ineffective, although the Hospitallers of Rhodes (mod. Rodos, Greece) helped to contain the Turks of southern Anatolia, where the emir of Karamania captured the Cypriot outpost of Korykos in 1448.

At home, John's marriage to Helena Palaiologina, daughter of the Greek ruler of Mistra, produced an heir, Charlotte, but caused tension between Latins and Greeks and provoked jealousy from John's illegitimate son James. In 1457 James fled into exile briefly when he was accused of murdering Helena's foster brother. He later overthrew Charlotte, who, with her husband, Louis of Savoy, succeeded John after he died on 26 July 1458.

—*Kristian Molin*

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John II of Jerusalem

See John I of Cyprus and Jerusalem

John II Komnenos (1087–1143)

Byzantine emperor (1118–1143).

The son of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos and Irene Doukaina, John succeeded his father on 15 August 1118 against the wishes of his mother and his sister Anna Komnene, both of whom favored the latter's husband, Nikephoros Bryennios. After undertaking campaigns in the Balkans against the nomadic Pechenegs (1122) and the Serbs and Hungarians (1127–1129), John continued his father's work of reconquest in Asia Minor. His main problem was in dealing with the nomadic Turcomans; the Saljūq emirs were willing to accept him as an overlord. In 1130–1135 and 1139–1142, he fought the Dānishmendids in northern Anatolia, temporarily capturing Kastamoni and Gangra. In western Asia Minor, his recapture of Sozopolis of Pisidia (mod. Uluborlu, Turkey) and Laodikeia in Phrygia (near mod. Denizli, Turkey) established a safe land route from the Maeander Valley to the port of Attaleia (mod. Antalya, Turkey) on the southern coast, an important link with Cilicia and Cyprus.

John was also concerned to implement the terms of the Treaty of Devol (1108) and to regain control of Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) from the Franks. To this end, he made alliances with the German rulers Lothar III and Conrad III against the Normans of Sicily in order to prevent them from becoming actively involved in the affairs of the Holy Land. He also made friendly overtures to Pope Innocent II on the subject of church union, hoping to gain papal recognition for the role of the Byzantine emperor as the protector of Eastern Christians and an end to the Latin patriarchates in Jerusalem and Antioch.

In 1135, John attempted to arrange a marriage between his youngest son, Manuel, and Constance, the heiress of Antioch, as part of a wider plan to create a domain for Manuel including Antioch, Cilicia, Attaleia, and Cyprus. After this proposal failed, John marched to Antioch and invested it in 1137. He undertook a joint campaign into Syria with Raymond of Poitiers, who had married Constance and thus become prince of Antioch, and Joscelin II of Edessa, but this enterprise failed amid mutual recriminations. On his return to Antioch, John was forced to withdraw after anti-Byzantine riots were stirred up by the two Frankish princes (1138).

In 1142, John again threatened Antioch, but the campaign was abruptly ended by his death the next year, supposedly in a hunting accident, but possibly as the result of a plot against him involving Western mercenaries. John is por-

John III Vatatzes (d. 1254)

trayed, together with his wife, Irene (Piroshka of Hungary), and his son Alexios in a mosaic that still survives in the Church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey).

–Rosemary Morris

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John III Vatatzes (d. 1254)

Emperor of Nicaea (1222–1254), and major opponent of the Latin empire of Constantinople.

John was born around 1192 and succeeded to the throne of Nicaea on the death of Emperor Theodore I Laskaris, whose daughter Irene he had married. John followed a successful economic policy based on autarky, which led to prosperity for both the state and the people of the empire. That prosperity enabled him to assemble a powerful fleet and buy the services of Western mercenaries. In a series of successful military campaigns against the Latin empire of Constantinople and the principality of Epiros, he expanded the territorial possessions of the Nicaean Empire into Thrace and Macedonia. In 1234–1236 he besieged Constantinople with the help of his ally, the Bulgarian tsar Ivan Asen II, but without success. In 1232 John encouraged Germanos II, the exiled Greek patriarch of Constantinople, to open negotiations with the papacy on the issue of the reunification of the Greek Orthodox and Latin churches. John believed that the pope was prepared to withdraw his support from the Latin Empire if the two churches agreed on reunification. For that reason he took an active part in the negotiations, which lasted to the end of his reign, but in the end no agreement was signed. At the same time that he was negotiating with Rome, John was working on strengthening his military and financial relationship with Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor and king of Sicily, whose daughter Constance (Greek name: Anna) he married (1240/1241).

John died at Nymphaion (mod. Kemalpaşa, Turkey) in Asia Minor on 4 November 1254, leaving the Empire of Nicaea as the strongest power in the region. In the seventeenth century he was canonized by the Greek Orthodox Church.

–Aphrodite Papayianni

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John V of Oxeia

Greek Orthodox patriarch of Antioch (1089–1118).

John was a monk in the monastery of Oxeia on the Sea of Marmara when he was appointed patriarch of Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) by Alexios I Komnenos, the Byzantine emperor, perhaps at the instigation of the influential empress-mother Anne Dalassena. In September 1089 he participated as newly ordained patriarch in a synod convoked by Patriarch Nicholas III Grammatikos of Constantinople to discuss a letter of Pope Urban II, in which the Pope requested the introduction of his name in the diptychs of the Greek Orthodox church. At this synod John criticized frankly many abuses in church, state, and society.

Diplomatic contacts between Emperor Alexios and the Saljūq sultan Malik Shāh I enabled John to travel via Cyprus to Antioch in autumn 1091 to take up his appointment as patriarch under Turkish rule. After the conquest of the city (4 June 1098) by the armies of the First Crusade, the crusaders recognized John as the legal patriarch, but during the next two years his relationship with the Latins deteriorated. After the capture of Prince Bohemund I of Antioch by the Turks in August 1100, the Latins suspected that John was planning to hand over the city to Alexios Komnenos. They forced him to withdraw to Constantinople, where he abdicated from the patriarchate in October 1100. Around 1112 he wrote a treatise against the use of unleavened bread (*azymes*) in the Eucharist by the Latins.

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John V Palaiologos (1332–1391)

Byzantine emperor (1341–1391).

John V was born on 18 June 1332, the son of Emperor Andronikos III Palaiologos and Anne of Savoy. He acceded to the throne as a child of nine but did not exercise power until 1354. By that time the Byzantine Empire had been devastated by a series of protracted civil wars and reduced to little more than Thrace and the city of Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey). Worse still, the Ottoman Turks had captured the strategically vital city of Gallipoli (mod. Gelibolu, Turkey), thus gaining a foothold on the European side of the Bosphorus from which to begin their conquest of the Balkans.

On the advice of Amadeus VI, count of Savoy, who in 1366 had recaptured Gallipoli, John decided to open negotiations with the papacy. He offered to end the schism between the Eastern and Western churches, if the pope would preach a crusade against the empire’s Turkish enemies. In 1369, John himself led a delegation to Rome, where he declared himself converted to the Roman Catholic faith and heard mass with the pope. Little practical help reached Constantinople as a result of John’s visit, however, and the Ottoman victory over the Serbs at the Marica in 1371 forced the emperor to change his policy.

By 1373 John had become a vassal of Sultan Murad I, paying tribute and providing troops to serve in the Ottoman army. John’s rule was also destabilized by rebellions by his son Andronikos IV (d. 1385) in 1376–1379 and by his grandson John VII (d. 1408) in 1390. On his death John was succeeded by his second son, Manuel II.

—Jonathan Harris

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John VIII Palaiologos (1392–1448)

Byzantine emperor (1425–1448). John’s long and eventful reign over a truncated empire, consisting of Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) plus environs and the despotate of the Morea, witnessed the last major attempt at church union and the last massive crusade of the West against the Ottoman Empire.

Co-emperor with his father Manuel II from 1421, John experienced the military advance of the Ottomans in Greece: the siege of Constantinople (1422), invasions of the Morea (1423 and 1431), and the capture of Thessalonica and Ioannina (1430); during his visit to Venice and Hungary (1423), he desperately tried to secure Western help, a policy that he pursued more intensely following his father’s death (1425). In 1426–1427 he led a successful campaign in the Morea against Carlo I Tocco, lord of Kephallenia and Epiros, who had seized the fortress of Glarentza, while in 1429–1430 he took part in the campaign of his brother Constantine, despot of Morea, which captured Patras, thus ending the rule of the Latin principality of Achaia in the Peloponnese.

Following negotiations in 1437 with Pope Eugenius IV, John led the Byzantine delegation to the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–1439), yet, despite the official proclamation of union of the Latin and Greek churches (July 1439), his policy was never implemented in Byzantium due to staunch opposition led by the anti-unionists. Moreover, the fleeting hopes of a decisive Western crusade against Ottoman expansion in the Balkans, launched in 1443 under King Ladislas I of Hungary, were checked following the defeat of the Crusade of Varna (November 1444) at the hands of Sultan Murad II.

John of Beirut (d. 1236)

The sultan's aged general Turakhan Beg then conducted a punitive expedition in southern Greece and the Morea (1446), forcing the despot Constantine to become his vassal. Finally, news of the defeat of John Hunyadi by the Ottomans at the second battle of Kosovo (1448) struck the final blow against the frustrated John, who died on 31 October of the same year.

—Alexios G. C. Savvides

See also: Byzantine Empire

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John of Beirut (d. 1236)

John of Ibelin, lord of Beirut (1200/1205–1236), sometimes known as the "Old Lord" of Beirut, was a leading member of the nobility in the kingdoms of Jerusalem and Cyprus.

John was born around 1179 as the elder son of Balian of Ibelin and Maria Komnene. Thanks no doubt to the influence of his mother and his uterine half-sister, Queen Isabella I of Jerusalem (d. 1205), John had been appointed constable of Jerusalem by 1198. Then, sometime between 1200 and 1205, he was able to exchange this office for the lordship of Beirut, recovered from the Muslims in 1197. On the death of King Aimery in 1205, he acted as regent for the heiress to the throne, Maria of Montferrat (d. 1212), but when in 1210 Maria married John of Brienne, John was evidently excluded from the circle of the new king's intimates. Nevertheless, he and his brother Philip transferred their activities to Cyprus, where the king, Hugh I, was the son of their first cousin, Eschiva of Ibelin, and his queen, Alice of Champagne, their niece. John was able to build up Beirut as a commercial cen-

ter. From 1218 he clearly worked closely with Philip, who was now acting as regent in Cyprus on behalf of Queen Alice for the infant Henry I (1218–1254).

In 1228, shortly after Philip's death, growing political difficulties in Cyprus came to a head with the arrival of Frederick II, the Holy Roman Emperor. Frederick, as suzerain of Cyprus, tried to undermine John's position by demanding that he render account for the regency and surrender Beirut. He then had John's Cypriot enemies installed as governors in Cyprus. The result was civil war, which broke out immediately after Frederick's departure in 1229. John succeeded in taking control in the island and then fending off a counterattack led by Frederick's representative in the East, Richard Filangieri. By 1233 John and his supporters were supreme in Cyprus and controlled the kingdom of Jerusalem, except for Jerusalem itself and Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon).

Although his apologist, Philip of Novara, portrays John as whiter than white, it is clear that John used violence and intimidation to maintain his position and that the legality of his maneuvers was frequently in doubt. He died in 1236, bequeathing a dominant position in both Cyprus and the kingdom of Jerusalem to his sons.

—Peter W. Edbury

See also: Jerusalem, (Latin) Kingdom of

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John of Brienne (d. 1237)

King of Jerusalem (1210–1212) as consort to Maria of Montferrat ("la Marquise"), queen of Jerusalem, and subsequently regent (1212–1225) for their daughter, Isabella II. John ended his career as Latin emperor of Constantinople (1231–1237).

John was the fourth son of Erard II, count of Brienne in Champagne. In 1208, he was chosen either by Philip II of France or by the High Court of the kingdom of Jerusalem to marry the heiress to that realm, Maria ("la Marquise") of Montferrat. He has often been regarded as a poor choice, as he was without the resources to support the kingdom, and some considered him too old for the task, though on his

marriage he was probably only in his thirties. He had military prowess, a family with a crusading pedigree, and the support of Philip II of France, Pope Innocent III, and his fellow Champenois lords, together with a kinsman already prominent in the East (Walter of Montbéliard) to recommend him.

On 13 September 1210, John reached Acre with 300 knights. He married Maria on the following day, and they were crowned in Tyre on 3 October 1210. John soon led his force on a raid into the hinterland but achieved little; in May 1211 he secured a six-year truce with the Muslims. In 1211 or 1212, a daughter, Isabella (II), was born to the couple, and Maria died. John was no longer king, but regent for his daughter. However, he continued to style himself “king” and was recognized as such by the church, although he may have encountered opposition from the Frankish barons.

In 1214 John formed an alliance with the kingdom of Cilicia through marriage to Stephanie, the eldest daughter of King Leon I. John took a prominent part in the Egyptian campaign of the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221), but he clashed with Pelagius, the papal legate, over its direction. When Leon died in 1219, John withdrew from the crusade army to pursue a claim to the Cilician throne, but he rejoined the crusaders when both Stephanie and their son died.

In March 1223 John attended a conference held at Ferentino in Italy with Pope Honorius III, the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II, and other representatives from Outremer. It was agreed that Frederick would marry John’s daughter Isabella. John then toured Europe seeking assistance for the Franks in Outremer and, in 1224, married Berengaria, sister of Ferdinand III of Castile. In November 1225, Isabella was married to Frederick II, who then demanded that John surrender the kingdom of Jerusalem to him, to which he was forced to accede. In 1228–1229 Frederick, who was also king of Sicily, had to curtail an expedition to the Holy Land when John led a papal army against his territories.

In 1228 Robert, the Latin emperor of Constantinople, died, leaving an eleven-year-old heir, Baldwin II. The regency council needed a military leader to defend the empire at a crucial juncture and, in April 1229, it was agreed that John’s daughter by Berengaria, Mary, should marry the young emperor, while John would become co-emperor for life. In 1231, John was crowned in Constantinople. The empire was impoverished and suffered constant attack and, despite some minor victories, was still in danger at the time

of John’s death. In 1237 he took holy orders with the Franciscans, whom he had patronized, and he died on 23 March.

—Linda Goldsmith

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John the Fearless

See John of Nevers

John of Gaunt (1340–1399)

Leader of a “crusade” in Spain in 1386–1387, which was intended to realize his claim to the crown of Castile. The fourth son of Edward III of England, John was known after his place of birth, Ghent (Fr. *Gand*) in Flanders.



John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. (Bettmann/Corbis)

John of Jaffa (1215–1266)

John was created duke of Lancaster in 1362, and acquired a strong claim to the Castilian throne through his marriage (1372) to Constanza, daughter of King Peter the Cruel. John's expedition against Castile was dignified as a crusade as a result of the Great Schism: the Roman pope, Urban VI, supported John because the pro-French king of Castile, Henry of Trastámara, recognized the Avignon pope, Clement VII. Urbanist bishops were installed in the Galician cities captured by John and his Portuguese allies. However, the invasion failed to threaten the Castilian heartland, and was abandoned.

John of Gaunt was one of the patrons of Philippe de Mézières's Order of the Passion, established in the 1390s to promote Anglo-French unity in the common cause of the crusade. According to a plan of 1395, John was intended to be one of the leaders of a crusade against the Ottomans. In the event, however, there was little or no English involvement in the disastrous French crusade to Nikopolis in 1396.

—Michael R. Evans

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John of Jaffa (1215–1266)

John of Ibelin, count of Jaffa (1246/1247–1266), was the author of a famous treatise on the laws and customs of the High Court of the kingdom of Jerusalem, known simply as *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin*.

Written in Old French in the 1260s, John's treatise provides by far the most detailed account of court procedures and the laws of vassalage and fief-holding in Outremer. What would today be termed an appendix has details of the coronation ritual, the functions of the great officers of state, the structure of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the location of the secular courts, and the military obligations of the kingdom as they existed on the eve of its collapse in 1187. In 1369 a version of the treatise was made an official work of reference in the High Court of Cyprus, and in the sixteenth century the Venetian authorities in the island had it translated into Italian.

As the son of Philip of Ibelin, regent of Cyprus in the 1220s, John was the leading representative of the cadet branch of the Ibelin family. Too young to play much part in the civil war in Cyprus in 1229–1233, John soon established himself as a prominent vassal of King Henry I (1218–1254). Indeed, he and Henry both married sisters of King Het'um

I of Cilicia. In 1246 or 1247 Henry gave John the county of Jaffa in Palestine, property that had been his mother's dower, and John thereafter employed the title "count of Jaffa and Ascalon and lord of Ramla" until his death. John never seems to have had possession of Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel), which was lost to the Muslims in 1247, but the cost of defending Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel) proved crippling. He nevertheless played the part of a leading aristocrat: the French chronicler John of Joinville, for example, commented on the conspicuous display of his coat of arms both at Damietta in 1249, during the crusade of Louis IX of France, and at Jaffa.

In the mid-1250s John was briefly *bailli* (regent) in Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), acting nominally on behalf of the absentee king, Conrad of Staufen. In 1258 he intervened decisively in the War of St. Sabas to bring the government in Acre over to the side of the Genoese. At about the same time he appears to have taken Plaisance of Antioch, Henry I's widow and the mother of the infant King Hugh II, as his mistress.

In the closing years of John's life, the Mamlūk sultanate under Baybars I (d. 1277) was growing in power, and in 1268, just over a year after his death, Jaffa was taken by assault. John's descendants thereafter lived in Cyprus, where they held important estates, including Episkopi and Peristerona in Morphou. The line appears to have died out in the 1360s.

—Peter W. Edbury

See also: Jerusalem, (Latin) Kingdom of

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John of Joinville

See Joinville, John of

John of Luxembourg (1296–1346)

King of Bohemia (1310–1346) and leader of three crusade expeditions against the pagan Lithuanians (1328–1329, 1337, and 1345).

John was born on 10 August 1296, the son of Henry, count of Luxembourg, later Holy Roman Emperor (as Henry VII), and Margaret of Brabant. In 1310 Henry accepted a proposal from a party in the kingdom of Bohemia that John should marry Elizabeth, sister of King Wenceslas III, who had died in 1306 without a male heir. In the following year John was crowned king of Bohemia; he confirmed the liberties of the native lords and promised not to give lands or offices to foreigners. When John broke these undertakings, he was soon faced with rebellion. However, he was able to maintain his royal authority in Bohemia with the help of his allies, including the military orders.

On his father's death (1313) John and his uncle Archbishop Baldwin of Trier voted for Ludwig (IV) of Bavaria as the next king of the Romans (1314), and John contributed decisively to the defeat of the rival king-elect, Frederick "the Fair," duke of Austria, at Mühldorf in 1322. Often absent from Bohemia, John left the government to the nobles, to his wife Elizabeth (until her death in 1330), and then to his eldest son Charles, margrave of Moravia since 1333. Although he lost one eye in 1337 and the other, owing to bad surgery at Montpellier, in 1340, he continued to live the life of a knight errant all over Latin Christendom, from Toulouse to Prussia. In this respect he may be compared with contemporaries such as Humbert II, dauphin of Viennois, or Amadeus VI, the "Green Count" of Savoy.

As count of Luxembourg John enjoyed good contacts with Karl von Trier, grand master of the Teutonic Order, whom he defended at the papal Curia against complaints by the archbishop of Riga that the order tried to conquer the Lithuanians rather than convert them. To please the papacy, John promised a crusade in 1325. In fact he went to Prussia to fight alongside the Teutonic Order against the Lithuanians on three occasions between 1328 and 1345. This enhanced John's reputation, and put pressure on the kings of Poland, Władysław I Łokietek and his son Kazimierz III. The campaigns brought several hundred fighters to Prussia, including many lesser princes, and usually started in January. The winter had to be not too cold for men to relieve themselves in the open air, and not too snowy for riding, but sharp enough to congeal the bogs, to harden the ground, and to freeze the rivers. In 1328–1329 the French poet Guillaume de Machaut was in John's retinue. John insisted on sparing 6,000 Samogitians who had surrendered at Medewage, and half of them are said to have been baptized. This campaign was abandoned when Władysław Łokietek

resumed hostilities; only in 1335 was peace made between John and Władysław's son Kazimierz when John renounced his claims to the Polish throne and Kazimierz renounced his claims to Silesia.

In 1337 John was accompanied by his son-in-law Duke Henry XIV of Bavaria, and a fortification called Baierburg was built against the Lithuanians on the river Nemunas. In 1341 the dying grand master Dietrich von Altenberg consigned the Teutonic Order to John's protection. In 1344–1345 John's son Charles, King Louis of Hungary, Duke Peter of Bourbon, Count William IV of Holland, and Burgrave John of Nuremberg participated in an attack on Lithuanian strongholds at Wilau and Pisten, which failed when false rumors of a Lithuanian counterattack on Königsberg (mod. Kaliningrad, Russia) reached the army and incipient thawing stopped the fighting. Returning to Bohemia, John's son Charles was arrested by Kazimierz III of Poland, but managed to escape. This led to a short war between Bohemia and Poland.

As count of Luxembourg, John always maintained close relations with the French court. Together with the kings of France and Navarre, John pledged a crusade in 1334: this was meant to be a naval expedition against the Muslims in the Levant, but never materialized. Papal support secured the election of John's son Charles (IV) as king of the Romans on 11 July 1346. Charles accompanied his father to Crécy, where, on 26 August 1346, the blind king of Bohemia died fighting bravely for Philip VI of France against the English in one of the major battles of the Hundred Years' War.

–Karl Borchart

See also: Baltic Crusades; Bohemia and Moravia

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John of Nevers (1371–1419)

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John of Nevers (1371–1419)

John the Fearless (Fr. *Jean sans Peur*), count of Nevers and later second duke of Burgundy (1404–1419) of the Valois line, was the leader of the Burgundian army in the Crusade of Nikopolis (1396).

John was the eldest son of Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy (d. 1404), and Margaret of Flanders. He was given the county of Nevers in 1383. After Philip's idea of going on crusade with Louis, duke of Orléans, and John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, foundered (1395), the French royal court produced a new plan to launch a campaign against the Ottoman Turks. Duke Philip gave the leadership of the Burgundian forces to John, who left Dijon on 30 April 1396 and joined forces with King Sigismund of Hungary at Buda in July. John was knighted at Vidin, and the united Christian forces reached Nikopolis (mod. Nikopol, Bulgaria) on the Danube on 10 September. A disastrous battle with the Turks took place on 25 September, in which John was taken prisoner. He was liberated on 24 June 1397 after a ransom was paid. He came back to France via Venice. John became duke of Burgundy in 1404 and count of Flanders in 1405; he was assassinated at Montreaux in 1419. He was succeeded by his son Philip the Good.

—Jacques Paviot

See also: Burgundy

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John of Piano Carpini (d. 1252)

A Franciscan missionary and one of the first European explorers, who reached the Mongol Empire in the thirteenth century and described his journey in his *Historia Mongolorum quos nos Tartaros appellamus*.

Born in a place called Piano del Carpine (mod. Piano della Magione, Italy) near Perugia, John joined the Franciscan Order as the one of the first disciples of St. Francis of Assisi. After the general chapter of the order in 1221, John was sent to Germany, where he was active in founding new Franciscan monasteries in the Rhineland and Saxony. Soon he became the head (Lat. *custos*) of the newly established Franciscan province of Saxony (1222) and later minister of the province of Teutonia (1228). In 1230 he visited Spain for a short time, but in 1232 he was again in Germany. There are few documents about his life between 1239 and 1245.

John was nominated as an envoy to the Mongols by Pope Innocent IV and left Lyons in April 1245. At Breslau in Silesia (mod. Wrocław, Poland) he was joined by a Franciscan friar from Poland called Benedict, who was to act as his interpreter. After a journey of over 100 days in difficult and dangerous conditions, they reached the court of the Mongol great khan near Qaraqorum in July 1245. They witnessed the election and enthronement of the new khan Kuyuk by the great *kurultai* (diet of tribal representatives). They were presented to him, and in November 1246 they began their return journey in heavy winter weather. In June 1247 they reached Kiev (mod. Kyiv, Ukraine), the capital of Russia, and finally returned to Lyons in November 1247, where they met the pope. John wrote a description of this journey, known as *Historia Mongalorum*, in two versions: a shorter one, probably written during the journey, and a longer one, made after his return to Rome.

In February or March 1248 the Pope sent John on a diplomatic mission once again, this time to King Louis IX of France, after which he was named as archbishop of Baru (Antivari) in Dalmatia (1248). However, as a consequence of disputes with his cathedral chapter, he was obliged to resign from his office. He died on 1 August 1252, most probably in Perugia.

—Rafal Witkowski

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John of Würzburg

A German pilgrim to Jerusalem and author of a Latin description of the Holy Land.

A priest from the bishopric of Würzburg in Franconia, John probably wrote his work around the year 1170 and dedicated it to a fellow cleric named Theoderic. While drawing on some earlier sources, it gives extensive original descriptions of the topography and architecture of many of the churches, monasteries, and other holy sites in and around the city of Jerusalem at the time of John's visit. It also gives some details of the history of the kingdom of Jerusalem up to that time, although John evidently felt strongly that the part played by the Germans in the crusader conquest of the Holy Land had been unjustly neglected and even concealed by the Frankish inhabitants of Outremer.

—Alan V. Murray

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Joinville, John of (1224/1225–1317)

Author of a life of Louis IX of France that is the main source for the king's two crusades.

John was born in 1224 or 1225 at Joinville-sur-Marne, the second son of Simon of Joinville, seneschal of Champagne.

He succeeded his father as seneschal in 1233. He met Louis IX in Saumur in 1241 and joined him on his crusade to the East (1248–1254), but refused to participate in his crusade against Tunis (1270). In 1282 he testified before a papal commission dealing with the canonization of Louis IX. He died in 1317 in Joinville.

Joinville was the author of an explanation of the creed and probably of a *Chanson d'Acre*, but his most important work was his life of Louis IX, entitled *Livre de saintes paroles et des bons faiz nostre saint roy Looys*, or more commonly, *Vie de saint Louis*, completed in 1309. It was commissioned by Joan of Navarre, wife of Philip IV of France, and dedicated to their son, Louis X. The life consists of two parts of unequal length. The first shows how the Christian faith and the concern for the well-being of the kingdom were the driving forces behind Louis IX's reign. The second, and longer, part presents episodes from the king's life: his youth and an early revolt of the barons; the taking of the cross after a severe illness, the crusade to Egypt, and the king's captivity; his accomplishments as an administrator in Outremer, return to the West, and subsequent government of France; and finally the ill-fated crusade against Tunis and the king's death (1270) and canonization (1297).

For events after 1254, Joinville relied on the *Grandes Chroniques de France*. Despite the author's admiration for the king, his life of Louis is not without criticism. It is a collection of Joinville's memories regarding Louis IX, a blend of biography, autobiography, and history with an emphasis on chivalrous virtues. The original manuscript is lost. The principal copy (MS. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr.13568, fourteenth century) was missing from 1487 until 1746. The first edition (1547) was based on a different copy of inferior quality. This and subsequent editions have been superseded by that of Monfrin (1995).

—Jochen Burgtorf

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Josaphat

See Jehosaphat



Massacre of the French by Turks during the Crusades of St. Louis. (Library of Congress)

Joscelin I of Courtenay (d. 1131)

One of the leading Frankish lords of Outremer, Joscelin was sequentially lord of Turbessel (1101–1113), lord of Tiberias (1113–1119), and count of Edessa (1119–1131).

Of Joscelin's youth little is known except that his family ruled the lordship of Courtenay in the Gâtinais in central France. Through his mother, Elizabeth, he was related to the Montlhéry family, whose members had great impact on the early history of Outremer. Joscelin came to Syria in the Crusade of 1101 with Arpin of Bourges and his uncle Milo of Bray. There he joined his cousin Baldwin II (of Bourcq),

count of Edessa, who endowed him with substantial lands around Turbessel (mod. Tellbaşar Kalesi, Turkey) in the western half of the county.

Suddenly one of the most powerful men in northern Syria, Joscelin became his cousin's main supporter. He was captured along with Baldwin at the battle of Harran on 7 May 1104 and held for ransom by the Artuqid ruler Suqmān ibn Artuq in Ḥisn Kayfā. Following Suqmān's death, Joscelin fell into the hands of Suqmān's brother İlghāzī. In 1106 or early 1107, Joscelin obtained his release and went to Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey) to gather the ransom for

Baldwin. He returned to captivity as a condition of Baldwin's release in 1108, but was freed a short time later. However, on their return to Edessa, the two cousins found that Tancred, who had acted as regent during their captivity, was unwilling to relinquish control of the county. Both sides called upon Turkish allies, and fighting ended only when Baldwin I of Jerusalem pressured Tancred to return Edessa to Baldwin of Bourcq.

In 1110 Mawdūd, *atabeg* of Mosul, started an attempt to expel the Franks from northern Syria, returning annually until his assassination in 1113. He attacked Turbessel in 1111. Most of his attacks, however, targeted the more accessible Frankish lands east of the Euphrates, especially Edessa and its environs. In 1113 Baldwin seized all of Joscelin's lands, outraged by the prosperity he enjoyed while Baldwin himself suffered raid after raid. Joscelin fled to Jerusalem, where King Baldwin I gave him the lordship of Tiberias. Concerning this period of his life we know little. Despite the confiscation of his Edessan lands, Joscelin supported Baldwin of Bourcq for the throne of Jerusalem following Baldwin I's death in 1118. Baldwin rewarded him the following year with the county of Edessa.

As count of Edessa, Joscelin was a vigorous military leader. His attacks on Aleppo led to a treaty in 1121, gaining for Edessa the northern part of Aleppo's territories as well as a portion of its suburbs. However, Joscelin's domination of northern Syria did not last long. On 13 September 1122 he and his cousin Waleran of Le Puiset were captured by the forces of Nūr al-Dawla Balak, ruler of Aleppo, and imprisoned in Harput, a fortress northeast of Melitene (mod. Malatya, Turkey). Baldwin II came north to act as regent of Edessa and Antioch, but in April 1123 he fell captive himself, joining Joscelin and Waleran in Harput. A group of Armenian soldiers from Besni mounted an operation to rescue Baldwin and Joscelin in May 1123. In disguise, they seized control of the citadel and of Balak's family, but before they could free the captives and escape, Balak returned with his troops and besieged the fortress. Joscelin and three Armenian companions slipped out under the cover of night, and Balak recaptured Harput on 16 September 1123, massacring many of the Franks and Armenians.

In the absence of the king, the defense of Antioch as well as Edessa fell to Joscelin. He launched attacks on Balak's territories and allied with his Muslim enemies, such as Ḥasan of Manbij. Meanwhile, Joscelin and Queen Morphie of Jerusalem gained Baldwin's release on 24 June 1124, in

exchange for a large ransom, the fortress of Azaz, and seventeen Frankish hostages, who included Joscelin's young son, Joscelin II. Waleran remained in Turkish custody and was subsequently executed. With the help of Baldwin II, Joscelin once again dominated northern Syria, defeating Aq Sunqūr, atabeg of Mosul, in the battle of Azaz on 11 June 1125.

The arrival in 1127 of the young heir to Antioch, Bohemund II, spurred Joscelin to attack the principality. Joscelin had grown accustomed to exercising considerable influence in Antioch since Baldwin II's return to Jerusalem in 1125. Again, the intervention of Baldwin II was necessary to establish peace. Following Bohemund II's death in battle in February 1130, Joscelin regained influence over Antioch when he was made regent by Baldwin II as a check against Bohemund's ambitious widow, Alice.

Joscelin married twice, though there is little information about either marriage. His first wife was the daughter of Rupen of Cilicia and the mother of Joscelin II. Sometime before 1119, Joscelin I married Maria, sister of Roger of Antioch, who was the mother of his daughter Stephanie, later abbess of St. Mary Major in Jerusalem. Testaments to Joscelin I's courage and martial prowess appear in Latin, Arabic, Armenian, and Syriac chronicles.

Despite some complaints, local Christian chroniclers praise Joscelin for defending Edessa, acclaiming him as their leader, not a foreigner to whom they owed no allegiance. Under his rule, Armenian elites continued to hold lordships as well as to occupy administrative posts. Joscelin supported the Syrian Orthodox bishop of Edessa in his quarrels with his patriarch, and in 1129 he ensured the election of a sympathetic Syrian Orthodox patriarch by holding the election in the Latin church at Turbessel.

A story about Joscelin's death conveys something of his character. Joscelin was seriously injured by the fall of a tower while besieging a castle near Aleppo in 1131. As he hovered near death, the Saljūq sultan of Rūm besieged Kesoun (mod. Keysun, Turkey). Joscelin's son Joscelin II refused to take to the field because of the size of the opposing army, and so the ailing count had himself carried to the battlefield in a litter; his reputation in battle was sufficient for the sultan to order a retreat. On his return from the battlefield, he died.

—Christopher MacEvitt

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Joscelin II of Courtenay (d. 1159)

Fourth and last ruling count of Edessa (1131–1159), Joscelin II saw almost all of his lands conquered by the Turkish rulers Zangī and Nūr al-Dīn.

Joscelin II was born sometime between 1113 and 1119, the son of Count Joscelin I of Edessa and an Armenian mother, the daughter of Rupen of Cilicia. From 1124 to 1125, Joscelin was a hostage at the court of Timūrtāsh, the Artūqid emir of Mardin, as part of the settlement for the release of King Baldwin II of Jerusalem. Joscelin inherited Edessa following his father's death in 1131.

For the first few years of Joscelin II's rule, the main threat to the county, Zangī, *atabeg* of Mosul, did not attack the Franks. By 1135, however, Zangī had consolidated his authority among the Turkish leaders of northern Syria and turned his attention to Antioch, conquering in rapid succession Atharib, Zardana, and Kafartab. Political strife in Antioch between the dowager princess Alice and her son-in-law Raymond of Poitiers left the principality divided, and Joscelin saw little reason to interfere, as his own territory was unaffected. By 1137, however, the threat to both Edessa and Antioch was too great to ignore. Following the death of Count Pons of Tripoli at the hands of Turkish raiders, the combined armies of Jerusalem, Tripoli, Antioch, and Edessa forced Zangī to retreat, while oaths of fealty to the Byzantine emperor by both Raymond of Antioch and Joscelin brought him into an alliance against the Turkish leader. In the spring of 1138, a united Byzantine-Frankish army recaptured Kafartab and Atharib and then besieged the independent emirate of Shaizar. The siege failed, owing to the impressive fortifications of Shaizar, the approach of Zangī's army, and the uncooperative attitudes of Joscelin and Raymond.

In 1142, Emperor John Komnenos returned to Syria to

remind Joscelin and Raymond of their oaths to him. His army camped at Turbessel (mod. Tellbaşar Kalesi, Turkey), where the count now resided in preference to the more exposed city of Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey), and John received Joscelin's daughter Isabella as a hostage. This alliance, however, failed to restrain Zangī's attacks. In late 1144, Zangī attacked and captured the city of Edessa while Joscelin and his army were absent. Zangī executed most of the Franks resident in the city but spared the local Armenians and Syrians. Following Zangī's assassination in September 1146, Joscelin recaptured the city (but not its citadel) with the help of the Armenian population. Zangī's son Nūr al-Dīn quickly recaptured the city and massacred its Christian population, both Frankish and local.

Having lost the eastern half of the county, Joscelin retreated to Turbessel. On 4 May 1150 Turkish soldiers ambushed him on his way to Antioch. He was imprisoned in Aleppo and died nine years later, receiving his last sacraments from a Syrian Orthodox bishop. Following his imprisonment, Mas'ūd, the sultan of Rūm, attacked what remained of the county, seizing Kesoun (mod. Keysun, Turkey), Besni, and Raban. Joscelin's widow, Beatrix, ceded the remainder of the county to Emperor Manuel I Komnenos and gave the castle of Hromgla (mod. Rumkale, Turkey) to the Armenian patriarch. Joscelin's children migrated to the kingdom of Jerusalem: Joscelin III eventually became seneschal of the kingdom, and Agnes married Hugh of Ibelin, lord of Ramla, and then (in 1157) Amalric, count of Jaffa.

—Christopher MacEvitt

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Joscelin III of Courtenay

Titular count of Edessa (from 1159) and seneschal of the kingdom of Jerusalem (1176–1193).

Joscelin was born around 1134, the son of Joscelin II of Courtenay, count of Edessa, and Beatrix of Saône. The capture of his father by Nūr al-Dīn in 1150 left Joscelin and his mother as effective rulers of a county of Edessa that Turk-

ish pressure had reduced to a rump west of the Euphrates. The Turkish invasion that followed this event overran the rest of the county except for the chief stronghold of Turbessel (mod. Tellbaşar Kalesi, Turkey) and a few other fortresses, which Joscelin and Beatrix sold to the Byzantine emperor Manuel Komnenos later the same year.

The Courtenay family took refuge in the kingdom of Jerusalem, where Joscelin's sister Agnes married Amalric, younger brother of King Baldwin III, in 1157. Joscelin himself seems to have been recognized as titular count of Edessa on the death of his father in 1159 (he was usually styled "Count Joscelin" by the Jerusalem chancery). The grant to him by Baldwin III of the newly captured town of Harenc (mod. Ḥarim, Syria) between 1160 and 1163 might be regarded as an attempt to reestablish a territory for him in northern Syria. However, the defeat of the Franks by Nūr al-Dīn at Artah (1164) led to the loss of Harenc and the imprisonment of Joscelin until 1176.

Joscelin's release was procured by his sister, whose son Baldwin IV was now king of Jerusalem. On his return Joscelin was appointed seneschal of the kingdom, and through his marriage to Agnes, daughter of Henry of Milly, and various royal grants he built up a conglomeration of lands and rights in the territory northeast of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) around Château du Roi, which came to be known collectively as the *Seigneurie de Joscelin* ("Lordship of Joscelin").

In the factional politics that intensified during the reign of Baldwin IV (1174–1185), Joscelin was a firm ally of the king's sister Sibyl and her second husband Guy of Lusignan. On the death of the short-lived young king Baldwin V (1186), he was instrumental in securing the joint accession of Guy and Sibyl to the throne, in defiance of Count Raymond III of Tripoli and the Ibelin family. Joscelin was rewarded with new grants of lands and money fiefs, including the lordships of Toron and Châteauneuf, while his two daughters were betrothed to members of Guy's family.

Almost all of the seneschal's lands were overrun by Saladin's forces after the battle of Hattin (1187), and the obscurity of his subsequent career is such that the date of his death cannot be determined with certainty. By 1200 the *Seigneurie de Joscelin* had passed to his elder daughter, Beatrix, and her husband Otto of Botenlauben, who later sold it to the Teutonic Order (1220); the records transferred with this sale represent the only surviving baronial archive of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

—Alan V. Murray

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Just War

Early Christianity regarded the killing of a person as a terrible sin, and it was and continued to be subject to heavy penance. Moreover, in the Roman Empire Christianity was an illicit and occasionally persecuted religion; it is hardly surprising that its attitude toward the state was ambivalent and that it had within it a strongly pacifist current of feeling. But St. Paul had urged its adherents to respect the empire and its institutions, and this meant an acceptance of official violence that preserved the social order and defended the frontiers against the barbarians. Many soldiers became Christians and saw no incongruity in continuing in their profession.

When Emperor Constantine the Great (306–337) and his successors made Christianity the official religion of the empire, it was obvious that the pacifistic trend of thought could not be allowed to predominate. Christian leaders were in practice eager to use the coercive power of the state against their religious and political enemies. Accommodating the ideology of Christianity to its new position took longer and was essentially the work of St. Augustine of Hippo (354–430). He saw the wars of the Israelites in the Old Testament as holy wars, directly proclaimed by God, and therefore argued that war and violent punishment were not in themselves wrong. Since God no longer spoke directly in the new dispensation, Augustine drew on Cicero's notion that "just wars avenge injuries" (*De Officiis* 1, Chap.2.35)—that war could be a sanction against evil. Such violence, like judicial power, could only be exercised by proper authority (the emperor) and had to be carried out with concern for the correction of the enemy and for a good cause, though this was not necessarily confined to self-defense.

Augustine never elaborated his ideas in a single work, and they were transmitted to posterity through the work of St. Isidore of Seville (c. 560–636), who stated that a war is

just if fought for a just cause, in a spirit of charity for the enemy, and on proper authority. This rather broad notion of just war was not to be clarified or elaborated for many centuries.

The general range of these ideas accorded with certain attitudes in the early medieval West. The warrior ethic of the Germanic peoples found congenial the idea that the outcome of battle (and indeed of the judicial duel) was the judgment of God. The clergy regarded themselves as above war and forbidden from taking part in it by canon law, but they applauded secular rulers who defended the church and its property in an age of instability, and thus their approval came to be seen as validating warfare. Gregory, bishop of Tours (573–594), explained the victory of the Frankish warlord Clovis over the Arian Goths at Vouillé in 507 by saying that “God was on his side.” Pope Gregory I the Great (590–604), while directing the imperial armies against the Lombard invaders of Italy, proclaimed the righteousness of their cause. A papal request for military aid against the Lombards justified Charlemagne’s conquest of Italy, while his conquest of the heathen Saxons was universally applauded as extending the Christian church.

Canon law continued to regard killing as evil, necessitating a terrible penance, but in practice the taking of life was always seen in its context. Judicial execution was endorsed by the church: had not Augustine spoken approvingly of the “barbed hooks of the executioner” (*Contra Iulianum* 4.12.6)? Handbooks such as the eighth-century *Penitential* ascribed to Bede increasingly suggested lighter penance for killing in public warfare than for other kinds of murder. The great waves of attack from the pagan peoples of northern and eastern Europe and from the Muslims of Spain and the Mediterranean further strengthened a popular but undefined notion of holy war, that to fight enemies of God was just and even meritorious. The reconquest of Spain from Islam was especially seen in this light. Rome was desperately exposed to Islamic attack, so it is hardly surprising that Popes Leo IV (847–855) and John VIII (872–882) both suggested that war against such enemies of Christendom was not merely permitted but meritorious. There is no doubt that by the eleventh century popular attitudes endorsed all war against non-Christians as meritorious and, more generally, accepted the use of force, even between Christians, in a righteous cause: a papal banner was even issued for the Norman conquest of England in 1066.

These notions of holy war were scrutinized because in the

late eleventh century the papacy, enmeshed in the Investiture Contest against the German emperors, needed to justify its use of force against them. The decisive formulation came in the 1140s in the *Decretum* of Gratian, who gathered together the ideas of Roman law and all the texts bearing upon the just war, especially those of Augustine. He stressed the inward disposition of the Christian, who should be concerned to punish his enemy only for his well-being, and elaborated Isidore’s definition with emphasis on the special role of the clergy. This body of thought was further developed, especially by St. Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), employing Aristotelian concepts, and reached its ultimate definition in Catholic terms by Francisco de Suárez (1548–1617). The just war emerged as the mainstream of Christian thinking about the use of violence.

The relationship between the just war and the crusade is contentious amongst historians. Popular notions that certain kinds of war were permitted, even meritorious, were given definition in the age of the Investiture Contest, and this process underlay the call by Pope Urban II (1088–1099) for the First Crusade (1096–1099), which drew on popular enthusiasm for holy war. Jean Flori regards the Crusade as simply a just war directed to Jerusalem. John Gilchrist emphasizes the degree to which the crusade was *sui generis*. Jonathan Riley-Smith stresses papal authorization and its penitential nature as the hallmarks of the crusade, definitions of which, however, were increasingly set within the framework of the just war. Ancient precedent and authority gave the just war a permanent place in Christian thinking, but its definition emerged from wider popular beliefs in holy war that gave birth to the notion of crusade. Crusading lacked real definition before the thirteenth century, and it was only an episode in Christian thinking that arose from a particular religious temper and circumstances.

—John France

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K

Kadlubek

See Wincenty Kadlubek

Kamāl al-Dīn (1192–1262)

Also frequently referred to by his family name of Ibn al-‘Adīm, Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Umar ibn Aḥmad was a teacher, historian, and statesman.

Born in Aleppo into a celebrated family, which had supplied *qāḍīs* (judges) to the city for several generations, Kamāl al-Dīn studied jurisprudence in Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Ḥijaz as well as in his home town. At the age of twenty-eight he became director of one of Aleppo’s *madrasas* (religious colleges). Ten years later he undertook the first of several diplomatic missions for the Ayyūbid rulers of the city. In 1237 he took a position at the Hallawiyya, a leading madrasa in Aleppo, then in 1250 he accompanied the Ayyūbid sultan al-Nāṣir Yūsuf II (d. 1260) to Damascus, which had passed into the latter’s possession. When Aleppo was sacked by the Mongols in 1260, he fled to Palestine and eventually to Cairo. The Mongol Ilkhan Hülegü invited him to return to Syria as chief *qāḍī*, and he did indeed go to Aleppo after the Mongol withdrawal. However, the city was in ruins, so he soon returned to Cairo, where he died.

Kamāl al-Dīn is credited with a number of works, of which the best known are a chronicle of Aleppo, *Zubdat al-Ḥalab min Ta’riḥ Ḥalab* (*The Crème de la Crème of the History of Aleppo*), and a biographical dictionary, *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Ta’riḥ Ḥalab* (*The Object of Desire in the History of Aleppo*).

—Niall Christie

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Al-Kāmil (d. 1238)

Ayyūbid sultan of Egypt (1218–1238).

Al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, born around 1177/1180, was the son of Sultan al-‘Ādil. When al-‘Ādil died in 1218, Egypt was facing the crisis of the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221), which was besieging the port of Damietta. Al-Kāmil attempted to buy off the crusaders by offering them all the former Frankish territories west of the Jordan; this offer was refused and Damietta fell to the crusaders in 1219. Al-Kāmil was rescued by reinforcements from his kinsmen in Syria and also helped by the flooding of the Nile and disagreements among the crusaders. In 1221 the crusaders withdrew from the Nile Delta under truce.

In 1226 al-Kāmil sent an embassy to Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor, making him the same offer he had previously made to Pelagius, if Frederick would support him

Kammin

against the Ayyūbid ruler of Damascus, al-Mu‘azzam. In 1227 al-Kāmil, allied with al-Ashraf Mūsa of al-Jazira (Upper Mesopotamia), ousted their kinsman al-Naṣir Dawūd from Damascus. Al-Ashraf Mūsa took Damascus, whereas al-Kāmil received Palestine and Transjordan. By the time Frederick arrived in Palestine in 1228, al-Kāmil no longer wanted his assistance, but the emperor still posed enough of a threat for al-Kāmil to enter into negotiations with him. In 1229 he restored to the Christians most of the city of Jerusalem as well as some of the other territories that had been conquered by his uncle Saladin, while keeping the al-Aqṣā Mosque and the Dome of the Rock under Muslim control.

Al-Kāmil's concessions were widely unpopular, and al-Naṣir Dawūd sponsored propaganda for a renewed jihād (holy war). Al-Kāmil disliked his eldest son, al-Ṣaliḥ Ayyūb, and sent him to al-Jazira. However, after al-Kāmil's death, al-Ṣaliḥ Ayyūb was ultimately successful in establishing himself as his father's heir in Egypt.

—Robert Irwin

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Kammin

Kammin, or Cammin (mod. Kamień Pomorski, Poland), was a missionary bishopric in Pomerania in the time of the crusades.

The castle and town of Kammin, situated on the river Diernow (Dziwna) facing the island of Wolin, was first mentioned in 1107 as the seat of the Pomeranian prince Wartislav I. After conquering Pomerania, the Polish duke Boleslaw III in 1124 invited Bishop Otto of Bamberg to Christianize the Pomeranians. Churches were established in major centers such as Stettin (mod. Szczecin, Poland), Wolin, and Kammin, and the Pomeranian bishopric, originally established at Wolin around 1140, was transferred to Kammin in 1175/1176. When the neighboring archdioceses of Gniezno and Magdeburg attempted to incorporate Kammin, Bishop Sigfrid in 1188 was able to get Pope Clement III to confirm an earlier exemption and place Kammin under direct papal protection.

Nevertheless, the Danes acquired considerable influence

in the diocese. Following a Danish crusade against Stettin around 1173, a Cistercian monastery was founded in Kolbatz from Esrom in Denmark and a Premonstratensian monastery, Belbuck, from Lund. In the 1180s another Premonstratensian house in the diocese, Grobe, was affiliated with Tommarp in the Danish archdiocese of Lund. In 1185 King Knud VI of Denmark even directed a crusade against Kammin itself. Although the clergy went out in procession, imploring the king not to commit sacrilege, only the timely submission of Duke Bogislaw I of Pomerania saved the town. During the next forty years Kammin played an important role in furthering the Danish crusades to Prussia, particularly with the appointment of a Cistercian from Kolbatz, Christian, as bishop of Prussia.

After the collapse of Danish power in the Baltic region in 1223–1227, the Pomeranian dukes once more took control, and Kammin lost its importance in the crusading movement.

—John H. Lind

See also: Baltic Crusades

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Karak

See Kerak

Karbughā (d. 1102)

Karbughā (also Karbuqa, Kerbogha, or Kerbogah) was a leading Turkish military commander under the Great Saljūq sultan Barkyārūq, and also lord of Mosul in northern Iraq (1095–1102).

In 1094 Karbughā and his brother Tuntash were sent by the sultan with a large army to aid Aq Sunqūr of Aleppo against Tutush I, king of Syria, during the civil war for the sultanate. In May 1094 Tutush defeated the Aleppan army,

and Karbughā and his brother were held captive at Homs until Tutush was killed in February 1095, when Barkyārūq obtained their release from his cousin Riḏwān, the new king of Aleppo. With a force of Turcoman mercenaries, Karbughā captured the city of Mosul after a siege of nine months. He became the first Turkish lord of the city, ending a century of Arab domination by the Banū 'Uqayl family, and was recognized by the sultan.

In late 1097 the armies of the First Crusade (1096–1099) entered Syria and blockaded the city of Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey). Karbughā marched against the crusaders with a large army from Mosul and Mesopotamia. He was joined by numerous Saljūq and Turcoman allies, including Duqāq of Damascus, Balduk of Samosata, and many others; only Riḏwān of Aleppo, whose troops had been defeated by the crusaders on 9 February 1098, did not join in. It seems that Karbughā acted upon his own initiative in order to expand his influence in Syria. Karbughā and his allies unsuccessfully tried to besiege Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey), which was held by the crusader Baldwin of Boulogne and his Armenian allies. They then moved on to Antioch, arriving on 5 June 1098 to find that the crusaders had captured the city two days earlier. The Muslims besieged the city for twelve days, but when the crusaders marched out to fight them, Karbughā's army was defeated. Many of the Turcoman leaders resented Karbughā's treatment of them and conspired to retreat when the fighting started, while Riḏwān of Aleppo sent messages to the Turcoman commanders, resulting in friction between them and the Arab commanders and the desertion of considerable forces from the army.

Karbughā did not interfere in Syrian affairs again, and was occupied in the civil war between Barkyārūq and his brother Muḥammad Tapar in Persia until he died in Azerbaijan in September 1102. He was the origin of the Saracen character called Corbarans who features prominently in the epics of the Old French Crusade Cycle.

–Taef El-Azhari

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Karelia

A territory inhabited by the Finnic tribe of the Karelians, extending from the shores of Lake Ladoga to Lake Saimaa in the west and the White Sea in the north (mod. Finland and Russia).

The Karelians, first mentioned in written sources in 1143, had their main center at Kexholm (mod. Priozërsk, Russia) where the estuary of the river Vuoksi enters Lake Ladoga. By the time of the crusade movement, the Karelians had come under a loose sovereignty of the Russian republic of Novgorod. Archaeological excavations show that Christianity had spread among the Karelians by the eleventh century, but the greater part of the population remained pagan. Karelia was attacked by Swedish crusades during the second half of the thirteenth century, although the principal target of military operations was actually Novgorod: Pope Alexander IV (1254–1261) issued crusading bulls against both Russians and Karelians. During these campaigns (the so-called Third Swedish Crusade), the Swedes attempted to gain control over the rivers Vuoksi and Neva, which formed the main trade routes between Lake Ladoga and the Gulf of Finland. In 1293 they established the fortress of Viborg (mod. Vyborg, Russia) on the Vuoksi and tried unsuccessfully to conquer and hold Kexholm; in 1300 they founded the fortress of Landskrona on the Neva, but it was lost in 1301.

The war between the Swedes and the Novgorodians continued until 1323, when a border between the two powers was fixed for the first time by the Treaty of Nöteborg. This border cut through the Karelian Isthmus and divided Karelia into Swedish and Novgorodian sectors. The Swedish Karelians were soon Christianized in the Roman tradition, whereas Novgorod made little attempt to baptize the Karelians in its sector. The new border may have created the preconditions for peaceful relations between Sweden and Novgorod, but it did not create stability in Karelia. When Novgorod took steps to strengthen its hold on the region, the Karelians revolted in 1337, summoned the Swedes, and killed Russian merchants and Orthodox Christians in Kexholm. After two years of war, Novgorod and Sweden renewed the Nöteborg Treaty. At Novgorod's request it now included a new, harsh clause stipulating that all Karelians who fled from one sector to the other were to be either killed or handed back to the other power.

In 1347–1351 the Swedish king Magnus Eriksson, inspired by the mystic (and later saint) Birgitta Birgersdotter, directed a last crusade against Novgorodian Karelia. He

Karl von Trier (d. 1324)

conquered Nöteborg and started to baptize both the Karelians of the regions and the Ingrians (Izhorians) to the south, but the Novgorodians retook their fortress and again drove the Swedes out. Toward the end of the fourteenth century, Swedish colonization across the border again tempted the Karelians of Novgorod to change sides, and now the Novgorodian church engaged in a deliberate policy of forced conversion of the Karelians. Several Orthodox monasteries were founded, the most important of which was Valamo, established on a former pagan cult center on an island in Lake Ladoga. In military operations, the Novgorodians also killed or expelled pagan Karelians, the closest the Orthodox Church ever came to practicing mission by the sword.

—John H. Lind

See also: Baltic Crusades; Finland; Novgorod; Russia (Rus’); Sweden

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Karl von Trier (d. 1324)

Grand master of the Teutonic Order (1311–1318); the first grand master to start his reign in Prussia.

Born in Trier in western Germany about 1265, Karl began his career in the French houses of the order. He is first mentioned in a document of 1291 as commander of Beauvoir in Champagne, and from 1296 he was land commander of the bailiwicks of France and Lorraine. In 1303, he participated in the chapter general of the order in Elbing (mod. Elbląg, Poland) that deposed Gottfried von Hohelohe. Karl was elected as grand master after the death of Siegfried von Feuchtwagen, probably in July or August 1311.

Resident at Marienburg (mod. Malbork, Poland) from August 1311, Karl had to face several serious problems: the struggle with the pagan Lithuanians, a dispute with Poland over Pomerelia, and conflict within the order. He continued the order’s policy of erecting castles in border regions as bases for attacks by crusading armies, especially by building and defending Christmemel near Ragnit (mod. Neman, Russia). However, he was not in a position to control the strife between the factions within the order, which caused frequent changes of offices and finally led to his enforced resignation in 1317. When he was reinstated by a chapter general at Erfurt in March 1318, he left the administration of Prussia to the also reinstated grand commander Werner von Orseln and to Friedrich von Wildenberg, master of Prussia, while he travelled to the papal Curia at Avignon to strengthen the order’s position. Afterward he took up residence in his home town of Trier, where he died on 10/12 February 1324.

—Jürgen Sarnowsky

See also: Teutonic Order

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Keistut

See Keštutis

Kephissos

See Halmyros, Battle of

Kerak

Kerak (mod. Karak, Jordan) was a castle and town in Transjordan, at first a stronghold of the Franks but later held by the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks.

The castle was built from 1142/1143 onward by Pagan the Butler, lord of Montréal, as the new seat of his lordship. It was constructed on a rocky spur, which extended south from a roughly triangular plateau, on which the twelfth-century town stood. At first the castle was roughly triangular in shape and detached from the town by a rock-cut ditch. The walls were

strengthened by projecting rectangular towers. On the east side there appears to have been an outer ward or barbican. This occupied a lower terrace, overlooked by the inner ward and extending from the town ditch to a tower at the inner ward's southernmost tip. Although essentially Mamlūk in its present form, the barbican appears to have replaced an earlier Frankish one. This is suggested by a charter of 1152, by which Pagan's successor, Maurice, gave the Hospitallers a barbican, which is described as extending from the outer gate up to the tower of St. Mary. This seems to indicate that the main entrance into the castle lay at the western end of the north wall.

In 1167 the Franks revived the ancient bishopric of Petra, establishing a new Latin cathedral in Kerak. Gueric, a former canon of the Temple of the Lord in Jerusalem, was appointed bishop. Kerak was besieged unsuccessfully by Nūr al-Dīn in 1170 and by Saladin in 1173. In 1177 Reynald of Châtillon became lord of Montréal on his marriage to Stephanie, daughter of Philip of Milly. Reynald's aggressive policy against the Muslims was first directed against the caravans plying the desert route between Syria, Arabia, and Egypt. In 1181, he extended this activity by raiding the Hijaz, and during the winter of 1182–1183 he sent forces to attack Aila and the Arabian coast. In October 1183, Saladin retaliated by burning the town of Kerak and attacking the castle, into which the luckier of the townsfolk escaped. After six weeks, he abandoned the siege when a relieving force approached from Jerusalem. The following July, he made another attempt, bringing up fourteen trebuchets to replace the eight abandoned the year before; but the siege was lifted after only four weeks.

During the winter of 1186–1187, however, openly disregarding a truce that King Guy of Jerusalem had made with Saladin, Reynald attacked another caravan and disobeyed the king's instructions to return the prisoners and booty. He paid for this with his life, following the battle of Hattin on 4 July 1187. Reynald's widow, Stephanie, at first agreed to hand over the castle to Saladin in return for the release of her son, Humphrey IV of Toron; however, the garrison refused to surrender and was besieged from March until November 1188, when the Ayyūbid prince al-ʿĀdil finally took possession. Under al-ʿĀdil and his son, al-Muʿazzam ʿĪsa, the castle was repaired and became the administrative center of a province. In 1264, it was taken and further strengthened by the Mamlūk sultan Baybars, who also walled the town. It is largely because of the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk refortifications that so much of the Frankish castle has survived.

—Denys Pringle

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Kerbogha

See Karbughā

Kęstutis (d. 1382)

Grand duke of Lithuania (1381–1382).

Kęstutis (Ger. *Keistut*, Pol. *Kiejstut*, Russ. *Keistut*) was born around 1300, a son of Grand Duke Gediminas. For several decades before becoming ruler of Lithuania, Kęstutis supported the power of his brother, Grand Duke Algirdas (1345–1377), and frequently led Lithuanian and allied armies against the Teutonic Order. Because Kęstutis had placed Algirdas on the throne of Lithuania, deposing their brother Jaunutis, he retained special influence. He ruled the important lands of Trakai, Podlachia, Brest-Litovsk, Hrodna (Grodno), and possibly Samogitia.

In the wars of the Baltic Crusades, Kęstutis became well-known to the Teutonic Order and its guest crusaders, and was even praised by them for his chivalrous qualities. Not only did he successfully fight off crusaders from all over Europe, but he also conducted negotiations for exchanges of prisoners and for possibilities of Lithuanian baptism. He nevertheless remained a pagan, yet learned many of the customs of the Christians. It is said that, when captured by the Teutonic Order, he escaped by riding away on the Grand Master's horse, impersonating a knight of the order.

Algirdas's son and successor, Jogaila, was not willing to defer to Kęstutis, and made a pact with the Teutonic Order against him. Kęstutis deposed Jogaila in 1381, seizing Vilnius and becoming grand duke. But Jogaila continued the strug-

Kettler, Gotthard (d. 1587)

gle for power through new alliances with the Teutonic Order. He seized and imprisoned Kęstutis, and the old campaigner died in prison in 1382. He had been married to the Lithuanian noblewoman Birute, and one of his sons, Vytautas, became grand duke of Lithuania.

—Rasa Mažeika

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Kettler, Gotthard (d. 1587)

Last master of the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order (1559–1562) and subsequently duke of Courland (1562–1587) after the secularization of the order in Livonia.

Kettler was born in Westphalia around 1517 and grew up at the court of the archbishop of Cologne. At about the age of twenty he came to Livonia to enter the Teutonic Order, where he quickly became a member of its leadership. In the autumn of 1559 he signed a protectorate agreement with the Polish king, Sigismund II Augustus, and became master of Livonia.

Following the example of his order's branch in Prussia, Kettler, who was already sympathetic to Lutheranism, proceeded to carry out its secularization in Livonia. On 28 November 1561 he swore loyalty to the king of Poland, and on 5 March 1562 he swore fealty as duke of Courland and Semgallia and handed over the regalia of the master. In 1562–1566 he was also confirmed as vicegerent of all the Polish possessions in Livonia. In 1566 he married Anna, duchess of Mecklenburg, and founded the dynasty of dukes of Courland.

—Anti Selart

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Kexholm

Kexholm (or Keksholm) was the Swedish name for the Karelian fortress and town of Korela, or Korel'skii Gorodok (mod. Priozërsk, Russia).

By the eleventh century the site was a tribal center of the pagan Karelians of the region of Lake Ladoga. The fortress was built on an island in the eastern estuary of the river Vuoksi, barring the entrance to Lake Ladoga from the Baltic Sea. In 1293 Swedish crusaders established the stronghold of Viborg (mod. Vyborg, Russia) on the western estuary of the Vuoksi. Soon afterward they managed to conquer Kexholm, but they were driven off by a Novgorodian army in 1295.

After the division of Karelia between Sweden and Novgorod in the Treaty of Nöteborg (1323), Novgorod placed Kexholm under the government of Orthodox Lithuanian princes (known as “service princes”), both to defend the border region and to keep the Karelians under control. This led to protracted unrest, and in 1337 the townspeople rose up against Novgorod, killed Christians, and called upon the Swedes for help. When Novgorod and Sweden renewed the peace, Novgorod retaliated against the Karelians.

King Magnus II Eriksson of Sweden failed to take Kexholm during his crusade against Novgorod in 1347–1351, and it remained Russian until the end of the sixteenth century. Around 1400, Novgorod established an Orthodox monastery nearby at Valamo, which was used as a base to Christianize the Karelians.

—John H. Lind

See also: Baltic Crusades; Castles: The Baltic Region; Karelia; Sweden; Russia (Rus')

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Khirokitia, Battle of (1426)

A hotly contested battle (7 July 1426) fought near the village of Khirokitia (mod. Khoirokoitia, Cyprus) between Nicosia and Limassol, resulting in the crushing defeat of the 4,600 troops of King Janus of Cyprus by the 5,000 invading soldiers of the Mamlūk sultan of Egypt, Barsbay.

The cause of the Mamlūk invasion was the raiding mounted from Cyprus by Cypriot, Genoese, and Catalan corsairs, as well as an attack on the Syrian coast by Janus himself. In retaliation Barsbay had attacked Cyprus in 1424 and 1425. On 1 July 1426 he landed on Cyprus with a larger Mamlūk force and proceeded to capture the town of Limassol. The Cypriot forces were defeated at Khirokitia, and Janus was taken prisoner; the Mamlūks went on to capture and sack the capital, Nicosia (11 July), carrying off 6,000 captives. The king was ransomed for 200,000 ducats eight months later and returned to the island in May 1427, having agreed to become the sultan's vassal, paying an annual tribute of 5,000 ducats.

—Alexios G. C. Savvides

See also: Cyprus

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Kinnamos, John

Author of a history of Byzantium covering the period 1118–1176, which was probably composed in 1180–1182.

Kinnamos was born around 1143; although little is known of his early life, he later became secretary to the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos, participated in many of Manuel's campaigns, and may have been present at the Byzantine defeat by the Saljūqs of Rūm at Myriokephalon in 1176.

The sources for his history, which is written in a simple, straightforward style, were his own observations and the oral communications of his contemporaries. He does not quote from imperial documents, although he was in a position to know of them. He was generally hostile toward westerners, though he gives a favorable account of Raymond of Poitiers, prince of Antioch (Manuel's father-in-law), and of Louis VII

of France's relationship with the Byzantines during the Second Crusade (1147–1149), which is at odds with the disputes related by the French chronicler Odo of Deuil. Kinnamos's history was the “official version” of Manuel's reign and should be compared with the more critical account of Nikeas Choniates. He died sometime after 1185.

—Rosemary Morris

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Knights of Christ

See Dobrin, Order of

Knights Hospitallers

See Hospital, Order of the

Knights Templars

See Temple, Order of the

Komnene, Anna

See Anna Komnene

Konrad von Feuchtwangen (d. 1296)

Grand master of the Teutonic Order (1291–1296) after the loss of the city Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) to the Mamlūks.

Konrad was born around 1230 into a Franconian ministerial family. His early career is unknown. In 1259 he was commander of the order's Austrian bailiwick. Successively he held offices as the order's treasurer in the Holy Land (dates uncertain), commander of Austria (after 1271), master of Prussia and Livonia (1279), commander of Franconia (1282), and German master (1284). He did not travel to the

Krak des Chevaliers

Holy Land during the crisis occasioned by the Mamlūk attack on Acre in 1291, but stayed in the empire instead.

Shortly after the fall of Acre, Konrad was elected grand master (probably autumn 1291). The order's headquarters was moved to Venice under his mastership. Konrad showed no intentions of reviving the order's activities in the Holy Land: his main concern was the order's affairs in Germany, Prussia, and Livonia. By treating the "Holy Land faction" within the order with consideration, however, he avoided major conflicts. Konrad died between 2 and 5 July 1296 in Prague. He was buried in the Bohemian commandery of Drobowitz, but his bones were later transferred to the Cistercian nunnery at Trebnitz in Silesia.

–Axel Ehlers

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Konrad, Priest

See *Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad*

Koroni

See Coron

Krak des Chevaliers

Krak (also Crac) des Chevaliers (mod. Qal'at al-Hiṣn or Hiṣn al-Akrād, Syria) was a castle on a mountain spur on the eastern frontier of the county of Tripoli, overlooking the fertile plains around the Muslim city of Homs (mod. Ḥims, Syriat).

In 1144 Count Raymond II of Tripoli gave the site and most of the surrounding land to the Order of the Hospital. In the second half of the twelfth century, the Hospitallers built an enclosure castle on the spur. The curtain wall was strengthened by square mural towers, and there were halls for communal living along the inside of the enceinte and a simple early gothic chapel. This castle was strong enough to dissuade Saladin from attacking it in 1180 and again in 1188.

After being damaged by an earthquake in 1202, the castle was substantially rebuilt. An outer line of walls was constructed and the inner enceinte enclosed by new walls and a

great sloping glacis. These new walls were defended by large round towers, all constructed in the fine limestone ashlar that is one of the glories of the castle.

The first half of the thirteenth century were the glory days of Krak. The garrison probably numbered about 2,000, of whom only a small number (perhaps 50) were Hospitaller knight brethren. From the safety of the castle, they led raids to extort tribute from the surrounding Muslim areas. Distinguished foreign visitors, such as King Andrew II of Hungary in 1218, were persuaded to make donations.

After 1260 the growing power of the Mamlūks meant that tribute gathering became much more difficult. In March 1271 Sultan Baybars arrived with a large army. Siege engines and undermining resulted in the collapse of the outer wall on the south side where the spur was attached to the main hill. On 8 April the garrison surrendered and was allowed to leave for the coast.

–Hugh Kennedy

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Kraków, Treaty of (1525)

A peace treaty between the king of Poland and the grand master of the Teutonic Order that ended the territory of the order in Prussia.

After the failure of attempts by Grand Master Albrecht von Brandenburg-Ansbach to revise the Second Peace of Thorn, he and his advisors began to ponder the idea of secularizing the Teutonic Order in Prussia. A four-year truce with Poland was to expire in spring 1525, and war seemed inevitable. The order's German and Livonian branches declined to provide any support for the grand master against the order's enemies, and so Albrecht started negotiations with Poland. A peace treaty comprising thirty-one articles was drafted in Kraków on 8 April 1525 that declared Prussia a secular duchy under Polish suzerainty. King Sigismund I of Poland (1506–1548) and representatives of the order and the Prussian estates confirmed the agreement the



Aerial view of Krak des Chevaliers. (Courtesy Graham Loud)

next day. On 10 April Albrecht paid homage to the king, which finally made him the new “duke in Prussia” (Lat. *dux in Prussia*). Prussia thus became a hereditary fief of the Ansbach line of the Hohenzollern dynasty. The Teutonic Order in Prussia was dissolved, and its some sixty remaining brothers either emigrated to the Holy Roman Empire or joined the secular nobility of the duchy.

—Axel Ehlers

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Kreuzfahrt des Landgrafen Ludwigs des Frommen von Thüringen

A Middle High German poem, completed in 1301, dealing with the deeds of Landgrave Ludwig III of Thuringia (d. 1190) during the Third Crusade (1189–1192).

The poem survives in a single manuscript (MS Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2737) dating from the early fourteenth century. It was written by an anonymous poet at the court of Bolko I, duke of Schweidnitz-Jauer in Silesia, who is said to have given the order to record the deeds of Ludwig.

The text consists of 8,178 lines in rhyming couplets and draws on Latin sources as well as oral tradition. The language shows a few traces of eastern central German influence. After an introduction describing the history of the Holy Land from the capture of Jerusalem in 1099 by the First Crusade up to its reconquest by Saladin and the pope’s appeal for a new crusade (1187–1188), the narrative proper com-

Küchmeister, Michael (d. 1423)

mences with the arrival of Landgrave Ludwig in Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon) and his support of the siege of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) in 1189–1190.

The author focuses his depiction on Ludwig's heroic deeds: the landgrave proves to be the most valiant knight, he is elected commander-in-chief by the crusaders' army, and several times he is seen to be protected by a miraculous group of invincible fighters led by a white knight, whose banner Ludwig gathers from the battlefield after having been victorious against Saladin. An emperor, named as Frederick (probably a reminiscence of Frederick Barbarossa), wants Ludwig's deeds to be commemorated in stone, and Saladin is impressed by his military virtues. After being wounded the landgrave is forced to leave the battlefield; although Saladin offers the help of his physicians, Ludwig dies in the presence of his Thuringian fellow combatants, who bring his body home.

In its vocabulary and imagery, which show strong influences of the epic authors Wolfram von Eschenbach and Ulrich von Etzenbach as well as of the anonymous *Herzog Ernst D*, the narrative cannot be considered as an original contribution to Middle High German poetry. Neither is its account of the events historically correct, because the author obviously confuses characters and events of the Third Crusade with those of the Crusade of Emperor Frederick II (1227–1229). Yet the *Kreuzfahrt* reveals the impact of oral tradition, which the author claims to have learned about from noble families of Thuringian and Saxon origin in Silesia and the Troppauer Land (the region between Upper Silesia, Moravia, and Bohemia). The *Kreuzfahrt* shows that this oral tradition, which had been kept alive over four generations from the late twelfth to the early fourteenth century, was an element of community and identity in these noble families originating from Thuringia and eastern Saxony that provided numerous participants in both of these crusades.

–Stefan Tebruck

See also: German Literature

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Küchmeister, Michael (d. 1423)

Grand master of the Teutonic Order (1414–1422) during a critical period of the order's history.

Küchmeister was born into a Meißen-Silesian ministerial family; his early career in the order is obscure. From 1396 he held different offices in Prussia. In 1411 he became marshal after most of the order's high officers had died in battle against the Poles at Tannenberg. He opposed the warlike policy of Grand Master Heinrich von Plauen, who was deposed by Küchmeister and the other high officers in October 1413. Subsequently, on 9 January 1414, Küchmeister was elected grand master. Immediately he tried to establish peaceful relations with Poland, but a truce was only concluded after Prussia had been ravaged by Polish troops in 1414. Attempts to settle the conflict with Poland at the Council of Konstanz failed. The truce was renewed six times up to the end of Küchmeister's mastership, but no permanent peace was made.

Küchmeister's struggles to consolidate Prussia economically and politically brought little success, and he had to make many concessions to the Prussian estates. On 10 March 1422 he resigned because of illness, and perhaps also because of personal frustration. Küchmeister died in Danzig (mod. Gdańsk, Poland) on 15 December 1423. He was buried in the chapel of St. Anne at Marienburg castle (mod. Malbork, Poland).

–Axel Ehlers

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Kurland

See Curonia

Kyrenia

Kyrenia (mod. Kyreneia, Cyprus) was a harbor town and castle in the kingdom of Cyprus. During the Lusignan (1192–1489) and Venetian (1489–1570) periods it functioned chiefly as a place of refuge and detention, for the castle, never taken by assault, could be supplied by sea and so was able to withstand long sieges.

During the civil war of 1228–1233 the imperialists held out there for ten months against the pro-Ibelin faction, surrendering only after Genoese galleys prevented supplies from reaching them from Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon). During the Genoese invasion of 1373–1374 Queen Eleanor and James of Lusignan successfully withstood a siege lasting from January to March 1374, which was lifted following an armistice. During the civil war of 1460–1464 between the supporters of Queen Charlotte and those of her brother James II, Kyrenia endured a siege of four years; the Hospitallers supplied the queen's supporters by sea, and only in 1464 did the garrison surrender on account of starvation.

The dungeons of the castle were also used as a prison—for example, in 1316 for some of the Templars and knights who had rebelled against King Henry II following his restoration in 1310. In 1349 King Hugh IV imprisoned his sons

Peter and John there for secretly departing for western Europe against his wishes, and Peter was released only after the intervention of Pope Clement VI. During the Mamlük invasion of 1426 Cardinal Hugh of Lusignan and members of the royal family took refuge in the castle following the defeat of King Janus at Khirokitia.

The town of Kyrenia never developed into a major center and had only 800 inhabitants at the end of the Venetian period, but it enjoyed limited trade and pilgrim traffic with the Anatolian coast opposite. The Venetians strengthened the fortifications of the castle considerably during the sixteenth century, but it surrendered in September 1570 to the invading Ottomans without resistance shortly after the fall of Nicosia.

—*Nicholas Coureas*

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L

Lajazzo

See Ayas

Landgraf Ludwigs Kreuzfahrt

See *Kreuzfahrt des Landgrafen Ludwigs des Frommen von Thüringen*

Landskrona

A fortress at the estuary of the river Neva erected by the Swedes in 1300.

During the so-called Third Swedish Crusade against Karelia, the Swedes attempted to gain control over both entries to Lake Ladoga from the Gulf of Finland by founding Viborg (mod. Vyborg, Russia) at the estuary of the river Vuoksi in 1293 and proceeding in 1300 to build a fortress on the site of the later Nienshantz (now part of St. Petersburg).

According to Russian sources the Swedes were able to use fortification engineers from Rome but still proved unable to hold the fortress when the Novgorodians, helped by forces from central Russia, arrived the following year. The Swedish garrison was annihilated and the fortress demolished. The almost contemporary Swedish *Erik Chronicle* contains a dramatic account of the slaughter of the Swedish “Christians” by the “pagan” Russians, in general terms confirmed by a laconic account in the Novgorod Chronicles.

—John H. Lind

See also: Baltic Crusades; Castles: The Baltic Region; Finland; Sweden

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Laodikeia in Syria

Laodikeia (Laodicea) in Syria (mod. Al-Lādhiqīyah or Lattakia, Syria) was a city and harbor that belonged to the Frankish principality of Antioch for most of the twelfth century and part of the thirteenth.

Laodikeia was conquered from Byzantium by the Arabs around 640. The Byzantine emperor Nikephoros II Phokas retook the city in 968, and for the next century it remained on the frontier between Byzantium and Islam.

During the First Crusade (1096–1099) the city came under the rule of a confusing succession of different individuals, about whom the sources are contradictory. First conquered from the Turks by Guynemer, a semi-piratical figure from Boulogne, Laodikeia was then occupied by Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy. After the capture of Antioch (1098) the city came into the hands of Raymond of Saint-Gilles, who handed it over to the Byzantines when he left to continue the crusade to Jerusalem. Bohemund I of Antioch, who remained in Syria in 1099 after the crusade moved on, besieged the city that summer with the aid of Daibert, archbishop of Pisa, and the fleet he had brought with him. However, this action was interrupted by the return of Raymond, Robert of Normandy, and Robert II of Flanders from the conquest of Jerusalem, who

Lateran III, Church Council (1179)

all protested against this attack on fellow Christians and allies.

Tancred, regent of Antioch, captured the city after a siege of a year and a half in 1103. Following the disastrous defeat of the Franks by the Turks at the battle of Harran (7 May 1104), however, the Byzantines reoccupied Laodikeia. Tancred, again regent in 1108, seized the city while Emperor Alexios I Komnenos was fighting Bohemund I in the Balkans.

Along with Jabala, Laodikeia was part of the dowry given to Alice of Jerusalem on her marriage to Bohemund II of Antioch, and it was to these cities that she retired after her attempted coup in Antioch in 1130 failed. Sacked in 1136 by the Turks of Aleppo and damaged in an earthquake in 1170, Laodikeia fell to Saladin's army in 1188, causing the writer 'Imād-al-Dīn to mourn the destruction of the beautiful city. Muslim control of the city separated the Frankish states of Antioch and Tripoli, though both were under the rule of the same prince. Bohemund VI of Antioch's alliance with the Mongols in 1260 led to the return of Laodikeia to Frankish control. When it was taken by Sultan Qalāwūn in 1287, after its walls were damaged by an earthquake, the city was the last remnant of the principality to be conquered by the Mamlūks.

—*Christopher MacEvitt*

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Lateran III, Church Council (1179)

The end of a schism in 1177 enabled Pope Alexander III to call the Third Lateran Council. It met in March 1179, with more than 300 bishops from Europe and the Holy Land, as well as representatives of secular rulers, in attendance, and it adopted twenty-seven canons.

The council established the rule that papal elections would require a majority of two-thirds of the voting cardinals. Other canons provided for the selection and supervision of the clergy, reaffirmed the Peace and Truce of God, and condemned tournaments and the use of lawless mercenaries. Heresy and usury were condemned, and restrictions were placed on Jews and Saracens living in Christian lands. The council did not address the question of crusades directly, but it condemned those who provided materiel to Saracens.

—*John C. Moore*

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Lateran IV, Church Council (1215)

The Fourth Lateran Council ranks among the most important ecumenical councils in the history of Christianity. In 1213 Pope Innocent III called on the religious and secular leaders of Christendom to meet at the Lateran complex in Rome in November 1215. The main aims of the council were the reform of the church and the recovery of the Holy Land. More than 400 bishops, archbishops, patriarchs, and cardinals attended the council, as well as a multitude of representatives of cathedral chapters and monasteries. Most of the major secular governments of Christendom were represented, including those of the cities of northern Italy.

Among its political decisions, the council approved the candidacy of Frederick (II), king of Sicily, as Holy Roman Emperor and awarded most of the lands of Count Raymond VI of Toulouse to Simon of Montfort, leader of the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229). It approved seventy constitutions, the first of which was a creed of the Christian faith that explicitly countered the doctrines of the major heresies of the day. The remaining constitutions can be grouped roughly under six headings: heretics and Jews, organizational and judicial reforms, marriage law, clerical appointments and support, reforms of the clergy, and reforms of the laity. Notable among these provisions were requirements that Jews were to wear distinctive clothing, provincial councils of bishops were to meet triennially to consider necessary reforms (with a similar requirement for monastic orders), and all Christians were to confess their sins annually and receive the Eucharist at Easter. The council also forbade clergy from participating in trials by ordeal, thereby hastening the end of that form of judicial procedure. Finally, it approved Innocent's letter setting forth detailed plans for the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221), which the pope had first announced in 1213.

It is difficult to determine how effective the council's actions were. Many of the directives were widely neglected, and there were considerable variations in time and place. It

does seem likely that some of the constitutions had enduring influence, as is evidenced by the widespread practice among modern Catholics of observing the “Easter duty.”

–John C. Moore

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Latin Church

The Latin (or Roman) Church is a term used to designate that part of the universal Christian church in the Middle Ages that used Latin as its liturgical language and recognized the pope, or bishop of Rome, as its highest earthly authority. The Greek Orthodox (Byzantine) Church, by contrast, used Greek in its liturgy and recognized the pope only as co-equal with the patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem.

Despite differences over doctrine and questions of authority, the Latin and Greek Orthodox churches generally regarded each other in principle as valid members of the universal church. An important effect of this circumstance in the states established by the crusades in Outremer, Cyprus, and Frankish Greece was that the Latin Church there used the new ascendancy of the Franks to take possession of the organizational structures and property of the Greek Orthodox Church. Thus, after the First Crusade (1096–1099), Latin patriarchs were installed in Antioch and Jerusalem in succession to their former Greek incumbents. After the overthrow of the Byzantine Empire by the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), a Latin was elected to replace the incumbent patriarch of Constantinople, who fled to Nicaea in Greek-held territory. Similar developments occurred at diocesan level in these countries, although numbers of Greek monks, priests, and, in some cases, bishops were allowed to minister to Orthodox congregations.

The Latin Church had a quite different relationship toward the various Eastern (oriental) Christian churches, which it regarded as heretical and generally left alone. How-

ever, some initiatives were undertaken to bring about union between the Latin Church and individual Eastern churches, notably in the cases of the Armenian Orthodox Church and the Maronite Church.

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Latin Empire of Constantinople

See Constantinople, Latin Empire of

Latin Literature

The crusades exerted a tremendous impact on contemporary as well as Renaissance Latin literature, especially on historiography, poetry, and epistolography.

Narrative History

The image and historical commemoration of the crusades and their ideological concepts were decisively conceived and stylized in Latin historical narratives, most of which were dedicated to the outstandingly successful First Crusade (1096–1099), by participants as well as by writers in the West. These narratives were sometimes reworkings of oral testimony or of existing written accounts, sometimes within the framework of chronicles covering a broader chronological and different geographical range, such as the *Hierosolymita* of Ekkehard of Aura (c. 1116) or the *Gesta regum Anglorum* of William of Malmesbury (d. 1143).

Jerusalem as a strategic and spiritual destination is the focus of interest: its importance is reflected by the various titles chosen by the authors and by topoi and terminological conventions that soon became literary commonplaces. The chroniclers often devote particular attention to certain leaders or contingents in the campaigns and make use of the

traditional rhetorical arsenal of the genre to dramatize and illuminate the events described with speeches, battle scenes, and heroic combats, often at the expense of historical accuracy. The drier chronicles, such as the *Gesta Francorum*, were soon complemented by literarily sophisticated and ambitious works of historiography, some of which are distinguished by the formal pattern of *prosimetrum*: that is, at key points in the action, the authors intersperse their prose with sections of verses, songs, or even narrative poems with epic dimensions. Crusade sermons (especially those given by Pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont) as well as letters were also often integrated into the texts, or at least added, in the manuscript tradition.

Among the most celebrated authors are Fulcher of Chartres, Radulph of Caen, Guibert of Nogent, and especially Robert of Rheims (Robert the Monk), whose *Historia Iherosolimitana* was one of the common reference books on the First Crusade up to the end of the Middle Ages. Between 1119 and 1140 Albert of Aachen described the First Crusade and the establishment of Christian dominion over the Holy Land in his *Historia Hierosolimitana*, a work in twelve books that has been described as a “Christian *Aeneid* in prose” [Peter Christian Jacobsen, “Albert von Aachen,” in *Hauptwerke der Geschichtsschreibung*, ed. Volker Reinhardt (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1997), p. 8].

Far less popular were the other and generally less successful expeditions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Confronted with persistent political and military setbacks, the authors transformed their chronicles into vehicles for criticism, resignation, and even satire; the prosimetrical form was more or less abandoned. Odo of Deuil, who belonged to the entourage of King Louis VII of France during the Second Crusade (1147–1149), concluded his lucid report, *De profectione Ludovici VII regis Francorum in Orientem*, under the impression of failure. The *Historia peregrinorum*, by an anonymous author originating from the area of Lake Constance, abruptly ceased describing the crusade of Frederick Barbarossa with the emperor’s death (1190). The *Historia de profectione Danorum in Hierosolymam* (c. 1200) emphasizes the spiritual dimensions of pilgrimage, since the crusaders, from Denmark and Norway, reached Palestine too late to take part in the military actions of the Third Crusade (1189–1192).

The Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) attracted historians and apologists again: with a sense of humor and irony, Gunther of Pairis, a Cistercian monk from Alsace, applied the

literary topoi and other features of crusade histories to his account of the fall of Constantinople, the *Hystoria Constantinopolitana* (1208): he associates the seizure and sack of the Byzantine capital by the crusaders (who included his abbot, Martin of Pairis) with the fall of Jerusalem in the First Crusade. In the tradition of Boethius, he created a *prosimetrum* in its most accomplished form. Oliver of Paderborn (d. 1227), who had preached the crusade in the Rhineland, based his *Historia Damiatina*, a report of the capture of Damietta during the Fifth Crusade (1220), on letters he had previously written about the subject.

Whereas most of these chroniclers concentrated on certain periods and facets of crusading history, by the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth outstanding authors broadened their scope in retrospection. Besides the chronicle of Robert of Rheims, the *Chronica* of the Jerusalem court historian William of Tyre (d. 1186) and its continuations and translations were the most influential sources for the medieval view of the crusades. The First Crusade figured prominently in this work, which William continued with an account of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem until 1182; his analytical and literary acumen made the chronicle shift into a pessimistic survey from the perspective of Outremer. James of Vitry, bishop of Acre (d. 1240), embedded the history of the crusades in his *Historia orientalis*, a comprehensive political and cultural description of the Holy Land.

After the final loss of Acre (mod. ‘Akko, Israel) to the Muslims in 1291, the impetus for composing Latin crusade histories decreased. Nevertheless, the existing texts supplied material for numerous memoranda and treatises belonging to the genre known as *De recuperatione Terrae Sanctae* (“About the Recovery of the Holy Land”), such as the *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis* of the Venetian Marino Sanudo Torsello (d. 1343), which was part of his initiatives to promote a new crusade. One of Sanudo’s sources was the *Speculum historiale* (1246–1259) of the Dominican friar Vincent of Beauvais, whose extracts from the chronicle of William of Tyre provided information about the crusades on a basic and secondary level.

Renaissance humanists, concerned with the threatening experience of Turkish expansion in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, particularly after the fall of Constantinople (1453), began to discover the crusades of the high Middle Ages anew. Rhetorically refined according to modern standards and rewritten for propaganda purposes, humanist his-

toriography idealized the First Crusade as a catalyst summoning a European alliance against barbarous enemies and thus as a model that ought to be imitated under contemporary circumstances. Flavio Biondo (d. 1463) actually projected the loss of Constantinople onto his version of the Council of Clermont (1095), and the reputation and popularity of Biondo's *Historiarum decades* up to the sixteenth century were also due to this ingenious manipulation. The Florentine chancellor Benedetto Accolti (d. 1464) wrote a monograph about the First Crusade, the *De bello a Christianis contra barbaros gesto pro Christi sepulchro et Iudaea recuperandis*, whose composition in 1463/1464 was closely linked with the preparations of Pope Pius II for an expedition against the Turks. The *Historiarum rerum Venetarum decades* by Marcus Antonius Sabellicus, published in 1487, and the *De rebus gestis Francorum libri* by Paolo Emili, written in 1498–1529 and dedicated to King Louis XII of France, reshaped the First Crusade into a monument of local pride and national greatness. Robert of Rheims and William of Tyre were the main sources for these humanist historians and their literary and publicistic approach to the crusades.

Poetry

Latin crusade poetry comprises a great variety of poetical texts about wars against the heathen, though in a more precise and technical sense it deals with the campaigns in the Holy Land. Shorter poems, such as rhythmic crusade songs, can be distinguished from historical epics and versified accounts of the crusades. In contrast to the historiographical sources, their manuscript tradition usually is precarious. The Latin crusade songs of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries constitute a corpus of about thirty rhythmic and metrical poems; their transmission is disparate, and only a small proportion of them are accompanied by musical notation. The largest complex, with seven pieces about the Third Crusade, is assembled in the *Carmina Burana*, an early thirteenth-century collection of songs in a manuscript of probably Tirolean provenance, which was later preserved in the monastery of Benediktbeuern in Bavaria. The Latin crusade songs are less concerned with the capture of Jerusalem in 1099 than with its loss after the battle of Hattin (1187). Exuberant songs about Christian victories, such as *Ierusalem, laetare*, appear alongside appeals to take the cross and laments for the triumph of the heathen, such as *Christiani nominis corruit insigne* (1189–1192).

Nearly all authors of Latin crusading epics directed their

imagination toward the First Crusade. Before 1120, Gilo of Paris adapted the *Historia* of Robert of Rheims, as did Metellus of Tegernsee, who between 1146 and 1165 turned Robert's prose into rhymed hexameters in his *Expeditio Ierosolimitana*. Of the *Solimarius*, by a poet known only as Gunther, not more than 240 lines have survived; it was composed before 1186 and sent to the family and court of Frederick Barbarossa. Once again, Gunther embellished Robert's *Historia* with the colors of classical epic.

Events preceding the Third Crusade, particularly the siege of Acre (1189–1190), form the subject of three more or less contemporary occasional texts: *Carmen Buranum* no. 50 (*Heu, voce flebili cogor enarrare*), a poem of Haymarus Monachus consisting of 224 goliardic stanzas (*Dum Romanus pontifex degeret Veronae*), and the mournful elegiacs by an anonymous eyewitness of the siege, whose versified diary closed in 1190 after he received news of Barbarossa approaching (*Scribendo tristes elegos imitatus amarus*). It is still uncertain whether a fragment of twenty-six hexameters can be connected with an epic entitled *Antiocheis* concerning the Third Crusade, which Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury commissioned from his nephew Joseph of Exeter (Iscanus).

Humanist poets of the sixteenth century took up the First Crusade as the subject of Latin epic poems, and like the historians of their time they tried to bridge the gap between the medieval crusades and contemporary Turkish invasions. The Italian Giovanni Maria Cataneo (d. 1529/1530) seems to have relied upon Robert's *Historia*, but his *Solymis* is almost completely lost. The *Lotareis* of the otherwise unknown Frenchman Perotus, written between 1563 and 1574 (MS Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 1944) exalts the heroism of Godfrey of Bouillon and makes a connection to the Guise family, particularly Charles III, duke of Guise (1543–1608), and Charles, cardinal of Lorraine, to whom he addressed his work; its nine books, containing some 7,000 hexameters, have not yet been edited, probably because they lack any life or color. Pietro Angeli da Barga (d. 1591), however, created the magnum opus of humanist crusade epics, the *Syrias*: after the great naval victory of Lepanto over the Turks (1571), he was convinced that the success of the First Crusade could be repeated soon.

Epistolography

With the flourishing of Latin epistolography in the twelfth century, it is hardly surprising that the crusades should be

reflected in Latin letters. Among the considerable number dating from the First Crusade are impressive requests for help, such as the much-debated message of the Byzantine emperor Alexios I Komnenos to the count of Flanders (1088), which was widely spread together with the *Historia* of Robert of Rheims. Epistolography also includes reports and memoirs that participants sent to relatives or political protagonists. News of decisive events, such as the death of Frederick Barbarossa, was communicated by letters. Some of the narrative sources are adorned with epistolary formulas; others are based on material collected from letters. The gradual diversion of the Fourth Crusade is reflected in the correspondence exchanged between Pope Innocent III and the leaders of the expedition. The six surviving letters written by James of Vitry in 1216–1221 are an important source for the siege of Damietta and contain notes he later used for his *Historia*.

More specifically, some crusade letters are actually written exhortations to take the cross. These highly artificial, much circulated texts are similar to crusading sermons. Bernard of Clairvaux issued his famous letter no. 363 (*Sermo mihi ad vos de negotio Christi*), for example, to promote the Second Crusade. These letters remained a useful model for crusade histories and letters up to the fifteenth century.

–Peter Orth

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St. Lazarus, Order of

An international hospitaller order that assumed military responsibilities. Its origins are obscure, but the Order of St.

Lazarus possibly began as a leper hospital outside the walls of Jerusalem, run by Armenian monks following the rule of St. Basil. The earliest charters referring to the order date to 1142, suggesting that it was founded in the 1130s. Like other hospitaller foundations in Outremer, it adopted the Rule of St. Augustine. The first reference to a master appeared in 1153, and for the next hundred years only lepers were eligible to become masters. The Lazarites remained in Jerusalem until Saladin captured the city in 1187, and thereafter the order moved to Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel). After the fall of Acre (1291), the order's headquarters were transferred to Boigny in France.

Members of the order originally consisted of clerics, brethren to look after the sick, and the lepers themselves. Leprosy (also known as Hansen's disease) is a chronic infectious disease that primarily affects the skin, nerve endings, and mucous membranes. Medieval medical practitioners diagnosed several diseases as leprosy, so it is possible that not all of the invalid members of the order suffered from Hansen's disease. Leprosy, however, was endemic in Outremer and claimed noted victims, among them King Baldwin IV of Jerusalem. Perhaps for this reason, the order enjoyed widespread royal and nobiliary patronage throughout Outremer in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The order's cartulary, which survives in a fragment of forty documents, dating to between 1130 and 1248, shows that it owned hospitals in Jerusalem and Acre, with some small estates and rental properties in the southern part of the kingdom of Jerusalem. From the mid-twelfth century onward, the order received donations of lands in France, Italy, Spain, Hungary, Germany, England, and Scotland. The most noted gift was the donation by King Louis VII of France of the castle and fief of Boigny, near Orléans, which became the order's headquarters after 1291. The Lazarites' ties to the French monarchy were strengthened when Philip IV the Fair took the order under his protection in 1308.

Information about the order's transformation from a hospitaller into a military order is obscure. It possibly occurred through the admission of leprous knights from Frankish families in Outremer and from other military orders. Certainly there is evidence for an early association between the Order of St. Lazarus and the Order of the Temple: early Lazarite charters show the Order of the Temple acting as a kind of guarantor for some property transactions,

while Templar statutes of 1260 permitted leprous knights to enter the Order of St. Lazarus. The late-twelfth-century law book *Livre au roi* stipulated that knights and sergeants who contracted leprosy should join the Order of St. Lazarus. It is conceivable that such men carried out military duties, but it also appears that nonleprous knights joined the order to serve in battle.

The evidence for the military responsibilities of the order is ambiguous for the twelfth century. Thirteenth-century chroniclers placed the Lazarites at major battles and reported high casualty rates for the knights of the order. Joinville describes only four survivors of the order's mounted sortie near Ramla in 1242. Robert of Nantes, Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, reported that all the leper knights of the house of St. Lazarus were killed at the battle of La Forbie in 1244. According to the chronicler Matthew Paris, the Lazarite knights participated in the Egyptian campaign of Louis IX of France in 1248–1250, and fought at the battle of Mansurah in 1248. The order's losses were so extensive in these campaigns that Pope Innocent IV issued a bull in 1253 opening the office of the master to nonlepers, because all the leper knights had been killed in battle.

Evidently the thirteenth-century papacy considered the Lazarites as a military religious order, but one that lacked the resources commanded by the Hospitallers, Templars, or Teutonic Knights. The order received papal privileges permitting its members to collect money and tithes in Europe. In a resurgence of their original mission, Clement IV tried to place all the lepers of western Christendom under the protection and governance of the Order of St. Lazarus.

The order fell into a decline with the end of the Frankish states in Outremer and the gradual diminution of leprosy in western Europe. In 1490 Pope Innocent VIII tried to combine the Lazarites with the Hospitallers. The French Lazarites refused, and maintained the order, based in Boigny. In 1572 an attempt was made to unite the Lazarites with the Order of St. Maurice. This, again, was resisted by the French knights of the order. Both the French and Italian branches were suppressed in the French Revolution, and the order's hospitals disappeared. The Order of St. Lazarus was revived in the nineteenth century as an honorific and charitable organization.

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Lefkosia

See Nicosia

Leon I of Armenia (d. 1219)

Prince (1187–1198) and king (1198–1219) of Armenia.

Leon succeeded his brother Prince Rupen III as leader of the Cilician Armenians, soon securing the country against Turcoman raids, and expanded his domain west, beyond Seleucia (mod. Silifke, Turkey), and north, beyond the Cilician Gates. His greatest achievement was the establishment of Cilicia as the center of a kingdom, a project that took several years. Leon first negotiated with the Holy Roman Emperor, Fred-

erick I Barbarossa, for a royal crown, but these plans fell through when the emperor died while crossing Cilicia in 1190. During the efforts of the Third Crusade (1189–1192) to recover Outremer from Saladin, Leon sent troops to participate in the siege of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) and the conquest of Cyprus, pursuing friendship with the Franks despite border disputes with the principality of Antioch and the Templars. He was able to placate the pope without significantly changing Armenian ecclesiastical doctrine, and on 6 January 1198 he was crowned king in Tarsos (mod. Tarsus, Turkey) by the Armenian catholicos in the presence of the Syrian Orthodox patriarch, the local Greek Orthodox metropolitan, the papal legate, and the imperial chancellor; another crown was sent by the Byzantine emperor Alexios III Angelos.

King Leon arranged marriage alliances with Aimery of Lusignan, John of Brienne, and the princes of Antioch as well as with Theodore I Laskaris of Nicaea. He gave lands to the Teutonic Knights and the Hospitallers (the latter guarded his western frontier) and began the "Frankicization" of his court. Cilicia was increasingly important in trade between East and West, and Leon fostered this by granting privileges to Genoese and Venetian merchants. Much of his reign was taken up with the succession dispute in the principality of Antioch, where his great-nephew Raymond-Rupen was installed as prince in 1216 but ousted three years later. Leon died in 1219 and was succeeded by his daughter Isabel (Zabel).

—Angus Stewart

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Leopold V of Austria (1157–1194)

Duke of Austria (1177–1194) and Styria (1192–1194) and participant in the Third Crusade (1189–1192); notorious for

his imprisonment of his fellow crusader Richard I the Lionheart, king of England.

Leopold was the son of Henry II of Babenberg, duke of Austria, and Theodora Komnene, succeeding his father as duke on 24 February 1177. In 1182 Leopold made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and he gifted a relic of the True Cross to the Cistercian monastery of Heiligenkreuz. In 1186 he laid the foundations for a vast increase in Babenberg power when he secured recognition as heir to the childless Ottokar IV, duke of Styria, in the Treaty of Georgenberg (Ger. *Georgenberger Handfeste*), which was confirmed a year later by Frederick I Barbarossa, the Holy Roman Emperor.

During the Third Crusade Leopold did not join the emperor's army, but traveled independently to the Holy Land with a large number of Austrian knights, arriving at Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) in the spring of 1191. There he came to be regarded as the leader of the much depleted German crusader contingent, which had been left leaderless after the deaths of the emperor and his son Frederick V, duke of Swabia. However, Leopold and the other German leaders found themselves increasingly sidelined in the direction of the crusade by the two Western kings, Richard I of England and Philip II of France. After the capture of Acre from Saladin's forces (12 July 1191), Richard cast down Leopold's banner from the battlements of the city as a sign that he and Philip were unwilling to concede Leopold any share in the spoils. Shortly afterward Leopold returned to Austria.

Leopold took possession of the duchy of Styria after the death of Ottokar IV (8 May 1192). Later that year he was given the opportunity to exact revenge on Richard, when the English king, returning from crusade with only a few companions, was recognized and arrested by one of Leopold's men at the village of Erdberg (now in Vienna, Austria) in December. Clearly opportunism and revenge played their part in the duke's actions. An additional factor, however, was the enmity toward Richard of Emperor Henry VI, who had ordered his vassals to apprehend the English king if the opportunity presented itself. Richard was imprisoned in the castle of Dürnstein on the Danube while Leopold negotiated with the emperor. The duke handed over his prisoner to Henry VI on 23 March 1193, in exchange for half the expected ransom of 100,000 marks. A renegotiation of the ransom terms brought more favorable terms, including a further payment and the prospect of the marriage of Richard's niece Eleanor to one of Leopold's sons.

Despite its financial benefits, Leopold's detention of Richard, a returning crusader whose person should have been inviolable, brought him considerable opprobrium, and in 1194 he was excommunicated by Pope Celestine III. At the end of that year Leopold suffered a crushed leg after falling from his horse and died, still excommunicate, after a botched amputation of his gangrenous foot (31 December 1194). The duke's horrendous death was widely regarded as divine retribution for his imprisonment of the English crusader king. He was succeeded by his two sons Frederick I (in Austria) and Leopold VI (in Styria).

—Alan V. Murray

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Leopold VI of Austria (d. 1230)

Duke of Styria (1194–1230) and Austria (1198–1230) and crusader in France, Spain, and the East.

Leopold VI was born in 1176 or 1177, the second son of Duke Leopold V of Austria (d. 1194) and Helena (d. 1199), daughter of King Géza II of Hungary. The division of the Babenberg territories made by his dying father in 1194 meant that Leopold VI initially received only the duchy of Styria. However, he inherited the duchy of Austria when his elder brother Frederick died without heirs in April 1198 while returning from the Crusade of 1197–1198, which had been launched by Emperor Henry VI.

In 1203 Leopold married Theodora, a granddaughter of the Byzantine emperor Isaac II Angelos, a connection, however, that lost importance after the overthrow of the Byzantine Empire by the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204). Leopold originally took the cross in 1208 and subsequently took part

Lepanto, Battle of (1571)

in crusades on three different fronts. In 1212 he joined numerous German and Lombard nobles to fight the Cathar heretics of southern France in the course of the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229). He did not remain there long, but moved on to Spain to take part in fighting against the Moors, returning to Austria by the end of the year.

Leopold's longest commitment to crusading was his participation in the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221). He set out in June 1217 with Count Liutold of Plain, Duke Otto VII of Meran, Henry of Zöbing, Hadmar of Kuenring, and other nobles and knights, largely from the southeast of the empire. This German group sailed to Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) with the forces of Leopold's cousin King Andrew II of Hungary, and made up the first substantial contingent to arrive in the East. Leopold took part in operations against the Ayyūbids in northern Palestine during the remainder of 1217 and early 1218. While Andrew II returned home, Leopold remained for the second main phase of the crusade, and in May 1218 he sailed with other crusaders and local Frankish troops to Egypt, where he and his followers joined the siege of the port of Damietta. The duke and his men distinguished themselves in the forefront of the fighting over the next twelve months, but in May 1218, when they decided to return home with Damietta still uncaptured; their departure was a major blow to the prospects of the crusade.

Leopold did not take part in the Crusade of Emperor Frederick II (1227–1229), although he was a strong ally of the emperor. In 1225 he arranged a marriage between his daughter Margaret and the emperor's eldest son Henry (VII), and put considerable effort into mediating in the continuing disputes between the emperor and Pope Gregory IX. Leopold died at San Germano in Italy on 28 July 1230, five days after the conclusion of a peace treaty there. He was succeeded in both Austria and Styria by his eldest surviving son, Duke Frederick II (d. 1246).

—Alan V. Murray

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Lepanto, Battle of (1571)

Lepanto, located on the southern coast of central Greece opposite the Peloponnese, was the site of the last great galley battle between a united Christian fleet and the Ottoman navy on 7 October 1571.

The battle of Lepanto was the culmination of an ongoing naval war between the Ottoman Turks and the Habsburgs of Spain that began with the Ottoman conquest of Egypt from the Mamlūks in 1517. In succeeding years, Turkish and Christian ships vied for control of the sea lanes in the central Mediterranean. Some of the significant engagements prior to Lepanto were fought at Peñon of Algiers (1529), Tunis (1534, 1535), Algiers (1541), Tripoli (1551), Bejaïa (1555), Jerba (1560), and Malta (1565).

The immediate cause of the Lepanto campaign was the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus from the Venetians in 1570–1571. In retaliation Pope Pius V and Venice organized the Holy League against Sultan Selim II's fleet, and encouraged Philip II of Spain to join. In return for crusading tithes, Philip promised to pay half the total cost of the league, while Venice paid a third and Pius V a sixth. The duke of Savoy and the Knights of Malta also contributed galleys to the Christian fleet.

The fleet of the Holy League, led by Don Juan of Austria, Mark-Anthony Colonna, and Sebastian Venier, sailed in September after the Turks captured Famagusta on Cyprus. The Christians planned to retake Tunis (which the Ottomans had captured in 1569) while the Turks were fighting in Cyprus. They encountered a Turkish fleet, commanded by Pertev Pasha, general of the Ottoman land forces, and Muezzinzade Ali Pasha, commander of the fleet. The battle pitted 208 Christian ships against 275 Ottoman ships. Approximately 100,000 men fought in the battle. The Christians lost 15 or 20 ships and 8,000 men, and the Ottomans lost 210 ships and more than 30,000 men.

Contemporary Christians celebrated Lepanto as a major victory over the Muslim Turks, and the Ottomans considered it a major disaster. Modern scholars, however, question whether the battle decisively halted Ottoman expansion. The Ottoman Empire retained Cyprus, and its sea power recovered rapidly after Lepanto. The Holy League collapsed by 1573, and subsequent attempts to reconstitute it failed. The conflict between the Ottomans and the Spanish continued until both sides agreed to a truce in 1580.

—Theresa M. Vann

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Letres dou Sepulcre

In the thirteenth century the jurist Philip of Novara reported that before the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187 the kings of Jerusalem had had their enactments written out and deposited for safekeeping in a locked chest in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. He claimed that at the time of the Muslim conquest this chest was lost, and thereafter no one knew for certain whether particular elements in the law had come into being through custom or through deliberate legislation.

Although there has been some debate among historians as to whether there is any truth in this story, it would seem that the doctrine of the *Letres dou Sepulcre* was developed in the thirteenth century as a legal fiction to justify uncertainties about the origins of custom and court procedure and to explain why custom among the Franks of Outremer differed from that in France.

–Peter W. Edbury

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Libellus de expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum expeditione

A short but detailed Latin account of events in Outremer in the years 1186–1190, written by an anonymous, possibly English, author, probably in the early thirteenth century.

The *Libellus* deals with the conquest of the Holy Land by

Saladin in 1187. It includes considerable detail on the invasion of Galilee by Saladin's forces and the battle at the springs of Cresson (1 May 1187), as well as the subsequent campaign, which culminated in the great Muslim victory at the battle of Hattin (4 July 1187). Also treated are Saladin's capture of Nazareth, Jaffa, Nablus, Acre, Ascalon, and Jerusalem, and his siege of Tyre. The account ends with the inception of the siege of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) by the Christians and the arrival in Outremer of the armies of Richard I of England and Philip II of France.

–Alan V. Murray

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Liber Maiorichinus

See Mallorca Crusade

Liegnitz, Battle of (1241)

A battle fought on 9 April 1241 on the field of Wahlstatt near Liegnitz (mod. Legnica, Poland) in Silesia between a Mongol army led by Khan Qaidu and a Christian coalition under the command of Henry II, prince of Silesia, consisting mainly of Polish nobles and knights of the Teutonic Order.

Qaidu's contingents formed the northern and smallest wing of a very powerful Mongol army group, of which the southern wing, led by Great Khan Batu, had conquered Kraków in March and taken Hungary, chasing the Hungarian king Béla IV through most of the Balkans. After raids in Poland, where only Breslau (mod. Wrocław, Poland) was saved through a miracle by the Dominican prior of the city, the army of Qaidu united with large contingents of Batu's army because scouts reported a large Christian army at nearby Liegnitz.

At Liegnitz the Mongols succeeded in breaking up the Christians' battle formation with heavy showers of arrows from their composite bows, followed by a feigned retreat. They then mounted a counterattack upon the flank and rear of the Christian army, exploiting their mobility, which was far greater than that of their heavily armored enemies. The

Mongols seem to have been able to produce a cover of heavy smoke during the counterattack, but whether this was done by the use of gunpowder is much disputed and uncertain. The Mongol victory was total. According to contemporary chronicles, 30,000–40,000 Christians fell. Their ears were cut off as war trophies and filled nine large sacks; Henry's head was displayed on a spear outside his castle. Northern Europe now lay open to the Mongols, but they turned south and returned at the end of the year to Mongolia.

Contemporaries in Western Europe were convinced that the northern Mongol army would continue to the flat lands of Mecklenburg, Holstein, and Denmark, which were very suitable for horses. In fact, Qaidu's move to the south can probably be explained as a result of an internal power struggle among Mongol leaders rather than by tactical considerations. The Mongol victories were met with disbelief and terror in the West, and the "Mongol question" was discussed at councils and church meetings as far away as Braga in Portugal. Mongol military superiority was generally acknowledged and was soon explained by the healthy and austere life of the steppes and the Mongols' blind obedience toward their leaders, but it was also widely believed that Jews had provided Qaidu with weapons and acted as his spies.

An immediate result of the battle of Liegnitz was the preaching of a general crusade against the Mongols, which collected substantial financial resources but attracted participants almost exclusively from eastern Europe and was organized too late to be involved in any battle. The Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick II, had decided in July to mobilize a common European army against the Mongols that should also include Denmark and its naval forces, but the Mongols had withdrawn before it could be mobilized. A more important long-term result was the decision at the First Council of Lyons (1245) to dispatch four groups of papal envoys to the Mongols, which were soon to be followed by others. The rest of the thirteenth century was characterized by Christian attempts to convert the Mongols and to make alliances with them against the Muslims in the Near East.

–Kurt Villads Jensen

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Lignages d'Outremer

A genealogical work in Old French, originally compiled in Cyprus, probably in the entourage of John of Ibelin, lord of Jaffa, around 1268/1270.

The original version of the *Lignages* presents the genealogies of some fifteen noble families of Outremer and Cyprus. Starting from the ancestral pair Guy and Stephanie of Milly, it details in turn all of the families descended from them or linked to their descendants by marriage: the lords of Ibelin, the princes of Antioch, and the lords of Sidon, Caesarea, Beirut, Gibelet, and Tiberias, ending with the kings of Jerusalem and Cyprus. Essentially, the text represents a genealogical history of the Ibelins, and its aim was probably to glorify the ancestry of this family, whose origins are in fact obscure. These genealogies were intended to be exhaustive, and thus included as many names as possible. For each lineage, the author begins with the first known ancestor, giving the names of that ancestor's spouse and their children, a pattern that is then repeated for each generation. This first version is found in two manuscripts dating from the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century: MSS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr.19026, and Venezia, Biblioteca Marciana, Francese app.20²⁶⁵.

The original text of the *Lignages* underwent a number of revisions. A new augmented version was compiled during the first years of the fourteenth century. This version contains thirty chapters, which are organized according to a principle of social hierarchy, beginning with the kings of Jerusalem, Cyprus, and Cilicia, and ending with less prestigious lineages, such as the Mimars or Le Petit. It includes numerous families that were not mentioned in the first version. This version is no longer about the ascent of the Ibelins, but constitutes a true *remembrance de la gent desa mer* ("remembrance of the people beyond the sea," i.e., of Outremer), as it claims; the work originally created in the interest of a single family is transformed into something of more general significance. The sole extant text of this version is a sumptuous fifteenth-century manuscript (MS Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat.lat.4789). It is proof of the text's importance and wide dissemination that an Armenian translation of the first four chapters was made

almost immediately after its first appearance by Hé'tum of Korykos, who included it in his *Chronicle* (in the version preserved in MS. Yerevan, Matenadaran Library, 1898).

The *Lignages* were revised again later and inserted into the official redaction of the *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin* drawn up by sixteen liege vassals in 1369. Two further but more limited versions continued the genealogies up to 1458/1459, the dates of the coronation and marriage of Queen Charlotte of Cyprus. One of these, written in French, is a highly abbreviated version, covering only the kings of Jerusalem and Cyprus (MS München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, gall.771). The other is a translation into Italian, undoubtedly made in 1459 and surviving only in a fragmentary copy possibly dating from the 1570s (MS Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat.lat.7806).

Although it gives only a partial view of the feudal society of Outremer and Cyprus, the *Lignages d'Outremer* is a rich and complex text that constitutes an invaluable source of information on dozens of families, amounting to over a thousand individuals.

—Marie-Adélaïde Nielen

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Limassol

Limassol (mod. Lemesos, Cyprus) was a port and bishopric of the kingdom of Cyprus. It had been the chief harbor town of the island during the Byzantine period and remained important under Frankish and Venetian rule, although it was surpassed by Famagusta in commercial importance by the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Venetian merchants were active in Limassol from 1126 onward, following the commercial concessions granted to them in Cyprus by the Byzantine emperor John II Komnenos. Following the Latin conquest of the island by King Richard I of England in 1191 during the Third Crusade (1189–1192), Limassol retained its position as the leading port of Cyprus up to the end of the thirteenth century, and the Pisans, Genoese, and Venetians all had organized merchant communities resident in the town. Venetian properties in Limassol, including a church dedicated to St. Mark, were recorded in the Venetian report of 1243/1244, which listed Venetian properties throughout Cyprus following their confiscation by the Lusignan Crown for reasons not yet established. The Venetian properties and commercial privileges mentioned in a treaty of 1306 were reconfirmed in 1328 and 1360, while the Pisan consul in Limassol continued to represent the Pisans throughout Cyprus even in the early fourteenth century. The Genoese also secured important properties and commercial privileges in Limassol and elsewhere in Cyprus under the terms of the treaty of 1232, which were reconfirmed in 1363 and 1365.

Limassol was also strategically important in the thirteenth century as a supply center during the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221) and as a base for the forces of the Crusade of King Louis IX of France against Egypt (1248–1254). Two Muslim raids directed against Limassol in 1220–1221 and 1271 likewise testify to the town's strategic significance, and it was one of the four bishoprics of the Latin Church of Cyprus established under Pope Celestine III in 1196.

Limassol exported agricultural produce such as wheat, pulses, wine, carobs, and sugar and served as a transit port for spices, cotton, and textiles. The salt lake south of the town contained marketable deposits and a royal fish farm, and the hinterland contained carob trees, orchards, vineyards, and sugar plantations. Salt was a royal monopoly, and sugar was cultivated on estates owned by the crown, the Hospitallers (the largest landowners in the diocese after 1312), and the Venetian Cornaro family.

Limassol also benefited as a stopover for pilgrims journeying to the Holy Land, and there was a hostel in the town for them. Despite suffering from periodic floods, earthquakes, plagues, Mamlük raids, and piratical attacks in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Limassol retained some commercial importance. However, the Venetians, who ruled the island from 1489, neglected the town's fortifications, and the Ottomans captured it in 1570 without difficulty.

—Nicholas Coureas

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Lingua Franca

A vehicular language used along the Mediterranean shores, documented from the sixteenth century onward, perhaps genetically related to one of the various pidgins diffused in the Middle Ages among merchants and sailors. It has often been wrongly assumed that the term refers to a language that developed at the time of the crusades.

The ethnic term *Frank*, meaning "western European," was widely used in the eastern Mediterranean regions among Byzantines, Arabs, Turks, and ultimately among the Franks themselves. Given the extremely scanty notions of western European society diffused in the Islamic world, the term *lisān al-Farānj* (or *lisān al-Ifranj*), "language of the Frank(s)," in Arabic sources may refer to French, Latin, or to any other western European language, and does not imply the existence of a special language common to all the Franks.

The linguistic situation of Outremer was characterized by the presence of many languages, whose distribution depended on different elements, such as ethno-religious loyalties, social functions, and cultural prestige. Latin and French were the written languages of literature and administration. French was also the oral language of the feudal aristocracy that constituted the military and political elite. Some Italian dialects were spoken in the coastal cities, where commercial trade and sea journeys were organized by Venetians, Genoese, and Pisans. The indigenous populations spoke mainly Arabic, Armenian, and Greek; depending on their religious affiliation, they used Greek, Syriac, Armenian, or Arabic as written and liturgical languages.

Contemporary sources suggest that there were a few bilingual individuals, often oriental Christians, working in

the lower ranks of the administration, or as interpreters in harbors, customs, and markets; but bilingualism was not a common condition. Multilingual situations, such as those that prevailed among ships' crews, merchants' caravans, or large armies, commonly favor the development of pidgins or other forms of contact languages. Such languages probably existed in Outremer, but they did not crystallize into any stable linguistic variety and did not leave any record of their existence.

Interlinguistic contacts in Outremer are reflected in loanwords: many words of Greek, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish origin entered medieval western European languages through Italian dialects, and less frequently through French. One ought to remember that this lexical corpus (particularly relevant in the areas of trade and navigation) does not constitute itself a language or an evidence of a Mediterranean trade language. It points, however, to the wide spread of Italian (often in reduced and simplified forms) that characterized Mediterranean commercial and diplomatic relations after the loss of Outremer, and provided the lexical and grammatical basis for the famous Lingua Franca of the Mediterranean.

—Laura Minervini

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Lisbon Letter

See *Teutonic Source*

Lisbon, Siege of (1147)

A siege undertaken as part of the Second Crusade (1147–1149) by Afonso I Henriques, king of Portugal, and a fleet of northern crusaders en route to the Holy Land, resulting in the capture of Lisbon (Port. *Lisboa*) from its Muslim inhabitants on 24 October 1147. The principal source of information for the siege, *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, is an eyewitness account apparently composed by an Anglo-Norman priest named Raol.

A league of Anglo-Norman, Flemish, and German crusaders sailed from Dartmouth on 19 May 1147 and put ashore at Oporto in Portugal on 16 June before proceeding to Lisbon, where a meeting was arranged with King Afonso. The king, who had unsuccessfully attacked Lisbon with the assistance of English ships around five years earlier, was apparently anticipating the fleet's arrival. There are also indications that during the planning for the assault the Portuguese ruler had been in contact with Bernard of Clairvaux, a key figure in the organization of the crusade. In return for the spoils of the city and the chance to fulfill their Christian duty, the fleet's representatives agreed to assist Afonso in his attack on Lisbon, which commenced on 1 July 1147.

Following an arduous siege, Lisbon surrendered to King Afonso on 24 October. A brutal sack of the city ensued, which the chronicler Raol blamed on the German troops. Subsequently, some members of the northern expedition remained in Portugal while others proceeded to assist in the combined Spanish-Genoese siege of Tortosa or continued on to the Holy Land. Contemporary Christians generally recognized the capture of Lisbon as one of the few military successes of the Second Crusade, a judgment frequently echoed by modern historians, who have increasingly emphasized the place of the Portuguese assault within the period's overall crusading activity.

—Brett Edward Whalen

See also: Afonso I Henriques of Portugal (c. 1109–1185); Portugal

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Literature, Modern

See Modern Literature

Literature of Outremer and Cyprus

The literary production of the Frankish minority in Outremer and Cyprus was written mainly in Latin and French and followed the patterns of contemporary western European tradition, but also presented some interesting and original texts. French and Latin literature coexisted in Outremer and Cyprus with the literary production of the indigenous population (written in Arabic, Armenian, Greek, Syriac, and Hebrew) and with oral narrative traditions that were extremely vigorous in a context of restricted literacy. This coexistence occasionally produced mutual influences, but one has to acknowledge that cross-cultural connections in this respect were weaker than might be expected.

Outremer and Cyprus were multicultural but not particularly intellectual societies: conditions were more favorable for warriors, merchants, or pious monks, than for scholars or professional writers. There were no universities in the Latin East, nor important schools or other kinds of religious or secular centers of instruction: William of Tyre, the most distinguished writer from Outremer, was born in Jerusalem but educated in Europe. The ruling class did not develop any long-term cultural policy to promote the activity of poets, writers, translators, scribes, and illuminators; there were a few exceptions, such as Amalric, king of Jerusalem (1163–1174), or Janus, king of Cyprus (1398–1432); however, their activities did not substantially alter the overall situation.

The most creative and original period in the cultural life of the Latin East came in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, although historians often prefer to emphasize the brilliant

activity of the Cypriot court in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which was by no means negligible. The genres of epic, lyric, and romance, which occupied central positions in contemporary western European vernacular tradition, were scarcely represented among the literary production of Outremer, although this tradition was familiar to the Franks. Most of the texts produced in Outremer and Cyprus belonged to “minor” or marginal genres: chronicles, legal handbooks, and pilgrims’ guides. Writers and their public favored local themes, relating to the history, legal customs, and devotional geography of their new lands, and some of these texts also met with success abroad.

Epic, Romance, and Lyric Poetry

The Old French crusade epics were written in northern France at the end of the twelfth century. They deal with the “heroic” period of the conquest of Syria and Palestine (c. 1098–1102) and might be considered as a sort of vernacular history of the crusades, glorifying the behavior and ethical values of the feudal aristocracy. It is possible that behind these surviving chansons de geste (epic poems) there existed lost poems or oral narratives from Outremer, but this is only a hypothesis, based on scanty evidence: the name of *Richard li pelerin* (Richard the Pilgrim), credited as the author of a first version of the *Chanson d’Antioche*, or the mention of Prince Raymond of Poitiers as patron of the anonymous cleric from Antioch who composed the *Les Chétifs*. Yet epic poetry undoubtedly circulated among the Franks in the Levant, as is proved, for example, by the fragments of a thirteenth-century manuscript of the poem *Fierabras*, preserved (probably as war booty) in the treasure room of the Great Mosque of Damascus.

Romance was also appreciated in Outremer and Cyprus: characters and adventures from the Arthurian world were well known in the aristocratic milieu, and were used at least twice (in the thirteenth century) in royal celebrations in Acre and Cyprus. The jurist and poet Philip of Novara, a supporter of the Ibelin family, composed a short poem of some 200 lines, modeled on the Old French *Roman de Renart*, and included it in his autobiographical book (the so-called *Mémoires*), with parodistic functions. This poetic composition, considered by some scholars as an autonomous branch of the tales of Renard, is in fact the only text belonging to the romance genre composed in the Latin East.

Many poets from France (both French- and Occitan-speaking areas) and Germany took part in crusades. They

included Duke William IX of Aquitaine, Jaufre Rudel, Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, Conon de Béthune, Thibaud IV of Champagne, Hartmann von Aue, and Neidhart. Some composed their lyrics in Outremer, but many more did so in Europe, before or after their Eastern adventures. There were also poets (such as Marcabru or Rutebeuf) who wrote *chansons de croisade* (crusade songs), either inciting their audience to take the cross or complaining about the indolence of Western kings, without leaving their countries. These crusade songs were evidently not very popular in the Latin East, where it is possible to find examples of another kind of poetry, dealing with contemporary political and military events, such as the Latin poem *Plange Syon et Iudea* by Albert, bishop of Nazareth, a dirge on the fall of the city of Jerusalem to Saladin (1187), or the French poems inserted into his memoirs by Philip of Novara, in support of the Ibelin faction.

The only known *chansonniere* (song book) from the Latin East originated at the refined court of the Lusignan kings of Cyprus and dates to the fifteenth century. It is divided into five sections and contains a great number of compositions (liturgical poems, ballads, motets, rondeaux, virelais, and others) with their musical notation. This precious manuscript reflects the literary tastes of the Cypriot Frankish aristocracy in a moment of cultural and social decline: a group sympathetic to western European models and fashions, which throughout the fourteenth century was a good promoter and consumer of literature. One can also mention the relationship between the great Italian writer Giovanni Boccaccio and Hugh IV of Cyprus (1324–1359), to whom he dedicated his *Genealogia deorum gentilium*, or the closer links between the French poet, crusade propagandist, and chancellor of Cyprus, Philippe de Mézières, and the Cypriot kings Peter I (1359–1369) and Peter II (1369–1372). Peter I enjoyed such a reputation in Europe that Guillaume de Machaut, one of the best French poets and musicians of his times, wrote a historical poem, *La Prise d’Alexandrie*, dealing with Peter’s crusade of 1365.

Historiography

Annals and chronicles from Outremer and Cyprus are usually concerned mainly with local history, although they occasionally include some information about events in western Europe and Central Asia. Most of the twelfth-century texts were written in Latin by clerics, such as Fulcher of Chartres and William of Tyre, who were connected with kings or

princes celebrated in their narratives. The chronicle of William of Tyre is surely the best piece of historiography from Outremer, and one of the most impressive in the entire medieval Latin tradition; it deals with the history of the Frankish states up to 1184, presumably ending shortly before the year of the author's death. The text, in spite of its very high quality, had a rather restricted circulation in its original form (there are only ten extant manuscripts, copied in England and France between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries). However, it aroused a keen interest in the history of the Latin East. First, a Latin continuation for the years 1185–1194, written presumably in England, was appended to the text; some French continuations up to the year 1277 were added later on. Around 1220, the Latin chronicle was translated into French in northern France, not without a substantial revision to make it more suitable to laypeople. This new text (conventionally called *Eracles*) included some or all of the continuations and enjoyed an enormous success, both in western Europe and in Outremer: it was copied many times (as attested by over sixty manuscripts, often elegantly illustrated), translated and rewritten in other languages (including Latin itself), and used, often tacitly, by many other historians.

Vernacular history writing in Outremer began with Ambroise, a cleric who accompanied King Richard I of England during the Third Crusade (1189–1192) and praised his deeds in the *Estoire de la guerre sainte*. This historical poem is the first eyewitness crusade narrative written in French: it belongs to the Anglo-Norman tradition of dynastic verse historiography and can scarcely be considered as a product of cultural traditions of Outremer. The first vernacular historian of the Latin East was probably Ernoul, a knight or nobleman associated with the Ibelin family. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, he wrote a French chronicle (now lost) that was used by the compilers of the continuations of William of Tyre's chronicle up to the year 1197. Another important historical text from the Latin East had a similar fate: the memoirs of Philip of Novara, partially included in a chronicle of Outremer and Cyprus, the *Gestes des Chiprois*. The author of this text was a secretary of the Order of the Temple in Acre. Shortly before the fall of the city to the Mamlūks (1291), he moved to Cyprus, where he compiled a historical narrative based on his own experience, on Philip of Novara's memoirs, on the *Eracles*, and on original annalistic material from Outremer.

Many of the extant manuscripts copied in the scriptoria

of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Acre embody historical texts of various kinds, from the *Faits de Romains* to the *Eracles* and French translations of the historical books of the Bible. It is perhaps possible to detect an attempt to justify the dominion of the Franks over the Holy Land, seen as a legacy from a legendary or historical past: from this point of view, the Franks were new Israelites, renewing the heroic feats of their symbolic ancestors by fighting against the infidels. Inventing local traditions is a common and appropriate response to the need to construct a new cultural identity; similarly, Templars and Hospitallers produced or, at least, diffused a host of legends supporting claims for an ancient origin of their orders (which were, in reality, created in the eleventh and twelfth centuries). Jurists in the thirteenth century used to refer to the lost *Letres dou Sepulcre*, a collection of the oldest laws of the country, supposedly preserved in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, but destroyed by Saladin in 1187. Probably such a collection never existed, and references to it served only to uphold the position of local feudal rights against French customary law.

Legal Texts

The aristocracy, the same social group to which the vernacular chronicles were mainly directed, sponsored the production of juridical texts, supporting their claims against royal power: these treatises, concerning the laws, customs, and legal procedures applied in the kingdom, are known as the *Assizes of Jerusalem* (Fr. *Assises de Jérusalem*). The monarchy concurred in the elaboration of this collection of laws, but only one of the surviving texts mirrors its perspectives: the *Livre au Roi*, written for King Aimery of Jerusalem at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The Frankish burgesses also had their own court of justice, and codified its decisions in the *Livre de la Cour des Bourgeois*, written in the 1240s by an anonymous author who worked in the judicial administration of Acre. Most of the other texts date from the middle years of the thirteenth century and were written by law practitioners (Philip of Novara, Ralph of Tiberias, Geoffrey Le Tor, John of Jaffa) who were either noblemen or who worked for noble families. The *Livre des Assises* compiled around 1265 by John of Jaffa was so highly esteemed that it was adopted in 1369 by the High Court of Cyprus as its official work of reference; in the 1530s, the Venetians as the new rulers of the island ordered its translation into Italian. Previously, another collection of laws had received the honor of translation: the *Assises of Antioch* (Fr.

Assises d'Antioche) survive only in an Armenian version written around 1265, ordered by Prince Smbad as groundwork for his code of Armeno-Cilician laws.

Pilgrimage, Travel Writing, and Recovery Treatises

Although it belonged to a tradition going back to the fourth century, pilgrimage writing acquired a new flavor during the period of the Frankish states in Outremer. Thanks to the political situation and to better travel conditions, travelers' accounts increased in number; and this trend did not change after the complete Muslim recovery of the Holy Land (1291), when pilgrims had to modify their itineraries substantially. Most of the texts are similar in content: they are pilgrims' guides, comprising lists of holy places and sanctuaries, listing prayers and indulgences and some practical information and advice. Now and then, there were more curious or learned pilgrims, who filled their texts with comments on contemporary social reality and natural landscapes, or with quotations from the Bible and the fathers of the church, converting them into treatises of devotional geography. Among these texts, it is worth mentioning the description of the Holy Land written in Latin (1128/1132) by Rorgo Fretellus, archdeacon of Antioch, and preserved in 115 manuscripts, copied in the Latin East and in Europe from the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries. Another important and popular Latin description (1280/1283) was written by the Dominican Burchard, who traveled extensively in the Near East and spent several years in the convent of Mount Zion in Jerusalem.

There were also vernacular adaptations of Latin guides, which usually circulated among pilgrims in rudimentary formats such as loose sheets of paper or unbound quires; they were not preserved in an independent form, but only copied when they were incorporated into longer texts. The first French descriptions of the Holy Land, taken from travelers' accounts or imitating them, are to be found in the *Eracles*; in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, these texts acquired some distinctive features, such as a wider range of interests or autobiographical character, and appeared as autonomous literary works.

Another literary genre connected with travel writing developed between East and West: the treatise on the recovery of the Holy Land. One of the best examples of this genre was commissioned in 1307 by Pope Clement V to be written by the Armenian prince Het'um, who dictated it in French to Nicolas Falcon. It forms the fourth section of Het'um's

Flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient, a very successful book dealing with the history and geography of the Near East. Another important treatise is the Latin *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis*, written by the Venetian merchant and diplomat Marino Sanudo Torsello, and presented to Pope John XXII in 1321. But in the second half of the fourteenth century, the prospects of a crusade for the recovery of Jerusalem were fading, and Europe was facing a new and more immediate threat in the form of the Ottoman Turks.

Translation Activity

A survey of the literary production of Outremer and Cyprus would not be complete without a reference to the activity of translators. As might be expected in a frontier society, there were translations from Arabic: in 1127 in Antioch Stephen of Pisa translated into Latin the Arabic medical treatise *Kitāb al-malakī* (*Royal Book*) by 'Alī ibn al-'Abbās al-Majūsī, with the title *Regalis dispositio*. Around 1220, a cleric named Philip, possibly of Italian origin, dedicated to the bishop of Tripoli his *Secretum Secretorum*, a translation of the Arabic encyclopedic treatise *Kitāb Sīr al-'asrār* (*Book of Secret of Secrets*). This was not the only Latin version of the text circulating in the Western world, but it was certainly the most popular, as is witnessed by some 350 extant manuscripts and countless vernacular translations and adaptations. There were also some translations from Latin into French: in 1271–1272 a Master Richard at Acre completed a French version of the Latin military treatise *De re militari* by the ancient author Vegetius; this translation was commissioned by Eleanor of Castile for her husband Lord Edward, the future king of England. Also at Acre (around 1282), John of Antioch translated the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and Cicero's *De inventione* for the Hospitaller knight William of St. Stephen, himself the author of a history of the order and of a compilation of its laws. John's work, entitled *Retorique de Marc Tullis Cyceron*, is the first French translation of Latin rhetorical texts, with the exception of a few sections in the *Trésor* by Brunetto Latini (1266–1267). In Cyprus, Peter of Paris translated (c. 1300) Boethius's *De consolacione philosophiae* for another important Hospitaller, the commander Simon Le Rat. The two latter texts imply the existence in the Latin East of a lay readership for French books, which was interested in ancient learning but not sufficiently educated to acquire it directly from Latin texts.

—Laura Minervini

See also: Cyprus; Outremer: Intercultural Relations

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Lithuania

Lithuania was the last pagan state in Europe, converting to Christianity only in 1387. It was the most popular target for crusades in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, although this is often unclear from western European sources that tell of crusaders going to Prussia (Fr., ME *Pruce*) where they would gather under the banner of the Teutonic Order for raids into Lithuania.

In historiography Lithuania is usually called a grand duchy, a usage that transposes to the pagan period the name by which it was known after 1387, when its Christian rulers

were also the kings of Poland. In earlier Western medieval sources the term *grand duchy* is not used. Russian sources often refer to the ruler of Lithuania as grand prince.

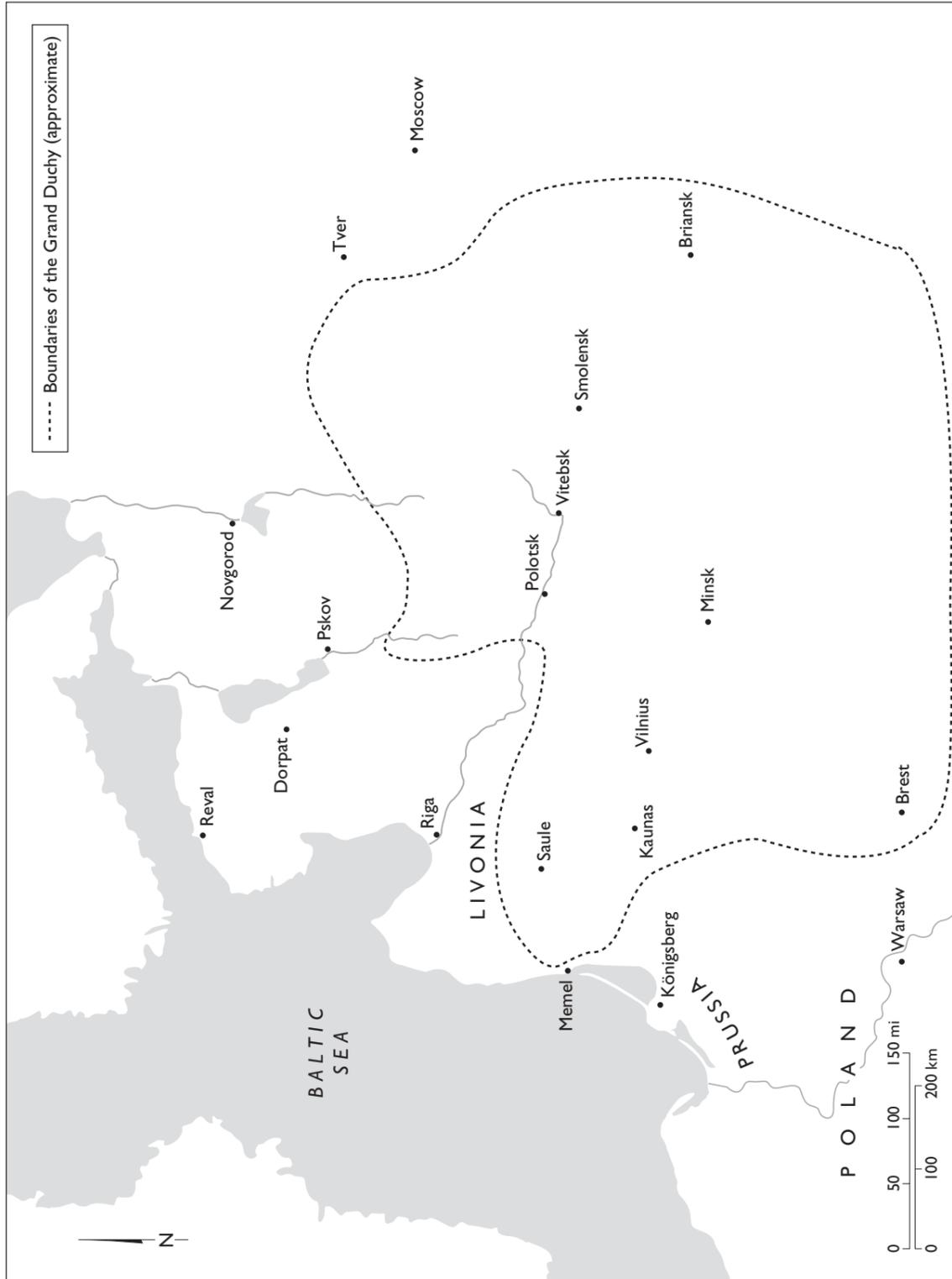
Located east of the Baltic Sea and to the northeast of modern Poland, Lithuania (Lith. *Lietuva*) was in the medieval period a country of thick but not trackless forests, with a network of castles or forts and towns such as Vilnius, Kernavė, and Trakai. Since Neolithic times Lithuania has been inhabited by Balts, who are not Slavs but a separate branch of the Indo-European peoples, represented today only by Latvians and Lithuanians, but in the Middle Ages comprising many tribes. In the territory of present-day Lithuania lived Curonians, Semgallians, Selonians, Samogitians, and Lithuanians (Lith. *lietuviai*). Only the Samogitians (Lith. *žemaičiai*) retained a measure of independence in the medieval Lithuanian state. As the Teutonic Order began to conquer Prussia, large numbers of Prussian fugitives settled in Lithuania.

Before the emergence of a unified Lithuanian state in the early thirteenth century, the name *Lietuva* probably referred to the area around modern-day Trakai and Vilnius. King Mindaugas (crowned 1253) claimed as his realm all of what is today Lithuania, except for the Baltic coast, and had occupied most of modern Belarus, including Grodno and Novogrudok, giving the latter city to his son to rule. Throughout the fourteenth century, the Lithuanian rulers expanded their power into Rus' lands: to the east into present-day Belarus and Russia, as far as Polotsk, Vitebsk, Smolensk, Briansk, and to the south into what is now western Ukraine, including Kiev (Ukr. *Kyiv*). Grand Duke Vytautas (1392–1430) controlled lands reaching as far as the Black Sea.

Rus' lands inhabited by Slavs that were incorporated into the grand duchy of Lithuania were sometimes ruled by princes of the Lithuanian ruling family and sometimes by princes of local dynasties. These lands provided taxes and military service to the grand duke, whose sons and daughters usually married into the ruling family of the principality and adopted the Greek Orthodox form of Christianity. The grand dukes remained pagan, residing in ethnic Lithuania, yet their power was greatly increased by the manpower and wealth of their Slavic lands.

Pagan Lithuania in the Period of the Crusades (1200–1386)

The first mention of Lithuania in written sources occurs in the *Quedlinburg Annals*, where a near-contemporary entry states



The Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the reign of Gediminas (1315/1316–1341/1342)

that in 1009 the missionary Bruno of Querfurt was killed at or near the border of Lithuania. Archaeological excavations show that well before the eleventh century the Lithuanians had developed a typical Iron Age warrior society, dominated by war leaders or chieftains. Up to the early thirteenth century, it is uncertain whether these nobles had any one chief. In a peace treaty recorded in 1219 between the dukes and duchess of Volhynia and twenty-one Lithuanian dukes, five are called “senior.” One of these was Mindaugas (Ger. *Mindowe*, Pol. *Mendog*, Russ. *Mindovg*), who must then have been quite young.

Within a few years, by killing or exiling rivals, Mindaugas had increased his power and begun Lithuania’s eastward expansion, exiling relatives to conquer western Rus’ lands. To strengthen his position, Mindaugas allied with the Teutonic Order and accepted baptism in 1251, sending his own envoys to Pope Innocent IV. Crowned in 1253, he became Lithuania’s first and only anointed king, but abandoned the order and probably also Christianity in 1261. He was assassinated in 1263 by disaffected Lithuanian nobles. Mindaugas’s reign established a strong Lithuanian state with foreign relations and foreign trade. However, it may have served as a warning to his successors of the dangers of baptism and submission to the Teutonic Order. No Lithuanian ruler would ever again attempt this.

Treniota (Pol. *Trojnät*, Russ. *Troinat*), one of the plotters of Mindaugas’s assassination, seized power after the king’s death, but ruled for only half a year (1263–1264) before being killed by Mindaugas’s followers. Mindaugas’s son Vaišvilga, or Vaišvilkas (Pol. *Wojsielk*, Russ. *Voishelk*), had been ruling western Rus’ lands and had not only converted to the Greek Orthodox faith but even became a monk. After Mindaugas’s death, he left his monastery to rule Lithuania in 1264–1267, but then handed over the throne to his brother-in-law Shvarno, the duke of Galicia-Volhynia, who was married to Mindaugas’s daughter.

Shvarno (Pol. *Szwarno*) was the only non-Lithuanian ruler of the medieval Lithuanian state, and he lasted only two years (1267–1269) before he was displaced by Traidenis (Pol. *Trojden*, Russ. *Troiden*), an uncompromising pagan who ruled from 1270 to around 1282. Traidenis expanded Lithuania’s sway over Rus’ lands, and made an alliance with the dukes of Mazovia (a part of Poland) that would last for several centuries. He won several important battles against the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order, but was not able to harm the Teutonic Knights in Prussia or to stop their raids into his territory.

Who succeeded Traidenis is not clear, since there was a period of struggle for power, with one Pukuveras, or Butvydas, emerging as leader. Pukuveras’s son Vytenis became grand duke from around 1295 to around 1316 and laid the basis for Lithuanian military and diplomatic strength in the fourteenth century.

Vytenis (Ger. *Witen*, Pol. *Witenes*, Russ. *Viten’*) was able to defend and even expand his power in the face of intensified attacks, after the final subjugation of the Prussian and Livonian tribes had turned the full force of the Teutonic Order against Lithuania. He accomplished this partly by clever use of his subjects and allies. Archers and other troops from the annexed Rus’ lands aided his invasions of Prussia. Allying himself against the Teutonic Order with the burgesses and archbishop of the city of Riga, Lithuania’s most important trading partner, Vytenis sent Lithuanian pagan troops to form a garrison at Riga. Although Vytenis did not convert, as the Rigans claimed he had promised, he did in 1312 permit the archbishop of Riga to send two Franciscans to serve a Roman Catholic church in Novogrudok. From then on, Franciscan missionaries were present in the grand duchy, and the Teutonic Order had rivals for the work of converting the Lithuanian pagans.

Vytenis was succeeded in the winter of 1315–1316 by his brother Gediminas (Ger. and Russ. *Gedimin*, Pol. *Giedymin*), who gave his name to the Gediminids, the dynasty that ruled Lithuania until 1572. Gediminas continued the war with the Teutonic Order and also invaded the order’s territory in alliance with Poland. Through conquest and marriage alliances, he expanded Lithuanian rule to the east, setting his son Algirdas to rule Vitebsk, and his brother Fedor (Theodore) to rule Kiev. This new influx of men and wealth further increased his ability to resist the crusaders.

Gediminas continued Vytenis’s alliance with the Rigans, which helped them to resist the Teutonic Order until 1330. He fostered Lithuanian trade with Riga, the Hanseatic League, and Rus’, inviting foreign merchants and craftsmen to Lithuania, allowing even merchants from towns of the Teutonic Order safe passage through his realm. Lithuanians could now buy and have made the latest weaponry, removing the crusaders’ main technological advantages. Gediminas sent letters to Pope John XXII, to the Hanseatic cities of northern Germany, and to Franciscans and Dominicans, proclaiming willingness to accept Christianity and inviting foreign knights, farmers, merchants, and craftsmen to

Lithuania. As a result, papal legates forced the Teutonic Order to make a truce with Gediminas for 1323–1325. Once this had been confirmed, Gediminas denied ever mentioning baptism, and Lithuania remained pagan. Although he executed two Franciscan monks, probably for attacking the pagan gods, Gediminas used more diplomatic Franciscans as scribes and allowed them to have a house in Vilnius where church services could be attended by visitors. He even built Roman Catholic churches, declaring to the papal envoys that he allowed Christians to worship according to their rites, and obtained from Constantinople the appointment of a separate head of the Orthodox faithful in Lithuanian-ruled Russian territories.

When Gediminas died in 1341 or 1342, he was succeeded by his son Jaunutis (Pol. *Jawnuta*, Russ. *Evnut*), who lasted only three years before being displaced in the winter of 1344–1345 by Algirdas (Ger. and Pol. *Olgiard*, Russ. *Ol'gerd*), another son of Gediminas, who was helped to the throne by his brother Kęstutis. Under Algirdas, the war with the Teutonic Order continued, with victories and defeats for both sides: in 1345 Algirdas took the fortress of Mitau (mod. Jelgava, Latvia), while in 1348 he suffered major defeat in the battle of Strėva (Strebe). In 1377 the crusaders burned half of Vilnius, capital of the grand dukes. Yet even then Algirdas was able to negotiate a truce and withdrawal, inviting the crusaders to a banquet to clinch the agreement. During his reign the Teutonic Order's crusade attracted the finest of Europe's knights, but still the grand duchy was powerful enough to resist them and to constantly attack the order's forts and territories.

Like Gediminas, Grand Duke Algirdas at one point obtained from the Greek Orthodox patriarch of Constantinople a separate metropolitan of Lithuania for the Orthodox population of the grand duchy. He allowed Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox churches in Vilnius and encouraged Christian merchants. Yet despite two marriages to Orthodox Russian princesses, Algirdas remained a pagan. In revenge for attacks on pagan Lithuanian customs, he may have executed three Lithuanians at his court who had converted to Greek Orthodox Christianity and possibly also five Franciscan monks, although both of these incidents of martyrdom are disputed by some historians. When Algirdas died in 1377, he was cremated with grave goods and horses in grand pagan fashion.

After Algirdas's death, his son Jogaila (Pol. *Jagiello*, Russ. *Yagailo*) inherited the throne. Kęstutis at first supported his

nephew, but rebelled against Jogaila after the grand duke made secret truces with the Teutonic Order on 27 February 1380 and 31 May 1380. Having seized Vilnius, Kęstutis ruled as grand duke in 1381–1382, but was displaced in June 1382 by Jogaila, who in a few months captured and imprisoned Kęstutis. This old pagan warrior died in prison. He was cremated on a pagan funeral pyre with his armor, horses, and hunting dogs, but the time of such state pagan rituals was drawing to an end in Lithuania.

Jogaila's claim to the throne was disputed by the son of Kęstutis, the talented and wily Vytautas (Ger. and Pol. *Witold*, Russ. *Vitovt*), who sought military alliances with the Teutonic Order. Jogaila needed allies to balance this, and at first negotiated with the grand prince of Moscow, promising acceptance of Greek Orthodox Christianity in return for support. But this plan was abandoned when Jogaila received an offer to become king of Poland by marrying Jadwiga, heiress to the Polish crown.

Lithuania as a Christian State

Now at last the rejection of paganism would bring tangible rewards for the grand duke, and in 1386 Jogaila was baptized in Poland along with many of his relatives, including Vytautas. He was then crowned as king of Poland, taking the name Władysław II Jagiełło. From this time Lithuania's fortunes were linked with those of Poland until 1792, although the grand duchy and Poland had separate courts, armies, and finances, and were united mainly through the person of the ruler.

Vytautas continued to rebel against his cousin Jogaila, twice receiving help from the Teutonic Order in return for grants of Samogitian lands (1382–1384 and 1390–1392). By 1392 Jogaila was forced to make Vytautas grand duke of Lithuania (1392–1430). While acknowledging Jogaila's suzerainty, Vytautas retained much independence in his rule over the grand duchy, whose territory he expanded almost to the Black Sea.

By medieval standards Lithuania was a Christian state after 1386, since its ruler had converted. In 1387 Jogaila traveled to Lithuania with priests, who conducted a public baptism at which crowds of nobles and commoners were sprinkled with holy water and given some rudimentary instruction in Christian prayers. Jogaila built a cathedral in Vilnius and established the diocese of Vilnius. Vytautas even declared himself a crusader against the Mongols.

However, the Teutonic Order did not forget that Vytautas had granted it Samogitia during his rebellions against Jogaila, and continued its attacks, aided by guest crusaders because the Samogitians were still unbaptized. In 1413, Grand Duke Vytautas and King Jogaila traveled to Samogitia to establish Christianity, destroying a pagan shrine and bringing priests to preach to the assembled populace. When this did not halt the order's attacks, Jogaila and Vytautas complained to the Council of Konstanz, which was convoked in 1414 to settle the claims of two rival popes, but also considered various controversies. A Polish and Lithuanian delegation pressed the council to condemn the war on Lithuania, and in 1416 presented to the council a delegation of baptized Samogitians as proof that the crusade was no longer necessary. So effective was this lobbying effort that two council delegates were sent to help the bishop of Vilnius to baptize Samogitia, although the council did not settle the rival claims of the Teutonic Order and Lithuania over possession of Samogitia.

Mass baptisms were begun in Samogitia in the fall of 1416 and continued in January 1417. The diocese of Medininkai was established the same year, and its first bishop was Matthew, a priest living in Vilnius, who was probably of German origin but spoke Lithuanian and was chosen by Vytautas. The last pagan state in Europe was officially pagan no more. The Teutonic Order and the grand duchy of Lithuania on 27 September 1422 concluded the Peace of Melno, which conceded most of Samogitia to Lithuania and set borders that would last for centuries. The crusade in the Baltic had finally ended.

The Crusade against Lithuania

The main sources for our knowledge of the crusading wars against Lithuania are papal letters, documents of the Teutonic Order, and above all the chronicles of Henry of Livonia (Henricus Lettus), Peter von Dusburg, Wigand von Marburg, Hermann von Wartberge, Nicolaus von Jeroschin (a translator of Dusburg's chronicle who added detail of his own), Guillaume de Machaut, and various other German and Polish chronicles. There is also an account of an expedition into Lithuania in the autobiography of Emperor Charles IV, while poets (such as Geoffrey Chaucer) and chroniclers of many nationalities also mention wars in Lithuania.

The basis of the crusade against Lithuania seems to have been the papal bulls and privileges issued for the Teutonic Order's wars in Prussia, which were then applied to Lithuania

by the order and its guests. There are no papal bulls granting crusade indulgences to those who fought in the wars against the Lithuanians in the fourteenth century. In this sense, the Lithuanian crusade lacked a legal basis. Yet it is quite clear that the Teutonic Knights, and the knights from all over Europe who flocked to their aid, thought of the Lithuanian wars as a crusade. Pope Alexander IV in 1259 had granted the order the right to give absolution from excommunication to those who came to help it fight the infidel. This may have been publicly interpreted by the order as the right to grant indulgences to all those who fought in its wars. When Grand Master Heinrich Dusemer had this privilege recopied in 1347, it could only have been to present a justification for the Lithuanian crusade, since by then the Prussians had long been conquered. Certainly Western sources as well as the order's own chroniclers often referred to the knights who came to their help as "pilgrims," in other words, crusaders. Whatever the popes intended, by the time that crusades to the Holy Land were no longer viable, the knights of the West were obviously determined to consider service in the Lithuanian wars as crusading that brought honor and spiritual merit.

What was the nature of this warfare? Most notable was its persistence: there was fighting almost every year from 1283 to 1406. Since the war was conducted mostly as a series of raids and sieges of forts or towns, neither side managed to crush its enemy completely.

The Teutonic Order was initially better armed, but the Lithuanians bought and captured weapons, invited foreign armorers and weapon makers to live in Lithuania, and were soon abreast of the latest military technology, including siege machinery and cannons (the latter by 1382). Though the Teutonic Knights were better at cavalry charges, the heavily forested or swampy Lithuanian terrain did not lend itself to many battles on horseback. The knight brethren of the order were few in number, and had to rely on auxiliary infantry drawn from sometimes rebellious conquered peoples or once-pagan allies who could prove treacherous.

Most fighting took the form of raids by both sides into the enemy's territory, in which the goal was not battle but the devastation of crops, the killing of peasants, and the taking of women and children as prisoners to be used as slaves or serfs. Foreign crusaders were distracted from the rather unpoetic nature of this kind of warfare by huge banquets and ceremonial exchanges of gifts hosted by the Teutonic Knights.

Ceremonial exchanges and even invitations to banquets could also take place between enemies. The Lithuanian rulers, their relatives, and the high nobility soon learned to utilize the conventions of medieval Western warfare: exchange and ransom of prisoners, the use of marshals, and the making of truces. Respect and even friendship sometimes developed between Christian crusaders and Lithuanian pagans who fought each other over many decades. But these more civilized relations were limited to nobles, while both sides slaughtered commoners without compunction.

Forts or castles were built by the Teutonic Order and the Lithuanians to guard river routes and control territories. Lithuanian Iron Age hill forts (artificial or natural hills fortified by stockades and ditches) had by the mid-thirteenth century become wooden castles. In the fourteenth century there were stone and brick castles at Vilnius, Trakai, Kaunas, Lida, and Medininkai, and many more in the Slavic areas of the grand duchy. Both sides soon had siege machinery, but this cannot have been totally effective, since the Teutonic Knights often relied on capturing forts by treachery among the defenders.

Several major battles, however, did take place. At Saulė on 22 September 1236, the Order of the Sword Brethren was defeated by the Samogitians. Master Folkwin and forty-eight knight brothers were killed, and the weakened Sword Brethren were subsequently incorporated into the Teutonic Order. At Durben on 13 July 1260, Samogitians and Curonians defeated the Teutonic Knights, killing Burchardt von Hornhausen, the master of Livonia, and 150 knight brethren. The great Prussian revolt of 1260 was one of the results.

Grand Dukes of Lithuania in the Period of the Crusades

Mindaugas	(king from 1253) c. 1240–1263
Treniota	1263–1264
Vaišelga	1264–1267
Shvarno	1267–1269
Vytenis	c.1295–c.1316
Gediminas	1315/1316–1341/1342
Jaunitis	1344–1345
Algirdas	1345–1377
Jogaila	1377–1381
Kęstutis	1381–1382
Jogaila (again)	1382–1392
Vytautas	1392–1430

The Livonian branch of the order was again defeated by Lithuanians, this time under Grand Duke Traidenis, at Ōsel on 16 February 1270, when the Livonian master, Otto von Lutterberg, was killed, along with fifty-two knight brethren. In 1279 an army led by Livonian Master Ernst von Rassburg penetrated into Lithuania almost to Kernavė and the patrimonial lands of Traidenis. Yet the Teutonic Knights retreated and were attacked and defeated by the Lithuanians by the River Dvina near Ascheraden (mod. Aizkraukle, Latvia) on 5 March 1279. Rassburg and up to seventy knight brethren were killed, and the order's flag captured. As a result, Semgallians under the rule of the order revolted. On 1 June 1298, Grand Duke Vytenis defeated an army of the Livonian branch of the order, killing Bruno, master of Livonia, and twenty knight brethren near the River Toreida. An army sent from Prussia came to the rescue, and inflicted a severe defeat on the Lithuanians near Neuermühlen (mod. Ādazi, Latvia) on 29 June 1298, killing thousands.

At Strėva near Trakai on 2 February 1348, the Teutonic Order defeated a large army led by Grand Duke Algirdas that included troops from the Slavic principalities of the grand duchy. As a result, the Lithuanians were not able to defend the fortress of Veliuona, which was destroyed by the Teutonic Knights later that year. At the siege of Kaunas (March 1362), the Teutonic Knights burned the Lithuanian castle of Kaunas, which guarded the river Nemunas (Memel) in Lithuania, and captured Duke Kęstutis's son Vaidotas. Near Rudau (mod. Mel'nikovo, Russia), on 18 February 1370, the order defeated the army of Lithuania, inflicting great losses. Grand Duke Algirdas and Duke Kęstutis were forced to flee for their lives, and afterward no longer attacked Teutonic Order forts on the Nemunas. The final great engagement was the battle of Tannenberg or Grunwald (mod. Stębark, Poland) on 15 July 1410, when the combined forces of Poland and Lithuania, headed by King Jogaila and led into battle by Grand Duke Vytautas, thoroughly defeated the Teutonic Order. This battle is widely believed to have begun the decline of the order.

Lithuanian Paganism and its Effect on the Crusades

Although some relics of paganism lingered in every country in Europe, the Lithuanians alone preserved a pagan state until 1387. Their religion is hard to reconstruct because contemporary accounts are rare and later ethnographers recorded peasant folk beliefs rather than the state religion.

All sources agree that the medieval Lithuanians had

sacred perpetual fires, sacred trees (especially oaks) and forest groves, as well as “wise men” and probably “wise women” (Lith. *žyniai* and *žynės*) who performed rites and made prophecies. Various animals (especially snakes) were reported as sacred in later sources. Horses were messengers of the gods’ will and guardians of the dead. The gods demanded sacrifices (usually foodstuffs, bulls, or goats, but occasionally a hapless war prisoner), helped in divining the future, and assured an afterlife, for which food, horses, and weapons were cremated with the wealthy dead.

The deities whose worship survived in Lithuania into modern times seem to constitute a typical Indo-European pantheon, with a possible admixture of elements from an older earth-goddess religion: Perkūnas, the powerful god of thunder; Gabija, the goddess of fire; Mediena, the goddess of the forests and of animals; Žemyna, the earth goddess; Giltinė, the goddess of death; Velnias, the god of the underworld and of fertility; and Laima, the goddess of luck. The sun, the moon, and the morning star were probably objects of worship. There were many sacred places: a grove, for example, or a hill or a field near a stream, or an isolated boulder with strange markings.

What was the effect on the crusaders of encountering this religion? The more educated Christian clerics may have been aware of the similarities of the Balts’ religion to that of ancient Rome, and thus viewed it as not wholly alien; this point of view is noticeable in the chronicle of Peter von Dusburg, a priest of the Teutonic Order. Yet even he seems to shudder with horror when he writes of the Old Prussians that they worshipped “even toads” [Peter von Dusburg, *Chronik des Preußenlandes*, ed. Klaus Scholz and Dieter Wojtecki (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984), p. 102], an animal associated in Western iconography with the devil and witchcraft. Probably most crusaders found the pagan religion repellent and a symbol of the “otherness” of the Lithuanian enemy. Most horrifying was the threat of becoming a human sacrifice, burned alive to please the pagan gods. This danger can only have reinforced the Teutonic Knights’ self-image as martyrs and victims, and increased the brutality characteristic of both sides in this crusade.

On the other hand, we should note that two of the main chroniclers of the Teutonic Order, Herman von Wartberge and Wigand von Marburg, hardly mention religion, Christian or pagan. They report pagan funerals as an interesting event and pagan sacrifices of Teutonic Knights as a type of

war crime, and present no religious justification for the order’s wars. Certainly the merits of killing pagans were used to recruit Western chivalry to the crusade in Lithuania, and the glory of fighting for God appears in the guests’ chroniclers, such as Guillaume de Machaut describing the expedition of John of Luxembourg, king of Bohemia, to Samogitia in 1329. But the Teutonic Order’s complaints about this king baptizing and then freeing thousands of pagan prisoners make clear that the order did not even pretend to missionary zeal.

—Rasa Mažeika

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Liturgy of the Crusades

The religious rites that were particular to the crusading situation, from the proclamation of the First Crusade in 1095 up to the sixteenth century, comprised various forms. They included single rites (usually within a definite liturgical field, such as pilgrimage, war, and knighthood); composite rites (consisting of single elements received from several fields and fused together into integral rites); and sets of complete rites (pertaining, usually, to several fields). These rites could be personal, in that they sustained the crusader’s progress on his journey, and communal, in cases where crusade-related rites were performed by collectivities in the field or in the crusaders’ home countries.

Rites of Inception

The inception of a crusading journey was solemnized through two rites: the new practice of “taking the cross,” mainly spontaneous and informal, and the traditional ritual of the pilgrim’s departure, which by 1099 was common and regular. They delineated two kinds of inception. The rite of taking the cross established the status of the would-be crusader, whereas the rite of the pilgrim’s departure initiated the actualization of that potentiality. Formal services in church for taking the cross, and departure services that combined the separate rites of the pilgrim’s departure and the taking of the cross, appeared by the late twelfth century and were performed alongside the traditional rites.

Taking the cross, an innovation commonly attributed to Pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont (1095), consisted in attaching the sign of the cross to clothing or armor. This

rite remained largely informal during the twelfth century and to some extent in the thirteenth. Many crusaders seem to have “crossed themselves”: whereas the frequency of “self-crossing” terminology expressed the volitional and determinant role of the individual, it also reflected the prevalence of that practice. Although would-be crusaders usually received the cross from clerics and in ecclesiastical venues, it was also given by secular persons and in nonecclesiastical contexts (for example, Bohemund of Taranto distributed crosses to his soldiers during the siege of Amalfi in 1096).

No regular formal ceremony of taking or giving the cross is documented prior to the late twelfth century, and the public venues described are often characterized by disorderly ecstasy and inspired improvisation. Taking the cross was perceived as a public pledge to fulfill the crusading vow, but its largely informal makeup weakened the prospects of its enforcement. Explicit promises (documented vow attestations, though, were extremely rare), sworn oaths, and formal rites for taking the cross were therefore devised in order to secure implementation. Some of the new formal rites were very elaborate, especially those that attached the service of “crossing” to the sacrament of confession and penance and to a votive Mass.

The traditional rite of pilgrimage inception was generally practiced on the crusader’s departure in his parochial church. He confessed, received penance, took part in an appropriate votive Mass (for example, the Mass for Those on the Road), and received his pilgrim’s scrip (satchel) and staff kneeling in front of the altar; these were blessed in a special service that comprised psalms, prayers, and formulas of blessing. The more evolved forms of this rite combined the two services of inception (pilgrimage as well as “crossing”) and provided the departing crusader with his cross in addition to the scrip and staff. Some of the ceremonies were quite elaborate: the Lincoln Pontifical service comprised no less than four psalms and four prayers, the imposition formulas of scrip and staff, a separate blessing of the cross, and a formula for its imposition, and it concluded with the Mass for Those on the Road and two after-Mass prayers for the crusaders.

Increasingly popular were sets of rites that combined rituals of pilgrimage, knighthood, and Christian kingship. In these sets, the traditional rites of “crossing” and of the pilgrim’s departure were supplemented with rites of penance (a corollary of the pilgrimage ritual), of the just war, and of the pre-death ritual. When King Louis VII of France left on

the Second Crusade, he visited several holy men in Paris and a leper asylum, kissed and adored the relic of St. Denis at the abbey of Saint-Denis, and received the banner of St. Denis from above the altar along with his scrip and staff. John of Joinville adopted an essentially similar set: on the eve of his departure he assembled his vassals and settled all disputes with them; he received his scrip and staff at the hands of a Cistercian abbot on the day of his departure, then went on foot, barefooted and in his shirt, and visited several places of pilgrimage where he adored holy relics. Only then did he proceed on his way to his port of embarkation.

These rites declared the meanings of the crusade in a liturgical mode through the spoken word and in symbolic gestures, objects, and performance; their subtexts and implied allusions were often explicated by nonliturgical sources. On the most basic level they defined the crusade as an Imitation of Christ, the ultimate self-sacrifice of the martyr in total love and service of God. This idea was transmuted into the notion of pilgrimage, that is, the pilgrim's journey as an encapsulating enactment of the ideal Christian life perceived as a permanent combat with the ancient foe and as a penitential, ascetic progress from sin to salvation in the heavenly Jerusalem. It was further transformed into the practicable Jerusalem pilgrimage and, finally, into the Jerusalem pilgrimage as a crusade.

Combat in the service of God was seen as predominantly spiritual and only secondarily as martial and directed against worldly foes, while ascetic progress was realized in a penitential journey that culminated in the mimetic and redemptive visit to Jerusalem, a prefiguration of the heavenly city of salvation. The primacy of pilgrimage in this complex is best illustrated by the prevalent contemporary opinion that a crusader's vow was deemed fulfilled only after he had visited the holy places or died as a martyr on the way.

Rites of Crusading Warfare

Crusaders on the road required ordinary and extraordinary formal rituals. The first category comprised the communal celebration of the cycles of liturgical time, ordinary rites applying to the individual (for example, penance, unction of the sick, and extreme unction), and rites that related specifically to the journey (for example, the invocation *Veni creator spiritus* [Come, creator spirit] to secure propitious wind on the first hoisting of sails). The second consisted of liturgical remedies for unexpected emergencies and particularly grave crises, such as when exceptional liturgical and disci-



The Crusader's return. Relief from the Abbey of Belval, perhaps in commemoration of the return of Hugh I of Vaudemont (d.1154). (Erich Lessing/Art Resource)

plinary measures were taken to purge the crusading host from corruption, as during the siege of Antioch in 1098. There was no shortage of clerics equipped with portable altars, books, and vestments to administer these rites, as most crusading expeditions consisted of distinct contingents that were served by their own clerics according to their liturgical uses.

The liturgy of crusading warfare was grounded on war liturgies that had been regularly practiced in the Byzantine Empire and by Western armies since the Carolingian era, and also comprised innovations introduced by the crusaders. A battle was often preceded by various rites: fasts, penitential processions, almsgiving, the sacrament of penance, and the communion of the Eucharist. When crusaders entered the field they were accompanied by clerics in white stoles, who circulated among the combatants, bearing

crosses and relics; they made the sign of the cross (often on crusaders' foreheads), gave blessings, and promised plenary indulgence and remission of sins to those who would fall in the battle. The bishops did the same for the commanders and preached before them, while clerics in the base camp, dressed in their priestly vestments, prayed continuously for the combatants. This pattern appeared also in atypical operations: on the eve of his landing at Damietta (1249), Louis IX of France commanded the crusaders to confess and make preparations as before death and heard the Mass for Those at Sea before he armed himself. While the crusaders were going down to the assault boats, they were blessed by the legate, and the whole flotilla was led by a boat flying the banner of St. Denis.

During fighting, formal collective war liturgy gave way to informal individual practices. Combatants made use of apotropaic objects such as the sign of the cross attached to clothes and armor or painted on foreheads, consecrated arms and war banners, relics carried on the person or attached to weapons, and scriptural quotations engraved on swords. Combatants also knelt down and prayed for succor, made vows in desperate situations, and appealed to Christ, Mary, angels (such as the Archangel Michael), and patron saints (such as the military saints George, Demetrius, and Maurice).

Formal liturgy reclaimed the battlefield once the fighting was over: clerics administered to the wounded and the dying the sacraments of unction of the sick and the viaticum, identified the dead, and gave them a full Christian burial. Rites of thanksgiving for victory were sometimes practiced on the spot, as when the crusaders took the beach at Damietta (1249). The same spirit of thanksgiving inspired the more elaborate victory ceremonies, but they were designed, in addition, as either rites of conquest and religious conversion or rites of triumphal homecoming. Trophies of victory were occasionally deposited in churches (for example, the standard of the vanquished Muslim amir in the Ascalon campaign of 1099). Permanent victory commemorations were introduced into the liturgical calendars not only of the churches involved, but also abroad, as with the liberation celebrations of Jerusalem, Acre, and Damietta.

In their innovations, the crusaders harked back to biblical war rites: the procession that encircled Jerusalem in July 1099 echoed Joshua's march around Jericho, whereas the silver trumpets made for the Second Crusade corresponded to those produced for Moses. Battle-cry and banner usually

formed the semiliturgical sign of a military contingent, but the First Crusade broke with this tradition. Although the crusaders marched into battle behind the banners of their individual leaders, they adopted a single, common battle cry: *Deus vult* ("God wills it"), regularly shouted twice (or thrice, according to some sources) by the entire army with one voice. Contemporaries saw this as an expression of unity and a repudiation of "proud diversity," and they were certainly right as to its rationale. It went, however, against the grain of the common military ceremonial, and subsequent crusades reverted to particular battle cries.

Crusading clerics in the field prayed mostly from common prayer books and used generic prayers traditionally said during war and crisis, but they also innovated, trying for specificity through the naming of protagonists and by adapting generic texts to particular events and situations. Such prayers related to events in a more direct mode, in contrast to general prayers, which required explication. A set of original war prayers composed during the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221), for example, contains a prayer that calls upon God's power over wind and water in relation to the fighting in the Nile Delta with its seasonal rises and falls, two others that invoke miracles of fire in the specific context of harassment by fire during the siege—one of which supplicates "liberate us from that fire and from the hands of the sinful Saracens"—and finally, a prayer that beseeches: "Look at our true faith . . . in the cause of which we have assembled in this alien land, and do not let us perish at the hands of the cruel heathens" [*Gesta Obsidionis Damiate*, ed. Reinhold Röhrich, in *Quinti belli sacri scriptores minores* (Geneva: Fick, 1879), pp. 82–83, 98–99].

A striking example of such specification can be seen in a thanksgiving prayer said after the victory at Dorylaion in 1097. Composed of five heavily edited verses from *Exodus* (15:11, 6, 7, 9, 13, in this order), it concludes: "Now, Lord, we know that you carry us in your strength unto thy holy habitation, that is unto your Holy Sepulchre" [*Robert Monachi historia Iherosolimitana*, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux*, 5 vols. (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1844–1895), 3:763].

Support from the West: Common Liturgical Practices and Dedicated Rites

Liturgical activity in support of crusades during the twelfth century related to the catchment area of any given crusade and was usually of short duration. However, from the loss

of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187, sustained crusading agitation produced an intense liturgical activity throughout Europe that actually outlasted crusading to the Holy Land and continued well into the sixteenth century. This activity consisted of two types: single practices (mainly of penance) performed either singly or in sets, and dedicated rites, mostly connected with the celebration of Mass.

Penitential practices employed in the cause of the crusade consisted of fasts (a bull in 1187 enjoined on all Christians a five-year Lent-like fast on Fridays as well as abstention from meat on Wednesdays and Saturdays), sumptuary regulation of dress, chastisement, and almsgiving. The most conspicuous and participatory penitential practice was the procession: clergy and laymen chanting litanies, responses, and prayers marched toward a church, usually on Fridays, where an appropriate Mass (for example, *Salus populi*) was celebrated. The participants were given indulgences. Cloistered communities held their processions indoors; the Cistercians, for example, usually went in a procession to the high altar every Friday after “mournfully” chanting the seven penitential psalms and litanies, then held a special service and celebrated a *Salus populi* Mass.

Other practices involved the celebration of Mass in the cause of the Holy Land: its time was fixed for the ninth hour, bells were rung in its course, and people outside the church knelt and said the Lord’s Prayer. Several gestures were expected of the congregation inside: stooping with humility whenever Christ’s name was mentioned, kneeling, and prostration. Exceptionally, relics were shown to the public, as in 1191, when relics of SS. Denis, Rusticus, and Eleutherius were exhibited at the abbey of Saint-Denis in France in order to promote public intercession for the Holy Land and the crusade of King Philip II Augustus.

A liturgical innovation after 1187 was the Clamor for the Holy Land, a sequence of psalms, versicles, and prayers. The first such Clamor, which appeared in London in 1188, was interjected into the Mass between the *Pater noster* and the *Agnus Dei* and consisted of Psalm 78, several versicles, and a prayer, all said in prostration. With time, the Clamor evolved into more elaborate and expanded forms (with additional psalms, versicles, and prayers as well as alternative and additional objectives) and became a permanent component in both the Mass (that is, the celebration of the Eucharist) and the divine office (the recitation of prayers at fixed times during the day). The original London Clamor was a temporary seven-day program of seven daily Masses, each

one anchored on a different psalm and on the traditional Good Friday prayer for the emperor (*Omnipotens sempiterna Deus in cuius manu*). It was subsequently simplified by reducing the sequence of seven daily Masses to one daily Mass: twelve different forms of such Clamors survive. Another contemporary Holy Land Clamor, anchored on Psalm 78 and on a specific Holy Land prayer (*Deus qui ad nostre redemptionis*), evolved in connection with both Mass and office. It was practiced quite extensively, but its use declined after the thirteenth century.

The dominant Holy Land Clamor was promulgated by Pope Innocent III in 1213 in a drive to promote a new crusade. Anchored on Psalm 78 and a different prayer for the Holy Land (*Deus qui admirabili*), it was promulgated again by Pope Innocent IV in 1245, received into the pontifical of William Durand, and practiced universally. It acquired new versicles and prayers in the process, until it was reformed by Pope Nicholas III (1280) and Pope John XXII (1322 and 1328) from a crusade service to a general supplication for the church. One of its more durable variants was the Sarum Use permanent mass Clamor with its numerous strains. At the height of its evolution, it made intercession for the liberation of the Holy Land and for bishop and king with an expanded complement of three psalms, three prayers, and (usually) eight versicles, all aligned on these three objectives. It was abolished in the sixteenth century.

Whereas the Clamor interrupted the normal performance of the Mass, another approach consisted in manipulating entire Masses. Votive Masses, because of their essentially intercessory nature, were particularly appropriate for this purpose, and at least eight such Masses were performed in the cause of the Holy Land, either singly or in various sequences: the Masses of the Holy Ghost, St. Mary, the Angels, the Holy Cross, and the Holy Trinity; the Mass in Time of Tribulation; the Mass for Any Necessity; and the Mass for the Intercession of the Saints.

Regular Masses were converted into crusading Masses by adding three dedicated prayers to the regular prayers of the Collect, the Secret, and the Postcommunion. Some eight local triple sets of this kind are known, of relatively limited diffusion and duration. In 1308 Pope Clement V launched a new version of the old triple set *Contra Paganos* anchored on the prayer *Omnipotens sempiterna Deus in cuius manu*, among other preparatory measures for a new crusade, and that set served the church in numerous crusades and conflicts until the twentieth century. It was immensely popular, because as

a generic crusading set it was compatible with an almost unlimited range of “crusades.” The last Holy Land triple set to be decreed by the Curia was the *Deus qui admirabili* set promulgated by John XXII in 1331–1333 in anticipation of a new crusade.

The Trental of St. Gregory, a typical English rite based on a triple set, is documented from the late fourteenth century. It converted the ten major feasts of the year into an instrument of intercession for the liberation of the Holy Land, on the one hand, and of designated souls from Purgatory, on the other, by the insertion of a triple set of special prayers into three Masses said on the Octaves of these feasts, making thirty Masses in all. Practiced widely in England, it evolved into more complex forms combining the Mass with the office, personal piety with priestly mediation, and flexibility with rigidity in the actual practice of the Trental until it was finally abolished in the sixteenth century. A similar manipulation of regular Masses involved the insertion of a prayer calling for the liberation of the Holy Land into the Bidding Prayers, the series of intercessory vernacular prayers said in parish churches during the Sunday Masses. Documented in many parts of Europe from the late thirteenth century and well into the seventeenth, the easy accessibility of the Bidding Prayers to lay worshippers made them a potentially important vehicle of propaganda for the crusade.

The complete crusading Mass, designed to serve the cause of the crusade through the alignment of the Mass’s variable components with the crusade and its objectives, represents the perfect form of this kind of intercessory eucharistic service. Grounded on the traditional war Mass *Contra paganos* and on the Holy Land triple sets of Mass prayers, numerous Masses of this type were created and practiced in the late Middle Ages. Mostly generic rather than specific and hence applicable to any non-Christian or heretical adversary targeted by a crusade, many of them were nevertheless specifically aimed at the Turks (recognized as the main enemy since the First Crusade and always perceived in relation to the Holy Land, even when they were seen as a threat nearer home). A handful were specifically dedicated to the liberation of the Holy Land.

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See also: Liturgy of Outremer

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Liturgy of Outremer

The liturgy of Outremer is only partially known: few of its liturgical books survived and even fewer are available in critical editions. What does survive documents the liturgy of Jerusalem and, in particular, that of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, rather than Outremer as a whole. It is reasonable to assume that one can make deductions about the liturgy practiced elsewhere in Outremer, but this assumption has not yet been proven. Frankish rule in Jerusalem was commonly perceived in reference to liturgy, that is, in its ability to secure for Christians freedom of worship in the city and to restore the old glory of Christian Jerusalem with its magnificent churches, its often-imitated cultic practices, and its

congregation comprising both locals and pilgrims. An ambitious program of church building was started immediately after the crusader conquest of 1099, and by the middle of the twelfth century Jerusalem boasted some of the finest churches in Latin Christianity.

The Franks were neither clear nor consistent as to the type of cultic practices they wished to restore. They rejected the Greek liturgical calendar that they found in place, perhaps because it reflected the long history of Jerusalem as a Greek Orthodox city and see, with its commemorations of Byzantine saints, rulers, ecclesiastics, relics, and events. The Franks wiped the slate clean and introduced the Roman calendar, which was practically universal and almost free of local accessions prior to 1099. They added the commemoration of a group of six early bishops of Jerusalem (four from the second century and two from the third), borrowed from the Martyrology of Usuardus, and adopted one local commemoration, the feast of St. Sabas. More importantly, they added several new feast days: the Liberation of Jerusalem and the Dedication of the Holy Sepulchre (15 July), the Transfiguration (6 August), and, following the discovery of relics in Hebron in 1119, the Feast of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (6 October).

The stationary liturgy was restored, however, to its original extensive format. After three centuries of steady contraction under Muslim persecution, Christian Jerusalem celebrated its major feasts once more in a mobile program that covered the city and its environs. It was richer than its fifth-century model: whereas the old program was centered on the Holy Sepulchre and avoided the Temple Mount, the Frankish stationary liturgy moved around two foci, the Holy Sepulchre and the Temple of the Lord. Public processions escorted the patriarch to and from the church that was designated for the principal service of the day, delimiting the liturgical space of Jerusalem and highlighting the authority of the patriarch over such major churches as the Temple of the Lord, Mount Zion, and the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. The public cult had two principal seasons: the winter season, comprising Christmas (25 December), Epiphany (6 January), and the Feast of the Purification (2 February), and the spring season, consisting of the Annunciation (25 March), Holy Week with Easter, Ascension, and Pentecost. The Palm Sunday procession and the Holy Fire miracle on the Paschal Vigil were especially popular with pilgrims.

It was a highly historicist liturgy, which concentrated on the correct reenactment of the events it commemorated. Its

calendar set great store on exact historical dates, for example, those of Noah's entrance into and exit from the Ark (20 May and 27 April, respectively) and that of the Resurrection (27 March); on the exact identification of the sites of commemorated events; and on the adaptation of the common liturgy to reflect this unique verity. These practices included, for example, the insertion of the words *in hoc loco* (in this place) to the common prayer said on the Feast of St. Peter in Chains, celebrated in the crypt of the church dedicated to that event, as well as the pointing to the Sepulchre and insertion of the word *hoc* into the Resurrection prayer ("the Lord has risen up from [this] sepulchre") in the Resurrection Mass celebrated in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Historicism accounted for a more comprehensive view of sacred history and the rites that depended on it as a two-leveled complex, integrating the prefigurative level of the Old Testament with the upper level of the New Dispensation in the New Testament and its Apocrypha. Many churches and memorials were dedicated to one level only; others combined the two. The Temple of the Lord, for example, an original Frankish church with no Christian antecedents, commemorated a rich sequence of events from the creation to the apostles, among them many of the central events of both testaments.

Direct, mimetic participation of the worshipper in public cult rites such as the Palm Sunday procession was one way of realizing the potential of historicism, and it was further enhanced under the influence of pilgrims, massively present in all public cult events in the city of Jerusalem. The public cult in the city offered them numerous opportunities to follow in Christ's footsteps. By taking part in the Holy Week program, for example, they followed Christ in the last days of his life. But formal, public rituals could not entirely satisfy the average pilgrim's needs and preferences. The Latin Church responded, first, by making some formal services more easily accessible and personalized, and, second, by generating (and tolerating) a complementary set of rites that were geared to the pilgrims' demand for a more intense communing with the holy, mainly through additional mimetic and declarative practices (such as immersion in the Jordan or stoning the tomb of Jezebel in Jezreel) and sensory contact with relics, usually by gazing adoringly at an exhibited relic, but also by touching and kissing relics. The same disposition incited pilgrims to acquire relics, or at least second-order relics, such as blessed water and oil and souvenirs of all sorts; in the pilgrims' home countries these were consid-

ered as proofs of an accomplished vow and carriers of prophylactic and medicinal powers. Historicism also underlay the pilgrim's quest for the sources of Christian liturgy in Holy Land sanctuaries, a case of liturgy celebrating liturgy. Melchizedek was believed to perform occasionally the Sacrament of the Eucharist on Mount Tabor; the origin of the *Magnificat* and the *Benedictus* was ascribed to the great church in Ain-Karim, and the two canticles were chanted there for pilgrims; and the supposed autograph text of the Lord's Prayer was treasured in the Church of Pater Noster on the Mount of Olives, where pilgrims kissed the full text inscribed under the altar.

An important place was given in liturgical ceremonies to the relic of the True Cross. It was often brought forth in situations of grave danger to the kingdom: between its discovery in 1099 and its disappearance in 1187, it was carried on no fewer than thirty-one military expeditions. Even the choice of day for doing battle had liturgical implications: in 1105 King Baldwin I delayed battle until a Sunday to allow time for the patriarch to arrive with the relic from Jerusalem and thus to maximize the profit from its use on the day of the Resurrection. The True Cross also figured in rites of conquest and religious conversion or rites of triumphal homecoming. The first type consisted of a solemn procession that took possession of conquered territory, as after the capture of Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel) in 1153, when the victorious army of Jerusalem entered the city with the True Cross at its head, made for the principal mosque (already converted into a church) singing hymns and canticles, and attended Mass. Triumph-like processions of the second type took place in Jerusalem: the returning army was met outside the city gates by the cheering populace, made its way to the Holy Sepulchre, and returned the True Cross amid chants of *Te Deum laudamus*.

Diversity was a distinctive feature of liturgy in Jerusalem. Christian worship was practiced there openly in a variety of languages and creeds to an extent unknown in Latin Europe. It was a unique phenomenon, for it involved not only toleration of heterodoxies formally condemned by the Latin Church but also their acceptance within Latin churches, and it allowed European pilgrims to compare competing traditions and rites. Visitors from the West did not fail to notice it: John of Würzburg, apart from being left undecided about the conflicting claims of the Latins and the Syrian Orthodox concerning Mary Magdalene and the sites dedicated to her in Jerusalem, enumerated twenty-one nations and languages

all possessing churches and worshipping in twelfth-century Jerusalem. The full import of this diversity is appreciated when one takes into account the relative tolerance shown toward the religious practices of Muslims and Jews, and the occasional ritual convergence between Christians, Muslims, and Jews in sanctuaries common to the three faiths.

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Livländische Reimchronik

See *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*

Livonia

Medieval Livonia was a land on the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea that was conquered in the course of the Baltic Crusades. At the end of the twelfth century, missionaries from the archbishopric of Bremen, along with merchants and crusaders



Main regions and settlements in Livonia

from North Germany, established a foothold in the land of the Livs, a Finnic people living along the lower reaches of the river Dūna (Latv. *Daugava*). As this nucleus gradually expanded, the name that originally derived from the Livs was extended to cover all of the Christian-controlled territory corresponding to modern Estonia and Latvia, including in the broader sense also the Danish possessions in North Estonia.

A conglomerate of small states developed in Livonia in the course of the thirteenth century. The largest was that of the Teutonic Order, which after 1346 comprised well over half the territory of Livonia. Considerably smaller were the independent territories of the archbishopric of Riga (mod. Riga, Latvia) and its suffragans, the bishoprics of Dorpat (mod. Tartu, Estonia), Ösel-Wiek (mod. Saaremaa and Läänemaa, Estonia), and Curonia, or Courland. North Estonia belonged to the kingdom of Denmark until 1346, when it was ceded to the Teutonic Order. It was these institutions that exercised political power in Livonia after the conquest, although vassals (i.e., secular knights) grew in importance in the course of time. The first corporation of vassals was formed in Danish Estonia in the thirteenth century, while in the bishoprics the vassals' corporations gained political weight during the fourteenth–fifteenth centuries. The Teutonic Order administered most of its territories through its own officials and thus had relatively few vassals. The population of Livonia has been estimated very roughly at 200,000–350,000 in the thirteenth century and approximately 650,000 in the middle of the sixteenth century [Heldur Palli, *Eesti rahvastiku ajalugu aastani 1712* (Tallinn: Teaduste Akadeemia Kirjastus, 1996), pp. 12–17, 21–47].

The Crusader Conquest

By the end of the twelfth century, what was to become Livonia was inhabited by Finnic peoples (Estonians and Livs) and Baltic peoples (Lettgallians, Selonians, and Semgallians). Among the Curonians, both language groups were represented. All of these peoples were largely pagan; although the Greek Orthodox form of Christianity had spread to some extent among the social elite of the principalities of Gerzike (mod. Jersika, Latvia) and Kokenhusen (mod. Koknese, Latvia) on the river Dūna, there was no Roman Catholic community or church organization.

In the 1170s the Danish church had evidently made efforts to send missionaries to this area: one Fulco was named as bishop of the Estonians, but there is no evidence that he actually visited Livonia. The eastern Baltic lands were of

interest to Western traders as well as churchmen, as important trade routes connecting western Europe and Russia passed through them. At the beginning of the 1180s, an Augustinian canon called Meinhard (d. 1196) arrived with some German merchants at the lower reaches of the Dūna. He was ordained as bishop of Livonia (or Üxküll) in 1186 by the archbishop of Bremen and along with the merchants and Livs, started to build the first stone castles in Livonia. The second bishop, the Cistercian Berthold of Loccum, fell in battle against the pagan Livs in 1198. It was only during the time of Bishop Albert of Buxhövdén (1199–1229) that the arrival of crusaders became a regular event. In 1201 he also established Riga, the first town in Livonia. The leading role in these first crusades to Livonia was played by a small group of knightly families from North Germany, from whose ranks the bishops and their vassals were largely drawn.

The crusades to Livonia were supported by papal privileges. In 1171–1172, Pope Alexander III promised total absolution of sins to those who fell in battle against the Estonians and other pagans. Around 1195 a companion of Meinhard, the Cistercian Theoderic, obtained a crusade bull from the pope, as did Berthold later. In 1199 a crusade bull of Pope Innocent III gave to the crusaders in Livonia the same indulgence as was given to crusaders to the Holy Land. In order to facilitate the recruitment of crusaders, Bishop Albert consecrated Livonia and the cathedral built in Riga in 1202 to the Virgin Mary, a consecration that was approved by Innocent III in 1215.

During the first decade of the thirteenth century, Livonia became an accepted alternative destination to Outremer for crusaders from northern Europe. In 1202 Theoderic founded the military Order of the Sword Brethren (Ger. *Schwertbrüder*), which soon became an independent political power alongside the bishop and also a competitor in conquering territories. By 1207 the Livs were subdued and Christianized; the decisive factor was that one of their leaders, Caupo (d. 1217), had sided with the crusaders. The Lettgallians also supported the Christians of Riga against the Estonians in a new series of campaigns that began in 1208. The crusaders subdued the Estonian provinces one by one, gaining the upper hand over the Russian princes who were competing with them in conquering the territory. The attempts of the Estonians to form large coalitions against Rigans ended with defeats in battles at Treiden (mod. Turaida, Latvia) in 1211 and Fellin (mod. Viljandi, Estonia) in 1217.

The Danes sent a military expedition to Ösel in 1206 and

started to conquer northern Estonia in 1219, while Johan Sverkersson, king of Sweden, launched an unsuccessful campaign to western Estonia in 1220. The conquest was hampered by a dispute between German and Danish crusaders over the division of the conquered territories, which was further complicated by territorial disagreements between the church of Riga and the Sword Brethren. However, after an Estonian uprising in 1222 the crusaders were able to subdue mainland Estonia in 1224 and the island of Ösel in 1227. The papal legate William of Modena visited Livonia in 1225–1226 with the task of settling the territorial disputes, but despite his decisions the Germans from Riga conquered all of the Danish territories.

In the southern part of Livonia, the Rigans occupied Kokenhusen in 1209, while Gerzike was forced into vassalage by the bishop of Riga. Eastern Lettgallia was finally subdued during the second half of the thirteenth century. Wars with varying success against the Selonians, Semgallians, and Curonians lasted almost up to 1300. In 1236 an army of the Sword Brethren, crusaders, and Russian troops from Pskov was severely defeated by Semgallians and Lithuanians at the battle of Saule. Thereafter the greatly weakened Sword Brethren were incorporated into the Teutonic Order, which also took over the Sword Brethren's territories. According to the Treaty of Stensby, concluded in 1238, the king of Denmark regained possession of North Estonia. The Christian powers conquered all of what became southern Livonia during the second half of the thirteenth century, despite a major defeat at the battle of Durben (1260) by the Samogitians and Curonians and repeated uprisings in Semgallia, Curonia, and Ösel. However, the southern and southeastern borders of Livonia were never quite secure.

Government and Institutions

Livonia had no internal political unity. In 1245–1246 Pope Innocent IV nominated Albert Suerbeer (d. 1273) as archbishop of Prussia, Livonia, and Estonia. His ecclesiastical province included all the Prussian and Livonian bishoprics except Reval (mod. Tallinn, Estonia), which remained a suffragan of the Danish archbishopric of Lund. The bishops (except for the bishop of Reval) were secular rulers in their own territories, but also exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the lands of the Teutonic Order. The main institution through which the various Livonian states could cooperate was the diet (Ger. *Landtag*) where the order, the bishops, their vassals, and the larger towns were represented.

Although the diets came to be held quite regularly from the fifteenth century on, they did not develop into a centralizing institution, and the enforcement of their resolutions relied upon the will of the participants.

From the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, the main feature of Livonian politics was the Teutonic Order's attempts to achieve hegemony and the resistance to this on the part of the archbishop of Riga, the Livonian bishops, and the town of Riga. Both sides repeatedly took their claims to the papal Curia, and there was intermittent warfare between 1297 and 1330. As a result of these wars, in which the enemies of the order were supported by the pagan Lithuanians, the town of Riga fell under the control of the Teutonic Order. In 1343–1345 there were revolts among the native Estonians in the Danish territories and in Ösel-Wiek; in the course of suppressing the uprising, the Teutonic Order occupied North Estonia, which the king of Denmark sold to it in 1346. After further disputes, the cathedral chapter of Riga was incorporated into the Teutonic Order in 1393–1394. In 1396 the order conquered the bishopric of Dorpat, the last center of resistance in Livonia; the next year a meeting of all the Livonian powers held at Danzig ratified the order's superiority in Livonia.

From the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Teutonic Order started to suffer defeats in its territories in Prussia, while the Livonian branch of the order was embroiled in internal conflicts. This situation enabled the cathedral chapter of Riga to return to its former Augustinian rule in 1426–1451, but thereafter it was again incorporated into the Teutonic Order. A treaty concluded in 1452 at Kirchholm (mod. Salaspils, Latvia) divided the lordship of the town of Riga between the order and the archbishop. This did not end the disputes or occasional outbreaks of violence over the ownership of the town.

The Teutonic Order in Livonia, like its branch in Prussia, was frequently at war with pagan Lithuania. Until the Christianization of Lithuania (1386), the order's wars were considered as crusades, and Livonia was also visited by European noblemen who took part in the order's campaigns. During the thirteenth century, attempts were also made from Livonia to expand the sphere of influence of the Roman Catholic Church eastward into the lands inhabited by the pagans of Votia and Ingria, leading to conflicts with Novgorod, in whose territory these lands lay (1240–1241, 1256). However, despite occasionally recurring military conflicts between Livonia and the Russian principalities, there was a

balance of power on the eastern border of Livonia between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.

This situation began to change during the second half of the fifteenth century, when the institutions of the crusade began to be used against schismatic Russia. In 1443–1448 the Teutonic Order fought against Novgorod, making use of the income from indulgences originally intended to support the union of the Latin and Greek churches. The pope approved this diversion of funds only after the end of the war. The balance of power changed when Novgorod became subject to the principality of Muscovy in the 1470s. In 1481 a Russian army raided the Livonian interior, something that had not happened for over a century. As the fear of the Russian threat developed in Livonia, a plan was made to gather money for war against Russia by the sale of indulgences. The preparations were time-consuming, and while Wolter von Plettenberg, Teutonic master of Livonia, fought against the Russians in 1501–1502, in Livonia money was gathered for the crusade against the Turks. However, Plettenberg was able to achieve some minor victories, and in September 1502 he won a victory near Lake Smolino. Thanks to the diplomatic support of Lithuania, an armistice was concluded in 1503 between Livonia and the Muscovite grand duke Ivan III Vassilevich, which basically recognized the status quo. The peace was prolonged with minor changes until 1554. After the end of the war, the pope permitted two campaigns to sell indulgences to support the war against the Russians. These campaigns were held in Livonia but mainly in Germany in 1503–1506 and 1507–1510.

In Livonia the preaching of the Reformation began toward the end of 1521, and over the next decades the Livonian towns became Protestant, while the nobility remained Roman Catholic until the first half of the sixteenth century. The Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order became independent after the secularization of the order in Prussia in 1525. Relations between the archbishop of Riga and the order were now oriented toward preserving a balance of power. In 1555 Archbishop Wilhelm von Brandenburg (1539–1563) named Christoph of Mecklenburg as his coadjutor and allied with the king of Poland, whereupon the order occupied the archbishopric in 1556. In 1557 the order concluded peace with the archbishop, at the price of acknowledging the coadjutor and forming an alliance against Muscovy with the Polish king. This alliance was insufficient to stave off the threat from the Russians, who had been making political demands on Livonia since 1554. In 1558 a Rus-

ian army conquered the eastern part of Livonia, including the bishopric of Dorpat. Under the last Teutonic master of Livonia, Gottfried Kettler, the possessions of the order and archbishop came under Polish control, and in 1561–1562 the order in Livonia was secularized. The town of Riga finally passed to Poland in 1582. The bishoprics of Ösel-Wiek and Courland were sold by their last incumbent, Johannes von Münchhausen (died c. 1583), to the king of Denmark, who gave them to his brother Magnus, duke of Holstein (1540–1583). The town of Reval and the North Estonian nobility surrendered to the king of Sweden in 1561.

Society and Economy

The crusader conquest of the thirteenth century brought about significant changes in the social structure and economy of Livonia. The native elite partially perished in the fighting, but mainly they were forced down to a lower social level. Only a small number were included in the new social system. The new elite that was constituted after the conquest was made up of ministerial knights and gentry who came mostly from north Germany and Westphalia and founded Livonian vassal families. They often held possessions in different parts of Livonia at the same time.

Celibacy was the rule in the Teutonic Order and the other ecclesiastical institutions that ruled Livonia, and so there was continuous immigration from Germany to provide personnel. In the Livonian branch of the order, very few men were of Livonian origin; the majority of recruits came from Westphalia. The movement of people between the Prussian and Livonian branches of the order was small, although Prussians were strongly represented among the clergy of the order in Livonia. The cathedral chapters of the Livonian bishoprics were mainly drawn from members of the Livonian vassal families and from the sons of burgesses. Most of the cathedral canons originated from Livonia, while those of Prussian and north German origin were strongly represented. The secular clergy was apparently also mostly of Livonian origin. As the Teutonic Order tried to gain hegemony in Livonia, it attempted to influence episcopal elections and to appoint its own priests to the bishoprics. After the thirteenth century, most of the bishops came from Livonian vassal or burgess families; the exception was Reval, where the bishops were Danes until 1350. In the fifteenth century, three-quarters of the Livonian bishops were sons of burgesses, and almost half of them were of Livonian origin.

New institutions that arrived with the crusaders were the

Christian Church and the towns. The first monastery to be founded in Livonia was the Cistercian house of Dünamünde (mod. Daugavgrīva, Latvia), around 1205. It was followed by other Cistercian, Dominican, and Franciscan foundations. The network of rural parishes remained underdeveloped, especially in the southern areas. The foundation of towns in the thirteenth century was connected with merchants of Visby, Lübeck, and other German towns who were interested in good positions on the trade routes that led to the Russian centers of Novgorod, Pskov, and Smolensk. The basis of town life in Livonia was the Lübeck law-code, which was in force in Reval and the smaller towns of North Estonia, and the Riga law-code in the other Livonian towns. Only Riga, Reval, and Dorpat had any political importance; the small towns remained de facto under the control of their lords. The larger towns were also members of the Hanseatic League, with the exception of Narva, whose membership was blocked by Reval. In Hanseatic diets (Ger. *Hansetage*), the Livonian towns were represented by Riga, Reval, and Dorpat. In the sixteenth century, the percentage of town dwellers was about 7–10 percent in Livonia. About 10,000–15,000 people lived in Riga, 7,000–8,000 in Reval, and 5,000–6,000 in Dorpat [Norbert Angermann, “Die Bedeutung Livlands für die Hanse” in *Die Hanse und der deutsche Osten*, ed. Norbert Angermann (Lüneburg: Nordostdeutsches Kulturwerk, 1990), p. 98]. The population of the other towns was rarely more than 1,000. Besides the fortified towns there were many market villages (Ger. *Hakelwerke*) in Livonia, some of which had some urban features: Leal (mod. Lihula, Estonia), for example, did not possess urban law, yet it had a Cistercian nunnery, citizens, burgomaster, and a guild.

The elite of the Livonian towns was formed by the merchants who originally came from North Germany and Westphalia. Although a minority, they exercised power in community administration and monopolized the most prestigious and profitable professions (merchants and craftsmen with workshops). The majority of the urban inhabitants originated from among the local rural population. The key sign of social status was the linguistic difference between speakers of Middle Low German on the one hand and Estonian, Latvian, or Livic on the other: the upper classes were called “German” (Ger. *Deutsch*) and the common people “non-German” (Ger. *Undeutsch*). In Reval and Hapsal (mod. Haapsalu, Estonia) there was some population of Swedish origin, while in Narva and Dorpat there were some inhabitants who had come from Russia.

In Livonia, unlike Prussia, there was no colonization by German peasants; there was a number of Swedish peasants on the northern and western coasts of Estonia. Non-German peasants were the economic support of the social and political system. In the course of time their legal situation continuously deteriorated, especially from the fourteenth century onward. Through the medieval period the Latin texts use the word *neophyti* (neophytes) for the non-German peasants, and although the actual influence of Christianity on the medieval rural population has traditionally been considered as being relatively slight, some recent studies emphasize the substantial adoption of Christianity in its syncretistic popular forms. Peasants were burdened with payments in both cash and kind, as well as labor services. In the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries, peasants were still obliged to carry out military service, but later this obligation was replaced by payments. The peasantry was divided into many legal and social categories. The majority were *hakenburen*, among whom duties increased and serfdom developed most quickly. A small group of peasants, who may in part have been descendants of the preconquest elite, held their farms according to feudal tenure and were obliged to perform military or postal services. The development of serfdom by the end of fifteenth century led to conflicts between the nobility and the towns, which were keen to have immigration from the countryside to provide workmen. In the towns the deterioration of the situation of the non-Germans occurred in conjunction with the development of serfdom in the countryside.

The basis of the Livonian economy was agriculture. The production of cereals (rye) was the main agricultural activity, although their export was largely local and sporadic until the fourteenth century. It was only from the end of the fifteenth century that cereals became an important and regular export article to western Europe. The economic role of the larger towns was to act as intermediaries in the Russian trade of the Hanseatic League. Until about 1400, Riga was the main trade center for Lithuania, as Reval was for Finland and the regions around the Gulf of Bothnia. The main import article was salt, most of which was taken on into Russia. Other articles exported to Russia were cloth, luxury goods, wine, precious metals, and salted fish. The main goods exported to western Europe were furs and wax. By the fifteenth century at the latest, the Hanseatic *Kontor* (commercial enclave) in Novgorod was under the actual control of the Livonian towns. The *Kontor* was closed during the crisis in Livonian-

Russian relations in 1494–1514 and did not regain its earlier importance after that. The medieval trading system of Livonia was transformed during the time of continuous warfare in the second half of the sixteenth century, when many Livonian towns were ruined and non-Hanseatic trade and shipping became dominant in the Baltic region.

—Anti Selart

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Livonian Masters

The Livonian master, or master of Livonia, was the highest official of the Teutonic Order in its possessions in Livonia. The Livonian branch of the order came into existence when the Order of the Sword Brethren was incorporated into the Teutonic Order in 1237. In that year the Teutonic grand master, Hermann von Salza, installed Hermann Balk, the order’s master in Prussia, as master in Livonia in order to complete the union of the two orders. Thereafter the two territories usually had separate masters, although occasionally the two offices were held concurrently.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Livonian masters were normally elected at the general chapters of the order held at Acre (mod. ‘Akko, Israel), at Marburg in Germany, or in Prussia. From the fourteenth century onward, the practice was for the master to be chosen from among the officials of the order in Livonia; from the election of Dietrich Torck (1413), masters were elected in Livonia and presented to the grand master for confirmation. This practice was modified in the 1430s, when the Rhineland and Westphalian factions of the order in Livonia presented two candidates to the grand master. From the election of Johann Waldhaus von Heerse in 1470, double elections ceased, and only one candidate was presented for confirmation. In the sixteenth century the practice of electing a successor (Ger. *Koadjutor*) during the reign of the master started.

According to the statutes of the order, the master had to take counsel from his officials. The most important of these were the marshal of Livonia, the commanders of Reval (mod. Tallinn, Estonia), Fellin (mod. Viljandi, Estonia), Marienburg (mod. Aluksne, Latvia), and Goldingen (mod. Kuldīga, Latvia), and the bailiff of Jerwia, and it was from this circle that masters tended to be elected. The central residence of the master was in Riga, although the masters had to travel throughout the territories of the order in Livonia to execute their power, and in cases of open conflicts with the town of Riga, the masters would reside in the castle at Wenden (mod. Cēsis, Latvia). By the end of the fifteenth century, the masters travelled considerably less in the territory of the other officials of the order, and Wenden became their principal residence.

When the Teutonic Order was secularized in Prussia, the grand mastership slipped into the hands of the German master (Ger. *Deutschmeister*), despite the ambitions of the Livonian master Wolter von Plettenberg. In 1562 Master

Masters of the Teutonic Order in Livonia

Hermann Balk	1237–1238/1239
Dietrich von Grüningen	1238/1239–1241
Andreas von Felben	1241
Dietrich von Grüningen	1242–1246
Heinrich von Heimburg	c. 1246/1248
Andreas von Felben	1248–1253
Anno von Sangerhausen	1254–1256
Burkhard von Hornhausen	1257–1260
Werner	1261–1263
Konrad von Mandern	1263–1266
Otto von Lauterberg	1267–1270
Walter von Nordeck	1270–1273
Ernst von Ratzeburg	1274–1279
Konrad von Feuchtwangen	1279–1281
Wilhelm von Nindorf	1282–1287
Konrad von Hattstein	1288–1289
Haold/Halt	1290–1293
Heinrich von Dincklage	1295–1296
Bruno	1296–1298
Gottfried Rogge	1298–1307
Gerhard von Jork	1309–1322
Reimar Hahn	1324–1328
Eberhard von Monheim	1328–1340
Burkhard von Dreileben	1340–1345
Goswin von Herreke	1345–1359
Arnold von Vietinghoff	1360–1364
Wilhelm von Friemersheim	1364–1385
Robin von Eltz	1385–1388
Wennemar von Brüggenei	1389–1401
Konrad von Vietinghoff	1401–1413
Dietrich Torck	1413–1415
Siegfried Lander von Sponheim	1415–1424
Cisse von der Rutenberg	1424–1433
Franke Kirschorf	1433–1435
Heinrich von Böckenförde Schüngel	1435–1437
Heidenreich Vincke von Overberg	1439–1450
Johann von Mengede Osthof	1450–1469
Johann Waldhaus von Heerse	1470–1471
Bernd von der Borch	1472–1483
Johann Freitag von Loringhoven	1485–1494
Wolter von Plettenberg	1494–1535
Hermann von Brüggenei Hasenkamp	1535–1549
Johann von der Recke	1549–1551
Heinrich von Galen	1551–1557
Wilhelm von Fürstenberg	1557–1559
Gotthard Kettler	1559–1562

Gotthard Kettler followed the example of Prussia, and secularized the order in Livonia, but because of defeats in war was able to establish himself only in Curonia, which he henceforth ruled as duke.

–Juhan Kreem

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Livonian Rhymed Chronicle

A Middle High German verse chronicle, completed soon after 1290, dealing with the conquest and conversion of Livonia by German missionaries, crusaders, and military orders and representing one of the most important sources for the Baltic Crusades.

The *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle* (Ger. *Livländische Reimchronik*) is generally held to have been composed by an anonymous knight brother of the Teutonic Order, thus constituting the earliest extant example of the order’s literary output. It survives in one complete manuscript (MS. Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, cpg.367, fifteenth century) and fragments, an older manuscript (MS. Riga, Bibliothek der Livländischen Ritterschaft) having been lost subsequent to the publication of Leo Meyer’s edition.

The text consists of 12,017 lines in rhyming couplets. The language shows a few traces of Middle Low German influence and draws on earlier oral tradition and documentary sources as well as eyewitness testimony. After an introduction describing the Creation and the beginnings of the Christian faith, the narrative commences with an account of the German mission to Livonia at the end of the twelfth century. The remainder of the text is structured according to the periods of office of the masters of the Sword Brethren, and thereafter, the Livonian masters of the Teutonic Order, and describes the wars fought by the orders to defend and extend their territories in Livonia against pagans and Orthodox Russians, concluding with a description of the conquest of Semgallia in 1290. With its vocabulary and imagery showing influences of the vernacular heroic epic, the narrative gives a relentlessly secular, grim, and unapologetic view of war against the heathen.

–Alan V. Murray

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Llull, Ramon (1232–1315/1316)

Theologian, philosopher, missionary, and crusade theorist.

Ramon Llull (or Lull) was born in Mallorca, where he lived an essentially secular life until the age of about thirty, having married and had two children. Around 1263 he experienced an inner conversion and resolved to devote his life to God's service, particularly to mission to the Muslims. Over the following years he studied philosophy and theology and learned Arabic from a Muslim slave on Mallorca.

Llull first preached to the local Muslim population, but eventually, between periods of residence in Mallorca, Montpellier, Aragon, and Italy, and various other travels, he undertook three preaching missions to North Africa. In 1292 he took ship at Genoa and travelled to Tunis, but was soon arrested and expelled by the Hafsīd authorities. In 1307 he sailed to the more westerly port of Bougie (mod. Bejaïa, Algeria); there he was able to conduct a theological disputation with Muslim scholars, but was imprisoned for six months before being released. In 1315, now at a very advanced age, he again went to Tunis, where he was able to remain undisturbed by being more circumspect in his missionary activities than he had been previously. Yet when he travelled to Bugia for a second time, he was recognized and stoned by the irate populace, dying soon afterward.

Llull was a profound thinker and a prolific writer. He is known to have written well over 200 surviving works, plus others now lost, ranging through theology and doctrinal debate, mysticism, philosophy, romance, and poetry as well as an autobiography. These included several detailed proposals for crusades, which were refined and revised in the course of Llull's long life, and often conceived in conjunction with schemes for missionary activities.

In 1294 he presented to Pope Celestine V a petition (*Petitio Raymundi pro conversione infidelium*) that pleaded for invasions of other Muslim countries as well as a crusade to the Holy Land. He put forward a similar proposal (*Petitio pro recuperatione Terrae Sanctae*) to the next pope, Boniface VIII, which stressed the need for a peaceful preaching mission to the infidels and study of their languages as well as a crusade. These ideas were elaborated in the *Liber* (or *Libellus*) *de Fine* (1305), which discussed the organization, finance, and strategy for a new crusade. In it Llull proposed that the different military orders should be combined and placed under the authority of a leader of royal blood (to be chosen by the papacy), who would also act as the commander of the expedition. In his discussion of strategy, he considered the merits of the different possible theaters of war in the Mediterranean region that would ultimately offer the best route to the Holy Land. He argued that the best course was to attack the Moors in Spain and then to invade North Africa, but also stressed the importance of using Rhodes and Malta as naval bases.

The ideas of the *Liber de Fine* resurfaced in the *Disputatio Raymundi Christiani et Hamar Saraceni*, a discussion of the relative merits of Christianity and Islam in debate form, written during Llull's imprisonment in Bugia. A later treatise, the *Liber de acquisitione Terrae Sanctae* (1309), proposed a multipronged attack on the Muslim world, in which the Iberian and North African campaign, as originally elaborated in the *Liber de Fine*, was to be augmented by an expedition going to Anatolia via Constantinople, and a naval attack on Egypt. Llull was able to present many of his ideas to the pope and leaders of the church in person at the Council of Vienne (1311–1312), which spent considerable time discussing plans for a new crusade.

—Alan V. Murray

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Louis II of Bourbon (1337–1410)

Louis II, duke of Bourbon, was the leader of the Mahdia Crusade (1390) to North Africa.

Louis was the son of Peter I, duke of Bourbon, whom he succeeded in 1356, and a brother-in-law of King Charles V of France, who was married to his sister Jeanne. After the king's death (1380), Louis became the favorite counselor of his nephew Charles VI. In 1387 Louis was made universal heir to his aunt Marie, titular Latin empress of Constantinople and widow of Robert of Taranto, prince of Achaia. From this time Louis cherished dreams of becoming prince of Achaia and king of Cyprus and of going to Jerusalem.

When the Genoese asked for French help against the pirates of Tunisia at the end of 1389, Louis was chosen to lead the crusade. The French forces departed from Marseilles and joined the foreign troops at Genoa. The fleet, under the command of a Genoese admiral, set sail at the beginning of July 1390 and stopped at the little island of Conigliera in order to refresh the troops and to decide on the plan of operations. The Genoese imposed their choice of objective: the city of Mahdia (mod. al-Mahdiya, Tunisia). The landing took place at the end of July on the isthmus between the town and the mainland.

Although the crusaders occupied a good position to blockade the city, they were not suitably equipped to besiege such a well-fortified place. A war of skirmishes, glorified by the Latin chroniclers, followed. After a failed assault, the Genoese and Tunisians negotiated a ten-year truce, which was accepted by Louis, despite the fact that the crusaders' aim had been to make conquests. The siege had lasted for two months. On the return journey, the Genoese used the crusade army to secure several places in Sardinia and Italy, arguing that pirates were victualing there. Louis was unwilling to land at Genoa, and returned home via Marseilles.

—Jacques Paviot

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Louis VII of France (1120–1180)

King of France (1137–1180) and one of the leaders of the Second Crusade (1147–1149).

Louis VII succeeded his father, Louis VI, on 1 August 1137, within days of his marriage to Eleanor, duchess of Aquitaine. The early part of his reign proved unstable. Louis maintained his father's hostility toward their leading vassal, Thibaud IV, count of Blois, brother of King Stephen of England, and campaigned against him in 1142–1143. Further instability arose out of disputed ecclesiastical elections, in which Louis consistently resisted papal wishes, determined to prevent the erosion of his royal prerogatives by Pope Innocent II.

Louis announced his desire to make a pilgrimage on Christmas Day, 1145, at Bourges, to little enthusiasm, but things changed when Queen Melisende of Jerusalem wrote to Pope Eugenius III asking for help following the fall of the city of Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey) to Nūr al-Dīn in 1144. Louis responded to Eugenius's appeal by summoning an assembly at Vézelay for Easter 1146, where the Cistercian abbot Bernard of Clairvaux preached the crusade with great success. The underfinanced and ill-organized Second Crusade eventually left in 1147, in two main parties, led, respectively, by King Conrad III of Germany and Louis, who was accompanied by his wife. The hostility of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Komnenos to the enterprise heightened the difficulties of the journey (whether or not exaggerated by Louis's chaplain and chronicler Odo of Deuil), as did the failure of the German and French armies to cooperate. After a difficult journey, during which the French suffered defeat at Laodikeia in Phrygia, Louis reached Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey), where he was soon at loggerheads over strategy with Prince Raymond, his wife's uncle. Eleanor took Raymond's part, provoking a lasting breach with Louis. The sub-

Louis VIII of France (1187–1226)

sequent campaign against Damascus was a debacle that saw heavy French casualties. Louis stayed on as a pilgrim before returning home, via a visit to Eugenius III at Rome in October 1149.

A new threat was the rising power of Henry Plantagenet, count of Anjou, which was consolidated when he married Eleanor soon after the annulment of her marriage to Louis. Lacking the necessary resources or the military skill to challenge Henry, Louis was circumscribed in his response, though he would eventually use marriage alliances with Champagne as a means of defense against this over-mighty vassal. His prestige increased dramatically when he supported first Alexander III against Frederick Barbarossa and the antipope Victor IV, and then Thomas Becket, Henry's exiled and eventually (1170) martyred archbishop. During the 1170s, Louis successfully incited the sons of Henry II to revolt against their father, but he was unable to take full advantage of the situation. He died on 18 September 1180 and was succeeded by his son Philip II.

—K. S. B. Keats-Rohan

See also: France; Second Crusade (1147–1149)

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Louis VIII of France (1187–1226)

King of France (1223–1226) and participant in the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229).

The son of Philip II of France and his first wife, Isabella of Hainaut, Louis was active in royal policy from 1212. In 1213 Pope Innocent III threatened to depose King John of England because of the latter's refusal to accept the election of Stephen of Langton as archbishop of Canterbury, and asked Philip to lead a crusade against John as an enemy of the church. At the same time, Louis took the cross, with the aim of joining the Albigensian Crusade in response to an appeal from Simon of Montfort. While preparations were under way, Philip called upon his son to undertake a campaign against John, concluding an agreement with him (8 April 1213) against the eventuality that Louis might gain the English throne, but John's submission of England and Ireland to Innocent as a papal fief prevented Louis's planned crusade. In 1214 Louis successfully defended the Loire Valley against John's forces, which were decisively defeated by his father at Bouvines in late July, freeing Louis for his long-delayed forty days' service in the Albigensian Crusade, for which he left in April 1215.

Louis made a second forty-day crusade in 1219, after the death of Simon of Montfort in 1218 led to renewed instability in the region. The reason for this second crusade was overtly political. Philip and Louis worked hard to incorporate Languedoc into their domains, an aim achieved by Louis as king when he invaded and annexed the region in 1226. At the invitation of opponents of King John, Louis led an expedition to England in May 1216 and soon gained control of eastern England, but John's death in October and the coronation of his son changed the situation and led to Louis's defeat. Officially, his father had not supported his venture, which had led to Louis's excommunication, but unofficially it was another example of the successful partnership between the two. During his short reign as king, Louis VIII did much to consolidate his father's work of expansion. He died on 8 November 1226 and was succeeded by his son Louis IX.

—K. S. B. Keats-Rohan

See also: Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229); France

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Louis IX of France (1214–1270)

King of France (1226–1270) and leader of crusades in 1248–1254 and 1270, both of which were intended to relieve the Holy Land.

The son of King Louis VIII of France (d. 1226) and Blanche of Castile (d. 1252), Louis IX came to the throne on his father's premature death, his mother acting as regent. Louis had reached his majority by the time he first decided to take the cross in 1244. Some chroniclers report that while the king was seriously ill at Pontoise, he vowed to go on crusade to the Holy Land if God cured him. Others state that it was the king's mother, Blanche, who made the oath on her son's behalf, and that Louis then took the vow as his own. The decision was in part a response to a steady deterioration in the position of the Frankish states in Outremer, but Louis was also motivated by more personal reasons. He had been brought up in an atmosphere of religious devotion and was himself a pious man. He heard Mass daily, frequently listened to sermons and lessons, and developed close relations with the mendicant orders. He endowed many religious foundations, was generous in the distribution of alms, and venerated relics: in 1239 he purchased the relics of the Passion, including the Crown of Thorns, from Baldwin II, Latin emperor of Constantinople, and had the Sainte-Chapelle constructed in Paris in order to house them.

Four years elapsed between Louis's assumption of the cross in 1244 and his departure for the East in 1248. This delay was not the result of any hesitation on Louis's part, but of his concern to create the conditions in which the crusade would succeed. He endeavored to achieve peace in the West and unite Christendom in the interests of the expedition and sought to gain spiritual support by righting injustices, soliciting the prayers of the religious orders, and prohibiting those activities that might inspire the wrath of God. He also made meticulous logistical preparations, which included raising money, stockpiling food and arms, and engaging ships to transport the army.

The crusade attacked Egypt and in May 1249 captured the city of Damietta. In April 1250, however, the expedition ended in defeat, and the king and much of his army were captured. After a month of imprisonment, the king was

released and made his way to the Holy Land, where he spent four years rebuilding and refortifying its defenses. Recognizing the Franks' lack of manpower, he left behind a contingent of knights, crossbowmen, and sergeants led by a trusted lieutenant, Geoffrey of Sergines (d. 1269). Louis continued to fund this force until his death in 1270 at a cost of approximately 4,000 livres per year to the royal treasury.

It is unclear to what extent Louis was affected by his experiences of defeat and imprisonment at the hands of the Muslims. Some historians have argued that he was preoccupied by the failure of the expedition and the need to redeem it and that he was convinced that it was his own sins or those of his soldiers that had provoked God's displeasure and thus led to defeat. There is no indication that Louis immediately turned to the organization of a new crusade on his return, but he did adopt a more austere lifestyle and was still concerned by the plight of the holy places. He wore plainer dress, ate simply, and increased his personal devotions. He founded, endowed, or made grants to the religious orders and hospitals that looked after the poor and sick and fostered the presence of Dominicans and Franciscans in his entourage. Louis even considered giving up the crown and entering a monastery. In a wider context, the king sought to eliminate sin from within his realm by legislating against blasphemy and usury, reformed the administration of the kingdom, and strengthened royal justice. On the international stage Louis tried to secure peace, both by reaching territorial settlements with Aragon and England and by acting as an arbiter in the disputes of others. His actions enhanced his personal prestige and that of the French Crown, and both France and Europe as a whole benefited from his efforts.

From the early 1260s the consolidation of Mamlūk power under the sultan Baybars I (d. 1277) posed a new threat to Outremer, though only relatively small contingents left the West to assist the Franks. In 1267 Louis decided to take the cross once more, recognizing that many would follow his example. The crusade did not attract the same numbers as his first crusade had done, but again, Louis made meticulous spiritual and practical preparations to ensure that the army would be both morally and physically well prepared and therefore have every possibility of success. The crusade was intended to relieve the Holy Land, but it was diverted to the Muslim city of Tunis in North Africa (July 1270). Disease soon broke out in the Christian army, and Louis himself was struck down; he died on 25 August 1270, having failed to restore the holy places or to secure the Holy Land.

Low Countries

The king's death was described as saintly and devout by contemporaries, and the procession that accompanied his remains on their journey back to France was attended by miracles. Louis was revered for his political achievements, his personal virtues, and his unparalleled attempts to assist the Holy Land. His life and crusades are well known from the biographical account written by his contemporary, John of Joinville. Louis was canonized in 1297.

—Linda Goldsmith

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Low Countries

From 1096 up until the Burgundian era, the Low Countries were a constant provider of crusaders. At the beginning of the period the southern Low Countries were divided between the kingdom of France and the Holy Roman Empire. To France belonged the greater part of the county of Flanders and smaller counties in Artois (Boulogne, Saint-Pol, and Guînes). To the empire belonged the duchy of Lower Lotharingia, the ecclesiastical principality of Liège, the duchy of Limburg, the counties of Hainaut, Namur, Luxembourg, and Loon, and part of the county of Flanders. The northern Low Countries, which were part of the empire, consisted of the county of Holland, the ecclesiastical principality of Utrecht, and various smaller territories.

The Southern Low Countries

During the First Crusade (1096–1099), important contingents were led by Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lower Lotharingia, and Robert II, count of Flanders. These armies included crusaders from neighboring territories such as Hainaut, Boulogne, Artois, Liège, and Namur. Among their ranks were Baldwin II of Mons, count of Hainaut, Hugh II, count of Saint-Pol, and Baldwin I, count of Guînes, together with his four sons

The Low Countries provided the first two sovereigns of the kingdom of Jerusalem: Godfrey of Bouillon, defender of the Holy Sepulchre (1099–1100), and his brother Baldwin I (of Boulogne), king of Jerusalem (1100–1118). Their elder brother, Count Eustace III of Boulogne, had been designated as Baldwin's successor. However, in 1118 the crown went to Baldwin II (of Bourcq), count of Edessa, who had dynastic links with the Bouillon-Boulogne family, though he was originally from northern France. Yet in 1124 opponents of Baldwin II tried unsuccessfully to replace him with Charles the Good, count of Flanders and cousin of Robert II.

New crusades to the East were preached in 1106–1107, 1120, 1128, and 1139, but a regular and consistent response to these appeals was to be found only in Flanders and in central France. The First Crusade must clearly have set a standard for a crusading tradition in these areas, and Flemings always seem to have been present: in 1107 with the campaign of Bohemund I of Antioch; and in the crusades of 1122–1124 and 1129 with Lotharingians.

During the Second Crusade (1147–1149), one of the largest contingents was that of Thierry of Alsace, count of Flanders. Count Thierry went to the Holy Land on a total of four occasions and was married to Sibyl, daughter of King Fulk of Jerusalem. Hainaut was represented by some prominent individuals, such as Simon, bishop of Tournai-Noyon; Herman, abbot of St. Martin of Tournai; and Goswin, advocate of Tournai. Flemings and Lotharingians took part in the conquest of Lisbon in 1147 and also, with Frisians and crusaders from Holland, in the expeditions against the pagan Slavs beyond the river Elbe.

Thierry's son Philip of Alsace went three times to the Holy Land, once as a participant in the Third Crusade (1189–1192). He died at Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) in 1191. He might have taken a place among the ruling elite of the Holy Land if he had not refused the regency of the kingdom of Jerusalem when it was offered to him by King Baldwin IV. There was a considerable number of crusaders from Flan-



Chapel of the counts of Flanders, Ghent. The cruciform window may commemorate the crusade participation of Count Robert II of Flanders. (Courtesy Alfred Andrea)

ders and Hainaut in the Third Crusade, including the notorious James of Avesnes, lord of Mons and Valenciennes, and numerous other lords. The Flemish-Hainaut contribution to the Third Crusade was threefold: a first group took part in an expedition against the infidels in Portugal and reached the Holy Land by sea; a group with the greatest number of Flemish and Hainaut nobility reached Outremer by land; and a third group, led by Count Philip, brought war engines and considerable financial resources. Even after the count's death, a large Flemish and Hainaut contingent followed King Richard I of England during the campaigns of 1191–1192.

Even the unfortunate Baldwin IX, count of Flanders and Hainaut, had clear intentions to march against Egypt. He ended up, however, as ruler of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, which had been created in 1204 as a consequence of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204). His brother

Henry I succeeded him (1206–1216) and became the only strong ruler among the Latin emperors. Subsequent emperors or regents were dynastically linked to Flanders or Hainaut. Peter of Courtenay was Henry's brother-in-law and successor (1216–1217); Henry's sister Yolande became regent of the empire (1217–1219) and was succeeded by Conon of Béthune. Then Robert of Courtenay, Yolande's son, became emperor, followed by his sister Mary as regent and Baldwin II as emperor (1228–1229). Every ruler of Frankish Constantinople from 1204 to 1229 had clear connections with the Low Countries.

Enthusiasm for crusades diminished thereafter in the Low Countries, with the exception of the crusades of King Louis IX of France to the East (1248–1254) and to Tunis (1270), which saw numbers of participants similar to those of the earliest crusades. The earlier prominence of crusaders from the Low Countries, in terms of both numbers and quality,

seems to have been attained once again. William of Dampierre, titular count of Flanders and son of Margaret of Constantinople; his brother Guy of Dampierre, count of Flanders (1278–1305); and Guy's son William all took part, together with a large Flemish delegation. Knights from Flanders, Hainaut, Brabant, and Holland also took part in the numerous campaigns of the Teutonic Order against pagan Lithuania in the fourteenth century.

Crusaders from the Low Countries not only participated in most or all of the major campaigns but were also prepared to settle in the newly conquered territories. Following the First Crusade, crusaders from the Low Countries became lords of Tiberias (Hugh of Fauquembergues), Hebron (Gerard of Avesnes and Hugh of Rebecques), Ramla (the Fleming Baldwin), Jaffa (Lithard of Cambrai, later Albert of Namur), Nablus (Warner of Grez), Beirut (Fulk of Guines), and Sidon and Caesarea (Eustace Granarius). Among the prominent clerics in the crusader states were Arnulf and Evremar of Choques and William of Mesen, patriarchs of Jerusalem; Baldwin of Jehosaphat, first archbishop of Caesarea; Achard of Arrouaise, prior of the *Templum Domini*; and Baldwin of Boulogne, bishop of Beirut.

After the foundation of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, a significant part of the nobility of Frankish Romania had its roots in the Low Countries, especially in the early period under Emperor Henry. In the main, those nobles who were not Venetian came from Flanders, Burgundy, Champagne, or Lombardy. The Saint-Omer family was one of the most prominent noble families in the Aegean, holding the lordships of Thebes and Passava until 1314. Other Flemings were Thierry of Dendermonde, constable of the empire (1204); Antoine le Flamenc, lord of Karditza (1311); Engilbert of Liedekerke, constable of the Morea in the 1270s; and important clerics such as Warin, archbishop of Thessalonica (1208) and chancellor of the Latin Empire (1216–1222); and William of Moerbeke, archbishop of Corinth (1278–1286). From Hainaut came James of Avesnes, lord of Negroponte (1205); and Florent, prince of Achaia (1289–1297), and his daughter Mathilda, princess of Achaia (1313–1318).

It is thus clear that in the first 100 years of the crusades the greatest number of crusaders from the Low Countries originated in Flanders and Hainaut. Crusaders from the duchy of Lower Lotharingia, a combination of lands covering present-day southern Belgium, Luxembourg, and parts of northern France (the Ardennes), were also a distinct

component of the First Crusade. The duchy of Lower Lotharingia effectively disintegrated in the following years. The duchy of Brabant, created in 1106, contributed to most of the twelfth-century crusades. Duke Godfrey III of Brabant and his counselors Arnold III of Aarschot and Arnold I of Wezemaal were present in the Second Crusade, and Henry I, duke of Brabant, was a participant in the Third Crusade. Duke Henry II took part in the crusade against the Stedinger heretics of northwestern Germany (1234).

Next to these greater lordships in terms of numbers were the county of Namur, the bishopric of Liège, the county of Loon, the duchy of Limburg, and the county of Luxemburg. It is difficult to tell whether the response to papal appeals here was significant, but it can be established at least for some lordships. Neither the count nor the higher nobility of Namur took the cross, although a member of the comital family, Frederick of La Roche, became bishop of Acre, archbishop of Tyre, and chaplain to the royal court of Jerusalem. Nicholas II and Nicholas III of Rumigny were also participants in the Second Crusade. From the bishopric of Liège, Manasses of Hierges became constable of Jerusalem between the Second and Third Crusades. Present in the latter expedition were Rudolf of Zähringen, prince-bishop of Liège; Heribrand of Latour, viscount of Bouillon; and Thierry of Hochstade, count of Daalhem, assisted by numerous vassals. The last time a prince-bishop (Henry) took the cross was during the Crusade of Louis IX of France to Tunis. Count Henry III of Luxemburg took the cross at the same time.

Apart from these participants, there was also Walram III, duke of Limburg and count of Luxemburg and La Roche, who took part in the Third Crusade. A successor of Walram, Duke Henry IV of Limburg, participated in the Crusade of Emperor Frederick II (1227–1229).

The Northern Low Countries

Compared to its southern neighbors, the participation of crusaders from the county of Holland was rather modest, especially in the period of the First and Second Crusades, despite their participation in the crusades against the Slavs. This had to do with the wider political and economic situation in the northern Low Countries, the absence of a strong central authority, and territorial and dynastic disputes between the county and its neighbors.

A more prominent participation in the crusades came with Count Floris III (1157–1190) and his son William I (1203–1222). In the Third Crusade, Floris and William,

along with a major part of the nobility, served with the army of Frederick I Barbarossa, Holy Roman Emperor. Political loyalty as well as dynastic habits must have determined this participation: Floris's father, Count Dirk VI, had been a pilgrim to Jerusalem in 1139, and his mother, Sophia of Reineck, made the journey three times (1139, 1173, and 1176), once accompanied by another son, Otto. She died in Jerusalem and was buried there. William also took part in the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221), in which he distinguished himself during the siege of Damietta in September 1219.

The Fifth Crusade was the most important event for participation from the northern Low Countries. Bishop Otto II of Utrecht was present along with many of the nobility of Holland. This participation was almost equaled during the crusade against the Stedinger heretics, with the presence of Count Floris IV of Holland and Gerard IV, count of Gelre. Between the pilgrimage of Dirk VI (1139) and that of William II (1248), all the counts of Holland took the cross with the exception of the successor of Floris III, Dirk VII. Knights from Holland were also active in the campaigns against the pagan Slavs beyond the river Elbe in the second half of the thirteenth century.

Military Orders

The Templars were granted property in western Europe following their foundation around 1119. Templar brethren were active (perhaps itinerant at first) in Flanders possibly from 1125. Many of the earliest Templars came from a limited area of the kingdom of France and were connected to one another by birth or other ties. Among the earliest was Godfrey of Saint-Omer. In 1127 Hugh of Payns, master of the Templars, was sent by Baldwin II of Jerusalem to the West to mount a new crusade. He can be found in witness lists to grants of land and rights to the Templars in Anjou, Flanders, and Champagne. It is clear that Hugh's presence in Flanders stimulated the crusading spirit there. The Temple had some early houses in Flanders: Ypres (1131), La Haie les Lilles (1134/1136), and Slijpe (1137), but the greatest expansion of the order in Flanders took place around 1200 with the acquisition of properties in Caestre (1183–1201), Cobrieux (1192), Ghent (1200), and Bruges (1202). In Flanders and Tournai the Templars were stronger than in the other territories of the Low Countries. It is difficult to establish an organizational structure for the Templars in the Low Countries. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries four bailiwicks were created for Flanders,

Hainaut, Brabant, and Haspengouw (grouping houses in Liège, Namur, Loon, and Luxembourg).

The earliest donations to the Order of the Hospital in the southern Low Countries were made by the counts of Flanders and Hainaut and the duke of Brabant around 1130. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there were five bailiwicks on which commanderies or houses in the Low Countries depended. In the northern Low Countries and belonging to the Germanic linguistic region was the convent of Utrecht, which was one of the few in the Holy Roman Empire to have a hospital. The convent at Utrecht had been established possibly as early as 1122 and became a bailiwick at the beginning of the fourteenth century. In the southern Low Countries there were four bailiwicks belonging to the French linguistic region: the *chambre magistrale* (magisterial chamber) was Hainaut-Cambrésis, which had properties in Hainaut, Cambrai, and Brabant; the oldest houses were Le Fresnoy (1155) and Ecuclin (1167). Then there were the bailiwicks of Flanders (with the large commandery of Slijpe), Avalterre (which comprised Brabant, Liège, Namur, and Luxembourg), and Haute-Avesnes.

Most of the property of the Teutonic Order was situated within Germany, and most of its members were Germans, but there were two bailiwicks (out of a total of twelve) situated fully in the Low Countries (Biesen and Utrecht) and one partially so (Lotharingia). The *Partes Inferiores* (literally, "Lower Territories," or Low Countries) were an independent circumscription with their own master (Lat. *magister in partibus inferioribus*), who administered the Biesen and Utrecht bailiwicks until the fourteenth century. It was not until around 1300 that Utrecht and Biesen received a clear and efficient structure, although the first donations were made as early as 1220 and the two bailiwicks were in existence as early as 1228, thus predating many of the German bailiwicks of the order. Each bailiwick was composed of commanderies, which were dispersed, in the case of Biesen, over the territories of Brabant, Limburg, Liège, Aachen, and Cologne. By 1400 there were commanderies in the south at Alden-Biesen, Nieuwen-Biesen, Aachen, Remersdorf, Siersdorf, Sint-Pieters-Voeren, Mechelen, Bekkevoort, Bernissem, Liège, and Antwerp, and in the north at Utrecht, Dieren, Gemert, Schelluinen, Leiden, Maasland, Doesburg, Tiel, Katwijk, Nes, Schoten, Ootmarsum, Rhenen, and Middelburg. The foundations in the northern Low Countries, notably Utrecht (1231), also predated the German ones, but there never was a single bailiwick grouping the houses and

commanderies in the Low Countries, largely owing to the usurpation politics of the Koblenz bailiwick. The counts of Holland were important benefactors of the Teutonic Order, which functioned as an outlet for some of the bastards of the Holland dynasty. In Bruges, the Flemish trading center with international connections, the order had a commercial branch, which was largely responsible for the financing of the crusade against the Lithuanians in the fourteenth century. It has been established that in around 1400 up to 35 percent of the commerce of the Teutonic Order in Prussia was with Flanders, which made this region its most prominent trading partner [Henryk Samsonowicz, "De handel van de Pruisische Ordestaat met West-Europa, in *Crux et Arma*, ed. Jozef Mertens (Bilzen: Historisch Studiecentrum Alden Biesen, 1997), pp. 139–153].

Generally speaking, it can be said that from the thirteenth century onward, Flanders, together with northern France, formed the heartland of support for the military orders. Families with a crusading tradition, such as the lords of Saint-Omer in Flanders, were among their greatest patrons.

—Jan Anckaer

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Lübeck

A port in Schleswig-Holstein on the southwestern coast of the Baltic Sea.

The oldest settlement associated with Lübeck dates back to the ninth century, when a Slavic fortress was established some way inland on the river Trave. In the late eleventh century this settlement, known as Liubice (Old Lübeck), became the residence of the Abodrite king, Henry. When Henry died in 1127, parts of his realms were taken over by the expansionist German counts of Holstein and Ratzeburg.

Liubice itself was destroyed in 1138 by the Rugian prince Race, who was fighting for supremacy among the Abodrites. However, the town was refounded in 1143, when Count Adolf I of Holstein established a settlement on a small island further upstream where the rivers Trave and Wakenitz formed a natural harbor. The new settlement became known under its Germanized name, Lübeck. Merchants from Saxony now settled there in great numbers and soon profited from the ideal location close to the Baltic Sea and the trading routes between Scandinavia and the Baltic region. So great was the success of Lübeck that Duke Henry the Lion of Saxony soon found the city to be a threat to his own trade in the region. Consequently, he forcibly took over control of Lübeck in 1159. The following year Henry transferred the bishopric of Oldenburg in Holstein to Lübeck.

The city now became linked to the colonization and Christianization of the western Slavic lands and to the crusades in the Baltic region. When the first German missionaries made their way to Livonia in the early 1180s, they traveled with German merchants who sailed from either Lübeck or Visby on Gotland. The merchants journeyed to the shores of Livonia on a regular basis to trade with the local people, which made them ideal traveling companions for the missionaries. Soon afterward, the mission among the Livonians expanded into regular crusades, with most of the crusaders coming from Germany (notably Saxony, Westphalia, and Frisia) and assembling in the harbor town of Lübeck. Here they acquired ships, weapons, and supplies from local merchants and then set out to Livonia, usually via Visby. The

merchants undoubtedly profited greatly from the crusaders assembling in Lübeck on an annual basis, as they did from the great number of unarmed pilgrims and ordinary travelers (especially from northern Germany and Scandinavia) who used Lübeck as a transit town on their journeys.

In addition to furnishing and manning the ships needed by the crusaders, the people of Lübeck played an active role in the crusades in the Baltic region, often taking the cross. Merchants from Lübeck are also believed to have taken part in the Third Crusade (1189–1192) and may have been involved in the foundation of the Teutonic Order at Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) in 1190, together with merchants from Bremen. The Teutonic Knights later settled in Lübeck, founding a commandery in 1228/1229. At the same time they also took over the priestly services in the Hospital of the Holy Ghost in the town. The Sword Brethren, too, were present in Lübeck; by around 1220 the order had acquired a house in the town.

The merchants of Lübeck seem to have associated themselves fairly closely with the military orders, especially the Teutonic Knights, with whom they went on crusade, and also became involved in founding towns in the newly conquered territories in the Baltic region. The importance of Lübeck for crusading in the north was recognized by the popes, who endowed the town with privileges to protect the port and crusaders using it against any form of violations from neighboring secular powers; nevertheless, on several occasions the kings of Denmark blockaded the harbor of Lübeck in an attempt to gain supremacy in the region. On such occasions the popes intervened on behalf of Lübeck, demanding that the crusaders be allowed to move freely in and out of the city.

In 1226 the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II granted Lübeck the status of an imperial free town (Ger. *freie Reichsstadt*), ending its dependence on the secular powers in the region (notably the Danish kings) and securing favorable political and fiscal privileges for the city (that in some cases lasted until 1937). With regard to trade, Lübeck also orientated itself toward other parts of Europe; its role as an important harbor for crusaders and other travelers undoubtedly added greatly to its wealth and political influence. In the later Middle Ages Lübeck steadily increased its power and influence and soon became the most prominent town of the Hanseatic League, negotiating favorable treaties with the secular powers around the Baltic Sea and the North Sea.

–Carsten Selch Jensen

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Lucera

The Muslim colony of Lucera in Apulia (southern Italy) was a result of the expulsion of the Muslim population of the island of Sicily by Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor and king of Sicily. Between the early 1220s and the mid-1240s, some 15,000–20,000 Muslim families were systematically driven from the island and forcibly established on the Italian mainland in and around the town of Lucera. The Muslims of Lucera were given a degree of self-government and the right to practice their religion freely, but they were isolated and dependent on the kings of Sicily for protection. As a prosperous agricultural community and trade center, Lucera was subject to heavy royal taxation and owed military service in the king's army; its Muslim soldiers thus became an important regular element of the armies of the Staufen dynasty that fought in northern Italy in the 1230s and 1240s.

The fate of the Muslim colony of Lucera was closely bound up with the history of the Italian crusades and the struggle between the Staufen dynasty and the popes. In the 1230s Pope Gregory IX called for attempts to convert the Lucera Muslims, albeit without much success. Until the 1250s, there was no systematic resistance against the presence of a Muslim colony in Apulia, nor did the Lucera Muslims become a particular target of the papacy's rhetorical or military strategies.

This situation changed in the context of the crusade against Manfred, son of Frederick II, launched by Pope Alexander III

Luder von Braunschweig (d. 1335)

in 1255. For the first time, the papacy fully exploited the association of the Staufeu ruler with the Lucera Muslims by accusing Manfred of having concluded an *impiu foedus* (impious alliance) with the enemies of the Christian religion. At the same time, Alexander III drew Lucera into a focal position in papal crusade propaganda by making the destruction of the Muslim colony one of the main strategic aims of the crusade. Similarly, Urban IV and Clement IV used the reference to Lucera as a propaganda element in support of Charles I of Anjou, their candidate for the throne of Sicily. After the battle of Benevento in 1266, the Lucera Muslims initially submitted to Angevin rule, but they turned against Charles in joining Conradin of Staufeu's rebellion two years later. In reaction, Clement IV for the first time called for a crusade specifically directed against the Muslim colony.

After the battle of Tagliacozzo (August 1269), the Angevin crusade army forced the Lucera Muslims to surrender. Rather than destroying the Muslim colony, Charles I merely disarmed the Muslims and followed the Staufeu rulers in exploiting their economic and fiscal potential. They thus no longer played a military role, and their autonomy was curtailed by the Angevin rulers. The end of Muslim Lucera came under Charles II of Anjou, king of Naples, who in 1300 expelled the Muslims from Lucera, sold many of them into slavery, and confiscated their goods.

—Christoph T. Maier

See also: Sicily

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Luder von Braunschweig (d. 1335)

Luder (or Luther) von Braunschweig was grand master of the Teutonic Order (1331–1335) and a great patron of its literary activity.

Luder was born around 1275, the son of Albrecht I Mag-

nus (the Great), duke of Brunswick, and Alessina of Montferrat. Luder was a brother of the Teutonic Order in Prussia by 1297. After the murder of Grand Master Werner von Orseln (1330), Luder was elected as his successor on 17 February 1331. His origins in a German princely family were exceptional among grand masters.

During his mastership Luder sought an understanding with Poland, which had been quarreling with the order over the possession of Pomerelia since 1308–1309. A permanent peace, however, was not concluded. Campaigns against Lithuania ceased during his mastership. Luder initiated much building, notably the cathedral of Königsberg (mod. Kaliningrad, Russia) and the chapel of St. Anne at Marienburg (mod. Malbork, Poland), which was to become the burial site for many future grand masters. Luder also strongly supported literary activities, notably the translation of Peter von Dusburg's Latin chronicle of Prussia into German verse by Nicolaus von Jeroschin. Luder also wrote religious literature himself; a legend of St. Barbara written by him is now lost. He died on 18 April 1335 and was buried at Königsberg cathedral.

—Axel Ehlers

See also: Teutonic Order

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Ludwig III of Thuringia (d. 1190)

Landgrave of Thuringia (1172–1190) and count of Hesse (1180–1190), who died while taking part in the Third Crusade (1189–1192).

Born around 1152, Ludwig III was the eldest son of Ludwig II, landgrave of Thuringia (d. 1172), and Jutta, daughter of Frederick II, duke of Swabia. He was thus a nephew of Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa. When at the imperial diet of Gelnhausen (1180), Henry the Lion, the powerful duke of Saxony and Bavaria, was judged guilty of contumacy and sentenced to surrender his imperial fiefs; the emperor transferred them to loyal princes, and thus the landgrave of Thuringia was enfeoffed with the county palatinate of Saxony. In the following year this fief was handed over to Ludwig's brother Hermann, and Ludwig inherited the county of

Hesse from his brother Henry Raspe III (d. 1180). From then on, Ludwig was one of the most powerful princes in Germany, his sphere of influence reaching from the Rhine in the west to the river Saale in the east of the empire.

In accordance with Pope Gregory VIII's appeal for a new crusade after the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187, Ludwig took the cross and set off for Palestine in June 1189. He did not join the army led by Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, who followed a route from Germany overland through Hungary, Bulgaria, and Anatolia. Instead the landgrave and his entourage embarked at Brindisi in Apulia and arrived in Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon) in September 1189. There the Thuringians took part in the siege of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), where, in view of Ludwig's rank as a prince of the Holy Roman Empire, he was elected as one of the commanders of the crusade army. In summer 1190 he sponsored the construction of one of three wooden towers that were built to break the walls of Acre, but the attack failed. Ludwig did not witness the surrender of Acre in July 1191; sick and presumably seriously wounded, he embarked for home in the autumn of 1190, but died on board ship shortly thereafter on 16 October. His body was buried in Cyprus.

Ludwig's bones were brought home by his entourage and buried in the monastery of Reinhardsbrunn near Gotha, the resting place of his parents and ancestors. The Chronicle of Reinhardsbrunn, whose account of Ludwig's deeds was completed in the late twelfth century, relates that the landgrave was protected by St. George, who supposedly appeared during the battle of Acre on 4 October 1189. Ludwig is said to have been victorious against Saladin after receiving St. George's banner. This was remembered not only in numerous Thuringian chronicles throughout the Middle Ages but also in oral tradition until the early fourteenth century.

–Stefan Tebruck

See also: Third Crusade (1189–1192)

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Ludwig IV of Thuringia (1200–1227)

Landgrave of Thuringia, count palatine of Saxony, and count in Hesse (1217–1227).

Ludwig was the eldest son of Hermann I, landgrave of Thuringia (d. 1217), and Sophie, daughter of Otto I, duke of Bavaria. In May 1223 Ludwig was asked to go on crusade by both Pope Honorius III and Emperor Frederick II. He finally took the cross in May 1224 at a meeting of nobles in Frankfurt am Main. In return, the emperor had to make large concessions: a payment of 5,000 marks of silver to the landgrave as well as free transport and provisioning for him and his entourage during the crusade. Further negotiations with the emperor in the summer of 1226 gave the landgrave the chance to enlarge his sphere of influence in eastern Germany: in case of an early death of Ludwig's nephew Henry, margrave of Meißen and Lausitz, who was underage at that time, the landgrave was to be granted Henry's lands. Ludwig thus achieved one of his most important political aims. The negotiations between Frederick II and the landgrave were supported by Hermann von Salza, grand master of the Teutonic Order. The ties between Ludwig and the order became closer in 1222 when he placed all of its estates in Thuringia and Hesse under special protection.

In June 1227 Ludwig set off on crusade with a large entourage. The composition and course of the expedition were described by Berthold, a chaplain of the landgrave. In early September Ludwig arrived at the port of Otranto in Apulia to embark for the passage to Palestine, but on 11 September he died of a heavy fever that proved fatal for many of the German crusaders.

Ludwig was venerated as a saint in thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Thuringia. His wife Elisabeth, who was on close terms with the Franciscan Order and its ideal of poverty, left the Thuringian court after Ludwig's death and founded a hospital in Marburg an der Lahn in Hesse. She died in 1231 at the age of twenty-four and was canonized by Pope Gregory IX four years later.

–Stefan Tebruck

Ludwig von Erlichshausen (d. 1467)

See also: Teutonic Order

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Ludwig von Erlichshausen (d. 1467)

Grand master of the Teutonic Order (1450–1467) during the Thirteen Years' War against the Prussian Union and Poland.

Ludwig was born into the knightly Franconian family of Ellrichshausen. His early career is unknown. From 1434 he held different offices in Prussia before being elected as grand master on 21 March 1450. The brothers of the order held him to an uncompromising policy against the Prussian Union (Ger. *Preußischer Bund*), the league formed by the Prussian estates that had opposed the order's lordship since 1440. In 1454 the quarrels turned into open war, which was mainly fought by mercenaries. Soon the order was unable to pay its soldiers, and in October 1454, the grand master pawned to them parts of the land, including the castle of Marienburg (mod. Malbork, Poland). In May 1457, the mercenaries sold the castle to Poland, which was supporting the Prussian estates. Ludwig von Erlichshausen fled to Königsberg (mod. Kaliningrad, Russia), which became the order's new headquarters. In 1466 a peace was concluded (the Second Peace of Thorn): the order lost the western parts of Prussia, and the grand master had to take an oath of allegiance to the Polish king. A few months later, Ludwig died (4 April 1467). He was buried in Königsberg cathedral.

—Axel Ehlers

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Lull

See Llull, Ramon

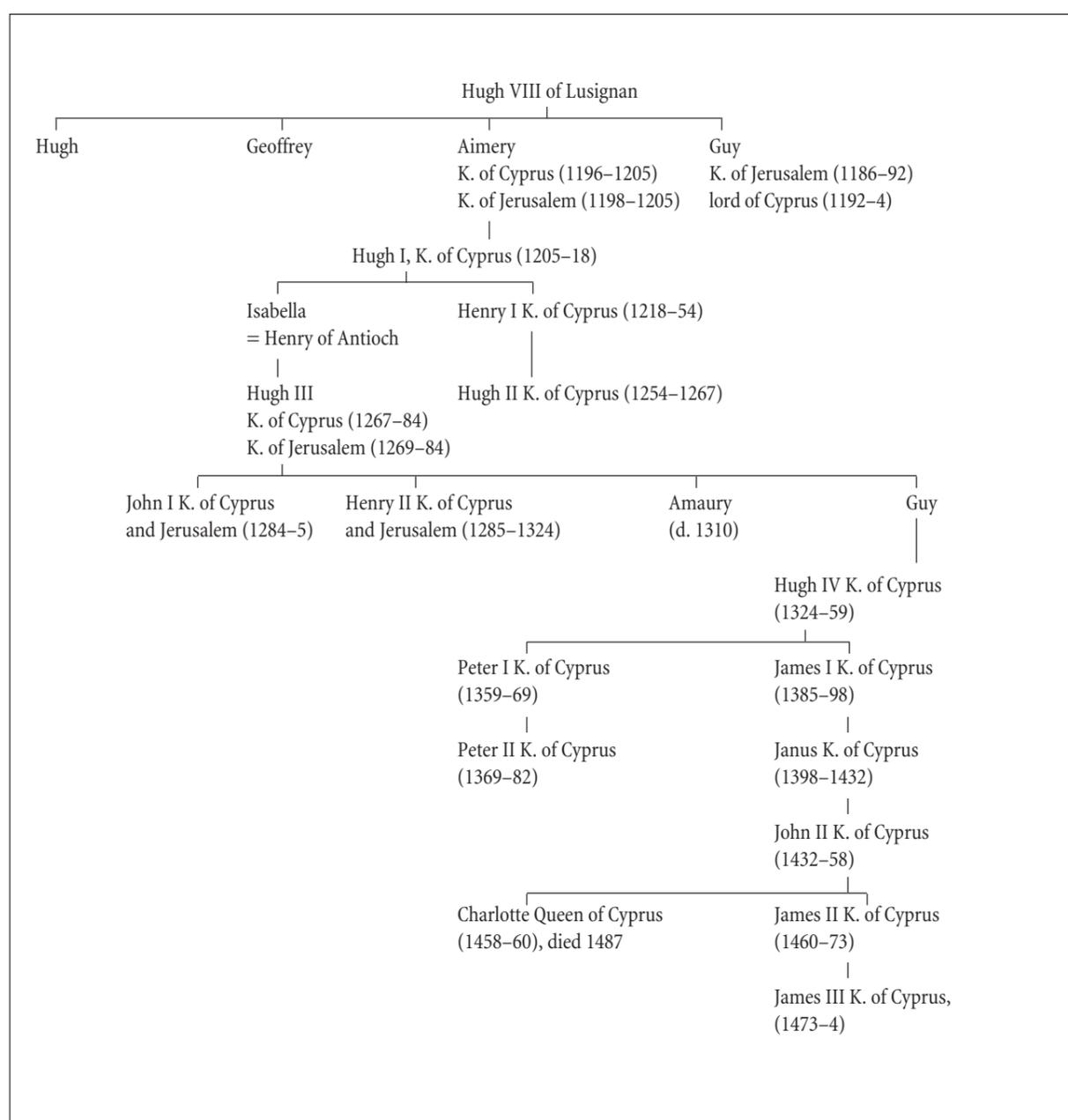
Lusignan, Family

A French family that came to form the ruling dynasties in the kingdoms of Jerusalem (1186–1192, 1197–1205, and 1269–1291) and Cyprus (1192–1474); one branch also occupied the throne of Cilicia in the later fourteenth century.

The lordship of Lusignan lay in the county of Poitou. Its lords were a seigneurial family of some importance who were involved in the crusading movement from its inception. Hugh VI of Lusignan, a half-brother of Raymond of Saint-Gilles, took part in the Crusade of 1101, and in 1102 he fought at the second battle of Ramla. Hugh VII participated in the Second Crusade (1147–1149), and then in 1163 Hugh VIII arrived in the East, only to be taken captive the following year. He died in Muslim captivity. Hugh VIII had several sons. The eldest, also named Hugh, died young, but two of the other brothers, Aimery and Guy, made their careers in the East; a third, Geoffrey, was one of the heroes of the Third Crusade (1189–1192). All the brothers were involved in rebellions against their overlord, King Henry II of England, and that may explain why first Aimery and then Guy left for the Holy Land. Aimery was certainly in the East by 1174 and probably arrived there not long after his rebellion in 1168. He married a daughter of Baldwin of Ibelin, lord of Ramla, and in about 1180 became constable of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

In 1180 Guy of Lusignan married Sibyl, the sister and heiress of King Baldwin IV. The marriage was unpopular with a significant section of the nobility who regarded Guy as an upstart whose rise threatened their own ambitions. But in 1186 Guy and Sibyl became king and queen of Jerusalem. In July 1187 Guy, who needed a convincing military victory to silence his critics, led what was almost certainly the largest army the kingdom of Jerusalem had ever seen to challenge the Muslims under Saladin, who were besieging Tiberias (mod. Teverya, Israel). The result was the catastrophic Christian defeat at the battle of Hattin. Guy and Aimery were both taken captive, and Saladin went on to occupy almost the entire kingdom, including Jerusalem.

Guy was held prisoner until the summer of 1188. By then, the only city of the kingdom in Christian hands was Tyre (mod. Sôur, Lebanon), saved by the timely arrival of Conrad of Montferrat. Conrad refused Guy entry to Tyre, and so



The Lusignan Family in Cyprus and Jerusalem (Simplified Genealogy)

instead Guy gathered an army consisting of survivors of Hattin and newly arrived participants in the Third Crusade; in 1189 he laid siege to Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel). It was a bold move; had Acre fallen quickly, Guy would have gone a long way to restoring his standing as a military leader. In the

event the siege dragged on inconclusively until the arrival of King Philip II Augustus of France and King Richard the Lionheart of England in the summer of 1191. In the meantime, Guy's authority was undermined by the death of Sibyl and by Conrad's marriage to her half-sister, Isabella I. Opin-

Lyndanise, Battle of (1219)

ion was sharply divided as to whether Guy should rule over what remained of the kingdom of Jerusalem. In arbitration, the kings of England and France decided that Guy should have the kingdom for life and that it should then pass to Conrad and Isabella and their heirs. This solution proved unworkable, and in the spring of 1192 King Richard decided that Conrad should be king of Jerusalem and that Guy should be allowed to purchase the island of Cyprus, which Richard had seized from its Byzantine ruler the previous year.

The year 1192 therefore marks the beginning of Lusignan rule in Cyprus. Guy died toward the end of 1194, whereupon his brother Aimery took charge. Aimery arranged with the pope for the establishment of a Latin ecclesiastical hierarchy in the island and, with the Holy Roman Emperor, Henry VI, for the elevation of Cyprus to the status of a kingdom, with himself as the first king. He was duly crowned in 1197, and the dynasty he founded lasted until 1474. Soon after his coronation as king of Cyprus, Aimery married Isabella I of Jerusalem—Conrad had died in 1192, and her next husband, Henry of Champagne, had died in 1197—and so became king-consort of Jerusalem as well. He ruled both kingdoms until his death in 1205. Cyprus then passed to the son of his first marriage, and Jerusalem to Isabella's daughter by Conrad.

Aimery was succeeded in Cyprus in turn by his son (Hugh I), his grandson (Henry I), and his great-grandson (Hugh II). The throne then went to Hugh III, the son of one of Henry I's sisters, who had married Henry, a younger son of the prince of Antioch. Even so, the family continued to be known as the Lusignans. In 1269, with the extinction of the Staufan dynasty, which had acquired the throne of Jerusalem as a result of the emperor Frederick II's marriage to the heiress in 1225, Hugh III of Cyprus made a successful bid for the crown. Henceforth the Lusignan kings styled themselves kings of both Cyprus and Jerusalem. Their claim to Jerusalem, however, did not go unchallenged, and it was to bring them into conflict with the Angevin kings of Sicily. Hugh III and his son Henry II were both crowned king of Jerusalem in Tyre, and after the Mamlūk conquest of the last Christian possessions in Outremer in 1291, the fourteenth-century kings of Cyprus continued to have a separate coronation as king of Jerusalem in Famagusta.

In the fourteenth century, Guy, a descendant of one of Henry II's brothers, acquired the crown of the kingdom of Cilicia (Lesser Armenia), taking the name Constantine II. That kingdom succumbed to Muslim conquest in the

1370s, and when the last member of the family died in 1393, the Cypriot kings laid claim to the titular kingship of Cilicia as well.

On the death of King John II (1458), his illegitimate son, James, ousted his legitimate half-sister, Charlotte, and reigned as James II (d. 1473). His son, the child James III, died in 1474, and with his death the line of Lusignan kings came to an end. In 1489 Cyprus became a Venetian colony. Some descendants of illegitimate members of the family, notably the historian Stephen of Lusignan, remained on the island until the Ottoman conquest of 1570–1571.

—Peter W. Edbury

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Lyndanise, Battle of (1219)

A crusader victory over pagan Estonian forces on 15 June 1219 fought near Reval (mod. Tallinn, Estonia), which secured a stronghold for the Danish subjugation of northern Estonia in the years following.

In order to fulfill a crusade vow, and possibly in response to pleas for assistance from Bishop Albert of Riga, King Valdemar II of Denmark sailed to Reval with an army of Danish, German, and Wendish forces comprising some 100 ships and 3,000 men with the intention of subjecting northern Estonia to Danish rule. Accompanying the army were Anders Sunesen, archbishop of Lund; Peter Sunesen, bishop of Roskilde; Niels, bishop of Schleswig; and Theoderic, the nominal bishop of Estonia.

Soon after their arrival the crusaders tore down the

wooden fortress of Lyndanise outside Reval and built a stone castle on the site. After three days of negotiations, Estonian forces attacked the Christian camp and killed, among others, Bishop Theoderic, who had been mistaken for the Danish king. The crusaders were ultimately saved only by a late effort from the Wendish forces in the army, which were under the subcommand of Wizlaw, prince of Rügen.

According to intellectual constructions dating from the sixteenth century, which entered Danish popular belief, a flag bearing a white cross on a red ground is supposed to have fallen miraculously from the sky at a critical point in the battle; this was held to be the origin of the *Dannebrog*, the Danish national flag.

—Torben K. Nielsen

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Lyons, First Council of (1245)

A church council summoned by Pope Innocent IV, taking place from 28 June to 17 July 1245. Held during hostilities between the papacy and Frederick II, the Holy Roman Emperor, the council sought to address this crisis as well as the recent loss of Jerusalem to the Ayyūbids, the Bulgarian-Nicaean alliance menacing the Latin Empire of Constantinople, and the threat posed by the Mongols to both Outer and eastern Europe.

Hopes for a peaceful settlement of the papal-imperial conflict, bolstered by imperial representatives’ promise of aid against these threats, were dashed when the sparsely attended council excommunicated and deposed Frederick II at Innocent IV’s behest. The ensuing anti-Staufen crusade consumed much of the money from clerical income taxes imposed by the council to aid the Holy Land and the Latin Empire of Constantinople and hindered the attempts of Louis IX of France to muster men and resources for his crusade.

—Jessalynn Bird

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Lyons, Second Council of (1274)

A church council that met from May to July 1274. Convoled by Pope Gregory X to organize a general crusade in aid of the Holy Land, the council deliberately mirrored the agenda of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215): the reform of the church, the Eastern crusade, and the reunion of the Greek and Latin churches.

At the council a delegation from the Mongol Ilkhan of Persia proposed a potential alliance against the Muslims in the East. Representatives sent by the Byzantine emperor, Michael VIII Palaiologos, agreed to the formal reunion of the Greek and Latin churches, which led to the withdrawal of papal support for a crusade to reestablish the Latin Empire of Constantinople, then being planned by Charles I of Anjou, king of Sicily. The council approved all of the elements necessary for a crusade, including a six-year clerical tithe and a modest annual poll tax, but clerical opposition to the tax’s collection and Gregory X’s death in 1276 spelled the demise of a *passagium generale* (a general crusade recruited from Western Christendom). In fact, proposals submitted for consideration at the council by leading reformers, including Humbert of Romans and Guibert of Tournai, lauded the strategy that was to characterize future expeditions, in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: the *passagium particulare*, a perpetual crusade composed of professional soldiers financed by the church and the faithful.

—Jessalynn Bird

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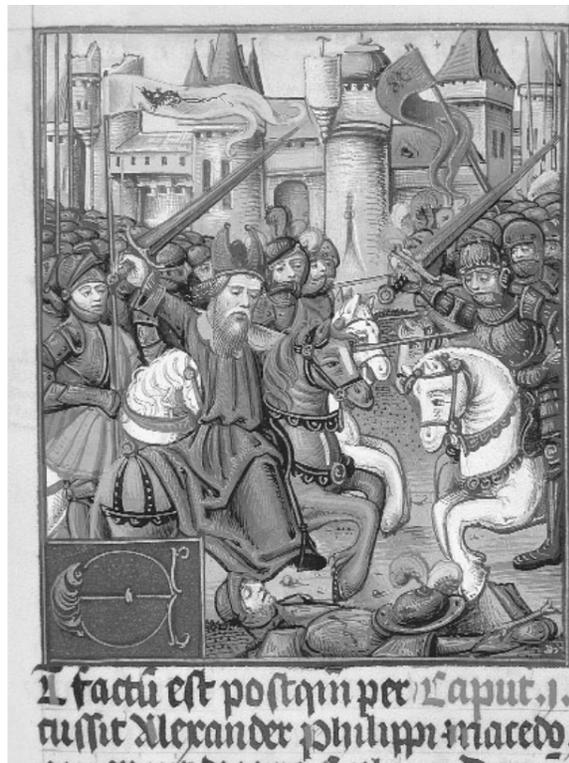
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M

Maccabees

The two Books of the Maccabees were among the most important biblical sources for the development of the idea of the *militia Christi* (knighthood of Christ) in the crusading movement and for the justification of the role of the military orders. They describe the revolt of the Jews against the Syrians during the second century B.C., led by the priest Mattathias and his son Judas Maccabaeus, in defense of their political and religious freedom, and end with the election of Judas's brother Simon Maccabaeus as both high priest and secular leader of the Jews of Judaea (141 B.C.).

The first official exegesis of the texts was written by Hrabanus Maurus (d. 856), who interpreted the wars exclusively as a prefiguration of the Christian spiritual conquest of the world, and this interpretation was maintained throughout the Middle Ages. However, as a result, however, of the Christianization of the state and its military functions, as well as of the church's attempts to harness and assimilate the warrior ethos, the deeds of the Maccabees were cited increasingly from the eleventh century onward as a prefiguration of warfare in the service of Christianity. During the Investiture Contest, the texts were also used as a justification of the use of armed force in the service of the church against the secular power. Along with other Old Testament models, the warriors of 1 and 2 Maccabees were cited as a prefiguration of Christian crusaders by nearly all the popes concerned with the crusades. The account of Urban II's speech at the Council of Clermont (1095) by Guibert of Nogent, the sermons of Honorius III, Jacques de Vitry, Henry of Albano, and Humbert of Romans, and the chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres all use the Maccabees as models for crusaders.



Maccabees, scene of a battle. (Archivo Iconografico, S.A./Corbis)

The church's tacit acceptance of military warfare as a tool in the service of Christianity and the papacy is epitomized in the sanctioning of the creation of the military orders. Both the Hospitallers and the Teutonic Order

Magdeburg, Archbishopric of

sought to give their organizations legitimacy by writing accounts of their origins linking them with Judas Maccabaeus. The most systematic and significant use of the Maccabees as a prefiguration of the military orders comes in Nicolaus von Jeroschin's *Kronike von Pruzinlant*, which exploits the books explicitly and exhaustively as the source of a long tradition of military warfare in the service of the church. Luder von Braunschweig, the grand master of the Teutonic Order who was the patron of Jeroschin's chronicle, also commissioned a Middle High German translation of the Books of the Maccabees. The Maccabee material may have appealed especially to German-speaking audiences because of its similarity to the subject matter of Germanic heroic literature, and there is evidence of the use of Maccabee models in German writing throughout the crusading period, particularly in relation to the Baltic Crusades.

—Mary Fischer

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Machaut

See Guillaume de Machaut

Magdeburg, Archbishopric of

The archbishopric of Magdeburg in northern Germany was founded in 968 by Otto I, Holy Roman Emperor. Even before his coronation in 962, Otto seems to have had plans for this new archbishopric as a new royal center in his realms that would also be the keystone in the Christianization of the Slavic peoples east of the river Elbe.

Royal privileges and rich donations in land gave the new missionary archbishopric some initial success, and when Otto died in 973 he was buried in the cathedral of Magdeburg. In the 980s, however, the expansion of the archbishopric was somewhat stalled by uprisings among the Slavs. Furthermore, Magdeburg lost a great deal of its political importance during the reigns of the Salian rulers in Germany in the eleventh century, whose main lands and political interests lay further to the south.

Impulses from the First Crusade (1096–1099) soon

reached the northeastern frontiers of Christendom, and in 1107/1108 bishops of this archdiocese and some princes of eastern Saxony issued a charter summoning Christians of the Western countries to come and fight the pagan Slavs. In the summer of 1126 the founder of the Premonstratensian Order, Norbert of Xanten, was elected as archbishop of Magdeburg. However, attempts to reform the clergy in the archdiocese met with such strong resistance that Norbert had to flee temporarily. Eventually he did gain some success in his internal reforms (1129), but he was unsuccessful in his attempts to gain supremacy over the neighboring Polish church (1133). Another important figure was Archbishop Wichmann (1152–1192), who engaged himself in the settlement and colonization of the former Slavic territories, thus enhancing the territorial possessions of the archdiocese: settlers were brought in from the West and given favorable privileges by the archbishop. Wichmann also took part in the military conquest of the Slavic territories to the east: in 1157 he allied himself with the German prince Albert the Bear, and together they conquered Brandenburg.

In around 1200 the archbishopric of Magdeburg became involved in the crusading movement in the Baltic region. Bishop Albert of Livonia is known to have preached the cross in Magdeburg in 1199 as preparation for his first crusades against the pagans of Livonia. Later, Dominican friars became involved in preaching for the ongoing Prussian crusades in the archdioceses of Hamburg-Bremen and Magdeburg, thus involving the archbishopric in this facet of the northern crusades as well. However, with the final colonization of the Slavic territories, Magdeburg lost its initial importance as a key missionary archbishopric.

—Carsten Selch Jensen

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Magister Vincentius

See Wincenty Kadłubek

Magna Mahomeria

Magna Mahomeria (mod. al-Bira, West Bank) was a new town or village in southern Palestine some 16 kilometers (10 mi.) north of Jerusalem.

The town was established by the canons of the Holy Sepulchre for Frankish colonists, on or beside the site of an earlier settlement. The latter was one of twenty-one *casalia* (villages) granted to the Holy Sepulchre by Godfrey of Bouillon, the first Frankish ruler of Jerusalem (d. 1100). It was settled by 1124, when an Egyptian raid forced the old men, women, and children to seek refuge in a recently built tower. The new settlement was known in Latin as *Mahomeria*, probably after a mosque that stood there; from 1164 it was called *Magna* (“Great”) to distinguish it from another such settlement named Parva Mahomeria, established at al-Qubaiba a similar distance northeast of Jerusalem. Documents in the cartulary of the Holy Sepulchre show the canons offering the new settlers house plots, lands, and vines in return for the payment of tithes and a share of the produce. The settlement was administered by a steward (Lat. *dispensator*).

Ninety-two burgesses swore allegiance to the Holy Sepulchre in 1156 and a further fifty over the next thirty years, suggesting a total population of 500–700 people. They included emigrants from the south of France, Italy, and Spain. Although the economy was principally agricultural, the tradesmen among them included three smiths, three carpenters, a mason, a shoemaker, and a goldsmith. In 1170, sixty-five men from Magna Mahomeria, apparently representing part of the military service owed by the Holy Sepulchre, died defending the frontier town of Gaza against Saladin.

After the town itself fell to the Ayyūbids in 1187, it became for a while the seat of a Muslim governor. The site of Magna Mahomeria has been identified within the modern village of al-Bira, adjacent to Ramallah. The Frankish houses were barrel-vaulted structures, laid out along a principal north–south street, with the Church of St. Mary at the north end and the canons’ estate center (Lat. *curia*) incorporating an earlier tower, at the south. The documents also mention a hospital, the site of which is unknown.

—Denys Pringle

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Magnus II Eriksson of Sweden (1316–1374)

King of Sweden (1319–1363) and Norway (1319–1344) and leader of a crusade against the Russian republic of Novgorod in 1347–1350.

The son of Duke Erik Magnusson, brother of King Birger Magnusson of Sweden, Magnus II inherited the Norwegian throne through his mother at the age of three; the same year, he was elected king of Sweden after a fratricidal war in which his father and uncle were starved to death in prison (1318) by the king, their brother, who was subsequently driven into exile. Until 1332 a regency governed in his name. After attaining his majority he was able to acquire the province of Scania from Denmark by purchase, but he was subsequently forced to fight several wars to safeguard his hold on it.

Magnus was criticized for waging war against fellow Christians by the mystic Birgitta Birgersdottir, who was extremely influential in the aristocratic circles surrounding the king. She urged him to turn against the “infidels and pagans” in the East, by whom she evidently meant both the Orthodox Russians of Novgorod and their pagan subjects in Karelia and Ingria. Birgitta told the king that he should first attempt to convince them by peaceful means. Only as a last resort was he to take to the sword. Before taking military action, therefore, Magnus commenced his “Birgittine” crusade in 1347 by inviting the Novgorodians to participate in a theological debate and then to join the faith that it decided was the better. When the Novgorodians refused to take part, Magnus attacked, capturing the important island fortress of Nöteborg (mod. Shlissel’burg, Russia) in Novgorodian Karelia. However, when winter set in, the Novgorodians were able to retake Nöteborg,

Mahdia Crusade (1390)

and although Magnus made another attempt to attack Novgorod from Estonia in 1350, he was again forced to retreat. By the time Pope Clement VI issued a number of bulls in support of the crusade (1351), Magnus had been forced to conclude a peace that restored the *status quo ante*.

The defeat of the crusade proved a turning point for King Magnus, who was blamed for the failure for not having followed Birgitta's advice to the letter. He became the target of a fierce propaganda campaign that eventually led to his dethronement in 1363 and imprisonment in 1365, until he was set free in 1371 by his younger son, Hakon VI, who had succeeded him as king of Norway in 1344.

Magnus's crusade, however, had a great impact in Novgorod. In the early 1400s a curious text, the so-called *Testament of the Swedish King Magnus*, was compiled, presumably in Valamo Monastery, and subsequently included in numerous Russian chronicles. This text claimed that rather than dying in the shipwreck that actually ended his life, Magnus was carried by a storm to an Orthodox monastery, which he entered as a monk: there he supposedly wrote a testament admonishing his people not to attack Russia. Thus, in Novgorod, the Swedish crusader-king was transformed into a defender of the Orthodox faith against further crusades and even became the subject of local veneration.

—John H. Lind

See also: Baltic Crusades: Birgitta Birgersdotter (1302/1303–1373); Sweden

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Mahdia Crusade (1390)

A Franco-Genoese crusade, sometimes known as the "Barbary Crusade," that attacked the port of Mahdia (mod. al-Mahdiya, Tunisia) in North Africa, but was abandoned after a siege of some nine weeks.

The crusade originated as a Christian response to the piratical activities of the Barbary corsairs of the North African coast. For many years Muslim piracy had constituted a major disruption to Western shipping, particularly the commerce of the Italian maritime republics. In late 1389 Genoa sent an embassy to meet King Charles VI of France at Toulouse, which proposed a joint expedition to capture Mahdia, regarded as the major port of the Hafsīd realm of Tunisia. The Genoese were already interested in this region; in 1388 they had sent a fleet under the admiral Raphael Adorno to take part in a joint expedition with the Pisans and Sicilians, which had captured the island of Jerba in 1388. The Sicilians acquired the lordship of the island after paying for Genoa's expenses. The republic thus had an interest not only in eliminating Mahdia as a pirate base, but also in acquiring a port that would serve as an entrepôt for its own trade goods and give it access to African products, above all gold from the sub-Saharan regions. Genoa was also keen to intensify relations with the French Crown in order to secure an ally against its powerful northern neighbor, the duchy of Milan.

At the Toulouse meeting, the Genoese ambassadors proposed to provide naval transport and provisions for a crusade army, to be led by a French prince of the royal blood. They also offered to contribute and pay for a force of crossbowmen and men-at-arms for the duration of the proposed campaign. The Genoese plans were received enthusiastically by some at the French court, notably by Louis II, duke of Bourbon, the king's uncle, who asked for command of the crusade. Although initially hesitant about the proposal, King Charles and his advisers eventually agreed to allow a French force to join the expedition, and gave the command to Louis. However, each French participant had to have express royal permission to join it and also had to defray his own expenses. Genoa agreed to provide twenty-eight galleys and eighteen transport ships and their crews. It is possible that other ships were hired by some of the crusaders themselves. The fleet was commanded by the Genoese Giovanni Centurione, who had taken part in the conquest of Jerba, while Louis of Bourbon was to act as overall military commander. The mustering point for the army was originally fixed for late June 1390 at Genoa, but the difficulties of provisioning meant that this was changed to 1 July at Marseilles.

Louis of Bourbon, a veteran of the Hundred Years' War, had a great reputation as a knight, and the proposed expedition, coming as it did during a period of truce with Eng-



Course of the Mahdia Crusade (1390)

Mahdia Crusade (1390)

land, appealed to the chivalric sensibilities of the French nobility and found recruits from all over France. Among those who signed up were Philip of Artois, constable of France, John de Vienne, admiral of France, and notable knights such as Enguerrand VII, lord of Coucy, and Geoffrey de Charny the Younger, whose father had been a famous crusader and author of a treatise on chivalry. Recognition for the expedition as a crusade was secured, not only from the Avignonese pope recognized in France, Clement VII, but also from his rival at Rome, Boniface VIII. This universal recognition helped secure some participation from England, Gascony, and Spain, including John Beaufort, earl of Derby.

The main sources for the course of the crusade are French works: the *Chronique du bon duc Loys de Bourbon*, written in 1429 by Jean Cabaret d'Orville, the *Chroniques* of Jean Froissart, and the chronicle by the anonymous writer known as the Religieux de Saint-Denis.

The total number of crusaders is difficult to compute, as the sources give only partial or conflicting figures. The Genoese provided 1,000 crossbowmen and double the number of men-at-arms in addition to the ships' crews. King Charles VI had tried to limit the number of French crusaders, but the response had been so enthusiastic that we should probably assume that French numbers exceeded the Genoese. Some 200 crusaders, mostly French, are known by name.

The fleet sailed from Marseilles via Genoa and Corsica to Sardinia, where it took on provisions, and then on to an island off the African coast then known as Conigliera (probably Kuriat on the Gulf of Hammamet). During a nine-day layover there caused by bad weather, the plan of campaign was worked out. As Mahdia was too strong to be taken by an immediate assault, it would be necessary to besiege the town. The Muslims of Mahdia were by now aware of the coming of the expedition but were not expecting it to be so strong, and decided not to contest the landing. On 22 July the crusaders disembarked unopposed and started the siege; they cut Mahdia off from the rest of the mainland, with the land forces watching the town's three land gates while the fleet maintained a blockade of the harbor. On the third day of the siege the defenders made a sortie, which was beaten back by the crusaders, suffering considerable losses. Thereafter the crusaders took greater precautions to guard and defend their camp. Numerous, largely inconclusive skirmishes occurred over the next few weeks, which offered the Christian knights ample opportunities to satisfy their desire for combat and honor. It was only after about seven weeks

that the crusaders began to make serious attempts to assault the walls with siege machines assembled on land and mounted on galleys. Yet by this time they were suffering the effects of the North African summer climate, increasing illness, and the shortage of water and food supplies, much of which had gone bad, while relief forces were being gathered by the sultans of Tunis, Bougie (Bejaïa), and Tlemcen. The Genoese began to argue for raising the siege and gradually won over the bulk of opinion in the crusader camp.

Negotiations were opened after contacts were made through Christian merchants within Mahdia. Although Louis of Bourbon was disinclined to abandon the siege, the Genoese had by now clearly given up hope of taking Mahdia and were unwilling to waste further resources on the project. After four days of talks, the crusaders agreed to withdraw; in exchange the Hafsid sultan Aḥmad II agreed to pay the Genoese a cash indemnity of 10,000 ducats, plus an annual tribute to the value of the sultan's revenues from Mahdia for the next fifteen years.

At the end of September 1390, the crusaders withdrew in good order, with military dispositions taken by Louis of Bourbon preventing a Muslim attack as their embarkation was carried out. Some of the crusaders wished only to return home, but others were keen to secure some more tangible success. The Genoese persuaded the French to mount an attack on Sardinia, then a possession of the Crown of Aragon, by convincing them that the port of Cagliari had assisted the North African corsairs. The fleet occupied Cagliari and the island of Ogliastra, installing Genoese garrisons in both places. The fleet then set sail for Naples, but storms forced the ships to assemble off Sicily. They then sailed on to Terracina on the Italian mainland, which also surrendered and was placed under Genoese control. The French crusaders, however, drew the line at an attack on the Pisan port of Piombino, although the mere presence of such a large seaborne army forced the Pisans into an accommodation with Genoa. The fleet then returned via Genoa (where Louis of Bourbon and other leaders refused to leave their ships) to Marseilles.

The French crusaders were welcomed back as heroes. Despite the lack of success of the expedition, they were regarded as having acquitted themselves valiantly and with honor. The expedition revived French enthusiasm for crusading and undoubtedly contributed to the huge response to the Nikopolis Crusade in 1396. Indeed, many of the veterans of Mahdia are known to have fought at Nikopolis. The

limited objective of the Mahdia Crusade was by no means unrealistic. The port had been taken by the Christians twice before in 1087 and 1148; Spanish conquests in Morocco and the recent capture of Jerba had demonstrated that it was possible to hold well-chosen bases in North Africa. In comparison with the fiasco of Nikopolis, the French forces seem to have been relatively well-disciplined, and the successful landing and disembarkation of the army are tributes to Louis of Bourbon's generalship. Yet whether the Franco-Genoese forces would have been sufficient to hold the mainland port of Mahdia if they been successful is debatable; the majority of the French crusaders would have desired to return home, and would have needed to be replaced by a permanent and substantial garrison. In the event, the crusaders of 1390 wasted valuable time and provisions in many weeks of desultory combat while their enemies regrouped; the assaults with siege engines came too late to be effective, and it is questionable whether there was sufficient siege machinery for the task. Genoa was able to make good use of the expedition for its own political and commercial ends, but the gains of the expedition did nothing to advance the aims of the crusade movement.

–Alan V. Murray

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Mahdia Expedition (1087)

A naval campaign fought by mainly Pisan and Genoese forces against the Zirid emirate in North Africa. It resulted in the temporary conquest of the city of Mahdia (mod. al-Mahdiya, Tunisia) with its suburb of Zawila. This enterprise has been seen as a kind of precursor of the First Crusade (1096–1099) and is described in a triumphal poem, the *Carmen in victoriam Pisanorum*, written by a Pisan cleric.

For Pisa and Genoa this campaign was one of a series of

enterprises mounted against Muslim ports in the course of the eleventh century, often in retaliation for raids. It was organized by Pisa, at the request of the pope, with the aim of attacking the Zirid emir al-Tamīm ibn al-Mu'izz (d. 1108), who had at his disposal the most powerful Muslim fleet in the Mediterranean. The Italian fleet was made up of about 300 Pisan, Genoese, and Amalfitan ships under the command of the Pisan viscount Hugo. It departed in 1087 and stopped at Rome, probably combining the campaign with a pilgrimage, which was probably meant as penitence for temporary support for Emperor Henry IV during his disputes with the papacy. When al-Tamīm's fleet was too far away to defend the coastal cities, the Italian ships attacked and conquered the suburb of Zawila on the feast of St. Sixtus (6 August). It went on to capture Mahdia, al-Tamīm's capital and principal port and an important emporium.

According to the *Carmen in victoriam Pisanorum*, the towns were offered to Roger I of Sicily, who declined because of his friendship with al-Tamīm. The fleet managed to impose a treaty of submission to the See of St. Peter on the emir, and Pisa and Genoa obtained some favorable trading rights in the Zirid territories. Although Mahdia was not held for long and the enterprise did not have any major impact on the Muslims of North Africa, it may have served as an example of a successful "anti-pagan" campaign carried out in connection with a pilgrimage.

–Michael Matzke

See also: Africa; Pisa

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Maḥmūd I (1087–1094)

Sultan of the Great Saljūq Empire (1092–1094).

Maḥmūd I was the youngest son of the Saljūq sultan Malik Shāh I. When his father died at Baghdad in December 1092, Maḥmūd I was the only son in his company. Maḥmūd's mother Terken Khātūn, a Qarakhanid princess, at once managed to secure his recognition as sultan from the

Mainz Anonymous

‘Abbāsīd caliph al-Muqtadī, who granted him the honorific Arabic title *Nāṣir al-Dunya wa al-Dīn* (“Victorious in the Secular World and in Religion”).

In ruling the Saljūq Empire, Maḥmūd was assisted above all by two men: Unar, commander of the Saljūq armies, and the vizier Tāj al-Mulk. Terken Khātūn secured the loyalty of the army through lavish spending from the royal treasury. During 1093, she and Maḥmūd captured Isfahan, the Saljūq capital, and arrested Barkyārūq, Maḥmūd’s brother and rival. However, Barkyārūq was released by a group of his father’s commanders. He defeated Maḥmūd’s army at Barujerd and was recognized as sultan by the new ‘Abbāsīd caliph. In September 1094 Terken Khātūn died suddenly; Maḥmūd died soon afterward, in circumstances that are unclear.

–*Taef El-Azhari*

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An anonymous account by a Jewish author, which is probably the most contemporaneous of the three Hebrew narratives of the First Crusade (1096–1099).

The text, which is incomplete in the only extant manuscript (MS Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, Cod. Orientalis 25), carefully charts the unfolding events of the anti-Jewish pogroms by the so-called People’s Crusades in Speyer, Worms, and Mainz. It describes the warning letters from French Jews to Mainz Jewry, the sought-for help from bishops and secular authorities, Jewish armed resistance, and the killings and forced baptisms. It includes vivid portrayals of self-martyrdom by many Jews in Worms and Mainz in sanctification of God’s name (*kid-dush ha-Shem*).

–*Anna Sapir Abulafia*

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Malazgirt

See Mantzikert, Battle of (1071)

Malik Shāh I (1055–1092)

Jalāl al-Dawla Mu‘izz al-Dīn Abu’l-Faḥ Malik Shāh I was the third Great Saljūq sultan (1072–1092), under whom the power of the sultanate reached its greatest extent.

A son of Sultan Alp Arslān, Malik Shāh was appointed as his father’s heir in 1066. After his father’s death (1072), he was accepted as sole ruler by defeating his paternal uncle Qāwurd, who had challenged him for supreme authority. He also had to put down two rebellions by his brother Tekish in 1081 and 1084, but thereafter his rule was secure. Malik Shāh’s power was founded on two principal pillars: the central administration headed by his father’s Persian vizier, Nizām al-Mulk, and his large standing army of Turkish slave soldiers. Many of the more far-flung parts of the empire were granted to members of the Saljūq family as princes or governors. In the east of the empire, Malik Shāh carried on wars against the Ghaznawids and Qarakhānids, and in the west against Georgia, Byzantium, and the Fāṭimid caliphate. He appointed his brother Tutush (I) as ruler of southern Syria and Palestine (1078), but as the Turkish conquest of northern Syria proceeded, Malik Shāh later installed governors of his own choosing in Aleppo, Antioch, and elsewhere.

The first signs of instability in Saljūq rule began to appear when Nizām al-Mulk was assassinated (October 1092). Malik Shāh’s relationship with the ‘Abbāsīd caliph in Baghdad, who had originally legitimized the rule of the Saljūqs, deteriorated toward the end of the reign. It is possible that the sultan intended to depose the caliph, but he died while hunting in November 1092, in circumstances that are still disputed by historians.

Whether or not the sultan was murdered like his vizier, the deaths of its two most powerful men within such a short period plunged the Great Saljūq Empire into disarray. Malik Shāh’s widow Terken Khātūn had her young son Maḥmūd proclaimed sultan by the caliph, but this move was contested by another son, Barkyārūq, and by Tutush in Syria. The

ensuing civil wars, which continued into the twelfth century, greatly limited the ability of the Great Saljūqs to respond effectively to the threat to Muslim Syria and Palestine that was presented by the First Crusade (1096–1099).

—Alan V. Murray

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Malik Shāh II (d. 1105)

Sultan of the Great Saljūq Empire (1105).

A son of Sultan Barkyārūq (d. 1105), the young Malik Shāh II was nominated as successor at the age of four, after his father died in January 1105. However, he was removed from power by his uncle Muḥammad Tapar (d. 1118), who had already proclaimed himself sultan and won over the majority of Barkyārūq’s commanders and administrators.

—Alan V. Murray

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Mallorca

See Balearic Islands

Mallorca Crusade (1114–1115)

A crusade mounted by a joint Pisan and Catalan force under Raymond Berengar III, count of Barcelona, which captured the Balearic islands of Ibiza and Mallorca from the Muslims, although the crusaders were unable to hold on to their conquests.

This crusade, which still awaits its modern historian, is mentioned in numerous sources, but especially in the *Liber Maiorichinus*, an epic poem 3,500 lines in length, written in unrhymed classical hexameters and modeled on Vergil’s *Aeneid*. Scholarship on the *Liber* has been devoted largely to various modern editions of the text, the relationships of the three extant medieval manuscripts, and the identity of the author, either a Lorenzo Veronese or a Lorenzo Varnenesis or Vornensis, or perhaps Enrico Pievano, a priest who appears in the poem among the attendants to the Pisan archbishop as *presbiter Henricus plebanus*. What is lost in much of the critical commentary is the fact that the author was an eyewitness who accompanied the expedition; that he was privy to the affairs of the Pisan leadership, including haggling with Catalans and peace negotiations with Muslims; and that his account, full of elaborate detail, merits much further study.

The venture was a crusade, preached on Easter Sunday 1113 by Peter Moriconi, archbishop of Pisa, with Pope Paschal II conferring the cross on the Pisans, and with a papal legate joining the expeditionary force in Barcelona in May or June 1114. All participants took solemn vows and were appropriately indulged. The island of Ibiza fell to the crusaders in July 1114. However, the larger island of Mallorca proved more difficult. The fortifications of Madina Mayurqa (mod. Palma de Mallorca, Spain), a round of dysentery making its way through camp, the winter of 1114–1115, and flagging Catalan resolve (according to the story told by the Pisan author) made victory nowhere assured. The Pisans made sure their ships were repaired, in case Muslim reinforcements arrived from the Almoravids of al-Andalus or the Pisans might need to leave in a hurry. Greek fire eventually wrought enormous damage on the wooden towers of the city, and the first city walls were breached in early February, the Almu-daina section of the city falling on 4 March, with the citadel following on 19 March. Rather than attempt a successful or even temporary colonialism, the crusaders stocked up on booty, celebrated Easter, and returned to their homes, the Pisans returning via Marseilles, where they buried the most illustrious of their dead in the abbey church of St. Victor. It was not until the early thirteenth century that Mallorca came under Christian control.

—Larry Simon

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Malta

An island in the central Mediterranean, which for over two and a half centuries, starting in 1530, served as the headquarters of the Order of the Hospital, also known as the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, and, as a result of its association with the island, the Knights of Malta. The Hospitallers' permanent presence there and the military and charitable nature of their activities succeeded in keeping the waning spirit of the crusade alive throughout the Mediterranean region, perhaps more than their operations could have ever aspired to achieve from their previous base at Rhodes (mod. Rodos, Greece). Hospitaller activity on Malta can be regarded as the last phase of the crusade movement, lasting up to 1798, when the order's island state fell to the forces of revolutionary France.

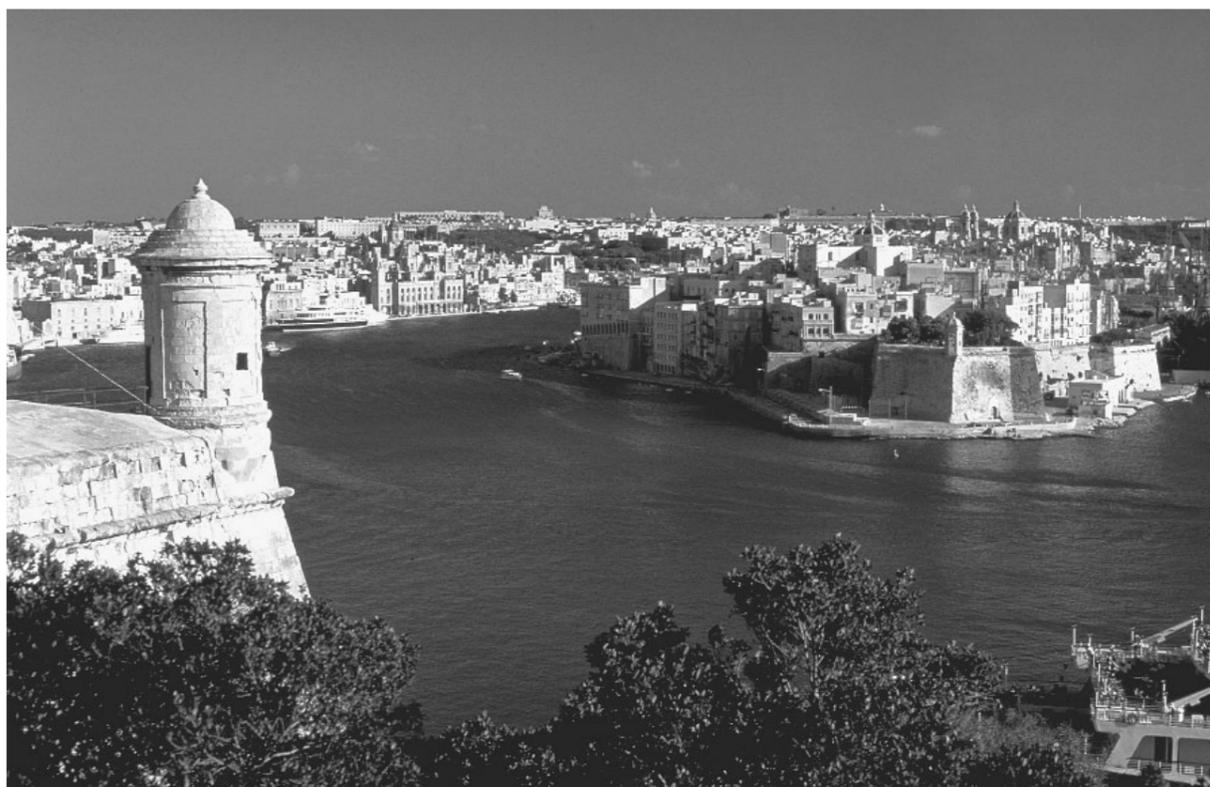
Malta before the Hospitallers

Malta's history, which consistently reflected contemporary developments in the Mediterranean region, evolved around two major factors: the island's geographical position, which enjoyed great strategic potential, and its deep spacious harbors, the largest of which, the Grand Harbour, was able to accommodate 300 galleys in the sixteenth century. Malta is situated at the very center of the Mediterranean Sea, some 80 kilometers (50 mi.) south of Sicily and 290 kilometers (181 mi.) east of Tunisia. It is some 314 square kilometers (121 sq. mi.) in size, the largest in an archipelago of three small islands, the other two being Gozo, 65 square kilometers (25 sq. mi.), and Comino, 2.5 square kilometers (c. 1 sq. mi.). Already inhabited by a farming community in the early Neolithic period (c. 5000 B.C.), the island has had a succession of foreign dominations, each endeavoring to exploit its natural advantages or to deny them to rivals, and each contributing to the rich mosaic of its material and spiritual culture and civilization.

It is claimed, on solid archaeological evidence, that by the time the First Punic War had begun in 264 B.C., Malta was already under Carthaginian control. However, although it was definitely under Roman possession by 218 B.C., Punic influences on the island persisted for a very long time, as evidenced in the style of surviving pottery and in the native dialect, for by as late as A.D. 60, when St. Paul was shipwrecked on the island, the inhabitants were said to have been unable to speak either Latin or Greek. As part of the Roman Empire, Malta enjoyed a modicum of political autonomy, stability, and economic prosperity, exporting olive oil, textiles, and other quality products. After an interlude during the domination of Visigoths in Sicily and the Vandals in North Africa, the island passed under Byzantine rule. The existence of several Christian catacombs or burial sites outside the Roman city of Melite indicates that the process of the Christianization of Malta had been under way by the fourth century. By the end of the sixth century, a strong Christian Maltese community with its own bishop had been firmly established on the island.

Malta's close ties with the Greco-Roman world were abruptly severed in 869–870, when the Arabs, after a fierce struggle, captured the island, holding it until 1091. Between the major Christian victories resulting from the First Crusade (1096–1099) and the failures in the East of the Second Crusade (1147–1149), Malta was predominantly Muslim, although by this time the re-Christianization of the island had already begun. For well over two centuries from 870, whatever inhabitants lived on Malta professed a Muslim faith, practiced Muslim customs, and followed Muslim traditions. Then in 1091, precisely four years before Pope Urban II launched the crusade movement at the Council of Clermont (1095), Count Roger I, the Norman ruler of Sicily, seized Malta and terminated Arab rule. Nevertheless, Islam remained a living force on the island, with Islamic culture, in all its manifestations, surviving the first Norman conquest. This culture was such that in 1127 King Roger II of Sicily felt the need to reconquer it. Indeed, before the middle of the twelfth century, there were hardly any real traits of a Christian community there. The Muslims of Malta were ultimately expelled around the late 1240s.

With the overthrow of Angevin rule in Sicily by the Aragonese in the wake of the revolt known as the Sicilian Vespers, Malta found itself as a possession of the Catalan-Aragonese Crown. It was to this period that the island owed some of its most structurally formative experiences. These



View of the Grand Harbour on the island of Malta. (Corel)

included the development of local government; the origins of its local nobility; the consolidation of Christian values and beliefs, partly through the emergence of religious orders on the island; and the consistent dissemination of wide Sicilian-Iberian cultural influences, which gradually superseded any surviving attitudes associated with Islam.

The Establishment of Hospitaller Rule (1530–1551)

Without constituting a complete break with the past, the arrival of the Order of the Hospital in 1530 marked a major caesura in Maltese history. When the Hospital was first set up in Jerusalem in the late eleventh century, its purpose was to care for the sick and the poor and offer Western pilgrims medical attention, food, and a temporary roof over their heads. The order gradually began to assume the complementary task of defending the routes often used by pilgrims against the Muslims. Such military responsibilities appear to have already been assumed by the early decades of the twelfth century. In 1113 the Hospital was formally recog-

nized as an exempt order of the church. With the fall of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), the last Christian possession in Outremer, to the Mamlūks in 1291, the Hospitallers were evicted from the Holy Land. By about 1310 they had settled on the rich island of Rhodes in the eastern Aegean Sea, where they stayed for over 200 years. In 1522, a long and fierce Turkish siege drove the order out of its permanent residence in the Levant. On 1 January 1523 the Hospitallers, led by Grand Master Philippe Villiers de l'Isle Adam, along with their archives, precious relics, and hundreds of Greek and Latin inhabitants of the island, were allowed to sail out of Rhodes, never to return.

They spent nearly eight whole years without a home. Shortly after surrendering Rhodes, the grand master asked Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor and king of Spain, for Malta. After long negotiations at the imperial court, the order's general chapter, held at Viterbo in 1527, agreed to accept Malta together with the rest of the archipelago and, reluctantly, the North African fortress of Tripoli. The deed

of donation was signed by the emperor at Castelfranco (near Bologna), on 23 March 1530, and can still be seen today at the National Library of Malta in Valletta.

There were initial protests against the donation from the local *università* (commune). In 1428, in reaction to the Maltese rebellion (1425–1427) against the rapacious administration of the Aragonese court favorite Gonsalvo Monroy, Alfonso V of Aragon had promised that the islands would never again be alienated from the royal domain. Charles V's deed of 1530 was a blatant breach of that privilege, but the protests had hardly any lasting effect. With the arrival of the order, Malta's "well-knit oligarchy of landowners, lawyers, and ecclesiastics," as Lionel Butler defined Malta's *Università*, was soon domesticated and its powers drastically curtailed [Butler, "The Maltese People and the Order of St. John in the Sixteenth Century," p. 145]. Those who declined submission left the country.

In 1530 Malta, Gozo, and Tripoli on the African mainland were militarily threadbare, with old dilapidated fortifications. They had very little artillery and no natural resources. Until 1551, except for necessary temporary measures, no realistic long-term policy appears to have been drawn up by the order regarding its new headquarters. In that year, large parts of Malta were looted by the North African corsair Dragut, commander of the Turkish fleet. Gozo was sacked and most of its population dragged into slavery. Tripoli was shamefully and discredibly lost.

Malta under the Hospitallers, 1551–1798

The humiliating experiences of 1551 brought the Hospitallers to their senses. The state of war in the Mediterranean demanded a completely different approach. There was no scope left either for further diplomatic maneuvering to have their convent transferred to a safer place (however temporarily), or for feelings of nostalgia for the greener and more strongly fortified Rhodes.

The order now grasped the reality of its situation. A new building program was undertaken: two forts (St. Elmo and St. Michael) were constructed; a new town (Senglea) began to emerge; and old defenses were repaired. If the events of 1551 had helped to consolidate the Hospitallers' newly forged ties with the island, their long-term tenure was reconfirmed by the failure of the Ottoman forces to take Malta after a long, terrifying siege in 1565. In the long-term perspective of the historical development of the Mediterranean, the outcome of 1565 was not as significant

as contemporaries or some later historians made it out to be. But for Christian Europe, the siege of Malta was its first great victory since the Ottoman defeat at Vienna, thirty-six years earlier. For the Knights of St. John, it was vital. As Norman Housley has pointed out, it was a clear indication that their institution was "much less isolated" on Malta in the central Mediterranean than it had been on Rhodes in the Dodecanese islands [Housley, *The Later Crusades*, p. 232].

For the Maltese, the defensive victory of 1565 ushered in a new era. But, for both the order and Malta, it also underscored two important social realities. First, a strong element of continuity ran between late medieval and (at least the early phase of) early modern Malta. This was the island's dependence (sometimes partial, sometimes total) on Sicily and on whoever dominated Sicily. Secondly, although the Ottoman sultan's savage determination to wrest Malta from the Knights did not succeed, it showed that any further attempt to regain Rhodes would definitely end up in failure.

Shortly after the siege, the Knights migrated from Birgu, where they had originally settled, to Valletta, the newly built fortress-cloister-city, a combined Renaissance masterpiece of the Italian military engineer Francesco Laparelli and the Maltese architect Gierolamo Cassar. The massive walls surrounding it, which were later extended to encompass the entire urban complex that grew within the harbor area, were a symbol of strength, not only against the enemies of Christ, but also against the plague. Within the walls a major hospital (the Holy Infirmary) was constructed, to which a famous school of anatomy and surgery was annexed; others were built outside. At the heart of the citadel rose a magnificent church dedicated to John the Baptist, the order's patron saint. Other churches were erected alongside palaces, knights' residences (*Fr. auberges*), and other public and private buildings. Leading foreign artists were commissioned to decorate and beautify these structures. Caravaggio was one such, as were Mattia Preti and Antoine de Favray.

In the eighteenth century a university was founded, whose origins may be traced back to the late sixteenth-century Jesuit Collegium Melitense. Codes of law were enacted to regulate everyday life in a civilized environment. The Grand Harbour, with its several wide inlets, developed into an important commercial center, with excellent market attractions and facilities. These included an incomparably efficient

quarantine service, a lucrative naval base for ship repair and corsair operations, and a leading international slave market. Cotton, cumin, and ashes (the latter used for glass manufacture, soap making, as a fertilizer, and for insulation purposes, especially in hospitals) were exported on a fairly wide scale, along with other less profitable commodities.

By contrast, the rhythm of life in rural Malta remained fairly constant, except for the slow expansion of the villages, with some growing into new urban centers; the construction of large, richly decorated parish churches; and the erection of several fortified towers along the coast. There was also the pressure of a greater demand for agricultural products for a rapidly growing population. From around 20,000 inhabitants in 1530, the island could boast 50,000 in 1680, and some 80,000–100,000 in 1798. For the first time in the history of Malta, its ruling regime resided permanently on the island. It had resident ambassadors in Europe's major capitals and consular representatives in all Mediterranean ports. European monarchies and principalities, in turn, had their own *chargés d'affaires* accredited to the grand master's court in Valletta, while maritime cities had consuls to look after the interests of their sailors and merchants. For the first time too, most of the revenue that flowed into Malta did not originate in nearby Sicily, but in the Hospitaller priories in Europe. This income was regularly transferred to Malta and invested there. It helped to finance all the order's major projects and its military and charitable activities. It kept the local inhabitants in regular employment and offered them a system of social services and benefits.

Elizabeth Schermerhorn called Hospitaller Malta "the last stand of Christianity against the westward sweep of the Ottoman power through the Mediterranean" [Schermerhorn, *Malta of the Knights*, p. 51]. The Knights' seasonal statutory cruises from the island to all corners of the Mediterranean, following routes stipulated by the Venerable Council, were ideally envisaged as crusading missions against the enemies of Christ; in practice, they were often allowed to degenerate into little better than profit-making expeditions against any potential prey—Muslim or Jew, French, Spanish, Sardinian, or Orthodox Greek. No wonder then that the Venetians dubbed the Knights of St. John corsairs parading crosses. In the long term, however, the Hospitallers brought to the central Mediterranean island stability and security, prosperity and confidence. They broke its late medieval isolation permanently: they succeeded in "de-Sicilianizing" important sectors of its early modern

society, and they Europeanized it. They converted the island, its society, its style of life and ways of thinking into a faithful expression of baroque in all its manifestations. Under Hospitaller rule, Malta became a multicultural society, an epitome of Europe.

The End of Hospitaller Rule

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, Hospitaller Malta, like the rest of ancien régime Europe, succumbed to the powerful force of the enlightened ideas of revolutionary France. In June 1798 Napoleon Bonaparte, on his way to Egypt, sojourned briefly on the island. He aimed to free the inhabitants from the arrogance and oppression of the Hospitaller nobility, promising hope, efficiency, and benevolence. He evicted the order with hardly any resistance, and dictated the manner, based on the principles of 1789, in which the island would be governed. But Malta's genuine aspirations and the crude realism of French politics were irreconcilable. The style of government, the new legislation, and the indecent speed with which it was implemented defied the traditional Christian values of Maltese society, contemptuously disregarded other local interests, and prompted the inhabitants to revolt. In less than three months, on 2 September 1798, the people of Malta were up in arms against the French government of General Vaubois. For the next two years, the French in Malta were under siege. The Maltese sought British aid and protection, which were generously given.

On 5 September 1800 the French capitulated. Thereafter for more than a century and a half, Malta formed an integral part of the British Empire as a major base of the Royal Navy. On 21 September 1964 it became an independent, monarchical state within the British Commonwealth. Ten years later, on 13 December 1974, it was declared a republic. Since 1934 English has replaced Italian as Malta's second official language. The first is Maltese, a distinct language spoken by the native inhabitants and whose roots are traceable to the island's long medieval Muslim years.

—Victor Mallia-Milanes

See also: Hospital, Order of the; Malta, Siege of (1565)

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Malta, Siege of (1565)

The siege of the island of Malta, the headquarters of the Order of the Hospital, by forces of the Ottoman Empire, lasting over three months (28 May–8 September 1565). The successful defense of Malta was hailed as a major triumph of Christendom against the Muslim Ottomans.

No sooner had the knights of the Order of the Hospital taken possession of Malta and Tripoli in 1530 than they embarked on an intensive program of harassing Muslims on land and sea as they had done from their previous Mediterranean base, the island of Rhodes: looting their towns and villages, raiding their ships, seizing their merchandise, and taking their men into slavery. These activities obstructed the Ottoman Empire’s designs of westward expansion and interrupted its lines of communication with the Barbary corsairs. Sinan Pasha’s raid on Malta, his sack of Gozo, and his capture of Tripoli, all in quick succession in 1551, was a foretaste of the Ottoman reaction to the program.

On 18 May 1565, an Ottoman armada of 180 vessels and 25,000 men reached Malta. The fleet was under the command of Piali Pasha, with Mustafa Pasha responsible for the land forces. Ten days later the siege of Malta had begun. Defending the island’s three strong centers of resistance (the

forts of St. Elmo, St. Michael, and the heavily fortified St. Angelo, with its hinterland of Birgu and Bormla) were 500 knight brethren, 1,200 soldiers of various nations, 4,000 arquebusiers, and around 3,500 Maltese irregulars. The initial focus of the siege was Fort St. Elmo. On 2 June the besiegers were joined by Dragut with 45 vessels and 25,000 men. Fort St. Elmo fell on 23 June; the siege of the fort had taken more than a month, and cost the Turks some 6,000 men. This also gave the Hospitallers time to strengthen their other defenses.

Fort St. Michael was the Ottomans’ next target, and this formed the second major stage of the siege. Batteries were placed on St. Elmo promontory, Marsa, and Corradino Heights. On 2 July a Spanish relief force of 700 men (known as the *piccolo soccorso*) reached Malta, too late to save St. Elmo, but in time to save the island. This help was countered by the arrival on 8 July of Hasan Pasha with 28 ships from Algiers. Several savage assaults were made on the fort. Others were as fiercely directed at Birgu and St. Angelo all through July and August. On 7 September a second relief force of 12,000 troops sent by Philip II of Spain (the *gran soccorso*) reached the extreme north of Malta. The next day, a thanksgiving Mass was sung at the conventual church of St. Lawrence in Birgu. Even two centuries later, the French Enlightenment author Voltaire (1694–1778) claimed that few events were more widely known than the siege of Malta of 1565.

—Victor Mallia-Milanes

See also: Hospital, Order of the; Malta; Ottoman Empire

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Mamistra

Mamistra (mod. Misis, Turkey), the ancient Mopsuestia, was one of the cities of Cilicia.

Located on the river Pyramus (mod. Ceyhan), it is on the

road linking Adana and Tarsos (mod. Tarsus) to northern Syrian towns such as 'Aintab (mod. Gaziantep). Medieval sources suggest that the town had a circuit of walls and a well-known bridge dating from the Roman period.

During the First Crusade (1096–1099) Baldwin of Boulogne expelled the city's Turkish garrison in 1097, and for much of the first half of the twelfth century, the city was alternately occupied by the Byzantines, the Armenians of Cilicia, or the Franks of Antioch. A Latin archbishop, Bartholomew, was appointed by Bohemund I of Antioch in 1100. The see was later held by Ralph of Domfront, who subsequently became Latin patriarch of Antioch.

In 1137 Cilicia was annexed by the Byzantines and its Latin bishops expelled. After 1151 Mamistra remained largely in the hands of the Armenian Rupenid dynasty, and in the thirteenth century it was part of the kingdom of Cilicia. Following the Mamlūk seizure of the castles of the Amanus Mountains, the Cilician plain on which Mamistra sat was largely undefended. The Mamlūks captured and plundered the town in 1266 and again in 1275, when it was extensively damaged.

The population of Mamistra was probably small, but in the thirteenth century the city did house warehouses for Genoese and Venetian merchants. King Het'um II of Cilicia temporarily retired to a Franciscan convent in Mamistra around 1293. It is unclear when the Mamlūks finally occupied the city, but it was probably soon after the conquest of Ayas in 1337.

—Christopher MacEvitt

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Mamlūk

General term for a slave soldier, usually of Turkish origin, in the Islamic world. The Arabic word *mamlūk* (pl. *mamālīk*) literally means "owned." Turkish mamlūk units played a decisive role in the military efforts of Muslim rulers against the Franks from the beginning of the latter's presence in the Levant, and many of the famous commanders and rulers who fought the Franks were of mamlūk origin.

Military slavery emerged in the Muslim world in the early ninth century, although its antecedents go back earlier. It can

be connected with the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Mu'taṣim (833–842), although some credit should be accorded to his brother and predecessor, al-Ma'mūn (813–833), who abetted the former's activities in this direction while he was still a prince. Several factors explain the emergence of military slavery at this time: the gradual withdrawal or removal of the Arabs, both nomadic and settled, from military life; the question of the loyalty of the soldiers from northeastern Persia, hitherto the mainstays of the 'Abbāsīd regime; and the final Muslim conquest of Transoxania, which brought the Muslims into contact with the Turks then nomadizing in the steppes to the north.

The Arabic sources note with appreciation the military qualities of the Turks: excellent horsemanship, first-rate archery, discipline, and hardiness, all resulting from their nomadic-pastoral lifestyle and steppe environment. Turks, at first mainly known as *ghilmān* (pl. of *ghulam*, "a youth"), were recruited into what was originally conceived as a guard corps, but the corps soon took on duties as a field army, fighting in the yearly campaigns against the Byzantines. These Turks were enrolled as slaves and separated as much as possible from other units and the civilian population. They were thus cut off from both their lands of origin and local society. The hope, largely fulfilled at the beginning at least, was that they would prove to be unequivocally loyal to their patron—that is, the caliph who bought, raised, and maintained them—as well as to each other. This system thus involved a patron-client relationship on a large scale, institutionalized through slavery. Although military slavery in the Muslim countries continued to develop and change over the centuries, the principle of loyalty to both patron and comrades had been established.

Loyalty, however, was not necessarily something that could be transferred to the successor (even the son) of the royal patron, who might be busy trying to build up his own unit of slave soldiers or another military body. Here, too, there are hints of a pattern that became common later during the time of the Mamlūk sultanate. In 861 Turkish officers of slave origin murdered the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Mutawakkil, fearing that he was going to undermine their position. Although Turkish military slaves often continued to contribute to political instability, they also became the predominant military element in the eastern Islamic lands, in both the caliphal armies and the forces of the all-but-independent provincial rulers. It appears that the combination of their military advantages and the theoretical loyalty com-

mended them to Muslim rulers from Egypt to the edges of central Asia.

The Saljūq Turks who arrived in eastern Persia in the early eleventh century soon built themselves a large Turkish slave-soldier formation, shunting the Turcoman tribesmen who accompanied and hitherto supported them into a secondary position. It was some of the mamlūk troops who played a decisive role in the Saljūq victory over the Byzantines at Mantzikert in 1071. Mamlūk units were found in the service of the various Muslim princes and strongmen in Syria who fought the Franks after their arrival in the course of the First Crusade (1096–1099). Some of these Turkish rulers were themselves of slave origin, having served the Saljūqs or their successors. The Fāṭimids also employed units of Turkish slave soldiers, also as cavalry, but these played a less prominent role compared to that in the Muslim countries to the east.

In the initial centuries of military slavery, young ghulāms/mamlūks were imported into the Muslim world from the area beyond the Syr Darya (Jaxartes) River or via the Caucasus. Later on, the steppe region north of the Black Sea became an important source of mamlūks. Importation was carried out by professional Muslim slave traders, who usually enjoyed the cooperation of local Turkish princes in the countries of origin, and often of the families of the youngsters themselves.

Mamlūk units formed the backbone of the armies of various Muslim rulers whose lands bordered the Frankish states of Outremer in the twelfth century and who were often at war with them: Zangī; his son Nūr al-Dīn; and the latter's representative, Saladin, who eventually became the ruler of Egypt and Muslim Syria and the nemesis of the Franks. Perhaps because of Saladin's Kurdish origins, some scholars did not accord the Turkish slave soldiers much importance in his reign, but the research of the late David Ayalon has put that matter to rest. The mamlūks, whether of Saladin, his kinsmen, or other commanders and allies, were a key element, for example, in the Muslim victory at Hattin in 1187.

Later Ayyūbid princes in Egypt, Syria, Upper Mesopotamia (Arab. *al-Jazīra*), and beyond continued the tradition of buying Turkish slaves of steppe origin and employing them in formations of mounted archers. Generally, the units were not large: al-Kāmil Muḥammad ibn al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr, the ruler of Egypt (1218–1238) and the most important Ayyūbid of his generation, was credited with some 10,000 mounted troops, of which mamlūks were only a part,

but they enjoyed political and military prominence. While the mamlūk presence was significant in the early thirteenth century, it was to become even stronger under the rule of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb (1238–1249). During one of the civil wars that often characterized inter-Ayyūbid relations, and in which al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb briefly lost control of the throne, he found himself abandoned by much of the army. He came to the conclusion that only a force of his own mamlūks would give him the security he needed. He therefore arrested or dismissed many of the officers who had served his father and brother and formed a relatively large corps known as the *Saliḥiyya* from his own mamlūks. One large component within it was a regiment that served as his elite troops. It was known as *Baḥriyya*, from its quarters in the fortress of al-Rawḍa on the Nile (Arab. *baḥr al-Nīl*, literally “the sea of the Nile”).

This desire to create a large corps of Turkish slave soldiers was facilitated by the appearance of the Mongols in the steppes north of the Black Sea. Al-Nuwayrī (d. 1333) writes: “The [Mongols] fell upon [the Turkish tribesmen of this area] and brought upon most of them death, slavery and captivity. At this time, merchants bought [these captives] and brought them to the [various] countries and cities. The first who demanded many of them, and made them lofty and advanced them in the army was al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb” [*Nihayat al-Arab*, 33 vols. (El-Qāhira: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1923–1984), 29:417]. Thus a desire for mamlūks was accompanied by the relative ease with which they could be acquired. Ironically, it may be noted that the Mongols active in southern Russia inadvertently created a situation that later led to the defeat of their kinsmen in Palestine and Syria.

Al-Ṣāliḥ's efforts to create a new formation were to prove themselves posthumously during the invasion of Egypt by a crusade led by King Louis IX of France. During the standoff at Mansurah (1249–1250) in the Nile Delta, the sultan had died (although an attempt was made to keep this secret). At some point, the Franks launched a surprise attack against the Muslim camp that almost led to a Muslim rout. Only with the appearance and resolution of the *Baḥriyya*, who included the future sultan Baybars I, was the situation saved. Ibn al-Furāt (d. 1405) writes of this battle: “This was the first encounter in which the polytheist dogs were defeated by means of the Turkish lions” [*Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders: Selections from the Tārīkh al-Duwal wa'l-Mulūk of Ibn al-Furāt*, trans. U.

Lyons and M. C. Lyons, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Heffer, 1971), 2:22–23].

Soon after this victory, Tūrān Shāh, the son and heir of al-Šāliḥ, arrived at the scene, but he rapidly succeeded in alienating much of his father's military elite, not the least the Baḥriyya. On 1 May 1250 Tūrān Shāh was assassinated by a group of mamlūk officers, who seized control of the Egyptian state. The regime they established, known as the Mamlūk sultanate, ruled Egypt and Syria until its overthrow by the Ottoman Empire in 1517.

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Mamlūk Sultanate

A state ruled by slave soldiers of predominantly Turkish, and later Circassian, origin from 1250 to 1517. The Mamlūk sultanate was originally established in Egypt but soon came to control Palestine and Syria. It was responsible for the attenuation of the Frankish presence in Outremer and its final elimination with the taking of the city of Acre (mod. ‘Akko, Israel) in 1291.

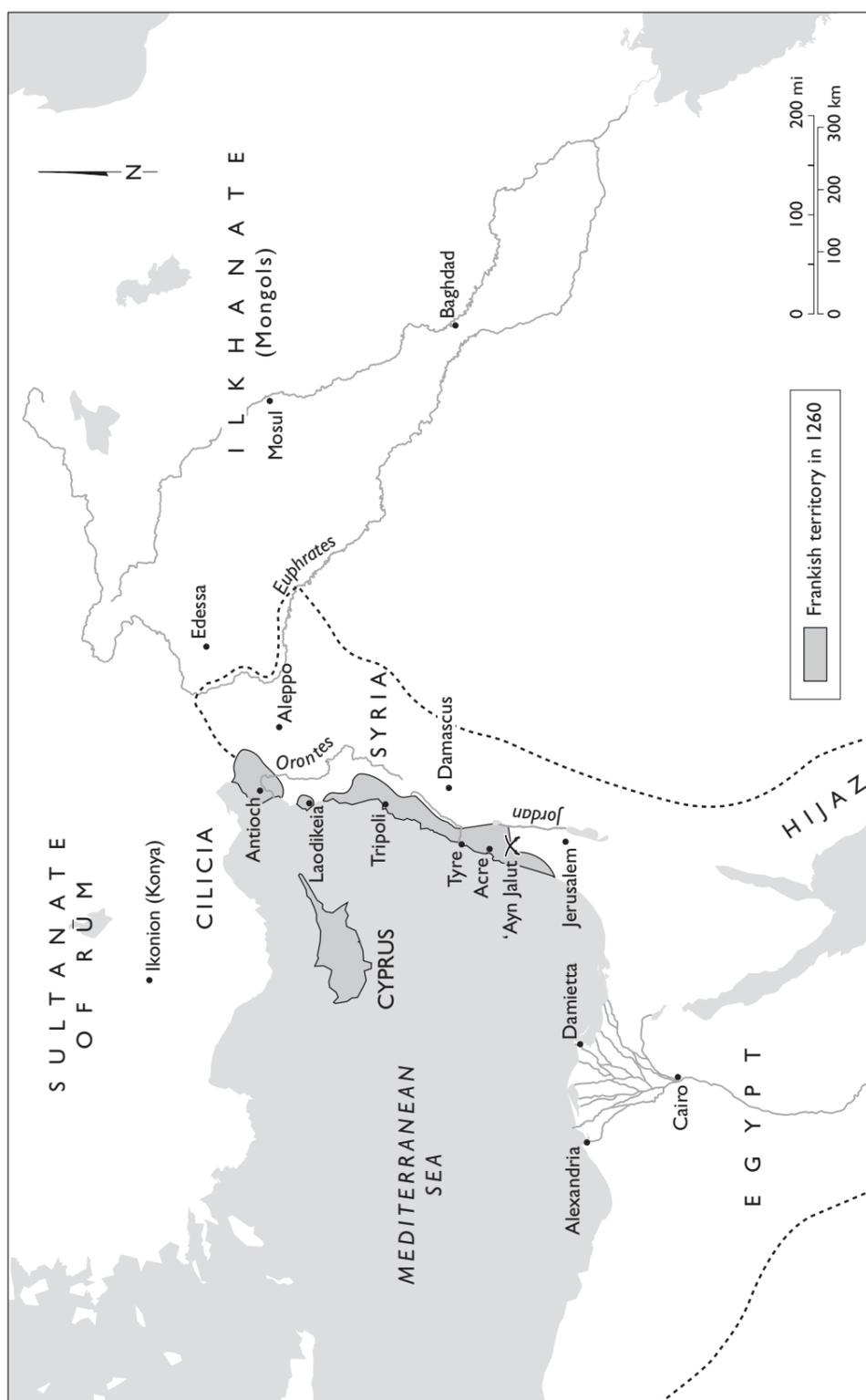


The Sultan rendering justice. Miniature from *The Fables of Bidpai: The Book of Kalila and Dimna*, fourteenth century. (Giraudon/Art Resource)

Origins

The Mamlūk state emerged during the Crusade of Louis IX of France to the East (1248–1254). The Ayyūbid sultan al-Šāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb died in late 1249 while the crusade army was holding a position opposite the town of Mansurah (mod. El-Mansūra, Egypt). An attack by the crusaders on the Egyptian camp was defeated, largely owing to the Baḥriyya, a regiment within the *mamlūk* (slave soldier, literally “owned”) formation known as the Šāliḥiyya. Tūrān Shāh, the son and heir of al-Šāliḥ, quickly alienated his officers, including the Baḥriyya, and was assassinated on 1 May 1250.

In such cases in Muslim states at this time, the usual procedure was for the military grandees to gather and find a young prince who would be a puppet in the hands of the officers. On this occasion, however, the senior officers decided to dispense with a prince of the Ayyūbid family and appointed Shajar al-Durr, the Turkish wife of the late sultan.



The Mamlūk Sultanate in the reign of Baybars I (1260–1273)

This was a short-term arrangement: Muslim political culture was not yet ready to have a woman ruler. She was replaced by Aybak, a former mamlūk of al-Šāliḥ (but not a member of the Baḥriyya), who in turn married her.

Egypt had become a Mamlūk state, ruled by a Turkish military caste composed mainly of warriors of slave origin. The convoluted events of the 1250s were characterized by infighting among the various Mamlūk factions, along with conflict with the Syrian Ayyūbids, who did not accept that the rich country of Egypt had been wrested from the control of their family. This led to Ayyūbid attacks on Syria as well as Mamlūk campaigns in Palestine and its environs. The Baḥriyya, which had played a prominent role at Mansurah and in the establishment of the new regime, was relegated to a secondary role: its leader, Aqtay, was murdered, and his second in command, Baybars, fled to Syria with 700 Baḥrī Mamlūks. In the next few years these refugees earned their keep as mercenaries and contributed not insignificantly to the political confusion in the region. The fledgling Mamlūk state was little concerned with the Franks on the coast at this time.

War against Mongols, Franks, and Armenians

The arrival of the Mongols in northern Syria at the beginning of 1260 put an end to the infighting. Early in the year, Baybars had returned to Cairo with his followers and reconciled with the new Mamlūk ruler, Quṭuz. In the late winter, Ayyūbid rule collapsed in Damascus, and many soldiers and other refugees (including the odd Ayyūbid prince) fled to Egypt. Mongol raiders, meanwhile, were harrying the countryside as far south as Gaza and Hebron. With the withdrawal from Syria of the Ilkhan Hülegü with most of his army in the late winter, the sultan, supported by Baybars, decided to capture the initiative and attack the remaining Mongol troops in the country.

This campaign led to the complete Mamlūk victory at ‘Ayn Jālūt in northern Palestine on 3 September 1260. The battle was significant for three reasons: it showed that with determination (and luck) the Mongols could be beaten; it provided legitimacy for the nascent Mamlūk state; and finally, it gave the Mamlūks control over most of Muslim Syria up to the Euphrates and the foothills of the Taurus Mountains. At the same time, the Mamlūks understood that they had defeated only part of Hülegü’s army and that the real test of strength was yet to come. Quṭuz, however, was unable to savor his victory for long. Within several weeks he

had been assassinated by a team organized by Baybars, who replaced him as sultan.

Sultan Baybars I (1260–1277) was the real architect of Mamlūk power and in many ways can be seen as the institutionalizer of the sultanate. He first had to strengthen his power internally, which he did by consolidating his support among the military (mostly Turkish) Mamlūk elite, particularly among his comrades in the Šāliḥiyya/Baḥriyya. Realizing that the greatest danger to the sultanate was an attack by the Mongols, now itching to revenge their defeat at ‘Ayn Jālūt, Baybars launched a massive expansion of the army (perhaps even as high as fourfold) and increased its readiness and training. A communication system, based on postal-horse relays (the famous *barīd*), smoke and fire signals, and pigeon-post, was established to bring quick word of trouble in Syria to the government center at the citadel in Cairo. A widespread external intelligence service was set up that included both sympathizers in the enemy camp and secret couriers; this system was active among the Mongols, the Armenians of Cilicia, and the Franks of the coast of Syria and Palestine.

Fortifications along the frontiers and inland were strengthened and refurbished, although it should be noted that fortifications along the coast were usually destroyed to some degree after these cities were taken from the Franks. The Mamlūks were never particularly adept seamen and made only a halfhearted attempt to keep a navy, as a sorry performance at Cyprus in 1271 shows. It was this awareness of Mamlūk weakness at sea that convinced Baybars to adopt a “scorched earth” policy on the coast, which was followed by his successors: conquered cities were razed (although actual destruction was surely less than the sources would lead us to believe), the logic being that the Franks, who enjoyed freedom of movement on the sea, would not be able to gain a significant and fortified beachhead on the coast before the mobile Mamlūks could gather and drive them off.

Baybars I also strengthened his hand politically, both internally and externally. He brought to Cairo a scion of the ‘Abbāsīd family who had been found wandering around the Syrian desert; after ascertaining his genealogy, this claimant was declared caliph and given the title al-Mustaṣṣir. The latter’s first act of “government” was to promptly hand over all aspects of power to the sultan, who was to act in his name. Baybars also received a mandate to expand the borders of his state. This caliph was soon sent across the border into Iraq with a small force, with which he was massacred by the local

Mongol garrison. Either Baybars had wanted to get rid of him, since the new caliph may have been too independently minded, or there may have been a belief that the Mongols had indeed withdrawn from this area and that it could be easily recaptured.

Baybars's most important diplomatic *démarche* was the establishment of relations with the Mongols of the Golden Horde in the steppe area north of the Black Sea. Word reached him around 1262 that Berke, khan of the Golden Horde, was now engaged in a conflict with his cousin, the Ilkhan Hülegü. Baybars encouraged Berke (a Muslim) and his successor, Möngke Temür (a pagan) in this struggle, buoyed by the knowledge that his main adversary was engaged on another front. Perhaps the most important matter established with the distant Golden Horde was permission for merchants from the sultanate to continue exporting young mamlüks (mostly Turkish, but with a sprinkling of Mongols) from its territory. The main emporium for young slaves was the Crimea; from there they were transported by Genoese ships via the Bosphorus to the slave markets of Syria and Egypt. Needless to say, this trade required the agreement of Genoa and the Byzantine Empire, which was acquired to the advantage of all sides.

Baybars I's initial attitude toward the Franks was not obviously more aggressive than that of his Ayyübid predecessors. By the mid-1260s, however, matters had clearly changed. In 1265, the Mamlüks took Caesarea (mod. Har Qesari, Israel) and Arsuf, and the following year Saphet (mod. Zefat, Israel) was conquered. Two years later they took Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel), and the following year they stormed Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey). In 1271 they captured the important Hospitaller fortress of Krak des Chevaliers. They also took numerous smaller forts and minor places.

It would be difficult to suggest that there was anything inherently Mamlūk behind this change in policy vis-à-vis the Franks in Syria, beyond noting the general atmosphere of *jihād* (holy war) that pervaded their early regime, largely as a result of the ongoing fight against the still pagan Mongols. It can be suggested, however, that concrete circumstances may have led the Mamlūk sultan to adopt a more truculent attitude toward the Franks: this was the growing awareness that the Mongol Ilkhans in Persia, from Hülegü onward, were engaged in efforts to arrange an alliance with the Christians of the Levant and Europe itself, including the pope and the kings of France, England, and Aragon, against their common Mamlūk enemy.

The perceived threat of fighting on two fronts at one time or the possibility of a joint Mongol-Frankish force may well have convinced the Mamlūk elite that the Frankish bridgehead in Syria and Palestine should be systematically reduced and eventually eliminated. Even after the conquest of Acre in 1291 by the sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl, and the subsequent abandonment of the coast by the remaining Franks, there remained a fear among the Mamlūk leadership of a possible alliance between the European powers and the Mongols of Persia. These Mamlūk fears, however, were never realized: apparently the closest the Franks ever came to some type of military cooperation with the Mongols was during the campaign of Prince Edward of England in 1271, which resulted in some halfhearted and not very effective Mongol raids in Syria. It should be mentioned that long after the peace with the Ilkhans (c. 1320) and the breakup of their state (1335), the threat of both a renewed crusade as well as Frankish raids was taken seriously by the Mamlūk leadership. This fear was not unjustified, as seen by the temporary capture of the port of Alexandria by Peter I, king of Cyprus, in 1365.

Throughout the reign of Baybars I there was an ongoing border war with the Mongols along the northern Euphrates and the frontier region north of Aleppo. The Ilkhans launched serious attacks against the border fortresses of Bira and al-Rahba and several deep raids into the north of the country, but during this period they did not attempt a determined campaign into Syria. In any event, none of these Mongol efforts were particularly successful, and all were met by a forceful Mamlūk response. The sultan and his lieutenants, always suspecting the Mongol raids and attacks as harbingers of a larger offensive, immediately reacted by dispatching reinforcements from the main cities of Syria and Cairo; often the sultan would set out himself at the head of the main Egyptian army. In their war in the frontier region, the Mamlüks were assisted by the Bedouins of the Syrian Desert, who had been integrated into the Mamlūk state by subsidies, land grants, and titles. The Mamluks themselves frequently carried the border war into Mongol territory, often using the border fortresses as staging areas, as well as dispatching Bedouin or Turcoman raiders.

The kingdom of Lesser Armenia in Cilicia also suffered Mamlūk depredations. In the early 1260s, the Armenians, sure of the support of their Mongol overlords, had launched several raids into Syria, which were all repulsed. The Mamlüks responded by carrying out a series of devastating raids, thus gaining revenge, weakening an important local

ally of the Mongols, and issuing a warning to the Armenian kings and barons about attempting ill-advised forays into Mamlūk territory. Subsequent sultans continued this tradition of raiding Cilicia until the Armenian kingdom was finally eliminated in 1375, and most of its lands incorporated into the sultanate.

Baybars I's greatest success against the Mongols was his campaign into Mongol-controlled Anatolia in 1276–1277 because he was able to take advantage of dissatisfaction among much of the local Saljūq elite. The culmination of this campaign was the total defeat of a smaller Mongol, Saljūq, and Georgian army at Elbistan in the southeast of the country. Baybars was, however, aware of his precarious position—he was far away from his bases, with a large Mongol army approaching—and soon withdrew. He died soon afterward in Damascus and was succeeded by his son, Baraka Khān, whose disastrous reign was ended in 1279 by a coterie of senior officers led by Qalāwūn, Baybars's close associate. For appearance's sake, another son of the late sultan, al-'Ādil Sülemish, was named ruler, but after a reign of only 100 days, he was removed, and Qalāwūn gained the throne (1279–1290), taking the royal title al-Malik al-Manṣūr.

This series of events repeats a pattern that was common within the Mamlūk governing system. The ruling sultan would attempt to have his son succeed him, and even secure the consent of his senior officers, but with his demise the most powerful officers would jockey among themselves until one was strong enough to gain power. At this point the usually hapless sultan, often only a youth, was typically removed. Alternatively, if the former sultan's son was old enough to attempt to assert his power vis-à-vis the officers, he might even bring his own mamlūks into positions of power and influence. The old guard, however, fearing for their power, livelihood, and perhaps more, would eliminate him, and again, the most powerful of them would seize the throne. In the case of Baraka Khān and the final seizure of power by Qalāwūn, a combination of both models was at work.

Qalāwūn, an old and trusted comrade of Baybars I, can be seen as a continuator of his policies. During his reign, the institutions of the sultanate developed and crystallized. Early on in his reign, he was faced with a large-scale invasion of Syria by the Mongols. This was the first serious attempt that the Mongols, now led by Abagha, had launched to conquer Syria since the campaign of 1260, and it was, in a sense, a test of all of the military preparations that Baybars had made to meet a Mongol challenge. The armies met on the plain to the

north of Homs in October 1281. The battle hung in the balance throughout the day, but in the end the Mamlūks were victorious. The military machine that Baybars had built had proven itself in spite of the vicissitudes it had undergone since his death in the years of political confusion.

Through the remainder of Qalāwūn's reign, the frontier with the Mongols was to remain relatively quiet, and during the reign of the Ilkhan Tegüder Ahmad (1282–1284), envoys were even exchanged to discuss ending the war. After the battle of Homs, Qalāwūn concluded a treaty with the Franks of Syria, but by the mid-1280s he was prepared to renew the Mamlūk offensive against them: the castle of Margat was taken in 1285, and more importantly, Tripoli (mod. Trâblous, Syria) in 1289.

At his death in 1290, Qalāwūn was preparing a campaign to conquer Acre. The realization of this plan was left to his son and successor, al-Ashraf Khalīl, in 1291. This sultan was evidently planning a campaign to Iraq when he was assassinated by a group of senior officers. His death initiated several years of political instability, which lasted until the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (1310–1340). This time of political confusion came too late, however, to help the Franks, whose presence in the Levant was now just a memory.

Institutions, Military Organization, and Society

At the heart of the Mamlūk sultanate was the institution of military slavery that had developed in the Islamic world over several centuries. A number of principles can be discerned for this institution. The mamlūks were brought as young slaves (generally eight to twelve years old) from wild pagan areas in the north (the steppe region north of the Black Sea, and later the Caucasus). They were then converted to Islam and put through several years of religious and military training in the barracks. Around the age of eighteen, they completed their training, were officially manumitted, and then enrolled in the army or unit of their patron, either the sultan or an officer. In theory, and generally in practice, they were loyal to both their patron (Arab. *ustādh*) and their comrades, mamlūks of the same patron (these were known as *khushdāshiyya*). Finally, Mamlūk society was a continually replicating, single generational military caste; the sons of mamlūks could not be enrolled as mamlūks, although many, known as *awlād al-nās* ("sons of the people [who matter]"), served in inferior units. The Mamlūk army was therefore replenished by the constant import of young slave recruits.

Mamlūk Sultanate

Contemporary Muslim observers appear to have been aware of these “principles” in a general way, although they were never actually written up as such.

The Royal Mamlūks (Arab. *al-mamālīk al-sulṭāniyya*) were the mainstay of the army. The core of this group consisted of those mamlūks who had been bought and raised by the ruling sultan. To these were added mamlūks of previous rulers, as well as some mamlūks who had been attached to various officers who were deceased or no longer serving. An officer or emir (Arab. *amīr*) had a personal entourage of mamlūks, although in the early sultanate, some of this complement was composed of horsemen of nonslave origin.

Non-mamlūk horsemen, as well as some déclassé mamlūks, were enrolled in the *ḥalqa* formations. The word *ḥalqa* means literally a “ring” or “circle” in Arabic, perhaps denoting either a ring around the sultan or an encircling maneuver. *Ḥalqa* units were of some importance in the early sultanate, when there was a ready supply of first-class horsemen, such as Kurds, Turcomans, Ayyūbid soldiers of various provenance, and military refugees (known as *wāfidiyya* or *mustaʿminūn*) from across the frontier with the Mongols: these might be mamlūks and other troopers from subjected states (for example, Iraq and Saljūq Anatolia) or even Mongol deserters themselves. With time, however, these sources dried up, and the *ḥalqa* declined in quality and became units of decidedly secondary importance. Generally, Bedouins and Turcomans served as auxiliaries in time of war, and also patrolled the northern frontier, occasionally raiding into enemy territory. Foot soldiers and militiamen are infrequently encountered in the time of the early sultanate, mainly on the frontier with the Mongols or as garrison troops; sappers and other technical support troops are mentioned during sieges, especially against the Franks.

The officers were divided into ranks, as follows: an “officer (Arab. *amīr*) of 100, commander (Arab. *muqaddam*) of 1000,” which meant that they had a personal entourage of some 100 mamlūks and commanded a regiment of (theoretically) 1,000 *ḥalqa* troops in time of war; an “officer of 40,” known also as “an officer of a *ṭablkhāna* (“drum orchestra”),” who enjoyed an entourage of 40 mamlūks and the right to maintain a private band of musicians; and “an officer of 10,” who had a small entourage of 10 personal mamlūks. These ranks were somewhat flexible: there were, for example, “officers of 40” who actually had 70 personal mamlūks.

The basis for the purchase of young mamlūks, their training, the maintenance of a unit, and an officer’s household in

general was an *iqṭāʿ* (pl. *iqṭāʿāt*), an allocation of agricultural land. The officer in question (called a *muqṭaʿ*) had a right to collect the taxes from this allocation for the above-mentioned uses; the state treasury was thus circumvented in this process. The *iqṭāʿ* did not, however, entail administrative authority and was not passed on as an inheritance. The *muqṭaʿ* also lived in the city: the Mamlūk regime was an urban-based military society. There are thus several differences between the *iqṭāʿ* system and feudalism, including the variant of the latter in the Levant. The senior Mamlūk amīrs amassed great wealth, not only from agricultural taxes but also from land and grain speculation and commerce. The sultan himself held large tracts of land in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt as his royal *iqṭāʿ*. Occasionally, as in the aftermath of the conquest of Arsuf and Caesarea, state land was alienated and given as private property to various emirs. In short, the *iqṭāʿ* system was an efficient mechanism for transferring the agricultural surplus of the state to the sultan and the Mamlūk elite.

Compared to its Ayyūbid predecessor, the Mamlūk sultanate was a relatively centralized regime. Under normal circumstances the sultan’s authority reigned supreme throughout Syria, Palestine, and Egypt (at least as much as premodern conditions permitted). The center of the government was the Citadel of the Mountain (Qalʿat al-Jabal) in Cairo; the bulk of the Royal Mamlūks were stationed there and in its environs; the senior officers (theoretically numbering some twenty-four in Egypt) and their contingents also resided in the city. The governors in Syria, which was divided into a number of provinces, were directly appointed by the sultan. The governors and officers in Syria also had their private contingents of mamlūks, and there were other horsemen in their forces. Provinces in the early sultanate included Damascus (which was responsible for Jerusalem, a subprovince until 1376 when it became a province, albeit of secondary rank), Homs, Hama (actually an Ayyūbid puppet regime until the early 1330s), Aleppo, and Kerak. After their conquests, Saphet and Tripoli also became centers of provinces, as did Gaza later on. In some of the larger cities (most prominently Damascus and Aleppo), there was a separate commander of the local citadel who answered directly to the sultan, and who thus could help check any overly ambitious governors. The sultan resided in Cairo, but in the case of Baybars, much of his time was spent campaigning in Syria and Palestine.

The Mamlūk sultans and senior officers were great patrons of Islamic architecture. This patronage resulted

from the Mamlūk elite's religiosity and spiritual needs, and perhaps also from their need to prove their attachment to their new religion and from the tremendous wealth that they amassed. The fact that these establishments were usually *waqfs* (endowments), which provided income for descendants in a volatile economic milieu (as well as circumvention of Muslim inheritance laws), was an added incentive. Finally, although this may not have been the original intention, the cultivation of religion won the Mamlūk sultans and officers legitimacy in religious circles and among the population at large. Foremost among the institutions supported were *madrasas* (religious colleges focusing on legal studies), but mosques, *khānqāhs* (Sufi lodges), and *khāns* (hospices or caravansarays) also received extensive patronage. The Mamlūk elite saw itself as the defender of Sunnī Islamic orthodoxy, which included moderate Sufism (mysticism), although individual Sufis of a more extreme variety could also enjoy the benefits of support from the military-political elite. Among various intellectual currents that flourished under the Mamlūks, mention can be made of historiography, the extent and richness of which may be unsurpassed in pre-modern Muslim societies.

Decline of the Sultanate

It is often thought that the height of the sultanate was the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (1310–1341), during which peace was concluded with the Mongols. It was certainly a time of massive urban and rural construction, encouraged by the sultan himself, as well as general luxurious living among the elite. Recent research has suggested that many of the subsequent political and economic problems may be attributed to the irresponsible fiscal policy of these years as well as to changes in the educational system of the young mamlūks. In any event, after this ruler's death, the sultanate entered a forty-one-year period of political and economic instability, exacerbated by the arrival of the Black Death in 1348. In 1382, Barqūq ascended the throne, providing a modicum of stability. He also inaugurated the succession of Circassian sultans known (incorrectly) as Burjīs.

The fifteenth century was one of successive economic crises that made for smaller and less disciplined armies. Novice mamlūks (now mostly imported from Circassia in the northern Caucasus) were bought at an older age and thus received less training. This period is often seen as one of decline, although if so, it was certainly a process that took a

long time. With the demise of Frankish and Mongol power, the Mamlūks had no serious external enemies (Tamerlane's excursion to Syria was short-lived); nor did they have any substantial internal opponents. The appearance of the Ottoman Empire in the northern frontier region in the second half of the fifteenth century brought about a change for the Mamlūks, who put up a spirited fight in the area until their final defeat, which was aided by their unwillingness or inability to adopt gunpowder weapons, in 1517.

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Manfred of Staufen (1232–1266)

King of Sicily (1258–1266).

Manfred was an illegitimate son of Frederick II of Staufen, Holy Roman Emperor and king of Sicily, by his relationship

with Bianca Lancia. After the death of his father (13 December 1250), Manfred took on the office of *baiulus* (regent) in the kingdom of Sicily for his older brother Conrad IV and was invested with the principality of Taranto by the terms of Frederick's testament.

The first years of Manfred's government were overshadowed by conflict with Pope Innocent IV and rivalry with Conrad IV, who arrived in southern Italy in 1252. After Conrad's death (21 May 1254), he succeeded in coming to a short-term reconciliation with Innocent IV and replacing Berthold of Hohenburg, who had been nominated as regent by Conrad IV.

As a result of a new rupture with Innocent's successor, Alexander IV, at the beginning of 1255, Manfred embarked on an ambitious policy with the aim of strengthening the Ghibelline (imperialist) party throughout Italy and of isolating the pope; this strategy culminated on 4 September 1260, in the victory of Montaperti, won by the Siennese, supported by Manfred's knights, over the Florentines. After the death of his first wife, Beatrix of Savoy (1256), Manfred married Helena Angelina Doukaina, daughter of Michael II, despot of Epiros (1257/1258). This match brought him as dowry the island of Corfu (mod. Kerkira, Greece) and a strip of the Albanian coast with the cities of Durazzo (mod. Durrës, Albania), Vlorë, Himarë, Sopot, and Butrint, and strengthened his plan to usurp the throne of Sicily, to the detriment of the legitimate rights of the young Conradin, son and heir to Conrad IV.

Manfred was crowned as king of Sicily in Palermo on 10 August 1258. His rule over extended possessions on the eastern shore of the Ionian Sea resulted in an alliance with his father-in-law and Prince William II of Achaia against the emperor of Nicaea, Michael VIII Palaiologos. The climax of Manfred's intervention in Greece was a battle, fought in early summer 1259 (probably on the plain between Florina and Pétres, and not Pelagonia, as is generally assumed), where 400 knights sent by him took part. Although the outcome of this campaign was a complete defeat for the anti-Byzantine coalition, Manfred succeeded in preserving his territories on the eastern shores of the Adriatic and Ionian seas.

After the recapture of Constantinople by Michael VIII (25 July 1261), Manfred concluded an alliance for the restoration of the Latin Empire with the exiled Baldwin II at the beginning of 1262, but attempts at a reconciliation with Alexander IV and his successor Urban IV failed completely. The result of the breakdown of these negotiations was the infeudation of the kingdom of Sicily to Charles I of Anjou by Pope Clement IV. The French prince succeeded in defeating his rival for the crown of Sicily in the battle of Benevento (26 February 1266), in which Manfred lost his life. The Staufens claims to the kingdom of Sicily passed to Manfred's nephew Conradin.

Although Manfred showed little direct interest in the affairs of Outremer, he exchanged a number of emissaries with the Mamlūk sultan Baybars in the years 1261–1265. Contrary to an often repeated assertion, there is no evidence for any contacts between him and the Assassins.

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Mansurah

The town of Mansurah (mod. El-Mansûra, Egypt) was founded by the Ayyūbid sultan al-Kāmil (1218–1238) as a forward military base against the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221), which in November 1219 had seized the vital port of Damietta at the mouth of the eastern branch of the Nile following a prolonged siege.

Mansurah was, in fact, a large fortified encampment of a type typical in Middle Eastern Islamic warfare. Its location also dominated the eastern Nile and the Baḥr al-Saghīr, a strategic waterway linking the Nile and Lake Manzala. After a long pause, largely caused by the divided leadership of King John of Jerusalem and Cardinal Pelagius, the crusader army advanced along the eastern bank of the Nile in July and August 1221, heading for Cairo. It was, however, halted by the Ayyūbid forces at Mansurah, and al-Kāmil ordered that the irrigation dykes be broken, and the surrounding land flooded. The crusader army found itself caught on a small island between the eastern Nile and the Baḥr al-Saghīr and

was obliged to negotiate a humiliating peace. However, in return for the surrender of Damietta, still held by a crusader garrison, the trapped army was permitted to retreat in safety at the end of August 1221.

In 1249 Damietta again fell to a crusade army, led by King Louis IX of France. Although he was dying, the sultan al-Şāliḥ (1240–1249) assembled an army at Mansurah, supported by a river fleet. In November–December 1249, the crusaders advanced up the Nile toward Mansurah. The death of al-Şāliḥ on 23 November was kept a secret from his army, which skirmished with the crusaders outside the town during December and January. Eventually the crusaders crossed the Baḥr al-Saghir to attack the town, but on 11 February 1250 the king's brother Robert, count of Artois, disobeyed orders and entered Mansurah, where he was defeated in street fighting. The Egyptians then counter-attacked, and the crusaders were besieged in their camp, while the Egyptian river fleet won control of the Nile. In March and April the crusaders retreated toward Damietta before being forced to surrender near Fariskur, where King Louis was taken prisoner. In May 1250 some senior crusader leaders were released after paying large ransoms, but much of their army was enslaved.

This second battle of Mansurah was one of the most important during the entire crusades, confirming three strategic points: that Egypt was the center of Islamic power in the Middle East, that Frankish power in the Holy Land could only be preserved by dominating Egypt, and that the conquest of Egypt by a seaborne assault was probably impossible, given the military technology of this period. The Ayyūbid sultanate collapsed during this campaign, to be replaced by a military regime, which evolved into the Mamlūk sultanate. Victory at Mansura gave the Mamlūks great prestige, helping them to inflict a major defeat upon the invading Mongols a decade later.

–David Nicolle

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Mantzikert, Battle of (1071)

A battle in which Byzantine forces under Emperor Romanos IV Diogenes were defeated by a Saljūq army under the sultan Alp Arslān, fought near the fortress of Mantzikert (mod. Malazgirt, Turkey) on 26 August 1071.

Byzantine historians of the event were partisan: Michael Attaleiates (an eyewitness) and John Zonaras supported Emperor Romanos; Michael Psellos and Nikephoros Bryennios (whose grandfather fought in the battle) were critical of his actions. Muslim historiography, none of it contemporary, emphasized the heroic Islamic credentials of the Saljūqs. Armenian historians saw the defeat as divine punishment for Byzantium's persecution of non-Chalcedonian Christians.

In the summer of 1071, Emperor Romanos led a large force (possibly some 100,000 men) to secure fortresses near Lake Van (mod. Van Gölü) in Armenia against the threat of the Saljūqs. A considerable number, under Joseph Tarchaneiotēs, was dispatched to besiege Khliat (mod. Ahlat). Romanos approached from Theodosiopolis (mod. Erzurum) with around 60,000 men. They included provincial troops, contingents of Oghuz Turks, Rus mercenaries, and Armenian foot soldiers. The fortress of Mantzikert had been successfully recaptured when Romanos learned of the proximity of a large Saljūq force commanded by Alp Arslān. Outnumbered, the sultan made an offer of peace, which was rejected. Tarchaneiotēs, however, hearing of the Saljūq advance, fled toward Mesopotamia.

The battle began on the evening of 26 August. After inconclusive skirmishing during the day, and not wishing to remain outside the undefended camp at nightfall, the emperor gave the order to withdraw. According to Attaleiates, the general Andronikos Doukas, hostile to Romanos, then betrayed him by spreading panic in the army. Bryennios, in contrast, relates that by this time the Turks had encircled the Byzantine army, putting the right wing (under Alytes) and then the left wing (under Nikephoros Bryennios the Elder) to flight. Both Doukas and

Manuel I Komnenos (1118–1180)

Bryennios escaped capture, but Romanos, with the imperial bodyguard and the troops from Asia Minor commanded by Alytes, was left to face the Turks. Although many escaped, Romanos was captured and held as a prisoner for eight days. After his release, he took refuge in Cilicia, where he was defeated by forces loyal to Doukas. He was then blinded and forced to become a monk.

Byzantine losses at Mantzikert were low: Attaleiates names only three high-ranking officers who were killed. Half the Byzantine army did not fight in the battle, and most of those captured were later released. The battle did not change the balance of power between Byzantines and Turks in Asia Minor; far more damaging were the ten years of civil war that followed the deposition of Romanos IV.

—Rosemary Morris

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Manuel I Komnenos (1118–1180)

Byzantine emperor (1143–1180).

Manuel Komnenos was born on 28 November 1118, the youngest son of Emperor John II Komnenos. As emperor, Manuel welcomed Westerners to his court and fostered efforts to unify the Latin and Greek churches. His attempts to play off the Italian maritime states against one another, however, led to the increasing alienation of Venice.

The arrival of the Second Crusade (1147–1149) on Byzantine territory provided an early challenge to Manuel's authority. He attempted to revive the pacts that Alexios I Komnenos had established with the crusaders, but with little success. The German contingent under King Conrad III refused to cross the Hellespont at Abydos and was suspected

of planning to capture Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey). After its defeat in Asia Minor in 1147, Manuel received the ailing Conrad in Constantinople. He then provided ships to take him to Palestine and arranged the marriage of his niece Theodora to Conrad's nephew Henry Jasomirgott. Manuel's relationship with the French contingent under King Louis VII was ambivalent, and even the Byzantine chronicler Niketas Choniates felt that Manuel had failed to support the enterprise adequately. Manuel minted a debased coinage to be used in transactions with the crusaders and made a truce with the Saljūq sultan of Rūm. He did nothing to prevent attacks on the French by both Turks and Greeks, and the failure of the crusade left a legacy of bitterness toward Byzantium in the West, as reflected in the account of Odo of Deuil.

In the East, Manuel had three major areas of concern: Jerusalem, Antioch, and Cilicia. His relationship with the rulers of Jerusalem was cordial. Baldwin III and Amalric were both married to Byzantine princesses, and Manuel sent large gifts of money to maintain the defenses of the kingdom and to redecorate the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. In 1169, a force of 200 Byzantine ships joined King Amalric on his expedition to Egypt. Paul Magdalino sees Manuel as using Baldwin III as a "trusted relative" to ensure the good behavior of the other Frankish princes of Outremer [Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, pp. 41–53; 66–88; 95–105]; Ralph-Johannes Lilie, by contrast, suggests that Amalric actually recognized the feudal supremacy of Byzantium [Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, pp. 142–221].

Manuel abandoned his father's aim of recovering the principality of Antioch, though he did manage to achieve the temporary return of a Greek patriarch. His ceremonial entry into Antioch in 1159, at which its ruler, Reynald of Châtillon, acted as his groom, emphasized his authority, and his second marriage, with Maria of Antioch (1161), brought him further influence. In Cilicia, Manuel faced opposition from Armenian rulers, who had no scruples about allying with the neighboring Muslim and Christian powers against him. He was able to reconquer the coastlands, but Byzantine authority was never fully reestablished.

Manuel attempted to assert his lordship over the Saljūqs of Rūm, who ruled much of central Anatolia. In a treaty in 1161, Sultan Qilij Arslān II agreed to hand over imperial cities and curb Turcoman raiders. However, Manuel's

attempt to recapture the city of Ikonion (mod. Konya, Turkey) ended in defeat at Myriokephalon (1176), and the situation in Asia Minor remained precarious. In general, however, Manuel succeeded in establishing a *pax byzantina* (Byzantine peace) whereby local potentates kept the peace while acknowledging the Byzantine emperor as their overlord. He died on 24 September 1180 and was succeeded by his son Alexios II.

—Rosemary Morris

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Manuel II Palaiologos (1350–1425)

Byzantine emperor (1391–1425).

Manuel was the second son of Emperor John V Palaiologos and Helena Katakouzene and became heir to the throne on the death of his elder brother, Anronikos IV (1385).

As emperor, Manuel inherited his father’s policy of accepting the position of vassal of the Ottoman sultan. In 1394, however, Sultan Bayezid I decided to abandon conciliation and laid siege to Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey), forcing Manuel to revert to the tactic of seeking assistance from western Europe. He sailed for Italy in 1399 with the aim of making a personal appeal. After touring the cities of northern Italy, the emperor and his retinue moved

north, stopping first at Paris and arriving in London at the end of 1401. Manuel was warmly and sympathetically received wherever he went, and Pope Boniface IX ordered crusade preaching to encourage volunteers and donations of money.

The unsettled conditions of the time made it impossible for large-scale help to be sent to Constantinople from either France or England, and salvation ultimately came from an entirely unexpected quarter. In July 1402, following Bayezid’s defeat and capture by the Turkic khan Timur at the battle of Ankara, the Ottoman threat to Constantinople evaporated, and Manuel was able to return. This was, however, only a stay of execution. By the time of Manuel’s death, the Ottomans had recovered from their defeat and were once more making plans to capture Constantinople. He was succeeded by his son John VIII Palaiologos.

—Jonathan Harris

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Manzikert

See Mantzikert, Battle of (1071)

Marash

Marash (mod. Kahramanmaraş, Turkey), known in the ancient period as Germanikeia, was one of the most important towns in Armenian Cilicia in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. For a brief time (1104–1149) it was the capital of the most northerly of all the Frankish lordships in Outremer.

Marash’s importance stemmed from its location at the intersection of main roads coming from Anatolia in the west

Margat

across the Anti-Taurus Mountains and continuing on to the cities of Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey) in the east and Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) in the south.

The main armies of the First Crusade (1096–1099) passed through Marash when first entering Syria on the way to Jerusalem in 1097. At that time, a number of small Armenian lordships contended with one another for control of Cilicia while loosely recognizing the sovereignty of the Byzantine state. Hostile Turkish emirates at Ikonion (mod. Konya, Turkey) to the west, Sebasteia (mod. Sivas, Turkey) to the north, and Aleppo to the south surrounded the region and posed a constant menace to its survival.

It was in the hope of resisting this threat that the new Frankish rulers at Antioch and Edessa promoted the creation of a new lordship at Marash shortly after the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099. The precise circumstances and date are unknown, but by 1108 a descendant of the Hauteville family of Normandy, Richard of the Principate (of Salerno), was ruling Marash with the acquiescence of neighboring Armenian lords.

For the next four decades, four men held the lordship of Marash (which may briefly have had the status of county in the 1130s and 1140s). It was a period seldom free from foreign invasions and internal rebellions. No single family appears to have established a hereditary claim to the command. Richard's son and heir, Roger, was named prince of Antioch in 1112. It is unclear how Marash passed to the next lord, Geoffrey, who had previously been a monk at a monastery in Rome. Geoffrey rose meteorically in the early 1120s to become briefly one of the most powerful men in the crusader states, governing Edessa as regent during the captivity of Joscelin I (1123–1124).

The high point in the importance of Marash came during the rule of Baldwin, lord from 1136 to 1146. He was probably a son (possibly illegitimate) of William IX, duke of Aquitaine (1086–1126), whose second son, Raymond of Poitiers, then prince of Antioch, installed him as lord. During the ten years of Baldwin's rule, Marash stood out as one of the major powers of northern Syria and Cilicia, and Baldwin, who died a heroic death in the Franks' failure to retake Edessa in 1146, enjoyed a reputation for great military valor among Greek, Latin, and Armenian historians of the era. However, Baldwin's rule coincided with a resurgence of Turkish power to the north and Frankish weakness in the south; the loss of Edessa left Marash isolated and exposed, and the town fell to attacks from Ikonion in 1149. The existence of this lordship in Armenian Cilicia for half a century had little decisive influence on Frank-

ish settlement in Outremer: at best it may have prolonged somewhat the survival of the Frankish states by warding off Turkish attacks from the north.

—George T. Beech

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Margat

Margat (mod. Qal'at Marqab, Syria) was a castle overlooking the Mediterranean coast near the southern frontier of the principality of Antioch. It was originally built by the Mazoir family, who held the surrounding lordship, but they sold it to the Hospitallers in 1186. Saladin reckoned it was too strong to take in 1188.

The Hospitallers conducted a major rebuilding in the early thirteenth century. The adjacent town was fortified, and the citadel, at the south end of the isolated plateau on which the castle stands, was transformed into a massive stronghold. Built in black basalt, it consists of two lines of fortification dominated by a massive, round donjon some 25 meters (82 ft.) high. Inside the walls there are vast store-rooms on different levels. There were halls for the Hospitaller knights and a large, simple chapel in which traces of mosaic decoration have been found. In 1212 the castle was said to have had a normal complement of 1,000 men and contained enough supplies for five years. It also became the seat of the Latin bishop of Valania and the archives of the Hospitallers. The Mamlūk Sultan Qalāwūn began a siege on 17 April 1285 and on 23 May the southern tower of the spur was undermined. The next day the garrison asked for terms and were allowed to retire to Tortosa and Tripoli.

—Hugh Kennedy

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Maria of Antioch (d. 1183)

Second wife of the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos.

Maria was born around 1140, the daughter of Constance, princess of Antioch, and her husband, Raymond of Poitiers. The marriage was part of Manuel's policy of rapprochement



Outer defenses, Margat. (Courtesy Graham Loud)

with the Frankish states of Outremer and was approved by King Baldwin III of Jerusalem. Contemporaries commented on Maria's outstanding beauty and charm. After the birth of her son Alexios II, Maria was appointed as regent should his father die before he came of age, on condition that she become a nun. This she nominally did after Manuel's death in 1180, taking the name of Xene.

Maria's short period as regent was unpopular. She appointed the protosebastos Alexios Komnenos, Manuel's nephew, as her chief minister; he may also have been her lover. She antagonized Manuel's daughter Maria and her husband, the Caesar John (Ranieri) of Montferrat, who rebelled against her in 1182. This left the way open for a coup d'état led by Andronikos (I) Komnenos, who became regent and subsequently emperor. Maria was banished from court. In the summer of 1183, she was accused of inciting her brother-in-law Béla III of Hungary to attack Byzantium. She was imprisoned, murdered, and buried in an unmarked grave on the seashore.

—Rosemary Morris

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Maria of Jerusalem ("la Marquise") (1192–1212)

Queen of Jerusalem (1206–1212), the eldest surviving daughter of Queen Isabella I of Jerusalem and her second husband, Conrad, marquis of Montferrat.

Maria's maternal uncle, John of Ibelin, lord of Beirut, acted as regent until she attained her majority in 1210. She

Marienburg



Entrance to Margat. (Courtesy Graham Loud)

needed a husband who would be able to govern the land, lead the army into battle, and provide an heir to the realm. In 1208 the barons and prelates of the kingdom and the three main military orders arranged a marriage for her (possibly at the instigation of King Philip II of France) to John of Brienne, a nobleman from Champagne. John reached Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) on 13 September 1210 and was married to Maria the following day, and the couple was crowned at Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon) on 3 October 1210.

There is little evidence for Maria's participation in government during her life and it is unclear exactly when she died. She gave birth either in the latter half of 1211 or during the course of 1212 and died soon after, leaving her husband to rule on behalf of their infant daughter, Isabella II.

—Linda Goldsmith

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Maria la Marquise

See Maria of Jerusalem

Maria of Montferrat

See Maria of Jerusalem

Marienburg

Marienburg (mod. Malbork, Poland) in Prussia was the largest and most magnificent of all the castles of the Teutonic

Order, and from 1309 was the seat of the order's grand master (Ger. *Hochmeister*).

The first mention of the castle dates from 1280. The site chosen was a ridge of higher ground, bordered on the west by the river Nogat and on the east by low-lying marshy ground. A town was laid out to the south, which received its charter in 1286. The original construction consisted of a rectangular enclosure approximately 50 by 60 meters (164 by 197 ft.), made of brick with stone footings. There were two towers, one on the northeast corner and the "Gdanisko" tower on the southwest, joined to the main structure by a bridge, which was both defensive post and latrine. This convent castle was to form the nucleus known as the "High Castle" from the sixteenth century. To the north a large area was enclosed as a forecastle or lower bailey (Ger. *Vorburg*).

With the arrival of the grand master in 1309, the castle had to be expanded to accommodate his retinue and the administrative apparatus of the state. It was also required to entertain visiting crusaders from the West. The forecastle was divided, and a Middle Castle formed with vast brick buildings on three sides of a central courtyard: the entrance to the High Castle lay on the fourth (south) side. These ranges contained a magnificent great refectory and, on the southwest corner, the lodgings of the grand master. With their high ceilings and simple delicate tracery, his chambers are fine examples of the secular architecture of the fourteenth century.

Around 1340, a new chapel was built in the northeastern corner of the High Castle, its apse protruding from the original rectangle. The forecastle, now truncated by the separation of the Middle Castle, acquired more buildings and domestic offices.

After the battle of Tannenberg in 1410, the Teutonic Knights, whose power was now much reduced, built another line of walls along the east and north sides, equipped with semicircular towers for gunpowder defense.

In 1457 the castle was taken by the Poles and occasionally used as a royal palace, and it slowly lost its military function, suffering several fires. In 1877 restoration of the castle, now in Prussian hands, was entrusted to Conrad Steinbrecht, who embarked on a massive program of restoration to which the castle owes much of its present appearance.

—Hugh Kennedy

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Marj Ayun, Battle of (1179)

A defeat of the Franks of Jerusalem under King Baldwin IV by Saladin, who had sent Muslim forces from his base at Damascus to raid the lordships of Sidon (mod. Saïda, Lebanon) and Beirut in northern Palestine.

After confronting Saladin's forces in the hill country of Marj Ayun, the Franks were routed and dispersed on 10 June 1179. Several important Franks were captured, including Baldwin of Ibelin and Hugh of Saint-Omer, who were ransomed for high sums, and Odo of Saint-Amand, master of the Templars, who was kept a prisoner until his death a year later. Saladin was able to exploit his victory by mounting a successful siege of the new Frankish fortress at Jacob's Ford in August.

—Alan V. Murray

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Maronites

The Maronites form one of the Chalcedonian churches in the Near East. The Maronite Church originated in a monastery near Apamea (mod. Afāmiyah, Syria) called Mar Maron. The exact location of the monastery is still unknown, but it was most probably founded after the Council of Chalcedon (451) in order to strengthen the adherents of the Chalcedonian doctrines in the region. Maronites fought for the Chalcedonian doctrine against the monophysite Syrian Orthodox Christians (Jacobites). During the Acacian Schism (484–519), the monks of the monastery of Mar Maron sent a letter to Pope Hormisdas seeking support from Rome. A Chalcedonian confederation of monasteries was formed, and the monastery of Mar Maron held the presidency.

Under the Byzantine emperor Heraclius, the confederation led by the monastery of Mar Maron supported the doctrine of monotheletism, the doctrine of two natures and one

will in Christ. They continued to do so even after the Council of Constantinople (680–681) rejected monotheletism in favor of the doctrine of two natures and two wills in Christ (dyotheletism). Makarios, the patriarch of Antioch, was condemned. Meanwhile the Arabs had conquered the Near East and North Africa, and either the Chalcedonian see of Antioch was not occupied, or the patriarch was resident in Constantinople. The Chalcedonian (Greek Orthodox) church in Syria came to be divided into adherents of dyotheletism and adherents of monotheletism. The dyotheletes grew rapidly to a majority when in 727 prisoners of the war against Byzantium were settled in the region and dyotheletes carried out missionary work among the monotheletes. Some scholars, especially Maronites, still assume that the whole debate over monotheletism came to Syria only in 727. Consequently, they also assume that Maronites had never been monotheletes.

When the Muslim authorities gave permission for a new Chalcedonian patriarch to reside in Antioch, a schism broke out between the dyothelete and the monothelete Chalcedonians. When Bar Qanbara became Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch, he tried to impose the doctrine of dyotheletism on the monks of Mar Maron during a visit. They refused and, according to the chronicler Michael the Great, the Maronites elected their own patriarch. It is not certain that the name of the first patriarch was John Maron, who is a somewhat legendary figure. The chronicler Eutychios (Saʿīd ibn Baṭṭīq), patriarch of Alexandria (877–940), relates that during the time of Emperor Maurice a monk called Maron spread the doctrine of two natures, one will, one energy, and one person in Christ.

The Muslim writer al-Masʿūdī (d. 956) gives similar information concerning the doctrine of the Maronites. He also indicated the main areas of Maronite settlement: the mountains of Lebanon and Sanīr (between Homs and Baalbek), Homs and surroundings, Hama, Shaizar, and Maʿarrat al-Nuʿman. The Nestorian metropolitan Elias of Nisibis (d. after 1049) indicates that the Maronites resided in and around Kafartab. During the early tenth century, large groups of Maronites migrated to the northern parts of the Lebanese mountains. From the time of the crusades there are also Latin sources on the Maronites, the principal one being William of Tyre.

The Maronites lived mainly in the northern parts of Lebanon, where they had retained a certain autonomy under Muslim rule, in contrast to other Christian groups. In the

county of Tripoli, they formed the main group of native Christians: according to William of Tyre they numbered more than 40,000 in the area of Mount Lebanon and the dioceses of Gibelet, Botron, and Tripoli [Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), p. 1018]. Few Maronites lived outside the county of Tripoli. In Beirut there was a church and probably a sizable community, while there was a Maronite chapel in Jerusalem for their pilgrims. For the fourteenth century there are reports that a community of Maronites may have lived in Tikrit in Mesopotamia. The Maronite Church was one of the separated Eastern churches; it had its own patriarchs and bishops and was not in communion with any other church until 1181.

When the crusaders first came to Tripoli, the Maronites were willing to help them by providing guides. As they had retained a tradition of bearing arms, unlike most native Christians in Outremer, they were favored by the Franks, who often employed them in warfare.

The attitude of the Franks toward the indigenous Christians was generally favorable. Normally the Franks did not put pressure on the separated Eastern Christians to acknowledge the primacy of the Roman see or to accept the Latin creed. The Eastern Christians were freed from paying the religious tax formerly imposed on them by the Muslims, as well as from paying the tithe to the Latin Church. They were allowed to keep their churches and monasteries and could practice their faith freely. Consequently most of the Maronites had a positive attitude toward the Franks, although some Maronites are said to have supported the Muslim attack on Tripoli in 1137.

According to William of Tyre, the Maronite community entered into full religious union with the Roman Church in 1181: Aimery of Limoges, the Latin patriarch of Antioch, had convinced them to renounce monotheletism. We have no information about the reason for this unification nor about the negotiations. However, it was surely significant that union was brought about by the Latin patriarch, rather than the Curia or a papal legate, as was the case in negotiations with other churches. A decisive factor was the fact that Aimery made concessions, recognizing the Maronite church structure and not demanding total Latinization. This union held out hope that other separated churches would enter into the union with Rome, too.

In 1203 Cardinal Peter of San Marcello was sent by Pope Innocent III to hold discussions in Tripoli with the Maronite

patriarch and his two suffragans. The Maronite churchmen swore obedience to Rome; they again renounced the monothelite doctrine and accepted the double procession of the Holy Ghost (that is, the belief that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son as well as the Father). They also had to make some concessions concerning baptism, confirmation, communion, and confession, adapting them to the Latin rites.

In 1215 the Maronite patriarch, Jeremiah al-'Amshīṭī, attended the Fourth Lateran Council, held at Rome under the presidency of Pope Innocent III. At the end of the council the bull *Quia divinae sapientiae* was published regarding the union of the Maronite and Roman churches. The Maronite bishops were required to wear miters and rings and carry a pastoral staff during the office. Bells were to be used to summon the faithful, and communion vessels were to be made of precious metal. The hierarchy of the Maronite Church was to consist of a patriarch, two archbishops, and three bishops. From that time the Maronite patriarch was confirmed in office by the pope and received the pallium from the Latin patriarch of Antioch.

Not all Maronites supported this union, and there was resistance in particular from groups living in the mountains. In 1243 the pope confirmed the appointment of the Maronite archbishop of Aiole by the Maronite patriarch; this unusual intervention seems to have been necessary because the see had not been in full communion with Rome before. Patriarch Daniel al-Shāmāṭī, the successor of Jeremiah al-'Amshīṭī, favored the Latinization of the Maronite Church, but became quite isolated; after his death in 1282, the opponents of the union with Rome succeeded in having their own candidate elected. In 1289 the Franks lost the city of Tripoli to the Mamlūks, but the tensions between the different Maronite factions had not been resolved. The opposition to union with Rome had almost come to an end when the Mamlūks conquered the remaining parts of the county of Tripoli. All Maronites, whether in favor of union or not, suffered under the Mamlūks and now sought help against them from the West.

Contact between Rome and the Maronites was interrupted, but the church union was maintained, although the patriarch no longer applied for the pallium from Rome. It was only in the fifteenth century that the Franciscans made contact with the Maronites, and the connection between Rome and the Maronites was reestablished. In 1439 the Maronite patriarch, John, sent the prior of the Franciscans

of Beirut as his representative to the Council of Florence, where he received the pallium from Pope Eugenius IV. The importance of the Maronite church grew in 1444, with the failure of the union between the Latin and Greek Orthodox churches; it was now the only Eastern church fully united with Rome.

From this time Maronites were sent to Rome for their education. One of those was Gabriel ibn al-Qilā'ī, who was recruited by the Franciscans. After his return to Lebanon, he wrote poems with allusions to the history of the Maronites during the period of Frankish rule in Outremer. This period became decisive for the self-conception of the Maronites, in that it affected their attitude toward Europe in opposition to their largely Islamic environment and their relations with Rome in opposition to the Greek Orthodox Church and the separated Eastern churches. These factors came to be reflected in Maronite historiography of subsequent periods. Gabriel ibn al-Qilā'ī denied that the Maronites had ever been monothelites. He praised the good relations between crusaders and Franks on the one hand and the Maronites on the other. The father of Maronite historiography, Iṣfān al-Duwayhī, underlined the eternal orthodoxy of the Maronite Church. He saw the origin of the Maronites in John Maron, who according to him descended from the Carolingians in France and studied in Constantinople before becoming bishop of Antioch.

During the Ottoman period the patriarch was responsible for the civil administration of the Maronite community. In modern Lebanon the Maronites are one of the main religious groups. The patriarch now has his residence in Bkerke, Lebanon.

—Harald Suermann

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Martin of Pairis

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Marqab

See Margat

Martin of Pairis

Abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Pairis in Alsace, participant in the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), and hero of Gunther of Pairis's *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*.

Little is known of Martin apart from Gunther's partisan testimony; his family, place of origin, and birth and death dates are unknown. (Due to a misreading of the abbreviation for the Latin word *licet* in a manuscript of the *Hystoria*, some modern historians have even erroneously referred to him as Martin Litz.)

Martin took the cross while preaching the crusade at Basel in 1201, and set off with his crusade recruits in 1202. At Venice, Martin learned of the plan to sail against the Dalmatian city of Zara (mod. Zadar, Croatia) and sought leave to return home from Cardinal Peter Capuano, who refused and reportedly placed all German crusaders under Martin's care. Following Zara's capture, Martin joined the delegation to Rome that obtained papal absolution for the army, but rather than rejoining the crusaders at Zara, Martin sailed to Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) with Peter Capuano. On 8 November 1203, he left Acre on a mission to seek speedy assistance from the crusade army for the beleaguered Franks of Outremer, reaching Constantinople on 1 January 1204, where he found the crusaders shut out of a hostile city. When they captured the city (12–13 April), Martin was not far behind, raiding the Church of Christ Pantokrator and making off with numerous relics. On 24 June 1204, Martin reentered Pairis, where he deposited his sacred booty in the abbey church.

—Alfred J. Andrea

See also: Fourth Crusade (1202–1204)

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Martyrdom, Christian

In the early Christian Church, a martyr was a person put to death for refusing to renounce the Christian faith. The word *martyr* means "witness," and martyrs bore their sufferings, even to death, as Christ's witnesses. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, this concept was considerably developed and extended, and the crusades played a significant part in this process.

Martyrdom was part of the religious belief system of Western Christendom. In the Middle Ages the relics of martyrs were present on every altar, and martyrs were formally remembered every day in every monastery. Martyrdom was also a feature of stories of chivalry, such as the *Chanson de Roland*, which told of Emperor Charlemagne's battles against the Moors of Spain, and thus it was part of the mentality of the arms-bearing elite: the knights whom the pope wished to enlist to fight against the Turks in 1095. The papacy had already been responsible for changes in the idea of martyrdom. The early martyrs had been passive figures, but from the ninth century on, some of those killed fighting Muslims or Vikings in defense of the church had been referred to as martyrs. In the eleventh century, Pope Gregory VII had extended this usage to supporters who defended the papacy in its struggle against the abuse of simony as well as against the anti-pope. Pope Urban II was aware of this usage of martyrdom, and according to four accounts of his speech at the Council of Clermont (November 1095), he alluded to martyrdom in his address to the clergy and laity that inspired their participation in the First Crusade (1096–1099).

Contemporary accounts of the First Crusade refer to martyrdom, but it is interesting to note that the eyewitnesses do so less than those who did not go on crusade. Many of the references are in speeches and sermons of the crusade leaders made before battle and in other times of crisis. The same contemporary historians also associated martyrdom with two crises: the siege of Nicaea (1097) and the siege of Antioch (1098). Individuals, and sometimes groups of people

who died during the expedition were believed to have achieved martyrdom, whether they died of disease like Adhemar, bishop of Le Puy, or were killed as noncombatants or as captives who refused to renounce Christianity (like Raynaud Porchet), or, most controversially, when they were killed on the battlefield, like the knight Roger of Barneville. Although there were precedents for warrior-martyrs, they were not plentiful before the First Crusade, and it has been debated whether the idea that crusaders who died in battle went straight to paradise became widely accepted only as a result of the crusade. Jonathan Riley-Smith suggested in the 1980s that it was not part of the preaching of the crusade, but became part of the crusaders' consciousness once Asia Minor had been crossed. He also conjectured that this specialized concept of martyrdom was developed early in the twelfth century by nonparticipant writers of crusade narratives, particularly Guibert of Nogent.

The more widely accepted view is that martyrdom achieved through death in battle, or on campaign, was already an accepted idea before Urban preached at Clermont, and if he did not hold out the promise of this eternal reward, it was because the status of martyr could be given only by God (unlike the indulgence, which the pope could offer). During the First Crusade, the idea became fully formulated and accrued certain features. An important one was that the status of martyr was authenticated by the appearance of the candidate in a vision. This was true, for example, of Adhemar, bishop of Le Puy. At the Great Battle of Antioch (28 June 1098), accounts tell of visions of a host of martyred crusaders riding into the fray and assuring the victory of the Christians. With them were earlier soldier-martyrs, including St. George. It has been argued that the First Crusade made the martyred knight the norm, in contrast to the passive model of martyrdom that pertained earlier.

After the First Crusade, martyrdom became a constant element in warfare against unbelievers. There were visions of martyrs who appeared and worked miracles after the siege of Lisbon during the Second Crusade, for example. It became part of the propaganda for future crusades, as in the Old French *Chanson d'Antioche*: when the hero Rainald of Toul is dying on the battlefield, he plucks three blades of grass, swallows them, and invokes the Holy Trinity; then angels bear his soul to heaven, singing the *Te Deum*. The concept of martyrdom for those who died fighting against unbelievers was an aspect of "sanctified violence," and its acceptance played a part in the devel-

opment of the military orders, which sanctioned monks becoming warriors.

—Susan B. Edgington

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Martyrdom, Muslim

Martyrdom (Arab. *shahāda*, "witnessing [for God]"), especially martyrdom on the battlefield and its religious merits, was an important theme of Muslim propaganda during the counter-crusade against the Franks of Outremer.

The Qur'ān promises great recompense for those who are slain "in the way of God" (Arab. *fi sabil Allāh*): the forgiveness of sins, exemption from the torments of the grave, great bliss in Paradise, and the right to act as intercessors for less fortunate believers (*sūra* 3:169–170, 4:67–69, 9:111). On earth, the bodies of martyrs receive special burial rites: they are interred in their bloodstained garments without washing or shrouding. Prophetic tradition (Arab. *Ḥadīth*) claims even greater prizes for the active quest for martyrdom (Arab. *ṭalab al-shahāda*) in heroic, singlehanded feats of war (distinguishing those from suicide, which is considered a major sin). Later jurists extended the notion of martyrdom and its rewards to include victims of plague, fire, childbirth, and other forms of painful deaths.

Muslim authors and preachers who wished to instigate and perpetuate the *jihād* (holy war) against the Franks used and glorified the examples of the martyrs of the early campaigns of Muḥammad in Arabia, of the great Arab conquests, and of the prolonged war of attrition with Byzan-

Mateusz of Kraków (d. 1166)

tium, as well as the willing sacrifice of the mothers and fathers of martyrs. Martyrs of the counter-crusade itself received similar attention. Chroniclers report that stories about those men aroused strong emotions and motivated citizens and soldiers. Moreover, graves of warriors who had sought and achieved martyrdom while combating the Franks (such as those of two elderly scholars who insisted upon fighting the army of the Second Crusade on the outskirts of Damascus in 1148, and the communal grave of the victims of the bloody conquest of Jerusalem in 1099) became sites for pilgrimage and prayer.

–Daniella Talmon-Heller

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St. Mary of Jehosaphat

See Jehosaphat, Abbey of

Master Vincentius

See Wincenty Kadłubek

Masters of Livonia

See Livonian Masters

Mateusz of Kraków (d. 1166)

Bishop of Kraków (1143/1144–1166) and Polish supporter of the crusade.

Mateusz was probably educated in western Europe. His appointment to the see of Kraków occurred during the civil war (1142–1146) between the sons of Bolesław III, prince of Poland (d. 1138). Mateusz sided with the eldest son and ruling prince, Władysław II (later known as the Exile) and supported him financially. Mateusz was also closely aligned with the party of the magnate Piotr Włostowic, and Piotr’s fall

from Władysław’s favor prompted a break by Mateusz from Władysław’s camp in 1146 after the prince was excommunicated by Archbishop Jakub of Żnin.

Mateusz’s involvement in crusading and missionary activity is only known from his correspondence with Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, which coincided with the preaching of the Second Crusade (1147–1149). In an extant letter (dated to 1146–1148) sent to Bernard jointly by Mateusz and Piotr Włostowic, the Cistercian abbot was encouraged to come to Poland in order to preach the crusade and give support to a mission to Rus’. The letter by the Poles was evidently a reply to Bernard’s questions, originally conveyed in a communication (which has not survived) to Poland by Achard of Clairvaux. From Mateusz’s reply, it can be deduced that Bernard had asked him about the possibility of organizing a Latin mission to the schismatic Russians situated to the east of the diocese of Kraków. Mateusz responded positively to this idea and suggested that such a mission would be successful, but only if Bernard himself were to come to Poland and be involved in its preparation. However, there is no evidence that Bernard travelled to Poland, and the mission to Rus’ did not take place.

During Mateusz’s episcopate and presumably with his approval, the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre were endowed and settled in his diocese by Jaksa of Miechów around 1163. The Hospitallers received an estate from Henryk, duke of Sandomierz, in Zagość between 1154 and 1166 and established a commandery, a convent, and a church dedicated to St. John the Baptist. Mateusz died on 18 October 1166.

–Darius von Guttner Sporzyński

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Matthew of Edessa

An Armenian historian, writing in the early twelfth century. Matthew of Edessa was a monk, possibly senior, in or near that city (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey).

Matthew's *Chronicle* is divided into three parts: book 1, covering the period 951–1051; book 2, 1051–1101; and book 3, up to about 1129; there is some debate as to whether the last entries, relating to 1136, are his or those of his continuator. At first he is reliant on other Armenian sources, but gradually there is a change of focus away from these and also from affairs in the Armenian homeland to turn to information gathered orally. The third part concentrates on the region around Edessa and contains little on Caucasian or Byzantine affairs. Matthew describes his method of work: he “spent many years in laborious research” and, having consulted widely, “collated all the material contained in these histories with the greatest care,” obtaining “facts from respectable people . . . knowledgeable in the events” [*Armenia and the Crusades*, pp. 182–184].

Matthew occasionally shows hostility to the Greeks, but he seems above all aware of a shared Christian identity; the Franks are at first welcomed as protectors of the Christians and then praised or condemned according to their merits. His work is a vital source for the early history of the Frankish states of Edessa and Antioch and the changing relationship of the Franks with their new subject communities. It seems that he obtained information directly from Franks, which may explain his extreme hostility to the Byzantine emperor Alexios I Komnenos, and he provides information of great interest. For example, Matthew explains that in 1108 Tancred would only return Edessa to Baldwin II as a fief of Antioch, provoking the war between them. His work was continued by Gregory the Priest, resident further west in Kesoun (mod. Keysun, Turkey). Matthew's *Chronicle* was extensively used by many later Armenian historians.

—Angus Stewart

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Matthew Paris

An English chronicler and monk at the abbey of St. Albans.

Very little is known of Matthew Paris's early years. He was probably born in England around 1200. In 1217 he joined the Benedictine monastery of St. Albans. Besides a few meetings with King Henry III and one journey to Norway, Matthew remained in this religious house for most of his life. His most important work, the *Chronica Majora*, is a continuation of the *Flores historiarum* of Roger of Wendover, whom Matthew assisted at the abbey scriptorium until 1234, when he took over. Matthew's other works include the *Gesta Abbatum* (a history of the monastery), the *Vie de Saint Alban* (a biography of its patron), and a life of St. Edmund Rich. Matthew also translated a biography of Edward the Confessor from Latin to the vernacular.

Matthew was well aware of the value of his work and complained about the fate of historians: “for, if they speak the truth, they provoke man, and if they record falsehoods they offend God” [Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, 5:469–470]. His historiographical consciousness encouraged Matthew to exploit St. Albans's central position and to look for any testimony he could record from the most important men of his age, such as King Henry III and his brother Richard of Cornwall, and the master of the Order of the Temple in Scotland. In addition to English personages, overseas travelers occasionally turned up at the abbey and enriched Matthew's narrative with firsthand information. All of them provided food for Matthew's unlimited curiosity and allowed him to write the most comprehensive history of his time.

The crusades attracted much of Matthew's attention, and a considerable portion of the *Chronica Majora* is devoted to the main developments in the Holy Land. Still, Matthew was not always able to guarantee chronological accuracy, and in some cases he recorded events as occurring some years before or after they actually happened. Though Matthew's chronology improved when he dealt with events closer to his own time, his conceptualization of the historical process failed to gain in sophistication. Thus, he does not give the slightest hint of the influence of Gerard of Ridefort on the events that brought about the Christian defeat at the Horns of Hattin. Instead he records an evil omen and describes the disastrous consequences of the battle from a moral-Christian perspective, thus neglecting basic questions of strategy and politics.

Modern historians have criticized Matthew's lack of coherence, his malevolence toward Henry III and Pope

St. Maurice, Order

Innocent IV, and his lack of originality. Prior to 1236, indeed, Matthew abridged or copied in part from other monastic annals and chronicles, thus posing both conceptual and methodological problems. With regard to the military orders, Matthew's main concern focused on military and political issues, especially the knights' performance on the battlefield and their policy toward the Christian princes who led the crusades. On the whole Matthew failed to gain a balanced perspective, and the *Chronica Majora* reflects a biased, negative attitude toward all military orders, first and foremost the Templars, whom he often accused of supporting narrow interests of their own to the detriment of the Christian enterprise in the Holy Land. Still, in its coverage of the period from 1236 until 1259, the *Chronica Majora* is independent of all known literary authorities and provides valuable testimony to the contradictory attitudes prevailing in Christendom toward the crusades and the kingdom of Jerusalem during these critical years.

—Sophia Menache

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St. Maurice, Order of

Originally an association of hermits, founded in 1434, refounded as a military-religious order in 1572 and assigned the property of the Order of St. Lazarus in Italy, forming the Order of SS Maurice and Lazarus.

Strictly speaking, the original order of St. Maurice was not a religious order. According to book 7 of the *Commentaries* of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (later pope as Pius II), when Amadeus VIII, duke of Savoy, retired to a hermitage in the

woods near Lake Geneva, he was accompanied by six elderly nobles, all experienced knights. As they had changed their profession from war to religion, the group called themselves Knights of St. Maurice (Lat. *Sancti Mauricii Milites*), after the commander of the Theban Legion. According to tradition, during the Roman Empire the members of the legion had been martyred nearby for their Christian faith.

These hermits did not follow a religious rule or wear a formal religious habit, and their "order" was not formally acknowledged by the church authorities. They were an informal association, more of a religious confraternity than a religious order. Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini recorded no more of this group, which presumably broke up after Amadeus VIII became pope as Felix V in 1439.

In 1572 Duke Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy set up his own Order of St. Maurice, deliberately named to echo his illustrious ancestor's order, with himself as its grand master. In the same year Pope Gregory XIII gave the new order the Italian commanderies of the Order of St. Lazarus. The new foundation was a military-religious order with the function of defending Christendom: it had to maintain two galleys to attack the Turkish and North African pirates that harassed Christian shipping around the Italian coast. Unlike the Order of St. Stephen of Tuscany, the Order of SS Maurice and Lazarus never achieved international notice for its naval activity and soon became effectively no more than a royal order of chivalry.

In 1868 King Victor Emmanuel II of Italy reformed the order to be an order of merit, and the "Order of Saints Maurice and Lazarus" was bestowed as a mark of honor: for example, Guglielmo Marconi (d. 1937), the inventor of wireless telegraphy, was created a commander of the order. After Italy became a republic in 1946, the order was suppressed within Italy and its properties confiscated. The order still exists today outside Italy as a charitable order, with the current duke of Savoy as its grand master.

—Helen Nicholson

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Mawdūd (d. 1113)

Mawdūd ibn Altuntakin was the Turkish lord of Mosul in Iraq (1108–1113), who led three major military campaigns against the Franks of Outremer.

In May 1110, at the request of the Saljūq sultan Muḥammad Tapar, Mawdūd attacked the city of Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey), assisted by two Turcoman leaders, İlgāzī and Suqmān al-Quṭbī. They retreated after the arrival of relieving forces under King Baldwin I of Jerusalem and Tancred of Antioch, but were able to defeat the Franks near the Euphrates. However, the Turkish commanders lacked a strategy for further action and returned home.

In 1111 the inhabitants of Aleppo appealed to the ‘Abbāsīd caliph in Baghdad for help against the encroachments of the Franks. Sultan Muḥammad Tapar ordered Mawdūd and other Turkish lords from Persia and Mesopotamia to undertake a *jihād* (holy war) and sent two of his sons on the campaign. This large army besieged Edessa and Turbessel (mod. Tellbaşar Kalesi, Turkey) without success, and when it moved on to Aleppo, the ruler of Aleppo, Riḍwān, closed the city to it, fearing the loss of his independence to the Turks of Iraq and Persia. Although Mawdūd and his allies were able to ward off the Frankish attack on the town of Shaizar (south of Aleppo), the army eventually dispersed.

Mawdūd’s last campaign was the most effective one. In spring 1113, Tuḡtigin, atabeg of Damascus, asked Mawdūd for military help against Baldwin I of Jerusalem, who was plundering Damascene territory. A large army under Mawdūd arrived in Syria in May 1113. Baldwin I, fearing the strength of the Iraqi army, offered some territorial concessions to Tuḡtigin. However, on 28 June 1113 the joint Muslim forces confronted the army of Jerusalem at al-Sinnabrah, south of Lake Tiberias. According to William of Tyre and most Muslim chroniclers, the battle was disastrous for the Franks, and subsequently the Muslim forces plundered Palestine all summer, reaching as far as Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel) and Acre (mod. ‘Akko, Israel). Tuḡtigin feared Mawdūd’s huge success and ended the campaign, even though Jerusalem was left nearly unprotected. When Mawdūd withdrew to Damascus, he was murdered in September by Assassins hired by Tuḡtigin. As a result, Damascus and Jerusalem established peaceful relations and cooperated against the sultan.

Taef El-Azhari

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Mecca

Mecca (mod. Makkah, Saudi Arabia) is the chief town in the Ḥijaz region of western Arabia and the birthplace of the Prophet Muḥammad. It is also the site of the Ka‘ba, a cubic building in the corner of which is set a black stone that is said to have come from heaven.

The Ka‘ba is the central shrine of Islam, and thus Mecca became the ultimate goal of the *ḥajj* (Muslim pilgrimage). Every Muslim male has the obligation to go on Ḥajj at least once in his life. The ḥajj was of considerable commercial and spiritual importance. Muslim cities in Syria, such as Damascus, suffered economically in years when the ḥajj was unable to get through to Mecca, whether because of Bedouin or Frankish interference. During the early crusade period, Mecca was a politically turbulent backwater that only really came to life during the month of the pilgrimage. However, some well-known Sufis and theologians spent considerable periods of time in the city, studying and meditating. The traveler Ibn Jubayr, who arrived in Mecca on ḥajj in 1183, estimated that about a fifth of the population consisted of foreign residents.

The city was governed (or misgoverned) by Sharīfs of the Hawāshim clan, who traced their lineage back to the clan of the Prophet Muḥammad. The Sharīfs played off the Saljūqs against the Fāṭimids, periodically switching formal allegiance, as acknowledged in the *khuṭba* (the sermon of the Friday prayer). In 1187 the place seemed to be threatened by the Franks when Reynald of Châtillon, the lord of Transjordan, plundered a ḥajj caravan and attacked several Red Sea ports. Saladin’s propagandists thereupon made much of the threat to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina.

Ibn Jubayr’s *Rihla*, or narrative of his pilgrimage to holy places, gives a vivid portrait of the city in the late twelfth century. Saladin’s brother al-‘Ādil succeeded in establishing a somewhat nominal Ayyūbid suzerainty over the city and the region. Baybars I’s establishment of suzerainty over the Sharīfs from 1269 onward was, like Ayyūbid suzerainty, really rather nominal. However, in the early fifteenth century the sultan Barsbay brought the Muslim holy cities under

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more effective Mamlūk control, together with the Red Sea ports that were crucial to Egypt's spice trade.

—Robert Irwin

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Medicine

Crusades to the Holy Land and elsewhere, as well as settlement in the East, exposed western Europeans to a number of health risks over and above those they faced at home. At the beginning of the crusade movement, the basis of the understanding of health and disease was still essentially that of the ancient Greeks: the body was believed to be made up of four “humors”: blood, yellow bile, black bile, and phlegm. These were linked to the four elements (air, fire, earth, and water) and the four seasons (spring, summer, autumn, and winter). There were also four qualities—hot, dry, cold, and wet—that related in opposing pairs to each of the humors, elements, and seasons. Thus summer (like fire and yellow bile) was hot and dry, while winter (like water and phlegm) was cold and wet. When a person was unwell, this was because the humors were out of balance. The patient was to be carefully observed and, taking the season and the weather into account, a treatment administered that would restore the proper balance, either by removing an excess humor, for example, by blood letting or giving an emetic, or by making up a deficiency, perhaps by prescribing foods and drinks with the required qualities (something hot and dry to counteract an excess of phlegm in winter, for instance), or by advising a change of lifestyle, such as more fresh air. Although its theoretical basis was flawed, this approach to medicine at its best encouraged careful observation of the patient and offered a range of holistic remedies that would have done little harm and possibly some good. In the wrong hands or when poorly understood, it could lead to harmful excesses, as in the common practice of routinely bleeding monks in the spring.

These beliefs about the body and health were already 1,500 years old by the time of the crusades. They had persisted through the period of the Roman Empire, usually applied by Greek physicians, and survived in the eastern Mediterranean area even after the collapse of Rome. Thus

the Byzantines had a more or less unbroken tradition of medical care, and the Muslims adopted the ancient theories and preserved many of the old texts by translating them into Arabic. By the eleventh and twelfth centuries, translators in southern Italy and Spain were turning these same texts into Latin, along with original works in Arabic that elaborated the humoral system. One of these was the influential *Liber pantegni* of ‘Alī ibn al-‘Abbās al-Majūsī (called Haly Abbas by Westerners), which was partially translated at Salerno, but translated in its entirety by Stephen of Pisa in Antioch in 1127. These complexities mean that when Arabic influence is discerned in medicine in Outremer, it cannot be assumed to be a result of immediate cross-cultural relationships; the links may be via Salerno or even Córdoba.

There are no references in the sources to named doctors accompanying the earlier crusades, and only fleeting mentions of the activities of physicians and surgeons, for example, when Godfrey of Bouillon was wounded by a bear. Medicine at the time was only beginning to develop as a profession in western Europe, so it is likely that the leaders took physicians with them, but that these were not academically trained and that their status was similar to others who had learned their craft through apprenticeship, such as farriers. Even at the time of the Third Crusade (1189–1192), although there is evidence that the French and English kings were attended by physicians, it cannot be established with any certainty which, if any, went on crusade. Only in the thirteenth century are crusading physicians eminent enough to be recorded, and this reflects the increasing professionalization of medicine: most had the title Master (Lat. *magister*), which implies a university education. At one of the centers of learning, such as Paris or Montpellier (or later Oxford or Cambridge), they would have completed a degree in the seven liberal arts before being permitted to study the theory and practice of medicine. Their main textbooks were by the Greco-Roman Galen on anatomy and physiology, and the Arab Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā) on physics.

Meanwhile, from as early as 1102 there is evidence of Western physicians in Outremer, noted as witnesses to charters and even as owning property. Their activities are also recorded in Arabic sources, notably the memoirs of Usāma ibn Munqidh. Some Western commentators deplored the fashion among the settlers for using the services of Eastern Christian and Muslim physicians. When King Amalric of Jerusalem despaired of finding a cure for his leper son, the future Baldwin IV, he sent to Egypt for a physician, Abū

Sulaymān Dāwūd, who was a Jerusalem-born Christian then in the service of the Fāṭimid caliph. Abū Sulaymān's sons also served Amalric, but after the conquest of Jerusalem in 1187, they joined Saladin's service. This facility of movement between cultures, also known in Spain and Sicily at the same period, identifies Outremer as an area potentially at the forefront of medical development at the time.

By the later twelfth century, salaried physicians were employed at the hospital of St. John in Jerusalem, and it is clear from the provision for physicians to take an oath by the saints or "to vow" that they were not necessarily Christian. The same sources reveal that there were general doctors, surgeons, and a physician who was to take care of the minority of sick patients: most inmates of the hospital were "infirm" rather than ill. It is probable that all of these individuals were licensed, but the earliest evidence for this dates from the 1240s. The bylaws written for Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) at that date state that physicians, whether "from overseas or from pagan lands," had to be tested by the best physicians in the land, in the presence of the bishop, before they were awarded licenses to practice ["Assises des Bourgeois de Jérusalem," in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Lois*, 2 vols. (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1841–1843), 2: 169]. The licensing of physicians is another procedure that may show Muslim influence: the earliest known example in western Europe is from Sicily, about a century before the date of the *Assises*, but it was recorded in Persia as early as the ninth century.

Crusaders on campaign sustained a range of injuries in sieges, in ambushes, in battles and skirmishes, and also in accidents such as collapsing siege towers and, no doubt, falls. For the early period little is said in the sources about the treatment of such wounds, but indications are that after first aid, casualties were taken to the camp or into town for further care. While the leaders probably had the services of surgeons, it is likely that other ranks and noncombatants were assisted by empirics such as barbers and bonesetters, and by others who had no formal training or education. In any case, treatment was straightforward and limited to practical measures such as stanching blood flow and immobilizing fractures. For deep penetrating wounds, such as that sustained by King Baldwin I of Jerusalem in ambush in 1103, his physician recognized the necessity to drain the wound, and later Usāma recorded an ulcerous leg wound being successfully cured by the application of strong vinegar. By the 1180s the Order of St. John was responsible for dealing with battle



Woodcut print in a medieval apothecary shop, fifteenth century. (Stapleton Collection/Corbis)

casualties; it set up field hospitals that administered first aid and, presumably, a triage system, since after preliminary treatment casualties were taken to its hospital in Jerusalem.

If the sources are to be believed, then many more crusaders succumbed to epidemic disease, particularly on the First Crusade (1096–1099). This was an inevitable result of siege conditions, when the blockaders lived for weeks or months in close quarters, in camps with poor sanitation. Malnutrition and polluted water supplies added to their miseries. Leaders were not immune from illness (both Tancred in 1099 and Louis IX of France in 1250 suffered from dysentery), but were more likely to survive because they were better fed and had the option (which Godfrey of Bouillon took in 1098) of escaping to more healthy surroundings. For the rest there was no effective prevention or treatment because there was no understanding of how diseases were spread. The first reaction was to blame the epidemic on the people's sinfulness, and penance, prayer, and fasting were prescribed. Natural causes were also sought, and the unaccustomed heat and "corruption of the air" were proposed. It was widely

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thought in the Middle Ages that bad smells caused diseases, and, although the causative link was wrong, if the misunderstanding led to an effort to eliminate bad smells, then this may have done some good.

Once crusaders became settlers, they had to cope not only with the same range of illnesses and injuries, but also with leprosy, a disease that was endemic in Outremer and that they feared, perhaps disproportionately, partly because it was believed to be the result of licentiousness and partly because its later stages were disfiguring. Although treatments were available, including bathing in hot springs, ointments, and dietary modification, none was successful, and the usual resort was social exclusion (the exception to this was the young king Baldwin IV). For example, a knight who joined the Order of the Temple not knowing he was a leper would be permitted to leave and join the Order of St. Lazarus, while a knight who had deceived the authorities by concealing his symptoms was to be expelled. Others who contracted the disease were accommodated in leprosaria (leper houses) maintained by charity.

An insight into some aspects of civilian medicine is provided by the *Assises des Bourgeois de Jérusalem*, written in Acre in the 1240s. Two chapters deal with case law relating to suits for malpractice. The earlier contains information about the work of the surgeon, which includes skull fractures as well as broken arms and legs, and the treatment of abscesses and wounds. The surgeon was also expected to advise on diet, for he was absolved from responsibility if the patient disobeyed his instructions. The work of the physician is the subject of a second chapter; he treated internal complaints, such as fevers and chills, diarrhea, skin rashes, and dropsy. He was expected to balance the humors in the patient, and there are references to bloodletting and to strong purgatives. The penalties for failure were high: the price of a slave, or public humiliation if a freeman died; effectively, the physician was barred from practice. An interesting aspect of these chapters is that they were included in the section of the *Assises* dealing with commercial matters, and it appears that their enforcement was overseen by an official who regulated trade in Acre and whose antecedent was the Muslim market inspector. Although we cannot assume that the knowledge required of physicians and surgeons who treated Franks was the same as in Islamic lands, this method of enforcement suggests that their practice was probably regulated as a craft or trade in a similar way.

—Susan B. Edgington

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Medina

Medina (mod. al-Madinah, Saudi Arabia) is, after Mecca, the second holiest city in Islam, situated in an agriculturally rich oasis in the Hijaz to the north of Mecca.

In 622 the Prophet Muhammad, having been forced out of Mecca by polytheistic Quraysh kinsmen, withdrew to Medina, which thereupon became his base for preaching and military operations. The Prophet's move to Medina is known as the *hijra*, and the Muslim calendar begins with the year of this event. Those who accompanied the Prophet from Mecca to Medina were known as *muhājirūn*, and their withdrawal from a city ruled by polytheists provided a precedent in later centuries for those Muslims who argued that Muslims under Christian rule, for example, in Palestine or Spain, should withdraw and seek refuge in a Muslim land.

The Prophet died at Medina in 632 (the eleventh hijri

year) and was buried in its chief mosque. Although a visit to Medina and the Prophet's tomb is not formally part of the *hajj* (Islamic pilgrimage), most pilgrims would visit the Prophet's tomb and pray there. According to medieval anti-Muslim polemic, the Prophet's tomb seemed to float miraculously in midair, and this fraud was managed by magnets.

After the Prophet's death, the place was of little political importance. It became something of a pleasure resort to which people retired who were looking for fun or just a quiet life. Medina was governed by the Sharifs of Mecca throughout the crusade period.

—Robert Irwin

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Mehmed II (d. 1481)

Sultan of the Ottoman Empire (1444–1446 and 1451–1481).

Mehmed II first came to the throne aged twelve on the abdication of his father Murad II in 1444. He was immediately faced by a severe military challenge from John Hunyadi, the voivod of Transylvania, and King Vladislav I of Hungary. His father returned from retirement to lead the Ottoman troops who defeated Hunyadi and Vladislav at the battle of Varna in 1444. Mehmed continued to rule, with considerable difficulty, until he was eventually deposed as the result of a janissary revolt in 1446 and Murad was restored.

On the death of Murad II in 1451, Mehmed returned once more to the throne. In 1453 he took the city of Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey), a conquest of great symbolic value, which firmly established the Ottoman state as an empire to be reckoned with. The fall of the Byzantine Empire caused deep consternation in Europe, many fearing that the Ottomans would appear in Rome itself and that the whole of Christendom was in the deadliest danger. The contemporary Nicola Sagundino declared that Mehmed's every thought and action were directed toward the extermination of the Christians. There were many calls for a crusade, in particular by the Hospitallers, who urged the pope to coordinate action against the Ottomans, and called for Christian unity in the face of this great danger.

During Mehmed's reign the frontiers of the Ottoman state were further extended, both in the east and the west. In 1458 he took Athens, the Morea in 1460, and Negroponte

(Euboea) in 1470, and he laid siege to Rhodes in 1480. Serbia fell in 1459 and Bosnia in 1464. In Anatolia, Mehmed disposed of both Uzun Hasan, the Akkoyunlu ruler, defeated in 1473, and the Turkish state of Karaman, which had for so long been a rival to Ottoman power in central Anatolia and which was conquered in 1474. Mehmed extended Ottoman control northward across the Black Sea. The Crimea became a vassal state, and the Genoese trading colony in Caffa (mod. Feodosiya, Ukraine) fell to the Ottomans in 1475. The extent of Ottoman advance was made very explicit for the European powers when Ottoman troops landed in Italy and took Otranto in 1480. Mehmed encouraged commercial activity and paid great attention to cultivating his relations with the Western trading states. Often regarded as cruel (Niccolò Tignosi described him as a new Caligula), Mehmed was also described by contemporaries as a shrewd administrator, temperate and austere by nature, and a man of learning, with a particular interest in ancient history.

—Kate Fleet

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Meinhard (d. 1196)

First missionary bishop of the newly founded church of Livonia (1186–1196).

Born between 1130 and 1135 and initially an Augustinian canon in the monastery of Segeberg in Holstein, Meinhard was the first known missionary to settle in Livonia (around 1184). He had previously visited the region on a seasonal basis several times, in the company of German merchants from Lübeck. It seems reasonable to assume that this mission had been planned for some time and masterminded by the ecclesiastical leadership of the archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen.

Meinhard settled in the village of Üxküll (mod. Ikšķile, Latvia) and obtained permission from the Russian prince Vladimir of Polotsk to begin the process of preaching and

Melisende of Jerusalem (d. 1161)

baptizing the local population along the river Düna. In the early winter of 1185 Üxküll was attacked by marauding Lithuanians. As a consequence, Meinhard promised the Livs in Üxküll and nearby Holme that he would have stone castles built for their protection. In return, they were to accept baptism. In the spring of 1186 masons from Gotland began constructing the first stone castles in the country. At the same time Meinhard was formally appointed as bishop by Hartwig II, archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, and Üxküll became the seat of the first diocese of Livonia.

However, the process of Christianization was not unopposed. On several occasions over the next decade, hostility from the local pagans was so strong and violent that Meinhard seems to have been prepared to give up his work and return to Germany. According to the chronicler Henry of Livonia, he only agreed to stay in Üxküll because he was promised the help of German and Scandinavian crusaders. This army never seems to have materialized, and Meinhard died sometime during the late summer or autumn of 1196, more or less trapped in his fortified church in Üxküll.

—Carsten Selch Jensen

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Melisende of Jerusalem (d. 1161)

Queen of Jerusalem (1131–1152).

Melisende was probably born around 1109, the eldest daughter of Baldwin II, count of Edessa, and his wife Mor-

phia. Baldwin became king of Jerusalem in 1118, and named Melisende heiress to the kingdom in 1127 after it was apparent that he would have no male heir. In 1129 she married Fulk V, count of Anjou; their sons Baldwin III and Amalric were born in 1130 and 1136, respectively. Baldwin II, wishing to ensure his family's rights to the throne, designated Fulk, Melisende, and the young Baldwin III as co-heirs just before he died in 1131.

Melisende now had a stronger constitutional position: she was not simply the king's consort, but a queen regnant. Fulk, however, refused to share power. He rewarded his Angevin followers with lands and offices in the kingdom, giving Melisende's supporters further incentive to insist on the queen's rights. The rebellion of Melisende's cousin Hugh of Jaffa in 1134 forced Fulk to allow her a greater role in government. The queen took an interest not just in political matters but in religious patronage: she made gifts to several churches in Jerusalem, renovated the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and founded the convent of Bethany. These projects demonstrated her piety while connecting the royal family to holy sites in the land they ruled and defended.

Melisende became regent for her son Baldwin III after Fulk's death in 1143. Once Baldwin came of age (1145), Melisende's reluctance to step down led to a rift between mother and son. The queen set up a rival court and attracted some of the kingdom's most powerful magnates to her party, which also included Prince Amalric. In 1152 Baldwin III forced Melisende and her supporters to accept his sovereignty. From this point until her death in 1161, the queen had little real power in Jerusalem, though she continued to play a public role at court. The chronicler William of Tyre, anxious to promote the legitimacy of her family, chose to downplay political upheaval and applauded her efforts to promote royal majesty. She thus appears as a model queen in William's history of Outremer.

—Deborah Gerish

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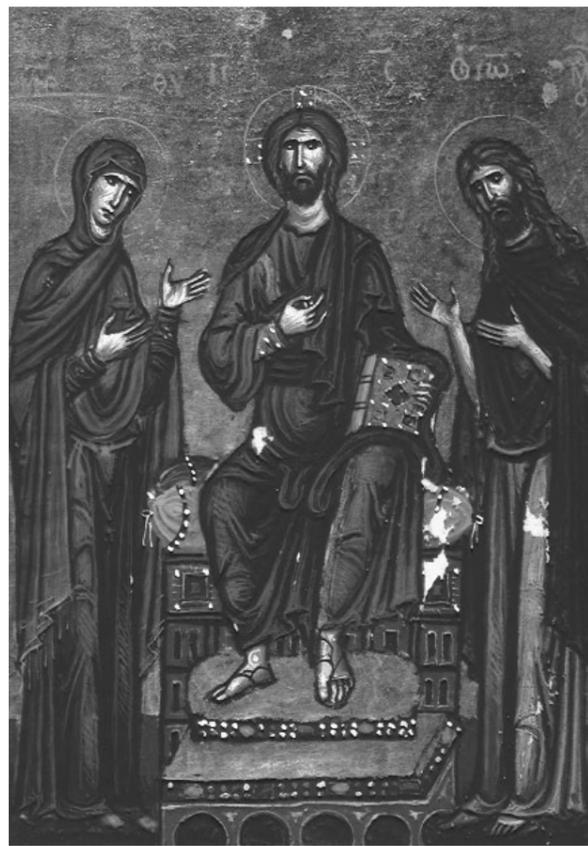
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Melisende Psalter

A Latin psalter, which is the most significant illustrated manuscript produced in the kingdom of Jerusalem in the twelfth century (MS London, British Library, Egerton 1139).

The psalter is usually attributed to the patronage of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem (1131–1152), on several grounds. A luxury manuscript, it can only have been produced for a very high-ranking individual, who must have been a woman, according to the formulation of the prayers. The only other possible candidate is Melisende’s sister Yvette, abbess of the convent of St. Lazarus at Bethany, but Lazarus’s name does not appear in the calendar. Also the litany before the prayers is written for a layperson. Though it is undated, the psalter is presumed by most scholars to have been produced between 1131 and 1143. Supporting this dating is the fact that neither the dedication of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (1149) nor the death of Melisende’s husband, King Fulk (1143), is mentioned in the calendar. Among those who are commemorated in the calendar, however, are Melisende’s parents, King Baldwin II of Jerusalem (d. 1131) and her mother Morphia, an Armenian princess. The taking of Jerusalem in 1099 during the First Crusade is also commemorated.

The book, comprising 218 folios and measuring 21.6 by 14 centimeters (c. 8½ by 5½ in.), is the work of several artists and craftspeople; the scribal work is attributed to a northern French scribe. Accordingly, the book gives an insight into the collaborative working practices of the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulchre and the diverse manuscript resources it had at its disposal. The book opens with twenty-four full-page miniatures of New Testament scenes collected together at the front of the book, preceding the psalter text. Although the artist who painted the New Testament scenes signed his name (Basilus) in Latin on Christ’s footstool in the Deisis picture (see figure), many of the features of his work are Byzantine or Eastern Christian. These include the



The Deisis from Queen Melisende’s psalter, twelfth century. (By permission of the British Library)

Byzantine intercessionary image of the Deisis image itself, painted in bright contrasting colors against a gold background. A second artist produced the eight full-page ornamented pages that mark the liturgical divisions of the text. Here the initial letter of the first word is drawn in black ink on a gold ground, with the few following lines written in gold on purple. The rich patterning effect in several of the designs is reminiscent of metal work from Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey) in Upper Mesopotamia. These Eastern and Western elements could be seen as being reconciled in the person of Melisende herself, whose Armenian mother, Morphia, was a Melkite Orthodox Christian from Melitene (mod. Malatya, Turkey). Given her background and political sympathies toward Eastern Christians, it is quite possible that the second artist of the psalter and even Basilus himself were Eastern Christians. Melisende’s befriending of



Initial B of Psalm 1 from Queen Melisende's psalter, twelfth century. (By permission of the British Library)

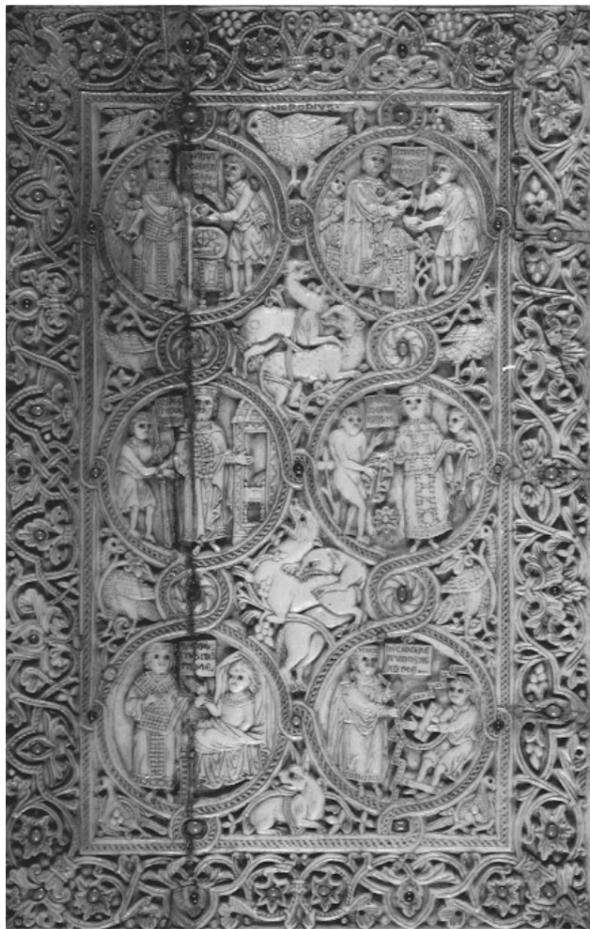
refugees from Edessa and defense of the property rights of indigenous Christians, including Syrians, in Jerusalem is consistent with this. But other motifs employed in the manuscript's decoration are Romanesque and can be traced to the medieval West. The B of the *Beatus* initial of Psalm 1 (see figure) shows King David playing his harp, surrounded by climbing figures of animals and a bird within foliage with, in the upper part, a siren being shot at by a centaur-sagittarius. There are gold initials throughout the text of the psalter. The calendar, listing saints and church feasts, is English, not Jerusalemite, in origin. Unusually, it celebrates the name of the French saint Martin of Tours in golden letters. It is adorned with medallions, one for each month of the year, with the signs of the zodiac. The prayers at the end

of the book emphasize veneration to the Virgin Mary and St. Mary Magdalene, as well as to the cross. This has prompted the suggestion that the book was associated with the abbey of St. Mary of Jehosaphat in the Kidron Valley outside Jerusalem, of which Melisende was a benefactor. She was perhaps a member of its noble lay confraternity and was ultimately buried there, as had been her mother. A fourth artist completed the psalter's illustration with portraits of standing saints illustrating the prayers. The manuscript has an embroidered silk binding on the spine. Small red, green, and blue crosses are sewn onto the silver embroidered off-white Byzantine silk.

The original ivory covers of the book, also housed in the British Library, were carved in Jerusalem. These retain traces of polychromy and gilding, with precious stones in the eyes of some figures and in the borders. The covers are carved with scenes appropriate to kingship, providing the Christian and moral justification for Latin rulership. The front cover depicts scenes from the life of King David from the Old Testament, in roundels. Occupying the interstices between these are female personifications of virtues overcoming vices, the subject of a Latin poem, the *Psychomachia* by Prudentius. The reverse (see figure) shows the six Acts of Mercy of St. Matthew's Gospel (25:35–36), each performed by an emperor in Byzantine ceremonial dress, with animals and birds in the interstices.

The presence of the falcon (Lat. *fulica*) labelled Herodius at the top of the panel is generally accepted as providing identification with Melisende's husband King Fulk, formerly count of Anjou. It has even been suggested that Fulk presented the book to Melisende within a couple of years of their reconciliation, which had taken place late in 1134. This theory is based on the presence of Fulk's rebus on the back cover, as well as the several French and English features in the manuscript. It does, however, problematically presuppose the replacement of Melisende as the prime mover behind the commissioning of the manuscript. If Fulk was indeed involved in this way, given Melisende's assertive personality, it is likely that the commission was a genuine collaboration between them. The subsequent influence of the Melisende Psalter was considerable, particularly on Eastern Christian manuscript illumination, as in the case of the Syriac lectionary in MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, syr. 355, illustrated in Melitene at the turn of the thirteenth century.

Lucy-Anne Hunt



Ivory cover (back) from Queen Melisende's psalter, twelfth century. (By permission of the British Library)

See also: Art of Outremer and Cyprus

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Melkites

In the period of the crusades, Melkites was one of the names given to Christians living under Islamic rule who belonged to the Greek Orthodox faith of the Byzantine imperial church. The Arabic term for Melkites, *malakiyyūn*, is derived from the Syriac *malkā* or Arabic *malik* (king), referring to the Byzantine emperor (Gr. *basileos*). In modern times the term *Melkites* refers to the members of the Catholic Melkite Church, which seceded from the Orthodox Melkite Church in the seventeenth century; the Arabic-speaking Orthodox community is now named *Rūm* ("Roman," i.e., Byzantine) Orthodox. Up to the thirteenth century, the Arabic-speaking Greek Orthodox Christians called themselves *al-Suryānī* because of their use of Syriac as liturgical language. Thus, the Melkites are termed *Syroi* in Greek sources and *Syri* or *Suriani* in Latin crusader sources. While in Palestine the majority of the indigenous Christians were Melkites, in Northern Syria the Jacobites of the Syrian Orthodox church may have outnumbered the Melkites in many regions. Since the Jacobites also called themselves "Syrians," the usage of the term *Syri* or *Suriani* in Latin sources referring to Northern Syria is ambiguous.

When they established their domination over Syria and Palestine after the First Crusade (1096–1099), the Franks did not create a new social order, but effectively took over the Muslim system of *dhimmīs* (protected peoples). Under this social and administrative system, the various religious communities of the non-Muslim population had the status of second-class citizens, but had far-reaching internal autonomy, as the administration and jurisdiction of each religious community was incumbent upon the respective church leaders. In the legal framework of the Frankish states of Outremer, a society of two classes was thus generated: the Franks formed the ruling class, while the subjects consisted

Melkites

of the non-Christian populace, along with those Christians who, according to the *Assises of Jerusalem*, did not belong to the Latin (Roman Catholic) Church.

Frankish rule changed little for the Syrian Orthodox and Armenians, whom the Franks regarded as heretics. However, the Melkites came under the jurisdiction of the Latin Church, since, according to the Latin view, they still belonged to the one church encompassing East and West. As a consequence, the Greek Orthodox patriarchs and bishops were replaced by Latins, although the Greek patriarchal clergy still performed its duties in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The transition to Latin church leadership seems not to have been a smooth one, as demonstrated by the account of the Easter ceremony of 1101 by the Armenian chronicler Matthew of Edessa. According to his testimony, the miracle of the self-igniting Easter fire, performed annually by the Greek clerics, had not taken place that year, since the indigenous Christians had been driven from their monasteries; only after the Franks restored them to their rightful possessions was the miracle again performed.

The daily life of the Melkite community was also characterized by constant minor conflicts between Latins and the Greek Orthodox, which were ignited by disputes about ritual matters such as the use of *azymes* (unleavened bread in the Eucharist), the fast on the Sabbath day, and the cutting of one's beard—that is, the external signs by which one could tell a Latin from an Orthodox Christian. In contrast to the hostile attitude of the Latin hierarchy, the Frankish rulers proved friendly toward the local Christians. Thus, King Baldwin I of Jerusalem resettled Christians from east of the Jordan in Jerusalem, since he needed their support in revitalizing the city, which had lost large parts of its native population during the crusader conquest of 1099.

Little is known of the Greek Orthodox bishops remaining in the country and their relationship with the Latin Church. They seem to have receded to the fringes of Frankish territory in order to avoid any direct competition with Latin bishops. Thus, a Latin deed dated 1173 refers to a bishop of Gaza and Eleutheropolis. This bishopric (to which the Latins had not appointed any bishop) was located on the southwestern border of the kingdom of Jerusalem. To what extent the Orthodox bishop may have (even only formally) accepted the Latin patriarch is unclear. The Melkites remained loyal to their patriarchs, who continued to be appointed by the Byzantine emperor and resided in exile in Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey). There is no evidence that the

Orthodox Church in Palestine was divided into Arabic-speaking Christians recognizing the supremacy of the Latins on the one hand and Greek clerics and monks oriented to the Byzantine imperial church on the other. On the contrary, a closer alignment with Byzantium was brought about from the end of the twelfth century onward on the levels of ritual and canon law. In this context, the *Procheiros Nomos*, a legal text issued by the Byzantine emperor around 900, was translated at the beginning of the thirteenth century into Arabic and copied by Melkites in Palestine and Syria, even if its relevance for the regulation of internal jurisdiction of the Melkites was slight. The Melkite clergy consisted of Greeks as well as Arabs, as is proved by an Arabic contract of sale issued by Melkites and dated 1169. Arabic also found its way into the liturgy: the sermon in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, for example, was read in an Arabic translation following the reading of the Greek original.

In the 1150s the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos was able to assert his role as protector of the Greek Orthodox Church and community in Outremer. He was able to force the prince of Antioch to replace the Latin patriarch of Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) with a Greek Orthodox one, at least for a few years. The kingdom of Jerusalem was more independent from the Byzantine Empire as a result of its greater distance from it, so that Manuel had to content himself with financing construction and decoration in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in Bethlehem, and in several Orthodox monasteries, all the while closely cooperating with the king of Jerusalem.

In the twelfth century we find numerous indications of an active religious, intellectual, and artistic life of the Melkite community under Frankish rule. A number of Orthodox monasteries continued to exist, the most important of them being the monastery of St. Sabas in the Judaeen desert. Orthodox monastic life in Palestine, whose tradition goes back to the beginnings of monastic and anachoretic life, strongly influenced Orthodox Christianity, as well as the Latin monks in the Holy Land. The production of books and the continued existence of the libraries of the Orthodox monasteries and churches in the twelfth century may be regarded as an expression of the intellectual and religious life of the Melkites. All in all, around 100 Greek manuscripts can be identified as probably having been written either in the twelfth or in the thirteenth century in Palestine or as having been located there at that time. The translation of Byzantine legal texts into Arabic testifies to the continued existence of

a living Greco-Arabic tradition in Palestine. Another example of this phenomenon was the physician Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ya'qūb ibn Siqlāb, who worked in Jerusalem in the 1170s and 1180s and later became personal physician to the Ayyūbid lord al-Mu'azzam. He was educated in a monastery in the Judaeen desert and in Jerusalem, translated Greek texts into Arabic, and owned a number of books by the ancient physician Galen in the Greek original. These examples of intellectual activity indicate that the potential and the cultural life of the Melkites in Jerusalem should not be underestimated, even if the Latin sources remain silent in this respect.

In view of the tensions between Melkites and Latins in Jerusalem, it is not surprising that the Melkites sympathized with Saladin during the siege of the city in 1187. According to the Coptic *Historia patriarcharum Alexandrinorum*, they were even prepared to open the gates to Saladin because of their rejection of the Latins, thus contributing to the surrender of the city by the Franks. Whether they were acting in coordination with the Byzantine emperor Isaac II Angelos is unclear, but their actions would fit in well with the known existing relations between Saladin and Isaac. It was not simply cultural differences and the Melkites' inferior legal status that prevented their integration into Frankish society. Rather, the Melkites of Outremer formed, even in the twelfth century, a unified community in the tradition of the Islamic *dhimmi* system whose conception of themselves was based on their belonging to the church of the Byzantine Empire.

With Saladin's victory at the battle of Hattin and his subsequent conquest of much of Outremer in 1187, the situation for the Melkites changed completely. From this time onward most of them lived under Ayyūbid rule and again became *dhimmi*s under the protection of the Muslims. The indifferent attitude of the indigenous Orthodox Christians toward the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin is demonstrated by a Melkite colophon dated 3 October 1187, the very day of the Muslim takeover of the city, which is casually mentioned without any commentary. Even though there were occasional repressions against the Melkites (as, for example, in 1217–1219 in reaction to the Fifth Crusade), the Melkite church profited from Ayyūbid rule. The episcopate in Ayyūbid territory could carry out its duties unhindered, and between 1204 and 1206/1207 the Orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem returned to the Holy City. According to the reports of the Latin pilgrims Willibrand of Oldenburg and Thietmar who traveled to the Holy Land

in 1211–1212 and 1217, respectively, the Melkites took over most of the shrine churches from the Latins. Evidently the Melkites succeeded to some extent in regaining the position they held before the crusades. Neither the establishment of Frankish rule nor its end had any effect on the difficult relationship between the Melkites and the other indigenous Christian communities. Bishop Paulos of Sidon wrote (probably in the first half of the thirteenth century) a treatise on the errors of the Eastern churches without mentioning the Latins at all.

In the thirteenth century, only the coast of Palestine and Syria remained under Frankish rule. Here the Melkites were at least theoretically still subordinate to the Latin Church. But in reality things were different. Jacob of Vitry, Latin bishop of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) from 1216, reports of the *Suriani* and their bishops that they said they would be obedient to the Latin bishops, but obeyed them only superficially, through fear of the secular lords. Again, one of the most disputed issues was the question of the *azymes*. But this time the Latins were no longer in a position to assert themselves against the Melkites.

For the second half of the thirteenth century, when the Mamlūks succeeded the Ayyūbids as rulers in Egypt and the Near East, we have hardly any information on the history of the Melkites in Palestine and Syria. After the conquest of Antioch by Sultan Baybars I in 1268, the Greek patriarch returned to the city. In Jerusalem his colleague continued in residence and still played a role in the wider Orthodox world. A prerequisite for the close ties that both patriarchates maintained with Constantinople was the fact that Byzantine relations with the Mamlūks were generally good. The Mamlūks' main interest was to prevent any impediment to the import of military slaves from the north of the Caucasus. Byzantium was thus able to regain its role as protector of the orthodox Christians in the Holy Land.

–Johannes Pahlitzsch

See also: Antioch, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of; Byzantine Empire; Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of

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Memel

Memel castle, sometimes called Memelburg, was built by the Teutonic Order on the site of the present city of Klaipėda (in mod. Lithuania), where the Dangė River (also called the Akmenė or Akmina) in the medieval period flowed into the Courland Lagoon (Ger. *Kurisches Haff*, Lith. *Kuršiu marios*),

near the mouth of the Nemunas River (*Memel*). The lower Nemunas formed the boundary between Prussia and Lithuania throughout the Baltic Crusades, and was an important trade waterway into Lithuania and Russia.

Eberhard von Seyne, the representative of the Livonian master of the Teutonic Order, established the first fort at Memel in 1252 to guard communications between the territories of the Prussian and Livonian branches of the order, to protect its trade along the Nemunas, and to stop Scandinavian merchants from bringing arms and other goods to the pagan Samogitians and Lithuanians up the river. This first fort was wooden, surrounded by moats and earthen embankments. It was replaced by a stone castle on higher ground in 1253. Pope Innocent IV in 1253 allowed the Dominicans of Livonia and Prussia to collect alms for this rebuilding to stop the ferrying of "arms, clothing, salt and other necessities to the pagans of the aforementioned parts to the harm of Christian shipping" [*Preußisches Urkundenbuch*, ed. Rudolf Philippi, 1/1 (Königsberg: Hartung, 1882), no. 275].

Around the castle a town developed, which was the seat of the bishop of Curonia. However, its growth was hampered by constant attacks by the pagan Lithuanians and Samogitians, who destroyed the town and castle in 1323, 1360, 1365, 1379, 1393, 1402, and 1409. The Teutonic Order's defeat in the battle of Tannenberg in 1410 left the order in a weakened state. By the Treaty of Melno (1422), which established the Prussian-Lithuanian boundary for centuries, the town and castle of Memel were left in Prussian territory, but their importance declined.

—Rasa Mažeika

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Menorca

See Balearic Islands

Mercedarian Order

The Mercedarian Order, known formally as the Order of Merced or Our Lady of Mercy, began as a redemptorist order in Catalonia following the rule of St. Augustine.

The Mercedarians institutionalized the ransom of captives on the Christian-Muslim frontier in Iberia. Previously, family and friends had redeemed captives on an individual basis, or a royal official called the *exea* (from an Arabic word meaning “guide”) intervened on a captive’s behalf. It is unclear whether the early Mercedarians collected alms on behalf of captives’ families, or ransomed captives personally. By the late thirteenth century, the Mercedarians raised alms and traveled to Muslim depots to negotiate the redemption of groups of captives as well as specific individuals.

Despite claims by the order’s early historians, the Mercedarians were not a military religious order, nor was the king of Aragon the founder. The earliest evidence for the order’s existence dates from a bequest to Pere Nolasc, the founder of the order, of a sum of money to redeem captives in 1230. Nolasc and his associates received grants of property in Mallorca in 1232 and Gerona in 1234. Pope Gregory IX recognized the Order of Merced in 1235 and gave it the Rule of St. Augustine.

By 1245 the Mercedarians had acquired properties in Catalonia, Aragon, Valencia, Languedoc, and Mallorca. Eventually, the order had properties in Castile and as far south as Seville. These provided a stable income for the order and a base for its ransoming activities. James I, king of Aragon, gave the order its first *guidaticum* (safe-conduct) in 1251, which enabled members to travel safely and conduct business on the Christian-Muslim frontier. James II of Aragon became the order’s patron in the early fourteenth century, while it was given an exclusive license to collect redemptive alms in the Crown of Aragon by Peter IV in 1366.

The statutes of the military orders of Santiago, the Hospital, and the Temple influenced the first statutes of the order (1272), which has caused the mistaken identification of the

Mercedarians as a military order. The early order was a laic brotherhood, whose members administered properties, collected alms, preached, and, on occasion, traveled to ransom captives. It also admitted men and women as confraters (associate members). The master of the Mercedarians was a layman until 1317, when the order became clericalized. Clerics became more influential and gained control of most of the commanderies. A new constitution of 1327, modeled on that of the Dominicans, emphasized a stricter religious life. The master was the order’s spiritual and temporal leader, and made decisions with the chapter about properties, revenues, and discipline. Commanders were responsible for local houses, and traveled to redeem captives. Captives ransomed as an act of Mercedarian charity also agreed to serve the order for a period of time, raising money to ransom other captives.

After the fall of Muslim Granada in 1492, the Order of Merced followed Spanish expansion to the New World, where it founded American provinces. The first female convents were established in the late sixteenth century. The order underwent a major reform in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and still exists today.

—Theresa M. Vann

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Mergentheim

Town (mod. Bad Mergentheim, Germany) in Franconia on the river Tauber southwest of Würzburg; the headquarters of the Teutonic Order from 1525 to 1809.

In the later twelfth century, Mergentheim belonged to nobles of the Hohenlohe family. Albrecht of Hohenlohe, who had accompanied Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa on the Third Crusade (1189–1192), donated the parish church

Mergentheim

to the Hospitallers in 1207. However, three of his five nephews, Andreas, Heinrich (Henry), and Friedrich (Frederick), who had participated in the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221), decided to join the Teutonic Order. When they divided their inheritance with their two lay brothers, Gottfried and Conrad (1219), the Teutonic Order obtained two *castra* and other possessions in and around Mergentheim. The descendants of Gottfried and Konrad, however, retained estates and vassals with *castra* in Mergentheim. In this context the meaning of *castrum* is ambiguous. Apparently there were two large castles at Mergentheim, one of which became the nucleus of the Teutonic Order commandery. But the settlement must have also included a number of fortified houses with towers, which belonged to vassals of the Hohenlohe family and which sometimes reverted to direct control of the lords.

Heinrich von Hohenlohe, one of the three founders, became the first commander of Mergentheim. Later he rose to be German master (Ger. *Deutschmeister*) in 1232 and grand master (Ger. *Hochmeister*) of the Teutonic Order in 1244, and died at Mergentheim in 1249. During the thirteenth century the Teutonic Order enlarged the settled area of Mergentheim, gave the inhabitants rights as burgesses, and attracted Jews (against whom there were riots in 1298). There were troubles with both the Hospitallers and the Hohenlohe family. The Teutonic Order refortified its main castle against the neighboring nobles and encouraged the foundation of a Dominican monastery, to the detriment of the Hospitaller parish. Between 1330 and 1355, the German master Wolfram von Nellenburg firmly established his order's position in Mergentheim. Wolfram obtained imperial privileges: the right to build walls and ditches (1335), the *ius civitatis*, that is, a privileged status for the local court and liberties for the citizens (1340), the exclusion of all foreign jurisdiction, and the right of coinage (1355). This period saw the construction of a town wall and a separate hospital in rivalry with that of the Hospitallers. In 1343 the last Hohenlohe *castrum* was bought, and in the following years many Hohenlohe vassals sold their possessions to the Teutonic Order. In 1355 the Hospitallers gave up their possessions, except their parish.

Mergentheim became the only important town in Franconia and indeed in southern Germany where the Teutonic Knights not only had a commandery, but were the local lords enjoyed full territorial independence. For this reason Mergentheim was chosen as permanent residence of the

German master after the destruction of the castle of Horneck during the Peasants' War in 1525. In the same year Grand Master Albrecht von Brandenburg, under Lutheran influence, dissolved the order and transformed Prussia into a secular duchy for himself and his heirs under the suzerainty of his uncle Sigismund I, king of Poland. Those in the order who did not follow his lead accepted the authority of the German master at Mergentheim. By imperial and papal appointment, the German master began to act as grand master as well, and the central administration of the Teutonic Order was established at Mergentheim. In 1554 the Hospitallers finally sold their parish, so that from then on the Teutonic Order was the sole authority in the town and its surroundings.

Firmly entrenched at Mergentheim, the Teutonic Order survived the storms of the Reformation and defended its independent status against neighboring princes within the empire. A splendid Renaissance castle was begun in 1568 to house the *Hoch- und Deutschmeister*, his court, and officers. In the course of the Counter Reformation, Mergentheim acquired a seminary to instruct priests (1606), while new statutes recognized fighting against the Ottoman Turks in Hungary as the military obligation for knights who wanted to rise in the order's hierarchy. Through repeated elections of Habsburg archdukes as high masters, the order became a kind of Habsburg appanage. Administrative reforms in the 1780s made Mergentheim the capital of an ecclesiastical principality whose possessions were scattered throughout southern Germany. But in 1809 Napoleon, at war with Austria, gave Mergentheim to the king of Württemberg. When Mergentheim was confirmed to Württemberg at the Congress of Vienna in 1814–1815, the Teutonic Order survived in the Habsburg Empire.

—Karl Borchardt

See also: Teutonic Order

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Metellus of Tegernsee

Author of the *Expeditio Ierosolimitana*, a Latin epic poem on the First Crusade (1096–1099), and of the *Quirinalia*, a collection of poems relating to St. Quirinus, patron of the Bavarian monastery of Tegernsee where Metellus was a monk.

The *Expeditio* (transmitted in MS Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, 267) was composed between 1146 and 1165, and consists of 4,845 lines in six books. It dealt with the course of the crusade from the Council of Clermont (1095) to the battle of Ascalon (1099), drawing primarily on the account of the crusade given in the *Historia Iherosolimitana* of Robert of Rheims, but it also made use of letters [Heinrich Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100* (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1901), nos. 1, 21] as well as popular traditions, particularly in connection with the exploits of Godfrey of Bouillon and the German knight Wicher.

–Alan V. Murray

See also: First Crusade (1096–1099)

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Methoni

See Modon

Mézières, Philippe de

See Philippe de Mézières

Michael VIII Palaiologos (1224/1225–1282)

Emperor of Nicaea (1259–1261) and then of the restored Byzantine Empire at Constantinople (1261–1282) and founder of the last reigning Byzantine dynasty.

Michael was the son of the Grand Domestic Andronikos Palaiologos and the great-grandson of the Byzantine emperor Alexios III Angelos. He had a distinguished military career, serving in the armies of the empire of Nicaea and the Saljūq sultanate of Rūm, before he usurped the throne of Nicaea in 1259. In the same year, in the valley of Pelagonia, in western Macedonia, he achieved a significant victory against a triple coalition consisting of Michael II of Epiros and his Western allies, King Manfred of Sicily and Prince William of Achaia, which paved the way for the liberation of Constantinople from the Latins by the Nicaean army in July 1261 and the restoration of the Byzantine Empire.

Throughout his reign, Michael was preoccupied with the plans of Western rulers to restore the Latin Empire of Constantinople and in particular with the ambitions of Charles I of Anjou, king of Sicily. In the 1260s and 1270s, Michael held negotiations with Popes Urban IV, Clement IV, and Gregory X concerning the reunification of the Latin and Greek Orthodox churches, believing that the pope could and would prevent Charles of Anjou from attacking the Byzantine Empire if the Orthodox Church were subject to Rome. In 1274, Michael's representatives at the Second Council of Lyons agreed to reunification on the pope's terms, in spite of widespread and ardent opposition to the agreement among the Orthodox population of his empire. One of the outcomes of the agreement in Lyons was Michael's proposal to Pope Gregory X that a crusader army should pass through Constantinople on its way to the Holy Land, on condition that the crusaders would conquer and return Anatolia to the Byzantines. Before the details of the agreement were finalized, however, Pope Gregory died, and the new pope, Innocent V, abandoned plans for an overland crusade via Constantinople and Asia Minor.

In 1269 Michael promised King James I of Aragon aid for a crusade, and in 1269–1270 he made a similar offer to King Louis IX of France, with the proviso that Louis would mediate in restraining Charles of Anjou from attacking the Byzantine Empire. Between 1261 and 1277, taking advantage of the continuous enmity between Genoa and Venice over commercial supremacy in his territories, Michael signed treaties with the two Italian city-states, offering them commercial privileges in return for military aid or the promise of neutrality in the event of an attack against his empire from the West. In 1281, his army won a significant victory against the Angevin army at the battle of Berat, in Albania. The end of

Michael the Great (1126–1199)

Charles of Anjou's ambitions to conquer Byzantium, however, came on Easter Monday 1282, when an anti-Angevin uprising, known as the Sicilian Vespers, took place in Palermo. Although Michael was not involved in the incident that sparked the uprising, the financial aid and encouragement he had previously offered to Charles's opponents contributed to the loss of Sicily and the consequent abandonment of Charles's plan to attack Byzantium. Michael, who had been excommunicated once by Patriarch Arsenios of Constantinople for blinding the son and heir of Emperor Theodore II Laskaris, and thrice by Pope Martin IV for failing to implement the reunification of the churches in the Byzantine Empire, died on 11 December 1282. He was succeeded by his son Andronikos II.

—Aphrodite Papayianni

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Michael the Great (1126–1199)

Michael I Rabo ("the Great"), Syrian Orthodox (Jacobite) patriarch of Antioch, was the author of a universal chronicle in Syriac dealing with the history of the world up to 1195, and renowned as a reformer of the Syrian Orthodox Church.

Born in Melitene (mod. Malatya, Turkey), Michael was educated nearby in the famous monastery of Mor Barsaumo, where he remained as monk and prior until he was elected patriarch in 1166. In the interests of his church and community, Michael balanced his relations with the warring parties in the area of his jurisdiction. Especially in the first half of his patriarchate, he was accepted as a frequent visitor in Frankish Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey), with the consent of the Byzantine emperor Manuel Komnenos, in spite of the opposition of the Greek Orthodox

community there. He visited Jerusalem several times and was invited to take part in the Third Lateran Council (1179) but declined. The second half of Michael's patriarchate was overshadowed by the election of an anti-patriarch (Theodor bar Wahbun, d. 1193) in 1180. Michael was buried in his newly built church in Mor Barsaumo.

Michael's canonistic work is partly conserved in later collections, but the greater part is lost, as is a treatise on dualist heresies composed for the Lateran Council. He also composed liturgical and epic works and collected ancient theological and historical sources, which he utilized for his monumental world chronicle. This original, coherent chronography is an exegesis of the spiritual meaning of historical change, which relates the age of the crusades from a well-informed and independent point of view. Books 15–21 deal with the period from the 1090s up to 1195/1196, although considerable parts of this section are lost, especially from books 18 and 19. The material is divided into three synchronic columns in chronological order: For the period of concern here, the first, representing the succession of Syrian Orthodox and Coptic patriarchs and metropolitans and the most prominent Syrian Orthodox scholars of theology, is juxtaposed with the second, which outlines the worldly empires, that is the secular rule of the Byzantines, Turks, Armenians, and Franks. The third column comprises notes about other churches (mainly the Armenian, Latin, and Greek Orthodox), as well as matters of regional concern to the Syrian Orthodox population, including notes about earthquakes, food prices, and religious matters. Here the author reveals systematic interest in matters of Latin Church organization and history; of special importance are his notes about the Latin patriarch of Antioch, Aimery of Limoges (1141–1196). The chronicle was adapted into Armenian in 1246–1247.

—Dorothea Weltecke

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Michiel, Domenico (d. 1130)

Doge of Venice (1118–1129) and leader of the Venetian Crusade of 1122–1124.

A member of one of Venice's most illustrious families, Michiel was at Doge Ordelafo Falier's side when the latter died during a failed attempt to restore the port of Zara (mod. Zadar, Croatia) in Dalmatia to Venetian control. As doge, Michiel made peace with Hungary in preparation for a new crusade in response to serious losses in Outremer. He assembled a fleet of approximately 120 major vessels and personally took the cross, leaving his son and another kinsman to act as vice-doge in his absence. He commanded the crusade fleet, which destroyed the Fāṭimid navy (1123) and assisted in the conquest of Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon) in 1124. He also ordered the fleet to attack Byzantine assets in retaliation for Emperor John II Komnenos's refusal to honor Venetian commercial privileges. His successes made Michiel a symbol of the crusading doge for generations of Venetians. He died in 1130 as a monk.

–Thomas F. Madden

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Middle Dutch Literature

See Dutch Literature

Middle English Literature

See English and Scots Literature

Mieszko III Stary (d. 1202)

Prince of the Polish Piast dynasty, duke of Great Poland, duke of Kraków, grand duke of Poland (1173–1177 and 1198–1202), and crusader.

Born between 1122 and 1125, Mieszko was the second surviving son of the Polish ruler Bolesław III Krzywousty (Wrymouth), and Salome, daughter of Henry, count of Berg. Mieszko was a close ally of his elder brother, Prince Bolesław IV Kędzierzawy (the Curly) (d. 1173). He was married twice, to Elizabeth of Hungary and to Eudoksia of Kiev.

Mieszko and his brothers formed a coalition of the younger sons of Bolesław III, who are known to scholars as the "Piast Juniors." They opposed the rule of their step-

brother, Prince Władysław II Wygnaniec (the Exile) (d. 1155), and with the support of the Polish magnates and prelates, they defeated him during the civil war (1142–1146).

Mieszko maintained an alliance with the rulers of the neighboring Saxon marches, for example, Albert the Bear, margrave of Brandenburg, and this alliance evidently influenced him to support the Wendish Crusade. In 1147 Mieszko commanded the Polish contingent of 20,000 troops (according to the *Annales Magdeburgenses*) against the pagan Slavs whose territories lay west of his duchy.

In 1187 Mieszko granted the Order of the Hospital patronage of the Church of St. John the Baptist in Poznań and possession of the hospital of St. Michael, established by Mieszko and Bishop Radwan of Poznań in 1170. The Poznań commandery of the Hospitallers was also established at this time.

Mieszko probably commissioned the door, known as the *Porta Regia*, which adorns the southern portal of the cathedral of Gniezno and is the most important work of Polish Romanesque art from the middle of the twelfth century. Its eighteen bas-relief panels illustrate events surrounding the life and death of St. Adalbert (Pol. *Wojciech*), the first patron saint of Poland, who was slain by pagan Prussians during a mission in 997. The commissioning of the Gniezno door coincided with Polish expansion north into pagan Prussian territories, and can be considered as an example of Piast propaganda portraying these events as holy wars.

–Darius von Güttner *Sporzyński*

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Military Orders

The military order was a form of religious order first established in the first quarter of the twelfth century with the func-

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tion of defending Christians, as well as observing the three monastic vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. The first military order was the Order of the Temple, formally established in the kingdom of Jerusalem in January 1120, while the Order of the Hospital (or Order of St. John of Jerusalem) began in the eleventh century as a hospice for pilgrims in Jerusalem and later on developed military responsibilities, perhaps as early as the mid-1120s. The Templars and Hospitallers became supranational religious orders, whose operations on the frontiers of Christendom were supported by donations of land, money, and privileges from across Latin Christendom. Some military orders were far more localized in their landholdings and vocation: for instance, the Order of Monreal del Campo was founded by King Alfonso I of Aragon in 1122 at Belchite, to defend the southern frontier of his kingdom against the Moors. Several military orders were established during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to fight the Moors in the Iberian Peninsula, while in north-eastern Europe, in the early thirteenth century, missionary bishops set up military orders to defend converts to Christianity in Livonia and Prussia against their pagan neighbors, and in southern France and Italy, military orders were founded to fight heretics.

Origins

William of Tyre and the history attributed to Ernoul both depict the foundation of the first military order as the initiative of a group of knights, in collaboration with the king of Jerusalem or the patriarch of Jerusalem. It is possible that this first military order was originally formed as a knightly confraternity, that is, as a group of warriors who banded together with some specific purpose, typically religious in type, such as enforcing the Peace of God, defending a monastery, or going on crusade. Such bands could be formed on the initiative of a bishop or abbot, but also of the knights themselves. They had regulations regarding the duties and responsibilities of members, and (for example) the distribution of booty. There were military confraternities in the Iberian Peninsula before the Templars and Hospitallers were established there, and some of the Spanish military orders, such as the Order of Monreal and the Order of Santa María de España, began as confraternities. The distinction between a military confraternity and a regular military order was not always well defined: some of those who played a part in regular military orders were not fully professed members, while some military orders did not expect

their members to take all of the three monastic vows when they professed. The members of the Knighthood of Jesus Christ, established by a Dominican friar at Parma in 1233 to fight heretics, did not take the vow of chastity; the Order of Santiago admitted married knights and their wives to full membership, and these did not have to vow chastity. Despite the missing vow, these institutions had papal approval as religious orders. The military order, then, can be regarded in a sense as a knightly confraternity that was regularized and brought formally into the organization and under the authority of the Latin Church.

It has been objected that as Christianity is a pacifist religion, the concept of the military order—a religious organization that fights—must have been taken from outside Christianity. The most obvious source for the concept, it has been suggested, was the Muslim *ribāṭ*. This Arabic word has different meanings, but in this case it meant a fortified building on the frontier on Islam in which the faithful served for a period as volunteer fighters against Islam's enemies. Specialists on the history of the military orders and the crusades have not accepted this theory. They argue that the concept was already present within Latin Christian society in the early twelfth century. The concept of holy war, prominent in the Old Testament, had been part of Christian thinking from the early days of Christianity. The recent First Crusade (1096–1099), initiated by the pope and preached by the clergy, had allowed lay people to fight and shed blood in God's name in defense of, and to recover, Christian territory in return for a spiritual reward. Contemporary lay literature, such as the *Chanson de Roland*, emphasized the role of the Christian warrior and glorified the warrior who died fighting for God. In any case, it is not clear that there were any *ribāṭs* in the Holy Land after the First Crusade from which the crusaders could have adapted the concept. There were *ribāṭs* in the Iberian Peninsula, but the concept of the military order originally appeared in the Holy Land, not the Iberian Peninsula. If we must seek outside influence to explain the beginnings of the military order, a more likely influence was the example of military saints of the Orthodox churches, such as George, Demetrius, and Mercurius.

Organization and Structure

All military orders shared certain characteristics. Each followed a religious rule, approved by the authorities of the Latin Church, which allowed the combination of military activity with religious activities such as prayer and attend-

ing church services. Members were admitted in a formal religious ceremony. They wore a religious habit, but did not follow a fully enclosed lifestyle. Lay members predominated over priests in the early years, while the orders were still active in military affairs.

The military orders were part of a religious trend of the late eleventh and early twelfth century toward wider participation in the religious life and more emphasis on action as against contemplation. The Cistercian Order, founded at the end of the eleventh century, allowed laity from nonnoble families to enter their order to perform manual tasks; orders of canons, founded in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, could play an active role in society as priests working in the community, unlike traditional monks who lived enclosed lives in their monasteries. In the same way, the military orders did not follow a fully enclosed lifestyle, followed an active vocation, and were composed largely of laity: nonnoble warriors as well as craftsmen and servants, all known as “sergeants” or “serving brothers.” The knights, who were of higher status within the orders, were fewer in number. The military orders also recruited priests to provide for the spiritual needs of the lay members. All the military orders had associate members who did not take full vows but who were attached to the order—for example, making an annual donation—and whom the order supported in some way. The orders also admitted women in various degrees, as sisters or as associates.

The great supranational orders were granted extensive ecclesiastical privileges from the papacy, such as exemptions from the jurisdiction of diocesan bishops and from tithes. In practice these privileges led to considerable friction at the local level. Secular rulers made extensive use of the military orders’ members in matters not directly connected with their vocation such as diplomacy and finance, and although the military orders were in theory exempt from royal jurisdiction, in practice they were dependent upon and closely tied to the rulers of the regions where they held property. The military orders were never noted for their learning, although individual members might achieve distinction, and the orders did patronize artists and writers. All, like the traditional monastic orders, were involved in economic and commercial activities to support their vocation.

The typical structure of a military order was pyramidal. The order was governed by a master, who was elected by the members of the order and advised by a small group of senior officials. General chapter meetings were called at certain

intervals; lesser officials were summoned to attend, and matters concerning the whole order were discussed and decided. At the local level, houses were called commanderies (if governed by a lay member of the order) or priories (if governed by a priest). The supranational orders, with property in the Holy Land and in the West, appointed officials (priors or commanders) to administer their property in each geographical region. A certain proportion of the revenues from each region had to be sent by the regional official to headquarters each year: this was called a *responson*. This organization, with a central religious house on which other houses were dependent and regular general chapters, was similar to other new religious orders of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, while the regional organization of the military orders was similar to the organization of the later orders of friars.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the membership of the military orders was drawn largely from the lesser knightly families and families of just below knightly status. For such families, joining a military order—which did not limit membership to noble families—was a method of rising in social status. During the course of the later Middle Ages, as knighthood became more prestigious, the military orders became noble orders. By the sixteenth century, the knightly members of both the supranational and the Spanish military orders were drawn from the highest nobility, and a higher proportion of members were priests, while the relative number of nonknightly, sergeant members had fallen. The Spanish military orders became dominated by the ruling families of the Iberian Peninsula, and in the sixteenth century they became effectively honorary noble institutions.

Function

The heyday of the military order was the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the concept was put to use by many ecclesiastical and secular rulers in need of a standing army for a religious purpose. However, not all military orders were founded as such. Two of the supranational military orders, the Order of the Hospital and the Teutonic Order, as well as smaller orders, such as the English Order of St. Thomas of Acre, began as hospitals or hospices, caring for poor, sick pilgrims to the Holy Land. Military protection for Christians as they traveled was a natural corollary of hospital care for the same Christians. The Order of St. Lazarus began as a hospice for sufferers from leprosy. As well as maintaining hospices, the military orders were involved in ransoming prisoners

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from the Muslims, although only the Spanish orders of Santiago and Mountjoy (Sp. *Montegaudio*) made this a major part of their activities. However, conversion of non-Christians was not a primary function of military orders, although some donors envisaged the income from their gifts of land being used for that purpose. There were some exceptions: from the sixteenth century the Portuguese Order of Christ was involved in the spread of Christianity in the New World.

In theory, the military orders were fighting defensive wars—a form of warfare acceptable to Christian thinking. In practice, warfare on the frontiers of Christendom, whether in the Holy Land, the Iberian Peninsula, or in the Baltic region, typically took the form of raids against the enemy's land and fortresses, which were as aggressive as they were defensive. The orders also garrisoned and built fortresses. They gave military advice to Christian commanders, and they played a significant military role in crusades. The orders' warfare was initially on land, although the supranational orders from early in their existence employed ships to carry resources, personnel, and pilgrims to the Holy Land. In the 1270s, the Order of Santa María de España was founded by King Alfonso X of Castile to fight the Moors of Africa at sea, in an attempt to reduce their raids upon his coasts. In the fourteenth century, the Order of the Hospital, based on the island of Rhodes from 1309, developed naval operations against the Turks. The order itself owned only a handful of war galleys, but it extended its operations through the *corso*, a form of licensed piracy against Muslim shipping. Naval warfare against Muslim pirates continued to be an important role of military orders until the late eighteenth century.

Military orders brought discipline and organization to Latin Christian warfare. Their fighting members were already professional warriors before admission. The statutes of the Order of the Temple (and other military orders based on it) and the statutes of the Order of the Hospital after 1204 set out (for example) the military organization and command structure of the orders, the required weapons and equipment, and procedures for drawing up troops and for making a cavalry charge. A brother who charged too early or who fell out of line was disciplined. Within a secular army, the various groups under different commanders could be in competition with each other and more concerned about winning booty and honor than in obeying the commander in chief. The military orders provided a commander in chief with a military unit that was ready to muster and would obey

orders, rather than seeking booty and glory, and that had extensive experience in the field. However, the military orders' forces were always relatively small in relation to the overall size of crusader and secular armies.

Problems

The smaller military orders, whose property was largely restricted to one kingdom or region, suffered from overdomination by secular rulers, who tended to regard them as a branch of their own administration, and from a lack of resources in personnel, money, and supplies. These problems led to the smaller orders amalgamating with larger ones: in the 1230s the Orders of the Sword Brethren (in Livonia) and of Dobrin (in Prussia) amalgamated with the Teutonic Order, while in Spain, in the early thirteenth century, the Order of Mountjoy was effectively divided between the Order of the Temple and the Order of Calatrava. The Order of Calatrava itself was assimilated to the Cistercian Order, although it maintained a distinct identity. Even the great supranational orders could not always maintain military activity outside the major area of their operations: the Temple and the Hospital reduced their military operations in the Iberian Peninsula in the second half of the twelfth and the second half of the thirteenth century because their resources were needed in the Holy Land. By contrast, some of the smaller orders did gain land and responsibilities outside their area of operations: the Order of Calatrava briefly held land in Pomerania, while the Order of Mountjoy held land in the kingdom of Jerusalem.

As the function of the orders was to defend Christendom, they initially resisted involvement in wars between Christians, which diverted resources from their proper vocation. However, as secular rulers were protectors of the orders and their leading patrons, it was difficult for the orders in the localities to resist determined pressure from secular rulers who wanted to use their military or financial resources for "national" ends. French Hospitallers were, apparently, involved in the French crusade against Aragon in 1285, and prominent Hospitallers were present in the French army at the battle of Crécy in 1346 during the wars against the English.

The supranational orders faced potential problems of language difference and also cultural disagreement or misunderstanding between the brothers of the order. Though this problem could be minimized by ensuring that brothers in the West only operated within their own linguistic area,

at the order's central convent clashes were unavoidable. As a result, from the late thirteenth century the brothers of the Order of the Hospital's central convent were divided more or less formally into seven *langues* (literally, "tongues"), that is, linguistic groupings. During the course of the fourteenth century these *langues* became increasingly formalized; each had its own *auberge* (inn or residence) as a central meeting hall and administrative center, and the seven conventual bailiffs, the chief officials of the order, were each drawn from one of the seven *langues*. International disputes in the secular world could lead to conflict between the different nations within a military order, and sometimes the brothers of the different *langues* on Rhodes came to blows. By the mid-fifteenth century, however, this problem only significantly affected the Order of the Hospital, as the Order of the Temple had been dissolved in 1312, while the Teutonic Order's field of operations had shrunk to the Holy Roman Empire, Prussia, and Livonia.

Later History

Despite the conflicts inherent in the concept of supranational religious orders exempt from local authority operating in an increasingly secularized and nationalized Europe, the concept of the military orders continued to be popular with patrons and rulers throughout the later Middle Ages. Even after the loss of the states of Outremer in Syria and Palestine in 1291, crusade planners expected the military orders to play an active role in future crusades. After the dissolution of the Order of the Temple in 1312, Pope Clement V gave its property to the Order of the Hospital to carry on the order's original purpose; even if the order had been defamed beyond saving, its vocation remained important to Christendom. From the early fourteenth century, the Order of the Hospital carried on naval operations against Muslim powers and their allies from its base on the island of Rhodes in the eastern Mediterranean, and gave hospitality to pilgrims on their way to the Holy Land. In northeastern Europe, the Teutonic Order continued its war against the pagan Lithuanians; arguably it was the military pressure applied by the order that led to the alliance between Poland and Lithuania and the official conversion of Lithuania to Christianity in 1386. Even after the Hospital had lost its base on Rhodes, at the beginning of 1523, Emperor Charles V was anxious to make use of the brothers' military and naval skills elsewhere. The concept remained largely unquestioned, even when the orders failed to carry out their vocation successfully.

Although the expulsion of the Moors from the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the fifteenth century ended the military role of the Spanish military orders on land, and the Teutonic Order's military function in Prussia and Livonia ended in the sixteenth century, the military orders continued to play a valuable if reduced military role for the benefit of Latin Christendom until the eighteenth century. From its base on the island of Malta from 1530, the Order of the Hospital, with the new Order of St. Stephen after 1562, tried to prevent the raids of Barbary pirates on Christian shipping and population centers, although its naval activities sometimes disrupted Christian trade (especially Venetian) and by the late eighteenth century its continued war with the Ottoman Empire was at odds with the Holy Roman Empire's diplomatic relations with major European powers. The Teutonic Order, meanwhile, took part in campaigns against the Turks in Eastern Europe in the seventeenth century, and when opportunities for active military service in the Holy Roman Empire were lacking, brothers were sent to Malta to obtain the military experience necessary for promotion. However, by the eighteenth century, the Teutonic Order's military operations were mainly against the Christian enemies of the empire. By the late eighteenth century, the military orders' vocation of holy war seemed outdated and barbarous to Enlightenment thinkers.

Though military orders have survived until modern times, no military orders now fight; the Order of the Hospital's military function ended with the loss of Malta to Napoleon in 1798. The Teutonic Order continued its involvement in military activity until the First World War, and thereafter was reformed as a charitable order, without a knightly branch. Both orders still carry on hospitaller and charitable activities. The military orders in the Iberian Peninsula were abolished and refounded during the nineteenth century: the Portuguese orders are now state orders of merit, while the Spanish are charitable orders.

—Helen Nicholson

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Mindaugas (d. 1263)

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Mindaugas (d. 1263)

Mindaugas (Ger. *Mindowe*, Russ. *Mindovg*) was the first documented ruler of Lithuania (1238–1263) and its only anointed king, who accepted Roman Catholic baptism from the Teutonic Order and received a crown from the pope. He is often deemed to be the founder of the Lithuanian state, although he may have had predecessors.

Mindaugas was first mentioned in 1219 as one of the Lithuanian “senior dukes” in a treaty concluded between Lithuania and Volhynia. He appears as a ruler of Lithuania in 1238, when he sent aid to Prince Daniel of Galicia. In 1239–1248 the Lithuanians waged an intensive war against Rus’ lands, which had been weakened by Mongol attacks. In this period Mindaugas gained control over the town of Novogrudok (mod. Navahrudak, Belarus) and gave it to his son Vaišelga. Simultaneously Mindaugas fought against the Teutonic Order. In 1245, seeking to stop Livonian expansion to Curonia, Mindaugas attacked the castle of Amboten, which had been occupied by the Teutonic Order, but failed to capture it.

In 1248 Mindaugas sent his nephews Tautvilas and Gedivydas and their uncle Vykintas to attack Rus’. After they suffered defeat at Zubtsov, Mindaugas decided to expel the defeated dukes from Lithuania. Tautvilas and Gedivydas fled to their father-in-law Daniel, prince of Galicia, who attacked the land of Novogrudok, while Vykintas created a coalition against Mindaugas, including the Jatvingians, some of the Samogitians, and the Teutonic Order.

In 1250 troops of the Livonian branch of the Teutonic

Order attacked the domains of Mindaugas. Tautvilas joined them and was baptized in Riga. However, Mindaugas managed to bribe the master of Livonia, Andreas von Stierland, and offered to accept baptism in return for military aid against Tautvilas. In 1251 the master had Mindaugas baptized and expelled Tautvilas from Riga. Tautvilas attacked Mindaugas, who with the help of the Teutonic Knights withstood the attack, and Tautvilas had to flee to Volhynia. After Mindaugas concluded peace with Daniel of Galicia (1254), Tautvilas also made peace and later ruled Polotsk as a subordinate of Mindaugas.

Mindaugas sent his own envoys to Pope Innocent IV, who on 17 July 1251 recognized Lithuania as a Christian state and authorized the bishop of Kulm (mod. Chełmno, Poland) to crown Mindaugas as king of Lithuania, which was done in the summer of 1253. Yet Mindaugas had to make concessions to the Teutonic Knights in exchange for their diplomatic and military support, granting them parts of Samogitia and Jatvingia.

The baptism of Mindaugas meant that a Latin Church had to be organized in Lithuania, although its development was complicated. In August 1253, Christian, a priest of the Teutonic Order, was consecrated as the new bishop of Lithuania by Albert Suerbeer, archbishop of Riga; Christian was thus subordinated to the archdiocese of Riga, against the orders of the pope. With the help of the Teutonic Order, Mindaugas obtained papal bulls that placed the Lithuanian diocese directly under the pope. Christian remained under the influence of the Teutonic Order, and Mindaugas granted him lands in Samogitia. However, due to Samogitian resistance, neither Christian nor the order managed to gain any substantial position there. In 1259 Christian fled to Germany, where he died in 1271.

In January 1256 the Samogitians, led by Duke Alminas, successfully attacked the Teutonic Order in Curonia. Alminas sought to engage Mindaugas in the fight against the order, but Mindaugas preferred peace. After the Mongols devastated Mindaugas’s domains in early 1259, Mindaugas granted the Teutonic Order the whole of Samogitia (7 August). About the same time the Samogitians attacked Curonia and defeated the Livonian troops at the battle of Skuodas. Inspired by Samogitian success, the Semgallians started a rebellion against the Teutonic Order (1259–1272).

On 13 July 1260, in Curonia, the Samogitians crushed the united army of Livonia and Prussia at the battle of Durben. The order suffered its most overwhelming defeat of the thir-

teenth–fourteenth centuries. This inflamed rebellions throughout the whole eastern Baltic region, including the great rebellion of the native Prussians in 1260–1274. In the autumn of 1261, Mindaugas, persuaded by his nephew Treniota and the Samogitians, reclaimed Samogitia, apostatized from Christianity, and launched attacks against the Teutonic Order. The campaign was unsuccessful, and Mindaugas blamed Treniota. In autumn of 1263, Duke Daumantas of Nalšia, whose wife had been kidnapped by Mindaugas, allied with Treniota and killed the Lithuanian king and two of his sons, Ruklys and Repeikis. Treniota then proclaimed himself ruler of Lithuania.

Mindaugas was married at least twice: to Martha (in 1262) and to her sister, former wife of Daumantas. Some researchers assume that Martha was his second wife. We know of four sons of Mindaugas: Vaišelga, Ruklys, Repeikis, and Girstutis. Vaišelga, duke of Novogrodok and an Orthodox monk, seized power after Treniota was murdered in 1264 and after three years abdicated in favor of his brother-in-law Prince Shvarno of Volhynia. The attempts of Vaišelga and Shvarno to seize power in Lithuania provoked long-lasting wars, which were resolved only after Shvarno was expelled by Traidenis, who became ruler of Lithuania in 1269–1281.

–Tomas Baranauskas

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Mirabel

A castle in southern Palestine located near al-‘Auja (mod. Rosh Ha ‘Ayin, Israel), in the lordship of Ramla.

Mirabel existed by 1152, when it was held unsuccessfully against King Baldwin III of Jerusalem by Manasses of Hierges, the husband of Helvis, lady of Ramla. Around 1162 it became the center of an independent lordship under Bald-

win of Ibelin, son of Balian I, but the lordship was reunited with Ramla when Baldwin succeeded his brother Hugh as lord of Ramla in 1171.

The castle surrendered to the Ayyūbid prince al-‘Ādil after bombardment in July 1187, and it was held and defended by the Ayyūbids during the Third Crusade (1189–1192). In the later thirteenth century, it was superseded by the Mamlūk castle at al-‘Auja. The structural remains comprise an early twelfth-century donjon (keep), standing on the west side of an enclosure of some 45 meters square, with vaulted ranges on the south, east, and probably north. An outer wall with rectangular towers and a sloping masonry batter or talus, which survives on the west, abuts a large rectangular building of uncertain function on the north and most likely enclosed the castle on the remaining three sides, completing its concentric plan.

–Denys Pringle

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Misis

See Mamistra

Mission

The idea of mission was foreign to the original conception of the crusade. Neither the conversion of pagans nor the return of heretics and schismatics to the bosom of the church figured in the plan of Pope Urban II for the restoration of the “kingdom of Christ” that he set out when proclaiming the First Crusade (1096–1099) at the Council of Clermont in November 1095. In Iberia, the *Reconquista* (the Christian reconquest) involved the recovery of the peninsula from the Muslims, but not their conversion.

The spread of Christianity among the peoples on the northern and western fringes of Christendom had been accomplished before the inception of the crusade movement,

thanks to the advance of the Carolingian Empire, by the intervention of monks from Ireland and England, and through other forms of contacts established in particular by the Holy Roman Emperors and their clergy, often by means of marriage alliances and without any general preconceived plans. In 1147 St. Bernard of Clairvaux envisaged the conversion of the pagan Slavs (known to the Germans as Wends) living beyond the River Elbe, in conjunction with a military campaign that was primarily intended to secure the frontiers of the kingdom of Germany during the absence of King Conrad III in the Second Crusade (1147–1149). Although such a campaign did take place, it failed in the aim of Christianization.

The conversion of these Slavic peoples beyond the Elbe was undertaken in the second half of the twelfth century by the Cistercians. They carried out their mission to the pagan princes, whose conversion, with its attendant destruction of idols, also brought about that of their subjects, and completed their task with the foundation of monasteries to enable Christianity to take root among the Slavic population. The Cistercian Berno proceeded in this manner among the Abodrites, and in the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Cistercian mission, promoted by the archbishops of Riga, spread through Brandenburg, Pomerania, Livonia, and Prussia. However, the aggressive reactions of the pagans compelled the bishops in these regions to appeal to military orders: the Order of Dobrin, the Sword Brethren, and above all the Teutonic Knights, who proved to be less attentive to the evangelization of the pagans than to their submission, and pursued a frontier war against their Lithuanian neighbors well into the fifteenth century, long after the latter had accepted Christianity.

From 1211 onward the Cistercian Order began to resist papal demands for brethren for the mission to Livonia or to the Cathar heretics (Albigensians) of southern France, on the grounds that such activity would disrupt conventual life. It was the new order of the Dominicans who took over the task: its founder, St. Dominic Guzman, had been trained at the Cistercian monastery of Fontfroide, which was then a missionary center in contact with the Albigensian country. The Dominicans missionized the Turkic Cumans, who had come under the protection of the kingdom of Hungary in 1223, meeting with sufficient success for Pope Honorius III to set up a Cuman diocese and appoint as bishop a Dominican prior, Thierry. One Dominican, Julian of Hungary, travelled through the lands north of the Caucasus, trying to reach the

country known as “Greater Hungary” (Lat. *Magna Hungaria*), the mythical homeland of the Magyar people; it was Julian who brought back to the Hungarians the first news about the great Mongol invasion that was to descend upon them in 1240. In 1229, following the cession of the city of Jerusalem to Emperor Frederick II by the Ayyūbids, some Dominicans founded a convent in the Holy City. They made contact with the heads of the Eastern Christian churches, reaching Baghdad in 1237 and founding a convent in Tbilisi in Georgia in 1240. Meanwhile the Franciscans, who had initially been devoted to the reform of Western Christian society, also took an interest in the infidels: during the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221), their founder, St. Francis of Assisi, personally addressed the sultan of Egypt. Franciscan friars went to preach in Morocco, where they were soon entrusted with a bishopric, although their flock essentially consisted of the Spanish mercenaries of the sultan; they did, however, endeavor to give spiritual assistance to Christian prisoners in this Muslim country.

Pope Gregory IX recognized the specific character of the missionary task by granting the friars sent “among the nations” (the list of which constantly grew longer as the missionaries reached new countries) bulls whose preamble started with the words *Cum hora undecima*, conferring the rights to baptize, to reconcile excommunicates with the church, and to pass judgment on matrimonial matters. The rights granted in such bulls were at times of the same order as the powers conferred on papal legates.

The coming of the Mongols to Russia and Persia induced Pope Innocent IV to conduct negotiations with them in the hope of halting their invasions. The papal envoys John of Piano Carpini, Anselm of Cremona, and John of Longjumeau were also commissioned to invite the Mongols to receive baptism, but achieved little. Yet in 1253, upon hearing that Prince Sartaq had been baptized, William of Rubruck set out for the Mongols with the aim of preaching the gospel and giving spiritual assistance to Westerners who had been deported to Central Asia; he also made contact with Nestorian Christians, of whom there were many in the Mongol territories. Others followed in William’s footsteps.

Pope Innocent IV also sent envoys who were charged with meeting the prelates of the Eastern churches, but were also commissioned to bring the gospel to the Muslim princes of the East. The latter were willing to allow theological discussions among scholars, but were not themselves attracted to Christianity. Indeed, any preaching of the gospel to the

Muslim peoples—considered blasphemous in their eyes—was impossible: many missionaries were martyred, for instance in Selmas (1284), Erzincan (1314), Thana in India (1321), and Almaligh in Turkestan (1339). The Catalan theologian and writer Ramon Llull, who had devoted his life to the task of mission, especially among the Muslims, and who planned the creation of language schools for missionaries, was imprisoned after preaching in North Africa in 1307, and though later released, was stoned to death there in 1315.

The Frankish states of Outremer were an exception to such trends, since there were many Muslim subjects and slaves there who could be evangelized without danger, even though their Christian masters were not enthusiastic about the prospect. The preaching in Outremer of William of Tripoli, a Dominican who in 1274 wrote a treatise showing a good knowledge of Islam, met with some success. Around 1290 a fellow Dominican, Ricoldo of Monte Croce, ventured as far as Baghdad, where he was able to frequent Muslim scholarly circles; he devised guidelines for the use of missionaries and wrote a refutation of the Qu'ran. Contacts with Eastern Christians intensified and eventually constituted an important part of the missionaries' activity: after the Armenian and Maronite churches forged links with Rome at the end of the twelfth century, the Dominicans and Franciscans strove to win the hierarchies of those churches to the positions of the Latin Church. In 1288 Yahballaha III, catholicos of the Nestorian Church of the East, pledged allegiance to the pope, and some Dominicans took up residence with him at Maragha.

In the Mongol Empire, in contrast to Muslim countries, the missionaries were free to preach, and found favor with some princes. These circumstances allowed a more organized mission. The Franciscan province of "Gazaria," corresponding to the Mongol khanate of the Golden Horde, sent back an account of the successes achieved by its brethren there in 1287. The Mongols of Persia were eager to enter into a military alliance with the West against the Mamluks of Egypt and Syria. The popes' envoys to the Ilkhans pressed them to convert, and the future khan Öljeitu was even baptized. In 1295, however, the Ilkhan Ghazan converted to Islam, coercing his Mongol subjects into following his example: the hope of seeing the Mongols of Persia embrace Christianity thus had to be abandoned. In "Gazaria" it would seem that Toktai, khan of the Golden Horde, received baptism and was buried in the Franciscan church at Sarai; however, his successor, Özbek, became a Muslim.

The Franciscan John of Monte Corvino, entrusted in 1289 with messages from the pope to the sovereigns and church leaders of the East, traveled on as far as India, where he embarked for China. There his activities met with great success, at the court of the king of the Öngüt Turks and among the Alans of the imperial guard, but also among the natives. This success induced Pope Clement V to raise Khanbaligh (near Beijing) to the rank of an archbishopric in 1307, with responsibility for the whole of the Mongol Empire. Other successes led Pope John XXII to establish another see in Sulṭāniyya, capital of the Mongol khans of Persia, which was also responsible for India, where Jourdain Cathala de Severac was preaching. It might be envisaged that once established, these ecclesiastical provinces could eventually function without the need for missionary staff; yet the vast extent of their territories made that hope illusory. Other archbishoprics were established in a more accessible region, at Matrega in Kuban and Sarai on the River Volga. They were committed to the care of prelates who came from the same region, John and Cosmas, who were of Cherkess origin. For a long time there was also a Christian community following the Roman rite in the "Caspian Mountains," that is, Daghestan in the Caucasus.

The Dominicans created a specific missionary organization in the form of the Society of Brethren Peregrinating for Christ (Lat. *Fratres Peregrinantes pro Christo*) founded around 1312. The Franciscans established two vicariates for North Tartary and East Tartary; they also founded convents, and simple residences (Lat. *loca*) were put up. In Armenia, where Barthelomew of Poggio had initiated the Armenians into scholastic philosophy, an Armenian community of the Dominican obedience was created, the Unitary Brethren (Lat. *Unitores*), which managed to last despite a fierce nationalistic reaction, especially in Nakhichevan. Some original initiatives were taken: in order to follow nomadic tribes, the Franciscans created mobile mission posts mounted on wagons. The need to learn new languages produced the Codex Cumanicus, a dictionary of Turkish, Persian, and Latin compiled in the Black Sea region around 1330.

The papacy attempted to coordinate missionary efforts by dispatching legates to these regions, notably Odorico da Pordenone and John of Marignolla. It requested reports from the archbishops of Sulṭāniyya, such as John of Cori's *Livre de l'Etat du grant Caan* (Book of the Estate of the Great Khan), while in 1373 a committee of bishops was established in Avignon to deal with missionary issues.

Yet by this time political conditions had changed. Contacts with the Eastern churches of the former Mongol Empire in Persia declined as they increasingly turned in upon themselves. When Pope Eugenius IV tried to make them a party to the vast plan of church union conceived at the Council of Florence, it was only with some difficulty that his envoys reached the leaders of some of these churches, who at least permitted the promulgation of some of the decrees of union. In the case of the Nestorian Church, however, the Latins had to be content to negotiate with the archbishop of Tarsos, who was resident in Cyprus. The Mongol Empire of China had collapsed, and the "Christians of Cathay," whom Westerners remembered, and for whom a search was made in the sixteenth century, led a shadowy existence in the steppe areas or in South China. Mongolia had embraced Tibetan Lamaism; the Golden Horde and Central Asia had passed into the hands of Muslim princes; and Christianity did not survive in these countries.

The campaigns of the Turkic conqueror Timur (Tamerlane) were a severe blow to the Christian communities of the Caucasus, and Pope Boniface IX considered a crusade to relieve them. They were also affected by the progress of the Ottoman Turks. Lodovico Severi of Bologna, a Franciscan who conveyed appeals from Eastern potentates to the rulers of the West, asked the pope to give him responsibility for the remnant of the converts to Catholicism in these countries, with the title of patriarch of Antioch. Though he was interested at first, Pope Pius II did not pursue the suggestion.

Nevertheless, new fields of activity continued to emerge. One was Ethiopia, which established relations with Rome, thanks largely to the Franciscans in the Holy Land. On the eastern frontiers of Europe, the Cumans of Hungary and the Finns, who both had been evangelized by the mendicant orders, finally converted, as did the Lithuanians. The conversion of the latter had begun in the thirteenth century and was resumed as a result of the Polish-Lithuanian political alliance. In the Atlantic, the discovery of the Canary Islands enabled the conversion of their native inhabitants.

It would have needed a much larger establishment than was now available to maintain the missionary enthusiasm of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The Black Death alone did away with most of the missionaries in the Mongol Empire. Interest in missionary activity was essentially confined to the milieu of religious orders. The Western traders who had once supported the efforts of the friars, and who were still numerous in the fourteenth century, no

longer frequented the routes of Asia. It was only in the Age of Discoveries that missionary work was again resumed on a similar scale.

—Jean Richard

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Mistra

Mistra (mod. Mistras, Greece) was a castle and town founded in the Frankish principality of Achaia in the Peloponnese. It later became the capital of the Byzantine despotate of the Morea.

The castle was built in the 1240s by William II of Villehardouin, prince of Achaia, as part of his subjugation of Monemvasia and Skorta, in order to contain the Slav inhabitants of the Taygetos region. Quite probably it occupied the site of an earlier Byzantine fortification. What there was of the Frankish town around the castle is unclear. In 1262 the castle was surrendered to the Byzantines along with Monemvasia and Geraki.

As the seat of the Byzantine *strategos* (military governor) of the Peloponnese, the town developed as a major cultural, monastic, and administrative center beginning with the transfer of inhabitants from nearby Lakaidemon (mod. Sparti) around 1264. The houses, churches, and despot's palace show traces of thirteenth- to fifteenth-century work,

and the site today is the finest late Byzantine town to be seen in modern Greece. From 1348 to 1460, it was the capital of the despotate of the Morea and the center from which the Byzantine conquest of the principality of Achaia was planned. It was from here in 1449 that the despot left for Constantinople to become the last Byzantine emperor as Constantine XI.

The city surrendered to the Turks in 1460 and was destroyed by the forces of Ibrahim Pasha in 1824; the ruins suffered further destruction in the Greek Civil War. It has since undergone extensive restoration by conservators from the French School at Athens.

—Peter Lock

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Modern Literature

Since the Middle Ages, the subject of the crusades has inspired numerous novelists and poets, from the Italian epic poet Torquato Tasso (1544–1595) to recent authors of historical fiction aimed at both adults and children.

Some authors have consulted the original crusade sources or modern secondary accounts of the expeditions and then used limited historical license to fill in the gaps and produce credible and interesting characters; others have taken considerable liberties with the real events and characters, with idiosyncratic results. Not surprisingly, each writer has approached the crusades from his or her particular viewpoint, but it is possible to identify some common themes and approaches, which can be followed through several centuries. The crusades often formed the backcloth to individual tales of heroism and romance. The exploits of Richard the Lionheart, king of England, on the Third Crusade (1189–1192) and the expeditions of King Louis IX of France

in the thirteenth century were particularly popular because they offered opportunities to depict and develop the character of a national hero. The First Crusade (1096–1099), culminating in the capture of Jerusalem in 1099, and, to a lesser extent, the Children's Crusade (1212), were also obvious subjects, offering not only dramatic events but also individual characters of interest that could be further developed and given a fictional supporting cast. There are, however, only isolated examples of novels and poems about the other expeditions to the East and of the crusades in Europe; the only one that seems to have captured much attention was the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229).

The works produced were of variable quality, and although some, such as the novels of Sir Walter Scott, were very popular and remain in print as classics of their genre today, others, even in their own time, had a much more limited readership, including those that were privately printed and circulated. Nevertheless, the collective portrayal of the crusades in modern literature has contributed to the creation of the popular image of the crusading movement even in the twenty-first century.

The Gothic Novel

Although there were some novels and poems about the crusades in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as the Jesuit Pierre Le Moyné's epic poem *Saint Louis ou la Sainte Couronne reconquise* (1658), this period was generally characterized by variations on the work of Tasso and medieval crusade epics. The crusades, however, appealed to the gothic novelist. The earliest gothic novel, *The Castle of Otranto* by Horace Walpole (1717–1797), first published in 1764, purported to be a translation of an Italian story set at the time of the crusades. Walpole was proud of his crusading pedigree, displaying swords at his house in Twickenham that were allegedly from a crusading expedition undertaken by his ancestor Sir Terry Robsart. Walpole influenced contemporary as well as later writers. They included the Reverend Richard Warner, whose gothic novel set in the eponymous *Netley Abbey* was published in 1795. Here the hero, Baron de Villars, takes part in the Crusade of the Lord Edward (1270–1272). His own son, also called Edward, rescues and subsequently marries a lady in distress, Agnes, who has been imprisoned by her wicked cousin Sir Hildebrand Warren. In the same gothic tradition, another Anglican priest, Charles Robert Maturin (1782–1824), produced a four-volume novel, *The Albigenses* (1824), which features some of the par-

ticipants in the Albigensian Crusade, intermixed with the standard gothic elements of sorcery, stifled cries at midnight, and even a werewolf.

Sir Walter Scott

The use of the crusades as a subject for novelists and poets really developed in the nineteenth century, and the dominant historical novelist and influence was Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832). Scott was brought up on a diet of history, chivalry, and romance, and his library included editions of some of the key crusade texts, such as the chronicle of William of Tyre. Four of his novels are set against the background of the crusades. The last of these, *Count Robert of Paris* (1831), was set in Constantinople at the time of the First Crusade and was based on an incident mentioned by the Greek chronicler Anna Komnene in which the eponymous hero dares to sit upon the imperial Byzantine throne. To add color, Scott invented characters such as Robert's wife, the Amazonian Brennilda, and Sylvanus, the gigantic man of the woods. Although now a literary curiosity, the novel, produced when Scott's health was failing, is of inferior quality to his other works. More important are his three earlier novels *Ivanhoe* (1819) and *Tales of the Crusaders—The Betrothed* and *The Talisman* (1825), which were inspired by the Third Crusade.

Ivanhoe, which is now probably the best known of his works and was the most popular in Scott's own lifetime, features the wicked Templar Sir Brian de Bois Guilbert, the returning Saxon crusader Ivanhoe, and the Black Knight, who is later revealed as King Richard the Lionheart himself. The heroine of *The Betrothed* is Eveline Berenger, whose fiancé, Hugh de Lacy, the Norman constable of Chester, is absent for several years in the Holy Land, thereby providing an opportunity for Scott to elaborate upon the implications of long crusading absences for the fidelity and welfare of womenfolk left behind. The plot of *The Talisman* centers around two characters: the poor Scottish crusader Sir Kenneth (later identified as Earl David of Huntingdon, brother of the king of Scotland), who saves King Richard from assassination and marries Edith Plantagenet, a member of the royal family; and a Saracen emir (later identified as Saladin), who provides the miraculous amulet, or talisman, that cures the king. References to the crusades also appear in a number of Scott's other works, and when he died he was engaged in a novel about the Hospitallers and the Turkish siege of Malta in 1565. These novels reveal Scott's interest

in and admiration for the values of medieval chivalry, but they do not provide an uncritical picture of the crusades. For example, they contrast the corruption of the military orders and dissolute crusaders with the noble Saracen, in particular Saladin.

Scott's novels were widely read, running to numerous editions. He had admirers from Moscow to the American frontier and influenced fellow writers such as Honoré de Balzac and Aleksandr Pushkin. His works also inspired artists and composers: the plot of *Ivanhoe* was used in nearly 300 dramas and burlesques, and scenes from the novel were regularly featured in the annual exhibitions of paintings at the Royal Academy in London and the Paris Salon. There were also operas by composers such as Sir Arthur Sullivan (*Ivanhoe*, 1891) and Heinrich Marschner (*Der Templer und die Jüdin*, 1829). The Italian nationalist writer Tommaso Grossi, whose poem *I Lombardi alla prima crociata* inspired the opera of the same title by Giuseppe Verdi (1846), also wrote a novel, *Marco Visconti* (1831–1834), whose plot owes much to *Ivanhoe*. William Makepeace Thackeray's short novel *Rebecca and Rowena* (1849) is in a less serious vein. *The Talisman* and *The Betrothed* left a similar, if less extensive, legacy.

Other Nineteenth-Century Literature

Other nineteenth-century romantic poets were also inspired by the crusades. William Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* (1822) included four sonnets about the crusades, and Elizabeth Barrett Browning's *The Romaunt of the Page* (1844) told the story of a wife who, anxious not to be parted from her crusading husband, accompanies him to the East in disguise and dies without revealing her identity. In fact, the story of the crusader's wife, mother, or sister and the impact of his departure and lengthy absence, often with no news of his fate in battle, became a standard theme. Other examples can be found in the works of Felicia Hemans and Letitia Landon, who may now be little read but were extremely popular in the first half of the nineteenth century. Collections of Victorian poetry regularly included something relating to the crusades, and some poems were also used as lyrics for songs for home entertainment.

The concept of the crusades as a noble undertaking and inspiration for contemporaries, who sought to emulate the heroic deeds of their medieval ancestors can also be found in Benjamin Disraeli's *Young England* trilogy (1844–1847), in particular the third novel, *Tancred*, which was subtitled *The New Crusader*.

Given the popularity of Tasso's epic poem about the First Crusade, it is not surprising that he had some nineteenth-century emulators. One of these was the barrister and diplomat William Stigand, whose 300-page epic *Athenais*, which appeared in 1866, told the story of the thwarted love between the fictional crusader Count Bertrand d'Aureval and Athenais, the niece of the Byzantine emperor Alexios Komnenos. As a student in the 1830s, the American writer Henry David Thoreau, inspired by Tasso and Hemans, wrote a poem entitled *Godfrey of Boulogne* about the crusaders' march to the East. The First Crusade was also depicted on the stage in the play *Die Kreuzfahrer* (1803), by the German writer August von Kotzebue, published in London as *Alfred and Emma* (1806). This opens in the crusading camp at Nicaea and is another love story, but with a happy ending. After various twists and turns and with the help of a Muslim emir and the papal legate Adhemar of Le Puy, the crusader Baldwin of Eichenhorst is reunited with his betrothed Emma von Falkenstein.

The German playwright Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781) set his powerful argument for religious tolerance between Christian, Jew, and Muslim, *Nathan der Weise* (1778), at the time of the Third Crusade. This was also the context for *Der Zauberring* (1813) by the romantic writer and dramatist Baron Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué, although its main focus is the story of the hero Otto von Trautwagen, custodian of the magic ring, who fights against the heathen. Both works were translated into English and influenced other writers and artists.

There is only the occasional poem or children's history about the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), but among those who wrote about the Children's Crusade was the American poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (*In the Harbour*, 1882) and the French essayist Marcel Schwob (*La croisade des enfants*, 1896). There were also several stories designed for children about young French and British crusaders who join the expedition and survive captivity and slavery before their eventual return to the West. These were intended to provide instructive examples of courage and faith under adversity.

The crusading exploits of the French king Louis IX inspired writers both in his own country and elsewhere. In 1873, Louis was set as the subject of the Newdigate Prize, an annual poetry competition at Oxford University, which was won by Cecil Moore. He became a clergyman and used his poem and Louis's example to exhort others to pursue a contemporary missionary crusade in Africa. Louis's crusade to Tunis (1270) was also the subject of a lengthy poem, *The Last*

Crusade (1887), by Alfred Hayes. The subsequent expedition to the Holy Land led by the future Edward I of England formed the background to *Sir Guy de Lusignan: A Tale of Italy* (1833) by the popular novelist Ellis Cornelia Knight, who was a friend of Admiral Lord Nelson, Lady Hamilton, and the royal family. This and *The Prince and the Page* (1865), by the popular children's writer Charlotte M. Yonge, both include the standard elements of the attempt on Edward's life, from which he is saved by the courage of his wife, Eleanor. Yonge adds a second assassination attempt that is thwarted by the intervention of Edward's page, Richard de Montfort. Predictably, there were several other stories of young English crusaders who accompanied Edward, which generally tell of how they survive Muslim slavery and other difficulties before their return to the West. As with previous crusade stories, there was often a romantic element. John Mason Neale, who is more famous today for his hymns, has his young crusader hero, Everard de Blechingley, betrothed to Isabelle, the daughter of the crusade historian John of Joinville. The events of the Crimean War (1854–1856) and the political rhetoric surrounding the massacres of Bulgarian Christians by the Turks in 1876 also inspired a few poems about the crusades, with parallels drawn between current circumstances and the medieval campaigns in the East.

Those who wrote about the crusades with serious intent did not always achieve the desired result through their choice of plot or literary style. Others, however, deliberately set out to write satire. In his novel *Maid Marian* (1822), Thomas Love Peacock satirized the romantic medievalism of the Young England movement and the traditional portrayal of Richard the Lionheart. In his *Crotchet Castle* (1831), Mr. Chainmail is soon diverted from his interest in the Third Crusade by a young lady. The crusades also feature in a number of the comic novels of William Makepeace Thackeray. For example, in *Barbazure*, one of his characters, Romane de Clos-Dougoet, claims to have been with Richard at Ascalon, Louis at Damietta, and Solyman at Rhodes—a feat that transcends the bounds of historical chronology. There are also stories about crusaders in the highly popular *Ingoldsby Legends* (1840) by Richard Harris Barham, a minor canon of St. Paul's Cathedral in London.

The Case of Richard the Lionheart

For British writers, the story of Richard the Lionheart was almost irresistible, and his crusading exploits were cele-

brated in a variety of literary forms and by a wide range of authors. The story of the captured Richard and his faithful minstrel Blondel inspired a poem by the young Charlotte Brontë (1833), and Richard was twice set as the subject for Newdigate Prize at Oxford University (1828 and 1912). The quality and content of such works varied considerably. For example, Richard was the subject of at least two lengthy but rather mediocre epic poems, one by Sir Henry Bland Burges, member of Parliament for Cornwall (1800), and the other by Eleanor Pordes (1822), the wife of the polar explorer Sir John Franklin. Burges also wrote a comic play called *The Crusaders* (1817). Its characters include Baron von Poppendorf, a nouveau riche Jewish broker with a mock German accent, who looks upon the Third Crusade as a business opportunity. An anonymous and more traditional historical tragedy in five acts, entitled *Richard Coeur de Lion* (1861), followed Richard's career from his coronation to his death. But *The Sea King: A Tale of the Crusade under Richard I of England* (1895) by Dunbar Hylton took a more imaginative approach, featuring sea nymphs and other marine exotica. Several historical romances influenced by Scott also appeared around this time, set against the background of the Third Crusade, usually in the camp at Acre. At least one drew heavily on *Ivanhoe*, with a Knight Templar, a Jewess, and interplay between the Saxon heroine and a Norman knight.

Richard was also a natural subject for writers of children's fiction. The doyen of this genre was George Alfred Henty (1832–1902), whose novel *Winning His Spurs* (1882) tells the story of Cuthbert, who is knighted as a reward for saving the king's life. On his return to England, Cuthbert marries the earl's daughter and succeeds to the title. The tale of young courage, adventure, and romance became another standard theme: Peter Donne, the hero of Paul Creswick's *With Richard the Fearless: A Tale of the Red Crusade* (1904), even turns out to be the son of the king's secret marriage with Alice of Brittany. In the same year, the adventure writer Sir Henry Rider Haggard was inspired by a visit to the battlefield of Hattin to write a novel about Rosamond, allegedly the daughter of Saladin's sister and an English knight: in *The Brethren* (1904) this damsel in distress is protected by two crusading brothers; Robert Irwin (1997) has drawn parallels between Haggard's Saracens and the Zulus of his other novels. Mary Rowles Jarvis's *Dick Lionheart* (1909) has a starker and more contemporary theme. Her hero, an orphan, inspired by tales of Richard the Lionheart, sets out for a distant industrial city and the home of his

uncle, where, after the inevitable trials and tribulations, he finds happiness.

This was not, however, just a British phenomenon. In France, Michel-Jean Sedaine's play *Richard Coeur de Lion* (1784) inspired a comic opera of the same name by André Gretry. The latter was performed regularly in Paris during the nineteenth century and was adapted for the British stage by a British general who had fought at the battle of Saratoga during the American Revolution, Sir John Burgoyne (1722–1792). There were also Italian, German, and Dutch versions. Another publishing success was Sophie Cottin's novel *Mathilde* (1805), set during the Third Crusade. Using considerable historical license, its heroine is the young sister of Richard the Lionheart, who decides to accompany him on crusade and falls in love with Saladin's brother Malek Adel. He dies in combat, but not before he has been converted to Christianity; Mathilde remains behind in a convent in the Holy Land. Like Scott's work, Cottin's novel inspired paintings, plays, and operas, the latter including Sir Michael Costa's *Malek Adel*, which was performed in London in 1837.

The Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries

The linkage between the crusades and contemporary events was most marked during World War I. Poems written by soldiers in the campaigns in the Dardanelles and Palestine portray the soldiers as following in the footsteps of their crusading ancestors. The memoir *The Romance of the Last Crusade: With Allenby to Jerusalem*, published in 1923 by the actor Major Vivian Gilbert, begins with Brian Gurnay, at the end of his first year in Oxford, dreaming of the crusading exploits of his ancestor Sir Brian de Gurnay, a participant in the Third Crusade. Gilbert then reverts to his own time and the Palestine campaign, portraying his men as successors of Richard's army, wearing drab khaki rather than suits of armor.

Historical parallels apart, in the twentieth century and up to the present day the crusades have continued to inspire historical novelists, with the same mixture of stories drawn from historical fact and literary whimsy. The First Crusade has remained a popular subject, with more than thirty novels of varying quality, and these have recently been analyzed in detail by Susan Edgington (2003). For example, in 1950, Alfred Duggan published the well-researched *Knight with Armour*, the story of an English knight on the First Crusade, and his last book, *Count Bohemond*, a fictionalized biography of Bohemund of Taranto, was published posthumously

in 1964. Brother Cadfael, the detective in Ellis Peters's popular series set in the medieval abbey at Shrewsbury, also has a crusading past, and in *The Virgin in the Ice* (1982) it emerges that he fathered a son while at Antioch.

The majority of recent works, however, have been published in France. In 1970, Zoë Oldenbourg published *La Joie des pauvres*, which was translated into English as *The Heirs of the Kingdom* (1971), which was preceded by her own general history of the crusades. She has also written a series of historical novels about the Cathars and the Albigensian Crusade. And the 900th anniversary of the Council of Clermont seems to have prompted a number of other French novels about the First Crusade by authors such as Anne Courtille (*Dieu le Veult*, 1995).

There are also three novels by Jewish writers—Christopher Davis (*Belmarch: A Legend of the First Crusade*, 1964), Russell Hoban (*Pilgermann*, 1983), and Amos Oz (*Crusade*, 1971)—that see historical links between the massacres of Jews in the Rhineland by a crusade army and the Holocaust. From a different perspective, the American Stephen J. Rivelle's *A Booke of Days* (1996) provides a colorful journal of the crusade through the eyes of the knight Roger, duke de Lunel.

As in earlier centuries, the Second Crusade (1147–1149) has not really attracted the interest of the historical novelist, but in 1989 the Portuguese novelist José Saramago published *The History of the Siege of Lisbon*, an unusual novel that revolves around the decision by a modern copy writer to alter historical fact and make the crusaders refuse the Portuguese king's request for help.

Richard the Lionheart and the Third Crusade have continued to attract novelists. Charles Pirie-Gordon, an enthusiastic student of history who went on pilgrimage to Palestine with the Order of St. John in 1926, completed the novel *Hubert's Arthur* (1935) by Frederick Rolfe (Baron Corvo), in which Richard's nephew Arthur gains the throne of England and marries the heiress of the kingdom of Jerusalem. He was, in turn, influenced by Maurice Hewlett's popular *Richard Yea or Nay* (1900), the story of a romance between Richard and Jehane Saint Pol, who bears Richard's son Fulk during the crusade and is captured by—and ultimately marries—the lord of the Assassins. Another young squire in the service of the English king is the hero of Magdalen King-Hall's *Jehan of the Ready Fists* (1936). Most recently, Kevin Crossley-Holland has produced a trilogy whose central character, the young Arthur de Calidcot, comes from a crusading family and himself joins the Fourth Crusade: *Arthur the Seeing*

Stone, *Arthur at the Crossing Places*, and *Arthur King of the Middle March* (2000–2003). In satirical vein, the hero of Osbert Lancaster's *The Saracen's Head, or The Reluctant Crusader* (1948) is William de Littlehampton, who achieves crusading fame and fortune much against his natural inclinations in the camp at Acre.

The children's novelist Henry Treece tells the story of the Children's Crusade through the experiences of a brother and sister, Geoffrey and Alys de Villacours (1958), with the by now standard elements of disillusionment, slavery, and, after various trials and tribulations, reunion and return home. For the late 1220s, the Irish author Donn Byrne created Sir Miles O'Neill, a cousin of the king of Ulster, who serves as a paid soldier in the East under the command of the Cornish knight Sir Otho de Trelawney (*Crusade*, 1927).

For the thirteenth-century crusades, however, most writers chose Louis IX: for example, Henry Bordeaux's play with tableaux and songs, *Le Mystère de Saint Louis* (1950), which evokes the continuing moral influence of the saintly king, and Hubert Villez's much less reverent *Mémoires de Shadjar, les amours secrètes d'une reine d'Egypte*, subtitled *La Tentation de Saint Louis* (1969). In 1911, Augustin-Thierry, the nephew of the great French medievalist, whose name he adopted, and Eugène Berteaux even produced a one-act farce, *Le Lit de Saint Louis*. This opens in a provincial museum, which has the bed of the king as one of its prize exhibits. Its presence proves too great a temptation for the new administrative assistant and his mistress, Margot, and inevitably they are discovered by the shocked curator. Posing as John of Joinville, the American writer Evan S. Connell provides in *Deus lo Volt* (2000) an idiosyncratic survey of two centuries of crusading, beginning with Peter the Hermit and culminating with St. Louis.

Another American, Michael Eisner, has recently published a novel entitled *The Crusader* (2001). Set against the background of the last decades of the Latin kingdom, it features tales of treachery, bloodshed, and courage during the capture of Krak des Chevaliers by the Mamlûks in 1271, as confessed by a young Spanish nobleman, Francisco de Montcada, to a Cistercian monk, brother Lucas.

In short, the crusades remain a standard and popular subject for modern literature, with the interplay between fact and fiction and a wide range of literary approaches and styles according to the particular perspective and sometimes nationality of the author.

—Elizabeth Siberry

Modon

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Modon

Modon (mod. Methoni, Greece) was a fortress town of ancient origins on the western side of the Messenian peninsula of the Peloponnese. It was held by Venice during the period of Frankish rule in Greece.

By the twelfth century, Modon had become a base for pirates threatening Venetian trade in the Adriatic Sea. It was attacked by Venice in 1125 and again sometime before 1204, when it was clearly deserted. The fleet of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) stopped in Modon in 1203, and in 1209 the Treaty of Sapienza awarded it to the Venetians, who built it up as a major port of call for vessels sailing between Venice and the Holy Land. Ships bought salt pork here, and the Messenian peninsula became well known for its large herds of pigs, which supplied this victualling trade (an activity that

continued during the Turkish occupation). The town contained a Latin cathedral and the headquarters of the Teutonic Order in Greece.

In 1500 Modon fell to the Turks and the garrison was massacred, a procedure that hastened the surrender of Coron (mod. Koroni, Greece), its twin town on the eastern side of the peninsula. Twice Christian forces unsuccessfully attacked it in the sixteenth century: the Knights of St. John in 1531 and Don John of Austria in 1572 following the battle of Lepanto. Venetian forces occupied it again from 1686 to 1715. In 1825 the Egyptian army of Ibrahim Pasha was disembarked here, and three years later French engineers built the modern town nearby, despoiling the medieval site for their building materials.

—Peter Lock

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Mohács, Battle of (1526)

A major defeat of the royal army of Hungary by the forces of the Ottoman sultan Süleyman I (the Magnificent), fought on 29 August 1526.

After a relatively peaceful period of Hungarian-Turkish relations between 1483 and 1520, the Turks took Belgrade, the key to the defense system on the southern Hungarian frontier (1521). The young Louis II, king of Hungary and Bohemia (1516–1526), was unable to organize the defense of the country, which had fallen into political crisis after 1490. In 1526 the Ottoman army, personally led by Sultan Süleyman, departed from Constantinople on 23 April 1526; marching via Belgrade (30 June), it crossed the river Drava on 14 August. The Hungarian royal army, commanded by Paul Tomori, archbishop of Kalocsa, and George Count Szapolyai, lacked any strategic concept to stop the invaders, and before completing its mobilization, left Buda on 20 July 1526. The Hungarians were inferior in numbers, amounting to some 25,000–50,000 men (including some 10,000 foreign mercenaries, mostly infantry) compared to the Turks'

75,000–120,000. It is still debated by Hungarian scholars whether the Hungarian army had any realistic chance of defeating or halting the Turks.

The Hungarians launched a surprise attack on the Ottoman army while it was still drawing up in battle formation on the plain of Mohács, a small town on the west bank of the Danube to the east of the city of Pécs. The initially promising attack of the first wave of Hungarian cavalry soon collapsed in the fire of the hidden Ottoman artillery and the disciplined janissary troops, and the whole army turned to panic. Within a few hours, not only the royal army, but the medieval Hungarian kingdom itself was defeated; the king and most of the country's prelates and dignitaries were dead. The Turks reached the abandoned royal castle of Buda unhindered (12 September), but then withdrew, occupying only a small strip of land. However, the defeat at Mohács paved the way for the subsequent occupation of most of the kingdom by the Turks (1541), leaving only a northern and western rump under Christian rule.

–László Veszprémy

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Molay, James of

See James of Molay

Monasticism in Outremer

See Outremer: Monasticism

Möngke (1209–1259)

Fourth great khan (Mong. *qaghan*) of the Mongols (1251–1259).

The eldest son of Chinggis Khan's fourth son Tolui, Möngke participated in the Mongol campaigns in eastern Europe in 1236–1242 under the command of his cousin Batu. After the death of his rival, Great Khan Güyüg (1246–1248), Batu secured Möngke's election as his successor, despite opposition from Güyüg's family and other

relatives. While Möngke concentrated on the Chinese front, he dispatched his brother Hülegü in 1253 to complete the conquest of Persia, which resulted in the overthrow of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate (1258) and the temporary conquest of Syria (1260). Möngke, who died on 11 August 1259 while besieging a Chinese fortress, was the last sovereign to be acknowledged throughout the empire until 1304, since his brother Qubilai, though victorious in the ensuing civil war, was never universally recognized.

The Franciscan friar William of Rubruck, who visited Möngke's court, was sceptical about Nestorian Christians' hopes of his conversion, observing that the great khan merely desired every confessional group to pray on his behalf. The Buddhists believed that Möngke favored them, while the Chinese annals of the Mongol era describe him as adhering to the shamanistic practices of his ancestors.

–Peter Jackson

See also: Mongols

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Mongols

A nomadic people of Altaic stock who first appear in Chinese texts of the eleventh century and who in the thirteenth came to rule an empire embracing most of Asia. For several decades after the 1230s, they were Latin Christendom's most formidable eastern neighbor.

The Mongol Empire

At a tribal assembly around the year 1206, the Mongol leader Temüjin, who had reduced the neighboring tribes of the eastern Asian steppe, was proclaimed ruler of all the tent-dwelling peoples under the title of Chinggis (Genghis) Khan (probably Mong. "hard ruler" or "stern ruler"). Chinggis Khan (d. 1227) began the conquest of North China (1211), then ruled by the Chin dynasty; reduced the seminomadic Qara-Khitān Empire in Central Asia (1215–1218); and in the course of a seven-year campaign (1218–1224) to the west accomplished the destruction of the Muslim Empire of

Mongols

Khwārazm in what is now Iran and Turkmenistan. Why the Mongols came to be known as Tatars (the name of an enemy tribe crushed by Chinggis Khan in 1202) is unclear; in Latin Europe the term was corrupted to Tartars, reinforcing the West's association of the Mongols with the hell (Lat. *Tartarus*) of classical mythology. In any case, by the time they reached Europe the majority of the Mongols' nomadic troops were of Turkic stock.

At both the administrative and the ideological level, the Mongol Empire represented a significant advance on earlier steppe confederacies. Their early conquests had brought the Mongols into contact with other tribes, such as the Naiman and the Kereyid, which had been in the process of attaining statehood, and with the semisedentary Turkic Uighurs, who had possessed literate traditions of government for some centuries and whose script Chinggis Khan adopted for the written Mongolian of his chancery. It was probably also through the Uighurs, and other Turks whom they incorporated in their war machine, that the Mongols had access to long-established notions of imperial rule. At what stage they developed the idea that Heaven (Mong. *Tenggeri*) had conferred on them rulership of the entire world, we cannot be sure. It may postdate the flight of certain of their nomadic enemies into sedentary territories; conceivably, it belongs to the era of Chinggis Khan's successor. The notion is articulated in the ultimatums that the Mongols sent out to rulers who had not yet submitted: formulaic documents that demanded from those rulers acknowledgement of their place in the Mongol world-empire and threatened them with attack should they refuse. The earliest of such documents to survive dates from 1237.

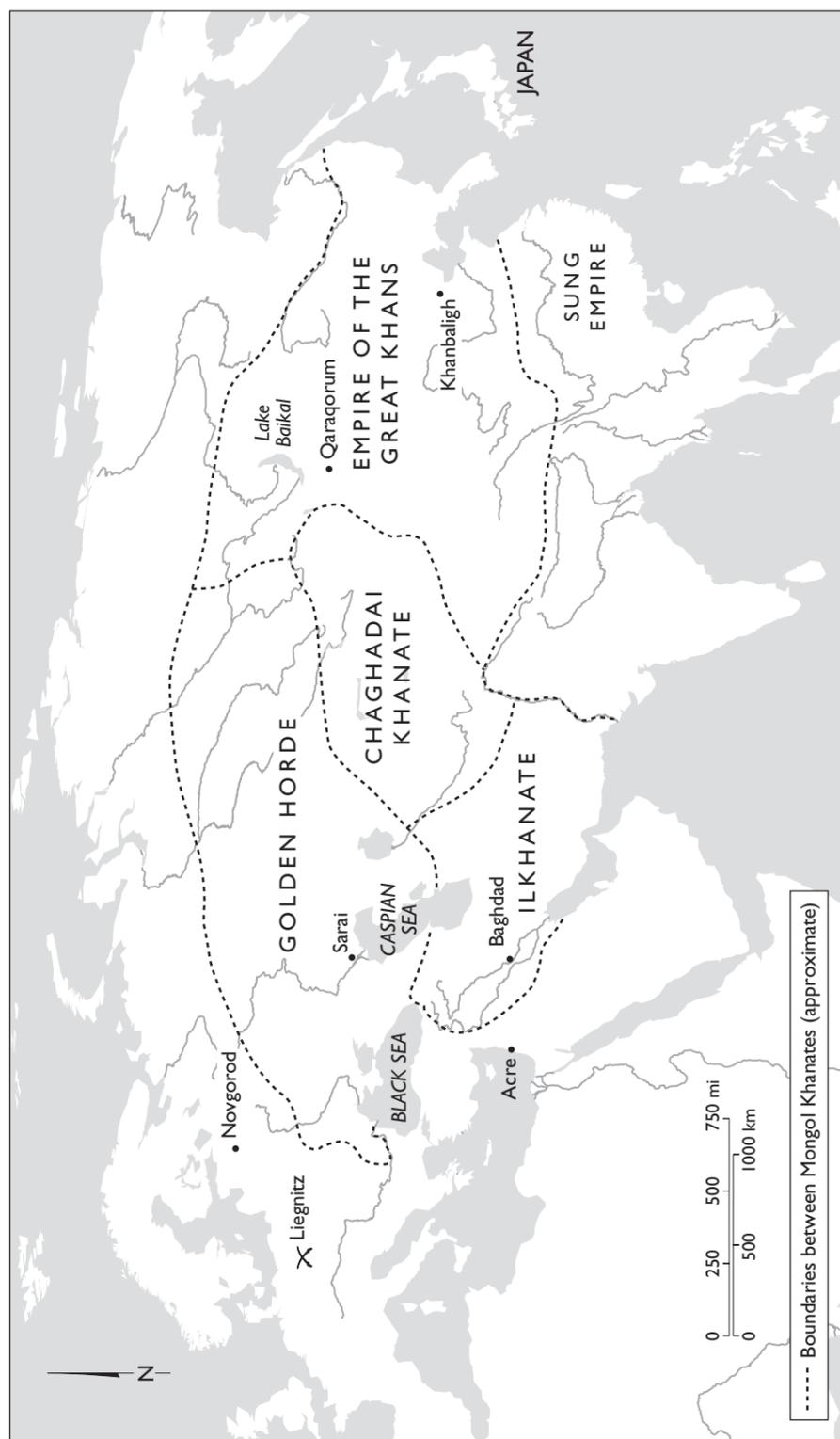
Various reasons have been put forward to explain the phenomenal pace of the Mongol conquests. Like those of other steppe nomadic peoples, their forces were highly mobile and maneuverable, which gave them an advantage over the armies of their sedentary opponents: each Mongol warrior, whose main weapon was the composite bow, traveled with several spare horses. However, their decimal chain of command was not an innovation, and their proverbial discipline is unlikely to have exceeded that of the Chinese troops they encountered. What particularly distinguished them from their enemies was their cohesiveness. Chinggis Khan had eliminated the ruling elites of those peoples who resisted him, and divided them up into new military units under trusted officers; even tribes that cooperated, and were therefore permitted to remain intact, were entrusted to new

commanders from different tribal backgrounds. The imperial guard, his own creation, numbering 10,000 men and drawn from a wide range of peoples, served as the nursery of an officer class that owed allegiance to Chinggis Khan and his dynasty alone. In this fashion the conqueror surmounted the centrifugal effects of the old clan and tribal affiliations, forging a more homogeneous structure than had been available to the Mongols' precursors. This cohesiveness contrasted sharply with the disunity of many of their opponents. During the early stages of the war in northern China, the conquerors benefited from the assistance of several elements that resented Chin rule and saw the Mongols as a means of deliverance. In Central Asia, Chinggis Khan's generals won the support of the Muslims, who had been persecuted by the last Qara-Khitān sovereign, and thereby incidentally undermined the ability of the shah of Khwārazm to portray his own struggle with them as a holy war.

Territorial expansion continued under Chinggis Khan's immediate successors who, with the title of *qaghan* (great khan), reigned from their principal base at Qaraqorum in Mongolia. Chinggis Khan's son Ögödei (1229–1241) presided over the final destruction of the Chin Empire (1234), inaugurated the long-drawn-out war against the Sung in South China (from 1235), and dispatched fresh forces to eliminate the vestiges of Khwārazmian resistance in Iran (1229); these troops reduced Georgia and Greater Armenia to tributary status (1236–1239) and shattered the Saljūq sultanate of Rūm at Kösedagh (1243).

From 1236 the great khan's senior nephew Batu commanded a major expedition that completed the subjugation of the steppe and forest peoples of western Asia, notably the Volga Bulgars (1237) and the Cumans or Qipchaq (1237–1239), and overwhelmed the fragmented principalities of Russia (1237–1240). Batu's campaigns mark the foundation of the Mongol power known as the Golden Horde in the southern Russian steppe. Following the enthronement of another of Chinggis Khan's grandsons, Möngke (1251–1259), the conflict with the Sung was resumed in earnest, and the new sovereign's brother Hülegü headed a campaign to southwest Asia, overthrowing in turn the Ismācīlī Assassins of northern Persia (1256) and the 'Abbāsīd caliphate at Baghdad (1258).

By 1260 the Mongol Empire extended from the Siberian forests to the western Punjab and from the Yellow Sea to the eastern Mediterranean coast. But Möngke's death was followed by a civil war in Mongolia between his brothers



The Mongol world, c. 1260

Mongols

Qubilai (Kublai) and Arigh Böke, in which members of the imperial dynasty took opposing sides. In the west, Hülegü favored Qubilai, while the ruler of the Golden Horde, Batu's brother Berke, supported Arigh Böke. With the outbreak of conflict among Chinggis Khan's descendants, the unitary empire dissolved into a number of independent, and usually hostile, khanates: the Golden Horde, with its center at Sarai on the lower Volga; a polity in Central Asia ruled by the descendants of Chinggis Khan's second son Chaghadai; the Ilkhanate in Persia and Iraq, governed by Hülegü and his line; and the great khan's own territory in the Far East. The Mongol dominions continued to expand only in the Far East, where the conquest of the Sung was completed in 1279, though seaborne invasions of Japan and Java failed. Qubilai reigned as a Chinese emperor rather than simply as a Mongol great khan: he abandoned Qaraqorum for Ta-tu (Mong. *Khanbaligh*, "the khan's city") close to modern Beijing, and adopted for his dynasty the Chinese name of Yüan (1271). The Yüan were expelled from China in 1368, and the Ilkhanate collapsed after 1335, but the other two Mongol states survived for significantly longer: the Golden Horde until 1502 (and its successor state in the Crimea until 1783) and the Chaghadayid khanate until 1678.

The First Mongol Attacks on the Latin West

The Mongols menaced Latin Christendom on two fronts: in Eastern Europe and in Outremer. The first reports of the attack on the Khwārazmian Empire, reaching Egypt in 1221, prompted the commanders of the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221) to identify the newcomers with the long-awaited forces of the great Eastern king Prester John, though news of the defeat of the Cumans and their Russian allies on the Kalka River (1223) was less encouraging. The Mongols attacked the Latin world only after the sack of Kiev (December 1240). While Batu himself and three separate armies entered Hungary, two divisions protected his flank by ravaging Poland, where they crushed Duke Henry II of Silesia and his allies near Liegnitz (mod. Legnica, Poland) on 9 April 1241; ravaging the borders of Saxony and Bohemia, they then passed through Moravia into Hungary. Here King Béla IV was overwhelmed at Mohi near the Sajó River on 11 April and fled toward the Adriatic coast while the Mongols devastated his kingdom east of the Danube. In January 1242 they crossed the frozen river and harassed the western provinces before retiring into the steppes north of the Black Sea. In the Near East, the general Baiju sent a division into northern Syria in

the summer of 1244: various Ayyūbid Muslim rulers promised tribute, but Prince Bohemund V of Antioch defiantly rejected an ultimatum. One important consequence of this advance was that several thousand Khwārazmian horsemen, displaced from northern Iraq, moved south and sacked Jerusalem in August 1244 before joining forces with the Egyptian sultan and crushing the Franks and their Muslim allies at La Forbie in October.

The Mongol attacks of the 1240s threw into relief the disharmony and unpreparedness of the West, where the Mongol menace had perhaps not been taken sufficiently seriously. Pope Gregory IX and the Emperor Frederick II were unwilling to sink their differences in order to cooperate against the Mongols, and a crusade mustered in Germany in 1241 dissolved before it could make contact with the invaders. Not until the pontificate of Innocent IV (1243–1254) did the Curia endeavor to negotiate with the enemy. Innocent dispatched three separate embassies—two, comprising Dominican Friars, to the Near East and a third, composed of Franciscans, through the Russian steppes—with letters protesting at the attacks on Christian nations and urging the Mongols to accept the Christian faith. The reports submitted by these friars in 1247 furnished the papacy with its first full dossier of information on the enemy, and they are among our most important Western sources, particularly that of the Franciscan John of Piano Carpini, who visited the court of the Great Khan Güyüg. But this aside, they achieved little more than espionage, merely bringing back ultimatums that required the pope's submission. When in 1248 the general Eljigidei, who had superseded Baiju in northwestern Persia, sent a cordial message to the French King Louis IX in Cyprus, its moderate tone occasioned great excitement in the West; but most probably its aim was merely to deflect Louis's crusading army from territories on which the Mongols had immediate designs. At this time, the Mongols had no allies, only subjects—or enemies awaiting annihilation.

The Continuing Threat in Eastern Europe

Following the cataclysm of 1241–1242, King Béla IV of Hungary made efforts to prepare for the next assault, instigating the construction of stone castles on his eastern frontiers and entering into marriage alliances with several of his neighbors, including a Cuman chief whose daughter married his son and heir Stephen (later Stephen V); he also recruited Cumans as auxiliaries. In 1259 Berke's forces

attacked Poland, sacking Sandomir and Kraków, but the splintering of the empire in 1261–1262 prevented the Mongols from following up this campaign. The Golden Horde remained content with exacting tribute and military assistance from the Russian princes and adjudicating their succession disputes. The khans were in any event probably more interested in operations south of the Caucasus at the expense of the Ilkhans than in either Russia or, by extension, Hungary and Poland.

Nevertheless, the Golden Horde remained a hostile power on the frontiers of Latin Christendom. In the Baltic region, the Mongols tended to act through their Russian satellites and the pagan Lithuanians, who paid them tribute intermittently, against external enemies such as the Teutonic Order. Further south the Golden Horde threatened for a time to draw into its orbit further non-Latin polities that might otherwise have succumbed to Latin pressure, such as Bulgaria and the Byzantine Empire. During the heyday of Noghai (d. 1299), a member of the dynasty who was virtually co-ruler in the western regions of the Pontic steppe, Mongol influence extended deep into the Balkans. However, Noghai's amicable relations with Byzantium did not outlast him, and in the early fourteenth century the khans launched a series of invasions of Thrace. As late as 1341, when the Emperor Andronikos III bought off a Mongol attack, the Golden Horde may still have constituted a greater menace than did the nascent Ottoman polity.

The Mongols dealt with Hungary and Poland more directly. Although there were no further campaigns on the scale of 1241–1242 or 1259, there were frequent raids and also substantial attacks on both countries in the 1280s. The extinction of the client Russian princes of Galicia and Volhynia in 1323 provoked fresh tensions, which were resolved when the new ruler, the Polish prince Boleslaw of Mazovia, maintained payment of tribute. But after his death (1340), the Mongols reacted sharply to the occupation of Galicia by Kazimierz III of Poland with a series of attacks, and during the middle decades of the fourteenth century, the khan appears to have recruited Lithuanian assistance against him. If Polish appeals to successive popes elicited little or no military aid, they did at least secure the grant of crusading tenths and twentieths rather more readily than did the simultaneous pleas of the Hungarian crown. Around 1360, however, the Golden Horde, already badly hit by the Black Death, succumbed to a prolonged phase of internecine conflict, and the attacks of the conqueror Timur (Tamerlane) in the 1390s

dealt its commercial centers a severe blow. The khans were powerless to impede the rise of Lithuania and its appropriation of Russian territory, and by the early fifteenth century they had sunk to being merely auxiliaries in the conflicts of their western neighbors: a Mongol contingent fought at the battle of Tannenberg (1410) alongside the Poles and Lithuanians against the Teutonic Order.

The Mongols in the Near East

When Hülegü entered Syria early in 1260, King Het'um I of Cilicia, who had been subject to the Mongols since 1246, joined forces with him and induced his son-in-law Bohemund VI of Antioch to become tributary to the conquerors and accept a Mongol resident in Antioch, for which the prince was excommunicated by the papal legate at Acre. Hülegü left in March for Azerbaijan with the bulk of his army, leaving his general Kitbuqa, at the head of a rump force, to receive the surrender of Damascus and to confront the kingdom of Jerusalem. The government at Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) rejected demands for submission, and the Mongols sacked Sidon in August 1260 in reprisal for a Frankish raid on the interior. When the Mamlük Sultan Qutuz advanced against the Mongols, the Franks gave the Egyptian army safe-conduct and furnished it with provisions. The Egyptian defeat of Kitbuqa at 'Ayn Jälüt on 3 September relieved the kingdom of the Mongol threat, although Qutuz was murdered soon after and the new Mamlük sultan, Baybars, who was not bound by any agreement with the Franks, embarked on the piecemeal reduction of the Latin states of Outremer.

Like the sudden retreat from Hungary in 1242, which has usually been linked with the death of the Great Khan Ögödei, Hülegü's withdrawal from Syria in 1260 has been ascribed to the fortuitous demise of Möngke in the Far East, since both events would have required the Mongol princes and generals to assemble and elect a successor. It is at least as likely, however, that both the Hungarian and the Syrian campaigns were abandoned on logistical grounds, given the inadequacy of the available pasturage for the Mongols' vast numbers of horses and livestock. The same circumstance perhaps underlay the Ilkhans' efforts, from 1262 onward, to secure Western military collaboration against the Mamlüks. In part this was a response to the internecine conflicts following Möngke's death: menaced by the Golden Horde and other hostile kinsmen to their rear, and without access to the resources of the unitary Mongol Empire, the Ilkhans were

Mongols

compelled to seek external allies if they were to prosecute the dynasty's traditional mission of expansion. But just as in China, where ecological problems obliged the nomadic Mongols to rely upon Chinese infantry in large numbers, so in Palestine they proposed to recruit the assistance of Frankish troops who were more accustomed to the terrain and the summer heat.

The Ilkhans corresponded with successive popes and the kings of France and England, sometimes also with those of Aragon and Sicily. The Mongol ambassadors, who stressed their masters' favor toward Christians and Christianity, were frequently expatriate Italians who had entered the Ilkhans' service; on occasion, the ambassadors were Nestorian Christians like the monk Rabban Sawma, who in 1287–1288 visited Naples, Rome, and Paris, and met King Edward I of England at Bordeaux. In the event, these exchanges, which persisted until 1307 (or possibly later), bore no fruit, despite the fact that the Mamlūks posed a growing threat to the Latin states and eliminated them in 1291. In his crusading treatise, written in 1307 at the behest of Pope Clement V, the Armenian prince Het'um (a nephew of King Het'um I), strongly advocated Latin-Mongol collaboration, which he saw as offering his native country the best hope of avoiding a Mamlūk conquest. Their past record, however, rendered the Mongols an object of widespread distrust, and the papacy was reluctant to enter into firm commitments until the Ilkhan had accepted baptism. On crusade in 1271, prior to his accession, Edward of England tried unsuccessfully to coordinate his activities with the forces of the Ilkhan Abaqa; but otherwise the few instances of military cooperation involved the Franks of Outremer and Cyprus. Some Hospitallers from Margat may have reinforced Abaqa's army when it invaded northern Syria in 1281; and after Abaqa's grandson, the Ilkhan Ghazan (1295–1304), launched his first attack on the Mamlūks in 1299–1300, defeating the sultan and overrunning the whole of Syria and Palestine, King Henry II of Cyprus and the Templars tried to anticipate his return by occupying the island of Ruad (mod. Arwād, Syria), off the coast near Tortosa. Ghazan's later, and less impressive, Syrian campaigns, in 1301 and 1303, did without Frankish assistance altogether. Ghazan and his brother and successor, Öljeitü (1304–1316), the last Ilkhan to invade Syria, were both Muslim converts. Yet it was seemingly the obstacles to a successful war with Egypt, rather than religious considerations, that led Öljeitü's young son Abū Sa'īd (1316–1335) to make peace with the Mamlūk regime (1323).

Trade and Mission

The union of much of Asia under a single government (until 1261) facilitated long-distance commerce; the Mongol sovereigns themselves, moreover, far from passively presiding over the growth of trade, actively fostered it. Western merchants who were already active in the eastern Mediterranean traveled east in quest of high-value, low-bulk commodities such as silk, spices, pepper, and precious stones. There was a Venetian presence in the Persian city of Tabriz by 1263, and within a few years the Genoese had bases at Caffa (mod. Feodosiya, Ukraine) in the Crimea and Tana on the Sea of Azov. The Italians did not always enjoy friendly relations with the Golden Horde khans, who resented Genoese attempts to assert their own sovereignty within Caffa: the Mongols attacked the town in 1298, in 1308, and in 1345–1346, when Pope Clement VI sought to launch a crusade in its defense. At what point Western traders penetrated as far as China is uncertain. Although Marco Polo and his father and uncle were in China from around 1275, Polo's book suggests that all three were in Qubilai's service; we do not know to what extent they engaged in commerce on their own account. The heyday of the Western mercantile presence in the Far East, for which physical evidence has survived in the form of two Latin tombstones in the city of Yang-chou (dated 1342 and 1344), was relatively shortlived, from 1300 to 1350. The Black Death probably dealt a severe blow to Latin residents in China and Central Asia, while further west the Mamlūks seized Ayas (mod. Yumurtalık, Turkey) in Cilicia (1337), one of the termini of the trans-Asiatic routes, and in Persia the turbulence that followed the collapse of the Ilkhanate made conditions for trade less propitious.

Latin missionaries frequently accompanied Latin traders. The Mongol Empire and the khanates that superseded it were characterized by religious pluralism; and although certain taboos in Mongol customary law fell particularly heavily on the adherents of one or another faith (e.g., the prohibition of the Islamic method of slaughtering animals for food), generally speaking each of the various confessional groups was permitted to practice its faith in its accustomed fashion. In return for praying for the imperial family, Christian and Buddhist monks and priests and Muslim scholars enjoyed exemption from certain taxes, military service, and forced labor. For Christians in lands that had formerly been subject to Islamic rule, the new regime represented a marked amelioration in their condition; Western

missionaries too were now able to preach uninhibitedly. The earliest known Latin missionary in Mongol Asia was the Franciscan William of Rubruck (1253–1255), though the lack of an adequate interpreter and the fact that he was mistaken for an envoy of King Louis IX of France caused him considerable difficulty. By the 1280s, however, Franciscans and Dominicans were established in the territories of the Golden Horde and the Ilkhanate. The Franciscan John of Montecorvino was the first Western missionary to enter China, in about 1294. Pope Clement V subsequently placed him at the head of a new archdiocese of Khanbaligh (1307), with jurisdiction over all the Mongol dominions, and sent out a group of friars to act as his suffragans. In 1318 Pope John XXII withdrew Persia and India from Khanbaligh's authority, creating a second archiepiscopal see at Sulṭāniyya, one of the Ilkhan's residences. The Latin missionary effort flourished for a few decades, though in China the friars seem to have made no impact on the indigenous Han population; conversions for the most part involved Nestorians and other eastern Christians, like the Orthodox Alans, transported from their home in the Caucasus to form a corps of the imperial guard. Reports of high-ranking conversions, designed in part to secure reinforcements, were often also grounded in misapprehensions about the Mongol rulers' attitude toward religious matters. With the definitive conversion to Islam of the Ilkhans (1295), the khans of the Golden Horde (1313), and the Chaghadayid khans (c. 1338), Christian proselytism grew increasingly hazardous, and several friars were martyred in the 1320s–1340s. The route to China seems to have been abandoned, and when the Jesuits entered China in 1583, the earlier missions had fallen completely into oblivion.

—Peter Jackson

See also: Ilkhans

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Monophysitism

A theological doctrine that emphasizes the unity of divinity and humanity in Jesus Christ in one nature. The term derives from Greek *monos*, "alone" or "single," and *physis*, "nature."

In the late antique period monophysite beliefs were strongest in the eastern parts of the Byzantine Empire. However, at the Fourth Ecumenical Council, held at Chalcedon in 451, the church of the empire adopted the dyophysite christological dogma, that is, the doctrine of two natures, divine and human, in Christ. During the reign of emperor Justinian I (527–565), the monophysites of the East broke away from the Greek Orthodox, or Melkite (imperial) church, and organized independent churches: the Coptic Church in Egypt, and the Syrian Orthodox (Jacobite) Church in Syria and Mesopotamia. The Armenian Church accepted monophysitism in two synods in Dvin (506 and 552).

In the Middle Ages, numerous attempts were made between the Armenian Orthodox, Syrian Orthodox, and Greek Orthodox churches to find a compromise and to restore ecclesiastical unity, but these met with little success. During the negotiations between Byzantine emperors and the Armenian *katholikoi* (primates) on ecclesiastical reunification in

Monotheletism

1165–1193, the Greek Orthodox Church demanded the renunciation of monophysite christology. Remembering occasional persecutions during Byzantine rule in Northern Syria (969–1084), the Syrian Orthodox and Armenians appreciated the respect for their religious autonomy by the Latins in Outremer. Some of their patriarchs and *katholikoi* were on good terms with the Latin hierarchy, but monophysitism remained the main obstacle to a definite ecclesiastical unification of these churches with the Latin church. Neither the temporary union between the Armenian Church and Rome, concluded for political reasons on the occasion of the coronation of Leon I in Sis in January 1199, nor the contacts between the Syrian Orthodox patriarch Ignatios II (1222–1252) and the Dominicans in 1236 and 1246 resulted in a formal renunciation of monophysitism by these churches.

–Klaus-Peter Todt

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Monotheletism

A doctrine that recognized one will (Gr. *thelesis*) and two natures in Christ.

Monotheletism originated as an attempt to secure church unity at a time when the existence of the Byzantine Empire was being threatened by Persian invasions. It was meant to reconcile the Chalcedonian beliefs of the Byzantine imperial church, which recognized two natures in Christ, with those

of the monophysite churches, which held to a single nature. An edict of Emperor Heraclius (635) spoke of one will in Christ, in accordance with the teaching of Pope Honorius I. Monotheletism found few adherents, and was opposed by the theologian Maximos the Confessor and Pope Martin I. The doctrine was condemned at the Sixth Ecumenical Council in Constantinople (680–681). However, it was accepted by the Maronites of Syria, who held to monothelete beliefs until their union with the Roman Church at the end of the twelfth century.

–Harald Suermann

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Mont Gisard, Battle of (1177)

A victory of the army of the kingdom of Jerusalem under King Baldwin IV and Reynald of Châtillon over an invasion of the kingdom by Saladin, who had launched a diversionary attack from Egypt soon after Raymond III of Tripoli and Philip of Flanders marched to besiege Hama in Syria in November 1177.

A large proportion of the armed forces of Jerusalem and of the military orders had gone north to besiege Hama, and so Baldwin summoned all remaining able-bodied men to muster at Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel); Saladin bypassed the city and moved inland toward Jerusalem, sending detachments to raid Ramla and Lydda and ambush Franks who were still arriving for the muster. On the afternoon of 25 November, the feast of St. Catherine of Alexandria, the Franks surprised and routed Saladin’s main force at a hill known as Mont Gisard (mod. Tell Jazar) 8 kilometers (5 mil.) southeast of Ramla, before it was able to form up in battle order. With most of his army dispersed and his base at El-‘Arish overrun by Bedouin, Saladin retreated to Egypt. A Benedictine priory dedicated to St. Catherine was built on the battle site as an act of gratitude and commemoration.

–Alan V. Murray

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Montesa, Order of

A military religious order established in 1317 in the kingdom of Valencia by agreement of the pope and the Aragonese Crown.

The Order of Montesa was founded as a consequence of the dissolution of the Order of the Temple in 1312. It did not prove possible to transfer the Templars' domains in the Crown of Aragon to the Order of the Hospital of St. John, as had been desired by Pope Clement V: King James II of Aragon was opposed to the strengthening of the already considerable power of the Hospitallers in his realms. After lengthy negotiations, Pope John XXII largely complied with the king's wishes in 1317. The monarch had to abandon the idea of a great Aragonese order backed by Templar and Hospitaller properties in favor of a more limited project confined to the kingdom of Valencia. The Hospitallers were ready to contribute to this plan with their Valencian territories (except for the commanderies of Torrente and the houses of Valencia) in exchange for the Templar domains in Aragon and Catalonia. As the central headquarters of the future order, the king offered the village and castle of Montesa on the extreme southern border of the kingdom, facing possible Muslim attacks from Granada.

The new institution was modeled on the lines of the Order of Calatrava, and it was linked to the Morimond filiation of the Cistercian Order through the monastery of Santes Creus in Catalonia. The new foundation was not realized until July 1319, due to all sorts of difficulties with Calatravans and Hospitallers alike. The initial stages were difficult, but the firm support of the Crown was a decisive asset for success. The general chapter held at San Mateo in 1330 might be considered the end of the formation period. The number of brethren had risen to forty. A network of commanderies was given final form; the share of the master of the order was the bailiwick of Cervera, situated in the north of the kingdom near the king's court and not on the frontier. Although theoretically linked to the papacy, the Order of Montesa was a monarchical foundation, and as such it was an unrelenting supporter of the Aragonese Crown in internal conflicts and external projects of expansion. King Peter IV was able to rely on the members of the order against the rebels of the Unión (a noble fraternity whose aim was to defend aristocratic privileges) and in the wars against Castile. King John I found them at his side when the Doria and Arborea families rebelled in Sardinia. King Alfonso V received important help from the order in his

Neapolitan campaigns. This tradition of support to the monarchy continued under the Habsburg dynasty, and the Crown always guaranteed the strength of the order. When in 1400 the small Order of St. George of Alfama became unfeasible as an independent institution, the king had it incorporated in Montesa. The plain red Greek cross of Alfama was added to the white clothing of the Montesan knights from that time onward.

Montesa was the only order in the Spanish kingdoms not to be absorbed by the Crown at the time of the Catholic Monarchs, Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile. As an Aragonese institution, it posed more difficulties to incorporation than its Castilian counterparts. King Philip II of Spain managed to integrate Montesa into the institutions of the Crown in 1587. The order lingered on into the nineteenth century, when its status was reduced to that of an order of merit. Previously the central headquarters had been transferred to the city of Valencia after an earthquake had destroyed the castle of Montesa in 1748. Nature had forced a move at a time when it had long ceased to have any significance as a frontier stronghold against the Muslims.

—Luis García-Guijarro Ramos

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Montferrat

Montegaudio

See Mountjoy, Order of

Montferrat

A marquisate in northwestern Italy, whose ruling family came to play a major role in the politics of the kingdom of Jerusalem and of Frankish Greece in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

The lands of Montferrat (mod. Monferrato, Italy) on the banks of the River Tanaro between Turin and Tortona were established as a marquisate around 1080 as a result of a partition of the lands of the Aleramid family. The marquises were generally allies of the Holy Roman Emperors against the increasingly powerful city of Lombardy. Marquis William V “the Old” (d. 1191), a kinsman of both Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa and King Louis VII of France, was a participant in the Second Crusade (1147–1149). His exalted connections were the main reason why his eldest son, William Longsword, was chosen as a husband for Sibyl, sister and heir to the leper king Baldwin IV of Jerusalem in 1176. However, Longsword died after a marriage of less than six months (June 1177), leaving a posthumous son, Baldwin V.

In the meantime the family’s political interests had turned against Frederick I. William the Old arranged a marriage between his youngest son, Ranier, and Maria the Porphyrogenete, daughter of the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos, as part of a wide-ranging attempt by Byzantium to forge alliances involving Outremer and Western powers opposed to Frederick (1180). After Manuel’s death, Maria and Ranier, who had received the title Caesar, opposed the regency government installed for Maria’s half-brother, the young Alexios II. They eventually fell victim to a coup mounted by the usurper Andronikos Komnenos, who had them executed in 1183. In the same year the increasingly infirm Baldwin IV of Jerusalem had William Longsword’s son Baldwin V crowned as joint king. The young Baldwin succeeded as sole ruler on the death of the leper king in 1185, with Raymond III of Tripoli as regent.

William the Old came to the Holy Land in order to safeguard the interests of his grandson. He was given lands from the royal demesne and remained in the kingdom after the death of the young king (1186). William supported the new king, Sibyl’s second husband, Guy of Lusignan, and was taken prisoner by Saladin at the battle of Hattin (1187).

Shortly afterward William’s second son, Conrad, arrived at Tyre, after having spent several years in Byzantine service. He distinguished himself in directing the city’s resistance to Saladin and also secured his father’s release from captivity. Conrad’s success as a war leader during the efforts of the Third Crusade (1189–1192) to defend the kingdom of Jerusalem won him the support of those who were opposed to the continued rule of Guy of Lusignan after Sibyl’s death. With their encouragement Conrad married Isabella I, Sibyl’s half-sister (November 1190), and was eventually elected king. He was assassinated shortly after this settlement (1192). His daughter, known as Maria la Marquise, succeeded her mother on the throne of Jerusalem. Through Maria’s daughter Isabella II, who married Emperor Frederick II, the throne of Jerusalem passed from the Montferrat family to the Staufen dynasty.

Boniface I, the third son of William the Old, succeeded to the marquisate of Montferrat on the death of Conrad. As the chief leader of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), Boniface expected to be elected as Latin emperor of Constantinople after the crusade army overthrew the Byzantine emperor Alexios IV in 1204. When Baldwin of Flanders was elected instead, Boniface and his followers went off to conquer Thessalonica (mod. Thessaloniki, Greece) and central Greece. He married Margaret of Hungary, widow of the emperor Isaac II Komnenos, which brought him support from the Greek population. Boniface was killed in a Bulgarian ambush in 1207. He left his Greek lands to his young son by Margaret, Demetrius, who was recognized as king of Thessalonica by Emperor Henry in 1209. Demetrius’s kingdom was gradually overrun by the ruler of the Greek successor state of Epiros, Theodore Angelos Komnenos Doukas, and by 1222 he had fled to Italy to seek assistance. In 1224 Thessalonica itself fell to Theodore’s troops, and a crusade mounted by William VI of Montferrat (Boniface’s elder son) proved completely abortive.

Demetrius later assigned his claim over Thessalonica to Emperor Frederick II, who relinquished it in 1239. The descendants of William maintained their own claims until 1284, when the Byzantine emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos married Irene, great-granddaughter of William VI. Their son, Theodore Palaiologos (1305–1338), thus became the founder of the second Montferrat dynasty.

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Montfort

A castle in western Galilee (in mod. Israel), known in Arabic as Qal’at al-Qurain, belonging to the Teutonic Knights, who called it Starkenberg (literally, “strong mountain”) in German.

Montfort was built by the Teutonic Order from 1226 onward on the land that had belonged to the Seigneurie de Joscelin, the lordship the order had purchased from the heirs of Joscelin III of Courtenay. The building work was carried on by German crusaders until their departure in spring 1228. An annual subsidy of 100 bezants contributed by Prince Bohemund IV of Antioch in June allowed work to resume, and the following year Pope Gregory IX issued an appeal for additional funds.

By the mid 1240s, Montfort had become the main seat of the lordship and was the Teutonic Order’s principal administrative center outside Acre (mod. ‘Akko, Israel). In May 1266 the castle was attacked unsuccessfully by the Mamlūks. In 1268, all but ten of its villages were lost to them and, to compensate for the loss of production, in July 1270, the order leased Manueth from the Hospitallers. In June 1271, Sultan Baybars I brought up siege engines and attacked. The faubourg (suburb) fell on 11 June and the outer ward the following day, at which point the garrison surrendered and departed to Acre. The castle was then demolished.

The ruins occupy a rocky spur between the Wadi al-Qarn on the north and a tributary valley on the south. Two main phases are identifiable. The first consisted of a massive D-shaped keep, some 20 meters (65½ ft.) wide, which effectively blocked access down the spur from the east and was preceded by two rock-cut ditches. Behind this there

extended down the spur a rectangular inner ward, some 46.5 by 17 meters (152½ by 55½ ft.). In a second phase, the inner ward was almost completely filled with a system of groin vaults, providing service areas at ground level and a chapel and residential quarters at first-floor level. The inner ward was also extended similarly further west, and an outer enceinte was built downhill to enclose it on the north, west, and possibly south. In the same period, a mill standing below the castle on the north was converted into a residential hall, possibly to serve as a guesthouse.

—Denys Pringle

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Montfragüe

See Mountjoy, Order of

Montjoie, Abbey of

The Premonstratensian abbey of St. Samuel was situated at the traditional site of Samuel’s tomb at the place known as Montjoie (Lat. *Mons Gaudii*), northwest of the city of Jerusalem.

The foundation of the Premonstratensian abbey was attributed to King Baldwin II of Jerusalem (1118–1131) in a later confirmation of its rights issued in 1185. It seems, however, that Baldwin’s original intention had been to

establish a Cistercian monastery house at the site. St. Bernard of Clairvaux declined the king's gift of the site and an endowment for a foundation, citing the danger of pagan (i.e., Muslim) attacks and the intemperateness of the climate. Bernard passed on the site to the Premonstratensians, who probably settled on Montjoie before the death of Baldwin II (1131); the abbey, however, was only consecrated in 1152 and not mentioned in documents until 1156. According to these, this first settlement of Premonstratensians in Outremer came about with the significant support of the Latin patriarch, Stephen of Chartres, King Baldwin II and Queen Melisende, and also the Templar knight Andrew of Montbard.

The abbey of St. Samuel was a daughter house of the abbey of Prémontré itself. Its abbot had the status of a suffragan of the patriarch of Jerusalem, with the right to a cross but not a miter or a ring. The names of five abbots are known: Theoderic (1145) and Radulf (1156) in the twelfth century, Giles (1220) and John (1235–1263) in the thirteenth, and the undated Hugh. The rights and possessions of the abbey of St. Samuel, including its church on Montjoie, were confirmed by King Baldwin V in December 1185. The abbey fell to Saladin by the end of the year 1187, and it seems unlikely that the Premonstratensian canons ever returned to St. Samuel's from Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), where they had taken refuge. Their claim to the monastery's possessions, however, was restated by Abbot Gervase of Prémontré in letters to the patriarch of Jerusalem and Emperor Frederick II between 1217 and 1227.

The Premonstratensians remained in Outremer after 1263, because two brothers of St. Samuel attested to the confirmation of a document in the house of St. Samuel in Acre on 20 March 1279. It thus seems that the abbey of St. Samuel in Acre probably existed until the fall of the city (19 May 1291).

—Klaus-Peter Kirstein

See also: Jerusalem, (Latin) Kingdom of

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Montpellier, Council of (1195)

A church council of the prelates of the province of Narbonne, summoned by the papal legate Michael, at Montpellier in southern France.

The council reaffirmed many of the canons of the Second and Third Lateran councils and approved matters set before it by the legate. Legate and council condemned heretics, those providing materiel to Saracens, and lawless mercenaries and their supporters. The legate ordered the bishops to force lenders to release borrowers from oaths to pay interest if the borrowers were going to Spain to fight the Muslims. He also reaffirmed restrictions on Jews and Saracens living among Christians and offered protection to non-Christians who converted to Christianity. In view of Christian reverses in the Holy Land and Spain, clergy and laity alike were urged to show moderation in dress as a sign of spiritual reform. For the same reason, the legate urged the clergy to fast.

Legate and council sought mainly to establish order and orthodoxy in the province and to support the struggle against Islam elsewhere.

—John C. Moore

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Montpellier, Council of (1215)

A church council held in January 1215 under the presidency of the papal legate Cardinal Peter of Beneventano.

The Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229) had led to the death of King Peter II of Aragon and the conquest of much of southern France by Simon of Montfort. Pope Innocent III sent the legate Peter in order to end the fighting and to prevent the nonjudicial expropriation of local princes, but also to continue clerical reform and the suppression of heresy.

Along with other dignitaries, five archbishops and twenty-eight bishops were in attendance. The council reaffirmed canons of recent Lateran and provincial councils regarding heresy, lawless mercenaries, and clerical extravagance. The prelates wanted to award all the conquered lands in France to Simon of Montfort, but Cardinal Peter ruled that the pope must first be consulted. Innocent in turn submitted the matter to the Fourth Lateran Council, where the lands were awarded to Simon.

—John C. Moore

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Montréal

A castle and town in Transjordan, also known in Latin as Mons Regalis (mod. ash-Shaubak, Jordan). The castle was constructed by King Baldwin I of Jerusalem in 1115.

Sited on a conical hilltop, Montréal was oval in plan with at least two walls, one inside the other. The knights and sergeants of the garrison formed the nucleus of a Frankish settlement, which appears to have been located inside it. The parish church, also inside the castle, apparently belonged to the Temple of the Lord in Jerusalem; over its principal door was an inscription mentioning a viscount, Hugh, and the date 1118. Documentary and archaeological evidence also indicate the existence of a suburb, extending down the valley and including Eastern Christian inhabitants, who may have used a smaller chapel standing between the castle's inner and outer gates. From this a rock-cut tunnel led down to the castle's water supply.

The chronicler William of Tyre records that Pagan, a former royal steward or butler, received lordship of the land beyond the Jordan after the revolt of the previous lord, Roman of Le Puy, against King Fulk in 1132. It is not entirely certain whether Roman's fief included Montréal, since a certain Pagan of Montréal appears in charters in 1126 and 1132. By 1142/1143, however, when Pagan the Butler started building the castle of Kerak in Moab, his lordship of Montréal extended from the river Zarqa in the north to the Red Sea in the south, including Amman and the Balqa region in addition to Kerak, Montréal, and Wadi Musa. In 1161, King Baldwin III gave the lordship to Philip of Milly in exchange for Nablus. By 1169, however, Philip had joined the Templars and was succeeded by Walter of Beirut, who was married to his daughter, Helena. When Helena and her daughter died in 1174, the lordship passed briefly to Miles of Plancy, husband of her sister Stephanie, who was murdered the same October. Stephanie was finally remarried, in 1177, to Reynald of Châtillon.

Montréal and its lordship occupied an important position controlling the caravan routes between Egypt, Syria, and the Hijaz. It served as forward base for Reynald's attacks on Aila in 1181, 1182–1183, and 1184; and in 1182 and 1187 the lands around it were devastated by the Ayyūbids. After the battle of Hattin, it held out until spring 1189, when al-ʿĀdil allowed the defenders a safe conduct to Christian-held territory. In 1217, the German pilgrim Thietmar found lodgings with a Frankish widow still living there, who introduced him to the Bedouin guides who would escort him to Mount Sinai.

—Denys Pringle

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Mopsuestia

See Mamistra

Morosini, Thomas (d. 1211)

Moravia

See Bohemia and Moravia

Moriscos

See Mudéjars and Moriscos

Morosini, Thomas (d. 1211)

Latin patriarch of Constantinople (1204–1211).

A member of the Morosini or Mauroceni family of Venice, Thomas was only a sub-dean when he was elected Latin patriarch of Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) by the Venetians, as a result of the agreement of March 1204 between the Frankish crusaders and the Venetians and the ensuing conquest of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204).

Morosini arrived in Constantinople in midsummer 1205. Pope Innocent III objected to the uncanonical manner of his election, but finally accepted the *fait accompli*. Negotiations with the Greek clergy in 1206 did not prevent the Byzantines from electing their own patriarch in exile, Michael Autor-eianos, in Nicaea (mod. İznik, Turkey) in 1208. On 17 March 1206 Morosini and Benedict of St. Suzanne signed a convention with the new Latin emperor, Henry of Flanders, regarding the partition of church property. On 2 May 1210 Morosini made an agreement with the barons of the kingdom of Thessalonica regarding the kingdom's churches. He tried to keep the Latin church firmly under Venetian control. This attempt was countered by Pope Innocent III, who sent his legates Benedict of St. Suzanne and Peter Capuano to Constantinople, and appointed non-Venetian canons (1205–1210). In 1208, Morosini was accused of misappropriating funds. Being at odds with Emperor Henry, the pope, the French, the Greeks, and occasionally the Venetian *podestà* (plenipotentiary representative of the doge) Marino Zeno, Morosini did not succeed in solving the problems of the new founded Latin patriarchate. He died in June or July 1211.

—B. Hendrickx

See also: Constantinople, Latin Patriarchate of; Venice

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Motivation

The reasons that so many people went on crusade have been discussed by historians since the time of the First Crusade (1096–1099). No single explanation will suffice for all ranks of society and over such a long period, but generally historians have favored either economic or religious motivation as the driving force.

Crusade expeditions have been interpreted as migration from a western Europe under severe pressure from a growing population. The period of the earlier crusades saw the growth of towns and cities and the bringing of marginal lands under cultivation. Since land was the basis of wealth and status, competition for it was intense, and this competition was exacerbated by the widespread adoption of inheritance customs, such as primogeniture, that were intended to prevent the fragmentation of family lands. It was once argued that many of the combatants were landless younger sons looking to make their fortunes in Outremer. However, the systematic study of participants has shown that most were well established in their homelands and undertook the expedition with the intention of returning at the end of it. Furthermore, crusading was costly for a knight: he had to equip himself with arms and armor, and to take with him servants and pack animals for whom he would have to provide throughout the campaign. This capital expenditure might amount to five times his annual income and could only be achieved through selling or mortgaging land. The prospect of realizing any return on this investment was small.

Peasants and humbler participants in the early expeditions had much less to lose by going on crusade, and they were much less provident in their preparations. The trouble they caused when they set out in 1096, by looting supplies in the market towns they passed through, is evidence of this. Some of them may well have been motivated by hopes of a better life, for the harvest in 1095 was the last in a series of poor ones affected by drought. Nevertheless it is doubtful that such economic motivation was enough on its



Crusaders prepare for war. (Bettmann/Corbis)

own to take them all the way to Jerusalem: it is probable that the hardships of the long march led many to desert, and those who remained with the expedition were motivated in other ways.

Religious faith was at least part of most people's motivation to go on crusade. When he preached at Clermont in 1095, Pope Urban II used certain themes that tapped into popular Christian beliefs. The most potent of these themes was the appeal to deliver Jerusalem from the hands of the infidels. Jerusalem, the city where Jesus Christ had lived and died, was the most important of pilgrimage centers. For some 750 years, pilgrims had traveled to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as the spiritual journey of a lifetime. In the eleventh century, there was a widespread interest in relics, which intensified the desire to journey to shrines both local and distant. To see the city that had witnessed the most important events of the Gospels was the greatest of these pilgrimages, and there are accounts of thousands going

together on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, for example, in 1064–1065. However, access to the important site of the Holy Sepulchre became difficult during the Saljūq occupation of Jerusalem in the last quarter of the eleventh century, and there were emotive accounts of attacks on Christian pilgrims.

Thus, quite simply, crusading was for some an opportunity to complete the greatest pilgrimage; for others the idea of making safe the routes to Outremer was an incentive. This was as true for the lesser people as for the arms bearers: Peter the Hermit evidently told his own story of being beaten up near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and of his interview with the patriarch of Jerusalem, who appealed for help to protect and defend the shrine. It is also probable that some participants were inspired by millenarian ideas; there had been a widespread expectation that, as told in the Book of Revelation (20:2–7), there would be the Second Coming after a thousand years. It had not happened, and one explanation was that Jerusalem was not in Christian hands, and Christ would

Motivation

not come again until it was. The importance of a Christian Jerusalem can be seen at the time of the Third Crusade (1189–1192): the capture of the city by Saladin roused the people of western Europe to an armed response after some forty years, following the Second Crusade (1147–1149), in which crusading activity had been desultory.

The idea of crusading as a development of pilgrimage was encouraged by the granting of the papal indulgence. For many, pilgrimages had been undertaken as penitential journeys, which they made in the hope or expectation that by undergoing suffering on earth they could offset punishment after death. Popes, starting with Urban II at the Council of Clermont, declared that undertaking a crusade was sufficient penance for all the sins of an individual, whether he died on the expedition or survived. In an age when people had a clear concept of sin, this indulgence offered an escape from the inevitability of an afterlife where all their sins would be punished for a finite time in purgatory, or ultimately by everlasting torment in hell. For some individuals, perhaps many, the hardships of the expedition and even a violent end were prices worth paying for admission to heaven after death. By granting indulgences, popes stressed the penitential nature of the campaigns, and this meant that they could not limit recruitment to arms bearers only; women, clerics, the elderly, and children wanted to participate in them, probably welcoming the new idea of a pilgrimage under armed escort, for traditionally pilgrims had not borne weapons.

Pope Urban II could not prohibit the participation of non-combatants, but it was not his intention to encourage them, and in the proclamation of the first crusade expedition he was very specific in the language he used to elicit the response he wanted. He appealed to the pride of the knights of the West and invited them to wield their weapons in the cause of Christendom. This “sanctified violence” was a deliberate departure from the idea of pilgrimage, and it had its critics from the beginning of the crusading movement. But the radical idea of fighting, killing, and dying to liberate the holy places of Jerusalem and the oppressed Eastern Christians was a powerful motivator to a particular social stratum: the lords and knightly ranks. Urban II himself came from such a background and well understood how to couch his appeal.

From the pope’s point of view, a crusade was a way of harnessing the aggressive energies of the secular lords and directing them away from the disruption of order and justice in their localities. The papacy in its reformed vigor of the eleventh century had previously played a similar political

role by preaching the Peace of God and the Truce of God, both attempts to curb the violent behavior of the knightly ranks. The effectiveness of this new appeal was immediately seen, not only in the numbers of knights who took the cross, but also in the way they set about preparing for their departure by resolving disputes with their neighbors and eliciting the protection of local ecclesiastical and monastic foundations for their lands and families for the duration of the expedition. These transactions are preserved in many charters of the period. From the knights’ point of view it is easy to see the attraction of the pope’s proposition: they were trained for fighting and very little else; now for the first time they were invited to fight with divine approval, as expressed in the papal indulgence.

When a lord decided to go on crusade, his household would be expected to follow him: although for each of them it was technically a free choice, the bonds of loyalty were strong. Thus even a relatively obscure knight would be accompanied by a squire, and probably at least one body servant and a groom, whose freedom to go or stay was inhibited by their social conditioning. Although throughout the crusades successive popes discouraged the participation of women, they are often recorded as accompanying their fathers and husbands, and again this reflects society’s expectations of them, which were submission and obedience rather than independence and exercise of choice. Very few women can be identified who made autonomous decisions to go on crusade, and fewer still traveled without the protection of a male family member. Feudal and familial loyalty accounts for the motivation of many among the upper ranks of the crusading expeditions.

Within this same milieu, there is strong evidence for the evolution of family traditions of crusading. News of the preaching of crusade was spread rapidly along family communication lines, incidentally highlighting the important role women played in both transmitting the message and in fostering enthusiasm to respond. Among participants in the early crusades can be found several kinship groups: arms bearers linked by blood or by marriage. Preeminent examples in the first decades of the crusades are the brothers Godfrey of Bouillon, Eustace and Baldwin of Boulogne, and the Montlhéry clan of the Ile-de-France.

Some or all of these motives coexisted in the mind of any crusader, and in each case the balance would be unique. There are examples of prominent crusaders who had committed murder and for whom, therefore, the fear of damna-

tion and the promise of the indulgence were powerful incentives. Others were attracted by the prospect of settling abroad: on the First Crusade these included Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Bohemund of Taranto, but in both cases there was more to crusading than territorial ambition. Raymond was a warrior experienced in fighting the Muslims in Iberia, and perhaps saw himself as commander in chief of the expeditionary forces; Bohemund perceived an opportunity to continue preying on Byzantine territories. Just as the leaders' motives were complex, so were those of the lesser crusaders. Many were enticed by the idea of pilgrimage; others were lured by the prospect of adventure. Some, no doubt, were in trouble from the law; some were trying to evade creditors; some sought relief from the monotonous grind of a peasant's existence. Finally, it should be remembered that throughout the crusades, though many thousands of people were motivated to travel to Outremer, Greece, or the Baltic regions, many more stayed at home.

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Mountjoy

See Montjoie, Abbey of

Mountjoy, Order of

The military Order of Mountjoy (Sp. *Montegaudio*) was most probably established in 1173 by a Galician nobleman named Rodrigo Álvarez de Sarria and transferred to Aragon (Alfambra) shortly thereafter.

Rodrigo had professed in the Order of Santiago, but was allowed to found an order of stricter observance by the papal legate, Cardinal Hyacinth (later pope as Celestine III). From the 1170s the brethren followed a modified form of Cistercian observance, and the order, its possessions, and its denomi-

nation (after the site of Mons Gaudii close to Jerusalem) were confirmed by Pope Alexander III in May of 1180. The order was particularly fostered by King Alfonso II of Aragon, who hoped to gain assistance in securing recently conquered areas in southern Aragon. From 1177 the institution's spiritual center was considered to be in the Holy Land, where it received donations from King Baldwin IV of Jerusalem and other magnates. The order also acquired assets in Italy, but despite its title, its economic and administrative headquarters always remained on the Iberian Peninsula, particularly in Aragon. After its founder's death (probably in 1188), the order was amalgamated with the redemptionist Hospital of the Holy Redeemer of Teruel and henceforth committed itself to devoting a quarter of its revenues to the redemption of Christian captives. The brethren's Aragonese possessions were incorporated by the Templars in 1196, while a dissident group led by Rodrigo González established itself in the castle of Montfragüe (Monsfrag) on the river Tagus. It was known as the Order of Montfragüe, and was ultimately amalgamated with the Order of Calatrava in 1221.

—Nikolas Jaspert

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Mozarabs

The Christian minority of Muslim-dominated Iberia that adopted the language and outward manifestations of Arabo-Islamic culture came to be referred to as Mozarabs (from Arab. *must'arib*, "would-be Arab") in the later Middle Ages.

In the centuries following the Islamic conquest of Iberia (711) the overwhelming majority of the native population converted to Islam, leaving a small but cohesive Christian minority, strongest in Toledo (the Visigothic metropolitan) and Córdoba (the Muslim capital). Offered security in exchange for submission by the Islamic pact of *dhimma* (the "pact of protection" granted by Islam to non-Muslims), Christians were free to live and worship according to their

traditions provided they did not affront Islam or challenge its authority. An episcopal structure survived at least into the ninth century, but family-dominated monasteries seem to have comprised the nuclei of piety.

Social pressures resulting from conversion to Islam and the encroachment of Arabic culture, and which precipitated the incidents of the “voluntary martyrs” of Córdoba, are reflected in the writings of St. Eulogius (d. 858) and his contemporary Paul Alvar. These martyrs can be divided into two types. Technical apostates, that is, Muslim men’s children who had been raised under the influence of a Christian mother or relatives, were put to death if they persisted in the Christian faith. Deliberate martyrs, by contrast, were Christians who provoked their own deaths by publicly insulting the Islamic faith and subsequently refusing the various offers made by the Muslim authorities to secure pardon. In the decades following the death of Eulogius, Mozarabs were involved in the *muwallad* (convert family) rebellions of ‘Umar ibn Hafṣūn. Eleca, the last bishop of Zaragoza, left for the Asturian capital of Oviedo in 893. Yet many Christians occupied important posts in the Muslim administration through the period of the caliphate (to c. 1035); the tenth-century courtier, scientist, and diplomat Bishop Reccemund (Arab. *Rabī‘ ibn Zayd*) is an example. Some also chose to emigrate, settling in the frontier zone of the river Duero, where examples of their churches survive to this day.

With the fragmentation of the caliphate and the rise of the independent Taifa kingdoms, the politico-military initiative passed to the Christian principalities of the Iberian Peninsula, provoking profound changes in the situation of the Mozarabs. Sisnando Davídez, a Portuguese Mozarab, is emblematic of this age. Having served as an official of the Muslim ruler of Seville, he became the first governor of Coimbra for Ferdinand I of Castile and León (1064) and of Toledo for his son Alfonso VI (1085), also serving as envoy to the courts of Zaragoza and Granada. In a famous speech to the Taifa king ‘Abd Allāh ibn Bulughghīn, he enunciated Alfonso’s program of Christian reconquest.

With the arrival of the Almoravids and their domination of the Taifa kingdoms, the position of Mozarabs under Muslim domination deteriorated. Allegations that they had abetted the famous raid of Alfonso I of Aragon into the south of Spain in 1132 and thus abrogated their pact of protection led to a mass deportation to North Africa, where they and their descendants remained until the advent of the Almohads in the late twelfth century.

By the late eleventh century the Mozarabs clearly comprised a distinct ethnic group, a fact recognized in the privileges and promulgations of the Aragonese and Castilian kings. Despite their contacts with Christendom abroad they had remained isolated from Latin innovations and maintained, for instance, their own “Visigothic” liturgy. This soon became a target for agents of the Roman Church, notably the Cistercians and Pope Gregory VII, who provoked Alfonso VI to ban the rite following a rigged trial by ordeal to which it was subjected in 1077. Increasingly marginalized in Toledo itself, some Mozarabs emigrated to the Cid’s principality of Valencia or to Aragonese lands, where they joined local Mozarabs and refugees whom Alfonso I had led back from his incursion into Almoravid territory.

Thanks to their facility with the Arabic language, learned Mozarabs played an important role in the transmission of classical and Arabic learning to the West, notably through the translation activity that took place in Toledo. But apart from there, within a century or so Mozarabs seem to have been all but completely assimilated by the culture of the Latin Christian settlers who arrived with the Christian conquests. In 1500 the Mozarabic rite was rehabilitated, undoubtedly because it could no longer be construed in any way as a threat to the Roman Church.

—Brian A. Catlos

See also: Conversion: Iberia; Reconquista

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Mudéjars and Moriscos

Mudéjars was the name given by Christians to Muslims living in Christian Iberia. They were variously descended from indigenous people (who had converted to Islam after the Muslim conquest), from Arab and Maghribian immigrants (who continued to arrive even after the Christian conquest), and from African slaves. Mudéjar converts to Christianity and their descendants were known from the late sixteenth century as Moriscos, an adjective derived from *moro*, Castil-

ian for “Muslim” (referring originally to Maghribians). Previously, converts had been known as New Christians, in contrast to Old Christians, that is, those of pure ancestry.

In Catalonia, Castile, Navarre, and Portugal the numbers of Muslims were fairly modest, but in Aragon, Valencia, and Granada they formed a significant minority. In Valencia and Granada Mudéjar society was broadly variegated and resisted acculturation, whereas elsewhere cultural integration was more profound. Until the last years of the fifteenth century Muslims had, for the most part, escaped the types of pressures to which the Jewish minority of the Iberian peninsula had been subjected, although in that century laws relating to “purity of blood” that restricted professional and social activities made it increasingly difficult to sustain a middle class. In Castile Muslims tended to be an urban minority, while in Aragon and Valencia they were primarily craftsmen and farm laborers, comprising nearly the whole of the population in some areas. Arabic was spoken alongside Christian vernaculars throughout the peninsula, and Islamic legal and religious practices persisted, although not without local variations (and increasing syncretism from 1500 onward). Acculturation can be seen in the literature of Mudéjars and Moriscos, which was known as *aljamía*: literary, polemical, devotional, and private works written in Romance languages but with Arabic characters.

With the conquest of Granada by Castile in 1492 the entire Iberian Peninsula was brought under Christian rule, heralding a hardening of attitudes toward non-Christians and coinciding with restrictive legislation aimed at Jews. In Portugal in 1497 Muslims were given the option of conversion, expulsion, or death, leading many to emigrate to Castile. In 1498 Archbishop Cisneros of Toledo increased pressure on Castile’s Muslims to convert, sparking rebellions in Granada and resulting in a decree like the Portuguese one in 1502. When Navarre came under Castilian control in 1515, the same law was enacted there, prompting many to flee to Aragonese lands.

In Aragon social tensions led to popular uprisings, which scapegoated Muslims and resulted in violence and forced baptisms in 1521. In 1526 the Muslims of the Crown of Aragon were ordered to be baptized, prompting rebellions in Valencian territories. Once converted, Moriscos suffered fiscal discrimination as well as deliberate campaigns intended to destroy their culture. Tensions in Granada eventually provoked a serious uprising, whose suppression in 1570 was followed by mass forced exile.

From that time on Moriscos came to be viewed with increasing suspicion, regarded as a fifth column of the Moroccans and the Turks. Further repressive policies, such as restrictions on movement and residence, were enacted, and it was only the Moriscos’ value as agricultural producers that saved them from wholesale expulsion at this time. The persistence of Muslim beliefs inflamed the church, which responded with the Inquisition, although the most reactionary measures were discouraged by the papacy. In 1609 King Philip III resolved to expel from Spain all remaining Moriscos, a process that took some five years and resulted in the exile of approximately 300,000 individuals. This had profound implications for the economy of the peninsula. The abandonment of agricultural lands in Aragon, Valencia, and Murcia plunged these regions into long-term depression. Despite the compensation that the Crown paid to the affected parties, creditors suffered through the flight of debtors, as did nobles and municipalities through the loss of tenants and taxpayers. In areas of mixed population some Old Christians may have benefited through the appropriation of abandoned lands. Despite the expulsion, some Moriscos managed to stay on in Spain, and into the eighteenth century the Inquisition continued to root out alleged cases.

As a result of their diaspora Moriscos settled throughout the Mediterranean Islamic world, but most intensively in northern Morocco and Tunisia. Received with varying enthusiasm by local populations, they maintained a distinct identity even in exile. *Aljamía* literature continued to be written in Tunis, anti-Christian polemic being a favorite subject, and some Moriscos found work as translators in the service of Muslim princes.

—Brian A. Catlos

See also: Aragon; Castile and León; Conversion: Iberia; Reconquista

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Muḥammad (d. 632)

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Muḥammad (d. 632)

Prophet of Islam, statesman, and lawgiver. Various Muslim leaders and writers invoked the Prophet in their exhortations for *jihād* (holy war) against the Christians of Outremer and Iberia, particularly in their calls for the conquest of Jerusalem, associated with the tradition of the Prophet's *mir'āj* (celestial journey). Latin Christians denigrated Muḥammad as part of their justification and glorification of the crusaders' conquest, vilifying him either as an idol, which the Saracen enemy supposedly worshiped, or as a wily heresiarch.

Jerusalem's association with Muḥammad makes it traditionally the third holiest city in Islam. The Qur'ān and *Ḥadīth* (traditions of the Prophet) tell of how Muḥammad and the Muslims faced in the direction of Jerusalem to pray until a revelation ordered them to turn to Mecca. But Muslims associate Muḥammad with Jerusalem principally because of the tradition of the *mir'āj*, associated with Jerusalem by the eighth century: Muḥammad was miraculously transported by night from Mecca to Jerusalem, then ascended to heaven (from the place where the Dome of the Rock was subsequently built). Various Muslim authors invoke this association to underline the necessity of Muslim control of Jerusalem. 'Imād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī describes the purification of the Dome of the Rock by Saladin and the holiness of the place because of its association with the Prophet. The historian Bahā' al-Dīn ibn Shaddād describes how, during the Third Crusade (1189–1192), forces led by King Richard I of England were advancing on Jerusalem, but Saladin prayed at the very spot from which Muḥammad had ascended into heaven, and God then caused the Franks to retreat. Bahā' al-Dīn has Saladin's brother al-'Ādil explain to Richard that Jerusalem is more sacred to Muslims than to Christians, "for it is the place from which our Prophet accomplished his nocturnal journey and the place where our community will gather (on the day of Judgment)" [Francesco Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), p. 226]. Muslim chroniclers occasionally tell of how, in the heat of battle,

Muḥammad, dressed in green, swept down at the head of a celestial army to rout the infidels.

For most of the Latin chroniclers of the First Crusade (1096–1099), Machomet (the Prophet's name is found deformed in various ways) is the principal God of the "Saracen" enemy. His devotees erect statues of him to which they offer an idolatrous cult reminiscent of classical Roman paganism. Several chroniclers have Saracens offer their captives the choice between martyrdom and worshiping an idol of Machomet. These chroniclers describe in vivid terms golden or silver idols in the enemies' tents, on the walls of Jerusalem, or even in the Temple of the Lord (i.e., the Dome of the Rock). By presenting the cult of the Saracens as a debauched idolatry devoted to the god Machomet, these chroniclers justify and glorify the Christian reconquest of Jerusalem. This same image of Saracen idolatry is developed in the *Chanson de Roland*, roughly contemporary with the chronicles of the First Crusade.

Other chroniclers knew better. Guibert of Nogent, in his *Dei Gesta per francos* (1109), explained that the Saracens did not believe (as some claimed) that "Mathomus" was God, but rather that he was a just and holy man who gave them their law. Guibert presents him as the latest and most nefarious in a long line of oriental heresiarchs. In order to pass himself off as a prophet, Mathomus stages a series of bogus miracles: he trains a dove to eat grains out of his ear and claims it is an angel descended from heaven; he ties the scroll containing his new law to the horns of a cow whose sudden appearance he passes off as a miracle. This debauched law, hailed by the credulous masses, encourages homosexuality, incest, and prostitution. Mathomus receives an appropriate punishment from God: smitten by a sudden epileptic seizure, he falls and is attacked and devoured by pigs. Other Christian authors present Muḥammad in the same light, mixing real knowledge of Islam with malicious slander in order to cast the Prophet of Islam as a stereotypical heresiarch. Propagandists such as Fidenzio of Padua deployed this image of Muḥammad to paint Islam as essentially hostile to Christian values and hence to justify their calls for new crusades.

According the chronicler Ibn al-Athīr, after Saladin's conquest of Jerusalem, some Franks took back to Europe a painting depicting Muḥammad beating a bloodied Christ, in order to incite their comrades to vengeance. Pope Innocent III, in the encyclical *Quia maior* calling for the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221), identified Muḥammad with the beast of the Apocalypse and predicted the imminent defeat of the Sara-

cens. Some writers even spoke of a possible crusader attack on Muḥammad's tomb (often erroneously supposed to be the object of Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca). In various of the Old French crusade epics, crusader heroes vow to capture Mecca and destroy the idols of Muḥammad that they will supposedly find there. Mecca and Medina were apparently the objects of an abortive raid in the Red Sea, led by Reynald of Châtillon, lord of Transjordan, in 1182–1183. Oliver of Paderborn and James of Vitry tell of a text found in Damietta during the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221) that predicted the imminent destruction of Muḥammad's tomb at Mecca.

—John Tolan

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al-Murābiṭūn

See Almoravids

Murad II (d. 1451)

Ottoman sultan (1421–1444 and 1446–1451).

On his accession to the throne following the death of his father, Mehmed I (1421), Murad II faced two challenges to his leadership: one from his uncle Düzme Mustafa, and the other from his own brother Mustafa. Having successfully defeated both rivals, Murad set about securing his position, campaigning against the rival Turkish state of Karaman, based round Konya, and dealing with his enemies in Europe, in particular the very able John Hunyadi, voivod of Transylvania. After an unsuccessful siege of Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey), Murad concluded a treaty in 1424 with the Byzantines.

By the 1440s, Murad, a gentle, humane, and liberal man according to the Genoese merchant Jacopo di Promontorio, appears to have tired of ruling, and, possibly due to the death

of his son Alaeddin, abdicated in 1444, leaving the throne to his son Mehmed II. Before doing so, he arranged the Treaty of Adrianople (mod. Edirne, Turkey) with Hungary and Serbia in 1444 and a treaty with Karaman, also in 1444, in an attempt to ensure peaceful relations with his neighbors. Peace was, however, not achieved; on the accession of the young and inexperienced Mehmed II, John Hunyadi and King Vladislav I of Hungary promptly attacked. Murad returned from retirement to lead the Ottoman army. At the battle of Varna (1444), the Ottomans defeated the Hungarians; Vladislav was killed, and Hunyadi fled. For the next two years, Mehmed continued precariously on the throne, but was brought down by a Janissary revolt in 1446. Brought back to the throne, Murad II reestablished Ottoman control firmly over the European territories, defeating Hunyadi at the second battle of Kosovo in 1448. He was less successful against George Kastrioti, known as Skanderbeg, who battled against the Ottomans in Albania. Murad II died in 1451 and was succeeded for the second time by his son Mehmed II.

—Kate Fleet

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Muslims in Outremer

See Outremer, Muslim Population

Myriokephalon, Battle (1176)

A defeat of a Byzantine army under Emperor Manuel I Komnenos by the Turks of the Saljūq sultanate of Rūm on 17 September 1176.

Although the battle has generally been named after the fortress of Myriokephalon, it actually took place in the pass of Tzivritze, north of Lake Eğirdir (mod. Eğirdir Gölü, Turkey) in western Asia Minor. In 1176 Manuel Komnenos marched eastward from Byzantine territory, intending to capture the city of Ikonion (mod. Konya) from the Saljūqs

Myriokephalon, Battle (1176)

of Rūm and reopen the land route to Jerusalem. The Saljūq sultan, Qilij Arslān II, offered peace. However, Manuel rejected this offer and pressed on with an army of around 35,000 men and a large, slow-moving baggage train, by this time suffering from shortages of food and water. Passing the deserted fortress of Myriokephalon, they entered the pass of Tzivritze. Inadequate scouting had failed to report that the Turks already controlled it. The vanguard successfully broke through and set up camp.

The most serious Turkish attack fell upon the right wing, commanded by Baldwin of Antioch, Manuel's brother-in-law. The Byzantine right turned and fled; Baldwin himself was killed. The emperor and his bodyguard, trapped behind the baggage train, could neither get information from the vanguard nor send orders forward. A violent sandstorm further confused the situation. Qilij Arslān circled around behind the rear of the army, blocking any retreat. The historian Niketas Choniates reported that Manuel contemplated flight but instead, abandoning the baggage train, fought his way through to the vanguard. He was eventually joined by elements of the rear guard.

According to Choniates, half the Byzantine army was lost, and he criticized the "foreigners" on the right wing for

cowardice. The Byzantine defeat was caused by poor discipline and communication. Many divisions were allowed to march into the pass in open order without waiting for following groups and were thus defeated piecemeal. Having escaped the battle, Manuel made peace with the Saljūqs, promising to dismantle the fortifications of Soublaion and Dorylaion, an agreement that he subsequently broke. Manuel himself compared the defeat to that of Mantzikert (1071); in reality, matters in Asia Minor were little changed.

—Rosemary Morris

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N

Nablus

Nablus, the ancient Sichem (mod. Nablus, West Bank), a town in Samaria, known as Naples or Naplouse during the period of the crusades.

The ancient city of Sichem, originally populated by Canaanites, became an important center of the Israelites in the first millennium B.C. After King Solomon's death and the split of his realm, Jeroboam made it the religious center of the northern Israelite kingdom and built a temple on the top of the Mount Gerizim, situated to the south of the city. After the Assyrian conquest and expulsion of the "ten tribes of Israel," the remnant of the population coalesced with other elements and, becoming known under the name of Samaritans, continued to worship in the Mount Gerizim temple. Under Herod the Great the city was rebuilt after the model of Hellenistic cities and renamed Neapolis; this new name was preserved by its Arab conquerors in 640 A.D., who called it Nablus. In the eleventh century the city declined, deprived of its walls, though it was still inhabited by a Muslim majority, as well as by Samaritans, concentrated around their temple on Mount Gerizim.

After the crusader conquest of Jerusalem in July 1099 a crusader army commanded by Tancred seized Nablus without opposition. While the Norman prince continued his expedition northward to Galilee, Nablus became part of the royal demesne. In 1111 the inhabitants welcomed the Damascene army of Tughtigin, *atabeg* of Damascus, who was forced to withdraw by King Baldwin I of Jerusalem. The king gave the town to the abbey of the Temple of the Lord in Jerusalem, while the Hospitallers founded a hospice. A slow trend of Frankish settlement followed, and the town

became a center of Frankish rule in the area, but since it had little strategic importance, it was not fortified.

In 1120 a council convened in the city was attended by the ecclesiastical and lay hierarchy of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. Its canons became the basis of legislation that was intended to preserve the integrity of the Frankish stock of the realm and codified the segregation between the Franks and the Muslim elements in Palestine. Frankish merchants, mainly drapers, and knights settled in the western part of the city.

After an invasion by the Damascene army in 1137, King Fulk established a lordship in southern Samaria centered on Nablus and granted it to a French knight, Philip of Milly, who built a castle in the unfortified city. Other villages of Samaria had been enfeoffed to various Frankish knights, who established lesser lordships in the area.

Philip of Milly supported Queen Melisende in her struggle with her son Baldwin III and welcomed her in the city in 1152, when Nablus and its region were bestowed on her as her dower. Philip continued to administer the lordship until 1161, when Baldwin III granted him the more important lordship of Transjordan. Nablus returned to the royal demesne and, following the precedent of Melisende, formed the dower of the queen mother. Thus, in 1173 it was given to Maria Komnene, the widow of King Amalric I. However, she later married Balian of Ibelin and the town became the center of the Ibelin lands in the kingdom of Jerusalem. After the death of King Baldwin IV, Balian supported the claims of Raymond III of Tripoli against the king's sister, Sibyl, and her husband, Guy of Lusignan, and called for a meeting of the High Court in 1185 at Nablus in

Narva

order to elect a king. When Guy was crowned in Jerusalem, Nablus remained the center of the baronial opposition until 1186, when Balian became reconciled with the king. In the aftermath of the battle of Hattin (5 July 1187) Balian went to Jerusalem and organized its defense. His vassals resisted the army of Saladin but were forced to surrender, obtaining an honorable capitulation.

The Ayyūbid conquest of Nablus marked the end of its history under Frankish rule. The Frankish population left the city and settled in the coastal areas. After the Third Crusade (1189–1192) no attempt was made to restore Frankish rule in Nablus and its environs, while the Muslim element flourished, to the point that under the rule of the Ayyūbids of Syria the town became famous as “little Damascus.”

—Aryeh Grabois

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Najm al-Dīn Ṭghāzī

See Ṭghāzī

Narva

A castle and town at the eastern frontier of Livonia on the western bank of the river Narva (in mod. Estonia).

Although some fortifications may have existed earlier, the first written evidence for a castle in Narva dates from 1277, during the period of Danish rule. The urban settlement developed and received civic rights at the beginning of the

fourteenth century. In 1346 both the town and the castle passed to the Teutonic Order with the purchase of North Estonia from the king of Denmark.

The importance of Narva for medieval Livonia lay in its location on the border and on an important trade route between Reval (mod. Tallinn, Estonia) and Novgorod. The town remained under the shadow of Reval, which jealously protected its own trading privileges and prevented Narva from joining the Hanseatic League. When the dependency of the Hanseatic merchants was closed in Novgorod in 1494, the Teutonic Order tried to transfer the Russian trade to Narva. These efforts failed because of the objections of Reval. The district became especially important militarily when Muscovy erected the castle of Ivangorod opposite Narva in 1492. In 1558–1581 the town was occupied by the Muscovites and made into a center for their trade with the West.

—Juhan Kreem

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Naval History, 1096–1099

Naval contingents played decisive roles in the history of the First Crusade, even though their importance has tended to be obscured by the attention given by historians to the land-based armies. The crusade was preached in Genoa by legates of Pope Urban II, probably also in Pisa, and possibly in Venice. All three Italian maritime republics responded to the call, as did significant naval forces that sailed from northern Europe to participate. Some tens of thousands may have been involved.

The logistics are to be wondered at. Fleets had to carry water and provisions with them or else be confident that they could obtain them by purchase or pillage en route. In the Middle Ages, water was a precious commodity in the Mediterranean. Few ports were situated on large rivers, and many depended upon wells. Developed port facilities were few and far between at the time of the First Crusade. Mov-

ing into waters off enemy-controlled shores immediately deprived fleets of provisions and water supplies unless they could take them by force. Moreover, even if manpower was free because early crusaders were pilgrims and volunteers, ships had to be built and paid for, and they were expensive. Some were no doubt provided by crusaders who already owned them, but even then there were still costs: armaments and supplies had to be paid for, and the removal of ships and their crews from their normal functions for long periods could only be done at a significant cost to their communities.

The Forces at Antioch

According to the chronicler Albert of Aachen, the first fleet to appear in the East during the crusade was commanded by a mysterious Guynemer, who anchored off the town of Tarsos (mod. Tarsus, Turkey) in Cilicia in September 1097. When he encountered Baldwin of Boulogne, who was with the land armies, Guynemer told him that he was a pirate and had landed to divide booty. The facts that he had to ask who Baldwin was and had to have the crusade explained to him suggest that he had been out of contact with his homeland since before 1095 and thus really cannot be considered as a crusader. As his crews originated from Flanders, Antwerp, and Frisia, and he himself had belonged to the household of Count Eustace II of Boulogne, Baldwin's father, Guynemer accepted Baldwin as his leader and garrisoned Tarsos for him. Albert then narrated two versions of Guynemer's activities. In the first, having occupied Laodikeia in Syria (mod. Al-Lādhiqīyah, Syria) in autumn 1097, he was thrown into prison by the Byzantines and liberated only at the request of Baldwin's brother Godfrey of Bouillon, after the crusader victory at Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) on 28 June 1098. In the second, having captured Laodikeia in conjunction with Raymond of Saint-Gilles during the siege of Antioch, he delivered the port to Raymond after Antioch fell and was imprisoned after this, again being freed by Godfrey of Bouillon. When Raymond moved south in January 1099, Guynemer handed Laodikeia over to the Byzantines. Guynemer was subsequently recorded by William of Tyre as operating south of Tripoli (mod. Trāblous, Lebanon) with a combined fleet, after which he disappears from the record, as do almost all of the naval forces involved in the crusade.

According to Raymond of Aguilers, an English fleet reached Laodikeia and Antioch before the land armies. Only 9 or 10 of its 30 ships remained by the time the siege of Arqah

ended on 13 May 1099, and some were abandoned or burned. The crusader Anselm II of Ribemont wrote in one of his letters that both Laodikeia and Tarsos had been captured before Antioch was besieged, but did not say by whom. The Genoese chronicler Caffaro wrote that at the time of the capture of Antioch, Laodikeia was deserted, but that the *civitas* (the town) and two towers of the harbor were held by Byzantines. The governor of Cyprus, Eumathios Philokales, had 20 *salandrii* (transport galleys) and troops there. By the autumn the city was certainly in Byzantine hands, but how that happened is unclear.

According to Raymond of Aguilers and Albert of Aachen, another fleet reached St. Simeon, the port of the city of Antioch, before 4 March 1098. William of Tyre later wrote that these were Genoese ships, but a letter circulated in the West by the Luccans and dated to October 1098 reported that a Luccan citizen called Bruno went with ships of the English to Antioch, arriving on 3 March 1098. Some of these "English" ships may have been actually Byzantine ships manned by Englishmen in imperial service, but Raymond of Aguilers stated explicitly that the English ships were abandoned at Arqah because their oak timbers were rotting. Ships built entirely of oak were much more likely to have come from northern Europe; Mediterranean oak was used mainly for keels.

Whatever the origins of the naval forces that arrived between autumn 1097 and the fall of Antioch, they were certainly instrumental in provisioning the crusade armies. Raymond of Aguilers wrote that English and Genoese ships plied to Cyprus for provisions and protected Greek ships doing the same thing. Radulph of Caen wrote that during the winter Laodikeia was held by English troops sent by Alexios I Komnenos, the Byzantine emperor, and that foodstuffs were imported from Cyprus and forwarded to Antioch.

After the Council of Clermont, Pope Urban II sent Hugh of Châteauneuf, bishop of Grenoble, and William, bishop of Orange, to Genoa to preach the crusade. A small fleet of only 12 *galee* (recently developed Western galleys) and 1 *sandanum*, or transport galley (from Gr. *chelandion*), left in July 1097 and reached St. Simeon around 20 November. This meant an average speed of only 0.70 knots for the 3,440 kilometers (c. 2,150 mi.) from Genoa. This fleet helped supply the crusader forces at Antioch, and when the city was taken, the Genoese agreed to help defend it. In return they were granted the church of St. John, a market, a well, and thirty houses around the church.

According to Albert of Aachen, a Rhenish fleet reached St. Simeon in August or September 1098: its 1,500 men left the ships and joined the crusader forces. In view of this they may have been the first crusaders actually transported by sea, rather than being seafaring crusaders like the Genoese and English.

From Antioch to Jerusalem

Elements of fleets accompanied the crusaders south to Tripoli. Raymond of Aguilers reported that the decision to leave the area of the river Orontes in northern Syria and strike for the coast to Tripoli was made so that ships could supply the armies. They were able to do so as far as Arqah, but because there was no port there, they were forced to withdraw to Laodikeia and Tortosa (mod. Tartūs, Syria). Beyond Tripoli, according to William of Tyre, Maronite Christians advised the crusaders to again follow the coast so that ships could assist them. Yet this did not happen, and would not have been possible unless the armies stopped to capture ports to be used as bases; in fact the crusader command had clearly decided to strike straight for Jerusalem. The march from Tripoli to Jerusalem took a mere twenty-two days.

Only after the siege of Jerusalem had begun (June 1099) did 6 ships put in to Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel). At least 2 of them were Genoese galleys commanded by William and Primo Embriaco. They were blockaded by an Egyptian squadron, and their galleys were dismantled and their timbers taken to Jerusalem to build siege engines. The skills of the Genoese as engineers proved invaluable, and William and Primo Embriaco bought a galley with booty taken at the battle of Ascalon (12 August 1099) and returned home, reaching Genoa on Christmas Eve. Given the time needed to buy and provision a galley, the return voyage against prevailing winds and at the onset of winter was remarkably daring and fast, suggesting a need to return to the West with urgent dispatches.

Evidence for the fleets is conflicting and contradictory. Except for Caffaro, none of the source authors had nautical experience; their perspective was that of the land forces. Events off the coasts probably became known only from rumor reaching the camps. Also, small naval forces arrived constantly, and to separate them into identifiable “fleets” is to distort the reality. The Embriaci probably sailed in spring 1099, after the departure of the first Genoese fleet. There may have been three or more English flotillas, which dribbled in

between 1097 and 1099, and they were not distinguished clearly. Venetian as well as Greek ships were mentioned by Raymond of Aguilers at Arqah in February 1099, long before the main Venetian fleet arrived.

Rhetorical writers who reformulated earlier accounts later introduced new details. According to the Anglo-Norman chronicler Orderic Vitalis, some 20,000 pilgrims, including the English prince Edgar the Atheling, reached Laodikeia while the crusaders were being besieged at Antioch by Karbughā (6–28 June 1098). Having captured the port, Edgar then handed it over to Duke Robert of Normandy. However, Edgar is known to have been in Scotland in late 1097 and could not have reached the East by the summer of 1098. William of Malmesbury, who placed Edgar’s arrival at the time of the siege of Baldwin I of Jerusalem in Ramla (May 1102), was no doubt correct, and it is likely that Orderic confused Edgar’s expedition with those of other English crusaders in 1098.

Why did so few ships accompany the armies south from Tripoli to Jerusalem? All sources are unanimous that only 6 ships put in to Jaffa. Yet many more must still have been at St. Simeon and Laodikeia, and probably in Cyprus and elsewhere. Why did none of these accompany the land forces to Arsuf, from where they turned inland toward Jerusalem? The euphoria with which those that reached Jaffa were welcomed suggests that they were unexpected.

Except for the Genoese galleys of November 1097 (if they were still in the Levant) and the Embriaci galleys, there is no evidence for any warships capable of engaging a Muslim fleet in battle being available. Guynemer may possibly have brought some North Sea longships (ON *langskip*, *snekkjur*, or *drekar*) into the Mediterranean Sea, but he would have been the only one who would have done so. English crusaders would almost certainly have used Anglo-Norse transport ships (ON *knerrir*, OE *ceólas*), which were not designed for battle. Commanders in northern Syria would have had to consider what opposition they might meet at sea south of Tripoli; the Genoese would have known all about the Fāṭimid navy, since they had been sailing to Alexandria since the 1060s.

The city of Tripoli was held by Jalāl al-Mulk ‘Alī, an emir of an independent Arab dynasty, who was willing to facilitate the crusaders’ passage south. However, beyond Tripoli the entire coast was held by the Fāṭimids, who had a navy of 70 or more warships with squadrons periodically stationed at Beirut, Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel), and Acre

(mod. 'Akko, Israel). The squadron that blockaded the ships in Jaffa came from Ascalon. In spring 1099 the Fāṭimids could put to sea major battle fleets with secure lines of supply from Egypt. Commanders of crusader squadrons would have known that they would be hopelessly outnumbered and that pressing south would sever their lines of supply. There was nowhere to take on water unless they could capture a port or force entry to a river, but they had the numbers to do neither, since all ports were fortified and the few rivers in the area debouched into the sea close to well-garrisoned ports. Beyond Tripoli they had to abandon the armies to their fate, and that is why almost all disappeared from the sources. One is left to wonder at the 6 ships that did reach Jaffa. It is as though the crusader commanders in the north, unable to engage the Fāṭimid navy in strength, decided to try to slip a small squadron south loaded with materiel for the assault on Jerusalem, hoping that it would avoid detection.

A generous estimate is that an early Western bireme *galee* (galley) could carry up to 7.5 tonnes of water, enough for six to seven days. A cruising speed of 2 knots was at the high end of the spectrum, giving a range of around 565 kilometers (353 mi.). Of course, all factors were variable. Weather and oceanographic conditions made all the difference, and human endurance, toughness, and skill were also critical. But galley fleets cannot have ranged normally more than around 650 kilometers (c. 400 mi.) without watering. The sailing distance from Tripoli to Jaffa was around 305 kilometers (190 mi.); by the time they sighted Jaffa, the crusader ships were thus at the limit of their range. Somehow, they sailed from Tripoli to Jaffa through enemy-controlled seas and risked finding somewhere to land. As it happened, they found Jaffa deserted, but they could not have known this when they departed. The Embriaci and their companions were very brave men, and it is no wonder that their arrival was received with such euphoria.

The Pisans and Venetians

Pope Urban II also sent a delegation to Pisa, and Bernardo Maragone wrote that 120 ships left for the East in response. This fleet did not leave until the year of the Annunciation 1099 (25 March 1098 to 24 March 1099), probably because it was so large that it took a long time to prepare, even if the figure of 120 ships was exaggerated. According to the Greek chronicler Anna Komnene, it raided Corfu (mod. Kerkira, Greece), Levkas, Kephallonia, and Zante en route and when news of this reached Constantinople, Emperor Alexios put

a fleet under the command of Tatikios and a Frankish mercenary named Landulph, which defeated the Pisans off Lycia. Bernardo Maragone confirmed the raids against Levkas and Kephallonia, with the explanation that they were “wont to obstruct the journey to Jerusalem” [Bernardo Maragone, “Annales Pisani,” in *Gli Annales Pisani di Bernardo Maragone*, ed. Michele Lupo Gentile (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1936), p. 7].

The Pisan fleet probably intended to winter in the Ionian Islands, and what transpired may have resulted from the inability of the Byzantine authorities to supply such a fleet: that is, they may have refused permission to winter there, and the Pisans therefore took what they needed. Counting on wintering there but not having obtained permission, they would have been able neither to go on nor to go back. This seems to be the most probable explanation of their behavior and of Maragone’s reference to Levkas and Kephallonia impeding the journey to Jerusalem.

The Pisans reached the East in late summer 1099, were off Laodikeia in Syria by November 1099, and reached Jerusalem on 21 December 1099. The desperate need of the Franks for the assistance of their ships and men was reflected by Godfrey of Bouillon’s sanctioning of the election of Daimbert of Pisa as patriarch of Jerusalem and the concessions Godfrey then made to him. The fleet left for home in the first week of April 1100.

The primary source for the Venetian expedition is the *Historia de translatione sanctorum Magni Nicolai* by an anonymous monk of St. Nicholas of the Lido. Command was assigned to Henry, bishop of Castello, and John Michiel, son of the doge. It sailed from Venice on a date not recorded for Zara (mod. Zadar, Croatia) and Rhodes (mod. Rodos, Greece), where it wintered. From there legates were sent to the patriarch of Jerusalem, Godfrey of Bouillon, Raymond of Saint-Gilles, Bohemund I of Antioch, and other princes. This sequence of events could have taken place only in the autumn and winter of 1099–1100.

At Rhodes a Pisan fleet demanded entry to the port. Thirty Venetian ships then engaged and defeated 50 Pisan vessels, of which only 22 escaped. If the Pisans left Jaffa in early April but did not reach Rhodes until late May, they must have had a wretched voyage. Prevailing winds would have been unfavorable, and the fleet may have had to creep along the coasts using currents and coastal breezes. Perhaps by the time they reached Rhodes they had exhausted their food and water. Eventually, the Venetians left Rhodes, hav-

ing stayed there from 28 October 1099 to 27 May 1100. They reached Jaffa sometime before 24 June 1100, the date from which they agreed to serve with Godfrey of Bouillon until 15 August. They participated in the capture of Haifa (mod. Hefa, Israel) around 20 August 1100.

The Italian maritime republics have been characterized as being slow to respond to the call to crusade, the imputation being that they were less than enthusiastic. In more popular literature, this inference has been stretched to attributing to them only base motives, a desire to profit from the “real” crusaders: those who marched by land from the West. The Genoese contribution has been acknowledged, but historians have largely ignored the fact that the Pisans left to come to the Holy Land long before the outcome of the crusade could be predicted and the Venetians departed before its outcome became known. In all cases preparations must have begun years and months prior to departure.

Supplies, Crews, and Their Implications

Crews on Venetian fleets in the thirteenth century consumed 22.2 kilograms (48³/₄ lb.) of ship’s biscuit, 1.6 kilograms (3¹/₂ lb.) of salt meat, 1.2 kilograms (2³/₄ lb) of cheese, 3 kilograms (6¹/₂ lb.) of legumes, and 16.62 liters (29 pints) of wine per man per month, as well as (in all probability) around 8 liters (14 pints) of water per man per day. The crews of galleys of the first Genoese fleet would have been roughly equivalent to later bireme galleys; certainly the number of oarsmen (around 108) would have been so, and a further complement of officers, marines, and others, up to a total of around 150, would be expected. A reasonable estimate of provisions and water required by the Genoese fleet of 12 galleys for its four-month voyage as far as Antioch would be up to 162 tonnes (159¹/₂ imperial tons) of biscuit, 14 tonnes (13³/₄ tons) of salt meat, 10 tonnes (9³/₄ tons) of cheese, 13 tonnes (12³/₄ tons) of legumes, 120 tonnes (118 tons) of wine, and a massive 1,730 tonnes (1,702 tons) of fresh water. The fleet may have been able to carry provisions for four months from the West (although probably not the full quantity of biscuit), but it would certainly have had to have taken on water many times over. Watering required much time and helps explain why it took four months to reach the Levant. The larger the fleet, the longer watering would have taken, and the greater the problem of providing provisions for an entire voyage.

The crews of the Genoese galleys and their accompanying *sandanum* must have amounted to around 1,900–2,000

men. The composition of the larger Pisan and Venetian fleets, particularly the numbers of their galleys as opposed to their *naves* (sailing ships), is unknown. The only figure for the Venetian fleet is the 30 *naves* mentioned in the battle with the Pisans off Rhodes. There are two figures for the Pisans: the 200 *naves* of Maragone and the 50 said to have fought the Venetians off Rhodes. At that time it was most unusual for sailing ships to engage in naval battles and large fleet engagements such as this one would have been between galleys. The crews of 30 Venetian and 50 Pisan galleys would have amounted to around 12,000 men. Then there were some actual sailing ships. In the thirteenth century, crews of even small two-decked and two-masted sailing ships numbered around 25 sailors, plus officers and some ship’s boys or servants; this figure would perhaps be correct for the other 150 *naves* of Maragone’s Pisan fleet. That would be another 3,750–4,000 men, plus crusaders carried as passengers. Total figures for the Italian maritime republics alone ought to have been at least 18,000 men. What the crews of northern fleets may have been is anyone’s guess but, even if they were only approximately 10,000, then a total for the naval contingents of around 25,000–30,000 men is around half of the latest estimates of that of the land forces: 60,000 or so.

These considerations explain why the Pisans and Venetians deliberately decided to winter en route. Their fleets were too large to make the voyage in a single sailing season. They thus had to winter in the Ionian Islands and Rhodes, although that extended the problems of re-provisioning. It also explains why the Italian maritime republics and the northern naval contingents were apparently so tardy in responding to the call to crusade. The ships, men, and provisions for fleets of this magnitude could not be assembled overnight. Two years’ preparation during 1096 and 1097 would not have been at all unreasonable; of course, the smaller the fleet, the less time would have been required, which explains why the Genoese could leave in the summer of 1097 but the Pisans and Venetians had to wait until the following year. One wonders at the logistics of the northern fleets and can only conclude that some of them at least must have sailed on a wing and a prayer, hoping for the best.

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Naval History, 1100–1249

Throughout most of the twelfth century, there was a constant need for maritime traffic and naval forces to bring military support and pilgrims to the newly established Frankish principalities in Outremer. After the conquests of Saladin in the wake of the battle of Hattin (1187), all major naval expeditions were directed against Egypt, which came to be seen as the key to the Christian possession of the Holy Land. As a result of experience gained over the period 1100–1200, naval expeditions from one end of the Mediterranean to the other, which had posed logistical problems of great magnitude at the time of the First Crusade (1096–1099), became routine by the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The Initial Phase (1100–1124)

At the death of the first ruler of Jerusalem, Godfrey of Bouillon (1100), the Franks held only a few pockets of territory in the Near East. These were around Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey) in northern Syria and Upper Mesopotamia, Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) in northwestern Syria, and Jerusalem and a few towns in Judaea and Galilee. They also had a tenuous hold on a strip of territory extending to the

coast at Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel), which was a shallow open roadstead with no harbor. Galleys could be beached at Jaffa, but sailing ships had to anchor off exposed beaches; in 1102 over 20 ships were blown ashore and wrecked. The Franks had desperate need of better ports.

The Pisans had returned home, and the Venetians were to serve only until 15 August. Haifa fell with their help shortly after Godfrey's death, but it also had no port. Over the subsequent decade, successive fleets of Italian, Occitan, and northern crusaders enabled the Franks in Outremer to secure most of the coast. Sieges undertaken without naval support failed: Arsuf (1100), Acre (1103), Sidon and Tripoli (1108), and Tyre (1111). By contrast, Genoese squadrons participated in the capture of Arsuf and Caesarea (1101), Tortosa (1102), Gibelet (1103), Acre (1104), Tripoli (1109), and Beirut (1110). There may have been Pisan ships at Beirut also. Men from an English fleet that reached Jaffa in 1102 helped King Baldwin I of Jerusalem win the battle of Jaffa. Sigurd Jorsalfar of Norway and the Venetians both helped capture Sidon in November 1110. By the end of 1110, the Franks controlled all the ports of Palestine and Syria except for Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon) and Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel).

In 1122 Venice mounted a new crusade with her own forces, as well as crusaders from elsewhere in Italy and the North. The chronicler Fulcher of Chartres commented that the Venetians, "having left their own land the year before, wintered on the island called Corfu, awaiting a favourable season. Their fleet was of 120 ships, not counting small boats or skiffs, of which some were beaked (Lat. *rostratae*), some indeed were transport ships, and some were triremes. . . . In which [ships] were 15,000 armed men, Venetians as well as the pilgrims joined to them. In addition they conveyed 300 horses with them. . . . Sailing by short stages, by day and not by night, by necessity they put in daily at the ports which they found frequently, lest both they and their horses, suffering lack of fresh water, be oppressed by thirst" [*Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana (1095–1127)*], ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg: Winter, 1913), pp. 656–658].

The Venetians took around two months at an average of only around 0.85 knots to reach Outremer from Corfu (mod. Kerkira, Greece), suggesting that they did indeed sail only by day and that they landed wherever possible to take on water. They were the first to transport horses to Outremer, a circumstance that is to be attributed to the problems involved

in doing so. After putting in to Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), they won a great victory over the Egyptians off Ascalon and then joined a successful assault on Tyre. In the series of paintings of Venetian victories in the Sala dello Scrutinio of the Doges' Palace in Venice, the second and third are of the battle of Ascalon and the storming of Tyre: these were remembered centuries later as great episodes in Venetian history.

The fall of Tyre left the Fāṭimids of Egypt with Ascalon as their sole possession north of the Negev Desert and when that fell in 1153, Fāṭimid squadrons found it virtually impossible to operate off the coasts of Outremer. Even before that it had been difficult. In 1126 the Fāṭimids sent a squadron north to raid. Fulcher of Chartres reported the Egyptians as "having passed by Farama and also El-'Arish and Gaza, Ascalon and Jaffa, Caesarea, and Acre, Tyre and Sidon, exploring and lying in wait along the sea coast as far as the city of Beirut, hunting and searching from port to port to see if they could find an opportunity for themselves which would be injurious to the Christians. But since from lack of fresh water they were then thirsty and tormented, they were compelled to land in order to fill their buckets from streams and springs and assuage their thirst. However, taking this ill the citizens . . . straight away came out against them boldly. . . and our knights with lances and our bowmen with arrows pressing into the sea unexpectedly put them to flight. They however, having hoisted sail without delay, made their way by sea sailing towards Tripoli and then Cyprus" [*Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana*, pp. 803–805].

The major problem for galley fleets was to cram water supplies for large crews into narrow and shallow hulls. Western bireme *galee* (galleys) of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries could carry up to 7.5 metric tons of water, enough for six to seven days. A cruising speed of 2 knots was at the high end of the spectrum, giving a range of around 530–630 kilometers (c. 330–400 mi.). Of course, all factors were variable, and weather and oceanographic conditions, along with endurance, toughness, and skill, made all the difference. But galley fleets cannot normally have ranged more than around 580 kilometers (c. 360 mi.) without watering. The range of Egyptian galleys would have been less than that because they used amphorae for water, which were at least 30 percent less efficient than the barrels used in the West. Their range may have been less than 400 kilometers (c. 250 mi.) if their galleys were still modeled on Byzantine dromons and had a

bank of oarsmen below deck. Byzantine dromons using amphorae could carry water supplies for no more than three days, a range of only around 270 kilometers (c. 170 mi.) at 2 knots. The distance from the Nile to Beirut was around 560 kilometers (c. 350 mi.), and the Egyptian squadron of 1126 would certainly have been out of water by then.

The Later Twelfth Century (1124–1192)

From the loss of Tyre (1124) to the aftermath of the battle of Hattin (1187), Egyptian squadrons' ability to harass supply lines of Outremer remained extremely limited. East of Damietta, the Fāṭimids held only Farama, El-'Arish, and (until 1153) Ascalon. Farama had no water and was dependent on rain cisterns and water from the Nile. El-'Arish and Ascalon had wells, but watering large fleets was difficult. Western shipping usually made landfall at Paphos in Cyprus, coasted its south coast, and crossed from Cape Greco to Tripoli or Beirut. Watchers south of Beirut kept lookout for shipping coming down the coast. To intercept incoming Western ships (unless they were blown south toward Egypt), Egyptian squadrons faced a round trip of around 320 kilometers (c. 200 mi.) even from Ascalon to the waters between Cyprus, Tripoli, and Beirut, allowing little time on station. After the loss of Ascalon, cruises from Egypt became virtually impossible. In any case, Fāṭimid naval capabilities declined from around 1110 through to their overthrow by Saladin (1171), and such parameters help explain why Outremer could be supplied and reinforced from the West with impunity. They also explain why the Frankish principalities never found it necessary to develop naval forces of their own. Immigration, pilgrim traffic, and maritime commerce flourished. The pilgrim Saewulf counted 30 large *naves* (sailing ships) at Jaffa in 1102. Another pilgrim, Theoderic, counted 30 at Acre at Easter, probably in 1169. Ships left the West in mid-March, agglomerating off Outremer around Easter, in what was the spring transit, the first of two annual *transiti* mentioned by William of Tyre; the second occurred in late September and early October.

Pilgrimage became a mass traffic during the twelfth century, and the hospital of the Order of St John in Jerusalem could house around 1,000 sick pilgrims and up to 2,000 in an emergency. The deck space specified by the municipal statutes of Marseilles of 1253 for pilgrims and crusaders, 6.5 by 2.5 *palmi* (1.68 by 0.63 meters), was what was customary and probably also the norm in the twelfth century. Two-masted, three-decked ships such as were becoming common by mid-

century could carry 500–550 pilgrims in such conditions. The 30 *naves* seen by Theoderic at Acre could have brought up to 16,500 pilgrims to Outremer in a single transit.

Outremer became of major importance for Western commerce. In the first half of the twelfth century, the Byzantine Empire remained Venice's major sphere of commercial interest, but her commerce in Outremer increased many times over, while Egypt remained a much lesser sphere. These patterns remained much the same in the second half of the century, although Venice's attention shifted to Outremer after her expulsion from Byzantium in 1171. For Genoa, Outremer became the destination of up to 54.5 percent of Genoese commerce in some sources, the average being around 30 percent. In the thirteenth century, Outremer remained a major destination for Venetian commerce, although Venetians increasingly did not specify destinations of voyages. Between 1233 and 1259, the value of Genoese trade with Outremer ranged from 71 percent in 1233 to 11 percent in 1256, with an average of 47.5 percent [Abulafia, *The Two Italies*; Balard, "Les Génois en Romanie entre 1204 et 1261", pp. 467–502].

Smaller Western maritime powers also became engaged. According to the cartulary of Giraud Amalric of Marseilles, in 1248 the value of Marseillaise contracts with Outremer was £16,750, as opposed to £11,395 for all other destinations. Between 14 March and 28 July of that year, 17 ships bound for Outremer passed through Marseilles and another 3 belonged to the Hospitallers [Pryor, "Commenda"; Pryor, *Business Contracts of Medieval Provence: Selected Notulae from the Cartulary of Giraud Amalric of Marseilles, 1248* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981)].

Where there is a will, there is a way. In 1177 Saladin ordered a new Egyptian fleet constructed, and by spring 1179 he had 60 galleys and 20 *tarā'id* (horse transport galleys) at Alexandria. Squadrons were employed to raid commerce, and also made a raid on Acre in 1179. In the same year 2 Christian *buṭash* (large sailing ships) were taken and 1,000 prisoners brought to Egypt. Cruises resulting in the capture of further *buṭash* occurred in 1182 and 1183. However, when Saladin attempted to use both the fleet and land forces against Beirut, the result was disastrous. The fleet was driven back to Egypt by a scratch fleet of 33 galleys raised by the Franks. The seamanship and fighting qualities of Egyptian crews left much to be desired.

Saladin's victory at Hattin on 4 July 1187 quickly delivered most of Outremer to him, and the first phase of the Third

Crusade (1189–1192) became a struggle to recover Acre. In the event, superior naval strength saved Outremer for another 104 years. In the first instance, King William II of Sicily sent Margaritus of Brindisi with 50 galleys and 500 knights to Outremer in spring 1188. Margaritus probably saved Tripoli and Tyre and reinforced Antioch, enabling the Franks to survive until other crusader forces arrived. Guy of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, encamped before Acre on 28 August 1189 accompanied by 52 Pisan ships. During the autumn massive reinforcements arrived from the West, and when Saladin himself arrived in early September 1189, the chronicler 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī declaimed that Christian ships had transformed the beaches into a forest of masts.

The siege of Acre became a complex struggle between besieged, besieging, and encircling forces in which the Christian besiegers controlled the maritime approaches to Acre but could not prevent break-ins. Medieval galleys could not stay at sea on blockade, and sailing ships could not force other sailing ships to engage. Maritime sieges were matters of beaching galleys near a city, rotating patrols at sea when weather permitted, and launching galleys if relieving ships were sighted. But for galleys to intercept sailing ships coming in with following winds was difficult. Prevailing winds in the afternoon at Acre are strong southwesterlies, and sailing ships coming in with them would drive straight into the port.

On 26 December 1189 Saladin's admiral Ḥusām al-Dīn Lū'Lū' fought through with 50 *shawānī* (galleys). A second relief fleet fought through on 13 June 1190. However, these efforts exhausted the capabilities of the Egyptian fleet because the ships remained there, their crews being committed to defend Acre. A captured Christian *baṭsha* (large sailing ship) came in from Beirut on 24 August 1190, and 3 more from Alexandria also made it through on 17 September 1190. Saladin managed to slip occasional ships in during the winter of 1190–1191, and 7 grain ships from Egypt arrived on 11 January 1191. But the die was cast when Richard the Lionheart, king of England, intercepted Saladin's last great supply ship from Beirut as he himself approached the coast. The Muslim garrison was doomed and surrendered on 14 July 1191.

In spite of his best efforts, Saladin was never able to rival the maritime power of the Christians and admitted as much to the Almohad caliph Abū Yusūf Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr (19 February 1189–8 February 1190). He lamented the poor performance of Muslim seamen, said that Christian losses were

soon replaced by Western reinforcements, and asked the caliph to send the Almohad fleet against Sicily. Yet, because Acre harbor was closed by a chain from the Tower of the Flies at the head of the eastern mole to another at that of the northern mole, Christian forces could not break into the harbor to attack the city's soft underbelly. In an attempt to destroy the chain, the Tower of the Flies was attacked by the Pisans on 25 September 1190. They were beaten off, but the battle raged until 6 October, when galleys from the port destroyed their floating siege tower. Thereafter no further attempts to assault the Tower of the Flies to destroy the chain were made because so many Egyptian galleys were now in port that any assault could be beaten off.

The Third Crusade's failure in the face of the enormous resources Saladin threw against it taught everyone that Jerusalem could never be recovered without conquering Egypt, and that was not unrealistic. In the 1160s and 1170s, this conquest had been contemplated by King Amalric of Jerusalem and Emperor Manuel I Komnenos. Alexandria and Damietta were the keys to Egypt, and if they could be occupied, Cairo would fall. Saladin had destroyed the Fāṭimids' Negro and Armenian infantry regiments and incorporated the Turkish, Kurdish, and other Fāṭimid cavalry into his forces. The native Egyptian populace was militarily powerless, and the country was ruled by a foreign elite in any case. A Frankish elite would not be greatly different from a Kurdish and Turkish one.

The Fourth Crusade (1202–1204)

The envoys who negotiated transport for the Fourth Crusade agreed with Venice in 1201 that the target would be Egypt, specifically "Babylon" (i.e., Cairo), "because they could better destroy the Turks by way of Babylon than by that of any other land; however, in the hearing [of others] it was said that they would go to Outremer." [Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. and trans. Edmond Faral, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Paris: Les Belles Lettres 1961), 1:30]. Robert of Clari reported that the Venetians would take them wherever they wished, whether to Babylon or to Alexandria, and Gunther of Paris said that the destination was Alexandria because there was a truce in Outremer.

The contract called for the transport of 4,500 knights and horses, 9,000 squires, and 20,000 foot soldiers. In addition, Enrico Dandolo, the doge of Venice, offered to supply 50 galleys crewed and armed at Venice's expense. Horses and squires were to be carried on horse transports (Lat. *uissarii*,

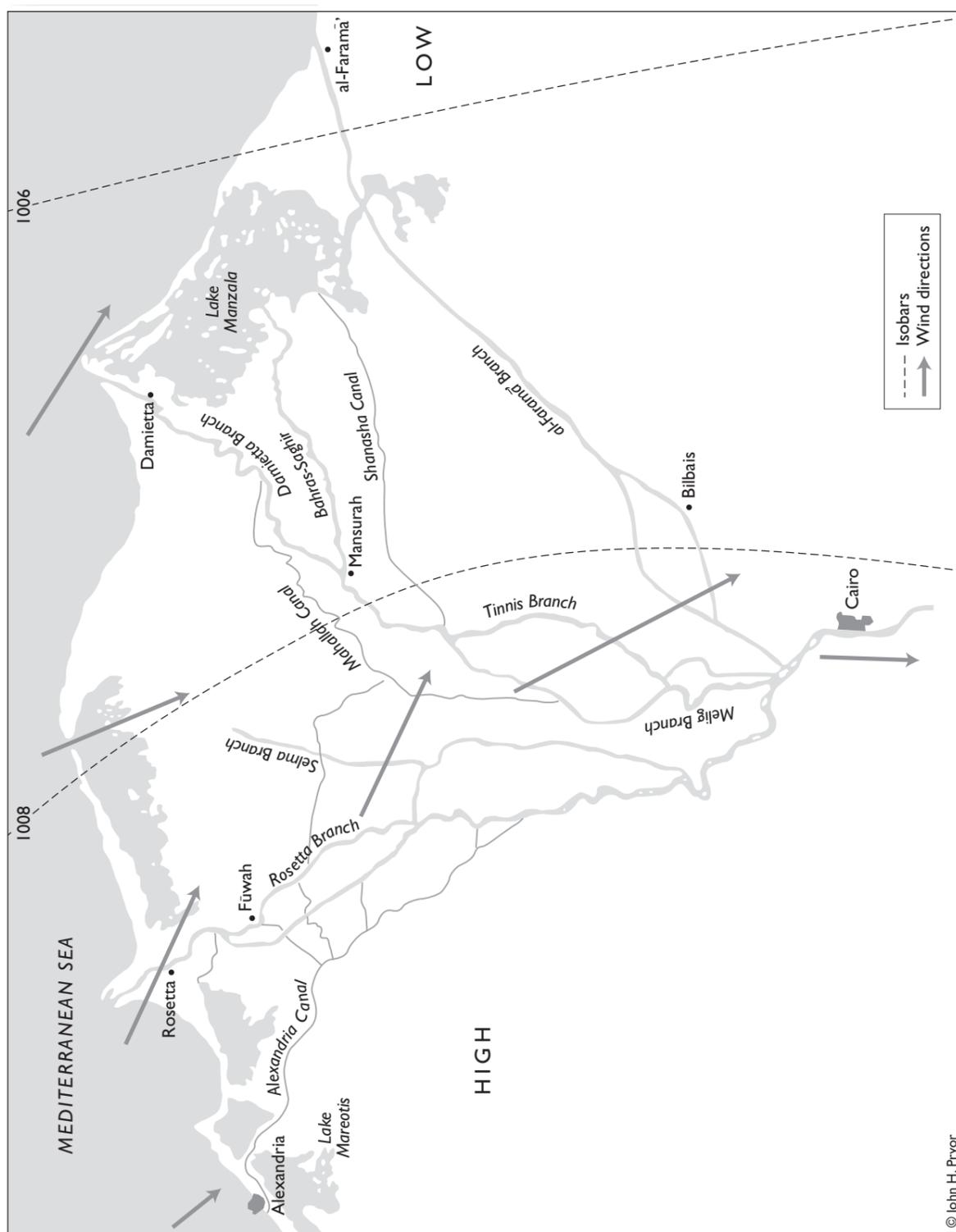
Fr. *uissiers*), and lords and their men on sailing ships. Transports were to be available for up to a year from departure on 29 June 1202. Venetian commerce was suspended while the fleet was being made ready.

Some 7,500 men would have sailed in the battle fleet. For 4,500 knights and 20,000 foot soldiers, perhaps around 40 first-rate sailing ships would have been needed; proportionately more smaller ones would be required if larger ships were unavailable. Around 4,500 sailors would have been needed for a fleet with a capacity of 24,500 passengers. Venetian *uissiers* of 1202–1204 probably required around 130 men each, or 19,500 men in total. In the end not all the ships and men were needed, but the Venetians did not know that. The fleet that assembled had 50 war galleys and around 150 *uissiers*, with total crews of around 27,000 men, plus an unknown number of sailing ships with crews of around 4,500, a massive commitment.

That a battle fleet not originally sought by the crusade leaders was offered affords insight into the Venetian reaction to the envoys' requests. They believed in the crusade and embraced the envoys' proposals, but they also considered their own interests. The agreement spelled it out: they would share equally in any conquests. Ever since the First Crusade (1096–1099), personal and communal gain had accompanied the recovery of Jerusalem. What is at issue in historical scholarship is the objective that the Venetians had in mind.

The Byzantine navy had been decaying for twenty-five years, and the Venetians would have known this. The only target against which 50 galleys might be needed was Egypt. This was probably more than necessary, but Cairo was 160 kilometers (c. 100 mi.) from the coast, and the only viable approach was via one of the branches of the Nile. The Egyptians would have the advantage of terrain, logistics, and local knowledge. From campaigns fought in the time of King Amalric and intelligence gathered by merchants, the geography of the Nile delta must have been well known in Venice, but whatever branch was chosen, canals and branches would have to be crossed, and these could be used by the Egyptians to send reinforcements to wherever they were needed. The Fifth Crusade later foundered attempting to reach Mansurah (mod. El-Mansûra, Egypt) across the Baḥr al-Saghir (the branch of the Nile south of the Damietta branch), and the Crusade of Louis IX failed besieging the town. Venice needed superior naval forces.

Uissiers were expensive, specialized ships, which would not have been ready at hand. If the destination had been



The Nile delta ca. 1200 with mean average barometric pressure and wind directions in July

Acre, cavalry could be carried far more efficiently on *naves*. A mix of uissiers and *naves* would be appropriate for Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey), although uissiers would certainly be useful for assaulting beaches in the Bosphorus before entry to the Golden Horn could be forced. However, a fleet wholly composed of uissiers would be absolutely necessary for an amphibious attack on Egypt. Both the Rosetta and Damietta branches of the Nile were too shallow for large *naves*. Horse transports capable of following a battle fleet upriver in shallow water and landing cavalry on the left bank beyond the Farama branch within striking distance of Cairo would be needed. If the attack occurred in July–August, before the Nile began to flood and when prevailing winds were still from the northwest, an advance upriver ought not to be too difficult. The set departure date was 29 June, and Egypt was about a month's voyage from Venice.

Should Egypt fall, the profits would be astronomical. Venice would monopolize the oriental spice trade, and Pisa and Genoa and everyone else would have to deal with her. All the evidence suggests that in 1201 Doge Enrico Dandolo played for high stakes. He threw the resources of Venice into a gamble for a glittering prize. By the winter of 1202–1203, he realized that there were insufficient knights to attack Egypt and settled for second best when circumstances offered it, but Constantinople was not the original objective.

As it turned out, circumstances and exigencies drove the crusade from pillar to post to Constantinople. There the Venetian fleet played only a minor role. It arrived off Constantinople via the Sea of Marmara, crossed to Chalcedon (mod. Kadıköy, Turkey) on the Asian shore and entered the Bosphorus and put in to Scutari (mod. Üsküdar, Turkey). Galleys and uissiers put out from Scutari early on 5 July 1203, with the galleys leading and towing the galleys' boats (*barges*) filled with archers and crossbowmen to clear the beaches. The sailing ships stayed at Scutari, since there was little for them to do until the chain of the Golden Horn was broken. Having landed, they assaulted the tower of Galata, to which the northern end of the chain was connected. The chain floated on wooden pontoons, and what ships the Greeks had were drawn up inside to protect it. But the Venetians erected siege engines on *naves*, which they sacrificed and beached before the tower, which was assaulted by land and sea. It was taken on the third day, and once the chain was broken the fleet streamed into the Golden Horn.

After the initial assault on the sea walls by scaling ladders

on 17 July, during which the Venetians managed to seize a section but had to withdraw, the fleet played little part in events until the assaults on 9 and 12 April 1204. Then it was flying bridges run from the mastheads of a few great *naves* that enabled Venetian warriors to surmount the walls, gain possession of some towers, and permit the rest of the army to scale the walls by ladder and open the gates.

Crusades against Egypt in the Thirteenth Century

Fourteen years after the Fourth Crusade, another crusade arrived off Damietta. The product of years of work by Innocent III and Honorius III, the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221) was a motley affair, muddled and misguided, lacking strategic direction and command, and bedeviled by conflict between ecclesiastical and secular authority. The forces that landed in Egypt on 27 May 1218 consisted of crusaders from Germany and Austria conveyed to Acre by the Venetians, forces of the kingdom of Jerusalem and the military orders from Outremer, and crusaders from Germany and Frisia who had come from the north by sea.

The initial phase of the crusade, which lasted until 24–25 August, was an assault on the walls of Damietta and a tower on an island in the river, from which a chain on pontoons ran across to the city. Eventually the chain tower was taken by assault from a great siege tower erected on two German cogs lashed together. Thereafter new forces arrived, including troops from Rome under Cardinal Pelagius of Albano, from England, and from France, carried in Genoese ships. Sultan al-Kāmil I blocked the river upstream from Damietta by sinking ships laden with rocks. In 1219 many crusaders sailed for home, but they were replaced by reinforcements, and Damietta fell on the night of 4–5 November 1219. Al-Kāmil then moved to Mansurah south of the Baḥr al-Saghr. The crusaders had to either attempt to mount the river by ship and bypass the Baḥr al-Saghr or force a crossing of it. However, they had nothing like the necessary battle fleet and the horse transports that would have made the first option possible. What they had was a miscellaneous collection of Northern cogs and *busses* (ships descended from Anglo-Norse transport ships [ON *knerrir*], with castles at bow and stern), Mediterranean sailing ships, and a few galleys. They had no oared horse transports at all.

There was no choice but to wait for Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor and king of Sicily, who was expected in spring 1221. Count Matthew of Apulia arrived with 8 galleys

in July 1220, and further forces under Duke Ludwig I of Bavaria and Bishop Ulrich of Passau reached Damietta in May 1221. Later Frederick claimed that they had carried instructions to await his arrival. He then sent 40 galleys under the command of Walter of Palear and Admiral Henry Pescatore to Damietta. Henry arrived in late August to find that Pelagius had led the crusaders to Mansurah on 17 July. He took the Sicilian fleet upriver but was too late to prevent the capitulation of the crusaders on 30 August. Frederick had appreciated that the crusaders had no hope of advancing on Cairo without a battle fleet to clear the river and had acted to remedy the situation. But Pelagius led the crusader forces to disaster. The miscellaneous collection of ships that went upriver could not engage the Egyptian galleys that came down the Mahallah canal to the Damietta branch below El-Baramûn (north of Mansurah), cutting the crusaders off from Damietta and forcing a retreat. Trapped in a flooded plain, Pelagius was forced to sue for peace. Only the arrival of Henry Pescatore induced the sultan to accept Damietta's surrender and the evacuation of the crusade.

Frederick II was furious because his plans to fulfill his crusading vows had been brought to naught. Walter of Palear fled to Venice and Germany, while Henry Pescatore was imprisoned and his fiefs confiscated, but eventually Frederick realized that it had not been his fault and restored his honors. By spring 1224 the emperor was preparing up to 150 galleys and 50 *usseria* and clearly contemplating a return to Egypt. In July 1225 he agreed to provide transport for 2,000 knights, each with three horses and an entourage, as well as 1,000 of his own knights on a fleet of 100 *chelandre* (oared horse transports) and a battle fleet of 50 galleys.

Frederick eventually reached Outremer in July 1228, after originally sailing from Brindisi in Italy in September 1227 but turning back because of illness. It is impossible to know precisely what forces he had, but up to 2,000 knights may have been transported to Outremer during 1225–1226. Whether they were still there in 1228 is debatable. In July 1227 Thomas of Aquino, count of Acerra, sailed from Brindisi with an unspecified number of ships and men. When Frederick turned back in September, he placed his 50 galleys under the master of the Teutonic Order and assigned other *chelandres* and vessels to Duke Henry of Limburg to transport other crusaders. In April 1228 Richard Filangieri was sent to Outremer with another 500 knights. Then in June Frederick sailed with 40 galleys and up to 70 other ships, including *taride* (transport galleys) and *naves*. In Outremer

he had very considerable naval forces, including galleys and oared horse transports, an ideal force with which to assault Egypt by sea. During the winter he also ordered Henry Pescatore to bring a further 20 galleys to Acre by Easter 1229. The threat these forces posed to Egypt may have been instrumental in persuading al-Kāmil to conclude the truce with Frederick that was signed on 18 February 1229.

Whereas Frederick planned his naval forces carefully, in the Venetian tradition, King Louis IX of France did not do so. This was inexplicable, because he put much planning into his crusade, established close relations with Marseilles and Genoa, and appointed two Genoese as admirals; he ought to have had good advice. In March 1246 Louis contracted with Genoa to lease 28 two-decked, two-masted *naves*, to build 3 three-decked *naves*, and also ordered 20 *taride* horse transports. In August he ordered 23 three-decked *naves* and 10 galleys from Marseilles. In October he leased another 16 two-decked *naves* from Genoa. In 1248 various Genoese contracted to build, lease, or supply 3 galleys, 2 *taride*, and 9 *naves*, the last of which were probably among those ordered in 1246. Of ships leased privately by nobles, all those about which details are known were sailing ships. To assault Egypt, Louis's fleet was seriously unbalanced. As far as is known, he had only 13 galleys and 22 *taride*. These were augmented by 24 galleys and *naves* of William of Villehardouin, prince of Achaia, and some galleys of nobles of Outremer, the Templars, and probably the Hospitallers. However, for an assault on Damietta, there were far too many unsuitable sailing ships. Over the winter of 1248–1249 Louis realized this and had landing craft built in Cyprus.

Damietta was occupied early in June 1249, and Louis then faced the problems of a march upriver. He remained in Damietta until the flood had passed before moving upriver on 20 November, but by then south to southwesterly winter winds had set in. The river was too shallow for the large sailing ships, and the river fleet was composed of whatever ship's boats, galleys, *taride*, and other miscellaneous craft were available. As in 1221, the Egyptians launched on the Mahallah canal 50 galleys, which sailed down to the main branch and destroyed or captured the fleet. Loss of the fleet and of the ability to supply the army from Damietta forced a retreat, which ended with the army surrounded and forced to surrender.

Some fifty years later, Marino Sanudo Torsello had no doubt about the naval forces necessary for an amphibious strike up the Nile. He recommended that flat-bottomed

barges (Lat. *plactae*) should be used to transport horses and supplies and that the rest of the fleet should consist of war galleys (Lat. *galee*) and transport galleys (Lat. *taride*).

Conclusions

It was only Christian command of the sea that enabled the Frankish principalities in the Levant to maintain themselves for almost 200 years and that allowed the Latin West to maintain the practice of crusade, threatening the Muslim Near East for 150 years. Had the Muslims of Egypt or North Africa been able to challenge at sea effectively and to cut the commercial and pilgrim maritime routes to the Frankish principalities, those principalities would undoubtedly have fallen much earlier. Had the Latin West not developed the capability to transport by sea enormous forces of crusaders and their horses during the twelfth century, the Second or Third Crusade would in all probability have been the last. Sea power played only a minor role in the First Crusade and none at all in the Second. Yet it was instrumental in the success of the Third and Fourth Crusades, and the Crusade of Frederick II. Had it been handled with expertise, it is not beyond the realms of possibility that it might even have secured the success of the Fifth Crusade or the first crusade of Louis IX. That, however, was not to be, and in the end command of the sea was not enough.

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Las Navas de Tolosa, Battle of (1212)

A great victory in southern central Spain by a combined Christian army led by the kings of Castile, Aragon, and Navarre over the Muslim Almohads and their Andalusian allies.

The Christian defeat at Alarcos (1195) was followed in 1197 by a truce with the Almohads, which was renewed until the year 1210, when it expired. Prior to that date, King Alfonso VIII of Castile had nevertheless resumed hostilities against the Muslims, an aggressive attitude that was shared by Peter II of Aragon, whose kingdoms had recently suffered an Almohad naval attack. In 1210 Peter led an expedition to the Rincón de Ademuz, a region in northwestern Valencia, which he incorporated into his domains. The Muslims of al-Andalus asked the Almohad caliph for help. Muḥammad al-

Naṣir agreed to intervene after some hesitation. In February 1211 he and his forces left Marrakech; they reached Tarifa in mid-May and finally Seville at the end of that month. The caliph's aim was to conquer an important Christian fortress and thus show the strength of the Muslims. His choice was Salvatierra, an isolated Christian strongpoint south of Ciudad Real, which had been boldly taken by the Order of Calatrava in 1198. The fortress fell in the summer of 1211.

A major confrontation was now inevitable, because the Christian kings feared the projects of the caliph, who in turn wished to check Castilian and Aragonese expansionism. In the early autumn, Alfonso VIII began preparations for an important campaign, although there are doubts whether he was seeking God's judgment in battle. He instructed his subjects to concentrate efforts on this project, received Peter II's promise of full Aragonese participation, and sent ambassadors to Pope Innocent III to ask for crusade bulls. The pope clearly supported the project by stimulating foreign participation in the war against the infidel and by threatening other Iberian kings with spiritual sanctions in case they attacked Castile while at war with the Muslims (Alfonso IX of León was not impressed and attacked Castilian positions while Alfonso VIII was on campaign). Papal propaganda for the crusade in Spain was so effective that, well before the fixed assembly date of 20 May 1212, numbers of *ultramontanos* (people from beyond the Pyrenees) reached Toledo. Among them was Arnold Amalric, archbishop of Narbonne, who while on his way persuaded King Sancho VII of Navarre to drop his traditional opposition to Castile and join the common effort.

The expedition left Toledo in mid-June 1212. A few days later it reached Muslim territory and conquered the fortress of Malagón. Calatrava la Vieja, the central headquarters of the Order of Calatrava, which had been lost after Alarcos, surrendered after a short siege. Then most of the ultramontane crusaders left the army, perhaps disappointed at the peaceful way Calatrava had been taken. By mid-July the Christian army had reached Sierra Morena. The Almohads and their Andalusian allies were positioned on the other side of the hills. According to a legend, a shepherd showed the crusaders a way down into a plain, where the battle took place on 16 July 1212. The complete disarray of Muslim forces after a few hours fighting has been a source of debate since. In spite of their superior numbers (around 20,000 against 12,000 Christians), the Muslims were unable to put up a strong resistance, probably due to lack of internal coherence; for various reasons, sections of the Andalusians defected during the battle.

The crusaders exploited the caliph's swift return to Africa and conquered various sites (Vilches and Baeza) before besieging the strong fortress of Úbeda where most of the population of the district had sought refuge. On 3 August 1212, it surrendered and soon the Christian army disbanded due to illness. The campaign had finished.

The modern name of the major battle in the campaign, wrongly regarded as a turning point in the *Reconquista* (reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula from the Muslims) is misleading. It was known in the Middle Ages as the battle of Úbeda or simply as "the Battle," as in contemporary chronicles. Even Jerónimo Zurita in the late sixteenth century spoke of the *gran batalla de Úbeda* ("great battle of Úbeda"), because the relevant aspect was not so much an open confrontation, but the loss of an important fortified city. The modern name is also misleading because Tolosa was probably a deliberate corruption invented by the archbishop of Narbonne in his report to the Cistercian general chapter. He altered the local toponym Losa to match that of Toulouse in France (Sp. Tolosa) where other infidels, namely, the Albigensian heretics, were under attack by crusaders and might expect the same fate as the Muslims in Spain.

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Naxos

See Archipelago, Duchy of the

Negroponte

Italian name for the island of Euboea (mod. Evia, Greece) and also its principal city, Chalkis (mod. Halkida), which

Nestorians

after the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) came under the rule of Frankish crusaders (1204–1209) and subsequently the Venetian Republic (1209–1470).

After the fall of Constantinople (mod. Istanbul, Turkey) to the forces of the Fourth Crusade in 1204, an army led by Boniface, margrave of Montferrat, set out to conquer mainland Greece. James of Avesnes, accompanied by a force of unknown size, detached himself from this army as it passed through Boeotia and captured the island of Negroponte, with the exception of the ports of Chalkis and Karystos, which were occupied by the Venetians. By 1209 James was dead, and the island was granted to three Veronese lords, known to nineteenth-century historians as the *tierzi* (triarchs). These lords acknowledged the suzerainty of Venice and met regularly with the Venetian *bailli* (governor) in Chalkis. There are some fifty-five ruined towers on the island that presumably belonged to the class of soldiers known as *sergeants*, who held lands from the *tierzi*.

Negroponte soon became an important Venetian commercial and naval center. Venetian trading fleets sailing to Constantinople called there twice a year to collect local produce from the island itself and from central Greece across the narrow Euripos channel. The significance of the harbor was clearly known to the Venetians in the twelfth century, since they guided the fleet carrying the army of the Fourth Crusade into the harbor in June 1203 to rest and revictual before embarking on the last stage of the journey to Constantinople.

William II of Villehardouin, prince of Achaia, sought to gain control of the island in the years after 1255. After his defeat of the duke of Athens at Karydi, he was only delayed from occupying the island by his subsequent disastrous involvement in Thessaly. During the 1270s, the island formed the base of the renegade Frankish pirate Licario of Karystos. From the mid-fourteenth century, the island suffered from the depredations of Turkish pirates, resulting in the fortification of various centers throughout the island and attempts by the Venetian *bailli* to encourage Albanian settlers to move there to make up for the devastation of the population. The Ottoman Turks captured the island in 1470, and its loss rocked the Venetian Republic.

—Peter Lock

See also: Frankish Greece

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Nerses Snorhali

See Armenian Sources

Nestorians

A Western designation for a religious community more accurately known as the “Church of the East,” as the church outside the boundaries of the Roman Empire was designated in late antiquity and subsequently. The polemic epithet “Nestorian,” often applied to the church in historical writing, refers to Nestorius of Constantinople (d. after 451), whose dogmatic position was banned at the Council of Ephesus (431). As reported by ambassadors of the thirteenth century, however, the Church of the East has always rejected the label “Nestorian,” given that this implies heresy. Recent theological analysis confirms that the Church of the East accepted orthodox theology. In the Middle Ages its members were also known as Chaldaeans.

Syriac- (i.e., Aramaic), Persian-, and Greek-speaking Christian communities in the Persian Empire were integrated under a centralized hierarchy from the fifth century onward. The councils of that time formally established the primacy of the metropolitan of Seleucia-Ctesiphon over the Church of the East. The metropolitan, later called *catholicos* and *patriarch*, moved to Baghdad after its foundation in the eighth century, and his successors continued to reside there until the Mongol period.

Members of the church kept a considerable role (albeit of declining importance) as bureaucrats in the Muslim administration. They also exerted influence as court physicians and

scientists. Under the early Mongols, in whose armies Christians had fought, they retained and even consolidated their position. At that time the Church of the East reached its zenith. Merchants and monks had already carried Christianity as far as South Arabia, Central Asia, India, and China. Although they never convinced either the majority or the rulers of the Asian peoples, the Church of the East was to become the most widespread of all Christian denominations in the Middle Ages. Beside its enterprising merchants and missionaries, the medieval Church of the East is famous above all for its academies and its great scholars, who also were instrumental in the transmission of ancient Greek and oriental philosophy and science. The Syriac language remained in liturgical and scholarly use even after Arabic became dominant. With the rule of Ilkhan Ghazan (1295–1304), decay began, mainly caused by the decline of religious tolerance and the increase of violence toward Christians in Asia.

Studies of the communities of the Church of the East in Outremer are as scarce as are the sources. Until their arrival in the Levant, the Latins had been ignorant of the Church of the East. Itineraries (mainly of the thirteenth century) as well as some legislation, however, show that the Franks took notice of the communities under their rule and lifted the discriminatory poll tax that had been imposed under Muslim rule. But they were legally subordinate to the Latin population. Under the authority of a metropolitan in Damascus and probably a second metropolitan of Jerusalem and Tripoli (mod. Trâblous, Lebanon), the communities lived side by side with the other Eastern Orthodox denominations in the Levant, particularly in Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey), Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey), Lebanon, the merchant towns of the coast, and Cyprus. In Cyprus they were placed under the jurisdiction of a Latin bishop. From Tripoli a rhetor named Jacob is known, who taught medicine and rhetoric. Perhaps there were some intellectual groups, enlarged by refugees, which had moved to Outremer during the Mongol invasions in Central Asia and Mesopotamia.

During the twelfth century, the leaderships of the Latin Church and the Church of the East took almost no notice of each other. A century later, information about the enmity between the Muslims and the Mongols was added to older rumors about Prester John, the alleged Christian king in the East. These led to Roman responses to diplomatic initiatives by the Church of the East.

The residences of the mendicant orders in the Levant

served as bridgeheads for the Roman missions to the East, such as those of William of Montferrat and Lorenzo of Orte. Contacts with the Church of the East even intensified in the second half of the thirteenth century. Pope Nicholas IV (1288–1292) received a famous Eastern Christian embassy on friendly terms: it was led by a confidant of the catholicos Yahballaha III (1281–1317), the monk Mar Bar Sauma from the area of Beijing. He also visited King Philip IV of France and King Edward I of England. His mission was to communicate to the Western leaders the quest of the Mongols for a new crusade against the Muslims. No sources from the Church of the East corroborate Roman claims that some Eastern metropolitans recognized Roman primacy at that time. The friendly encounters of the thirteenth century should also be interpreted within the context of intensified relations between the Eastern denominations themselves and thus of increased ecumenical activities in the Near East.

–Dorothea Weltecke

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Neva, Battle of the (1240)

A battle at the river Neva in northwestern Russia, fought on 15 July 1240.

The antecedents and details of this battle are largely hypothetical because they are known only from inadequate accounts in Russian sources. It has been supposed that the battle was connected with the Swedish military leader Birger Magnusson (d. 1266).

The Novgorod chronicle contemporary with the events states that Swedes, Norwegians, Finns, and Tavastians came by ship to the river Neva under the leadership of their prince and bishops. There they were defeated by Alexander Yaroslavich, prince of Novgorod, at the head of troops from Novgorod and Ladoga, and withdrew on their ships. According to the *Vita* of Prince Alexander the attacker was a “king of a Roman land” [Yurii K. Begunov, *Памятник русской литературы XIII века “Слово о погибели Русской земли”* (Moskva: Nauka, 1965), pp. 162–168] and Alexander won with the help of an army of angels. One of the fifteenth-century sources gives the Swedish leader’s name as Belger.

From these sources it is not possible to identify the real leaders of the invasion. The view of older Finnish historiography, that the initiator of the campaign was the Finnish bishop Thomas (d. 1248), and the widespread opinion that the battle was a part of a greater attack against Russia are not valid. The sources do not connect the battle with either the crusade in Votia (1240–1241) or a Livonian campaign against Pskov (1240–1242). However, a papal letter to the archbishop of Uppsala in 1237 urged him to preach a crusade against the apostate Tavastians. It is thus possible that this crusade was led by Birger Magnusson in 1238–1239 and that the campaign to the Neva was a continuation of this expedition; at that time the Finnic peoples in the Neva basin were still heathen.

The battle has been especially celebrated in Russian historiography because Prince Alexander Yaroslavich has been honored in Russia as a saint and national hero in modern times. In Russian literature since the fifteenth century he has been known by the surname “Nevskii,” after this battle.

—*Anti Selart*

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Nevskii, Alexander

See Alexander Nevskii

Nicaea, Empire of

One of the three Greek successor states of the Byzantine Empire that emerged after the conquest of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) in April 1204.

The empire took its name from its capital, Nicaea (mod. İznik, Turkey), a city in the northwestern corner of Asia Minor. Nicaea, the venue of two ecumenical synods (325 and 787), had come under Turkish rule in the late eleventh century and formed the first capital of the Saljūq sultanate of Rūm until 1097, when it was captured by the First Crusade (1096–1099) and handed over to the Byzantine emperor. The Empire of Nicaea was established by the first Byzantine emperor-in-exile, Theodore I Laskaris, who was recognized by the local Greeks in Asia Minor as “emperor of the Romans” as early as autumn 1204. He was crowned emperor in Nicaea only in 1208, shortly after the election of the first ecumenical patriarch-in-exile. Nicaea remained the capital until the recovery of Constantinople from the Latins in 1261, although the later emperors used Nymphaion (mod. Kemalpaşa, Turkey) as their principal residence.

On the death of Theodore I Laskaris (1222), he was succeeded in turn by his son-in-law John III Vatatzes and by John’s son Theodore II (1254). The last emperor, Michael VIII Palaiologos, usurped the throne from Theodore II’s son John IV, then still a child, in 1258. At the peak of its power, the empire extended from the Black Sea coast to southwestern Asia Minor and from eastern Thrace to the Dalmatian coast in the Balkans.

The first conflicts between the Greeks of the Empire of Nicaea and the Latins of the new Empire of Constantinople took place in northwestern Asia Minor in autumn 1204. In December 1204, at Poimanenon, the forces of Nicaea suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Latins. In the spring of 1205, northwestern Asia Minor again came under fierce attack, but in April the Latin army was recalled to the European side of the Bosphorus to repel the army of the Bulgarian tsar Kalojan (Johannitsa). It was this diversion and the subsequent defeat of the Latins at the battle of Adrianople (April 1205) that saved the Greek towns in Asia Minor from falling to the Latins and offered the forces of Nicaea the opportunity to regroup. In the following years, the Latins

captured a number of towns in Asia Minor, in spite of the resistance of the local Greeks under Theodore I. In 1212, after a successful expedition in Asia Minor, the Latin emperor Henry concluded a treaty with Theodore I at Nymphaion, offering him territories that had never previously been under Nicaean control. Until Theodore I's death (1222), it seems that there were no further conflicts between Nicaea and the Latin Empire.

In 1224 Emperor John III Vatatzes crushed the Latin forces at Poimananon, and as a direct result of that victory almost all the Latin territories in Asia Minor came under Nicaean control. In the 1230s, Emperor John of Brienne launched the final Latin military operation in Asia Minor, which resulted only in the brief recapture of the coastal town of Pegai. In 1234, John III crossed to Europe and captured Latin territories in Thrace and eastern Macedonia. In 1235–1236 the Nicaean emperor and his ally, the Bulgarian tsar Ivan Asen II, jointly besieged Constantinople by land and sea, but to no avail. The main reasons for this failure lay with Ivan Asen's change of sides twice during the siege of Constantinople and with the subsequent defeats of the Nicaean fleet in sea battles against the Venetians, who had come to the aid of the Latin Empire in 1236.

Nicaea and Venice had further naval encounters in the 1230s over the lordship of the island of Crete, in which Nicaea failed to achieve long-term results. The significant military aid that reached Constantinople in the late 1230s interrupted the Nicaean advance against the Latin Empire, but only temporarily. Specifically, in 1241, the Thracian town of Tzouroulon came under Latin control when Western military reinforcements arrived in the area, but the city again came under Nicaean authority in 1247.

By the late 1250s, the Nicaean Empire had under its control all the former territories of the Latin Empire, apart from the city of Constantinople itself. In autumn 1259, in the valley of Pelagonia, the Nicaean forces achieved a significant victory against the triple military coalition of the principality of Epiros, the Angevin kingdom of Sicily, and the Frankish principality of Achaia, which threatened Nicaean plans to restore the Byzantine Empire. The liberation of Constantinople by the Nicaeans took place by chance in July 1261: General Alexios Strategopoulos was passing outside Constantinople on his way to the Bulgarian borders with a small number of Nicaean soldiers when he found the city almost unguarded because most of its Latin garrison was absent besieging the castle of Daphnousion on the Black Sea coast.

Encountering no resistance, the Nicaean troops entered Constantinople on 25 July 1261.

Emperor Michael VIII entered the city on 15 August, the day of the Assumption of the Virgin, and in September he was crowned "emperor of the Romans" for the second time (the first was in Nicaea in 1259) in the church of Hagia Sophia, according to Byzantine tradition. The Nicaean emperor had thus restored the Byzantine Empire.

During the Latin occupation of Constantinople, Nicaea attempted to establish diplomatic ties with the Latin Empire and Venice, as well as with the Holy Roman Empire and with Genoa. In 1214, Theodore I Laskaris granted Venice commercial privileges for five years, although these were not renewed. In the late 1210s Theodore I Laskaris married Maria, the sister of the Latin emperor Robert, and proposed the marriage of one of his daughters to Robert himself. Most probably in 1244, John Vatatzes married Constanza, daughter of Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor and king of Sicily, thus sealing the good relations between Nicaea and the Western Empire, which had included military and financial help from the Nicaean emperor to Frederick II. On 13 March 1261, at Nymphaion, Emperor Michael VIII granted Genoa commercial privileges in exchange for military help against Venice.

The Latin Empire was only one of the enemies that the Empire of Nicaea had to face. The Turks of the Saljūq sultanate of Rūm, with their capital at Ikonion (mod. Konya, Turkey), signed a secret treaty with the Latin Empire (1209) and laid claim to territories of the Empire of Nicaea during the first years of its existence. The Saljūq attacks ceased after the battle at Antioch in Pisidia (mod. Yalvaç, Turkey), near the river Meander, in spring 1211, when the Nicaean forces defeated the Turkish army and killed the sultan. After 1204, another independent Greek state in Asia Minor, the Empire of Trebizond, under the brothers David and Alexios Komnenos, attacked the Empire of Nicaea, occasionally with the help of the Latin Empire of Constantinople. In 1214, Theodore I annexed Paphlagonia, the territory of David Komnenos, and extended his dominions to the southern coast of the Black Sea. The rivalry with the principality of Epiros, Nicaea's main Greek opponent in the contest for the throne of Constantinople, reached its peak in 1222, when the ruler of Epiros proclaimed himself "emperor of the Romans" at Didymoteichon in Thrace, and ended in 1259 with the battle of Pelagonia. Interestingly, the first military engagements with the kingdom of Bulgaria, the only non-

Despots and Emperors of Nicaea

Theodore I Laskaris (emperor 1208)	1204–1222
John III Vatatzes	1222–1254
Theodore II Laskaris	1254–1258
John IV Laskaris	1258–1261
Michael VIII Palaiologos	1259–1261
<i>Restoration of Byzantine Empire under Michael VIII</i>	1261

Greek contestant for the throne of Constantinople, took place during the reign of Theodore II Laskaris and ended with a peace treaty in 1256, which was sealed later with a match between the two royal families.

After 1204, Nicaea was recognized by the papal legates in Constantinople and later by the pope himself as the center of the Greek Orthodox East. In the discussions between Latins and Greeks regarding the ecclesiastical and dogmatic differences between their respective churches that took place shortly after the Latin conquest of Constantinople, the papal legate in Constantinople invited the participation of the Nicaean clergy, but not that of the other Greek states that emerged after 1204. In 1214, ecclesiastical negotiations that had started in Constantinople continued in the Empire of Nicaea, while in 1232–1234 there was an exchange of letters between Pope Gregory IX and Germanos II, the Greek patriarch of Constantinople in exile, leading to formal negotiations between the two sides in the Empire of Nicaea. In the 1240s and 1250s, the negotiations continued, with the encouragement of the Nicaean emperor John III, and in the early 1250s the two sides appeared to be closer to an agreement than ever before regarding the reunification of the two churches, but in the end no agreement was signed, most probably because of disagreement over the lordship of Constantinople, which the Nicaeans demanded in exchange for acknowledgment of papal primacy.

Under John III Vatatzes and Theodore II Laskaris, the economy of the empire flourished, enabling them to engage the services of mercenaries and also to make the empire the cultural center of the exiled Byzantines. After 1204, Niketas Choniates and Nicholas Mesarites lived in the Nicaean Empire, while the teacher of Emperor Theodore II Laskaris, the scholar Nikephoros Blemmydes, wrote and taught there. The flourishing economy allowed the Nicaean emperors to

establish hospitals, build churches, and fortify many towns on the borders of the empire. From the reign of John Vatatzes on, the Nicaean economy was much healthier than the Byzantine economy had been under the Angeloi, a prosperity that contributed significantly to the stability of the Byzantine Empire after 1261.

—Aphrodite Papayianni

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Nicholas III (d. 1280)

Pope (1277–1280), original name Giangaetano Orsini.

A son of the powerful Matteo Rosso Orsini, a senator of Rome, Giangaetano became a cardinal in 1244 while still in his twenties. He joined Pope Innocent IV in his flight from Rome in 1246 and served papal interests in France, England, and Italy. In 1261 Urban IV named him cardinal-protector of the Franciscan Order, and he was one of four cardinals who crowned Charles I of Anjou as king of Sicily in 1265. Giangaetano was elected pope on 22 August 1277 at Viterbo, succeeding John XXI.

Nicholas opposed the political ambitions of Charles of Anjou and encouraged a stricter definition of poverty for the Franciscans in the constitution *Exiit qui seminat*, issued in 1279. Nicholas demanded that the Byzantine clergy renew the oath of union sworn at the Second Council at Lyons. He further insisted that those members of the Greek Orthodox clergy who had opposed the union receive absolution from

papal envoys, a move that stiffened Byzantine resistance to the union with the Latins. Nicholas died on 22 August 1280 at Soriano near Viterbo. In Dante's *Inferno* Nicholas appears in the eighth level of hell, tormented for simony.

–Christopher MacEvitt

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Nicholas IV (1227–1292)

Pope (1288–1292).

Born into a poor family near Ascoli Piceno, Italy, on 30 September 1227, Girolamo Masci joined the Franciscan Order at a young age, becoming minister-general of the order in 1274. Four years later he became cardinal of St. Pruden-ziana, and in 1281 he became bishop of Palestrina, where he cemented his alliance with the influential Colonna family. The college of cardinals had difficulty in choosing a successor to Honorius IV in 1287, being unable to resolve pro- and anti-Angevin disagreements. After eleven months, the cardinals chose Girolamo as a compromise candidate. The Franciscan at first refused the honor, but he accepted after the conclave chose him again in a second election.

Nicholas was a partisan of the Angevins: he crowned Charles II of Anjou as king of Sicily, ignoring the claims of James of Aragon, who actually ruled the island. He furthermore refused to crown Rudolf of Habsburg as Holy Roman Emperor, although Rudolf had been elected king of Germany at papal insistence. Nor did he accept Rudolf's son as king of Hungary, crowning instead Charles, son of Charles II of Anjou.

Nicholas was well aware of the precarious position of Outremer in the late thirteenth century, and he struggled to plan a crusade. The fall of the city of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) to the Mamlūks during his pontificate was a confirmation of his fears. The pope suggested uniting the Hospitallers and Templars into a single order, an idea that came to pass only too violently a little more than a decade after his death. Although Nicholas's crusading plans did not reach fruition, his support of missionaries to Asia and Ethiopia maintained religious contact with the Eastern world. Nicholas died on 4 April 1292 in Rome.

–Christopher MacEvitt

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Nicholas Lorgne (d. 1285)

Master of the Hospitallers (1277/1278–1285).

Nicholas enjoyed an illustrious career, starting as castellan of the Hospitallers' most important Syrian castles: Margat (1250/1254) and then Krak des Chevaliers (1254/1269). An inscription confirms his building activities at the latter.

During the mastership of Hugh Revel (1258–1277/1278), Nicholas occupied some of the order's highest offices in the East, serving consecutively as marshal of the central convent (1269–1271), grand preceptor of Acre (1271), marshal (1273), preceptor of Tripoli (1275), and grand preceptor (1277). After Hugh Revel's death (1277/1278), Nicholas was elected master. He presided over the general chapter that issued detailed statutes concerning the Hospitallers' conventual seal and defined the role of some of the central convent's high officials in the use of this seal (1278).

Nicholas corresponded regularly with King Edward I of England, and he served as arbiter in disputes involving Bohemund VII of Antioch-Tripoli and the Templars (1278) as well as the bishop of Tripoli (1278). In 1283 he joined the *bailli* (regent) of the kingdom of Jerusalem, the master of the Templars, and the marshal of the Teutonic Knights in concluding a truce with Qalāwūn, Mamlūk sultan of Egypt. Nicholas died in 1285 and was succeeded by John of Villiers.

–Jochen Burgtorf

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Nicolaus von Jeroschin (d. 1336/1341)

A clerical member of the Teutonic Order and author of the *Kronike von Pruzinlant*, a rhymed Middle High German chronicle that relates the history of the first 100 years of the order's activity in Prussia during the Baltic Crusades.

It is probable that Jeroschin was born around 1290 and that he was in Prussia from at least 1311 onward. He is

recorded as serving at Königsberg (mod. Kaliningrad, Russia) under Gottfried von Heimberg, commander there from 1326 to 1329, and was chaplain under Heimberg's successor, Dietrich von Altenburg. Jeroschin's first work, *Sent Adalbrechtes Leben*, was a vernacular life of St. Adalbert, a devotional work which was probably intended as a supplement to the *Passional*, a Middle High German collection of the lives of the saints, that survives only in two short fragments.

The *Kronike von Pruzinlant* is a translation of the Latin *Chronicon Terrae Prussiae* of Peter von Dusburg, and was commissioned by Luder von Braunschweig (grand master 1331–1335), with the express purpose of making the order's history accessible to a wider public. Jeroschin's chronicle, for which he provided his own introduction, a short epilogue, and a short supplement, was far more widely disseminated than Dusburg's original and is the main source for the early history of the order in Prussia. It is chiefly remarkable for its free and poetic use of language and for the introduction into the text of motives and themes taken from secular crusading literature. Jeroschin is thought to have died between 1336 and 1341.

—Mary Fischer

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Nicosia

Nicosia (mod. Lefkosia) was the capital of Cyprus from the late Byzantine period and continued as such under Latin (1192–1489) and Venetian (1489–1570) rule.

As a well-watered town, with the river Pediaios running through its center and with numerous cisterns, springs, and conduits, Nicosia compared favorably with the coastal cities of Cyprus in being free from malaria. Under the kings of the Lusignan dynasty it was the seat of government and developed rapidly. The royal palace, the palace of the Latin archbishops of Nicosia, the Latin cathedral of St. Sophia, and the various courts, such as the High Court, the Court of Burgesses, the court of the Syrians, and the Latin ecclesiastical courts, were all located there. In the thirteenth century the Franciscans and Dominicans and in the fourteenth century the Carmelites, Augustinians, and Crutched Friars established houses there. Their presence helped Nicosia become a regional intellectual center, with libraries and schools, and the Franciscan house was successful enough to be considered a *studium generale* by 1374. The Benedictines and Cistercians had monasteries and nunneries in the city, and the military orders of the Temple, the Hospital, and St. Thomas of Canterbury all had churches and establishments there. The Greek Church, despite suffering dispossession at the start of the Latin conquest, also came in time to establish monasteries and nunneries in and around the city.

At the time of the Latin conquest Nicosia was not walled, although it possessed a fortified citadel that was strengthened under King Hugh II. The construction of a circuit of walls began under King Peter I and was completed before 1373, but the new walls did not prevent the Genoese from capturing Nicosia in the wars of 1373–1374. Following the Genoese invasion the Margarita Tower was constructed on the perimeter of the walls under King Peter II, but the most radical reorganization of the city's defenses took place under the Venetians. In 1567 they demolished the old circuit of walls and constructed new ones, forming a perfect circle, with eleven bastions designed to withstand artillery bombardment. Many Latin and Greek churches and monasteries around the perimeter of Nicosia were demolished to make way for the new walls and to provide a clear field of fire for the artillery emplacements on the new walls, and numerous houses of the poor were also demolished in the process, leading to popular discontent.

Nicosia experienced political tribulations, social unrest, ecclesiastical strife, and natural disasters. An uprising of the Greeks against the Templars immediately after the Latin conquest in 1192 was bloodily suppressed, although it impelled the Templars to depart from Cyprus, which was then purchased by Guy, the founder of the Lusignan dynasty.

During the civil war of 1228–1232 between Latin noble factions, Nicosia was fought over by both the imperialist and the pro-Ibelin parties, and the former plundered churches, monasteries, and the houses of military orders. In 1261 Greek priests supporting the terms of the *Bulla Cypria*, which placed the Greek Orthodox Church under the jurisdiction of the Latin Church, were forced to take refuge in the palace of the Latin archbishop, and in 1312 an irate crowd of Greeks came close to storming this palace because of differences between the Greek bishops and the papal legate Peter of Pleine Chassaigne.

In 1373 Nicosia was sacked and pillaged by Genoese invaders. Mamlūk invaders did likewise in 1426 when they captured the city and destroyed its sumptuous royal palace, and in 1460 they captured it once again during the civil war between Queen Charlotte and her illegitimate brother James II, whom they supported.

As regards natural catastrophes, special mention should be made of the drought of 1296; the floods of 1330; earthquakes in 1303, 1453, 1478, 1481, 1491, 1508, 1524, and 1569; and plague in 1348, 1390–1392, and 1470–1472. These disasters did not fundamentally affect the expansion of Nicosia. On the eve of the Ottoman conquest of 1570 Nicosia probably had around 25,000 inhabitants, making it the most populous city in the Greek world.

Nicosia was not only the center of the kingdom's political, judicial, ecclesiastical, and intellectual life; its development owed much to its lively economic activity. Agricultural products such as wheat, wine, fruit, and meat were brought to its markets to provide for the growing population, and the supply and pricing of wheat in particular was subject to strict regulation. Textiles, silks, leather, wax, sugar, silver, and gold were produced and marketed in Nicosia, and the Venetians, Genoese, and Pisans all maintained *loggias* (merchants' lodgings) in the city. In 1483 the Dominican Felix Faber witnessed Christian and Muslim merchants from all over the world buying and selling spices, perfumes, dyes, and medicines there. The ground floors of the houses of the nobles generally had rooms serving as storage spaces for wine, wheat, oil, and other goods, with the living quarters on the upper floors. Although the streets were winding and narrow, legislation was passed and measures were taken to keep them clean of refuse, and in 1546 the Czech visitor Oldřich Préfát commented on the cleanliness of the streets.

Nicosia had a cosmopolitan population, comprising not only Latins and Greeks but also Maronites, Jacobites of the

Syrian Orthodox Church, Melkites and Nestorians originating from Syria, Copts and Ethiopians originating from Egypt and Africa, and Armenians who had come over from Cilicia. The members of all the above confessions maintained their own churches and monasteries in and around Nicosia, and under the Venetians the Armenians were prominent in the defense of the city, making up two of the six companies of soldiers guarding the palace of the Venetian lieutenant in 1507.

Neither the new Venetian walls nor the forces Venice had stationed there, reinforced by the local militia, prevented the powerful Ottoman army from storming Nicosia on 9 September 1570, after a siege lasting five weeks. The extent of the destruction that followed can be gauged from the fact that the Ottoman census of 1572 for Nicosia recorded no more than 235 tax hearths, or a population of 1,000 people remaining out of 25,000, leading one to conclude that over 20,000 of the city's inhabitants had been either killed or, for the most part, sold into slavery following the Ottoman conquest.

—Nicholas Coureas

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Nikopolis, Crusade of (1396)

A large crusade recruited from much of western Europe and Hungary, defeated by the Ottoman Turks near the frontier fortress of Nikopolis (mod. Nikopol, Bulgaria) in 1396.

The Turks had penetrated the Balkan peninsula during the 1360s and demonstrated that they were a major military power when they vanquished the Serbs at Kosovo Polje in 1389. A struggle followed between Hungary and the Ottomans for the domination of the principalities on both

Nikopolis, Crusade of (1396)



The Crusade of Nikopolis (1396)

sides of the Danube. The Turks had suzerainty over Serbia and the Bulgarian kingdom of Vidin, having annexed the other Bulgarian kingdom of Turnovo (including the stronghold of Nikopolis) in 1393. Vlad, voivod of Wallachia, sought Ottoman help against his rival Mircea the Great, who turned to King Sigismund of Hungary. Sigismund (of Luxembourg), a German, had acceded to the Hungarian throne on his marriage to Maria, queen of Hungary, in 1387.

The Turks launched raids north of the Danube from 1391 onward. The Hungarians mounted a retaliatory expedition in 1393, recapturing Nikopolis Minor on the north side of the river. King Sigismund was able to gauge the extent of the Ottoman menace, and called on the leaders of western Europe for assistance, sending an embassy the same year. Louis, duke of Orléans, Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, and John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, all pledged their support, while King Charles VI of France dispatched a small force under the constable of France, Count Philip of Eu. The following year, the three dukes sent their own ambassadors to the king of Hungary. Further east, the new Byzantine emperor, Manuel II Palaiologos, cast off his status as vassal of the Ottoman sultan Bayezid I, leading to the siege of his capital, Constantinople (mod. Istanbul, Turkey), by the Turks.

The Ottoman advance constituted a menace to Italian navigation in the Black Sea, and Venice joined the Christian coalition that was taking shape. In the spring of 1395, ambassadors of Sigismund of Hungary and Manuel II Palaeologos came to Venice and Paris to plan the expedition, to which Charles VI promised to add a French corps. However, at the end of the year, the dukes of Lancaster and Orléans withdrew from the project, believing that they could not leave France, even though a truce had been signed between England and France in 1392. Philip the Bold also decided he could not leave France; his place was taken by his eldest son, John, count of Nevers. Venice, Genoa, and the Hospitallers agreed to participate in the expedition, while the rival popes at Rome and Avignon issued crusade bulls.

During the spring of 1396, men took the cross throughout much of western Europe: the areas that participated included England, Germany, Savoy, and Italy, but France is the best documented. Poems by Eustache Deschamps and pamphlets by Philippe de Mézières were written in favor of the crusade. The unrealistic plan developed at the court of France was to expel the Ottoman Turks from Europe, restore the Latin Empire of Constantinople, and go on to recover the

Holy Land from the Mamlūk sultanate. The nominal head of the French army was John of Nevers, but Philip of Eu, Marshal Boucicaut, and Enguerrand of Coucy led their own troops, leaving France at different times and taking different routes. In July, the different Western forces assembled at Buda, where they joined the Hungarian army. The total Christian forces numbered between 15,000 and 20,000 men, according to modern estimates.

The plan of campaign elaborated with the Hungarians was to march down the Danube accompanied by a supply fleet as far as Nikopolis, where the Christian land forces were to meet a Genoese, Venetian, and Hospitaller naval force sailing upriver from the Black Sea. They would then go on to Constantinople to raise the Turkish siege. A small corps was diverted to Wallachia to restore Mircea to the throne.

In early September the crusaders reached Ottoman territory at Vidin, held by the Bulgarian prince Ivan Stratsimir, who surrendered the town; the Ottoman garrison was massacred. This was followed by an attack on Oryakhovo (Rahova), when the French knights raced to be first to reach the walls. The Turkish commander offered to surrender, but the French insisted on taking the place by storm. They massacred not only the Turks, but also the Orthodox population except for the richest citizens, who had to pay a ransom, and then burned the town.

The crusaders arrived at Nikopolis, a near-impregnable site protected by strong fortifications, around 10 September and immediately laid siege to it by land and from the river. The Genoese and Venetians (the Hospitaller fleet not having arrived) cut off communications by water. The French constructed ladders to be used in assaults, while the Hungarians dug two large mines up to the walls. However, siege machinery was in short supply, and the sources give no indication that the crusaders had artillery with them. Deluded by their early victories and the absence of any news of the sultan, the crusaders turned the siege into a blockade, spending their time in debauchery, with little thought of security.

When the crusaders entered Ottoman territory, Sultan Bayezid I was occupied with the siege of Constantinople. After receiving news of their arrival, he began to summon troops from his Asian and European dominions, and assembled these together with his Christian allies at Philippopolis (mod. Plovdiv, Bulgaria). He marched toward Nikopolis and established his camp not far from the Danube on 24 September. The same day, Mircea of Wallachia and Enguerrand of Coucy made a raid to reconnoiter the positions of their

enemies and had a victorious encounter against a small Turkish corps.

The battle took place the next day. Bayezid had chosen the place: he disposed his light cavalry and foot archers on the slopes of a hill beyond a wooded ravine, while the Serbs and Sipahi cavalry remained hidden behind the hill. As had been decided in Paris, the French formed the vanguard. They foolishly rushed ahead of the Hungarian and allied troops against the Ottoman light cavalry; many impaled their horses on prepared stakes and were forced to dismount, which began to spread panic in the Hungarian ranks. Nevertheless, this force of mounted and unmounted men was able to defeat the enemy infantry and attacked the cavalry. They thought they had gained victory, but when they reached the top of the hill, exhausted, they discovered the fresh forces of Bayezid. Then, according to the *Chronicle of Saint-Denis*, “the lion in them turned into a timid hare” [*Chronique du religieux de Saint-Denis*, ed. Louis Bellaguet, 6 vols. (Paris: De Crapelet, 1839–1852), 2:510]. The battle became a rout: Mircea and his Wallachians had already fled, and the French were either killed or taken prisoner as they tried to save themselves. The Hungarians had been attacked by the Serbs; Sigismund’s fall in a desparate *melee* was the signal for a general flight. Sigismund was able to escape on a boat, and eventually made his way back to Hungary via Constantinople and Ragusa (mod. Dubrovnik, Croatia).

The next day Bayezid took vengeance on his Christian prisoners for the killing of the Ottoman garrisons. Jacques de Heilly, who had fought for the Turks before, saved the lives of John of Nevers, Marshal Boucicaut, and some others. Eventually the Turks tired of cutting off heads, and the survivors were enslaved. With the support of King Charles VI, Philip the Bold entered negotiations with Bayezid for the release of his son. He raised a huge ransom with the help of Italian financiers, the Hospitallers, and the king of Cyprus, and sent it to Bayezid, along with tapestries of the story of Alexander.

The crusade of Nikopolis was a total failure, and the Ottomans were able to pursue their expansion in the Balkans. Military commanders failed to learn lessons from the battle for a long time. With the notable exception of John Hunyadi in the fifteenth century, they did not learn how to fight the Turks, while Boucicaut, who drew up the French plan of attack against the English at Agincourt in 1415, fell into the same trap there as at Nikopolis.

—Jacques Paviot

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Nikulás of Munkethverá (d. 1159)

Monk and later abbot (1155–1159) of the small Benedictine monastery of Munkethverá on Iceland, who visited Jerusalem between July 1149 and August 1153. After his return in 1154, Nikulás dictated to one of the monks of the monastery an account of his long journey from the north coast of Iceland to Jerusalem by sea via Norway to Denmark, overland through Germany across the Alps to Italy, and then again by sea from Bari to Outremer.

Nikulás's account survives in a fourteenth-century Icelandic manuscript (MS København, Det Arnamagæanske Institut, 194.8°), which includes another twelfth-century description of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem as well as texts describing the relics at other major cult sites in Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) and the West.

The account is unique for its details concerning the routes used by travelers and pilgrims from Scandinavia to Jerusalem in the twelfth century, descriptions of places and sights en route, distances, and time of travel. The itinerary has sometimes been ascribed to another Icelandic abbot, Nikulás Sæmundarsson, who in all probability was a fictitious personage invented by the Icelandic historian Finnus Johannæus in the 1770s. A few surviving verses of skaldic poetry written by Nikulás contain common crusading themes.

–Janus Møller Jensen

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Nivelon of Chérisy (d. 1207)

Bishop of Soissons (1176–1207), highest-ranking cleric on

the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), and subsequently archbishop of Thessalonica (1205–1207).

Nivelon took the cross in late 1199 or early 1200 and hosted three conferences at Soissons in 1200 and 1201 at which crusade leaders planned their strategy. In the winter of 1202–1203, Nivelon led the delegation that obtained papal absolution for the capture of Zara (mod. Zadar, Croatia). Later, along with other crusade leaders, he kept the army's rank and file ignorant of Pope Innocent III's prohibition of the diversion to Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey). Joined by other crusade clerics, he preached the righteousness of the crusaders' war against Constantinople in 1204, and his ship, the *Paradise*, led the assault on the city's harbor walls on 12 April. Following the capture of the city, he served as an imperial elector and was elevated to the archbishopric of Thessalonica (mod. Thessaloniki, Greece) in 1205. That same year he returned to France to recruit reinforcements for the Latin Empire, and in Soissons, which he enriched with relics stolen from Constantinople, he told his story to an unknown cleric (the Anonymous of Soissons) who produced the text *De terra Iherosolimitana*, which told of the crusade and Nivelon's role in bringing relics to the West. Nivelon died in 1207 in Italy while trying to return to the East.

–Alfred J. Andrea

See also: Fourth Crusade (1201–1204)

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Nizārīs

See Assassins

Non-Chalcedonian Churches

See Eastern Churches

Nöteborg, Treaty of (1323)

A peace treaty concluded on 12 August 1323 between the kingdom of Sweden and the republic of Novgorod.

Novgorod

The treaty ended a series of attacks on Novgorodian territory from Swedish Finland that are sometimes collectively referred to as the Third Swedish Crusade. The Novgorodians agreed to peace after they had stopped the Swedes' advance but proved unable to conquer their fortress at Viborg (mod. Vyborg, Russia). The treaty was concluded at the fortress of Orekhovets, called Nöteborg by the Swedes (mod. Shlissel'burg, Russia), which had been built by the Novgorodians in 1322 on an island that blocked the entrance to Lake Ladoga from the river Neva.

The treaty established for the first time the border between Swedish and Novgorodian territory on the Karelian Isthmus, dividing Karelia into a western part, which was integrated into Sweden, and an eastern part, in which the old center of Kexholm remained under the rule of Novgorod. In 1337 an uprising in Kexholm sparked off a new Swedish-Novgorodian war, which ended in 1339 without territorial changes. In 1347 Magnus II Eriksson, king of Sweden, launched a new crusade against Novgorod. The Swedes managed to conquer Nöteborg, but when Magnus failed to take Kexholm and again lost Nöteborg in 1349, the treaty was renewed in 1351 and remained in force until 1595.

—John H. Lind

See also: Baltic Crusades; Karelia; Novgorod; Sweden

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Novgorod

An independent city-republic in northwestern Russia (1136–1478), subsequently incorporated into the principality of Muscovy. As an important Orthodox power and overlord of pagan peoples, Novgorod was one of the main opponents of the German, Danish, and Swedish crusades in the eastern Baltic region.

The town of Novgorod developed toward the middle of the tenth century as a northern outpost of the Kievan state, serving as the traditional residence of the Kievan prince's eldest son until 1136. By this time the Novgorodians had expanded their territory from the region south of Lake Ladoga as far as the Arctic Ocean and the Urals in search of furs, for which there was a growing demand in western

Europe. In 1136 Novgorod's powerful boyars (aristocrats), who dominated the fur trade, broke loose from the control of Kiev and established a city republic, by expelling the prince appointed from Kiev, in order, henceforth, to elect and dismiss its princes from among members of the Rurikid dynasty.

The Russians of Novgorod were Christianized from Byzantium around the year 1000, but Finnic and other ethnic minorities on the periphery, such as the Votians and Ingrians (Izhorians) in the west and the Karelians in the north, were allowed to retain their traditional religions. Before the Baltic Crusades there was seemingly no well-defined border between these peoples and other Finnic and Baltic tribes to the west, from which Novgorod was occasionally able to exact tribute. Novgorod's main outpost in the southwest was the important town of Pskov, located south of Lake Peipus (Russ. *Chudskoe ozero*). With an extensive hinterland of its own bordering on the principality of Polotsk, Pskov often aspired to independence but was dependent on Novgorod in critical situations.

The Baltic Crusades touched Novgorodian spheres of interest on three fronts. The first was north of the Gulf of Finland, where from the 1140s Swedish and Danish crusaders were attempting to extend Latin Christianity still further east. The second was the southern shore of the Gulf of Finland, where Danes were active among the Estonians from the 1170s onward. The third front opened up to the southwest, when the German mission in Livonia began to expand from the 1190s, later supported by military power after the formation of the Order of the Sword Brethren. At first the German mission came into contact with the princes of Polotsk on the river Düna (Russ. *Dvina*), but as it turned its attention further northeast to the Estonian tribes, it also reached Novgorod's sphere of interest.

The early mission in this region often met with sympathy and a certain amount of collaboration from the Russians, who at the time found the rise of Lithuania more threatening. As late as 1236 Pskovites fought side by side with the Sword Brethren against the Lithuanians in the disastrous battle at Saule. By then Pope Gregory IX, wishing to force the Russians to accept church union, had called the Sword Brethren to account for collaborating with the "heretical" Russians. After the Sword Brethren were replaced by the Teutonic Order, Gregory issued a number of crusading bulls that directly or indirectly targeted Novgorod. As a result the Swedes attacked Novgorodian terri-

tory from Finland but were defeated on the Neva in July 1240. In 1241 the combined armies of the Danes and the Teutonic Order managed to conquer both Pskov and Kopor'e before being routed by the Novgorodians under the young prince Alexander Yaroslavich (Nevskii) on the ice of Lake Peipus in April 1242. Confronted with these setbacks and the sudden threat from the Mongols, Pope Gregory's successor, Innocent IV, reversed papal policy, trying instead to involve the Orthodox Russians in the crusading movement by targeting the Mongols. This policy, however, proved difficult to implement, and in the 1250s Pope Alexander IV began once more to authorize crusades against Novgorod.

Swedish expansion into Finland and Karelia ultimately led to the Treaty of Nöteborg (1323), which for the first time fixed the border between Novgorodian and Swedish territory. Two events in the wars of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are significant in showing how phenomena linked to the crusade idea were adopted in Novgorod. In 1268 Danish and German forces fought a battle with the Novgorodians at Wesenberg (mod. Cēsis, Estonia). In contrast to the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, the Novgorod chronicles describe this as a Russian victory. What is of interest here is the way that crusading imagery communicated itself to the Novgorodian authors. Contemplating several biblical references to the power of the cross, one of them deliberately uses the image of the cross against the crusader army, describing the fleeing crusaders as "accursed offenders against the cross" [*The Chronicle of Novgorod 1016–1471*, p. 103].

A different reflection of crusading came about in the aftermath of the unsuccessful crusade launched by King Magnus II Eriksson of Sweden against Novgorod in 1347–1351. One of its aims was to convert the still largely pagan Karelians and thereby detach them and their territory from Novgorod. Afterward the Novgorodians seem to have realized how dangerous it was for their hold on the Karelians that they should remain pagan. Toward the end of the fourteenth century, therefore, the Novgorodian authorities decided for the first time to use mission by the sword as a means of converting their pagan subjects. In a military expedition, during which many Karelians are reported to have been killed, Novgorod began to establish monasteries in the midst of the Karelian population, from which to convert them. This initiative constituted a virtual counter-crusade.

A final echo of the crusading movement in a Russian context may be seen in Novgorod's ultimate showdown with Muscovite autocracy in 1477–1478. Despite their shared confession both parties saw the contest as a holy war. The Novgorodians produced icons in which they depicted the most popular Russian saints fighting on their side against autocracy. For his part the Muscovite grand prince, Ivan III, allowed his theologians to persuade him that he was making war not on Christians but on apostates from the Orthodox faith, because "although the Novgorodians call themselves Christians, they act worse than infidels, planning to convert to the Latins" [Московский свод конца XVв., ed. Mikhail N. Tikhomirov (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1949), pp. 287–288].

—John H Lind

See also: Baltic Crusades; Karelia; Nöteborg, Treaty of (1323); Russia (Rus')

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Nūr al-Dīn (1118–1174)

Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd was the Turkish ruler of Aleppo and Damascus, best known for uniting most of the Muslim Near East against the Franks.

Nūr al-Dīn was the second son of Zangī (d. 1146), the ruler of Mosul and Aleppo, who captured the city of Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey) from the Franks in 1144. After the death of Zangī, Mosul and the territories of upper Mesopotamia were inherited by his eldest son, Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī (d. 1149), while Nūr al-Dīn received the western half of Zangī's territories, including Edessa and Aleppo. Inheriting only part of his father's lands reduced the resources Nūr al-Dīn could draw on for his campaigns, and relations between him and Sayf al-Dīn became temporarily strained until Nūr al-Dīn paid formal homage to his brother, who confirmed the eastern extent of his territories and charged him with the *jihād* (holy war) against the Franks. Thereafter, the generally cordial relations Nūr al-Dīn maintained with his brother enabled him to devote his attention entirely to his Syrian interests without having to worry about his eastern borders.

When the Armenian populace of Edessa heard of Zangī's death, they neutralized the city's Muslim garrison and appealed to their former Frankish ruler, Count Joscelin II. Nūr al-Dīn arrived at the city first, defeated the Franks, and crushed the Armenians.

In May 1147 Nūr al-Dīn and Mu'īn al-Dīn of Damascus repelled the Franks from the Hauran. Then, in July 1148, Damascus was attacked by the combined armies of the Second Crusade (1147–1149) and the kingdom of Jerusalem. Responding to appeals from Mu'īn al-Dīn, Nūr al-Dīn advanced on the city. In the face of this threat the Franks withdrew. In June 1149 Nūr al-Dīn attacked the region of Apamea in northern Syria and defeated the Franks near Inab. He then besieged Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey), where a treaty was made after he had taken Apamea (mod. Afāmiyah, Syria) and Harenc (mod. Ḥarim, Syria). In August Mu'īn al-Dīn died. Nūr al-Dīn attempted to intervene in Damascus, appealing to the city's inhabitants for support against the Franks, but instead they sought Frankish aid against him. Nūr al-Dīn encamped near Damascus, but on hearing that Joscelin II of Edessa had been captured he returned to Aleppo. In the summer of 1150, in cooperation with the Saljūq sultan of Rūm, Mas'ūd (d. 1155), Nūr al-Dīn attacked territories around Antioch, and by autumn he held the region downstream of Bira (mod. Birecik, Turkey), thus shifting the western border of Muslim lands from the Euphrates to the Orontes.

In 1151 Nūr al-Dīn advanced on Damascus again but could not prevent its inhabitants from making terms with the Franks. However, he did secure their nominal recognition of his sovereignty. In 1152 he took Tortosa (mod. Tartūs, Syria) temporarily, severing communications between the county of Tripoli and the principality of Antioch. To win Damascus to his side, Nūr al-Dīn cut off its supplies, while his agents engaged in propaganda. The city's ruler, Mujīr al-Dīn Uvak, appealed to the Franks, but Nūr al-Dīn acted first, entering Damascus in April 1154. There was some rioting, but he restored order and distributed provisions, and the city's leadership capitulated. Muslim Syria was now united under Nūr al-Dīn.

The following year Nūr al-Dīn subdued Baalbek, made treaties with the Franks of Jerusalem and Antioch, and intervened in the inheritance struggle that broke out after the death of Mas'ūd of Rūm. As a result he gained territories on the right bank of the Euphrates, including Bira. In the spring of 1156 he supported an attack made by troops from Damascus on Harenc. Eventually a treaty was concluded: Harenc remained in Frankish hands, but its revenues were split between them and Nūr al-Dīn. Then, in February 1157, King Baldwin III of Jerusalem raided the Golan (Jawlan). In April Nūr al-Dīn retaliated, sending troops to attack the town of Banyas. Its walls were breached, but hearing that Baldwin was marching to the rescue, Nūr al-Dīn ordered a withdrawal. Baldwin followed the Muslims to Galilee, where they ambushed him: the Frankish troops were captured, but Baldwin escaped. In July earthquakes struck the region, forcing Nūr al-Dīn to return to Damascus to repair its damaged defenses. Then, in October, he fell seriously ill. He was transferred to Aleppo, where he recovered, returning to Damascus in April 1158. There he mustered an army to take revenge for recent Frankish raids. An inconclusive engagement was fought near the Jordan in July; then, in December or January, Nūr al-Dīn fell ill a second time. Again he recovered, and learning of a proposed Frankish-Byzantine coalition, he fortified Aleppo and set out to meet the allies. Long negotiations followed, and in May 1159 Nūr al-Dīn concluded an alliance with Emperor Manuel I Komnenos, which included an agreement to cooperate against the Saljūq sultan of Rūm, Qilij-Arslān II (d. 1192). While the Byzantines attacked Eskişehir, Nūr al-Dīn occupied a number of Saljūq territories and cities. In 1160 Qilij-Arslān negotiated a truce.

While Nūr al-Dīn was in the north, Baldwin III of Jerusalem invaded Damascene territory. Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb,

Nūr al-Dīn's lieutenant there (and the father of Saladin), negotiated a three-month truce. When it expired, the Franks invaded again. In the autumn of 1161 Nūr al-Dīn returned and made a truce with Baldwin, before performing the *hajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca). Upon his return in 1162 he again fought the Franks near Harenc, but bad weather cut the battle short. In the spring of 1163 Nūr al-Dīn suffered a second setback when he was surprised by the Franks at the foot of Krak des Chevaliers and his army routed.

In early 1164 Nūr al-Dīn received an appeal for aid from Shāwar, the deposed vizier of Fāṭimid Egypt. In exchange for promises of a third of the revenues of Egypt and other inducements, Nūr al-Dīn sent troops under Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh, the brother of Ayyūb, to restore Shāwar to power. The new Egyptian vizier, Dirghām, appealed to the Franks, but, harassed by Nūr al-Dīn further north, they were unable to prevent Shīrkūh and his army from entering the Nile delta. Shāwar was restored but refused to fulfill his promises, although he eventually paid the costs of the expedition. Meanwhile, in August, Nūr al-Dīn had defeated the Franks near Harenc and taken the city. Banyas followed in October.

In January 1167 Shīrkūh set out for Egypt again. Meanwhile Nūr al-Dīn occupied Hunin, near Banyas. Shīrkūh returned in September, having fought and then come to terms with both Franks and Egyptians, and obtained a large payment from Cairo. Nūr al-Dīn then took a number of fortresses on the coastal plain. He planned to take Beirut but was unable to because of dissensions in his army.

In 1168 the Franks attacked Egypt. The Fāṭimid caliph, al-ʿĀḍid (d. 1171), appealed to Nūr al-Dīn for aid, and in December Shīrkūh set out with an army. The Franks withdrew, and Shīrkūh entered Cairo in January 1169. Shāwar was executed, with Shīrkūh becoming the new vizier. He died shortly after and was succeeded by his nephew Saladin.

In April 1170 Nūr al-Dīn, apparently concerned about Saladin's ambitions, sent Ayyūb to remind his son of his loyalties. In June another earthquake shook Syria. Nūr al-Dīn spent time overseeing repairs, and then, in September, following the death of his brother Quṭb al-Dīn, who had succeeded Sayf al-Dīn at Mosul, he intervened in the succession, confirming the authority of Quṭb al-Dīn's son Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī II (d. 1180).

In September 1171 Saladin suppressed the Fāṭimid caliphate of Egypt. Then he attacked Kerak in Frankish Transjordan, while Nūr al-Dīn attacked the county of Tripoli. However, when Kerak offered to surrender, Saladin with-

drew, citing unrest in Cairo as an excuse, although it seems more likely that he was reluctant to remove obstacles between his territory and that of Nūr al-Dīn. The angry Nūr al-Dīn announced his intention of deposing his subordinate, but he relented when Saladin reaffirmed his loyalty.

In the autumn of 1172 Nūr al-Dīn again repelled Frankish raids in the Hauran and intervened in northern Syria, where Qilij Arslān, obeying a warning from Manuel Komnenos, had refused Nūr al-Dīn aid. Nūr al-Dīn took several Saljūq territories on the right bank of the Euphrates, including Marash (mod. Karamanmaraş, Turkey) in July 1173. Soon afterward Qilij Arslān sued for peace, and Nūr al-Dīn instructed him to participate in the *jihād*. Meanwhile, Nūr al-Dīn had instructed Saladin to attack Kerak again. Saladin obeyed in May 1173, but upon hearing at the end of July that Nūr al-Dīn had come south and was two days' march away, he retired, claiming that his father was ill and that he was thus needed to keep order in Cairo. This time Nūr al-Dīn accepted his excuse, but he began to prepare an expedition to bring Saladin to heel. He set out for Egypt in early May 1174 but fell ill again. He died on 15 May 1174.

Like those of his father, Zangī, Nūr al-Dīn's military forces consisted of a personally maintained core regiment (Arab. *ʿaskar*), consisting of cavalry made up of Turkish *mamlūks* (slave soldiers) and free Kurdish troops, supplemented by Turcoman and Arab tribal auxiliaries. All of these troops were usually skilled with both bows and close-combat weapons. Nūr al-Dīn's armies were then usually augmented by the *ʿaskars* of his subordinates and locally recruited cavalry armed for close combat. In siege operations infantry would also be employed.

It is not clear how far Nūr al-Dīn's *jihād* against the Franks was motivated by genuine piety and zeal, and how far it was a political tool for him. After his first two bouts of illness and his defeat at Krak des Chevaliers in 1163, he is said to have adopted a pious, ascetic lifestyle. However, he still spent much of his time campaigning against other Muslims as well as against the Franks. Whatever the truth of this, he was viewed by many of his contemporaries as a great *mujāhid* (holy warrior), and his tomb in Damascus remains a site of popular veneration.

—Niall Christie

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Obodrites

See Abodrites

Occitan Literature

Three epic chronicles and an extensive corpus of troubadour lyrics in Occitan, the Romance language of medieval southern France (also known as Provençal or *lange d'oc*), refer to crusades to the East, the reconquest in Iberia, and the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229).

Epic Chronicles

According to the Limousin chronicler Geoffrey of Vigeois, a knight named Gregory Bechada wrote a massive volume over a period of twelve years, commissioned by a local bishop and produced with advice from one Gaubert the Norman, narrating events of the First Crusade (1096–1099). To make himself understood by the populace he wrote in the vernacular, using popular meter. Although it could have been commissioned at any time between 1106 and 1137, it seems most likely to have been prompted by a recruitment drive by Prince Bohemund I of Antioch in 1106 to drum up support for the crusades.

Bechada's text partially survives in a manuscript fragment (MS. Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, 117): this is a late twelfth-century reworking of Bechada's original, preserving many of its features. The fragment describes the battle of Antioch, highlighting the role of Occitan knights, particularly Bechada's patron Gouffier of Lastours, as well as southern Norman knights, especially Bohemund. Forming part of what was known as

the *Canso d'Antiocha*, it contains some eyewitness testimony, and represents an independent if limited source. Bechada's vernacular composition is the earliest history writing in Occitan and arguably also predates all such writing in French.

The largely pro-crusade author Guilhem de Tudela modeled the first part of his song of the Albigensian Crusade, the *Chanson de la Croisade albigeoise* (1210–1213), on a version of the *Canso d'Antiocha*, appropriating his predecessor's authority and implying that the Albigensian Crusade had the same kind of justification as the First Crusade. The anonymous and vehemently pro-Southern continuator of the song (1218–1219) retains the same form, though his ultra-pure Occitan language, in contrast to Guilhem's admixture of gallicisms, is a political statement as much as a sign of his Toulousain origins. Sidestepping the problem of heresy, he represents the war in terms of a conflict of *paratge* (a blend of the lord's natural right of inheritance with a principle of parity and social inclusion) and God on one side, and Evil and the papal army on the other.

Troubadour Lyric

Several lyric troubadours, such as Duke William IX of Aquitaine, Jaufrè Rudel, Peire Vidal, Gaucelm Faidit, Giraut de Borneil, and Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, experienced crusades to Outremer or Spain at first hand. Lyric themes concerning crusades overseas or in Spain include exhortations to follow the example of dynastic or legendary forebears and support, out of duty to one's supreme overlord, and to avenge God's suffering and recover the dishonorable loss of Christ's patrimony, in particular the holy places. Trou-

badours excoriate the hated enemies of Christendom, criticize and lament the failures or vacillations of Western rulers and the cowardice and manifold excuses of those who stay behind (not without coming up with some themselves), and praise those who abandon material interests to go or who go for spiritual reasons rather than plunder. They respond to many specific events, such as the disasters of Hattin (1187) or Alarcos (1195), the Treaty of Gisors (1188), the conquest of Constantinople (1204), and the victory of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212). They see crusade as pilgrimage, and as a test of valor. They express the pain of separation from a lover, whether in the West or the Holy Land, and the fear of various dangers: a lover's disloyalty, the sea crossing, invasions from the East, the coming of Antichrist. Love and crusade are often intertwined, and Giraut de Borneil defends the compatibility of the crusades and the courtly way of life. Irreverent and burlesque treatment of the crusades is not uncommon.

No Occitan lyrics survive from the period of the First Crusade, though the chronicler Orderic Vitalis reports that William IX of Aquitaine regaled his audience with comic songs about his crusading exploits in 1101–1102. Jaufrè Rudel and Cercamon promoted the Second Crusade (1147–1149), whereas Marcabru criticized Jaufrè Rudel as being enslaved by sexual desire while taking the cross, admonished the French crusaders about love and particularly women who loved more than one man (perhaps an oblique reference to gossip about Eleanor of Aquitaine), and after the crusade's failure at Damascus in 1148, extolled the reconquest in Iberia as a preferable source of spiritual purification. Between these crusades, Peire Bremon lo Tort was associated with William Longsword, marquis of Montferrat, who died at Ascalon in July 1177.

Troubadours of the Third Crusade (1189–1192), dismayed at the loss of the holy places, and frustrated by delays in a Western response, include Bertran de Born, Peire Vidal, Giraut de Borneil, Gaucelm Faidit, Peirol, and Folquet de Marselha. King Richard the Lionheart is a hero, though not for all of them. An anonymous troubadour promotes the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), concerned at the loss of the Holy Land, from Tyre to Egypt [Zenker, *Peire d' Auvergne*, p. 798]. Peire Vidal, Gaucelm Faidit, and above all Raimbaut de Vaqueiras center their attention on Boniface of Montferrat, whose court in Constantinople became a center of literary activity also involving Elias Cairel, a lady Isabella, and the French poet and diplomat Conon de Béthune. From 1207 to

1215, Elias Cairel, Aimeric de Peguilhan, Pons de Capduoill, and Guilhem Figueira maintained awareness of the crusades to the East. Troubadours of the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221) include Elias Cairel, Tomier, Palaizi, Peirol, and Peire Cardenal.

Falquet de Romans, Guilhem Figueira, and Peire Cardenal comment on the Crusade of Emperor Frederick II in 1228–1229, while subsequently Bertran d'Alamanon, Peire Bremon Ricas Novas, Duran Sartor de Paernas, and others express the need for further crusading efforts. The period spanning Saint Louis's two crusades (1248–1267) incited interventions by troubadours such as Lanfranc Cigala, Bertran d'Alamanon, Austorc d'Aorlhac, Bernart de Rovenac, and many others. The Iberian reconquest inspired vehement responses from troubadours such as Marcabru, Peire d'Alvernha, Gavaudan, Guiraut Riquier, and Matieu de Caerci.

Numerous troubadours express passionate responses to the Albigensian Crusade. Raimon Escrivan composed an imaginary, exultant *tenso* (debate song) between two siege engines, evoking the siege of Toulouse in 1218: Simon of Montfort's engine, a so-called cat, had approached the city walls and was repulsed by the Toulousains, when women wielding a trebuchet fired the rock that dealt Simon his deathblow. Guilhem Figueira inveighs at length against "treacherous Rome," the pope, and all the false, cupidinous clergy who have sanctioned the murderous northern invasion. Guilhem Montanhagol censures hypocritical clerics who clamp down on the Occitan way of life and exploit opportunities for extortion, while Peire Cardenal declares that inquisitorial clerics are worse than kites and vultures in scenting the rotting flesh of wealth to be scavenged from the innocent. After the Treaty of Paris in 1230, which led to the annexation of much of the south to the French Crown, Bernart Sicart de Marvejols laments the power of the French occupiers, whom the southerners had to address humbly as "Sire," receiving merciful treatment only as long as they give them generous supplies: "Ah, Toulouse and Provence and the land of Agensa, Béziers and Carcassonne, how I used to see you, and how I see you now!" [Riquer, *Los Trovadores*, 3:1203–1206]. And in a last flicker of revolt, during the uprising of 1242 Bernart de Rovenac seeks to rouse resistance by reviling the flabby English and Aragonese kings who fail to come to the aid of the south or to defend their own territorial rights.

—Linda M. Paterson

See also: Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229); France

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Odo of Burgundy (d. 1266)

Odo (Fr. Eudes) of Burgundy, count of Nevers (1230–1266), was the eldest son of Hugh IV, duke of Burgundy. Perhaps to fulfill a vow made by his father, in the autumn of 1265 he led a force of fifty knights to the Holy Land, one of the last barons to do so. Among them was Erard of Valery who had participated in the first crusade of King Louis IX of France and who was renowned as one of the best knights of France.

Odo and his force helped to safeguard the city of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) when the Mamlūk sultan Baybars I made a demonstration before it on 1 June 1266. He died in Acre on 4 August 1266, aged thirty-six, leaving all his goods to hospitals and religious institutions, and for the payment of his retinue. He was buried in the church of St. Nicolas in Acre and soon people came to venerate his tomb. The author known as the Templar of Tyre described him as "a holy man from the high barons of France" [*Cronaca del Templare di Tiro (1243–1314)*, trans. Laura Minervini (Napoli: Liguore, 2000), p. 104]. The poet Rutebeuf wrote a *Complainte du comte Eudes de Nevers* (1266–1267), lamenting the loss of a valiant and wise knight and grieving that Acre was now without its defender.

—Jacques Paviot

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Odo of Châteauroux (d. 1273)

Odo (Fr. Eudes) was a crusade propagandist and papal legate on the crusade of King Louis IX of France to the East (1248–1254).

Born probably at Châteauroux (France) around 1190, Odo became a student in Paris around 1210. He was a master before 1229 and chancellor of the University of Paris between 1238 and 1244, when he was appointed cardinal bishop of Tusculum. Odo was deeply involved in the crusade movement both before and during his time as cardinal. He personally preached the cross against the Albigensian heretics in 1226, against the Mongols around 1240, and against the Muslims in the Holy Land between the 1230s and 1260s. As cardinal he masterminded the propaganda campaign for Louis IX's first crusade and accompanied the king to the East as papal legate. He also actively supported Charles I of Anjou's crusade against the Staufen dynasty in southern Italy. Odo of Châteauroux was one of the most prolific writers of sermons in the thirteenth century, many of which reflect his own activities as crusade propagandist.

—Christoph T. Maier

See also: Crusade of Louis IX to the East (1248–1254)

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Odo of Deuil (d. 1162)

A monk of Saint-Denis near Paris and author of *De profectioe Ludovici Septimi in Orientem*, a narrative of the French expedition during the Second Crusade (1147–

Odo of Pins (d. 1296)

1149). Odo (Fr. *Eudes*) accompanied King Louis VII on this crusade as royal chaplain and provisioner of the army. His short but important work was addressed to his abbot, Suger.

The dominant features of Odo's narrative are its near-hagiographical approach to Louis VII (whose crusade was a complete failure) and its extreme anti-Greek bias. Both features explain why he only covered the campaign and its preparations from 1145 up to spring 1148, omitting the king's disastrous sojourns in Antioch and in the kingdom of Jerusalem. Acutely aware, as was Suger, that the crusade left unfinished business, he recorded details and advice useful to subsequent crusaders.

Virtually unknown to his contemporaries, the work survives in a single copy (MS Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale Albert Ier, 4190–4200). Perhaps inspired by Pope Eugenius III's interest during a visit by Louis and Odo to Rome in October 1149, he probably wrote the account to influence attempts by Suger, in 1150, to organize a new crusade. Appointed abbot of Compiègne in 1150, Odo succeeded Suger at Saint-Denis in 1151, but the community was factionalized and his abbacy marked by discord.

–K. S. B. Keats-Rohan

See also: Second Crusade (1147–1149)

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Odo of Pins (d. 1296)

Master of the Hospitallers (1293/1294–1296).

Although little is known about Odo's early career, it is on record that in 1273 he functioned as draper in the Hospitallers' central convent in Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel). After the death of Master John of Villier (1293/1294), Odo was the first master to be elected in the order's new headquarters in Limassol (Cyprus). Odo's mastership was overshadowed by accusations levied against him at the papal Curia. In 1295 William of Villaret, Hospitaller prior of Saint-Gilles, and Boniface of Calamandrana, grand preceptor of the West, presented Pope Boniface VIII with complaints concerning Odo's conduct in office and submitted reform proposals concerning the order's leadership structures. The pope communicated the allegations to Odo and admonished him. The true reason for the opposition against Odo was probably jealousy. His two accusers had not participated in the magisterial election of 1293/1294 because they had been tied up by the order's affairs in the West; their careers had been considerably more illustrious than Odo's and they had every reason to expect that they would be considered for the order's highest post. Odo died before he was able to defend himself (1296) and was succeeded by William of Villaret.

–Jochen Burgtorf

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Old French Crusade Cycle

See Crusade Cycle

Old French Literature

See French Literature

Olgerd

See Algirdas

Oliver of Paderborn (d. 1227)

A crusade preacher, participant in the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221), and historian.

Oliver became head of the cathedral school in Cologne in 1201. While studying in Paris, he was probably drawn into recruiting for the Albigensian Crusade around 1207. He was appointed to preach the Fifth Crusade throughout the archdiocese of Cologne in 1213 and attended the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). He and his co-workers soon became responsible for organizing crusade funding and departures in the archdiocese. Arriving in Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) in the summer of 1217, Oliver joined others in urging the crusading army to attack Egypt. Throughout the crusade, he acted as the spiritual leader of the Frisian and German contingents and also wrote proselytizing letters to the sultan and learned men of Egypt. Oliver also reworked his newsletters to other crusade recruiters in Europe into an account of the campaign and the conditions and various peoples in the East, known as the *Historia Damiatina*. Widely popular, the work was quickly utilized by chroniclers in France, Germany, England, and the Low Countries. Both in its original form and as part of an anonymous work meant to complete the *Historia Iherosolimitana* of Oliver's colleague, James of Vitry, the *Historia Damiatina* was mined by authors of treatises intended for potential missionaries and crusaders, including the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais, dedicated to the crusader Louis IX, king of France.

Oliver also wrote other less well-known histories of the Holy Land and previous crusades, which drew on the histories of Fulcher of Chartres and William of Tyre: the *Historia Terre Sancte*, *Historia de ortu Jerusalem et eius variis eventibus*, and *Historia regum Terre Sancte*. Oliver may have used his histories for apologetic and propagandistic purposes while recruiting for the delayed Crusade of Emperor Frederick II (1227–1229), which he promoted in collaboration with other reformers, including James of Vitry, Conrad, bishop of Hildesheim, and Conrad of Urach. Oliver's interest in missions to Eastern Christians and Muslims later influenced Honorius III's and Gregory IX's efforts in this direction, and his knowledge of conditions in the East certainly affected the crusading plans of Frederick II. Oliver also worked closely with the grand master of the Teutonic Order, Hermann von Salza, to obtain papal and imperial privileges to strengthen the order for the approaching imperial crusade and the struggle against pagans in the Baltic region. Oliver was elected bishop of Paderborn in April 1225, but resigned in September after being appointed cardinal of Santa Sabina, a position he held until his death.

—Jessalynn Bird

See also: Fifth Crusade (1217–1221)

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Order of St. John

See Hospital, Order of the

Orderic Vitalis (1075–c. 1141)

English-born author of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, a work that occupied some forty years of his life (until 1141) as a monk of St. Evroul in Normandy. Orderic's outstandingly important Latin chronicle, chiefly dealing with the history of the Normans, gives invaluable insight into the society that produced the crusades.

Fair-minded and compassionate, Orderic handled both written and oral sources scrupulously, though he was capable of embroidering in the tradition of the *chansons de geste* (epic poems). His account of the First Crusade (1096–1099) is borrowed wholesale from the *Historia Ierosolimitana* of his

Ösel

friend Baldric of Bourgueil. It also provides additional material gleaned from the accounts of eyewitnesses (some of whom clearly knew the *Chanson d'Antioche*), including, probably, his account of the speech of Pope Urban II at Clermont. Particularly interested in the history of the principality of Antioch, Orderic followed events in Outremer down to Prince Raymond of Poitiers's submission to Emperor John Komnenos in 1137. His account is especially valuable for his knowledge of Breton and Norman participants who are lost to other crusade sources. He also wrote knowledgeably about Norman exploits in Moorish Spain from 1104 to 1134.

—K. S. B. Keats-Rohan

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Orekhovets

See Nöteborg, Treaty of

Ortoqid

See Artūqids

Ösel

Ösel (mod. Saaremaa, Estonia) is an island off the western coast of Livonia (the second largest in the Baltic Sea), conquered in the course of the Baltic Crusades. In the thirteenth century, the Latin word *Osilia* seems to have designated the entire group of islands around Saaremaa, in contrast to the mainland.

At the beginning of the Baltic Crusades, Ösel was one of the most powerful and best organized territories of the Estonians. The Osilians were efficient and warlike seamen, and in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries their raids against the Swedish and Danish coasts were notorious. The

remains of impressive hillforts at Carmel (mod. Kaarma), Volde (mod. Valjala), Peude (mod. Pöide), and Moon (mod. Muhmu) also testify to a remarkable concentration of power. The Osilians appear as the fiercest opponents of the German crusader settlement in Riga, and they resisted Christianity longer than other Estonian tribes. They successfully fought off invasions by the Danes (1206 and 1222) and Germans from Riga (1216) and took the offensive against the crusaders, blockading the river Düna and later harassing a crusader fleet as it left Livonia. In 1227 the Osilians accepted Christianity and concluded peace with Riga.

The island was initially divided equally between the archbishop of Riga, the town of Riga, and the Order of the Sword Brethren. The archbishop's share soon absorbed that of the town, and both sections (the central parishes) became the property of the new bishopric of Ösel-Wiek, while that of the Sword Brethren (the western and eastern ends of the island) passed to the Teutonic Order. Castles were erected by the bishop at Arensburg (mod. Kuressaare) and by the order at Peude.

The Osilians retained a considerable degree of autonomy throughout the thirteenth century. In 1241, after a revolt, the Livonian master of the Teutonic Order agreed that a bailiff should visit the island once a year to resolve court cases in concordance with the local chieftains. A treaty in 1255 regulated criminal procedures and military obligations. The Osilians built their first churches in the vicinity of the hillforts, which is further evidence of the persistence of local power structures in the thirteenth century. The last great uprising of the Osilians occurred in 1343 (in connection with the St. George's Night Revolt on the mainland), in which they destroyed the castle at Peude. After their subjection, the Osilians were obliged to erect a new castle for the order in Soneburg (mod. Maasilinn), which remained the center of the administration of the Teutonic Order on the Estonian islands.

The island remained divided between the bishop of Ösel-Wiek and the Teutonic Order throughout the Middle Ages. Although the center of the bishopric was on the mainland at Hapsal (mod. Haapsalu), Arensburg gained importance as one of the bishop's strongholds. Disputed episcopal successions and conflicts with the Teutonic Order in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries created unrest in the region. The last bishop of Ösel-Wiek, Johannes Münchhausen, sold his bishopric to Denmark in 1559. The last bailiff of Soneburg, Heinrich Wulf Lüdinghausen, tried to sell the bailiwick of the

Teutonic Order to Denmark (but never received payment for it) and acted until 1564 as the king's governor on the island. Denmark remained in possession of the whole island until 1645, when it came under Swedish rule.

—Juhan Kreem

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Otranto, Capture of (1480)

The capture of Otranto, a city in Apulia in the kingdom of Naples, by an Ottoman naval expedition, caused consternation in the Christian West and intensified calls for a crusade against the Turks.

In the summer of 1480 the Ottoman fleet set sail from Vlorë in Albania under the command of Gedik Ahmed Paşa, described by Giovanni Albino Lucano, author of an account of the Ottoman invasion from around 1495, as "the most famous Admeto" [*Gli Umanisti e la guerra otrantina*, p. 54]. Watched by the Venetians, who made no move to interfere, the Ottoman fleet crossed to the Apulian coast and landed near Otranto. Advancing toward the city, the Ottomans took between 600 and 700 prisoners and shipped them off to *il Gran Turco* (the Ottoman sultan) according to Ilarion of Verona, who wrote a letter to Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, cardinal of Siena, in the autumn of 1480 describing the fall of the city. Rejecting the Ottoman call to surrender, the few, poorly armed defenders dug in. Pounded by the Ottoman cannon, Otranto fell on 11 August. Many of its citizens were slaughtered and the city pillaged. Estimates of the exact size of the Ottoman forces vary in contemporary Italian accounts: Ilarion gives figures of 20,000 soldiers and 200 to 500 ships, while others give lower figures.

After the conquest, the Ottomans strengthened the city's defenses and raided the surrounding countryside, attacking Lecce, Brindisi, and Taranto. Ottoman success terrified the Italians, and some feared the fall of the kingdom of Naples or even of the whole of Italy to the Ottomans. Ferrante, the king of Naples, sent an army in September 1480 that prevented further Ottoman advance, and leaving a small garrison in Otranto, the main Ottoman forces sailed back to Vlorë. Ferrante demanded an Ottoman surrender and the payment of compensation for the damage inflicted on the kingdom of Naples. This was rejected by the Ottomans, who instead proposed peace based on retention of Otranto and secession of Brindisi, Lecce, and Taranto. To back up their demands, the Ottomans threatened a major invasion of Italy the following year if Ferrante did not comply. Ferrante appealed to Pope Sixtus IV and the other Italian powers for help. Amid an upsurge of crusader spirit in face of this infidel danger very close to home, an alliance between the pope, the dukes of Milan and Ferrara, the kings of Naples and Hungary, Genoa, and Florence (but without Venice) was concluded in September 1480. The pope extended his calls for a crusade. France was willing to join, but England was not. In the face of this mounting hostility, the Ottomans, unable to maintain their hold on the Italian mainland, withdrew in 1481.

—Kate Fleet

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Otto of Freising (d. 1158)

Bishop of Freising (1137–1158) and chronicler.

Otto was born around 1110, the younger son of Margrave Leopold IV of Austria (d. 1141) by his marriage to Agnes, daughter of Henry IV, Holy Roman Emperor. He became a monk at the Cistercian abbey of Morimond in 1133 and in 1137 was chosen bishop of Freising in Bavaria. He played a prominent part in the Second Crusade (1147–1149), serving under his half-brother, the German king Conrad III. He was also one of the most important historical authors of his time; he wrote a world chronicle, the *Historia de duabus civitatibus*, in 1143–1146, and the first two books out of an intended

Ottokar II of Bohemia (d. 1278)

four of the deeds of his nephew Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa, entitled *Gesta Friderici imperatoris* (begun in 1156). After Otto's death in 1158 this work was completed by his secretary Rahewin.

After the German army of the Second Crusade had crossed the Bosphorus in October 1147, Conrad III split his forces, leading the main army into the center of the Anatolian plateau but sending Bishop Otto with many of the poorer pilgrims and noncombatants, along with a small escort, on a supposedly safer route along the western and southern coast, where at least some of the territory was in Byzantine hands. However, Otto's force was ambushed by the Turks at Laodikeia in Phrygia in December and almost wiped out, although the bishop himself escaped. It is unclear whether he then accompanied Conrad to the Holy Land, although in book 1 of the *Gesta Friderici imperatoris* he gives a brief account of the king's time there in 1148.

Despite his personal participation, Otto's account of the Second Crusade is very disappointing, and in particular he says nothing of his own role, details of which must be gleaned from other sources. Similarly, while mentioning Conrad's discussions with King Baldwin III of Jerusalem as to the strategy to be pursued, he refuses to discuss the failure of the siege of Damascus. His brief account of the First Crusade (1096–1099) in his earlier chronicle is almost wholly unoriginal, derived from the earlier work of Ekkehard of Aura, although he adds a few details to the latter's account of the subsequent expedition of 1101, and here he briefly describes Muslim beliefs. However, in book 7 of the *Historia de duabus civitatibus* he does discuss the embassies to the papal court from the Armenian catholicos and from the Franks in the East led by Bishop Hugh of Jabala in 1145, after the fall of Edessa. Otto was also the first Western writer to mention the legendary Prester John, the priest-king of the East who was supposedly keen to help the Christians of Jerusalem.

—G. A. Loud

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Ottokar II of Bohemia (d. 1278)

King of Bohemia (1253–1278) and leader of two crusades to Prussia. Ottokar (*Cz. Přemysl Otakar*) was born about 1230, the second son of King Wenceslas I (1230–1253).

Margrave of Moravia and heir apparent since 1247, Ottokar was accepted as duke of Austria by the nobles, clergy, and towns of that country in 1251, and he married Margaret, sister of the last Babenberg duke of Austria and Styria. Good contacts with the Teutonic Order helped him to strengthen his authority. Succeeding his father as king of Bohemia in September 1253, Ottokar tried to please both papal and imperial partisans by crusading in support of the Teutonic Order. At the instigation of Bishop Bruno of Olomouc, a visit to Bohemia was made in 1254 by Poppo von Osternohe, grand master of the Teutonic Order, and Heinrich von Streitberg, bishop-elect of Sambia, and in December Ottokar left for Prussia. From January to March 1255 he campaigned in Sambia, together with his brothers-in-law Otto III of Brandenburg and Henry of Meißen. During this campaign the town of Königsberg (mod. Kaliningrad, Russia), the future capital of Prussia, was founded: its name ("The King's Mountain") was bestowed in honor of Ottokar. Königsberg was first mentioned in 1256, and the seal of its Teutonic commandery that is extant from 1262 shows Ottokar as king with crown, scepter, and globe.

Shortly after his return Ottokar promised yet another crusade, but war with Hungary took precedence. By his great victory in 1260 over Béla IV, king of Hungary, Ottokar won Styria, another part of the Babenberg inheritance. Finally, in 1269–1270 he made himself master of Carinthia and extended his dominions to the Adriatic Sea by the acquisi-

tion of Carniola. With the king's help, the military orders built up their commanderies in his lands. Meanwhile, the defeat of the Teutonic Knights by the Samogitians in 1260 made another crusade to Prussia desirable. Ottokar's brother-in-law Otto III of Brandenburg went there in 1266–1267. Ottokar himself postponed his departure because he wanted the papacy to appoint Bishop Bruno of Olomouc as archbishop for his realm. This was finally agreed to by the papal legate Cardinal Guido at Vienna in May 1267. After a treaty with the Teutonic Order in September 1267 regarding future conquests Ottokar went to Prussia (December 1267 to February 1268). However, the king returned, using the incipient thaw as an excuse, when he learned that Pope Clement IV would not confirm the decisions of the Vienna synod.

In 1273 the German electors, who distrusted the Czech monarch, chose Rudolf of Habsburg, a Swabian count with limited resources, as the next king of the Romans. In vain Ottokar's counselor Bruno of Olomouc (a son of Count Adolf von Schauenburg, who had been present when the Teutonic Order was founded in the Holy Land) pointed out to Pope Gregory X that a powerful emperor was needed to lead successful crusades against the pagans on the eastern frontiers of the empire. To counter such propaganda and to obtain papal goodwill for his imperial coronation, Rudolf himself promised a crusade. Rudolf then outlawed Ottokar and invaded Austria. There Ottokar's strict government and heavy taxation had fostered resentment, and as a consequence, he was deserted and defeated. In November 1276 he had to renounce possession of all territories except Bohemia and Moravia. Though royal marriages were planned to heal the breach, Ottokar soon tried to reassert himself. But he was defeated by Rudolf at Dürnkrut in eastern Austria and killed on the battlefield on 26 August 1278. Bohemia and Moravia passed to his infant son Wenceslas II, whereas the Habsburg family remained firmly established in Austria and Styria.

—Karl Borchart

See also: Baltic Crusades; Bohemia and Moravia

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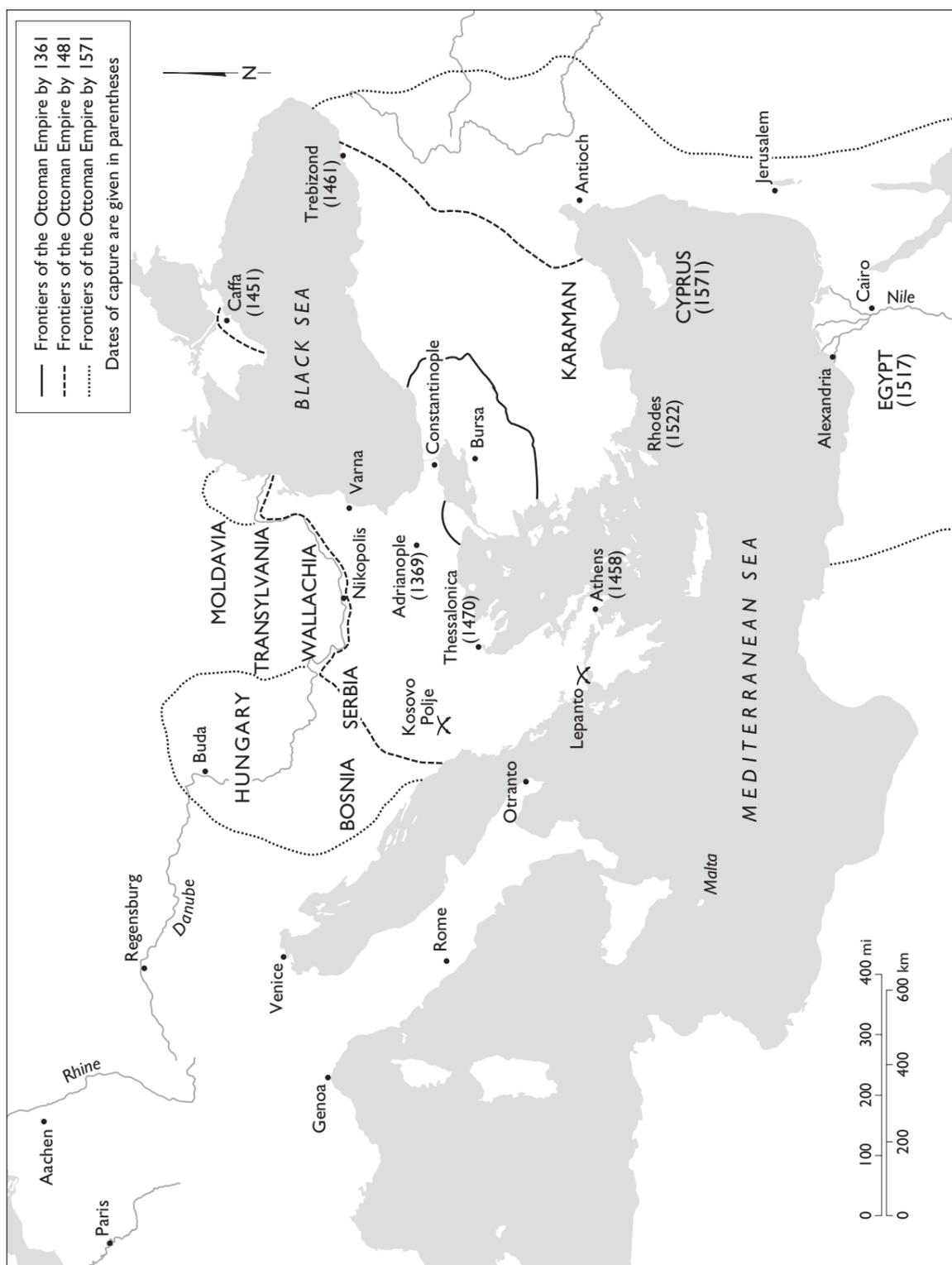
Ottoman Empire

Founded in the late thirteenth century in northwestern Anatolia by Osman (d. c. 1324), the Ottoman Empire developed rapidly from a small and insignificant Turkish state into a great empire with its center at Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey), the former Byzantine capital. The empire became a magnet for merchants from East and West, and as its power grew, it came to represent not merely a source of profit but also a source of great fear to Western Christendom, where terrible rumors spread after the Turkish capture of Constantinople in 1453 that Ottoman armies were on the point of descending on Rome itself. While the great wealth and luxury of the Ottoman court struck many Westerners, the Ottomans also came to represent "the other" for Europeans, an "anti body" against whom they could define themselves. As their power grew, the Ottomans came to be regarded more and more in the West as barbarous and cruel, a menace to the very survival of Christendom. Much of this rhetoric had to do with the crusade movement. For the humanist Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (later pope as Pius II), for example, the Ottomans represented the epitome of wickedness and ignorance. Crusades, however, came and went in the East, and left very little impression on Ottoman military might. Their armies took the Ottomans deep into Europe, as far as the gates of Vienna, and struck both fear and admiration into the hearts of Europeans.

The Fourteenth Century

The Ottoman state expanded quickly against the Byzantines, defeating them near Nikomedia (mod. İzmit, Turkey) in 1302 and capturing various Byzantine towns. Under Orhan (d. 1362), the Ottomans took Bursa (1325), which became the Ottoman capital until the conquest of Adrianople (mod. Edirne, Turkey), followed by Lopadion (mod. Ulubat) in 1327, Nicaea (mod. İzmit) in 1331, and Nikomedia in 1337. The Ottomans crossed onto European soil when they were called in to assist Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos in the

Ottoman Empire



Expansion of the Ottoman Empire in the Near East and Europe



The Ottoman Turks take Constantinople, 1453. (Bettmann/Corbis)

civil war (1341–1347) with his rival John V Palaiologos. Kantakouzenos, whose daughter Theodora married Orhan, kept his alliance with the Ottomans throughout his reign, and several times Ottoman forces were called in to fight for him. In 1354 the Ottomans took Gallipoli (mod. Gelibolu) and other towns in Thrace.

Under Murad I (1362–1389), the Ottoman advance into Europe was swift and effective. Adrianople probably fell in 1369. The defeat of the Serbian despots of Macedonia, Vlkashin, and Ugleša, at the battle of Çirmen on the Maritsa River (1371) opened the way into the Balkans. The Ottomans took Philippopolis (mod. Plovdiv, Bulgaria), Zagora, and, probably, much of Bulgaria. The tsardom of Turnovo, too, fell under Ottoman suzerainty, and Serbia and Bosnia came under Ottoman attack. In 1385 Niš fell. In

Greece, the Ottomans took Thessalonica (mod. Thessaloniki) in 1387.

In 1365 Emperor John V, worried by the Ottoman advance, attempted without success to negotiate an alliance with the king of Hungary. He did, however, receive help from his cousin, Amadeus VI, count of Savoy, who seized Gallipoli in 1366. John also sent an embassy to Pope Urban VI and went himself to Rome in 1369, prepared, in return for help, to offer union of the Greek Church with the Roman. Western concern was evident in 1372 when Pope Gregory XI proposed an anti-Ottoman alliance between the Byzantine emperor, the king of Hungary, and the Latin lords of Greece. Concern was not sufficient, however, and an alliance was reached between the Ottomans and the Byzantines in 1373. From that point on, the Ottomans played more and more of

a role in internal Byzantine politics, as the Byzantines descended into civil war between John V and his son Andronikos IV, backed by the Ottomans and the Genoese. Andronikos paid heavily for this support, both in financial terms and by having to return Gallipoli to Murad. Murad next supported John, who reentered Constantinople. By the time of the settlement, negotiated through the Genoese in 1381, the Byzantine emperor had been reduced to the position of a vassal of the Ottoman ruler.

After the death of Murad at the battle of Kosovo Polje (23 June 1389), at which the Serbian ruler Lazar was also killed, Bayezid I (1389–1402) began a whirlwind expansion, reducing George Stracimirović of Shkodër, Vlk Branković of Priština, and Lazar's son Stephen to vassal status, and marrying Lazar's daughter Olivera. Bayezid moved into Bulgaria and attacked Tsar Shishman, whose capital Turnovo fell in 1393. Two years later Bayezid had Shishman beheaded, and Bulgaria became an Ottoman possession. The Byzantines, too, found themselves increasingly under Ottoman domination. Manuel II Palaiologos, who became emperor in 1391, was forced to accompany the Ottoman ruler on campaign a year later. Constantinople itself came under Ottoman siege in 1394 and was to remain so until 1402.

Fear of the growing might of the Ottomans caused increasing consternation in Europe. King Sigismund of Hungary, engaged in a power struggle with the Ottomans over control of Serbia, sought allies among the Western rulers for a united offensive. A crusade was organized involving forces from Hungary, Germany, France, and England. At the battle of Nikopolis (1396), the European forces were wiped out by the Ottomans.

Manuel II turned in desperation to the West. In 1397 he approached the pope and the kings of France, England, and Aragon. The only response was the arrival of Marshal Boucicaut, sent by Charles VI of France to Constantinople with a force of 1,200 soldiers in 1399. In the same year Manuel set off for England and France in an attempt to drum up support. He was not to return for three years. The Ottomans moved into Albania, Epiros, and southern Greece, where their progress was much helped by the divisions between the Frankish and Greek lords in the Peloponnese. At sea they harassed the Aegean islands and attacked Venetian shipping. Venice apparently proposed a Latin League in the Aegean against Ottoman naval attacks in 1398. What ultimately saved the West was not a crusading movement or European unity but the rise of a major military power to the East.

Collapse and Reestablishment

Sweeping out of Central Asia, the nomad conqueror Timur crushed the Ottoman forces at the battle of Ankara in 1402, capturing Bayezid and plunging the Ottoman state into civil war. Timur's victory was a great relief for the European powers. Bayezid's son Süleyman, who had fled to the European territory of the Ottoman state immediately after the battle, was forced to negotiate a peace treaty, concluded in early 1403, with the Byzantines, Venice, Genoa, and the Hospitallers of Rhodes. Although undoubtedly weakened, Süleyman remained a major player in the Balkans, while the European powers were still rent by internal divisions, and, like Süleyman, threatened by Timur. Nevertheless, Süleyman did make considerable concessions to the various signatories of the treaty.

In 1411 Prince Süleyman was defeated and killed by his brother Musa, who was himself killed by another son of Bayezid I, Mehmed I (1413–1421). Mehmed I followed a peaceful policy, concluding a treaty with Serbia and with the Byzantines, who had supported him during his struggle with his brother. At the same time Manuel tried to interest the Venetians in a scheme against the Ottoman ruler. Venice, out to conclude her own agreement with the Ottomans, refused to be drawn in. At this point Manuel appears to have released an Ottoman pretender, the son of Süleyman, a tactic he had apparently adopted earlier in the civil war between Musa and Mehmed. The son was captured by Mehmed and blinded. An envoy claiming to represent a further pretender, Mehmed's brother Mustafa, approached Venice for support, but Venice declined, preferring for the moment to maintain peaceful relations with the Ottomans.

Ottoman raiding in European territories continued through 1415. Negotiations began to form an anti-Ottoman league in the Aegean, involving the Genoese rulers of Chios and Mytilene, the Hospitallers, Venice, and Manuel, but came to nothing. In 1416 the Venetians had a significant victory over the Ottoman naval forces, defeating and killing the Ottoman admiral. With the sea now somewhat safer, the Venetians had no real interest in Manuel's proposal in 1417 for a naval alliance with the Genoese and the Hospitallers. Manuel tried again in 1420 to organize an anti-Ottoman alliance.

Gradually Mehmed gained control in Anatolia and put down the revolts in 1416 of Börklüce Mustafa in western Anatolia and Şeyh Bedreddin in northeast Bulgaria, both of whom were supported by Mircea of Wallachia. In 1420 he

took the Genoese colony at Samsun on the Black Sea coast. In Europe he captured Valona (mod. Vlorë, Albania) and a large part of southern Albania, and reduced Mircea of Wallachia to vassal status.

Successfully surviving the challenge of his uncle Mustafa, backed by Byzantium, Murad II (1421–1444 and 1446–1451) laid siege to Thessalonica, which ultimately fell in 1430, and to Constantinople in 1422. The emergence of a fresh challenge to the throne, by Murad's brother Mustafa, who was supported by Manuel, saved the Byzantine capital. Murad defeated and killed Mustafa in January 1423. Late in the same year Emperor John VIII Palaiologos set off to Venice in an attempt to win Western support against the Ottomans. During his absence, his regent Constantine concluded a treaty with Murad (February 1424). Venice was more interested in a potential anti-Ottoman alliance with Hungary, proposed by Sigismund in 1425, but, suffering from the considerable expense involved in defending Thessalonica, which it had received from Andronikos Palaiologos, Venice sought peace with Murad. An agreement was made between the governor of Gallipoli and the Venetian Andrea Mocenigo, Captain-General of the Sea, but not ratified by Murad. Once again civil war in Byzantium, this time between John VIII and his brother Demetrios, drew the Ottomans into Byzantine politics. Demetrios called in Ottoman help for an attack on Constantinople, which lasted until August 1442.

Through the later 1420s and 1430s, Murad campaigned in Serbia and Albania. Thessalonica fell in 1430. By 1433 Albania was under Ottoman domination, and in the late 1430s northern Serbia was brought under direct Ottoman rule. Hungary's position at this time was weakened by a civil war following the death of King Albert II. The situation changed after the victories in Wallachia in 1441 and 1442 of John Hunyadi, the voivod of Transylvania. Although in themselves of no great significance, they gave a great psychological boost to Murad's enemies, who now entered into an anti-Ottoman alliance. At the Council of Florence (1439), John VIII had already accepted the union of the Latin and Greek churches in return for an attack by Christian forces against the Ottoman Empire. Pope Eugenius IV, for whose prestige a successful crusade would have been most advantageous, backed the enterprise, which also offered much to Hungary, to George Branković, the exiled despot of Serbia, and to Venice, ensuring the security of its territories in Greece and of its shipping in the Aegean Sea. In preparation

for this crusade, peace was organized between the warring factions in Hungary, and Karaman, the perennial Ottoman enemy in Anatolia, was brought in. In 1443 İbrahim, the ruler of Karaman, attacked Murad, apparently urged to do so by the Byzantine emperor, but with no help forthcoming from John VIII, İbrahim made peace the same year.

During the winter of 1443–1444, the Ottomans clashed with the forces of the king of Hungary, the despot of Serbia and John Hunyadi. Although the Christian forces did not win a great victory, the winter campaign was viewed as a success in Europe and gave further encouragement to the crusade movement. Nevertheless, King Vladislav, George Branković, and John Hunyadi concluded a ten-year peace with the Ottomans in 1444 (the Treaty of Adrianople), but, when Murad abdicated in favor of Mehmed II in the same year, Vladislav and John Hunyadi, together with Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini, the apostolic legate to Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland (but without the participation of George Branković), crossed the Danube. Returning across the straits with Genoese help, Murad, out of retirement to lead the Ottoman army, met the crusader forces at Varna in November 1444. The Christian forces were routed, and Vladislav and many of his troops killed. The Crusade of Varna now at an end, Murad once more retired.

A further attempt at a crusade was made along the Danube in 1445 involving the Burgundians, Dracul of Wallachia, the Hungarians, the Byzantines, and John Hunyadi. Nothing much came of this campaign. An attempt the following year by the pope to persuade Venice to provide galleys for a new campaign was unsuccessful, Venice having concluded a treaty with Mehmed II in early 1446.

Once back on the throne after Mehmed's removal in a janissary revolt, Murad II turned his attention to the despot of Mistra, Constantine, against whom he successfully campaigned in 1446 and 1447. In 1448 he moved against the Albanian leader Skanderbeg (George Kastrioti). Skanderbeg was a danger not merely for the Ottomans but also for Venice, which was willing to cooperate with Murad in order to defeat him. In the face of Ottoman attack, Skanderbeg withdrew. In the last years of his reign Murad campaigned against Skanderbeg as well as in Greece, raiding Tinos and Mykonos and threatening Lesbos.

Another crusade now came over the horizon, organized this time by Hunyadi, with support from the new pope, Nicholas V, the new voivod of Wallachia, and Skanderbeg, but without the support of Venice. In October 1448 Hunyadi

met the Ottoman army at the second battle of Kosovo, where he was defeated, and fled from the battlefield.

The Establishment of Empire

Mehmed II's second reign (1451–1481) began dramatically for the Europeans with the conquest of Constantinople and the Genoese settlement of Pera (1453). This event, which shook the West, prompted many calls for crusade. Venice in particular was anxious about Mehmed's intentions in the Aegean and swiftly concluded a treaty with him. The Genoese settlements of Old and New Phokaia (on the western coast of Anatolia) and Enez in western Thrace fell in 1455 and 1456. Mehmed also took the islands of Limni, Imbros, and Samothrace. Imbros and Limni were, however, recaptured the following year by a fleet sent by Pope Calixtus III and King Alfonso V of Aragon. Mehmed campaigned in the Peloponnese in 1458 and took Athens. Serbia fell in 1459 and Bosnia in 1464. In 1461 Mehmed extinguished the Byzantine Empire of Trebizond on the Black Sea coast of northeastern Turkey.

In 1463 Venice declared war. Allied with Hungary, the pope, the duke of Burgundy, and Karaman, Venice was at first successful, taking Argos in 1463 and occupying Monemvasia. But in 1464 the Hungarians under Matthias Corvinus were contained by Mehmed, the Venetian attack on Lesbos failed, and both the pope and the ruler of Karaman died. Venice, however, refused a peace offered by the Ottomans and instead accepted an alliance with Mehmed's enemy to the east, Uzun Hasan, the ruler of the Akkoyunlu Turcomans. No effective action resulted from the anti-Ottoman alliance of Venice, Hungary, and Uzun Hasan. In 1470 the Ottomans took the Venetian island of Negroponte (Euboea), but Venice again refused peace in 1471. In 1473 Mehmed defeated Uzun Hasan and the following year wiped out Karaman. With the Ottomans campaigning in the Crimea, where they took the Genoese trading settlement of Caffa (mod. Feodosiya, Ukraine) in 1475, as well as in Moldavia and against the Hungarians, Venice had a breathing space. But from 1477 Mehmed was back. In January 1479 Venice surrendered Shkodër (Scutari) and sued for peace. The following year the Ottoman fleet laid siege to Rhodes, and Ottoman troops landed at Otranto in southern Italy.

On his accession, Bayezid II (1481–1512) was faced with the revolt of his brother Cem (Djem), who, after the failure of his challenge, fled to the Hospitallers. From then until his death Cem remained in the custody of Christian powers,

first the Hospitallers, who transferred him from Rhodes to France, then the pope, and after his invasion of Italy and capture of Rome, the French king Charles VIII. The presence of Cem in Christian hands presented these powers with both a source of income and a political pawn: from 1483 onward Bayezid paid to ensure Cem's continued custody, while to avoid conflict, he ratified the 1479 treaty with Venice, made peace with Hungary (1483), and guaranteed not to attack the Papal States, Venice, or Rhodes (1490). Charles VIII did not intend merely to keep the peace, and in January 1495 declared a crusade against the Ottomans. Bayezid ordered the strengthening of the fortifications of Constantinople and hastily made a treaty with Hungary. Charles's plans came to nothing, and Cem died the following month, leaving Bayezid with a freer hand in his dealings with his western neighbors.

During the period of Cem's captivity, Bayezid had annexed Hercegovina (1483), invaded Moldavia (1484), and fought against the Mamlük sultanate from 1485 to 1491. Now, with Cem dead, he took Naupaktos (Lepanto, 1449), Modon, Coron, and Navarino (1500). Venice's response was an anti-Ottoman alliance with the pope and Hungary, concluded in May 1501. Both France and England promised support. In 1502 Venice took Lefkada, while Bayezid took Durrës (Dyrrachion). Peace was made, under the terms of which Venice retained trading privileges but lost territory. Ottoman attention now shifted to the rising power of the Safavids in Persia.

Ottoman concentration on the east continued under Selim I (1512–1520), who crushed the Safavids at the battle of Çaldıran (1514) and extinguished Safavid rule in southeastern Anatolia. Selim next destroyed the Mamlüks, conquering Syria in 1516 and Egypt in 1517. The holy cities of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem were now in Ottoman hands. In 1519 Hayreddin Barbarossa, a former pirate and de facto ruler, together with his brother Uruc, of Tunis and Algiers, placed himself under Ottoman protection. The Ottomans now came into conflict with Spain in the western Mediterranean.

The Apogee of Territorial Power

Sultan Süleyman I (1520–1566) began his reign by invading Hungary and taking Belgrade in 1521, and Rhodes, the Hospitaller stronghold, in 1522. During his second campaign he soundly defeated the Hungarians at the battle of Mohács (August 1526). Following the death of the Hungarian king

Louis II in this battle, a succession dispute broke out between the Habsburg Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, who proclaimed himself king, and John Szapolyai, elected by the Hungarian Estates. In 1529 Süleyman, who had backed Szapolyai, returned once again to Hungary, retaking Buda, which Ferdinand had captured, and laid siege to Vienna. Peace was reached in 1533. Further Ottoman-Habsburg conflict was ended with a five-year truce concluded in 1547. An Ottoman campaign of 1552 resulted in the fall of Temesvár (mod. Timișoara, Romania) and the occupation of part of Transylvania.

On several occasions France, also threatened by Habsburg power, allied with the Ottomans. When in 1536 war broke out with Venice, the French king Francis I and Süleyman entered into an alliance against Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor and king of Spain. Further such attempts at French-Ottoman cooperation followed, in 1543, 1551, and 1552. In 1555, in the last such venture, a joint fleet campaigned against the Spanish kingdom of Naples. Any further cooperation was ended by the 1559 peace concluded between Philip II of Spain and Henry II of France at Cateau-Cambrésis. Charles V had also sought earlier to conclude an anti-Ottoman alliance with Süleyman's enemy in the East, Shah Tahmasb, the Safavid ruler of Persia, but without success.

As the war with Venice continued, the Ottoman admiral Hayreddin Barbarossa took Venice's remaining Aegean islands. The forces of the Holy League set up by Venice, Pope Paul III, Charles V, and Ferdinand of Austria in February 1538 were instantly defeated by Hayreddin Barbarossa at the battle of Prevesa in the same year. The war ended in 1540, Venice losing yet more territory, including Monemvasia and Nauplion. The Ottomans continued to campaign successfully at sea during the 1550s. In 1565 the Ottoman fleet besieged Malta and took the Genoese island of Chios the following year.

In the western Mediterranean and along the North African coastline the Ottomans faced the Spanish. Charles V successfully campaigned against Tunis in 1535, and in 1541 he attacked Algiers. This expedition proved to be a disaster, and much of the Spanish fleet was destroyed in a storm. A later expedition against the Tunisian coast in 1550 was more successful. In response, the Ottoman admiral attacked the island of Malta. Tripoli fell in the summer of 1551, and the Ottomans campaigned successfully during the late 1550s.

In the East Süleyman fought several campaigns against the Safavids. By the Treaty of Amasya (1555), the frontier

Ottoman Sultans (to 1566)

Osman	?–c. 1324
Orhan	c. 1324–1362
Murad I	1362–1389
Bayezid I	1389–1402
Mehmed I	1413–1421
Murad II	1421–1444
Mehmed II	1444–1446
Murad II (again)	1446–1451
Mehmed II (again)	1451–1481
Bayezid II	1481–1512
Selim I	1512–1520
Süleyman I	1520–1566

was fixed between the two states. To the south he had been unable to contain the Portuguese in the Red Sea and the Gulf. He died on campaign against Hungary in 1566. By now the Ottoman Empire had reached the height of its territorial extension, and the western expansion of the Turks into Europe had reached its limit.

The Ottoman army was composed largely of janissaries (the sultan's household infantry) and *sipahis* (cavalrymen) supported by land grants (Turk. *timars*), as well as the elite cavalry divisions attached to the sultan. It was in part recruited by the system known as the *devşirme*: this was a periodic levy of Christian children in the Balkans, the most able of whom ended up in the service of the sultan's court. The state was governed by the sultan and the *divan* (imperial council), which was headed by the grand vizier and included the *kadiaskers* (military judges), the *nişancı* (chancery head), and the *defterdar* (treasurer). The empire was divided into a series of provinces, initially two (Rumeli and Anadolu) but expanding to thirty-two by the early seventeenth century, controlled by *beylerbeyis* (governor-generals), and subdivided into units known as *sancaks*, under *sancak beyis*. The empire quickly developed a large and efficient bureaucracy, which administered every aspect of the state, surveying its ever-increasing lands and registering its finances and also its population. Although its military might was a major factor in its makeup, it was far, far more than merely a military machine. It was a complex, rich, and magnificent empire, an integral part of the European politics of the period, and a central player in the Mediterranean world.

–Kate Fleet

Outremer

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Outrejourdain

See Transjordan

Outremer

Outremer is a name used in medieval sources and in modern scholarship as a collective term for the four Frankish states established in Syria and Palestine by the First Crusade (1096–1099): the county of Edessa (1097–1150), the principality of Antioch (1098–1287), the kingdom of Jerusalem (1099–1291), and the county of Tripoli (1102–1289). The kingdom of Jerusalem extended over the southern parts of Outremer, in the area historically known as Palestine (mod. Israel, West Bank, Gaza Strip, and adjacent regions); the other three states were situated in the north, in areas known historically as Syria and Upper Mesopotamia (roughly mod. Syria, southeastern Turkey, and Lebanon). During its relatively short existence, the county of Edessa extended much further to the east than the other Frankish states, well beyond the river Euphrates.

The word Outremer derives from the Old French expression *Ou(l)tremer*, meaning literally “[the land] beyond the sea,” that is, the lands on the far side of the Mediterranean Sea, seen from the perspective of Western Christians. Similar formulations are found in other languages: Spanish *Ultramar*, Italian *Oltremare*, and Middle High German *daz lant über mer*. An alternative name for the four Frankish principalities in modern historical writing is the “Crusader States.” Although common, this term is less accurate, since after

around 1130 extremely few of their Frankish inhabitants were actually crusaders, in the sense of people who had taken a vow to go on crusade. In the Middle Ages the Frankish states were also often collectively known as Syria (Lat. *Syria*, Fr. *Syrie*).

The geography of Outremer and its neighboring lands to the east can be conceived in broad terms as a series of elongated bands or zones running north-south; viewed from west to east, these can be visualized as having distinct physical characteristics. Adjoining the Mediterranean Sea is a relatively fertile coastal plain, narrower in the north and central areas, but quite broad in the south. This plain rises, quite dramatically in the north but more gradually in the south, to a spine. In the north and center, the spine consists of high mountains: the Amanus, Nusairi, and Lebanon ranges. These are fairly impenetrable, and they impeded communications, but they are broken by larger gaps in places, notably the Syrian Gates and the lower reaches of the river Orontes (in the principality of Antioch) and the Buqaia (in the county of Tripoli). In the south the spine is formed by the highlands of Judaea, Samaria, and Galilee, with the settlements of Jerusalem, Nablus, and Nazareth. The spine descends to a long valley formed by a series of rivers and lakes: the Orontes and Litani in the north and center, and the river Jordan, together with Lake Tiberias and the Dead Sea, in the south. To the east of the valley, the country rises again to a wide, mostly fertile zone, which is higher in the center (the Anti-Lebanon range and Mount Hermon). Its northern section, including the cities of Aleppo and Damascus, is very fertile, but its fertility decreases to the south of the area known as the Hauran. The Franks were able to penetrate and partially control this zone in the twelfth century, but they were never able to capture the major Muslim cities of Aleppo, Hama, Homs, or Damascus. The conquests of Saladin in the late twelfth century and of the Mamlūk sultanate in the thirteenth successively pushed Frankish-held territory further back toward the west, until it was reduced to a series of unconnected coastal strips by the 1280s.

Water was relatively scarce in the time of the crusades, as in modern times, and irrigation was common in agriculture. The relative availability of water supplies not only restricted communications, but was also a significant factor in determining where armies could go. The main staple crop was wheat, and other important products were olives, citrus fruits, and sugarcane. Muslim prohibitions on wine had restricted the cultivation of vines; wine production gained



The Frankish States of Outremer, c. 1130

new impetus under the Franks, who required it for everyday drinking as well as liturgical purposes. Because of water shortages, much of the land was not cultivated, but given over to pasture, mainly grazed by sheep and goats. There was little suitable pasture for cattle or horses, and it was necessary to import horses for military purposes.

Frankish-held territory comprised several important cities, particularly on the coast. Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), and to a lesser extent Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon), Tripoli (mod. Trâblous, Lebanon), and Beirut, connected with major trade routes from the east and served as entrepôts for luxury products such as spices and textiles, as well as local and regional products. These cities also had important industries, as did Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) and other major towns. The coastal cities attracted settlers from the Italian republics of Genoa, Venice, and Pisa, who received legal and financial privileges and in some places were able to establish their own autonomous quarters. The inland city of Jerusalem, by contrast, had no large-scale industry or trade; its main economic role was to service the royal and ecclesiastical administrations and cater to the important pilgrim traffic from the West.

The Franks constituted a privileged minority in all four states of Outremer, the only ethnic group in possession of all legal rights. The majority of the Frankish population lived in urban centers or as garrisons and support personnel in castles. During the initial phase of conquest, the Muslim and Jewish urban populations were largely either massacred or expelled, although the native Christians were allowed to remain and Jews were later allowed to return. The city of Jerusalem remained (at least in theory) barred to non-Christians. Most rural settlement was in villages, known in Latin as *casalia* (sing. *casale*), while there were many deserted or seasonally occupied settlements (Lat. *gastinae*, sing. *gastina*).

The native rural population consisted largely of Muslims (known to the Franks as Saracens) and native Christians of various denominations. There were also smaller rural minorities of Jews and Samaritans in Galilee, and Druzes in the mountains of Lebanon. In some cases Franks settled in newly founded villages, such as Magna Mahomeria (mod. al-Bira, West Bank) near Jericho. In some cases these new settlements were exclusively meant for Franks, but other settlements had mixed communities of Franks and native Christians.

Most of the native population, whether Christian, Muslim, or Jewish, used Arabic as their everyday language, although there were also significant numbers who used Syriac,

Armenian (notably in the county of Edessa), and Greek (notably in the cities of Antioch and Laodikeia in Syria). The Frankish settlers and their descendants spoke French and wrote Latin, while Italian dialects were also found in the coastal cities where Venetians, Genoese, and Pisans resided, and many other languages were heard from the numerous pilgrims who visited the Holy Land under Frankish rule. However, few Franks seem to have learned Arabic, and such knowledge was often remarked on (and by implication, regarded as unusual) in both Western and Arabic sources.

—Alan V. Murray

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Outremer: Art

See Art of Outremer and Cyprus



Crusader coins minted in Syria and Palestine. (Courtesy Marcus Phillips)

Outremer: Church

See Antioch, Latin Patriarchate of; Jerusalem, Latin Patriarchate of

Outremer: Coinage

The period of Frankish settlement in Palestine and Syria (1098–1291) coincided with a monetary revolution in western Europe. At the end of the eleventh century, the only denomination coined in Europe, with the exception of Spain and southern Italy, was the penny (Lat. *denarius*), the value of which was determined by its widely varying weight and silver content. The last third of the twelfth century saw a massive increase in minting, while in the thirteenth, fine silver multiples of the penny and, somewhat later, gold coins were introduced. The coinage of the Franks in Outremer partly reflected these trends, but it was also characterized by the need to interact with the local currencies, which were themselves influenced by the bullion the crusades attracted to the Near East.

Coinage of Frankish Syria: Antioch, Edessa, and Tripoli

At the time of the First Crusade (1096–1099), Byzantine coins in the form of gold nomismata of Emperor Michael VII (1071–1078) and, mostly clipped, copper folles were widespread in northern Syria but less so further south. The basis of the Muslim currency was the Fāṭimid gold dinar, usually of high purity, and a rather sparse debased billon coinage

called black dirhams. Very little fine silver and copper had been struck for over a century. Coins were reckoned by weight rather than count and frequently cut up.

The crusaders began by briefly issuing a Byzantine-style copper coinage at Antioch and Edessa, but most of their coinage consisted of French-style billon (i.e., debased silver) pennies, although unlike the mints in France they also issued fractions: copper in Antioch and Tripoli, billon halfpennies (before 1187) in Jerusalem. The mints of Acre and Tripoli struck substantial quantities of imitations of contemporary Arabic gold dinars and silver dirhams, but their Latin-style gold and fine silver issues were, with one exception, very limited. West European billon pennies brought in by the First and Third (1189–1192) Crusades circulated alongside local coins. As in France, cast pewter tokens supplemented the lack of small change. It seems likely that minting was sporadic rather than continuous, but the immobilization of coin types (the use of the same design for different issues), the absence of mint records, the occurrence of anonymous issues, and the plethora of homonymous rulers make the dating of many of the coins very uncertain. The situation is further complicated by the existence of coinlike objects of uncertain status.

It seems that the first Frankish coins were struck in the county of Edessa in the name of Count Baldwin I (1098–1100), as a continuation of the black dirhams but with a cross and Christian legends in Greek. These were replaced by a much heavier (c. 6.5–9 grams) copper issue, based on the Byzantine anonymous folles. The adoption of a copper coinage was a

novel step for the region and was soon followed by a major innovation in iconography. An archetypal “crusader image” of an armed knight on an anonymous issue is probably attributable to Count Baldwin II at the start of his second period of government (1108–1118). After the next issue of more conventional Byzantine type, the weight was reduced (c. 3–4 grams), and all the subsequent light coins used the armed knight type. The “heavy” issues of Edessa are characterized by intensive overstriking. (No. 1) The issue of coins seems to have ended with Baldwin II, apart from a unique coin of Count Joscelin II (1131–1150) with a Syriac legend.

The Norman princes who occupied the principality of Antioch were already familiar with gold and copper coins. Their Byzantine-style copper coinage, with legends in both Latin and Greek, although of variable weight, was roughly on the same standard as the lightweight coins of Edessa, although struck on a far greater scale. There are ten types of copper coins from the period of Frankish rule, starting with Prince Bohemund I (1098–1102) and ending with Bohemund II (1119–1130). The designs on the Antioch coppers tend to be more “Byzantine” than those of Edessa, though the third type of Prince Roger, which depicts St. George spearing the dragon, is an exception. This coin is the first in which the title “Prince of Antioch” is used. Hitherto the formula “Lord help your servant . . .,” widely used on Byzantine seals, had been employed. It is clear from the documents that nomismata of Michael VII were used by the Franks, and they would have backed the copper, but they were the last Byzantine gold coins to reach Syria in any quantity, and the supply must have gradually dwindled.

Antioch began to strike thin billon coins, weighing a gram or less, on the French model in the reign of Prince Raymond of Poitiers (1136–1149). The issue of Byzantine-style coppers had probably ceased some time before. The striking of billon coins of the same size and weight also began about this time at Jerusalem and Tripoli, as did the striking of imitation Fātimid dinars. It is not yet clear if these developments were connected or even contemporary with each other, but they can hardly have been coincidental. Raymond’s coins show him bareheaded, and when he was succeeded by Bohemund III (1149–1201), coins of similar design were struck. When Bohemund attained his majority in 1163, a new type depicting a mailed, helmeted bust was introduced. This extremely common type is the most characteristic of all Frankish pennies. (No. 2) The hoard evidence shows that both the coins in the name of Raymond and the bare head type of Bohemund were

systematically withdrawn when they were replaced by new issues. The helmet type of Bohemund was never withdrawn and continued to be issued well into the thirteenth century. Its chronology has been established by analysis of letter forms and privy marks. Between 1216 and 1219, Prince Raymond-Rupen held Antioch and issued helmet pennies in his own name, which afterwards circulated with the Bohemund coins. As far as one can tell from the evidence of the coins themselves, the output of billon pennies at Antioch reached its maximum shortly before Saladin’s conquest of Jerusalem (1187). The number of coins in the name of Bohemund that can be identified as postdating the issues of Rupen is much smaller. It would appear therefore that minting had ceased sometime before the fall of Antioch in 1268.

The billon pennies of Antioch were supplemented by a copper currency of similar thin fabric. They fall into two types: coins with circular legends in the style of the pennies and coins with legends in the field or no legends at all. They are either anonymous or in the name of Bohemund, and as they were not hoarded, the chronology is uncertain.

The designs of the pennies of the counts of Tripoli were far less innovative than those of Antioch, being essentially copies of Provençal types. The counts were the first to strike Frankish style pennies but, to judge from surviving examples, did so on a very small scale. The first billon issue of any substance consisted of pennies in the name of RAIMVNDVS, that is either Count Raymond II (1136–1152) or Raymond III (1152–1197); they show a star above a crescent. The second, introduced around 1170 and extending into the reign of Bohemund IV (1187–1233), has an eight-pointed star with annulets in the angles. Production declined in the mid-thirteenth century but seems to have picked up toward the end. The final issue of Tripoli star pennies was almost certainly the last Frankish billon penny to be struck. The copper coins of Tripoli consist of four types: two early issues in the name of Raymond; a star and crescent type, a few of which are in the name of Raymond but are mostly anonymous, and a final and prolific anonymous issue showing a tower. At the end of the Tripoli series is an extraordinary issue of large fine silver coins (Fr. *gros*) weighing over 4 grams, and their halves. (No. 3) Their weights suggest that they were intended as multiples of the Venetian grosso.

Coinage of the Kingdom of Jerusalem

The coinage of the kings of Jerusalem is fairly straightforward until 1187, though the picture is complicated by a num-

ber of rare anonymous types that cannot yet be dated. A unique and very heavy copper piece in the name of Baldwin has recently been found in excavations in Jerusalem, but it would appear that the series of billon coins began with yet another anonymous issue with a patriarchal cross and the legend *MONETA REGIS*. This was replaced by two more plentiful issues in the names of *BALDVINVS* and *AMALRICVS* showing the Tower of David and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as they appear on the seals of the kings of Jerusalem. The *BALDVINVS* coins were introduced at some point in the reign of Baldwin III (1143–1163), while the *AMALRICVS* date from his successor Amalric (1163–1174), but following the traditions of French coinage the *AMALRICVS* coins continued to be issued in the reigns of Baldwin IV and Baldwin V (1174–1186). Unlike Antioch and Tripoli, Jerusalem coined billon halfpennies with the same designs as the pennies. Gold “coins” in the names of Amalric and Baldwin and possibly Fulk (1131–1143) are known but only survive as cut fragments. Before 1187 there were two mints for the kingdom, at Acre and Jerusalem, though the former was probably always the more important.

After the loss of Jerusalem in 1187, the Holy Sepulchre pennies in the name of Amalric continued to be struck at Acre, becoming increasingly light and crude. Apart from these, the royal billon coinage virtually ceased, although there are a number of experimental or possibly commemorative issues

Guy of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem (1186–1192) and lord of Cyprus (1192–1194), struck coins as lord of Cyprus, one of which uses the title *REX DE IERUSALEM*, but this is thought to have been struck on the island. The Cypriot billon pennies of Guy and his successors circulated widely in Syria, but their debased gold bezants did not.

Two types of copper coin both specifically calling themselves *PVGES* (i.e., *pougeoise*, “farthing”) were struck at Acre by Henry of Champagne (1192–1197). Some very rare anonymous fine silver coins, of variable weight, from Acre, depicting the Holy Sepulchre, specify their denomination as *DRAGMA* (drachm or dirham?). This mention of the denomination was highly unusual for a medieval European coin, though normal for Islamic ones, and the issues may be linked as part of a short-lived monetary experiment. King John of Brienne (1210–1225) issued silver coins of the same type. Equally rare is an anonymous debased gold coin with concentric legends depicting the Agnus Dei (Lamb of God), which presumably dates from toward the end of the period of Frankish settlement.

John of Brienne also struck a billon penny with a crowned facing bust and the legend *DAMIATA*. A much scarcer variety with transposed legends, a different bust, and the spelling *DAMIETA* also exists. The latter may have been struck during the siege of the Egyptian city of Damietta (May 1218–November 1219) in the Fifth Crusade, but the former is too common to have been issued over such a short period.

Three of the lordships of the kingdom of Jerusalem (Beirut, Tyre, and Sidon) also struck coins, though they only ever made up a small proportion of the circulating currency. The most extensive issues are those of Sidon, which may have started before 1187 but then ceased, only to recommence when the city was recaptured by the Franks in 1227. Unlike the royal coinage, the baronial fractional coinage was in copper (No. 4).

Western Coins in Outremer

To judge from the evidence of hoards, Western coinages circulated alongside the local issues as long as they roughly corresponded to the prevailing standards. The chronicler Raymond of Aguilers lists coins of Poitou, Chartres, Le Mans, Melgueil, Lucca, Valence, and Le Puy (the latter being half the nominal value of the others) as being the ones that the participants on the First Crusade used among themselves. These particular mints have been identified with individuals and communities that supported Pope Urban II’s preparations for the crusade. All these coins are frequently found in Syria and Palestine, those of Lucca and Valence being particularly abundant. It seems likely that they continued to be imported in quantity for several decades after the First Crusade. There is nothing that can be easily associated with the Second Crusade (1147–1149), but substantial numbers of billon pennies from Dijon, Guingamp, Champagne, and other French mints arrived with the Third Crusade (1189–1192) and circulated for long afterward. Coins of a different standard seem not to have circulated. Hoards of German silver pennies, which, unlike the French coins, were of fine silver, are recorded from Turkey. One, the so-called Barbarossa Hoard, consisted of nearly 8,000 of these coins, but none have been found in the Holy Land. One partial exception is the English “short cross” sterling pennies, of which a few have been found. There is naturally a distinction between ports such as Acre and Caesarea, where foreign coins, particularly low value Sicilian pennies, are found in excavations, and sites further inland, where local coins predominate. Given the powerful Italian commercial presence

in the region, the scarcity of Venetian and Genoese silver grossi is also remarkable. Only one, unpublished, hoard of Genoese coins is known, and although Venetian gold and silver is plentiful, the major imports took place after 1300.

Islamic Coins and Frankish Imitations

Whereas at the time of the First Crusade Byzantine gold and copper were readily available in the north, the crusaders encountered a somewhat different situation in Palestine. Three Fāṭimid mints in Palestine were striking gold dinars: Tyre, Tripoli, and Acre, though the majority came from mints in Egypt. Black dirhams were issued, but apparently in decreasing numbers, the last known being that of Nūr ad-Dīn at Aleppo in 1148/1149. Before beginning to produce their own coinage, the Franks seem to have relied on the aforementioned billon pennies of Lucca and Valence, and there is rather slender literary evidence to suggest that these also circulated among the Muslims. It is not certain when the Franks first began to imitate Fāṭimid dinars, but it was certainly by the 1140s at the latest. If mint output is calculated purely in terms of the quantity of precious metal coined, then the bulk of Frankish minting was of imitation Islamic coins. This is certainly true for gold. But it is also the case with silver in the thirteenth century. An imitation Ayyūbid dirham contained fifteen to twenty times as much silver as a billon penny.

The Franks copied two different gold prototypes: dinars of the Fāṭimid rulers al-Āmir (1101–1130) and al-Mustansīr (1036–1094), struck at Acre (and Jerusalem?) and Tripoli, respectively. Tyre has been canvassed as another mint, and the Frankish imitations were always referred to as *dīnār Ṣūrī* (i.e., dinars of Tyre) by the Muslims, though this may mean “Syrian dinars” [Heidemann, *Die Renaissance der Städte*, pp. 423–424]. No dinar imitations have been identified from Antioch, but some may have been struck before the union with Tripoli. The Frankish copies seem to have been the products of official mints and not to have been intended to deceive, since they were easily distinguishable from their prototypes by their garbled legends and lower gold content. Why the Frankish coins were of lower fineness is not clear. The gold of Emperor Michael VII was debased, and the Franks may have been influenced by this. It has been suggested that the original intention was to provide a localized gold coinage for Frankish commercial interests. The dinar imitations are frequently mentioned in treaties between the Muslims and the Franks, and Arabic literary sources make

it clear that, despite their lower fineness, they circulated among the Muslims as well, since they provided a useful supplement to their own gold currency.

Since the legends on the *Ṣūrī* dinars are meaningless, their chronology has been determined partly by style, but mainly by measuring the declining standards of fineness. There appear to have been three phases at both Acre and Tripoli: an initial issue of over 80 percent gold, a second of about 80 percent or less, and a third of 68 percent [Metcalf, “Crusader Gold Bezants of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem”]. The latter change can be dated to the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin (1187). The fineness of the phase three issues at Tripoli was below that of Acre. Standards of engraving and design tended to deteriorate at both mints but were lower at Tripoli (No. 5).

In 1250 the papal legate accompanying the Crusade of Louis IX of France to the East was scandalized that Acre and Tripoli were issuing coins with Islamic legends, and this led to a threat of excommunication. In 1251 Acre issued dinars with Christian legends in Arabic, and these continued until 1258. Gold dinars from Tripoli with ornamental legends and the letters B and T on either side may have been the reaction to the papal threat by that mint.

In 1174 Saladin began the coining of fine silver dirhams and half dirhams at Damascus using a new design with the legends enclosed in a square. A further issue at Aleppo, which began in 1183, was even more innovative, in that the legends were arranged in and around a six-pointed star. Both types were issued in greater quantities by Saladin’s successors. The forces behind the re-adoption of a fine silver coinage by the Muslims were complex, and it is probably an oversimplification to see it as made possible solely by the imports of Western silver.

The Frankish imitations of the Ayyūbid dirhams were far closer to the originals than their copies of the gold. Although on average very slightly less fine and of lower weight than their prototypes, copies and prototypes circulated together and can only be readily distinguished by their use of anachronistic Hijra dates. The first issue copied the Aleppo type of al-Zāhir Ghāzī (1186–1216), but the coins are dated to 1216–1233. The decision to begin coining them has been linked with al-Zāhir’s death and the lapse of an arrangement whereby the Venetians could take silver bullion to the Aleppo mint. A later issue in 1240 coincides with a brief treaty allowing the Franks to buy supplies in Aleppo. The year 1243 or earlier saw the commencement of copies of the Damascus type in the name of al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā‘īl (1237 and 1239–1245),

citing the caliph al-Mustansir who died in 1240. The issue lasted until 1250 and ceased following the papal intervention. Even before this, there was a hint of unease about the use of Islamic legends, since on some coins the phrase “Muḥammad is the messenger of God” was altered to read “Michael is the messenger of God.” Dirhams with crosses and Christian legends were struck in 1251 (No. 6), but unlike the gold, they were soon replaced by new types bearing legends calculated to be acceptable to both Christians and Muslims. These coins were struck with an immobilized date, so it is not clear how long they lasted, but there appears to have been a falling off in standards of weight and fineness.

—Marcus Phillips

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Outremer: Economy

See Economy of the Levant

Outremer: French Language

See French Language in the Levant

Outremer: Greek Orthodox Church

See Melkites

Outremer: Intercultural Relations

The social and political organization of the Frankish states in Outremer did not favor the development of deep intercultural relations among their diverse ethnic-religious communities. Nonetheless, such relations existed, both at a learned and at a popular level; they were probably weaker and less fruitful in Outremer than in other frontier societies, such as Iberia or Sicily, but they produced a notable impact on contemporary European culture.

The Linguistic Context

The dominant spoken language among the indigenous population was Arabic. There were also speakers of Greek, Armenian, and Syriac, and these languages, as well as Hebrew, were used as languages of culture and worship, the choice depending on traditional loyalties. A community might use different languages for different kinds of texts: Jews wrote religious and poetic texts in Hebrew, but scientific, philosophical, and grammatical texts in Arabic.

Franks could not usually speak, understand, or read Arabic; there were exceptions, like the knight Philip Mainebeuf, mentioned in the *Gestes des Chiprois* as leading diplomatic negotiations with the Mamlûks on the eve of the final Frankish defeat in 1291. Latin and French sources considered such persons worth mentioning precisely because they were rare.

Outremer was a multilingual, not a polyglot society; but since it was also a segmented society, it was not endangered by the poor interlinguistic skills of most of its members. Communicative problems were solved in various ways, according to the situation; learned exchanges were different from merchants' transactions. The burden of learning the language of the other often rested (not surprisingly) on the shoulders of the indigenous population. Eastern Christians were especially suitable for the role of intermediaries, since they were mostly Arabic-speaking, but were considered closer to the Franks and more reliable than Muslims or Jews.

Translations from Arabic

Some leading figures of the Western scientific renaissance spent some time in the Latin East, and possibly acquired knowledge, curiosities, or manuscripts there. The philosopher and translator Adelard of Bath was in the principality of Antioch around 1114, possibly for a few years; the great mathematician Leonard of Pisa (known as Fibonacci) visited Syria, and was a friend and a correspondent of Theodore of Antioch, philosopher to Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor and king of Sicily.

The city of Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) was one of the main centers of cultural exchange in the Latin East, thanks to its mixing of Greek, Latin, and Arabic elements. It was there that in 1127 Stephen of Pisa translated an important Arabic medical treatise, the *Kitāb al-Malakī* (*Royal Book*) by 'Alī ibn al-'Abbās al-Majūsī. To his translation (the *Regalis dispositio*) Stephen appended an alphabetical catalogue of Dioscorides's technical terminology (*Medicaminum omnium breviarium*), giving Greek words with Arabic and, occasionally, Latin equivalents. This was one of the most complete medical glossaries of its time, and was the major source of Simon of Genoa's popular list, *Synonyma*, compiled at the end of the thirteenth century. Stephen was probably also the author of an astronomical treatise; in spite of the title (*Liber Mamonis in astronomia a Stephano philosopho translata*), this was an original work, presenting Ptolemaic astronomy and criticizing Western cosmographical representations. The same Stephen was perhaps the copyist of a twelfth-century manuscript of the Latin *Rhetorica ad Herennium*.

Antioch is connected with the most successful medieval translation from Arabic, the *Secretum Secretorum* from around 1220: this is the Latin version of the *Kitāb Sīr al-'Asrār* (*Book of the Secret of Secrets*), a popular collection of texts of political, philosophical, and medical content. Its

author was a cleric named Philip, who found the Arabic manuscript of the text in Antioch, but who was apparently working in Tripoli (mod. Trāblous, Lebanon), since he dedicated its work to the local bishop. We can tentatively identify Philip with a cleric of that name from central Italy, an expert in medicine who in his youth had come to the Holy Land with his uncle Raniero, patriarch of Antioch. Later Philip became a canon and archdeacon of Tripoli, then went back to Italy, where he was active at the papal court until around 1270. Philip's version of the *Kitāb Sīr al-'Asrār* is careful and clear, although it often misunderstands the Arabic text, adjusting it to its Western Christian audience. In Europe it soon replaced the partial translation done in the twelfth century by John of Seville: it was copied, translated, and rewritten hundreds of times, its composite structure allowing all kinds of additions, abridgements, and reinterpretations.

Intercultural relations at a learned level in Outremer did not necessarily imply knowledge of Arabic or direct access to Arabic texts. For example, the *Gesta orientaliū principum* written by the great historian William of Tyre was mainly based on Christian Arabic sources, which were utilized with the help of interpreters or written translations. It is no coincidence that this work, the first extensive Western account of Muslim history, did not have a great diffusion in the West and is now lost: William's curiosity and open-mindedness were uncommon for his age. But he apparently did not know Arabic, at least to judge from his extant literary production. The same holds true for the Dominican friar William of Tripoli, who in Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) wrote a short religious treatise, the *Notitia Machometi* (1271), on the basis of an unidentified summary of Muslim history and, possibly, on Jewish sources and oral information. William's text was addressed to an eminent pilgrim to the Holy Land: Tebaldo Visconti, archdeacon of Liège (later pope as Gregory X); it aimed to supply some basic notions of the life of the Prophet Muḥammad and the Islamic religion. A few years later it was used in Europe by an anonymous compiler of a rather influential booklet on Islam, *De statu Sarracenorum*, for a long time erroneously ascribed to the same William of Tripoli.

The Eastern Christian Contribution

It is difficult to appreciate the conditions and patterns of intercultural contacts at a popular level, where they were certainly more frequent and intense, and presumably produced richer results. Once again, one has to stress the role played

by Eastern Christians. They often lived in the same towns (and to a much lesser extent, villages) as the Franks, shared the same courts of justice, and visited the same holy sites; yet they spoke Arabic, Armenian, or Syriac, had their own repertoire of traditions and legends, and were constantly in touch with their co-religionists beyond the frontiers of the Frankish states. These frontiers were easily crossed in both directions by Eastern pilgrims and scholars, such as Abū Sulaymūn Dāwūd, Bar Hebraeus (Bar Ebroyo), and Theodore of Antioch, who studied and worked comfortably in both Christian and Muslim lands.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a host of legends entered western Europe from Outremer: they were mostly of Eastern Christian origin or at least were diffused among the Franks by Eastern Christians. Some of these legends, like those of the Three Kings and of Prester John, had a long life of their own in Western culture. Many more are now forgotten, but were very popular in their time: for example, the story of the wondrous icon of the Virgin preserved in the Melkite monastery of Saydnaya near Damascus, which was diffused in the West by the Templars and appeared in the main collections of Marian miracles of the thirteenth century, *Les Miracles de Notre Dame* by Gautier de Coincy and the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* by King Alfonso X of Castile. Interestingly enough, it seems that the icon was venerated also by Muslims, an unusual example of worshippers of different religions sharing a common cultic practice. We can also mention the story of the miracle of the walking mountain, believed to have taken place outside Cairo (or Baghdad, in other versions) and saved the life of the local Christian community; and the legend of the dangerous whirlpool of the Gulf of Satalia, connected with the ancient myth of the Gorgon, which became so famous in the West that it produced a shift in meaning of the Old French word *gouffre*: from “gulf” to “whirlpool, vortex.”

Eastern Christians were also responsible for spreading among the Franks information (or often misinformation), prophecies, and negative legends about Muslims and their religion, which emanated from their rich stock of anti-Islamic writings. During the siege of Damietta in 1220–1221, three pamphlets circulated in the crusader army: all of them were of Eastern Christian origin and predicted a defeat of the Muslims; they were so enthusiastically received that the crusader leaders decided to turn down Ayyūbid peace proposals, and in the end had to face a heavy defeat. Anti-Islamic polemical writings from Outremer, translated into Latin or

vernacular languages, were often brought or sent to Western kings or popes, as was reported in the thirteenth century by Vincent of Beauvais and Matthew Paris.

Direct Contacts between Franks and “Saracens”

If Eastern Christians were often intermediaries between Franks and Muslims, direct relations did also exist between the latter two groups. Political, military, and economic contacts could produce a variable degree of familiarity with some aspects of the other culture. This was the case with the Franciscan Yves le Breton, who, according to John of Joinville, was sent in 1250 on a diplomatic mission to Damascus; there the friar, who knew Arabic, heard a story about a famous eighth-century Muslim saint and mystic, Rābi‘a al-‘Adawiyya al-Qaysiyya, that he reported to his fellow Franks on his return to Acre. The Arab poet Usāma ibn Munqidh, emir of Shaizar, evoked in his memoirs the respectful and chivalrous relations he had enjoyed in his youth with some Frankish knights. At a lower level, there was occasionally a convergence of Muslims and Franks at common shrines and holy places, as for example in the case of the Virgin of Saydnaya.

There are two Muslim historical characters that, between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, gained an enormous popularity in the West: Saladin, the Ayyūbid sultan and conqueror of Jerusalem (1187), and the Old Man of the Mountains, Rashīd al-Dīn Sinān (d. 1192), head of the Syrian branch of the Ismā‘īlī sect of the Assassins. Outremer was only the point of departure for the elaboration of these myths that took shape in Europe. Surprisingly, the myth was positive in the case of Saladin, regarded as the paradigm of a generous and wise monarch, and also, at least in the beginning, in the case of the Assassins, whose name in Occitan lyric is associated with absolute faithfulness, only later on assuming negative connotations, and finally becoming a synonym for “killer.”

Intercultural contacts in Outremer produced mutual effects: the indigenous population was variously influenced by the encounter with the Latin cultural world, and this influence spread far beyond the Frankish states, a topic beyond the scope of this entry. One can, however, mention Western legends concerning the Virgin Mary that were translated into Arabic in Dominican circles in Acre around 1270 and subsequently entered the religious traditions of Copts and Ethiopians; and the transmutation of King Baldwin I of Jerusalem into a literary character in the Arabic epic cycle of

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Banū Hilāl, which portrayed him as being defeated by the local hero Abū Zayd.

—Laura Minervini

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Outremer: Italian Communities

The First Crusade (1096–1099) and the creation of the Frankish states in the Levant enabled several Italian cities to establish outposts in that region. Only those of the three major Italian maritime powers filled an important role in

Mediterranean trade and shipping: Genoa, Venice, and Pisa each obtained privileges in the principality of Antioch, the county of Tripoli, and the kingdom of Jerusalem. The geographic and chronological distribution of these privileges in the twelfth century was closely related to their respective interests and economic activity in other regions of the eastern Mediterranean.

Genoa and Venice were rewarded for their naval and military assistance during the First Crusade and in the following years. Genoa displayed particular eagerness to obtain privileges, since its trade with Egypt and Byzantium was fairly limited at that time and expanded only later. By contrast, Venice sustained regular trade in both these regions even before the First Crusade and wished to enhance its traffic with them. Pisa directed its efforts toward Egypt and Byzantium in the first half of the twelfth century, which explains its relative lack of interest in the Frankish states until the 1150s. It acquired its main privileges in the second half of the twelfth century. Military and political circumstances, whether internal or external, offered the three republics opportunities to extract further concessions from the kings of Jerusalem and the other Frankish rulers.

The privileges obtained by the three Italian republics varied widely in content from place to place and over time. At the least they consisted of immovable property or freedom of trade. The most extensive privileges might also include tax exemptions, the grant of a residential quarter with church, marketplace, bathhouse, and oven, and full administrative, fiscal, and judicial authority over their possessions and the latter's residents, except in criminal cases. The Italian republics were also awarded rural property in the vicinity of cities, the largest territory consisting of one-third of the countryside of Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon), granted to Venice by the *Pactum Warmundi* of 1123. The Frankish rulers expected to be compensated for the loss of income from the privileged Italians by revenues from other sources generated by the increase in the latter's economic activity. The practical effect of the privileges also varied widely. The Italian republics sometimes failed to take immediate or full advantage of them or were prevented from doing so. They were only interested in the major ports and refrained from establishing outposts in other cities such as Jerusalem. Differences in interpretation between the republics and the Frankish lords, as well as political conflicts between them, occasionally resulted in the curtailment or confiscation of the republics' property and the suspension of their privileges.

Venice incurred heavy losses of property and income in the rural hinterland of Tyre from the 1150s onward, as a result of territorial usurpations by the kings of Jerusalem and other Frankish lords.

Eventually all three major Italian republics had their own quarters in Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) and Tyre, their main bases in the Levant. In the first half of the thirteenth century, the rivalry between them in Acre increased substantially and induced Pisa and Venice to surround their quarters with walls and Genoa to fortify the entrances to its compound. Genoa and Venice were also granted privileges in Beirut in 1221, and Genoa in Haifa (mod. Hefa, Israel) in 1234. Venice, Pisa, and Genoa had quarters and privileges in Tripoli (mod. Trâblous, Lebanon) and Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey), and Pisa and Genoa had quarters in Laodikeia (mod. Al-Lâdhiqiyah, Syria). In addition, Genoa was granted the whole of Gibelet (mod. Jubail, Lebanon). Venice's possessions in the kingdom of Jerusalem became quasi-extraterritorial enclaves as early as 1123; Pisa's acquired similar status in 1187, and Genoa's only later.

The republics used various means to strengthen their authority over their quarters and the latter's residents. For example, they attempted to free their ecclesiastical institutions in Acre and Tyre from the authority of the local bishop and archbishop, respectively. This issue gave rise to prolonged conflicts, in which the papacy intervened. In addition, the republics resorted to legal devices and the purchase of property to extend their authority beyond the boundaries of their respective quarters, over the subjects and territory of other Frankish lords. The latter staunchly opposed these policies, yet in the second half of the thirteenth century the kings of Jerusalem, whose authority was severely weakened, could not prevent Venice and Pisa from expanding their quarters in Acre.

Until after the Third Crusade (1189–1192), the administration of the Venetian and Pisan communities and property was rather rudimentary. Some administrative functions were exercised by priests attached to the quarters' churches, by visiting officers from the mother city, or by traveling merchants acting as temporary representatives of their peers. Genoa resorted to a different solution. From 1125 onward, in return for a yearly payment, it leased Gibelet and its possessions in other cities to the Genoese Embriaco family, which eventually retained Gibelet (except from 1187 to 1193 when it was occupied by Saladin) until the fall of the Frankish states to the Muslims.

After the Third Crusade, the three Italian republics established permanent and centralized administrations in charge of fiscal and judicial matters and of their communities' relations with the Frankish lords. Their main representatives were based in Acre, from where they exercised direct control over all their Levantine outposts. The republics financed the operation of their respective administrations with revenue accruing from internal taxation, judicial fines, and income from property rented out to settlers, merchants, and pilgrims.

The privileges enjoyed by the republics stimulated trade and settlement. Their quarters in Outremer constituted the foci of economic activity and social life of their respective "national" communities. These bodies had a heterogeneous social and ethnic composition. At their core were citizens of the mother city, linked by common origin, language, creed, and culture, shared economic interests, and similar political attitudes toward rival communities and hostile powers. The main church obtained by each of the republics, renamed after its patron saint and attended by its own clergy, constituted both an ecclesiastical and a political projection of the mother city and a focus of patriotic piety.

The national communities also comprised various groups of foreigners who did not, however, enjoy citizenship. Pisa granted Pisan status in the Levant to Provençal merchants sailing on its ships or residing in the Frankish states from the 1160s until 1187, when the Provençal cities and Barcelona collectively obtained their own privileges. In addition, all Tuscans were considered as Pisan nationals. The inhabitants of the Ligurian territories subject to Genoese authority enjoyed Genoese status. After the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), the residents of Venetian colonies and outposts overseas were regarded as Venetians. Some communities also included indigenous Eastern Christian and Jewish subjects, as in the Venetian section of Tyre. Finally, the national communities included in their midst subjects of Frankish lords, whether Latins, Eastern Christians, or Jews (but not Muslims), to whom the republics had granted naturalization, which should not be confused with citizenship. The three republics used this legal device to expand their territorial authority, increase their revenues accruing from internal taxation, and ensure political support. Thus Venice bestowed Venetian status upon a number of Frankish noblemen of the kingdom of Jerusalem in 1256, at the beginning of the War of St. Sabas in Acre.

The Latin members of a national community tended to aggregate in the same urban area. This concentration was

Outremer: Monasticism

avored by the republics for fiscal, military, and political reasons, yet was never fully achieved. It was particularly important in thirteenth-century Acre, where the Italian communities took an active part in political struggles between pretenders to the throne of Jerusalem, barons, and kings, and between themselves.

—David Jacoby

See also: Genoa; Pisa; Venice

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Outremer: Jews

See Jews in Outremer

Outremer: Literature

See Literature of Outremer and Cyprus

Outremer: Liturgy

See Liturgy of Outremer

Outremer: Monasticism

Monasticism in Palestine and Syria grew out of an environment unique in the eastern Mediterranean. In contrast to Egyptian monasticism, Palestinian monasticism had from the start a cosmopolitan character: first, because the relatively small areas of desert meant that monks were seldom far from urban settlement, and second, because of the close links between monks and the holy places of Jerusalem. The most important founding figures were Hilarion, a disciple of St. Anthony of Egypt, who lived an anchoritic life near Gaza (c. 307–330), and his contemporary Chariton, who is credited with the creation of the lauritic system in the Judaeian desert.

By the later fourth century, convents for men and women had been founded in and around Jerusalem and Bethlehem, and clear links were established between pilgrimage and monasticism. The holy places attracted those with monastic vocations from all over the Christian world, and Anatolian influences can be seen in the development of a Basilian pattern in which social welfare played an important role. The lauritic system (from Gk. *laura*, "path"), in which small hermitages were founded in remote desert or mountain wildernesses, flourished from the early fifth century to the Persian and Arab invasions (614, 634). The most influential *laura* was founded in the Kidron Valley southeast of Bethlehem in 483 by Sabas, who created a federation of monasteries based on his own system of progression in monastic life from *coenobium* (communal monastery) to *laura*. His Great *Laura* (Mar Sabas) survived the seventh-century Arab conquests, though many desert monasteries were depopulated, and monastic martyrdoms of this period fostered a new identity among the survivors. The unsurpassed reputation of Mar Sabas for theological orthodoxy, cemented during the theological crises of the fifth and sixth centuries, was further enhanced by the presence of monks such as John of Damascus, Stephen the Sabaite, and Theodore Abū Qurrah. Theodore marks a transition from a Greek to an Arabic literary culture in Palestinian monasticism. However, in the eleventh century it is still possible to see, in the lives of Greek-speaking monks such as Lazaros of the Gelasan Mountain, the continuity of early Byzantine traditions.

Indigenous Monasticism under Frankish Rule

Pilgrimage accounts from the early twelfth century indicate that with the exception of Mar Sabas and the sixth-century foundation of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, few Palestinian

monasteries of the Byzantine period survived until the First Crusade (1096–1099). Nevertheless, there were functioning Greek monasteries on Mount Carmel and the Black Mountain, and in the cities of Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) and Jerusalem. The twelfth century saw the reinvigoration of the indigenous monastic life of Outremer. After a brief expulsion, the Greek monks in Jerusalem were restored and played a liturgical role at the Holy Sepulchre; the same probably happened at Bethlehem. Pilgrimage evidence attests to the rebuilding of monasteries in the Judaeen desert: notably St. Euthymios and St. George Choziba between Jerusalem and Jericho, St. Theodosios near Bethlehem, and St. John Prodromos and St. Mary Kalamon by the Jordan. Because the desert monasteries lay in exposed positions, such rebuilding, much of which can be attributed to the patronage of Emperor Manuel I Komnenos, took the form of fortified walls and towers.

The Cretan monastic pilgrim John Phokas, visiting the Holy Land in 1185, found signs of the physical renewal of Greek Orthodox monasticism throughout the Judaeen desert and by the Jordan, where he remarked on the agricultural enterprise of the monasteries. Phokas's pilgrimage was in itself a demonstration of the revival of monastic traditions: thus he sought spiritual guidance from anchorites whom he encountered in the Holy Land in the same way that John Moschos, for example, had done in the seventh century. One of Phokas's examples, a Georgian monk living in the ruins of the monastery of St. Gerasimos by the Jordan, self-consciously evokes the biography of Gerasimos himself. Traditional anchoritic practices such as stylitism were revived; for example, Gabriel, a monk of Mar Sabas, occupied a column in the Judaeen desert in imitation of Simeon the Stylite.

The cultural and literary output of Orthodox monasteries under Frankish rule is impressive. Surviving manuscripts from Jerusalem, Mar Sabas, and other desert monasteries, as well as from Antioch, indicate the continuity of Orthodox theological and liturgical traditions through the copying of the Greek fathers of the church, but there are also manuscripts revealing interests in history and philosophy. Another significant genre was anti-Latin polemic. That indigenous monasticism maintained traditional cultural identities is also clear from the contribution of indigenous monks to artistic works produced in Outremer, which include the conciliar mosaics of Bethlehem (1160s), wall painting at Abu Ghosh (ca. 1170) and St. Theoktistos (1180s),

and a continuous output of manuscript illumination and icon painting throughout the period.

Orthodox monasteries played a role in the religious life of Outremer outside their own walls. Because, with only a few anomalous exceptions, the Orthodox Church in Outremer did not have its own bishops, the monasteries provided spiritual leadership for Orthodox populations. But the abbot of Mount Sinai was also recognized by the Latins as part of the church hierarchy, as archbishop of Petra, while the abbot of Mar Sabas was a *confrater* of the Hospital of St. John and coadjutor bishop with responsibility for the Orthodox in Gaza and Eleutheropolis (Beth Gibelin). Orthodox monasteries were permitted to retain and add to their land holdings: Mount Sinai, for example, owned extensive lands in Cyprus. Although there are very few examples of Western pilgrims showing an interest in the Orthodox desert monasteries, many were aware of Mar Sabas, if only because the monks had a guesthouse in Jerusalem, and participated in the Eastern liturgy at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Franks, both pilgrims and residents in Outremer, considered Mount Sinai an important shrine.

Less is known of the non-Chalcedonian monasteries under Frankish rule. The Armenian monastery of St. James in Jerusalem, a fourth-century foundation, continued to flourish, and there was also an Armenian house on the Black Mountain. Some Western pilgrims were impressed by the piety of Armenian monks, and the pro-union patriarch Nerses of Lampron was influenced by Benedictine examples. The Syrian Orthodox (Jacobites) had two monasteries in Jerusalem, the sixth/seventh century foundation of St. Mark, and a later house dedicated to Mary Magdalene. The latter found a royal patron in Melisende, queen of Jerusalem, who defended the monks' property against Frankish claims in the 1130s. Most of the Syrian Orthodox monasteries, however, lay in the territory of Edessa, whose counts were less respectful: Count Joscelin II sacked the monastery of Bar Sauma in 1148 and held the saint's relics for ransom. There was also at least one Syrian Orthodox monastery in Antioch, but many lay in Muslim territories, particularly after 1144. The Georgians of the monastery of the Holy Cross, near Jerusalem, obtained privileges from Saladin, and became influential in the thirteenth century under Ayyūbid rule. The Mamlūk sultan Baybars turned the monastery into a mosque because of Georgian support for the Mongols, but in 1305 it was returned to the monks. There were also Coptic and

Ethiopian monasteries in Jerusalem, which feature fleetingly in Western sources.

Despite attacks on the Greek monasteries of Mount Tabor (1183) and St. Euthymios (1187), the Ayyūbid conquest of 1187 and the reimposition of Muslim rule over most of the territory in which monasteries were located does not seem to have disrupted the continuity of indigenous monasticism. There are indications that the Mamlūk occupation in the second half of the thirteenth century directly threatened Mar Sabas's property and undermined the stability of the local Orthodox population of Palestine; however, it was also in the Mamlūk period that the Sabaite typikon (liturgical calendar) enjoyed its greatest influence over liturgical developments in the Orthodox world as a whole. Such influences, indeed, can be seen as early as the 1230s, when St. Savas of Serbia founded monasteries in the Balkans based on the architectural model of Mar Sabas.

Latin Monasticism

Western monastic traditions in Palestine date back to the foundations of Jerome, Rufinus, and Melania the Elder in Bethlehem and Jerusalem in the late fourth century. With the development of monasticism in the West, however, the Latin presence in Palestine diminished. When Latin monks began to establish themselves in the Holy Land in the ninth century, as a result of Charlemagne's influence, they imported new theological traditions. Their use of the word *filioque* in the Creed (asserting the descent of the Holy Spirit from Father and Son coequally rather than through the Father) led to an Orthodox attempt to expel them from the Christmas liturgy in Bethlehem in 807. The Rule of St. Benedict was observed in Jerusalem in the last quarter of the eleventh century at the Amalfitan foundations of St. Mary Latin and St. Mary the Less in Jerusalem, and also, according to a disputed tradition, at Our Lady of Jehosaphat, founded over the tomb of the Blessed Virgin in the Kidron Valley immediately to the east of Jerusalem.

The First Crusade (1096–1099) brought in its wake a host of new Western foundations. James of Vitry memorably evoked a "garden of delights" abounding in monasteries and hermitages served by monks, nuns, and hermits "drawn by the sweet odor of the holy places" from all over Christendom [Jacques de Vitry, "Historia Orientalis" in *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ed. Jacques Bongars, 2 vols. in 1 (Hannover: Typis Wecheliani, apud heredes Ioan. Aubrii, 1611), 2:1074–1075]. Although we know only anecdotal details, there must have

been considerable immigration of monks, nuns, and canons to Outremer from the West in the early years of the Frankish settlement. Even allowing for James's rhetoric, the number of regular clergy needed to serve the shrines must have been impressive. Latin monasteries were of three basic types: communities of canons serving the major shrines, Benedictine monasteries, some of which also served shrines, and foundations by the new orders. In common with the usual Western tradition, cathedrals throughout Outremer were staffed by Augustinian canons. The conversion of Orthodox churches and mosques at important shrines also resulted in new houses of Augustinian canons at Mount Zion and at the Temple of the Lord (Lat. *Templum Domini*) in Jerusalem. At Mount Zion and on the Mount of Olives, where Augustinian canons were also installed, the Orthodox communities had died out.

Royal and noble patronage of Benedictine monks and nuns was significant. The preexisting Benedictine monasteries were supplemented by the new convent of St. Anne, built by King Baldwin I of Jerusalem on the supposed site of the house of Joachim and Anne (the parents of the Virgin Mary), soon after 1100. Baldwin endowed St. Anne's with considerable commercial property in Jerusalem when he installed his second wife in its cloister in 1104–1105. According to the chronicler William of Tyre, Melisende founded the convent of Mary and Martha in Bethany for her sister Yveta, while the daughter of Count Joscelin I of Edessa became abbess of St. Mary the Great, another Benedictine convent in Jerusalem. Foundations associated with a notable shrine were particularly well endowed. The surviving cartularies of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre and Mount Zion, and of the monks of Our Lady of Jehosaphat, reveal wide-ranging properties throughout Outremer. The canons of the Holy Sepulchre were significant colonists of new Frankish agricultural settlements to the north of Jerusalem. The endowment settled on the Benedictine abbey of Mount Tabor in Galilee by Tancred in 1099–1100 consisted of lands that had once belonged to the Orthodox monastery on the site; already by 1103 this amounted to forty-seven properties. Jehosaphat was also generously endowed by the lords of Tiberias. Such great monasteries also attracted endowments in Cyprus and throughout the West. In many cases it was the capacity to attract such properties that made the difference between survival and extinction after the fall of the first kingdom of Jerusalem in 1187.

The new monastic orders of the West had surprisingly little impact in Outremer. Two Premonstratensian houses, SS. Joseph and Habakkuk at Ramla and St. Samuel at Montjoie,

were founded in the twelfth century, but they have left little trace of their activities. Probably because Bernard of Clairvaux discouraged his order's involvement in settling the Holy Land, the first Cistercian house, Belmont in the county of Tripoli, was not founded until after his death, in 1157. Like the next Cistercian house, Salvatio (1161), this was a daughter house of the abbey of Morimond, whose abbot had as early as the 1120s expressed an interest in such a project. The founder of both houses may have been Hodierna, the regent of Tripoli, whose sister Melisende was part of St. Bernard's wide circle of correspondents. No other Cistercian presence is known in Outremer before 1209, when the patriarch of Antioch, Peter of Ivrea, who was a Cistercian himself, absorbed Jubin, a Benedictine monastery on the Black Mountain, into the order. Another thirteenth-century Cistercian foundation, St. Sergius in Gibelet, was a refoundation of a destitute Orthodox house.

It may seem remarkable that during the period of the Cistercian Order's greatest expansion throughout the West, it made so little headway in Outremer. One reason for this was undoubtedly that the kind of territory Cistercians preferred to settle was scarce after 1187, when most of the hinterland of the kingdom of Jerusalem was lost. As attacks on Orthodox monasteries show, remote monasteries could come under threat from Muslim raids. Nevertheless, it is also significant that no Carthusian house was founded in Outremer. It may be that the character of Latin monasticism in Outremer was simply of a more traditional kind, which privileged service to shrines and holy places rather than the settlement in spiritually uncharged wildernesses and marginal lands so typical of the monastic reform movement in the twelfth-century West. Even so, there is plenty of evidence of reforming tendencies, for example, in Jubin and another Black Mountain house, Machanath, in the 1120s, and in the attempt by Elias, abbot of Palmaria, to enforce Cistercian customs on his monks in the 1130s or 1140s.

Such tendencies appear to have stemmed from a strong eremitical presence in Jerusalem, Galilee, and the Black Mountain. The influence of indigenous monastic traditions, which were also strong near Jerusalem and on the Black Mountain, may be detected in the fluidity between the states of cenobitic and eremitical monasticism described by a contemporary observer, Gerard of Nazareth, but also in the Frankish settlement of earlier Orthodox monastic sites such as Chariton's monastery of the Douka (Mount Quarantène near Jericho), or St. Elisha on Mount Carmel. The latter was

probably a place of refuge for hermits, Frankish and indigenous, fleeing Saladin's armies in 1187.

After 1187, Latin monasticism in Outremer became a largely urban phenomenon. The Jerusalem communities mostly withdrew to Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), where they remained until 1291. Rural monasteries without other possessions, such as Palmaria, were abandoned and disappear from the records. The Benedictine abbey of St. Paul in Antioch remained in place until 1268, when the fall of the city forced the community to flee to Cyprus, along with the monks of Jubin.

The contribution of monasticism to the government of the Latin Church in Outremer was modest. Only three of the twelve patriarchs before 1220 were monks, and only one of those, Aimery II (1197–1202), had professed in Outremer. Few of the other prelates in Outremer were monks. If this is surprising, given the increasing tendency toward monastic bishops in the West in the twelfth century, it may simply be an indication of the special characteristics and requirements of the church in a frontier territory, where bishops had to be men of action as well as contemplation.

—Andrew Jotischky

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Outremer: Muslim Population

A sizable component of the subjected, indigenous population of Outremer, and the one most affected by the period of Frankish rule inaugurated by the First Crusade (1096–1099).

Muslims probably formed a majority in most parts of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem (alongside large numbers of Eastern Christians and smaller numbers of Jews), but they remained a minority in the northern Frankish states, where Christians of various denominations (Melkites, Syrian Orthodox, and Armenians) were more numerous. The majority of the settled Muslim population (usually referred to as “Saracens” by the Franks) of southern Syria and Palestine seems to have been Sunnī in faith, with Shīʿite, Druze, and Nuṣayri communities in the north. Nomadic Arabs (Bedouin) and Turcoman tribes inhabited the fringes of the cultivated area, especially in Transjordan, the northern Banyas region, the coastal plain south of Gaza, and the frontiers of the county of Edessa.

Our knowledge of the conditions of Muslims under Frankish rule, especially of those residing in the northern states, is scanty. Very little surviving evidence is of local origin (whether Muslim or Frankish), and contemporaneous Muslim historiography written outside the Frankish states hardly supplements it. A typical example of this state of affairs may be found in Ibn al-Athīr’s chronicle: the reconquest of Edessa by Zangī in 1144 is glorified in flowery language, its fall to Baldwin of Boulogne forty-six years earlier is almost completely ignored, and almost nothing is written about its Muslim inhabitants in between those two landmarks.

Muslims were reduced from a dominant class to subordinates of the lowest rank in Outremer, after having lost most of their elite in the course of the crusader conquest. During the period of Frankish expansion (1098–1124) many Muslims, some of whom were survivors of the massacres committed by the crusading forces in conquered cities such as Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey), Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, Jerusalem, Caesarea (mod. Har Qesari, Israel), and Tortosa (mod. Tartūs, Syria), fled from their homes. Others were subjected to captivity and enslavement.

In cities that capitulated on terms, such as Acre (mod. ʿAkko, Israel), Tripoli (mod. Trāblous, Lebanon), Sidon (mod. Saīda, Lebanon), Tyre (mod. Soūr, Lebanon), and Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel), the Muslim elite preferred exile in neighboring countries to life under Frankish rule. Ramla, Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel), Tiberias

(mod. Teverya, Israel), and some other settlements were abandoned by their Muslim inhabitants out of fear of anticipated Frankish attacks. Some local forces, such as the Banū Munqidh of Shaizar and the Banū ʿAmmār of Tripoli, offered the advancing crusaders safe passage through their lands and negotiated for truce in hope of retaining their lands and their autonomy from larger Muslim entities.

After the initial conquest, with greater stability and economic development, Muslims gradually returned to cities they had left, with the exception of Jerusalem, where non-Christians were not allowed to settle. The larger Muslim communities that recovered seem to have been in the northern cities: Beirut and Sidon in the kingdom of Jerusalem, Jabala (mod. Jabalah, Syria) in the county of Tripoli, and Gibelet (mod. Jubail, Lebanon) and Laodikeia (mod. Al-Lādhiqiyah, Syria) in the principality of Antioch.

Like the members of other communities in Outremer, Muslims were free to live according to the tenets and rules of their religion. Some of the larger mosques had been confiscated and converted into churches serving the Latin rite, but most other mosques, in cities and in the countryside, remained in Muslim possession. In some places Muslims were also occasionally allowed to pray in sections of former mosques. Despite the destruction of the centers of Islamic scholarship in Jerusalem, and possibly also in Ascalon, local *qāḍīs* (judges), prayer leaders, preachers, and rural *shaykhs*, some of them versed in Islamic tradition, provided spiritual leadership, an example of resistance, and an autonomous Muslim judicial system.

In Frankish courts that dealt with criminal law and with cases involving mixed parties, Muslims (like members of the other religious denominations) could take oaths on their own holy scriptures. However, in the Court of the Market (Fr. *Cour de la Fonde*), where intercommunal quarrels and civil law issues were settled, they were clearly discriminated against: only Franks and Eastern Christians could function as jurors, and the attitude toward Muslims was particularly severe. All Muslims were subject to the payment of the degrading, and not negligible, *capitatio* (poll tax). They were supposed to wear different clothing, could not witness in cases involving Latins (except in certain specified matters), did not serve in the Frankish armies, and did not participate in the public life of the Latin kingdom. Urban Muslims were legally considered free men, unless captured and reduced to slavery (as happened to many, either during warfare or in Frankish raids) or—in some particular and rare circumstances—to serf-

dom, as suggested by a few documents from the northern principalities. There were Muslim physicians and merchants (whose contacts with the European mercantile communities were limited), proprietors of lands and houses, but very few clerks and scribes: Arabic-speaking Christians held the majority of those administrative positions. On the whole, Muslims filled a relatively marginal role in town life.

Bedouins enjoyed a special legal status. They were under royal jurisdiction and owed the Crown payment for pasture rights. Villagers, Muslim and Eastern Christian alike, became villeins (serfs) of their Frankish lords and were not allowed to leave their estates without the permission of their lords. Many documents deal with fugitive villeins and with the sale or gift of individual villeins (or rather, of their tenure and dues). It seems fair to say that the status of Muslim villagers under the Franks was no worse than that of their coreligionists in neighboring Muslim lands, and may even have been better. Unlike the city dwellers, they were left more or less untouched by the conquest itself. Rural institutions, such as the position of *raʿīs* (village headman), who acted as intermediary between villagers and their lord, remained unaffected. In the mountains of Lebanon in the county of Tripoli the *raʿīs* was even regarded as a local chieftain. Even though the *raʿīs* was not chosen by the Frankish lord, he received formal confirmation and took some form of oath.

The treatment of Muslim villagers varied from one region to another. In 1184 Ibn Jubayr, a pious Muslim traveler from North Africa, noted sorrowfully that in the region of Tyre Muslim peasants were pleased with life under the rule of their Christian masters and had no incentive to rebel. They admitted that taxation (levied in kind) was reasonable and no labor services were imposed; the Franks refrained from interference in their personal property and affairs. Taxation in the region east of the Sea of Galilee (Lake Tiberias) was significantly more burdensome, at least for a period. According to testimony predating that of Ibn Jubayr's by thirty years and quoted by ʿIyāʾ al-Dīn al-Maʿqdisī (1173–1245), Muslim villagers in the Nablus region paid a quadruple tax and endured the harsh conduct of their master. Some of them, followers of a local preacher of the Ḥanbalī school of law, chose an atypical course of action by emigrating to Muslim-ruled Damascus. Their organized, religiously motivated rejection of Frankish rule may be counted among the conquered population's few expressions of active resistance.

For the most part Muslims under Frankish rule did not play a significant role in the counter-crusades. Their initial

reaction to the conquest, as represented mainly by refugee poets—who had most probably misinterpreted the scope, longevity, and religious nature of the threat posed by the crusades—was shock and lamentation. There were individual acts of violence against Frankish lords and two locally instigated revolts, in the Nablus area in 1113 and in southern Transjordan in 1144. Otherwise, only rarely did locals participate in *jihād* (holy war) against the Franks, even when warfare was initiated and carried out by the rulers and armies of Damascus, Mosul, and Aleppo.

Frankish legislation set out to separate the Frankish and Muslim communities, outlawing sexual contact between them, forbidding Muslims to wear Frankish clothing, and forbidding Franks to consult Muslim physicians (who were thought to be more qualified than those of European origin). Yet on a day-to-day basis, Muslims and Franks would meet in the marketplace and the bathhouse, in mixed caravans, and on the same ships. Franks and Muslims regularly crossed each other's territories, even in periods of heightened tension, for the sake of commerce, family visits, study, and even *hajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca). Latins and non-Christians associated in the popular cults of local shrines such as the tombs of the patriarchs in Hebron and the crypt of St. John the Baptist in Sebastea. Members of the elite of both sides interacted with each other while negotiating truces or trade agreements, on hunting trips and mutual visits, and as prisoners of war.

Arabic sources show that while Muslims were willing to concede Frankish determination and courage in battle, they despised their coarse manners, sexual mores, unfaithfulness, legal system, medical ignorance, and, most of all, of course, their Christian faith. References to the Franks are usually accompanied by derogatory phrases, such as *kuffār* ("unbelievers"), *mushrikūn* ("idol worshippers"), and *mulḥidūn* ("heretics"), and by curses. Muslims showed no inclination to adopt the culture of their conquerors, and only very few men, in either camp, had a command of both Arabic and European languages.

The problematic nature of the relationship between conquered and conquerors and the frequent fighting were undoubtedly key factors that contributed to mutual contempt. It is also possible that the absence of a true intellectual elite, both among the Franks who came to the East and among the Muslims who remained behind in the conquered land, minimized intercultural dialogue.

—Daniella Talmon-Heller

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P

***Pactum Warmundi* (1123)**

An agreement between the republic of Venice and Gormond (Lat. *Warmundus*) of Picquigny, patriarch of Jerusalem, who was acting on behalf of King Baldwin II of Jerusalem, then in Turkish captivity.

The pact ensured Venetian naval assistance for the conquest of Muslim Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon) in 1124 in return for wide royal concessions, among them exemption from trade taxes, the extension of Venice's quarter in Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), and her possession of one-third of the city and lordship of Tyre. However, the *Pactum Warmundi* was promptly superseded by a document issued in 1125 by Baldwin II, considered subsequently as the authoritative charter of privileges in favor of Venice. This charter restricted some previous concessions, yet upheld Venice's territorial rights and broad exercise of jurisdiction, which provided Venice's quarters and rural property with a quasi-extraterritorial status. Conflicting interpretations of the charter of 1125 occasionally generated tension between Venice and the Crown of Jerusalem.

—David Jacoby

See also: Crusade of 1122–1124; Jerusalem, (Latin) Kingdom of; Venice

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Paganism: The Baltic Lands

The paganism of the Baltic and Finno-Ugrian peoples living on the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea was the principal justification for launching crusades against them at the end of the twelfth century with the aim of bringing about their conversion to Christianity.

The pagan tribes inhabiting this territory (principally, from north to south, the Estonians, Livs, Curonians, Lettgallians, Semgallians, Samogitians, Lithuanians, and Prussians) differed in language, customs, social structure, and material culture, which also implied differences in their religions, although it can be said that these were largely a complex of animistic and polytheistic beliefs, remarkably influenced by the cycle of the agricultural year. The exact nature of the pagan beliefs and cults of these peoples remains obscure due to the scarcity of relevant written evidence, and it should also be remembered that much of what we know about them derives from Christian, and therefore hostile, sources.

The Baltic peoples (as well as some neighboring Slavic tribes) shared more or less common cultic features. Natural objects such as trees, rocks, and sacred groves were venerated, certain animals (such as horses or snakes) held specific positions in local beliefs, and wooden images of deities were made. As a rule, the cult was administered in the open air; there were animal and occasionally also human sacrifices. However, these beliefs did not remain unchanged during the centuries, and surviving descriptions reflect only the situation at a particular moment.

The Lithuanian tribes remained pagan until the end of the fourteenth century, and the length of Lithuanian paganism's survival and its contacts with Christian part-

ners and enemies mean that more written evidence survives about it than about that of other peoples. Among the most important Lithuanian gods were Perkunas, who can be compared to the Slavic Perun and the Norse Thorr, Andai/Andojas and Teliavel/Kalevelis. Lithuanians believed in numerous other deities, for example, of cows, bees, flax, dawn, winter, lakes, and death, and also in lesser spirits. Auguries were read in the behavior of horses, snakes, and pigs. The strong cult of the horse distinguishes the beliefs of the Lithuanians from those of their northern neighbors. Blood sacrifice, for example, while swearing an oath, had an important role. Lithuanians usually burned their dead, often together with grave goods: the funeral ceremony of Grand Duke Kęstutis in 1382 was the last princely cremation in Europe.

Priests and priestesses existed in pagan Lithuania. The role of women in the administration of the pagan cult and the veneration of female goddesses like Dimstapatis, the patron of mothers, cannot be underestimated. Besides the princes, the most important priests were those who were responsible for making offerings to the gods in return for victory in war. The Treaty of Christburg (1249) names lesser augurs called *tulissones* and *ligaschones*, who claimed the ability to see the souls of the dead ascending and descending and delivered funeral orations in their memory. A theory that the pagan cult in Lithuania was controlled by a high priest called Krivė (mentioned in the chronicle of Peter von Dusburg) is not supported by other sources.

Lithuanian paganism owed its strength to the political success of the grand duchy of Lithuania and the relative weakness of its Christian neighbors. Paganism was even an advantage in relations to Christian neighbors: Lithuanians were appreciated as allies in war because as pagans they could perform acts that would be problematic for Christians. The attempt of Grand Duke Mindaugas to accept Christianity in 1251 as a way of acquiring political approval for his conquest of Christian territories, above all in western Russia, was a failure and provoked strong opposition among his subjects, and he was murdered by his political enemies in 1263. Paganism was actually strengthened during the reigns of Grand Dukes Gediminas (1316–1341) and Algirdas (1345–1377), and Vilnius seems to have acquired the position of the center of the cult. Strong pagan beliefs survived even after Lithuania officially accepted Christianity in 1386, and extant pagan practices were continuously described as late as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The pagan religion of the Old Prussian and Latvian tribes was close to that of the Lithuanians. The three main deities were Perkunos (god of thunder and fire, also sunshine and rain), Potrimpos (god of success in war and peace and of agriculture), and Piktulis (god of death). There were other deities, both male and female, for example, Curche, a creature providing food and drink, to whom the products of the first harvest, meat, honey, and other goods were sacrificed. Certain creatures, especially snakes, were regarded as sacred. Horses, war captives, and sometimes even children were sacrificed. Midsummer Night's Eve, which holds an important place in Latvian folk traditions even today, has been interpreted as a reminiscence of the pagan feast of fertility. Its opposite was the feast of the dead in autumn (which shifted to All Souls' Day during the Christian era), well known in Estonia.

The pagan beliefs of the tribes living on the territories of present-day northern Latvia and Estonia are less well known. Deities living in woods, waters, and other natural objects were venerated, and there was probably no hierarchy among them. According to Estonian heathen beliefs a soul could take the form of different creatures (butterfly, bird) depending on the condition the person was in: awake, sleeping, or dead. Estonians, Livs, and Lettgallians all cremated and buried their dead, often with grave goods, although funerary traditions varied according to place and period. Pagan graveyards far from a church or chapel were sometimes in use as late as the seventeenth century. No original names of Estonian or Livic pagan deities are known; the name of an Estonian god called Tharapita mentioned in the chronicle of Henry of Livonia has been interpreted as *Tara avita* ("Tara, help!"), the name *Tara* evidently being a parallel to the Norse Thorr.

There is no reliable information about how the pagan cult was administered among the Finno-Ugrian peoples. The special position given to witches, soothsayers, and sages in later folkloric traditions suggests that before the Christian conquest there may have been a group of people who acted as mediators between the deities and the pagan believers, but the sources do not allow us to reconstruct either their titles or their functions.

Reminiscences of paganism can be traced in folk beliefs of the nineteenth and in some cases even of the twentieth century.

–Tiina Kala

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Pähkinälinna

See Nöteborg, Treaty of

Palestine

See Outremer

Paneas

See Banyas

Papal Letters

Papal letters constituted an integral element of the institution of the crusade and are among the most important sources for the history of the movement. Although often referred to as *crusade bulls*, not all papal letters concerned with the crusade were technically speaking bulls, which constitute a special type of papal letter with a lead seal (Lat. *litterae apostolicae sub plumbo*). More recently historians have preferred the neutral term *papal letters*, thus adopting the medieval terminology, which generally designated papal correspondence as *litterae apostolicae* (apostolic letters). These included various types of letters referred to as privileges, bulls, or different classes of letters. Especially for the period after 1200, when part of the outgoing correspondence was registered at the Curia, copies of papal letters dealing with various aspects of the crusades have survived in large numbers. Such letters were also inserted in narrative accounts and letter collections and are preserved as originals in many archives throughout Europe.

Papal letters were instruments of communication and also legal documents, which the papacy used to initiate, reg-

ulate, and control the crusades. They were used to announce crusades, set out terms of participation, authorize the spiritual and temporal privileges accorded to crusaders and their dependants, proclaim taxes and other means of financing crusades, and deal with any organizational or legal matter arising before, during, or after a crusade. Popes not only sent letters to individuals involved in expeditions, or to leading exponents expected to become involved; they also addressed bishops, local clergy, and members of religious orders who acted as agents for the popes, communicating matters pertaining to the crusades to a wider public. Most important among these were the general letters (encyclicals), usually addressed to all Christian people, proclaiming a new crusade. These were sent to the actual or potential secular leaders of the crusade as well as to clerics who were commissioned to preach the cross. Papal legates, bishops, and the heads of the mendicant orders commissioned and passed on copies of these letters to individual crusade preachers. With the introduction of printing around the middle of the fifteenth century, copies of papal letters were also printed to facilitate distribution.

The contents of the papal letters announcing a crusade gave preachers the necessary practical information, such as dates, location, and rationale, for promoting a particular crusade expedition. In order to ensure the accurate transmission of the papal message, popes sometimes demanded that their letters be read aloud by preachers during propaganda events. Extant copies of such letters with a vernacular translation on the back show that these orders were taken seriously. The presentation of a copy of the papal letter in public also served as a way of establishing crusade preachers' credentials as papal agents. At times bishops formally endorsed such copies in order to strengthen propagandists' authority and make unauthorized crusade preaching more difficult. Apart from such general letters, the popes sent out letters giving instructions concerning individual matters, answering queries from crusaders or those organizing the crusade, effecting changes to particular commissions, and clearing up points that had led to conflicts of interest among the participants. Thus papal letters were a means of adjusting propaganda strategies, redistributing funds, and monitoring the formation of crusade armies once a crusade had been declared. Popes usually also stayed in regular contact by exchange of letters with the leaders of a crusade expedition once an army was under way, thus keeping themselves informed of its progress.

The first papal letters concerning the crusades were written by Urban II and dealt with various issues arising during the preparations for the First Crusade (1096–1099). The earliest known general letter (which has not survived) was issued by Calixtus II in 1122 to announce a new crusade expedition to the Holy Land. A number of general letters published during the twelfth century were pivotal in defining the crusades in terms of ideology and organization, leading toward a full-blown elaboration of the institution of the crusade and the crusade movement at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Among these were Eugenius III's *Quantum praedecessores* of 1145/1146, which announced the Second Crusade (1147–1149); Gregory VIII's *Audita tremendi* of 1187, responding to the battle of Hattin and initiating the Third Crusade (1189–1192); and Innocent III's *Post miserabile* of 1198, which marked the beginning of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204). In 1213 Pope Innocent III issued *Quia maior*, the most elaborate and most comprehensive general letter yet, announcing the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221). In this he regulated a whole range of issues, from different forms of participation and mechanisms for raising funds to the issue of vow redemptions and liturgy, thus presenting a model for future general letters. *Quia maior* was the basis for *Ad liberandam*, the constitution dealing with the crusade to the Holy Land incorporated in the acts of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. In turn, *Ad liberandam* formed the basis for the majority of calls for crusades well into the fourteenth century. During the thirteenth century, copies of this letter were at times issued to crusade preachers alongside other papal letters to serve as a reference for the legal rules concerning vows and indulgences.

The papal crusade letter concerning the crusades in the Iberian Peninsula, known in Spanish as *bula de la cruzada* ("crusade bull"), has its own history. It originally confirmed the indulgences granted by the pope in the context of the crusade movement; after the end of military crusade ventures, it became an instrument for raising money for various other matters by offering indulgences in return for pious donations, and was only abolished in 1966.

–Christoph T. Maier

See also: Communications; Indulgences and Penance; Propaganda

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Paphos

A port town and bishopric in the kingdom of Cyprus.

Paphos (mod. Pafos) enjoyed some importance as a trading destination for the Venetians even prior to the Latin conquest of the island in 1191, and thereafter it was mentioned in Italian nautical guides as a trading port along with Limassol (mod. Lemesos), although the latter was more important on account of its better harbor.

The Latin bishopric was established in 1196. The Greek bishops, who were jurisdictionally subordinate to the Latin bishops under the terms of the *Bulla Cypria* of 1260, were allocated the locality of Arsinoe on the northwest coast as their place of residence. However, few Latins resided at Paphos: according to a letter of Pope Gregory IX, the Latin bishop Henry was translated to Nazareth in Palestine in 1239 because his ignorance of Greek made him unsuitable for Paphos, where virtually the whole population was Greek.

Paphos had strategic value for the Lusignan kings of Cyprus, and a castle modeled on the Hospitaller castle at Belvoir in Palestine was constructed near the harbor around 1200, possibly by the Hospitallers themselves. The whole town was destroyed in 1222 by a major earthquake, which was followed by another in 1227. The castle was never rebuilt, but the town itself was reconstructed, although the German pilgrim Ludolph von Suchen referred to its destruction by frequent earthquakes during his visit to Cyprus between 1336 and 1341. From 1232 onward the Genoese maintained a consul in Paphos, although it had far less commercial importance during the fourteenth century than Famagusta (mod. Ammochostos), the island's main commercial port, or even Limassol, and it is seldom mentioned in the notarial deeds of the Genoese Lamberto di Sambuceto and of the Venetian Nicola de Boateriis.

The hinterland of Paphos was important in terms of agriculture, producing sugar, wine, and wheat. Both the Crown and the Hospitallers had properties there, those of the Crown including the sugar plantations at Kouklia; the sugar producing *casalia* (villages) of Akhelia, Emba, and Lemba; and the

wine producing *casale* of Tarsis, while the Hospitallers had commanderies at Phinikas and Anoyira, where grain, pulses, carobs, cotton, sugar, and molasses were produced. As demand in Europe and especially in Venice increased for such produce, especially sugar, the Venetians from 1445 onward established a new regular galley route that sojourned for over one month in Cyprus, including twenty-five days at Paphos, the first port of call on its outward journey, to take on board such agricultural produce. Nonetheless, the town itself did not benefit greatly: the Dominican Felix Faber, when visiting Cyprus in 1480 and 1483, described Paphos as a miserable village built over the ruins of a once-great city, a description echoed by later travelers. The district of Paphos was ravaged by a tornado in 1433 and by Turkish pirates in 1452.

Under the Venetian rule of the island (1489–1571) Paphos was neglected, and it had a population of only 2,000 inhabitants by the end of this period. The fortifications near the shore were abandoned in 1503, although the harbor still served small ships. In 1562 Francis Contarini, the Latin bishop of Paphos, was spending considerable sums on restoring the cathedral there, which was now properly served. The Ottomans captured the unfortified town in 1570 without serious resistance, but Bishop Contarini distinguished himself during the siege of Nicosia (mod. Lefkosia) and was killed following the city's capture.

—Nicholas Coureas

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Partitio Romaniae

See Constantinople, Latin Empire of

Paschal II (d. 1118)

Pope (1099–1118); original name Rainerius.

A monk of an unknown monastery, perhaps in the

Abruzzi Mountains southeast of Rome, he joined the Curia under Pope Gregory VII, became abbot of San Lorenzo fuori le Mura in Rome and after 1078 cardinal-priest of San Clemente. Elected pope on 13 August 1099 as successor to Urban II, Paschal II ended the schism in the papacy, as he was able to overcome the three imperialist successors who followed at brief intervals after the death of his rival Clement III (1100). The Romans and the leaders of the Papal States supported Paschal until 1116, but in 1111–1112 he was threatened with another schism when he agreed to a coerced settlement with Henry V, the Holy Roman Emperor, in the dispute over the right to invest bishops and abbots with the regalia of their offices. Faced with a revolt of reformers led by Guy, archbishop of Vienne (the future Pope Calixtus II), Paschal was forced to revoke his concessions to the emperor.

Paschal's sophisticated legislation strongly built upon that of his predecessors, which appears especially clear in connection with the crusades. It is unlikely that Urban II heard of the conquest of Jerusalem (15 July 1099) before his death; it was Paschal who sent a jubilant letter of congratulations to Outremer in which he celebrated the achievements of the army of the First Crusade. An earlier letter from Paschal to the French clergy had urged them to send whatever aid they could to those who had remained in the Holy Land and stated that oaths sworn to go to Jerusalem should be fulfilled. After the failure of the Crusade of 1101, Paschal met Prince Bohemund I of Antioch at Rome (1105) and supported his efforts to gather a new army by granting him the flag of St. Peter and sending a cardinal legate, Bruno of Segni, to go with him to France. The question of whether Paschal also agreed to Bohemund's anti-Byzantine plans has probably to be answered in the negative.

The often problematic relations between the Latin patriarchate and the monarchy of Jerusalem during the reign of King Baldwin I (1100–1118) meant that Paschal was obliged to send legations there under Maurice of Porto (1100), Gibelin of Arles (1107), and Berengar of Orange (1115), which all had a major influence on the organization of the Latin Church in Palestine. Paschal II also imposed a settlement concerning the archbishopric of Tyre, whose jurisdiction was disputed between the patriarchates of Jerusalem and Antioch. At the Council of Benevento in 1113, he confirmed an earlier ruling of Urban II that if any prince won provinces or towns from unbelievers, then the churches there should henceforth belong to those territories: this

Passagium Generale

meant that in Outremer, ecclesiastical and political borders should coincide.

In general Paschal furthered crusading efforts when necessary or possible as pleasing to God, but only when asked to do so. He died on 21 January 1118.

–Uta-Renate Blumenthal

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Passagium Generale

A term that came to be applied to a large-scale crusading expedition in the later Middle Ages.

In medieval Latin the word *passagium* meant “passing over,” “crossing over,” or “transit”; it could also mean a journey, hence a pilgrimage, and so, from the early twelfth century, crusade. A *passagium*, naturally, could imply a sea journey, as in the commercial vocabulary of the Italian maritime cities. Normally, there were two voyages (Lat. *passagia*) per year to Outremer during Frankish rule. These were the spring passage or Easter passage (Lat. *passagium vernale* or *passagium paschae*) and the summer journey (Lat. *passagium aestivale*).

Passagium continued to be used as an equivalent term for *crusade*, but the term on its own without qualification was no longer deemed precise enough to meet the needs of crusade planners. That is why the distinction between *passagium generale* (general passage) and *passagium particulare* (particular passage) came into being, a distinction that allowed crusade planners to specify the sort of crusade that was needed in particular circumstances. This refinement reflects a growing sophistication about the practical conditions necessary for success, especially in matters of logistics and finance. Scholars are not agreed about exactly when the distinction between these two types of crusading *passagia* emerged. At the earliest, it would have appeared around the

time of the Second Council of Lyons (1274); at the latest during the preparation for the Hospitallers’ Crusade of 1309.

Essentially, the *passagium generale* now stood for the exceedingly costly, increasingly unrealistic, old-style, grand international crusading expedition, with large numbers of well-trained and well-equipped troops, yet also possibly including less-well-trained and less-well-equipped recruits who answered the papal summons. The idea of mounting a traditional *passagium generale* still prevailed officially at the Second Council of Lyons. That was what Pope Gregory X originally intended. More and more, however, the *passagium generale* became the hoped-for second, or culminating, phase of a projected two-pronged assault. For many crusade theorists and enthusiasts, however, it remained the model of what a “true” crusade should be, although it was becoming no more than a utopian aspiration.

–Gary Dickson

See also: Passagium Particulare

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Passagium Particulare

A term that came to be applied to a preliminary crusade or scaled-down crusading venture in the later Middle Ages.

To a certain extent, the *passagium particulare* (particular passage) existed in fact before it existed in name. As distinct from the well-known examples of the large-scale, international crusading expedition (Lat. *passagium generale*), the twelfth- and thirteenth-century precursors of the *passagium particulare* were relatively small-scale crusading ventures, perhaps a single expedition in a major crusade, but in any case usually associated with an individual noble from a specific region. The ineffectual crusades of Thibaud of Champagne and Richard of Cornwall (1239–1241) would be good thirteenth-century examples.

It was probably in the period immediately following the Second Council of Lyons (1274) and before the fall of Acre (mod. ‘Akko, Israel) to the Mamlūks (1291) that the idea of a *passagium particulare* began to take shape. It was certainly

named and conceptualized before the Crusade of 1309. Its coming marked a turning point in crusade planning, effectively indicating that the classic period of crusading was drawing to a close, when previous crusading failure indicated that new thinking was needed. In most respects the *passagium particulare* was a typical crusade, preached and authorized by the papacy and granted the usual plenary indulgence, but it had significant characteristics of its own. It was sometimes thought of as a *primum passagium* (first passage), that is, the first, or preliminary, phase of an intended two-stage operation, which the *passagium generale* was supposed to complete; or as a *passagium parvum* (small passage), a limited, small-scale crusade.

Whatever its label, its underlying strategy had much to commend it. Its limited aims and objectives made its success seem achievable. Although any crusade was costly, the more modest *passagium particulare*, with its smaller complement of crusaders, was definitely less costly to mount than the old-style *passagium generale*. Furthermore, a single, designated leader would eliminate damaging conflicts over field command. Then, too, the campaign could be short and well-targeted, with clearly understood objectives. Strategically, it was perfect for a sea raid or quick naval operation to enforce an economic blockade in the eastern Mediterranean.

It is no surprise that the coming of the *passagium particulare* coincided with the professionalization of the crusades and the increasing use of mercenary troops. Both indicate that practicality, not enthusiasm, had the upper hand.

—Gary Dickson

See also: Passagium Generale

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Passion of Jesus Christ, Order of the

See Philippe de Mézières

Paul II (1417–1471)

Pope (1464–1471), original name Pietro Barbo.

A Venetian by birth, Paul II was elected pope in 1464, in the immediate aftermath of the failed attempt of his predecessor, Pius II, to organize an expedition to recapture Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) from the Ottoman Turks. Consequently, he took a much more cautious line toward the preaching of a crusade and was sometimes reluctant to expend money on crusading projects. Paul established a special commission for the crusade at the beginning of his pontificate and set aside the revenues of the newly discovered alum mines at Tolfa in the Papal States for this purpose. Yet when Skanderbeg, the leader of Albanian resistance to Turkish expansion, visited Rome, the pope responded unenthusiastically to his requests for financial support.

Paul could not ignore the Ottoman threat altogether, especially when, in 1470, the Turks captured the Venetian-held Aegean island of Negroponte (Euboia). In response, Paul entered into a league with Venice, the king of Aragon, the king of Naples, and the Hospitallers of Rhodes, and the combined fleet took offensive action against the coast of Asia Minor during the reign of Paul's successor, Sixtus IV. Paul was also responsible for ordering the preaching of a crusade throughout Germany and Silesia against George of Poděbrad, the Hussite (Utraquist) king of Bohemia, in 1466. The call was taken up by the king of Hungary, Matthias Corvinus, but the ensuing campaign failed to eradicate Hussitism.

—Jonathan Harris

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Paul von Rusdorf (d. 1441)

Grand master of the Teutonic Order (1422–1441), who witnessed a significant decline of the order's power.

Rusdorf was born into the lesser nobility of the Rhineland. Nothing is known about his early career. From 1412 he held different offices in Prussia, before being elected grand master on 10 March 1422. Shortly afterward a war with Poland-Lithuania led to the peace of Lake Melno (27 September 1422), by which the order finally lost Samogitia, the area that connected its main territories of Prussia and Livonia. The

Peace and Truce of God

Prussian estates demanded greater independence from the order's lordship and subsequently founded the Prussian Union (Ger. *Preußischer Bund*) in 1440. At the same time the different branches of the order were drifting apart. In Prussia different factions quarreled over influence, and the German master opposed Rusdorf's policies. In 1439–1440 Rusdorf faced open rebellion: the German master even declared him deposed on the grounds of the so-called statutes of Grand Master Werner von Orseln (Ger. *Orselnsche Statuten*), a forgery that served to weaken the grand master's position. Despite his attempts to reunite the brethren, Rusdorf could not settle the order's internal affairs. On 2 January 1441 he resigned. A week later, on 9 January, he died at Marienburg (mod. Malbork, Poland), where he was buried in St. Anne's chapel.

—Axel Ehlers

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Peace and Truce of God

A peace movement that arose in tenth-century France; its ideas were revived by the papacy in connection with the crusades to the Holy Land.

The movement began as a response from bishops in the south and west of France to a breakdown of Carolingian authority and was manifested in two ways. The Peace of God (Lat. *pax Dei*), first proclaimed by Guy, bishop of Le Puy, in 975, was designed to protect noncombatants (clerics, women and children, and peasants) and their properties. The Truce of God (Lat. *treuga Dei*), first declared at an ecclesiastical council in Toulouges in 1027, established periods when fighting among Christians was to stop altogether (Lent, Sundays, and major feast days). As an episcopal initiative, peace and truce councils were most often called between about 1000 and 1070.

Bishops traditionally claimed responsibility for maintaining peace within their dioceses, but for much of its history the church encouraged kings to exercise their powers to

impose punishment on criminals. Through the tenth century, however, Carolingian governance devolved to local nobles, many of whom could not sufficiently control lesser lords and knights whose livelihoods depended upon war. Moreover, prestige among rival families rested on the feud, which exacerbated the violence. Thus, bishops, no longer able to depend on royal justice, proclaimed the peace, but for the first time they sought to establish the means to punish the recalcitrant as well, through oaths and militias.

Monastic chroniclers such as Radulf Glaber and Adhemar of Chabannes relate how councils to proclaim the peace spread from Aquitaine and Languedoc throughout France. Councils involved large crowds of lay persons and clerics, who met in fields to accommodate their numbers. Participants swore to defend the peace over relics of saints, who were often described as witnesses to the proceedings. A notable example of such a peace association of laymen and ecclesiastics was the Peace League of Bourges, led by Archbishop Aimon in the late 1030s, whose members took an oath over the relics of St. Stephen to fight those who broke the peace. The defenders of the peace fought under the archbishop's banner. Though the league was soon defeated, its forms clearly suggest those seen at the Council of Clermont in 1095: the preaching of controlled violence under ecclesiastical leadership, oath taking, and extensive lay participation.

Statutes concerning the peace and truce grew ever more specific and varied over time. The Council of Poitiers (1023), for example, proclaimed that disputes over property should be resolved by law and consultation, not by feuds. Other councils sometimes outlined expectations of sanctuary and hospitality. Statutes mostly sought to delimit local conflicts and to protect the unarmed, not to end the status and vocation of the knightly order. Indeed, only at the Council of Narbonne in 1054 was all bloodshed between Christians condemned. Although historians rightly speak of the Peace of God "movement," one must be mindful that councils tackled regional concerns with regional solutions. Moreover, the movement was significantly different outside France: although occasionally proclaimed in England or the Holy Roman Empire, councils there met mostly after the 1050s, usually in response to specific and temporary crises, not to a disintegration of royal or imperial authority.

Participation in peace associations, and especially commitment to the truce, conveyed spiritual prestige on bellicose nobles and knights, which helped cultivate chivalric ideals

of Christian knighthood. Associations also fostered embryonic notions of civic activity among the farmers and merchants who took part. The movement thus inadvertently helped reestablish lay authority, which mitigated the need for peace associations as organized by bishops. The ideals of the movement were revived by Pope Urban II, who proclaimed the peace at the Council of Clermont in 1095 before he preached the crusade, a precedent that came to be followed by his successors. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, papal declarations of peace invariably preceded calls to undertake a crusade, yet their concern was specifically to protect the families and properties left behind by crusaders. Punitive incursions against rebellious lords led by King Louis VI of France (1108–1137), concluded by his son Louis VII before the 1150s, ensured reestablishment of the idea that peace was to be proclaimed and adjudicated by the king.

—Christopher K. Gardner

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Peipus, Battle of Lake (1242)

The battle of Lake Peipus (mod. Peipsi Järv, Estonia, Chudskoe Ozero, Russia) is more significant for its place in the national consciousness of Russia than as a military episode. In fact the battle itself was a small-scale affair, but it came to epitomize Russia's struggle against Western interference. Similarly, the victory of a Russian Orthodox army over a force of Latin (i.e., Roman Catholic) crusaders became a symbol of the Orthodox determination to retain a distinct identity.

In the 1220s, as the Mongols attacked southern Russia, Danish and German crusaders conquered pagan Estonia. In response the Russians set about converting other Finno-

Ugrian peoples to Orthodox Christianity. In addition to religious and political rivalry, there was also economic rivalry over access to Baltic trade. While the Mongols launched a second invasion of the south, friction increased between the newly established Baltic crusader territories and Russian Novgorod, culminating in the organization of a "Novgorod Crusade" in 1237. However, an invasion of Novgorodian territory in 1240–1241 faltered when Prince Alexander Yaroslavich of Novgorod defeated the Swedes at the River Neva, from which he was later known as "Nevskii."

Prince Alexander now launched a counteroffensive, which culminated in a battle on the eastern shore of the frozen Lake Peipus. Here Alexander's army, possibly supported by a contingent of Mongols, defeated a force of German crusaders from Livonia, Danes from Northern Estonia, and Estonian tribal auxiliaries under the command of the bishop of Dorpat.

It seems that the crusaders were pursuing the Russians, who had been raiding crusader territory. The latter retreated across Lake Peipus before adopting a defensive position on the far shore. A charge by the heavily armoured crusader knights was expected to break the enemy line, but instead the Russians absorbed the shock and attacked the crusaders' flanks. Part of the crusader vanguard, including members of the recently disbanded Order of the Sword Brethren who had been absorbed into the Teutonic Order, was virtually wiped out, while the rest of the crusader army fled across the ice. Whether or not the ice gave way is unknown, although this did become part of Russian folklore.

Defeat at Lake Peipus undermined crusader prestige, contributing to an uprising by Estonians against Danish rule and by Prussians against the Teutonic Knights. In 1246 Prince Alexander submitted to the Mongol Great Khan, and six years later, with Mongol approval, he became grand prince of all Russia under Mongol overlordship.

—David Nicolle

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Pelagius of Albano (d. 1230)

Cardinal and papal legate during the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221).

Pelagius served as cardinal-deacon of St. Lucia in Septasolium (1206/1207–1211), cardinal-priest of St. Cecilia (1211–1213), and cardinal-bishop of Albano (1213–1230). By 1213, his skill as a papal auditor earned him the unenviable task of reforming Latin and native ecclesiastics in the recently established Latin Empire of Constantinople while facilitating the union of the Roman and Greek Orthodox churches. Although nominated to the Latin patriarchate of Antioch, Pelagius returned to Italy by 1215 and was appointed legate for Pope Innocent III's long-planned crusade to the Holy Land. As legate, he was to combine the reform of the church in Outremer with serving as peacekeeper and disciplinarian for the crusading army. Delayed by affairs in Cyprus, he joined the crusading army then besieging the port of Damietta in Egypt (1218).

As head of the papally subsidized Roman fleet and dispenser of the crusading funds forwarded from Europe, Pelagius was initially only one of many spiritual and military leaders in the army, but soon assumed a decisive leadership role during ensuing crises. With the support of other clergymen, he promulgated laws governing the army and wielded his legatine powers of excommunication and ability to grant indulgences to hold the army together in anticipation of the advent of the crusade's presumed leader, Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor and king of Sicily. Because they expected reinforcements, Pelagius and other parties rejected the truces offered by the sultan of Egypt both before and after the capture of Damietta.

In 1221, after the departure of John of Brienne, king of Jerusalem, and the arrival of Frederick II's representative, Duke Ludwig I of Bavaria, Pelagius urged the army to advance. He supported his arguments partly with prophecies circulating in the crusader camp that a Christian King David and a Western emperor (glossed as Frederick II) would take Cairo in the near future. Although some contemporary chroniclers and poets blamed the army's subsequent defeat and surrender to the sultan of Egypt upon Pelagius's inept strategizing, the army's variable supply of funding and men and Frederick II's delayed participation sealed the crusade's disastrous denouement.

Immediately after his release by the sultan of Egypt, Pelagius attempted to resolve the contested succession to the principality of Antioch, which threatened to further weaken

the Frankish states in Outremer. He also strove to redress conflicts between the Latin and Greek clergy in Cyprus, which were similar to those he had previously encountered in the Empire of Constantinople. He later became involved in the planning of Frederick II's crusade at the councils of Ferentino (1223) and San Germano (1225). After Pope Gregory IX excommunicated Frederick for failing to depart in 1227, the pope took advantage of Frederick's absence on crusade to dispatch Pelagius and the legate Pandulf to Sicily with a papal army in support of John of Brienne's claim to the Western emperorship, which John abandoned after his election as Latin emperor of Constantinople. After Frederick II's victorious return to Europe, Pelagius participated in negotiations between the emperor and Gregory IX before his death in 1230.

—Jessalynn Bird

See also: Fifth Crusade (1217–1221)

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Pelagonia, Battle of (1259)

A battle in northern Greece between a coalition of Franks, led by William II of Villehardouin, prince of Achaia, and a Byzantine army from the Empire of Nicaea.

In 1257, the forces of Manfred of Staufen, king of Sicily, occupied the port of Durazzo (mod. Durrës, Albania) and parts of Albania and Epiros as well as the island of Corfu (mod. Kerkira, Greece). In order to regain some of his losses, Michael II, despot of Epiros, married his daughter Helena to Manfred, and another daughter, Anna, to William II of Achaia. After the death of Theodore II Laskaris, emperor of Nicaea, Michael II planned to expand his territory toward Thessalonica (mod. Thessaloniki, Greece) with the support of his sons-in-law. During the spring of 1257, William joined his troops with these of Michael II, the latter's illegitimate son John Doukas, and Manfred's knights from Sicily. Meanwhile the emperor of Nicaea, Michael VIII Palaiologos, sent his brother John with a large army to Macedonia. When

Michael II and John Doukas abandoned the alliance, the outnumbered Franks and Sicilians were heavily defeated at Pelagonia in Macedonia (summer 1250). Prince William and many barons were taken prisoner.

Pelagonia was a prelude to important alterations in the political landscape. On 25 July 1261 Constantinople was recaptured from the Latins, while Prince William and his barons were freed only after having agreed to deliver to the Byzantines several castles in the Peloponnese (end of 1261).

—Benjamin Hendrickx

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Penance

See Indulgences and Penance

People's Crusades (1096)

The terms *People's Crusades* or *People's Expeditions* are generally applied to a series of expeditions that can be regarded as the initial wave of the First Crusade (1096–1099) proclaimed by Pope Urban II. The designation Peasants' Crusade, often encountered in older or more popular publications, is misleading: participants included clerics, knights, and nobles (who often played leading roles) as well as townspeople and peasants and other country dwellers.

The main features that distinguished the People's Crusades from subsequent waves (the so-called princes' expeditions) were the facts that they set off before the official departure date proclaimed by the pope, the Feast of the Assumption (15 August 1096); that they probably contained a much lower proportion of arms bearers; and that they had considerably inferior organization, coherence, and discipline.

As news of the appeal of Urban II at the Council of Clermont (27 November 1095) spread throughout western Europe, his idea of a penitential pilgrimage to liberate the Christians of the East was rapidly taken up by popular

preachers, who began to preach an expedition to Jerusalem on their own initiative. The first of these was the charismatic speaker Peter the Hermit, originally from Amiens in Picardy, who began to preach in central France at a point so soon after Urban's appeal that much older scholarship regarded him as the initiator of the First Crusade. By the winter and spring of 1096, the preaching of Peter and others had set numerous groups in motion that attracted more followers as they travelled east. However, overall progress was slow, and often interrupted by further preaching, recruitment, and fund-raising activities. Many participants left with minimal preparation or provisioning, trusting to divine providence, and funds were often obtained by charity or by force.

Peter and his followers extorted money from the Jews of Rouen and Trier as they marched toward the Rhineland, but the eschatological fervor generated by crusade preaching escalated to the point where many crusaders believed that it was desirable for them to punish the Jews of the West, as perceived enemies of Christendom, before going on to fight the Turkish enemy in the East. While Peter's followers contented themselves with extortion and plunder, other groups carried out a series of anti-Judaic persecutions, resulting in the destruction of Judaic Jewish communities in several towns of Germany through massacre and forced conversion, even though persecution of the Jews had been forbidden by Henry IV of Germany and forced baptism was prohibited in canon law. Many Jews preferred to be killed, or even to kill themselves, rather than convert. Nevertheless, not all of the People's Crusades indulged in anti-Judaic persecution; in some cases (possibly at Cologne and Trier, for example), massacres were initiated or carried out by local urban populations, often in defiance of their episcopal overlords.

The People's Crusades are described in greatest detail by the chronicler Albert of Aachen and by Hebrew sources; useful information is also provided by Robert of Rheims, Baldric of Dol, Peter Tudebode, Guibert of Nogent, Orderic Vitalis, William of Tyre, Anna Komnene, the *Gesta Francorum*, and Frutolf of Michelsberg. The composition of these crusades and the numbers involved are difficult to establish with certainty, as, particularly in the Rhineland, several groups broke up and reformed or dispersed.

It is possible to identify at least eight originally distinct major groupings, in approximate order of their departure: (1) The first, and probably largest army was recruited by Peter the Hermit, who had already begun to preach by December 1095, attracting numerous followers as he moved

People's Crusades (1096)



Crusaders of Peter the Hermit are massacred by Turks in a surprise attack. From *Passages Faits Outremer*, c.1490. (Snark/Art Resource)

through Berry, Champagne, the Ile-de-France, and Picardy, then through Lower Lotharingia to Trier and Cologne (12 April 1096). (2) Around the same time the knight Walter Sans-Avoir, with followers from the Ile-de-France, also marched into the Rhineland, and moved ahead of Peter's army after reaching Cologne. (3) At the end of April 1096 a priest from the Rhineland named Gottschalk moved south and east, collecting an army from Lotharingia, Franconia,

Bavaria, and Swabia; it had a high proportion of knights and its journey as far as Hungary was peaceful. (4) More Germans, and possibly French, followed a priest named Folkmar from the Rhineland and traveled through Saxony and Bohemia. (5) In late April or early May a nobleman from the Rhineland, Emicho, count of Flonheim, collected an army from the region of Mainz, and marched on the city. (6) There his forces were joined by large numbers of crusaders from

the Ile-de-France and Picardy, including Thomas of La Fère, lord of Coucy, Clarembald of Vendeuil, and William the Carpenter, viscount of Melun, who had already attacked the Jews of Metz and Speyer. After the inhabitants of Mainz eventually opened the gates, the crusaders massacred the Jewish population on 27 May. This combined French and German army continued toward Hungary under Emicho's leadership, but the notion that Emicho was accompanied by southern German bishops, dukes, and counts is an anachronistic construction of the sixteenth-century *Chronicle of Zimmern*. (7) The final major northern group originated from northern France, England, Flanders, and Lotharingia, arriving at Cologne in June, and carrying out attacks in villages in the surrounding countryside where the Jews of the city had fled for safety (24–27 June). (8) Lastly, crusaders from Lombardy, Liguria, and other parts of Italy were probably already on the move by the time the other groups reached the Hungarian frontiers. Attacks on Jews are also known to have occurred in Speyer, Worms, Regensburg, and Prague, but the precise responsibility for these cannot be determined with certainty.

The French and German groups moved up the Rhine and along the Danube, intending to march to Constantinople (mod. Istanbul, Turkey) through Hungary and the Balkans. The army of Walter Sans-Avoir, which seems to have been the best-disciplined force, proceeded largely without incident through Hungary and Byzantine territory, reaching Constantinople in mid-July 1096. The Byzantine authorities were evidently unprepared for crusaders so early in the year, and the passage of Peter's army, which was the biggest contingent, led to problems of supply, plundering, and skirmishes with Byzantine troops. They arrived in Constantinople on 1 August and were joined there by the North Italians.

For reasons of security the Byzantine emperor Alexios I Komnenos was keen to move the crusaders on from the environs of Constantinople, and on 6 August he had the combined forces of Peter, Walter, and the Italians ferried across the Bosphorus, advising them to remain on Byzantine territory until the arrival of further contingents. They based themselves at Kibotos, a fortress on the Sea of Marmara, but by mid-September they were undertaking ever bolder raids into the territory of Qilij Arslan I, sultan of Rûm. On 29 September a Turkish army surrounded a force of Germans and Italians who had seized a castle called Xerigordon, massacring them after a siege of a week. The Turks then advanced on Kibotos. Peter the Hermit was absent in Con-

stantinople, and Walter Sans-Avoir was unable to persuade the crusaders to wait for him to return. The army marched out, but was surprised and routed by the Turks, who then overran the crusader camp (21 October 1096). A few crusaders who had taken refuge in Kibotos were eventually evacuated by Byzantine forces. The forces of Folkmar, Gottschalk, and Emicho did not advance further than the Hungarian frontier, where they were dispersed by the troops of King Coloman.

The People's Crusades had disastrous consequences for the Jews of the German Empire and severely tested relations with the crusaders' Byzantine allies. Militarily they achieved almost nothing. Only Peter the Hermit and a relatively small number of crusaders survived the defeats of 1096 to join the princes' expeditions.

—Alan V. Murray

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Peasants' Crusade

See People's Crusades (1096)

Perche, Counts of

The Rotrou dynasty, counts of the Perche, a district between Chartres and Alençon in northern France, exemplifies a repeated commitment to the crusading ideal from 1096 to the beginning of the thirteenth century.

The family's earliest crusader, Count Rotrou II (1099–1144), took part in the First Crusade (1096–1099) and is an important figure in Old French crusading epics, particularly the *Chanson d'Antioche*. He is known to have returned to Jerusalem on at least one other occasion, and he also fought against the Muslims in Spain, where he was governor of Tudela for a number of years (c. 1123–c. 1135).

Rotrou II's eldest son, Rotrou III (1144–1191), had no connection with the East until the late 1180s, when he acted as an envoy between the two crusading kings Richard I of England and Philip II Augustus of France. On the Third Crusade (1189–1192) Rotrou served with Philip's forces and died at Acre in July 1191. His son Count Geoffrey III (1191–1202) had accompanied Richard, probably because he was married to Matilda of Saxony, Richard's niece, and Geoffrey remained in the Holy Land for more than a year after his father's death, leaving the Perche to be ruled by Matilda and his younger brother Stephen. King Richard mentions Geoffrey by name as a crusading comrade in his best-known song, "Ja nus hons pris."

Geoffrey's participation in the crusade left him debt-ridden, and the Cluniac priory at Nogent-le-Rotrou paid him the substantial sum of £200 Angevin for his confirmation of their rights. Nevertheless, he figured as one of the leading lights in the planning of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) before his sudden death in March 1202. Stephen took over the contingent from the Perche and proceeded to Venice but fell ill and did not sail for Zara and Constantinople. He may have disagreed with the diversion of the crusade by its leaders, for he preferred to make his way independently to the Holy Land, where he spent at least one campaigning season before rejoining the crusaders in 1204–1205. He was made duke of Philadelphia (mod. Alaşehir, Turkey) by Baldwin I, Latin emperor of Constantinople, but was killed at the battle of Adrianople (mod. Edirne, Turkey) (1205).

After the death of Geoffrey's son Thomas (1202–1217), Geoffrey's brother William, bishop of Châlons-en-Champagne, became count of the Perche (1217–1226). It was in response to a letter from William that Pope Honorius III redirected to the Albigensian Crusade the proceeds of a tax intended to fund campaigns in the Holy Land.

The family's crusading connections were consolidated in marriage alliances. Rotrou II's sister Matilda married Viscount Raymond of Turenne, who also took part in the First Crusade and the conflict in Spain. Rotrou II's daughter Philippa married Helias, son of Count Fulk of Anjou, who later became king of Jerusalem (1131–1142), and useful information about the family is preserved in the unlikely source of William of Tyre. Rotrou II's second wife, Hawise, married as her second husband Robert (brother of King Louis VII of France), who played a minor role in the Second Crusade. Matilda (Richenza), the wife of Geoffrey III, was a daughter of Henry the Lion of Saxony, himself a crusader, and her second husband, Enguerrand of Coucy, took part in the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229).

—Kathleen Thompson

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Peter I of Cyprus (1329–1369)

King of Cyprus, titular king of Jerusalem (1359–1369), and leader of a crusade that captured the port of Alexandria in Egypt in 1365.

The son of King Hugh IV of Cyprus, Peter succeeded his father on the throne in preference to his nephew (also named Hugh), the son of his deceased elder brother. It would seem that Peter was crowned king in 1358, about a year before his father's death, in what was presumably an attempt to preempt the younger Hugh's challenge. At the outset of his reign Peter took steps to safeguard from Turkish depredations the shipping lanes linking Cyprus to the West, and it was with this program in mind that he occupied the Anatolian ports of Gorchigos (mod. Korykos, Turkey) in 1360 and Attaleia (mod. Antalya, Turkey) in 1361.

In 1362 Peter set off for the West to establish his rights to the throne beyond doubt at the papal court. On his arrival at Avignon in 1363 he and his nephew were reconciled, and it was there that Peter took the cross. It could be that Peter's enthusiastic espousal of the crusade that was then being prepared was inspired, at least in part, by the need to gain the pope's support in his dealings with his nephew. He then

embarked on a lengthy tour of Europe to raise support for the crusade, during which time the king of France, John II, died, thereby effectively leaving Peter as the leader of the expedition.

It was not until June 1365 that Peter and the crusaders set out from Venice. At Rhodes (mod. Rodos, Greece) they rendezvoused with the forces from Cyprus, and the combined fleet sailed to Alexandria, which they captured and partly destroyed. Peter appears to have hoped to retain control there, but to no avail, and he and his forces withdrew to Cyprus. Peter was now at war with the Mamlūk sultanate, and he led further attacks on Mamlūk ports during 1367. Propaganda emanating from both Peter himself and the papal court insisted that his whole aim in launching this attack was to win Jerusalem for Christendom once more, but when Peter turned to negotiation, it seems that he was more concerned to obtain favorable trading concessions for his subjects. It may be wondered whether commercial advantage had been his main aim all along. In the event the financial strain of the war took its toll, and when Peter returned from a largely unsuccessful second visit to the West toward the end of 1368, his violent and unpredictable behavior toward those around him led directly to a palace coup d'état in which his own brothers were implicated. Peter was stabbed to death by his own vassals in January 1369, and peace with the Mamlūk sultanate was eventually reached in 1370.

—Peter W. Edbury

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Peter II of Cyprus (d. 1382)

King of Cyprus and titular king of Jerusalem (1369–1382). Peter followed his father, Peter I, on the throne of Cyprus.

In 1372 a riot at his coronation as king of Jerusalem left a number of Genoese merchants dead, whereupon the republic of Genoa organized a fleet to exact reparations. Fighting began in 1373. The Genoese captured Famagusta (mod. Ammochostos) and overran most of the island. The war ended the following year with the Genoese imposing a heavy tribute and retaining the port of Famagusta, which they were to hold until 1464. Many Cypriot nobles, including Peter's uncle and successor, the future James I (1382–1398), were taken prisoner to Genoa. During the remainder of his reign Peter ignored the financial demands and tried unsuccessfully to dislodge the Genoese from Famagusta.

—Peter W. Edbury

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Peter of Astenois

See Peter of Dampierre

Peter of Blois (d. 1211)

Theologian and author of three treatises relating to crusading, as well as numerous theological works and letters.

Peter's Latin crusade treatises were written in the aftermath of the defeat of the army of the kingdom of Jerusalem by Saladin at Hattin (4 July 1187), and were intended to encourage recruitment for a new crusading effort in the West. At this time Peter was in the service of Baldwin of Ford, archbishop of Canterbury, with whom he later went to Palestine in the course of the Third Crusade (1189–1192), during which Baldwin died (19/20 November 1190). Peter returned to England in 1191.

Peter's first crusade treatise was the *Passio Reginaldi(s)*, which begins with a lament for the Holy Land after the Muslim conquest, news of which reached Peter while he was at the papal court in Italy with Baldwin. The *Passio* develops into an account of the life and death of Reynald of Châtillon, lord of Transjordan, who was executed by Saladin after his capture at Hattin. Reynald is depicted in hagiographic terms as a heroic Christian example to crusaders, a martyr and potential saint.

The *Dialogus inter regem Henricum secundum et abbatem Bonnevallensem* is an exposition of the problems

Peter of Castelnau (d. 1208)

faced by King Henry II of England during the rebellion of his sons. It is framed in the form of a dialogue between the king and an unnamed abbot of Bonnevaux, a Benedictine abbey in Maine. The dialogue appears to conclude with agreement that the king could achieve salvation by leading a new crusade, but it was clearly never completed, finishing in mid-sentence.

The most popular of the three crusade treatises was the *Conquestio de dilatione vie Ierosolimitane*. This lament for the fall of Jerusalem criticizes Christian rulers for their tardiness in coming to the aid of the Holy Land and stresses the importance of spiritual reform as a precondition of crusading.

—Alan V. Murray

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Peter of Castelnau (d. 1208)

Cistercian monk and papal legate whose murder led to the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229).

Peter came from Castelnau-le-Nez near Montpellier in Languedoc and was first a canon and then archdeacon of Maguelonne. Although trained in law, he entered the Cistercian monastery of Fontfroide in 1202. In 1203 and 1204 Pope Innocent III gave Peter and other Cistercian monks broad authority as papal legates to act against heretics and their supporters in southern France. The legates experienced little success.

In April 1207 Peter excommunicated Count Raymond VI of Toulouse for various reasons, including protecting heretics. Peter was murdered near Saint-Gilles on 14 or 15 January 1208. Although it was never established that Raymond was responsible, Peter's death led Innocent to initiate a crusade against the heretics of southern France and their supporters.

Peter is revered as "blessed" in the Roman Catholic Church and his feast day is celebrated in several churches of southern France.

—John C. Moore

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Peter of Constantinople (d. 1217)

Latin emperor of Constantinople (1217).

A member of the influential French Courtenay family, Peter was a great-grandson of King Louis VI of France and a cousin of King Philip II Augustus. Through his first wife he became count of Auxerre and Tonnerre. By his second wife, Yolande of Flanders, sister of the Latin emperors Baldwin I and Henry, Peter became marquis of Namur. He succeeded as Latin emperor of Constantinople on the death of Emperor Henry (1216), when the barons of the empire appointed Conon of Béthune as regent and invited Peter and Yolande to take the throne. After investing their oldest son, Philip, with the marquisate of Namur, Peter and Yolande set out from Namur with around 160 knights and 5,500 sergeants to Rome, where they were crowned outside the city walls by Pope Honorius III in the church of St. Laurence on 17 April 1217. Previously (11 April) they had guaranteed on oath to respect the conventions made between the previous Latin emperors, the barons of Constantinople, and the Venetians.

Peter's first political act (9/16 April) was to invest William of Montferrat and his half-brother Demetrius (son of Boniface of Montferrat and Maria of Hungary) with the kingdom of Thessalonica; he thus reversed the policy of his predecessor, Henry of Flanders, toward this kingdom. From Brindisi, the Venetians transported Peter and his troops to Dyrachion (mod. Durrës, Albania), which he was to conquer for Venice, before traversing the territory of the ruler of Epiros, Theodore Komnenos Doukas, and then following the Via Egnatia to Constantinople. Yolande reached Constantinople by sea, but Peter's ill-conceived plan went wrong when he

had to abandon the siege of Dyracchion. Then, in the mountains of Albania, he was ambushed by Theodore, who had promised safe passage for the emperor and his troops to the papal legate John Colonna who was accompanying him. Peter was taken prisoner and almost all his troops perished. Colonna was freed after pressure by the pope. By 1218, it became generally accepted in the West that Peter had died in prison.

Peter's capture and death were a serious blow to the Latin Empire, while Theodore of Epiros established himself as a contender for the Byzantine throne. Two of Peter's sons, Robert and Baldwin II, succeeded him in turn as Latin emperors. His daughters, Agnes and Marie, married, respectively, Geoffrey II, prince of Achaia, and Theodore I Laskaris, emperor of Nicaea.

—Benjamin Hendrickx

See also: Constantinople, Latin Empire of

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Peter of Courtenay

See Peter of Constantinople

Peter of Dampierre

Participant in the First Crusade (1096–1099).

Peter was a younger son of Frederick I, count of Astenois, and Gertrude, daughter of Count Rainald II of Toul. He is sometimes wrongly referred to as if he originated from Steynay on the River Meuse. This error derives from a mistaken

interpretation of one of the designations used for him in the Latin sources (*Petrus de Stadeneis*), which relates to his county of Astenois, a district of Champagne. His main stronghold was Dampierre-le-Château near Sainte-Menehould. He and his brother Rainald III, count of Toul, took part in the crusade in the army of their kinsman Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lower Lotharingia. He returned home in the summer of 1099.

—Alan V. Murray

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Peter von Dusburg (d. c. 1330)

Priest in the Teutonic Order and author of the *Chronicon Terrae Prussiae*, a Latin chronicle of the order's early history.

Peter von Dusburg is thought to have been born at Duisburg in the Rhineland. He wrote his chronicle at Königsberg (mod. Kaliningrad, Russia), dedicating it to the Grand Master Werner von Orseln. It is the first comprehensive history of the Teutonic Order, and details its foundation, its transfer to Prussia, and its subsequent campaigns until 1330. It is largely based on oral tradition in the order, but Dusburg also used the prologue of the statutes of the order and the *Narratio de primordiis ordinis Theutonici*, an account of the order's history written in the mid-thirteenth century. He also used the chronicles of Martin of Troppau and Tolomeo of Lucca to place the order's history in a wider context. Chapters 221–362, covering the final thirty years, are thought to be eyewitness accounts.

Although it is the main source for the early history of the order, the chronicle appears to have been written primarily as a devotional and inspirational work for its members. Extensive references to the heroes of the historical books of the Old Testament and to St. Paul's allegory of spiritual weaponry develop the idea of the *militia Christi* (knighthood of Christ) within the context of the wars in Prussia and reinforce the order's claim that its Baltic campaigns were in the same tradition as the earlier crusades to the Holy Land. The chronicle was translated into Middle High German by Nico-

Peter the Hermit

laus von Jeroschin shortly after its completion, and it is that version of the work that was most widely disseminated.

—Mary Fischer

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Peter the Hermit

Preacher and leader of one of the so-called people's expeditions during the First Crusade (1096–1099). He was also known as Peter of Amiens, having been born in or near that city in northern France.

Peter the Hermit is one of the most problematic individuals associated with the entire crusade movement. The contemporary sources for the First Crusade are unanimous in presenting him as the leader of one of the armies of the crusade. The "French" chroniclers, notably Fulcher of Chartres, Peter Tudebode, Raymond of Aguilers, and the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum*, report nothing of his activities until his arrival at Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey). There, according to the Anonymous and Tudebode, his undisciplined troops carried out acts of violence until Alexios I Komnenos, the Byzantine emperor, had them ferried across the Bosphorus to Asia Minor. There, they allegedly continued their wrongdoings and, under the inadequate command of Peter, who lacked authority, strayed too far into Turkish territory and were slaughtered at Kibotos (22 October 1096). The emperor, not sorry to be rid of them, rescued the survivors (among them Peter) and had them disarmed. For many historians, both medieval and modern, Peter's subsequent role in the crusade was a minor one.

All the sources, however, agree that Peter later acted as ambassador of the entire crusade armies to the Turkish

emir Karbughā, while they were being besieged by him at Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) in June 1098. They were starving and had lost most of their horses, but were comforted by the discovery of the Holy Lance that had been predicted by visions. Their fate depended on Peter's mission: his aim was to obtain either the conversion of Karbughā or a single combat, their only plausible chances of salvation. Yet according to some of the "French" sources, Peter had previously tried to desert from the army along with William the Carpenter (January 1098). One can only wonder that the mission to Karbughā should have been entrusted to Peter, who was discredited by his incompetence and his ignominious flight. Karbughā refused the crusaders' demands, and the ensuing battle was won by the crusaders, miraculously assisted, it was claimed, by celestial warriors (28 June 1098). According to Raymond of Aguilers, Peter was also chosen to receive and distribute the tithes that the crusade leaders arranged for the relief of the poor within the army. Finally, most sources highlight Peter's important role in Jerusalem after the capture of the city (15 July 1099). While the majority of the crusaders left Jerusalem in order to intercept a Fāṭimid relieving army from Egypt, which they defeated at Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel) on 12 August 1099, the leaders gave Peter the responsibility of organizing, among the Latin and Greek clergy in Jerusalem, the processions and propitiatory prayers that they hoped would bring them victory. Peter was thus evidently assigned the biblical role of Moses, who prayed to God while Joshua fought against the Amalekites.

These indubitable facts call for a reexamination of those accounts that are more favorable and more detailed with respect to Peter, particularly that of Albert of Aachen, once neglected but now rehabilitated as a source of the first order. According to Albert, while undertaking a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Peter had experienced a vision of Christ asking him to preach in favor of an expedition to rescue the Christians in the East and to liberate the Holy Sepulchre. Peter is said to have received a letter from the patriarch of Jerusalem confirming this calling, and, upon his return, to have informed the pope of his divinely ordained mission before going to preach in Berry and the Amiénois, as well as the Moselle and Rhine regions, exhibiting letters that had supposedly fallen from the sky, in an atmosphere of wonder and exaltation.

The chronicler Guibert of Nogent, who actually met Peter, gives a description of him that highlights his charisma and

his great popularity: the crowd saw him as a quasi-divine character and venerated him so much that they even pulled hairs from his mule to use as relics. The Jewish sources confirm his power over crowds as well as his use of letters: Peter indeed possessed a letter from the French Jews “advising” other Jewish communities to provide him with the financial help he asked for. According to several German sources, he assembled 15,000 men, and soon found fanatical emulators: the priests Volkmar and Gottschalk and Count Emicho of Flonheim each assembled forces of several thousand men. These forces, especially those of Emicho, carried out terrible pogroms among the Jewish communities of the Rhineland and also of Prague; these occurred for reasons of cupidity, because of the identification of Jews with Muslims as “enemies of Christ,” and also because of a desire to fulfill, by force if necessary, a prophetic tradition that announced the conversion of Jews at the end of time. Emicho indeed evidently styled himself as the king of the last days who was to unite the Greek and Latin churches and present Christ with his crown at the Mount of Olives. These troops were finally dispersed during their passage through Hungary and Bulgaria by the armies of local rulers. The expedition led by Peter the Hermit, which preceded the others, does not seem to have taken part in these pogroms.

In March 1096, Peter and his army marched along the Rhine and the Danube, without any incident other than a skirmish in Semlin. They arrived at Constantinople on 1 August. Emperor Alexios I allowed them to camp outside the city walls, received Peter cordially the next day, and gave him money in recompense for the treasury that had been seized by the Byzantine governor at Niš. Alexios had them transported over the Bosphorus to the Asian shore; there they were meant to await the arrival of the main crusade armies, which were due to depart from their homes on 15 August. The emperor promised to provide them with fresh supplies and recommended that they not stray too far from the coast. According to Albert of Aachen, Peter was in Constantinople negotiating for supplies when some reckless crusaders brought about the slaughter of his troops by going against the orders of his second-in-command. It thus seems that neither Peter nor the emperor bore the responsibility for this disaster. Neither Albert nor Anna Komnene, the daughter of Alexios, states that Peter’s troops carried out any plundering in Constantinople, although they emphasize the damage caused by those of Godfrey of Bouillon. Anna sees Peter as the real initiator of the First Crusade; according to



Peter the Hermit preaching the First Crusade. (Pixel That)

her, he preached it so that he might complete a previous, unfinished pilgrimage.

These sources thus present Peter as a charismatic individual invested with a mission that he claimed he had received directly from Christ. The subversive dimension of his character, his independence from the pope, the slaughter of his troops (sometimes regarded as a divine judgment), and his agreement with the Byzantine emperor probably led some chroniclers to minimize the part he played in the crusade. The *Gesta Francorum* certainly does so, and most of the “French” sources follow this account. However, this source was written when Prince Bohemund I of Antioch, the master of the anonymous chronicler, went to France with the aim of securing help against Emperor Alexios, his enemy (1105–1106). The author evidently sought to discredit the emperor and those favorable to him, including Peter. This

motive could well explain the report of his alleged flight from Antioch. It is mentioned by seven sources: the *Gesta Francorum*, Peter Tudebode, Robert of Rheims, Guibert of Nogent, Baldric of Bourgueil, Orderic Vitalis, and the *Historia Belli Sacri*; however, all of these are dependent on the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum*, with the (possible) exception of Tudebode. Conversely, Peter's desertion is not mentioned by seven independent chroniclers (Fulcher of Chartres, Raymond of Aguilers, Albert of Aachen, Radulph of Caen, Gilo of Paris, Ekkehard of Aura, and William of Tyre) or in any of the surviving letters sent by participants of the crusade. Moreover, according to the *Gesta Francorum*, the two deserters at Antioch were brought back to the camp by Tancred, Bohemund's nephew; yet Radulph of Caen, a source close to Tancred, names the deserters as William the Carpenter and Guy the Red. In 1105 Guy was an important personage: he was seneschal of France and was endeavoring to marry his daughter to the king of France, a marriage that did indeed take place before being annulled by the Council of Troyes (1107). It would be understandable that the author of the *Gesta Francorum* would choose to replace the name of such an important person with that of the humble hermit Peter.

By this stage in the crusade, Peter's prestige had been largely lost. Whether this was a result of the disillusion caused by disappointed eschatological hopes is not known. It is even uncertain what became of Peter after the conclusion of the crusade. There was a tradition, based on a few much debated documents, that on his return he founded a church at the monastery of Neufmoutier in Huy. This was supposedly where he died (perhaps around 1113) and was buried. Later legends that depict him as a nobleman, an erudite knight, and tutor to the Flemish princes are based on obvious forgeries.

—Jean Flori

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Peter Tudebode

Participant in the First Crusade (1096–1099) and author of a Latin chronicle based on the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*.

Much discussion has centered on the precise relationship between these two chronicles. It used to be thought that the *Gesta Francorum* was the derivative work, so that in the edition published in the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades* in 1866, the anonymous work followed Tudebode's history and was given the alternative title of *Tudebodus abbreviatus* (Tudebode Abridged). However, it is now generally accepted that Tudebode used the *Gesta Francorum*, adding some information from his own experience. This additional material includes the death of his brother, the death of the crusader Rainald Porchet, and a significant attack on the Bridge Gate, all of which took place at Antioch. In general Tudebode is less admiring of Bohemund I of Antioch than his exemplar. The work is found in four manuscripts, of which three date from the twelfth century.

—Susan B. Edgington

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Peter of Vaux-de-Cernay (d. 1218)

Author of the *Historia Albigensis*, a history of the anti-Cathar preaching mission and the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229) in southern France.

Probably born around 1190, Peter became a monk at the Cistercian monastery of Vaux-de-Cernay near Paris. He participated in the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) as well as the Albigensian Crusade along with his uncle Guy, abbot of Vaux-de-Cernay.

Peter's *Historia Albigensis*, written in Latin in several redactions from around 1212 to 1218, is one of the central sources for the Cistercian preaching mission against heresy and the early phases of the Albigensian Crusade. It was begun in the winter of 1212–1213 in response to Pope Innocent III's attempts to wind down the antiheretical crusade in preparation for a new crusade to the Holy Land, and sought to persuade Innocent and its other readers that the resistance to conversion of local heretics and the recalcitrant obstructionism of Count Raymond VI of Toulouse and other native nobles who shielded the heretics justified a sustained military campaign against heresy in Languedoc. Present in that region from roughly 1212 to 1218, Peter also drew on eyewitness accounts from his uncle and other Cistercian abbots, preachers, legates, and prelates to depict the "failure" of the antiheretical preaching efforts, which necessitated the crusade led by Simon of Montfort, whom Peter portrays as the archetype of the impeccably orthodox rulers needed to extirpate heresy in Languedoc. His history is preserved in several monasteries associated with those preaching the crusade, suggesting that it may also have served as a source for antiheretical and crusading propaganda.

—Jessalynn Bird

See also: Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229)

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Peter the Venerable (1092/1094–1156)

Abbot of the monastery of Cluny (1122–1156), and author of polemic texts against Islam.

Peter's many and varying endeavors made him one of the major figures in twelfth-century Latin monasticism: management of the lands and moneys of one of Europe's richest and most prestigious monasteries, care of his monks' physical and spiritual needs, promotion of a Cluniac program of monastic reform in the face of sharp criticism from Cistercians, and authorship of a triptych of polemical treatises against Jews, Petrobrusian heretics, and Muslims. These activities were intended to nourish and defend a church of which monasteries like Cluny represented the summit, and whose aim was to lead the faithful from sin to salvation. Peter never promoted the crusade like his contemporary Bernard of Clairvaux, although in various letters he praised the Templars for their relentless war against the Saracens and offered prayers for success of Louis VII of France and Roger II of Sicily in their wars against Muslims. Peter saw his own contribution to the fight against "Saracen error" as intellectual and spiritual. In 1142–1143 he traveled to Spain, where he commissioned a team of translators to produce a full, annotated Latin version of the Qur'an, along with translations of other Muslim texts. Peter himself subsequently composed two anti-Islamic tracts: the *Summa totius haeresis Saracenororum* (1143) described and vilified Islam to a Christian readership; the *Contra sectam sive haeresim Saracenororum* (1155–1156) attempted to refute Islam on its own terms and enjoined its Muslim readers to convert to Christianity.

—John Tolan

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Peter of Vieillebride (d. 1242)

Master of the Hospitallers (1239/1240–1242).

A native of Auvergne, Peter had joined the Hospitallers in Outremer by 1216. He served as commander of Acre (1237)

Pheasant, Feast and Vow of the (1454)

and grand commander (1238–1239) and was elected master after the death of Bertrand of Comp (1239/1240).

When al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl of Damascus offered a truce to Thibaud of Champagne's crusaders (1240), and the Templars emerged among the beneficiaries of this (Saphet was returned to them), Peter entered into separate negotiations with al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, sultan of Egypt (Ismāʿīl's rival). He obtained the surrender of Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel) and the release of prominent Christian prisoners. In 1241 Peter reached an agreement with Bohemund V of Antioch-Tripoli concerning disputed possessions in Maraclea and Chamela. He personally oversaw the fighting between the Hospitallers of Margat and the sultanate of Aleppo in 1242. When Balian of Ibelin laid siege to the Hospitallers' headquarters because he was suspicious of their Ghibelline policies, Peter returned to Acre to negotiate.

He died on 17 September 1242 (there is an inscription in the Hospitaller compound in Acre) and was succeeded by William of Châteauneuf. Another Hospitaller named Peter of Vieillebride, possibly a relative, appeared in Acre in 1253 and later served as turcopolier of the order (1256–1259/1261).

–Jochen Burgdorf

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Pheasant, Feast and Vow of the (1454)

The Feast of the Pheasant, which took place at Lille on the evening of 17 February 1454, was the occasion for Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy to announce his vow to fight for the defense of the Christian faith against the Ottoman Turks, who had taken Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) in 1453.

Philip wished to gain the support of his court amid much publicity and lavishness. The origin of the feast was a meeting of the chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece at Mons in 1451, at which Philip took a religious vow to go on crusade, without specifying a precise goal. At the feast held in Lille, the proceedings were largely secular. The banquet was interspersed with dramatic interludes (Fr. *entremets*). The three most important of these depicted the Holy Church reciting her lamentation, the Vows of the Pheasant

(modeled on the fourteenth-century romance *Les Voeux du Paon* by Jacques du Longuyon), and a mystery play of the Grace of God. The feast ended with dancing. Over the following weeks, vows for a crusade against the Turks were recorded in Arras for Artois, in Bruges for Flanders, and in Mons for Hainaut.

–Jacques Paviot

See also: Burgundy

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Philip II Augustus of France (1165–1223)

King of France (1180–1223) and leader of the French contingent in the Third Crusade (1189–1192), who enabled the Capetian monarchy finally to gain the upper hand over its Anglo-Norman rival.

Philip was the son of King Louis VII and Adela (d. 1206), daughter of Count Thibaud II of Champagne. At the time of his birth, it seemed that the Capetian Crown was far less powerful than that of Henry II Plantagenet, king of England. Henry ruled Anjou, Maine, and Normandy, and, since his marriage (1152) to Eleanor, the former wife of Louis VII, the vast duchy of Aquitaine. The very birth of Philip seemed almost miraculous, as Louis had previously had only daughters.

Philip was crowned king of France in 1180, shortly before the death of Louis. He immediately married Isabella of Hainaut, who was to give him a son, the future Louis VIII (1187). Isabella died in 1190. Three years later Philip married the beautiful and pious Ingeborg of Denmark, who, for reasons that remain unclear, seems to have produced an intense disgust in Philip from the time of their wedding night; he consigned her to a monastery and set about trying to obtain a divorce, which was long refused by Celestine III and Innocent III, producing a serious conflict between the papacy and France. In 1196 Philip was finally able to marry his mistress, Agnes of Meran, whose children by him were legitimized.

Like his father, Philip supported several rebellions of the sons of Henry Plantagenet: Henry “the Young King” (d. 1183), Geoffroy (d. 1186), and finally Richard the Lionheart. Eventually defeated at Le Mans, the elder Henry sought refuge in Chinon, where he died in 1189. However, his successor Richard was to prove an even more dangerous rival for Philip.

In response to the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin in 1187, Richard and Philip took the cross at Gisors on 21 January 1188. Their departures were delayed by the deaths of Henry II and of Isabella (15 March 1190): they left Vézelay on 4 July 1190 with the intention of meeting in Sicily, where the animosity between them grew. Richard indeed outshone Philip in his splendor and also rejected his longstanding fiancée, Philip’s half-sister Alice, who he claimed had been the concubine of Henry II. Philip released Richard from his engagement for 10,000 marks. Richard then married Berengaria of Navarre in Cyprus, which he seized before landing in triumph at Acre (mod. ‘Akko, Israel). Philip was already there, having been involved in the siege of Acre, held by Saladin’s troops, since 20 April 1191. The crusader assaults on the city often took place without the two kings, who were both suffering from an illness that caused fever as well as loss of hair and nails. Philip in particular was severely ill. Acre finally capitulated on 12 July 1191: the town was to be surrendered, the Muslims were to free 1,200 Christian captives and pay a ransom of 200,000 bezants, and Saladin was to return the relic of the True Cross, which he had captured at the battle of Hattin (1187).

Although Jerusalem had still not been recovered, Philip II soon decided to return to France. His own illness and the illness of his only son (then four years old), as well as rumors of attempts to poison him, were all put forward by Philip and his court, but his motivations were in fact probably political: the count of Flanders, Philip of Alsace, had died at Acre on 1 June, and Philip II wanted to assert his right of succession over Artois and thus extend his domains toward the north.

As soon as he returned to France, Philip took advantage of Richard’s absence from his domains by supporting the rebellion of his brother John, lord of Ireland. When Richard was captured by Duke Leopold V of Austria and handed over to Emperor Henry VI, Philip and John offered 100,000 marks to have him kept a prisoner. Richard’s mother Eleanor, however, succeeded in obtaining his freedom, and Richard returned to England on 13 March 1194. He immediately pro-

ceeded to attack, and Philip was defeated at Fréteval (4 July). Though he managed to evade capture, Philip lost his treasury and numerous chancery documents. Hostilities continued, with Richard having the upper hand, until the king of England died at Châlus (6 April 1199).

John now succeeded his brother, but, lacking many of the qualities that Richard possessed, he made several political errors. He married Isabella of Angoulême but failed to compensate the fiancé he had ousted, Hugh IX of Lusignan. The latter’s family lodged a complaint with the king of France as lord of both parties. Philip seized the opportunity and summoned John to his court. When John failed to appear, the court ordered the confiscation of his fiefs (28 April 1202). Philip proceeded to enforce the sentence: in March 1204 his troops seized Château-Gaillard and invaded Normandy. All the Plantagenet territories north of the Loire were soon in his hands, and Normandy, Anjou, and Maine were annexed to the crown. The French armies then crushed a coalition involving John, Emperor Otto IV, Ferrand of Flanders, and other northern lords, first at La Roche-aux-Moines and then at Bouvines (22 July 1214). The battle of Bouvines marked the final triumph of the Capetian Crown.

Philip intervened little in the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229). However, his son and successor Louis VIII was able to gain control of the lands of the count of Toulouse. Philip died in 1223, having made France the foremost power in the West. The administrative reforms undertaken under his reign also played an important part in this achievement.

—Jean Flori

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Philip II of Spain (1527–1598)

King of Spain (1556–1598).

The son of Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor (king of Spain as Charles I), Philip became ruler of the Habsburg

Philip IV of France (1267/1268–1314)

lands in Italy and the Netherlands in 1555 and king of Spain in 1556 upon the abdication of his father. Like Charles, he acted as the chief protector of Christendom against heresy and Islam. Yet despite Spain's riches from its silver mines in the New World, Philip lacked the resources to simultaneously fight the Ottomans in the Mediterranean and put down the Protestant revolt in the Netherlands and wage war against England and France.

The Ottomans conquered Egypt from the Mamlūk sultanate in 1517, and through the sixteenth century they threatened Spanish interests in North Africa and in the western Mediterranean. However, there were no conflicts between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans in the western Mediterranean between 1560 and 1565, permitting Philip to focus on the Netherlands. This unofficial truce ended in May 1565, when the Ottomans besieged the island of Malta, which was defended by the Order of the Hospital. A Spanish fleet under García de Toledo relieved Malta in September 1565.

Despite Philip's preoccupations with the Netherlands, his attempt to conquer England, and expansion in the New World, the papacy appealed to the Spanish Crown to bankroll additional Christian campaigns against the Ottomans after the death of the Ottoman sultan Süleyman I (1566). In response to the Ottoman invasion of Cyprus, Pope Pius V and Venice formed the Holy League, which Philip joined in 1570. He paid half the total cost of the campaign, in return for the right to collect the crusading tenths from his subjects and the Spanish church. Even after the Christian victory at Lepanto (7 October 1571), the Ottomans continued to harass Spanish possessions in North Africa. The Habsburgs briefly recaptured Tunis in 1573, but the Ottomans won it back in 1574 and destroyed the Spanish forts guarding the narrows between Sicily and North Africa.

Following state bankruptcy in 1575, Philip was unable to pursue galley warfare against the Turks, and the Spanish monarchy relied upon crusade taxes to balance the budget. Philip annexed Portugal in 1580, following the death of King Sebastian in battle against the Turks in Alcázarquivir in 1578. Finally, Philip made a treaty with the Ottomans in 1580, which permitted him to concentrate his resources on the religious warfare in the Netherlands; at the same time, the Ottomans ceased expansion in the western Mediterranean.

—Theresa M. Vann

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Philip IV of France (1267/1268–1314)

King of France (1285–1314), known as the Fair (Fr. *Le Bel*).

The second son of Philip III of France and Isabella of Aragon, Philip IV ascended the Capetian throne at the age of seventeen, already an accomplished statesman and very scrupulous about his Christian duties. Following the precedent of his grandfather Louis IX (whose sanctification he promoted in 1297), Philip IV became the most devout apostle of the cult of the French monarchy. His reign was further characterized by a deliberate attempt to enlist all political forces in support of royal policy; first and foremost the townspeople, whose representatives he summoned for the first time to the Estates General in 1302. Inasmuch as Philip was influenced by his lawyers (Pierre Flotte, Guillaume de Nogaret, Guillaume de Plaisians, Enguerrand de Marigny) his reign heralded the bureaucratization of royal administration, which lost much of its former feudal character.

Philip's reign was further influenced by a continuous state of war in Guyenne and Flanders. Exploiting feudal quarrels, Philip in 1294 invaded Guyenne, the last remnant of the Angevin Empire, thus initiating a ten-year period of conflict, which did not bring about any territorial gain. The peace treaty between France and England in 1303 stipulated the marriage of Philip's daughter Isabella to Edward II, the future king of England, thus bringing about a short respite in the long conflict between the leading monarchies of Christendom.

Philip was less successful in Flanders, where socioeconomic unrest was accompanied by waves of separatist tendencies that called for an uprising against Capetian rule. After suffering the reverses of the Matins of Bruges and

Courtrai (1302), Philip's victory at Mons-en-Pévèle (1304) reversed the shaky equilibrium in the northern county. The peace treaty at Athis-sur-Orge one year later further acquired all the characteristics of a French vendetta, thus prolonging the Flemish crisis up to the outbreak of the Hundred Years' War.

The continuous state of war and the bureaucratization of royal administration left their mark on the continuous deficit that affected royal finances throughout the reign. Royal exactions, which did not spare the clergy, provided the main catalyst for the conflict between Philip and Pope Boniface VIII, the core of which was the royal threat to ecclesiastical immunity. The struggle between pope and king came to a dramatic turning point when Philip's main counselor, Guillaume de Nogaret, seized the pope at Anagni on charges of heresy (7 September 1303). Although released after three days, the pope died shortly afterward; but the Capetian court did not withdraw its allegations. After years of endless delays and scandalous gatherings Pope Clement V formally cleared Boniface's memory, while in a clear *quid pro quo* he also abrogated former apostolic decisions that could be detrimental to the kingdom of France and its king (1311).

The problematic nature of the relationship between church and state during the reign of Philip the Fair was further exemplified on 13 October 1307, when all Templars in the kingdom of France were arrested and their property was seized by royal officers. Charges of heresy provided the Capetian court with a useful means of prevailing over the privileged status of the order. Manipulation of public opinion and a propaganda campaign of unprecedented scope eventually gained papal cooperation, and all Templars were arrested and subjected to inquisitorial investigation throughout Christendom. Although the heresy of the Templars was never satisfactorily proved, royal pressure forced the prelates at the Council of Vienne to pronounce the suppression of the order by apostolic mandate (*Vox in excelso*, 1312).

The compromises reached by Clement V on the problematic trials of Boniface VIII and the Templars eventually paved the way for the active participation of France and its king in the forthcoming crusade, which was proclaimed at the Council of Vienne. After knighting his sons, his son-in-law Edward II of England, and many nobles, Philip took the cross in one of the most magnificent festivals that Paris had ever witnessed. The king, however, died in Fontainebleau on 30 November 1314, before the crusade materialized.

—Sophia Menache

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Philip of Alsace (1142–1191)

Count of Flanders and Vermandois (1168–1191) and crusader to the Holy Land in 1177–1188 and 1190–1191.

Philip was a son of Thierry of Alsace, count of Flanders, and Sibyl, daughter of King Fulk of Jerusalem. His family had a long crusading tradition: his father had undertaken four expeditions to Outremer. Around Pentecost 1177 (12 June) Philip embarked for the Holy Land at Wissant, accompanied by a retinue of Flemish and English knights, arriving at Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) on 1 August.

Philip became a focus of controversy at the court of Jerusalem. King Baldwin IV, who was already suffering from the leprosy that would kill him, offered Philip the regency of the kingdom; unexpectedly, the count declined with a display of modesty that has raised questions ever since. Philip also declined the leadership of a joint attack with the Byzantines on Egypt. Before returning to Flanders shortly after Easter 1178, he participated in military campaigns in the areas of Homs (mod. Ḥimṣ, Syria), Hama (mod. Ḥamah, Syria), and Harenc (mod. Ḥarim, Syria).

On 21 January 1188 Philip took the cross at Gisors, in preparation for the Third Crusade, but it was not until September 1190 that he departed, traveling through Germany and Italy and arriving at Messina in February 1191, where he met Philip II of France and Richard the Lionheart of England. He sailed with Philip of France and arrived at Acre on 20 April 1191 but succumbed to an endemic disease on 1 June. He was buried at the cemetery of St. Nicholas, but at the wish of his wife, Mathilda of Portugal, his body was reburied at Clairvaux in the chapel she had founded there.

Philip the Good (1396–1467)

Philip had no children by Mathilda or his first wife, Elizabeth of Vermandois, and was succeeded as count by his brother-in-law Baldwin V of Hainaut (VIII of Flanders).

–Jan Anckaer

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Philip the Good (1396–1467)

Philip the Good (Fr. *Philippe le Bon*) was the third duke of Burgundy (1419–1467) of the Valois dynasty. He dreamed of fighting against the infidel and recovering the Holy Land, where he wanted his heart to be buried.

Philip was the son of John, then count of Nevers and later duke of Burgundy (d. 1419), and Margaret of Bavaria. He was born while his father was on his way to join the Crusade of Nikopolis, which ended in defeat by the Turks in September 1396. The assassination of John, who had succeeded as duke of Burgundy in 1404, led Philip to form an alliance with England in 1420. King Henry V of England seems to have been his crusading mentor: in 1421 they both sent the Flemish knight Gilbert of Lannoy to make a journey of reconnaissance in the East.

Up to 1450, Philip limited Burgundian crusading activities to espionage and small naval operations. He sent the diplomat Bertrandon de la Broquière to reconnoiter in the Ottoman Empire in 1432–1433 and organized ships to assist the Knights Hospitallers at Rhodes (1441, 1444) and Constantinople (1444–1445). He seems to have thought of a conquest of the Morea in 1436–1437, but more seriously of a recovery of the Holy Land in 1445–1448. From 1450 onward, Philip's all-out aim was a general war against the infidels, above all the Ottoman Turks.

In 1451 Philip took a vow to succor the holy Christian faith. He dispatched four embassies to seek support: these went to Pope Nicholas V and King Alfonso I of Naples, to King Charles VII of France, to King Henry VI of England, and to Emperor Frederick III. This initiative was a complete failure, but the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 gave Philip a new and real focus for his zeal. His crusade vow was publicized at the Feast of the Pheasant, held with splendid ceremony in Lille at 1454. Yet it took ten years before Philip dispatched a small fleet under his bastard son Anthony, which stopped at Marseilles: Pope Pius II had died, and the crusade floundered. Philip was succeeded as duke of Burgundy by his son Charles the Bold.

–Jacques Paviot

See also: Burgundy

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Philip of Mézières

See Philippe de Mézières

Philip of Nablus (d. 1171)

Lord of Transjordan (1161–1165/1166) and master of the Templars (1169–1171).

Philip was one of three sons of the nobleman Guy of Milly, from whom he inherited various fiefs in Samaria around the town of Nablus. He became one of the most experienced soldiers in the kingdom of Jerusalem, participating in most of the campaigns fought by its forces against its Muslim enemies from 1144 up to his death. He was a key supporter of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem during her disputes with her son King Baldwin III, and soon after her death (1161), Bald-

win forced Philip to surrender his fiefs in Samaria in exchange for the lordship of Transjordan.

By early 1166 Philip had joined the Order of the Temple; as his son Rainier was dead by this time, Transjordan passed to his elder daughter, Helen, and her husband, Walter III of Beirut. Within four years Philip was elected master of the order (August 1169). In 1171 he resigned this office and went as an ambassador to the Byzantine emperor Manuel Komnenos in preparation for a planned diplomatic visit by King Amalric, but died during his stay in Constantinople, probably on 3 April 1171.

—Alan V. Murray

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Philip of Novara

Historian, poet, diplomat, and jurist; a distinguished member of the literary world of Outremer and Cyprus.

Philip was born in Novara (northern Italy) around 1195, probably as a younger son of a noble family. Later he moved to the Latin East. During the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221), he took part in the crusader attack on Damietta. During this campaign he used to entertain Ralph of Tiberias, one of the most prominent lords of the kingdom of Jerusalem, by reading him romances; in turn he listened to Ralph telling of the history of the country and its legal customs.

The personality of Philip of Novara emerged during the long war (1223–1242) in which Emperor Frederick II, acting as regent of the kingdom of Jerusalem, was opposed by part of the Frankish aristocracy grouped around the Ibelins, a powerful family on Cyprus and the mainland. Philip was on the Ibelins' side, acting as a knight, diplomat, legal expert, and propagandist: his position was apparently influential, since he was chosen to lead an embassy to the pope and to the kings of England and France, seeking support for the Ibelin party (the embassy ultimately did not take place). From the perspective of the Ibelins Philip described the war in a text that has unfortunately survived only in fragmentary

form: it was later included in a chronicle known as the *Gestes des Chiprois*, compiled at the beginning of the fourteenth century from a variety of sources. The original text of Philip of Novara consisted of an autobiographical part and of several poems, dedicated to the war, to love, and to religious themes. The second part of the *Gestes des Chiprois* reflects the text of Philip's work quite faithfully, and it also preserves five of its poems, which parodically amplify some events and characters of the story; it is a very lively and passionate account of the war, probably the best sample of vernacular historiography from Outremer.

Philip of Novara wrote in French, the literary language of the knightly class of Outremer and Cyprus. He was the author of two other texts: the *Livre en forme de plait* (written around 1260–1265), a handbook of feudal law that was appreciated in his time; and *Les quatre âges de l'homme* (written around 1265–1267), a moral treatise, suggesting the best way of living the four stages of human life (childhood, youth, maturity, and old age); it was written in prose but contains some poems by Philip and other authors. He is thought to have died after 1268.

—Laura Minervini

See also: Cyprus: Jerusalem (Latin) Kingdom of

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Philippe le Bon

See Philip the Good

Philippe de Mézières (d. 1405)

Author and crusade theorist. Philippe de Mézières (Lat. *Philippus de Maiseriis*) was born in the diocese of Amiens around 1327, into a family of the lower nobility, and he received a good education.

Philippe enrolled in the Crusade of Humbert II of Viennois and fought against the Turks at Smyrna (mod. İzmir, Turkey) in 1346, where he was knighted. The following year, he made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem and experienced the first of two spiritual conversions: he believed that God had given him the inspiration for a new order, the Knights of the Passion of Jesus Christ, which would recover the Holy Land from the Muslims. Philippe then went to Cyprus, where he entered the service of King Hugh IV. He formed a friendship with the king's son Peter, who also dreamed of a crusade and sent Philippe to the West to seek support for this aim in 1349. When Peter I became king of Cyprus, he appointed Philippe as his chancellor (1360 or 1361). The two men (together with the papal legate Pierre Thomas from 1364) did all they could to organize a crusade. King Peter made a grand tour of Europe in 1362–1365 with Philippe and later with Pierre Thomas, and they succeeded in launching the crusade that led to the capture of Alexandria in Egypt in 1365. In 1366, Pierre Thomas died, and Philippe immediately wrote his life with a view to securing the legate's canonization. Although the crusade to Alexandria ultimately failed, King Peter and Philippe still dreamed of a new expedition, and the latter came back to the West to prepare it.

Philippe de Mézières was in Venice when he learned of the assassination of Peter I (1369). He remained there and experienced his second spiritual conversion: the mission to institute in the Roman Catholic Church the feast of the Presentation of the Virgin at the Temple. In 1372, he acted as ambassador for King Peter II of Cyprus to Pope Gregory XI. The following year, King Charles V of France made him his councillor and entrusted him with the education of his heir, the future Charles VI. The schism in the papacy that occurred in 1378 was a blow to Philippe's ideal of a crusade, but he soon rallied to the Avignon pope.

From around 1379 Philippe lived at the convent of the Celestine Order in Paris. On Charles V's death (1380), he retired there to live as a solitary and to write. In 1368 he had written the *Nova milicie Passionis Jhesu Christi*, the first Latin version of the rule for his proposed order of chivalry. In 1394 he wrote a new Latin version, and two years later, he recast both texts in a French version called *La Substance abregée de*

la Chevalerie de la passion de Jhesu Christ, of which he sent a copy to King Richard II of England. He had previously sent Richard an Epistle, asking for peace with Charles VI of France and a joint expedition to Jerusalem.

In 1386–1389 Philippe wrote his allegorical *Songe du Vieil Pelerin* for Charles VI, urging him to carry out reform and undertake a crusade. The *Oracio tragedica* of 1389–1390 is in the same vein. After the failure of the Crusade of Nikopolis (1396), he wrote for Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, the *Epistre lamentable et consolatoire*, still calling for the creation of his order of chivalry.

Philippe de Mézières embodied ideas of devotion to Jerusalem, the Passion of Christ, and the Virgin. During his life he enjoyed some fame, but this resulted from his actions, rather than his writings.

—Jacques Paviot

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Piacenza, Council of (1095)

A church council held by Pope Urban II on 1–7 March 1095, at which appeals were made to the church of the West from

the Byzantine Empire for military assistance against the onslaught of the Saljūq Turks.

By 1095, when he set out on a journey through Italy and France, Urban II had established his papal authority in much of Latin Christendom. In March 1095 at Piacenza, where he was to celebrate a council, he was approached by an embassy from the Byzantine emperor Alexios I Komnenos, who considered him the leader of the West. During the council Alexios's legates entreated the pope to aid the Byzantine Empire against the Turks by sending troops. Unbelievers were threatening Constantinople, the emissaries claimed, and had devastated Christian churches throughout the East. The Byzantines themselves were unable to fend them off and needed Western assistance. The chronicler Bernold of Konstanz, who recorded the encounter, also stated that Urban had induced many to declare even under oath that they would go to Constantinople to assist Emperor Alexios most faithfully. The legislation from the council itself as far as preserved does not allude to the Byzantine entreaty.

The well-attended assembly had to meet outdoors at times, since no church at Piacenza was large enough to hold the numbers of those who had come to debate the problems of simony and of schismatically ordained clergy, burning issues in the north of Italy, where allegiance to the anti pope Clement III predominated. Urban was conciliatory toward some of the schismatically ordained clergy. If there were extenuating circumstances, they would be allowed to continue in their offices. The call for armed assistance for Christians in the East, for Jerusalem, and implicitly for Emperor Alexios had to wait until the Council of Clermont in November 1095.

—Uta-Renate Blumenthal

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Piccolomini, Aeneas Silvius

See Pius II

Pierre Dubois

See Dubois, Pierre

Pilgrimage

The Christian idea of pilgrimage was a journey to a holy place undertaken out of motives of devotion or as an act of penance or thanksgiving. The long tradition of pilgrimages to the Holy Land was instrumental in highlighting the importance of Jerusalem as the main goal of crusades from 1095 onward.

The sources of Christian pilgrimage lay in both Jewish and pagan practices of pilgrimage. Another source was the idea that the follower of Christ is a wanderer in this world, for whom life on earth is an unavoidable but distasteful preparation for the real life in heaven. This idea, rooted in the teachings of Christ and St. Paul (Hebrews, 11:13–16, 13:14), was a part of the influential theme of “contempt for the world” (Lat. *contemptus mundi*) and accounted for the word *pilgrim* (from Lat. *peregrinus*, meaning “stranger” or “foreigner”). It was applied to believers who left all worldly affairs behind them to pursue their goal, ultimately the Kingdom of Heaven, thus becoming strangers to the material preoccupations of their environment.

Pilgrimage was undertaken as a pious deed, the pilgrim being a stranger to his family and social status for the duration of his journey. On his way he wore simple clothes, stayed at monasteries, and ate the food of the poor. This idea inspired many ascetics in the early Middle Ages to commit themselves to a life of aimless and painful wanderings in an attempt to come closer to Christ. This kind of life was particularly popular among the Irish saints, missionaries, and scholars of the sixth and seventh centuries, such as Columbanus and Fursey. An additional contributing factor was the cult of relics. From the second century Christians venerated the physical remains of saints to show reverence for them, to gain their support, or out of the belief that the relics themselves retained healing powers.

Origins and Early History

It was only in the sixth century that pilgrimages were formally accepted as a form of penance and imposed on penitents. According to the penitential books, pilgrimage was favored as a spiritual exercise. From the eighth century it was considered especially appropriate as public penance for more serious transgressions; pilgrimages of varying duration were specified for murder (particularly by clerics), incest, bestiality, and sacrilege. In the framework of penitential pilgrimages in general, the pilgrimage to Jerusalem came to be considered as the most worthy and thus the most redeem-

Pilgrimage



Pilgrims arrive in the Holy Land. (Bettmann/Corbis)

ing, as it was the most difficult and the most expensive. The worst crimes were punished with sentences of perpetual pilgrimage, such as was imposed in 850 on Frotmund, a nobleman who had killed his father. Like others who received a similar sentence, he traveled from shrine to shrine in chains, hoping that some saint might take pity and give some miraculous sign to demonstrate forgiveness. The exiled Frotmund journeyed to Rome, Jerusalem, and the shrine of St. Cyprian at Carthage, to Rome again, then to Mount Sinai and Jerusalem, once more to Rome, and finally to Rédon in France, where his chains miraculously broke in the Church of St. Marcellinus.

From the twelfth century, penitential pilgrimage was imposed also for less grave sins of the laity. In the thirteenth century, pilgrimage began to be used as an afflictive penalty, imposed by certain courts. These were initially, in the early thirteenth century, the courts of the Inquisition in southern France, and later the urban courts of the Low

Countries and Germany. These expiatory pilgrimages punished religious crimes but also crimes against the person and against property. They continued to exist until the end of the Middle Ages.

Yet another type of pilgrimage was the vicarious one, namely, a pilgrimage on behalf of someone else. It first appeared in the tenth century in the form of the posthumous pilgrimage, undertaken in place of those who had not been able to perform their vows of pilgrimage in their own lifetimes. The custom then developed of sending a substitute to make the pilgrimage, the essential thing being the actual performance of the act of piety. As a result of this custom, a new type of pilgrim appeared, the professional paid pilgrim.

The conversion of the Roman emperor Constantine the Great, followed by the pilgrimage of his mother Helena to Jerusalem (326), marks the transformation of the small and somnolent Roman city, then known as Aelia Capitolina, into the holiest and most important center of Christian pilgrimage. It was during the Byzantine period that churches were built on the major holy sites and the first map of the Holy Places appeared. The most important was Constantine's Church of the Resurrection (325–335). The resplendent basilica soon marked the new center of the city, and the writer Eusebius felt that the new buildings not only proclaimed the victory of *Ecclesia* (literally “the church” as personification of Christianity) over *Synagoga* (the synagogue as the personification of Judaism): not only were they monuments to the most memorable event in human history, they had also a place and meaning in the divine plan of salvation. Eusebius speaks of people coming from the ends of the earth to Bethlehem and to the Mount of Olives. Their number certainly grew, as is attested by pilgrims' writings, known in Latin as *descriptiones Terrae Sanctae* (descriptions of the Holy Land) or *itineraria* (itineraries).

Pilgrimage to the Holy Land declined only with the Muslim conquest of Palestine (638). During that period, as Paulinus of Nola wrote, the principal motive that drew people to Jerusalem was the desire to see and touch the places where Christ had been present in bodily form. The Byzantine period was also a golden age of women's pilgrimage: never again during the Middle Ages did so many women visit the Holy City as then. Many upper-class women are known by name, such as Helena, Egeria, Paula, Melania the Elder, Melania the Younger, and Eudocia, but there is also evidence that many women of other classes of society went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem as well. Some of them belonged to the

category of transvestite saints of whom the more famous are Pelagia of Antioch and Mary of Egypt.

The second great pilgrim destination in the early Middle Ages was Rome. The city's main attraction was the tombs of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul. Another was its magnificent collections of relics, including the veil (Lat. *sudarium*) of St. Veronica in the Basilica of St. Peter and the heads of the apostles Peter and Paul in the Church of St. John Lateran. Pilgrimage to Rome received a new impetus following the Muslim conquest of Palestine, which for a time closed Jerusalem to pilgrims from the West. Rome also benefited from the growing devotion in the West to St. Peter, whose possession of the keys to paradise was believed to give his intercession added weight. The saint's shrine was regarded as a particularly suitable destination for criminals, and Peter acquired a reputation as a breaker of chains.

It was especially at the end of the tenth century that people from all classes of society performed voluntary pilgrimages to expiate crimes that weighed on their conscience. This phenomenon can be explained by the compulsive search for a means of penance, brought on by the fear of the approaching millennium as well as radical changes in the role of the sacrament of penance, namely, the insistence upon the distinction between sin and punishment: the former was expunged by confession; the latter remained to be suffered in purgatory, unless adequate penance was carried out on earth. This obsession with the remission of sins can be discerned in the more notable pilgrimages of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Thus Fulk III Nerra, count of Anjou, went to Jerusalem four times on account of his slaughter of the Bretons at the battle of Conquereuil and the murder of his wife. This flowering of pilgrimage was undoubtedly helped by the economic recovery of the West and its release from barbarian attacks.

Another factor responsible for the growth of pilgrimages to Jerusalem was the improvement in the physical conditions of pilgrimage. The Byzantine navy regained control of the eastern Mediterranean, so that a sea voyage became feasible, either via Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) or directly to a port in Egypt or Syria. The overland routes had become safer, maintained by friendly or well-disposed rulers, with ample provisions, accommodation, and guidance. As a consequence in the eleventh century there were, besides individual pilgrimages, semi-organized group pilgrimages, led by high-ranking prelates or magnates such as Count William of Angoulême (1026) or Count Guy of Limoges and his

brother Bishop Hilduin a few years earlier. The biggest of these group pilgrimages were those of 1033 and 1064–1065, both of them partly motivated by eschatological fears.

Pilgrimage and Crusading

A new form of pilgrimage came into being through the preaching of the First Crusade (1096–1099). In 1095 the Council of Clermont decreed that whoever, for devotion alone, went to Jerusalem to liberate the church of God, could substitute this journey for all penance. Pilgrimage to Jerusalem, hitherto a devotional or penitential act, was thus linked by Pope Urban II to offensive warfare designed to free the holy places from Muslim rule. There was no specific terminology to describe crusading activity in 1095, and the participants in the First Crusade often referred to themselves as pilgrims (Lat. *peregrini*) and to their expedition as the Jerusalem journey.

During the twelfth century, the rituals for taking crusader vows were formalized, and crusaders were invested by a priest with a staff and scrip (satchel), the traditional emblems of pilgrimage. This aspect of crusading was more than a legal fiction, for crusaders were required to fulfill their vows by praying at the Holy Sepulchre before returning home. After 1187 when Jerusalem was in Muslim hands again (apart from the brief interlude of 1229–1244), this was not possible, but crusaders still needed to be dispensed from that obligation by the pope or his legate.

The fact that pilgrimage was an integral part of crusading had certain disadvantages. First, it was never possible to prevent noncombatants from taking crusade vows in order to perform the pilgrimage and to obtain the indulgence offered, even though Pope Innocent III and his successors encouraged such people to commute their vows by making a contribution to crusading funds. Second, the diversification of crusading activity, which was present almost from the start, was not always compatible with pilgrimage. The rulers of Christian Spain, from Alfonso I of Aragon (d. 1134) to Isabella I "the Catholic" of Castile (d. 1504), saw the crusades in Iberia as part of the same war as crusades to the Holy Land: a war against Muslims throughout the Mediterranean world that, in the case of Spain, would open up the prospect of reaching the Holy Land through Morocco. In the later Middle Ages, crusades launched to defend Byzantium against the Ottoman Turks were understood in the same way: theoretically such campaigns, if successful, would culminate in the liberation of Jerusalem. All crusades against

the Islamic world were therefore in some sense understood as pilgrimages to Jerusalem.

There was no way in which the Baltic Crusades of the thirteenth century could be seen as stages on the pilgrim road to Jerusalem, though Albert of Buxhövdén, bishop of Riga (1198–1229), ingeniously designated Livonia as the dowry of the Blessed Virgin Mary, so that it might become a place of pilgrimage in its own right. Participants in the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229) were not required to visit any particular shrine, but only to give their services to the church for a period of forty days. Some of them did call themselves pilgrims, but that was simply a formality. Thus although pilgrimage remained a theoretical part of crusading throughout the Middle Ages, its practical application diminished; for participants in crusades directed against Islam could seldom reach Jerusalem, while those who took part in crusades on other fronts did not normally have a pilgrimage goal.

An individual might take a crusade vow as an act of private devotion, and a steady stream of such people came to the Latin East after 1099 to help to defend or to recover the Holy Places. Yet although all who came to the Holy Land as crusaders were, by definition, pilgrims, not all pilgrims who came there were crusaders. The foundation of the Latin kingdom led to a huge increase in the number of Western pilgrims to the Holy Land. The great majority came by sea, particularly from the Italian ports, although some pilgrims, especially those from central and eastern Europe, took ship at Constantinople. The land routes through Anatolia were considered unsafe and were normally only used by crusading armies.

Because many pilgrims were noncombatants and were preyed upon by Muslim brigands in the early years of Frankish settlement, the French knight Hugh of Payns founded the Knights Templar in 1119 to patrol and garrison the main pilgrim routes, and their work proved very effective. To meet the needs of the many destitute and sick pilgrims, the Latin hospital of Jerusalem, which dated from before the First Crusade, grew into the independent Order of Knights Hospitallers, whose primary duty, even after they had become partially militarized, remained the care of the poor and infirm. Their hospital in Jerusalem was by the 1160s one of the largest in the Christian world, and they also founded smaller hospitals along the chief pilgrim routes of western Europe and in other parts of the Latin kingdom.

The Latin clergy, with the full support of the Crown and baronage, undertook an impressive building program. They

carried out extensive new work at the Holy Sepulchre, where they incorporated the Byzantine rotunda into a new church, and, where necessary, they rebuilt the other Greek Orthodox shrine churches, many of which had fallen into ruins. They also identified many new holy sites, both in the environs of Jerusalem and elsewhere in Outremer, and endowed churches, and sometimes also monasteries, to serve them. These shrines were often embellished with sculptures, frescoes, and, more rarely, mosaics.

The years 1099–1187 were a golden age for pilgrims visiting the Holy Land. They could travel freely to the holy places under Frankish control, which comprised the majority of sites mentioned in the Gospels, and on occasion they were able to venture farther afield. For example, in the 1160s they could visit the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, which was then under Frankish protection, and in times of truce they were allowed to make a pilgrimage to the Greek Orthodox convent of Our Lady of Saydnaya near Damascus, which possessed a miracle-working icon.

Pilgrims from the Eastern churches also came to the Holy Land in large numbers while it was under Latin rule. Among them were Orthodox Christians from the Byzantine world and Russia, and there was a revival of Greek Orthodox monastic life in the Judaeian desert in the 1160s under the patronage of the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos. The Armenians and the Syrian Orthodox (Jacobites) both built large new cathedrals in twelfth-century Jerusalem to accommodate the huge numbers of pilgrims who came there.

A strong Christocentric piety had inspired some of the participants in the First Crusade, and it was shared by many of the Western pilgrims who visited Palestine. The shrines there were administered by Latin clergy, who celebrated the liturgy in a rite with which the pilgrims were familiar, and they could thus fully experience the reenactment of the events of Christ's life, particularly those of Holy Week and Eastertide, in the places where tradition asserted that they had taken place. This arguably prepared the way for a growth in the Western Church during the thirteenth century of an affective devotion to the humanity of Christ, of a kind made popular by the Franciscans.

The Latin population of the Frankish East was recruited in part from pilgrims, some of whom stayed there permanently. The majority, of course, returned to the West, taking with them a variety of relics and souvenirs. The most prized of these were relics of the True Cross, but among other

relics taken back from Jerusalem were pieces of stone from the Holy Sepulchre and Calvary, from the manger of the Nativity at Bethlehem, and from the rock on which Christ had stood at his Ascension into Heaven, as well as pieces of the Virgin's dress and strands of her hair. Those who could not obtain relics took back souvenirs with sacred associations, such as water from the river Jordan and palm fronds commemorating Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem (John 12:12–15). As in the Byzantine period, small containers made of clay, glass, and lead or tin alloy were made in Jerusalem for relics of this kind. These relics helped to diffuse a knowledge of the holy places and devotion to them more widely throughout the Christian West.

After 1187 some of the shrines, such as that of St. John the Baptist at Sebastea, passed out of Latin control for ever, while others, including those in Jerusalem, were only restored to Latin rule for brief periods. More crusades than ever before were launched to recover the holy places between 1187 and 1274, and a great number of people took crusade vows, but few of them were able to visit the Holy City. Similarly, large numbers of noncombatant pilgrims continued to come to the Holy Land throughout the thirteenth century because the ports of Syria and Palestine remained in Frankish hands, yet few of them visited Jerusalem, even though the Muslim authorities were often willing that they should do so. The papacy discouraged Christians from visiting the Holy Places while they were in Muslim hands in order to prevent the Islamic authorities from making an economic profit out of Christian piety, although it does not seem to have been essential for Western pilgrims to obtain a papal dispensation in order to visit Jerusalem until the fourteenth century. The majority of thirteenth-century pilgrims contented themselves with visiting holy places that were still in Latin possession, such as Mount Carmel. Because most of the religious communities that had served the holy places in the twelfth century had retreated to Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) after 1192 and set up chapels there, that city became the focus of pilgrim devotion, and indulgences were granted to those who visited those shrines, which conferred spiritual privileges equal to those previously granted at the original holy places. This attractive pilgrimage option came to an end when Acre and the other remaining Frankish strongholds fell to the Mamlūks in 1291. Western pilgrimage to the Holy Land continued thereafter, albeit on a reduced scale, but it was directed once again to the city of Jerusalem and the other authentic holy places.

Pilgrimage in the Later Middle Ages

Another popular pilgrimage center by the twelfth century was Santiago de Compostela in Galicia (northwestern Spain). Santiago de Compostela was brought into the front rank of medieval shrines by a combination of factors. Shortly before 1095, the ancient see of Iria was transferred to Compostela, and that city became the center of the Christian activities against the Muslim rulers of Iberia. In the twelfth century the shrine of St. James at Compostela began attracting large numbers of pilgrims. Its popularity was stimulated in part by a romantic association with the *Reconquista* (the reconquest of Spain from the Moors) and St. James's role as a patron of this crusading movement. Compostela, however, was also considered a worthy alternative by those who were unable to reach Rome or who were disillusioned with it. At Compostela as at Rome, the pilgrim could find a body of an apostle, in this case St. James, who was portrayed as a protector of pilgrims and as a healer. On becoming bishop (1100), Diego Gelmirez set aside half the alms received in the basilica for the support of a hospice for pilgrims he had established previously. On his instructions, an aqueduct was built to supplement the city's inadequate water supply. A massive rebuilding program was undertaken, including the construction of a new cathedral of St. James.

At the same time, there was a decline in pilgrimage to Rome. In the twelfth century the apostolic city was rent by schism in the papacy and by rival warring factions. The city had to contend with bitter criticism of its corruption on the one hand and the increasing popularity of other holy places, notably Jerusalem and Compostela, on the other. It was during the pontificate of Innocent III (1198–1216) that major steps were taken to put Rome back on the spiritual map. Innocent III undertook a large-scale building campaign in the most important of the city's churches, including St. Peter's. The participants of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), regarded by some as the greatest pilgrimage of the entire Middle Ages, were most impressed with the splendor and spirituality of the Holy City. Another factor that contributed to Rome's preeminence among Western shrines from the thirteenth century was the introduction of indulgences for pilgrimage, from which the Roman shrines profited greatly because the popes were generous to individual churches and because the concentration of shrines in a small area enabled energetic pilgrims to perform the devotions needed to collect the indulgences offered in a number of churches. By 1300, the time of the first Roman Jubilee pro-

claimed by Pope Boniface VIII, indulgences were being granted to individual altars in St. Peter's, and a pilgrim could collect several hundred years' worth of indulgences if he or she was in the city at the right time. Consequently, pilgrims to Rome could state that the way from the Lateran to St. Peter's was the "sacred way" (Lat. *via sacra*), as it offered the same indulgences as the pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

Pilgrimage to Jerusalem continued to thrive in the later Middle Ages, due mainly to two factors. The first was the enterprise of the Venetians: shipowners of Venice provided the earliest all-inclusive package tours, which greatly simplified the organizational and logistical difficulties to be overcome by pilgrims. These tours were abandoned in the late 1480s, and as a result the pilgrimage to the Holy Land suffered a prolonged decline. The second factor was the foundation in 1333 of a Franciscan settlement in Jerusalem, known as the *Custodia Terrae Sanctae* (guardianship of the Holy Land); it had a tremendous impact, both on the image of the sanctity of the Holy City in the West and on the pilgrimage movement. It also meant the reestablishment of Roman Catholic rites there for the first time since 1244. The convent of the Franciscan friars on Mount Zion served as a lodging for the more important pilgrims, as well as for members of the Catholic monastic orders who visited Jerusalem. The Franciscans of Jerusalem, who enjoyed considerable influence with the Muslim authorities, did all they could to ease the pilgrims' lot. At the beginning of the fifteenth century they even succeeded in taking over the administration of tolls and the issuing of visas. However, the importance of the *Custodia* surpassed aid to pilgrims. The friars were the sole representatives of the Latin West in Jerusalem and exercised considerable influence over the pilgrims and their impressions. As guides to the holy places, the friars reinvented the geography of the Holy City. Under their influence, the geography centered upon the Passion and Crucifixion and the life of the Virgin Mary, and also found expression in the localization by the friars of the stations of the cross, which has in general terms been preserved up to the present. As a result of this focus, the traditions of the Old Testament, which had been prominent under Frankish rule, largely disappeared.

Under the guidance of the Franciscan friars in the last two centuries of the Middle Ages, Jerusalem pilgrimage became a kind of guided tour of the Holy Land lasting from ten to thirteen days. The pilgrims, upon arrival, spent one day each in Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel), Ramla, and

Lydda (mod. Lod, Israel), and one day traveling to Jerusalem; the fifth day was spent at the stations of the cross, the sixth in Bethlehem, the seventh in the mountains of Judaea, while the eighth day was devoted to visiting various holy places in Jerusalem. On the ninth day the pilgrim visited the place of the baptism of Christ at the Jordan; on the tenth day he visited Bethany; the eleventh day was once again devoted to Jerusalem. On the twelfth day the pilgrim returned to Ramla and on the thirteenth day to Jaffa. During this guided tour the pilgrim spent at least two nights in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

Conclusions

While pilgrimage put thousands of Christians on the roads to holy sites, it also brought forth criticism. As early as the fourth century, St. Jerome voiced the classic criticism that seeing Jerusalem was not enough; interior, spiritual conversion was what God required. Throughout the following millennium, churchmen reiterated Jerome's point. Monastic writers such as Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter the Venerable claimed that the spiritual benefits of pilgrimage were fleeting and that the repentant sinner would do better to enter a monastery. Pilgrimages by women particularly attracted criticism. The Church Fathers argued vehemently that women should be cloistered in order to remain spiritual and, from the fifth century onward, strict enclosure was gradually enforced in women's monasteries. It was not always observed, however, and the pilgrimages of nuns from the British Isles to Rome in the eighth century aroused the anger of St. Boniface, who in 747 wrote that many of them perished and few kept their virtue, so that most of the towns in Lombardy had courtesans and harlots of English stock. The Council of Friuli in 796 decreed that permission should never be given to an abbess or a nun to visit Rome or other venerable places and attributed the desire to go on pilgrimages to the inspiration of Satan in the form of an angel. Similarly, the twelfth-century abbess Hildegard of Bingen argued that the desire of another abbess to undertake a pilgrimage was nothing but the devil's deceit. While in the early and high Middle Ages criticism was mainly directed at the conduct of pilgrims, in the late Middle Ages the very principle of pilgrimage was questioned. Pilgrims were now accused of being motivated more by curiosity and the quest for distraction than by the desire to purify their souls. Clerics and the intellectual elite now preferred "interior pilgrimage," consisting of prayers and devotional practices at home. Yet despite these developments pil-

grimage remained popular until the attacks of the Reformation in the sixteenth century.

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Pilgrimage of Henry the Lion (1172)

A pilgrimage to the Holy Land undertaken by Henry the Lion (d. 1195), duke of Saxony and Bavaria from 1156, the leader of the Welf family, the most powerful princely dynasty in Germany after the Staufien imperial family.

Henry set off on pilgrimage to Jerusalem in January 1172. This was made possible by an end to a series of local conflicts in Saxony from 1166 onward, by the dowry that the duke received when he married Matilda, eldest daughter of Henry II of England, in 1168, and by the reopening of diplomatic negotiations with Byzantium by Frederick I Barbarossa, Holy Roman Emperor, in 1170.

Henry and a large entourage traveled through Hungary, surviving shipwreck on the Danube and an attack by bandits in Byzantine territory before arriving at Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) on Good Friday (14 April) 1172. He was treated with great respect by Emperor Manuel I Komnenos, and there was a public debate between the ecclesiastics in his train and some Greek clergy about the differences in religious interpretation between Greeks and Latins. He continued by sea to Palestine, was received in state by King Amalric at Jerusalem, and visited the Holy Sepulchre, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and the river Jordan before returning northward by land to Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey), where his companion Bishop Conrad of Lübeck fell ill. Conrad subsequently died at Tyre on 24 July 1172.

From Antioch, despite an offer of safe-conduct from the Armenian ruler of Cilicia, the duke preferred to travel by sea to Tarsos (mod. Tarsus, Turkey) on ships provided by Bohemund III, prince of Antioch. From there he was escorted by Turkish troops to meet Qilij Arslān II, sultan of Rūm, near the latter's capital of Ikonion (mod. Konya, Turkey), where again he was received with great respect and laden with presents. Henry subsequently returned via Constantinople and the route through the Balkans by which he had come, reaching Bavaria by December 1172.

There is a detailed account of this pilgrimage in the *Chronicae Slavorum* of Arnold of Lübeck, but whether Henry made quite such an impression as this author maintained is doubtful. Certainly his visit to the Holy Land was not mentioned by the chronicler William of Tyre, perhaps because it was an entirely peaceful pilgrimage, of no military significance whatsoever. However, according to Arnold, Duke Henry made generous donations to the Holy Sepulchre and to the military orders, including 1,000 marks of silver to the Templars to buy land to support troops. Perhaps the most

significant consequence was the establishment of friendly relations with the Saljūq sultan of Rūm, diplomatic contacts that set a precedent for Frederick Barbarossa's negotiations with Qilij Arslān II in 1188–1189 as he attempted to secure an unopposed passage for his army across Asia Minor during the Third Crusade (1189–1192).

Some slightly later commentators interpreted the pilgrimage as the beginning of Henry's breach with the emperor, which was to lead to the confiscation of his duchies in 1180, but this view seems to be colored by hindsight, and relations between the two remained friendly for some time after 1172. Arnold of Lübeck saw the motive as entirely religious, "to adore the Lord in the land where His feet had trod" [*Arnoldi Chronica Slavorum*, ed. Johann Martin Lappenberg, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* 14 (Hannover: Hahn, 1868), p. 11].

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Pilgrims' Castle

See Château Pèlerin

Pisa

A city in Tuscany that was a major Mediterranean maritime and commercial power during the crusading period.

Seafaring from Pisa grew in importance from the ninth to the eleventh centuries. This is evident from numerous expeditions against the Muslims of North Africa, Sicily, and Spain, often mounted as counterattacks after Muslim incursions and sometimes carried out in collaboration with the Genoese. These official campaigns, often directed by the city's viscount, built up Pisa's naval dominance over the Tyrrhenian Sea and western Mediterranean, facilitating the city's growing trade. In the course of the eleventh century Pisa became the most important city of Tuscany, also controlling Sardinia and Corsica.

Thanks to the close alliance between Matilda of Canossa, marchioness of Tuscany, the reform popes, and Pisa's leading families, the city became involved in the political projects of the reform papacy, such as the Norman conquest of Muslim Sicily and the Spanish Reconquista, for example, in

the form of attacks on Palermo (1064) and Tortosa (1092). The Pisan campaign against Mahdia (mod. al-Mahdiya, Tunisia) in 1087 was ordered by Pope Victor III and can be considered a type of a protocrusade, as it was connected with a pilgrimage to Rome. During the episcopate of Daibert, a close associate of Pope Urban II, Pisa was raised to an archbishopric, with metropolitan rights over Corsica (1092). It was also Bishop Daibert who enacted the decisive step leading to the formation of a commune at Pisa by promoting the internal peace through a general oath.

Daibert of Pisa accompanied Pope Urban II on his trip through France in 1095–1096 and, as papal legate to replace the deceased Adhemar of Le Puy, he led a Pisan fleet of some 120 ships to provide support for the army that had gone to the Holy Land in the course of the First Crusade (1096–1099). However, a series of military operations against Byzantium meant that it arrived in Syria only in September 1099, after the conquest of Jerusalem. After Daibert's elevation to the patriarchate of Jerusalem (Christmas 1099) Pisa received certain rights in Jerusalem, Caesarea (mod. Har Qesari, Israel), and probably also in Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel), which came to be disputed with various ecclesiastical institutions in Palestine as late as 1156. In the spring of 1100 the fleet returned home, and after Daibert's deposition (October 1102) no further official Pisan initiatives in the Holy Land are known for several decades. However, private ship owners and pilgrims from Pisa continued to come and to join the campaigns for the conquest of further Palestinian towns. A good relationship with the Norman princes of Antioch brought concrete benefits for the Tuscan city, as Tancred granted quarters in the cities of Laodikeia (mod. Al-Lādhiqiyah, Syria) and Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) as well as a full exemption from tolls in the principality in return for the massive Pisan help in taking Laodikeia from the Greeks in 1108. It is unclear, however, whether these rights were maintained after Pisa's treaty with the Byzantine emperor in 1110; this treaty, together with Pisa's trading interests in Egypt and continuing expansion in the western Mediterranean (for example, the temporary conquest of the Balearic Islands, 1113–1115), may have distracted the city's interest from Syria and Palestine.

King Baldwin II of Jerusalem granted five houses and an exemption from tolls (excluding those for pilgrims) in Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon) after the city was captured in 1124, but it is doubtful how long these rights were maintained. A new phase was inaugurated by a treaty with King Baldwin

III (1156), which was intended to end previous conflicts; it confirmed the Pisan privileges in Tyre and added further property as well as an independent law court and the right to establish a viscount in the city. The following year the king's brother, Count Amalric of Ascalon, granted land for houses in Jaffa as well as a reduction in tolls. In 1154 the Pisans received land for a *fondaco* (market) in Laodikeia, a court, and other privileges in the principality of Antioch.

From this period Pisa's engagement in the Levant grew steadily, and more and more Pisans remained in Outremer for longer than the usual trading seasons. Pisans settled especially in Tyre and in Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) but also outside the Pisan quarters in the privileged coastal towns. Their presence in the county of Tripoli was much smaller, although some prominent figures of Pisan origin are known, such as a man called Plebanus, who married the daughter of the last lord of Botron and managed to purchase this lordship. For the principality of Antioch it is difficult to ascertain any permanent Pisan settlers outside their quarters in Antioch and Laodikeia.

The Pisan rights in the kingdom of Jerusalem were extended by King Amalric as a result of the massive support for his campaigns against Egypt. In 1165 Pisa received in Tyre a square that was nominally designated for the benefit of all nations. This maneuver gave the Pisans the role of protector of commerce in Tyre and thus favored the process by which citizens of smaller cities in Tuscany and elsewhere declared themselves Pisans in order to enjoy the Pisan privileges. Three years later, thanks to its help during the siege of Alexandria, the commune gained land for the construction of a *fondaco* and a church as well as an independent court in Acre with jurisdiction over their compatriots. The regulations for the Pisan court at Acre imply that by that time there were already many Pisans living outside their own quarters and in possession of fiefs in the kingdom, as these Pisans were under the jurisdiction of the royal courts.

The conquest of much of Outremer by Saladin (1187) created a situation in which the Frankish states were even more dependent on the naval support offered by the Italian maritime cities. It was Pisa that was the most engaged in the defense of Tyre (1187), and the city sent a fleet of fifty-two ships under Archbishop Hubald as papal legate for the Third Crusade in 1189. As a result, the city gained a series of generous privileges for Tyre, Jaffa, and Acre, generally including property, permission to have its own officials and weights and measures, reduced taxation, and jurisdiction

over Pisans inside and outside the Pisan quarters (1187–1189). The *Societas Vermiliorum*, a communal (but short-lived) organization formed by Pisans and others with Pisan status, received further properties in and around Tyre and Acre from Conrad of Montferrat (1188) for its exceptional merits in defending Tyre.

Henry of Champagne, who came to the throne of Jerusalem in 1192, attempted to break the power of the Pisans by restricting their number in Tyre to thirty persons, obliging them to surrender any fiefs they held in the kingdom (1193), and even banning them from Acre (1195). However, Pisan retaliation in the form of piracy and a blockade obliged Henry to restore the status quo of before 1187. The privileges attained by the end of the twelfth century, as well as Outremer's growing dependence upon naval support, meant that the main ports of Palestine became flourishing centers of Pisan trade. In the northern principalities of Antioch and Tripoli no major new rights were conceded to the city from the end of the century.

Little is known about the internal organization of the Pisan communities in Outremer, although it seems that, from the mid-twelfth century at the latest, permanent Pisan settlers were present in more substantial numbers than the Genoese or Venetians. This trend may have been encouraged by Pisa's policy of including foreigners in the Pisan trade community in order to share fiscal advantages and to enlarge the extent of Pisan trade. Pisa also had a much more populated hinterland than Venice or Genoa.

The lack of surviving documentation means that it is difficult to establish the main trade items, apart from strategic supplies such as iron, wood, and pitch (all from the mines and forests of Pisa's hinterland and Sardinia), as well as the transport of pilgrims. Like the much-better-documented Genoese trade, Pisan activities in Outremer were directed toward the Islamic trade centers, such as Damascus and Aleppo, and the goods traded would have been similar to those of Genoa.

Though the viscounts seem to be the older institution in the Pisan colonies in Outremer as heads of the community and of the law court (first attested at Tyre in 1156), the consuls in various ports appear to be the more important representatives of Pisa and its colonies, particularly the consul at Acre (first mentioned in 1179). The consul at Acre was responsible not only for Acre and the kingdom of Jerusalem but for all Syria, and was the only consul to be chosen by the major Council of Pisa, while the others were elected by the

Pius II (1405–1464)

consuls of the *Ordine del Mare* (Council of Maritime Affairs). The consuls, responsible for law, administration, and finances, were assisted by a local assembly and various officials, depending on the size of the individual Pisan community. The privileges of 1187 and 1189 give an interesting insight into the complex legal and social structure of the Pisan communities, listing several different categories: *scapuli* (independent Pisans who were only temporarily present), *burgenses* (Pisans who were also citizens of the kingdom), *milites* (knights, presumably fief-holders), and *comiti* (ships' captains).

The excellent relations and collaboration with Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor and king of Sicily, during his rule in the kingdom of Jerusalem brought about a general confirmation of Pisan rights along with substantial new rights, including a court and privileges for Jerusalem itself (1229). In the following period Pisa remained on the imperial side against Genoa and the baronial opposition to Frederick. After the withdrawal of the imperial vicar (1246), Pisa and the Pisan colonists, with some local support, maintained their position for some years, but in the so-called War of St. Sabas Pisa could only withstand the Genoese thanks to its alliance with Venice, concluded in 1257. Eventually a defeat in the battle of Meloria close to the Tuscan coast (1284) destroyed the major part of the Pisan fleet and broke Pisan sea power.

Pisan merchants nevertheless continued trading with the Levant (primarily with Egypt, Cyprus, and Cilicia), through the fourteenth century, though on an ever-decreasing scale. Genoa and Venice won the competition for the lucrative Mediterranean trade, while Pisa became a secondary power with a growing interest in the central Italian mainland and its industries, until it was subjugated by the leading Tuscan city, Florence, in 1406.

—Michael Matzke

See also: Mahdia Expedition (1087); Outremer: Italian Communities

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Pius II (1405–1464)

Humanist, pope (1458–1464), and propagandist of a crusade against the Ottoman Turks.

Enea Silvio (Latinized as Aeneas Silvius) Piccolomini was born at Corsignano on 18 October 1405 into an Italian noble family. He trained as a jurist, attended the Council of Basel (1432–1442), and later entered the service of Frederick III, king of the Romans. After his ordination (1446), a stupendous ecclesiastical career elevated Aeneas to the bishopric of Siena (1450), the cardinalate (1456), and, finally, to the papacy. He was elected in 1458 as successor to Pope Calixtus III, taking the name Pius II. Ever since the fall of Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) to the Ottomans (29 May 1453), he had propagated a crusade against the Turks, both as a diplomat and a rhetorician. From 1458 it became the foremost issue of Pius's pontificate. In 1459–1460 he summoned the Congress of Mantua, trying, though with little success, to inaugurate a common European alliance against Turkish aggression. In the crusading bull *Ezechielis* (23 September 1463) Pius promised to participate in the expedition personally, but on his way to Ancona, where a fleet already lay at anchor, he died on 15 August 1464.

In his famous Latin letters and speeches at the diets in Regensburg (1454) and Frankfurt am Main (1454) and at Mantua, which soon became models of their genre, he evoked the examples of Pope Urban II's sermon at the



Pius II arrives at Ancona and calls forth the Crusade, by Pinturicchio (1454–1513). (Scala/Art Resource)

Council of Clermont (1095) and the First Crusade (1096–1099). He made extensive use of the chronicle of Robert of Rheims as well as of Bernard of Clairvaux's letter of exhortation, blending them with humanist style and thought. Besides advocating the military option, Pius addressed a letter to the conqueror of Constantinople, Sultan Mehmed II (*Epistola ad Mahumetem*, 1461), advising him to adopt Christianity and thus become a second Constantine. In 1458 he composed an epitome of the *Historiarum decades* of Flavio Biondo (1392–1463), which comprised an account of the First Crusade.

–Peter Orth

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Polabians

One of several Slavic tribes living east of the river Elbe in what is now northeastern Germany. The Polabians were loosely united with the Wagrians to the north and the Abodrites to the east.

The Polabians are mentioned by the historian Adam of Bremen in his *Historia Hammaburgensis ecclesiae* as being subject to the archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen. Adam also refers to Ratzeburg as their main city, a statement repeated by Helmold of Bosau in the opening chapters of his *Chronica Slavorum*. Helmold also states that the Polabians had originally been subjected to the bishopric of Oldenburg in Holstein, originally established around 972 by Otto I, Holy Roman Emperor. Various rebellions among the Abodrites in the last two decades of the tenth century, however, led to the destruction of this bishopric, and it was not until around 1062 that it was reestablished, this time, however, only as a bishopric for the Wagrians to the north. To the south new bishoprics were founded in Ratzeburg for the Polabians and

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in Mecklenburg for the tribes living in the coastal regions of the northeast.

Even though some of the princely families now nominally accepted the Christian faith, there was no general acceptance of Christianity among the Slavic tribes for several decades to come.

In 1129 the German king Lothar III had entrusted the Abodrite kingdom to Knud Lavard, duke of Schleswig, but when Knud was murdered in 1131, Prince Pribislaw became the new ruler of the Polabians and Wagrians. Though presumably nominally a Christian, Pribislaw forbade any further missionary activities among his people. A few years later he invaded neighboring Holsatia (part of modern Holstein). This was to be the last attack into Holsatia by the Slavs, and in the winter of 1138–1139 Count Henry of Badewide led the Holsatian levies into Wagria, ravaging the region. In 1143 Henry was then given the land of the Polabians, which now became known as the county of Ratzeburg. Together with Count Adolf II of Schauenburg, who had been given parts of Wagria, Henry colonized the newly conquered land by bringing in peasants from Holsatia, Frisia, Westphalia, Flanders, and Holland, thus connecting the land of the Polabians firmly with the duchy of Saxony and the German kingdom.

—Carsten Selch Jensen

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Poland

The Polish contribution to the crusades to the Holy Land was limited, but Poland made significant contributions to crusades in the eastern Baltic region and against Turkish invasions in the Balkans. The crusade movement and mil-

itary orders were known in the kingdom of Poland from an early date and remained a feature of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Crusades to the East, 1096–1221

Polish knights did not participate in the First Crusade (1096–1099), although Polish clerics took part in the Council of Clermont, at which the expedition to the East was proclaimed by Pope Urban II in 1095. A note about the capture of Jerusalem was included in the Annals of the cathedral chapter of Kraków in 1099, which was later repeated by the other sources.

After the death of Prince Bolesław III Krzywousty (1138), Poland suffered serious political crises, which ended in 1142–1146 with the exile of the senior prince, civil war, and the military intervention of Conrad III, king of Germany. During this time, Bernard of Clairvaux was initiating preparations for the Second Crusade (1147–1149). It is very probable that Władysław II Wygnaniec, prince of Silesia, accompanied Conrad III to the East in 1147 in command of Polish knights, as reported by the Byzantine chronicler John Kinnamos. The majority of the German knights went with Conrad III to the Holy Land, but others organized a crusade against the pagan Slavs who inhabited the territory between the lower Elbe and the Oder. The troops of Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, and Conrad, duke of Zähringen, were supported by Danish and Polish magnates.

Prince Henry of Sandomierz, stepbrother of Władysław Wygnaniec, went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1153–1154, fought under the leadership of King Baldwin III of Jerusalem, and came back with glory. He brought with him knights of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem and granted them landed properties and a church in Zagość. This was the first convent of a military order to be established in Poland, and it was soon followed by others. Henry dedicated himself to the crusade movement and joined another action, organized by his brother Prince Bolesław IV Kędzierzawy against the heathen Prussians, during which he died (1166). The example of Henry of Sandomierz was followed by the magnate Jaxa of Miechów, who in 1161–1162 went to Palestine, visited the Holy Places, and fought with his followers against the Muslims. He invited the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre to Poland and founded a monastery for them in Miechów, which later became the main house of a separate congregation of the canons. Soon Polish landowners began to grant large amounts of land and other property to the new

military and religious orders, which established their houses in almost every province: Silesia, Greater Poland, Cuiavia, Mazovia, Pomerania, and Lesser Poland (Pol. Małopolska).

The fall of Jerusalem to Saladin in October 1187 brought about calls for a new crusade to protect the rest of the Holy Land from the Muslims. The papal legate John Malabranca arrived in Poland in early 1189 to collect revenues for the crusade and to encourage Polish knights to participate in it. It is hard to estimate the number of Poles who went to Jerusalem, but certainly many more joined the crusade of Prince Kazimierz Sprawiedliwy (the Just) against the Jatvings, a pagan Baltic tribe, in 1192–1193. Only a few names of knights who participated in crusades are recorded in contemporary documents, for example, a certain *Velizlaus Ierosolimitanus* (Dzierzko, brother of Vit, bishop of Płock), who made his last will before departing for the Holy Land.

Pope Innocent III nominated Henry Kietlicz, archbishop of Gniezno, as his crusade envoy to the Polish church in the bull *Quia maior* issued in April 1213. In 1217 Innocent's successor, Honorius III, appointed Archbishop Henry as leader of a Polish contingent that was to leave for the East. However, the Polish prelates and magnates preferred to fight against the Prussians, who had repeatedly invaded Polish territories, and asked the pope for release from the obligation to join the crusade. Few took part in the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221), in which they fought together with the Hungarian troops, but Pope Honorius III severely rebuked Prince Leszek (Lestko) the White in 1221 for failing to fulfill his crusader's vow. Nevertheless, for the first time Poland participated in the general preparation for a crusade on a European scale and made a major financial contribution to it.

The Baltic Crusades

The territorial disintegration of Poland, together with numerous internal conflicts and foreign invasions, made the crusades in the Baltic region more attractive to Polish nobles, knights, and clerics. As early as 1140–1141 Henry Zdík, bishop of Olomouc in Moravia, who had made pilgrimages to the Holy Land in 1123 and 1137, tried unsuccessfully to convert the pagan Prussians, in cooperation with the senior Polish prince, Władysław II. Henry Zdík may have been following the example of the saint and martyr Adalbert (Vojtěch) of Prague, who died in Prussia in 997. In the winter of 1147–1148, Bolesław Kędzierzawy, who had ruled Mazovia since 1138, organized a crusade against the neighboring pagan Prussians, who had often attacked his lands.

The Prussians took their revenge in 1149, when they seriously devastated Mazovia.

The crusades in the Baltic region intensified in the 1170s. Danish, Swedish, and German missionaries and knights were active in Livonia and Finland. These actions prompted the Polish magnates to undertake a military campaign against the Prussians, conceived on a much broader scale than before. A Cistercian monk called Christian was consecrated as a bishop in 1216 and undertook the mission among the Prussians, supported by the knights and magnates. At this time the first convent of the Spanish Order of Calatrava was founded in Pomerania, which resulted in certain rivalry between lay and ecclesiastical powers over the Prussian mission. Bishop Christian received a bull from Pope Honorius III (3 March 1217), by which he was permitted to enlist crusaders against the Prussians; they were to receive the same privileges and indulgences as those going to the East. However, the pope also forbade Christian from recruiting those who had already promised to join the crusade to the Holy Land. In 1218 Honorius III issued new bulls, addressed to church officials in Poland as well as to the archbishops of Cologne, Salzburg, and Mainz, in which he encouraged everyone who was not able to fight in the Holy Land to join the Prussian crusade. He also strongly reprimanded those who wanted to attack those Prussians who had been baptized. Finally, in a bull of 15 June 1218, Honorius enjoined the archbishops of Mainz, Magdeburg, Cologne, Salzburg, Gniezno, Lund, Bremen, and Trier, as well as the bishop of Kammin, to recruit knights for a crusade against the Prussians.

As a result of these religious and diplomatic initiatives, an expedition led by Henry I, prince of Silesia, together with the Bohemian prince Děpolt and Laurence, bishop of Breslau (mod. Wrocław, Poland), went to Prussia. However, relations between Bishop Christian and the crusaders were not always amicable, and the pope had to grant protection to the bishop in subsequent bulls, insisting on the return of Prussian captives to Christian. Soon Henry I convinced Prince Lestko the White and Prince Conrad of Mazovia to join him in another expedition, in 1222. He also contacted the Teutonic Knights in Silesia, in a first attempt to attract them to the Prussian crusades. Before the crusade departed, Bishop Christian and other Polish prelates met with three powerful magnates in "Lonyz" (probably Łowicz) to discuss the terms of cooperation between ecclesiastical and secular parties as well as plans for the military campaigns. The most intensive

fighting in the Prussian-Mazovian and Prussian-Pomeranian borderlands occurred in summer 1223, but did not result in any significant military victory for either side. The further progress of the crusaders' army was disturbed by the civil war in Greater Poland initiated by Prince Władysław Odonic in fall 1223, but a defense line of wooden fortresses with garrisons efficiently protected Mazovia and Cuiavia from Prussian invasions until at least 1225. Thereafter the Polish princes, involved in civil war, paid little attention to the northern border. Pope Honorius III issued a bull (9 December 1226) addressed to Pełka, cantor of the cathedral chapter of Gniezno and future archbishop, permitting him to rescind the excommunication from anyone who agreed to join a crusade to the Holy Land or Prussia. The pope also nominated Pełka as preacher of the crusade within the archbishopric of Gniezno.

Around this time, Prince Henry I of Silesia and Bishop Gunter of Płock convinced Conrad of Mazovia to invite the Teutonic Knights to Poland and employ them in the conflict with the Prussians. The first knights arrived in 1228, and privileges were issued for them. In the same year Bishop Christian, abandoned by the princes, established his own military order, called the Knights of Christ, who received the castle of Dobrin (mod. Dobrzyn, Poland) from Gunter of Płock and other grants from Conrad of Mazovia.

One can observe a significant increase in donations to the military orders in the 1220s and 1230s in Poland. The Hospitallers and Templars established several commanderies and smaller houses, as did the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre. During the pontificate of Gregory IX (1227–1241), the mendicant friars (Dominicans and Franciscans) were active as crusade preachers, and Gregory also supported the activity of the Teutonic Knights who in 1230–1231 appeared in large numbers in the Kulmerland and in Prussia. At first they agreed to support Bishop Christian, but on 18 January 1230 the pope granted them a license to organize the crusade against the Prussians. In 1231 and 1232 the pope enjoined the local ecclesiastical hierarchy as well as Dominicans in Poland, Pomerania, Gotland, and Bohemia to support the Teutonic Order. He again revoked all ecclesiastical penalties on heretics and sinners if they joined the crusaders and granted a twenty-day indulgence to all who listened to a crusade sermon. In 1233 Gregory IX called on Jordan, minister general of the Dominican Order, to support the Prussian crusade and granted a twenty-day indulgence to those who helped build military sites.

Bishop Christian was captured by the Sambians in 1233, and soon the pope took direct control over the mission, but the Teutonic Knights now became the leading institution in the crusade against pagan Prussia. In 1235 they incorporated the relatively few Knights of Dobrin and obtained further privileges from the papal legate William of Modena. The Polish princes did not oppose the growing power of the Teutonic Knights, mainly because they were involved in another civil war in 1232–1234. When the war was over, the Teutonic Knights, Conrad of Mazovia, and other princes invaded Prussia (1234). In the following year, five Piast princes took part in a military campaign, and the Prussian troops were defeated in battle at the Dzierżoń River in February 1235. This great victory opened up Prussia to the Teutonic Knights.

Tensions between the papal and imperial courts resulted in the excommunication imposed in 1239 on Emperor Frederick II by Pope Gregory IX, who in February 1240 called upon all Christians for a crusade against the German ruler. Most of the Polish princes sided with the pope, but then they became involved in unexpected war with the Mongols, who invaded Hungary and Poland in 1241. Before his death (August 1241), Gregory IX granted the same indulgence as that received by crusaders to the East to those who supported King Béla IV of Hungary and other Polish princes after the defeats of the Christian forces at the battles of Mohi (11 April 1241) and Liegnitz (9 April 1241), thus turning the defensive war into a crusade. The withdrawal of the Mongol army put an end to further actions.

Disputes between the rulers of Pomerelia, the Teutonic Knights, and the Polish princes of Mazovia and Cuiavia were exploited by the Prussians, who rebelled against the invaders and regained control of the greater part of the conquered land in 1243. Prince Świetopełk (Swantopulk) of Pomerania supported the Prussians and attacked the Kulmerland and Cuiavia. In response the Teutonic Knights, together with Polish and Austrian troops, invaded Pomerelia in the winter of 1245–1246. Fighting continued until October 1247, when a cease-fire was agreed on.

Another plan for a crusade arose after Prince Bolesław of Lesser Poland was defeated at the battle of Zaryszew, by the joint forces of Prince Conrad of Mazovia and the still pagan Lithuanians and Jatvings (1246). In 1247 Pope Innocent IV called on Archbishop Pełka and Bishop Prandota of Kraków to organize a crusade in favor of Prince Bolesław, but it was conducted in 1248 without great success. In 1253 Innocent sent his legate Abbot Opizo of Mezzano to Poland in order

to organize a crusade against the Mongols and the Orthodox Russian prince Daniel of Galicia, but this action was equally unsuccessful. When King Ottokar II of Bohemia went on crusade to Prussia in winter 1254, his troops were supported by Polish knights.

Pope Alexander IV proclaimed new crusades against Lithuanians, Jatvings, and other pagans in August 1255 and addressed bulls to the clergy of Poland, Bohemia, Moravia, and Austria. The campaign finally started in winter 1247–1248, but by the summer of 1248 the pope ordered the crusaders to withdraw and insisted that the Franciscans should preach the Gospel by words and not by swords. A few years later, the Polish knights again had to fight against the Mongols (1260), a struggle that was reflected in crusade bulls of Alexander IV. From 1240 to 1260 only local crusades to Prussia were initiated by the papacy and undertaken by Polish knights and magnates, but rivalry among the princes of the Piast dynasty and other internal conflicts made these crusades largely unsuccessful.

The combined forces of the Teutonic Knights and the bishops of Prussia were defeated by the Samogitians on 13 July 1260 at the Durben River in Curonia, which led to a new Prussian uprising. The pope proclaimed a crusade and issued bulls in early 1261, but the crusaders were defeated at battles in Sambia and Natangia in January 1261. The crusade against the Prussians in 1261 was the last in this region in which Polish knights took part. The heavy fighting lasted until 1273 and ended with a final defeat of the pagan Prussians and the total subjugation of Prussia by the Teutonic Knights. They began an intensive colonization and urbanization of the conquered land, which was to change its social and national structure.

The Later Middle Ages and Early Modern Period

The Mongol invasion of Syria in the second half of the thirteenth century made a strong impression on contemporaries. Pope Urban IV, a former patriarch of Jerusalem, issued several bulls in which he called for a new crusade. He sent archdeacon Peter of Pontecorvo as his legate to Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland in order to supervise the preparations and collect money. In bulls of May and June 1262, Urban granted privileges to crusaders, but after his death (2 October 1264) arrangements were slowed down by his successor, Clement IV (1265–1268). Bishop Thomas I of Breslau (d. 1268) was a main promoter of the crusade in Poland at that time.

After the fall of the Latin Empire of Constantinople to the Greeks in July 1261, Urban IV addressed a bull to the prior of the Polish-Bohemian Dominican province, in which he described events in Constantinople and charged him with a mission to preach a new crusade. Yet instead of undertaking an expedition against Byzantium, the Polish troops supported King Stephen V of Hungary against the Cumans and Mongols in 1264–1265.

Pope Gregory X (1272–1276) summoned a church council in Lyons in the summer of 1274. He convinced several European rulers to participate in a new crusade, and the council accepted the crusade decree *Constitutiones pro zelo fidei*. The Polish ecclesiastical province was represented by Thomas II, bishop of Breslau (1270–1292), as well as Henry IV Probus, prince of Silesia (d. 1290), who also agreed to take part in the new expedition. A papal collector of crusade revenues began work in Poland and Hungary, but after the death of Gregory X plans were abandoned; in 1291 Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), the last Christian stronghold in the Holy Land, surrendered to Khalil, the Mamlük sultan. Prince Henry IV seized the crusade revenues collected at the Dominican convent in Breslau and was excommunicated in 1285. The fall of Acre was not noted by any contemporary Polish writers in annals or chronicles, in contrast to the capture of Jerusalem in 1099.

Knights Hospitallers from the Polish convents, which came under the authority of the Hospitaller prior at Prague, also participated in military actions from the island of Rhodes, where the headquarters of the Order of the Hospital was established after 1310. Significant financial support was also sent to Rhodes in 1480–1481 when the island's capital was besieged by the Ottoman Turks.

The idea of the crusades was renewed (in modified form) in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, especially when the Polish rulers, some of whom were also kings of Hungary, were engaged in wars with the Ottoman Empire after its expansion into Europe. Władysław III, king of Poland (1434–1444) and Hungary (1440–1444), was persuaded by Pope Eugenius IV, the papal legate Giovanni Cesarini, and the Hungarian commander John Hunyadi to join a crusade against the Turks and, despite several victories, died at the battle of Varna in November 1444. The elected kings of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth also often appealed to ideas of the crusade when they conducted wars against the Ottoman Empire in the seventeenth century, for example, when King John III Sobieski went to the relief of Vienna in

1683. Crusade ideas were an important element in the culture of the Polish nobility of that period (also known as Sarmatian Culture), and were directly linked with the concept of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as the “bulwark of Christendom” (Lat. *antemurale Christianitatis*), defending the Christian world against the Muslim Turks and Tartars.

Crusade ideology was also noticeable in monastic and lay libraries. Dozens of manuscripts and early printed books have survived that contain various texts describing the pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The military orders and clergy promoted certain religious cults, for example, of the Holy Sepulchre or relics of the True Cross. Even after the failure of the crusades, numerous Poles made pilgrimages to the Holy Places, including Peter Wysz, bishop of Kraków (later of Poznań), and Ludwig II, prince of Liegnitz, both in the fifteenth century. Sometimes pilgrims produced memoirs, like those of Prince Nicolas Christopher Radziwiłł, which gained fame as a literary and historical work.

—Rafał Witkowski

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Polemics against Islam

Polemics are theological texts that seek to attack, disprove, or discredit a rival religion; in theory they are distinct from apologetics (theological defense of one’s own religion), but in practice the two categories often overlap. In the medieval Mediterranean world, Jews, Christians, and Muslims frequently composed polemical texts against rival religions, and against heretical tendencies within their own faiths.

Latin Christians became increasingly aware of the existence of Islam as a rival religion in the twelfth century, as a result of growing contacts with the Muslim world: crusade and *Reconquista* (Christian reconquest of Iberia), to be sure, but also trade and travel, study and translation. A few Latin authors had previously shown some awareness of the rudiments of Islam: Paulus Alvarus and Eulogius of Córdoba wrote anti-Islamic diatribes in support of the Christian martyrs of Córdoba in the 850s, but their works were unknown to later writers; a few snippets of information about Muḥammad and Islam were translated from Greek texts into Latin. Yet on the whole, writers from Bede to the author of the *Chanson de Roland* portrayed the Saracen as a pagan idolater; this portrayal is found in literary texts, legal treatises, and purported travel narratives into the sixteenth century.

In the twelfth century, however, various Latin writers forged a better-informed, though no less polemical, vision of Islam. This development was due in large part to the growing intellectual and cultural contacts between Spain and Northern Europe. Arabic-speaking Christians of the Iberian Peninsula renewed the traditions of apologetics and polemics against Islam; the Arab Christian tradition in turn influenced Latin writers such as Petrus Alfonsi and Peter the Venerable of Cluny. Petrus Alfonsi's *Dialogues against the Jews* (*Dialogi contra Iudaeos*) contain an anti-Muslim chapter derived largely from earlier Arab Christian polemics, in particular from the ninth- or tenth-century *Risālat al-Kindī* (*Letter of al-Kindī*). The key to Peter Alfonsi's polemical vision of Islam is the portrayal of Muḥammad as a scoundrel and heresiarch who forged bogus revelations to incite a gullible people into following him. Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, traveled to Spain in 1142–1143 and assembled a team of translators, which produced a full, annotated Latin version of the Qur'ān, along with translations of other Muslim texts and of the *Risālat al-Kindī*. Using this collection of texts along with the polemics of Petrus Alfonsi, Peter himself composed two anti-Islamic tracts. Like the earlier authors he relied upon, Peter presents Islam as a heresy forged by Muḥammad who “vomited forth almost all of the excrement of the old heresies which he had drunk up as the devil poured it out” [Petrus Venerabilis, “Summa totius haeresis Saracenorum,” in *Schriften zum Islam*, ed. Reinhold Gleis (Altenberg: CIS-Verlag, 1985), p. 9].

Polemics against the religion of Muḥammad or of the Saracens took their place alongside polemics against other “heresies” and against Judaism. Polemicists adapted the biography of Muḥammad to fit those of earlier heresiarchs and of Antichrist, putting the accent on the prophet's supposed lasciviousness and bellicosity, which inspired his followers to reject Christianity and to wage war against Christendom. The polemicists marshaled arguments from logic, science, and scripture in the fight against what they presented as the “Saracen error.” This vision of Islam was shared by polemicists who knew little about Islam (e.g., Alan of Lille in his *De fide catholica* of around 1200) and those who knew a considerable amount about it (e.g., Riccoldo da Montecroce or Ramon Llull).

The more informed authors attacked not only Islam's prophet, but also its sacred book, the Qur'ān. It was read by some polemicists in the original Arabic, and by others in the Latin translations of Robert of Ketton (commissioned by

Peter of Cluny in the 1140s), Mark of Toledo (1210), or the (now-lost) fifteenth-century trilingual Arabic-Latin-Spanish version of Juan de Segovia and 'Īsā ibn Jābir. The goals of these polemicists were twofold: to discredit the Qur'ān (or, in their terms, to “prove” that it was not divinely inspired) and to glean pro-Christian arguments from it. These authors combed the Qur'ān for internal contradictions and errors of fact that they brandished to “prove” the irrationality of both message and messenger; contemporary Christian polemicists deployed the same technique against the Talmud, while Jewish and Muslim writers attacked the Gospel in the same way. Qur'ānic stories about sacred history were deemed ridiculous when they differed from the biblical versions; Qur'ānic laws on sex and marriage, along with the Qur'ān's descriptions of a sensual paradise, were plucked out of context in order to demonstrate the libidinous nature of Muḥammad and his Saracen followers. Some of these polemicists attacked Muslim practices (the Ramadan fast, ritual libations, the pilgrimage to Mecca, etc.) and doctrines (predestination, *jihād* or holy war, denial of essential Christian doctrines such as the Trinity and Incarnation). Yet at the same time, many Christian readers stressed that the Qur'ān confirmed much of Christian doctrine: they catalogued Qur'ānic praise of the Virgin Mary, Jesus, and the Gospels. Most of its medieval Christian readers showed this kind of ambivalence toward the Qur'ān. Some emphasized the positive: Pseudo-William of Tripoli's *De statu Sarracenorum* (c. 1275) used selected passages from the Qur'ān to show that Muslim doctrine was close to Christianity and that Muslims were ready to convert peaceably; the contemporary author Fidenzio of Padua chose other passages to present Muslims as irredeemably hostile to Christians, implacable enemies who must be militarily crushed.

This latter view of Islam pervades Latin polemic texts (which often sport titles such as *Against the Errors [or Heresy] of the Saracens*); it was also deployed by other authors for other didactic and polemical purposes. In particular, chroniclers and propagandists of wars against Muslims used this caricature of Islam and its prophet in order to incite, justify, and glorify military action (past, present, or future) against Muslims. Guibert of Nogent inserted a scurrilous biography of Muḥammad into the opening of his chronicle of the First Crusade, the *Dei gesta per Francos*. Mathomus (as Guibert calls the prophet) trains a dove to eat out of his ear and affirms that it is the Archangel Gabriel come to reveal God's will to him; through various other

bogus miracles he hoodwinks the gullible Arabs into making them his leader and following a law based on sexual excess. Guibert presents Muḥammad as the latest and most virulent of a long line of oriental heresiarchs who succeeded in seducing and subduing the effeminate and heresy-prone orientals; hence the justification of the conquest of the East by stolid and manly Latin Christians. William of Tyre, in his *Chronicon*, presented Muḥammad as the “first born of Satan” [Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, ed. Robert B. C. Huygens, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), 1:105], a false prophet who seduced the Arabs into following his depraved law; William presumably developed this polemical image in greater detail in his (now lost) *Gesta orientaliū principum*. James of Vitry gives essentially the same view of Islam in his writings, presenting the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221) as justified primarily in order to rescue the Eastern church, languishing under Saracen dominion, and to restore it to its former glory.

In León and Castile, thirteenth-century chroniclers (Lucas de Tuy, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, and King Alfonso X of Castile) inserted a hostile biography of Muḥammad into their chronicles of Spanish history in order to help affirm the illegitimacy of all Muslim dominion in the Iberian Peninsula. These apologists for crusade and *Reconquista* lambast the Muslims for spreading their religion by the sword and present Christian aggression as a largely defensive campaign aimed at reconquering Christian territory and reclaiming churches destroyed or converted into mosques. For many of these chroniclers, the saints (George, Isidore of Seville, James, Mary, and others) play an active role in routing the Muslim enemy; their supposed intervention underscores the legitimacy of Christian wars against Muslims. Alfonso X, in his law treatise *Las Siete partidas*, cites the religious error of the Moors as the justification for their social and legal inferiority in Castilian law.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth century, as the crusading movement died a slow death and the Ottomans conquered the Balkans, the Turk became an object of fear and hatred: the anti-Muslim polemical works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were published in Latin and translated into European vernaculars. Only in the eighteenth century, when the Ottomans posed less of a threat to Europe, did a few European authors begin to present Islam and its prophet in a positive light; yet the negative stereotypes forged by medieval polemicists persist until today.

—John Tolan'

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Pomerelia

Pomerelia (Ger. *Pomerellen*, Pol. *Pomorze Wschodnie* or *Pomorze Gdańskie*) was the eastern part of medieval Pomerania, extending from the river Łeba to the Vistula, with its capital at Danzig (mod. Gdańsk, Poland). It bordered on Prussia to the east and medieval Poland to the south, and was occupied by the Teutonic Knights in the course of the Baltic Crusades.

Pomerelia was annexed to the early medieval Polish state by Prince Mieszko I around 950 and regained its independence after the death of King Mieszko II of Poland (1034). It was captured again by Prince Bolesław III Krzywousty of Poland (d. 1138), who established a new bishopric in Kruszwica. Around 1180 the Polish senior prince Kazimierz II appointed Sambor I (d. before 1209) as ruler of Danzig, and Bogislaw (d. before 1223) as ruler of Schlawe (mod. Sławno). They founded two separate local dynasties.

Sambor's successors Mestwin I (d. 1217) and Swantopulk (d. 1266) had to defend their land against the pagan Old Prussians. From 1230 Swantopulk supported the Teutonic Knights in their military actions in Prussia, but often took the side of the Prussians against the Teutonic Knights. The last Pomeranian ruler, Mestwin II of Danzig, concluded an agreement with Prince Przemysł II of Greater Poland in 1282 at Kępno and after the death of Mestwin (1294) Przemysł took power in Pomerelia, which helped him to achieve a royal crown the following year. After the assassination of Przemysł II (1296), Pomerelia was taken over by King

Wenceslas (Václav) II, king of Bohemia (1278–1305) and Poland (1300–1305).

When Władysław I Łokietek of Poland (d. 1333) was unable to help the Pomeranians against an invasion from Brandenburg in 1308–1309, he asked the Teutonic Knights to defend Pomerelia. They exploited the difficult situation to capture Danzig in November 1308, and by fall 1309 had taken the entire province over by force. After the annexation of this large province, the Teutonic grand master Siegfried von Feuchtwangen moved his headquarters from Venice to Marienburg (mod. Malbork, Poland) in neighboring Prussia. The Teutonic Knights divided Pomerelia into new districts or commanderies (Ger. *Komtureien*), built several strong castles, and between 1340 and 1360 established fourteen new towns. They also unsuccessfully tried to impose a new church organization in Pomerelia by separating it from the bishopric of Włocławek (Ger. Leslau). King Kazimierz III of Poland (1333–1370) signed an agreement with the Teutonic Knights at Kalisz in 1343, renouncing his rights to Pomerelia, which became an important element of the territorial state of the Teutonic Order, particularly in respect of trade via Danzig and the Vistula.

Poland regained control over Pomerelia as a consequence of the Thirteen Years' War (1454–1466). By the peace treaty of Thorn (1466), the province was linked to the kingdom of Kazimierz IV, while retaining a certain amount of autonomy within the Polish Crown. Danzig became the largest and richest town in the country. Pomerelia was annexed by Prussia in 1772 after the first partition of Poland and became the new province of West Prussia (Ger. Westpreußen).

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Pons of Tripoli (d. 1137)

Count of Tripoli (1112–1137).

The son of Count Bertrand of Tripoli, Pons became count while still a young man. He and his advisors abandoned the policy of hostility to the principality of Antioch that had characterized the reigns of his father and grandfather, a change that was reflected in his marriage (1115) to Cecilia of France, the widow of Tancred, regent of Antioch. Pons attempted to extend Tripolitan control east of the mountains into the valley of the upper Orontes; with the construction of the castle of Montferrand, he was able to blockade and finally capture the strategically important Muslim town of Raphanea (1126), which, however, was retaken by Zangī in 1137. Pons generally cooperated with his overlords, the kings of Jerusalem, although in 1122 he refused homage to King Baldwin II and in 1131 denied passage through his lands to the army of King Fulk, who was attempting to quell a revolt in Antioch. The final years of Pons's reign saw increasing Muslim incursions into the county, and he was captured and killed after his army was defeated by a raid from Damascus (25 March 1137). He was succeeded by his son Raymond II.

—Alan V. Murray

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Popular Crusades

Popular crusades were an ongoing feature of the crusading movement. Scholars use a variety of terms to describe them, such as *people's crusades*, *peasants' crusades*, *shepherds' crusades*, and *crusades of the poor*. But all these terms carry much the same meaning. First, these were not typical crusades; and second, those participating in them were not conventional crusaders.

Individually, popular crusades were passing episodes of short duration. Collectively, however, their lifespan in the history of the crusades stretches from the crusade of Peter the Hermit's followers of 1096 to the Hungarian Peasants' Crusade of 1514. None of these episodes created lasting institutions, although contemporary chroniclers acknowledged their power to mobilize vast crowds of enthusiasts and were

dismayed by the violence that often accompanied them. It is no small thing, moreover, that memorable figures like Peter the Hermit and enthusiasms like the Children's Crusade (1212) survived in the popular imagination. Historians have recently begun to take social memory seriously. In fact, nowadays scholarly interest in the popular crusades thrives on such topics as prophecy, crowd psychology, charismatic leadership, social dislocation, religious arousal, and the transmission of religious ideology in medieval society by means of preaching, processions, and visual culture.

Popular crusades provide conclusive proof of three phenomena: first, of the enduring power of the idea of the crusade; second, that ordinary believers (peasants, burgesses, urban artisans, and workers) were neither indifferent to nor cut off from the great events of Latin Christendom, as some historians previously maintained; and third, that exclusive concentration on the role of churchmen (Lat. *oratores*) and knights (Lat. *bellatores*) in the crusades considerably underestimates the significance of the movement, for it is unquestionable that the impact of the crusades was felt right across medieval society.

Definitions

Defining the popular crusades is by no means as easy as it might seem. At first glance the distinction between "popular" and "professional" crusades would appear to be clear-cut. Popular crusades were composed of noncombatants, or at least of those of nonknightly origin. "Professional" crusades, by contrast, rested upon the shoulders of well-trained and well-equipped warriors, the knights of Christendom. If this distinction is applied simplistically, however, it means that the first People's Crusades (1096), which included a surprising percentage of nobles and knights, paradoxically fail to meet the test. This intermingling of "popular" and "professional" participants in the First Crusade solidified when the remnants of the followers of Peter the Hermit joined the main crusading host. Thereafter, one can speak of a "popular element" attaching itself to the armies of knights. Such a "popular element" might be composed not only of noncombatants, such as women, but also of potential combatants: irregularly armed peasants, for instance.

Noncombatants attached themselves to the armies of the Second Crusade (1147–1149), much to the anger and despair of military strategists, who found their adherence dangerously burdensome. In the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229) peasants or low-born foot soldiers were to be found among

the camp followers. Reputedly craving only booty, they served as lightly or unconventionally armed fighters. But with the high costs of sea voyages restricting mass participation in the Third Crusade (1189–1192) and the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), the "popular element" ultimately became minimal. Military crusading thereafter was becoming professionalized, although the presence of St. Francis of Assisi and his companions at Damietta in Egypt during the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221) shows that noncombatants could still find a place.

So if the popular crusades are defined as autonomous movements, divorced from the more or less disciplined troops of armed knights and lacking knightly (or clerical) leadership, then the Children's Crusade, which included no "professionals," should be regarded as the first truly popular crusade. Interestingly, one year after the Children's Crusade, Pope Innocent III, in his new recruitment strategy for the Fifth Crusade, allowed ordinary laypeople to take the cross as well as knights. While popular enthusiasm for crusading was to be encouraged, unsuitable crusaders (broadly, those deemed unfit for military service) would be allowed to redeem their vows for cash. The money thus raised would then be used to fund an army of professional fighting men. Thus, by a clever division of labor, the two worlds of crusading, "popular" and "professional," were tacitly recognized.

After the Children's Crusade, these two worlds were finally disentangled. Although popular crusades persisted after the fall of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) to the Mamlūks (1291), the knights were absent. Thus, the near-contemporaneous Crusade of the Poor (1309) and the crusade of the fully professionalized Hospitallers, both stemming from the same papal appeal, represent the two worlds of crusading, fundamentally based on social composition and military expertise, as parallel universes.

What, then, of the distinction between "popular" and "official" crusades? Here we seem to be on secure ground with regard to canon law. Only the pope, after all, could lawfully summon a crusade. All crusades not officially preached, that is, decreed and promulgated, by the papacy were, consequently, illicit, unauthorized, and unblest. Moreover, official papal crusade armies were always to be accompanied by the pope's legate, who functioned as his special representative and other self (Lat. *alter ego*). In contrast, bands of popular crusaders went on their way unaccompanied by a papal legate. Of course, the clergy were aware that these "cru-

saders" were setting off without a papal blessing. Indeed, clerical chroniclers, at least from the Children's Crusade onward, made their disapproval of any crusading venture that the pope had not authorized perfectly clear. Yet when the chroniclers denounced such crusades, they were voicing their own opinions. Papal condemnation was what mattered, and it came remarkably late. The first popular crusade to be disavowed explicitly by the papacy was the Second Shepherds' Crusade (1320). Nonetheless, it must be emphasized that even in the case of a papally unauthorized crusade, crusader vows, once taken, remained valid and binding. To be released from crusader vows involved successfully completing the canonical procedures laid down by the church.

All of this implies that, although fundamentally sound, the distinction between "popular" and "official" crusades was in reality more blurred than was implied by the precise definitions of canon law. Furthermore, the chroniclers, even while disparaging the popular crusades, frequently described them in the standard terminology applied to "official" crusades (Lat. *iter*, *expeditio*, *crucesignatio*, and so on). Popular crusaders, in addition, nearly always started out by professing conventional, orthodox crusade goals, precisely the same goals professed by "official" crusaders. Often reiterated, for example, was the ardent desire to regain Jerusalem and the Holy Land; and the First Shepherds' Crusade (1251) set out with the aim of rescuing King Louis IX of France from his Saracen captors. Likewise, the chroniclers noted that these "crusaders" often displayed the regular emblems of pilgrimage and crusade, including the cross. This is compelling evidence that they perceived themselves as authentic crusaders.

Causes

Understanding the historical circumstances behind the coming of the popular crusades tends to undermine the idea of rigid canonical partitions effectively dividing "popular" from "official" crusades. A quick historical survey demonstrates that both kinds of crusade were, so to speak, born of the same womb. The paradigmatic example is the First Crusade. Inaugurating papal legislation on the crusading movement, the Clermont conciliar decree (1095) begins with an open invitation to all the faithful. Addressing potential recruits for the grand enterprise, its first word is "Whosoever" (Lat. *Quicumque*), meaning anyone and everyone. Despite Pope Urban II's subsequent efforts to qualify and restrict such an overtly populist appeal, this foundational all-inclusiveness

continued to adhere to the ideology of the crusades. Thus, the populist character of the first wave of the First Crusade, the People's Crusades of 1096, which included both knights and peasants, was in direct response to Urban's appeal at Clermont.

The Council of Clermont set the pattern. Throughout the long span of popular crusades, virtually the same collective reaction occurred again and again. Thus, the Children's Crusade began in the aftermath of preaching for the Albigensian Crusade and in the midst of fervent processions imploring God's help for crusading in Iberia. With its inception at the junction of two crusades and its genesis in an atmosphere of crisis-driven, officially sponsored crusade enthusiasm, the coming of the Children's Crusade makes sense only within the context of papally sponsored crusading. The First Shepherds' Crusade also sprang to life at just such an intersection. Self-proclaimed would-be saviors of Louis IX, the Shepherds (Lat. *pastores*) would have been unthinkable without the unfinished business of Louis's crusade to the East. While they can almost be thought of as constituting the last wave of his "official" crusade, the simultaneous preaching of the papally promoted crusade against the German-Sicilian Staufien dynasty would have added further fuel to their crusading flames.

The adherents of the Crusade of 1309 (also known as the Crusade of the Poor) believed implicitly that their movement was brought into being by Pope Clement V's crusading summons of 1308. That theirs was a pious misapprehension is beside the point. In the case of the Second Shepherds' Crusade, however, the ties that bound it to an "official" crusade are less conspicuous, although no less real. Talk of an "official" royal crusade had been in the air from at least 1318 onward. It could also be argued that by 1320 a tradition of popular crusades, and especially shepherds' crusades, was well established in France. Then, in 1345–1346, particularly in the Lombard and Tuscan cities, news of a Christian victory against the Turks at Smyrna (mod. İzmir, Turkey) in 1344 aroused mass enthusiasm, which was intensified by miracles and preaching. Papal approbation soon followed. The Hungarian Peasants' Crusade of 1514 was the last of the medieval popular crusades. Beginning as an officially declared holy war against the Turks, it turned into an uprising against the Hungarian nobility. Once again, the histories of "popular" and "official" crusades became inextricably intertwined.

Certainly by the late twelfth century both "popular" and

“official” crusades largely shared a common geography. In addition, they tended to occur around the same time. Lands already crisscrossed by crusade preachers and already familiar with crusading appeals and recruitment drives were territories in which a tradition of crusading had become established. Enthusiasm for the crusade was thus localized and latent in certain regions. So a mere spark, an immediate cause, was all that was needed to provoke a collective response. That is why the precise historical circumstances of chronology and geography, taken together, make canon law distinctions (whatever their undeniable value and utility) appear artificial.

Characteristics

Another approach to defining the popular crusades is to ask whether they had peculiar characteristics that set them apart from “official” crusades. To summarize what a number of scholars believe, popular crusades were (1) recurrent and (2) charismatically led; they were (3) eschatologically influenced movements and (4) associated with anti-Jewish outbursts; and they were (5) composed of diverse, sometimes marginal, elements of society, united by the potentially revolutionary conviction that poverty was a sign of divine election.

How helpful are these five major characteristics in differentiating “popular” from “official” crusades? It is certainly true that popular crusades recurred at irregular intervals from 1096 to 1514. But so too did officially promulgated crusades. Were they not two sides of the same crusade tradition? Similar arguments apply in the case of charismatic leadership. In a broad sense, many of the most illustrious crusading figures were charismatic, for they proved inspirational to their followers and enjoyed fame long after their death. One thinks of Godfrey of Bouillon, Bohemund of Taranto, Richard the Lionheart of England, and Louis IX of France. These “official” leaders, important rulers or outstanding field commanders (sometimes both), possessed rank and authority as well as an aura of personal glamour. With the possible exception of Louis IX, however, they were not regarded as holy men. Medieval personal charisma depended on holiness made manifest; Bernard of Clairvaux, the “official” preacher of the Second Crusade, was charismatic, but so too was Radulf, the unauthorized “popular” preacher of the same crusade. In this respect, the charismatic leaders of the popular crusades do present a striking contrast: Peter the Hermit (1096), Stephen of Cloyes and Nicholas of Cologne (1212), and Jacob, the Master of Hungary (1251). These men lacked

any “official” authority. What authority they radiated appeared to come directly from God. Verification, if it were needed, was provided by heavenly letters or emblems like Nicholas of Cologne’s tau cross. As for György Dózsa, leader of the 1514 Hungarian Peasants’ Crusade, it is unclear whether his leadership can be called charismatic in a religious sense. The fourteenth-century popular crusades seem to have lacked charismatic leaders.

Notions of an apocalyptic end of the world and of the central role of the crusades in the sacred drama of providential history are well documented in crusade history. When Bernard, while preaching the Second Crusade, stressed that “now” (Lat. *nunc*) was a special moment, he meant that the forthcoming crusade was to play a vital role in the divine plan. Similarly, when Joachim of Fiore, the Calabrian prophet of divine and human history, was interviewed by Richard the Lionheart at Messina in advance of combat on the Third Crusade, Joachim’s prophecy gave hope of victory. Again, when the legate Pelagius sought morale-boosting confidence from Arabic prophetic texts at Damietta during a critical point of the Fifth Crusade, prophecy did matter.

All of these incidents of anticipated divine intervention in the Christian cause occurred on or before “official” crusades. The same goes for miracles, signs, and wonders. At one time historians mocked the lowly popular crusaders for their credulity, but chroniclers’ accounts of providential signs on the Peoples’ Crusades of 1096 need to be compared to the reports of crosses in the sky when Oliver of Cologne was preaching the Fifth Crusade. As the crusaders’ acclamation “God wills it!” proclaimed, these were God’s wars. Hence a providential sensibility, prophetic rather than eschatological, pervaded the crusading movement as a whole.

Attacks on Jews, on the contrary, do point toward an eschatological sensibility, if only because the conversion of the Jews was destined to occur during the Last Days. Of course, bringing this about was far from being the only factor in anti-Judaic violence on the crusades. Nevertheless, the option of baptism or death was offered to the Jews time and time again, and not only on the Peoples’ Crusades of 1096. Massacres of Jews punctuated the crusades, both “official” and “popular.” The massacre of the Jews of York in 1190, for example, occurred during English preparations for the Third Crusade, and gathering French crusaders attacked Jews in 1236. Still, on the whole, the record of the popular crusades is more consistently anti-Judaic than that of the “official” crusades. Only the Children’s Crusade was never implicated

in violence or threatening behavior against the Jewish communities along its route.

It is not hard to see that the idea of poverty as proof of divine election would be especially appealing to poor crusaders. "Blessed are the poor" (Matt. 5:3) would have been music to their ears. Many historians have made much of poverty as the very ideological heart of the popular crusades. Yet there is a nagging problem: that of historical evidence. Did the poor on the various crusades, including knights who fell into destitution, actually perceive themselves as a religiously privileged class? For the concept of poverty was theological, rather than social. The medieval theology of poverty, while encompassing the weak and the vulnerable, gave pride of place to the voluntary poor, Christ's poor (Lat. *pauperes Christi*), such as pilgrims, monks, and friars. For the involuntary poor, deprivation alone was insufficient. God's poor were blessed because they were "poor in spirit." Although an ideology of poverty has been postulated as underlying the Children's Crusade [Raedts, "The Children's Crusade of 1212"], there is little evidence to sustain it. Only around the mid-thirteenth century was an exalted notion of spiritual poverty widely diffused in northern Europe by preachers, particularly Franciscans. By that time poor peasants were beginning to be familiar with this idealization of poverty applicable to themselves, as God's elect. That was what most of the fourteenth-century popular crusaders took it to mean. Norman Cohn stresses the revolutionary implications of this idea.

Conclusions

Analysis of these five supposedly defining characteristics of the popular crusades highlights how difficult it is to identify common features across the entire range of medieval popular crusading enthusiasms. Charismatic leadership is verifiable up to the fourteenth century; an eschatological sensibility, reflected primarily in anti-Judaic violence, may be partially correct; and a consciousness of election on the part of the involuntary poor has some validity, but probably only after around 1250. What this exercise in singling out behavioral attributes indicates is that the popular crusades were more diverse than is often thought. As the most useful rule of thumb, therefore, we are left with the twin dichotomies of "popular" and "professional" and "popular" and "official," always flexibly interpreted and never for a moment ignoring the unique historical circumstances pertaining to each individual popular crusade.

—Gary Dickson

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Portugal

Portugal, located in the western part of the Iberian Peninsula, achieved independence from the kingdom of León in the twelfth century, in a process marked by three decisive

events: the rise to the throne of King Afonso I Henriques (1128), Leonese recognition of Portugal as an independent kingdom in the Treaty of Zamora (1143), and papal recognition in Pope Alexander III's bull *Manifestis probatum* (1179). Until 1249, Portuguese history was dominated by the process of reconquest of territory from the Moors. The frontier reached the River Douro (Sp. *Duero*) by 868, the Mondego by 1064, and the Tagus (Port. *Tejo*) by 1147; the conquest of the Algarve (1249) brought the process to completion.

The Crusades in the Portuguese Reconquest

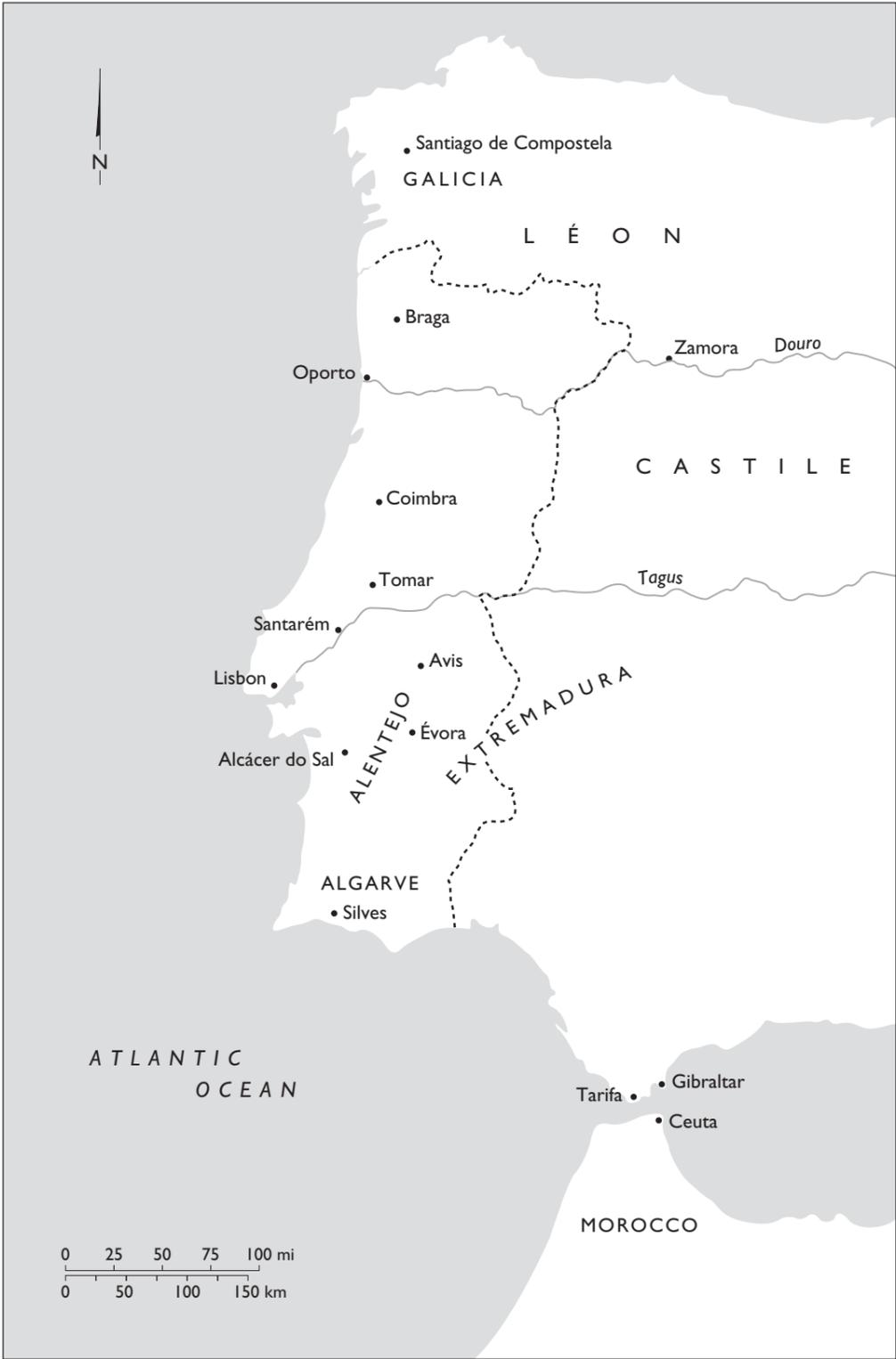
The military situation in the Iberian Peninsula attracted many knights in search of fortune, notably Raymond and Henry of Burgundy, who became rulers of Galicia and Portugal. Throughout the twelfth century Portugal continued to receive contingents of knights who took part in military actions and were rewarded with generous donations. Some of them settled in Portugal, founding villages such as Atouguia da Baleia, Vila Franca de Xira, and Vila Verde dos Francos.

Some crusade fleets, stopping in Portugal en route to the Levant, made important military contributions to the reconquest. The first contribution was the conquest of Lisbon in 1147. Afonso I Henriques obtained the support of a powerful fleet that had sailed from Dartmouth to join the Palestinian campaign of the Second Crusade (1147–1149). This fleet included crusaders from France, Germany, Flanders, and England, traveling on 164 ships. During their stop in Oporto, Bishop Peter Pitões exhorted them to help the Portuguese monarch. The siege and conquest of Lisbon are narrated in detail in a letter from the Norman priest Raol to Osbern of Bawdsey, the famous *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*. This event is also described in the *Annals of Magdeburg*, the *Annals of Cologne*, the *Indiculum foundationis monasterii s. Vincentii*, and other letters. The conquest of Lisbon is thus one of the best-documented military events in the twelfth century. These sources provide extremely interesting details, such as the sermons that convinced the crusaders to delay their departure to Jerusalem, the deployment of military contingents on the battlefield according to their linguistic affiliations, and the use of military engines (catapults, trebuchets, assault towers). The siege lasted 119 days, beginning on 28 June and ending with the capture of the city on 25 October 1147. Some crusaders remained in Portugal and received donations, and an English crusader, Gilbert of

Hastings, became the first bishop of Lisbon after the Christian conquest (1148–1164).

Between 1147 and 1217, at least five other fleets of crusaders aided the Portuguese against the Muslims. In 1151 Gilbert of Hastings went to England to gather an army to help in the Portuguese reconquest. In 1189, taking advantage of two passing crusade fleets, King Sancho I conquered the castles of Alvor and Silves (Algarve). An anonymous crusader wrote a detailed description of the siege of Silves, the *Narratio itineris navalis ad Terram Sanctam*, which is a magnificent account of crusaders' military technique. Another source is the chronicle of Ralph de Diceto. The siege lasted from 18 July to 3 September 1189, and the castle remained in Christian hands until 1191. In retaliation two military incursions were organized by the Almohad ruler Abū Yāqub Yūsuf al-Manṣūr. The first (1190) was directed at the River Tagus and Portuguese Estremadura. The castle of Tomar, headquarters of the Portuguese Templars, was besieged for five days. The village of Torres Novas was burned, and Santarém, where King Sancho I was positioned, also came under siege. The monarch was rescued by a fleet of crusaders that had stopped in Lisbon. In 1191, following the second Almohad campaign, the castles of Silves and Alvor fell into Muslims hands, and the frontier had been pushed back to the Tagus. In 1197 German crusaders took part in a new attempt to occupy Silves.

Finally, in 1217 another fleet of crusaders helped the bishop of Lisbon, Soeiro Viegas, in the conquest of Alcácer do Sal. We have several sources for this: the *Emonis Chronicon*, the *Annals of Cologne*, and the *De expugnatione Salaciae carmen* (a poem by Soeirus Gosuinus). Reporting the conquest of Alcácer do Sal to Pope Honorius III in October 1217, the bishop of Lisbon requested permission for the crusaders to remain in Iberia for another year to fight the Muslims. The commander of the crusaders, Count William I of Holland, asked for papal authorization; in his response, *Intellecta ex vestris litteris* (12 January 1218), Honorius III informed the Portuguese prelates that he had no wish to divert the crusaders from the Holy Land, although he assured them the same privileges as they would have in the East during their stay in the peninsula. This thwarted the project for a major military campaign against the Almohads, planned by the bishops of Lisbon and Évora, the Templars, the Hospitallers, and the Order of Santiago. Alcácer do Sal was the crusaders' last contribution to the Portuguese conquest. Thirty years later, due mostly to the efforts of the



The Kingdom of Portugal in the period of the Crusades

Portugal

Order of Santiago, this process ended with the definitive occupation of the Moorish kingdom of the Algarve (1249).

Papal Crusade Privileges

Despite their commitment to the Iberian reconquest, it was only at the end of the twelfth century that the popes conferred crusade privileges on those taking part in it. In 1195, in the bull *Incumbit nobis*, Pope Celestine III granted the prior of the monastery of the Holy Cross in Coimbra the privilege of giving the cross to pilgrims and to those who fought the Muslims. This document reflects the military situation in the peninsula and the pressure exerted by the Almohads. Two years later, on 10 April 1197, he issued the bull *Cum auctores et factores*, which bestowed upon King Sancho I and all those who fought the king of Leon the privileges that Rome usually reserved for those who fought in Jerusalem. This bull (the first crusade bull bestowed on a Portuguese monarch) must be viewed in the political context of the peninsula, where Alfonso IX of Leon had allied with the Almohads against the other Christian monarchs. The conquest of Alcácer do Sal (1217) was accompanied by a papal bull granting clemency, later confirmed by Pope Honorius III's bull *Intellecta ex vestris litteris* (12 January 1218). Thereafter the Portuguese received several crusade bulls during the major military offensive that culminated in the conquest of the Algarve (1249). There were bulls in 1220 (for the Order of Avis), 1226 (for the archbishop of Braga, who organized the conquest of Elvas), 1234, 1239 (for Prince Ferdinand of Serpa), 1241, and 1245. Thus a large number of bulls accompanied the end of the Portuguese reconquest. After 1249 papal privileges decreased considerably. However, they increased again in the wake of the battle of Salado (1340), when King Afonso IV proposed relaunching the offensive against the Muslims and received several bulls (1341, 1345, and 1355). Finally, following the conquest of Ceuta (1415), it became commonplace to grant bulls to Portuguese monarchs. The concept of crusade was one of the elements used by Portuguese diplomacy to justify the expansion into Morocco, and it thus enjoyed a revival in Portugal during the fifteenth century.

Military Orders

From the twelfth century, part of the war effort against the Moors was undertaken by military orders. The Templars were the first such order to appear in Portugal, documented since 1128, when they received the castle of Soure. The

order's military activity increased in 1145, when the post of proctor was created (Hugh of Martonio), and again in 1156, when the first master is documented (Gualdim Pais). Between 1160 and 1170, the order built Tomar, the most remarkable of Portuguese castles. By the end of the century, the Templars owned twenty castles, almost a tenth of Portuguese fortifications. The Hospitallers were established in Portugal between 1128 and 1132, but they only assumed a military role around the year 1189. They played an active part defending the Tagus border against the Almohad offensive at the end of the century, building the castle of Belver (1194). Orders founded in the Iberian Peninsula only emerged in the 1170s: the Order of Santiago, documented in Portugal from 1172, and the Knights of Évora (the Portuguese branch of the Order of Calatrava), from 1175–1176. In 1211 the king gave Avis to the Knights of Évora, who built a castle there (1214); thereafter they became known as the Order of Avis.

The role played by each military order differed over time. The Templars were especially vital in the second half of the twelfth century, particularly while Gualdim Pais was master, and they played a decisive role in consolidating the Tagus frontier. They were the only order to be active militarily in Portugal until 1172–1175. The Hospitallers gained importance with the Almohad crisis at the end of the century. The Order of Avis played an active part in the conquest of the Upper Alentejo in the second decade of the thirteenth century. The Order of Santiago was particularly dynamic in the final stage of the conquest, while the dissolution of the Templars gave rise to the Order of Christ, created by Pope John XXII's bull *Ad ea ex quibus* (14 March 1319). This new order inherited the Templars' property in Portugal and played a decisive role in Portuguese expansion in the fifteenth century.

Crusades to the Holy Land

The military situation in the Iberian Peninsula helps to explain a lack of involvement of Portuguese knights in the crusades to the Holy Land. There were even recommendations that they abstain from going to the East: when Pope Urban II preached the First Crusade (1096–1099), he recommended that the knights from the peninsula should remain there to combat the Muslims. Pope Paschal II made the same recommendation in two bulls at the beginning of the twelfth century. In 1145, when the Second Crusade was preached, the town of Coimbra forbade its citizens to go to

the East. Instead, it encouraged them to participate in the liberation of Portuguese Estremadura, granting them the same privileges that they would obtain if they went to Jerusalem. In 1217, when he preached the Fifth Crusade, Pope Honorius III once again excluded the Iberian knights.

Medieval documents supply little information about direct Portuguese participation in the crusades to the East. Preaching for the First Crusade coincided with the creation of the county of Portugal, founded by King Alfonso VI of Castile and León in 1095 and entrusted to Henry of Burgundy. A few years after the crusader conquest of Jerusalem (15 July 1099), the first references to Portuguese pilgrimages began to appear, between 1108 and 1146. Some of these journeys were pilgrimages in the modern sense of the word; others were connected with military service in the East, which was designated by the same term.

Some famous Portuguese personalities are known to have gone to Jerusalem, even if we discount unverifiable journeys (such as one planned by Count Henry himself in 1103). The first was Maurício Burdino, bishop of Coimbra (1099–1109), who stayed in Jerusalem between 1104 and 1108. Among his companions were Telo and Teotónio, who later founded the monastery of the Holy Cross in Coimbra in 1131. On his return, Maurício Burdino was elected archbishop of Braga (1109–1118) and later became antipope under the name Gregory VIII (1118–1119).

The nobleman Gualdim Pais made his journey specifically to take part in the Second Crusade. He spent five years in the East, taking part in the siege of Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel) and the defense of the principality of Antioch (both in 1153). He returned in 1156, just in time to be elected master of the Templars in Portugal. He led the order from 1156/1157 until his death on 13 October 1195. His epitaph is in the Church of St. Mary of Olivais, in Tomar. During the thirty-eight years during which he was master, the Order of the Temple experienced its greatest prestige and expansion in Portugal. The castles he built (Tomar, Pombal, Almourol, and others) are among the best Portuguese castles of the time and reflect direct influence from military architecture of the crusaders in the East. Some of these Portuguese castles used a glacis, a military feature that was not known in the peninsula but was widely used by the Franks in the East.

The third known Portuguese nobleman who went to the East was Afonso of Portugal, illegitimate son of King Afonso I Henriques, who participated in the Third Crusade (1189–

1192). In 1202 he was elected grand master of the Order of the Hospitallers. He presided over a general chapter of the order, which approved the so-called Statutes of Margat (named from the meeting place of the chapter). However, as a result of the strictness of these statutes, he was forced to resign in 1205. He returned to Portugal, where he died on 20 February 1207. He was buried in the Church of St. John of Alporão (Santarém), where his epitaph can be found. We also know of journeys to the East by Soeiro Raimundo during the Third Crusade and Prince Peter of Portugal in 1236.

Finally, there is also evidence of news of the Holy Land reaching the kingdom. Saladin's conquest of Jerusalem in October 1187 is mentioned in the inscription of the Church of Our Lady of Fresta (Trancoso) and in a document of King Sancho I dated from July 1188. This news must have reached Portugal through the appeal of Pope Gregory VIII on the eve of the Third Crusade, exhorting the Western kingdoms to liberate Jerusalem.

—Mário Jorge Barroca

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Poulains

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Poulains

An Old French word applied in some twelfth- and thirteenth-century sources to Latin Christians of Western parentage residing in, and perhaps born in, Outremer.

The word was once thought to refer to someone of mixed parentage, with a Frankish father and a native Christian mother (or vice versa), but this interpretation has been rejected as inaccurate. It is possible that *poulain* indicates class rather than ethnicity or birthplace.

Margaret Ruth Morgan believed that the word referred to Latin Christians native to Outremer (as opposed to immigrants), that it had acquired a distinctly pejorative connotation by at least the fourteenth century, and that it did not apply to Italians. However, the author known as the Templar of Tyre, writing in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, uses it in a way that does not support this interpretation: in section 454 of his *Gestes des Chyprois*, *poulain* is applied to fishermen of Pisan nationality, and without an obviously negative connotation [*The "Templar of Tyre": Part III of the Deeds of the Cypriots*, trans. Paul Crawford (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2003), p. 92].

The factional opposition that various historians have set up between *poulains* and immigrant Latin Christians is equally suspect. The continuator of William of Tyre claims that supporters of Guy of Lusignan taunted his opponents in 1186 by crying that "despite the *poulains*, we have a Poitevin" for king [*The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation*, trans. Peter W. Edbury (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1996), pp. 45–46]; some modern

historians have believed that the late twelfth-century kingdom of Jerusalem was divided along *poulain* and non-*poulain* lines (with the latter being foolhardy and rash). But there is good reason to doubt both the classification and the judgment. As recent research by Peter Edbury and Bernard Hamilton has shown, the factions were more complicated and dynastic than this explanation acknowledges, and some of the non-*poulain* leaders were highly effective. Forcing political and social realities into a linguistic mold of dubious etymology probably serves no useful purpose, and the imprecise nature of this word suggests that it should be understood, and employed, cautiously.

—Paul Crawford

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Přemysl Otakar II

See Ottokar II of Bohemia

Preaching

See Sermons and Preaching

Prisoners of War

See Captivity

Privileges

See Vow and Privileges

Propaganda

Propaganda was an integral and necessary element of crusading. The launch of a propaganda campaign initiated by the pope marked the formal beginning of each crusade. By way of public preaching, a crusade was made known to



A Christian battles a Saracen, twelfth-century mosaic from the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome. (The Art Archive/Museo Camillo Leone Vercelli/Dagli Orti)

potential participants and supporters, its aim was proclaimed, and its spiritual value was declared. Propaganda campaigns served to explain the circumstances from which a crusade originated and to justify the military action planned against an alleged enemy of the faith. The principal aim of these campaigns was to encourage people to participate in a crusade, either by becoming crusaders themselves or by supporting the crusade by other means, such as money or prayers. Crusade propaganda can be divided into two main categories: first, official propaganda initiated and organized by the popes and carried out by preachers and special envoys commissioned by the papacy or its repre-

sentatives; second, unofficial propaganda spread by other people who were in one way or another involved in the crusade movement.

Official crusade propaganda campaigns were initiated by the popes. Sometimes popes personally marked the beginning of a crusade by preaching in public, most famously Urban II, when he announced the First Crusade (1096–1099) at the Council of Clermont in 1095. Preceding the official launch of a crusade, popes often contacted prominent potential participants and possible leaders by writing to them in person, thus preparing the ground for a successful recruitment campaign. By the same token, papal envoys were com-

missioned to approach individual candidates to sound out potential support for specific crusade ventures. When a crusade was announced, the pope sent a letter known as a bull to bishops and other members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in the areas selected for recruitment and propaganda, informing them about the planned campaign and authorizing the spiritual and temporal privileges granted to the participants. At a local level, bishops were expected to publicize the pope's call for a crusade and appoint appropriate members of the clergy to help them in doing so. Although the diocesan hierarchy theoretically guaranteed the widest possible distribution of crusade propaganda, the local clergy was not always reliable. Bound by local political and social ties, bishops and their subordinates were not always willing to comply with orders coming from Rome, which could be viewed as outside interference in local matters. There was also no uniform level of education among diocesan clerics, which meant that trained preachers were not always available in each diocese.

Up to around 1200, crusade propaganda was most successfully spread by individual preachers directly appointed by the popes, such as Bernard of Clairvaux during the Second Crusade (1147–1149), or subsequently Fulk of Neuilly, Oliver of Paderborn, Gerald of Wales, and Odo of Châteauroux. Throughout the history of the crusade movement, individual propagandists continued to have a great impact, and some, such as John of Capistrano, became legendary figures. In the twelfth century the popes also began to call upon the Cistercian Order collectively to support the propaganda campaigns for individual crusades. With the arrival of the two new mendicant orders, the Dominicans and Franciscans, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the papal crusade propaganda machinery was put on a new footing altogether. The mendicants provided large numbers of well-trained preachers in all parts of Europe, and the exempt status and hierarchical structure of the two orders made it possible for the papacy to use Dominican and Franciscan friars as efficient and reliable agents of crusade propaganda. Their orders were organized into provinces throughout Europe under a master-general or minister-general and governed by an annual chapter. Strict obedience bound local divisions within the hierarchical structure. Compared with the Cistercians, the mobility of the mendicant friars was considerable, since they were not obliged to live in one single monastery like the members of traditional religious orders. From the thirteenth century onward, the popes, with the help

of the mendicant friars, managed to target particular geographical areas for crusade preaching and thus effectively determine the extent of propaganda deemed necessary for each individual crusade venture.

Alongside the numerous mendicant crusade preachers, popes commissioned papal legates to broadcast crusade propaganda throughout particular areas of Europe, often in conjunction with executing other business on behalf of the papacy. If the mendicant friars provided the necessary numbers of well-trained preachers to ensure the most effective spread of crusade propaganda, the papal legations, while reaching fewer people, added weight and authority to the papal crusade message. Given the increasing number of crusades after 1200, often operating concurrently, the sophisticated propaganda machinery established in the thirteenth century was a prerequisite for success, also because crusade preaching went hand in hand with raising important financial subsidies.

The exact propaganda strategy chosen for each crusade could vary considerably. Whenever the cross to the Holy Land was preached, popes as a rule commissioned the clergy all over Europe in order to attract as much support as possible. The preaching for smaller crusade ventures was usually more limited in terms of their geographical area and the number of propagandists chosen. Thus, in the 1230s and 1240s Gregory IX and Innocent IV mainly used the Dominicans of northern and northeastern Europe to spread, and at the same time control, propaganda in support of the crusade run by the Teutonic Order along the Baltic coast. By restricting preaching in this way, the papacy prevented the immensely popular, and comparatively less expensive, Baltic crusade from soaking up the crusade resources of these lands to the detriment of other crusade ventures, most notably the crusades to the Holy Land and against the rulers of the Staufen (Hohenstaufen) dynasty. At other times public preaching had to be replaced by individual diplomatic missions, as in the latter stages of the crusade against Emperor Frederick II, when public propaganda was virtually impossible in certain parts of Germany because of the antipapal stance of many authorities.

Official crusade propaganda was an important means for the papacy to exercise control over the crusade movement. Putting specially commissioned crusade preachers in charge of spreading information about the crusade gave popes the possibility to determine its ideological perception in public and project themselves as the leaders of the crusade move-

ment. Even if it was at times difficult for popes to prevent political dynamics from taking over the course of a crusade, controlled propaganda was crucial if they wanted to preserve crusading as a powerful tool of papal politics. By portraying the crusade as a war fought on God's behalf, authorized, regulated, and controlled by his vicar, the pope, official papal propaganda was aimed at giving the crusade a uniform appearance in public, couching it within a clear theological and legal framework. Although crusade preachers were free to tailor their own sermons to accord with each crusade and suit each audience, the popes usually demanded that the papal bulls involved be read out as well. The preachers thus not only clearly acted as emissaries of the pope, but also directly broadcast the pope's words.

Papal authority was also represented by the propagandists' powers to give people the cross, commute vows from one crusade to another, and administer vow redemptions in return for financial subsidies. The projection of papal authority was crucial in order to bolster the belief in the effectiveness of the indulgence and the validity of crusade vow redemptions. The practice of allowing people to redeem their vows for a money payment in support of the crusade was often criticized, but was also one of the most efficient sources of crusade finance. Because of this criticism, popes were concerned that the precepts concerning legal and spiritual benefits, as detailed in the crusade bulls, be strictly adhered to by propagandists. A lack of efficient control could lead to serious problems, both by endangering the credibility of the entire institution of the crusade as well as by misusing its energies. Thus the papacy made great efforts to prevent irregularities during recruitment campaigns, especially where alleged abuses of vow redemptions took place. In another context, popes tried, not always successfully, to curtail anti-Jewish elements of crusade propaganda in order to prevent socially disruptive attacks by crusaders on Jewish communities.

If official papal propaganda was aimed at spreading specific messages over large geographical areas, unofficial propaganda was as a rule less uniform and less widely disseminated. Nevertheless unofficial propaganda, taking many different forms, was equally important for attracting support for the crusade movement. Most significant was the information about the crusade that passed through family networks and feudal hierarchies. Aristocratic culture in particular facilitated the spread of informal crusading propaganda. The close connections of many aristocratic families to

monasteries and other church institutions brought them into regular contact with the official channels of crusading propaganda. Information about crusading in general and individual crusades in particular that circulated, often by word of mouth, within family circles and feudal networks raised awareness about the issue of crusading, helped spread crusade mentality, and caused individuals and kinship groups to support the crusade. Since material support from within the family, family traditions, and feudal connections with other crusaders all acted as strong inducements for individuals to take the cross, family connections and feudal relations were of paramount importance for the recruitment of crusaders. Crusaders actively recruited fellow crusaders from among their wider families and retainers, a process facilitated by the dissemination of news and information about the crusade through informal networks. Within such networks, social gatherings at aristocratic courts and tournaments played an important role. Here news and information about particular crusades were circulated, stories about the crusades were exchanged, and songs about the crusades were performed by poets. Such gatherings were also occasions for conducting negotiations with prospective crusaders and bringing peer pressure to bear on those less willing to participate in the crusade.

In a wider context, the many medieval songs about the crusades, which became increasingly popular as the crusade movement emerged, played a positive role in crusade propaganda. Although there were a number of troubadours who developed a hostile attitude toward crusading, especially in response to the the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229), many songs portrayed the crusades as an opportunity for participants to display such chivalrous virtues as heroic leadership, prowess in battle, and religious fervor. Promoting participation in the crusades as part of the ideal of chivalry, songs about the crusades performed in aristocratic circles helped to reinforce crusade propaganda in an indirect way, even when they were not aimed at supporting specific crusades. The same is true for pictorial representations of the crusades in churches and palaces, as well as in books. Church art and architecture in particular took up themes related to crusading in murals, stained glass windows, and sculptures. One famous example is that of the so-called crusade windows at the abbey of Saint-Denis near Paris with scenes of the First Crusade; another is the sculpture of an anonymous crusader and his wife from Belval priory in Lorraine. Other references to the crusades can be seen in the many churches built in the

Prussia

shape of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. In the secular sphere, similar pictorial representations of the crusades existed, such as the murals depicting crusade scenes commissioned by King Henry III of England for his residences in the middle of the thirteenth century. Such pictorial representations and architectural references also functioned as indirect crusade propaganda, keeping the theme of crusade alive in the public mind.

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See also: Motivation; Sermons and Preaching

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Provençal Literature

See Occitan Literature

Prussia

A territory on the southeastern coast of the Baltic Sea, roughly corresponding to northeastern Poland from Danzig (mod. Gdansk, Poland) as far as the western boundary of modern Lithuania, including the present Russian enclave of Kaliningrad. Its original inhabitants were the Prussians, a people whose language (which died out in the seventeenth century) belonged to the same Baltic group as those of the

Lithuanians and Latvians. The name “Prussia” was later taken over by the powers that ruled this area: the Teutonic Order and its secular successor states, the duchy of Prussia (from 1525) and the kingdom of Prussia (from 1701).

The name Prussia is first mentioned in the writings of the Jewish traveler Ibrāhim ibn Yāqūb (965/966), but a previous report to King Alfred the Great of England by the traveler Wulfstan stated that the country (which Wulfstan called Estonia) was filled with castles, each in the hand of a *kynig* (king). Later tribes were formed. According to the Latin chronicle of Peter von Dusburg, there were the Pomesani, Pogesani, Warmienses, and Galindite in the west and south, and the Sambite, Nattangi, Barthenses, Sudowite, Nadrowite, and Scalowite in the north and east. They followed a pagan religion that resembled that of the ancient Germans and formed a common cult for all the tribes. They worshipped idols, and there were professional propagators of the cult, known in Latin as *tulissones* and *ligaschones*.

The Prussian Mission and the Early Crusades

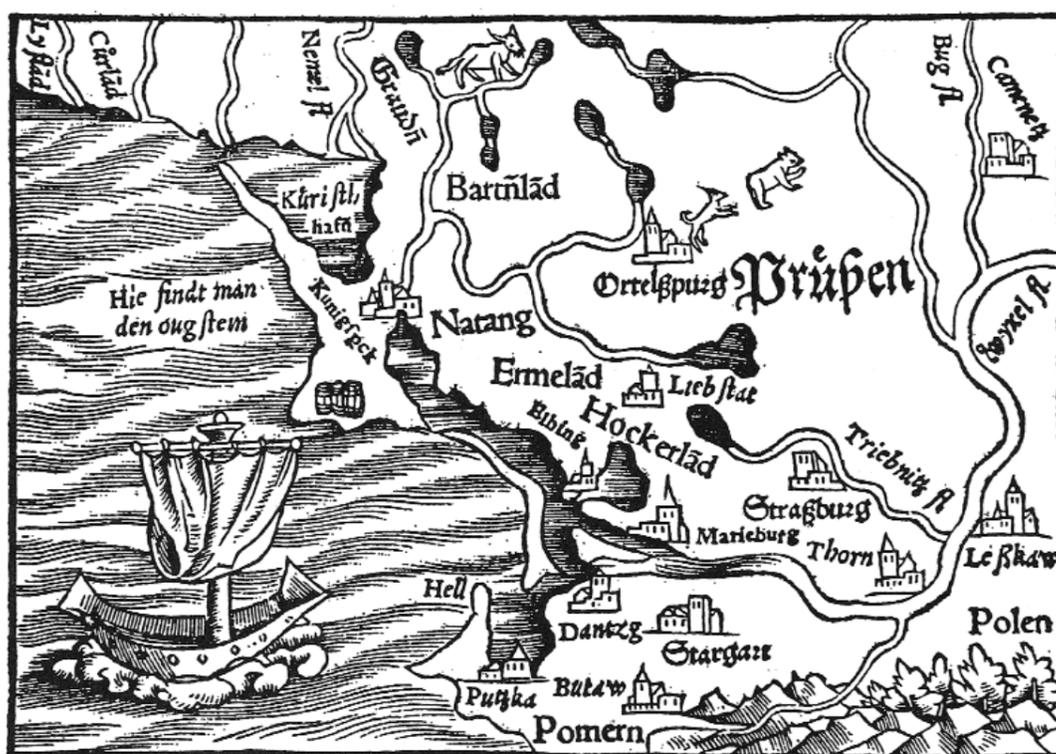
The Christianization of the Prussians was attempted as early as the end of the tenth century. In 997, the bishop of Prague, Adalbert (Cz. *Vojtěch*), tried to convert them but was killed, possibly near modern Elbląg or in the district of Sambia in the north. Adalbert’s mission was followed by that of Bruno of Querfurt, who also failed, dying as a martyr in 1009. The Prussian mission was not resumed until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In 1141, Henry Zdík, bishop of Olomouc in Moravia, received a papal license to preach the gospel to the still pagan Prussians, but little evidently resulted from this. A fresh effort began in 1206, when Pope Innocent III allowed the abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Łekno in Poland to follow his plans for Christianizing the Prussians.

The early history of the mission is far from clear. The abbot of Łekno encountered resistance from his own order, but probably after his death two of his monks, Christian and Philip, continued the enterprise. They evidently received support from the princes of the region, since in 1212 the pope admonished the dukes of Poland and Pomerelia not to burden the newly converted too heavily, for fear that they might return to their pagan beliefs. After the death of Philip, Christian was consecrated by the pope as the first bishop of the Prussians in about 1215. He received donations from Christian princes, but it is uncertain whether donations were made by the Prussians. There were disputes between



The state of the Teutonic Order in Prussia

Von dem Prüssen land so etwan vnder dem Teütschē
orden gewesen/ietz aber ist es zu eim hertzogthumb gemacht.



De zeiten hat Preußen Culmigeria geheissen / wie dan noch zu vnsern zeiten
die gegenheit an der Wigel heiße Culmigeria. Diffe leüt haben zum ersten ge-
wonet by dem vrsprung des wassers Tanais / das Europam scheidet vom
Asia/

Map of Prussia and neighboring areas. East is shown at the top. Woodcut from Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographia*, 1550. (Courtesy Alan Murray)

the newly converted Prussians and those who remained heathen, and finally the Prussians turned to military resistance. In consequence, in 1217 Pope Honorius III extended crusade privileges to all those who were willing to fight on the side of Bishop Christian, and crusades took place in 1222 and 1223, with participants from Germany and Poland, partly joined by the dukes Henry of Silesia, Conrad of Mazovia, and Swantopulk and Wartislaw of Pomerelia. These met little

success, and in fact the Prussians reacted with fierce attacks on Mazovia and Pomerelia, where the Cistercian monastery at Oliwa was destroyed in 1224 and 1226.

In this situation, the call for the foundation of a military order may have been the last resort. Perhaps following a suggestion by the Cistercians, in 1228/1230 the Spanish military Order of Calatrava was called upon to settle at Thymau (mod. Tymawa, Poland) near Mewe by Swantopulk, duke of

Pomerelia, and about the same time Duke Conrad of Mazovia and Bishop Christian founded the Order of Knights of Dobrin (Lat. *Milites Christi de Prussia*). This new order became active when fifteen brethren from northern Germany gathered at Dobrin (mod. Dobrzyń, Poland), but they achieved little other than managing to defend their own castle. In 1235, they were absorbed by the Teutonic Order.

The Arrival of the Teutonic Order and the Establishment of Bishoprics

It was in fact probably the Teutonic Order that received the first appeal for help from Duke Conrad, shortly after the Prussian attacks, in 1225/1226. If the conventional dating (March 1226) of the document is correct, the Teutonic Knights first secured imperial support for their involvement in Prussia by the Golden Bull of Rimini, in which Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor, granted the order territorial rights similar to those of a prince of the empire in the yet-to-be-conquered Prussian territories. By 1228 at the latest, the order had received several donations from Duke Conrad, especially the territory of Kulm (mod. Chełmno, Poland), and also Orlow and Nessau south of the river Vistula (Ger. *Weichsel*, Pol. *Wisła*), which served as starting points for the order's campaigns.

The order's intervention in Prussia was evidently delayed by the crusade of Frederick II to the Holy Land (1228–1229), but first contingents led by Hermann Balk, the first Teutonic master of Prussia, arrived in 1230. From 1231 the order, supported by crusaders, advanced along the Vistula. Towns and castles were founded, notably Thorn (mod. Toruń, Poland) in 1231, Kulm in 1232, Marienwerder (mod. Kwidzyn) in 1234, and Elbing (mod. Elbląg) in 1237. For the towns, the order succeeded in winning settlers from Germany, who were granted wide-ranging privileges, as in the *Kulmer Handfeste* (the town charter for Kulm and Thorn, 1232/1233), afterward extended to the whole territory of Kulm. The burgesses of Kulm and Thorn were allowed to elect their own judges, granted the right of free inheritance for their properties, and assured a regular system of coinage and measures, while the towns received extensive lands and rights along the Vistula.

At first, the order's advance took place in competition with Bishop Christian, who in 1231 was only willing to give the order one-third of the conquered territories. This changed when the bishop was captured by the Prussians around 1233 and remained prisoner until 1238. In 1234 Pope

Gregory IX confirmed the order's possession of all the lands already and still to be conquered, took its properties under papal protection, and freed it from any other (i.e., imperial) authority. While the pope admonished the knights to guarantee the personal freedom of the newly converted Prussians, he reserved to himself the development of an ecclesiastical structure. This was regulated by papal bulls of 1236 and 1243, and in July 1243, the papal legate William of Modena divided the Prussian bishopric into four dioceses: Kulm, Pomesania, Warmia (Ger. Ermland), and Sambia (Ger. Samland). Bishop Christian was given a choice of the new bishoprics but evidently had not responded by the time he died.

In 1245 Pope Innocent IV appointed Albert Suerbeer as archbishop for Prussia and Livonia (eventually becoming resident in Riga), but Albert soon came into conflict with the order concerning the nomination of the Prussian bishops. In Kulm, the Dominican Heidenreich (1246–1264) successfully took office, but other Dominican bishops were rejected by the order, especially in Pomesania and Sambia, where it favored Franciscans. When Heidenreich died and was succeeded by a priest of the Teutonic Order, Friedrich von Hausen, the newly founded cathedral chapter at Kulmsee (mod. Chelmza, Poland) soon adopted the rule of the Teutonic Knights, and, in consequence, only priest brethren of the order were elected as bishops. This model was soon transferred to Pomesania and Sambia, where cathedral chapters had already been established with priest brethren in 1285 and 1294, respectively. Only in Warmia was there a succession of bishops who were not members of the Teutonic Order and thus not dependent on its leadership.

The Prussian Resistance and the Final Christianization of Prussia

When William of Modena divided up the Prussian bishopric, its Christianization was still far from being accomplished. Since 1237 the Teutonic Knights had also been responsible for the defense of Livonia, as a result of their incorporation of the remnants of the Sword Brethren after the heavy defeat of that order by the Lithuanians at Saule. Thus the Teutonic Knights also inherited a conflict with the Russian principalities of Pskov and Novgorod. When they were defeated at the battle of Lake Peipus by Alexander Yaroslavich (Nevskii), prince of Novgorod, in April 1242, this was probably the impulse for the native Prussians to renew their opposition to the Christian mission. This time they were supported by Duke Swantopulk, who invaded the order's territories but

was soon repulsed with the help of the dukes of Mazovia and Greater Poland. Nevertheless, from 1243 the order lost most of the countryside to the rebellious Prussians. While a first contingent of (mostly Austrian) crusaders failed, the situation changed when Grand Master Heinrich von Hohenlohe came to Prussia in 1246. The castle at Christburg (mod. Dzierzgon, Poland) was recovered and fortified, and the Prussians and Pomerelians were defeated.

When James of Liège arrived in Prussia as papal legate, he was in a position to mediate the peace treaty of Christburg (7 February 1249). Although they had been defeated, the Prussian tribes involved in the fights (mainly the Pomesani, Pogesani, Warmienses, and Nattangi) were treated as equals. They were granted the same personal freedom as the settlers coming from the West, and were also allowed to join the clergy or to become knights. The Prussians promised to build several churches, which were to be endowed by the order. But since their rights were “the liberty of the children of God,” they were to lose everything if they returned to their former pagan beliefs. This charter of liberties may have been a reaction to papal reproaches concerning the Prussian mission of the order. But the Treaty of Christburg perhaps also reflected the plans of the Roman Curia, in which the Teutonic Knights were to take over a leading role in the crusades against the Mongols, for which they had to be freed from the war against the Prussians. Crusading against the Mongols in Prussia and Livonia was preached according to bulls of Innocent IV and Alexander IV, but when the first crusading contingents had gathered in the south of Prussia, they had to be employed against the second rebellion of the Prussians in 1260.

In 1249 the order had started a new campaign against those Prussians who remained heathen, and in 1250, 1251, and 1253–1255, it received support from large crusading contingents, at first led by Margrave Otto III of Brandenburg and Count Heinrich of Schwarzburg, then by King Ottokar II of Bohemia. Thus the Teutonic Knights succeeded in extending their territories toward the south and east, and in 1253, under military pressure, even the Lithuanian prince Mindaugas accepted baptism, was crowned king by Bishop Heidenreich of Kulm, and granted the territory of Samogitia to the order, thus giving it the land connection between its two Baltic territories of Prussia and Livonia. However, internal opposition forced Mindaugas to change sides and to support the Samogitians.

In July 1260 Burchard von Hornhausen, master of Livonia, and Marshal Heinrich Botel invaded Samogitia with cru-

saders and contingents from Prussia and Livonia. When in the ensuing battle at Durben both leaders and about 150 knight brethren died, the defeat gave rise to a second Prussian rebellion, which mostly concerned the northern parts of Prussia, but not the territory of Kulm and Pomesania. The Prussians soon conquered the countryside and also some of the order’s castles, and were not even repulsed by crusaders led by Counts William of Jülich and Engelbert of Mark. When Pope Clement IV renewed the crusading privileges in 1265, several crusade armies followed, including those led by Otto III of Brandenburg and once again by King Ottokar II of Bohemia. But it was only the victory of Margrave Dietrich II of Meißen against the Nattangi in 1272 that turned the scales in the order’s favor. After 1274, the knights concentrated on subjecting those Prussian areas that they had not controlled before. This was finally accomplished in 1283, when the Sudowite accepted baptism and the order’s authority.

The “Order State” and the Lithuanian Crusades

This was not the end of crusading in Prussia, but it did mark significant changes. From now on, the order could firmly base its crusading policies on Prussia, with its multiethnic population. After 1308, the order’s territorial basis was even extended by the occupation of Pomerelia (later known as West Prussia), which was also claimed by the renewed Polish kingdom, leading to a judicial and military conflict that ended only in 1343 with the Treaty of Kalisz.

The commanderies of the order, that is the castles and houses with a commander, a certain number of brethren, and several servants and personnel, were organized as administrative units with their own military contingents. These consisted of German settlers, who populated the newly founded towns and the Prussian countryside; of Prussian peasants and the (lower) Prussian nobility, who lived mostly undisturbed on their own lands; and also of Polish nobles. The commanders were responsible for the local settlement policy, the jurisdiction in their districts, and the finances and economy of their houses. Below the rank of the commanders, a hierarchy of officials was established, who also had responsibilities for their own smaller districts: they included the offices of advocate (Ger. *Vogt*), administrator (Ger. *Pfleger*), master of fisheries (Ger. *Fischmeister*), master of forests (Ger. *Waldmeister*), and others.

When in 1309 the order’s headquarters were transferred from Venice to the Prussian castle of Marienburg (mod. Malbork, Poland), a process that was only completed in about

1325, it became the center of a “state of the Teutonic Order” (Ger. *Ordensland*), whose grand masters were regarded as princes by the rulers of western Europe. The Marienburg turned into a residence for the grand master and his court, as well as a convent with a large number of knight and priest brethren. The order’s central administration was reorganized, with the five high dignitaries (Ger. *Großgebietiger*: grand commander, marshal, hospitaller, draper, and treasurer) now being based in Prussia itself.

Samogitia (the northwestern part of still heathen Lithuania) had already been at the center of the order’s attention in the 1250s, and became so again after 1283. In 1289 Meinhard von Querfurt, the master of Prussia, founded the castle of Ragnit on the River Nemunas, which he used as a base for attacks on the Lithuanian castles in that area. One of its commanders, Ludwig von Liebenzell, was even in a position to raise tribute from the Samogitian nobles. At that time, the order started a series of *reysen* (military campaigns) against the Lithuanians, of which no fewer than twenty took place from 1300 to 1315. From 1336 these were organized annually, with campaigns often in both summer and winter, increasingly involving participants from the entire European nobility. Thus between 1334 and 1387, all male members of the comital dynasty of Namur went to Prussia, as did many French nobles, such as Pierre I, duke of Bourbon, in 1344–1345, and the famous Marshal Boucicaut (Jean II le Meingre), in 1384–1385 and 1391–1392. There were many crusaders from England, such as Henry, earl of Derby (the future King Henry IV), in 1390–1391 and 1392, while many others came from Spain, Italy, Scandinavia, Scotland, the Low Countries, and Poland. The famous combatants were chosen by heralds and given places at a Table of Honor (Ger. *Ehrentisch*).

This permanent crusade, like nearly all medieval warfare, consisted mainly in destroying villages, harvests, towns, and castles, and in killing opponents and taking prisoners, but it was not particularly effective, since the Lithuanians responded in the same fashion. Many castles were built by the order, even close to the main Lithuanian stronghold at Kaunas, but most of them soon had to be abandoned. Offers to accept baptism by Lithuanian grand dukes such as Gediminas or Kęstutis were little more than diplomatic maneuvers.

The Decline and Secularization of the “Order State”

It was only the dynastic union with Poland that brought about the Christianization of Lithuania in 1386. On the one

hand, the order continued the *reysen* against Lithuania well into the fifteenth century, even though the baptism of Grand Duke Jogaila (king of Poland under the name Władysław II Jagiełło) was accepted by Pope Boniface IX as well as by Wenceslas IV, king of the Romans. On the other hand, the order attempted to split the Polish-Lithuanian union by supporting opponents of Jogaila. Despite several diplomatic efforts (such as a peace treaty in 1404), war finally broke out. In August 1410 the order suffered a major defeat in the battle of Tannenberg (Grunwald), in which Grand Master Ulrich von Jungingen (1407–1410) and about 300 knight brethren were killed. Though the Polish king could not take the Marienburg (which was defended by Heinrich von Plauen) and had to withdraw, the order had to pay a considerable indemnity, mainly as a ransom for the prisoners, brethren, and mercenaries alike. The ensuing debates about taxes (mainly in 1411 and 1412–1413) and about the form of government in a time of crisis (the order also lost subsequent wars against Poland and Lithuania) led to increasing dissatisfaction and mistrust on the part of the estates, the (German) citizens of the towns, and the (German and Polish) rural nobility.

The greater towns in Prussia were members of the Hanseatic League and had become rich through long-distance trade, while the knights and esquires, especially of the Kulmerland, had developed into a well-organized community with a corporate identity. Since the later fourteenth century, the estates met in diets where they brought forward complaints and voiced criticism against the order. Finally, in March 1440, the towns and nobility formed the Prussian Union (Ger. *Preußischer Bund*). When Grand Master Ludwig von Erlichshausen (1450–1467) and the order’s leading officials secured the formal abolition of the Prussian Union by Emperor Frederick III in December 1453, the estates revoked their oath of fidelity and turned to the king of Poland. Though the contingents of the estates soon conquered most of the order’s castles, the order succeeded in bringing in mercenaries, and also had support from some of the smaller towns, many (native) Prussian nobles, and some of the princes of the Empire. This was the beginning of the Thirteen Years’ War (1454–1466), in which the order finally lost two-thirds of its territory.

After the Second Peace of Thorn (1466), the income of the order was greatly reduced, so that large parts of its lands had to be given away to the former mercenaries in lieu of payment. Families such as the Dohna, Schlieben, or Eulenburg

settled in Prussia and formed a new nobility, while the order's officials became part of the estates present in the high court from 1506/1507. After Grand Master Martin Truchseß failed to win back the order's territories from Poland in the war of 1477–1479 and Grand Master Hans von Tiefen died on campaign against the Ottomans in 1497, the order's high officers tried to strengthen its position in Prussia by electing in turn two princes of the Holy Roman Empire, Friedrich von Sachsen (1498–1510) and Albrecht von Brandenburg-Bayreuth (1511–1525). Both soon discovered that their Prussian resources were too weak to revise the Second Peace of Thorn, and Albrecht finally decided to secularize his Prussian territories, which became a duchy held as a fief from the king of Poland in 1525.

—Jürgen Sarnowsky

See also: Baltic Crusades; Castles: The Baltic Region; Teutonic Order

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Pskov

A city in northwestern Russia, first mentioned in 903, that was frequently the object of crusader attacks in the course of the Baltic Crusades.

The stone fortress of Pskov, built in the tenth century on the site of an earlier settlement, was situated on heights above the confluence of the river Pskova into the river Velikaya. Pskov became an important commercial and industrial center in the tenth–eleventh centuries, thanks to its situation at the meeting of water and land routes leading from the inner regions of Russia to the Baltic Sea. From the first half of the eleventh century, Pskov and its surrounding territory, known as the Pskovian Land (Russ. *Pskovskaya zemlya*), formed a part of the Novgorodian state, ruled by governors sent from Novgorod.

The aristocracy and merchants of Pskov repeatedly tried to establish a principality independent of Novgorod. They hoped to exploit the desires of the papacy and the prelates of the Livonian church, who in turn intended to establish a Latin bishopric in Pskov by taking advantage of the dissent between Pskov and Novgorod. The Pskovians came closest to attaining independence when the city was ruled by Prince Vladimir Mstislavich (c. 1209–1211 and 1214–1227).

In 1210 the Pskovians signed a military treaty with Riga, which was supported by a marriage between Dietrich, brother of Bishop Albert of Riga, and a daughter of Vladimir. Although Vladimir took part in the Russian military campaigns against Livonia, he tried to negotiate with the Livonians in order to ward off their attacks against Pskov. In 1228 the Pskovians, being afraid of a punitive expedition from Novgorod, signed a treaty of defense with Riga.

From the late 1220s, the Livonian ecclesiastics made efforts to extend the diocese of Riga into northwestern Russia, using the ambitions of Prince Vladimir's son Yaroslav

to ascend the princely throne in Pskov, which he regarded as his father's heritage. About 1240 the bishop of Dorpat (mod. Tartu, Estonia) persuaded Yaroslav to accept the status of a vassal, promising military help against Novgorod. However, the act of donation of the Pskovian Land can hardly be held lawful, as Yaroslav did not have real authority over Pskov. The bishop of Dorpat nevertheless now had a claim on the Pskovian Land. On 15 September 1240 the hosts of the bishopric of Dorpat and the Teutonic Order in Livonia captured Pskov after seven days' siege. The surrender of the fortress was a result both of the treachery of some native boyars and of the fact that several sons of the Pskovian elite had been taken as hostages. The crusaders remained in Pskov till March 1242, when they were expelled by the troops of Prince Alexander Yaroslavich (Nevskii).

In 1248 the bishop of Dorpat and the Livonian Order failed in an attack designed to obtain the "heritage of Pskov." In May 1269 the town was besieged for a week by combined Livonian forces, which arrived by land and on ships; they burned the suburbs but retreated in the face of reinforcements from Novgorod. Another Livonian attack in 1299 resulted in a siege of Pskov, but the inhabitants led by Prince Dovmont (1266–1299) successfully defended the town.

In 1323 the Livonians failed to capture Pskov after three days' siege, while in 1343 the Pskovians defeated the Livo-

nians near the fortress of Odenpäh (mod. Otepää, Estonia). In spite of the constant increase of trade, which was profitable for both partners, wars between Pskov and Livonia were also fought in the fifteenth century. A peace treaty in 1448 and the armistices in 1461 and 1463 between Pskov and the bishopric of Dorpat were broken off before the specified time. Neither adversary had sufficient strength for the decisive blow. In 1469, 1501–1502, and 1558 the Pskovian Land formed a foothold for the offensive of Muscovite armies into Livonia; in 1510 Pskov was annexed to the Muscovite state.

—Evgeniya L. Nazarova

See also: Russia (Rus')

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Q

Qal'at al-Hiṣn

See Krak des Chevaliers

Qal'at al-Rūm

See Hromgla

Qal'at al-Muslimūn

See Hromgla

Qalāwūn (1222–1290)

Mamlūk sultan of Egypt (1279–1290), and founder of a dynasty that lasted for 100 years. Qalāwūn's reign saw the Mamlūk victory in the Second Battle of Homs (1282), which ended the immediate Mongol threat to the eastern Mediterranean region and enabled the Mamlūks to concentrate their military efforts on the final destruction of the Frankish states of Outremer. He died while mounting an expedition against Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), which under his son and successor Khalīl ended the Frankish occupation of the Near East.

Qalāwūn was a Kipchak Turk by origin. In his twenties, he was purchased by a member of the household of al-Kāmil, Ayyūbid sultan of Egypt, for the price of 1,000 dinars, and hence came to be called al-Alfī, after the Arabic word for thousand. Later he served al-Ṣaliḥ Ayyūb as one of the Bahriyya corps of soldiers, and became an emir under Sultan Baybars I. After Baybars's death, Qalāwūn succeeded to the throne following a brief power struggle,

and set about consolidating his position. This consolidation involved setting aside the *mamlūks* (slave soldiers) of Baybars in favor of his own, as well as some of the Ṣaliḥīs who had not previously held important positions. He also successfully confronted a revolt in Syria by Sunqur al-Ashqar with the support of the Bedouin leader 'Īsā ibn Muḥannā.

In 1281, Qalāwūn faced a long-expected invasion of Syria by the Ilkhan Abaqa, who had sought to break Mamlūk power in the region. Qalāwūn's victory in the Second Battle of Homs (1282), followed by Abaqa's death shortly thereafter, left him free to continue the Mamlūk military campaign against Outremer, which was politically weak and divided. The sultanate had concluded a number of truces with individual Frankish powers; now, Qalāwūn simply found pretexts for declaring them void and eliminating his enemies one at a time.

In 1285, the sultan accused the Hospitallers of Margat of attacking Muslims, and after a brief campaign he took the stronghold in late May. He then moved against the castle of Maraclea, which Prince Bohemund VII of Tripoli ordered to be surrendered so as to preserve his own truce with the Mamlūks. In 1287, after an earthquake destroyed some of the fortifications at Laodikeia in Syria, Qalāwūn took the city, claiming that it was not covered by his truce with Bohemund, as the city lay outside the boundaries of the county of Tripoli. In 1289 Qalāwūn attacked Tripoli (mod. Trāblous, Lebanon), eventually storming the town and massacring much of the population. He then razed the city and ordered it rebuilt on a new site. In an attempt to save Acre, the last Christian possession in the area, Pope Nicholas IV called a crusade in February 1290, though

Qilij Arslān I of Rūm (d. 1107)

many Western monarchs simply used the crisis to strengthen their economic interests in Egypt. During the preparations for his campaign against Acre, however, Qalāwūn died. The city's capture was left to his son Khalīl, whom he had successfully installed as heir.

–Brian Ulrich

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Qilij Arslān I of Rūm (d. 1107)

ʿIzz al-Dīn Qilij Arslān I (Turk. *Izzüddin Kılıç Arslan I*) was the third ruler of Rūm (1092–1107), the sultanate established by a branch of the Saljūq dynasty in western Anatolia.

Qilij Arslān I was the son of Sulaymān I ibn Qutlumush, the founder of the Rūm sultanate. When Sulaymān died in combat at Shaizar in Syria (c. 1086) fighting against the Great Saljūq sultan Malik Shāh I and his brother Tutush I, ruler of Syria, the young Qilij Arslān was among the captives and spent some years in captivity in Baghdad, during which time his sultanate was ruled by his uncle Abu'l Qāsim (1086–1092). Qilij Arslān's liberation following Malik Shāh's violent death (1092) coincided with Abu'l Qāsim's death in Nicaea at the hands of Malik Shāh's agents, and so Qilij Arslān managed to ascend his throne. From the outset of his reign he established contacts with the ambitious emir of Smyrna (mod. İzmir, Turkey), Chaka, whose son-in-law he became, while his belligerent activities were directed against the Dānishmendids in eastern Anatolia.

In August 1096 Qilij Arslān's troops decimated the rabble of Peter the Hermit, who were the first crusaders to cross into Asia Minor. The following year, while he was engaged besieging Dānishmendid Melitene, Qilij Arslān's capital of Nicaea (mod. İznik, Turkey) was besieged by the combined armies of the First Crusade (1096–1099) and the Byzantines. The Byzantines became masters of the city and of the sultan's

wife and family, despite his attempt to relieve the city (May–June 1097). However, the Byzantine emperor Alexios I Komnenos soon returned the captives to the sultan, who, now in coalition with the Dānishmendids, confronted the crusaders at Dorylaion (17 July 1097), suffering a grave defeat, while the Byzantines were restoring several of their Anatolian possessions.

Having lost his capital, Qilij Arslān selected Ikonion (mod. Konya, Turkey), which was to become his new headquarters early in the twelfth century, though it seems that the actual transferral of the new Rūm Saljūq capital was associated with his successors Malik Shāh II (1107–1116) or Mas'ūd I (1116–1155). He allied with the Dānishmendids in two victorious battles against the Crusade of 1101 at Mersivan and Herakleia (mod. Ereğli, Turkey); Bohemund I of Antioch was captured in these engagements and was released by the Dānishmendids in 1104.

In the last eventful period of his reign Qilij Arslān was persuaded by Alexios I (to whom he even sent mercenaries against the Norman invasion of Greece under Bohemund in 1107) to eliminate his father-in-law Chaka (c. 1105–1106), while the death of the Dānishmendid emir (c. 1104) caused him to resume his aggression against the latter's possessions. In 1106 he captured Melitene (mod. Malatya, Turkey) and Martyropolis (mod. Silvan, Turkey), and in 1107 he seized Mosul. However, when he attempted an invasion of Mesopotamia, he faced a massive coalition under the Great Saljūq sultan Muḥammad I (1105–1118) and was killed in action in a hotly contested battle at Khabur River on 3 July 1107, which was to assume legendary proportions in early Turkish epic.

–Alexios G. C. Savvides

See also: First Crusade (1095–1099); Crusade of 1101; Rūm, Sultanate of

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Qilij Arslān II of Rūm (d. 1192)

‘Izz al-Dīn Qilij Arslān II (Turk. *Izzüddin Kılıç Arslan II*) was the sixth Saljūq sultan of Rūm (1156–1192), in whose reign the sultanate, centered on Ikonion (mod. Konya, Turkey), assumed a leading role in Anatolian affairs by defeating the Byzantines, annexing the two Dānishmendid emirates, and contracting an alliance with the Holy Roman Emperor and crusading leader Frederick I Barbarossa.

Qilij Arslān II was born around 1115, the son of Sultan Mas‘ūd I (d. 1156). Although his brother’s claim to the succession was supported by Nūr al-Dīn, the ruler of Muslim Syria, Qilij Arslān II finally prevailed. Among his first tasks was to thwart a possible alliance between Nūr al-Dīn and Emperor Manuel I Komnenos of Byzantium, with whom he had signed an ineffectual treaty in 1158; for this reason he visited Constantinople in 1161–1162, where he was magnificently received for three months by Manuel and a new treaty was signed. However, this treaty was not observed, since in 1173/1174 the sultan signed another treaty with Byzantium’s bitter Western enemy, Frederick I Barbarossa. Thus Manuel I decided to invade Anatolia, where he fortified the fortresses of Dorylaion and Choma-Soublaion (1175/1176), but, rejecting Qilij Arslān II’s peace offer, he was eventually heavily defeated in September 1176 at Myriokephalon, in west-central Anatolia.

This victory enabled the sultan to expand his conquests at the expense of Byzantium until the mid-1180s. Meanwhile, between 1174 and 1177/1178, he succeeded in annexing the strongholds of the two Dānishmendid dynasties of Sebasteia (mod. Sivas, Turkey) and Melitene (mod. Malatya, Turkey). In the last years of his reign, when the Byzantines

contracted alliances with Saladin (1184–1185 and 1189–1192) and the Rupenids of Cilicia solidified their grip on the Taurus-Antitaurus area, Qilij Arslān II faced difficulties with his nine ambitious sons, each of whom possessed an important Anatolian city as emir and aspired to the throne. Around 1189/1190 the eldest son, Quṭb al-Dīn, prevailed over his old and sick father at Ikonion, but with the advent of Frederick I at the head of the German army of the Third Crusade in Anatolia (1190), the Saljūq capital was taken and, following Quṭb al-Dīn’s death (c. 1191), it was restored to Qilij Arslān, who lived there until he died (August 1192) under the protection of his youngest and favorite son, Kay-Khusraw I, who succeeded him.

—Alexios G. C. Savvides

See also: Rūm, Sultanate of; Third Crusade (1189–1192)

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R

Radulph of Caen (d. after 1130)

Author of the *Gesta Tancredi*, a rhetorically sophisticated Latin account of the First Crusade (1096–1099) and the early years of Frankish Outremer, in prose with interspersed sections of verse (Lat. *prosimetrum*).

The *Gesta Tancredi* was composed between 1112 and 1118 and dedicated to Radulph's former teacher, Arnulf of Chocques, then Latin patriarch of Jerusalem (d. 1118). It survived in a single twelfth-century manuscript (MS Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale Albert Ier, 5373) that was hardly known during the Middle Ages. Radulph was probably born around 1080. Since he served in the entourages of Bohemund I of Antioch (1107) and Tancred (1108) in Epiros and Syria and mainly relied on information supplied by them, the *Gesta* appears to be an appraisal of the Norman part in the events from 1099 to 1108.

The work shows a certain distance to the more popular histories of the First Crusade, of which Radulph may have known the *Gesta Francorum* as well as a first redaction of the *Historia Hierosolymitana* of Fulcher of Chartres. The inserted poems concerning the fighting at Dorylaion, Antioch, and Jerusalem introduce the Normans and their ambitious leaders rather like the heroes of classical epic.

–Peter Orth

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Rainald III of Toul

Count of Toul in Upper Lotharingia and participant in the First Crusade (1096–1099).

Rainald was the elder son of Frederick I, count of Astenois, and Gertrude, daughter of Rainald II, count of Toul. He and his brother Peter of Dampierre took part in the crusade in the army of their kinsman Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Upper Lotharingia. Rainald was a prominent man of the second rank in the crusade, and commanded a division of the united crusader army at the Great Battle of

Ralph of Coggeshall

Antioch (28 June 1098). He returned home after the crusade, and died sometime before 1124.

–Alan V. Murray

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Rainald of Châtillon

See Reynald of Châtillon

Ralph of Caen

See Radulph of Caen

Ralph of Coggeshall

Abbot of Coggeshall and author of parts of the abbey's *Chronicon Anglicanum* dealing with the years 1187 to 1227.

Ralph was abbot of the Cistercian house of Coggeshall in Essex in southeast England, from 1206 until poor health forced his retirement in 1218. His portion of the *Chronicon Anglicanum* begins with the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin and devotes considerable attention to the Third Crusade (1189–1192). Not surprisingly, the English chronicler focused in particular on the exploits of King Richard I of England in the Holy Land, including his role in the capture of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) on 12 June 1191, and his subsequent negotiations with Saladin.

Despite the lack of English participation in the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), Ralph's membership in the Cistercian Order encouraged his considerable interest in events surrounding the capture of Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) on 13 April 1204. The abbot reports in detail on the preparatory stages of the crusade, including the dramatic appearances by the crusade preacher Fulk of Neuilly at the Cistercian general chapters of 1198 and 1201. Together with his admiration for Fulk, Ralph's uncritical account of Constantinople's fall contributes to a relatively enthusiastic portrayal of the controversial Fourth Crusade. He also gives some information on the Albigensian Crusade

(1209–1229). Ralph presumably died in 1227 or shortly thereafter.

–Brett Edward Whalen

See also: Third Crusade (1189–1192)

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Ralph de Diceto (d. 1199/1200)

Author of a number of historical works, one of which (the *Ymagines historiarum*) contains important information about Outremer, especially from 1185 onward.

Although not a major source on the Third Crusade (1189–1192), Ralph's work contains valuable comparative information, of a high level of reliability. His surname, Diceto, probably refers to Diss in Norfolk, although this is not certain. After holding a number of ecclesiastical positions and studying at Paris, in 1180 he was elected dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, London. His important position assisted him in collecting information for his historical writings: for example, in 1196 William Longchamp, chancellor of King Richard I of England, sent him a copy of the supposed letter of the Assassin leader known as the Old Man of the Mountains to Leopold V, duke of Austria, giving an explanation of the assassination of Marquis Conrad of Montferat in 1192. Ralph inserted this letter into his *Ymagines*. His own chaplain gave him details about the foundation of the English military order of St. Thomas of Acre. Some of the letters he recorded survive nowhere else. Although his information on Outremer was secondhand, his account was generally accurate because he either reproduced letters from the East in full or summarized them.

–Helen Nicholson

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Ralph of Domfront (d. c. 1146)

Latin patriarch of Antioch (1135–1140).

Born at Domfront in Normandy, Ralph was trained as a knight and later took holy orders. He went to Outremer, where by 1135 he had become archbishop of Mamistra (mod. Misis, Turkey) in Cilicia. When Bernard of Valence died the same year, Ralph was chosen to succeed him as patriarch of Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) by popular acclaim. He did not seek papal ratification, and his enemies alleged that he did not consider the see of Antioch, founded by St. Peter, as subordinate to Rome. Pope Innocent II did not intervene because of the papal schism of 1130–1138. When Raymond of Poitiers, whom the barons of Antioch had invited to be the husband of the child heiress, Princess Constance, reached the city in 1136, Ralph agreed to solemnize the marriage against the wishes of the regent, Constance's mother Alice, if Raymond would do liege-homage to him. Raymond accepted this condition and became prince of Antioch, and Alice was forced into retirement. Yet Ralph's secular and ecclesiastical ambitions antagonized the prince and some of the senior clergy, who complained to the pope.

After the schism ended, Innocent II appointed Alberic, cardinal bishop of Ostia, to investigate the charges. The cardinal presided over a synod at Antioch from 30 November to 2 December 1140, at which Ralph's election was deemed uncanonical and charges of simony and fornication brought against him were upheld; he was deposed and imprisoned in chains in the monastery of St. Symeon on the Black Mountain of Antioch. He later escaped and reached Rome, where a pope (probably Lucius II) quashed his deposition, but he died—allegedly from poison—before he could return to Outremer.

—Bernard Hamilton

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Ralph of Merencourt (d. 1224)

Latin patriarch of Jerusalem (1214–1224) and papal legate.

Ralph originated from the village of Merencourt in Champagne, not far from Troyes. This place may be the same as the modern Saint-Benoît-sur-Vanne in the canton of Auxen-Othe (dép. Aube, France). Having obtained a master's degree, from 1187 to 1190 Ralph served as assistant to the legal chambers of Count Henry II of Champagne. In the summer of 1190 he went to the Holy Land as notary to Henry when the count went there in the course of the Third Crusade (1189–1192). With the appointment of Henry as lord of the kingdom of Jerusalem, Ralph rose to the rank of notary to the lord of Jerusalem, while retaining responsibility for all matters relating to Champagne (5 May 1192–10 September 1197). After holding various other ecclesiastical offices in Palestine, Ralph became archdeacon of Tyre (1204) and then dean of the cathedral chapter of Acre (1206). At some point before 1215 (possibly as early as 1202) he was appointed as chancellor of the kingdom, and he was evidently also made bishop of Sidon between 1210 and 1214, being first attested in this office in the context of the royal coronation of John of Brienne in October 1210.

Ralph's abilities and his closeness to John of Brienne became evident when he traveled to the papal Curia on the new king's behalf and successfully advocated the legitimacy of his rule against charges brought by opposition nobles. It was therefore no surprise that John designated his chancellor as successor to Patriarch Albert of Jerusalem, who died in 1214. Ralph of Merencourt participated at the Fourth Lateran Council (November 1215). He was ordained patriarch by Pope Innocent III and resigned his office as chancellor. Between May 1218 and autumn 1221, Ralph took part in the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221) in Egypt.

After the defeat of the crusade by the Ayyūbids, the patriarch traveled to Brindisi with King John at the beginning of September 1222 to negotiate with the pope and Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor and king of Sicily, about the future of the Holy Land, particularly the proposed marriage of Frederick to John's daughter Isabella II, the heiress to the kingdom of Jerusalem. As early as February 1223, Ralph stayed at the imperial court at Capua and took part

Ramla

in the Congress of Ferentino, where the emperor's forthcoming crusade and his marriage to Isabella were agreed upon. In May 1223, the pope appointed the patriarch as his legate for the patriarchate of Jerusalem, and the same year Ralph returned to the Holy Land. Ralph may have crowned Isabella II of Jerusalem, assuming that the coronation took place as early as 1224. He died the same year (before 15 December 1224).

—Klaus-Peter Kirstein

See also: Jerusalem, Latin Patriarchate of

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Ramla

Castle, town, and seat of a lordship in southern Palestine, located on the coastal plain between Jerusalem and Jaffa.

A city had been established at Ramla by the Umayyads as a successor to Christian Lydda (mod. Lod, Israel) around 715, but it was deserted when the armies of the First Crusade (1096–1099) occupied it on 3 June 1099. The leaders of the crusade installed Robert of Rouen as bishop and lord of Ramla-Lydda, providing him with a small garrison to defend the place. Their intention seems to have been to create an ecclesiastical lordship, as they had previously done at Albara

in northern Syria. Indeed, until around 1160 bishops of Lydda continued to style themselves bishops of Ramla. By May 1102, however, the city and its territory had been incorporated into the royal domain; a castle had been built in a part of the walled city and a castellan appointed. The strategic importance of the site is illustrated by the fact that three major battles against invading Egyptian forces took place in its vicinity, in September 1101, May 1102, and August 1105. After his defeat at the second of these, King Baldwin I of Jerusalem took refuge in the principal tower of the castle, escaping the following day just before it was burned and undermined by the Muslims.

From October 1106 onward, the castellan was Baldwin of Ramla, who later became a vassal of Hugh, count of Jaffa. Following Hugh's revolt against King Fulk in 1134, however, the county was divided, and Baldwin was subsequently made lord of Ramla. Around 1138, the lordship passed to his daughter, Helvis, who was assisted in running it by her husband, Balian, former castellan of Jaffa. When Helvis's younger brother, Renier, came of age around 1143–1144, the lordship passed to him, and it was possibly in anticipation of this that King Fulk granted Balian in 1141 the new castle of Ibelin (mod. Yavne, Israel). In 1146–1148, however, Renier died, and Helvis and Balian resumed control of Ramla. When Balian died in 1150, Helvis married Manasses of Hierges, who supported Queen Melisende against her son Baldwin III. As a result, in 1152, Baldwin captured Manasses in his castle of Mirabel and banished him, leaving Helvis to continue to administer Ramla with the help of her son Hugh, lord of Ibelin. On Helvis's death (1158–1160), Hugh became lord of Ramla, but in or soon after 1169 he departed for Santiago de Compostela. By 1171 he was dead, and Ramla was in the hands of his brother, Baldwin, who had been lord of Mirabel from around 1162. In 1186, Baldwin refused homage to the new king, Guy of Lusignan, and departed to Antioch, leaving his fief to another brother, Balian the Younger, husband of the dowager queen, Maria Komnene, and self-styled lord of Nablus. Balian led the defense of the city of Jerusalem against Saladin in 1187 and is last mentioned in 1193.

In the twelfth century, a small unwalled settlement of Franks and indigenous Christians developed outside the castle. The existence of a burgess court is attested by the jurist John of Jaffa. In 1177, the town was attacked and burned by the Muslims, having already been deserted by its inhabitants. It fell to Saladin in July or August 1187. The castle was



Tower of the Forty Martyrs, Ramla. (Library of Congress)

destroyed in 1191, but the parish church was spared, possibly because it had already been converted into a mosque. By the Treaty of Jaffa (1192), the city was divided between the Franks and Muslims. In 1211–1212, the pilgrim Wilbrand of Oldenburg found it mostly destroyed, though it is unlikely to have been completely deserted. Although ceded to Emperor Frederick II in 1229, it would have been lost again in 1244. The Mamluk sultan Baybars I took Ramla in 1266 and completed the rebuilding of the White Mosque, which had been started by Saladin. In 1395 the Franciscans established a hospice for pilgrims traveling to Jerusalem.

—Denys Pringle

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Ramla, First Battle of (1101)

A battle between King Baldwin I of Jerusalem and an Egyptian army commanded by Sa‘ad al-Dawla al-Qawā-misī, fought as part of concerted attempts between 1099 and 1105 by al-Afdal, the vizier of Egypt, to regain the Fāṭimid possessions in Palestine lost to the army of the First Crusade in 1099.

The Egyptian army reached the Fāṭimid city of Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel) in mid-May 1101 and advanced on Ramla, but retreated to Ascalon when Baldwin arrived with relieving forces. From May to August, there was a stalemate while the Egyptian army awaited reinforcements, and Baldwin was content to wait upon developments. On 4 September the Egyptians advanced upon Ramla. Baldwin had only 260 cavalry and 900 infantry at his disposal. He divided this force into five divisions and then attacked. The fighting was very fierce. The first two Frankish divisions were completely destroyed, and the third, suffering heavy losses, broke and fled back to Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel), pursued by the Egyptian left wing. Baldwin, commanding the reserve division, attacked and broke the Egyptian center, and the entire Egyptian army then fled back to Ascalon, pursued so closely by the Frankish army that most of the Egyptian force was subsequently destroyed.

—Alec Mulinder

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Ramla, Second Battle of (1102)

A defeat of a Christian force consisting of crusaders and Franks of Outremer under King Baldwin I of Jerusalem by an Egyptian army commanded by Sharaf al-Ma'ālī Samā' al-Mulk, a son of the vizier al-Afdāl.

In May 1102 the Egyptians besieged the town of Ramla in southwestern Palestine, plundering the surrounding lands. Spurred into a precipitate show of force, Baldwin gathered 700 cavalry, many of them recently arrived crusaders from the crusading expeditions of 1101–1102, and advanced toward Ramla. The battle took place at Yazur, 16 kilometers (10 miles) from Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel), on 17 May. The Egyptian army surprised Baldwin, who took a hasty decision to attack rather than retreat. The Christian force was surrounded and massacred. A few knights cut their way through to reach Jaffa, but most of the survivors were forced to take refuge in Ramla. Baldwin and a few companions escaped that night, and the following morning the Egyptians stormed the town. The surviving knights defended a tower, but all were quickly captured or killed. Christian casualties included Stephen, count of Blois, and Stephen, count of Burgundy. The defeat placed the kingdom of Jerusalem in great peril, but it was saved from collapse by Baldwin's decisive victory at the battle of Jaffa on 4 July 1102.

—Alec Mulinder

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Ramla, Third Battle of (1105)

A battle in southwestern Palestine between the forces of King Baldwin I of Jerusalem and an Egyptian army commanded by Sharaf al-Ma'ālī Samā' al-Mulk, a son of the vizier al-Afdāl.

At the beginning of August 1105, an Egyptian army of about 5,000 soldiers, composed primarily of Arab cavalry, Sudanese infantry, and mounted Turkish bowmen, together with allies from Damascus, gathered at Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel). King Baldwin gathered his army of 500 horsemen and 2,000 infantry at Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel), and then advanced and met the allied Egyptian and

Damascene army at Ramla, the battle occurring on 27 August 1105. The battle was closely contested, with the Egyptian infantry repelling repeated attacks by the Frankish cavalry. At one point a counterattack by the Damascene mounted archers caused great havoc in the Frankish ranks and nearly broke their army, but Baldwin attacked with his own division and routed the attackers. Many of the Egyptian cavalry on the Muslim left flank left the battle to try to plunder Haifa (mod. Hefa, Israel), without success, while the remainder of the cavalry were forced to retreat; despite these setbacks, the Egyptian infantry were able to withstand numerous mounted assaults and were only overcome following the collapse of their Damascene allies.

The Egyptian army retreated back to Ascalon. Having suffered many casualties, the Franks were unable to pursue the enemy and were content to plunder the Egyptian camp. The third battle of Ramla ended the last of the Faṭimids' large scale attempts to reconquer Palestine from the Franks.

—Alec Mulinder

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Ranculat

See Hromgla

Ravendel

A fortress, known in Arabic as Rāwandān (mod. Ravanda Kalesi, Turkey), about 40 kilometers (25 mi.) west of Turbessel (mod. Tellbaşar Kalesi, Turkey), on a commanding position on a tall conical hill above the upper Afrin Valley.

During the First Crusade the castle was captured by Baldwin of Boulogne with the support of the local Armenian population (1097–1098). It was first given to Baldwin's guide, Bagrat, but was taken away from him following intrigues and given, along with Turbessel, to Godfrey of Bouillon, who based himself there in the summer of 1098.

Ravendel was subsequently incorporated into the Frankish county of Edessa. It formed part of the lordship of Joscelin I of Courtenay during his tenure of Turbessel

(1101–1113) and thereafter belonged to the counts of Edessa. After Joscelin II's capture in 1150 it was transferred to a Byzantine garrison, but in 1151 it was taken by Nūr al-Dīn. The castle and its town had been expanded by the Franks; the castle was substantially rebuilt by Saladin, and it remained a military and administrative center under the Mamlūks, although it was depopulated during Timur's invasion (1400).

—Angus Stewart

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Raymond I of Tripoli

See Raymond of Saint-Gilles

Raymond II of Tripoli (d. 1152)

Count of Tripoli (1137–1152).

The son of Count Pons of Tripoli and Cecilia of France, widow of Tancred of Antioch, Raymond succeeded to the county when his father was killed by the Damascenes in March 1137. He was by then married to Hodierna, sister of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem, by whom he later had a son, Raymond (III), and a daughter, Melisende.

In the summer of 1137 Raymond II was captured by Zangī while attempting to relieve the Tripolitan castle of Montferand; the surrender of this strategic fortress was the price paid for his release by Raymond and his ally King Fulk of Jerusalem. Raymond subsequently made important grants to the Order of the Hospital, including the castle of Krak des Chevaliers and its territory. The arrival of the Second Crusade in 1148 brought about a threat to Raymond's rule in the person of Alphonse-Jordan, count of Toulouse, who claimed to be the rightful heir to the county of Tripoli as the son of its founder, Raymond of Saint-Gilles. The death of Alphonse-Jordan soon after his arrival in the Holy Land was blamed by his son Bertrand on Raymond, and the ill will between Raymond and the French crusaders contributed to Raymond's refusal to cooperate in the attack launched against

Damascus by the crusade armies and the Franks of Jerusalem in July 1148. In September Bertrand's troops seized the Tripolitan castle of Aryma, and Raymond called in the Muslim princes Unur of Damascus and Nūr al-Dīn, whose capture of Bertrand and destruction of his forces finally removed the Toulousan threat. Four years later, Raymond fell victim to attack by the Assassins, and he was succeeded by his son Raymond III.

—Alan V. Murray

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Raymond III of Tripoli (d. 1187)

Count of Tripoli (1152–1187), lord of Tiberias (1174–1187), and twice regent of the kingdom of Jerusalem (1174–1176 and 1185–1186).

Raymond was the son of Raymond II of Tripoli and Hodierna, sister of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem. He was still a minor when his father was killed in 1152, and he took up the government of Tripoli in 1155. He was captured by Nūr al-Dīn in 1164 while participating in a combined Frankish attempt to relieve the town of Artah, and he spent the next ten years as a prisoner, during which time Tripoli was governed by his cousin King Amalric of Jerusalem. Raymond's captivity and his subsequent roles in the politics of the kingdom of Jerusalem meant that he was probably less involved in the affairs of his hereditary county of Tripoli than most of his predecessors.

Soon after being ransomed (by early 1174) Raymond acquired the lordship of Tiberias through marriage to Eschiva, widow of Walter of Saint-Omer. Thus on the accession of Amalric's underage son, the leper king Baldwin IV (July 1174), Raymond was holder of the greatest lordship in the kingdom of Jerusalem as well one of the closest male relatives of the king. Later the same year, he demanded and received the regency of the kingdom, which he exercised until Baldwin came of age (July 1176), when he returned to Tripoli.

In the spring of 1180, Raymond and Prince Bohemund III of Antioch led their armies into the kingdom, evidently with the aim of ensuring that a candidate amenable to them would be chosen as a new husband for Baldwin IV's widowed sister Sibyl, the heir to the throne. They were thwarted when the king had Sibyl married quickly to the Poitevin nobleman Guy

Raymond VI of Toulouse (1156–1222)

of Lusignan. Despite a reconciliation with the king and Guy in 1182, Raymond came to be the leading figure among a growing number among the ruling class of Jerusalem (particularly the Ibelin family) who were implacably opposed to Guy becoming king. In 1185 the dying Baldwin IV, who by this time had also lost faith in Guy's abilities, appointed Raymond as regent for his nephew Baldwin V, Sibyl's son by her deceased first husband. Yet when the young king died in the summer of 1186, Raymond was outmaneuvered by his opponents, who had Guy and Sibyl crowned in Jerusalem. Fearing an attack on Tiberias, Raymond admitted Saladin's troops into the lordship, which seemed to confirm the suspicions of many that he intended to seize the throne himself, but he was forced into a new reconciliation with Guy by his own vassals in Tripoli and Tiberias after it became apparent that Saladin did not intend to renew his truce with the kingdom, which was due to expire in April 1187.

Raymond and his supporters were unable to persuade Guy to avoid giving battle to Saladin's great army that invaded Galilee in June 1187. At the ensuing disastrous encounter at Hattin (4 July 1187), Raymond managed to fight his way through the Muslim lines with his stepsons and made his way to Tripoli, where he fell ill and died in September 1187, regarded as a traitor by many of his fellow Franks. Having no children of his own, he conferred the county of Tripoli on Raymond, the elder son of his old ally Bohemund III of Antioch. The latter, however, appointed his younger son, Bohemund (IV), as ruler.

–Alan V. Murray

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Raymond IV of Toulouse

See Raymond of Saint-Gilles

Raymond VI of Toulouse (1156–1222)

Count of Toulouse (1194–1222) at the time of the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229).

Raymond ruled over the county of Toulouse itself (coterminous with the diocese of Toulouse), the Rouergue, Quercy, the Agenais, and the marquise of Provence, as well as being acknowledged as overlord in Valence, Nîmes, the Vivarais, Anduze, Rodez, Lomagne, and Gourdon.

Raymond did nothing to counter the spread of the Catharism that had become widespread in his lands, and he tolerated the heretics. As a result he incurred the wrath of Pope Innocent III, and when one of Raymond's servants assassinated the legate Peter of Castelnau (15 January 1208), the pope launched the crusade. Raymond initially made peace with the crusaders but later saw his lands invaded. As a war leader he was ineffectual, and most of his lands fell to the crusaders, and his defeat by Simon of Montfort at the disastrous battle of Muret (12 September 1213) caused him to flee to England, and Toulouse itself was occupied by crusaders.

At the Fourth Lateran Council (November 1215) the political settlement made by Innocent III stripped Raymond of his lands, but he was invited back to Toulouse (September 1217) by the citizens and was present during the siege by Simon of Montfort. By the time of his death in 1222 he had passed responsibility for government to his son Raymond VII. He died excommunicate and was never buried.

–Michael D. Costen

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Raymond VII of Toulouse (1197–1249)

Count of Toulouse (1222–1249).

Raymond was the son of Count Raymond VI of Toulouse and Joan, daughter of King Henry II of England. Present at the battle of Muret in 1213 at which his father suffered a major defeat by the forces of the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229), he went with his father to England and then to Rome for the Fourth Lateran Council (1215).

Over the next few years he campaigned ceaselessly, effectively functioning as ruler of the county of Toulouse, to which he formally succeeded on his father's death (1222). In 1223 he besieged Amalric of Montfort in Carcassonne and negotiated his withdrawal from the region. However, the French king Louis VIII intervened in the Languedoc, and in 1225 Raymond was faced with the king's overwhelming

military superiority, which was maintained after Louis's untimely demise by the regency of Queen Blanche of Castile. Raymond accepted the terms of the Treaty of Meaux (12 April 1229); he continued to rule as count of Toulouse but recognized the overlordship of Louis IX. He lost control of his lands to the east of the Rhône and saw his only legitimate heir, Jeanne, married to Alphonse, the young king's brother.

As a result of the king's authority, Raymond was forced to accept the activities of the Inquisition throughout his lands from 1233 onward. An abortive rebellion in 1242 led to the Treaty of Lorris (1243), which confirmed his loss of power. Raymond's last years were filled with plans to get a male heir: he put away Jeanne's mother and sought to marry Sanchia of Provence, a project that failed, as did his plan to marry Beatrice of Provence. He died on 27 September 1249 near Rodez and was buried at Fontevault with his mother.

—Michael D. Costen

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Raymond of Aguilers

Participant in the First Crusade (1096–1099) and author of a Latin narrative of the expedition.

Raymond's purpose was set out in the preface to his work: he was recording on behalf of himself and one Pons of Balazun the deeds of the southern French army, led by Raymond, count of Saint-Gilles, and Adhemar, bishop of Le Puy. Although these notables were present at the Council of Clermont and among the first to take the cross in 1095, Raymond's narrative begins during the journey to Constantinople. The preface was written after the capture of Jerusalem (Raymond refers to the army as victorious); Pons, however, had been killed at Arqah (spring 1099), and so it appears that events were recorded as they happened. Since there is no indication that Raymond knew of the death of Saint-Gilles in 1105, his account was probably completed early in the 1100s. It is probable that he used a version of the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* for some details, but to all intents and purposes his work is firsthand and independent, ranking in importance alongside the *Gesta* and Fulcher of Chartres.

Everything known about Raymond of Aguilers derives from his book. He became a priest during the expedition,

and he served as chaplain to Raymond of Saint-Gilles, which gave him access to sound information and the councils of the leaders. Yet he was more interested in presenting the count of Saint-Gilles and the southern French in a good light, probably to counter rumors of cowardice circulating in France after the crusade. Above all, Raymond of Aguilers wished to defend the reputation of the relic known as the Holy Lance. He describes himself as one of the first to believe the visions of the pilgrim Peter Bartholomew, which revealed where the Holy Lance was to be found, and relates that he personally joined in the digging for the relic in the cathedral at Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey). His belief was unshaken by the ambiguous outcome of Peter Bartholomew's ordeal by fire, and his passionate advocacy unbalances his account. Nevertheless, Raymond's partisanship and his pious credulity are themselves important indicators of popular attitudes.

Raymond's work usually bears the title *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* (The History of the Franks who Took Jerusalem), but its twentieth-century editors simply entitled it Raymond's *Liber* (book) from his own closing line. The original manuscript does not survive, but there are six copies dating from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the best of which is MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat.14378.

—Susan B. Edgington

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Raymond Berengar IV of Barcelona (d. 1162)

Count of Barcelona (1131–1162), regent of Provence (1144–1157), and ruling prince of Aragon (1137–1162).

Raymond of Poitiers (d. 1149)

Raymond Berengar (Sp. *Ramon Berenguer*) was probably born around 1113, the son of Berengar III and Douce of Provence. Most famous for having brought about the dynastic union of Aragon and Barcelona (known as the Crown of Aragon) through his marriage to Petronilla of Aragon in 1137, Raymond Berengar was also a warrior who successfully fought the Muslims of western and southern Catalonia. In many ways, he continued the path laid out by his father. He fostered the Order of the Temple and enhanced his position in Provence through dynastic ties. The count's greatest military triumphs were the conquests of Tortosa, Lleida, and Fraga in 1148–1149, by which he incorporated the southern coastal areas later known as New Catalonia (Cat. *Catalunya Nova*) and gained territories that had separated Catalonia from Aragon. The Treaty of Tudellén of 27 January 1151, in which Alfonso VII of León-Castile and Raymond Berengar IV divided the Iberian Peninsula into zones for future conquest, bore witness to these successes. On his death, he was succeeded by his son King Alfonso II of Aragon.

–Nikolas Jaspert

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Raymond of Poitiers (d. 1149)

Prince of Antioch (1136–1149) as consort of the Princess Constance.

Raymond was the second son of William IX, duke of Aquitaine, himself a notable crusader. In 1133, while still a young man at the court of King Henry I of England, Raymond received an offer from King Fulk of Jerusalem, who was then acting as regent of the principality of Antioch, to marry Constance, the daughter and heiress of Prince Bohemund II (d. 1131). Despite the opposition of Bohemund's cousin Roger II of Sicily, and his widow, Alice, Raymond made his way via Apulia to Antioch and was invested as prince upon his marriage to Constance in the second half of 1136. Raymond's accession brought a new southern French influence to the principality, whose ruling class had hitherto

been predominantly Norman. As prince he commissioned the earliest literary work in French known to have been composed in Outremer: the poem *Les Chétifs*, dealing largely with the Crusade of 1101, in which his own father had taken part.

Raymond's status as an independent ruler was challenged by the Byzantine emperor John II Komnenos, who had sought Constance in marriage for his own son. John swept through Cilicia and laid siege to Antioch in the summer of 1137, reasserting long-standing Byzantine claims to the principality as former Byzantine territory. Raymond was obliged to become John's vassal, and he agreed to surrender his principality to direct Greek rule in exchange for Aleppo, Hama, Homs, and Shaizar if these territories could be conquered from the Muslims. Raymond's lack of cooperation in the joint Byzantine–Frankish invasion of Muslim territory launched the following year caused the emperor to abandon the siege of Shaizar in frustration and to withdraw to Cilicia. Raymond was able to see off another invasion by John in 1142, and he took the offensive against Byzantine Cilicia the next year. However, the increasing danger posed by the conquests of Zangī, as well as a further Byzantine invasion in 1144, forced Raymond to do homage to John's successor Manuel I Komnenos at Constantinople.

The arrival of the armies of the Second Crusade in Outremer (1148) brought Raymond great hopes of military assistance, particularly from King Louis VII of France, whose wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine, was Raymond's niece. However, he was unable to persuade Louis to join him in an attack on Aleppo, the power base of Nūr al-Dīn, and relations between the two men were further strained by Raymond's close relationship with and obvious influence over Eleanor. In consequence Raymond took no part in the attack on Damascus, which the crusade armies and the Franks of Jerusalem chose as their objective in June 1148, and the failure of this enterprise left Antioch as vulnerable as before. Raymond was killed in battle on 29 June 1149 while attempting to relieve the fortress of Inab from the forces of Nūr al-Dīn, who had the prince's skull mounted as a trophy for the caliph at Baghdad.

–Alan V. Murray

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Raymond-Rupen of Antioch (d. 1222)

Prince of Antioch (1216–1219).

Raymond-Rupen was probably born in 1196, the son of Raymond, the eldest son of Prince Bohemund III of Antioch; his mother was Alice, niece of King Leon I of Cilicia (Lesser Armenia). He was raised in Cilicia after the death of his father in 1197.

Following the death of his grandfather, Bohemund III (1201), Raymond-Rupen should by rights have inherited the principality of Antioch. However, his uncle, Count Bohemund IV of Tripoli, arrived in the city of Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) before him and was elected prince by its commune, which feared Armenian domination under Raymond-Rupen. Yet in 1216 the young Raymond-Rupen seized the city with the help of his great-uncle, Leon I, and was consecrated prince of Antioch. Raymond's rule in Antioch, though popular in the beginning, soon became an unwanted imposition. The citizens welcomed Bohemund IV back in 1219, and Raymond, having already alienated Leon, fled to Damietta in Egypt, where the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221) was in progress.

Following Leon's death in 1219 Raymond claimed the Cilician throne by right of his mother. He invaded Cilicia in 1221 but, after a few successes, was captured by Constantine of Lampron, regent for Leon's young daughter Isabella. He died in prison the following year.

—Christopher MacEvitt

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Raymond of Saint-Gilles (d. 1105)

One of the leaders of the First Crusade (1096–1099) and later first count of Tripoli (1102–1105).

Raymond was born around 1041, the second son of Pons II, count of Toulouse, and Almodis of La Marche. Raymond inherited the lordship of Saint-Gilles (situated at the mouth of the Rhône), as well as lands in Provence; to these he was able to add an inheritance from his cousin Bertha, consisting of the marquisate of Gothia and the county of Rouergue. On the death of his childless elder brother William IV (1094), Raymond was the ruler of a vast aggregate of territory; he had already taken the title of count of Toulouse. His first marriage (probably dissolved on the grounds of consanguinity) produced one son, Bertrand (later count of Tripoli); around 1080 he married his second wife, Matilda, daughter of Roger I of Sicily. His third marriage, to Elvira, daughter of Alfonso VI of Castile, may well have been contracted in 1088 on the occasion of a campaign conducted by several French lords in Spain against the Almoravids, in which Raymond probably took part.

A resolute advocate of church reform, Raymond was one of the *fideles sancti Petri* (vassals of St. Peter) whom Pope Gregory VII had planned to take with him on his intended expedition to aid the Byzantine Empire, and Raymond evidently met Pope Urban II before the Council of Clermont. Certainly by November 1095 he had announced his intention to set out for the East, and by the time of his subsequent meeting with Urban, he must have been well informed about the pope's plans.

Raymond took command of an army drawn from the counts, bishops, and lords of southern France and Provence. He is not known to have alienated any of his own territories in order to finance his crusade, but he was nevertheless able to raise finances exceeding those of the other princes, and was even able to take some of them into his pay. Raymond's army left France in the autumn of 1096 and marched through Lombardy, Friuli, and Dalmatia, but encountered difficulties in crossing Croatia, despite an agreement he had concluded with King Constantine Bodin. After entering Byzantine territory at Dyrrachion (mod. Durrës, Albania), the crusader army was escorted by imperial Pecheneg auxiliaries, and there were clashes between the two forces. The crusaders stormed the city of Roussa on 12 April 1097, but were defeated by imperial troops at Rodosto after Raymond had gone on to Constantinople to negotiate with the Byzantine emperor, Alexios I Komnenos. Raymond refused to do homage to the emperor, but did agree to restore to him any formerly Byzantine cities that might fall into his hands during the crusade.

Raymond of Saint-Gilles (d. 1105)

Raymond's army crossed the Bosphorus on 28 April 1097, arriving at Nicaea (mod. İznik, Turkey) in time to intercept the relieving forces sent to the defenders of the city by Qilij Arslān I, sultan of Rūm. At Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey), Raymond insisted on a direct siege of the city rather than the blockade advised by the Byzantine general Tatikios, and he constructed a tower (known as La Mahomerie) in order to prevent enemy sallies from the Dog Gate (March 1098). He encouraged raids into the surrounding countryside to secure supplies for the besiegers, providing money for the establishment of a fund to replace horses lost on these occasions. After the capture of the city (3 June 1098), Raymond lent credence to the claims of the visionary Peter Bartholomew and was present at the discovery of the relic known as the Holy Lance in the Cathedral of St. Peter on 15 June. However, he disputed the possession of the citadel of Antioch with the Norman leader Bohemund of Taranto and insisted on maintaining a force of his own in the city. Subsequently Raymond made himself the spokesman of those who demanded that the city should be restored to the Emperor Alexios, even though he also subscribed to the appeal of the crusade leaders to Urban II to come to Antioch and take charge of the crusade (11 September 1098).

During the summer and autumn of 1098, Raymond proceeded to occupy the middle reaches of the Orontes Valley, taking the towns of Rugia, Albara (where he installed a bishop), and Ma'arrat al-Numan. These actions intensified his dispute with Bohemund, but the pressure of those crusaders impatient to reach Jerusalem persuaded Raymond to put himself at their head, and he left Ma'arrat in the attire of a pilgrim, leaving small garrisons in the places he had conquered, although Bohemund expelled the force he had left in Antioch. He obtained freedom of passage and supply facilities from the emirs of Shaizar and Homs, occupied Krak des Chevaliers, and besieged the town of Arqah for three months, hoping to compel the *qāḍī* (magistrate) of Tripoli (mod. Trāblous, Lebanon) to submit to him, but perhaps also to give the emperor time to join him. He was forced to raise the siege by Godfrey of Bouillon and Tancred, although he was able to secure a large money tribute from Tripoli.

When the crusade armies reached Jerusalem, Raymond took up a position on Mount Zion, from where he besieged the southwestern sector of the city. When Jerusalem fell on 15 July 1099, he took the surrender of the Fāṭimid garrison in the Tower of David and had them escorted back to Ascalon. Raymond had hoped to be made ruler of Jerusalem,

but eventually abandoned his claims, although he tried (in vain) to keep the Tower of David. He joined with Godfrey to repel the great Fāṭimid invasion of August 1099, and after the crusader victory outside Ascalon (12 August), the inhabitants of that city offered to surrender it to him; yet when Godfrey refused to accept this, Raymond withdrew, encouraging the Ascalonites to resist. He did the same at Arsuf, thus revealing his disappointment at being thwarted in his territorial ambitions in Palestine.

At the end of the summer of 1099, Raymond went north with crusaders who were returning home, although he had vowed to devote the rest of his life to the defense of the Holy City. He found Laodikeia in Syria (a city which he had previously restored to Byzantium) under siege by Bohemund I of Antioch and the Pisan followers of the papal legate Daibert; he forced them to withdraw and installed his own forces in the city. In the summer of 1100 Raymond traveled to Constantinople, and the next year he joined the Lombard army, which had arrived as part of the Crusade of 1101. Against Raymond's advice, the Lombards marched into the north of Anatolia, only to be defeated by the Turks at Mersivan. Raymond fled to Constantinople, abandoning the Holy Lance in the rout.

While attempting to return to Syria, Raymond was apprehended and imprisoned by the Normans of Antioch. The regent Tancred agreed to release him on condition that he would not attempt to take territory in the region of Antioch, and his followers abandoned Laodikeia, Albara, and the neighboring places. Raymond and his troops marched south with the survivors of the Crusade of 1101, capturing Tortosa (mod. Tartūs, Syria) on 18 February 1102 and inflicting a defeat upon the allied Muslim forces of Tripoli, Homs, and Damascus. Abandoning the aim of returning to Jerusalem, he proceeded to occupy the region of Tripoli instead, seizing Raphanea (mod. Rafaniyah, Syria), which threatened Homs. In order to blockade the city of Tripoli, he constructed a castle with Byzantine assistance, which he named Mont-Pèlerin. He took the title "count of Tripoli," founding several religious institutions around the castle, and on 28 April 1104 captured Gibelet to the south of the city. At the end of 1104, however, the Tripolitans attacked Mont-Pèlerin, and although they were repulsed, Raymond was severely wounded. Alphonse-Jordan, the only one of his sons with him in the East, was still a minor, and so Raymond entrusted the command of his troops to his cousin William-Jordan, count of Cerdagne; the relics he had accu-

mulated were bequeathed to the abbey of La Chaise Dieu. Raymond died on 28 February 1105.

—Jean Richard

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Reconquista

Only since the nineteenth century has the Christian conquest of the Iberian Peninsula from Muslim control been referred to as the *Reconquista*, that is, "reconquest." This has led some scholars to consider the term to be a modern attempt to justify colonization and subjugation by conferring supposedly higher values on the Christian expansion of the Middle Ages. Contemporary evidence does, however, show that the notion of regaining lost political and religious unity was indeed present among some Iberian Christians during the early Middle Ages: at the end of the ninth century, the memory of the vanished Visigothic kingdom was kept alive and its reestablishment propagated through a series of chronicles written during the reign of King Alfonso III of Asturias (866–910) by churchmen probably associated with his court. This Asturian "Neogothism" was an important basis for the Christian expansion of the tenth and eleventh centuries. It caused the borders to Islam to be regarded as only provisional and areas of future expansion to be repeatedly marked out by way of contracts between Christian powers.

The concept of Neogothism (of which the Muslims were

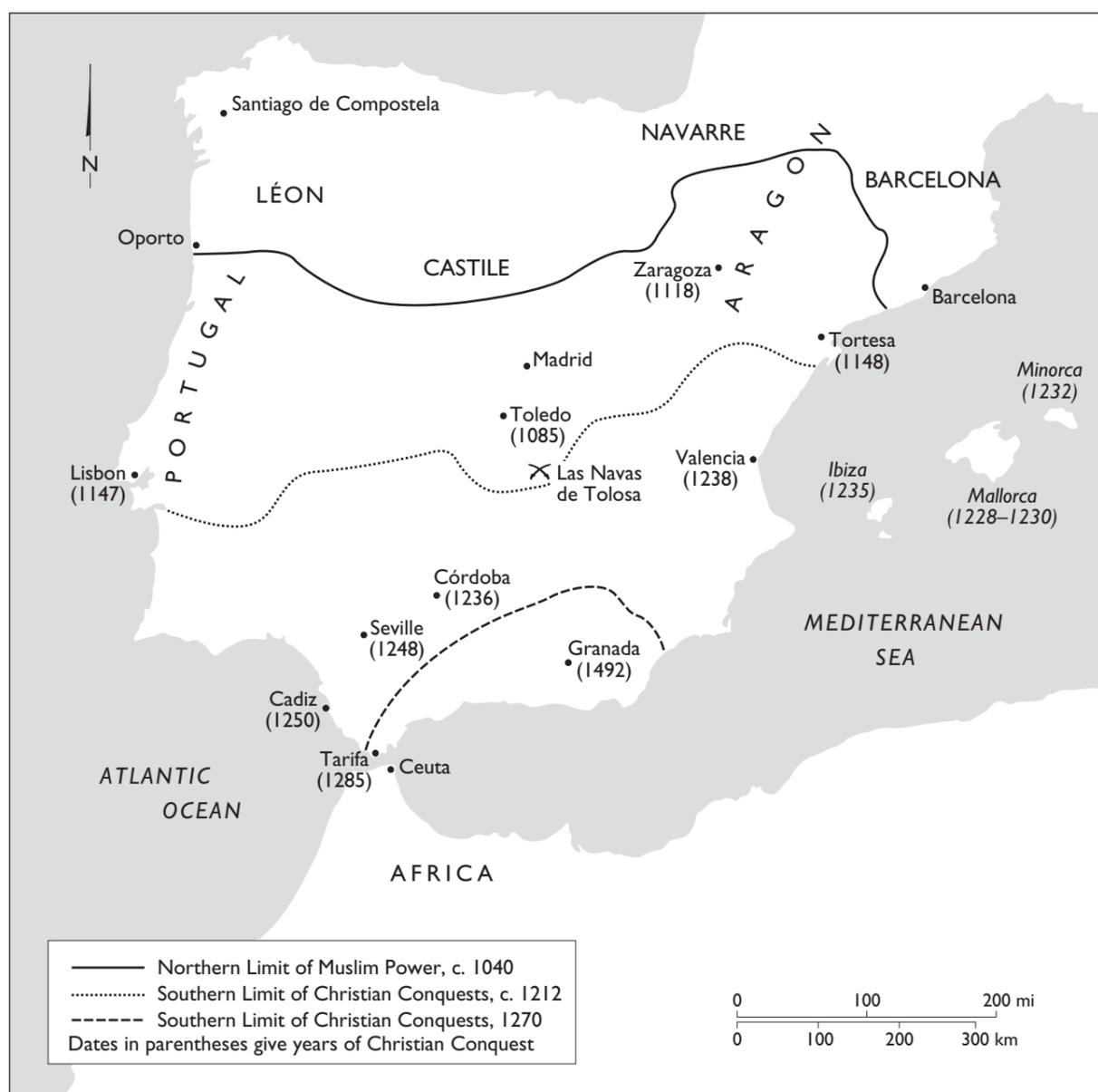
aware, as Arab chronicles show) was only rarely linked to the notion of spiritually meritorious warfare. However, some early sources do exist, in which the Reconquista was justified on a religious basis. In certain Asturian and Leonese chronicles of the tenth and eleventh centuries, the conflict is presented as projected and thereby sanctified by God, as a fight to restore an incomplete ecclesiastical order, since the areas to be conquered had been Christian territories with a fully developed church structure before the Muslim conquest. According to these works, victories were attributable to God's care for his people, and Iberian Christians were associated with the Chosen People of the Old Testament. Until the end of the eleventh century, this opinion does not seem to have been common enough to have strongly influenced actions in the religious borderlands, nor did it attract foreign arms bearers to the Iberian Peninsula. The fronts were not as clearly laid out as often depicted: local rulers, whether Muslims or Christians, formed alliances in changing coalitions, and religion often played a secondary role. Christian rulers frequently preferred Muslim tribute payments (*Sp. parias*) to warfare, as Muslim chronicles clearly demonstrate. Only toward the end of the eleventh century did the notion of a sanctified, meritorious war on behalf of Christ against the Lord's foes, combined with the concept of the restoration of the Visigothic kingdom, begin to exert a strong influence on Christian actions. It was not until the beginning of the twelfth century that the Reconquista became a crusade, although even then cases of interreligious alliances and coexistence persisted.

The Reconquista should thus not be understood as an incessant religious war, but rather as a sequence of long periods of peace interrupted by shorter periods of crisis that were marked in varying degrees by religious ideals. Only the border zones were marked by frequent raids and devastation. Nor were Spain and Portugal formed out of the crucible of interreligious strife, although that strife did set the Iberian realms apart from most of Latin Europe.

Islamic Conquest and the Christian Realms of Iberia

The year 711 represents a turning point in the history of the Iberian Peninsula. In the early summer a Muslim army under Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād crossed the Strait of Gibraltar and defeated the Visigoths in the battle of Guadalete on 23 July 711. The invaders, mostly Arabs and islamized North Africans, rapidly succeeded in conquering nearly the entire Iberian Peninsula. The Muslims called the area they con-

Reconquista



Progress of the Reconquista in Iberia

trolled al-Andalus (“Land of the Vandals”) and raised the ancient bishopric of Córdoba to be the capital of their own emirate. With time the distance between this realm and the caliphate of Baghdad grew, and in the year 929 Emir ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III (912–961) proclaimed the independent caliphate of Córdoba. The realm was far from homogenous: there were areas with a predominantly Berber and others with a mainly Arab Muslim population, and even within these communities one can define separate groups. Many Jews also lived in the peninsula, and the majority of the population, the subjected Christians (Mozarabs), may also be divided into the descendants of the Visigoths and of the Hispano-Romans.

Only the mountainous, inaccessible border zones in the extreme north of the peninsula remained under Christian rule. Here, five Christian realms developed between the eighth and the eleventh centuries: (1) In the area of Asturias–Cantabria, the kings of Asturias led the exiled Visigothic nobility. Toward the middle of the eighth century they expanded their rule to the west (Galicia) and east (Álava), and by the end of the following century they had crossed the river Duero (Port. Douro) in the south and conquered the town of León, to which the center of the realm, afterward known as the kingdom of León, shifted. (2) At its southeastern flank, the county of Castile gradually slipped from the control of the Leonese kings. By the beginning of the eleventh century, it had become fully established as an independent kingdom. (3) Further east, Navarre also developed into a principality of its own, which was ruled by kings from the beginning of the tenth century onward. (4) Aragon, once a county dependent on Navarre, escaped its control, rising to the status of kingdom after 1035. (5) The last of the five Christian realms was the county of Barcelona. It had been part of the Carolingian Empire, whose southern border it formed, together with a number of other Catalan counties. In the course of the eleventh century, the count of Barcelona succeeded in becoming the dominant power of the southeastern Pyrenees.

These five realms—León, Castile, Navarre, Aragon, and Barcelona—experienced transformations during the High Middle Ages. On the one hand, the dynastic union between the rulers of Barcelona and Aragon (1137) brought forth the Crown of Aragon (or Aragonese-Catalan Crown). On the other hand, the county of Portugal became independent of León and achieved the rank of a kingdom in 1143. And finally, after a short-lived union (1038–1157), Castile and

León were united once and for all in 1230. The existence of four independent kingdoms (Portugal, Castile-León, Navarre, and Aragon) impedes any general account of the “Spanish” history of the Middle Ages. Only with this complicated situation in mind can one attempt to describe the complex process known as *Reconquista*.

The Opening of the Reconquest to Non-Iberian Combatants

Until the second half of the eleventh century, the Christians’ disputes with the Muslims were still a largely Iberian affair marked by the “neogothic” concept of reconquest, by limited religious zeal, and by border skirmishes of uncertain outcome. At the turn of the first millennium, the vizier and general al-Manṣūr billāh (Sp. *Almanzor*) achieved important military successes, but after his death (1002), the caliphate of Córdoba collapsed and disintegrated (1009–1031) into a number of petty Muslim realms (the so-called Taifa kingdoms). Some of these polities fought the Christians, while others preferred to sign treaties or make payments of tribute in return for peace. By so doing, these latter may have ultimately helped finance their own destruction, but the *parias* also show the synchronicity of coexistence and conflict typical for this period. In general the Christian frontier continued to expand south, and on 6 May 1085 King Alfonso VI of Castile-León succeeded in taking the old Visigothic capital, Toledo, without bloodshed by guaranteeing wide-ranging rights (which were soon abrogated) to the Muslim population. The historical figure who best represents the complexities of the Iberian eleventh century is Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar (d. 1099), better known to the modern world as El Cid. A vassal of Sancho II and Alfonso VI of Castile, Rodrigo fought against Christians, became involved in disputes between the Muslim rulers of Seville and Granada, and supported the Muslims of Zaragoza against the Christian king of Aragon. In 1094 he gained power over the Muslim town of Valencia, where he established an independent principality, which he successfully defended against attacks by Muslim opponents. The story of the Cid Campeador (from Arab. *sayyid*, “lord,” and Lat. *campi doctor*, “victorious fighter”) is only one example of the possibilities that the frontiers of the Iberian Peninsula offered to militarily and politically capable figures.

At this time, however, the struggle also began to draw Christians from beyond the Pyrenees. This change occurred for several reasons: increasing dynastic and feudal ties

between the ruling Iberian lineages and noblemen from beyond the Pyrenees; the rising significance of Santiago de Compostela in Galicia as a center of pilgrimage that attracted a constantly growing stream of people, particularly from the eleventh century onward; and the papacy's mounting interest in the Iberian Peninsula. For a long time, the Roman church's influence was limited to the Carolingian-dominated eastern Pyrenees. But in the second half of the eleventh century, the zone widened: in 1064 for the first time, a notable contingent of French knights took part in the siege and conquest of an Aragonese town, Barbastro. Pope Alexander II supported this action by promising indulgences and depicting the siege as a war intended and justified by God. In 1068 the kingdom of Aragon placed itself under the protection of the Holy See and accepted the Roman liturgy. Soon Castile, León, and Navarre also followed the Roman rite, and prelates close to Rome took over important ecclesiastical functions after the conquest of Toledo. But the victory of 1085 also had unexpected military consequences: the hard-pressed Muslims called in co-religionists from the North African mainland to assist them: the Almoravids (Arab. *al-Murābiṭūn*), zealous Berbers particularly committed to the idea of religious warfare. On 23 October 1086 they gained a sweeping victory over Alfonso VI's forces at Sagradas and soon thereafter began taking possession of al-Andalus. By 1095 they had conquered practically all the Taifa kingdoms in the peninsula; El Cid's Valencia also fell victim to their expansion (1102). An era in the history of the Iberian Peninsula had come to an end. That period had been marked by the predominantly secular and political character of the Reconquista. Now the logic of warfare became more dominated by religious issues on both sides, and the fronts hardened.

With the expansion of the Almoravids in Iberia (1085–1095), the second phase of the *Reconquista* began. It brought a religiously loaded form of warfare to al-Andalus that also affected Christian concepts and actions. The popes' commitment increased, and growing numbers of foreign arms bearers crossed the Pyrenees in order to fight against the Muslims. Some of them later took part in the First Crusade (1096–1099). Various factors caused the strangers to participate in the struggle, such as hope for booty or land, political considerations, and feudal ties to Iberian rulers. But the fights were also an expression of growing tensions between Islam and Christianity, which were being particularly aggravated on the Iberian Peninsula and which began to transcend the Pyrenees.

Reconquista and Crusade

During this period at the end of the eleventh century, at least some elements of the crusade movement become recognizable in the Iberian Peninsula: the religious nature of the struggle was stressed, the papacy's participation increased, indulgences were conferred, and foreign armed forces participated in the fighting. The situation in the Iberian Peninsula seems to have had a particularly strong effect on the papacy's attitude toward the use of force against Islam. The Iberian experience, however, neither led directly to the proclamation of the First Crusade, nor was it a crusade in its own right. Some of the latter's constitutive elements were still absent, such as the crusading vow, the taking of the cross, or the plenary indulgence (Lat. *remissio peccatorum*). At least regarding the indulgence, however, an important step was taken even before the conquest of Jerusalem: between 1096 and 1099, Pope Urban II specifically promised the Christians who contributed to the reestablishment of the Catalan town of Tarragona the *remissio peccatorum*. The conjunction between the fight against the Muslims and the plenary indulgence was thus first established in Iberia. In contrast, other features of the crusades entered the Iberian Peninsula as a result of the events in the Middle East. In the year 1101, for example, King Peter I of Aragon rallied his forces under the banner of the cross (Lat. *vexillum crucis*) when he fought against the Muslims before Zaragoza, where he named a locality after the war cry of the First Crusaders (*Júslibol*, after Lat. *Deus vult*, "God wills it").

In 1114, the Christians who participated in the conquest of the Balearic Islands were promised indulgences; a papal legate accompanied the expedition; and the participants marked themselves with the sign of the cross. During the conquest of Zaragoza under Alfonso I (the Battler) in the year 1118, foreign combatants were also called upon to assist their co-religionists and were promised indulgences. By this time at the latest, the Iberian wars had taken on the quality of a crusade, at least in the eyes of the papacy and the foreign combatants. It was only logical that in 1121 the arms bearers in Spain were explicitly assured identical indulgences to those of the crusaders in the Holy Land, and at the First Lateran Council of 1123, regulations were applied to those who took the cross to go to either Jerusalem or to Spain. In the Iberian Peninsula, too, the first crusade bull was issued in order to recruit new contingents. Almost at the same time as the establishment of the military orders in Outremer, military confraternities were founded in Aragon (Bel-

chite, Monreal), which combined a form of life under monastic rules with warfare against the Muslims. Thus one can observe mutual influences between the Levant and the Iberian Peninsula. Both were seen as crusading areas.

Literary texts also contributed to fashioning and promoting the idea of Reconquista as crusade. Twelfth-century works like the *Chanson de Roland*, the *Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad*, and the so-called Pseudo-Turpin (*Historia Karoli Magni et Rotolandi*) represented the eighth-century Iberian campaign of the Emperor Charlemagne as a crusade, and a series of chansons de geste (epic poems) praised the feats of the Christians in *Hispania*. Only a few Hispanic sources, however, point to an authentic crusading ideal within the Iberian Christian population. This is hardly surprising: the same also applies to the inhabitants of Outremer after the establishment of the crusader kingdoms. For the local Christians, the struggle acquired the character of border warfare, marked by short incursions and raids. The Reconquista's domestic dimension was also the reason why Iberian Christian rulers apparently felt few reservations about concluding alliances with Muslims against co-religionists or treating the Muslim inhabitants of conquered towns honorably. Christian mercenaries fought for Muslim rulers, and the Iberian frontier was in many senses more permeable than many later historians would assert. The inconsistencies between crusading ideologies, political interests, and economic considerations are recurring elements of the Reconquista, which often antagonized foreign crusaders. Nevertheless, during important campaigns in particular, crusade propaganda and crusading enthusiasm can even be detected in the Iberian sources.

Particularly substantial participation of foreign crusaders occurred in the years 1147–1148 as a result of the diverse elements that made up the Second Crusade. At the same time as an attack on the Muslim state of Damascus launched from the kingdom of Jerusalem and a campaign against the pagan Slavs (Wends) beyond the river Elbe, the Iberian kings undertook a series of offensives against the weakened Almoravid Empire. In Portugal, Lisbon was taken in October 1147; in the same month the Castilian king conquered the important port of Almería; and shortly afterward (December 1148 and October 1149), the Taifas of Tortosa and Lleida (Lérida) capitulated to the Aragonese-Catalan ruler Count Raymond Berengar IV (1131–1162). For these campaigns, the monarchs sought and received the assistance of foreign contingents: the conquest of Lisbon was achieved

thanks to the aid received by Afonso Henriques I of Portugal (1128–1185) from crusaders from England and the Rhineland on their way to the Holy Land. Some of the English crusaders participated in the conquest of Tortosa several months later; they were further supported by a Genoese fleet, which was crucial for the success of the enterprise. Certainly the campaigns of 1147–1148 represented the high point of foreign participation in the Reconquista.

During the following decades, the Iberian monarchs ensured that the influence of external forces diminished. This policy represents a substantial difference between the crusades in the Levant and those of the Iberian Peninsula: while the Franks of the East, few in number relative to the native population, actively sought and urgently required the assistance of their western co-religionists, the Iberian Christians did not depend on external support to a comparable degree. Foreign rulers did undertake crusading initiatives to Spain, including King Louis VII of France and King Henry II of England, who planned a joint expedition to the Iberian Peninsula in 1159. Nonnative crusaders also took part in several later campaigns (for example, in 1189 in Silves in Portugal, in 1212 leading to Las Navas de Tolosa, in 1217 in Alcácer do Sal in Portugal, and in 1309 at Gibraltar). But it is telling that the initiative of 1159 did not prosper, due to the fact that it was not coordinated with the native monarchs, who closely monitored later foreign activities. The many military orders founded during this period in the Iberian Peninsula (Calatrava, Alcántara, Santiago, et al.) helped keep alive the crusading ideal and undoubtedly included international elements; but they soon became strongly nationalized institutions and decidedly Iberian in scope. Thus the Reconquista's international resonance cannot be likened to that of the Eastern crusades, although this in no way contradicts the fact that the Iberian Peninsula was a crusading theater.

The Rise of the Almohads and the Reconquest of the Thirteenth to Fifteenth Centuries

By the late twelfth century, a new change of power had occurred in al-Andalus: the Almoravids were displaced by the Almohads (Arab. *al-Muwahhidūn*). These were Sunnī reformers like the Almoravids, but belonged to a different Berber tribe. They were particularly critical of the Almoravids, whom they accused of religious laxity and error. By 1148 Morocco was subjugated with extreme violence, and by 1172 al-Andalus had also been conquered. The Almohads

achieved their most important military success against the Christians on 9 July 1195 on the battlefield of Alarcos against the troops of Alfonso VIII of Castile (d. 1214). This defeat led the Christians to bury their internal disputes and take common action against the Muslims. They received strong support from Pope Innocent III, who promulgated crusade bulls in favor of the campaign and ordered both processions and prayers to be held far and wide. As a result, a substantial contingent of foreign (above all French) warriors enlarged the united armies led by the kings of Castile, Aragon, and Navarre. Although most of these crusaders withdrew their support when they were kept from plundering the castles that had capitulated, the local Christians triumphed over the Almohad army at Las Navas de Tolosa on 16 July 1212.

After this battle, the Muslims of al-Andalus were never again to achieve a major military success. For this reason Las Navas de Tolosa has been seen as a final turning point in the history of the Reconquista, even if this was hardly apparent to contemporaries. In fact, the expansion slowed down for a short period due to the untimely death of several of the chief political players. Also, Pope Innocent III attempted in 1213 to detach the Reconquista from the crusades to the East by breaking with the tradition of equating both struggles. But after a series of smaller campaigns of lesser importance, the expansion (once again fostered by papal indulgences) gathered momentum in the 1230s. Under King Ferdinand III, the Castilians conquered the most important Andalusian cities, among them Córdoba (1236) and Seville (1248). In the Aragonese-Catalan Crown, King James I the Conqueror (d. 1276) reaped similar successes: in 1228 the island of Mallorca was occupied; in 1238 the town of Valencia fell; and by 1235 and 1246, respectively, the Balearic Islands and the kingdom of Valencia had been subjugated. In Portugal the advance reached the coast of the Algarve by the year 1248. In barely twenty years, therefore, the realms of Portugal, Castile, and Aragon-Catalonia had nearly completed the conquest of al-Andalus. Only in the mountainous area around the Sierra Nevada in the extreme south could a Muslim lordship, the kingdom of Granada governed by the Naşrid dynasty, remain intact, albeit as a vassal state to the kingdom of Castile. For over two centuries it maintained its position between the Muslim Marīnids in the south and the Christians in the north.

In the first half of the fourteenth century, the Reconquista flared up once more: an Aragonese-Castilian army wrested

Gibraltar from the Marīnids in 1309, and on 30 October 1340 a Portuguese-Castilian force achieved an important victory at the river Salado. Foreign crusaders participated in both campaigns, thus acquiring crusading indulgences, and even in later decades, Christians repeatedly crossed the Pyrenees in order to fight the Muslims. But in the meantime these expeditions were strongly (though never exclusively) marked by chivalrous and courtly ideals. To many knights of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, honor and adventure counted just as much as the welfare of their souls. After the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile united under the joint rule of the Catholic Kings (Ferdinand II and Isabella I) in 1469, the kingdom of Granada, the last Muslim realm on Iberian soil, was subjugated in a ten-year war. With its fall on 2 January 1492 the Reconquista was ended. However, the idea lived on and served to justify the Spanish expansion to America.

Settlement and Interreligious Contacts

From a very early period, the Reconquista was accompanied by activities of colonization known as *re población* (resettlement). The majority of the settlers—Mozarabs from al-Andalus or co-religionists from the northern areas—came from the Iberian Peninsula, while foreigners, mostly Frenchmen, became established especially along the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela. In several waves, the Christians moved into the conquered areas in the course of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, attracted by liberal privileges included in the local law codes (Sp. *fueros*) conferred by the Christian monarchs. These zones were more or less densely inhabited by local Muslim and, to a far lesser degree, by Jewish communities. These newly subject populations were treated in very much the same way as in Outremer. In both areas, the treatment of the non-Christians was not tolerant in the modern sense but rather pragmatic. The frequently used Spanish term *convivencia* (that is, cohabitation, the peaceful coexistence of different religions in one territory) suggests a higher level of cooperation and exchange than the sources reveal. *Conveniencia* (convenience) better describes the interests that lay at the heart of religious coexistence both in Outremer and in the Iberian Peninsula. The Jews and even more so the Muslims under Christian rule (Mudéjars) were relegated to second-class status: they were required to pay a poll tax, were not permitted to carry weapons, and were obliged to dwell in special quarters. In Andalusia, for example, the subjected Muslims had to leave

the cities, and their houses were distributed among the victors in the so-called *repartimiento* (repartition). Still, the Muslims of the Iberian Peninsula were mostly allowed to follow their religion and were granted personal safety and limited self-rule. Thus Muslims and Jews appear as subjects with specific (though repeatedly ignored) rights. Just as in Outremer, mission played a subordinated role in Iberia; however, legal restrictions and constant Christian pressure did lead to gradual acculturation and syncretism. Despite this tendency toward absorption, considerable Jewish and Muslim communities still existed at the end of the Reconquista in the year 1492. They fell victim to the Catholic Monarchs' zeal for confessional unity. Those Jews who did not convert to Christianity were expelled in 1492, and the Mudéjars were obliged to accept baptism shortly later. In the year 1609, the Christian descendants of former Muslims, known as Moriscos, were expelled from Spain.

—Nikolas Jaspert

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Recovery of the Holy Land

The loss of Christian Jerusalem to Saladin (1187) and even more so, the capture of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) by the Mamlūks (1291) brought forth numerous projects intended to bring about the recovery of the Holy Land. These projects eventually gave rise to a new genre of crusade literature, namely memoranda or treatises "concerning the recovery of the Holy Land" (Lat. *de recuperatione Terrae Sanctae*).

Planning, often lasting years, had long been an essential preparation for crusades. However, it was only on the eve of the Second Council of Lyons (1274) that written plans or proposals appeared for the first time. This new development was a result of the bull of summons to the council, *Salvator noster* (31 March 1272), in which Pope Gregory X asked for suggestions as to how to keep the Holy Land once it was regained and restored. Some of the copies of the bull also contained a request for written advice concerning the planned crusade. The memoirs submitted to the council dealt little with the strategy of a crusade, but mainly with subjects such as its ideology, preaching, and financing. Those who did provide some advice on strategy, Humbert of Romans and Gilbert of Tournai, both supported the idea of small successive expeditions to the Holy Land, or "perpetual crusade" (Lat. *passagium particulare*), and opposed the traditional strategy of a large, general expedition (Lat. *passagium generale*). On the whole, crusade planning in this initial stage reflects a new strategy, whose main features were the creation of a permanent garrison in Outremer and the launching of small manageable expeditions, manned by professional soldiers, which would periodically succeed each other in the East.

Though the strategy advocated at the Second Council of Lyons marks the beginnings of a new period in crusade planning, it lacked some features that became popular after 1291. For example, the council made very little of European sea power as an important factor in any war against Islam. Gregory X was informed by experts such as William of Beaujeu, master of the Temple, and Humbert of Romans (and possibly Fidenzio of Padua) of the weakness of the Mamlūk sultanate at sea, but he envisaged a fleet of only 20 ships to be used solely for the crusade. It was therefore only after the fall of Acre, the last Christian possession in Palestine (1291), that the idea of an economic blockade of the Mamlūk ports was coupled with that of a special maritime police and of a *passagium particulare*. Also conspicuously absent from the crusade planning of Lyons II was the plan of the conquest of Egypt as the key to the reconquest of the Holy Land, even though this route had been pursued by crusades in the past. A written statement of this strategy appeared on the eve of the fall of Acre in *La Devisé des chemins de Babiloine*, a military memoir addressed to the West by the Order of the Hospital (1289/1291).

One of the unintended results of the loss of the Holy Land in 1291 and the vigorous crusade policy of Pope Nicholas VI (1288–1292) was the inauguration of a new epoch in crusade literature. His request for advice (in the absence of a general council) stimulated the creation of a new branch of literature, the *de recuperatione Terrae Sanctae* memoranda. This new genre had much in common with previous crusade treatises such as those of Humbert of Romans or Gilbert of Tournai. Yet there is a meaningful difference between them. The early treatises may be described as working papers submitted for conciliar discussions and therefore mainly concerned with such topics as the ideology, preaching, and organization of the crusade. The memoranda composed after 1291 were practical guidelines, and, as such, were largely concerned with general strategy as well as with detailed plans to be followed. They reflect a new attitude to the crusade. As their authors were usually familiar with the strategy of war, the memoirs tended to transform the crusade into a minutely planned expedition.

The authors of the *de recuperatione* treatises can be divided into two major groups. The first consisted of people who had spent some time in the Levant and thus were recognized as experts: they included Fidenzio of Padua, Charles II of Anjou, Marino Sanudo Torsello, Philippe de Mézières, Emmanuel Piloti, Bertrand de la Broquière, Giovanni

Dominelli, and various masters of the military orders. Their treatises are characterized by their secular, highly professional, and practical strategic concepts of the crusade. The second group consisted of Europeans less acquainted with the Levant, who were often (but not always) sincerely interested in the promotion of a crusade, and were often writing at the request of a pope or a monarch. They included Ramon Llull, Pierre Dubois, William of Nogaret, Galvano of Levanto, William Durant, and William le Maire. Their treatises are more theoretical and pay more attention to the financial and European aspects of the crusade. As most of the authors in this group were churchmen, they gave special attention to the religious and sometimes missionary issues.

Three crusade plans written during the pontificate of Nicholas IV inaugurated the new trend in crusade planning and expressed the main features of crusade planning after 1291. Composed by the Franciscan Fidenzio of Padua, Ramon Llull, and Charles II of Anjou, king of Naples, they envisaged that Jerusalem would be won on the battlefields of Egypt, and thus returned to the thirteenth-century tradition. Whether they favored land or sea routes, none suggested a direct attack on the Holy Land, but proposed the establishment of bases from which a final attack should be launched after a blockade of Egypt. It was Christendom's naval power and its supremacy on the seas that would assure this victory.

Pope Clement V (1305–1314) announced his intention to organize a crusade in the encyclical that proclaimed his coronation. This announcement produced a number of treatises during his pontificate. With the exception of that of James of Molay, master of the Temple, they all focused on a maritime blockade of Egypt. The most influential was one formulated in the East (between September 1306 and summer 1307), possibly by Fulk of Villaret, master of the Hospital. It provided the plan of action for a papal-Hospitalier *passagium particulare*. Proclaimed on 12 August 1308, this *passagium* was seen by Clement V as intended to prepare, over a period of five years, the way for a general crusade by defending Cyprus and Cilicia and by preventing illegal commerce with the Muslims through a maritime blockade of Egypt. The expedition, consisting of 1,000 knights, 4,000 foot soldiers, and 40 galleys, was to depart on 24 June 1309. However, the project was only partly realized due to a lack of ships and funds. When it departed in the spring of 1310 it consisted only of some 26 galleys, 200–300 knights, and 3,000 foot soldiers. It assisted local Hospitallers

in completing the conquest of Rhodes (mod. Rodos, Greece) and some of the adjacent islands, but failed to achieve its main aim: to stop illegal trade with the Mamlūk sultanate by means of a maritime blockade; its effect, therefore, on the military and economic standing of the Mamlūks was negligible. Another crusade that seems to have been organized according to a written plan was that of King Peter I of Cyprus, which culminated in the temporary capture of Alexandria (1365).

By 1336 the common features of crusade planning were the establishment of a general peace in Europe, the reform or unification of the military orders, an alliance with the Mongols, and the blockade of Egypt by forces of a *passagium particulare* as a necessary prologue to what was to become the grand finale—the general crusade. The years 1290–1336 were the golden age of the literary genre of the *de recuperatione Terrae Sanctae*. Its decline thereafter can be explained mainly as a result of the Hundred Years' War. However, new ideas still appeared. The contribution of Philippe de Mézières to crusade planning in his *Songe du vieil Pèlerin* (1389) was the conception of a new order of chivalry that should supersede all others and if possible incorporate them. In his opinion, the older orders had failed to accomplish their chief aim, the recovery of the Holy Land. In order to eliminate their vices, a new order was to be founded. It was to be an example of perfection, so that all might purify their actions from vices and shape their lives on its model. The new order was intended not only for the recovery of the Holy Land, but also its retention in Christian hands. It had to include all the knights and men-at-arms of Christendom in one large and holy fellowship. It was intended first of all to purify the West from all the evils that prevailed in it. This having been achieved, the new body would proceed to a preparatory campaign, which corresponds to the *passagium parvum* or *passagium particulare* suggested by other crusade planners. Then the *passagium generale* would follow, under the leadership of the kings of England and France, with every assurance of success in the conquest of the Holy Land.

The disastrous Crusade of Nikopolis (1396) marked the end of the crusades as an organized movement of Christendom against Islam for the deliverance of the Holy Land. In the tumult of new movements and a modern age, by the end of the fifteenth century the crusade for the salvation of the Holy Land sank into oblivion. Now and again projects to revive the holy war against the Ottoman Turks did emerge.

In 1515 Pope Leo X, King Francis I of France, and Emperor Maximilian I discussed a crusade, and Francis expressed his wish to lead a campaign for the reconquest of the Holy Land. Yet during the sixteenth century Western Christendom was so completely absorbed in the Reformation that the issue of the crusade was largely abandoned.

—Sylvia Schein

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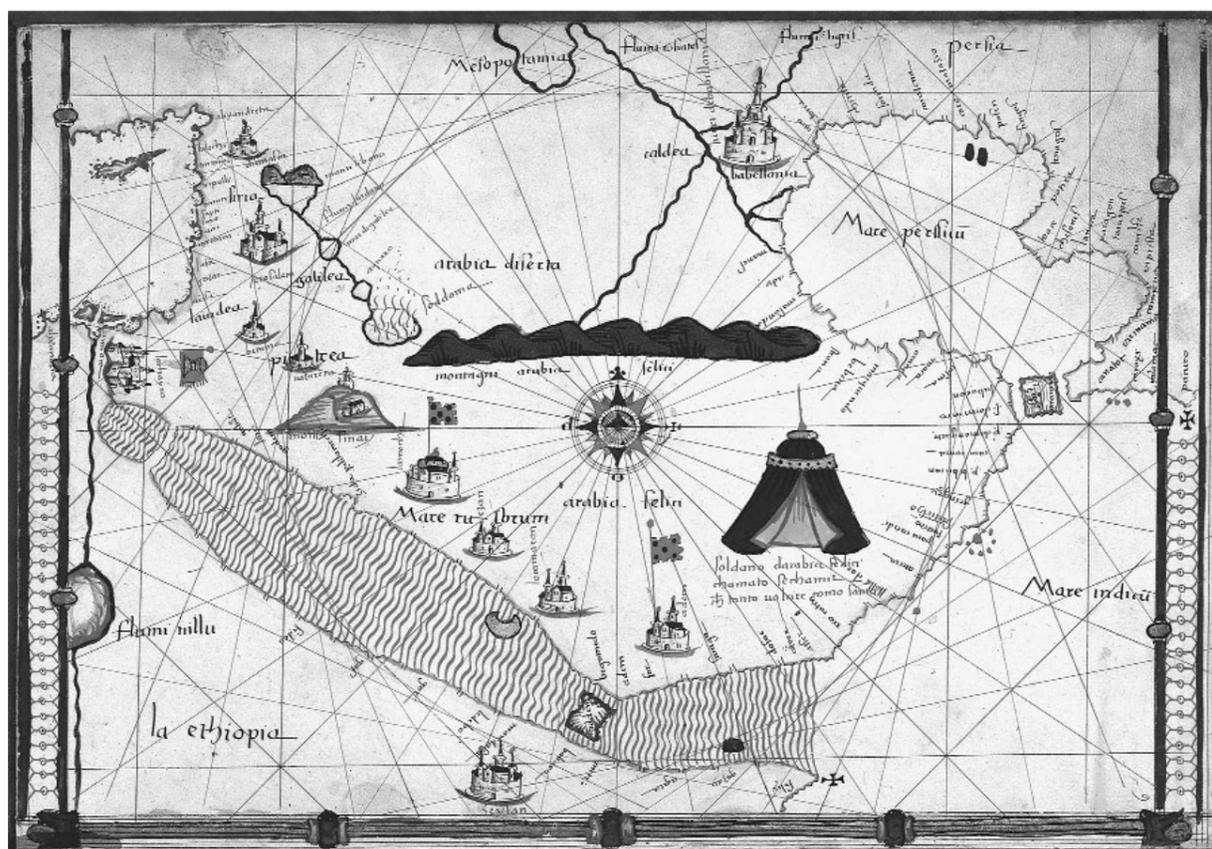
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Red Sea

During the period of the crusades, the Red Sea was a major artery for commerce and pilgrimage in the Islamic world, linking Egypt and North Africa with Arabia, East Africa, India, and the East Indies.

The Red Sea was a difficult route for navigation: classical geographers and travelers mention its erratic winds, currents, and hazards, while Muslim sources comment on the difficulties encountered in negotiating shallow waters, as well as the numerous rocks, coral reefs, and islands. Navigation from north to south was safest, and pilots would usually sail close to the shore and anchor at night. Sailing up the

Red Sea



Map of the Red Sea, by Jacopo Russo, fifteenth century. (Alinari/Art Resource)

Red Sea against the prevailing wind was difficult, and because of this and irregular currents, ships from India and Africa rarely sailed to the northern end of the sea, but generally stopped at Jeddah in the Hijaz (western Arabia) and transshipped their goods on smaller local vessels for transport to the smaller ports on the Egyptian and Arabian coasts. As the port for Mecca, Jeddah also received considerable pilgrim traffic. The main Arab port town in the medieval period was 'Aydhāb on the western shore, which had an ideal position as a trade and pilgrimage center as it was located opposite Jeddah. 'Aydhāb was around 400 kilometers (250 mi.) (roughly 17–20 days' journey) from Qūš on the Nile, from where merchandise was transported by boat or pack animals to Lower Egypt. The port of Alexandria was the main point of contact with European Christian (mostly Italian) merchants, although much merchandise from the East (which included spices, textiles, and ceramics) also came by

land to ports in the Levant such as Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon), and later, Ayas (mod. Yumurtalık, Turkey).

The first encounter of the Franks of Outremer with the Red Sea occurred in 1116 when King Baldwin I of Jerusalem led an expedition south as far as the head of the Gulf of 'Aqaba. The Franks established full control of this area by the second half of the twelfth century, fortifying the town of Aila and the nearby Ile de Graye (Pharaoh's Island). In 1161 it became part of the Frankish lordship of Transjordan, but was retaken by Saladin in 1170. The Gulf of 'Aqaba may have been used by some coastal shipping and fishing vessels, but it had no large-scale trade; the purpose of the Frankish occupation was to control the road, used by traders and pilgrims, that went from Egypt through Sinai to the Hijaz. However, in late 1182 the lord of Transjordan, Reynald of Châtillon, had 5 prefabricated ships carried overland by camel from

Kerak (mod. Karak, Jordan) and assembled and launched in the gulf. In December 1182, 2 ships blockaded the Ile de Graye, while the others sailed south as far as 'Aydhāb, which they sacked, after having captured or destroyed 16 Muslim merchant ships, before crossing to the eastern shore.

This disruption to trade and pilgrimage unleashed panic in the Muslim world, which feared attacks on the holy cities of Medina and Mecca. As no naval forces were maintained by the Muslims in the Red Sea at that time, Saladin's brother al-'Ādil had a fleet of warships transported overland from Egypt, which broke the blockade of the Ile de Graye and hunted down the southern flotilla. The Franks, abandoning their ships and retreating inland, were defeated after a pursuit of five days (February 1183); Saladin had all prisoners executed in order to obliterate the Franks' knowledge of the sea's routes and navigation. Thereafter the Red Sea remained closed to Christian shipping until the appearance in the early sixteenth century of the Portuguese, who had reached the area via the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean.

—Dionisius A. Agius and Alan V. Murray

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Relics: Constantinople

The extensive collection of relics in the city of Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) when it was the capital of the Byzantine Empire made it a premier pilgrimage site, but in 1204 and shortly thereafter many of these sacred items were carried off as booty by the army of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204).

Constantinople's relic wealth was well known in the West, as is witnessed by the twelfth-century French romantic epic *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne à Jerusalem et à Constantinople*, but there is no evidence to support the thesis that the cru-

saders decided to assault the city to gain its relics. Once they had secured the city, however, soldiers and clerics alike participated in widespread despoliation of Byzantium's churches.

The pillagers included Robert of Clari, who provides a wide-eyed account of Constantinople's relics in his chronicle *La Conquête de Constantinople*. Robert claims that in March 1204, when the crusaders realized that they would have to take the city again (this time for themselves), they swore upon relics that they would not break into any church or monastery. Abundant evidence makes it clear that these oaths proved ineffective in staying the hands of many crusaders from looting relics. Robert himself donated to the monastery of Corbie a crystal cross reliquary taken from Constantinople.

Robert's theft of relics was minor compared to that of the crusade's highest-ranking clerics. The booty of the crusade's chief prelate, Nivelon, bishop of Soissons, included the heads of seven saints (John the Baptist; the apostles Thomas, Thaddeus, and James; and saints Stephen, Blasius, and Dionysius the Areopagite) and the crown of St. Mark's head. Not to be outdone, Conrad, bishop of Halberstadt, collected a piece of the skull of St. John the Baptist and the head of James, the brother of Jesus, as well as major pieces of the apostles Peter, Paul, Andrew, Simon, Philip, and Barnabas. A portion of the head of John the Baptist also found its way into the hands of Doge Enrico Dandolo, who donated it to the church of St. Mark in Venice.

Although proud of their treasures, few of the pious thieves admitted their larceny. A Greek source charged Bishop Conrad with stealing relics, but at home Conrad publicly stated that all his relics were gifts from Emperor Alexios IV Angelos and various churchmen (presumably Byzantine ecclesiastics). Conceivably Conrad had received some relics from Alexios IV prior to January 1204 as a reward for his support of the young man's claim to the throne, but there is no reason to believe that Bishop Conrad did not participate in the general rush to collect purloined relics after the city fell to the crusaders. An exception to this cover-up was Martin of Pairis. Gunther of Pairis celebrated in prose and verse his abbot's pilfering of relics, justifying it on the grounds that the Greeks did not deserve to possess these sacred treasures because of their errors and sins. Martin had much to celebrate, inasmuch as he had brought back to his monastery numerous relics, including a trace of the Sacred Blood and a large piece of John the Baptist.

With all of this thievery, it is a wonder that Constantino-

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ple had any relics left after 1204, but it did, and they were still avidly sought. In 1238–1239 and 1241, the financially strapped Baldwin II, Latin emperor of Constantinople, sold the Crown of Thorns and assorted other relics associated with Christ's Passion to King Louis IX of France, who commissioned a royal chapel in Paris, the Gothic masterpiece known as Sainte-Chapelle, to house the treasures.

—Alfred J. Andrea

See also: Byzantine Empire

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Relics: The Holy Land

The discovery, acquisition, and veneration of sacred relics formed an integral part of the crusading experience in the Holy Land.

The importance of saints' remains and other holy objects for Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem and its environs dates back to at least the fourth century. This was a crucial period for the formation of a Christian sacred topography in Palestine, fostered by the ecclesiastical building program of Constantine I the Great, Roman emperor (312–337). Constantine's efforts included the construction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre over the site of Christ's tomb, where (according to an almost contemporary legend) his mother, Helena, had discovered nails from the Crucifixion and a portion of the True Cross. The appeal of the latter relic is vividly illustrated by the Iberian pilgrim Egeria, who around 380 reported that zealous worshipers kissing the cross were known to bite off slivers of it. By the late fourth and early fifth centuries, the veneration of such physical relics associated with biblical events and places, popularized by St. Jerome among others, had come to occupy a prominent place in the pilgrimage experience of Western Christians.

The subsequent disruptions of authority in the western

Roman Empire and the Muslim conquest of Palestine in the seventh century made long-distance pilgrimage to Jerusalem increasingly difficult. Local developments in the West, however, ensured that the cult of relics held a central position in Latin Christian piety. In particular, Carolingian rulers and prelates actively fostered and regulated the importance of saints' cults, mandating (among other efforts) the presence of a relic in every consecrated altar. With the decline of Carolingian authority in the late ninth and tenth centuries, accompanied by invasions of Europe's frontiers by Vikings, Magyars, and Muslim Arabs, saints' shrines emerged as powerful centers of local authority, bringing prestige, protection, and oblations to the religious institutions housing them, as well as healing miracles and other forms of intercession to their pilgrim devotees.

The brisk trade in holy remains that developed during the early Middle Ages, particularly between northern Europe and Rome, testifies to the religious, social, and economic significance that relics held among both the laity and the clergy. Nor were the relics of the Holy Land and other Eastern regions with a connection to the Bible or the age of the primitive church completely lost from view. Despite the difficulties, Western pilgrims continued to venerate the remains of saints and other holy objects at various sites in and around Jerusalem, as seen in the seventh-century pilgrimage account of the English traveler Arculf. In addition, pious travelers were more than willing to translate Eastern relics to new homes in the West, where they were seen as being safer from defilement by Muslims. The theft of St. Mark's remains from Alexandria and their removal to Venice in the year 827 is a well-known example of this phenomenon. Intensified European involvement in the Mediterranean region in the eleventh century, including mass pilgrimages to Jerusalem, undoubtedly encouraged a heightened sensitivity among Western Christians to the significance of the East and the Holy Land in particular as sources of relics. The increasing commercial activity of Italian cities in the Mediterranean also provided new opportunities for the westward translation of Eastern relics, such as the remains of St. Nicholas, which were translated from Myra (mod. Demre, Turkey) in Asia Minor to Bari in Apulia in 1087.

As pilgrims, the participants in the First Crusade (1096–1099) had a natural interest in holy relics. There are indications that contemporary Latins conceived of the entire Holy Land itself as a relic, imbued with sanctity by the

blood of Christ and the remains of other biblical figures. Liberating this holiest of relics from the hands of the unbelievers quickly became a central theme of the crusading endeavor, particularly with regard to the Holy Sepulchre, the physical space where the central moment of Christian salvation was enacted. En route to Jerusalem, the crusaders would have had a striking preview of the Holy Land's sacred treasures when they passed through Constantinople (mod. Istanbul, Turkey), where such relics had been gathered for centuries.

As the crusading armies progressed through Anatolia and Syria, they soon obtained relics of their own that were associated with Eastern saints or the biblical past. These included the Holy Lance, discovered at Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) on 14 June 1098, but there were a number of other, lesser relics acquired by pious Westerners during that march to Jerusalem, including relics of saints George, Cyprian, John Chrysostom, and Thecla. The capture of Jerusalem on 15 July 1099 was followed by another famous discovery: a relic of the True Cross uncovered in or near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Contemporary Latin historians were clear that the discovery of objects like the Holy Lance and the True Cross was a sign of God's favor toward the crusading armies, who had recovered the ultimate relic, the Holy Land, against overwhelming odds.

Following the First Crusade, crusaders returned home to Western Europe with relics in their possession, often the only objects of wealth accrued on their journey, which they bestowed upon local churches and monastic houses. Subsequent crusades and the continued Western presence in Palestine for much of the twelfth century meant that there were ample opportunities for crusaders, other pilgrims, and the new Latin inhabitants of the Holy Land to acquire additional relics. In some cases, this was a matter of discovering previously unknown remains, such as the relics of the biblical patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob unearthed by a priory of Latin canons at Hebron in 1119. In other cases, such sacred treasures were stolen or otherwise acquired from Eastern Christian communities in the Holy Land or surrounding regions.

Regardless of the exact circumstances, ecclesiastical authors commemorating the discovery of Eastern relics or their transfer to the West represented these events as a clear sign of the Lord's favor toward Latin Christians, who had proven themselves more worthy of the saints' holy patronage than non-Latin Christians. Describing the acqui-

sition of relics in this manner provided Western hagiographers with an opportunity to connect not only their respective communities but all of Latin Christendom with the narrative of sacred history, starting with the Bible or the days of the early church and leading down to the period of the crusades. This argument worked in both directions, however, as demonstrated by the Latin explanation for the defeat at the Horns of Hattin on 4 July 1187. This involved the loss of the church of Jerusalem's relic of the True Cross and was followed by the loss of the city of Jerusalem itself: Western churchmen unanimously attributed this shocking turn of events to the sins and shortcomings of their own people.

With the rise of Marian and Eucharistic devotion in the central and later Middle Ages, the cult of relics by no means vanished, but its centrality waned, as did the ecclesiastical celebration of relics brought from the Holy Land and other Eastern regions. During this same period, particularly during and after the thirteenth century, crusading in the eastern Mediterranean shifted toward different theaters of action than the Holy Land proper. At the same time Christian wars against Islam were increasingly validated by recourse to theories of just war, including the argument that Palestine, as a former possession of the Roman Empire, had been illicitly seized by the Muslims and was legally part of Christendom. Whatever the strategic realities and legal parsing, however, the recovery of Jerusalem as the ultimate Christian relic remained central to crusading ideology and propaganda.

—Brett Edward Whalen

See also: Pilgrimage

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Reval

Reval (mod. Tallinn, Estonia) was the second-largest town in medieval Livonia after Riga. The name Revalia (Est. *Rävala*) originally designated the surrounding province.

At the beginning of the Baltic Crusades, the castle hill in Reval was an Estonian fortification adjoining a small port. In 1219 Danish crusaders, led by King Valdemar II, landed in Reval and started to build a castle; the modern Estonian name of the town probably derives from *Taani linn*, "the fortress or town of the Danes." On 15 June that year the Danes defeated a large Estonian army and subjected the surrounding country. The Order of the Sword Brethren captured Reval in 1227 but was forced to return it to Denmark in 1238 according to the Treaty of Stensby.

A town grew up at the foot of the castle hill, its development stimulated by Danish royal privileges. By the end of the thirteenth century, it had fortifications (which were later extended), two parish churches, a Dominican friary, and a Cistercian nunnery. The town was established as a corporation with an independent jurisdiction and was separate from the castle hill, which contained the castle of the bishops and the castle of the royal governor.

In 1346 Reval was sold together with the rest of North Estonia to the Teutonic Order. The royal castle was converted into a commandery of the order. German merchants and artisans dominated the legal and cultural life of the town. Although subject to the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order, Reval was administered by a town council according to the Lübeck town law; its members normally belonged to the Great Guild of merchants. The local Estonian inhabitants, who constituted up to half of the population, participated actively in the economic life of the town and were prominent in some of the crafts and trades, such as stonebreaking and transport. The wealth of Reval derived from the great trade between Novgorod and the West. From the 1280s Reval belonged to the Hanseatic League, which dominated this

commerce, and was able to prevent its eastern rival, Narva, from joining the league.

From the end of the fifteenth century Reval encountered many problems. The station of the German merchants in Novgorod was closed after its subjection by Muscovy in 1494, which adversely affected the Revalian economy. There were tensions with the nobility of Harria and Vironia over the migration of peasants to the town and increasing ethnic and social conflict between German and non-German segments of the urban population. As in other Hanseatic towns, the council expanded its power, suppressing the ambitions of the craft guilds to participate in government. In the 1520s the Reformation reached Reval; the town became Lutheran, but the castle district belonging to the bishop of Reval remained Roman Catholic until 1561. In that year, the town of Reval and the nobility of northern Estonia subjected themselves to Swedish rule.

—Juhan Kreem

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Revel, Hugh*See* Hugh Revel**Reynald of Châtillon (d. 1187)**

Prince of Antioch (1153–1163) and later lord of Transjordan and Hebron (1177–1187).

A younger son of Hervé II of Donzy, Reynald took the cross before 1153, when he participated in the successful siege of Muslim Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel). Later that year he married Constance, widow of Prince Raymond of Antioch, and became ruler of the principality. In 1155, acting on behalf of the Byzantine emperor Manuel I, Reynald attacked the Armenian prince T'oros, who had annexed Byzantine Cilicia. He recovered castles in the Amanus Mountains, but when Manuel failed to defray the costs of the campaign, gave them to the Knights Templar and joined with T'oros in an attack on the Byzantine island of Cyprus. When Manuel campaigned in northern Syria in 1158–1159, he required Reynald to perform a public ritual penance and to do homage to him, but Manuel's return to Constantinople meant that in practice Reynald's autonomy was not materially affected by this act.

In 1160 or 1161 Reynald was captured by the forces of Nūr al-Dīn and imprisoned at Aleppo for over fifteen years. During this time his wife died and his stepson Bohemund III attained his majority and became prince of Antioch (1163). After Nūr al-Dīn's death (1174), the regents for his son, seeking a Frankish alliance against Saladin, released Reynald along with Joscelin III of Edessa. Reynald, now a landless man (although retaining the courtesy title of prince), went to Jerusalem, where Joscelin's nephew, Baldwin IV, was king. Sent by Baldwin to Constantinople to renew a treaty against Egypt, Reynald was well received because he had become part of Manuel's extended kin group through the emperor's marriage to Reynald's stepdaughter, Mary of Antioch (1161). Manuel renewed the treaty with Jerusalem and almost certainly paid Reynald's ransom of 120,000 dinars.

Because of the success of this mission, Baldwin IV subsequently placed great confidence in Reynald; he arranged his marriage to Stephanie of Milly, widowed heiress of Transjordan (1176), and invested him with the lordship of Hebron, thus placing him in command of the southeastern defenses of the kingdom. Baldwin appointed Reynald his executive regent for a brief time while he was seriously ill in the summer of 1177, and Reynald was in command of the

Frankish host at the battle on Mont Gisard when Saladin's invading army was decisively defeated on 25 November 1177. In 1180 Baldwin IV betrothed his younger sister, Isabella, to Reynald's stepson, Humphrey IV of Toron, and appointed Reynald as her guardian.

In 1180 Saladin made a two-year truce with Baldwin IV, but Reynald broke it by attacking caravans on the desert route from Damascus to Mecca. This was not an act of brigandage, but a successful attempt to prevent Saladin's forces from seizing Aleppo by diverting their attention to Transjordan. In 1182 Saladin launched a major attack on the Zangids in Iraq, who allied with the Franks of Jerusalem. In the winter of 1182–1183, Reynald launched a small war fleet in the Red Sea with the objective of capturing Aila and cutting Saladin's lines of communication between Egypt and Damascus. Part of the fleet attacked Arab merchant shipping, probably as a means of recouping the costs of the expedition. This initiative failed because of the speed with which al-'Ādil, governor of Egypt, transferred a fleet from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea. Reynald's forces were destroyed, though he evaded capture. Thereafter Saladin viewed Reynald as his most dangerous opponent. He built fortresses at Qal'at Guindi in the Sinai in 1182 and at Ajlun in 1184–1185 to restrict Reynald's movements, and twice unsuccessfully besieged Reynald's chief fortress of Kerak (1183, 1184).

During the succession crisis of 1186, Reynald supported Baldwin IV's elder sister, Sibyl, and her husband Guy of Lusignan (against his personal interests, since the alternative candidates were the princess Isabella and her husband, Reynald's stepson Humphrey). Saladin's official reason for invading the kingdom in 1187 was that Reynald had attacked one of his caravans during a truce, but that was merely the pretext for a war that had become inevitable. Reynald fought bravely at the battle of Hattin but was taken prisoner and had the doubtful distinction of being executed personally by Saladin, having first been offered and refused a reprieve if he would renounce the Christian faith.

—Bernard Hamilton

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Reyse

A medieval German term (pl. *reysen*) that came to acquire the specialist meaning of a crusading campaign fought by the Teutonic Order and its Western allies in the Baltic region.

The Middle High German word written as *reyse*, *reysa*, *reise*, *reze*, and variants (mod. German *Reise*) covered a range of meanings, including "journey," "war," and "campaign." In the context of the crusades, it was used for the campaigns fought on a regular basis by the Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia against its pagan (and, in some cases, Russian Orthodox) enemies during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. As a result of international participation in the *reysen*, the term was also taken up by authors writing in languages other than German, such as Jean Froissart and Geoffrey Chaucer, and it also figures in some of the Latin writings of the order.

After the subjugation of Prussia and Livonia (by around 1290), the Teutonic Order concentrated on the struggle against the pagan Lithuanians. From 1304 onward, crusaders from the Western countries traveled to Prussia to take part in these campaigns, after over two decades that had seen very few "guests," as the order called the visiting knights. Whereas the earlier wars of the order had been supported only by nobles from north and central Europe (primarily Scandinavia and Germany), the campaigns of the fourteenth century witnessed an ever growing influx of guests from western and southern Europe (England, Scotland, the Low Countries, France, Spain, and Italy), in addition to the traditional areas. In 1328 John of Luxembourg, king of Bohemia (1311–1346), came to Prussia for the first time and inspired others by his example. In the same year, the first knights

from the Low Countries and England visited Prussia, followed by Frenchmen (1335 at the latest) and Scots (from 1356). From 1343 there is occasional evidence for Italian knights in Prussia, and some Spanish guests arrived during the second half of the fourteenth century. Participation in a *reyse* became fashionable, with many guests going twice or sometimes even more. Several families, such as the Beauchamp family (earls of Warwick), established a tradition of going on a *reyse*. The rush diminished after the Crusade of Nikopolis (1396), but some knightly guests were still coming to Prussia until 1422/1423.

Reysen took place on an annual basis, in both winter and summer. They usually started around feast days of the Virgin Mary, the order's patroness. The *winter-reyse* began on the Feast of the Purification of Mary (2 February); the *sommer-reyse* began either on the Feast of the Assumption (15 August) or the Nativity of the Virgin (8 September). The winter campaign enjoyed great popularity for those seeking experience of warfare because during that season fighting was rare elsewhere in Europe. *Reysen* were announced by the grand master, but the command on campaign often lay with the order's marshal or minor commanders acting on the marshal's behalf. The guests chose their own subcommander. Crusader armies also included native Prussians and other christianized peoples acting as auxiliaries and scouts.

In character, the *reyse* was usually a raiding expedition that aimed at the devastation of the enemy's lands and the seizure of livestock and prisoners, but there were also sieges and campaigns to construct or reinforce castles, or conversely to destroy enemy strongholds. Pitched battles were an exception. The extent of the wilderness areas that lay between the territory of the order and its enemies meant that armies might have to journey over 160 kilometers (100 mi.) in order to reach worthwhile targets; for the same reason, they would carry up to a month's supplies with them.

The *reysen* proved to be highly attractive for the western European nobility. Combatants were often knighted on campaign, and their participation increased their knightly honor and fame. In the cathedral of Königsberg (mod. Kaliningrad, Russia), heraldic wall paintings attested the visits of many a knight. From the middle of the fourteenth century, the order added luster to the chivalrous character of the war by establishing its *Ehrentisch* ("table of honor") as a means of honoring those knights who had distinguished themselves in wars against the infidel.

The *reyse* showed distinct characteristics of a crusade. The

war was described as a godly enterprise; participants came in fulfillment of vows, they were regarded as “pilgrims” (Lat. *peregrini*), and they received a plenary indulgence. This indulgence was derived from various crusade indulgences issued by the popes in favor of the order during the thirteenth century. There were, however, no additional papal crusade bulls in the fourteenth century. For this reason it has been argued that these campaigns “represented something new in crusading history . . . : a sort of ‘ongoing’ crusade” [Housley, *The Later Crusades*, p. 341]. Rather than having started because of a papal appeal, the *reyse* was entirely organized by the Teutonic Order, making use of a treasury of ancient crusade privileges.

—Axel Ehlers

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City of Rhodes. (Pixel That)

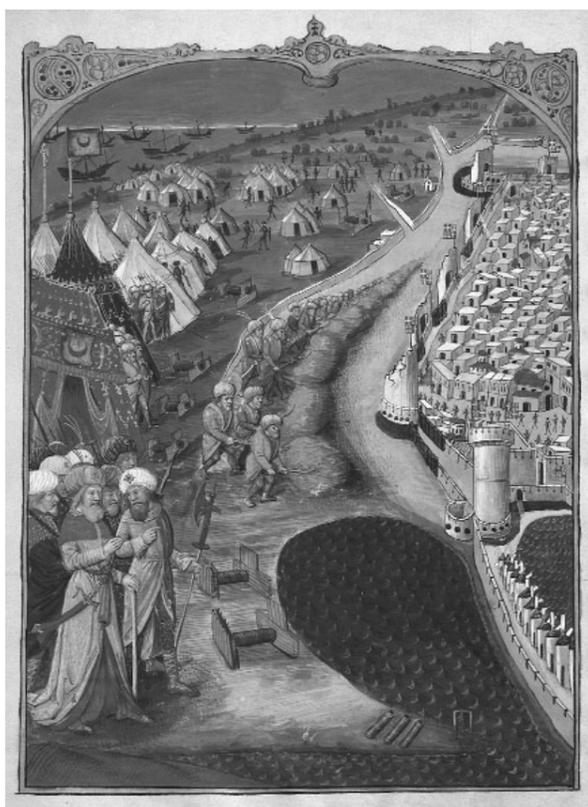
Rhodes

The island of Rhodes (mod. Rodos, Greece) is the largest of the Dodecanese islands, strategically placed at the interface of the Aegean and Mediterranean seas. The town of the same name at the northeastern tip of the island is the largest settlement and the island’s capital.

The island of Rhodes has been of considerable economic and naval importance since antiquity and proved to be more so as crusading interest moved from the Holy Land and Egypt to Asia Minor and the Aegean Sea; indeed, in 1316 the Catalan writer Ramon Llull recognized the importance of Rhodes as a crusading base. Before that the islanders took an active part in provisioning the First Crusade (1096–1099), and during the Third Crusade (1189–1192) both Richard I of England (1189) and Philip II of France (1192) stopped at Rhodes on their way, respectively, to and from the Holy Land. After the conquest of Constantinople by the forces of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), Rhodes nominally belonged to the empire of Nicaea, but in practice the island was ruled by the Gabalas family, which took a free hand in the collection of revenue and the conduct of affairs.

Emperor John III Vatatzes attempted to exert Nicaean control over the island by sending expeditions there in 1233 and 1244, but it was no easy task, since in 1234 Leo Gabalas, ruler of Rhodes (1204–1240), signed a treaty with the Venetians directed against Nicaea. Leo was able to pass some control of the island to his brother John, who was last recorded in 1249, when Nicaean control may be assumed to have been complete.

In 1278 the lordship of Nafio and Rhodes was granted to the Genoese freebooter Giovanni de lo Covo, and once again the island came under the control of elements only nominally acknowledging Byzantine overlordship. In an agreement dated 27 May 1306, the Genoese lord of the island, Vignolo de’ Vignoli, sold Rhodes, Kos, and Leros to the Order of the Hospital, reserving for himself one-third of the revenues from Kos and Leros and the *casale* (village) of Lardos on Rhodes. The order was seeking a base to replace its former headquarters in Acre (mod. ‘Akko, Israel), lost to the Muslims in 1291, whereas Vignolo may have felt unable to exploit his lordships in the face of Venetian and Turkish



The Grand Vizier of Mehmed II conducting Turkish operations during the Siege of Rhodes (1480–1481). From *Histoire du Siege de Rhodes (Descriptio Obsidionis Rhodiae urbis)*, by Guillaume Caoursin, c. 1483–1490. Ms.lat. 6067, f.50 v., Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France. (Snark/Art Resource)

pressure. Certainly Rhodes had to be conquered by the Hospitallers, which suggests that Vignolo's control was limited.

On 23 June 1306, the Hospitaller grand master, Fulk of Villaret, left Limassol in Cyprus to conquer Rhodes with a small fleet of 2 galleys and 4 transports carrying 35 knights and 500 foot soldiers. The chronology of the conquest is unclear. Most of the island may have been in the hands of the Hospitallers by 1306, with the exception of Philerimos, which remained in Byzantine hands until 1310, when a crusading force arrived to assist the Hospitallers in their conquest. By 1320 the islands of Kos, Leros, Karpathos, and Kassos were conquered, the last two taken from the Venetians.

Rhodes became an entrepôt for trade with the West and the Turkish emirates of southwestern Anatolia, activities that the campaigns of the Hospitallers did not greatly inconvenience. Merchants from Florence, Narbonne, and Montpellier, transferring revenues from the European commanderies of the order to its Rhodian headquarters, provided banking facilities. Particularly close contact was maintained with Cyprus, Crete, and Sicily; merchants from France, Italy, and Spain were prominent in the commerce of the island, particularly in the export of sugar, which was refined in factories such as that excavated at Haraki and which was second in quality only to that of Cyprus.

The Hospitallers fortified and adorned the city of Rhodes with miles of walls and many monuments, such as the old and new hospitals and the Street of the Knights. The city became the center of the island, both for exporting its products and for distributing goods to the rest of the island. Relations with the indigenous Greek population seem to have been cordial and cooperative. It is generally assumed that in the Rhodian countryside Greeks were left very much to themselves; indeed, little is known of the landholding policies adopted by the Hospitallers. The fate of Vignolo's holding at Lardos is unknown.

Some of the coastal towers, such as those at Palati and Glyfada, bear armorial sculpture of the grand masters fixing both their dates and their builders, but other sites are built without dressed stones and have no armorial bearings, leaving open the questions of when they were erected and to whom they belonged. Many of the castles and coastal towers were built, refortified, or enlarged during the grand mastership of Peter of Aubusson (1476–1503). Plans drawn up in 1474 and revised in 1479 for places of refuge for the main centers of habitation in the island are a reflection of the growth and seriousness of Turkish raids on the island and the need to maintain the population base.

Raids turned to invasion with the first great siege of the city of Rhodes by the Ottomans (May–July 1480), for which we have a full and well-illustrated account by Guillaume Caoursin, vice-chancellor of the order. A further assault on Rhodes was prevented by the death of Sultan Mehmed II in 1481 and the disputed succession between Bayezid II and his brother Prince Cem (Djem), who fled to Rhodes in July 1482 and made a treaty with the grand master in return for protection. For his part, Bayezid II left the island unmolested as long as Cem was in Western hands. Cem died in 1495, leaving his family on the island, eventually to be executed in 1523.

Thereafter, Bayezid II was too preoccupied with other campaigns to concern himself with the capture of Rhodes. The respite thus gained was used to strengthen the fortifications of the city. The result, which is still visible today, incorporated the latest thinking in late medieval defense. The final Ottoman siege of Rhodes began on 28 July 1522, when a Turkish armada of 400 ships brought 200,000 troops, a large artillery train, and Sultan Süleyman I himself to the city. Despite being outnumbered almost thirty to one and decisively outgunned, the Hospitallers held out until the end of December and forced the sultan to offer terms that were eventually accepted. On 1 January 1523, the last grand master of Rhodes, Philippe de Villiers de l'Isle-Adam (1521–1534), the brethren of the order, and those Greek inhabitants who wished to go left the island for good.

The island remained in Turkish hands until 1911, when it passed to Italy. It became part of Greece in 1947.

—Peter Lock

See also: Hospital, Order of the; Ottoman Empire

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Richard I the Lionheart (1157–1199)

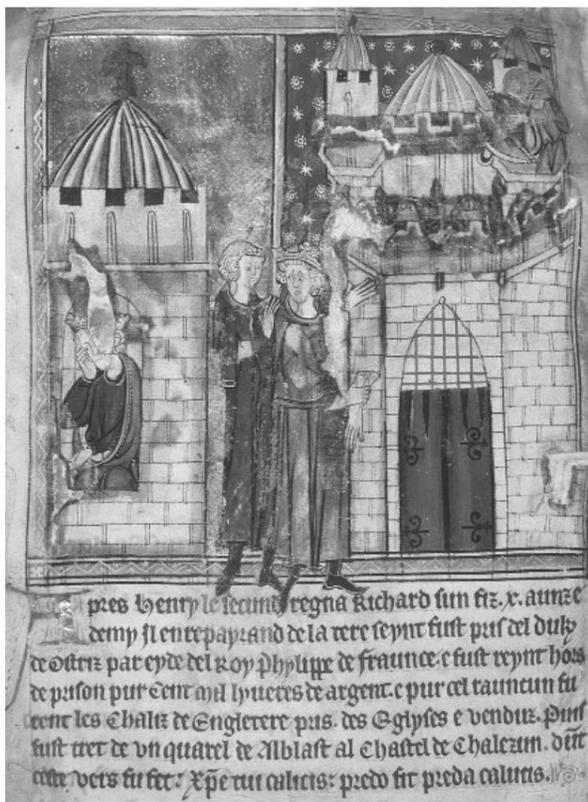
King of England (1189–1199) and one of three leaders of the Third Crusade (1189–1192).

Born on 8 September 1157, Richard was the second surviving son of Henry II, king of England, and Eleanor of Aquitaine. He joined the family rebellion against his father in 1173–1174 but thereafter governed Aquitaine on the king's behalf with the title of count of Poitou, winning a considerable reputation as military leader and determined ruler. When his elder brother, Henry "the Young King," died in 1183, Richard became the principal heir to England and the Angevin family's vast possessions in France. From then on, relations with both his father and the new king of France, Philip II, were tense. Richard was widely praised for being the first prince north of the Alps to take the cross in response to the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187. Yet by doing this without consulting his father, he exacerbated the political tensions, which meant that neither Richard nor the kings of France and England had actually left for the East by the time Henry II died (6 July 1189).

Installed as duke of Normandy on 20 July, then anointed king of England at Westminster on 3 September, Richard focused all his energies on the crusade. The religious obligation to recover the patrimony of Christ coincided with family duty to restore the kingdom of Jerusalem to his cousins, the junior branch of the Angevin family, and its king, Guy of Lusignan, who had been one of his own Poitevin subjects. Richard took over the treasure accumulated by his father, including the yield of the Saladin Tithe, but set out to increase the size of his war chest by all possible means. He reorganized the government of England, taking large sums from those who received the offices and privileges they bid for; this was standard practice, but the scale and speed of Richard's operations were unprecedented.

To his younger brother John, lord of Ireland, Richard gave great estates in England, while assigning the castles to ministers he trusted, first William de Longchamp and then Walter de Coutances. This did not prevent John from rebelling in 1193 while Richard was a captive, but probably nothing could have done so. Richard also took care to secure his frontiers. Conferences with William the Lion, king of the Scots, and Welsh princes were successfully concluded. Alone of all the major French princes, his old enemy Raymond V of Toulouse had not taken the cross, so to protect his southern dominions, Richard promised to marry Berengaria, daughter of King Sancho VI of Navarre. These negotiations had to

Richard I the Lionheart (1157–1199)



Two scenes from a life of Richard I of England, fourteenth century. On the left Richard is shown languishing in prison in Germany; on the right he is mortally wounded in the shoulder by a crossbowman at Chalus. (HIP/Art Resource)

be kept secret because Richard had been betrothed to Alice, King Philip's half-sister, since 1169. Humiliating Philip by discarding her now would have meant the end of the crusade before it started.

Richard and Philip finally left Vézelay on 4 July 1190, having agreed that they would share equally the gains made on crusade. Richard had arranged to rendezvous at Marseilles with the huge fleet that he had raised in England, Normandy, Brittany, and Aquitaine. When the fleet was delayed, he hired ships to send one contingent ahead to the siege of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) and made a new rendezvous at Messina in Sicily, where he arrived on 23 September. The customary winter closure of Mediterranean shipping lanes meant that he and Philip now had to stay there until the spring. While in Sicily, Richard secured the release of his sister Joanna,

who had been kept in close confinement by King Tancred since the death of her husband, William II (1189). However, Tancred withheld both her dowry and the legacy that William II had bequeathed as a crusade subsidy to Henry II, and that Richard now claimed as his.

When rioting broke out in Messina, Richard's troops took the city by force (4 October). Two days later, Tancred agreed to pay 20,000 ounces of gold in lieu of Joanna's dowry, plus a further 20,000 that Richard promised to settle on Tancred's daughter when she married his nephew Arthur of Brittany (d. 1203), who was now declared his heir presumptive. In return, Richard agreed that while in Sicily he would help Tancred against any invader, a provision directed against threats from Henry VI, Holy Roman Emperor. In March 1191, Berengaria, escorted by Richard's mother, Eleanor, arrived. Philip now had to release Richard from the betrothal to Alice, fearing that Richard would produce witnesses to testify that she had been his father's mistress. From now on, Philip's crusade was directed as much against Richard as against Saladin. He sailed from Messina a few hours before Berengaria arrived and, on reaching Acre, threw his weight behind Guy of Lusignan's bitter rival, Conrad of Montferrat.

On 10 April Richard's 200 ships left Messina. Some ships, including the one carrying Joanna and Berengaria, were blown off course and eventually anchored off Limassol on Cyprus. Isaac Doukas Komnenos, the self-proclaimed Greek emperor of Cyprus, plundered two wrecked ships and evidently intended to take Joanna and Berengaria captive. When the rest of the fleet arrived, Richard led a daring amphibious assault, capturing Limassol on 6 May. That night, he had the crusaders' horses disembarked, and at dawn the Cypriot army camp fell to a surprise attack. When peace talks broke down, Richard set about the conquest of the island. When he captured Isaac's daughter, the emperor surrendered. By 1 June Richard was master of the island. Whether or not the conquest of Cyprus had been planned (as seems likely) during the winter months in Messina, it was a strategic masterstroke, vital to the survival of Outremer.

Richard finally joined the Christian army besieging Acre on 8 June 1191 and at once opened negotiations with Saladin. Confronted by Richard's siege equipment and galleys, the exhausted Muslim defenders of Acre capitulated on 12 July. The crusaders massacred most of their prisoners on 20 August when Saladin did not keep to the agreed terms regarding ransoms for their release. Richard and Philip

divided the booty between themselves, to the exclusion of Leopold V, duke of Austria, and others. On 28 July the two kings adjudicated the competing claims to the kingdom, awarding it to Guy for his lifetime and thereafter to Conrad. However, Philip, repeatedly outshone by a king whose war chest had been replenished in Cyprus, left for France on 31 July, leaving his troops under the command of Hugh III, duke of Burgundy. In Leopold and Philip, Richard had made two enemies, and they returned to the West ahead of him.

The crusaders began their march to Jerusalem on 25 August. The pace was slow, but Saladin could not break their disciplined advance. On 7 September he risked battle at Arsuf; but Richard's tactical control brought victory when the crusaders were on the brink of defeat. On 10 September the crusaders reached Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel). They needed a rest, and Jaffa's walls, which Saladin had dismantled, had to be rebuilt. Richard was already thinking in terms of the thirteenth-century strategy that the keys of Jerusalem were to be found in Egypt. Nearly all the troops, however, were passionately in favor of the direct route. After rebuilding the castles on the pilgrims' road from Jaffa, the army reached Beit Nuba, 19 kilometers (12 mi.) from Jerusalem, soon after Christmas. But although the crusader war of attrition had forced Saladin to disband the bulk of his troops, he stayed in Jerusalem. The crusaders' own logistical problems meant that even if they managed to take the city, they did not have the numbers to occupy and defend it; many crusaders, having fulfilled their pilgrim vows, would at once go home. An army council decided to move on Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel), a step in the direction of Egypt that Hugh of Burgundy refused to take.

Richard entered Ascalon unopposed on 20 January 1192, but while rebuilding its walls, he was forced to return to Acre to deal with an attempted coup by Conrad of Montferrat. The coup made it clear that once Richard had gone, Guy would be no match for Conrad. In April 1192 Richard summoned a council, which offered the throne to Conrad and compensated Guy by selling him Cyprus for a down payment of 60,000 bezants. But Conrad was assassinated on 28 April. Inevitably Richard's enemies blamed him, an accusation lent plausibility by the marriage of Conrad's widow, Isabella, to Richard's nephew and ally Henry of Champagne (5 May). Yet Henry was also King Philip's nephew, well placed to reconcile the factions. On 22 May Richard captured Darum, an ideal base from which to disrupt the caravan route between Syria and Egypt.

Bowing to popular demand, Richard made another attempt on Jerusalem. By 29 June the entire crusader army was at Beit Nuba again. But once again, an army council, faced by reality, decided to withdraw and target Egypt instead. Duke Hugh left the army. Richard reopened negotiations with Saladin; he was at Acre when he was taken by surprise by the news that the Muslims had launched an attack on Jaffa. His galleys reached Jaffa just in time for him to lead an assault onto the beach and into the town. Four days later he beat off a dawn attack on his camp outside Jaffa in circumstances that humiliated Saladin and confirmed Richard's legendary status. Richard fell ill, but Saladin's troops were war-weary. A three-year truce was agreed on 2 September. Richard had to hand back Ascalon and Darum; Saladin granted Christian pilgrims free access to Jerusalem. Many crusaders took advantage of this facility, but not Richard. He was not well enough to set sail until 9 October 1192. He had failed to take Jerusalem, but the entire coast from Tyre (mod. Sôûr, Lebanon) to Jaffa was now in Christian hands, as was Cyprus. Considered as an administrative, political, and military exercise, Richard's crusade had been an astonishing success.

In December 1192 Richard was seized on his journey home by Leopold of Austria, who later handed him over to Emperor Henry VI. Richard's provisions for government during his absence stood up well to this unforeseeable turn of events. John's rebellion was contained and a huge king's ransom raised. Once the emperor had received 100,000 marks, and hostages for the amount (50,000 marks) still outstanding, Richard was freed (February 1194). But by then Philip had captured some important frontier castles in France; Richard devoted the remainder of his life to recovering them. This task, which involved building the great fortress of Château-Gaillard, was almost complete when he was fatally wounded at Chalus. He died on 6 April 1199 and was buried at Fontevraud.

To pay for his wars Richard made heavy financial demands on his subjects everywhere, not just in England. On crusade Richard was, in the words of a German chronicler, greater in wealth and resources than all other kings. In planning and organizing wars on the scale of the crusade or the recovery of his dominions in France, he was a cool and patient strategist, as much a master of sea power as of land forces. Friends and enemies alike testified to his individual prowess and valor; these qualities at times endangered his life, but they impressed enemy troops as well as his own. In

Richard of Cornwall (1209–1272)

his lifetime he was already known as *Cœur de Lion* (“Lionheart”). Understanding the value of this reputation, he preached what he practiced; the letters in which he inflated his own achievements were intended for wide circulation.

According to King Philip’s panegyrist, Guillaume le Breton, had Richard been more God-fearing and not fought against his lord, Philip, England would never have had a better king. The Arab chronicler Ibn al-Athīr judged him the most remarkable ruler of his time for courage, shrewdness, energy, and patience. His reputation as a crusader meant that he became a legend in his own lifetime and for many centuries was regarded as the greatest of all kings of England. But from the seventeenth century onward, that same reputation served to highlight his long absences from England and led to the view that he was woefully negligent of his kingdom’s welfare.

—John Gillingham

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Richard of Cornwall (1209–1272)

Leader of an English expedition to the Holy Land in 1240–1241 in the wake of that of Thibaud IV of Champagne; later titular king of the Romans (1257–1272).

The second son of King John of England, Richard was named after his illustrious crusading uncle, King Richard I, the Lionheart. He was created earl of Cornwall by his older brother, King Henry III, in 1227.

Richard’s crusade took place in the context of the politi-

cal situation in England, which had been disturbed by the revolt of Richard Marshal in 1233. Richard took the cross in 1236 alongside Gilbert Marshal, in order to seal a reconciliatory alliance with the Marshal family, also marrying Gilbert’s sister Eleanor. The crusade aimed to coincide with the end in 1239 of a ten-year truce with Egypt. Pope Gregory IX granted Richard the use of money raised from vows that had been redeemed by cash payments and from legacies intended for the aid of the Holy Land. This grant was unprecedented, a significant moment in the evolution of crusade finances, as redemptions had previously been granted to individual crusaders, not to a commander.

The proposed English crusade was nearly blown off course by papal politics, and in particular the conflict between Richard’s brother-in-law, Emperor Frederick II, and Pope Gregory IX. Fearing that Richard’s presence in Outremer would further the ambitions of Frederick II (whose son Conrad IV was titular king of Jerusalem) in the East, Gregory attempted to block Richard’s departure, or at least to direct his crusade to the defense of the Latin states in Greece or of papal interests in Italy. However, in an oath taken at Northampton in November 1239, the English barons swore not to be turned aside from Outremer. Ironically, Frederick was scarcely more enthusiastic to see English or French armies intervening in “his” kingdom of Jerusalem, but Richard and the emperor grew closer diplomatically after the former’s departure, and Richard seems to have been granted a measure of authority to act in Frederick’s name in the East.

Richard’s presence in the East was characterized by diplomacy and construction rather than battle. The defeat of Thibaud IV of Champagne by the Egyptian Ayyūbids at Gaza (1239) and internal dissension within the kingdom of Jerusalem made any offensive by the crusaders impossible. Richard contented himself with assisting in the reconstruction of the fortifications at Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel) and concluding a treaty with Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb of Egypt confirming the Christian possession of Jerusalem. The impression of Richard’s diplomatic achievements was exaggerated by his own skillful propaganda, as well as by his achievement in securing the release of French prisoners taken at Gaza. In reality, his efforts could be seen as undermining those of Thibaud before him, who had sensibly negotiated with the Ayyūbid sultan of Damascus, al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā‘īl. Although junior to al-Ṣāliḥ of Egypt, only the Damascene sultan was realistically able to dispose of territory in Palestine.

Richard never returned to the East, but his involvement in crusading and his relations with Frederick II may explain his later involvement in affairs overseas. He repeatedly turned down papal offers of the crown of Sicily between 1247 and 1254, but assumed the title of king of the Romans in 1257, in an ambitious attempt to make himself Holy Roman Emperor. He met Pope Innocent III at Lyons in 1250, as part of negotiations concerning Henry III's proposed crusade, which was later subsumed in papal plans for Henry to intervene in Sicily. Richard later played an important role as advisor to his nephew Edward (the future King Edward I) in the latter's crusade of 1270–1272.

—Michael R. Evans

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Richard of Devizes

Monk of the Benedictine house of St. Swithun's at Winchester and author of a chronicle of the reign of Richard I of England between 1189 and 1192. He possibly also wrote sections of the annals of Winchester down to 1202.

Noted for its wry humor and colorful anecdotes, Richard's chronicle includes an account of the Third Crusade (1189–1192), which is based on unattributed second-hand information and is sometimes inaccurate. The chronicle breaks off abruptly at the end of the crusade. His lively one-liners have done much to shape modern views of King Richard I and his times. He recorded the king stating that he would sell London (to raise money for the crusade) if he could find a buyer; he described Berengaria of Navarre, the king's bride-to-be, as more wise than beautiful (although he had probably never set eyes on her); and he noted that the king refused to visit Jerusalem on pilgrimage because he would not accept from non-Christians what he could not obtain as a gift from God. It is more likely that the king was advised against the visit for security reasons. The chronicler's work is readable and amusing, but his crusade mate-

rial must be weighed against more reliable sources.

—Helen Nicholson

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Richard of the Principate (d. 1112/1114)

A participant in the First Crusade (1096–1099) and later regent of the county of Edessa.

Richard (also known as Richard of Salerno) was born around 1060, a younger son of William, lord of the principality of Salerno, and a grandson of Tancred of Hauteville, the ancestor of the most distinguished family in Norman Italy. Excluded by elder brothers from the possibility of succession to family commands in Salerno and Sicily, he joined the Italian contingent in the First Crusade commanded by his cousin Bohemund of Taranto.

During the crusade, Richard served as an interpreter at the siege of Antioch, presumably having learned Arabic in childhood through exposure to the translation school in Salerno, and was twice taken prisoner: by the Greeks after crossing the Adriatic Sea (in late 1096), and by his fellow-crusader Baldwin of Boulogne at Tarsos (in summer 1097). By 1100 he had become second-in-command to Bohemund, but in the same year both men were captured by the Dānīshmendīd Turks near the Black Sea, who then turned him over to the Emperor Alexios in Constantinople.

Richard traveled extensively after he and Bohemund were freed in 1103: he donated a set of silver chains to the shrine of Saint-Leonard-du-Noblat in the Limousin to celebrate their release from captivity, and he arranged Bohemund's marriage to Princess Constance at the court of King Philip I of France. He ruled the county of Edessa as regent for the captive Baldwin II (1104–1108) before becoming lord of Marash (mod. Kahramanmaraş, Turkey) in Cilicia, the northernmost Frankish lordship in the Near East. His son Roger succeeded to the principality of Antioch in 1112.

—George T. Beech

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Richard of Salerno

See Richard of the Principate

Riḍwān (1081–1113)

King (Arab. *malik*) of Aleppo and northern Syria (1095–1113), with the title Fakhr al-Mulūk (“Glory of the Kings”).

Riḍwān was the eldest of five sons of the Saljūq king of Syria, Tutush I. During his struggle for the Saljūq sultanate, Tutush appointed Aytakin in 1094 as *atabeg* for Riḍwān and married him to Riḍwān’s mother. When Tutush was killed in Persia (1095), Riḍwān and his brother Duqāq engaged in a conflict for power that plunged Syria into a civil war lasting until 1099. Each brother was aided by his own ambitious atabeg. Riḍwān ruled Aleppo (his capital) as well as Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey), Homs (mod. Ḥims, Syria), and Hama. He failed in two attempts to capture Duqāq’s capital, Damascus, in 1096. As a result, he took an unprecedented step for a Sunnī ruler, and accepted an offer of the Egyptian vizier, al-Afḍal, by which he was to adopt the Fāṭimid Shīʿite doctrine in return for political support. On 7 September 1097 the name of the Fāṭimid caliph replaced that of the ʿAbbasid caliph in the *khutba* (Friday sermon) in Aleppo, but after four weeks the Saljūq sultan persuaded Riḍwān to return to the Sunnī faith.

By this time, the armies of the First Crusade (1096–1099) had arrived in the northern dominions of Aleppo. Riḍwān did not intervene to save the city of Antioch, nor did he participate in the relief expedition mounted by Karbughā of Mosul, fearing his presence in Syria. Until 1103, Riḍwān avoided any serious hostilities against the Franks of Antioch or Edessa, a consequence of his economic difficulties and strife with his rebellious atabeg. Tancred, regent of Antioch from 1101, did not attack Riḍwān, as he was more afraid of other powers, such as the Byzantine Empire. Riḍwān was very keen on a *modus vivendi* with Antioch and in May 1103 agreed to pay a large annual tribute to protect his realm. He made no attempt to coordinate his policies with the Turcoman rulers of Upper Mesopotamia and Iraq in their wars with the Franks in the county of Edessa, even after the heavy defeat of the Franks at the battle of Harran in 1104. Riḍwān maintained the *modus vivendi* with the Franks during 1105–1110, but broke the peace when the Saljūq sultan started to send massive armies against the Franks in Syria, and plundered Antiochene territory.

The economy of Aleppo suffered from Tancred’s retalia-

tory attacks, and its citizens, who were losing confidence in Riḍwān, sent an embassy to the sultan urging him to promote *jihād* (holy war) against the Franks. When an army sent by Sultan Muḥammad Tapar arrived at Aleppo in 1111, Riḍwān closed the city’s gates against it. Distrusting the loyalties of his subjects, Riḍwān imposed a curfew with the aid of the Assassins, a minority Ismāʿīlī sect, until the sultan’s forces withdrew. In his last years, Riḍwān was still paying a large annual tribute to Roger of Antioch to safeguard his kingdom. He died after an illness on 10 December 1113. He was succeeded by his son Alp Arslān, with the *mamlūk* (slave soldier) LuʿLuʿ as regent.

–*Taef El-Azhari*

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Riga

Riga (mod. Rīga, Latvia) was the principal town and bishopric (later archbishopric) of medieval Livonia. It was founded in 1201 by the third bishop of Livonia, Albert of Buxhövden (Bekeshovede), as his new ecclesiastical center for the continuing Christianization and colonization of the region.

In the second half of the twelfth century German merchants had begun visiting the coasts of Livonia on an annual basis to trade with the local tribes. A frequently used anchoring place and market seems to have been a small Livonian settlement some 16 kilometers (c. 10 mi.) up the river Düna. The settlement was located near a small stream called Rigebach and inhabited mainly by fishermen and foresters. It was easily reached by the larger German vessels, and only a short way upstream the river became unnavigable for this type of ship. It was at this location that Riga was founded.

In 1186 a German cleric by the name of Meinhard became the first bishop of Livonia. Two years earlier he had settled in the village that became known as Üxküll (mod. Ikšķile, Latvia), some 30 kilometers (c. 19 mi.) further upstream. A church and a castle were built there, but Üxküll soon proved to be too isolated a place for a bishopric. On several occasions Meinhard found himself beleaguered in his church by hos-

tile Livs, and in 1198 his successor, Bishop Bertold, died in battle when he and his crusaders tried to subdue the Livs after having been chased out of Üxküll the previous year. This may be one reason why Albert of Buxhövdén, shortly after his appointment as bishop in 1199, decided to move the episcopal see to a more accessible location. The marketplace near the Rīgebach seemed to be the ideal place.

Through papal privileges and a skillfully exploited trading monopoly, Albert was able to attract the first merchants to his new town. At first there were no more than a few hundred individuals, but ten years later the number of townspeople had grown considerably, predominantly through German merchants' settling in the town and profiting from trade in the region. With the rising number of townspeople the physical size of the city also grew until the early 1230s, when it seems to have reached the extent it retained for the rest of the medieval period. By this time it had strong, defensible stone walls.

Initially much of the work in Riga seems to have been carried out by crusaders from the West. From the beginning Albert was dependent on these armed pilgrims, both for the ongoing crusades against the pagans and also for the foundation of his town. Albert himself spent month after month in northern Germany gathering crusaders for new campaigns. Most of these crusaders would sail from Lübeck to Gotland and then continue to Riga. Here they arrived in the early spring or late autumn, prepared to spend a season in Livonia fighting for the church.

Not surprisingly, ecclesiastical institutions dominated Riga and its surroundings in the early years, making the chronicler Henry of Livonia exclaim that Riga was truly a city of God. A cathedral, several churches, and a hospital were soon built, and both Premonstratensians and Cistercians came to the region within the first ten years to take part in the mission: in 1205 a Cistercian monastery was founded at nearby Dünamünde (mod. Daugavgrīva, Latvia), and from 1210 the former Augustinian canons at the cathedral kept the Rule of the Premonstratensians. Also important was the founding of the Sword Brethren in 1202. Initially they were a small military order, numbering only a handful of knights until 1210. Soon, however, they came to have a central role in the continuous conquests in Livonia, with their master taking charge of most military campaigns in the region. This dominant position soon created tensions with the bishop and the civic authorities, which lasted until the order was almost wiped out in battle in 1236.



Skyline of the medieval town of Riga, in modern Latvia.
(Steve Raymer/Corbis)

As a frontier settlement and the center of the crusading movement in Livonia, Riga had to be prepared to withstand attacks from hostile neighbors. Initially the crusaders constituted the only major fighting force available to the bishop in times of hostility, but by 1206 the numbers of townspeople living in Riga already seem to have risen to such a level that they could muster a fighting force of their own. The chronicler Henry of Livonia mentions that in that year a combined force of Sword Brethren, townspeople, and pilgrims (that is, crusaders) joined the armed servants of the bishop in an attack on Livs and Lithuanians who were plundering around Riga. From then on the townspeople took part in several campaigns in Livonia. This continual military engagement may explain why in 1226 the town was given one-third of the conquered territory in Livonia when the papal legate William of Modena divided the land between the various secular and ecclesiastical powers in the region. The

other two-thirds were divided between the bishop and the Sword Brethren.

From Riga's beginnings, its growth had been dependent on the predominantly German merchants who settled in the town. They soon became the dominant group among the burgesses and also made up the majority of the town council. Even though the bishop (later archbishop) continued to be lord of the town, more and more rights were granted to the burgesses. The merchants in Riga continued to expand their commerce with the local population as well as with Russian trading centers to the east. This traffic secured a steady flow of goods (for example, wax and furs) that brought great wealth to the town and soon helped integrate Riga into the Hanseatic League.

In 1246 Albert Suerbeer became the first archbishop of Prussia, Livonia, and Estonia, and some years later he turned Riga into an archiepiscopal see. His time as archbishop was characterized by an evolving conflict with the Teutonic Order on the matter of regional supremacy. In 1237 the Teutonic Knights had absorbed the few remaining Sword Brethren and thereby established themselves firmly in Livonia. This conflict also affected the townspeople in Riga, inasmuch as they found themselves competing with the Teutonic Knights for the control of land and trade in the region. Thus, the townspeople supported the archbishop and in 1297 expelled the Teutonic Knights from Riga with the aid of the Lithuanian grand prince Vytenis. After years of juridical quarrels, however, the Teutonic Knights reconquered Riga by force in 1330.

In the later part of the fourteenth century the Teutonic Knights extended their dominance in Riga even further. In the 1390s a member of the order was elected archbishop, and the cathedral chapter was then periodically incorporated into the order until the incorporation became permanent in 1452. However, this did not prevent renewed hostilities between the Teutonic Order and the town of Riga, and another war was fought between 1482 and 1491. Due to its importance as a major port and as an administrative and religious center, Riga continued to be of great strategic importance in the crusades against the Lithuanians and later against the united kingdom of Poland-Lithuania, as well as in the later conflicts between Livonia and the Russians.

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Rigord

Author of the *Gesta Philippi Augusti*; the only writer contemporary with the Third Crusade (1189–1192) to give an account of it from the point of view of Philip II Augustus, king of France.

Rigord's chronicle survives in only two manuscripts. It was an independent work, not commissioned by the king and sometimes critical of him. Rigord was a medical man by profession, who became a monk at the abbey of Saint-Denis near Paris before 1189. He began to write his history before 1186, and was the first to give Philip II the title Augustus. His references to the crusade mainly concern the king: a brief description of the events of 1187, Philip's preparations for the crusade, the course of the crusade from his departure for the East to the capture of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), and the king's return to France, which Rigord attributes to Philip's severe illness and distrust of King Richard I of England, his fellow crusader. As he was writing a history of the king of France and not the king of England, he says no more of the crusade, except to criticize Richard for its outcome. His work was used by Guillaume le Breton and later French historians. He died soon after 1205.

—Helen Nicholson

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Rimini, Golden Bull of

The basic charter of the lordship of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, issued by Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor and king of Sicily, at Rimini in central Italy.

The charter conferred on the order all territorial rights (concerning ground, water, forests, mining, customs, markets, taxes, coinage, safe passage, and jurisdiction, comparable to the privileges of the princes of the empire) over the territories still to be conquered from the heathen Prussians. Its date has recently been debated: though the charter reads March 1226, Sylvain Gouguenheim, drawing on studies by

Tomasz Jasinski, has argued that the charter was renewed and changed in 1234/1235. Its importance is beyond question, and the order used it extensively in later disputes with the Prussian estates and Poland.

–Jürgen Sarnowsky

See also: Baltic Crusades; Teutonic Order

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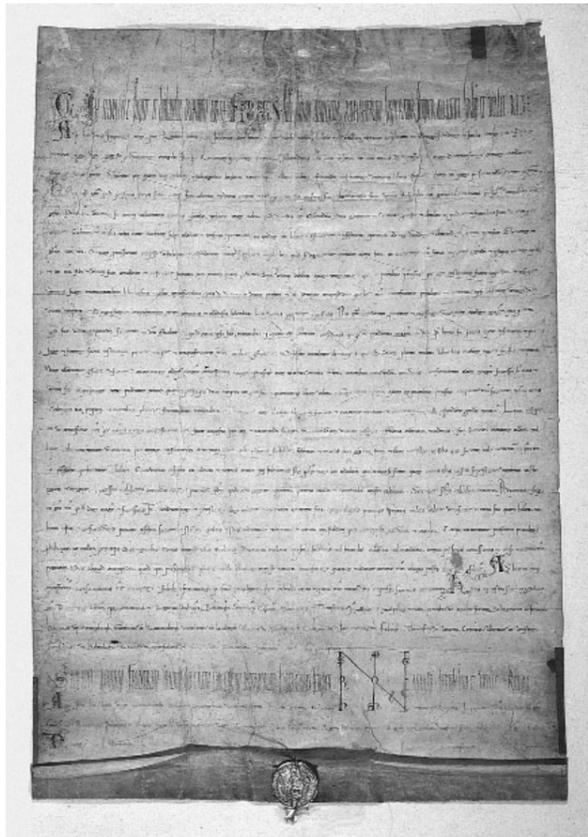
Robert II of Flanders (d. 1111)

Count of Flanders (1093–1111) and one of the leaders of the First Crusade (1096–1099).

Robert was born in the third quarter of the eleventh century, the eldest son of Robert I the Frisian, count of Flanders, and Gertrude of Holland. In 1087 he was entrusted with the government of Flanders when his father undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Around that time he married Clementia, daughter of Count William I of Burgundy, and in 1093 he succeeded his father as count of Flanders.

In September 1096 Robert II and a large Flemish contingent joined the armies of Duke Robert Curthose of Normandy and Count Stephen of Blois and journeyed through France, Italy, and the Balkans, arriving at Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) in December 1096. On 26 December 1097, during the siege of Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey), he commanded a foraging expedition that encountered a Turkish relief army at Albara (mod. al-Bārah, Syria). Facing fearful odds, the crusaders attacked the center of the Turkish army, which was driven away; had the Turks been able to go on, the continuation of the crusade might well have been threatened. At the siege of Jerusalem (June–July 1099) Robert was in charge of logistics. The last time he fought during the crusade was at the victory over the Fāṭimids at Ascelon (12 August 1099), but before returning he reconciled Godfrey of Bouillon and Raymond of Saint-Gilles and also settled a dispute between Raymond and Bohemund I of Antioch. Robert was back in Flanders by early spring of 1100. He died at Meaux (France) on 5 October 1111, leaving two sons, Baldwin VII (who succeeded him as count) and William.

–Jan Anckaer



Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II confirms privileges of the Teutonic Order and charges the order with the conquest of Prussia. Facsimile of the Golden Bull of Rimini, 1226. (Bildarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource)

Robert Burgundio (d. 1149)

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Robert Burgundio (d. 1149)

Master of the Templars (1136/1137–1149).

Robert, a son of Rainald Burgundio of Craon and Ennoguena of Vitré, belonged to the Angevin high nobility. After several years in the service of the count of Angoulême and at the court of the dukes of Aquitaine, he dissolved his engagement to the heiress of Chabannes and Confolens and traveled to Outremer. Robert had probably joined the Templars by 1125; he became seneschal of the order and traveled to the West (1132–1133/1134), where he received important donations on its behalf, including the castle of Barberà in Spain. After the death of Hugo of Payns (1136/1137), Robert became the second master of the order.

Robert returned to the West in 1138. On 29 March 1139, Pope Innocent II issued *Omne datum optimum*, the Templars' most important papal privilege, naming Robert as its recipient. William of Tyre listed Robert among the participants of the Second Crusade's general curia held in Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) on 24 June 1148 and gave an unusually friendly assessment of him. Robert died on 13 January 1149 and was succeeded by Everard of Barres.

—Jochen Burgtorf

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Robert of Clari (d. after 1216)

Chronicler of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) and the early years of the Latin Empire of Constantinople up to 1216.

Robert of Clari was probably born around 1180; he was a poor knight whose tiny fief was situated at the modern Cléry-lès-Pernois (*département* Somme, France). He first appears in sources from 1202 when, with his father Gilo, he witnessed a gift from their lord Peter of Amiens to the abbey of St. John of Amiens.

Clari went on crusade as a follower of Peter of Amiens. He names himself twice in his narrative: once during the attack by the crusaders on Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) on 12 April 1204, and once at the end, when he testifies that he was an eyewitness to the events that he has described. His account is firsthand until the spring of 1204, but he does not seem to have been in the army defeated by the Bulgarians at Adrianople (mod. Edirne, Turkey) in 1204, either because he had already returned to France or because he was waiting to do so at Constantinople. He was still alive in 1216 when the news reached France of the death of the Latin Emperor Henry, which he mentions at the end of his chronicle. He brought back many relics from Constantinople, which he gave to the abbey of Corbie.

Clari is not always accurate in his dates, placing the negotiations of the crusade leaders with the Venetians after the death of the count of Champagne and the choice of Boniface of Montferrat as his replacement. His work is designed to instruct his audience, which would have been even less well informed than he. He includes long digressions on the political history of Byzantium to explain the feuds between the different Greek factions and the house of Montferrat. He also gives much space to descriptions of churches and palaces and, in particular, to the relics and the marvels to be found there. Clari's account is particularly valuable as it gives the viewpoint of the poor knights in the ranks of the crusade army. He is sharply critical of the greed of the leading crusaders and the *hauts homs* (men of high rank). He saw the defeat at Adrianople as God's punishment for this greed. His vivid account of the maneuvering of the crusader squadrons when confronted by the army of Emperor Alexios III Angelos outside Constantinople shows how jealous the different factions were of each other and how near they came to defeat. Clari's chronicle complements that of Geoffrey of Villehardouin and provides a completely different perspective on the events of the crusade until mid-1204.

Clari's style is vivid and full of life. Very aware of his audi-

ence, he makes every effort to explain difficult words and events. He had clearly taken some trouble to discover the political and historical background to events in Constantinople, and all his digressions are there to help his listeners understand his narrative. He struggles to find the vocabulary adequate for the task, which results in some repetition. His syntax is unsophisticated, with overlong sentences, but he is eager to communicate and does so with a vigor that contrasts with the much more detached style of Villehardouin.

—Peter S. Noble

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Robert of Constantinople (d. 1228)

Latin emperor of Constantinople (1221–1228).

The second son of Peter of Courtenay, emperor of Constantinople, and Yolande of Flanders, Robert was crowned emperor in Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) on 25 March 1221, after a period of regency following the death of his father (1217). Robert renewed peace with Theodore I Laskaris, emperor of Nicaea, but the planned marriage with Theodore's daughter Eudokia was not realized. In 1224 the Latins were defeated at Poimaneon by John III Vatatzes, the new emperor of Nicaea, who imposed humiliating peace conditions. Robert, a man inclined to pleasures, generally neglected state affairs, and his reign was disastrous for the Latin Empire. When the barons mutilated the face of the young Frenchwoman he had married in secret, Robert left Constantinople. He died in the Morea, probably in January 1228.

—Benjamin Hendrickx

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Robert Curthose (d. 1134)

Duke of Normandy (1087–1106) and one of the leaders of the First Crusade (1096–1099).

Born around 1154, the eldest son of William I of England and Matilda of Flanders, Robert was the subject of unflattering portraits by the chroniclers Orderic Vitalis and William of Malmesbury, who revealed that his father nicknamed him Curthose (Lat. *Curta Ocrea*, "short boots") because he was short and plump.

A pawn in his father's politics from an early age, Robert was consistently denied any responsible role as he became older. Charming, generous, and skilled with words, he lacked the overriding drive and ruthlessness with which his father and brothers forged their great successes in circumstances just as difficult as those facing Robert when he inherited Normandy on his father's death in 1087. For all his genuine piety, the crusade undoubtedly presented him with a welcome escape from his difficulties. He had fought a bitter and largely unsuccessful war for control of Normandy with his brother William II Rufus, king of England, to whom he now mortgaged the duchy for 10,000 silver marks. Accompanied by a sizable contingent of knights from northern France, he traveled to the East with Stephen of Blois, Alan IV of Brittany, and Robert II of Flanders (who left them at Bari). Their leisurely journey took them through Italy, where they met Pope Urban II at Lucca. After wintering in southern Italy, they reached Constantinople in May 1097 and joined the siege of Nicaea (mod. İznik, Turkey) on 3 June.

Robert displayed considerable qualities as a soldier and a commander during an attack by the Turks at Dorylaion on 30 June. He was one of four princes who led the vanguard on the march to Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey), and was again in the vanguard at the battle for the Iron Bridge controlling access to Antioch on 20 October. Although he retired to Laodikeia (mod. Al-Lādhiqiyah, Syria) and did not share all the privations of the army investing Antioch, he sent it food supplies obtained from Cyprus. He was in Antioch to help repel a Turkish attack on the citadel on 11 June 1098,

Robert of Rheims

and for the defeat of Karbughā and fall of Antioch on 28 July. The subsequent deadlock over the march to Jerusalem was broken when Raymond of Saint-Gilles took several leaders, including Robert, into his pay for the continued march (13 January 1099). After the capture of Jerusalem, Robert played a key role in the defeat of Fātimid forces before Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel) on 12 August.

Robert is never implicated in the bitter disputes that broke out among some of the princes, and he is even assigned the role of mediator by Orderic Vitalis. He returned to Normandy via Sicily, where he married Sibyl of Conversano, a cousin of Bohemund I of Antioch; her dowry permitted him to redeem his duchy from his brother Henry I, now king of England. Robert's new prestige as a crusader did not prevent him being as ineffectual against Henry as he had been against William II. Captured by Henry at the battle of Tinchebray in 1106, he spent the rest of his life as a prisoner, dying in 1134 at Cardiff castle, six years after the death of his only legitimate son, William Clito. One of his natural sons, also called William, served Baldwin I of Jerusalem and became lord of Tortosa (mod. Tartūs, Lebanon) in the county of Tripoli.

—K. S. B. Keats-Rohan

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Robert the Monk

See Robert of Rheims

Robert of Rheims

Author of the *Historia Iherosolimitana*, a Latin history of the First Crusade (1096–1099).

According to the apology (Lat. *sermo apologeticus*) Robert placed at the beginning of the work, he attended the Council of Clermont (November 1095) and wrote his *Historia* while a monk at the Benedictine abbey of St. Remi in Rheims. It is unlikely that he can be identified with a former abbot of St. Remi (d. 1122), who was expelled in 1096 or 1097 and went on the First Crusade himself.

No consensus has been reached about the *Historia's* date of composition—whether it was finished by 1107 or written between 1110 and 1118—or its relationship to other sources. However, the nine books of the *Historia* follow the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* in their account of the years 1095–1099, framed by descriptions of Jerusalem and concentrating on the heroic fighting in Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey): the Council of Clermont (with a version of Pope Urban II's famous speech) and the story of Peter the Hermit (book 1); the march of the various contingents to Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) and their disputes with the Byzantine emperor (book 2); the progression of the crusade from Constantinople to Antioch (book 3); the siege of Antioch (books 4–7); minor campaigns of the crusaders and tensions among them (book 8); and the capture of Jerusalem, the election of Godfrey of Bouillon, and the battle of Ascalon (book 9).

Robert gives a polished account with rhythmical and rhymed sentences and refined speeches; he intersperses verses to introduce and summarize chapters and, like other prosimetrical historians of the First Crusade (Fulcher of Chartres, Guibert of Nogent, Radulph of Caen), inserts poems, mostly to illustrate fighting emotively. The chronicle betrays Robert's special interest in topography, evident in his descriptions of Jerusalem, Constantinople, and Antioch. Naturally, Robert depicts the heroism of the crusaders and emphatically praises the deeds of Bohemund of Taranto and Godfrey of Bouillon, but above all, he explains the success of the First Crusade as a manifestation of God's will and power: "Hoc enim non fuit humanum opus, sed divinum" (This was not a human enterprise, but a divine one ["Robert Monachi historia Iherosolimitana," 3: 723]).

Robert's narrative soon became the most popular and the most frequently copied history of the First Crusade, surviving in over 100 manuscripts. It was first printed in 1472. The editors of the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades* worked from twenty-two manuscripts but relied especially on a twelfth-century manuscript now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France [MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de

France, lat.5129]. Manuscripts of the *Historia* are often accompanied by a letter of the Byzantine emperor Alexios I Komnenos to Count Robert I of Flanders asking for military aid.

At least three Latin versifications derived from the *Historia*. Two originated in Germany: Metellus of Tegernsee's *Expeditio Ierosolimitana* (1146/1165) and Gunther's *Solymarius* (fragment of uncertain date; before 1186); the third is the fragmentary *Solymis* by the Italian Giovanni Maria Cattaneo (d. 1529/1530). In the later Middle Ages the *Historia* achieved even greater influence through translations into French, Italian, and, above all, German (five translations in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), while the growing threats from the Turks were reflected in Latin prose redactions or adaptations: Thomas Ebendorfer's *De duobus passagiis Christianorum principum* on the First and the Third Crusades (written 1454–1456) probably remained largely unknown, in a single manuscript, but the *Historiarum decades* of Flavio Biondo (d. 1463) became the standard account of the First Crusade, particularly of Urban's speech at Clermont, until the end of the sixteenth century.

—Peter Orth

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Robertus Monachus

See Robert of Rheims

La Roche Family

A Burgundian family from La Roche-sur-l'Ognon, northeast of Besançon. Its members rose to prominence during the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) and subsequently as lords of Athens and Thebes in central Greece, later bearing the title dukes of Athens.

Otho of La Roche is recorded in the Burgundian contingent before the walls of Constantinople at the end of the Fourth Crusade but is not listed among the prominent nobles of Burgundy who took the cross at Cîteaux in September 1201. Otho served in the army of Boniface of Montferrat in late 1204 as it invaded mainland Greece. He may have been granted Athens at this time, but it is unclear whether he also received Thebes then, or in 1209 or 1211 as a reward for his support of Emperor Henry of Constantinople against the Lombard lords of Thessalonica. In April 1209 Otho was certainly at the siege of Akrokorinth, and like Geoffrey I of Villehardouin he went from there to attend Henry at Ravennika. In June 1209 he welcomed Henry to his lordship of Athens and took part as lord in the ceremonials enacted there. Thereafter, Otho built up his lordship in central Greece: he wrote to Pope Innocent III, who addressed him from 1208 onward as *dominus Athenarum* (lord of Athens); possibly built up the Propylaea as a ducal palace; and in 1217 granted the monastery at Daphni to the Cistercian monastery of Bellevaux in Burgundy. Otho maintained close links with Burgundy throughout the twenty-six years he was absent on crusade and in Greece. In 1225 he returned to his native Burgundy, where he died by 1234.

Otho was succeeded in Burgundy by his son Otho II, and in Athens by his nephew Guy I, who had been in Greece with his uncle since 1211. Guy was the son of Pons of Flavigny, and it was his descendants who were to further the family

Roger I of Sicily (d. 1101)

interests in Frankish Greece, either as lords of Athens and Thebes, or as lords of Damala and Veligosti, Moreote fiefs that had been granted to Otho by the Villehardouin dynasty of Achaia in return for his support during the siege of Akrocorinth. Guy I ruled Athens and Thebes until his death in 1263. He was active in his resistance to Villehardouin claims and was granted the title of duke of Athens by King Louis IX of France in 1260. He was succeeded by his sons John (d. 1280) and William (d. 1287).

William's son Guy II (Guyot) was the last of the La Roche dukes. He was able and ambitious and, at his untimely death in 1308, seemed set to enhance the status of the dukes of Athens within Frankish Greece. He left no direct heir, and the succession passed to the Brienne family, into which his aunt Isabella had married in 1277. The family name continued with Reynaud, lord of Damala, who was killed at the battle of Halmyros in 1311.

—Peter Lock

See also: Athens, Lordship and Duchy of

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Roger I of Sicily (d. 1101)

Count of Sicily (1061–1101); conqueror of the island from its Muslim rulers.

The youngest of the twelve sons of Tancred of Hauteville, a minor baron from the Cotentin region of western Normandy, Roger followed his elder brothers to southern Italy around 1056/1057, at about the time when his brother Robert Guiscard became the overall leader of the south Italian Normans, who had already conquered inland Apulia and northern Calabria. Roger assisted Robert in the conquest of southern Calabria (1057–1060), and led a first, reconnaissance, raid on the island of Sicily in the autumn of 1060. Subsequently he undertook the conquest of the island from its Muslim rulers, in a series of campaigns last-

ing thirty years from 1061 onward. The northeast of the island, including the key port of Messina, was soon conquered, and a major defeat inflicted on the Muslims at Cerami (June 1063), but subsequent progress was slow, hampered by a shortage of troops, difficult terrain, problems with the indigenous Greek Christians, and Roger's frequent absences on the south Italian mainland. Palermo was eventually captured (with Robert Guiscard's help) in 1072, Trapani and most of western Sicily by 1077, Syracuse in 1086, and Agrigento in 1087. Only the southeast was now left, and the last town in Muslim hands there, Noto, surrendered in 1091. The last decade of Roger's life was devoted to the consolidation of Christian rule on the island, and of his rule in Calabria, the latter in alliance with his nephew Roger Borsa, duke of Apulia (1085–1111). Roger refused to take part in the First Crusade (1096–1099); he may well have been reluctant to jeopardize the stability of his rule in Sicily, where the majority of the population remained Muslim.

—G. A. Loud

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Roger II of Sicily (d. 1154)

Count (1105–1130) and subsequently king of Sicily (1130–1154).

Younger son of Count Roger I, Roger II succeeded his elder brother Simon as count in 1105. On the death of his cousin William (1127), he also became duke of Apulia and thus ruler of most of mainland southern Italy. Roger took advantage of the papal schism of 1130 to secure the consent of Anacletus II (the pope who held Rome) to his coronation as the first king of Sicily in Palermo cathedral on Christmas Day 1130. The early years of the new kingdom were difficult, since Roger was faced with the hostility of rebel barons on the mainland, of the German and Byzantine emperors (both of whom considered southern Italy to be rightfully part of their dominions), and of Pope Innocent II, the eventual victor in the schism. Nevertheless, by 1140 Roger had defeated



Roger II, king of Sicily (1095–1154). Byzantine mosaic from the Church of Martorana, Palermo. (Bettmann/Corbis)

his opponents, successfully united southern Italy under his rule, and secured Innocent's reluctant recognition of his kingship. His fleet conducted operations against Muslim pirates in the Mediterranean, capturing Jerba in 1135, and in 1146–1148 his forces conquered Tripoli, Mahdia, and other towns in Tunisia from their Muslim rulers, although they remained in Sicilian hands for little more than a decade. Roger's motives in this conquest appear not to have been religious but pragmatic: to secure Sicilian trade and tribute, taking opportunist advantage of internal divisions among the North African Muslims.

Roger also played a significant role in the failure of the Second Crusade (1147–1149) in the East. His war with Byzantium led the Emperor Manuel I Komnenos to conclude a truce with the Turks of Asia Minor shortly before the cru-

sade's arrival, and his fleet attacked Greece while it was under way. Louis VII of France subsequently returned from Outremer via the kingdom of Sicily, and, unlike the Germans, appears to have had good relations with Roger, but attempts to involve the Sicilian ruler directly in the crusade, both in 1145–1146 and in 1149–1150, were unsuccessful.

—G. A. Loud

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Roger of Antioch (d. 1119)

Ruler of the principality of Antioch (1113–1119) in succession to Tancred.

Roger of Salerno, as he was originally known, was a son of Richard of the Principate and a sister of Tancred. He succeeded Tancred as ruler of Antioch on the latter's death in 1113. It is disputed whether Roger ruled in his own right or as regent for the young Bohemund II (born 1108), who was in Italy. However, Roger was accused of usurpation only by Fulcher of Chartres; other chroniclers treat him as the rightful ruler and refer to him as "prince."

The first crisis of Roger's reign was a massive series of earthquakes in 1114–1115. He demonstrated admirable qualities of leadership in his organization of the repairs to the city of Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) and surrounding towns. In 1115, after careful reconnaissance and after making an alliance with the Turkish leaders ʿTuḡtigin of Damascus and ʿIlgħāzī, Roger campaigned against Bursuq of Hamadān. He did not wait for support from King Baldwin I of Jerusalem or Count Pons of Tripoli, his Christian allies, but launched a surprise attack on Bursuq's camp on 14 September 1115. The ensuing battle of Tell Danith was an overwhelming victory for Roger and the high point of his reign. Bursuq died a few months later, and Antioch was established as a formidable political and military force in

Roger of Howden

northern Syria. However, Roger tried to repeat his success in June 1119, by attacking a Turkish army led by ʿIlghāzī, without waiting for Baldwin II of Jerusalem and Pons of Tripoli. The defeat that followed wiped out the Antiochene army and is known evocatively as the battle of *Ager Sanguinis* (the Field of Blood). Roger himself was killed in the fighting.

The principality of Antioch now lay wide open to conquest, but the Turks failed to follow up their victory, and the city held out until King Baldwin II arrived to take charge. He assumed the regency of the principality until Bohemund II achieved his majority in 1126.

—Susan B. Edgington

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Roger of Howden

English royal clerk and parson of Howden (Yorkshire), who wrote an eyewitness account of the Third Crusade (1189–1192). His first chronicle, the *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi et Ricardi Primi* (formerly attributed to Benedict of Peterborough), covers the years from 1170 to 1192. It was revised and continued in the *Chronica*, a chronicle stretching from 732 to 1201.

English constitutional tradition led to a one-sided view of Howden, as a historian of administration and law, while ignoring other aspects of his career and interests. He was a religious man who was worried about heresy and interested in miracles, prophecies, and the coming end of the world. The most widely traveled of all English chroniclers, his many journeys in the service of both kings of England and bishops of Durham took him to Scotland, France, Rome, Sicily, and the Holy Land. During the Third Crusade, he joined the fleet of King Richard I at Marseilles in August 1190 and remained until after the capture of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), leaving on 25 August 1191 to keep an eye on Richard's rival, Philip II of France. His *Gesta Regis* is in effect

a crusade diary of those thirteen months, which he revised, in the light of subsequent events, in the *Chronica*.

Howden's crusading experience and enthusiasm informed his judgments. He became more critical of Henry II; although he regretted the heavy taxation of Richard's later years, he praised his piety, generosity, prowess, and generalship. He probably died around the year 1202.

—John Gillingham

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Roger of Les Moulins (d. 1187)

Master of the Order of the Hospital (1177–1187).

Roger was a member of the order in Outremer by March 1175 and master two years later. He traveled to the West twice: to Sicily on Hospitaller business in April 1179, and again in 1184 as part of a delegation soliciting help against Saladin. In 1183 he and the Hospitallers fought against Saladin with the army of Jerusalem under the regent, Guy of Lusignan. Roger witnessed Baldwin IV's will in 1185, which named the king's nephew (Baldwin V) as heir and appointed Count Raymond III of Tripoli as regent.

After Baldwin V died in 1186, Baldwin IV's sister Sibyl claimed the throne, flouting the terms of the will. Roger supported the faction in the kingdom (led by Raymond) that was opposed to Sibyl and her husband, Guy of Lusignan; at their coronation in Jerusalem, he refused to surrender his key to the treasury containing the royal crowns, finally throwing it away. It was retrieved by Gerard of Ridefort, the master of the Temple, and the coronation proceeded. Roger was killed fighting against Saladin's troops at the battle at the springs of Cresson (1 May 1187). Roger's death left the Hospitallers without a master until the election of Warner of Nablus, former prior of England and grand commander of France, in 1189.

—Theresa M. Vann

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Rognvald Kali Kolsson (d. 1158)

Earl of Orkney (1136–1158) and leader of a crusade to the Holy Land in 1151–1153.

Born around 1099, Kali Kolsson, as he was originally known, belonged to a family that had ruled Orkney as a semi-independent earldom under the Norwegian Crown since the tenth century. Although he was born and grew up in Norway, Kali had a claim to the earldom of Orkney through his mother Gunnhild, sister of the martyred earl St. Magnus I Erlendsson (d. 1115). In 1129 Kali's title to half of Orkney was recognized by Sigurd, king of Norway, and at this time he adopted the name of Rognvald, after an eleventh-century earl. Rognvald contracted an alliance with William the Old, bishop of Orkney, and Maddad, earl of Atholl, who was married to Margaret, sister of the ruling earl, Paul II Hakonsson (1123–1136). This alliance enabled Rognvald to mount a successful invasion of Orkney in 1135, capturing and disposing of Earl Paul. Rognvald's rule as earl was marked by his promotion of the cult of St. Magnus, notably in the construction of a new cathedral dedicated to him at Kirkwall.

In 1150 Rognvald decided to embark on an expedition to the Holy Land. He left Orkney in the charge of Maddad's son Harald, whom he had accepted as joint earl in 1138. Rognvald's decision was influenced by one Eindredi Ungi, a Norwegian with extensive experience in the East, who evidently hoped to recruit Norsemen for service in the Varangian units of the Byzantine emperor. The timing of the expedition suggests that it may also have been connected with wider (but ultimately fruitless) efforts in 1150 to launch a new crusade in response to the advances of Nūr al-Dīn in northern Syria. Rognvald's crusade is described somewhat confusedly in the *Orkneyinga Saga*, but its itinerary can be reconstructed with reasonable certainty. Crusaders from Orkney and Norway, including Bishop William and Eindredi, sailed from Orkney with 15 ships in the summer of 1151, and, after a short stay in Galicia, on to southern France. They wintered in Narbonne,

giving military assistance to Aimery, count of Narbonne, against his enemies. Eindredi went on to Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey), but Rognvald and the others sailed for the Holy Land in early 1152, capturing en route a Muslim ship of the type known as a dromon. These proved to be the only warlike activities of the Orkney crusaders. In August 1152 they visited Jerusalem and the river Jordan, and returned home via Constantinople, Italy, Denmark, and Norway. Rognvald arrived in Orkney by Christmas 1153 to find the earldom being disputed between Harald Maddadsson and Paul II's nephew, Erlend III Haraldsson (1151–1154). A period of civil war between the three earls ended in 1154 when Rognvald and Harald joined forces and captured and killed Erlend. Four years later Rognvald himself was killed as the result of a feud while hunting in Caithness.

–Alan V. Murray

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Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad

Middle High German version of the Old French *Chanson de Roland*, written by an author recorded as *der phaffe Chunrat* (Conrad the Priest) for Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria.

The *Rolandslied* injects a twelfth-century German ideology of empire and crusade into the ancient epic of Charlemagne's war against the Muslims of Spain, reflecting Henry's renewal of Carolingian holy war against the pagan Slavs and the church's sanction of it as crusade from 1147.

Conrad may be the ducal chaplain *Conradus* recorded in charters of the 1170s: a Swabian priest, conversant with Henry's politico-religious goals, and charged with the literary representation of his quasi-royal status and crusading aspirations. The commissioning of the *Rolandslied* was part of a lavish program of secular and religious patronage centered upon Henry's palace and court church in Braunschweig and their associated artifacts. Conrad's epilogue extols Henry's imperial lineage and his conquest and conversion of the heathen.

Romanos IV Diogenes (d. 1072)

In the poem, the Emperor Karl and his warrior-bishop Turpin summon and preach a crusade, pledging spiritual rewards. Roland and the knights eagerly take the cross, in warfare simultaneously serving theocratic emperor and heavenly king. Death in battle confers not warrior glory but a martyr's crown. The heathen, spurning baptism, and the traitor Genelun, seduced by basely secular concerns, are consigned to hell as children of the devil. Conrad's portrayal of Karl reproduces twelfth-century hagiographical images of the Emperor Charlemagne. Roland's and Oliver's austere redemptive chivalry seems inspired by Bernard of Clairvaux's preaching of the Second Crusade (1147–1149) and his writings for the Templars.

One complete illustrated manuscript (MS Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek cpg. 112) and six fragments, all written shortly before or after 1200, testify to the *Roland-slied's* contemporary impact. It profoundly influenced Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Willehalm* (1210/1220). Around 1225 the poet known as Der Stricker modernized Conrad's narrative, which in this form remained popular until the end of the Middle Ages, especially among the Teutonic Knights.

—Jeffrey Ashcroft

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Roman van Cassant

See Dutch Literature

Roman van Saladin

See Dutch Literature

Romania

See Frankish Greece

Romanos IV Diogenes (d. 1072)

Byzantine emperor (1068–1071).

Romanos was originally a member of the landed aristocracy of Anatolia. Although convicted of plotting against the dowager empress, Eudokia Makrembolitissa, Romanos came to the throne when she pardoned and married him (January 1068). As emperor Romanos was unable to send help to the remaining Byzantine territory in southern Italy, where Bari fell to the Normans in 1071. He attempted to counter the growing Turkish threat against the eastern parts of the empire with campaigns in 1068–1069, but Turkish incursions continued. While campaigning in Armenia in 1071 he encountered a large Turkish army under the command of the Saljūq sultan Alp Arslān; after betrayal by some of his commanders and the flight of many of his troops, Romanos was defeated and captured at the battle of Mantzikert (26 August 1071). On news of the defeat the Doukas family led a revolt against him in Constantinople. After his release from captivity Romanos was pursued by their forces to Cilicia, captured, tonsured as a monk, and subsequently blinded. He died of his injuries on 4 August 1072.

—Rosemary Morris

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Rotrou II of the Perche (d. 1144)

Count of the Perche (1099–1144), who fought in the First Crusade (1096–1099) and in at least two campaigns against the Muslims in Spain.

Rotrou was born around 1075, the only son of Geoffrey, count of Mortagne (Orne), and Beatrix, daughter of Hilduin of Mondidier and Roucy. From the closing years of the eleventh century the family preferred to call themselves counts of the Perche.

Rotrou joined the 1096 expedition to Jerusalem, probably as a member of the entourage of Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy. He is known to have fought at the siege of Nicaea (mod. İznik, Turkey) in 1097, while literary sources such as the *Chanson d'Antioche* suggest that he fought alongside Bohemund of Taranto at the battle of Dorylaion, so it is possible that he had separated himself from the Norman ducal forces. At the siege of Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) he commanded one of the divisions that broke out of the city in June 1098. He presumably followed the expedition to its culmination at Jerusalem in July 1099, returning to western France in the next year to find that his father had died during his absence and that his mother had preserved his inheritance. The cartulary of the family foundation of Saint-Denis of Nogent-le-Rotrou describes Rotrou's ceremonial return to its precincts and the reception of palm leaves that he brought from the Holy Land.

At some point in the 1100s Rotrou was invited by his cousin King Alfonso I of Aragon to join his campaigns against the Muslims. Rotrou probably remained in the Iberian Peninsula for only one campaigning season, but in the early 1120s he returned for a much longer period as governor of the recently reconquered town of Tudela in the Ebro Valley. He finally left this post at or shortly before the death of King Alfonso (1134), leaving his rights in the area to his niece, Margaret of L'Aigle, and her husband, García Ramirez, who subsequently became king of Navarre. A letter from another niece, whose name is recorded only as "B," was preserved among the archives of the abbey of St. Victor in Paris; in it she begged her uncle to return to his duties, since his absence might encourage his enemies against the Christians. Rotrou made a final visit to Tudela in January 1142, perhaps to commemorate the death of his niece Queen Margaret of Navarre in that year.

A late tradition preserved at the abbey of La Trappe, founded by Rotrou, suggests that he made further visits to the Holy Land. It asserts that the count presented La Trappe with relics that he had collected on his second pilgrimage shortly before he set off on a third pilgrimage. Nearly a century later Rotrou's grandson Bishop William of Châlons-en-Champagne, the last count of the Perche of the house of Rotrou, was to refer proudly to his grandfather's presence at the siege of Antioch in a family genealogy.

—Kathleen Thompson

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Rotrou Dynasty

See Perche, Counts of

Ruad

The waterless island of Ruad (mod. Arwād, Syria), situated off the Syrian coast near Tortosa (mod. Tartūs, Syria), was fortified by the Franks in the period of the crusades.

Ruad appears to have been held by the Byzantines after their loss of the coast to the Arabs until its capture by Caliph Mu'awiya (d. 680). The Arab geographer al-Idrīsī in the mid-twelfth century describes a strongly built church on the island, which at that time must have belonged to the county of Tripoli. The capture of Ruad was the main success of Saladin's naval campaign of 1179–1180, demonstrating his revival of the Egyptian fleet.

The island was again in the hands of the Franks in the thirteenth century and has achieved fame as their last stronghold in Outremer: it held out after the fall of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) in 1291 and was captured by the Mamlūks only in 1302. However, there is confusion over the exact chronology of events. It is unlikely that the island had been continuously occupied by the Franks; rather, it was probably re-occupied and refortified by Cypriot, Templar, and Hospitaller forces attempting to link up with an aborted Mongol invasion of Syria in late 1300. A Templar garrison was left, which launched raids against the coast, until in 1302 the Mamlūks dispatched a force, including 20 galleys sent from Egypt, to retake the island. Many Templars were killed, and some were taken prisoner (according to one source, more than 2,000). Its fortifications destroyed, the island was left abandoned.

—Angus Stewart

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Rügen

A large island in the southwestern Baltic Sea, separated from the mainland by a long strait (the Strelasund), which was subjected to Danish rule in the course of the crusades in the twelfth century.

Rügen was inhabited by a Wendish (Slavic) tribe known as the Rane or Rugians. They had an important trade settlement at Ralswiek; their princes lived at Garz; the fortress-temple of Arkona in the north was the site of Svantevit, the main pagan idol in the region.

In the ninth century, according to the chronicler Helmold of Bosau, monks from Corvey in Westphalia introduced Christianity and established an oratory on Rügen, consecrated to St. Vitus, the patron saint of Corvey. However, Christianity seems to have been eradicated during pagan uprisings in 983 and later. Rügen was the most important target of Danish raids against the Wends. It seems to have been first subjected to Danish rule during the reign of King Erik I Ejegod (1095–1103) and linked to the newly established archbishopric of Lund. This was why, when Bishop Otto of Bamberg targeted Rügen on his second mission among the Baltic Slavs (1127), he asked the Danish archbishop Asser for permission, which Asser was unwilling to grant.

The Danish kings seem to have lost control over the island by this time, but in 1136 Erik II Emune is reported to have conquered Arkona, reintroducing Christianity but letting the Rugians retain their idol Svantevit, which they continued to venerate. Another crusade, led by King Valdemar I, reached the island in 1168. Arkona was taken on St. Vitus's Day (15 June), the statue of Svantevit was cut down and dragged through the town, and Bishop Absalon of Roskilde immediately began to establish a church organization. It has been suggested that Svantevit was actually the object of an independent Christian veneration of St. Vitus and that the image of the pagan idol, so vividly depicted by Helmold and Saxo Grammaticus, was created to justify the attack as a crusade. However, it is known that in 1201 Absalon left two cups taken from the idols of the Rugians to a niece in his testament, which indicates the existence of pagan veneration.

Valdemar I secured papal confirmation of the conquest and persuaded the pope to subordinate Rügen to the bishopric of Roskilde rather than the archbishopric of Lund. After 1168 the newly baptized Rugian princes were allowed to rule the island under Danish supremacy. The descen-

dant of one of these, Vitslav, participated in a Danish crusade to Estonia in 1219, where he was instrumental in securing a Danish victory over the Estonians at Reval (mod. Tallinn, Estonia). In 1325 Rügen was subjected to the Pomeranian princes but continued to be linked to the bishopric of Roskilde.

—John H. Lind

See also: Baltic Crusades; Denmark

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Rūm, Sultanate of

A sultanate in Anatolia (Asia Minor), with its capital first at Nicaea (mod. İznik, Turkey) and then at Ikonion (mod. Konya), ruled by a branch of the Saljūq family from 1080/1081 to 1307/1308. The name Rūm, deriving from the Bilad al-Rūm of Muslim authors, relates to the formerly “Rhomaic” (i.e., Byzantine) territories of Anatolia.

The sultanate's foundation and consolidation period is intertwined with the careers of the able Sulaymān I ibn Qutlumush, who perished fighting against a large Great Saljūq coalition in 1085 or 1086, and with Qilij Arslān I, who lost his capital of Nicaea to the Byzantines in 1097 during the First Crusade (1096–1099). The latter faced the Crusade of 1101 in coalition with the Dānishmendids, winning two important victories at Mersivan and Herakleia, but met his death in Syria against the Saljūq ruler Riḍwān of Aleppo in 1107. By the early twelfth century, the Saljūqs of Rūm had moved their capital to the Cappadocian town of Ikonion, from which comes the alternative appellation of their state as Sultanate of Konya.

For most of the twelfth century, the sultans of Rūm had to wage wars against their Anatolian rivals, the Turkophone Dānishmendids of Caesarea in Cappadocia (mod. Kayseri) and Sebasteia (mod. Sivas), as well as against the Byzantines. They also faced attacks by the armies of the Second Crusade

(1147–1149) and the Third Crusade (1189–1192). Under the Komnenian emperors Alexios I and John II (c. 1112–1140), the Byzantines succeeded in wresting from the Saljūqs a significant section of their former western and northwestern Anatolian possessions. However, it was in the following period that Saljūq-Byzantine relations went through fluctuating phases, especially in the reigns of Qilij Arslān II of Rūm and Manuel I Komnenos of Byzantium. In 1161–1162 the sultan was magnificently received in Constantinople, but the treaty concluded was soon proven a dead letter, for in 1173/1174 Qilij Arslān II made a pact with Byzantium's bitter enemy, the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa. Shortly afterward the sultan thwarted Manuel I's invasion of Rūm (1174–1175) by defeating him at the battle of Myriokephalon in September 1176.

Qilij Arslān II crowned his successes by annexing the two Dānishmendid emirates in 1174–1177/1178, though his final years were spent in agonizing strife, as his sons bickered over the succession. In the course of the Third Crusade, Qilij Arslān II lost his capital to the armies of Frederick I and soon afterward died a broken man, naming as his successor one of his younger sons, Kay-Khusraw I. It was during that period that Byzantium failed to exploit its contacts with the Zangids; a firm alliance with Nūr al-Dīn (d. 1174) might have prevented its defeat at Myriokephalon, while a more effective collaboration with Saladin (with whom the last Komnenos, Andronikos I, and the first Angelos, Isaac II, signed treaties between 1184/1185 and 1192) might have led to a gradual reconquest of Asia Minor, most of which had been lost to the Rūm Saljūqs by the late twelfth century.

The sultanate's history from the late twelfth to the late thirteenth century is treated in detail by the *Saljuq-nama* of Ibn Bībī, a Persian court chronicler at Ikonion, whose work is complemented by Ibn al-Athīr and the major Byzantine chroniclers of the period. From this period dates another important aspect of Byzantine-Saljūq relations: the frequently attested social, institutional, cultural, and artistic contact and interplay between Rūm Saljūqs and Anatolian Christians, mostly evidenced by the phenomenon of mixed marriages, prove that both were not only opponents in battlefields but also partakers of a common cultural heritage.

In his first reign Kay-Khusraw I attempted to expand his territories at the expense of Byzantium, but he was temporarily toppled by his brother Rukn al-Dīn Sulaymān Shah II, who continued his brother's policy, and also attacked Cilician Armenia and Georgia, but died suddenly while prepar-

ing a major expedition in the Caucasus. Meanwhile the exiled Kay-Khusraw I, who had found refuge in Byzantium in 1197–1203/1204, was reinstated at Ikonion. Since his Byzantine benefactors, the Angeloi, had been toppled in 1204, he became hostile toward their successors at Nicaea, the Laskarids, as well as to the latter's allies, the Cilician Armenians. He succeeded in capturing the important southern Anatolian port of Attaleia (mod. Antalya) in 1207, but in 1211 the Saljūqs were defeated at Antioch on the Maeander by the Laskarids and their Italian mercenaries, and Kay-Khusraw I was killed in action.

The operations of Kay-Khusraw's successors were directed mainly against the Grand Komnenoi of the empire of Trebizond, from whom Kay-Kawūs I (1211–1220) took Sinope in 1214, but the Saljūq army of Kay-Qubādh I (1220–1237) failed to capture Trebizond in 1222–1223 (a previous unsuccessful attempt having taken place in 1205–1206). Kay-Qubādh also faced attacks from John III Doukas Vatatzes of Nicaea between 1222/1225 and 1231, while he also led an expedition against Crimea (1227/1228) and participated in an eastern alliance that defeated the Khwārazm Shāh Jalāl al-Dīn Mangubirtī in 1231. The brunt of the imminent Mongol invasion of Anatolia, however, was reserved for Kay-Qubādh's successor, Kay-Khusraw II, shortly after an internal religious insurrection led by Baba Ishāq (1240/1241) had threatened the Rūm throne. On 26 June 1243 the Mongol Ilkhans under Baidju crushed the forces of the Rūm Saljūqs and their Latin and Trapezuntine allies at Satala (mod. Köse Dagħ). It was now too late for the Nicaean-Saljūq alliance (August 1243) to be effective, and from then onward the Rūm sultanate declined to the status of a protectorate of the Mongol Ilkhanid empire, in which most of the sultans were mere puppets in the hands of Ilkhanid governors. The period from the mid-thirteenth century, with a long list of ineffectual Saljūq nominal sultans, witnessed a gradual spread of Turcoman emirates (*beyliks*) in Anatolia. The most powerful of these developed into the Ottoman empire.

—Alexios C. C. Savvides

See also: Crusade of 1101

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Russia (Rus')

The first mention of the Old Russian state or "Russian Land" (Russ. Russkaya zemlya) occurs in 862 in the Russian *Primary Chronicle* (*Povest' vremennykh let*) of Nestor. The compiler of this work relates that the elders of the eastern

Slavic tribes had summoned three Varangians (i.e., Scandinavians) called Rurik, Sineus, and Truvor to establish order among them and to rule their lands. Without denying the appearance of Rurik as a fact, historians now date the foundation of Rus', to use the medieval name, to the eighth century, as the economy and political relations of the native peoples had developed by this time.

Ancient Rus' was a confederation of a number of towns with subject lands that were governed by princes of the Rurikid family (Russ. *Ryurikovichi*), whose senior member was the prince of Kiev (mod. Kyiv, Ukraine). It was on the initiative of a prince of Kiev, Vladimir the Great (d. 1015), that the Russian princes adopted the Orthodox form of Christianity in 988. By the beginning of the twelfth century, the Russian princes had extended their political influence into the lands of neighboring non-Slavic pagan peoples of the eastern Baltic Region. The region known as Northwestern Rus' included the Novgorodian Land (Russ. Novgorodskaya zemlya) together with the Finnic regions of Karelia, Ingria and Votia, and the Pskovian Land (Russ. Pskovskaya zemlya). The preface of the *Primary Chronicle* (dated to 1113) lists those who were required to pay tribute to Russia: the *Chud'* (Estonians), *Neroma* (possibly the northeastern Estonians), the Livs, *Letigola* (Lettgallians), *Zimigola* (Sembgallians), *Kors'* (Curonians), and *Litva* (Lithuanians). Although by this time the Russian state had fragmented into different (and sometimes hostile) principalities, the princes had preserved their influence in the eastern Baltic lands. According to the *First Novgorodian Chronicle* and the chronicle of Henry of Livonia, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Estonians and the northern Lettgallians were tributaries of the Novgorodian state, while the Russians of Polotsk (mod. Polatsk, Belarus) came for tribute in the lands of the Livs and the Lettgallians around the river Düna (Russ. *Zapadnaya Dvina*, Latv. *Daugava*).

Rus' and the Crusaders in the Baltic Region

From their inception, the Western crusades to the eastern Baltic region were detrimental to Russian interests. Initially Russian control over the Düna area was recognized in the West; thus in 1184 the canon Meinhard came to Polotsk in order to persuade its prince to permit his preaching of the Latin (Roman Catholic) faith to the Livs of the Düna region. Meinhard was accompanied by German merchants who were interested in establishing fortified trading stations on

the lower reaches of the Dūna. Their proposal to build stone fortresses in the lands of the Livs suited the prince of Polotsk. By the 1180s the Livish regions had become a target for Lithuanian raids, while Polotsk had become entangled in internal wars in Russia and the prince could not defend his subjects in the Baltic region. He therefore allowed Meinhard to preach in return for constructing fortresses that would protect the Livs against Lithuanian attacks. However, the Orthodox Church and Russian merchants were displeased by the growing influence of German merchants and by the establishment in 1186 of a Livonian bishopric with Meinhard as its first bishop, which was named in a bull of Pope Clement III of 1 October 1188 as “the bishopric of Üxküll in Ruthenia [i.e., Russia]” [*Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch nebst Regesten*, ed. Friedrich G. von Bunge et al., 15 vols. (Reval: Kluge und Ströhm, 1853–1914), 10:11].

Russian control of Livonia began to crumble with the appearance of a new bishop, Albert of Buxhövdn (1198–1229), who had obtained papal permission for annual crusades to Livonia. In 1208–1209 the crusaders conquered the Orthodox Lettgallian principalities of Koknese (Ger. *Kokenhusen*) and Jersika (Ger. *Gerzike*), whose rulers were vassals of the prince of Polotsk. In 1212 Prince Vladimir of Polotsk was forced to give up his rights to tribute from the Livs. In 1216 the Russians of Polotsk were ready to invade Livonia, but the campaign was canceled because of the sudden death of Prince Vladimir. By the late 1230s the crusaders had extended their authority along the Dūna as far as the lands inhabited by Russians.

It was only in 1210 that the Russians of Novgorod attempted to assert their authority over the lands of the Estonians and northern Lettgallians, after the crusaders and the Order of the Sword Brethren (established in 1202) had invaded Estonia. The aim of the Novgorodian incursions into Estonia in 1210 and 1212 was to force the still pagan natives to accept conversion to the Orthodox form of Christianity and to concede the rights of Novgorod to take tribute. However, the Novgorodians failed to convert the Estonians, and there was also confrontation between Novgorod and Pskov: in 1210 a detachment from Pskov took part in the crusaders' campaign against southwestern Estonia.

In 1216–1221 the Novgorodians and Pskovians fought against the crusaders in Livonia, but met little success because of their uncoordinated actions. The long history of raiding between Estonians and Russians hampered any

immediate military alliance between them; it was not until 1222, when the greater part of Estonia had been occupied, that the Estonians and Russians allied against the crusaders. Although the Novgorodians sent troops to help defend several fortresses of the Estonians, the allies were unable to withstand the crusaders and the large numbers of native inhabitants who were by now subject to the new rulers of Livonia. The last fortress to hold out was Dorpat (mod. Tartu, Estonia), defended by Estonians and a Russian detachment led by Prince Vetseke, the former ruler of Koknese. On 15 August 1224 Dorpat was captured by storm after a siege of two weeks. All but one of the Russian defenders were killed.

In 1224 the Russians concluded a peace treaty with the bishop of Riga and the Sword Brethren. The Novgorodians and Pskovians gave up political control of the territories of the Estonians and Lettgallians, but retained the right to take tribute from the natives; in the early 1280s the Pskovians were still known to come for tribute to the Lettgallian land of Adzele. The Livonian–Russian border was fixed along the line of the river Narova and lakes Peipus and Pskovskoye.

The Western powers in Livonia intended to extend their authority into the Russian lands, pressing in two directions: toward Pskov and along the southern shore of the Gulf of Finland into the lands of the Finnic peoples subject to the Novgorodian state. The papacy planned to found a new bishopric in Northwestern Rus' with Pskov as its center. The main role in the realization of these projects was to be taken by the Livonian church and the Sword Brethren, whose prospects were improved by a Lithuanian offensive against the principality of Polotsk and the rout of the Russian troops by the Mongols in the battle of Kalka. Letters of Pope Honorius III addressed to the Christians of Russia (16 November 1224) and the kings of Russia (17 January 1227) called on them to adopt the Latin faith in order to support the struggle against the pagans. In his second letter the pope had in mind the princes of Novgorod, Pskov, Smolensk, and Polotsk, but it went unheeded.

In the late 1220s the Livonians planned to take advantage of the confrontation between Pskov and Novgorod.

The Crusaders' War against Northwestern Rus'

After the establishment of the bishopric of Dorpat (1225), lands close to the Russian border were given to Dietrich, brother of Bishop Albert of Riga and of Bishop Hermann of Dorpat, and to other members of their family. This region

was intended as a springboard for the invasion of Russia. After a new conflict broke out between Pskov and Novgorod in 1228, the Pskovians concluded a defense treaty with the Livonians in expectation of an attack by Yaroslav Vsevolodovich, the prince of Novgorod. This, together with opposition from the citizens of Novgorod, forced the prince to call off the campaign. In 1233 Prince Yaroslav, son of Prince Vladimir of Pskov (d. 1227), together with disgraced nobles from Novgorod and vassals of the bishop of Dorpat, besieged Izborsk, but were defeated. Yaroslav was captured and held captive in Pereslavl'-Zalesskii until 1235. In the same year the Livonians desolated the town of Tesov near Novgorod; in response the Novgorodians invaded the bishopric of Dorpat and gained a victory over the vassals of the bishop and the Sword Brethren (1234). In 1236 a detachment of 200 warriors from Pskov took part in the crusaders' offensive against Lithuania, which was ended with their defeat in the battle of Saule (22 September 1236).

In 1240–1241 four consecutive military expeditions were launched against Northwestern Rus'. Some historians hold to the theory of a prearranged offensive from Livonia, Sweden, and Denmark. However, the written sources suggest that these were separate undertakings, which were intended to take advantage of the military-political situation in Russia after large areas of the country had fallen prey to the Mongol invaders in 1238.

In July 1240 a Swedish naval force entered the mouth of the river Neva, planning to build a fortress at the confluence of the river Izhora. They hoped to find support among the elders of the Ingrian (Izhorian) people, who were dissatisfied with the authority of Novgorod. By chance coastal watchers of the Orthodox Izhorian elder Pelgusii, who was loyal to Novgorod, observed the Swedes at sea. The Novgorodians managed to mount a surprise attack and smashed the Swedes in battle on 15 July 1240. The Novgorodian commander, Prince Alexander Yaroslavich, was later known as Nevskii after this victory.

In September 1240 a united Livonian army together with a detachment under Prince Yaroslav Vladimirovich captured Izborsk, and after seven days' siege Pskov surrendered (15 September 1240). The invaders remained for a year and a half, from time to time desolating villages in Novgorodian territory. In the winter of 1240–1241 the Teutonic Knights of Livonia invaded the territory of the Votians and built the fortress of Kopor'e with the consent of the native elders, who had agreed to adopt the Latin faith. In the beginning of 1241,

Livonians (possibly vassals of the bishopric of Riga) occupied the Novgorodian lands in the region of the river Luga and the fortress of Tesov. The situation was complicated, since Prince Alexander Nevskii had left Novgorod for Pereslavl'-Zalesskii in the summer of 1240 after a dispute with the citizens, and returned only in 1241. Toward the end of 1241, an armed force consisting of Novgorodians, Izhorians, Karelians, and the inhabitants of the Ladoga region dislodged the Teutonic Knights from Kopor'e. Some of the knights were taken prisoner, while the elders of the Votians who had gone over to the Livonians were hanged. In March 1242 Pskov and Izborsk were freed from the invaders. On 5 April 1242 the crusader army was smashed on the ice of Lake Peipus. Now facing the threat of a Russian offensive, the Livonians signed a peace treaty with Prince Alexander, forswearing all claims to any lands within the territory of the Novgorodian state.

The papacy and the rulers of Livonia did not give up the idea of annexing and converting the Russian territories. Two letters of Pope Innocent IV are known from 21 January and 15 September 1248, which appealed to Prince Alexander Nevskii to adopt the Latin faith and build a Roman Catholic cathedral in Pskov. Alexander was tempted by the prospect of obtaining the help of the Teutonic Order in the war with the Mongols. The pope's legate to Russia, John of Piano Carpini, had met Yaroslav Vsevolodovich, prince of Vladimir, at Qaraqorum in Mongolia in 1246. John had assured the pope of Yaroslav's willingness to convert, although it cannot be established whether his assurance was correct, as the prince was poisoned soon after their meeting. Negotiations conducted with Alexander by Albert Suerbeer, the archbishop of Riga, failed because Alexander was firmly against conversion.

The next attempt of the Livonian crusaders to gain a foothold in Northwestern Rus' occurred in the 1250s. In 1253 Livonian troops attacked the Pskovian Land, but retreated without a fight. Soon after that the Novgorodian host and the united Pskovian-Karelian army pushed across the river Narva and devastated the Estonian province of Vironia. The Russians were not only concerned about Livonian attacks, but were also evidently attempting to stop the infiltration of secular and ecclesiastical emissaries from Livonia. This assumption can be confirmed by letters of Pope Alexander IV to the archbishop of Riga (19 March and 3 August 1255), which relate that according to the king of Denmark's vassals in North Estonia, some natives in the Finnic lands of the

Novgorodian state had been converted. In 1256 a Swedish army came to the Narva and started to build a fortress on the right bank of the river, but retreated when it heard of the advance of Prince Alexander's troops.

In 1261 the Lithuanian king Mindaugas and Prince Alexander negotiated about a combined offensive against the crusaders. This was probably planned for the spring of 1262, but it was postponed when Alexander had to travel to the khanate of the Golden Horde to prevent a punitive campaign against his lands by the Mongols. It was only in autumn 1262 that the Russian host nominally led by Prince Dmitrii, the son of Alexander, invaded Livonia. As Dmitrii was too young to exercise command, decisions were made by his uncle, Prince Yaroslav Yaroslavich, and other princes. They plundered the country around Dorpat, burned its suburbs, and besieged the fortress before withdrawing. In 1267, having heard of Livonian plans to establish a new bishopric at Kopor'e, the Novgorodians attacked the fortress of Wesenberg (mod. Rakvere, Estonia), but withdrew after sustaining losses.

At the end of February 1268 the Russians assembled a large army and launched an offensive across the Narva. Having signed a treaty with the rulers of Livonia, the Novgorodians were confident that they would only be opposed by the nobles of Danish North Estonia, and were therefore surprised by the appearance of a Livonian military force. On 18 February 1268 there was a battle at the river Kegol near Wesenberg, which ended with great losses for both armies. The Russians withdrew, but the Livonians started to prepare for a new campaign, mustering forces in Livonia and north Germany. The rulers of Livonia and the Danish archbishopric of Lund agreed that all conquered Russian lands should be united within the diocese of Dorpat. In May 1269 the Livonian forces came to Pskov and besieged the fortress for a week (19–25 May), but after relief came from Novgorod, the Livonian master of the Teutonic Order signed a peace agreement with Prince Yurii. However, this was only a respite before a new offensive into Russia. In January 1270 war broke out between the Lithuanians and the Livonians, and on 16 February 1270 the Livonian master, Otto von Lutterberg, was killed in the battle of Karusen. At the same time a large Russian force mustered in Novgorod with the aim of attacking Reval; it included a detachment under Amragan, the *baskak* (representative of the khan) of the Golden Horde. Unable to fight on two fronts simultaneously, the Livonians asked Prince Yaroslav of Novgorod for a peace treaty, in

which they forswore all claims to any lands of Northwestern Russia beyond the Narva. In addition, a trade agreement was concluded between Novgorod and the merchants of Lübeck and Riga.

Rus' and Livonia in the Later Middle Ages

There is no evidence for any plans for conversion or establishment of a Latin bishopric within the territory of Northwestern Rus' after the 1270s. Nevertheless, the peace treaty and the increase in trade connections between the Russian, Livonian, and Western merchants did not prevent fresh attacks on Russia by the Livonians. Two offensives against Pskov occurred in 1299 and 1323, and in 1343 Izborsk was attacked. In 1294 the Russians destroyed the fortress of Ottenburg, which had been built by the North Estonian vassals on the right bank of the Narva. There were also retaliatory Russian attacks across the Livonian border. Frontier wars occurred sporadically during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The Swedes and the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order from time to time organized raids into the lands along the southern shore of the Gulf of Finland up to Lake Ladoga and also into Karelia. In 1300 the Swedes constructed the fortress of Landskrona at the mouth of the Neva and left a detachment there, which was expelled by the Novgorodians a year later. In 1443 the Teutonic Knights fought a war with the Novgorodian state that went badly for them: it ended with the Treaty of Narva (1448), which confirmed the existing Russian-Livonian border. A peace treaty between the Novgorodian state and the archbishopric of Livonia was signed in 1474.

From the middle of the fifteenth century, the government of Novgorod was concerned by resistance from Pskov and by the threat of annexation to the Muscovite state, and consequently tried to avoid military conflicts with Livonia. Indeed, Novgorod tried to negotiate Livonian assistance against Pskov and Moscow, but no treaty was signed. Muscovy annexed Novgorod in 1478 and Pskov in 1510. In 1469 Ivan III, grand prince of Muscovy, invaded Livonia after Russian merchants had been imprisoned in Dorpat. In 1501–1502 there was war between Muscovy and an alliance consisting of the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order and the grand duchy of Lithuania, which went badly for the allies. In 1558 Muscovy declared war on Livonia, which hastened the destruction of the Livonian ecclesiastical states.

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Russian Sources

See also: Baltic Crusades; Russian Sources

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Russian Sources

Various narrative sources in Russian provide significant information concerning the wars fought by the Russians against the crusaders in the eastern Baltic region.

The most important Russian source is the *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis'* (*First Novgorod Chronicle*). It exists in two versions, which survive in five different manuscripts. The Older Version (*Starshyi izvod*) is contained in the Sinodal'nyi manuscript (MS Moscow, State Historical Museum, 786). This manuscript covers events from 1016 up to 1352, but 128 folios at the beginning and several in the middle of the manuscript (dealing with events of the years 1273–1298) have been lost. The full text of the chronicle (beginning with the year 854) can be reconstructed from the Younger Version (*Mladshyi izvod*), which survives in four manuscripts, the oldest of which is the Comissionnyi manuscript in the collection of the Archeographical Commission (Institute of History, St Petersburg, no. 240), dating from the mid-fifteenth century.

The compilation of the text of the Sinodal'nyi version dealing with events up to 1234 was begun in the second part of the thirteenth century and completed in the middle of the fourteenth century. The chronicle tells of the attempts of the Novgorodians to preserve their political authority in Livonia against the crusaders. The accounts of the Russian campaigns against Livonia in 1212, 1214, 1217, 1218, 1222, and 1223 correspond with the testimony in the chronicle of Henry of Livonia about Russian raids in 1210, 1212, 1216–1217, 1218, 1221, and 1223. In the opinion of Russian scholars, where the dates differ, those given by Henry are to be preferred. The siege and capture of the fortress of Dorpat (mod. Tartu, Estonia) in 1224 are mentioned in passing in the *First Novgorod Chronicle*. By contrast, the accounts of Russian struggles against the Livonian attempts to annex parts of the Novgorodian state in the period between the 1230s and 1260s are more informative and important for the history of the Baltic Crusades. Some of the events described are also known from the Livonian sources: the occupation of Pskov (1240–1242), the crusades into the lands of the Finnic peoples of the Novgorodian state (1241), the battle on the ice of Lake Peipus (1242), the siege of Dorpat (1262), the battle of Wesenberg (1268), and the failed attempt to capture Pskov (1269). The chronicle also contains much exclusive information. This includes the military actions of the vassals of the bishop of Dorpat together with the Russian prince Yaroslav Vladimirovich in the 1230s, the attack of the

Russian and Karelian hosts against Dorpat (1253), the invasion by Livonian and Swedish troops of the lower reaches of the river Narva (1256) and the response to it by the Russians and Karelians (1256/1257), the peace treaty between Russians and the Livonians in 1270, and the defense of Pskov against the Livonians (1299 and 1323). The Comissionnyi manuscript also relates that in 1294 the Novgorodians expelled the North Estonian vassals of the Danish Crown who had started to build a fortress on the eastern bank of the river Narva; a folio that may have contained this evidence has been lost from the Sinodal'nyi manuscript. Both versions also contain much evidence about the wars between the Russians and the Teutonic Order in Livonia in the frontier region (from the 1280s onward), as well as the invasions of the order and the Swedes into the areas of the river Neva, Lake Ladoga, and Karelia.

Important original information is contained in the *Zhitiie Alexandra Nevskogo (Life of Alexander Nevskii)*, a hagiographical life of Alexander Yaroslavich, prince of Novgorod. It survives in more than 500 manuscripts (written between the end of the fourteenth and the end of the eighteenth centuries), which comprise fifteen versions. Opinions as to the time and place of its composition vary between the late 1260s and early 1280s. The *Life* may have been written by a monk of the monastery of the Nativity of Our Lady in Vladimir. The author drew on the annals of Novgorod and Vladimir, as well as on information recorded by someone who belonged to the entourage of Alexander Yaroslavich between the late 1230s and the prince's death in 1263. The *Life* contains exclusive information about the visit of the legation of the Teutonic Order led by Andreas von Felben to Novgorod and the theological disputation between Prince Alexander and the envoys of the pope. Information about the battle at the river Neva (1240) is given in greater detail than in the *First Novgorod Chronicle* and forms the main part of the *Life*.

Events in the *Life* are ordered correctly, but in keeping with the genre of the text are not dated. In the fifteenth century, the text of the *Life* was included in the Younger version of the *First Novgorod Chronicle*. The information in this chronicle was in turn used in later chronicles of Novgorod, Pskov, and Northeastern Russia. The *Life of Alexander Nevskii* also formed part of the fourteenth-century col-

lection known as the *Slovo o pogibeli Zemli Russkoi (Account concerning the Loss of the Russian Land)*. Some information about the wars between the Livonians and Pskovians (from the 1280s to the end of the fifteenth century) is found in the *First, Second and Third Chronicles of Pskov* (fifteenth–seventeenth centuries). This information derives from the earlier annual records made in Pskov and also from the *Povest' o Dovmonte (The Story of Dovmont)*. The *Story* was written in the fourteenth century, soon after the death of Daumantas (Russ. *Dovmont*), the Lithuanian prince who ruled in Pskov in 1266–1299. During the years of his government, the principality of Pskov achieved its greatest independence from Novgorod, and the composition of the work was more of a political than a literary act. In writing this work the author imitated the *Life of Alexander Nevskii*. The text contains useful information, with particularly interesting and detailed accounts of the defense of Pskov in 1269 and 1299.

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See also: Baltic Crusades; Russia (Rus')

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S

St. Sabas, War of (1256–1258)

A conflict between the Genoese and the Venetian merchant communes in Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) that escalated into a civil war that embraced the whole of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

The conflict developed out of rival claims by the Genoese and the Venetians to the monastery of St. Sabas, which lay on the boundary between their respective quarters in the city, and was fueled by their competition for the maritime trade of the Mediterranean. Early in 1256 the Genoese seized the monastery and attacked the Venetian quarter with the support of the Pisans. They were repulsed, but siege engines were set up with which the Italians bombarded each other.

The kingdom of Jerusalem was divided by the conflict. John of Arsuf initially backed the Genoese, while some barons, led by John of Jaffa, favored the Venetians. Philip of Montfort, lord of Tyre and Toron, used the opportunity to expel the Venetians from Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon) and allied himself with the Genoese. In July 1257 the Pisans changed sides to join Venice. The fraternities in Acre sided with the Venetians, as did the Templars and the Teutonic Knights, while the Hospitallers supported the Genoese. The communes from southern France opposed the Genoese, and consequently the Catalan communes backed them.

The Venetians gained ground when John of Jaffa successfully manipulated the regency laws to bring Plaisance of Antioch to power in the kingdom of Jerusalem. As *bailli* (regent) she ordered the Crown vassals to support Venice. Both sides were reinforced by new arrivals from Europe, and the struggle continued both on land and at sea. A

Venetian fleet under the command of Lorenzo Tiepolo broke the Genoese blockade of Acre and regained possession of their quarter. In June 1258 Philip of Montfort, with the support of the Hospitallers, led an army south to attack Acre while the Genoese launched an assault from the sea. The Venetian and Genoese fleets clashed, and the latter were defeated, losing many men and galleys, and Philip and the Hospitallers were forced to withdraw.

The position of the Genoese in Acre had become untenable, and they abandoned the city in favor of Tyre. The conflict had destroyed much of Acre, damaged its trade, and exacerbated the factional divisions within Outremer.

—Linda Goldsmith

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Safad

See Saphet

Sakkala

A province of medieval Livonia corresponding to the southwestern part of modern Estonia. Sakkala was delimited to the north by the river Nawwest (mod. Navesti, Estonia), to the east by Lake Wirzjärw (mod. Võrtsjärv), and to the west by massive swamps. The main provincial centers according to the chronicle of Henry of Livonia were Fellin (mod. Viljandi) and Leole (mod. Lõhavere).

Saladin (1138–1193)

Raids into Sakkala by the German crusaders based in and around Riga began in 1208 and were met by counterattacks from the Estonian inhabitants in the province. One of the chieftains of Sakkala, Lembitu of Leole, was singled out by Henry of Livonia as one of the fiercest enemies of Riga. He emerged as one of the heroes of Estonian national historiography in modern times. In 1215, after the capture of Leole and Fellin, the population of the province was baptized. However, resistance was not broken until 1217, when the crusaders defeated the Estonian forces in the battle of Fellin, in which Lembitu lost his life.

The new German administration, with its center in Fellin, suffered a serious blow from an Estonian uprising in January 1223, but Sakkala was finally subjected by the Order of the Sword Brethren in August that year. The province became one of the core areas of the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order after it incorporated the remnants of the Sword Brethren in 1237.

–Juhan Kreem

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Saladin (1138–1193)

Vizier (1169–1171) and sultan of Egypt (1174–1193), the main Muslim opponent of the Franks of Outremer in the fourth quarter of the twelfth century. His original name was Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb; the name Saladin is a European corruption of his honorific Arabic title Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ("goodness of the faith").

Saladin was a Kurd who was born at Tikrit (in mod. Iraq) in 1138. His family originated in Dvin in the Caucasus (near mod. Yerevan, Armenia), but employment opportunities brought members of the family to Iraq. Saladin's father, Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, and uncle, Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh, served as governors of Tikrit on behalf of the Saljūq sultan Muḥammad ibn Malik Shāh. However, in 1138 they had to flee from Tikrit following a murder committed by Shīrkūh. They both found employment at the court of 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī, emir of Mosul. For some years the careers of the two

brothers took separate courses, but from 1154 they were both in Damascus in the service of Zangī's son Nūr al-Dīn, ruler of Muslim Syria. Saladin spent his formative years in Damascus: for a short period he served as chief of police, but he was mostly known as Nūr al-Dīn's highly skilled polo-playing companion.

Between 1164 and 1169, Nūr al-Dīn found himself obliged to intervene militarily in Egypt in order to counter invasions of the country mounted by the Franks of Jerusalem in alliance with the Byzantines. Saladin accompanied the expeditionary force commanded by Shīrkūh, gaining his first military experience at the battle of Babayn and the defense of Alexandria (1167).

On the death of Shīrkūh (26 March 1169), Saladin became commander of Nūr al-Dīn's forces in Egypt and was also appointed as vizier, governing in the name of the Fāṭimid caliph. The period from this point up to the death of the caliph al-'Āḍid (September 1171) saw the consolidation of Saladin's power, the undermining of the Fāṭimid state, and the growth of tension with Nūr al-Dīn. Saladin bought the loyalty of the officers of the Syrian army in Egypt by rewarding them with rural and urban property. His personal standing was much strengthened with the arrival of his father and older brothers from Damascus. His brother, Tūrān Shāh, fought and destroyed the Fāṭimid infantry regiments in Cairo, thus curtailing the ability of the Fāṭimid regime to oppose Saladin. Saladin's father, Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, governed provinces of Egypt, and his nephew, Taqī al-Dīn, emulated Saladin by establishing educational and religious institutions that emphasized the new Sunnī character of Egypt. In the struggle against the Fāṭimid state Saladin was assisted by Sunnī Muslims within the Fāṭimid administration, who had a deep dislike for the incompetent and religiously abhorrent Shī'ite regime. Among these, the cooperation of Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, head of the Fāṭimid chancery, proved invaluable.

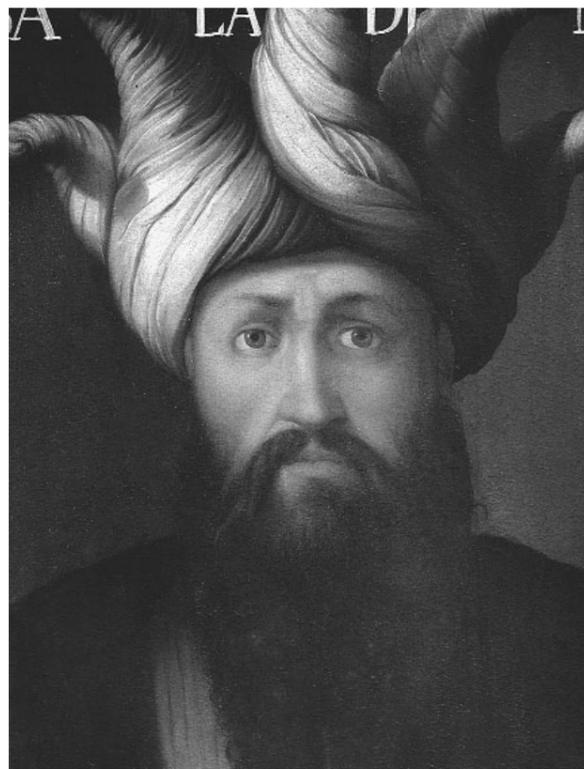
The death of al-'Āḍid in 1171 brought the tension between Saladin and Nūr al-Dīn into the open: Nūr al-Dīn now realized that Saladin and his Ayyūbid kinsmen had developed a taste for power in Egypt, but found himself unable to enjoy the fruits of the military investment he had made in sending his armies there. This tension, although it did not burst into open conflict, continued until the death of Nūr al-Dīn in 1174.

Following the death of his formal overlord, Saladin set out to conquer Syria from the hands of Nūr al-Dīn's young heirs. This intra-Muslim war was presented in Qāḍī al-

Fāḍil's propaganda as having a different motive: the desire to wage holy war on the Franks. Damascus, Homs, and Hama came under Saladin's rule in 1174. However, it was only after two battles against Zangid forces, in 1175 and 1176, that Saladin was able to conquer Aleppo in 1183. Mosul remained a Zangid possession, while recognizing Saladin's sovereignty and contributing forces to his campaigns (1186). Other victories by Saladin included the conquest of the Artūqid towns of Mayyafariqin, Mardin, and the fortress of Amida (mod. Diyarbakir, Turkey) in 1183. Saladin's expansion at the cost of other Muslim dynasties took place intermittently, interspersed with wars against the Franks of Outremer and clashes with the Assassins, who were regarded as Muslim heretics.

In 1177, Saladin suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of the Franks in the battle of Mont Gisard in southern Palestine. However, he was able to recover from this and successfully fought the battle of Marj Uyun (1179). Special animosity developed between Saladin and the lord of Transjordan, Reynald of Châtillon, who intercepted pilgrim caravans to Arabia and launched a naval raid in the Red Sea aimed at the holy city of Mecca, which was defeated by Saladin's forces in Egypt. Saladin's invasions of the kingdom of Jerusalem in 1182 and 1183 were quite futile; in 1183, for example, the refusal of the Franks to be dragged into an all-out battle led to a stalemate and forced him to withdraw from the kingdom.

The campaign of 1187 was marked by Saladin's vast numerical superiority and tactical mistakes committed by the Franks. On 27 June, Saladin rounded the southern tip of Lake Tiberias and on 30 June took up a position to the northwest at Kfar Sabt. This well-watered place controlled one of the roads from Saforie, where the Franks had concentrated, to Tiberias (mod. Teverya, Israel). On 2 July Saladin left most of his army at Kfar Sabt and attacked Tiberias with his personal guard. The town was quickly taken, but Eschiva of Galilee, the wife of Raymond III of Tripoli, held out in the strongly fortified citadel. On 3 July the Franks left Saforie in an attempt to relieve Tiberias. Saladin's army seized the springs of Tur'ān as they left, cutting the Franks off from water supplies; the nearest springs were at the Horns of Hattin, but these had also been seized by Saladin's troops. Saladin made effective use of his numerical superiority, attacking the rear of the Frankish army, held by the Templars, from the high ground of Tur'ān. At this point King Guy of Jerusalem decided to establish a camp, and the Franks



Painting of Saladin (1138–1193) by Cristofano (di Papi) dell'Altissimo (1552–1605). (The Art Archive/Galleria degli Uffizi Florence/Dagli Orti)

endured a night of thirst on the arid plateau (3–4 July). In the ensuing battle, Raymond of Tripoli and some of his troops were able to escape the Muslim encirclement, but the Frankish army, although it fought gallantly, finally collapsed, with the majority of the Franks killed or taken prisoner. Saladin spared King Guy, but executed Reynald of Châtillon along with the Templar and Hospitaller captives. Vast numbers of prisoners were sent to Damascus. Saladin took full advantage of this victory and went on to capture the city of Jerusalem (20 October 1187) and numerous other territories held by the Franks in Palestine and Syria in intense campaigns in 1187–1189, which occasionally continued into the winter months as well. Only Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon) and Tripoli (mod. Trâblous, Lebanon) remained in Christian hands, but this was enough for the Franks, aided by crusader forces, to begin their attempt at reconquest.

During the Third Crusade (1189–1192), one of Saladin's major problems, the lack of adequate naval power, came to

the fore. Saladin built a fleet, but it was much smaller than the European fleets operating in the eastern Mediterranean and performed poorly in combat, notably at Tyre in 1187. This naval shortcoming contributed greatly to Saladin's failure in the battle for Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) from September 1189 to July 1191. Although the Third Crusade failed to re-conquer Jerusalem, Saladin suffered further military setbacks, losing the port of Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel) and being defeated at the battle of Arsuf (7 September 1191). Fearing for the safety of Egypt, he decided to dismantle the fortifications of Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel). The truce of 2 September 1192, known as the Treaty of Jaffa, confirmed what the Franks held and gave the two sides a much needed respite, but events had taken a heavy toll on Saladin's health: he died on 3 March 1193, after an illness lasting only a few days.

Saladin's great achievements in fighting the holy war had already become a myth during his lifetime, obliterating almost every feature of his personality and deeds that did not tally with the myth. Only rarely, if at all, is the nonmythical Saladin discernible from what is recorded about him. The myth of Saladin was created and propagated by a group of three historian-admirers; Qādī al-Fāḍil, 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, and Bahā' al-Dīn ibn Shaddād, who also served him in various capacities and accompanied him on campaigns. Saladin's critics were few, and even they could not deny his real achievements. We are basically left with Saladin's depiction by his historian-admirers, and these accounts must be examined on their own merits.

Saladin is portrayed as a religious person who scrupulously performed the rites of Islam, and there is nothing unbelievable in this description. Medieval people, both humble and high-born, were deeply religious, and for many the strict observance of religious rites was a way of life. Far more problematic is the description of Saladin's religious beliefs and inclinations, since these are presented as conforming to the Sunnī orthodoxy of his time. We can certainly ask ourselves whether Saladin was indeed much concerned with theological problems such as God's attributes, or whether the views attributed to him by his historian-admirers were the reflections of their own inner religious world rather than his.

No less questionable are the descriptions crediting him with great interest in religious learning and the sessions of transmission of Prophetic traditions. It is true that Saladin and his extended family were linguistically and culturally fully Arabicized with Saladin being fluent in both Kurdish

and Arabic. The religious education of his many sons was important to him, and he tried to provide them with the best available. Attendance at sessions of the transmission of traditions, however, was not only a personal religious act. It had public implications and was politically useful in forging ties with the religious class, which was a group that rendered intermediary services between the ruling military elite (mostly Kurdish and Turkish) of Egypt and Syria and the subject populations.

Participation in public sessions was only one minor aspect of Saladin's manifold relations with the religious class. The establishment of law colleges supported by vast pious endowments was a far more significant aspect of these relations. In this respect Saladin's religious policy lacked originality, since it was the continuation of a pattern that had evolved in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in the Iranian world and the Near East. The main problem is, however, the depiction of Saladin as an unselfish warrior of the holy war. This image was propagated long before there were any real achievements and was used to justify wars against Muslims. By the time of him, the manipulation of the holy war for political purposes was common, and the fact that it was used in Saladin's propaganda should not necessarily automatically discredit him. Judging from the tenacity with which he fought the Third Crusade, Saladin's commitment to the ideology of the holy war was deep and real. Given the prevailing mood of those times, this is hardly surprising.

It must be admitted that the real qualities of Saladin's character, or to put it differently, the charisma that won him the admiration of his contemporaries, Muslims and foes alike, elude us. His financial and material generosity toward members of the ruling elite is widely reported and must have been a very basic trait of his character. He is also characterized as humanely generous and attentive to the plight of captured and suffering enemies. This characterization prevailed in spite of the well-known executions of prisoners-of-war carried out on his orders and his quite callous attitude toward his own men in captivity. His failure to ransom the captured garrison of Acre, eventually executed by the crusaders, subsequently affected his relations with his emirs. Leaving aside issues of personality, in his military and administrative policies Saladin rather unimaginatively adhered to the accepted norms of his day, but it must be said these served him well.

—Yaacov Lev

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Saladin in Literature

The Christian West regarded the Muslim ruler Saladin as the most important opponent of the Franks in Outremer, but he was also renowned for his generosity and chivalry, two virtues highly valued in the European chivalric ideal. This ambivalence guaranteed Saladin a protracted career in the western European literature of the Middle Ages (and beyond). The depiction of Saladin in literary texts combines historical elements with completely fictitious stories. This mixture presumably aims at giving plausible and acceptable form and explanation to a remarkable Muslim leader, whose conduct defied medieval Christian prejudices toward and perceptions of Islam. The substantial textual testimony (in Latin, French, English, German, Dutch, Italian, and Castilian) to Saladin's extraordinary reputation shows, over

and above numerous idiosyncrasies, a number of more or less common elements.

Besides his generosity and chivalry, an alleged Christian descent (e.g., from the French noble house of Ponthieu) belongs to the common tradition of these texts (e.g., in the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Old French and Middle Dutch *Saladin* romances). Several texts mention Saladin receiving an initiation in Christian chivalry; for example, in the Old French *Ordène de chevalerie* (1250/1300) his captive Hue de Tabarie eventually dubs him a knight. Saladin is sometimes credited with an incognito journey to western Europe, as well as amorous adventures with a French queen. But the efforts to rationalize the phenomenon of Saladin from a Western, Christian perspective are most explicitly illustrated in the stories about his innate inclination toward Christianity and his autobaptism. This literary tradition relates how, on his deathbed, Saladin organizes a dispute between a Muslim, a Jew, and a Christian. Persuaded by the last, he orders a bowl of water, baptizes himself, and dies convinced that he is a Christian. Though this kind of story is counterbalanced by negative judgments (such as allegations of political opportunism and cruelty), it remains remarkable that within the Christian framework of European medieval literature a Muslim receives such a positive portrayal.

The pinnacle of this literary career is perhaps found in Dante's *Divina Commedia*, where the poet places Saladin (as the only Muslim) in Limbo, together with, though set aside from, the great men of ancient times who are spared from hell. Saladin's special status is well illustrated in a fourteenth-century Middle Dutch exemplum that presents him as a notable example of *contemptus mundi* (literally, "disdain for the world," that is, worldly concerns) and wise preparation for life's inevitable end.

—Geert H. M. Claassens

See also: Saladin (1138–1193)

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Saladin Tithe

A tax levied by Henry II, king of England, and Philip II Augustus, king of France, on their respective dominions in order to finance a crusade intended to recover the Christian possessions in the Holy Land overrun by Saladin, ruler of

Egypt and Muslim Syria, in the aftermath of the battle of Hattin (4 July 1187).

The tax was proclaimed when the two kings took the cross together in January 1188 and fixed at the rate of one-tenth of the value of revenues and movable goods, to be paid by all those not going on crusade, although the assessment excluded certain categories of property such as precious stones, as well as possessions required for professional purposes by knights (such as horses and weaponry) and clerics (such as books and vestments). Crusaders were exempt from the tax, and were entitled to receive the tithes paid by their vassals and tenants.

The tithe aroused much resentment in both realms, particularly as it was feared that it would create a precedent for future taxation. In Philip's lands it was collected by lay and ecclesiastical lords, with patchy results. Opposition was so great that Philip eventually suspended collection, rescinded the tithe on movables, and promised never to levy such a tax again. In England and in Henry's lands in France, collection of the tax was carried out by a system of committees and juries at parish level with the participation of royal officials, and those who failed to pay were threatened with excommunication. The taxes raised from Henry's dominions went to fund the expedition of his son Richard the Lionheart in the Third Crusade (1189–1192), and the more effective collection in the Angevin realm was one of the reasons why Richard's expedition was better financed than that of Philip.

–Alan V. Murray

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Şalāḥ al-Dīn

See Saladin

Saljūqs

The Saljūqs (also spelled Seljuks) were a Turkish dynasty of Central Asiatic origin that conquered and ruled Persia, Iraq,

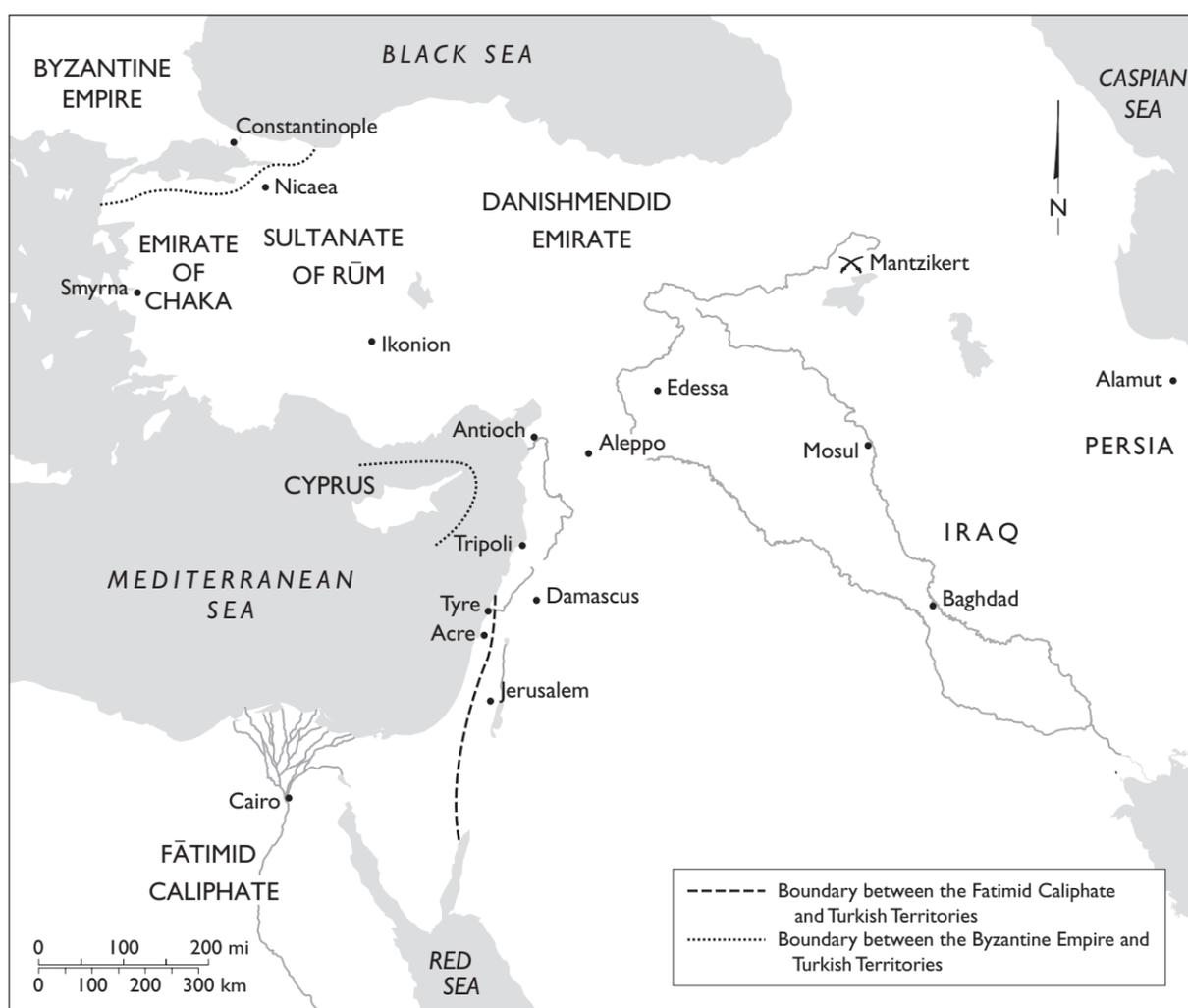
and much of the Near East in the late eleventh and earlier twelfth centuries.

Origins: The Saljūqs in Central Asia

By the middle of the eleventh century, the Muslim world consisted of a patchwork of peoples and states in the lands of the former Arab Empire, united, and divided, by the religion of Islam. That world had been founded by the Arab conquests 400 years earlier, when the last of the barbarians to assault the Roman Empire, and the last of the heretics to challenge its faith, had invaded and unified a Near and Middle East previously partitioned between the empires of Rome and Persia. In the middle of the eleventh century, this world was in turn invaded by fresh barbarians: Berbers from the Sahara and Turcomans from Central Asia. Even more than the Arabs, these barbarians were nomads of the arid zone from the Atlantic to Mongolia; and, as in the case of the Arabs, their invasions were testimony to the attraction of the civilized world for the peoples on its periphery, who were drawn into its affairs by its wealth on the one hand, by its religion and its politics on the other.

At the end of the tenth century the emirate of the Sāmānid dynasty in Central Asia, an offshoot of the 'Abbāsīd Empire, collapsed. Its territories were divided between the Turcoman Qarakhānids in Transoxania and the Ghaznawids in Khurasan and Afghanistan. Unlike the immigrant Qarakhānids, the Turcoman Oghuz (also known as Ghuzz), occupying the steppes beyond the Aral Sea, remained largely pagan. In the first half of the eleventh century, however, a Muslim fraction of the Oghuz, nomadic warriors in search of pasture and military service, moved south into Qarakhānid and then Ghaznawid territory. These were the Saljūq (Turk. *Selçük*) clan, named after their ancestor; and they came into conflict with both the Qarakhānids and the Ghaznawids, a dynasty founded by a Turkish *ghulām* (slave soldier, pl. *ghilmān*) in the service of the Sāmānids.

To justify his usurpation of power, Maḥmūd of Ghazna (998–1030) had turned to war upon the internal and external enemies of Islam, that is the Shī'ites in Iraq and Persia and Hindus of the Indian subcontinent. The Shī'ite Būyid dynasty in western Persia held power over the Sunnī 'Abbāsīd caliphate at Baghdad; the Shī'ite Fāṭimids in Egypt claimed the caliphate for themselves. As recognized champions of the 'Abbāsīds, Maḥmūd and his son Mas'ūd not only persecuted the Ismā'īlīs, the followers of the Fāṭimids within their dominions, but set out to overthrow the Būyids



The Saljūq Sultanate (Western Half), including dependent Turkish Territories, in 1095

and ultimately the Fāṭimids. But their ambitions were cut short at the battle of Dandanqān in 1040, when Mas'ūd's ponderous army was routed by the Saljūqs who had overrun the province of Khurasan. From the battlefield, the Saljūq leader Ṭughril Beg sent the news of his victory to Baghdad, thereby taking upon himself the championship of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate and Sunnī Islam.

The Establishment of the Saljūq Empire

With the Ghaznawids confined to Afghanistan and north-western India, their dominions in northeastern Persia were divided between Ṭughril and his brothers Chagrī and Mūsā Yabghū in a family dominion like that of the Qarakhānids in Transoxania. What might in consequence have remained yet another regional power, without pretensions or prospects, was transformed into a great new empire by this active championship. Leaving Chagrī to establish a local dynasty in Kirman in southeastern Persia, Ṭughril resumed the drive of the Ghaznawids to the west. Between 1040 and 1055 he took over the Būyid dominions in western Persia and Iraq, and between 1055 and 1060 secured Baghdad against the attempt of the Fāṭimids to win it for themselves. By the time of his death in 1063, he had married the daughter of the 'Abbāsīd caliph and received from him a plethora of titles: King of the East and the West, Pillar of the Faith, and so on. These confirmed him as the sultan, the hereditary ruler of the world on behalf of the caliph.

Ṭughril's nephew Alp Arslān (d. 1073) and Alp Arslān's son Malik Shāh I (d. 1092) ensured that this role did not die with him, but was justified by further conquest. In 1071 Alp Arslān routed the Byzantines at the battle of Mantzikert in Armenia, adding Anatolia not only to the Saljūq realm but to the Islamic world. Between 1078 and 1086 Malik Shāh I and his brother Tutush I took the bulk of Syria, while in the northeast, the Qarakhānids of Transoxania were forced into submission. The ambition to conquer Egypt was never pursued, but at the death of Malik Shāh I, Islam in Asia was predominantly under Saljūq rule.

Government, Institutions, and Armies

The Saljūq Empire was a family affair, divided among brothers and their sons in accordance with Turcoman custom, and exposed to their rivalry. But at the same time it was not a Turcoman empire in the sense of nomadic tribesmen ruling over settled populations. The princes were khans, or chieftains, to the nomads who followed them, but as heirs to

the Ghaznawids and the Būyids, they were patriarchs in Max Weber's sense, rulers who relied less upon the folk than the household for their forces, and from the outset they depended upon the secretarial class of the Muslim world for their administration.

The Turcoman tribesmen who accompanied the Saljūqs into the Muslim world and migrated in search of pasture for their sheep through the highlands of Persia into Anatolia largely escaped, and indeed resisted, their control. The twin threats of devolution and dissidence were only overcome with the creation of a centralized regime by two great viziers (Arab. *wazīr*) brought up in the service of the Ghaznawids, al-Kundurī and Nizām al-Mulk. They did so as politicians as well as administrators, whose powers of appointment and patronage created networks of clients around their own extensive households, and enabled them to command obedience from the Saljūqs themselves, from their colleagues, and from their subordinates. As politicians they lived dangerously between the confidence of the sultan and the royal ladies on the one hand, and the intrigues of their rivals on the other: Nizām al-Mulk had al-Kundurī put to death, and before his own murder in 1092 was protesting his loyalty against the calumnies of his enemies. But for over thirty years they reined back the centrifugal forces underlying the supremacy of the King of the East and the West.

The *Siyāsat-nāma* (Book of Government) by Nizām al-Mulk is a prescription for government that relies heavily upon Ghaznawid practice and example, not least for the acculturation of the Turks, who were to be trained up as *ghilmān*, loyal and disciplined warriors in the household of the prince. What has been called the despotic and monolithic Ghaznawid state could not be recreated; the household of the sultan was only the greatest of many such retinues, which gave each prince a greater or lesser degree of independence. Devolution was nevertheless kept in check by the size of his household, coupled with that of Nizām al-Mulk himself, and by the appointment of its members as provincial governors and *atabegs* ("father dukes"), senior commanders who acted as tutors of junior princes, whose mothers they often married. It was more formally controlled by the use of the *iqta'*, a grant of revenue in payment for military service, which under the Saljūqs became a grant of local or provincial government. At the same time Nizām al-Mulk set out to ground the pretensions of the sultan to the role of defender of the faith in more than titles and occasional warfare. In the name of Sunnī Islam, he founded the Nizāmiyya at Baghdad, the

most famous of a series of colleges of religious education designed to inculcate the true faith as well as to bring it under the patronage and control of the state. The foundation of such a *madrasa* (religious college) became a hallmark of the pious prince, concerned with his image in the public eye.

On their entry into the Islamic world, the Saljūqs were Turcoman nomads, fighting on horseback with composite bows and curved swords, but without armor, opposing their mobility to the more static formations of the armies they encountered. Over the next hundred years of warfare, the Turcomans acquired helmets and a certain amount of body armor, while the Saljūqs themselves adopted the style of the *ghulām*, the so-called slave soldier, recruited as a boy from the Turkish populations of Central Asia and trained up to be a fully armored cavalryman in the armies of the Islamic world from the ninth century onward. Their principal innovation was to provide him with the Turcoman bow in addition to sword and spear. Saljūq armies thus came to consist of squadrons of heavy household cavalry supported by Turcoman and other ethnic auxiliaries, with all the advantages of armor, archery, and mobility. Such squadrons under their individual commanders were nevertheless limited in size, and large armies were the exception. By the end of the Saljūq period, the term *ghulām* had been generally replaced by *mamlūk* (pl. *mamālīk*), most obviously in Egypt, where the Saljūq warrior was introduced by Saladin.

The Crisis of the Empire

The image of piety supplemented that of defender of the faith, employed by ʿUghrīl to create his empire, and to justify the power of a rank outsider over the Islamic world. That justification, however, at the expense of Shiʿite Islam, provoked a radical new challenge and a radical new threat. The *Siyāsat-nāma* barely mentions the Fāṭimids, nominal enemies who had evidently ceased to serve the Saljūq purpose of empire building. But it vehemently attacks the Ismāʿīlīs, followers of the Fāṭimids under their leader Ḥasan-i ʿAbbāḥ, who in 1090 seized the castle of Alamut in northwestern Persia as a base for revolution. Directed against the Saljūqs as the champions of Sunni Islam, the threat of insurrection not only forced the regime to go to war in the mountains, but in 1092 Ḥasan's alarming campaign of assassination may have claimed the life of Nizām al-Mulk himself. Whoever arranged it, the murder of the great vizier was the beginning of the end for the empire he had striven to consolidate. The death of Malik Shāh I a few weeks later curtailed the sultan's

plan to depose the reigning caliph, and thus bring the ʿAbbāsid caliphate completely under his control. Instead, it opened the way to a struggle for the succession from which the empire never fully recovered.

Malik Shāh I's sons Maḥmūd and Barkyārūq were minors, fought over by the factions at court, and challenged by their uncle Tutush I in Syria. Barkyārūq succeeded to the throne in 1094; Tutush was killed in 1095; but from 1097 to his death in 1105, the new sultan was challenged by his half-brothers Muḥammad Tapar (d. 1118) and Sanjar (d. 1157). The ensuing warfare divided the empire between Barkyārūq in Iraq and western Persia and his rivals in the northeast, and placed the contestants in the hands of the military. As the shifting loyalties of the atabegs came to dominate the conflict, Syria was abandoned to the sons of Tutush at Damascus and Aleppo, while the Saljūqs of Rūm (Anatolia) were left to fight off the Byzantines and crusaders at Ikonion (mod. Konya, Turkey). The unsuccessful attempt of the atabeg of Mosul, Karbughā, to relieve Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) in 1098 was the most that was done to halt the progress of the First Crusade (1096–1099). In Persia itself, Ḥasan-i ʿAbbāḥ extended his mountain kingdom, while his assassins claimed their victims, and Shahdiz outside Isfahan fell into Ismāʿīlī hands.

Decline of the Empire

The conflict ended with the death of Barkyārūq in 1105 and the accession of Muḥammad Tapar, under whom the unity of the empire was restored. Shahdiz was recovered in 1110, and the expansion of Alamut halted. Between 1110 and 1115 two attempts were made by the atabegs of Mosul on behalf of the sultan to organize a joint campaign in Syria against the Frankish states of Outremer. Both, however, failed in the face of Syrian hostility to any attempt to recover the country for the empire. Mosul itself, under successive atabegs, was semi-independent, while Diyar Bakr and Mayyafariqin on the upper Euphrates were taken over by the Turcoman Artūqid dynasty.

This shrinkage of the empire back toward the east was confirmed by the death of Muḥammad Tapar in 1118. The sultanate then passed to Sanjar, the fourth son of Malik Shāh I, who had governed Khurasan since 1097, and remained identified with this first conquest of the dynasty. Left to rule over western Persia and Iraq, the sons and grandsons of Muḥammad steadily lost control of their territory to their atabegs, whose principalities came to stretch from the

Great Saljūq Sultans

Tughril Beg	1055–1063
Alp Arslān	1063–1072
Malik Shāh I	1072–1092
Maḥmūd I	1092–1094
Barkyārūq	1094–1105
Malik Shāh II	1105
Muḥammad Tapar	1105–1118
Sanjar	1118–1157

Caspian Sea and the Caucasus through Mosul in northern Iraq to Luristan and Fars in western and southern Persia. By 1152 they had even lost Baghdad to the ‘Abbāsids, who had taken advantage of Saljūq weakness to create their own state. In Khurasan itself, Sanjar’s position was seriously weakened by defeat at the hands of the Qara Khitay in Transoxania in 1141, and collapsed in 1157, when he was defeated by Oghuz Turkish tribesmen, and died.

Like the Ghaznavids before them, the Great Saljūqs thus met their fate in the same region and at the hands of the same people whom they had led to the original victory at Dandānqān. Just as in 1040, their dominions in eastern Persia, including Kirman under the descendants of Tughril’s brother Chagrī, were overrun by the victors, while an empty title passed to the line of Muḥammad in what was left of their empire in the west. From 1161 to 1191 their sultanate was under the control of the atabeg Eldigūz and his successors, whose power extended from Azerbaijan as far as Isfahan. It ended in heroic suicide, when Tughril III ousted the Eldiguzids, only to go to war with the formidable Khwārazm Shāh, and die in battle in 1194.

The great difference between the victory of the Oghuz in 1157 and the victory of the Saljūqs in 1040 was the absence of either a great religious or a great political cause. After the death of Sanjar, the Turks behaved as the Saljūqs might have done without the championship of the caliphate and Islam, and remained as a horde in eastern Persia; there was no mantle for their leader Malik Dinār to inherit. This failure on the part of the Great Saljūqs to maintain the ideal as well as the reality of universal empire is symptomatic of the growing conviction that might is right; in other words, that the ruler who had the power to govern had the authority to do so. It anticipated the coming of the pagan Mongols, and their ready acceptance by the counterparts of Nizām al-Mulk in

the thirteenth century. It was left to the Zangids, the dynasty of the Saljūq atabeg at Mosul, gradually to rediscover the principle of religion for empire, and to their henchman Saladin to put it once again into practice.

—Michael Brett

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Samogitia

Samogitia (Lith. *Žemaitija*, Pol. *± mudz*, Ger. *Schmaiten*) was part of the Lithuanian lowlands north of the river Nemunas, a region of scattered settlements protected by dense forests and swamps from attacks by both crusaders and those Lithuanian grand princes of the highlands who attempted in vain to exercise authority there.

The Samogitians were the most fierce warriors of the Baltic region, and the most resolutely pagan. There were few important lords and few serfs, a fact that folklore and even

Polish literature later exploited to depict later generations as retaining the best qualities of the noble savage. The Samogitians were indeed great warriors who fought with courage, cunning, and conviction against overwhelming numbers, but they were also ruthless toward their foes, carrying away women and children into slavery and occasionally burning a knight alive in honor of their gods. Cultural conservatism, together with the swampy and forested nature of the land, slowed the development of agriculture; instead Samogitians raised cattle and horses, which could be easily hidden from enemy armies and added to by successful raids of their own.

The first conflicts in the course of the Baltic Crusades came early in the thirteenth century when Lithuanian raiders were conducting their annual plundering of Livonia and Estonian settlements, and their greatest victories came in defense of their lands against crusaders. In the fourteenth century, members of the Teutonic Order operating out of Prussia conducted more than seventy invasions into Samogitia and further up the river Nemunas into central Lithuania; they also attacked from Curonia and central Livonia. Many squires came in hope of being knighted in magnificent ceremonies. Crusader poets described Samogitian warriors lurking in the darkness outside the crusaders' celebrations, thirsting for revenge against those who had killed their people and burned their homes and crops, but unable to satisfy their rage.

Eventually Samogitian independence was traded away for peace by Grand Duke Vytautas of Lithuania (1386–1430) and Władysław II Jagiełło (Lith. *Jogaila*), king of Poland (1386–1434), who in 1398 assisted the grand master of the Teutonic Order in repressing the last resistance, and then confirmed his authority over the region in the Treaty of Sallinwerder. The grand master was criticized by churchmen for not rushing the population to the baptismal font, but he held to his policy of westernizing the economy first. A later effort to collect taxes led to the hostilities with Poland and Lithuania that ended in the battle of Tannenberg in 1410. Vytautas and Władysław introduced Christianity in 1413, sending a delegation of converts to the Council of Konstanz in 1415, and oversaw the creation of a diocese in 1417. Nevertheless, passive resistance prevented a thorough conversion until the Counter-Reformation.

–William L. Urban

See also: Baltic Crusades; Lithuania; Livonia; Mindaugas

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St. Samuel

See Montjoie, Abbey of

San Germano, Treaty of (1230)

The agreement between Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor and king of Sicily, and Pope Gregory IX that ended the conflict arising from Frederick's excommunication in 1227, which Gregory had pronounced because of Frederick's delays in going on crusade to the Holy Land.

The settlement was negotiated by Hermann von Salza, master of the Teutonic Order, and Cardinal Thomas of Capua, and confirmed by Frederick II at San Germano in Italy on 23 July 1227. It included the promise that those who had supported the papacy would be taken back into the emperor's favor; that Frederick would not enter the duchy of Spoleto or other papal lands; that episcopal elections in Sicily would conform to the rules laid out at the Fourth Lateran Council (1215); that the church in Sicily would be free from taxation, and its clergy exempt from royal jurisdiction; and that lands that had been seized from the military orders would be returned to them.

Various issues were not, however, fully resolved until 28 August, at Ceprano (on the borders between the kingdom of Sicily and the papal states), where two papal legates absolved Frederick from his sentence of excommunication. By that stage, some of the more stringent clauses had been modified in Frederick's favor. The ceremony was followed by a meeting between Frederick and Gregory at Anagni on 1 September, which symbolically ended Frederick's excommunication.

–Björn K. U. Weiler

See also: Baltic Crusades; Lithuania; Teutonic Order

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Santiago de Compostela

A major pilgrimage center and bishopric (later archbishopric) in Galicia (northwestern Spain). The church of Compostela was built over the relics of the apostle St. James (Sp. *Santiago*), which were discovered at the beginning of the reign of King Alfonso II of León (791–842).

Compostela became the site of a bishopric and, from 1124 onward, an archbishopric, ranking alongside the other Iberian provinces of Toledo, Tarragona, and Braga. The reputation of the sanctuary soon drew a growing number of pilgrims, and by the twelfth century Compostela was one of the three major places of pilgrimage in Latin Christendom, alongside Rome and Jerusalem.

Santiago de Compostela is linked to the European crusading movement in four ways. First, St. James became an active agent of the Spanish *Reconquista* (reconquest of the peninsula from the Muslims) in the shape of Santiago Matamoros (St. James, slayer of Muslims), an iconographic model that associated the apostle directly with the war against the Muslims on the Iberian Peninsula. A series of extant paintings and sculptures show the saint as an armed and mounted pilgrim, trampling beaten Muslims underfoot. Consequently, Santiago also became the patron saint of the Hispano-American conquest, as illustrated in a number of place-names, such as Santiago de Chile and Santiago de Cuba. However, one must bear in mind that the figure of Santiago Matamoros only came into appearance at the middle of the twelfth century. During the High Middle Ages—the heyday of crusading—St. James was depicted as a pilgrim, not a fighter. Second, St. James was the patron saint of one of the major military religious orders of the Middle Ages, the Order of Santiago. This was, however, due to the personal relations between Pedro Gudesteiz, archbishop of Santiago de Compostela, and the first members of the confraternity from which the order originated. Nevertheless, the Order of Santiago remained closely tied to its saintly protector in iconography, liturgy, and the like. Third, Santiago de Compostela played an important role in the diffusion of the idea of crusading in the Iberian Peninsula. In the famous *Historia Compostelana*, Diego Gelmírez, archbishop of Santiago, transcribed a letter he wrote in 1125, in the days of his legation in the metropolitan provinces of Mérida and Braga, in order to convince fighters from the entire Iberian Peninsula to take arms in the name of Christ in order to open a road through al-Andalus that would lead to Jerusalem. The prelate clearly intended to associate the struggles of his

compatriots with the crusade, and judging from the careful spreading of the letter, it seems the speech, however new it might have sounded in the kingdom of Castile, soon became familiar to most. Finally, one can discern direct contacts between the see of Santiago de Compostela and that of Jerusalem in the first decades of the twelfth century, which led to the establishment of confraternal ties between the two communities and mutual visits.

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Santiago, Order of

The Order of Santiago (St. James) was the most powerful of the Iberian military religious orders, originating as a confraternity of knights founded by King Ferdinand II of León in Cáceres in August 1170 in order to protect the southern part of his kingdom against the Muslim Almohads.

Despite later medieval legends that dated the order as far back as the mythical battle of Clavijo won by King Ramiro I of Asturias (d. 850) against the Moors, the birth of this institution occurred within the context of the reconquest of Iberia from the Muslims in the second half of the twelfth century. The appearance of a confraternity under the leadership of its master Pedro Fernández followed the pattern of other militias such as the *hermandad* (confraternity) of Belchite,

founded by King Alfonso I half a century before in Aragon, or the more recent *hermandad* of Ávila in Castile, which eventually merged with the Order of Santiago.

The members of the new confraternity were known as the Brethren of Cáceres until January 1171. In that year they came to an agreement with Pedro Gudesteiz, archbishop of Santiago de Compostela, who became a member of the community as an honorary brother and in return received the master and his knights into his cathedral chapter. Although this pact did not last long, the brethren chose St. James (Sp. *Santiago*) as their patron and protector, whose fame helped them obtain donations. In 1173 Master Pedro Fernández obtained a bull of protection from the papacy for the community. He probably presented Pope Alexander III with the first version of the rule of Santiago, which received papal approval two years later in July 1175.

According to this rule, the membership of the order consisted of knight brethren, who were dedicated to fighting against the Muslims, and clerics, who followed the Rule of St. Augustine and most probably came from the Galician monastery of Loyo. Both clerics and knights bore the insignia of a red cross in the shape of a sword. These two parallel communities were under the authority of a master, who was elected from among the knights and governed the whole order with the assent of the general chapter. This institutional structure was inspired by the orders of the Temple and the Hospital, but also by the Order of Calatrava, founded in Castile in 1158.

The founder of the order, Ferdinand II of León, wanted to use the new militia to protect the southern border of his realm, which was threatened by Almohad incursions. Master Pedro Fernández, by contrast, had quite different aims: with the encouragement of the papacy, he tried to give his order a dimension that would not be restricted to León. In 1171 King Alfonso VIII of Castile granted it the castles of Mora and Oreja, whose location to the south and east of Toledo gave them a key role in the defense of that city. From Afonso I Henriques, king of Portugal, the order received the castles of Monsanto (1171) and Abrantes (1173) and was thus brought into the defense of the line of the river Tagus (Sp. *Tajo*). The expansion of the order beyond León can be seen from a confirmation by Pope Lucius III (1184), which mentions possessions in León, Portugal, and Castile, as well as Aragon, France, and Italy. The order thus turned into an international organization, which, even though most of its activity was focused on the Iberian Peninsula, still extended

as far as the Holy Land, where the brethren were repeatedly asked to settle.

The Iberian Peninsula, however, remained the main theater of operations for the Order of Santiago, whose brethren, during the first fifty years of its existence, were busy fighting the Almohads under the direction of the various Hispanic kings. Against these powerful enemies, they first had to defend the line of the Tagus from Palmela and Alcácer do Sal, in the west, to Uclés, where the order officially settled after being granted the city by Alfonso VIII of Castile in 1174. The task was far from easy, and, in such a difficult context of division between the Christian realms, the order had to give up certain places: Cáceres (1174), Alcácer (1191), and even Montánchez, Trujillo, and Santa Cruz (1196), during the great Almohad offensive that occurred after the Castilian defeat at Alarcos. Despite their difficult situation, the brethren succeeded in preserving most of their estates in La Mancha by resisting the Muslim attacks of 1197 against Alarcón and Uclés. From such bases, it was possible for them to continue fighting and progressively resume offensive action until the great victory of Las Navas de Tolosa (16 July 1212), which opened the south of the peninsula to the Christian kingdoms.

The determination of the brethren of Santiago was instrumental in enabling Iberian Christendom to take advantage of the Almohad collapse. The order fought on every front. In Portugal its members decisively contributed in 1217 to the seizure of Alcácer, where they established their provincial seat, before participating in the integration of the Campo de Montiel and the towns of the Guadiana Valley into the kingdoms of Castile and León. They assisted in the conquest of the Taifa kingdom of Valencia, where King James I of Aragon was supported by Rodrigo Bueso, the commander of Montalbán. During the submission of the southern part of al-Andalus that took place during the reigns of Ferdinand III of Castile and Afonso III of Portugal, the Santiaguists relentlessly supported the monarchies until the mid-thirteenth century, as shown by the involvement of the master Pelayo Pérez Correa, who actively participated in the capture of Seville in 1248 and in the submission of the Algarve the next year.

Thanks to such military activity, the Order of Santiago underwent a great expansion from the second quarter of the thirteenth century. Numerous donations built up a near contiguous bloc of estates extending from the estuary of the river Tagus, south of Lisbon, to that of the Segura, in the

Sanudo Family

region of Murcia. Within these possessions, the order organized a system of commanderies and, in some places, established male and female convents as well as charitable foundations intended to welcome pilgrims, take care of lepers, and even to ransom captives. These elements all contributed to the prestige as well as the wealth of the order, whose influence reached a peak under the long mastership of Pelayo Pérez Correa (1242–1275), who acquired a level of power unprecedented among of his predecessors.

The wealth of the order came to be coveted, at a time when it was also tending to interfere in the domestic policies of the Christian kingdoms. At the instigation of Pelayo Pérez Correa, in 1272 it secretly supported the rebellion of those members of the Castilian nobility who were reluctant to accept the plans of monarchical centralization contemplated by King Alfonso X. Ten years later, the brethren openly rose up in arms against the king, who, at the end of his reign, was at war against his son, the future Sancho IV. As a leading but sometimes unruly element in politics, from the late thirteenth century Santiago in turn became the object of growing interference on the part of the Castilian monarchy, which more than ever needed to be certain of its cooperation. King Alfonso XI was able to manipulate the order to a greater degree than any of his predecessors: he succeeded in having important trials concerning the military orders brought under the jurisdiction of the royal courts, and he forced the Santiaguists to accept his mistress's brother, Alonso Méndez de Guzmán, as master of the order in 1338, even granting the office to the young Fadrique, his own natural son, four years later.

Until the mid-fourteenth century, the brethren regularly joined the campaigns fought by Castile for control of the strait of Gibraltar in an attempt to wrest from the Naṣrids of Granada and the Marinids of Morocco the domination of maritime traffic between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean: they not only took part in the fighting but also contributed to the costly maintenance of several strongholds on the border. Yet the order also played an increasingly important part in internal conflicts within Iberian Christendom, particularly in the civil war that rent Castile between 1366 and 1369, during which brethren of Santiago were found in both opposing factions.

By the fifteenth century, there was a constant competition between the Crown and the local aristocracy for control of the Order of Santiago's most important offices. On several occasions in Castile, during the reigns of John II and Henry

IV, such competition within the order degenerated into armed confrontation. Yet while most kings had been content with installing men they trusted as heads of the institution, a far more radical solution was implemented in the time of the "Catholic Monarchs," Isabella I of Castile (d. 1504) and Ferdinand II of Aragon (d. 1516). On the death of Master Alonso de Cárdenas (1493), they obtained from Pope Alexander VI the right to rule the order until their deaths. This measure was renewed under their successors, and it paved the way for the subsequent integration of Santiago's estates into the patrimony of the Spanish monarchy. In Portugal, where a branch of the order had become independent from the Castilian center in the early fourteenth century, a similar privilege was granted by the papacy to King John III in 1551. At this time in both kingdoms, Santiago entered a new period of its history, and first became a purely honorary noble corporation largely distant from any form of military action, before it was dissolved in the modern period, initially in 1874 by the first Spanish Republic, and definitively in 1931 after the abolition of the monarchy.

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Sanudo Family

The Sanudo family rose to prominence in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as the Venetian dynasty that established and ruled the duchy of the Archipelago from the Greek

island of Naxos. It included the chronicler Marino Sanudo Torsello (d. 1337), a prominent crusading publicist and historian of Latin Greece, as well as his namesake, the historian Marino Sanudo the Younger (d. 1533). The latter kept a very full *Diari* of events in Venice for a period of thirty-eight years as well as composing *Le Vite dei Dogi*, both of which are important sources for Venetian history.

The first Sanudo to be recorded by name was a certain John who was one of the signatories to the Treaty of Citanova in 1009. According to the chronicler Andrea Dandolo, by the 1170s the family was regarded as one of the noblest of Venice, having possible associations with the ancient family of Candiani, one of the founding families of the city. The Sanudi were well connected in Venetian governing circles and also had established links in the Aegean through Marco Sanudo Constantinopolitani, who may have been the father or the grandfather of Marco Sanudo, the conqueror of the Archipelago. The latter's mother was a sister of Enrico Dandolo, whose election as doge the family backed in 1192.

Four members of the family were present on the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204). Probably with the support of his uncle, Enrico Dandolo (d. 1207), Marco (d. 1227) embarked on the conquest of the Cyclades, setting up the center of his island duchy on Naxos in 1204–1205 and expelling a Genoese force from Apalire in 1206. Besides Naxos, Marco occupied the islands of Paros, Antiparos, Melos, Siphnos, Thermia, Ios, Amorgos, Kimilos, Sikinos, Syra, and Pholegandros. He was so well established by 1212 that he was able to respond to a call for assistance from the Venetian authorities on Crete to help suppress a rising on that island.

In the third generation, the Sanudi created island lordships on Melos, Nio, Paros, and Syra for their younger sons. Marriage alliances with them allowed other Latin families in Greece to gain material and dynastic interests in the Archipelago. The direct male line of the Sanudi died out in 1362 with the death of Duke Giovanni I. The title passed to his daughter Fiorenza, who, as the widow of Giovanni dalle Carceri, was already the regent of Negroponte. She died in 1371, and the duchy passed to her son Niccolo dalle Carceri, on whose murder in 1388 it passed to the Crispi family.

—Peter Lock

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Sanudo, Marino (d. 1343)

Marino Sanudo, called Torsello, was a merchant, chronicler, historian, lobbyist, and crusade theorist and propagandist.

Sanudo was born about 1270 into a distinguished Venetian family, one branch of which ruled the island of Naxos in the Aegean Sea. After extensive experience of the eastern Mediterranean as a young man, Sanudo composed the *Conditiones Terrae Sanctae* (1306–1309), a scheme for an economic blockade of Egypt as a preliminary to military action against the Mamlūk sultanate. Refining and expanding his ideas, Sanudo produced the *Liber Secretorum* (or *Secreta Fidelium Crucis*), presented to Pope John XXII in 1321. Its first book contained a revamped *Conditiones*; the second dealt with the preliminary military assault on Egypt by a professional force, to be followed by a general crusade (Lat. *passagium generale*); the third included a history of Outremer to the early fourteenth century, in its final version relying on William of Tyre, James of Vitry, Vincent of Beauvais, and Het'um the Armenian, as well as on original material, to which was appended a geographical description of the Holy Land and a summary of how a renewed kingdom of Jerusalem should be organized.

Although set within an overtly pious and revivalist frame, the *Secreta* constituted operational advice, not an appeal for action. Despite its apparent pragmatism, certain details remained contestably practical. With Sanudo's manuscripts, produced in his Venetian atelier, came detailed maps, some designed by the Genoese cartographer Pietro Vesconte. At least nineteen manuscripts of the *Secreta* survive.

To press his ideas, Sanudo exhaustively visited or corresponded with the courts of rulers interested in reviving the holy war in the East. Earlier than many in the West, Sanudo

Saphet

appreciated the danger posed by Turkish emirates in the Aegean, warnings that contributed to the anti-Turkish league of 1332–1334. Sanudo also wrote a continuation of the chronicle of Geoffrey of Villehardouin and an *Istoria del Regno di Romania* (1328–1333).

–Christopher Tyerman

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Saphet

Saphet or Safad (mod. Zefat, Israel) was a Templar castle in the kingdom of Jerusalem, situated in Upper Galilee about 13 kilometers (c. 8 mi.) northwest of Lake Tiberias.

There are few visible remains of the castle, which stood on a prominent hilltop position commanding fine views over the surrounding country. It is now a public park. Excavations have recovered some evidence of crusader work and Mamlūk rebuilding.

The castle was originally constructed by the Templars but lost to Saladin in 1188. In 1240 it was restored to the Templars in the aftermath of the Crusade of 1239–1241 and rebuilt on a large scale. In 1266 the Mamlūk sultan Baybars I took the castle; he had apparently promised the defenders safe conduct, but 150 knights and 769 other members of the garrison were executed. The local Syrian Christians were

allowed to go free. Saphet is best known for the account of the rebuilding of the castle after 1240 written for the bishop of Marseilles, Benedict of Alignan, who visited twice. It was Benedict who had persuaded the Templars to undertake the refortification. His account was probably written as a fund-raising pamphlet and describes the strategic position of the castle and its design in some detail. It is the fullest account we have of the building of any castle in Outremer.

–Hugh Kennedy

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Saracens

Saracens (Lat. *Sarraceni*, Fr. *Sarrasins*) was used in the period of the crusades as an indiscriminate term for Muslims. Originally designating one ethnic group in the Arabian Peninsula, by late antiquity it had become a synonym for Arabs, and it was employed by Latin chroniclers of the eighth and ninth centuries to describe the Muslim Arab invaders in the Mediterranean region. In the twelfth century, chroniclers of the First Crusade (1096–1099) and poets of the chansons de geste (Old French epic poems) applied the term to Turks, Arabs, and other Muslims, creating a colorful and wildly inaccurate portrait of Saracens who worshipped pantheon idols, the chief among them Mahomet. At the same time, theologians offered polemical refutations of the *Lex Sarracenorum* (Law of the Saracens), as they generally called Islam. The travel narratives and romances of the later Middle Ages often blend literary topoi of pagan Saracens with more realistic depictions of Islam. The term *Saracen* gradually fell into disuse by the seventeenth century, to be replaced by *Turk*, *Mohammedan*, and *Moslem*.

The origins of the Latin word *Sarracenus* are obscure; the hypothesis of its derivation from the Arabic *sharqiyyīn* (the plural of *sharqī*, “Easterner”) is not universally accepted. Roman writers used the term to designate one ethnic group in eastern Arabia. By the third century, the term designated all of the nomadic Arabs of the peninsula. Some authors affirmed that the Saracens worshiped idols of stone. The theologian Jerome asserted that the Saracens were the descendants of Abraham through his handmaid Hagar and their son, the “wild man” Ishmael (Genesis 16:12); they thus



Crusader and Saracen jousting, fourteenth century. Detail from the Luttrell Psalter (MS London, British Library, Add.42130). (HIP/Art Resource)

should be properly called Hagarenes or Ishmaelites, but they falsely called themselves Saracens, claiming to be the descendants of Abraham's legitimate wife Sarah. This etymology was taken up by Isidore of Seville and many subsequent Latin authors. It no doubt seemed to fit the experience of those who chronicled the conquests and raids of the *Saraceni* in the seventh and eighth centuries. Very few chroniclers showed any interest in the religion of these invaders, and those who did showed little awareness of the rise of Islam; they contented themselves with repeating what they found in Jerome and Isidore.

Hrotsvit (Roswitha), a nun at the abbey of Gandersheim at the turn of the millennium, presents the Saracens in the familiar guise of classical Roman idolaters. She depicts the Saracen King Abderahemen, that is the historical 'Abd al-Rahmān III, caliph of Córdoba (912–961), as a tyrant who inflicts the death penalty on anyone who blasphemes his golden idols. Chroniclers of the First Crusade (1096–1099), notably Peter Tudebode, Radulph of Caen, and Raymond of Aguilers, depict the crusaders' Saracen adversaries as pagans who worship various idols, in particular Mahummet. Radulph of Caen goes so far as to assert that when the crusaders took Jerusalem, Tancred entered the Dome of the Rock and there found an idol of Mahummet, which he promptly destroyed. For these authors, the pollution of Jerusalem's holy places by the supposedly idolatrous rites of

the Saracens called for retribution. Fighting against pagans, crusaders could claim to be wreaking vengeance for the pagans' Crucifixion of Christ and their usurpation of his city; when the crusaders fell in battle, they could claim the mantle of martyrdom. The fight against paganism had a long history, from which Christianity was sure to emerge victorious.

The Old French *Chanson de Roland*, roughly contemporary with the chronicles of the First Crusade, describes in greater detail the idolatrous cult of the Saracens, devotees of an anti-Trinity of idols: Apolin, Tervagan, and Mahumet. Effigies of these gods adorn the standards of the Saracen troops; the Saracens invoke them in battle, and they destroy their idols when they fail to procure victory for them. Subsequent chansons de geste purvey this same image of Saracen paganism, and the word *sar(r)asin* is often used indiscriminately to designate all non-Christian enemies, from Africa, Scandinavia, or elsewhere. The twelfth-century epic *Floovant*, for example, refers to the Frankish king Clovis (d. 511) as a "Saracen" before his conversion to Christianity.

Many writers, in Latin and the various vernacular languages, use *Saracen* as a synonym for *pagan*. In English plays of the fourteenth centuries, the Romans are depicted as Saracens who worship idols of "Mahound." The poet William Langland, in *Piers Plowman*, refers to the Roman Emperor Trajan as a "Sarasene." Chroniclers refer to Lithuanian and Wendish pagans as Saracens. The image was so common



Saracen on horseback fighting in Sicily, late-thirteenth-century fresco, Tour Ferrande, Pernes-les-Fontaines, France. (The Art Archive/Dagli Orti)

that writers on Islam who knew better (from the twelfth century on) went to great pains to explain that the Saracens *were not* pagans.

For other medieval writers, *Saracen* was used to denote the Muslim; Islam was frequently referred to as the *Lex Saracenorum* or *Lex Machometi* (Law of Muḥammad). These authors depict the Saracens not as idolaters, but as heretics, blind followers of the arch-heresiarch Mahomet.

A more ambivalent image of the imagined Saracen world is presented in romances of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, where the treasures of the East beckon and beautiful Saracen princesses are ready to help their Western heroes out of dangerous scrapes. Religious differences for the most part remain comfortably in the background, the

supposed paganism of the Saracens an occasional object of curiosity rather than animosity. Another genre that received increasing attention and elaboration in the fourteenth century was the narrative of real or imagined travels to the East. Here the Saracen world has become a distinct part of a larger entity: the Orient. As the traveler moves ever further east, from Latin Europe to the Byzantine world, through the Muslim lands, and perhaps into India, China, or the mythic islands inhabited by dog-headed men, fish-people, or Amazons, the world becomes progressively stranger and more wondrous. The Saracen is no longer the Other par excellence; for some of these authors, the Saracens' customs and religion now seem comfortably (or disturbingly) close to their own.

In the fourteenth century the boundaries between genres such as epic, romance, travelogue, and so on began to break down, at times producing strange blends. A good example of this is provided by the *Guerrino il Meschino* by Andrea da Barberino (d. 1431). At several points Andrea depicts Saracens worshipping Muhammad as a god and as part of the standard idolatrous pantheon of the chansons de geste; yet elsewhere he distinguishes clearly between paganism and Islam and condemns Muhammad as a false prophet. His descriptions of religious practices are more exotic than polemical. In the fifteenth century, as the Ottomans seized Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) and pushed into the heart of Europe, the polemical view of the Muslim again returned to the fore, though now, rather than the Saracen, he was presented as the Turk.

—John Tolan

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Saule, Battle of (1232)

A battle between the Order of the Sword Brethren and the Lithuanians, fought as part of a campaign by the Christians of Livonia to penetrate Samogitia, the most westerly part of pagan Lithuania.

In September 1236 Volkwin, master of the Sword Brethren, led some 3,000 men, consisting of troops of the order, native auxiliaries, German crusaders, and Russian allies from Pskov, starting from Riga and moving through the frontier wilderness area into settled Lithuanian territory. After several days of plundering, the army began an orderly withdrawal (21 September), but at a site called Saule in the sources, and now generally identified as modern Siauliai (in Lithuania), its retreat was blocked by Lithuanian forces assembling from throughout Samogitia.

The attempt of the Christian army to fight its way home through difficult terrain degenerated into a rout with heavy casualties, and Master Volkwin and most of the knight

brethren of the order were killed covering the retreat (22 September). The decisive defeat ended Christian attempts to gain control of the Lithuanian-held territory between Livonia and Prussia, and the loss of at least half of the military strength of the Sword Brethren hastened the incorporation of the remnants of the order by the Teutonic Knights in 1237.

—Alan V. Murray

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Saxo Grammaticus

Author of the *Gesta Danorum*, a great Latin chronicle telling the history of the Danes from mythical times up to the final submission of Pomerania in 1185 during the reign of King Knud VI (1182–1202).

Saxo was born on Sjælland around 1150 into a noble family and studied at one of the schools in northern France. He probably became a canon at the cathedral in Lund, where Archbishop Absalon (1178–1201) commissioned him to write his work. He began it around 1190 at the latest but probably did not finish until shortly after 1208. It is dedicated to Absalon's successor as archbishop, Anders Sunesen (1201–1228), and to King Valdemar II of Denmark (1202–1241). Saxo is thought to have died around 1220.

The style and composition of the *Gesta Danorum* are based on those of classical authors. One of the most important purposes behind the chronicle was to show that Denmark was an independent nation as old as and equal to the Roman Empire. Saxo wrote his work during a time of Danish expansion in the Baltic area that began in the reign of King Valdemar I (1157–1182) and culminated with the conquest of Estonia in 1219 by Valdemar II. This expansion must be viewed as part of the crusades of the twelfth century, as Saxo also clearly indicates. Archbishop Absalon is described as a *pater patriae* (“father of his country”) and as the main mover behind the expansion and extension of the faith to the heathen peoples living on the southern coast of the Baltic Sea collectively called the Wends. One of the high points of the chronicle is the account of the capture by Absalon and Valdemar I of the strong fortress of Arkona on the island of Rügen in 1168–1169 and the destruction of the great wooden statue of the heathen god Svantevit that was venerated there. However, the conflict itself is presented as

a centuries-old, sharp antagonism between Danes and Wends. The Wends are heathen pirates, often described as inhuman beings who have always attacked the Danish kingdom; the war against them is therefore depicted as just. The Danes are described as fighting for peace and out of a burning love for their homeland: anyone attacking the Danes ought therefore to burn in hell forever.

The picture of an age-old conflict served to legitimize the wars of the Danish kings and church against the heathen Wends as being just and as crusades. The most frequent term used in the chronicle to describe the Danish expeditions (almost exclusively so for the period after 1100) is *expeditio*, one of the standard terms for crusade in the period. The work of Saxo must be seen in the same context as similar constructions of national history based on creations of age-old conflicts and diabolic images of the enemy in other frontier zones of Latin Christendom.

—Janus Møller Jensen

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Schism of East and West

The roots of the schism, or division, between the Latin Church of the West and the Greek Orthodox Church of Byzantium predated the crusade era, but the first four major crusades (1096–1204) made the rupture clear and final. Pope Urban II set in motion the First Crusade (1096–1099) because he desired to aid his fellow Christians in the East and

apparently hoped that this action would bring the Latin and Greek churches closer together under papal leadership. The opposite was the case.

Origins

Multiple factors—cultural, political, and ecclesiological—precipitated the schism. The most basic was ecclesiology: the manner in which the West and Byzantium envisioned the nature and functioning of the universal church. The central ecclesiological issue was papal primacy. Byzantine Christians regarded the pope as first among equals within a pentarchy consisting of the patriarchates of Rome, Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey), Alexandria, Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey), and Jerusalem. These were the collective guardians of the orthodox faith, as defined in the seven ecumenical councils that met between 325 and 787. Western Christians, especially after the mid-eleventh century, understood papal primacy to mean that submission to the unique authority of the Roman pope was *the* determinant of orthodoxy and membership in the universal church.

Although the ideology of radical papal primacy, as well as the crusades, arose out of the so-called Gregorian Revolution of the eleventh century, the Roman and Byzantine churches had moments of misunderstanding and separation long before then. They were temporarily divided during the Acacian Schism (484–519), when the papacy rejected the efforts of Emperor Zeno and Patriarch Acacius to accommodate the Monophysite Christians of Egypt, whose doctrine that Christ had a single, divine nature had been condemned at the Council of Chalcedon in 451. Two centuries later, the Iconoclastic Controversy (726–843) drove a deep wedge between papal Rome and imperial Constantinople, but even though the Byzantine Church was officially iconoclastic for most of these twelve decades, its lower clergy and laity shared the West’s strong rejection of iconoclasm. When Empress Theodora permanently restored the practice of icon veneration in 843, the two churches reestablished communion.

Despite reunion, the Iconoclastic Controversy permanently widened an ever-growing cultural and political chasm. In its moment of crisis, the papacy turned to the Franks—a radical departure from earlier policies—and the result was the coronation of Charlemagne as the Holy Roman, or Western, emperor. It was Charlemagne’s court that introduced the practice of adding the word *Filioque* (“and from the Son”) to the phrase in the Nicene Creed “the Holy Spirit . . . who proceeds from the Father.” Although the

papacy initially rejected this Carolingian addition to the creed and did not accept it until around 1014–1015, the innovation became a matter of controversy between Eastern and Western Christians almost immediately.

Filioque figured prominently in the list of erroneous customs that Photios, patriarch of Constantinople, leveled against the Latin Church during the next major ecclesiastical breach, the Photian Schism (863–880). This controversy, although amicably resolved, pointed out the growing differences in ecclesiological ideologies and traditions that separated Eastern and Western Christians. Simply put, Pope Nicholas I's vision of papal primacy led him to intervene in the internal affairs of the Byzantine Church, namely, the issue of Photios's contested promotion to the patriarchate, and that intervention aroused resistance in Constantinople.

Photios died in communion with Rome, but the schism that bears his name was a prologue to greater misunderstandings engendered during the eleventh century in the wake of papal reform. The year 1054 is often identified as the definitive moment of schism owing to supposed sentences of excommunication that the churches of Rome and Constantinople laid on one another. In fact, the events of 1054 did not usher in a recognized and accepted split between these two churches, but they were symptoms of essential differences.

In 1050 Pope Leo IX and Patriarch Michael I Keroularios quarreled over the papacy's attempt to impose Latin practices on the Greek Christians of southern Italy and the patriarch's retaliatory action of forcing Byzantine rituals on Latin churches in Constantinople. Chief among the controverted issues were clerical celibacy, *Filioque*, the Latin practice of fasting on Sunday, and the Latin use of unleavened bread (Lat. *azymes*) for the Eucharist. Despite this disagreement, in 1054 Pope Leo sent several legates to Constantinople to arrange an alliance with Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos against the Normans of southern Italy. The legation's chief delegate, Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida, soon engaged in heated debates with several Byzantine churchmen regarding their respective ecclesiastical traditions, and in the process both parties lost all sense of moderation. On 16 July 1054 Humbert laid on the altar of the Church of Hagia Sophia a bull excommunicating Michael and his supporters. The patriarch retaliated by convening a synod that excommunicated the legates. Neither excommunication was directed against an entire church, and there is no evidence of any sense of cataclysmic schism

on either side, even though the two churches had, in fact, become separate entities.

The Period of the Early Crusades

In 1073, two years after the great defeat of the Byzantines by the Saljūq Turks at Mantzikert and the contemporaneous loss of Byzantium's last holdings in southern Italy to the Normans, Emperor Michael VII Doukas appealed to Pope Gregory VII for aid. In February 1074 Gregory sent a letter to William, count of Upper Burgundy, urging him to send troops to Italy to defend papal lands against the Normans, and then went on to note that once the Normans were pacified, Gregory hoped to cross to Constantinople to aid the Christians who were oppressed by Muslim attacks. The following month the pope issued a general summons to all Latin Christians to aid their siblings in the East, and in December Gregory informed King Henry IV of Germany that 50,000 men stood ready to march east with Gregory at their head. Nothing immediate came of this plan due to the Investiture Controversy that broke out in 1075–1076. The dream, however, of aiding fellow Christians in the East through armed intervention remained alive within papal reform circles until it was transformed into the First Crusade by Pope Urban II.

As early as 1089 Pope Urban and Emperor Alexios I Komnenos discussed closer ecclesiastical relations. Urban lifted a ban of excommunication that Pope Gregory had laid on Alexios and his predecessor for deposing Emperor Michael VII and requested that his name be entered into the diptychs of Constantinople, which listed all Orthodox prelates with whom the Byzantine Church was in communion. A synod convened by the emperor that year could find no reason for the omission (possibly the synod chose to be diplomatically ignorant) and invited the pope either to come to Constantinople to discuss their differences or to send a statement of faith. Showing an equal sense of diplomacy, Urban did not press the issue and sent no credal statement, probably realizing that *Filioque* would be a sticking point. He remained uncommemorated in the prayers of the Byzantine Church, but his relations with Alexios remained warm.

On the eve of the First Crusade, therefore, high-ranking church leaders in both Rome and Constantinople were aware that differences separated them, and that for some time they had not been in official communion. At the same time, they seem to have believed they still were members of the same Christian family and that their differences were not irreme-

diable or the result of the other party's depravity. On the popular level there seems to have been even less awareness of separation. The crusades changed that.

A number of leaders of the First Crusade, including the papal legate Adhemar of Le Puy, sought to weld Byzantine and crusader forces into a single Christian army, but the military, logistical, and personal strains proved too great. Crusaders and Byzantine soldiers clashed in the Balkans and outside the gates of Constantinople, and once they were in Anatolia, misunderstandings multiplied. Antioch, a Byzantine Christian city, became a particular center of growing estrangement. Emperor Alexios's failure to come to the crusaders' aid during their long struggle to seize and then defend Antioch contributed to a growing sentiment within crusader circles that the Greeks were faithless. On their part, the Byzantines looked upon Bohemund of Taranto's conversion of Antioch into a crusader principality in 1098 and his forcing the Greek patriarch of the city into exile in 1100 and replacing him with a Latin churchman as evidence of Frankish perfidy. Rival Byzantine patriarchs-in-exile of Antioch became voices and rallying points against this invasion by Christians from the West, who were now perceived as less than orthodox. Bohemund I of Antioch further contributed to the growing hostility between Byzantines and Latins when he convinced Pope Paschal II in 1105 to authorize a crusade against Alexios I, a putative enemy of the Frankish states of Outremer. Although Bohemund's crusade of 1107 failed, it fomented new animosity between Byzantines and Latins.

The remainder of the twelfth century witnessed growing hostility and a deepening sense of schism on both sides. Many Westerners ascribed the failure of the Second Crusade (1147–1149) to Greek treachery. The massacre of Constantinople's Latin residents in 1182 and the alliance of Emperor Isaac II Angelos with Saladin during the early stages of the Third Crusade (1189–1192) only added to the Latin West's general belief that the Greeks were no better than the Saracens. On their part, Byzantines could point to the many instances of Western attacks on their lands and persons, including William II of Sicily's massacre of the Byzantines of Thessalonica in 1185, as proof of Western barbarism.

The Later Middle Ages

On the eve of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), specifically between the spring of 1198 and early summer 1202, eight

missions and twelve letters passed between the Byzantine imperial court and the Curia of Pope Innocent III, as Emperor Alexios III Angelos and the pope tried to negotiate an alliance. The negotiations failed because Innocent demanded submission of the Byzantine Church to papal authority as a necessary prelude to any political accommodation.

The pope did not direct the Fourth Crusade against Constantinople and actually tried to prevent its diversion. However, when he learned of the city's capture and the installation of a Latin emperor, he rejoiced, perceiving it to be fitting punishment for the Greeks' willful separation from the Roman Church and a God-given opportunity to bring these fallen siblings back into the fold. Most Westerners seem to have agreed with this assessment. From the Byzantine perspective, the brutal sack of the city, the subsequent conquest of large areas of the Byzantine Empire by crusader-adventurers, and the papacy's largely unsuccessful but vigorous attempt to Latinize a captive Greek Church were all humiliating but temporary burdens to be borne.

In response, the Byzantines established several empires in exile. The most important was at Nicaea (mod. İznik, Turkey) in Asia Minor, where the Byzantine patriarchate of Constantinople was also reestablished. With rival Latin and Greek emperors and patriarchs residing in Constantinople and Nicaea, the schism was complete.

In 1261 the Nicaean emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos recaptured Constantinople, but the threat of attack by Westerners who wished to restore the Latin empire of Constantinople forced him into the policy of offering church union in return for the papacy's support. At the Second Council of Lyons (1274), imperial representatives submitted the Byzantine Church to the papacy. Virulent opposition within Byzantium and shifting fortunes in the West combined to defeat this union, which Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos repudiated in 1282.

Another threat, this time from the Ottoman Turks, again drove a Byzantine emperor, John VIII Palaiologos, to offer church union in exchange for Western assistance. In 1439 at the Council of Florence, Patriarch Joseph II submitted to Roman papal authority. Once again, however, official imperial policy was defeated by popular opposition. Although the union existed on paper until its repudiation in 1484, it was a phantom union from the start.

The so-called union did produce the Crusade of Varna (1444), which failed to stem the Ottoman tide. Constantino-

ple fell to the Ottoman Turks on 29 May 1453. Under Turkish rule the Byzantine Church grew ever more adamant in its determination to be a bulwark of Christian orthodoxy against the infidelity of its Muslim lords and the perceived heresies of the Latin West.

—Alfred J. Andrea

See also: Byzantine Empire; Constantinople, Latin Empire of
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Scotland

Despite its position on the northwestern periphery of Christendom, the kingdom of Scotland contributed to all major aspects of the crusading movement from the late eleventh to the early sixteenth centuries, although the nature of its contributions was often affected or even determined by its relationship with its more powerful southern neighbor, the kingdom of England.

The presence of Scots on the First (1096–1099) and Second (1147–1149) crusades is mentioned by several contemporary authors, including eyewitness sources, although none of their names are known; Lagmann, king of Man, who went to the Holy Land at the time of the First Crusade, and the Orkney men who accompanied the crusade of Earl Rognvald Kali in 1151–1153 came from the western and northern isles that were still under Norwegian suzerainty, rather than from the kingdom itself.

King David I (1124–1153) established the orders of the Temple and the Hospital in Scotland but was dissuaded by his subjects from joining the Second Crusade himself; the orders were granted property in every burgh in the kingdom by David's grandson Malcolm IV (1153–1165). The Templars came to be organized in two commanderies (preceptories), at Balantrodoch (mod. Temple) in Midlothian and Maryculter in Kincardineshire, and the Hospitallers in one, Torphichen in West Lothian. Both orders in Scotland came under the authority of their respective English provinces, and most of the few knight brethren who resided in the kingdom in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were Englishmen.

Some Scots, notably the nobleman Robert de Quincy, joined the Third Crusade (1189–1192), while King William the Lion (1165–1214) used the opportunity to buy the kingdom free of the English overlordship that had been imposed when he had been captured by Henry II in 1174 (the Treaty of Falaise), by a payment of 10,000 marks to Henry's son Richard the Lionheart, who was desperate to finance his own



King Robert Bruce encouraging his troops before the Battle of Bannockburn (June 23, 1314). (Bettmann/Corbis)

expedition to the Holy Land (the Quit-Claim of Canterbury, 1189). A greater number of Scots accompanied the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221), including two poets from Gaelic-speaking areas, Muiredhach Albanach Ó Dálaigh and Gille-Brigde Albanach, both of whom later composed poems telling of their journey to Damietta and Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) and return via Greece and Italy. In 1247 Patrick, earl of March, took the cross to join the crusade of Louis IX of France to

Egypt, while his wife founded a Trinitarian house at Dunbar, thus augmenting the order's two existing Scottish foundations at Failford and Berwick. Earl Patrick died at Marseilles before embarkation the next year, but more Scots left for the Holy Land in 1250.

Correspondence with the papacy during this period shows how the Scottish monarchy and bishops repeatedly tried to prevent crusading taxation levied on the Scottish

church from being used for the benefit of English crusaders, as had evidently often happened in the past. When a new crusade was preached in 1267–1268, Alexander III (1249–1286) prohibited the export of tax revenues that Henry III of England intended for the use of his sons Edward and Edmund. However, the years 1270–1272 saw the greatest response yet seen to a crusade by Scots, who sailed with Louis IX of France as well as with the two English princes. They included David of Strathbogie, earl of Atholl; Adam de Kinconquhar, earl of Carrick; and Ingram de Balliol with Louis; and David de Lindsay; Robert Bruce the Elder, lord of Annandale, and his son Robert; and Alexander de Balliol and his uncle Eustace de Balliol with the English princes. Many of those who survived the French defeat at Tunis appear to have joined Edward in Sicily and continued to the Holy Land.

The fall of Acre to the Egyptian sultan Khalīl in 1291 found Scotland in the throes of a succession crisis occasioned by the death of Margaret, granddaughter of Alexander III, in 1290, which was exploited by Edward I of England to impose his overlordship over the kingdom and to secure for himself the profits of crusading taxation raised there. In 1296, having defeated the new king, John Balliol (1292–1296), Edward I occupied Scotland in an attempt to annex it permanently to the English realm. In 1306 Robert I Bruce (1306–1329), son and grandson of the two Bruce crusaders of 1270–1272, was installed as king by the Scottish patriotic party and led resistance against English domination until Scottish independence was confirmed by the Treaty of Edinburgh–Northampton in 1328.

During this period the crusading idea figured prominently in the propaganda of both Scottish and English governments, particularly in their attempts to secure papal favor. Edward I pleaded his intentions to lead a new crusade once the political situation allowed and repeatedly complained to the pope of how Robert Bruce's clerical supporters had preached that it was just as meritorious to resist the English as it was to fight the Saracens in the Holy Land. In their own correspondence with the pope and the king of France, the Scottish leaders asserted the desire of their people and king to join a crusade, but only once the kingdom's freedom had been restored, an idea also contained in the famous statement of independence sent by the Scottish barons to Pope John XXII in 1320 (the Declaration of Arbroath).

Robert I's proclaimed desire to fight the enemies of Christendom was never realized, but on his death it found expres-

sion in the form of a proxy crusade led by his trusted companion Sir James Douglas, who took the king's embalmed heart on an expedition directed against Muslim Spain, possibly with the Holy Land as its ultimate goal. After the death of Douglas in battle at Teba in the kingdom of Granada in 1330, Robert's heart was retrieved and brought back to Scotland for burial at Melrose Abbey. The Templars and Hospitallers of Scotland had largely supported Edward I during the wars of independence, but the Templars were suppressed in 1312 by the English occupation regime in the course of the general dissolution of the order and the bulk of their properties handed over to the Hospitallers. After the victory of Robert I, who confirmed the Hospitallers' holdings in 1314, most of the order's officers seem to have been Scots, who often preferred to pay revenues directly to the central treasury of the order at Rhodes (mod. Rodos, Greece) rather than to the priory of England.

The resumption of aggression against Scotland by Edward III of England in 1333, which lasted until 1370, constituted a major bar to Scottish crusading activity, compounded by the English king's claims to the throne of France, Scotland's ally, which sparked off the Hundred Years' War. During a lull in hostilities many Scottish knights took part in the crusade of Peter I of Cyprus against Alexandria (1365) with the active encouragement of David II (1329–1371), who professed a keen interest in crusading and had met Peter at the English court in 1363.

Two of the Scottish crusaders of 1365, the brothers Walter and Norman Leslie, had previously been to Prussia, and it was the Baltic Crusades that constituted the main sphere of Scottish crusading activity from the mid-fourteenth century until the battle of Tannenberg (1410); during this period over seventy Scottish knights are known to have traveled to Prussia to take part in the campaigns of the Teutonic Order against pagan Lithuania, and as their names are known primarily from safe-conducts issued by the English government, the actual number of crusaders may have been higher than that documented in the surviving sources. Yet even in Prussia, crusading activity might be affected by the wider political situation, as in 1391, when fighting broke out between Scottish and English crusaders at Königsberg (mod. Kaliningrad, Russia), resulting in the death of Sir William Douglas, lord of Nithsdale.

Unlike the Bruce dynasty, the Stewarts, who succeeded in 1371, showed little interest in the crusade until the reign of James IV (1488–1513). By 1507 James was planning a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, an idea that during the next two

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years developed into a grand project to lead a crusade against the Turks. He had already begun the construction of a navy, which was to attain the size of 38 ships, and he now pursued a diplomatic initiative among the European powers with the aim of building a pan-Christian coalition. The project eventually foundered owing to the hostility to France of the Holy League formed by the papacy, England, Venice, and Spain. When Henry VIII of England invaded France in 1513, James moved against England in support of his ally, only to be defeated and killed at the battle of Flodden.

The following period, characterized by regency governments and factional disputes, saw the Hospitallers as the only remaining Scottish institution with an interest in the crusade, continuing to send recruits and money to their headquarters, initially at Rhodes and later at Malta. Walter Lindsay, preceptor of Torphichen (1532/1533–1546), compiled a rental listing of all the order's lands and rights in Scotland; however, as the Reformation swept through the kingdom, all of these were surrendered to the Crown in 1564 by his successor James Sandilands, who received them back as a hereditary barony. While a handful of Catholic Scots subsequently emigrated to join the order, the secularization of the Hospitaller lands in Scotland effectively ended the country's contribution to the crusading movement.

—Alan V. Murray

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Scots Literature

See English and Scots Literature

Second Crusade (1147–1149)

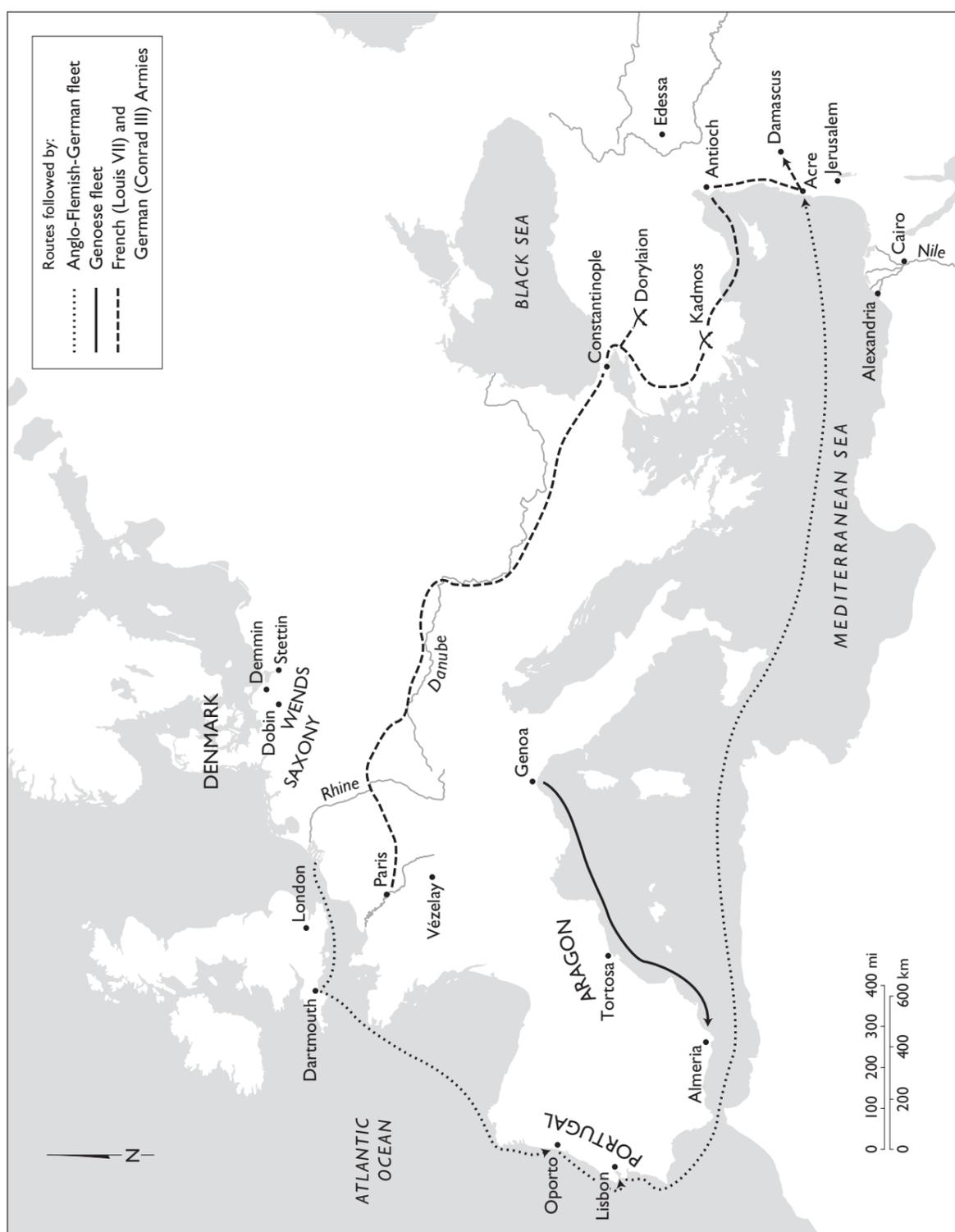
A crusade launched in response to the capture of the Christian city of Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey) by the Muslims in 1144. Ultimately the campaign in the Levant failed, but by then it was only one part of a much wider offensive against the enemies of Christendom that came to encompass the Iberian Peninsula as well as the pagan lands to the east of the river Elbe. For this reason at least, the Second Crusade holds an important place in the history of the crusades.

Origins, Preaching, and Recruitment

On 24 December 1144 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī, the Muslim ruler of Aleppo and Mosul, captured the city of Edessa in Upper Mesopotamia. The news of this disaster quickly reached the rulers of Antioch and Jerusalem, and messengers were dispatched to western Europe to plead for help. The loss of the principal city of one of the four Frankish states in Outremer was the greatest calamity yet to affect the Latin East and provoked the largest expedition to the Holy Land since the First Crusade (1096–1099) almost fifty years previously.

The response of the West to the fall of Edessa was slow but, at least from the papal perspective, carefully planned. On 1 December 1145 Pope Eugenius III issued *Quantum praedecessores*, the first surviving papal encyclical to call for a crusade. This carefully researched document had three sections: an outline of recent events, an exhortation to take the cross, and an outline of the rewards and protection offered to crusaders by the church. The bull conveyed its message with clarity and emphasis and was designed to be easily understood when read out at large public gatherings. It relied strongly on the repetition of several key themes to reinforce its ideas. Eugenius laid great emphasis on linking the new campaign with the achievements of the First Crusade, and he urged potential recruits to live up to the deeds of their forefathers and to ensure that the present generation did not shame the memory of their predecessors. The offer of the remission of sins was repeated four times in the bull, which stated that those who died en route to the Holy Land were to be treated as martyrs and would find a place in heaven, thus allaying one worry of potential recruits.

Almost in parallel with the publication of this document, King Louis VII of France (1137–1180) announced plans to go



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King Louis VII of France enters Constantinople during the Second Crusade, from *Grandes Chroniques de France*, Jean Fouquet (c. 1415/1420–1481). MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 6465 f.202. (Snark/Art Resource)

to the East at his Christmas court at Bourges. However, Louis had experienced a difficult start to his reign, and there may well have been worries about disorder in his absence, particularly since he did not yet have a male heir. Prior to the Second Crusade no major European monarch had taken part in such an expedition, and in this sense the king's proposal was a step into the unknown. It seems unlikely that *Quantum praedecessores* had reached northern France by this time, and the French clergy were probably unwilling to proceed without papal authorization. Louis's plan was not declined outright, however, and it was agreed to postpone any formal commitments until a meeting at Vézelay at Easter 1146.

Troubles within the city of Rome caused Eugenius to delegate his former mentor, Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux, the foremost churchman of the age, to lead the preaching of the crusade. Bernard's passionate oratory, combined with the persuasive message of *Quantum praedecessores*, inflamed the audience at Vézelay, and people rushed forward to be signed with the cross. Over the next few months Eugenius and Bernard sent out numerous churchmen to urge the people of western Europe to help their fellow Christians in the East. They also dispatched letters, some of which survive and reveal the powerful language used to convince people to act. Bernard described the people of the West as a lucky

generation, blessed to be offered the opportunity of such splendid spiritual riches, and he almost guaranteed the crusaders success.

The abbot also embarked upon a grueling preaching tour between August 1146 and March 1147 that took him through Flanders and the Low Countries, down the Rhine to Basel and Lake Constance, then northward to the Christmas court of King Conrad III of Germany (1137–1152), and finally back into France. Miracles and wondrous portents accompanied the abbot of Clairvaux, and he undoubtedly did much to raise the profile of the campaign. Yet it is plain that he was approaching a highly receptive audience whose intense religiosity and devotion to the holy places had been fueled in the decades since the capture of Jerusalem by waves of pilgrimage and smaller crusading expeditions. The construction of churches as copies of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and the emergence of the first military orders, with their growing landholdings across western Europe, were visible reminders of the land of Christ. As the stirrings of chivalric culture were felt among the knightly classes, the widespread memorialization of the deeds of the first crusaders in literature and song were constantly held out as an ideal for later generations to emulate.

As Bernard and his copreachers moved around Europe, a renegade Cistercian monk named Ralph attracted large crowds with his anti-Judaic preaching, urging people to destroy unbelievers at home. This message was coupled with the popular notion that the Jews' money (much of it made from the sinful practice of usury) should be seized and used for the crusade. The church hierarchy, which was often responsible for protecting Jewish communities, invoked biblical testimony to forbid these outbreaks of disorder and directed that the Jews should not be killed lest their souls be lost forever. Nonetheless, Jewish communities in northern France and, especially, in the Rhineland were attacked. Bernard had to travel to Ralph in person to insist that he desist from his wickedness and return to his cloister. With the chief troublemaker removed, the problem largely ended.

In the autumn of 1146 the crusade began to broaden its appeal beyond the initial approach to the French nobility. As Bernard moved through the lands of Conrad of Germany, Eugenius dispatched the papal bull *Divini dispensatione I* to the people of northern Italy, another part of Conrad's dominions. Bernard himself wrote to the people of Bavaria and eastern France encouraging them to take the cross but cautioned them to wait for proper leadership, rather than rush-

ing eastward as the calamitous People's Crusades of 1096 had done. Given the high level of interest in Germany and the need for a suitable leader, it was natural that the pope would want to build upon recent positive relations between the Curia and the German monarchy and enlist the support of Conrad, the most powerful ruler in Latin Christendom.

Conrad is said to have refused to take the cross at first and was supposedly shamed into participating in the crusade after an impassioned speech from Bernard of Clairvaux. The only source for this episode is the *Vita* of Saint Bernard, and this may be somewhat slanted in outlook. In reality, Conrad probably wished to defer an absolute commitment to the campaign until a series of bitter regional disputes that afflicted his lands had been settled. Bernard is known to have worked hard to make peace across Germany, and once this was achieved Conrad was able to enlist for the crusade and prepare to head the large numbers of his subjects who wished to fight for Christ.

As the crusade to the Holy Land gathered momentum, the period between the summer of 1146 and the summer of 1147 saw the scope of the holy war broaden considerably to include the Iberian Peninsula and the Slavic lands to the east of Germany. The stimulus for this came from secular rulers who wished to exploit the contemporary crusading fervor both to advance the frontiers of Christianity and to enlarge their own lands. Such an agenda fitted in with the confident and outward-looking spiritual agenda of Eugenius and Bernard, and they were prepared to endorse or support such campaigns.

The Crusade in Iberia

The first ruler to approach the church hierarchy was probably Afonso I Henriques, king of Portugal (1128–1185). For several years he had been trying to capture the city of Lisbon (Port. *Lisboa*) from the Muslims, and now he saw a chance to enlist the assistance of those northern European crusaders who planned to sail around Iberia en route to the Levant. Bernard of Clairvaux came into contact with some of the Flemings who eventually took part in this campaign, and he probably wrote a letter of support to the king. No formal agreement was drawn up, but it seems that the prospect of a siege at Lisbon was a compelling reason for a fleet of some 165 ships from the Rhineland, Flanders, and the Anglo-Norman realm to set out from Dartmouth in May 1147, several weeks before the primary land forces started their march to the East. There is no surviving crusade bull

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for this expedition, although the presence of a churchman bearing a piece of the True Cross and the observations of some contemporary writers indicate that it was regarded as a part of the broader crusading enterprise.

In preparation for the arrival of this force Afonso Henriques captured the strategically important town of Santarém in March 1147. As the fleet reached northern Spain the king sent the bishop of Oporto to greet the crusaders and to convince them of both the spiritual value and the material advantage of fighting the enemies of Christ at Lisbon. A contract was agreed, and the siege began on 28 June. The crusaders and their allies made little progress at first, but, untroubled by Muslim relief forces and with plentiful supplies of food, they were able to persist. Assaults by siege towers and a mine were eventually sufficient to gain entry to the city, and Lisbon was taken on 24 October 1147. Most of the fleet chose to winter there before sailing on to the Holy Land in the spring to meet the main armies.

The conquest of Lisbon was not the only crusading activity in the Iberian Peninsula in 1147. Alfonso VII, king of León and Castile, also sought to link an expansion of his lands to the holy war. He proposed an attack on the Andalusian port of Almería, deep in the Muslim-held south. To secure the naval expertise of the Italian trading city of Genoa, he offered substantial commercial privileges, although given the intense religiosity of the age, the Italians must have been motivated by spiritual concerns as well. The siege lasted from August to October 1147, when Almería fell to the crusaders. Alfonso's grant to the Genoese demonstrates the combination of motives to good effect: the charter was given "because [the Genoese] captured the city for the honour of God and all of Christendom and the honour of Genoa" [J. B. Williams, "The Making of a Crusade": pp. 38–39].

In April 1148 Eugenius III encouraged Alfonso in his (ultimately unsuccessful) attack on the southern Spanish town of Jaén. The previous year the pope had described the conflict in Iberia in the same context as those in the Holy Land, reflecting an ongoing parity between the two theaters of war that dated back to expeditions to the Balearic Islands and the Iberian Peninsula from 1113–1114, 1117–1118, and 1123. At the time of the Second Crusade, therefore, the large-scale campaign to the Levant prompted a dramatic increase in the level of crusading activity in the peninsula.

The Genoese were also contracted to help Raymond Berengar IV, count of Barcelona, conquer Tortosa in north-

eastern Spain; once again they would receive considerable economic benefits in return, including one-third of the city, which fell to them on 30 December 1148. Almería was recaptured by the Muslims in 1157, but Lisbon and Tortosa remained permanently in Christian hands and marked the two most important and long-lasting achievements of the entire Second Crusade.

The Crusade against the Wends

The third and final theater of war represented the most radical aspect of the crusade. As the Germans prepared for the expedition to the Levant, a group of Saxon nobles approached Bernard of Clairvaux at an assembly at Frankfurt am Main and asked for his blessing to fight the pagan Wendish (that is, Slavic) tribes on their borders. Like the crusades in Iberia, this was motivated by a mixture of religious and territorial expansionism. The Germans claimed that the inhabitants of the island of Rügen had converted to Christianity only to lapse back to paganism. The leading men of northern Germany and Denmark also wished to expand their dominions. Bernard agreed to the proposal, and Pope Eugenius formally endorsed the idea in his bull *Divini dispensatione II* (April 1147), in which he confirmed that the conflict with the pagans would merit the same spiritual rewards as those in Iberia and the Holy Land. For decades the Saxons had fought against their pagan neighbors, but this was the first time that the struggle had been brought under the crusading banner. The behavior of the Rugians merited a severe response, and this may have been the reason behind Bernard's infamous statement "We utterly forbid that for any reason whatsoever a truce should be made with these peoples, either for the sake of money, or for the sake of tribute, until such a time, as by God's help they shall either be converted or wiped out" [Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera*, ed. J. Leclercq and H. Rochais, 8 vols. (Roma: Editiones Cistercienses, 1955–1977), 8:433].

In the summer of 1147 an army of Danes and Saxons attacked Dobin and Malchow. At the former settlement the defenders accepted baptism; at the latter a temple and idols were burned. The crusaders then turned toward the Christian city of Stettin (mod. Szczecin, Poland), but when the inhabitants hung crosses from the walls, the army withdrew, and the campaign broke up. The island of Rügen itself was not attacked. The campaign had secured the token submission of one chieftain and gained some tribute but had hardly swept aside the forces of the unbelievers,

and once under way it appeared more intent on simply extending the power of secular lords, regardless of their opponents' faith. Bitter arguments between two rivals for the Danish Crown and mistrust between the Saxons and the Danes also contributed to the mediocre outcome of this expedition.

The Crusade to the Levant

Through the autumn of 1146 and the spring of 1147 the crusaders of France and Germany gathered the money and equipment needed for the holy war. They decided to travel overland, a prospect that caused deep anxiety to the Byzantine emperor, Manuel I Komnenos (1143–1180), and induced him to write to the pope asking him to guarantee the good behavior of the crusaders as they crossed Byzantine territory.

The Germans left first. As they neared Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) their poor discipline did much to antagonize the Greeks, although Conrad and Manuel (who were related through Manuel's wife, Bertha of Salzburg) remained on reasonable terms. Once they reached Constantinople, however, the Germans were swiftly ushered across the Bosphorus and into Asia Minor.

In June 1147 Eugenius and Bernard presided over a great public ceremony at the abbey of Saint-Denis near Paris to mark the departure of King Louis. The French were more orderly in their approach to Constantinople, but serious tensions were generated by small-scale skirmishes with the Byzantines, coupled with a deeper antipathy based on doctrinal differences between the Orthodox and Latin churches, a recent Byzantine treaty with the Saljūq Turks, and Greek invasions of the principality of Antioch (ruled by Raymond of Poitiers, uncle of Queen Eleanor of France). One group of the crusaders advocated an immediate attack on Constantinople, but King Louis was not in favor of the idea. This hostility alarmed Manuel enormously, particularly because the Greeks' bitterest rivals, the Sicilians, had chosen to exploit the passing of the crusade by invading the Peloponnese. The Sicilians and the French were known to be on friendly terms, and Manuel feared a joint assault on his city. He used the promise of better markets to persuade the French to cross the Bosphorus, and with this barrier between himself and the Westerners he felt more secure.

Unknown to the French, the German army had not, as planned, waited for them. Conrad had hoped for a quick victory over the Saljūqs of Rūm, and this overconfidence, prob-

ably together with treachery by his Greek guides, meant that in late October 1147 his army marched into a trap. The German forces were largely destroyed after a few days' march past Nicaea (mod. İzmit, Turkey), although King Conrad himself escaped to join Louis.

The French crusaders skirted southwest toward the coastline at Ephesos (mod. Efes, Turkey), and then, moving inland in late December, they won a resounding victory over the Turks in the valley of the Maeander (mod. Menderes). In January 1148, however, as they traversed Mount Kadmos (mod. Honaz Dağı), the French became stretched out, and the vanguard lost sight of the remainder of the force. The Turks immediately exploited this and launched a devastating attack on the crusaders, killing large numbers of men and horses and taking valuable equipment. In the crossing of Asia Minor, therefore, both the German and the French armies suffered serious damage in terms of men, materials, and morale.

In March 1148 Louis arrived in the city of Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey), where Prince Raymond fully expected him to fight to regain Edessa. This had been the original intention of the crusaders, and it would also, of course, secure Raymond's own position against the Muslims of the region. Perhaps the recent imposition (1145) of Byzantine overlordship on Antioch, which meant that the crusaders' efforts in the area would indirectly benefit the Greeks, caused the king to change his mind. Many in the French army blamed the Byzantines for their misfortunes; furthermore, rumors of an affair between Raymond and Eleanor hardly helped matters, and in early May Louis led his men southward to the kingdom of Jerusalem.

King Conrad had wintered in Constantinople but gathered together his remaining men to fight in the Holy Land along with the French. In June 1148 at a great assembly at Palmarea, near Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), the crusaders and the Franks of Jerusalem and Tripoli decided to besiege Damascus. Until recently the Damascenes had been allied with Jerusalem, but the rise of Nūr al-Dīn of Aleppo and his growing rapprochement with Damascus meant that it was a sound strategic choice to attack the city. The Christian troops arrived at Damascus on 4 July 1148, but after achieving early progress through the dense orchards to the south of the city, they decided to move northward to try to achieve a quick breakthrough. There, however, they found no water, and with Nūr al-Dīn heading toward the city with a relieving army, they were compelled to withdraw.

Conclusions

After the exhortations of Abbot Bernard and the enormous hardship and expense of the campaign, the collapse of the siege of Damascus after only a few days was a humiliation to the Christians. Equally, it was a source of great delight and encouragement to their Muslim opponents, who saw that the rulers of the West were not invincible. The crusaders struggled to explain their reverse. Conrad III of Germany was adamant that the Franks of Outremer had been bribed by the Muslims into leading the crusader army astray. The Franks were also said to be unenthusiastic about the prospect of Westerners taking over Damascus for themselves while they remained unrewarded, in spite of the decades they had spent fighting the Muslims. For Bernard of Clairvaux, the reason behind the fiasco was the crusaders' failure to travel with the right intention: their motives must have been clouded by thoughts of greed and honor because with pure hearts they would have prevailed. The chronicler Henry of Huntingdon contrasted the defeat of the glory-seeking kings and nobles at Damascus with the success of the more humble forces at Lisbon.

The Second Crusade evolved into an ambitious and broad-ranging attempt to broaden Christendom on three fronts, yet it made real progress only in Iberia. The failure of the campaign in the Holy Land damaged the standing of the papacy, soured relations between the Christians of Outremer and the West for many years, and encouraged the Muslims of Syria to even greater efforts to defeat the Franks.

—Jonathan Phillips

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Second Shepherds' Crusade

See Shepherds' Crusade, Second

Seghelijn van Jherusalem

See Dutch Literature

Sermons and Preaching

Sermons were preached on many different occasions in the course of a crusade. Propagandists preached in order to announce new crusades as well as to recruit participants and collect money for military campaigns. Often the departure of a crusader or a crusade army was also marked by sermons. During the campaigns, the clergy accompanying armies regularly preached sermons in order to sustain the participants' enthusiasm or to give them courage on the eve of a battle or in moments of crisis. Sermons thanking God were held after successful battles. In addition, sermons about the crusade were preached to those at home in the context of penitentiary processions and prayers in support of crusaders in the field.

Crusade sermons were preached by clerics of all levels of the ecclesiastical hierarchy from parish priests to cardinals and popes. From the thirteenth century onward, however, the bulk of crusade preaching was done by the members of the mendicant Franciscan and Dominican orders. Public preaching constituted one of their principal activities, and among other duties, they were commissioned by the popes to propagate the crusades throughout Latin Europe in a systematic manner. Considering the frequency of crusading

between the twelfth and the sixteenth centuries, the number of different types of crusade sermons preached in various contexts during this time must have been considerable. Thus, sermons were not only an integral part of each crusade; they also played an important role in shaping and sustaining attitudes and responses to the medieval crusade movement.

Crusade sermons differed depending on their specific circumstance and purpose. They varied greatly in length, content, and complexity, ranging from short addresses to a crusade army in the field to elaborate sermons preached at various times in the run-up to a military campaign. Crusade recruitment sermons were preached in churches, in marketplaces, or in front of gatherings of knights and noblemen on the occasion of courtly festivities or tournaments. Preachers often moved from place to place within an assigned area of recruitment, making use of occasions at which people came together for other purposes, such as market days or church feasts. Preferred dates for crusade preaching were the feasts of the Invention of the Cross (3 May) and the Exaltation of the Cross (14 September), which provided a strong symbolic affinity in terms of crusade spirituality, and Lent, because of its strong penitential and Christocentric thrust. But crusade sermons, especially those aimed at eliciting financial support and prayers for crusade armies in the field, were also preached on a regular basis within ordinary church services throughout the year.

At times crusade propagandists were given special powers by the papacy to force parish priests to assemble their parishioners for a crusade sermon. In return, from the thirteenth century onward, attendance at recruitment sermons was rewarded by minor indulgences. This indicates that the dynamics of crowd psychology, especially peer pressure, was considered an important tool for enhancing the effectiveness of crusade preaching. Chronicle reports confirm that successful crusade propagandists showed extreme skill in provoking emotional responses by instilling their audiences with feelings of shame, contrition, anger, or rage. Sermons aimed at recruiting crusaders often took place in elaborate ceremonial settings accompanied by liturgical acts such as prayers, chants, processions, and sometimes the exposition of relics. In addition preachers often read out the papal bulls to their audiences, giving detailed information about the privileges and the terms of a particular crusade. After the sermons people solemnly took the vow by receiving the cross from the preacher, thus publicly demonstrating their tran-

sition to the status of crusader. More often than not crusade recruitment sermons were part of carefully planned and choreographed propaganda events.

Some crusade sermons were recorded in chronicles, such as Urban II's sermon at Clermont in 1095 or the sermons preached by Bishop Henry of Strasbourg in his home town in 1188 and Abbot Martin of Pairis in Basel in 1200. There are also reports of Baldwin of Canterbury's recruitment tour of Wales in 1188, Eustace of Fly's preaching in England in 1200–1201, Oliver of Paderborn's sermons in Frisia prior to the Fifth Crusade, and John of Capistrano's preaching of the cross in the fifteenth century. In addition we have a number of texts related to the preaching of the crusade against the Albigensian heretics at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Generally speaking, however, crusade preaching was not the stuff of medieval chronicles, and other narrative accounts and evidence for the exact contents of individual sermons are limited. But there are a number of sermon texts, as well as tracts about preaching the crusade, that give an insight into the sets of ideas and the kinds of arguments that individual preachers would have drawn on. The most elaborate of these preaching aids was *De predicatione sanctae Crucis* by Humbert of Romans, a handbook for crusade preachers written in the 1260s, which gave practical information and listed numerous themes that might be used in crusade sermons. A shorter and less elaborate tract about preaching the cross to the Holy Land, the *Ordinacio de predicatione sanctae Crucis in Anglia*, was put together by an anonymous author in the first half of the thirteenth century.

Model sermons were written, copied, and used from the thirteenth century onward. These sermon texts were often derived from the authors' own crusade preaching and were adapted as models for the use of other preachers. Authors include famous crusade preachers, such as James of Vitry, Odo of Châteauroux, and Humbert of Romans, as well as some of the most prolific medieval sermon writers, such as Gilbert of Tournai and Bertrand of La Tour. Other preaching aids include *exempla* (illustrative stories to be included in a sermon) about the crusade, which appear in many late medieval *exempla* collections.

Depending on the occasion and the preacher's specific aims, crusade sermons varied in content. Judging from chronicle reports and model sermons, the preachers' messages usually portrayed crusading as a devotional and spiritual activity undertaken for the good of the participant's

soul as well as a justified war against the enemies of the Christian religion. Sermons being a form of exegesis, preachers mainly talked about the crusade in theological terms and with reference to the Scriptures. Crusades were often compared to the wars of the Old Testament in which the Israelites fought against their enemies under the guidance of God. The crusade was thus described, and at the same time justified, as God's war fought in defense of and for the good of his church.

For participants or supporters, crusading was portrayed as a penitential activity through which an individual could establish a special relationship with God. This relationship was characterized by two main components: obligation and love. In as much as crusaders were perceived as soldiers fighting a war in the service of God or Christ, they were considered to be bound to God by the terms of feudal obligation. In return for this obligation, God rewarded crusaders by an indulgence for the forgiveness of their sins. Just as important for the characterization of the relationship between crusader and God was the model of love and friendship. Taking the cross was described as a spiritual quest for union with God through the bonds of mutual love. Crusaders were said to express their love of God by following him as "soldiers of Christ" or even to imitate Christ's act of redemption when dying in battle. Crusade preaching often dwelled at length on the spiritual and devotional aspects of the crusade. Crusading was first and foremost portrayed as a penitential activity, and participating or supporting the crusade was advocated as an effective way of dealing with the consequence of sin. This prevailing emphasis on the devotional and the penitential aspects of crusading can, in part, be explained by the strong pastoral thrust of crusade preaching from the thirteenth century onward.

For many, participation in the crusade consisted in supporting the crusade financially and by prayers rather than actually joining a crusade army. This meant that propagandists portrayed the crusade as profoundly relevant to people who might support the crusade movement for reasons that were not primarily connected to its military aspects. Participation in the crusade was thus advertised above all as a way of showing one's devotion to Christ and of cleansing one's soul from sin.

—Christoph T. Maier

See also: Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153);
Communications

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Seljuks

See Saljūqs

Seventh Crusade

See Crusade of Louis IX to the East

Sgouros, Leo

Byzantine *archon* (ruler) of the Peloponnesian Argolid and Corinth, and leader of resistance against the Frankish conquest in southern and central Greece in the wake of the conquest of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade (1204).

From around 1200 to 1204, Sgouros established a short-lived state comprising his inherited lands as well as Attica and Megaris, Boeotia, part of Negroponte, Phokis, Thermopylae, and parts of Thessaly, which soon brought him into conflict with Frankish forces attempting to annex Greek territories. He was awarded the high title of *sebastohypertatos* by the fugitive Alexios III Angelos, whose daughter Eudokia

he married at Larissa, the northernmost part of his advance. However, he failed to check the advance of the Franks at Thermopylae and fled south to the fortress of Akrocorinth, where he sustained a siege of almost four years until his death (c. 1208).

A highly controversial figure, Sgouros has been variously characterized as an unscrupulous and ambitious local tyrant, and as a heroic defender of medieval Hellenism against the Frankish conquest.

—Alexios G. C. Savvides

See also: Byzantine Empire

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Shepherds' Crusade, First (1251)

The Shepherds' Crusade (Lat. *Crucesignatio pastorellorum*) of 1251 was an unofficial or popular crusade of poor shepherds and peasants from the Low Countries and northern France who set out with the declared aim of aiding and avenging King Louis IX of France and rescuing the Holy Land from the Muslims.

These unauthorized crusaders were known collectively as "shepherds" (Lat. *pastores*, Fr. *pastoureux*). This was not only because there were many actual shepherds (including Roger, one of their leaders), cowherds, and dairy maids among the several bands of agrarian laborers, but also because shepherds claimed a privileged role in the Christian story, having been the first to see the Christ Child. The Annunciation to the Shepherds was sculpted above cathedral portals and dramatized in contemporary Nativity plays. Seeing themselves depicted in this way, ordinary shepherds could thus regard themselves as chosen by God. Often youthful, landless, mobile, and frequently in one

another's company, shepherds constituted an ideal nucleus for a popular crusading movement, as they appear to have done in the Children's Crusade of 1212. In 1251, displaying banners of the Lamb and the Cross, traveling bands of armed shepherds asserted both their religious identity and their crusading intent. The crusade of the pastores probably originated in Flanders or Brabant toward Eastertide (16–23 April 1251), rapidly gathering recruits in the towns and villages of Hainaut, at Amiens in Picardy, and later at Rouen in Normandy. There they were joined by artisans and members of the urban underclass, who were often recent migrants from the countryside.

The circumstances out of which this popular crusade enthusiasm arose are reasonably clear. First of all, the miserable end of Louis IX's Egyptian crusade (1248–1254) and the king's subsequent captivity were no doubt widely known in Flanders. A large Flemish contingent had participated in Louis's crusade, including William of Dampierre, count of Flanders. After Louis was ransomed (6 May 1250), it is possible that some of his Flemish captains returned home. Pope Innocent IV's letter on Louis's incarceration (12–31 August 1250), intended for wide circulation, also urged public liturgies of supplication on Louis's behalf. Probably more important was the letter that Louis himself composed in Acre (10 August 1250) in which he refers to the Christian prisoners still being held in Egypt and announces his desperate need for more troops. In his letter Louis says that the men should depart for the Holy Land the next April or May. That date, corresponding as it does with the probable origins of the movement, is significant. Around that time as well, crusading excitement in the Low Countries was being fanned by the preaching of the papal crusade against Conrad IV, king of Germany. The Franciscan friar John of Diest may have been preaching this anti-Staufen crusade in Flanders in late March or early April 1251. Strong opposition to this preaching from Queen Blanche of Castile, Louis's mother and regent, may have triggered increased sympathy for and attention to the plight of her son. As with the Children's Crusade of 1212, popular enthusiasm generated by one crusade was readily deflected onto another, especially if the focus of the latter was the Holy Land. Speculation aside, what is important to emphasize is that popular crusades like that of the pastores frequently occurred in the midst of official crusade activities aimed at generating mass enthusiasm.

Once the pastores arrived at Paris (probably in early June 1251), their most prominent leader, the charismatic Jacob,

Shepherds' Crusade, Second (1320)

known as "the Master of Hungary" and described as a run-away monk, was well received by Queen Blanche. Reportedly, she believed that the shepherds were intending to come to the aid of her son. But it was in Paris, apparently for the first time, that the pastores engaged in anticlerical violence. Perhaps it was the surprising reception that the queen gave them that, by seeming to confirm their providential status, destabilized them. In Paris they began to attack the clergy, while the Master of Hungary assumed the costume of a bishop and usurped clerical functions at the Church of St. Eustace. Starting out as an orthodox (although unauthorized) crusading venture, the shepherds had become a vast, rebellious, heretical mob. With his long beard and his pale, ascetic, and venerable appearance, together with a (supposed) letter from the Virgin Mary, the Master of Hungary swayed his followers as only a charismatic leader could. Two Englishmen, the chronicler Matthew Paris and the philosopher Roger Bacon, were intrigued by his understanding of crowd psychology. Matthew Paris was well informed about the movement, having interviewed the archbishop of Canterbury, who had been in France at the time, and Thomas of Sherborne, an English monk taken prisoner by the pastores. According to Matthew Paris, the Master of Hungary "infatuated" the people who heard him, whereas Bacon, who witnessed his spellbinding performance in Paris, spoke of "fascination" as the key to his success.

After Paris, most of the troops of shepherds headed southward. Violence erupted at Tours, where friars were attacked, and at Orléans, where scholars, students, and priests were robbed, beaten, and killed. At Bourges the pastores pillaged and persecuted the Jews with the connivance of local people. Probably it was at this point that Queen Blanche commanded that the shepherds be put down. The Master of Hungary was killed and many of his followers executed. Some shepherds made their way to Marseilles, Aigues-Mortes, Bordeaux, or even to Shoreham in England, but nearly all were apprehended, and many were hanged. The response of the clergy to the violence directed against them, oftentimes with the complicity of the local populace, was outrage and fear. The Franciscan chronicler Salimbene, who was in France at the time, was horrified by the violent attacks of the "innumerable host of Shepherds" upon his fellow mendicants because "they had preached the crusade [of Louis IX] and given men crosses to go beyond seas with the King" [Coulton, *From St. Francis to Dante*, p. 188]. He thus makes it clear that antimendicant sentiment, provoked by

the failure of the crusade the friars had preached, endeared the shepherds to the people, even when the result was anticlerical violence.

Clerical chroniclers, like the early fourteenth-century Dominican Bernard Gui, never forgot the pastores of 1251. As if in disbelief, he acknowledged that the common people rejoiced in the persecution of the clergy. To him, this was the most disquieting aspect of the Shepherds' Crusade of 1251. Thus the Second Shepherds' Crusade of 1320 stirred old memories and reawakened old fears.

—Gary Dickson

See also: Popular Crusades

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Shepherds' Crusade, Second (1320)

The popular crusade of 1320, whose participants were known in French as the *pastoureux*, was the last and probably the most violent of the medieval crusades of the "shepherds."

Like the Children's Crusade (1212) and the First Shepherds' Crusade (1251), the crusade of the *pastoureux* was unauthorized. Unlike the participants in those movements, however, the *pastoureux* were named and condemned by the papacy. Terrified by the prospect of their arrival in Avignon, Pope John XXII ordered their dispersal (19 June 1320). As with other popular crusades, their collective name gives an inexact indication of their social composi-

tion. Actual shepherds probably formed the nucleus of the movement, but soon the multitudes flocking to join it included peasant laborers, craftsmen, the poor, and the socially marginal, both urban and rural, male and female. Although the French chroniclers refer to no knights in their ranks, a few nobles do appear in the Aragonese records. People of all ages participated, with youths of fourteen to sixteen particularly notable.

The movement lasted around four months. It originated in northern France, perhaps in Normandy, around Easter (20 March) 1320, reaching Paris by early May, then headed southward to Languedoc and Aragon, where, in the second half of July, it was crushed. In France as in Aragon the royal armies prevailed. Many of the *pastoureaux* were hanged. In the north, their leaders were reportedly a defrocked priest and a runaway monk, while in Languedoc no leaders are mentioned. At first, the *pastoureaux* professed crusading goals of fighting the infidels and regaining the Holy Land. In Paris, they may have believed that King Philip V of France, who had taken the cross, would lead them. An official crusade, planned since 1318, was still being discussed as recently as 17 February 1320. Royal propaganda thus aroused illusory expectations, inciting popular crusade enthusiasm. Memories of the "Crusade of the Poor" (1309) and the unsettling miseries of the great famine of 1315–1317 may have also played a part in the origins of the movement. From Paris onward this shepherds' crusade was characterized by anti-Jewish and anticlerical violence and civic disorder. Jews were offered baptism or death: Their goods were stolen, their debt records destroyed; they were then massacred—as, for example, at Verdun on the Garonne, Toulouse, or Monclus—or, like Baruch l'Allemand, forcibly baptized. What alarmed the Dominican chronicler Bernard Gui was that in their plundering of clerics and religious orders, the *pastoureaux* were often aided by local people, even the civic authorities. Crusading aims were eventually overshadowed by anti-Judaic and anticlerical rioting that carried more than a hint of sociopolitical rebellion.

—Gary Dickson

See also: Popular Crusades

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Shī'ites

A term collectively applied to a number of Muslim sects that assert the primacy of the family of Muḥammad, as represented by the Prophet's son-in-law, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (d. 661) and his descendants.

The actual Arabic term is *shī'at 'Alī* (party of 'Alī), which seems to have been used as early as the civil war during 'Alī's caliphate (656–661). After 'Alī's death the Shī'ites continued to agitate on behalf of his family, and Shī'ite rebellions caused considerable concern for both the Umayyad (661–750) and 'Abbāsīd (750–1258) caliphates.

Shī'ite doctrine is characterized most particularly by the recognition of the *imāms*: individuals regarded as the spiritual leaders of the Muslim community. Each *imām* was meant to guide the Muslim community, a task in which he was assisted by the teachings of the one who designated him and by a closer connection to God, achieved through *ilhām* (divine inspiration). Shī'ites believe that Muḥammad designated 'Alī as the first *imām*, with a number of *imāms* following him. Over time the Shī'ites split into a number of subdivisions, each with their own doctrines and practices. One of the main features distinguishing between them was the number of *imāms* they recognized. Some Shī'ite groups still recognize living *imāms* today, while others regard them as currently being hidden from the world. Several of these groups were important in the Muslim world during the period of the crusades.

The Ithnā'ashari Shī'ites, often known as the Twelvers, or Imāmis, recognize a line of twelve *imāms*, starting with 'Alī and passing down through his family. They believe that after the death of the eleventh *imām*, al-Ḥasan al-'Askārī (d. 874), his son, named Muḥammad, went into a state of *ghaybah* (occultation), communicating with the world through a line of four emissaries. After the death of the last of these in 941, the *imām* entered a state of *ghaybah kubra* (greater occultation). This will last until the end of time, when he will return as the *mahdī* ("guided one"), or messiah. During the period

of the crusades, many Bedouin tribesmen of the Near East were Ithnā'asharī Shī'ites.

The Ismā'ilīs, sometimes known as the Seveners, were a Shī'ite sect that claimed that the sixth *imām*, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (d. 765), had nominated his son Ismā'il as his successor. When Ismā'il died in 755 before his father, Ismā'il's supporters recognized his son Muḥammad as the seventh and final *imām*, maintaining that he would also reappear as the *mahdī* at the end of time. They existed in secret until the middle of the ninth century, before emerging as two movements known collectively as the Ismā'ilīs. The first of these, known as the Qarmatians, attained particular prominence in eastern Arabia in the ninth and tenth centuries. However, it was the second movement, the Fāṭimids, that was particularly important in the history of the crusades. The heads of the Fāṭimid dynasty, diverging from earlier Ismā'ilī thought, claimed to be both rightful caliphs and true living *imāms* descended from Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il. They established themselves at Kairouan in North Africa in 909 and then moved their power base to Egypt after conquering al-Fustāt in 969. They built Cairo, from which they ruled until 1171, when their caliphate was suppressed by Saladin.

The Assassins, or Nizārīs, owe their origins to a Persian propagandist of the Fāṭimids named Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ (d. 1124), who in 1090 seized the fortress of Alamut in northern Persia. From there he began a program of Fāṭimid propaganda and political assassination. In 1094 the Fāṭimid caliph, al-Mustanṣir, died; he had nominated his eldest son, Nizār (d. 1095), to succeed him, but the palace administration ousted and murdered Nizār in favor of his more pliable brother al-Musta'li (1094–1101). Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and his followers had sided with Nizār and became independent from the main Fāṭimid administration. During the years that followed, the Assassins established a hierarchical sect and continued to expand their sphere of influence, taking several fortresses in Persia and Syria. After 1162 the masters of the Persian Assassins claimed to be descendants of Nizār and hence the rightful *imāms*, a claim that they generally maintained until their Persian strongholds were destroyed by the Mongols in 1256. The Syrian Assassins survived slightly longer, the last of their fortresses falling to Baybars I, the Mamlūk sultan, in 1273.

In addition to the belief in the doctrine of the *imāms*, Shī'ite doctrine and practices show a number of other differences from those of Sunnī Muslims. In their interpretation of the *ḥadīth* (reports of the sayings and actions of the

Prophet and his companions, constituting a source of Islamic law), they give greater importance to accounts attributed to 'Alī and his family; they reject the use of consensus in their interpretation of the law but give reason a greater role in their theology; not surprisingly, they place greater emphasis on the teachings of the *imāms*, as passed down through the jurists; and most importantly for the period of the crusades, for the Shī'ite groups that believe in a hidden *imām*, the offensive *jihād* (holy war) is considered to be suspended, as only the *imām* may lead it.

—Niall Christie

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Ships

The types of ships involved in the crusades at various times were referred to in contemporary sources by a wide variety of different names, and in most cases the types of vessels to which the terms corresponded are known reasonably well; however, there are exceptions that are sometimes difficult to categorize with certainty. This is particularly true of the Muslim world. Only a handful of scholars have addressed the issues, and none have examined the nature of the ships involved, their historical evolution, and their performance capabilities, issues that influenced, indeed governed profoundly the actual participation of naval forces in the crusades.

Terminology

The first Western fleet to sail to the East in the period of the crusades was probably that commanded by Gynemer of

Boulogne, who anchored off Tarsos (mod. Tarsus, Turkey) in September 1097. His vessels are characterized merely as *naves* by the chronicler Albert of Aachen, who was undoubtedly using the term as a generic for ships. The Genoese fleet that sailed in summer 1097 reportedly consisted of 12 *galee* (galleys of a new Western design) and 1 *sandanum*. The term *sandanum* was a Latinization of the Greek *chelandion*, for a transport galley. The Pisan fleet that left in summer 1099 reportedly numbered 120 *naves*, while that of the Venetians that sailed in summer 1099 had at least 30 *naves*. The fleet of Sigurd Jorsalfar, which left Norway in 1107, was said by Thórarinn Stúfþósson to have consisted of 60 ships (ON *skip*). In 1123 the Venetian fleet that sailed for Outremer reportedly numbered 120 *naves* plus some small boats (Lat. *carabii*).

During the Third Crusade (1189–1192), a Northern fleet of 50 ships referred to as *cogas* (cogs) reached Acre (mod. ‘Akko, Israel). The fleet of Richard I the Lionheart, king of England, consisted of ships variously called *esneccas* or *enekes*, *galees*, *naves* or *nefs*, *dromonz*, and *bucee*. For the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) the Venetians supplied a battle fleet of 50 *galeae* (galleys) and a transport fleet consisting of *naves* for the men and *uissiers* for the horses. In 1217 Count William I of Holland led a fleet of *coccones* to Damietta in Egypt. For his Crusade of 1227–1229 the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II prepared various fleets of ships described as *naves*, *galee*, *usseria*, *chelandre*, and *taride*. King Louis IX of France contracted with Marseilles and Genoa for squadrons of *naves*, *taride*, and *galee* for his Crusade of 1248–1254.

Byzantine sources of the crusade period mostly use classical Greek terms such as *trieres* (pl. *triereis*) or generic terms such as *naus* (pl. *nees*) or *ploion* (pl. *ploia*) for ships, although Anna Komnene and Niketas Choniates occasionally use *dromon* (pl. *dromones*), the term par excellence for Byzantine war galleys since the sixth century. From the late twelfth century a new term, *katargon* (pl. *katerga*), began to be used, displacing *dromon* and becoming the generic for war galleys during the late Byzantine Empire.

Arabic sources of the period use terms such as *qārib* (pl. *qawārib*) for small boats and also for galleys, *shīnī* (pl. *shawānī*) and *ghurāb* (pl. *‘aghriba/ghirbān/‘aghrub*) for galleys; *markab* (pl. *marākib*) and *qiṭ’a* (pl. *qiṭa’*) for vessels in general, but often with reference to war galleys; *safīna* (pl. *sufun*, *safā’in*) for vessels in general, but often for transport ships; *musattah* (pl. *musattahāt*) for transport ships; *baṭsha* (pl. *butash*) for large sailing ships; *‘ushari* (pl. *‘ushāriyyāt*)

for transport galleys, *tarrīda* (pl. *tarā’id*) for horse transports, and *ḥarrāqa* (pl. *ḥarrāqāt*) for fire ships, as well as loan words such as *shalandī* (pl. *shalandiyyat*) from the Byzantine *chelandion*, frequently used for Byzantine war ships but also for galleys built in Egypt.

Such words were rarely used in a technical or technological sense. Most authors were unfamiliar with the sea, were not writing for maritime audiences, and used approved or literary terms for ships even if they did know what particular types ought to be called. Generic terms such as *naves*, *nees*, or *ploia*, and *sufun/safā’in* or *marākib* were used for all types of ships in fleets. The Latin word *naves* was used for all ships of the Pisan and Venetian fleets in the First Crusade (1096–1099), even though they included galleys. But as well as its generic meaning, by the twelfth century the term *navis/naves* had acquired a specific reference in a Mediterranean context to lateen-rigged, round-hulled sailing ships.

Evolution of Ship Types

The historical evolution of ship types was continuous. A type could change in its fundamental technology and yet retain the same name, as in the case of the cog. Alternatively a name could become applied to a completely different type of ship, as occurred with *dromon* in its Latin and Arabic variants. By the twelfth century it was used for sailing ships that had nothing in common with Byzantine galleys.

In the centuries before the First Crusade, Mediterranean maritime commerce was carried on a cloud of small sailing ships. Judging from excavations of shipwrecks (the Yassı Ada ship of the seventh century, the Bozburun ship whose timbers were felled in 874, and the early eleventh-century Serçe Limani ship, all from within modern Turkey, and the thirteenth-century Contarina ship found near Venice), such ships averaged around 20 meters (c. 65½ ft.) in overall length, around 5 meters (c. 16½ ft.) maximum beam, and around 2–2.5 meters (c. 6½–8¼ ft.) depth in hold. They probably had single masts and lateen sails, were steered by two stern-quarter rudders, and carried multiple anchors because of their inefficient design and light weight. Smaller versions had only half-decks at bow and stern. Larger ones were fully decked with a small, low cabin at the stern, such as was the case with the Yassı Ada ship.

There certainly were large ships, such as the fine one sailing up the Bosphorus that reportedly incensed the Byzantine emperor Theophilos (d. 842) when he learned that its owner was his wife Theodora, or the three-masted “pirate” *naus*

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reported by Anna Komnene during the First Crusade. Three-masted sailing ships certainly existed in the eleventh century, as is proved by a depiction on glazed Pisan *bacini*, which were glazed pottery bowls from the Muslim world placed on the facades of churches at Pisa and elsewhere to reflect sunlight and give the churches a glittering aspect. However, such large ships have left no trace in the documentary record before the thirteenth century.

In the Mediterranean, ships had always been built with strakes edge-joined: that is, with the planks of the hull joined edge to edge and not overlapping as in clinker construction. In classical antiquity, hulls had been shell-constructed from the keel out by holding the strakes together with closely spaced mortise-and-tenon joints pegged with treenails (wooden pegs). Frames were inserted only when hulls had been built to a point where they could be usefully positioned. This produced light and strong hulls but was extremely expensive in terms of the labor and carpentry skills required. By the fourth century (as evidenced in another wreck found at Yassı Ada), tenons had become less tightly fitting, wider but shorter, and spaced more widely apart. The evolutionary process was yet more clearly apparent in the seventh-century Yassı Ada wreck. The Bozburun wreck showed no signs of mortise-and-tenon edge-joining, and by the eleventh century, in the Serçe Limani wreck, skeleton construction over a framework of ribs and stringers had replaced shell construction.

Coating ships with a layer of pitch over the whole hull was replaced by driving caulking into the seams between the planks. The first usages of the Greek word for a caulker (*kalaphates*) occurred in sixth-century Egyptian papyri and appeared in Byzantium itself in the tenth century, in inventories for expeditions to Crete in the *De cerimoniis* attributed to Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, which included linen for, and the cost of *kalaphateseos*: caulking. The first picture of caulkers working on a ship is in a manuscript of the *De materia medica* of Dioskorides Pedanios, probably made for Emperor Constantine VII (MS New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 652 fol. 240r).

In northern Europe, ships were also shell-constructed, but there strakes were not edge-joined but rather clinker-overlapped. Up to the eleventh century, the sailing ship par excellence was the Norse *knörr* (ON, pl. *knerrir*). Two such ships, dated to around 1000, were among 5 ships excavated off Skuldelev in Roskilde Fjord (Denmark). The smaller was around 13.72 meters (45 ft.) long and around 3.20 meters

(10½ ft.) in beam, the larger around 14.94 meters (49 ft.) long and 4.57 meters (15 ft.) in the beam. Both had half decks forward and aft and an open hold amidships. The mast of the smaller was socketed into the kelson, with a stringer laid over the floor timbers and keel to provide fore-and-aft rigidity and to lock the floor timbers to the keel, while that of the larger was set in a complex mast-step. Both would have been steered by a starboard stern-quarter rudder. The larger may well have ventured out into the Atlantic Ocean, since it was heavily built with sturdy frames. Larger *knerrir* were primarily sailing ships, using what oars they carried only for entering and leaving harbor, for close maneuvering, and in emergencies.

The Skuldelev ships also included two long ships (ON *langskip*) like the famous ships excavated at Oseberg and Gokstad. The Oseberg ship (from around 800) and the Tune ship (from around 875) had dimensions of 21.4 meters (70¼ ft.) in length, 5.1 meters (16¾ ft.) in the beam, and 1.4 meters (4½ ft.) depth in hold and around 20.0, 4.6, and an unknown depth in hold respectively (65½ and 15 ft.). The Gokstad ship (of around 900) was 23.4 meters in length, 5.2 meters in the beam, and 1.9 meters depth in hold (76¾, 17, and 6¼ ft.). Those of the two Skuldelev ships were approximately 18, 2.6, and 1.1 meters (59, 8½, and 3½ ft.) and 30, 4.2 meters (98½ and 13¾ ft.), and unknown depth in hold, respectively. The Oseberg ship carried 15 pairs of oars, the Tune and smaller Skuldelev ships 12 pairs. The Gokstad ship carried 16 pairs of oars and the larger Skuldelev ship between 20 and 30 pairs. In Norse literature the terms *langskip* and “snake” (ON *snekkja*, pl. *snekkjur*) were interchangeable, although *snekkjur* may have been larger. As the length of northern longships began to increase, the largest became known as *drekar*, “dragon ships” (sing. *dreki*). Those such as the Gokstad ship and the larger Skuldelev ship would certainly have been capable of voyages to Outremer; however, whether Norse *langskip*, *snekkjur*, or *drekar* actually made such voyages is debatable. Crews would have been much more comfortable in *knerrir*, and there would have been no reason to use longships unless naval combat was expected.

In England *knerrir* became known as *céolas* (OE sing. *céol*), that is keels, perhaps reflecting originally the pronounced keels of Norse ships as opposed to keel-less Frisian hulks and cogs. By the eleventh century the Old English term *céol* was used commonly for sailing ships in the lower North Sea and English Channel. Another name that appeared increasingly from the eleventh century was *bussa/busse/bus/buza* (Lat.

bucia/bucius); however, whether the Mediterranean Latin *bucia/bucius* was adopted in the north or vice-versa is unclear. No descriptions of these terms permit attribution of particular characteristics to ships. Nor do illustrations name types until much later. By the thirteenth century ships like *knerrir* but with light and possibly demountable castles added at the stern, and sometimes the bow, appeared on town seals. Beam ends through the hull of some were probably deck beams. Such ships were probably the *buciae* in the English fleet of the Third Crusade, and according to Richard of Devizes, the *naves* of the English fleet, which were only half the size of the *buciae*, carried forty foot soldiers and forty horses as well as their supplies. The Norse *snekkja* was also imitated in England under the names *esnecca* or *esneke*. King Henry II had a sixty-oared *esnecca* that made the voyage to Outremer during the Third Crusade. Other flotillas of *snekkjur* and smaller oared ships from France, Flanders, and Denmark also participated.

From the sixth to late eleventh centuries, the warship par excellence in the Mediterranean was the dromon and its Muslim and Latin imitations, although Byzantines also developed the *chelandion*, originally an oared horse transport, which was also imitated. By the tenth century dromons had become biremes with two banks of 50 oars, one below and one above deck. A standard ship's complement (Gr. *ousia*) consisted of 108 men, excluding officers, marines, and specialists such as helmsmen and a carpenter. Around 31.5 meters (103 ft.) long, they carried two masts with lateen sails and had quarter rudders on both stern quarters. They also had fighting castles on each side just aft of the foremast and a foredeck at the prow, below which was housed their *siphon* for hurling Greek fire: this was a weapon that used a force pump to eject a stream of petroleum naphtha fuel that was set alight, creating a tongue of flame that could destroy enemy ships.

Monoreme dromons with only 50 oars were known as *galeai*, and it seems certain that the Latin *galea* developed from them. The earliest uses of the Latin term were by a group of eleventh-century Italo-Norman chroniclers, which suggests an adaptation of this ship type in southern Italy from Byzantine originals encountered there. Even though references to *galee* proliferated rapidly, however, they were never described in detail and all that is known about early *galee* is that they had fine lines and were fast. The earliest documents with construction details are from the Angevin kingdom of Sicily between 1269 and 1284.

Almost certainly, the oarage system was reconfigured so

that two oarsmen could row from one bench position above deck. This made immeasurable difference to the oar mechanics, increasing oarsmen's combined power delivery markedly. No longer did one bank row below deck in stygian darkness and foul air. It also freed holds for supplies, water, spare gear, and armaments. No wonder that the *galea* spread rapidly in the West and came to be emulated in both the Byzantine and Muslim worlds.

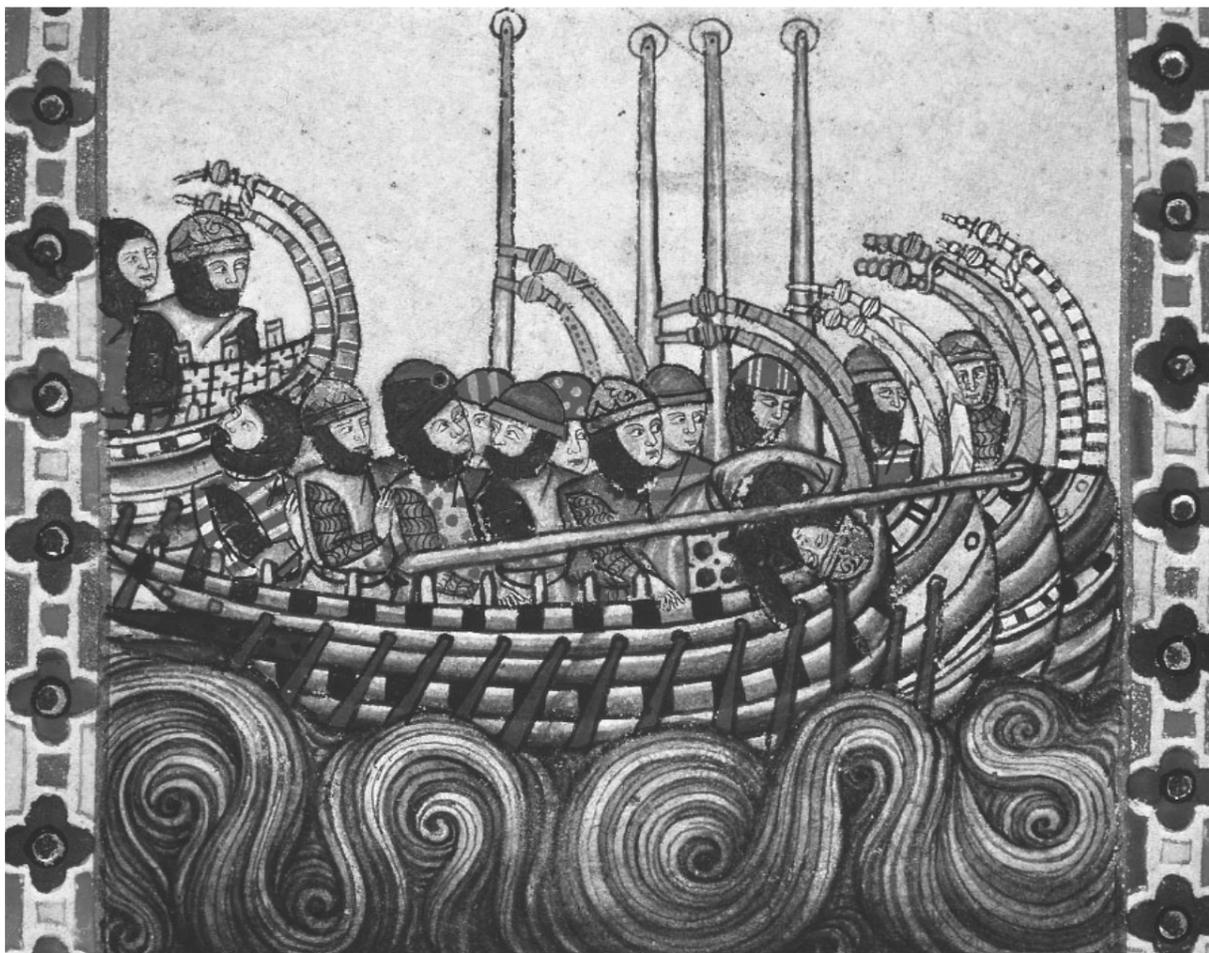
The earliest datable illustrations of *galee* are three miniatures in the Madrid manuscript of the *Synopsis historiarum* of John Skylitzes, produced in Palermo around 1160 (MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, vitr. 26–2). These clearly show bireme galleys with a different oarage system. One file of oars was rowed through oarports, but the other was worked above the gunwale. The same system is depicted even more clearly in an early thirteenth-century manuscript of the *Carmen ad honorem Augusti* of Peter of Eboli (MS Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 120).

This bireme oarage system became known as the *alla sensile* system. Two oarsmen each rowed single oars from the same bench above deck. Using a stand-and-sit stroke as opposed to the fully seated stroke of classical and Byzantine galleys, they threw their whole weight and the power of their legs into the stroke by falling back onto the bench. The inboard oar was pulled through an oarport in the outrigger, while the outboard oar was pulled against a thole, a pin set in the gunwale (Gr. *apostis*, It. *posticcio*, *aposticio*), to which an oar was held by an oar thong or grommet.

Such bireme galleys remained the norm throughout the main age of the crusades. There is no clear evidence for galleys using any other type of oarage system, and occasional literary references to triremes or to more than one oarsmen pulling each oar are either classical allusions or mistakes. Only in the early fourteenth century did Marino Sanudo Torsello report that: "in [. . .] 1290, two oarsmen used to row on a bench on almost all galleys which sailed the sea. Later more perceptive men realized that three oarsmen could row on each of the aforesaid benches. Almost everyone uses this nowadays" [Marino Sanudo Torsello, "Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis," in *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ed. Jacques Bongars, 2 vols. (Hannover: Typis Wechelianis, 1611), p. 57].

Standard bireme *galee* came to measure around 39.5 meters (129½ ft.) in overall length; they were longer than dromons because they mounted 108 rather than 100 oars and because the stand-and-sit stroke needed a distance

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Thirteenth-century warships. Illustration from the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, by King Alfonso X of Castile. (Bridgeman-Giraudon/Art Resource)

between any two tholes (Lat. *interscalmium*) of around 1.20 meters (4 ft.) rather than the 1 meter (3 $\frac{1}{4}$ ft.) for fully-seated oarsmen. Their beam was around 4.6 meters (15 ft.) at the deck amidships, and their depth in hold around 2 meters (6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ft.). They still carried only two masts with lateen sails, the foremasts being almost 16 meters (52 $\frac{1}{2}$ ft.) long with yards nearly 27 meters (88 $\frac{1}{2}$ ft.) and the midships masts being 11 meters (36 ft.) long with yards of 20.5 meters (67 $\frac{1}{4}$ ft.). The stern-quarter rudders were 6 meters (19 $\frac{3}{4}$ ft.) long. By the later thirteenth century, standard crews on Angevin galleys consisted of 108 oarsmen, 2 masters, 4 helmsmen, 36 marines, and 2 ship's boys. Standard armaments included around 30 crossbows, 8 cases of quarrels (crossbow bolts),

40 shields, 200 lances, 10 halberds, 47 axes, 400 darts, 108 helmets and padded jackets for the oarsmen, 40 glass bottles for Greek fire and 100 pots of powdered quick lime, 2 iron grapnels, rigging cutters, and possibly iron rockets for shooting Greek fire.

Although no substantiated evidence suggests that any oarage system other than the *alla sensile* system was used until the late thirteenth century, a variety of names for galleys other than *galee* appeared sporadically in the sources: *sagene*, *sagittae*, *gatti*, and *garabi* in particular.

The term *sagena* appeared first for vessels of Muslim and Croatian corsairs in Byzantine sources. The type was developed among the Slavs on the east coast of the Adriatic Sea.

Sagitta (lit. “arrow”) was also applied to corsair galleys, but to those of the Latin West. They were smaller than *galee* and presumably very fast, to judge by their name. Thirteenth-century Genoese documents refer to *sagittae* with 48, 58, 64, and 80 oars. *Gattus* was derived from the Arabic *qit‘a* and appeared mainly in late eleventh- and twelfth-century sources, referring to galleys larger than the norm. The ships were sometimes described as triremes, although that may have been a classicizing literary affectation. *Garabus* was again derived from Arabic: *ghurāb*, or possibly also *qārib*, since it is unclear whether these terms were not simply variants of the same name. *Aghriba* were sometimes said to have carried 140 oars, and *garabus* may also have been applied to galleys larger than the norm. If they really did row 140 oars, then they must have been triremes.

Horse Transports

Byzantines had oared horse transports equipped with landing ramps as early as the ninth century and retained that capability into the twelfth. The chronicler William of Tyre reports Byzantine horse transports supplied for a combined Byzantine-Frankish attack on Egypt in 1169 as “also having accessible ports at the poops for embarking and disembarking them [horses], also with bridges by which ease of entrance and exit both of men and of horses might be attended to as usual” [William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. Robert B. C. Huygens (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), p. 927].

Muslims too were transporting horses on specialized *‘ushāriyyāt* and *tarā‘id* by the tenth century. Twelfth-century *tarā‘id* could hold forty horses. The Venetians were apparently the first Latins to transport horses to Outremer in 1123, but it is unknown what types of ship they used. By this time the Normans of Sicily definitely could transport horses by galley, because during the Mahdia campaign (1087) 500 cavalry disembarked from beached ships to attack Muslim troops; only galleys could be beached.

Horses were transported in both sailing ships and galleys from the West to Outremer from 1129 up to the time of the Third Crusade. Venice used oared horse transports with stern-quarter ports and landing bridges for the Fourth Cru-

Table I: Primary specifications of Genoese 20-horse *taride* of 1246 and Angevin 30-horse *taride* of 1274–1281

	Genoese	Angevin
Overall length	35.71m.	37.97m.
Depth in hold amidships	2.23m.	2.11m.
Beam on floor	3.35m.	3.56 or 3.69m.
Beam at wale	4.09m.	3.96 or 4.09m.
Beam of deck beams	–	4.88 or 5.01m.
Number of stern quarter ports	2	1 or 2
Length of foremast	19.34m.	17.40m.
Length of foremast yard	–	28.48m.
Length of midships mast	14.88m.	13.45m.
Length of quarter rudders	–	7.38m.
Number and length of oars	–	108 or 112m., half 7.38m., half 7.65m.
Length of landing bridges	–	3.69m.
Number of stalls	20	30
Length of stalls	–	1.98m.

sade (1202–1204), and both appeared among the miscellaneous fleets that reached Damietta during the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221). In 1224 Emperor Frederick II prepared a great fleet of 50 oared horse transports, each carrying forty horses, and in 1246 agents of King Louis IX of France contracted with Genoa for 12 *taride* to carry twenty horses each for his Crusade to the East.

The Byzantine term for an oared horse transport was *chelandion* while those of the Muslims had been *‘ushari* and *tarrīda*. In the West *uscerius* and variants became the generic term for an oared horse transport, while *chelandion* became adopted as *chelandre* and variants and *tarrīda* as *taride/tarida*. Whether there was ever any real difference between Western *chelandre* and *taride* is debatable, but as the thirteenth century wore on, *tarida* became more common and *chelandre* disappeared.

Louis IX’s contract of 1246 has the earliest specifications, and these may be compared to those of thirty-horse *taride* constructed for Charles I of Anjou between 1274 and 1281.

The Later Middle Ages

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw no innovation in the technology or construction of Mediterranean sailing *naves*; however, the length and beam, number of masts, and number of decks and depth in hold of some increased dramatically. By the mid-twelfth century, iconography depicted as a matter of course two-masted *naves* with multiple-tiered

Table II: Primary dimensions of 2-decked and 3-decked Genoese and Venetian crusader *naves*, 1246–1269

	2-decked <i>naves</i>	3-decked <i>naves</i>
Length of keel	18.7 m.	22.6 m.
Overall length	28.9 m.	35.2 m.
Depth in hold	3.45 m.	4.11 m.
Height of first deck	2.06 m.	2.91 m.
Height of second deck	–	2.03 m.
Height of corridoria part decks (calculated for 3-decked <i>naves</i>)	1.57 m.	1.76 m.
Height of bulwark	1.13 m.	1.18 m.
Height of stem- and sternposts above keel (calculated)	–	12.77 m.
Internal beam on floor (calculated)	1.7 m.	3.14 m.
Internal beam at first deck (calculated)	–	8.92 m.
Maximum internal beam (calculated)	7.75 m.	9.5 m.
Forecastle		
<i>Talamus</i> (number of)	1	–
<i>Pontes</i> (number of)	–	2
<i>Suprapons</i> (number of)	–	1
Sterncastle		
<i>Paradisi</i> (number of)	1	2
<i>Castellum</i> (number of)	1	–
<i>Vanna</i> (number of)	–	1
<i>Supravannum</i> (number of)	–	1
Length of quarter rudders (calculated)	13.98 m.	17.0 m.
Length of foremast (calculated for 3-decked <i>naves</i>)	29.3 m.	36.48 m.
Length of midships mast (calculated for 3-decked <i>naves</i>)	26.8 m.	34.25 m.
Length of foremast yard (calculated)	36.2 m.	46.8 m.
Length of midships yard (calculated)	33.3 m.	41.8 m.
Ship's boats (number of)		
<i>Barca de canterio</i> (52 oars)	–	1
<i>Barche de parischalmo</i> (32 or 34 oars)	–	2
<i>Gondola</i>	–	1
Deadweight tonnage (calculated)	323 tonnes	805 tonnes

sterncastles and substantial forecastles, such as the Genoese ship conveying Conrad of Montferrat to the Holy Land in the Paris manuscript of the *Annals of Genoa* [MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, suppl.lat.773]. By the thirteenth century, the mosaics of San Marco in Venice also showed three-masted ships. No documentary evidence for three-masted ships survives; however, it is available for two-masted ships provided by Genoa and Venice in 1246–1269 for the two crusades of Louis IX of France. The data vary

considerably but may be averaged out or calculated as laid out in the accompanying table.

With the amount of deck space legislated by Marseilles for each pilgrim or crusader, ships of the size of the average three-decked ship could carry around 500–550 passengers. One thirteenth-century Genoese ship, the *Oliva*, is known to have had a capacity of 1,100 passengers. Such ships were intercepted and captured by Saladin's squadrons in the 1170s and 1180s and were referred to in Arabic sources as *butash*. According to Arabic sources, one *batsha* wrecked off Damietta in 1181/1182 was carrying 2,500 passengers, of whom 1,690 were taken alive. The figures are probably exaggerated, but perhaps not by a great deal if the ship was indeed very large. They could also carry up to 100 horses, normally on the lowest deck, as revealed by a Marseillaise contract of 1268 with Louis IX, which specified a fare of 25 shillings for passengers if horses were not stabled there. As the French chronicler Joinville remarked: "On the day that we entered into our ships, the port of the ship was opened and all the horses we wanted to take to Outremer were put inside, and then the port was closed again and plugged well, as when a cask is caulked, because, when the ship is on the high sea, the whole port is under water" [John of Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. J. Monfrin (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 1998), p. 62].

Another Northern ship, the cog (MLG *kogge*), appeared in crusader fleets as early as the Second Crusade (1147–1149). Originally cogs had been flat-bottomed estuarine and river craft in Frisia, but in the early twelfth century cogs appeared that had flat floors and high sides, a radical new rudder hung off a straight sternpost, and straight stemposts, and that could hold the high seas. The wreck from Kolding Fjord (Denmark), dated to the late twelfth or thirteenth centuries, was around 18.3 meters (60 ft.) long

and 6.1 (1¾ ft.) meters wide, with a mast step around 1.98 meters (6½ ft.) forward of midships. It had a flat bottom with edge-joined strakes and sides with clinker strakes. Traces of rust on the sternpost revealed a sternpost rudder rather than the Norse quarter rudder. One of the earliest depictions of such a cog is on the first seal of the city of Elbing (mod. Elbląg, Poland) in Prussia (1242). Whether they evolved from earlier Frisian cogs or whether this name was taken over by a completely new ocean-going craft is debatable.

Cogs of the new type appeared in northern fleets for the Third and Fifth Crusades. In 1217 Count William I of Holland left with a fleet of cogs to join the Fifth Crusade at Damietta. Ports were cut into their sterns to embark the horses, and when the horses were on board, the ports were covered and sealed with pitch and tar. The Mediterranean technology for embarking and disembarking horses by ramps through ports in the hull became adopted in northern Europe.

Maritime history was an evolutionary process. The bireme *galee*, one-decked and single-masted Mediterranean *naves*, and Norse *knerrir* and *snekkjur* of the age of the First Crusade were replaced 200 years later by trireme *galee*, multiple-decked and masted *naves*, and northern cogs.

—John H. Pryor

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Shīrkūh (d. 1169)

A Muslim general who conquered Fāṭimid Egypt for Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zangī, the ruler of Muslim Syria.

The two Ayyūbid brothers Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh and Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb were Kurds from Dvin in the Caucasus (in mod. Armenia), who migrated to Iraq, where from 1138 they served ‘Imād al-Dīn Zangī, ruler of Mosul. Shīrkūh was a capable soldier, and he rose to high military responsibilities in the service of Zangī’s son, Nūr al-Dīn.

In 1164, when Nūr al-Dīn decided to intervene in the internal affairs of the Fāṭimid state, Shīrkūh led the expedition to Egypt. Between 1164 and 1169, he campaigned three times in Egypt, fighting both Fāṭimids and Franks. His death paved the way for the rise to power of his nephew Saladin, son of Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, who overthrew the Fāṭimids in 1171 and brought about the rupture in relations between the Ayyūbids in Egypt and Nūr al-Dīn in Damascus.

—Yaacov Lev

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Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī (1185/1186–1256)

Shams al-Dīn Abu’l-Muzaffar Yūsuf ibn Qizoghlu, also known as Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, was a famous preacher and writer.

The son of a Turkish freedman and the daughter of another well-known preacher and writer, Ibn al-Jawzī

Sibyl of Jerusalem (d. 1190)

(whence comes his name, “grandson of Ibn al-Jawzī”), he was actually brought up by his famous grandfather. After the latter’s death in 1201 he went to Damascus, where he served the Ayyūbid rulers al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā, al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, and al-Ashraf Mūsā. He became known in particular for his preaching and was said to have moved his listeners to tears with his eloquence.

Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī wrote a great universal history entitled *Mir’āt al-Zamān fī Ta’rīkh al-A’yān* (*Mirror of Time Concerning the History of Notables*), which includes an account of the crusading period up to his death. A number of other works have also been ascribed to him.

—Niall Christie

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Sibyl of Jerusalem (d. 1190)

Queen of Jerusalem (1186–1190).

Sibyl was born before 1161, the eldest child of King Amalric of Jerusalem and his first wife, Agnes of Courtenay. Despite the annulment of her parents’ marriage in 1163, she and her brother Baldwin (IV) were declared legitimate. After Baldwin became king (1174), his leprosy meant that a husband was needed for Sibyl, his heir, to assume the regency and father a male successor. In the autumn of 1176 Sibyl was married to William of Montferrat, but he died in June 1177, leaving a posthumous son, the future Baldwin V. At Easter 1180 Sibyl married a Poitevin nobleman, Guy of Lusignan; the reasons for the marriage are unclear, but it may have been precipitated by the advance of Bohemund III of Antioch and Raymond III of Tripoli on the kingdom, ostensibly to impose their candidate on Sibyl.

Guy’s elevation was resented and led to factional strife. Baldwin IV had Baldwin V crowned in 1183, hoping that on his own death Sibyl and Guy would be kept from the throne. However, the young Baldwin V died in 1186, only a year after his uncle the king; while the High Court debated the succes-

sion in Nablus, Sibyl had herself crowned in Jerusalem and proceeded to crown Guy.

Sibyl was associated with Guy in his charters, but their rule ended with the defeat at Hattin in July 1187. After Guy’s release from captivity by Saladin they both traveled to Tyre (mod. Soūr, Lebanon) but were refused access to the city by Conrad of Montferrat. They then laid siege to Acre (mod. ‘Akko, Israel), where Sibyl died of disease (25 July 1190) along with her two young daughters. These deaths left Guy without a secure claim to the throne and provoked renewed discord among the Franks over the kingship of Jerusalem.

—Linda Goldsmith

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Sicily, Kingdom of

The island of Sicily was conquered and settled by Muslim invaders from North Africa in the ninth century and was reconquered by the Normans of southern Italy in the period 1061–1091. Thereafter the island and various mainland territories came to form a kingdom that became one of the major powers in the Mediterranean region.

The Norman Kingdom

The Norman conquest was led by Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia and Calabria, and his younger brother Roger. While Robert’s participation was important in securing the north-eastern part of the island (1061–1062) and Palermo (1072), the conquest was largely conducted by Count Roger, and rule over the island was left in his hands.

Certain features of the conquest foreshadowed the First Crusade: there was sporadic papal encouragement, and contemporary chroniclers stress that this was a holy war on behalf of Christendom. Yet while Pope Gregory VII suggested to Count Roger (in 1076) that he “should seek to

spread the worship of the Christian name amongst the pagans" [*The Register of Pope Gregory VII, 1073–1083*, trans. H. E. J. Cowdrey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 193], in practice many towns surrendered on terms that included the maintenance of Islamic worship and law, and the majority of the island's population remained Muslim until the late twelfth century. Roger I created six Latin bishoprics and founded a number of both Latin- and Greek-rite monasteries, but Christian immigration was slow (and largely went into the east of the island), and conversion slower. Western Sicily remained largely Muslim until the 1230s, when Frederick II transferred many of the remaining Muslims to northern Apulia.

The kingdom played little part in the early crusades to the Holy Land. Roger II, count (1105–1130) and then first king of Sicily (1130–1154), was primarily concerned with consolidating his new kingdom, particularly his rule over the southern Italian mainland. Once this had been achieved (by 1140), his forces conducted campaigns against Muslim North Africa (especially in 1146–1148) and Byzantium. Garrisons were established in several coastal cities in Africa, notably Mahdia (mod. al-Mahdiya, Tunisia), Tripoli (mod. Tarābulus, Libya), Gabès, and Sfax, but while attempts were made to attract Christian immigrants, the primary purpose of these conquests was to control the lucrative trade between Africa and Sicily. Given its involvement in these operations, the kingdom was unlikely to have resources to spare for involvement in the Levant. In addition, there were cordial diplomatic exchanges between Roger's court and the Fāṭimids of Egypt, and indeed the reorganization of the Sicilian administration in the 1140s drew on Fāṭimid practice.

While there had been a substantial southern Italian involvement in the First Crusade, thereafter interest in the Holy Land appears to have waned. Roger II's relations with the rulers of Outremer were poor. The marriage of his mother, Adelaide, to Baldwin I of Jerusalem in 1113 and Baldwin's subsequent repudiation of her left Roger, according to the chronicler William of Tyre, with a mortal hatred against the kingdom of Jerusalem. His unsuccessful claims to succeed his cousin Bohemund II of Antioch after 1130 meant that his relations with that principality were equally hostile. Furthermore, his attacks on the Byzantine Empire in 1147–1148 also contributed to the failure of the Second Crusade in the East.

The Apulian ports, especially Bari, Brindisi, and Otranto, as well as Messina on Sicily, were key embarkation points for

pilgrims to the Holy Land, but few southern Italians went there themselves. After a first flush of enthusiasm following the First Crusade, endowments to Holy Land churches in the kingdom of Sicily were relatively few, although the Church of St. Mary of the Latins at Jerusalem did have a wealthy dependency at Agira on the island of Sicily. The military orders established themselves in the kingdom relatively late and (at least at first) on a limited scale. The Order of the Hospital (of St. John) had established separate provinces for Sicily and Apulia by about 1170, but the Templars only established a local organization within the kingdom between 1184 and 1196. The kings offered protection to them and to some of the churches of Outremer, but little material endowment. During the reign of William I (1154–1166) revolts and internal dissension within the kingdom as well as the continued threat of attack from the hostile German Empire contributed to the loss of the Sicilian colonies in North Africa to the Almohads in 1158–1160.

It was only under King William II (1166–1189) that the kingdom started to take a more active part in the crusading movement. An alliance was concluded with King Amalric of Jerusalem to carry out a joint attack on Egypt, although after Amalric's death (1174) the Jerusalemite expedition was abandoned and the Sicilians, forced to make the attempt alone, were defeated. The Sicilian fleet also attacked the Muslim-held Balearic Islands in 1182, primarily in response to Muslim piracy. However, Sicilian attention was then diverted once more toward Byzantium; a major invasion was launched in 1185 but miscarried, despite the capture of Thessalonica. This attack may well have contributed to the decision of the Byzantine emperor, Isaac II Angelos, to conclude an alliance with Saladin. However, the collapse of the kingdom of Jerusalem in 1187 revived interest in the fate of Outremer, and because of its geographical position and its powerful navy, Sicily was able to provide more immediate help to the embattled states in Outremer than other western kingdoms could. The Sicilian fleet (under Margaritus of Brindisi) played a crucial role in supplying and reinforcing the cities of Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon), Tripoli (mod. Trâblous, Lebanon), and Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) in 1187–1188.

Sicily under the Staufen Dynasty

The death of the childless William II in November 1189 led to a succession crisis and to the eventual conquest of the kingdom by Henry VI, Holy Roman Emperor from the

Staufen dynasty (whose wife, Constance, was Roger II's daughter) in 1194. Hence, direct Sicilian contribution to the Third Crusade (1189–1192) was limited. However, with the maritime route to the East becoming increasingly important, Sicily's role as a base for crusading became crucial. Richard I of England and Philip II of France stayed in Sicily during the winter of 1190–1191, and the vanguard of Henry VI's German crusade sailed from Apulian ports and Messina in 1197. Part of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) also sailed from these ports directly to the kingdom of Jerusalem, as did the English crusader Simon of Montfort in 1241.

Under Frederick II (king of Sicily 1198–1250), the son of Henry VI and Constance, the kingdom played a much more significant part in the crusade to the East than hitherto. Sicilian ships and troops under the counts of Lesina and Malta reinforced the Fifth Crusade in 1220–1221, and Frederick himself attempted to set off on crusade from Brindisi in 1227 but was forced back by illness, finally doing so in 1228. Frederick's marriage to Isabella II, the heiress of Jerusalem, in 1225 and the birth of their son, Conrad (IV), in 1228 strengthened the links between the kingdoms of Sicily and Jerusalem. From 1231 until 1243 (or perhaps 1242) Sicilian troops garrisoned Tyre, and their leader, Riccardo Filangieri, acted as Conrad's *bailli* (regent) in the kingdom of Jerusalem, although his authority was disputed by the Ibelin family and their supporters. In addition, the military orders received considerable endowment within the kingdom of Sicily in the early thirteenth century, not least from the Staufen rulers' patronage of the Teutonic Order. Henry VI granted the Teutonic Knights houses in Barletta and Palermo in 1197, and a separate province within the order, with four subject commanderies, was established for Apulia by 1225.

The kingdom was involved not only as a participant in the crusading movement but also as a target for crusading. The precedent was set by the crusade preached by Pope Innocent III, who was then the kingdom's regent acting on behalf of its infant king, Frederick, against the German adventurer Markward of Annweiler in 1199–1202. Markward's alliance with the Muslims of Sicily, then in revolt, was used as a justification for this crusade. Once Frederick began to rule the kingdom in person, his relations with the papacy became increasingly difficult and caused a renewal of such crusading activity. Frederick's excommunication by Pope Gregory IX in 1227, for failing to fulfill his crusade vow, led to an invasion of the kingdom by a papal army in 1229–1230. Whether

or not this was actually a "crusade" is a moot point; the local chronicler Richard of San Germano expressly contrasted the papal troops, "the army of the keys" (that is, the keys of St. Peter, a papal symbol), with "the army of the crusaders" led by Frederick against them when he returned from the Holy Land; but certainly crusade taxation paid for the papal expedition, and remission of sins was offered to the participants. Frederick's second excommunication (1239) led to a renewal of crusade preaching against him and even to attempts to divert those who had taken vows to go to the Holy Land to fight against him. However, while papal agents attempted to undermine his rule within the kingdom, especially on the mainland, the major theater of military operations was in northern Italy.

After Frederick II's death (1250) there were sporadic, and unsuccessful, papal campaigns against his sons in Sicily. The coronation of his illegitimate son Manfred as king in 1258 led to a more sustained attempt to overthrow Staufen rule. The crusade was the means for this, using crusade preaching, especially by the mendicant orders, to secure recruits and crusade taxation to raise money. Attempts to transfer the kingdom to the younger son of Henry III of England failed because of the general dislike of the project, and especially of paying for it, among Henry's subjects. Sporadic negotiations to secure a settlement with Manfred also failed. Finally, in 1264 Pope Clement IV conferred the kingdom on Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX of France. As in the earlier case of Markward of Annweiler, Manfred's use of Muslim troops was one of the principal justifications of this policy. In 1266 Charles conquered the kingdom at the head of an army whose members received the full spiritual privileges accorded to those who had taken the cross.

The Angevin Conquest

As king of Sicily, Charles I of Anjou (1266–1285) pursued an ambitious and expansionary foreign policy in the Mediterranean. His involvement with Frankish Greece had been anticipated by Manfred, who had married the daughter of the despot of Epiros and in 1259 had sent troops to support Epiros and Achaia against the resurgent Empire of Nicaea, a project that was ended by the defeat of the allies at the battle of Pelagonia. By the Treaty of Viterbo (1267) Charles secured extensive rights in Greece, including suzerainty over Achaia (from Baldwin II, former Latin emperor of Constantinople), and the marriage of the heiress of the principality to his younger son, Philip, in 1271. Sicilian troops and

money henceforth underpinned the defense of Frankish Greece against the Byzantines.

Charles also persuaded his brother Louis IX of France to divert his second crusade from the Holy Land to Tunis (1270). The motives for this were purely political, to ensure the continued payment of the tribute that the rulers of Tunisia had been accustomed to pay to the kings of Sicily since the time of Roger II. Finally, in 1277 Charles bought out the claims of Mary of Antioch to the kingship of Jerusalem, proclaimed himself king, and sent Roger of San Severino to Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) to rule the kingdom as his representative. Mary's claims had never been accepted by the High Court of Jerusalem, but Roger was able to displace King Hugh (II of Cyprus) and take over. Meanwhile Charles was preparing to launch an expedition against Byzantium, which, even if not actually declared a crusade, had papal sanction, the support of crusade taxation, and the participation of those vowed to the crusade.

These ambitious plans were destroyed by a revolt in Sicily at Easter 1282, known as the Sicilian Vespers, that led to the takeover of the island of Sicily by King Peter III of Aragon and thereafter to the long-standing conflict between the two rival kingdoms of "Sicily": the island ruled by the Aragonese dynasty and the southern Italian mainland under the Angevins. Pope Martin IV declared Charles's attempts to reconquer Sicily to be a crusade, the king of France was drawn into the conflict, and crusade preaching and taxation boosted the Angevin military effort. Yet despite this support the campaigns were consistently defeated, and eventually King Charles II (1285–1309) admitted defeat at the Peace of Caltebellota in 1302.

Conclusions

Despite its key central position in the Mediterranean and the wealth and military (and especially naval) power of the kingdom created by Roger II, the Sicilian contribution to the crusades in the Holy Land was surprisingly limited and at times deleterious. The circumstances of its creation meant that its early rulers were above all concerned with ensuring its survival, until peace was finally made with the Holy Roman Empire in 1177. The presence of a very substantial Muslim population on the island also acted as a brake on any Sicilian crusade against the infidel, at least until immigration, some conversions, and later forcible relocation of Muslims to Apulia made the population of the island overwhelmingly Christian. Campaigns against North Africa were undertaken for

pragmatic reasons, not as part of a crusade, and those against the Byzantine Empire undermined Christian unity. The increased Sicilian involvement in the crusade from 1174 onward was hampered by domestic political problems and the conflict of the papacy with the Staufien rulers. Sicily became a target for the "political" crusades of the thirteenth century, and once Charles of Anjou became king, he used the crusade as a tool to further his own ambitions. Even as nominal king of Jerusalem, his real concern was with the Balkans and the Byzantine Empire, not the defense of his new kingdom. As the remains of the Christian states in Outremer were collapsing before the Mamlüks, the papacy was encouraging crusades against Christians within the Sicilian kingdom.

—G. A. Loud

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Siege Warfare

Siege technology was an aspect of medieval warfare that ranged in scope from very small-scale operations, as when some Byzantine local forces drove off nomad raiders by erecting a barricade of carts around their church, to massive endeavours involving thousands of troops and huge expenditure. It was a field in which Byzantine and Muslim supe-

Siege Warfare



Siege works and engines from the time of the Crusades. (Bettmann/Corbis)

riority over Western Europe was initially pronounced. Despite their tendency to rely on established tactics and weaponry, the Byzantines possessed very advanced siege machines. For example the earliest illustrations of a great crossbow mounted on a chassis comes from an eleventh-century Byzantine source, and the late thirteenth-century Western scholar Egidio Colonna attributed the *biffa* (form of trebuchet) with an adjustable counterweight to the Romans, by which he probably meant the Byzantines.

Christian Armies

The crusaders arrived in the Near East with less sophisticated traditions. In attack they might dig trenches to isolate

the besieged from relief, form a *testudo* (a close group of men with their shields interlocked over their heads) to enable men to force a breach, and even pose as a band of lost travelers in an attempt to trick the night watchman at Shaizar (mod. Shayzar, Syria) to open his gate. While besieging Damascus in 1148, a crusader army found itself counter-besieged in its own camp by defending forces, but two generations later, a crusader cavalry charge broke a Muslim garrison unit that emerged from the besieged city of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) to challenge them during the Third Crusade (1189–1192).

In defense, castles in Outremer had a minimal impact on full-scale invasions, though it took the Muslims a long time to reduce those that could not be taken by surprise. According to the Rule of the Hospitallers, the gates of castles near the frontier were closed after compline, the last service of the day, and were not to be opened until the following morning. The Arab writer Usāma Ibn Munqidh described how one group of crusader cavalry dismounted outside the gate of a twelfth century castle and used their lances as pikes to defend its entrance. On another occasion, those making a sortie included men riding mules, though whether they were mounted infantry or knights who lacked proper mounts is unclear. Some Frankish garrisons defended themselves so vigorously that anyone coming within range of their walls had to wear armor.

The crusaders came to the East with a tradition of wooden siege engines, which were vulnerable to the incendiary weapons of both Byzantines and Muslims. For example, the First Crusade (1096–1099) used a wooden tower on wheels or rollers during its attack on Albara (mod. al-Bārah, Syria); it had knights on top, while other armored men pushed it forward. The Franks' two wooden siege towers used during an attack on Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon) in 1111–1112 contained rams suspended by ropes. Both were burned by the defenders. The *chats châteaux* (combined shelters and siege towers), used against Damietta during the crusade of King Louis IX of France to the East (1248–1254), enabled the besiegers to protect their miners attacking the base of a wall and also shoot at enemies defending the parapet of that wall. The troops inside wooden siege towers were said to have stored water and vinegar to douse fires. In turn crusader archers shot fire-arrows at the bundles of straw that defenders would hang in front of their walls as buffers against stones or rams.

Although the Franks did not use stone-throwing mangonels in such numbers as did their Muslim foes, they

clearly had the latest versions, including *boves*, a type of mangonel with adjustable counterweights. Those defending Acre in 1291 could throw a stone whose weight has been translated as 45 kilograms (99 lb.) by some historians [D. P. Little, "The Fall of 'Akka in 690/1291: The Muslim Version," in *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization in Honour of Professor David Ayalon*, ed. M. Sharon (Leiden: Brill, 1986), pp. 159–181]. The Western European *espringal* was an anti-personnel weapon that came in various sizes, the best being made of beech, elm, or oak. Its torsion power was provided by twisted skeins or ropes of horse or cattle hair, and it could shoot a truly massive arrow.

The reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula (*Reconquista*) was primarily aimed at cities, several of which were so large or well fortified that sieges sometimes took years. Occasionally the final struggle was resolved by street fighting of almost modern savagery. Siege engineering in the Christian states of northern Iberia was, of course, greatly influenced by that of the Muslim south. For example, the Spanish *algar-rada* came from the Arabic *al-'arrāda*, which was a small antipersonnel mangonel. The *manganell turquès* ("Turkish mangonel") mentioned in early thirteenth-century Aragon was probably a new form, perhaps with an adjustable counterweight.

Muslim Armies

Muslim armies used various siege techniques. Light troops went ahead to impose a blockade, and orchards outside the city were progressively destroyed in an attempt to induce surrender, while the besiegers defended themselves with palisades and entrenchments. A thirteenth-century military manual by the writer al-Harawī, based upon long established procedures, lists the sequence of events as follows: First the commander ordered his laborers to assemble siege machines. Then bombardment began with the smallest engines, followed by those of greater power to put the enemy under increasing psychological pressure. The besiegers were also to post units of cavalry an arrow-shot from each enemy gate as a precaution against sorties.

Saladin's siege train included a variety of specialist troops such as engineers, fire troops, flamethrower operators, surveyors, and assorted craftsmen. It is also clear that the Muslims did more mining than crusader or Frankish armies, and they used the originally Chinese tactic of erecting mounds of earth as firing positions for stone-throwing machines throughout the medieval period and well into the early mod-

ern era. Such machines gradually demolished the enemy's battlements so that defending archers lacked cover. Assault parties were commanded by the best officers, while the troops themselves carried fire weapons and tools to further demolish the enemy wall. A further variation was to use any numerical advantage to make small attacks against different parts of the wall and thus exhaust the garrison.

In defense, Muslim garrisons resorted to various stratagems, including psychological warfare: for example, they sent men with torches out of a postern gate by night, who then returned with their torches extinguished and emerged again, making the garrison appear more formidable. Local militias used their knowledge of surrounding orchards and gardens to destroy small groups of invaders, as happened during the crusader attack on Damascus in 1148. During the siege of Acre in the course of the Third Crusade, the son of a coppersmith surpassed professional fire-troops by designing a more effective way of shooting Greek Fire (the petroleum-based incendiary liquid, which is still widely, though perhaps wrongly, regarded as the "secret weapon" that enabled the Byzantine Empire to survive against repeated Arab-Muslim attacks during the early medieval period), thereby destroying the crusaders' siege engines. During this same siege, the defenders also used a grappling hook to ensnare one of the leading men in the army of Richard the Lionheart, hauling him up the wall.

The counterweight mangonel, or trebuchet, is generally considered to have been invented in the Middle East during the twelfth century, though there is evidence that a primitive counterweight *manjanīq* had been known in the Muslim area two centuries earlier. This "Persian" weapon was first illustrated and described in a military treatise written by Murdā al-Ṭarsūsī for Saladin. Nevertheless, the counterweight trebuchet did not have a major impact on siege warfare until the start of the thirteenth century.

Al-Ṭarsūsī also described well-established forms of man-powered *manjanīqs*, of which the "Arab" type was considered most reliable. It consisted of a wooden frame with a roof and three walls to protect a team of rope-pullers inside. The "Turkish" type required less timber and was simpler to erect, while the "Frankish" or "Rūmī" (i.e., Western or Byzantine) version had a more stable arm and axle. The smallest form (Arab. *lu'ab*) was mounted on a single pole and had the smallest payload and shortest range, but could shoot in any direction. By the late thirteenth century, some of the largest counterweight machines were prefabricated and transported

to the scene of a siege in pieces. As elsewhere, most mangonels and other siege engines could also be used defensively from the top of fortified towers.

Apart from unclear references to a “black bull-like” *man-janiq* that shot large arrows rather than stones, and may therefore not have been a beam-sling weapon at all, there were several bolt-shooting machines. These included the great crossbow, which was sometimes mounted on a frame or pedestal. This weapon had been known for centuries; it was spanned by a windlass or other mechanical means. The *qaws al-ziyār*, known in Europe as the *espringal*, was another fearsome weapon spanned by a winch or windlass. It had two separate “bow arms” thrust through tightly twisted skeins of animal hair, silk, sinew, or a mixture of these. The monstrous version described by al-Ṭarsūsī had the power of twenty men, but even in fourteenth-century Morocco, it took eleven mules to carry a dismantled *qaws al-ziyār*. The ordinary *ziyār* appears to have been a development of the single-armed stone-throwing engine known in Late Roman times as an onager.

Mobile wooden sheds to protect men working rams were used by Islamic armies, as they were by crusader and Byzantine forces, but, like the *burj* (wooden siege tower), were ideal targets for Greek Fire and other forms of fire weapon. Perhaps for this reason, they largely fell out of use from the late thirteenth century. Other more common devices were screens and mantlets to protect sappers and miners, which were commonly used by virtually all medieval armies. One example used during the final siege of Acre by the Mamlūks in 1291 consisted of a large sheet of felt on a system of pulleys. It not only hid individual men but absorbed mangonel stones and crossbow bolts. The *zahafah* is more obscure, but may have been a fixed immobile wooden tower for archers.

Fire weapons became steadily more effective. In twelfth-century Syria, for example, clay and glass grenades were designed for different purposes, some apparently being antipersonnel weapons. Yet the decline of fire weapons from the end of the fourteenth century may have resulted from their own success in driving wooden and other inflammable targets from the battlefield.

Siege technology in the western Muslim world was virtually identical to that in the Near and Middle East and became particularly sophisticated under the Almohads in the later twelfth century. Here a commander sometimes had a *maqaba* (observation post) erected from which he could direct operations. Another notable feature of sieges in these west-

ern regions was the building of towns, complete with their own stone fortifications, next to the city under attack; the walls and minaret of one such “counter city” still stand at al-Manṣūra outside Tlemcen in North Africa. Otherwise the usual sequence of events was followed. Defenders fought outside their walls until convinced that the attackers could not be driven away. In fourteenth-century Granada, this stage was followed by walling up all gates except those needed for sorties. Particularly advanced semiexplosive pyrotechnics also appeared in North Africa and al-Andalus in the late thirteenth century, some of them possibly incorporating primitive gunpowder. Knowledge of saltpeter, essential in the making of gunpowder, already existed in the Middle East, and traces are said to have been found in ceramic grenades found at the sites of thirteenth- or even twelfth-century sieges. It was not, however, until the fourteenth century that gunpowder was used widely in siege warfare, not only in primitive guns but as rockets and as an incendiary substance.

—David Nicolle

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Siegfried von Feuchtwangen (d. 1311)

Grand master of the Teutonic Order (1303–1311), who was responsible for moving the order’s headquarters from Venice to Marienburg (mod. Malbork, Poland) in Prussia.

In 1298 Siegfried was German master; a year later he acted as commander of Vienna. In mid-October 1303 he was elected grand master at a chapter in Elbing (mod. Elbląg, Poland). His predecessor Gottfried von Hohenlohe, who probably had been pressed to resign, did not acknowledge the new master and claimed the office for himself. Siegfried went to the order’s headquarters at Venice to assert his authority and proceeded to arrange their transfer to Prussia. The reasons for this were pressing. Venice had become an insecure abode because of the town’s conflict with the pope, and the brothers of the Teutonic Order, terrified by the recent suppression of the Templars, feared for the order’s independence from secular powers. Siegfried therefore proposed a move to Prussia, which had been made more secure as a result of the order’s occupation of the neighboring province of Pomerelia.

On 14 September 1309, Siegfried and his entourage entered Marienburg, where they established their new headquarters. From this time crusading in the Mediterranean region ceased to be an objective for the order. Siegfried died on 5 March 1311 at Marienburg. He was buried in the cathedral at Kulmsee.

—Axel Ehlers

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Sigismund of Luxembourg (1368–1437)

King of Hungary (1387–1437), Germany (1410–1437), and Bohemia (1420–1437) and Holy Roman Emperor (1433–1437), Sigismund of Luxembourg was the leader of the Nikopolis Crusade (1396) against the Ottoman Turks and organizer of crusades against the Hussites in Bohemia (1420–1433).

Sigismund was the son of Charles IV of Luxembourg, Holy Roman Emperor and king of Bohemia, and Elisabeth of Pomerania. He acquired the Hungarian crown by marriage to the kingdom’s last Angevin queen, Mary, daughter of King Louis I. After his wife’s death, he survived a long political crisis (1397–1403) to rule the kingdom efficiently with unparalleled self confidence until his death. Hungary, which he accepted as his adopted country, offered a solid base for his far-reaching ambitions. He resided at Buda (mod. Budapest, Hungary) and Bratislava, although his court remained basically international.

Sigismund’s outstanding executive ability and ambitious character became evident during his preparations for the Nikopolis Crusade (1396), the last large, pan-European crusade against the Turks, which he led personally. Although the campaign ended in spectacular defeat at the battle of Nikopolis (25 September 1396; according to some scholars 28 September) and a breathtaking escape for him, he never gave up his ambitions; within a few years he gained other important crowns: he was elected king of Germany (king of the Romans) on the death of Rupert of the Palatinate (1410) and of Bohemia on the death of his elder brother Wenceslas IV. Sigismund was the last Holy Roman Emperor (crowned 1433) who believed himself to be the lord of all Christian Europe both on a representative level and in reality, and behaved so. One of the most traveled rulers of his time, he tried to intervene personally in all parts of Europe in order to solve political problems with his admired charm, intellect, and talent for languages. He was interested in the technical and military novelties of his time, such as paper mills and the textile industry, and issued military manuals for the Holy Roman Empire and Hungary. His crusades against the Ottoman Empire and the Hussites were, like his commercial embargo against Venice, means intended to achieve his universal political goals.

Sigismund had several major political successes. He brought the Great Schism of the papacy to an end at the Council of Konstanz (1417); he ended the Hussite wars by diplomacy and compromise after sustaining a series of

Sigurd Jorsalfar (1090–1130)

humiliating defeats; and he negotiated a peace between the Teutonic Order and the kingdom of Poland. He realized correctly that successful management of the Turkish problem was a necessary condition to his rule in Hungary, and from the beginning of his reign he led campaigns (many of them in person) to the frontier areas against the Turks and their local allies, sometimes spending lengthy periods there (e.g., 1426–1428). After a victory over Bosnia, he established the secular Order of the Dragon (1408), in order to bind the rulers of Serbia, Wallachia, and Bosnia into an anti-Ottoman coalition. His most enduring achievement was the establishment of a fortress system, centered on Belgrade, to defend the southern frontiers of Hungary; it proved effective until the capture of Belgrade by the Ottomans in 1521. Even at the age of sixty he went to war to recapture the castle of Golubac (1428), although he was defeated again. His diplomatic horizon extended to the Middle East, where he established relations and collaborated with the khanate of the Golden Horde against the Ottoman Turks.

—László Veszprémy

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Sigurd Jorsalfar (1090–1130)

King of Norway (1103–1130) and leader of a seaborne crusade to the Holy Land.

Sigurd became joint king of Norway along with his brothers Eystein and Olaf after their father, King Magnus III Barelegs, was killed during a raid in Ireland (1103). Sigurd's decision to lead an expedition to the East fell in the third or fourth year of the kings' joint reign and was undoubtedly prompted both by the recent success of the First Crusade (1096–1099) and the experiences of Norsemen returning

from travel—and in some cases military service—in Byzantium and Palestine.

The precise chronology of the Norwegian expedition is unclear. Sigurd and his followers seem to have left Norway between 1106 and 1108 and to have reached the Holy Land by 1110 at the latest. The Norwegian fleet of some sixty ships sailed first to England, where it overwintered, sailing on to Galicia in the spring. The crusaders spent a further winter in Spain, moving south along the Portuguese and Andalusian coasts the next spring; by the time they reached the Strait of Gibraltar they had defeated several Muslim forces on both land and sea and had captured a number of enemy vessels. The warlike, crusading character of the expedition was clearly confirmed when the fleet entered the western Mediterranean and carried out the first recorded attack by a Christian force on the Muslim-held Balearic Islands. The Norwegians landed on the island of Formentera, to the south of Ibiza, where they assaulted and stormed a cave fortress (probably a pirate base), capturing large quantities of booty, and they followed up this success with raids on the islands of Ibiza and Menorca (1108 or 1109). The fleet then proceeded to Sicily, where it made a lengthy stay, arriving at Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel) at the end of the summer sailing season.

The Norwegians were well received by King Baldwin I of Jerusalem, who presented Sigurd with a relic of the True Cross. After visiting Jerusalem and the river Jordan, they enlisted in Baldwin's efforts to reduce the Muslim-held cities of the Palestinian coast, providing the naval blockade during the siege of the port of Sidon (mod. Saïda, Lebanon), which surrendered in December 1110. Probably in early 1111 Sigurd and his followers sailed for Constantinople (mod. Istanbul, Turkey), where they handed over their ships to the Byzantine emperor Alexios I Komnenos and returned to Norway by the land route through Russia.

Sigurd's crusading exploits, which earned him his surname Jorsalfar ("Jerusalem-farer"), were celebrated in several Norse sagas (*Ágrip af Nóregskonunga sögum*, *Morkinsskinna*, *Fagrskinna*, and Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla*) and are also mentioned in Latin sources. The deaths of the co-kings Olaf (1115) and Eystein (1123) left Sigurd as sole ruler of Norway; the remainder of his reign was largely peaceful.

—Alan V. Murray

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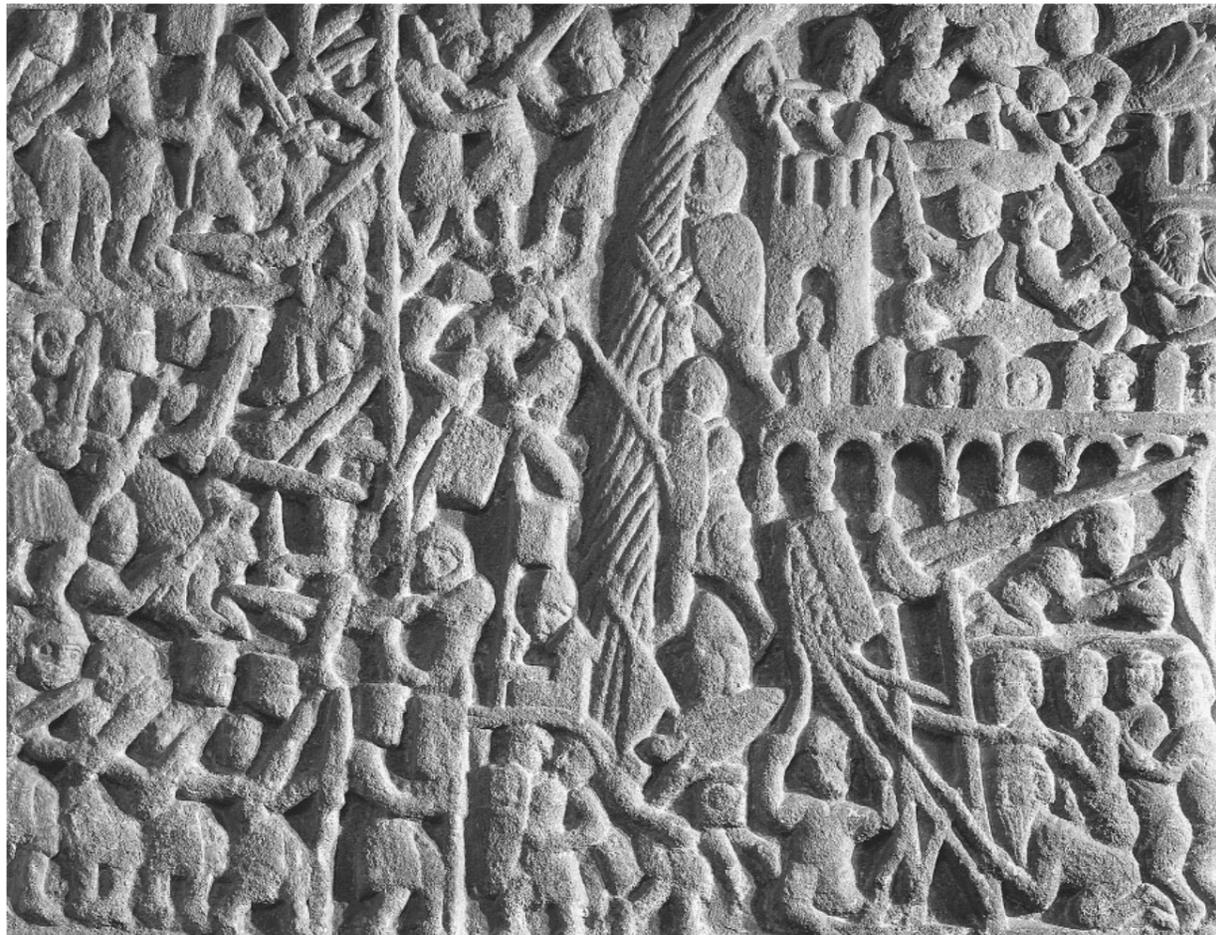
Simon of Montfort (d. 1218)

Participant in the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), first leader of the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229), and subsequently count of Toulouse (1216–1218).

Simon was born around 1160, a younger son of Simon of Montfort-l'Amaury, lord of Rochefort in the Ile-de-France, and Amice of Leicester. By 1200 he had established a solid reputation as a brave and gifted soldier of pious and virtuous disposition. When, therefore, together with his brother Guy of La Ferté-Alais (a veteran of the Third Crusade), he joined the Fourth Crusade in 1202, he could expect to play a leading role, but he was to be disappointed.

Committed to the ideal of the crusade as war against the infidel, Simon and his friend Abbot Guy of Vaux-de-Cernay opposed the diversion of the army against the Christian city of Zara (mod. Zadar, Croatia). Knowing that Abbot Guy had received a letter from Pope Innocent III forbidding an attack, and that the power of excommunication could be used to enforce this directive, he informed the defenders, and so provoked the resistance that led to the crusader attack on the city. Simon, Guy, and Engeran of Boves led the opposition to the treaty with the Greek prince Alexios Angelos; after it was concluded, they left the main crusade for Palestine, where Simon fought with distinction. On his return, he went to England, where he had been recognized as earl of Leicester in succession to his maternal uncle by 1206.

In 1209 Simon accepted an invitation from the duke of Burgundy to lead an army in the papal crusade against the



Detail of the sarcophagus of Simon of Montfort, thirteenth century, St. Nazaire, Carcassonne, France. (Erich Lessing/Art Resource)

Sinai, Mount

Albigensians of the Languedoc. For a zealot such as Simon, the threat posed by the heretic, the enemy within, was even greater than that posed by the infidel. Simon's military prowess and undoubted bravery won admiration, but the callous brutality of the campaign shocked even contemporaries. In July 1209 he took Béziers, and Carcassonne soon afterward surrendered. Elected leader, and bearing the title of viscount in each place, he thereafter governed wisely. In 1210 he took Albi, and besieged Toulouse in 1211, finally defeating Count Raymond VI of Toulouse at Castelnaudry. At the battle of Muret (12 September 1213), he defeated a coalition led by King Peter II of Aragon, who was killed. However, resistance continued, and in 1215 Prince Louis (VIII) came to his aid. In April 1216 Simon did homage to King Philip II of France for all the lands formerly held by Raymond VI.

Simon was killed on 25 June 1218 during the siege of Toulouse, which had readmitted Count Raymond in September 1217. By his wife Alice of Montmorency, whom he had married around 1190, he left four sons and two daughters, including Simon, earl of Leicester.

—K. S. B. Keats-Rohan

See also: Jerusalem, (Latin) Kingdom of

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Sinai, Mount

The Greek Orthodox monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai (mod. Gebel Mûsa, Egypt) was located at a site sacred to Jews, Christians, and Muslims, where, according to tra-

dition, the biblical prophet Moses ascended to bring down the Ten Commandments (Ex. 19–20).

The site began to attract Christian monks at an early date. In addition to its biblical associations, it was believed that the body of the martyr Catherine of Alexandria (d. 307) had been miraculously transported there. By the late fourth century it had a cenobitic community and several small churches; in the sixth century, the Byzantine emperor Justinian I had the present church and surrounding walls constructed to protect the monks from Bedouin raiders. Following the Islamic conquests of the seventh century, a provision in the testament attributed to Muḥammad protected the monastery, relieving it from the payment of taxes. Western interest in the monastery increased after Abbot Symeon, a Greek originating from Sicily, visited France in 1025, depositing relics of St. Catherine at Rouen and successfully diffusing the veneration of the saint in the West. Western pilgrims began to visit Sinai via the ports of Alexandria and Gaza.

After the First Crusade (1096–1099) and the resultant establishment of the kingdom of Jerusalem in Palestine, such visits increased, although the monastery remained outside Frankish-controlled territory throughout the period 1099–1291. A handbook for pilgrims, probably written during the reign of King Fulk of Jerusalem (1131–1143), alludes to the monks' illustrious reputation and widespread fame, on account of which no one dared to harm them. Nonetheless, when King Baldwin I wished to visit them during his expedition to 'Aqaba, the monks dissuaded him, fearing Muslim reprisals. The monastery's visitors included the future Templar master Philip of Milly, who was given a relic of St. Catherine.

The abbot of Mount Sinai, who also had the rank of a Greek Orthodox archbishop, was the only Orthodox prelate whom the Franks recognized as a full diocesan bishop; he was a suffragan of the Latin metropolitan of Petra. The abbot and monks nonetheless continued to recognize the jurisdiction of the Orthodox patriarchs of Constantinople. Euthymios, the Orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem, was resident in Sinai, dying there in 1222. The monastery had properties and daughter houses in areas under Latin control, such as Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), Laodikeia (al-Lathqiyah, Syria), Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey), Crete, and Cyprus, as well as two confraternities in Constantinople.

By 1291 Frankish rule had ended in Palestine, Syria, and Constantinople, but continued in Crete (to 1571) and Cyprus (1668). On account of this, the abbots of Mount

Sinai recognized papal jurisdiction, requesting the popes throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to protect their properties in Venetian Crete and Lusignan Cyprus. In Crete during this period, Latin nobles and prelates damaged and occupied the monastery's properties, forcing the monks to pay tithes and other exactions, in violation of the provisions of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) and notwithstanding the attempts of Honorius III, Gregory IX, and John XXII to protect the monastery. In Cyprus the monastery had the church of St. Symeon in Famagusta (the chief port of the island), oratories in deserted areas of the island, and an annual income of one gold pound from market taxes. The monastery exported foodstuffs and clothing from Crete, but piracy was a problem, and in 1328 the pope ordered the punishment of John Saut, a Latin preying on the monastery's ships.

—Nicholas Coureas

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Al-Sinnabrāh, Battle of (1113)

A defeat of the army of Baldwin I of Jerusalem by a Turkish coalition led by Mawdūd, *atabeg* of Mosul, and ʿṬughtigīn, *atabeg* of Damascus, who had launched a joint attack on the kingdom of Jerusalem at the instigation of the Saljūq sultan Muḥammad.

The combined Turkish armies invaded Galilee in late May 1113, whereupon Baldwin I summoned assistance from the principality of Antioch and the county of Tripoli, but without waiting for reinforcements to arrive, moved against the invasion with some 700 knights and 4,000 foot soldiers. Near the village of al-Sinnabrāh, south of Lake Tiberias, the Franks were lured into an ambush in which

they suffered heavy casualties and then retreated to a hill-top position west of Tiberias (mod. Teverya, Israel) on 28 June 1113. Although joined there by contingents under Prince Roger of Antioch and Count Pons of Tripoli, Baldwin did not dare attack, and for the next two months much of the countryside of the kingdom was under the effective control of the Turks, who ravaged as far as Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel) and Jerusalem, finally withdrawing at the end of August, when the Frankish forces had been swelled by large numbers of pilgrims.

—Alan V. Murray

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Sis

Sis (mod. Kozan, Turkey) was a fortress and town that was the capital of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia (1198–1375). It lay at the foot of the Taurus Mountains on a tributary of the Pyramus (mod. Ceyhan Nehri).

The earliest mentions of Sis are as a frontier fortress during the wars between the Byzantines and the 'Abbāsīd caliphs; it was captured by the Byzantines in 962. Mentions of Sis in the early crusade period are scarce; it was apparently taken by the Rupenid prince T'oros I in 1113–1114. Situated some 50 kilometers (c. 31 mi.) south of the original Rupenid base at Vahga in the mountains, it gave better access to the plain, and it seems to have been the prince's chief residence from the time of Mleh (1169–1175). While at this time it lacked a bishop, there was an archbishop by 1197, and after the fall of Hromgla (1292) Sis became the seat of the catholicos of the Armenian Orthodox Church. The coronation of King Leon I of Armenia took place at Tarsos (mod. Tarsus, Turkey), but later ceremonies were held at Sis (Leon invested his intended heir there in 1211), and it became the regular seat of the royal court.

The ruined fortress, high on an isolated mountaintop above the town, is still impressive, but the town itself was never walled. The royal palace and ecclesiastical complex on the slopes of the citadel had some protection but were exposed to serious attacks. From the later thirteenth century Mamlūk raids repeatedly sacked the town; in 1266 the army of Sultan Baybars I burned the cathedral and sacked the royal treasury; in 1302 King Het'um II was nearly captured from among fugitives making for the citadel; in 1337 the citadel

Smpad the Constable (1208–1276)

was itself sacked. Sis remained the capital of the weakened kingdom until its final capture by the Mamlüks in 1375.

—Angus Stewart

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Smpad the Constable (1208–1276)

An Armenian historian and legist, elder brother of Het'um I, king of Armenia.

Smpad (also Smbat, Sempad) served his brother loyally and was constable (Arm. *sparapet*) of the Armenian kingdom. In 1247–1250 Het'um sent Smpad on a diplomatic mission to the Mongol khan Güyük, and a letter written by the constable describing his journey survives; intended for his brothers-in-law, King Henry I of Cyprus and John of Ibelin, it was also received by King Louis IX of France. Smpad died fighting against a Mamlük-inspired Turcoman invasion in 1276.

Smpad was the author of an important chronicle, of which two versions survive, one of them abbreviated and continued to 1331. The early accounts largely follow the chronicles of Matthew of Edessa and Gregory the Priest, but with important additions; for later years he appears to have used a variety of sources, including Frankish and possibly Byzantine works, as well as his own experiences. He also made a translation of the *Assizes of Antioch*, which is the only surviving version of that law code. It was based on a copy sent to him by his relative Simon Mansel, constable of Antioch, and was part of Smpad's attempt to "Frankicize" the customs of the Armenian kingdom. He also commented on or commissioned translations of Byzantine philosophical or theological works.

—Angus Stewart

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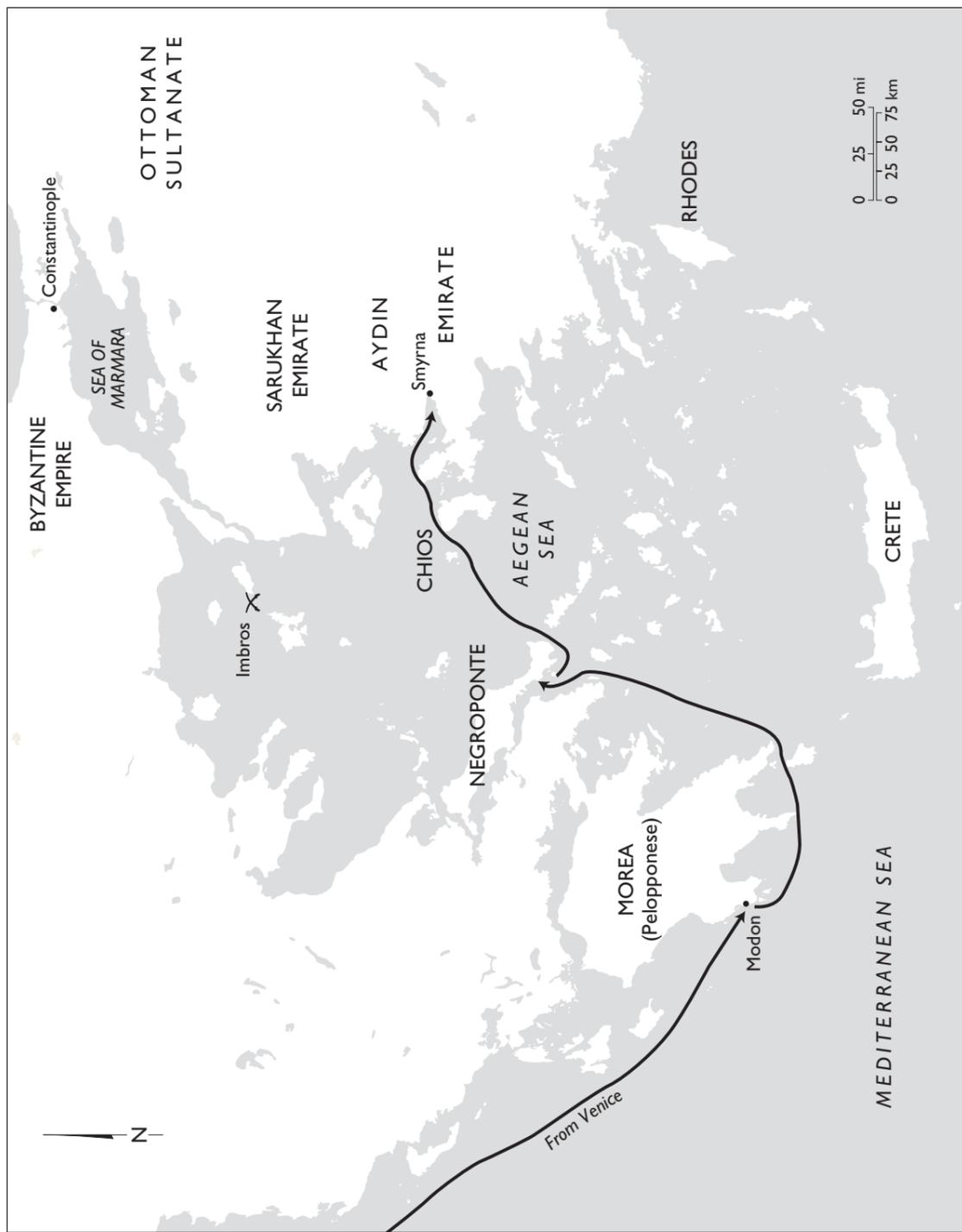
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Smyrna Crusade (1344)

A joint crusading operation carried out by the so-called Holy League (Lat. *Sancta Unio*) against the powerful Turcoman ruler of the Aydin emirate, Umur Begh or Umur Pasha (1334–1348), who had his headquarters at Smyrna (mod. İzmir, Turkey), a stronghold on the western Anatolian coast.

The crusade was preached in August–September 1343 by Pope Clement VI and undertaken by a united Western fleet carrying forces of the papacy, the Venetians, the Hospitallers, the Lusignan kingdom of Cyprus, and some other minor Latin rulers of the Aegean region. The operation's main target was Smyrna itself, held since 1317 by the Aydin Turcomans and used since 1326–1329 as their base for piratical operations in the southeastern Mediterranean. The crusade operations of 1343–1344 came as a sequel to an earlier abortive attempt by the Holy League in 1332–1334 to seize the port (autumn–winter 1334). The participants had included the Byzantine emperor Andronikos III Palaiologos and the French king Charles VI of Valois, but its failure had left Umur Begh's position strengthened until the early 1340s.

The crusade of the Holy League venture met with success on 28 October 1344, when a surprise attack by the titular Latin patriarch of Constantinople, Henri of Asti, occupied the port and the lower citadel of the town. Umur Begh's naval prestige thus received a severe blow, and he was then forced to mount attacks by land aimed at recapturing the harbor of Smyrna and dislodging the crusaders from the lower town. During the period of the emir's counteroffensives, the Christians received assistance from a new crusading fleet headed by Humbert II, the dauphin of Viennois, who was officially appointed leader of the crusade by Clement VI. In an attempt to neutralize Umur Begh's efforts to retake Smyrna, Humbert led repeated unsuccessful operations in the Aegean between early 1345 and late 1346, using as his base from mid-1346 the island of Chios, recently captured by the Genoese. It was only in late April–early May 1347 that his forces (chiefly the Hospitallers) scored a victory over a united Turcoman fleet from the emirates of Aydin and Sarukhan near the island of Imbros.



Smyrna Crusade (1344)

Solomon bar Simson

Umur Begh was killed in action (April–May 1348, according to the dating of the contemporary Byzantine historian Nikephoros Gregoras) during one of his raids against lower Smyrna, thus meeting with a hero's death according to his biographer Enveri, the fifteenth-century Ottoman epic historian. Umur's demise occurred just as his former ally, the Byzantine usurper-emperor John VII Kantakouzenos (1347–1354), was on the verge of joining the Holy League, while Clement VI had since 1347 been contemplating a peace treaty with Aydin, having, however, rejected it in February 1348.

Umur's brother and successor, Hizir (Hidir Begh), eventually signed a treaty with the Latins on 18 August 1348. Smyrna remained in Latin hands until its seizure by Timur Lenk (Tamerlane) in the autumn of 1402, following the latter's victory over the Ottomans at the battle of Ankara.

–Alexios G. C. Savvides

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Solomon bar Simson

A Jewish chronicler, credited with the longest of the three Hebrew narratives of the First Crusade (1096–1099).

Solomon bar Simson names himself as the recorder of the pogrom in one of the villages to which Jews of Cologne (Ger. *Köln*) had fled; it is uncertain whether he was also responsible for editing the whole composition sometime between 1140 and the Second Crusade (1147–1149). The narrative contains sections on the persecutions by the so-called People's Crusades in Speyer, Worms, Mainz (sharing material with the Mainz Anonymous), Cologne, Trier, Metz, and Regensburg, along with an exaggerated account of the diffi-

culties experienced by these crusaders in Hungary. The section on Trier, where most Jews were probably forcibly converted, is especially interesting and probably contemporaneous. The evocative descriptions of Jewish self-martyrdom are arresting, but compelling too is the admonition not to malign those who were baptized against their will.

–Anna Sapir Abulafia

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Song of the Cathar Wars

See *Chanson de la croisade albigeoise*

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See Arabic Sources, Armenian Sources, Greek Sources, Russian Sources, Syriac Sources, Western Sources

Spanish and Portuguese Literature

The vernacular literatures of the Iberian Peninsula (Castilian, Catalan, and Gallego-Portuguese) show little evidence of crusading as a specific theme. Frequently involved in conflicts with each other and with the Muslims of al-Andalus, the Christian kings of Iberia were not inclined to participate in crusades to the Holy Land, with the notable exceptions of Alfonso X of Castile and James I of Aragon.

Even though modern historians date the beginning of the Iberian *Reconquista* (reconquest) to the eighth century, for a long time the religious aspect of the recovery of lost Christian territory from the Moors (the Muslims of Spain) was not of primary importance to the Christian rulers of the northern peninsula: periods of cultural exchange and mutual influence of the Christian, Jewish, and Islamic religions and cultures (Sp. *convivencia*) often coincided with

strife. However, from the beginning of the tenth century, the desire for religious unification and reestablishment of the Visigothic kingdom was articulated by Christian rulers, particularly the kings of León and Castile. For Portugal, the reconquest almost ended in the thirteenth century. The battle of Salado (1340), fought by an alliance of Castilians and Portuguese, produced the final victory for Portugal against the Moors of the peninsula. From that time, Portuguese voyages of exploration along the African coast, bound for Asia, were declared to be crusades, at a time when the crusades to the Holy Land apparently had come to an end. Thus, in the *Crónica dos Feitos da Guiné* by Gomes Eanes de Zurara, Prince Henry the Navigator (d. 1460), who sent out the expeditions to Asia, is characterized as a knight and crusader.

Iberia began to be affected by the idea of crusades from as early as 1095, when Pope Urban II in his call to crusade spoke of the necessity of fighting the Muslims in Spain. Later papal bulls and calls to crusade repeatedly and explicitly equated the Reconquista with the crusades to the East. Crusade ideas are evident in the Latin compilation known as the *Codex Calixtinus*, written after 1140. This ascribes to the fight against the “unbelievers” in Spain the same importance and religious merit as to the struggle to free the Holy Land; a pilgrimage to the Galician shrine of Santiago de Compostela has the same spiritual benefit, not only as a pilgrimage to Rome but also as a crusade to Jerusalem. It can be assumed that the composition of the *Codex Calixtinus* was closely connected to the special interests of the pope and the Cluniac Order, which aimed to give a greater importance to the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela by equating it with participation in a crusade to Jerusalem.

For a long time the absence of lyric poetry connected with the reconquest of the Holy Land was regarded as a peculiarity of the literature of the Iberian Peninsula. However, this view was radically altered with the discovery in the second half of the twentieth century of the poem *¿ Ay, Jherusalem!* This work, belonging to the genre of lament or complaint (Sp. *planto*), is the only example of a lyric crusade poem in Castilian medieval literature. Its form belongs to the Castilian popular lyrical tradition: a stanza of five lines (two of twelve syllables and three of six syllables), the last line ending in the *estribillo* (refrain) “Therusalem.” The poem probably dates from 1274, and is thus contemporaneous with the Second Council of Lyons; it may also be connected with the compilation of the narrative known as the *Gran Conquista*

de Ultramar. Like the numerous crusade poems known from Old French, Occitan, and Middle High German literature, *¿ Ay, Jerusalem!* clearly has a propagandistic purpose, namely, the recruitment of crusaders for the recovery of the city of Jerusalem, lost to the Muslims in 1244. The anonymous author describes in dark colors the cruelties of the Muslims and exalts the courage of the Christians. Besides this vernacular work, a Latin poem on the conquest of Jerusalem by the crusaders in 1099 (found in a manuscript also containing a poem on the Cid and another on Raymond Berengar IV of Barcelona) is also known to have originated in the Benedictine monastery of Ripoll before 1218.

The romance chronicle (*crónica novelesca*) known as *La Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, dating from the late thirteenth century, can be regarded as a unique and extraordinary example of a crusade narrative in the Iberian Peninsula. Based on French originals, it is a compilation that exists in Castilian, Gallego-Portuguese, and Catalan versions. The Castilian version was probably begun at the instigation of King Alfonso X of Castile, although his son and successor Sancho IV may well have been responsible for part of it. It may have served as propaganda for both kings: possible contexts are Alfonso’s interest in a crusade to the Holy Land or Sancho’s own campaigns against the Muslims of Spain. The core narrative (books 3 and 4) deals with the historical events of the crusades between 1095 and 1271, drawing on the *Estoire d’Eracles* (the French translation of the Latin chronicle of William of Tyre) and the *Chronique d’Ernoul et de Bernard le trésorier*. The other two books present predominantly fictional material concerning the legendary ancestry of Godfrey of Bouillon, the first Frankish ruler of Jerusalem (d. 1100), and the life of Charlemagne, king of the Franks and Holy Roman Emperor (d. 814); this material consists of translations or adaptations of French chansons de geste (epic poems), including some belonging to the Old French Crusade Cycle.

These interferences between history and fiction did not present a problem to the readers of the Middle Ages, for whom the *Gran Conquista* was a historical narrative. This was made clear by James I, king of Aragon (1264–1327), who in a document of 1313/1314 asked his daughter Doña María for a translation of the *Gran Conquista* into Catalan out of historical interest, as he expressed it. In that context it is worth noting that in 1269 there had been an Aragonese crusade to Acre (mod. ‘Akko, Israel) led by the bastard sons of James I, Fernando Sánchez and Pedro Fernández. The

Aragonese ambitions with regard to crusading in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were connected with the growing interest of merchants from Venice, Genoa, and Aragon in the routes to and ports in the Near East and North Africa. The “revival” and translation of the chronicle into Catalan reinforced this aim. The final version of the *Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, included in the Portuguese *Crónica general* of 1404, is the only example of crusade literature in Gallego-Portuguese; it is remarkable for its explicit connection of the crusades to the Holy Land with the Reconquista in the Iberian Peninsula, which is not found in the original Castilian text, or in the Catalan version.

The popularity of the *Gran Conquista de Ultramar* lasted for a long time. As the only vernacular narrative on the crusades to be produced in Iberia, it had a great importance for the evolution of the Spanish chivalric novel (Sp. *novela de caballerías*), which flourished during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as exemplified by the Castilian *Amadis* by Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo and *Tirant lo Blanc* (first edition 1490) written in Catalan by Joanot Martorell (1414–1468). Even before these works were written, in the time of Sancho IV, or by the mid-fourteenth century at the latest, the *Gran Conquista* had been used as a source for an early *novela de caballerías*, the *Historia de Enrique, fi de Oliva*. It later went on to influence numerous other chivalric novels, up to the composition of *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha* by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (1547–1616), who superseded the chivalric novel with his masterpiece, thus initiating the modern novel.

Together with the *Gerusalemme liberata* of the Italian author Torquato Tasso, the *Gran Conquista* even served as a model for Lope de Vega’s *La Jerusalén conquistada* (1603), a tragic heroic epic dealing with the Third Crusade (1189–1192) and the deeds and adventures of King Richard the Lionheart of England and King Philip II of France, as well as King Alfonso VIII of Castile, who, at the instigation of Pope Innocent III, mounted a campaign that culminated in victory against the Muslims in the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212.

At the end of the fifteenth century, in the time of the “Catholic Monarchs,” Isabella I of Castile (1451–1504) and Ferdinand II of Aragón (1452–1516), there emerged a clear religious dimension in the political ideas of the final phase of the Reconquista as it was formulated by Pope Sixtus IV in his crusade bull of 1483, which defined the fighting against the Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula as a crusade.

Crusading in this wider sense had already begun to find expression in Castilian literature, as, for example, in the fourteenth century *Libro de Patronio o Conde Lucanor* by Alfonso X’s nephew Don Juan Manuel: though its first three books are devoted to worldly ethics inspired by ideas and writings from antiquity and oriental sources as a result of the influence of the *convivencia*, the fourth book propagates militant Christian attitudes toward Muslim and Jewish “unbelievers.” In the sections of his *Libro de los Estados* dealing with military science (chapters 76–79), Don Juan Manuel describes the peculiarities of warfare between Christians and Moors in a most realistic way. Another work to be mentioned in this context is one of the most famous poems of medieval Spain: the *Coplas a la muerte de su Padre* by Jorge Manrique (1440–1479), a poem of lament for his father, who had died in battle against the Moors.

The complex situation of the *convivencia* of the three cultures and religions in the Iberian Peninsula, as well as the continuous Reconquista, gave rise to literary testimonies to the encounter of Christians and Muslims in times of peace and war: these can be found in the anonymous fifteenth-century *Romancero*, a collection of poems (Sp. *romances*) in octosyllabic stanzas of diverse length and contents. It is in the *romances históricos* (historical poems) and especially in the *romances fronterizos* (border romances) that the image of the “good” Moor appears and respect for him is manifested, in contrast to the official Christian policies of conversion and expulsion in the later Middle Ages. Examples of the best known *romances* are *Moricos, los mis moricos, Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama*, and *Romance que dicen Abenámar*. The same positive image of the Moor is present in the *novela morisca* (Moorish novel) of the sixteenth century, for example, the anonymous *Historia del Abencerraje y la Hermosa Jarifa* (1561) and the *Historia de los bandos de Zegríes y Abencerrajes, caballeros moros de Granada* by Ginés Pérez de Hita.

–Elisabeth Schreiner

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Stedinger Crusades (1233–1234)

Crusades carried out against the Stedinger, a peasant population living around the rivers Weser and Hunte in north-western Germany.

In the early Middle Ages the Stedinger settled the land to the west of the Weser near Bremen. Eventually the name also came to include those who settled north and south of the lower Hunte. The Stedinger were subject to the archbishop of Bremen, who governed the land through ministerial knights. The counts of Oldenburg, whose influence extended north of the Hunte, were another dominant power in the region.

In 1204 the Stedinger of the northern regions rebelled against the count of Oldenburg, burning down two of his castles. Soon their compatriots in the south followed them in a well-planned uprising, attacking and driving off the knightly servants of the archbishop, to whom they refused to pay any

taxes and tithes thereafter. Weakened by political unrest and internal schism, the archbishops in Bremen were unable to suppress the rebellion for years to come. The Stedinger took advantage of the situation with renewed attacks on several castles in 1212, 1213, and 1214.

The situation changed in 1219 when Gerhard II of Lippe became the new archbishop of Bremen and immediately began to restore archiepiscopal power, demanding that the Stedinger pay taxes and tithes. The Stedinger refused to do so. Gerhard seems to have excommunicated them in 1227 or 1229, and he also decided to use military force to subdue them. In December 1229, together with his brother, Hermann of Lippe, Gerhard attacked the land of the Stedinger with a small army. However, during the ensuing fight on Christmas Day, the archiepiscopal army was defeated and Hermann was killed "for the liberation of the church of Bremen," as Gerhard expressed it when he founded the nunnery of Lilienthal for the salvation of his brother in 1232 [Schmidt, "Zur Geschichte der Stedinger," pp. 58–59].

In March 1230 or 1231 a diocesan synod under the presidency of Gerhard declared the Stedinger to be heretics, accusing them of murdering clerics, burning churches and monasteries, desecrating the Eucharist, carrying out superstitious practices, and rejecting the teachings of the church. Other heretical acts also formed part of the accusations. Clearly Gerhard was preparing the way for a formal crusade against the Stedinger and was only waiting for papal permission to start preaching the crusade. In October 1232 Pope Gregory IX gave his permission after having called for an investigation of the alleged heresy of the Stedinger in July 1231. Frederick II, the Holy Roman Emperor, placed the Stedinger under the ban of the empire.

At first the crusade was preached in the bishoprics of Minden, Lübeck, and Ratzeburg, but only a few local knights seem to have responded to this call. A renewed call for crusaders in early 1233 (this time over a wider area) led to the formation of a crusader army that attacked the Stedinger during the summer. The crusaders had some initial success but were defeated near Hemmelskamp in July. While the crusade was in progress, Gregory IX renewed his call for crusaders, this time promising them a full indulgence for their participation in the fight against the Stedinger. This papal act placed the crusades against the Stedinger on an equal footing with other German crusades against heretics as well as with the crusades to the Holy Land.

In early 1234 the archbishop of Bremen raised a new cru-

Stensby, Treaty of (1238)

sader army that included the duke of Brabant and the counts of Holland, Geldern, Kleve, Jülich, Berg, and Ravensberg as well as several Flemish barons; on 27 May 1234 the crusaders were finally able to defeat the Stedinger in a bloody battle near Altenesch.

A papal attempt in March 1234 to end the conflict through negotiations rather than force had not stopped the crusade. Apparently the Teutonic Order had intervened on behalf of the Stedinger, arguing for more negotiations. Gregory IX seems to have given his legate, William of Modena, the task of reconciling the Stedinger and the archbishop. Either this decision did not reach Gerhard II in time to stop the crusade, or the archbishop simply chose to ignore it.

After the defeat at Altenesch the surviving Stedinger could do nothing but surrender to the demands of the archbishop, and in August 1235 Gregory IX ordered that the excommunication of the once-rebellious Stedinger should be lifted.

—Carsten Selch Jensen

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Stensby, Treaty of (1238)

A treaty between King Valdemar II of Denmark and the Teutonic Order, concluded on 7 June 1238 in Stensby near Vordingborg on Sjælland, which transferred the northern part of Estonia to the Danish king.

After the abduction of Valdemar II by his vassal Count Henry of Schwerin in May 1223, Danish power in the Baltic region collapsed. Unable to hold their Estonian provinces, the Danes in 1225 transferred authority to the papal legate William of Modena, but the Order of the Sword Brethren soon took possession. Pope Gregory IX repeatedly tried to persuade the Sword Brethren to relinquish the provinces, and in February 1236 he resolved that they were to cede Reval

(mod. Tallinn, Estonia), Jerwia, Harria, and Vironia to the Danish king. Shortly after this, however, the Sword Brethren were annihilated at the battle of Saule, and the remnants of the order were incorporated into the Teutonic Order.

William of Modena was now charged with the task of persuading the Teutonic Order to observe the papal resolution. He met representatives of all parties in Stensby, where the Teutonic Order agreed to hand over Reval, Jerwia, Harria, and Vironia to the Danish king, who then as "penitence" returned Jerwia to the order. Finally, it was agreed that the Danish king was to retain two-thirds and the order one-third of future conquests. The treaty enabled the Danes and the order to collaborate closely in crusades against Novgorod and Pskov over the next four years and laid the legal foundation for continuing Danish rule in North Estonia.

—John H. Lind

See also: Baltic Crusades; Denmark; Estonia, Duchy of

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Stephen of Blois (d. 1102)

One of the leaders of the First Crusade (1096–1099), who died during the Crusade of 1101.

Stephen (more correctly Stephen-Henry) was born around 1045, a son of Thibaud III, count of Blois and Champagne, whom he succeeded in 1089. It is commonly believed that Stephen was persuaded to take his crusading vows by his wife Adela (d. 1137), daughter of William the Conqueror. While on crusade he wrote three letters to his wife, two of which survive; he emerges from these as an enthusiastic and insightful crusader.

Stephen traveled east with his brother-in-law Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy, and with Robert II, count of Flanders. During the siege of Antioch (mod. Antakya,

Turkey), however, Stephen deserted from the crusade army (2 June 1098) and returned to France; he became an object of contempt for abandoning his vows and was continually reproached by his wife.

To restore his reputation Stephen joined the Crusade of 1101, traveling out with other northern French nobles, who joined with a force of Lombards in Asia Minor. When they were defeated at the battle of Mersivan in August 1101, Stephen returned to Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) and eventually sailed to Antioch, where the survivors of the crusade were regrouping. After marching south to Jerusalem, Stephen fought bravely against the Fāṭimids alongside King Baldwin I at the second battle of Ramla on 17 May 1102 and is widely believed to have died in the fighting, although James Brundage argued in 1960 that there is evidence that Stephen may have been captured and executed at Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel) on 19 May 1102. His third son, Stephen (d. 1154), became king of England in 1135.

—Alec Mulinder

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Stephen, Patriarch of Jerusalem (d. 1130)

Latin patriarch of Jerusalem (1128–1130) who strengthened the Latin Church in Outremer but quarreled with his kinsman King Baldwin II of Jerusalem.

Stephen had been a knight and viscount in Chartres, but later he entered the church and became abbot of St. John in Chartres. He was elected patriarch while visiting the Holy Land in 1128.

Stephen created a new Latin diocese at Sebastea and organized the fledgling Knights Templar. He also tried to reassert Daibert of Pisa's demands concerning the patriarchate's possessions in Jerusalem and also claimed the city of Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel), thereby causing a breach with the king that lasted until Stephen's death.

—Deborah Gerish

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Stephen of the Perche (d. 1205)

Participant in the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) and subsequently a baron of the Latin Empire of Constantinople as duke of Philadelphia.

The second, or more probably, the third son of Rotrou III (d. 1191), count of the Perche, and Matilda, daughter of Thibaud IV, count of Blois (1107–1152), Stephen built a career for himself in the service of King Richard I of England in the 1190s. He was preparing to join the Fourth Crusade when the premature and unexpected death of his brother Count Geoffrey III placed the command of the Percheron forces in his hands. King John of England stood surety for a loan to Stephen, and in June 1202 Stephen made numerous religious benefactions that reveal the extensive resources at his disposal.

Stephen must then have made his way to Venice with the rest of the crusaders, but he fell ill and did not set sail for Zara (mod. Zadar, Croatia) in October 1202. He may have been injured when his transport ship, the *Viola*, sank shortly after embarkation, but he may equally have feigned sickness because he disagreed with the diversion of the expedition. The latter is implied by criticism made by the chronicler Geoffrey of Villehardouin, who claims that Stephen deserted from the army. Stephen then spent some time in Apulia before making his way to Syria in the spring of 1203.

It is possible that Stephen felt his crusading obligations had thus been honored, for in the winter of 1204–1205 he arrived in Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey). He brought to the new Latin emperor, Baldwin I, reinforcements from Outremer and the services of himself and his cousin, Reginald of Montmirail. He was granted the duchy of Philadelphia in Asia Minor, an area that was outside the emperor's actual control but that gave Stephen scope to create his own territory. In Easter week of 1205 he was fighting with the emperor's forces before Adrianople (mod. Edirne, Turkey) and lost his life in the engagement against the Bulgars.

—Kathleen Thompson

Al-Sulamī (1039–1106)

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Suerbeer

See Albert Suerbeer

Al-Sulamī (1039–1106)

‘Alī ibn Ṭāhir al-Sulamī is one of the most important Muslim sources for the period of the First Crusade (1096–1099).

He was a Shāfi‘ite teacher and scholar at the Great Mosque in Damascus who in 1105 dictated a series of public lectures calling the Muslims to *jihād* (holy war). Only parts of the original manuscript from which he dictated, entitled *Kitāb al-Jihād (Book of the Holy War)*, have survived. The manuscript has been partially edited, with a French translation, by Emmanuel Sivan. Al-Sulamī’s text is vital to modern understanding of the crusades, representing one of the earliest extant calls to the *jihād* from the period. However, the impact of his work at the time seems to have been limited. Only later in the twelfth century did calls to the *jihād* begin to have significant effect.

–Niall Christie

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Süleyman I the Magnificent (d. 1566)

Ottoman sultan (1520–1566), the son of Sultan Selim I. Under Süleyman, known to Europeans as “the Magnificent” and in Turkish as *Kanuni* (the lawgiver), the Ottoman

Empire expanded to its effective territorial limits in both east and west, although to the south the Ottomans were unable to contain the Portuguese in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Ottoman law was codified, and the empire came to play a major role in international politics. For later Ottomans, the reign of Süleyman was a golden age.

Much of Süleyman’s reign was spent campaigning against Hungary. In 1521 he took Belgrade, and on his second campaign, he routed the Hungarians at Mohács (August 1526) and entered Buda (mod. Budapest). King Louis II was killed in battle, and the Hungarian throne left vacant. At this point Süleyman withdrew, due to a serious revolt in Anatolia. A succession dispute erupted, with the Hungarian Estates electing John Szapolyai, while the Habsburg archduke Ferdinand of Austria (brother-in-law of Louis) had himself crowned. Süleyman backed Szapolyai, and Ferdinand occupied Buda. In 1529 Süleyman marched on Hungary, retook Buda, and laid siege to Vienna. In 1530 Ferdinand besieged Buda and took western Hungary. In 1533 an agreement was made whereby Hungary was divided between Ferdinand and Szapolyai and their lands remained Ottoman tributaries. After a renewed period of fighting in Hungary, a five-year truce was eventually concluded in 1547.

In the eastern Mediterranean region, Süleyman expelled the Hospitallers from the island of Rhodes (mod. Rodos, Greece), which fell to the Ottomans in 1522. In the west, he faced the Spanish fleet. In 1535 the Spanish king and Holy Roman Emperor Charles V led a successful campaign against Tunis. When war broke out with Venice in 1536, Süleyman entered into an alliance with Charles’s enemy, King Francis I of France. There were several further French-Ottoman alliances, the Ottoman fleet even wintering at Toulon in 1543. Venice lost most of her Aegean islands and, as part of the Holy League with Pope Paul III, Charles V, and Ferdinand of Austria, suffered a major defeat at Prevesa in 1538. According to the peace concluded in 1540, Venice lost various islands including Naxos, Santorini, Paros, and Andros, as well as Monemvasia and Nauplion. Further successful Ottoman campaigns in the Mediterranean in the 1550s under Piyale Paşa were followed by the siege of Malta (1565) and the capture of Chios from the Genoese (1566).

In the east Süleyman campaigned against the Safavids of Persia. Ottoman forces took Bitlis (1533), Tabriz (1534), and Baghdad (1534), and Iraq became an Ottoman possession. Despite further warfare against the Safavids, no major conquests were made, and what was to become the permanent

frontier between the two states was set by the Treaty of Amasya (1555). In 1553 Süleyman executed his son Mustafa for apparently plotting to take the throne. Bayezid, another son of Süleyman, revolted in 1558 but was defeated near Konya (1559) and fled to Persia. After negotiations with the Safavid ruler Shah Tahmasb, Bayezid was killed in 1562. In 1566 Süleyman set off against Hungary for what was to be his last campaign. He died at the siege of Szigetvár.

–Kate Fleet

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Sulṭān Shāh

Saljūq ruler of Aleppo (1114–1118).

Sulṭān Shāh was a son of a previous ruler of Aleppo, Riḍwān (d. 1113). He came to the throne at the age of six when his elder brother Alp Arslān ibn Riḍwān was murdered on the orders of one of his officers, Lu’Lu’, in September 1114. Lu’Lu’ functioned as regent and the real ruler of Aleppo; however, he was unpopular because of his inability to mount an effective resistance to the incursions of the Franks of Antioch and because of his exactions to pay for the army.

Lu’Lu’ was murdered by some of Sulṭān Shāh’s *mamlūks* (slave soldiers) in May 1117. After a summer of confusion, some of the populace of Aleppo called in the Artūqid ruler Īlghāzī, lord of Mardin, who seized control of the city. Sulṭān Shāh, the last Saljūq ruler of Aleppo, was deposed, but remarkably, seems to have been spared by the new Artūqid regime.

–Alan V. Murray

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Sunnī Islam

The majority, or “orthodox,” form of Islam.

Sunnīs (Arab. *ahl al-sunna*, “people of the *sunna*”) are so called because they follow the *sunna* (customary practice), that is, the customary sayings and actions of the Prophet Muḥammad. The *sunna* supplements the Qur’ān, clarifying points of law and theology that might otherwise be open to misinterpretation, and is derived from the *ḥadīth* (report) literature, which records the words and actions of the earliest members of the Muslim *umma* (community).

In the early days of Islam use was made of customary practices traceable back to the Prophet, his companions, and their successors. However, in the eighth century the influential jurist al-Shāfi’ī (d. 820) insisted that the term *sunna* should be used to refer only to the customary practice of the Prophet (Arab. *sunnat al-Nabī*). In his view, this *sunna* of the Prophet was the second most important *aṣl* (source) of Islamic jurisprudence, after the Qur’ān, a view that despite some initial difficulties became more widely established during the ninth century.

During the period of the crusades the majority of Muslims living in the Near and Middle East, whether Arabs, Turks, or Kurds, were Sunnīs. Even in Fāṭimid Egypt, where the rulers were Shī’ites, the majority of the populace remained Sunnīs. The Sunnī community was ruled, in theory at least, by the caliph in Baghdad, or after 1261 in Cairo, but for much of the period power actually lay in the hands of the caliph’s immediate subordinates and local rulers, such as the Great Saljūq, Zangid, and Ayyūbid sultans. Few caliphs were successfully able to assert their own personal authority. In the meantime their subordinates frequently presented themselves as acting on the behalf of Islam and the caliphate.

–Niall Christie

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Sweden

The kingdom of Sweden was the last of the Scandinavian countries to become firmly Christianized. Sweden was finally incorporated into the Latin Church with the foundation of the Danish archbishopric of Lund in 1104, although it was only in 1164 that a separate organization for the Swedish church was created with the establishment of a new archbishopric at Uppsala.

This delay explains why the first association of Sweden with the crusade movement was in fact as a target, when, in 1123 or 1124, Niels Svensen, king of Denmark, and Sigurd Jorsalfar, the seasoned crusader king of Norway, planned a joint operation against the alleged pagan population in the peripheral region of Småland. It also explains why we know of no Swedish participation in the First Crusade (1096–1099), launched only a few decades before. In fact, unlike kings in Denmark and Norway, no Swedish king ever went on crusade to the Holy Land or, it seems, made plans to do so. However, some of the later crusades were preached in Sweden (the earliest documentary evidence dates from 1213), while testaments, mainly from the thirteenth century, indicate that individual Swedish aristocrats did make crusading vows to go to the Holy Land and Livonia.

Crusades against Estonia and Finland

Sweden's participation in the crusading movement was directed against the eastern Baltic region. The principal target was Finland, although initially Sweden was active in other directions, too. Thus, in the 1170s the Swedes were involved in the crusades being planned to support Fulco, whom Pope Alexander III had appointed bishop among the Estonians. The chronicler Henry of Livonia relates that in 1197 a Swedish *jarl* (earl) planned a campaign together with Germans and Gotlanders against the pagan Curonians but ended up in Estonia after being thrown off course by a storm. Henry also reports that King Johan Sverkersson (1216–1222) led an expedition to western Estonia soon after the Danish conquest of the region of Reval (mod. Tallinn, Estonia) in 1219. The Swedes established themselves in a coastal fortress at Leal (mod. Lihula, Estonia) and attempted to convert the inhabitants, but a year later they were defeated and driven out by the pagan Oeselians.

The Swedes were more successful in Finland, which was incorporated into the Swedish realm over a period of 150 years from around 1150. According to a historiographical tradition founded by the Swedish historian and poet Erik

Gustaf Geijer (1783–1847), this occurred as a result of three successive crusades. The “First” Swedish Crusade is known only from the thirteenth-century life of the Swedish king and saint Erik Jedvardsson (d. 1160): according to this source, in 1155/1157 Erik and a bishop named Henry are supposed to have led a crusade to the southwestern area of Finland around Turku (Sw. Åbo). King Erik returned to Sweden only to be killed soon after, while the bishop stayed on in Finland, later to be martyred and venerated as Finland's patron saint. That the Swedes did in fact establish themselves in the region is confirmed by a papal bull from 1171/1172. It repeats Swedish complaints that the Finns promised to observe the Christian faith whenever they were threatened by an enemy army but denied the faith and persecuted the priests when the army retreated. Therefore, the pope urged the Swedes to force the Finns to observe the Christian creed. At this stage a missionary bishopric for the Finns was established, later to be located at Turku.

The “Second” Swedish Crusade is connected with the later *jarl* and founder of a new dynasty, Birger Magnusson, who in 1238 or 1239 attacked the Tavastians, a people settled to the east of the Finns proper. By this time the Tavastians must to a certain extent have been subjected to the Swedish church, because in December 1237 Pope Gregory IX quoted an alleged uprising among the Tavastians as a reason for requiring the archbishop of Uppsala to preach a crusade against them. The actual crusade, which must have taken place in 1238/1239, is only known from the so-called *Erik Chronicle* (Sw. *Erikskrönikan*), a Swedish rhymed chronicle written in the 1320s. As a result Tavastia was conquered and the inhabitants forced to accept Christianity. The crusade allowed the Swedes to colonize the coastal region along the Gulf of Finland south of Tavastia, subsequently known as Nyland (New Land). Here it may have replaced earlier Danish settlements.

This crusade to Tavastia was immediately followed by a crusade directed further to the east in 1240, when Birger Magnusson attempted to entrench himself on the river Neva together with a number of bishops and Finns, Tavastians, and perhaps even Norwegians. This was part of the crusades against Russia called for by Pope Gregory IX, but it ended in defeat, when the Swedes were taken by surprise by the Novgorodians under Prince Alexander Yaroslavich (Nevskii).

Crusades against Karelia and Novgorod

From this time the Swedish rulers kept their eyes firmly fixed on the trade routes that linked the Gulf of Finland and Lake



Main areas of Swedish crusading activity in the Baltic Region

Ladoga, and after a short-lived alliance against the Mongols between the papacy and Russian princes during the pontificate of Innocent IV, Sweden once more started planning crusades toward the east.

In 1257 Pope Alexander IV issued a new bull proclaiming a crusade against the Russians, and at the request of King Valdemar Birgersson (1250–1275), he urged the Swedish bishops to preach a crusade against the Karelians, who were then under the rule of Novgorod. That signaled the beginning of a succession of Swedish attacks on Novgorodian Karelia that in their totality have been labeled the “Third” Swedish Crusade. From the 1280s the Swedes began to impose restrictions on trade with Novgorod in order to weaken their enemy, and in 1293 they began to build the fortress of Viborg (mod. Vyborg, Russia), blocking the western outlet of the river Vuoksi that linked Lake Ladoga and the Gulf of Finland. The next year they attempted unsuccessfully to take and hold Kexholm (mod. Priozërsk, Russia), a strong place in the center of Karelia, situated at the Ladoga end of the Vuoksi.

The most dangerous move for Novgorod, however, was the attempt by the Swedes, with the assistance of engineers from Rome, to establish a fortress with the proud name of Landskrona (“Crown of the Land”) at the Neva delta. That too failed, when Novgorodians, helped by forces from central Russia, arrived the following year and managed to annihilate the garrison and demolish the fortress.

To judge by the dramatic account in the *Erik Chronicle*, there can be no doubt that the Swedes saw themselves as fighting paganism on behalf of Christianity. Yet they also met with opposition from Orthodox Russians as well as potential western allies. Had the Swedes succeeded in achieving their goal, they would have been able to control a large part of the all-important trade between Novgorod and western Europe. The Swedish restrictions on trade with Novgorod, however, angered the Hanseatic towns. In 1295 the Swedes tried to mollify the merchants by intimating that the war they fought was a holy war and that the pagan Karelians had now been pacified and converted, while Viborg had been built “to the honour of God and the Virgin” [*Sverges Traktater*, 15 vols., ed. Olof S. Rydberg et al. (Stockholm: Norstedt & Söner, 1877–1934), 1: 310]. This, they tried to persuade the merchants, would also benefit them. The merchants were not convinced, and in 1300 they asked the king of Germany, Albrecht of Habsburg, to pressure the king of Sweden, Birger Magnusson, into abolishing the restrictions.

In 1301 the Novgorodians invited the city of Lübeck to collaborate against the Swedes, and in 1302 the Danish king, Erik VI Menved, who had previously guaranteed the Hanseatic merchants free access to Novgorod through his lands, concluded a treaty with Novgorod. It was clear that major agents of the Latin West gave priority to the interests of trade over Sweden’s crusading efforts, probably on the correct assumption that Swedish policy was also to a large extent guided by economic interests. The war with Novgorod continued in desultory fashion until 1323, when hostilities were ended by the Treaty of Nöteborg (Russ. *Orekhovets*), signed at the fortress the Novgorodians had built in 1322 on an island that blocked the entrance to Lake Ladoga from the Neva.

A contributing factor to Sweden’s inability to strike efficiently against Novgorod after 1301 was the fratricidal war between King Birger Magnusson and his two brothers, dukes Erik and Valdemar. This conflict ended when the king left his brothers to starve to death in prison in 1318, but he was then expelled by the brothers’ supporters, who in 1319 elected Duke Erik’s infant son, Magnus II (1319–1363), as new king of Sweden. The same year Magnus also inherited the Norwegian throne. Until Magnus’s majority, the aristocracy ruled Sweden through a regency, but even later the young king remained strongly under the influence of the aristocracy, not least the circle around the mystic (and later saint) Birgitta Birgersdottir, who was also tutor to the young queen, Blanche of Namur.

During the regency and the first years of Magnus’s personal rule, Swedish attention was directed toward Denmark, at this time without a king. In 1332 the Swedes were able to exploit the situation to purchase Scania, the Danish territory on the southern Swedish mainland. After 1340, when Denmark again had a king, Valdemar IV Atterdag, Magnus II had to fight Denmark in order to safeguard his hold on Scania. For this, however, he was strongly criticized by the ever-more-vociferous Birgitta Birgersdottir. In her visions or revelations, Birgitta claimed to be the mouthpiece of both the Virgin Mary and Christ: several revelations were addressed directly or indirectly to King Magnus, who, instead of waging war against his fellow Christians, was supposed to turn against the pagans in the east. To some extent the Swedes were already active in that region as part of their anti-Danish policy. When Valdemar IV Atterdag ascended the Danish throne, he hardly controlled any part of the realm. His best asset was the duchy of Estonia, which he

planned to sell to the Teutonic Order. However, the Swedes were themselves eager to take over the duchy; even if they did not actually incite the uprising that broke out in April 1343 among the Estonians, they at least supported it, and even after the sale to the order went through in 1346, King Magnus still prepared to lay claim to the duchy.

By this time King Magnus was already at work preparing his crusade against Novgorod as urged by Birgitta Birgersdottir. In a number of revelations she gave specific directions: the king, accompanied by priests and monks who could refute the errors of the pagans and infidels, should first attempt to convince them by peaceful means; only as a last resort should he take to the sword. These directions form the background for the course of events related in the Novgorod Chronicles. According to these, King Magnus started his crusade in 1347 by inviting the Novgorodians to a theological debate that should decide whose faith was best. Each party was to accept the result and then unite in the faith agreed upon as best. If the Novgorodians did not consent to this, King Magnus would attack them. Baffled by this approach, the Novgorodians refused to enter such a debate, referring the king to the patriarch of Constantinople. Consequently, King Magnus immediately pressed on with his attack and managed to capture the island fortress of Nöteborg. At once he began to baptize the pagan Ingrians and prepared to do the same among the Karelians. When winter set in, however, the Novgorodians were able to attack Nöteborg over the ice and force the Swedes to surrender the fortress. Having toured Estonia and Livonia, soliciting support from the local aristocracy, King Magnus made another attack from Estonia in 1350 but was forced to withdraw. The bulls in support of the crusade issued by Pope Clement VI in March 1351 came too late because King Magnus was already negotiating a peace recognizing the status quo.

The defeat in the Birgittine crusade to all intents and purposes ended Sweden's participation in the crusading movement, although one later Swedish ruler managed to procure yet another crusading bull against the Russians. For Magnus II, his dynasty, and his kingdom, the defeat also proved a turning point. Whereas Denmark regained its former strength with amazing speed, King Magnus was deposed by the aristocracy in 1363. Sweden was ruled by the dukes of Mecklenburg for a brief spell until they too were expelled with the help of the Danish queen Margaret I. As a result Sweden became part of the Danish-led union of the crowns of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway (the Kalmar Union).

Kings and Queens of Sweden (in the period of the crusades)

Erik Jedvardsson	1153–1160
Magnus Henriksson	1160–1161
Karl Sverkersson	1161–1167
Knut Eriksson	1167–1196
Sverker II Karlsson	1196–1208
Erik Knutsson	1208–1216
Johan Sverkersson	1216–1222
Erik Eriksson	1222–1229
Knut Långe	1229–1234
Erik Eriksson (again)	1234–1250
Valdemar Birgersson	1250–1275
Birger Magnusson (de facto ruler)	1250–1266
Magnus I Ladulås Birgersson	1275–1290
Birger Magnusson	1290–1319
Magnus II Eriksson (also Norway to 1344)	1319–1363
Albrekt of Mecklenburg	1364–1389
Margaret (also Denmark)	1389–1412
Erik of Pomerania (also Denmark as Erik VII)	1412–1439
Christopher (also Denmark)	1441–1448
Karl Knutsson Bonde	1448–1457
Christian I (also Denmark to 1481)	1457–1464
Karl Knutsson Bonde (again)	1464–1465
Christian I (again)	1465–1467
Karl Knutsson Bonde (again)	1467–1470
Sten Sture the Elder (regent)	1471–1497
Hans (also Denmark 1483–1513)	1497–1501
Sten Sture the Elder (regent, again)	1501–1504
Svante Nilsson (regent)	1504–1511
Sten Sture the Younger (regent)	1512–1520
Christian II (also Denmark 1513–1523)	1520–1521

During the later fifteenth century part of the Swedish aristocracy wanted to leave the union and repeatedly managed to have its own candidate elected as king or regent. Whenever that happened, the Danish kings attempted to reclaim Sweden for the union, as happened during the regencies of Sten Sture the Elder (1471–1497 and 1501–1503). In 1493 the union king Hans (1481–1513), offering Danish support against Lithuania in return for Russian help to regain Sweden, formed an alliance with the Muscovite grand prince Ivan III (1462–1505), who had by then incorporated Novgorod into the ever-expanding Muscovite state. In 1495 Ivan followed up by attacking Finland on three fronts. This gave Sten Sture the opportunity to procure a last crusading

Sword Brethren

bull against the Russians, which Pope Alexander VI duly provided in 1496. Ironically, the papacy was at the same time trying to involve the Muscovite grand prince in its planned crusades against the Ottoman Turks. Although the Russians were ousted, the papal bull did not help Sten Sture. In 1497 he was defeated by the Danes and had to accept Hans as the King of Sweden.

Conclusions

The importance of the crusades for Sweden is clear from the fact that the acquisition of Finland was almost entirely the result of its participation in the Baltic Crusades. However, in contrast to the Germans, who dominated Livonia and Prussia, the Swedes never endeavored to dominate the local population. A division of the population in Finland into a privileged upper class and a suppressed lower class along ethnic lines similar to the division between *Deutsch* (German) and *Undeutsch* (non-German) in Livonia never occurred.

There are few traces of influence of the crusades in Sweden itself. A convent of the Order of St. John was established in Eskilstuna in 1185. Later, in 1262, a commandery of the Teutonic Order, the only one in Scandinavia, was established at Årsta as a result of the testament of Karl Ulfsson, son of *jarl* Ulf Fase (d. 1248). Karl had decided to join the Teutonic Order after fighting on the losing side against Birger Magnusson in 1251. He was killed in 1260 by the Lithuanians in the battle of Durben. The only other Swede known to have joined the order was St. Birgitta's brother, Israel Birgersson.

More importantly, it was a crusader king, Erik Jedwards-son, who became Sweden's patron saint. His cult was instituted by his son Knut Eriksson in 1167, but it was only during the Kalmar Union that it began to prosper, when the saint came to represent Swedish resistance to Danish domination. This dual function as anti-Danish national saint and crusader saint made him extremely useful to Sten Sture in his battle for independence against the Danish-Russian alliance in 1495–1497.

—John H. Lind

See also: Baltic Crusades; Finland; Karelia

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Sword Brethren

The first military order in the Baltic region, founded in Livonia in 1202 on the model of the Templars and absorbed into the Teutonic Order in 1237. The order's original Latin name was the *Fratres Milicie Christi de Livonia* ("Brethren of the Knighthood of Christ of Livonia"); the more usual modern name Sword Brethren or Sword Brothers (Ger. *Schwertbrüder*) corresponds to the Middle High German designation *Swertbrüdere*, which derives from the knights' insignia of a sword beneath a red cross, which they wore on their white mantles.

According to the chronicler Henry of Livonia, the initiative for the new order came from the Cistercian Theoderic, a veteran in the Livonian mission. However, its establishment is often attributed to the newly ordained bishop of Livonia, Albert von Buxhövdn (1199–1229), under whose obedience the order was placed. The foundation has to be seen against the background of the disastrous lack of military resources that had cost the life of the previous bishop,

Berthold of Loccum (1197–1198). A permanent army in the region to supplement the unpredictable arrival of seasonal crusaders and garrison the castles must have been seen as necessary in order to control the newly converted and conquered territory. In 1204 both Bishop Albert and Pope Innocent III gave their approval of the order. The same year it began to establish itself in its first convent in Riga under its first master, Winno (1204–1209).

Organization

The Sword Brethren lived according to the Rule of the Templars. They consisted of three classes: knight brethren, priests, and service brethren. A general assembly of the knight brethren was in principle the highest decision-making body, but in practice the master, elected for life by the assembly, was in charge of the order, with an authority comparable to that of the abbot of a Cistercian monastery. Under him served a vice-master who also deputized for him in his absence. A marshal took care of the order's military affairs and led it in battle, while a treasurer was in charge of finances. Provincial masters were placed in charge of new castle convents, each of which included a priest and a number of knight brethren, service brethren, and mercenaries. Advocates served as local administrators on the order's estates and acted as its link to the local population. Also associated with the order were a number of secular vassals who were enfeoffed with lands on its territory. They were mainly recruited from immigrant German nobles, but also, at least in some cases, from among the native nobility.

Even in its heyday, that is from around 1227 to 1236, the order probably had only some 110 knight brethren and perhaps 1,200 service brethren; with approximately 400 knights and soldiers supplied by its secular vassals, the order could at best field an army of some 1,800 men, in addition to local Livonian auxiliaries [Benninghoven, *Der Orden der Schwertbrüder*, pp. 223–224, 407–408]. During that time the order had a convent in Riga, convent castles in Ascheraden (mod. Aizkraukle, Latvia), Fellin (mod. Vijandi, Estonia), Reval (mod. Tallinn, Estonia), Segewold (mod. Sigula, Latvia), and Wenden (mod. Cēsis, Latvia), and also lesser strongholds in Adsel (mod. Gaujiena, Latvia), Wolmar (mod. Valmiera, Latvia), and Oberpahlen (mod. Põltsamaa, Estonia).

Early History: Establishment of the Order

The Sword Brethren had their first experience of local warfare in the winter of 1204–1205, when they joined the



Member of the Order of the Sword Brethren. Woodcut from Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographia*, 1550. (Courtesy Alan Murray)

Semgallians in an ambush of a Lithuanian force returning from a raid into Estonia. In the following years the order soon proved its worth in battle, not least when it defeated a rebellion of the Livonians, centered on the fortress of Holm (1206).

Despite the obedience it owed to the bishop of Riga, the order was soon able to act on its own initiative, and throughout its short lifespan it continuously struggled to achieve independence from the church of Riga. It was important for the order to secure an independent territorial power base and financial resources, and it claimed part of the territory that was being conquered in conjunction with the forces of the bishop and the seasonal crusaders. This claim soon led to a conflict with Bishop Albert in respect of the division of the conquests and the terms on which the order held its ter-

ritory, convents, and castles. In this struggle the balance of power constantly shifted, as seasonal crusaders left Livonia and Bishop Albert had to leave for Germany to recruit new crusaders, as occurred approximately every second year.

When Albert returned from Germany in 1207, the Sword Brethren demanded the right to retain a third of all future conquests. This initiative on the part of the order may well have resulted from a stay in Riga of the Danish archbishop of Lund in 1206–1207. The order may have seen a possibility of playing the Danish primate off against Bishop Albert by threatening to acknowledge the primacy of the archbishopric of Lund. Under pressure, Albert reluctantly agreed to assign new territory to the order, but in the case of the lands already conquered he tried to exclude the order from the core region along the river Dūna. This was probably not a wise move, since as a result the Sword Brethren now looked north toward Estonia. Soon the order was able to establish its second convent and castle, Segewold, close to the Livish stronghold of Treiden (mod. Turaida, Latvia). A third convent was founded around the same time in Nussburg at Wenden deep in Lettish territory. These foundations enabled the order to push on into Estonian territory in 1208 independently of Bishop Albert. It suffered a momentary setback in 1209, when Master Winno was killed in an internal power struggle, but with the election of Volkwin (1209–1237) as its second master, the order quickly managed to reestablish stability in its leadership.

In the continued struggle for supremacy, both parties appealed to Pope Innocent III, who in October 1210 decreed that in the future the order was to retain one-third of conquered territory. In July 1212 the Sword Brethren received imperial confirmation of this privilege and were also promised free possession of the Estonian provinces of Ugaunia and Sakkala. This was undoubtedly a victory for the order and may be seen as the beginning of its state in Livonia. Bishop Albert received some compensation, when (probably in 1211) the pope authorized his ordination of new bishops in Livonia and soon after refused the order's request to have the same right in its own territory (1212). However, Innocent III compensated for this in 1213 by confirming the order's possession of Sakkala and Ugaunia and also authorizing Anders Sunesen, archbishop of Lund, to ordain bishops in these provinces. Albert of Buxhövdén's decision to ordain Theoderic as bishop of Estonia (1211) can only be seen as an attempt to curb the order's designs in Estonia. Yet the advantage gained was soon lost, when Innocent III in

1213 decreed that Theoderic henceforth was to be subject only to the pope or his legate to the region, who happened to be Anders Sunesen.

The final effort to subdue the pagan Estonians began in 1215, initially with the order as its driving force. Having defeated the Estonians at Fellin in 1217, the order now dominated both the northern part of Livonia and a large part of Estonia. The threat this posed to the position of Bishop Albert prompted him to appeal in person to King Valdemar II of Denmark for help in 1218. The king obliged by sending a large fleet to Estonia the following year. Despite initial difficulties, the Danes managed to conquer the remaining northern provinces of Estonia in the summer of 1219, with the exception of the island of Ösel (mod. Saaremaa, Estonia).

The Danish crusade may have come as a surprise to the order, and in 1220 a diplomatic crisis arose when the order raided Harria. The Danes declared that, according to an agreement with the Livonian church, all of Estonia belonged to them and asked the order to hand over the hostages it had taken. Master Volkwin complied and subsequently decided to enter into an agreement with the Danes, which formally divided Estonia between them: the Danes kept the northern provinces, including the still unconquered island of Ösel, while the order received the southern provinces. In this way the order presumably hoped to avoid handing two-thirds of its conquest over to the church in accordance with the ruling of 1210. There was, however, a certain division of opinion within the order as to the wisdom of this, and later in the year it did decide to allot the church its two-thirds. Yet faced with an alliance between the order and the Danes and a Danish blockade of crusader ships embarking from Lübeck, Bishop Albert in March 1221 found himself forced to recognize Danish overlordship not only in Estonia but also in Livonia. This opened new possibilities for the order to throw off its obedience to the bishop and replace it with a link to the distant Danish king and church.

Order Domination

The scene was now set for a complete Danish takeover in the Baltic region, although this domination was to prove short-lived. After the Danes had gained a foothold on Ösel and established a stone fortress there, Valdemar II left Estonia in 1222; according to Henry of Livonia, he gave up the royal rights in Sakkala and Ugaunia to the order and spiritual rights to Bishop Albert in return for their perpetual fealty. Soon afterward, however, an uprising broke out on Ösel, and

the Christian forces were unable to hold the fortress. In the following winter, the Osilians joined mainland Estonians in defeating local Danish forces before unleashing a successful attack on Fellin in January 1223. The order was taken by complete surprise and suffered heavy losses as stronghold after stronghold fell, until only the castle in Reval remained in Christian hands.

To make matters worse, Valdemar II and his eldest son were kidnapped in May 1223 by one of his vassals. They remained prisoners for two years, while the Danish Empire collapsed. To survive in Estonia, the order now had to rely on help from the Livonian church. The situation began to stabilize with the recapture of Fellin by the combined forces of the order and Livonian bishops, and the return of Bishop Albert from one of his recruitment tours with a substantial crusader army. By the end of 1224 the insurgents had to surrender. For the order, however, the events of 1223–1224 meant that the balance of power had changed significantly in favor of Bishop Albert and the Livonian church. With the Danes neutralized, the order had to agree to a new division of Estonia with the bishops, so that the order retained little more than one-third of the territory.

Hoping to perpetuate his ascendancy over the order, Bishop Albert in 1224 asked Pope Honorius III to dispatch a legate to the region to settle the territorial organization of Livonia on the current basis. This, however, proved to be a miscalculation on Albert's part. When the legate, William of Modena, arrived in 1225 he had no intention of favoring the Livonian church. When Albert's brother, Bishop Hermann of Leal (mod. Lihula, Estonia), who was now also lord of Dorpat (mod. Tartu, Estonia), together with local vassals seized some of the Danish possessions, William ordered these and the remaining Danish possessions to be transferred to himself as the pope's representative.

Many of William's other initiatives were designed to strengthen both the city of Riga and the Sword Brethren, and it was Bishop Albert and his colleagues who were disadvantaged. Now the city was allowed to gather crusaders under its banner, and it was also entitled to one-third of future conquests so that the church, originally allocated two-thirds of conquests, was left with only one-third. At the same time the order received a number of privileges and exemptions for its church in Riga (the Church of St. George). This allowed the Sword Brethren to play a far greater role in the internal life of Riga, where they could now compete for the favors of visiting and established merchants. William

also allowed the Sword Brethren to accept seasonal crusaders into their forces. This was important because many crusaders preferred to fight along with the order rather than the bishop.

These changes made the city of Riga the natural ally in the order's continued rivalry with the bishops, and in 1226 the order and city formalized their collaboration in an alliance of mutual assistance, whereby brethren became "true" citizens of Riga, while members of the upper strata of burgesses could join the order as *confratres* (lay associates).

When William of Modena left later in 1226, the territories he had held were transferred to his deputy and vice-legate, Master John. However, when the population of Vironia revolted again, John could only quell the uprising with the help of the Sword Brethren, who then went on to expel the remaining Danes from Reval. When John in turn left the region in 1227, he handed over all his territories to the order, so that it now controlled Revalia, Harria, Jerwia, and Vironia. To strengthen the legitimacy of its possession of the former Danish provinces, the order acquired a letter of protection from Henry (VII), king of Germany, in July 1228. Despite a devastating defeat in 1223 as a result of William of Modena's first legatine mission, the Sword Brethren had emerged as the leading power in Livonia.

Between Pope and Papal Legate

A new chapter in the order's history began when the Cistercian Baldwin of Aulne arrived in Livonia in 1230 as vice-legate charged with resolving the conflict that had arisen over the succession to the bishopric of Riga after the death of Bishop Albert in 1229. Soon, however, Baldwin began to involve himself in wider Livonian affairs. He came into conflict with the Sword Brethren over the former Danish provinces, which he claimed the order held illegally; with reference to William of Modena's earlier ruling, Baldwin demanded that they should be transferred to him. Faced with resistance from the local powers, Baldwin left for the Curia, where, in January 1232, he managed to have himself appointed as bishop of Sempgallia (a title created for the occasion) and full legate with far-reaching authority. During the summer of 1233, Baldwin returned with a crusader army with which to bolster his demands. An army was sent to Estonia, where the Sword Brethren were ordered to surrender their territories and castles.

The order was divided over how to react to Baldwin's demands. Master Volkwin was in favor of yielding to Bald-

win, but was temporarily deposed and imprisoned. The interim leadership decided to fight the legatine army, which in the ensuing battle in September 1233 was annihilated on the Domberg in Reval. The order speedily dispatched a delegation to the Curia in order to defend its action against the pope's legate. It succeeded to the extent that in February 1234 Pope Gregory IX decided to recall Baldwin and replace him as legate by William of Modena, who soon persuaded the pope to annul all of Baldwin's initiatives. But at the Curia Baldwin persuaded the pope in November 1234 to summon all his adversaries to answer a formidable list of charges. The order was accused of having summoned heretic Russians and local pagans to fight against the bishop and church of Leal, a charge that could have made the order itself a target of crusades.

In a trial at Viterbo during the spring of 1236, the order was largely exonerated. However, the king of Denmark had also begun to lobby for the return of the former Danish provinces. On this point Gregory IX supported the Danes and ordered Revalia, Jerwia, Vironia, and Harria to be given back to the Danish king. To comply would seriously have reduced the power base of the Sword Brethren, and it is doubtful whether they were prepared to do so. In the event, the order did not survive long enough for this to become evident.

Defeat and Unification with the Teutonic Order

During the 1230s the Sword Brethren had begun to direct their attention toward Lithuania, now seen as the greatest threat to Christianity in the Baltic region. This was a sentiment shared by the Russians of Pskov, with whom the order now often allied itself. In the summer of 1236, a substantial number of crusaders had arrived in Riga eager for action. Perhaps against its better judgment, the order was persuaded to organize a raid into Lithuanian territory involving both local forces and Pskovians. At a place called Saule (perhaps mod. Siauliai, Lithuania), the Christian forces suffered a crushing defeat on 22 September 1236. Probably only a tenth of the Christian force survived, and among the casualties were Master Volkwin and at least 49 knight brethren. The existence of the order was not immediately threatened. It still held its castles and had a substantial number of vassals, particularly in the northern parts of Estonia. But it was hardly in a position to raise another army for separate actions, and in the south the order had to fear Lithuanian retaliations.

Consequently, the order had to speed up negotiations that were already in progress concerning a merger with the Teutonic Order. With its bargaining power now reduced by military defeat, the representatives of the order had no choice but to accept the terms of a separate agreement reached between Hermann von Salza, grand master of the Teutonic Order, and Gregory IX to restore the former Danish provinces to Denmark. In May 1237 Pope Gregory announced the incorporation of the Sword Brethren into the Teutonic Order in four letters to the relevant parties: the order, Hermann von Salza, William of Modena, and the bishops of Riga, Dorpat, and Ösel. Later in the summer the Teutonic Order in Marburg grudgingly accepted the unification, although this was only carried out in practical terms by the end of 1237, after the arrival of the first contingent of Teutonic Knights in Livonia.

Conclusions

Despite its short lifespan, it was the Order of the Sword Brethren that introduced the military religious order as an institution to the Baltic Crusades. Much more than the seasonal crusaders, it was able to fight and keep fighting according to a chosen strategy. Without its introduction, Christianity might not have survived in Livonia, and it was a sign of its initial success that it was taken as a model for the likewise short-lived Knights of Dobrin. Both orders, however, suffered from the lack of a European network of estates and houses outside their main region of activity that could provide them with financial resources and a secure basis of recruitment. In that sense it was logical that both were absorbed by the Teutonic Order.

—John Lind

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Sword, Order of the

The Order of the Sword was an order of chivalry founded by King Peter I of Cyprus (1359–1369). With its motto, *C’est pour loiauté maintenir* (To maintain loyalty) it clearly imi-

tated other fourteenth-century chivalric orders from western Europe.

According to the contemporary author Guillaume de Machaut, its foundation dated from before Peter’s accession, but Machaut’s story of its origins is open to doubt. There is no indication that membership of the order was conferred on Cypriot nobles, and in creating his order, Peter was evidently recognizing the need to appeal to Western knights and Western knightly values if he was to gain support in waging war on the Muslims. Not much is known about the function of the order, but by the fifteenth century it would seem that Cypriot kings were investing aristocratic visitors from the West with membership as a way of honoring them at little expense to themselves.

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Symeon II of Jerusalem

Greek Orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem at the time of the First Crusade (1096–1099).

Symeon II assumed office sometime after 1088; he is first mentioned as a participant at a synod in Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) in 1094–1095. As the crusaders arrived in northern Syria and laid siege to Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) in October 1097, Symeon was forced to leave Jerusalem by the Artūqid governor of the city. He went into exile to Cyprus, from where he made contact with the crusader army. Two letters to Western Christianity written perhaps at the end of 1097 and the beginning of 1099 in Symeon’s name were probably drawn up by the crusaders. They nevertheless reflect Symeon’s relationship to the crusaders at this time, who acknowledged him as rightful patriarch of Jerusalem.

During the siege of Jerusalem (June–July 1099), Symeon sent diplomatic gifts to the crusader lords in preparation for his return to office. According to the chronicler Albert of Aachen, this return was prevented only by Symeon’s death on Cyprus. However, according to the first version of the chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres, the crusaders allowed him

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to remain in office pending the pope's decision about the policies to be pursued with regard to the church in Palestine. When the papal legate Daibert of Pisa arrived, the decision was taken to establish a Latin Church, and Daibert was invested as patriarch of Jerusalem. It remains unclear whether Symeon II died in summer 1099 on Cyprus or lived on as patriarch in exile. The assumption of office by his successor as Greek Orthodox patriarch did not take place until 1106/1107.

—Johannes Pahlitzsch

See also: Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of
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Syriac Sources

Classical Syriac, originally the Aramaic dialect of Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey) and adjacent regions of Mesopotamia, was a language widely used by Christians of the Near and Middle East during late antiquity and the early years of Muslim rule. Syriac lost its universal status gradually during the following centuries, being largely replaced by Arabic for everyday use. But it remained a sacred and venerated liturgical language in all the churches in the Syrian tradition: the Maronites, the Melkites, the Syrian Orthodox (Jacobites), and the Church of the East (Nestorians). During the age of the crusades, mainly scholars of the Syrian Orthodox Church and the Church of the East wrote nonliturgical texts in Syriac.

There is no work in Syriac exclusively devoted to the crusades or to Frankish rule in the Levant, and none of the extant narrative works originated in the states of Outremer. The most important narrative sources are three great world chronicles by Syrian Orthodox authors. Besides these works, lesser narratives, as well as fragments of correspon-

dence, coins, and inscriptions, deserve interest. Of special note are colophons, that is, scribes' notes in manuscripts on the date of their completion, which often contain historical information and comments. Important legal sources are also part of the heritage. Some of the thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century poetry of the Church of the East comments on historical events, expressing experiences of Christians under Mongol rule and describing religious changes in the region. Analysis of comments about historical and cultural matters in the theological literature of all the churches in the Syriac tradition during the time of the crusades is a desideratum.

Considering that the authors of the three Syriac universal chronicles were born in areas under Muslim rule, they appear extraordinarily well informed about the Franks, especially in comparison with the sketchy Latin reports about Syrian Christians in Outremer, let alone in the cities of the Middle East. This is partly explained by the fact that the writers took temporary residence in and traveled through territories occupied by the Franks. Two of them held the highest positions in the ecclesiastical hierarchy and thus were representatives of their communities to the Christian and Muslim authorities: Michael I the Great (1126–1199), patriarch of Antioch, and Gregory Bar Ebroyo (1226–1286), the *maphrian* (primate) of the eastern part of the Syrian Orthodox Church. The author of the third, the *Anonymous Syriac Chronicle*, is unknown; he was probably a member of the higher clergy who died after 1237. Of the three universal chronicles, only the history of the world by Bar Ebroyo is preserved in its entirety. The maphrian Gregory III (d. 1307), who was Bar Ebroyo's own brother (and originally named Barsaumo), was one of the first to continue the chronicle of Bar Ebroyo.

Because of their different scope and perspective, the three chronicles complement one another. Source criticism has identified occasional misinformation and lack of detailed knowledge, for example, about the courts, social life, and economy of the Latins in Outremer. Yet it also values these works as the sole witnesses for some matters regarding the Franks, especially in eastern Anatolia and the northern states of Outremer, for which Latin sources are poor. Above all they are irreplaceable for the study of policies toward the Eastern Christian subjects of the Latins and for their perception of the crusades and Outremer, although this information is refracted through the viewpoint of clerics from outside the Frankish principalities. It is clear that

the highly educated chroniclers felt equal to and even slightly superior to the culture of the Frankish conquerors. They have a tendency to portray actions of Greek Orthodox clerics in a negative light. Mostly they appear rather detached and remain distant observers, and none of them is particularly partial to the Latins. In this respect they differ from the Syrian subjects of the Franks, who took up more definite positions either for or against their particular government. Typically of a people with little interest in military action, the chroniclers do not share the ideas of warrior heroism or holy war, either of crusaders or Muslims, although they are aware of the Latins' understanding of themselves as fighting on behalf of Christianity as a whole. Instead they judge each representative of secular rule by his ability to maintain peace and security, and especially by the effects of his government on their own church. Michael the Great and the Anonymous Chronicler criticize the lack of unity of the Latins at the time that they were losing ground to the Muslims in the second half of the twelfth century. They also reveal the slow deterioration of relations between indigenous Christians and the Muslim populace throughout the Middle East. Information about intellectual and cultural life as well as about mutual cultural contacts need further investigation.

The same holds true for the lesser sources. Colophons, fragments of historical narrative, and correspondence contain information about details of Latin rule in Jerusalem and its religious landscape. Other texts provide a rare witness to regret on the part of the Syrian Christians about the loss of the city to the Muslims in 1187 and again in 1244. Recently discovered Syriac and Arabic inscriptions in the context of art made by Christians, seals with names in Syriac letters, and other material give an idea of the normality of cultural exchange between the different Christian denominations, as well as between the religions in the Middle East at that time. Medieval inscriptions, for example, on graves and in churches, prove the existence of Syriac-speaking Christians of different denominations throughout the Middle East, along the Silk Road to China, and in the south of India.

A few years before the final loss of the last Frankish strongholds in Outremer and the Mongols' adoption of Islam, mutual diplomatic contacts intensified. The Mongol Ilkhan sent a confidant of Yahballaha III (1244–1317), catholicos of the Church of the East, as ambassador to the Christian powers of Europe to seek support for the Ilkhan's

plan to conquer Syria and Jerusalem. The ambassador, Mar Bar Sauma, who like the catholicos was of Öngüt origin, met Byzantine and Western representatives with great openness and naively explored their cities, prepared to admire and entirely unconcerned with the long history of religious dispute. His report survives in a Syriac summary translation and gives an insight into the political constellations and sentiments of the time.

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Syrian Orthodox Church

The Syrian Orthodox Church was one of the Eastern churches the crusaders came into contact with when they arrived in the Near East. To Westerners, the Syrian Orthodox Church and community have often been known as Jacobites. The official English name of the church today (since 2000) is the Syriac Orthodox Church.

Origins

The dogmatic position of the Syrian Orthodox Church was (and is) that of the theological tradition of Severus, patriarch of Antioch (d. 538), who opposed the Christological dogma promulgated by the Council of Chalcedon (451). The Syrian Orthodox Church rejected the Monophysite Christology of Eutyches (d. after 454). It venerated Christ as truly man and truly God, the divine and the human neither being separated nor mixed. But, as the Aristotelian term *nature* could not be conceived in the plural, Christ's nature was thought of as single (i.e., verbal monophysitism, or miaphysitism).

The Latin sources usually refer to the Syrian Orthodox as "Jacobites." This name refers to Jacob Baradaeus (d. 578), who was instrumental in organizing the miaphysite resistance against the Chalcedonian imperial church in the decades following the expulsion of Patriarch Severus in the year 518. In the middle of the sixth century, a separate, non-Chalcedonian hierarchy was created with an independent patriarch of Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey), who, however, never resided in that city. Originating in the context of an inner-miaphysite schism, to distinguish Jacob's adherents from those of Paul of Beth Ukkome (d. 581), the name Jacobites later came to be used by outsiders to designate miaphysite Christians in Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt.

By the time of the crusades, a second meaning had developed: The term "Jacobite" was used to designate the Syrian Orthodox to differentiate them from the Chalcedonian (Greek Orthodox) Christians of Syria and Palestine; these were called "Syrians" in Arabic and Latin, or "Melkites" and "Greeks" by the non-Chalcedonians. Often the term was used in a pejorative sense. By contrast, the combination of the term "orthodox" with "Syriac" was already in use by the church itself during the time of the crusades. Syriac, the classical Aramaic dialect of the school of Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey), was always the language of the theology and liturgy of the church, and in many of its communities Aramaic dialects were spoken.

Church Organization and Hierarchy

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the area called the "West" in Syriac sources, that is from Cappadocia in the north as far as Arabia in the south, was under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Syrian Orthodox patriarch of Antioch, and bordered on the Coptic patriarchate of Alexandria. The Syrian Orthodox and Coptic patriarchates recognized each other's full authority as Orthodox sister churches. From 726 this was also usually the case with the Armenian Orthodox (Apostolic) Church. What was called the "East," that is Mesopotamia, Assyria, Azerbaijan, and Iraq, was under the authority of the metropolitan of Tagrit (mod. Tikrit, Iraq), called the *maphrian*, who resided in the monastery of Mor Mattai near Mosul. During this time he always was a cleric from the "West" and acted as primate.

The Frankish states of Outremer included the Syrian Orthodox archdioceses of Edessa, Samosata (mod. Samsat, Turkey), Manbij, Tarsos (mod. Tarsus, Turkey), Antioch, and Jerusalem, and many bishoprics, such as Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), Tripoli (mod. Trâblous, Lebanon), Cyprus, Marash (mod. Kahramanmaraş, Turkey), Raban, Kesoun (mod. Kaysun, Turkey), and Saruj (mod. Suruç, Turkey). The new political borders cut into the Syrian Orthodox administrative structures; for example, the important archdiocese of Melitene (mod. Malatya, Turkey) was split between the rule of the Dānishmendid emirate and the Frankish county of Edessa. The communities in the Middle and Far East remained beyond Frankish rule.

The Syrian Orthodox communities played an active part in church politics along with the secular clergy: they proposed candidates for the bishoprics and opposed others successfully. Their elites, who were mainly occupied as physicians, scribes, courtiers, and merchants throughout the Middle East, supported the infrastructure of the church financially. The Syrian Orthodox are not normally considered to have held feudal estates of substantial size. The existence of estates is, however, detectable, especially in the north. Cenobites and anchorites, whose life was deeply rooted in the early Christian Syriac spirituality, were another important factor.

The patriarch usually sought formal recognition from the Frankish authorities, as he did with the Muslim governors in the area of his jurisdiction. During the twelfth century, the patriarchs were based mostly in Upper Mesopotamia and Syria. They resided partly in monasteries in Frankish territory and partly in Muslim areas. The monastery of Mor

Barsaumo on the northern frontier in the archdiocese of Melitene was one of the favorite places. Insecurity in the Middle East on the one hand, and protection by the Rupenid dynasty on the other, made the kingdom of Armenia in Cilicia a favorite place of residence, notably at Hromgla (mod. Rumkale, Turkey) and Sis (mod. Kozan, Turkey) in the thirteenth century. The official residence of the patriarch remained beyond the borders of Outremer, first in Amida (mod. Diyarbakır, Turkey), and from 1166 in Mardin.

Ecclesiastical integration of the entire area of patriarchal jurisdiction was increasingly difficult. The hostility of secular powers and general insecurity were problems that the Syrian Orthodox authorities could do little about. Both the Mesopotamian and Cilician residences were occupied simultaneously during cases of schism, which occurred three times between 1180 and 1261 (1180–1193, 1199–1220, and 1253–1261), and as a result the regions drifted further apart. In 1292 a more serious schism in the Syrian Orthodox “West” began, which lasted until 1493. Several patriarchs, however, won the support of the greater part of the suffragans and the communities. They used their spiritual authority and central administrative position to improve the situation of the church according to Christian principles. Two of them, Michael I the Great (1166–1199) and Ignatius III David (1222–1252), are especially remembered as great patriarchs of that period, praised for their piety and their wisdom, their reform measures, and their generous support of the material infrastructure of the church.

Syrian Orthodox Life in Outremer and Beyond

The Syriac narrative sources paint rather a bleak picture, underlining the hardship caused by war, bandits, and encroachments on the Syrian Orthodox Church and communities. They name numerous churches destroyed by or lost to the Muslims. Syrian Orthodox refugees were swept into Frankish territory after the conquest of Edessa in 1146 and again during the swift and deadly advance of the Mongols. A slow deterioration in relations between the Syrian Orthodox and the Muslim population can be detected. Neither Muslims nor Franks sufficiently protected the Syrian Orthodox population, and on occasion even turned violently against them. Authorities on both sides did not hesitate to put pressure on Syrian Orthodox prelates for their own ends. To find explanations for their experiences and their losses, the communities turned toward their own religious and ethical

conduct. Their introspection resulted in the harsh moral self-criticism reflected in the historical works of the time.

The reports in these works, however, have to be put into perspective. Scholars have even raised doubts as to the actual severity of the crisis. The situation under Muslim rule was often stable enough to allow for the construction of new churches, monasteries, and representative ecclesiastical buildings. The originality of twelfth-century artists is increasingly attracting scholarly interest. It is obvious that for literature and science this also was a period of consolidation as well as of new departures. The classical Syriac language was studied with renewed effort and used as a language of scholarship. The libraries and schools in the cathedrals and monasteries were actively sponsored by the higher clergy, and the entire traditions of church and community were gathered in encyclopedic works. At the same time, Syrian Orthodox scholars took notice of the latest developments in the philosophical and medical schools of the Middle East, shared by Muslims and Eastern Christians alike. Works by authors such as Dionysius bar Salibi or Bar Ebroyo (Bar Hebraeus) have remained standard points of reference in exegesis, theology, and legal decisions for the church and community to the present day.

A synthesis of Syrian Orthodox life in Outremer is a desideratum. In the city of Jerusalem the community had the representative monastery and church of St. Mary Magdalene, which also served as the residence of the metropolitan of Jerusalem. It was lost to the Muslims after the reconquest by Saladin in 1187. For its maintenance, the church possessed villages protected by Queen Melisende (d. 1161), while Patriarch Michael I regained a chapel in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre during his visit in 1169. The writings of James of Vitry suggest that the community of Acre was rather neglected at the beginning of the thirteenth century. However, an active scriptorium can be detected there, and a bishop was probably present throughout the time in question. In thirteenth-century Tripoli, an Eastern (Nestorian) rhetor named Jacob attracted several young men to undertake studies in medicine and rhetoric; it remains to be seen whether Tripoli was also an intellectual center for the Syrian Orthodox. The city of Antioch certainly was such a center in the thirteenth century, and Greek and Syriac as well as secular sciences were studied. Several churches and monasteries were maintained by the Syrian Orthodox in Antioch and environs, among them a Church of Our Lady and a new church of Mor Barsaumo, consecrated in 1156. In the mid-

thirteenth century, Ignatius III David even built a new patriarchal residence in Antioch.

The clerical hierarchy provided not only the religious infrastructure but also the framework for the cultural and social cohesion of the communities, and acted as political representatives in dealings with the Franks. In the county of Edessa, they also became involved in the Frankish administration and even in military activities to some extent. However, on several occasions the Franks are known to have intervened directly in the government of the church. Their interference undermined the central administration of the patriarch and consequently prolonged conflicts between him and the suffragans. In Cilicia, the Syrian Orthodox communities shared in the cultural and economic upswing of thirteenth-century Cilicia, and the patriarch occasionally joined the Armenian catholicos on diplomatic missions concerning the kingdom.

Some scholars consider relations between Franks and Syrian Orthodox in Outremer to have been cordial. This certainly holds true for some individual personal relationships, such as that between Patriarch Michael I and the Latin patriarch of Antioch, Aimery of Limoges (d. 1193). Yet neither the Latin nor the Syriac sources justify this as a general assessment. The Latin sources on the whole appear rather detached and incompetent in their reports on the Syrian Orthodox, exhibiting little interest in this section of their subject population. As the Syrian Orthodox were considered to be heretics, their hierarchy on the whole was left intact. The discriminatory poll tax that they had been required to pay under Muslim rule was lifted.

In theological terms, a mutual pragmatic recognition seems to have taken place, making practical cooperation on all levels easier: At a council held in Jerusalem in 1141, dogmatic differences were not perceived as being as serious as the Franks had previously believed. Friendly encounters, joint religious practices, and also theological disputations took place. Some Franks in the north venerated the Syrian Orthodox saint Mor Barsaumo, and they occasionally accepted the service of Syrian Orthodox priests in extraordinary situations, for example, in the cases of prisoners of war outside Outremer. The Syrian Orthodox were also able to improve their position by the circumstance that the Frankish governments were largely unsympathetic to the Greek Orthodox church. Their interpretation of what the Latin Church understood as achievements of a union in the time of patriarch Ignatius III David is, however, controversial.

As with the other powers in the Middle East under which their flock was dispersed, the Syrian Orthodox authorities had to seek a *modus vivendi* with the secular and religious hierarchy of the Frankish principalities. They also made ample use of the possibility of establishing themselves in Antioch. Bar Ebroyo reported that it became a custom to ritually enthrone the Syrian Orthodox patriarch after his election on St. Peter's chair in the Latin-held cathedral of Antioch. Nevertheless, they avoided becoming too close to the Franks, and preferred to reside under Armenian protection. The complicated relations between Syrian Orthodox subjects and Frankish lords, the motives and interests of prelates, dignitaries, and populace, respectively, require differentiated and nuanced treatment.

–Dorothea Weltecke

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Syria

See Outremer

Syriac Orthodox Church

See Syrian Orthodox Church

T

Table of Honor

See Ehrentisch

Tallinn

See Reval

Tamar (d. 1213)

Queen of the kingdom of Georgia (1184–1213); co-regent in 1178, and successor to her father, King Giorgi III, six years later. Tamar's reign is usually acknowledged as the Golden Age of Georgia.

On Tamar's accession, powerful lords took advantage of the passing of the king to reassert themselves. She was forced to agree to a second coronation that emphasized the role of noble families in investing her with the royal power. Royal officials from nonnoble families were dismissed, and the nobility then demanded the establishment of the *karavi*, a political body with legislative and judicial power. Nobles were also actively involved in choosing a husband for the young queen. On their decision, Tamar married the Russian Prince Yuri Bogolubskii, the son of Grand Duke Andrei Bogolyubskii of Suzdal', in 1185, but the marriage was dissolved because of Yuri's debauchery and intrigues. Tamar later married Prince David Soslan, a member of the Ossetian branch of the Bagration dynasty (1189). In 1189–1191, Yuri allied himself with certain Georgian nobles and organized two unsuccessful revolts.

Despite internal dissent, Georgia remained a powerful kingdom and enjoyed major successes in its foreign pol-

icy. In 1193–1194, the Georgian army expanded its operations into Armenia and southwestern Transcaucasia. In 1195, a large Muslim coalition was crushed in the battle at Shamkhor. In 1203, Tamar achieved another triumphant victory when the sultan of Rūm was crushed at Basiani. The Georgians annexed Ani, Arran, and Duin in 1201–1203, and, in 1209 captured the emirate of Kars, while the mighty Armen-Shahs, the emirs of Erzurum and Erzincan, and the north Caucasian tribes became vassals of the kingdom. In 1204, Tamar actively supported the Greek nobleman Alexios Komnenos in establishing the Empire of Trebizond. The Georgians then carried war into Azerbaijan and advanced as far as Ardabil and Tabriz (1208) and to Qazvin and Khoy in northern Persia (1210). She died in 1213; her burial place remains unknown. She was succeeded by her son Lasha-Giorgi.

—Alexander Mikaberidze

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Tancred (d. 1112)

Prince of Galilee (1099–1101) and regent of the principality of Antioch (1101–1103 and 1104–1112).



Capture of Tarsos by Tancred during the First Crusade. Illustration from the *Roman de Godefroi de Bouillon*, MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr.22495, fo. 32v. (1337). (Giraudon/Art Resource)

Tancred was born around 1076, a scion of the Norman dynasty of Hauteville in southern Italy. His parents were Odo “the Good Marquis” and Emma, a daughter of Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia and Calabria.

In 1096 Tancred joined his maternal uncle, Bohemund of Taranto, in taking part in the First Crusade (1096–1099) and very soon distinguished himself as one of its chieftains, especially in the fighting at Nicaea (mod. İznik, Turkey) and Dorylaion (near mod. Eskişehir, Turkey), to the point that his uncle gave him the command of a company of knights. He then penetrated into Cilicia, where he clashed with Baldwin of Boulogne, brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, over the possession of Tarsos (mod. Tarsus, Turkey). Tancred rejoined the main armies at Antioch (mod. Antakya,

Turkey), where he played a significant role in the siege and the conquest of the city. After the establishment of Bohemund’s principality at Antioch (1098), Tancred continued toward Jerusalem, joining first Raymond of Saint-Gilles and then Godfrey of Bouillon. Tancred became one of the most important chiefs of Godfrey’s army; in June 1099 he conquered Bethlehem on Godfrey’s behalf and, having joined him at the siege of Jerusalem, he commanded raids to obtain materials for building siege machines and ladders. During the conquest of the Holy City (15 July 1099), he seized the mosques of the Temple Mount and claimed the lordship of the area.

After the establishment of Frankish rule in Jerusalem, Tancred went northward and conquered Tiberias (mod.

Teverya, Israel), Nazareth (mod. Nazerat, Israel), Mount Tabor, and other places in Galilee. He was enfeoffed with these territories by Godfrey of Bouillon. Tancred took the title of prince of Galilee, and by campaigning in the areas of the Golan and the Terre de Suète, he enlarged his principality into the northern Transjordan. In 1100 he commanded the land forces at the siege of Haifa (mod. Hefa, Israel), hoping to secure an outlet for his principality on the Mediterranean. Supported by Daibert of Pisa, the new patriarch of Jerusalem, he took advantage of Godfrey's death (18 July 1100) to establish his men in Haifa castle. However, these ambitions were checked by Baldwin of Boulogne, Godfrey's brother, who came from Edessa to become the first Latin king of Jerusalem and appointed Tancred's rival Geldemar Carpinel as lord of Haifa. The clash between Tancred and King Baldwin I, who had been rivals since their march through Cilicia, was cut short as a result of the capture of Bohemund by the Dānishmendid Turks in 1101: Tancred was appointed regent in Antioch and relinquished his Galilean principality to the king.

As regent of Antioch Tancred distinguished himself both militarily, fighting against the Armenians of Cilicia and the Byzantines, who were based in the port of Laodikeia (mod. Al-Lādhiqīyah, Syria), as well as against the Turkish lords of Aleppo and elsewhere in northern Syria, and also as an administrator. After Bohemund's release in 1103, Tancred became regent of Edessa during the captivity of Count Baldwin II (of Bourcq). Called to Antioch upon Bohemund's departure to the West in 1104, he became its effective ruler until his death. According to his uncle's wish, in 1107 he married Cecilia, who was the daughter of King Philip I of France and Bertrada of Montfort and who was then in her childhood.

During the next few years Tancred's rule in Antioch was uncontested. His combined military and diplomatic talents enabled him to enlarge the principality to the south by annexing Laodikeia, Jabala, and Margat, which connected it with the county of Tripoli, and by establishing a protectorate over Muslim Aleppo. In the dispute over the succession to the county of Tripoli, he supported William-Jordan, cousin of Raymond of Saint-Gilles, in his claims against Bertrand, who was backed by King Baldwin I. In 1108 Baldwin restored Tancred's title of prince of Galilee and returned to him the ownership of the Temple area of Jerusalem, though the foundation of the abbey of the Temple of the Lord prevented Tancred from exercising any effective authority there.

Tancred's main activity was concentrated in northern Syria, where the rising power of Mawdūd, emir of Mosul, threatened both Antioch and Edessa. Due to the failure of Mawdūd's attack against the Frankish states in 1111, Tancred's power reached its zenith. He died in the fall of 1112, aged thirty-six years.

Tancred's personality was complex. A young adventurer, belonging to a cadet branch of his family, he achieved a brilliant career in the crusade and the Latin East. His military and diplomatic skills and immense energy, which were highlighted by his chronicler and admirer Radulph of Caen, were counterbalanced by his hard, self-seeking, faithless, and unscrupulous character; he was unpopular even among his own men. Yet his achievements and prestige became the basis for the growth of his romantic image, to the point that he became a popular hero through the centuries, particularly among the romanticists of the nineteenth century.

—Aryeh Grabois

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Tannenberg, Battle of (1410)

A major battle between the Teutonic Order in Prussia and the united armies of Lithuania and Poland during the Great War of 1409–1411.

During a period of truce (8 October 1409–4 July 1410) both sides prepared for a new conflict, and peace-keeping efforts by the kings of Hungary and Bohemia proved futile. Władysław II Jagiełło (Lith. *Jogaila*), king of Poland, and his cousin Vytautas, grand duke of Lithuania, devised an exceptional strategy to join forces in northern Poland in June 1410

and then march through Prussia toward Marienburg (mod. Malbork, Poland), the seat of Ulrich von Jungingen, grand master of the order.

On 15 July 1410 the Polish-Lithuanian army was engaged in battle by the Teutonic Knights in fields around the villages of Tannenberg (mod. Stębark), Grünfelde (mod. Grunwald), and Ludwigsdorf (mod. Łodwigowo) in the commandery of Osterode (mod. Ostróda). It is impossible to determine how many soldiers were involved, but the order may have had 12,000–15,000 men at its disposal, including 3,700 mercenaries mainly from Silesia and smaller detachments from the duchies of Pomerania-Stettin and Oels (Silesia), as well as some knightly pilgrims from western Europe. The Lithuanian and Polish troops were considerably superior in numbers and included Russians, Tatars, Moldavians, and mercenaries, mainly from Bohemia.

The marches and dispositions of the armies and the exact site or sites of the battlefield(s) are still disputed. Tannenberg was the last village the order's army passed through, hence the battle's German name. The Poles refer to the battle of Grunwald, indicating that Polish forces marched up and fought near Grünfelde. The Lithuanian name is Žalgiris, a translation of the name Grunwald.

The battle began late in the morning, Władysław and Vytautas waiting until the sun dazzled the enemy. Then Vytautas charged the order's left flank. The order's warriors seemed to have won, as part of the Lithuanian army withdrew after heavy fighting, harried by an undisciplined pursuit. This was, however, only a feigned flight, which caused the knights' formation to become disordered, whereupon strong Polish forces attacked from the side and broke the order's left flank; this was one of the battle's decisive moments. The order's right flank was at that time involved in fighting other Polish forces, and so when fortune seemed to favor the enemy, Ulrich von Jungingen attacked the Polish center with his third division, consisting of heavy cavalry and until then held in reserve. Three times he and his men rode the *Kehre* (that is, passing through the enemy lines and turning back again), but they were outnumbered, and most were killed or taken prisoner, and a general flight ensued. At sunset the order's wagon laager was taken by storm.

According to Polish sources, casualties were especially high among the Lithuanians and the order's army, whereas ethnic Polish losses were rather low. The Teutonic Order suffered the loss of its grand master, all its higher officers, more

than 200 knight brethren, and thousands of other men. Over the next three days the defeated army's colors were collected from the battlefield and taken to the Polish and Lithuanian capitals. A peace treaty was concluded at Thorn (mod. Toruń) on 1 February 1411.

This decisive defeat ended the eastward expansion of the Teutonic Order, and Prussia lost its position as the most powerful country in east central Europe to Lithuania and Poland. Because of its symbolic character, the victory has always played an important role in the political and cultural life of these two nations.

—Sven Ekdahl

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Tannhäuser

A German lyric poet, not historically documented, but thought to have been active in the mid-thirteenth century, two of whose songs may belong in the context of crusade.

The Manesse Codex (MS Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, cpg.848) from around 1350, which has the largest collection of his songs, pictures Tannhäuser in the mantle of a knight of the Teutonic Order. His erotic and political lyrics show a strong tendency to parody the forms and themes of earlier courtly poetry.

The song "Wol ime, der nu beizen sol" ("Happy the man who goes hunting") gives an ironic account of a Mediterranean voyage: unlike the knight who can hunt and disport himself in Apulia, he is tossed on the sea in a ship with tattered sails and broken rudder, buffeted by winds from all round the compass, subsisting on ship's biscuit, salt meat, and stale wine. "May wave and ocean swell be purgatory for my sin!" [*Kreuzzugsdichtung*, ed. Müller, 71, strophe IV,



The poet Tannhäuser in the robes of a Teutonic Knight. *Manesse* manuscript (MS Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, germ.848), c. 1305–1340. (Archivo Iconografico, S.A./Corbis)

lines 5–7]. Only sporadic phrases evoke the vocabulary of pilgrimage or crusade: “I left the land for God’s sake” (V, 15); “I’d have been shipwrecked on Crete but that God saved me” (III, 3–4). A penitent’s song attributed to Tannhäuser in MS Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, E1.f.101, dating from around 1330, describes the decision, on a “joyful day” (I, 1), to renounce the world and seek salvation through penance, though it has no specific features of crusading lyric.

–Jeffrey Ashcroft

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Tarsos

One of the principal cities of ancient Cilicia, Tarsos (mod. Tarsus, Turkey) retained its prestige in the medieval world through its association with the apostle Paul and its proximity to the Cilician Gates, the premier mountain pass between Cilicia and Anatolia.

Conquered by the Muslims in 637, Tarsos was part of the Syrian frontier with Byzantium. Emperor Nikephoros II Phokas conquered the city for the Byzantines in 965, but the catastrophic defeat of the Byzantine army by the Turks at Mantzikert in 1071 effectively isolated Tarsos from Constantinople. Initially conquered by Tancred in the course of the First Crusade (1096–1099), the city changed hands frequently among the Byzantines, the Franks of Antioch, and the Armenian Rupenid dynasty. With Adana, the town formed part of the dower of Cecilia, sister of Baldwin I of Jerusalem, after she married Roger, regent of Antioch. In 1172 the Armenians conquered the city for a final time, and it remained in their hands until it was seized by the Mamlūks sometime after 1337.

Circumstantial evidence from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries suggests that the city was thinly inhabited. The silting up of its harbor slowly redirected trade toward Ayas (mod. Yumurtalık, Turkey) and other ports in Cilicia. The Church of St. Paul, once the Latin cathedral, survives as the Kilisse Camii, and parts of two other medieval churches also survive.

–Christopher MacEvitt

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Tartu

See Dorpat

Tartūs

See Tortosa (Syria)

Tasso, Torquato (1544–1595)

Tasso, Torquato (1544–1595)

An Italian poet, whose epic poem *Gerusalemme liberata*, set against the background of the siege and capture of Jerusalem on the First Crusade (1096–1099), was first published in its complete form in 1581.

To the events of the crusade, sometimes altered for dramatic effect, Tasso added episodes and characters such as the pagan sorceress Armida, who has a thwarted romance with the Christian knight Rinaldo, the tragic love story of the crusader Tancred and the pagan female warrior Clorinda, whom he unwittingly kills, and the unresolved love of Erminia, princess of Antioch, again for Tancred. Tasso wrote at a time of renewed Christian-Muslim engagement: his father Bernardo took part in Emperor Charles V's expedition against Tunis, but his specific interest in the crusades may have been stimulated by the publication of histories of the

crusades by Robert of Rheims (1533) and William of Tyre (1549). Indeed Tasso's patron, Duke Alfonso of Ferrara, is known to have had a copy of Robert's *Historia Iherosolimitana* in his library.

Gerusalemme liberata was widely read in Tasso's lifetime, and numerous later editions and translations influenced the popular image of the crusades. The first full English translation, by Edward Fairfax, was published in 1600, and there seems to have been a copy of the poem in most libraries; a later translation by John Hoole (1763) ran to ten editions in fifty years. The combination of the subject matter and Tasso's own eventful and rather tragic life, culminating in his confinement in the hospital of St. Anna in Ferrara after angrily denouncing his patron the duke, appealed to and influenced fellow writers such as John Milton, John Keats, Walter Scott, and William Wordsworth, as well as



Rinaldo Under the Spell of Armida, from Torquato Tasso's poem *Gerusalemme liberata*, by Giambattista Tiepolo (1696–1770). (Erich Lessing/Art Resource)

artists from Anthony Van Dyck to Nicolas Poussin and Ferdinand Delacroix. *Gerusalemme liberata* also inspired nearly 100 operas by composers as diverse as Claudio Monteverdi, Georg Friedrich Händel, Franz Joseph Haydn, and Antonin Dvořák. Some later, particularly nineteenth-century, historians of the crusades seem to have had some difficulty in disentangling the accounts given by contemporary chroniclers of the First Crusade from events as told by Tasso.

—Elizabeth Siberry

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Tatikios

The most famous of the Turcoples, christianized ex-Turkish mercenaries in Byzantine service during the period of the crusades.

Tatikios was chiefly active in the last two decades of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth centuries, mainly in the service of the Byzantine emperor Alexios I Komnenos, who rewarded him with various high offices for his services against Normans, Saljūqs of Rūm, Pechenegs, Cumans, and crusaders.

During the First Crusade (1096–1099), Tatikios played an instrumental role in the surrender of Nicaea (mod. İznik, Turkey) by the Saljūqs to the Byzantines (June 1097) as well as in the ensuing Byzantine-crusader negotiations. In early 1098, however, in the course of the joint Byzantine-crusader operations against Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey), the Norman Bohemund of Tarento succeeded in persuading Tatikios to flee to Cyprus on the grounds that his life and the lives of his soldiers were in imminent danger. Bohemund claimed that Alexios I had secretly made contact with a Muslim army coming to the relief of Antioch, and that on hearing of this the enraged crusaders would naturally seek revenge on the treasonous imperial agent. Tatikios is last heard of in Cyprus between 1099 and 1103 as *periphanes-*

tate kephale (deputy admiral) of the Byzantine navy, defeating a Pisan fleet off the shores of Rhodes (mod. Rodos, Greece) that was on its way to assist Bohemund (I), now prince of Antioch.

—Alexios G. C. Savvides

See also: First Crusade (1096–1099)

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Taxation

See Finance of Crusades

Templar of Tyre

See *Gestes des Chiprois*

Temple, Order of the

The Order of the Temple was a military religious order founded around 1119 in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. It was dissolved by Pope Clement V at the Council of Vienne in 1312. The order took its name from its headquarters in the al-Aqṣā mosque at the southern end of the Temple platform in the city of Jerusalem, which the crusaders believed to be the site of the Temple of Solomon (Lat. *Templum Salomonis*).

In January 1129 at the Council of Troyes, the order received a Latin Rule; subsequently, further sections were added in French in the 1160s, in the early 1180s, and between 1257 and 1267. In 1139 Pope Innocent II issued the bull *Omne datum optimum*, which took the order directly under papal protection and granted it a range of basic privileges. Members could be knights or sergeants, to which the bull added a smaller group of priests. Knights wore white mantles with a red cross, and sergeants a black tunic with a red cross and a black or brown mantle, a distinction mainly



Templar castle of Baghras in Cilician Armenia; it served as the northern Templar headquarters. (Courtesy Alfred Andrea)

based on previous social status. In addition, seculars could become associates for set periods without joining the order for life.

Origins

The origins of the order remain obscure, since they were not recorded by contemporaries. However, during the first generation of Frankish settlement in Outremer after the First Crusade (1096–1099), there was little aid for pilgrims visiting the holy places. This circumstance seems to have inspired Hugh of Payns (from Champagne) and Godfrey of Saint-Omer (from Flanders), together with a small group of other knights resident in the Holy Land, to devote themselves to the protection of pilgrims. This duty was formalized by taking vows before the patriarch of Jerusalem and was probably recognized by the Latin Church in the East at the Council of Nablus in 1120. The knights may have sought to complement the care facilities offered by the Order of the Hospital, and they may have once occupied the Hospitallers'

site in the Muristan in Jerusalem. This would have placed them close to the Augustinian Canons of the Holy Sepulchre, with whom they appear to have been associated. Both King Baldwin II of Jerusalem and Warmund of Picquigny, the Latin patriarch, encouraged their efforts, and they received benefices on the Temple platform. They seem to have taken up residence in the "Temple of Solomon" in the mid-1120s, when it was vacated by the king, who moved across the city to the citadel.

In 1127 Hugh of Payns and some of his companions traveled to the West as part of the drive by Baldwin II to stimulate interest in the crusader states, and, specifically, to complete the negotiations that would lead to the marriage of Fulk V, count of Anjou, to Melisende, the king's eldest daughter. This journey enabled Hugh both to present his case for papal recognition at Troyes and to recruit new members and crusaders for the East. A letter to the brethren remaining in the Holy Land written by a certain "Hugo Peccator" ("Hugh the Sinner," possibly Hugh of Payns himself) at this time sug-

gests that some of them were losing confidence in their mission, but this seems to have been forgotten in the rapid expansion that followed the granting of the Rule in 1129. Nevertheless, the problems discussed in the letter do serve to emphasize the novelty of the concept of a military religious order, and to a degree the letter reflects doubts about the legitimacy of such an order in the wider ecclesiastical community. These doubts were countered in part by the willingness of Bernard of Clairvaux to support the order, first by making a substantial contribution to the shaping of the Rule, and second by responding to Hugh's request to write a treatise in support of the order. The treatise, *De laude novae militiae*, praised the Templars as both monks and knights, for, quite uniquely, they performed both functions.

Functions

Although the original founders had been primarily motivated by the charitable desire to protect pilgrims on the road from Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel) to Jerusalem, as the order gained popularity it was able to accumulate sufficient resources in the West to finance a greatly enlarged role in Outremer. This role included garrisoning castles, supplying troops for Frankish armies, and providing military and logistical support for visiting crusaders. By the late 1130s, the Templars had been given responsibility for the defense of the castle of Baghras in the Amanus Mountains north of Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey). In the kingdom of Jerusalem, they may have taken over the castle of Toron des Chevaliers, on the road between Ramla and Jerusalem, in the early 1140s; certainly they held Gaza in the south by 1149–1150. By the 1160s, together with an increasingly militarized order of the Hospital, they had become an integral part of the defense of Outremer, providing a disciplined force of around 600 knights and 2,000 sergeants.

From time to time, the Templars used turcoples or hired mercenaries to supplement their forces. At different periods they held at least fifty castles and fortified places, ranging from modest enclosures intended to provide temporary refuge for pilgrims on the routes between Jaffa and Jerusalem, and between Jerusalem and the river Jordan, to spectacular castles conceived and built on a scale seldom contemplated in the West. Vitally important in the twelfth century was their supply depot at La Fève, where roads converged from Tiberias, Jerusalem, Acre, and Bethsan. This may have had its beginnings in the 1140s; a generation later it had been established as a formidable enclosure protected

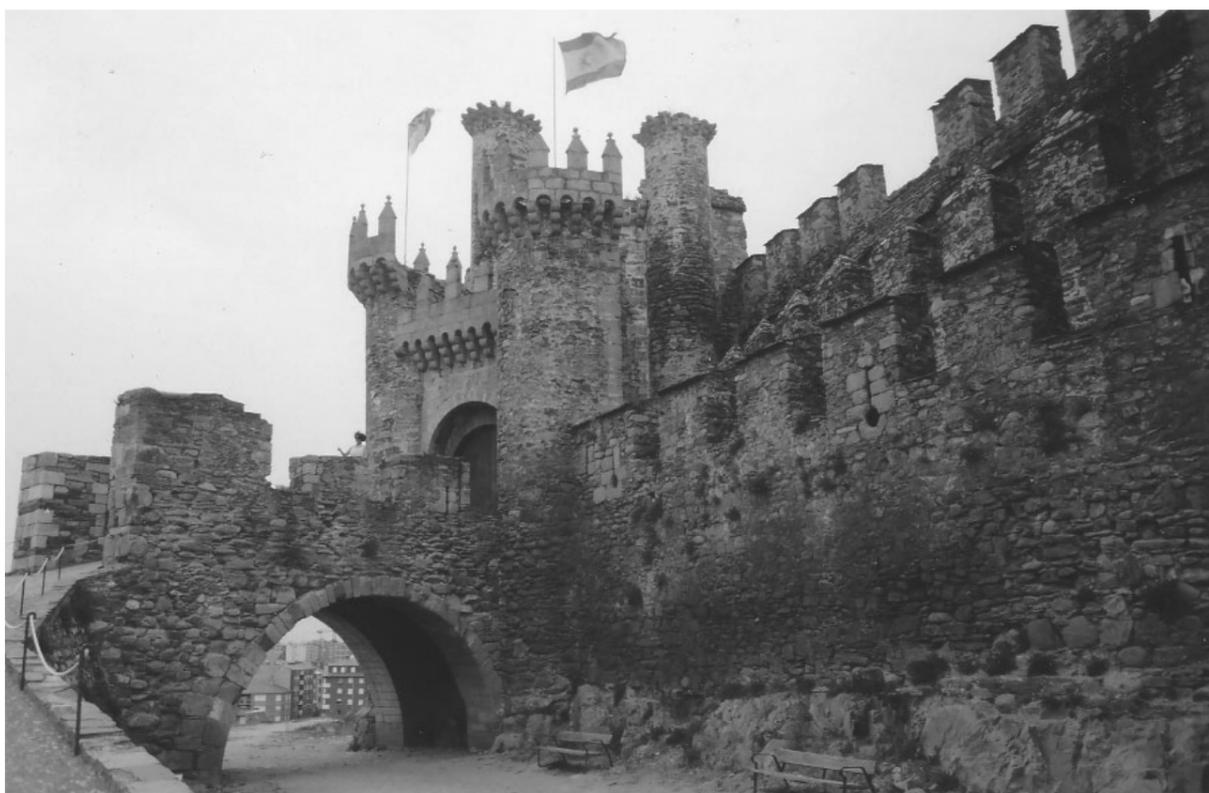
by a huge ditch. By this time, it was important for the Templars to maintain such a base in the center of the kingdom because the Frankish territories, carved out by opportunism and necessity in the early stages of the conquest, were increasingly developing definable frontier zones, and the defense of these passed more and more into the hands of the military orders. Thus the castle at Jacob's Ford, situated at an important crossing point on the river Jordan, north of the Sea of Galilee (Lake Tiberias), which survived less than a year in 1178–1179, was closely linked to the Templar sphere of influence around Saphet in northern Galilee.

In addition to their responsibilities in the north and south, the Templars were granted extensive rights in the county of Tripoli, including a substantial part of the city of Tortosa (mod. Tartūs, Syria) on the coast and the castle of Chastel Blanc (Safita) inland, enabling them to maintain east-west communication in a state that was particularly vulnerable to attack because of its small size. In the thirteenth century, the order's wealth, together with the declining power of the kings and the secular aristocracy, made it even more important. Its role was symbolized by two castles: the great sea-castle of Château Pèlerin (Athlit), built between 1217 and 1221 next to the road between Haifa and Caesarea, which was intended to replace the order's much smaller fort at nearby Destroit; and Saphet (mod. Zefat, Israel), largely reconstructed between 1240 and 1243, an inland castle situated on a volcanic outcrop 800 meters (c. 2,600 ft.) above Galilee and overlooking the route between Acre and Damascus. The Templars also became heavily involved in the Reconquista in Iberia; among the grants made to them were a number of important castles in Aragon and Portugal. The expertise gained from their various activities was utilized by Western rulers, especially the popes and the kings of France and England, who employed the Templars in their administrations as well as using them as bankers, envoys, and guarantors of treaties.

Structure and International Organization

As a unique organization, the order had no obvious monastic model to imitate, so initially its structure was ill-defined. However, the sections of the Rule added in the 1160s show that by this time a hierarchy had been established: the master of the order acted in concert with a chapter of high officials, usually made up of those resident in the East; in the West, provincial commanders governed specific regions. By the late twelfth century, there was a "master on this side of

Temple, Order of the



Templar castle at Ponferrada, Spain, built between 1218 and 1282 to protect pilgrims on the road to Santiago. Much of what remains today is post-Templar. (Courtesy Alfred Andrea)

the sea” in overall charge of the Western lands; around 1250 this post was retitled “visitor” and divided in two, a recognition of the basic difference between France, England, and Germany, on the one hand, and Iberia, on the other.

Financing the order’s heavy responsibilities was never easy, but it was possible because of the growth of Western resources. According to the Rule, in the 1160s there were already provinces of Francia, England, Poitou, Aragon, Portugal, Apulia, and Hungary. The Western structure continued to develop, and new provinces were established in the thirteenth century. The most important of these were in Cyprus and in Aquitaine, Normandy, and the Auvergne. The emergence of a grand preceptor of Italy, with powers over provincial commanders in Lombardy, Tuscany, the Papal States, and Sardinia, reflected the need to enlarge the organization in the peninsula. Within these provinces, local preceptories were established, often clustered in groups around the main house of the region. Some performed specialist

functions, such as horse-breeding; others were set up in uncolonized territories that the order aimed to develop. In Paris and London, large houses were founded by the mid-twelfth century; both of these became financial as well as administrative centers. From the time of King Philip II of France, the treasurer of the Temple in Paris had become a central figure in Capetian demesne administration, acting both as a royal auditor and financial adviser and as head of what became the Templar bank. All the main houses and many of the other preceptories had their own churches, which often acted as centers of cults based on relics acquired by the order in the East.

Throughout the order’s history, Francia (the region north of the Loire) and Languedoc always produced the greatest share of Templar resources, a proportion of which was sent to the East through payments called responsions. However, in the second half of the thirteenth century, following the conquest of the kingdom of Sicily by Charles I of Anjou, the

younger brother of Louis IX of France, Italian preceptories grew in relative importance, especially those situated on the southern Adriatic coast, where exports of food, equipment, and horses through the ports helped to prop up the ailing lands in Outremer. Some of these supplies were carried on the order's own ships, although the number of ships they possessed is not known.

In Iberia, the Templars were even more directly concerned with the conflict with Islam. In 1130 Raymond Berengar III, count of Barcelona, granted them his frontier castle of Grañena, although they were evidently not expected to garrison and equip it with their own personnel at this time. In 1143 Raymond Berengar IV ceded them five major castles, including Monzon and Chalamera, as well as the further castle of Corbins, not yet in his possession, and a fifth of lands captured from the Saracens in the future. The wording of the charter shows a clear intention to encourage the order to commit more men and resources to the region. Six years before, he had agreed with the master, Robert of Craon, that the order should send ten knights to Aragon, presumably to act as a nucleus of a new Templar province. This request is reminiscent of the methods of expansion used by contemporary monastic orders, such as the Cistercians. As the frontier moved south, the Templars received more castles, notably Miravet on the Ebro River. However, although Alfonso I of Aragon had shown intense interest in the idea of a military order as early as the 1120s, the first known castle granted to the order was in Portugal at Soure on the river Mondego, given by Queen Teresa in 1128. In 1147, following the capture of Lisbon, the Templars received Cera on the river Tomar, which later developed into their main house in Portugal.

The order never established houses in eastern Europe on an equivalent scale to the West, but the inclusion of Hungary in the list of provinces of the 1160s shows that its rulers were well aware of contemporary developments. Hungary lay across the land routes used by crusaders to the East, and the Croatian extension of the kingdom incorporated Dalmatian ports with Eastern connections. From 1219 there are regular references to the master of Hungary and Slavonia. To the north, in the fragmented kingdom of Poland, recorded donations are mainly from the thirteenth century, when the aim seems to have been to use the Templars (like other monastic orders) as colonizers, especially on the borders with Germany in Silesia, Pomerania, and Greater Poland, where their estates acted as a buffer against German

expansionism. In Germany itself, the first donations date from the time of the Second Crusade (1147–1149), but the order never developed on any scale from this initial foothold, partly because of its uneasy relations with the Staufens rulers, who favored first the Hospitallers and then, in the thirteenth century, the Teutonic Knights. Generally the Templars of Central Europe were not intended as fighting forces; on the one occasion when they were involved in a major battle, at Liegnitz against the Mongols in 1241, their contribution was mainly in the form of peasant dependents, for there were only six knights present.

The Order in the Thirteenth Century

Although the disasters that struck Outremer at Hattin in 1187 and subsequently did not enhance the Templars' reputation, they nevertheless continued to perform their military and financial functions as far as was possible in the changed circumstances. By the 1230s, however, the flow of donations characteristic of the formative years of successful monastic orders began to falter, and by 1250 the order was no longer as fashionable as it had been a century before. The problems arising from this decline differed according to region. On the one hand, in Aragon thirteenth-century expansion left the order stranded, with most of its strongholds now a considerable distance behind the frontier; there were only three preceptories in Valencia. In Outremer, on the other hand, the rise of the Mamlūks in the 1260s rapidly escalated into a crisis for the Franks. Fighting to preserve a shrinking landed base, dogged by the internal rivalries of the Franks (to which the Templars made a significant contribution), and committed to apparently endless defense spending, the order was caught in a situation from which ultimately there was no escape.

When the Franks were driven out of Palestine in 1291, the military orders inevitably came under scrutiny, since their presence had failed to prevent the loss of Outremer despite their heavy consumption of resources. Plans for reform, which had been circulating since the Second Council of Lyons in 1274, were now energetically promoted; the most common idea was the creation of an order uniting the Templars and the Hospitallers, perhaps under a new master appointed from outside their ranks. In practice, nothing came of these ideas, and during the 1290s the Templars continued to organize attacks on the Syrian and Egyptian coasts, even briefly establishing themselves on the island of Ruad (mod. Arwād, Syria), off their old base at Tortosa. Their gar-



Templars burned at the stake. Anonymous chronicle. From *The Creation of the World until 1384*, translated by Bernard Guy. (Erich Lessing/Art Resource)

ri-son there was wiped out in 1302 and thereafter their closest bases to the Holy Land were on Cyprus.

The Trial of the Templars (1307–1312)

This new situation certainly made the military orders vulnerable, at least in the eyes of those who believed that they could not be effective without fundamental changes in structure and outlook, but not even the most radical reformers predicted the events of October and November 1307. On 13 October, the Templars in France were suddenly arrested by the officials of King Philip IV, nominally acting on the orders of William of Paris, papal inquisitor in France. Accused of

denying Christ, worshipping idols, and promoting institutionalized sodomy, the great majority confessed to one or more of the charges within six weeks of the arrests. The master, James of Molay, repeated his own confession before a public assembly of university theologians and leading ecclesiastics. Pope Clement V, who had not been forewarned, tried to prize control from the French Crown by taking over the proceedings; on 22 November 1307, he issued the bull *Pastoralis preeminentiae*, ordering a general arrest of the Templars in the name of the papacy. This began a series of trials in England, Spain, Germany, Italy, and Cyprus in addition to those already instituted in France and territories

within the French sphere of influence, such as the kingdom of Navarre.

Encouraged by the papal intervention, the leaders of the order withdrew their confessions at Christmas 1307, and the following February Clement V suspended the proceedings. In an effort to force Clement to change his mind, the French Crown attempted to marshal academic and popular opinion by posing a series of questions to the masters of theology at Paris. It circulated anti-Templar and antipapal propaganda and called a general assembly of the French Estates for May 1308. This appeal to wider opinion met with mixed success, but the pope was finally obliged to meet the king at Poitiers in June, where he was virtually imprisoned by French troops. Following powerful speeches by two government ministers, William of Plaisians and Gilles Aycelin, archbishop of Narbonne, a face-saving formula was eventually found. A group of seventy-two carefully selected Templars was brought before the pope and the cardinals, where they repeated their previous confessions. Then, in the bull *Faciens misericordiam* (12 August 1308), Clement instituted two inquiries: a papal commission to investigate the order as a whole, and a series of episcopal hearings into the guilt or innocence of individual Templars within the bishops' own dioceses. In a second bull, *Regnans in coelis*, issued on the same date, the pope announced that a general council would meet at Vienne in October 1310, where the agenda would cover the three themes of the Templars, church reform, and plans for a new crusade.

In practice, the inquiries that followed took much longer than the pope had anticipated. This was partly because the Templars mounted an unexpectedly determined and coherent defense before the papal commission in the spring of 1310. But in addition, the pace of the episcopal inquiries was uneven; not all of them were accomplished with the dispatch of the Clermont hearings under Bishop Aubert Aycelin, completed in only five days in June 1309. The papal commission met in Paris between November 1309 and June 1311 in a series of three sessions. It was made up of eight members, chaired by Gilles Aycelin, although in fact one of the nominees did not sit. Apart from Gilles Aycelin, who was a long-standing servant of the king, three were French prelates, and one of the others was drawn from a background likely to ensure that he was pro-French. However, once in session, the commission proved to be far more impartial than this arrangement suggests, and slowly the Templars, now assembled in Paris in far greater numbers than before,

began to find their voice. By April 1310, nearly 600 of them had pledged themselves to the defense of the order, although the master, James of Molay, contributed little, continuing to insist that he would present his case before the pope once the opportunity arose.

The defense was led by two lawyer-priests: Peter of Bologna, a former procurator of the order at the papal court, and Reginald of Provins, preceptor of Orléans. They castigated the proceedings as illegal and arbitrary, declared that the Templars had only confessed because of torture and threats of force, and claimed that the king and the pope had been deliberately misled by malicious and venal informers. So effective was this defense that the French government was driven to halt it by outside intervention. In May 1310, Philip of Marigny, archbishop of Sens, and brother of the king's finance minister, Enguerrand, condemned Templars from his province as relapsed heretics; they were handed over to the secular authorities and burnt to death. At the same time, the two leading defenders were prevented from making any further appearances before the commission, which was now fed a succession of witnesses apparently so terrified by the news of the executions that they could be guaranteed to confess. However, only a minority of these are listed among the defenders of the previous April, so it is by no means certain that the defense would have collapsed had not the French government been able to exploit its position as jailer.

The Council of Vienne began a year later, in October 1311. Opinions had been sought from leading members of the church on the matters to be discussed, and reports on the Templars had been gathered from the various inquiries. The fathers, however, were not convinced by the evidence and voted to allow the Templars to present their case, a decision apparently taken literally by seven Templars who suddenly appeared at the council, claiming to represent a further 1,500 brethren still at large in the region. But the French Crown had no intention of allowing such an outcome. After secret discussions with Philip's representatives in February 1312, reinforced by the appearance of the king and his entourage the following month, the pope agreed to dissolve the order and grant its property to the Hospitallers. Although the bull *Vox in excelso* (2 March 1312) did not condemn the order, it did declare that it was impossible for it to continue and that its property should still be deployed in aid of the Holy Land in accordance with the wishes of the original donors. Another bull, *Ad providam* (2 May 1312), established that the Templars themselves should be considered on

Masters of the Order of the Temple

Hugh of Payns	1119–c. 1136
Robert of Craon	c. 1136–1149
Everard of Les Barres	1149–1152
Bernard of Tremelay	1153
Andrew of Montbard	1154–1156
Bertrand of Blancfort	1156–1169
Philip of Nablus	1169–1171
Odo of Saint-Amand	1171–1179
Arnold of Torroja	1181–1184
Gerard of Ridefort	1185–1189
Robert of Sablé	1191–1192/1193
Gilbert Erail	1194–1200
Philip of Plessis	1201–1209
William of Chartres	1210–1218/1219
Peter of Montaigu	1219–1230/1232
Armand of Périgord	c. 1232–1244/1246
William of Sonnac	c. 1247–1250
Reynald of Vichiers	1250–1256
Thomas Bérard	1256–1273
William of Beaujeu	1273–1291
Thibaud Gaudin	1291–1292
James of Molay	1292–1306

an individual basis, with the imposition of appropriate penances for the guilty. Monastic vows remained valid, and provision for unconvicted Templars was to be made, either in the form of pensions, as was frequently done in Aragon and Roussillon, or by acceptance into existing religious orders, such as the Cistercians, as in England.

Dissolution of the Order (1312–1318)

The dissolution of the order brought its own problems. The French Crown continued to press the Hospitallers for reparations, both for expenses incurred and debts claimed; the Hospitallers were obliged to pay 200,000 *livres tournois* (pounds of the standard of Tours) in 1313 and another 60,000 soon after. Closure was not achieved until 1318, when the order paid out a further sum of 50,000 *livres tournois*. In England, grants of former Templar property to royal supporters were not easily regained; some were still outstanding in 1338 when the Hospitallers surveyed their lands in England. In Aragon and Portugal, where there had been little belief in the guilt of the Templars, neither King James II nor King Dinis would accept the creation of a potentially over-

mighty order, which the Hospitaller absorption of the Templar lands might bring, and lengthy and complicated negotiations with the papacy followed. Clement V remained stubborn, but under John XXII compromises were reached.

In 1316 the Aragonese were allowed to use the Templar property to establish the Order of Montesa in Valencia, although the Hospitallers were to have the lands in the other territories of the Aragonese Crown. In Portugal no action had been taken against the Templars, and in 1319 the king was granted the right to create the new Order of Christ. In Cyprus the Templars had supported the coup of Amaury of Lusignan, lord of Tyre, against his brother King Henry II in 1306; when the king returned in 1310, it was not likely he would make much effort to help the Templars, even though the trial proceedings on the island had produced nothing to suggest that the knights had any cognizance of the accusations made by the French government. This did mean, however, that the transfer of lands was effected more easily than elsewhere, partly because of good relations between the king and the Hospitallers. Few individual Templars were still alive by the 1350s, although before that time some drew attention to themselves through criminal activities, including piracy, rape, and robbery, while others occasionally turned up in Muslim lands, either in service or in captivity. Most, however, seem to have been able to live on their pensions, which, in regions controlled by the Aragonese Crown, were often quite generous. Others of high social status were protected by their families, especially in Aragon and Germany.

Conclusions

The dissolution of the Templars (an act unprecedented in papal history in the early fourteenth century) after nearly two centuries of fame and power, and achieved after what was seen as a humble and pious beginning, has encouraged deterministic interpretations of its history, for it seems to offer a classic example of the Boethian Wheel of Fortune. However, despite conflict with other institutions, a decline in the level of donations, and some vocal criticism from parties who were themselves often far from disinterested, the order continued to perform important functions. This was acknowledged by Edward II of England and James II of Aragon, both of whom, at least initially, were reluctant participants in the trial. Although the fall of Acre in 1291 had been a tremendous blow, the order was still able to recruit, and there are signs that it was beginning to adapt to the new military setting of naval warfare, which, as the Hospitallers

later demonstrated, was becoming the most effective means of crusading combat.

The explanation of the fate of the Templars must therefore be sought less in the nature and state of the order itself than in the motives of the enigmatic ruler of France, Philip the Fair. No consensus has ever been reached about his reasons for initiating the attack against the order. Neither is there agreement about whether it was the king or his advisers who really controlled and determined policy. The prospect of financial gain (even if only in the short term) to a monarchy under immense pressure from unresolved conflicts with England and Flanders, yet without a reliable system of regular taxation to pay for them, must have played a major part, as many contemporaries living outside France did not hesitate to point out. Moreover, Templar property in France does appear to have been more extensive than that of the Hospitallers, even if that was not necessarily true elsewhere.

The king's own religious sensibilities, combined with a strong sense of monarchical obligation, probably deriving from his perception of the reign of his revered grandfather, may have convinced him that the Templars were guilty of heretical crimes and that, once known, toleration would bring down divine wrath upon his people. Before him lay the example of the Jews from whom, in Capetian propaganda, God had withdrawn his favor, replacing them with the French as his chosen people. In these circumstances, the king may have seen the confiscation of Templar wealth as his Christian duty. Nevertheless, in succeeding centuries some were unable to accept the order's demise, and legends about the continued secret existence of linear successors still persist. The manner of the order's end has created a unique historical afterlife of such tenacity that for many, "Templarism" is more real than the known history of the order in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

—Malcolm Barber

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Terre de Suète

The Terre de Suète was the name applied by the Franks of Outremer to the region east of Lake Tiberias (Sea of Galilee), deriving from the Arabic *al-Sawād* ("the black"), which referred to its dark basalt soil. The core of the region was the fertile, corn-producing area known as the Hauran (mod. southwestern Syria), but the Terre de Suète was regarded as extending into the Jaulan (Golan) to the north and beyond the river Yarmuk to the south.

The region was inhabited predominantly by settled Muslim Arabs, with minorities of Syrian Christians and Bedouin. In the period 1105–1126, the Franks of Jerusalem made strenuous efforts to wrest control of the region from the atabegs of Damascus, without being able to annex it perma-

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nently, and during this time an accommodation was reached (which came to be repeatedly renewed by treaty up to the time of Saladin) recognizing the Terre de Suète as a condominium under the joint sovereignty of Damascus and the kingdom of Jerusalem. Each party took a third of its produce and revenues, the remainder being left to its inhabitants. The area north of the river Yarmuk remained largely demilitarized, although for most of the twelfth century the Franks maintained an important strongpoint south of the river at the cave fortress of Cave de Suète (mod. Habis Jaldak).

—Alan V. Murray

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Teutonic Order

The Teutonic Order (Ger. *Deutscher Orden*), also known as the Teutonic Knights, was one of the three great international military religious orders, alongside the orders of the Temple and the Hospital of St. John. It possessed houses and administrative structures in the Mediterranean countries, but it was mainly based in the Holy Roman Empire, from which most of its members were recruited.

The Origins of the German Hospital at Acre

The origins of the order date back to the foundation of a field hospital by German crusaders at the siege of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) around the year 1190 during the Third Crusade (1189–1192). When the siege ended in July 1191, the hospital was transferred into the city, where it found a site close to the Gate of St. Nicholas. In September 1190 Sibrand, the master of the German hospital, was granted the hospital of the Armenians in Acre by Guy of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem.

Though this donation was never realized, the document recording it is the first relating to the order's early history. Today there is a consensus that there was no personal or material connection with an older German hospital in Jerusalem that was incorporated by the Hospitallers in 1143. Yet one remaining problem concerning the hospital's early history is presented by an account of its foundation given in a text known as the *Narratio de primordiis ordinis Theutonici*. Here two men named Konrad and Burchard are claimed as its founders and first masters: the account states that they had come to Jerusalem in the company of Duke Frederick V of Swabia, the younger son of Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa, and that they took over a temporary hospital from citizens of Bremen and Lübeck. However, these two (described as chaplain and chamberlain of the duke) were probably inserted into the story to stress the close relationship between the early order and the Staufens emperors, which lasted until the middle of the thirteenth century. Sibrand is most likely to have been the real founder of the hospital.

Sibrand's successors Gerhard (1192), Heinrich (1193/1194), and perhaps Ulrich (1195) were probably priests, since Heinrich is referred to as a prior. Already during the time of Sibrand, a fraternity had been formed at the hospital, which was recognized and taken under papal protection by Clement III in February 1191. This fraternity received another papal privilege in December 1196 from Celestine III, who freed the brethren from the payment of the tithe from newly cultivated lands and gave them the rights to elect their own master and to bury people who were not members of the community. King Guy and his successor Henry of Champagne donated lands in Acre, Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon), and Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel) along with additional rights in the kingdom of Jerusalem.

The Formation of the Military Order

A new development was probably initiated by the Holy Roman Emperor Henry VI, who was planning a crusade when he died in Sicily in 1197. A first German contingent had already reached the Holy Land by this time, and when its leaders discussed the situation, together with the higher clergy of the Frankish states, in March 1198, they decided to ask the pope to allow the brethren to engage in warfare against the pagans. This request was granted by Innocent III in February 1199, who gave to the fraternity the Rule of the Hospitallers for their charitable tasks and the Rule of the Templars for their military activities. This was proba-



Main areas of activity of the Teutonic Order

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Ruins of Montfort, headquarters of the Teutonic Order in the kingdom of Jerusalem. (Courtesy Alfred Andrea)

bly only a provisional regulation, since the brethren soon (at least after 1209) started to formulate their own customs (Lat. *consuetudines*). In 1244 Pope Innocent IV gave them permission to adapt some of their regulations in the light of the current problems of the order. This led to a final revision of the statutes, divided into a rule, laws, and customs, to which only some laws of the later grand masters were added. After 1199, the order consisted of knight brethren and priests, but there were also half-brethren (Ger. *Halbbrüder* or *Graumäntler*) of nonnoble origin who took full vows, (half-)sisters, and friends of the order (Lat. *familiares*). The order took over the white mantle of the Templars but with a black cross, while half-brethren were dressed in grey.

The order was basically oligarchic. It was led by a master, who from the time of Hermann von Salza was termed “grand master,” literally “high master” (Ger. *Hochmeister*), probably to distinguish him from the “land masters” (Ger.

Landmeister) of Prussia and Livonia. The master depended on the council of the most senior brethren and on the yearly chapters general (the assemblies of brethren in the East). Later, the chapters general met only rarely and were formed by the representatives of the order’s bailiwicks (Ger. *Balleien*) and houses.

Soon other officials were introduced. The earliest known high dignitaries (Ger. *Grossgebietiger*) were in 1208 the grand commander (Lat. *praeceptor*, Ger. *Grosskomtur*), the marshal (Lat. *marescalcus*, Ger. *Marschall*), and the hospitaller (Lat. *custos infirmorum*, Ger. *Spittler*). The grand commander was the lieutenant of the master, responsible for provisioning and finance; the marshal had mainly military tasks, while the hospitaller was the director of the order’s main hospital. In 1228 a draper (Ger. *Trappier*) is mentioned for the first time; after 1240 there was a treasurer (Ger. *Tressler*), while the castellan of the order’s castle at Montfort near Acre, constructed in the 1220s, became equally important.

These offices were modeled on to the statutes of the Hospitallers. Unlike the earlier case of the Hospitallers, the militarization of the fraternity at the German hospital in Acre obviously met no resistance, though its first European donations were only concerned with hospitals. In May 1197 Emperor Henry VI donated the hospital of St. Thomas in Barletta, and donations of hospitals in Halle, Bolzano, and Friesach followed between 1200 and 1203. By 1209 the order had also acquired property in Tripoli, Antioch, Cilicia, Cyprus, and Greece, although not all donations were realized. Houses were founded in Italy, Germany, Spain, and France, which were subordinated to local commanders. A bailiwick as an administrative unit of several houses under a land commander (Ger. *Landkomtur*) is first mentioned for Sicily in 1212, and a German land commander in 1218. Other bailiwicks were soon instituted in Cilicia, Romania (i.e., Greece), Apulia, and Austria, then in Lombardy and Spain. When in 1236 the German land commander became the superior of another regional land commander, this was the beginning of the office of the German master (Ger. *Deutschmeister*), which, together with the later institutions of land masters of Prussia and Livonia, formed the highest level of the regional administration of the order.

Little is known of the first masters Heinrich (or Hermann) Walpot, Otto von Kerpen, and Heinrich Bart, but the fourth master, Hermann von Salza (1209/1210–1239), was very successful. He became one of the counselors of Emperor Frederick II, and at the same time managed to develop a close relationship with popes Honorius III and Gregory IX. Honorius III granted no less than 113 privileges to the Teutonic Knights, who in 1221 also received all the rights of the other military orders, thus finally becoming an international order of the church. Hermann was involved in Frederick's crusade of 1228–1229, and he also successfully mediated the Treaty of San Germano (1230) between Frederick and Gregory IX.

The Order's Policies in the Thirteenth Century and Its Acquisitions in Hungary, the Holy Land, and the Baltic Region

As well as with the Holy Land, Hermann's policies were concerned with eastern central Europe, first with southeastern Hungary (until 1225), and then with Prussia. In 1211, King Andrew II of Hungary, who was married to a German princess, gave the Teutonic Knights the region of Burzenland (mod. Tara Bîrsei, Romania) close to the territories of the

heathen Cumans (Lat. *terra Borza nomine ultra silvas versus Cumanos*) in order to organize the defense of the area, to find (German) settlers, and to bring about the Christianization of the Cumans. A first contingent of the order arrived in 1212, but soon serious problems arose, since the queen was murdered in 1213 and the section of the Hungarian nobility that opposed the order's engagement gained in influence. Thus the Teutonic Knights were driven out in 1218 and (after a short reinstatement in 1222) once again, this time finally, in 1225. Perhaps the order had attracted German settlers from the areas newly populated by the king's predecessors, and probably it went too far in its efforts to gain political and ecclesiastical autonomy.

In the Holy Land, Hermann strengthened his position by his successful participation in the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221). Using a donation of 6,000 marks of silver by Duke Leopold VI of Austria, in 1220 he acquired the possessions of Otto and Beatrix of Henneberg (the heirs of Joscelin III of Courtenay): the so-called Seigneurie de Joscelin, mainly the barony of Toron with the castles of Banyas and Châteauneuf. This acquisition enabled him to start building the order's main castle, Montfort, situated east of Acre, though Toron itself was never conquered from the Muslims. More property was acquired from the lords of Caesarea and Beirut after 1244. Lands purchased east of Beirut (1257/1261) were soon lost, but the order managed to establish its own small territory around Montfort until the Mamlûks devastated its surroundings in 1266 and finally took the castle in 1271. The Teutonic Knights became nearly as important for the weakened states of Outremer as the Templars and Hospitallers.

When Emperor Frederick II came to the Holy Land in 1228, having been excommunicated by Gregory IX, he was supported only by the Teutonic Knights. They were also involved in the military conflicts over the regency for the nominal king of Jerusalem, Frederick's son Conrad IV. In the 1250s, the order, having large properties in Cilicia (Lesser Armenia), favored an alliance with the Mongols, like the crusade leader King Louis IX of France, while the Templars and Hospitallers opted for a military response. Together with the other military orders, the Teutonic Knights remained in Acre probably until 1291, though in 1290 Grand Master Burchard von Schwanden, who had gathered about 40 knight brethren and 400 crusaders to defend the Christian territories, resigned and left the order.

In the second half of the thirteenth century, the order was

weakened by internal quarrels. After the deaths of Hermann von Salza (1239) and Konrad von Thüringen (1240), the brethren elected Gerhard von Malberg, who distanced himself from the emperor, was invested by Innocent IV with a ring, and took an oath of fidelity to the pope. When he came to the Holy Land, he was criticized for his financial policies and finally forced to resign early in 1244. During the intensified conflict between papacy and empire, the order was no longer able to maintain its neutral position, and different factions formed. Gerhard's successor, Heinrich von Hohenlohe, had to travel to Rome to explain the order's position, while Frederick II confiscated the order's property in the kingdom of Sicily, only to return it on his deathbed (1250).

Meanwhile the order had established itself in the eastern Baltic region, in Prussia and Livonia. From 1230 onward following a call by Duke Conrad of Mazovia and helped by crusader contingents, the order succeeded in conquering the Kulmerland (the territory of mod. Chełmno, Poland) and the area east of the river Vistula from Thorn (mod. Toruń, Poland) in the south as far as the Baltic coast in the north. Castles were built and towns were founded with the help of German settlers mainly from northern Germany and Silesia. When in Livonia the Sword Brethren, a military order founded by the bishop of Riga, suffered a heavy defeat by the Lithuanians at Saule, in 1237 the surviving Sword Brethren were incorporated into the Teutonic Order following an order by Pope Gregory IX. In contrast to Prussia, where the order succeeded in establishing an "order state" (Ger. *Ordensland*), government in Livonia was shared with other powers: the bishop (later archbishop) of Riga, the bishops of Ösel-Wiek, Curonia, and Dorpat (mod. Tartu, Estonia), the town of Riga, and even the (secular) knights of the territories of Harria and Vironia in North Estonia, which the order bought from the Danish king Valdemar IV in 1346. But the order now became responsible for Livonia's defense, also in the conflicts with the Russian principalities of Pskov and Novgorod. After the order's defeat at the battle of Lake Peipus by the prince of Novgorod, in April 1242 the Prussians rose against the Christian mission.

Thus from 1242 to 1249 the order had to face a serious rebellion by the native Prussians (helped by the duke of Pomerelia), which only ended after mediation by a papal legate. Then, in the short interval before the outbreak of a second rebellion in 1260, there emerged the first signs of tensions between the order's headquarters in Palestine and its distant branches. About 1251, the Grand Commander Eber-

hard von Sayn was sent to Prussia and Livonia as land master to reorganize the order's structures there. He stressed that the order's headquarters were in the Holy Land and that the brethren were not allowed to promulgate new regulations without the consent of master and chapter. The land masters had to submit written reports every year and to come to the central convent every three years. In the Holy Land, an important faction within the order sought to ensure that the master remained in the East. Thus in the time of Master Anno von Sangerhausen (1256–1273), statutes were passed according to which the master had to ask for permission of the chapter to return to the West.

Even after Montfort was lost in 1271, large sums of money were spent in extending the order's properties around Acre. At the same time, the Prussian branch had to defend its lordship against the rebellious native Prussians, and it was only in 1283 that all heathen territories in Prussia were brought under the order's control. Since men and money were needed in both Prussia and Palestine, opposing factions soon quarreled about the order's future policies. After the resignation of Burchard von Schwanden, who adhered to the Palestine faction, in 1291 Konrad von Feuchtwangen, a member of the Baltic faction, was elected. When Acre was lost to the Mamlüks, the order's headquarters were moved to Venice. This new site was of course an important starting point for crusading activities, but it was also closer to the Baltic region than was, for example, Cyprus, and Konrad clearly cared little about the situation in the Holy Land. This changed again with the next master, Gottfried von Hohenlohe (1297–1303), but the Palestine faction lost ground when it became clear that there would be no new crusade to the Holy Land in the near future. Finally, in 1309 Grand Master Siegfried von Feuchtwangen transferred the order's headquarters to Marienburg (mod. Malbork, Poland) in Prussia.

The Grand Masters in Prussia and the Order's Role in Late Medieval Christianity

Siegfried von Feuchtwangen's successor, Karl von Trier (elected 1311), also faced serious internal resistance; he was deposed in Prussia in 1317, reinstated at a chapter general in Erfurt 1318, and thereafter resided in his home town of Trier, where he died in 1324. Yet the decision of 1309 had a lasting impact. Far away from strong secular authorities such as the king of France, who had brought down the Templars, the Teutonic Order succeeded in building up its own territory in the Baltic region, based on a German settlement that



Teutonic Knights kneel to be blessed in a battle against the Russians, as imagined in the film *Alexander Nevsky*, directed by Sergei Eisenstein (1938). (Mosfilm/The Kobal Collection)

had already started in around 1230 and that became more intensive after 1283, but also on a loyal native Prussian nobility that helped to organize the order's lordship over the original inhabitants.

It was in the time of Grand Master Werner von Orseln (1324–1330) that the later medieval structures took shape. The grand masters were supported financially by some of the Prussian commanderies and advocacies (Ger. *Vogteien*), while the high dignitaries were based in other commanderies: the marshal in Königsberg (mod. Kaliningrad, Russia), the hospitaller in Elbing (mod. Elbląg, Poland), and the draper in Christburg (mod. Dzierżgón, Poland), while the grand commander and treasurer remained in Marienburg.

After the final conquest of Prussia in 1283, the order turned against the still heathen Lithuanians, with the help of

crusading contingents from all over Christian Europe. It was only the Polish-Lithuanian union of 1386 and the baptism of the Lithuanian ruler Jogaila (Pol. *Jagiello*) that called the order's policies into question and led to a series of conflicts, all of which were lost by the order. The first major defeat was that of Tannenberg (Grunwald) in July 1410, in which Grand Master Ulrich von Jungingen and about 300 knight brethren died. The immense indemnities that had to be paid to Poland and Lithuania caused internal conflicts, and the *Ordensland* was widely devastated, as it was in the following wars. Finally, after the Thirteen Years' War (1454–1466), in which the Prussian estates (towns and knights) subjected themselves to Polish authority, the order lost two-thirds of its Prussian territories.

From the fourteenth century onward, the order concen-

trated its activities on the eastern Baltic area, but it also remained an international military order with houses in different parts of the Mediterranean regions. It received large donations in Castile from the 1220s (in La Mota near Valladolid, in Seville, Córdoba, and in the vicinity of Toledo), having somehow participated in the final phase of the Reconquista (the reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula from the Muslims) after the campaign of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212).

Until the beginning of the fifteenth century, the order's commanderies were mostly governed by German knight brethren, but in 1453 La Mota had a Spanish commander, Juan de la Mota. The order's Spanish properties were lost during the Thirteen Years' War, when it tried to sell rights and possessions outside La Mota. The situation was similar in southern Italy, where the order's first donations by Emperor Henry VI (Barletta and La Magione in Palermo) were expanded up to the beginning of the fourteenth century; in 1260 Pope Alexander IV donated the Church of St. Leonard in Siponto (Apulia). Due to the financial problems of the proctor general at the Roman Curia—who was for some time after 1466 administrator of Apulia—and the behavior of the last land commanders, the bailiwicks in Apulia and Sicily were lost in 1483 and 1492, respectively.

In Frankish Greece, the order had received some lands in the west and south of the Peloponnese since 1209, though its center was in Mostenitsa in the north. But its position there was too weak to organize any effective resistance against the Turkish advance, and between 1397 and 1402 the order had to pay tribute to the Turks. In 1411 it tried to sell the bailiwick of Romania to Venice, but no agreement was reached. When the Byzantines of Mistra conquered the northwest of the Peloponnese between 1422 and 1432, Mostenitsa and other possessions were lost. Only its house in the Venetian possession of Modon in the south remained in the order's hands, until the city was taken by the Turks in 1500.

Throughout the fifteenth century, different efforts were made to renew the order's crusading activities. When Grand Master Konrad von Jungingen for a time won over Grand Duke Vytautas (Ger. *Witold*) of Lithuania and received Samogitia in the Treaty of Sallinwerder in October 1398, he also agreed to join a Lithuanian campaign against the Mongols of the Golden Horde. The army, which received a crusading bull from Pope Boniface IX, consisted of Lithuanians, Poles, rebellious Mongols, and about 300 men from Prussia, some knight brethren, and the commander of Ragnit, Marquard von Salzbach. When the army was heavily defeated

near the Vorskla, a tributary of the Dnepr, in spring 1399, the alliance broke down, and the whole affair came to nothing.

After its defeat at Tannenberg, the order faced repeated criticism that it was not following its original aims and would not act against the Mongols and Turks. When Sigismund of Luxembourg, king of Hungary, asked for the order's help against the Turks, Grand Master Paul von Rusdorf agreed in 1429 to send out a contingent of six brethren led by Nicolaus von Redwitz, probably accompanied by Prussian craftsmen and soldiers. Sigismund gave them lands around Severin on the Danube where they were supposed to organize the defense of the border region near the area where the order had tried to establish itself 200 years earlier. Though in May 1430 the proctor general at the papal court was informed that the order had done well in Hungary, by 1432 the situation had deteriorated. The brethren were prevented by the Hungarian nobility from fortifying their castles, and they received no help when attacked by the Turks in the summer of 1432. Some of the order's castles were lost, and many of its men must have died. Under very poor conditions, the brethren managed to hold out in three castles until 1434, but then the grand master decided to withdraw his halfhearted support.

After 1466 the order was involved in two Polish campaigns against the Turks. When in 1485 the Ottomans devastated Wallachia, the order's contingent was too small to offer any substantial help and was sent back, but in 1497 Grand Master Hans von Tiefen came with some of the order's officials, about 1,500 mounted men and their attendants, in all probably about 4,000 men. When they reached Lemberg (mod. L'viv, Ukraine), the grand master fell seriously ill, and he died on 25 August. The order's dignitaries brought his body back to Prussia, but many of his men subsequently died in the heavy defeat suffered at the hands of the Turks.

While the position of the grand master and the central officials in Prussia was weakened by the defeats at the hands of Poland and Lithuania, the German and Livonian branches of the order gained substantial degrees of independence. Thus the German master Eberhard von Saunshem opposed the peace treaty with Poland in 1435, while the Livonian brethren succeeded in securing a far-reaching autonomy from the early 1430s: at first, the grand master could choose the master of Livonia from two candidates presented to him by the Livonian brethren, but after 1466 he only had the option to confirm the future Livonian masters. These con-

ducted their own foreign policy toward the principality of Muscovy, and in 1501 and 1502, respectively, Wolter von Plettenberg achieved two impressive victories against large Muscovite contingents at the Seritsa and Lake Smolina, which substantially contributed to the continued existence until 1561 of the Livonian “confederation” of the bishoprics, the order, the town of Riga, and the knighthood of Harria and Vironia. Meanwhile, the German masters became princes of the Holy Roman Empire in their own right in 1494 and concentrated on building up their own territory in the region of the Neckar.

After the death of Hans von Tiefen in 1497, the order decided to change its policies. With Friedrich von Sachsen (1498–1510) and Albrecht von Brandenburg-Bayreuth (1511–1525), two princes of the Holy Roman Empire were elected as grand masters, in an effort to reform the order and to intensify support from Germany. Neither was very successful, though the Prussian conflict became more and more international. When Albrecht lost another war against Poland in 1519–1521 (the so-called *Reiterkrieg*), he returned to the empire, where he made contact with the leaders of the Protestant Reformation. Martin Luther suggested the secularization of the order and its territories, and thus after some negotiations Albrecht received Prussia as a fief dependent on the kingdom of Poland in April 1525.

The Order's Survival into the Modern Period

Yet this was not the end of the order's history. The Livonian branch was secularized in 1561 under military pressure from Muscovy during events similar to those in Prussia, the last Livonian Master Gotthard Kettler becoming duke of Courland. The German branch survived attacks during the Peasants' War of 1525 and was reformed by the German master Walter von Cronberg, who became administrator of the grand mastership in December 1527. He and his successors tried in vain to recover the order's Prussian and Livonian territories.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the order became closely associated with the Habsburg dynasty. When at the diet of Regensburg in 1576 Emperor Maximilian II proposed that the order should take over and defend one of the castles on the borders of Hungary (with support from the empire), Grand Master Heinrich von Bobenhausen (1572–1585/1590) opposed the plan, still hoping to regain Prussia. The situation changed when one of the Habsburg princes, Maximilian, was received into the order and soon (1585)

became coadjutor (i.e., lieutenant) of the aging grand master. After Bobenhausen resigned in 1590 and Maximilian became grand master (until 1618), he also took over the administration of Styria for the young archduke Ferdinand II. In this situation, the chapter general at Mergentheim decided to support the defense of Styria against the Turks with men and money (about thirty knights with seventy servants). The grand master continued with campaigns in Hungary and Croatia from 1595 to 1597, though he was not very successful. One of the knights of the order present in Maximilian's campaigns was the later grand master Johann Eustach von Westernach (1625–1627), who in 1627 again proposed to the chapter general that the order should reconquer Prussia or take over one of the castles in Hungary. Neither scheme came to fruition, probably because of the consequences of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) in Germany, but at least the coadjutor for Grand Master Johann Kaspar von Ampringen and later Grand Master Ludwig Anton von Pfalz-Neuburg fought in the defense of Vienna in 1683 and in the campaigns against the Turks until 1687.

When Napoleon seized the order's properties and its territory around Mergentheim in 1809–1810, Grand Master Anton Victor of Austria (1804–1835) was thrown back on the Austrian houses of the order. Thus the Teutonic Order under its grand and German master (Ger. *Hoch- und Deutschmeister*) became an order of the Austrian Empire. Finally, in 1923, the knightly branch of the Teutonic Knights was dissolved. Today the order consists of priests and sisters who are mainly engaged in charitable activities.

–Jürgen Sarnowsky

See also: Baltic Crusades; Burzenland; Castles: The Baltic Region
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Teutonic Order: Literature

The literature of the Teutonic Order (Ger. *Deutschordensliteratur*) is a term used by scholars to describe works written in German that were produced in or associated with the order.

Modern scholarship has largely refuted the once held belief that there was a calculated and programmatic attempt by the leadership to produce a body of literature specifically for the use and education of the order. However, there is no doubt that the order did commission some writing and that other works became widely disseminated throughout its commanderies and were closely associated with it. The order was an obvious focus for the development of vernacular translations of scriptural and devotional texts: its lay members were not literate in the traditional sense, in that

they could probably not read Latin, but many undoubtedly fell into the growing category of educated laymen who could read German and who were increasingly demanding access to scriptures in the vernacular. In addition, the order needed suitable texts that could be read aloud during meal-times, as required by its statutes, and that would be accessible to its lay members and would contribute toward strengthening its ethos.

The body of work usually regarded as belonging to the literature of the Teutonic Order falls into three main categories: Bible translations, devotional literature, and chronicles and accounts of the order's history. The majority of the most significant works were written during the final years of the thirteenth century and the first decades of the fourteenth, a period that coincides with the order's relocation to Prussia after the fall of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) in the Holy Land in 1291. This chronology has led many scholars to accept that the nurturing of literature did form a conscious part, albeit not to quite the extent that early commentators suggested, of the order's attempts to revive morale, to set the interpretation of the early campaigns in Prussia securely within the context of the early crusading tradition, and to reestablish itself as a legitimate vehicle for crusading activity during the pivotal years after the loss of the Holy Land.

Bible Translations

The earliest works associated with the order are translations of the Bible, of which the earliest dates from 1254 and the latest from around 1345. The writing of Bible translations in the late thirteenth and particularly the fourteenth century corresponds to a general increase in demand by lay people for accessible scriptural texts, and it can be assumed that this demand was particularly acute in the Teutonic Order, given the nature of its membership. The beginning of the fourteenth century saw a marked increase in the number of biblical texts that were translated into the vernacular and used in the order, to the extent that it has been suggested that the order planned a complete translation of the Bible by the time of Grand Master Luder von Braunschweig (1330–1335). This view is no longer tenable, but there is no doubt that the order acted as patron in commissioning some translations and popularizing and disseminating others, within the context of a desire to give knight brethren access to the scriptures.

The earliest Bible translation linked with the order is the vernacular translation of the Book of Judith, written in 1254.

The author of *Judith* is anonymous, and is unlikely to have been a member of the order. His stated priority is to make the scripture available to *illiterati* (those who could not understand Latin), and the vernacular text has obvious thematic relevance for the order. It begins with an exhortation, based on Joseph's rejection of Pharaoh's wife (Gen. 39:7), to reject secular love in favor of spiritual values. The allegorical tale of Judith's killing of Holofernes held the interest of the order throughout the Middle Ages, and a prose translation was written in 1479 by the knight brother Jörg Stuler. *Hester*, completed shortly after *Judith*, around 1255–1260, is attributed by Karl Helm and Walther Ziesemer to a priest in the order, although there is no direct evidence for this. The link lies more in the evident relevance for the order of a vernacular translation of inspirational scriptural texts of this nature. Like *Judith*, the heroine of *Hester* also saves her people from their persecutors. At the end of the poem, the author compares Hester with the Virgin Mary and her husband with Christ, and their struggle is presented as a model for the wars of the order.

The first named author of biblical translations who is associated with the order is Heinrich von Hesler, who wrote the *Evangelium Nicodemi* (1304–1305), the *Apokalypse* (1309), and the *Erlösung*. Evidence for linking him with the order is based on the content of his work and its dissemination through the order's libraries, but there is no direct evidence to suggest either that he was a member or that the order was his patron. The *Evangelium Nicodemi* is an account of events related in the Gospels and the legends of Veronica, Tiberius, and Vespasian. *Erlösung* survives only in fragments and is an account of God's dealings with the devil and his mercy to man. Hesler's longest work is the *Apokalypse*, a translation and interpretation of the Revelation of St. John according to the traditional medieval commentaries.

Das Buch der Makkabäer, a translation of the Books of the Maccabees by an unidentified author writing around 1330, has been attributed to Luder von Braunschweig; in the sole surviving manuscript (MS Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB.XIII poet.germ.11), his coat of arms immediately precedes the poet's introduction. Although authorship cannot be definitely established, and there are no references in the text linking it with the order, this connection with a grand master reflects the importance of the typological exploitation of the Maccabees for the legitimization of the order. The Maccabees are used repeatedly as models in the two chronicles written during the same period, those of Peter von Dusburg and Nicolaus von Jeroschin, and

it is not implausible to suggest that this, at least, did form part of an explicit strategy of self-justification through the use of biblical typology.

The translation of the Book of Daniel, completed around 1331 at the request of Luder von Braunschweig by an unknown cleric and dedicated to the Teutonic Knights, is one of three Bible translations that can be directly attributed to the order. Daniel's trials at the hands of the infidel are a popular motif in crusading literature and particularly relevant for the order. The author of *Daniel* also touches on contemporary issues: the *translatio imperii* (the Holy Roman Empire's claim to be the divinely ordained successor to the Roman Empire, with its implicit challenge to the papacy) and criticism of worldliness within the church.

The other translations that can be directly linked with the order are *Von den sibem Ingesigeln* by Tilo von Kulm and *Hiob*. Like *Daniel*, *Von den sibem Ingesigeln* was written in 1331 in honor of Luder von Braunschweig. It is an account of God's dealings with man from the Creation to the Last Judgment, but also a critique of contemporary corruption in the church and a treatise on the nature of secular and spiritual authority. *Hiob*, a paraphrase of the Book of Job completed in 1338, was primarily a devotional tool for the knight brethren, but it also eulogizes Grand Master Dietrich von Altenburg (1335–1341) as a perfect model for the brethren and Christian warriors. Finally, the *Historien der alden E*, by an unknown author, is a digest of Old Testament stories completed between 1338 and 1345 and is also commonly associated with the order. However, it contains no direct reference to the order, nor was its author apparently aware of the earlier translations, in spite of the shared subject matter; in this case assumed links with the order are based on language and dissemination.

Devotional Works

The second group of works associated with the order is devotional in nature. The earliest extant work is *Der Sünden Widerstreit*, a spiritual, allegorical poem about the struggle between virtue and evil. It was written in 1275 by an unidentified priest, for a lay audience whom he describes in the text as being not particularly enthusiastic about religion. The theme is moral renewal, and the author contrasts the secular values of the lay knight with those of the *militia Christi* (knighthood of Christ). He does not identify the order in the text, but the poem has always been linked with it because of its subject matter and distribution.

The next surviving work in this genre is the *Legende der heiligen Martina*, completed in 1293 by Hugo von Langenstein, a priest of the order, who may have been commissioned to write this poem as part of his duties. The story of the aristocratic St. Martina's war against the heathen, involving her capture, torture, and execution, is presented as a prefiguration of the militia Christi and is calculated to engage the sympathy of the lay crusaders who fought alongside the order; the text was extracted from a Latin source with the purpose of interesting a new audience.

The poem *Marienleben* was written during the first decade of the fourteenth century by the Carthusian monk Philip, and was dedicated by him to the order in recognition of its particular veneration of the Virgin Mary. Thereafter it appears to have been disseminated widely through the order's libraries. It had the widest distribution and greatest impact of any medieval German poem. The Virgin was regarded as the patron of the order, and her cult also features prominently in the chronicle of Nicolaus von Jeroschin as a counterbalance to the secular knight's pursuit of *minne* (secular courtly love).

The order played a similar role in the dissemination of two collections of lives of the saints, the *Passional* and the *Väterbuch*. The *Väterbuch* is a translation of the lives of the Fathers of the Church, written in the final third of the thirteenth century by a priest whose identity and patron are not known. He praises the *Mariennitter* (Knights of Mary) in the text and, like the author of *Der Sünden Widerstreit*, contrasts the worldly values of profane knighthood with the spiritual values of the true Christian knight. The author of the *Väterbuch* also wrote the *Passional*, a rhymed account of the lives of the saints, intended for the edification of a lay audience. This work was also widely distributed by the order over a short period of time; over 80 percent of the extant manuscripts were completed before the middle of the fourteenth century. Marked similarities between the manuscripts lend weight to the theory that many were reproduced under the supervision of, and for the use of the order. Two further works, a life of St. Barbara attributed to Luder von Braunschweig and a life of St. Adalbert attributed to Nicolaus von Jeroschin, have not survived.

Historiography

The final and most significant group of works comprises the historical accounts of the order's wars and campaigns. Chronicles were written throughout the course of the Baltic

Crusades. The earliest, dating from shortly after 1290, is the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle* (Ger. *Livländische Reimchronik*), which is generally accepted as having been written by an anonymous knight brother. It deals with the crusade in Livonia from the end of the twelfth century until the conquest of Semgallia in 1290. The next work, the Latin *Chronicon Terrae Prussiae* of Peter von Dusburg, was written at the instigation of Grand Master Werner von Orseln (1324–1330); it deals with the history of the order from its origins until 1330 and is the main source for its early history. In contrast to the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, which focuses primarily on warfare, Dusburg uses the concept of the militia Christi of earlier crusading chronicles and sermons to interpret and shape his account of the events of the previous 100 years in Prussia. His chronicle was translated into the vernacular within a few years by Nicolaus von Jeroschin, at the request of Luder von Braunschweig, and this version was evidently popular and widely used. Its purpose, like that of the spiritual literature discussed above, was to place the order's historical mission and ethos firmly within the context of crusading ideology and to make this interpretation accessible to the lay members of the order. It too was designed to be read aloud at mealtimes. Its appeal to lay members of the order was undoubtedly heightened by Jeroschin's striking use of everyday motifs and language and his appropriation and reworking of imagery and themes from secular crusading literature.

The next substantial chronicle produced in the order, and the final one during the period of the Baltic Crusades, is that of the herald Wigand von Marburg. It deals with the history of the order from 1293 until 1394, but survives only in fragments and in Latin translation. Its preoccupation with secular values and the physical tools of warfare suggest that the order's identification with the values of the militia Christi, expounded in the spiritual literature and by Dusburg and Jeroschin, had become diluted and compromised.

—Mary Fischer

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Teutonic Source

Also known as the *Lisbon Letter*; a Latin eyewitness account of the capture of Lisbon (October 1147). It narrates the only real success of the Second Crusade (1147–1149), when crusaders from the Rhineland participated in a fleet that assisted the king of Portugal, Afonso I Henriques (1128–1185), in taking the city from the Moors.

The source started existence as a letter from a priest named Winand to Archbishop Arnold I of Cologne. Two fellow participants copied the letter and sent versions as their own. The same text was used for entries in the annals of Cologne and Magdeburg, and an unfinished draft appears in a Trier manuscript (MS Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 1974/641).

The source relates the departure of the Cologne contingent in April 1147, its rendezvous with the rest of the fleet off Dartmouth (England), and its voyage to Lisbon. It includes interesting details of siege warfare. The final, successful assault is vividly described, and the original letter finishes abruptly with a doxology. Another version reveals that the crusaders wintered in Lisbon before continuing their journey to Outremer.

—Susan B. Edgington

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Thaddeus of Naples

Author of a contemporary account of the fall of the city of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) to the Mamlūks (April–May 1291).

Magister (Master) Thaddeus wrote his *Hystoria de desolacione civitatis Acconensis* in Messina in Italy in December 1291. He was not present at the siege of Acre, but he used eyewitness accounts. He claimed to have lived in Outremer, and his account was critical of merchants operating there who, he said, collaborated with the Christians' enemies. His style is highly rhetorical, but conveys the drama of events and some scraps of topographical detail. Like the anonymous *Excidium Acconis*, Thaddeus's *Hystoria* has been little used by historians. The edition by Comte Riant (1873) has been superseded by one edited by Huygens based on all the extant manuscripts (five complete and one fragmentary), of which the best is MS London, British Library, Add.22800.

—Susan B. Edgington

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Thebes

A city in central Greece (mod. Thiva, Greece), under Frankish rule from 1205 to 1311.

Thebes was an ancient city that was founded, according to tradition, by Kadmos in 1313 B.C. Later it became the reputed place of burial of St. Luke the Evangelist. Despite devastation by the Goths in 397 and destruction by an earthquake in 551, the city underwent a revival in the Middle Ages. From the ninth century it was the base of the *strategos* (governor) of the Byzantine theme of Hellas and established itself as the center of Byzantine silk manufacture. In 1146 the Normans of Sicily sacked it: many native silk workers were taken to Sicily, and the monopoly of the Theban silk manufacture was broken.

Theodore I Laskaris (d. 1222)

In 1205 Thebes was captured by the forces of Boniface of Montferrat and subsequently granted to Otho of La Roche to form part of the lordship of Athens and Thebes. In the mid-thirteenth century, the marriage of Bela of Saint-Omer with Bonne of La Roche brought half the lordship of the city to the Saint-Omer family, which put in hand considerable building works in the city. Certainly before 1311 all those Franks who held land in Boeotia seem to have maintained residences in the city. In 1311 it passed into the control of the mercenary Catalan Company, which also seized power in Athens. To prevent the seizure of the city by Walter II of Brienne in 1332, the Catalans destroyed most of the second city of the duchy of Athens and Thebes. The city fell to the Turks in 1450.

Very little of medieval Thebes has survived. The two major earthquakes of 1853 and 1893, and the depredations of modern development, destroyed what the Catalans did not slight in 1332. Of the city's walls only three towers survive, and of the magnificent palace built here by Nicholas II of Saint-Omer with moneys derived from his wife, Maria of Antioch, there is nothing to be seen. Thebes also contained a cathedral and many Latin churches.

—Peter Lock

See also: Athens, Duchy and Lordship of

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Theodore I Laskaris (d. 1222)

Despot and first emperor of Nicaea (1204–1222) after the overthrow of the Byzantine Empire by the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204).

While still a member of the Byzantine aristocracy, Theodore married Anna, second daughter of Emperor Alexios III Angelos (1199). After the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204, he fled with his wife and children to Nicaea (mod. İznik, Turkey), where he was acknowledged by the locals as their ruler as early as fall 1204. First using the title of despot, he was crowned as “emperor of the Romans” in

1208, shortly after the election of the first patriarch of Constantinople in exile. Theodore seems to have shown an interest in the negotiations between representatives of the Greek Orthodox and the Latin churches, and in 1214 he took an active role in the talks that took place in the Nicaean Empire. He was unsuccessful in most of his military encounters with the Franks of the newly established Latin Empire of Constantinople and with the Venetians, but in 1211 he successfully repelled a Turkish invasion.

In the late 1210s, Theodore was able to establish a close relationship with the ruling family of Constantinople by marrying Maria, sister of Emperor Robert, and by planning to marry his own daughter Eudokia to Robert, in spite of fierce opposition by the ecumenical patriarch. He also offered Venice trading privileges, which were to last for five years, in 1219. Theodore seems to have died without a male heir and was buried in the monastery of Hyakinthos in Nicaea. He was succeeded by his son-in-law, John III Vatatzes.

—Aphrodite Papayianni

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Theodore II Laskaris (d. 1258)

Emperor of Nicaea (1254–1258), son of Emperor John III Vatatzes (d. 1254) and Irene, daughter of Emperor Theodore I Laskaris, the founder of the Empire of Nicaea. On his accession to the throne, Theodore adopted his mother's imperial family name.

During Theodore's short reign, the territorial status quo between the Empire of Nicaea and the Latin Empire of Constantinople remained the same, while two imperial marriages, between his daughters and the new tsar of Bulgaria, Constantine Tich, and the heir of the ruler of Epiros, Nikephoros, appeared to consolidate the Nicaean holdings in Europe. Theodore was a distinguished scholar who wrote essays on theological, philosophical, and scientific topics and composed rhetorical works. He also resumed talks with Rome concerning the reunification of the Greek Orthodox

and Latin churches. On his death, at the age of thirty six, he was succeeded by his eight-year-old son John IV.

–*Aphrodite Papayianni*

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Theodore Angelos Komnenos Doukas (d. 1253/1254)

Byzantine ruler of Epiros (c. 1215–1230) and emperor of Thessalonica (1224/1227–1230).

Theodore became second ruler of the autonomous Epirot state on the assassination of his half-brother Michael I. In 1217 he defeated and captured Peter of Courtenay, the Latin emperor of Constantinople; by 1224 he had taken Thessalonica (mod. Thessaloniki, Greece) and extinguished its Latin kingdom. With the capture of Adrianople (mod. Edirne, Turkey) in 1225, Theodore emerged as Nicaea's chief rival for the restoration of the Byzantine Empire, an aspiration signaled by his coronation as emperor in Thessalonica (c. 1227). However, his ambitions to conquer Constantinople were crushed by Tsar Ivan Asen II of Bulgaria in March 1230 at Klokotnitcha, where he was captured and blinded.

Released from captivity around 1237, Theodore later incited his nephew, Michael II of Epiros (1231–1268/1271), to attack Nicaea (1252–1253). However, the Nicaean emperor John III Doukas Vatatzes defeated the Epirot troops and apprehended Theodore, who was incarcerated in Nicaea and died soon afterward.

–*Alexios G. C. Savvides*

See also: Epiros

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Theodore Balsamon

Canonist and Greek Orthodox patriarch of Antioch (1183–c. 1204).

Theodore Balsamon was born in Constantinople (mod. Istanbul, Turkey) between 1130 and 1140. He was ordained as a deacon, probably in the 1160s, and by 1179 he had become the leading official of the patriarchal bureaucracy in Constantinople. He was commissioned by Emperor Manuel I Komnenos and Patriarch Michael III of Constantinople with the task of writing commentaries on the *nomokanon* (compilation of imperial laws and ecclesiastical regulations concerning the church) and on the canons of the apostles, the ecumenical and local synods, and the church fathers. The first edition of these commentaries was completed before September 1180; the second edition, dedicated to Patriarch George II Xiphilinos, before February 1195.

Probably in autumn 1183, Balsamon was nominated Greek patriarch of Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey). Like most of his predecessors in the twelfth century, he had to stay in Constantinople, because the patriarchal throne of Antioch was occupied by a Latin. As the most important canonist of the Byzantine church, Balsamon was strictly anti-Latin and a champion of canonical and liturgical standardization.

–*Klaus-Peter Todt*

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Thessalonica

A Frankish kingdom established by the Montferrat dynasty after the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) in Macedonia, with its capital at Thessalonica (mod. Thessaloniki, Greece), which survived for only two decades until it was overrun by the Greeks of Epiros in 1224.

The creation of a separate kingdom around Thessalonica, the second city of the Byzantine Empire, was not envisaged in the pact of 1204 by which the crusaders at Constantinople made arrangements for the future governance of their conquests on Byzantine territory. According to the chronicler Geoffrey of Villehardouin, the unsuccessful candidate in the election of a Latin emperor was to receive "all the land across the strait toward Turkey and also the Isle of Greece" [Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Edmond Faral, 2d ed., 2 vols. (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1961), 2:64]. The election of Baldwin of Flanders as emperor meant that Boniface of Montferrat should have received these lands; however, Boniface persuaded both Baldwin and the Venetians to exchange "the land . . . toward Turkey" (that is, Byzantine Anatolia) for Thessalonica and its environs, thus ensuring a contiguous block of territory. Boniface continued to call himself marquis and was never crowned king of Thessalonica, although he was well placed to capitalize upon his possessions: he had occupied the city, conquered territories as far as Thessaly and central Greece, and married Maria (Margaret) of Hungary, widow of the Byzantine emperor Isaac II Angelos.

Relations between Boniface and Emperor Baldwin were at first strained. However, the threat posed to both Constantinople and Thessalonica by the Bulgaro-Vlach coalition under Kalojan (Johannitsa), as well as Baldwin's death at their hands in late 1205, made reconciliation both urgent and possible. The new emperor, Henry, married Boniface's daughter Agnes, and Boniface paid homage to him. In September 1207 Boniface was killed in battle by the Bulgarians,

leaving an infant son, Demetrius, under the regency of his widow Margaret and a council of Lombard lords. The latter sought to replace Demetrius with his older half-brother William VI, marquis of Montferrat. However, Emperor Henry moved on Thessalonica in December 1208 and secured the coronation of Demetrius as the first (and, as it happened, last) ruling king of Thessalonica (9 January 1209). Henry's actions were endorsed by Pope Innocent III, who recognized Demetrius as king in March 1209 and took him under papal protection.

The emperor and his brother Eustace busied themselves with occupying the Maritsa Valley and securing control of the Via Egnatia around Thessalonica, but in the summer of 1210 the Epirot Greeks attacked the kingdom. Although Henry responded swiftly and saved the city, land was lost in Thessaly and the capital effectively cut off from the rest of the kingdom in Greece. The death of Henry in 1216, and the failure of his successor, Peter of Courtenay, to open up a route to Thessalonica from Durazzo (mod. Durrës, Albania), left the kingdom struggling for its existence. In 1221 the loss of Serres and Platamonas meant that there was no safe land route between Thessalonica and Constantinople, and in December 1224 the city surrendered to the Epirot Greeks. A crusade mounted by William VI of Montferrat failed to achieve anything, and Demetrius was forced to flee to Italy. The kingdom of Thessalonica was effectively at an end.

Frankish claims to Thessalonica persisted through the thirteenth century. Demetrius passed his claim to Frederick II, the Holy Roman Emperor, and in 1266 the exiled Latin Emperor of Constantinople, Baldwin II, granted title to the kingdom to Hugh IV of Burgundy. The Montferrat claim to the city ended with the marriage of Yolande of Monferrat to Andronikos II Palaiologos in 1284; a later Burgundian claim was heard of no more after it was sold to Philip of Taranto in 1331.

—Peter Lock

See also: Boniface I of Montferrat (d. 1207); Demetrius of Thessalonica (1206–1230)

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Thibaud IV of Champagne (1201–1253)

Count of Champagne (1201–1253) and king of Navarre (1234–1253), leader of the Crusade of 1239–1241, and author of several French crusade songs.

Thibaud was born posthumously, the son of Thibaud III, count of Champagne, and Blanche, daughter of Sancho VI, king of Navarre. From his father, Thibaud IV inherited Champagne, a large and prosperous northern French county known for its fairs and courtly culture. From his mother he inherited a claim to the throne of the Iberian kingdom of Navarre, which he made good in 1234. It was in that year that Pope Gregory IX preached a crusade to the Holy Land. The counts of Champagne had a long tradition of responding to such appeals. Thibaud's father was preparing to depart on the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) when he died in 1201. Thibaud's grandfather (Henry I) went on crusade to the Holy Land three times, and between 1192 and 1197 ruled the kingdom of Jerusalem. Thibaud himself had participated in the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229), where at the siege of Avignon in 1226 he was rumored to have poisoned King Louis VIII of France.

Whether out of allegiance to this dynastic imperative, or the need, on the eve of yet another rebellion against the French Crown, to acquire the papal protection afforded by crusader status, Thibaud took the cross in the fall of 1235. He spent four times as long preparing for the crusade as he did fighting it. The pope delayed the expedition by trying to convince Thibaud and others to fulfill their vows in Frankish Greece. Nevertheless, Thibaud set off for the Holy Land in the spring of 1239, after overseeing a mass execution of alleged heretics in Champagne.

At a council of war held in Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) in November 1239, the leading figures of the crusade elected Thibaud commander and swore to obey him for the duration of the campaign. Some of these crusaders were his social and political equals, despite not wearing crowns; some had been at war with him through much of the 1230s. Thibaud proved incapable of imposing discipline upon the army. Marching south to fortify Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel), the crusade split in two when Amalric of Montfort and Henry of Bar, ignoring Thibaud's command to remain with the host, went off to raid around Gaza. The raiders promptly fell into an Egyptian ambush, which killed or captured most of them. In the wake of this military catastrophe, Thibaud turned to diplomacy.

In treaties with al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl, the ruler of Damascus,

and al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, the prince of Kerak, Thibaud won substantial territorial concessions for the kingdom of Jerusalem: the hinterland of Sidon (mod. Saïda, Lebanon), several northern fortresses, and in eastern Galilee, the restoration of the kingdom's former border at the river Jordan. When Thibaud sailed home in September 1240, the kingdom of Jerusalem encompassed more territory than at any time since 1187. Yet he departed under a cloud of suspicion just the same, resented by some for his military failings and by others for his willingness to engage in diplomacy with Muslim powers.

Thibaud is best known today as the most accomplished lyric poet of thirteenth-century France. Among his surviving works are three crusade songs (Fr. *chansons de croisade*) that praise those valiant knights who, for the sake of honor in this world and paradise in the next, go forth to restore Christ's patrimony in the Holy Land.

—Michael Lower

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Thibaud Gaudin (d. 1292)

Master of the Templars (1291–1292).

Thibaud belonged to a family from the Ile-de-France that supplied several members of the order in the thirteenth century. Thibaud's early career is unknown. In 1260 he and several other Templars (including the future Master William of Beaujeu, who probably supported his career) were captured by the Muslims during an ill-planned raid in northern Galilee and released upon payment of ransom. Thibaud served as the Templars' commander of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) from 1270 to 1271/1273 and probably as their turcoplier (1277) before he was sent to France (1279). After his return to Acre, he became commander of Outremer

Thierry of Alsace (d. 1168)

(1283–1291), and after the death of William of Beaujeu, during the siege of Acre by the Mamlūks (1291), he was elected master of the order. He fled from Acre via Sidon to Cyprus, allegedly having managed to rescue the order's treasure and relics. He traveled to Armenia in 1292 but died on 16 April of that year. He was succeeded by James of Molay. His name is repeatedly mentioned in depositions made during the trial of the Templars.

–Jochen Burgtorf

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Thierry of Alsace (d. 1168)

Count of Flanders (1128–1168) and participant in four separate expeditions to Outremer.

Thierry was born shortly after 1095 at Bitche in Alsace, a son of Thierry II, duke of Upper Lotharingia, and Gertrude, daughter of Count Robert I of Flanders. In 1128 he emerged as the victorious claimant to the county of Flanders from the civil war that had broken out on the murder of Count Charles the Good (1127). After the death of his first wife, Swanehilde (1133), Thierry married Sibyl, a daughter of Fulk V of Anjou, who by this time had become king of Jerusalem as husband of Queen Melisende.

In 1139 Thierry went to the Holy Land and participated in an expedition beyond the river Jordan, returning to Flanders before Christmas. He attended the meeting at Vézelay (31 March 1146) in preparation for the Second Crusade (1147–1149) and traveled to the East with the army of King Louis VII of France. He was present at the council of crusade leaders on 24 June 1148 that decided on the campaign against Muslim Damascus. During the siege of the city he declared he would hold the town as a fief from his brother-in-law King Baldwin III, but this was opposed by the barons of the kingdom of Jerusalem. This disagreement may have contributed to the abandonment of the siege. He returned home in the spring of 1149.

In 1157 Thierry came to Outremer for the third time, accompanied by the Countess Sibyl and 400 knights, and took part in the siege of Shaizar (mod. Shayzar, Syria). King Baldwin III of Jerusalem had evidently promised the town to Thierry, but Reynald of Châtillon, prince of Antioch, disputed this decision and the siege was suspended. At Christ-

mas 1157 Thierry was at the siege of Harenc (mod. Ḥarim, Syria), which was captured early in February 1158, and the same year he took part in a victorious battle against Nūr al-Dīn near Lake Tiberias (15 July 1158). In August 1159 the count was back in Flanders, while Sibyl remained in Palestine at the abbey of St. Lazarus at Bethany.

In 1164 Thierry came to Outremer for the last time but did not take part in military operations. Sibyl died during this visit (1165), and Thierry returned, reaching Flanders shortly after Christmas 1165. He died at Gravelines on 17 January 1168.

–Jan Anckaer

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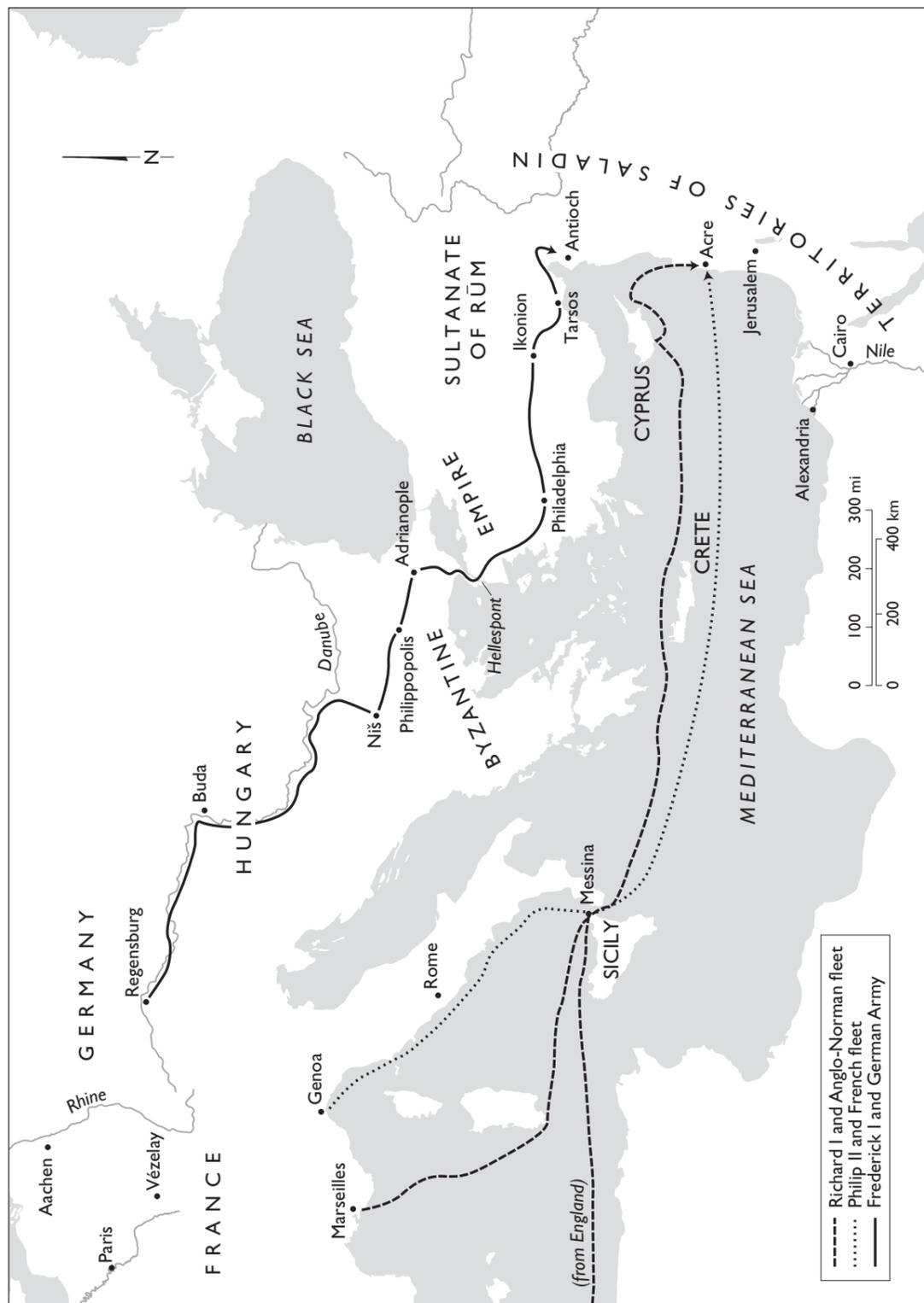
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Third Crusade (1189–1192)

Initiated in response to Saladin’s defeat of the forces of the kingdom of Jerusalem at the battle of Hattin (4 July 1187) and his subsequent capture of the city of Jerusalem (2 October 1187), this campaign did not recapture the Holy City, but did reestablish the kingdom of Jerusalem in much reduced form and laid the basis for its continued existence for another century. It is arguably the best-known crusade to modern readers after the First Crusade, because of the involvement of Saladin and of King Richard I of England. Nevertheless the Third Crusade has received less modern critical analysis than others, perhaps because of the complexity of the campaigns and of the extensive primary sources that have survived.

Origins

At Hattin the Muslims captured Guy of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, and many leading nobles, along with the True Cross, the sacred symbol of the kingdom. This defeat left very few able-bodied warriors for the defense of Christian Palestine. Saladin went on to capture the important port of



The Third Crusade: routes of the main armies



The Third Crusade in Palestine

Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), as well as Beirut, Sidon (mod. Saïda, Lebanon), Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel), and Jerusalem itself. He failed to take the coastal city of Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon), which was defended by Conrad, marquis of Montferrat, who had recently arrived by ship on pilgrimage; his naval attacks were repelled by ships from the powerful Italian maritime cities of Genoa and Pisa. With fortresses such as Kerak and Montréal in Transjordan and Saphet and Belvoir in Galilee also resisting, Saladin went on to make other conquests in Palestine, and in late spring 1188 moved north, campaigning against the Frankish states of Tripoli and Antioch.

Saladin released King Guy from prison in May 1188, on condition that he should return to the West. Instead Guy went to the island of Ruad (mod. Arwād, Syria) opposite Tortosa to meet Queen Sibyl, and they proceeded to Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey), where they assembled an army. Crusaders were already beginning to arrive in the East.

The Beginnings of the Crusade

The news of the disaster at Hattin and the fall of Jerusalem was transmitted to the West in letters written by various individuals and groups, such as Patriarch Eraclius of Jerusalem, the Genoese consuls, and the grand commander of the Order of the Temple. Pope Urban III died shortly after hearing the news of the disaster at Hattin. His successor, Gregory VIII, issued a crusading bull entitled *Audita tremendi*, describing the terrible events in the East and urging all Christians to take up arms and go to help their fellow religionists. They would receive certain benefits, such as release from penance imposed for all sins for which they had made proper confession. Archbishop Joscius of Tyre traveled to the West to seek aid and was given papal permission to preach the crusade north of the Alps. In January 1188, he succeeded in negotiating a peace settlement between Philip II of France and Henry II of England, in which both kings agreed to take the cross and lead a joint expedition to the East. They planned to set out at Easter 1189, but a renewed outbreak of war delayed their departure.

Other individuals and groups set out in the meantime. Geoffrey of Lusignan, elder brother of King Guy of Jerusalem, reached the East in the second half of 1188 or early 1189; King William II of Sicily sent a fleet of 50 ships under his admiral Margarit. By August 1189 Guy had (according to one contemporary writer) a force of around 9,000, including 700 knights, and the support of the Pisans,

whose ships gave him valuable sea power. With this army he began to besiege the port of Acre. If the city could be recaptured, it could act as the base for a counterattack on Saladin in Palestine. But the Marquis Conrad, who still held Tyre, refused aid.

The First Stage of the Crusade: The Siege of Acre

Other crusaders flocked to join the siege of Acre during the autumn of 1189, including 50 ships from Denmark, Frisia, Flanders, and England, carrying 12,000 warriors (according to contemporary writers). Landgrave Ludwig III of Thuringia was appointed leader of the crusading army, and in September 1189 he persuaded Conrad to come from Tyre to Acre to assist the siege. In March 1190 the barons of the kingdom and the crusaders succeeded in working out a peace settlement between the marquis and King Guy: Conrad would hold Tyre, Beirut, and Sidon (when the latter two cities were recaptured from Saladin) and assist Guy as king.

Saladin had moved his army to Acre soon after the siege had begun, and he effectively surrounded the besieging Christian army. He was not able to prevent the crusaders from receiving reinforcements by sea, but neither were they able to prevent Muslim vessels from entering the port of Acre. Saladin's naval forces held the advantage until the end of March 1190, when the marquis's ships, based at Tyre, returned to the crusader camp at Acre with supplies. The Muslims in Acre sent out their ships to challenge the crusaders, but were defeated. Christian control of the sea made it difficult for Saladin to supply Acre by ship, but sufficient ships slipped through the crusader blockade to enable the defense to continue. Sometimes these vessels were disguised as Christian ships, flying banners with crosses and carrying pigs on the decks. Swimmers were also used to carry supplies and information between Saladin's army and the defenders of Acre.

Neither the crusaders nor Saladin could gain the advantage. The crusaders lacked the forces to make a decisive assault and to drive back Saladin's surrounding army, while Saladin experienced problems in keeping his army together for the duration of the long campaign. In the late summer of 1190, many small groups of crusaders arrived at Acre from France, Italy, and England, including Count Henry of Champagne and Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury. Count Henry was elected leader of the crusade in place of Landgrave Ludwig, who had had to leave the crusade because of ill health.

The political situation was complicated by the death of



Taking of Acre and return of Philip II, king of France. Illustration from *Le Miroir Historial* (*The Mirror of History*), by Vincent de Beauvais (1190–1264). (The Art Archive/Musée Condé Chantilly/dagli Orti)

Queen Sibyl and her two daughters, Alice and Maria, in early autumn 1190. Guy of Lusignan, who had ruled as Sibyl's consort, now had no right to the title of king. The heir to the throne was Sibyl's sister Isabella, but her husband, Humphrey IV of Toron, did not want to be king. Conrad approached the leaders of the crusade with the proposal that Isabella's marriage be nullified, and she be married to him instead; he would then provide effective military leadership for the crusade, with supplies brought in through Tyre, and strong naval support. Despite vehement opposition from Archbishop Baldwin, acting in place of Patriarch Eraclius (who was ill), and Isabella's own reluctance, and although the marquis already had two wives (in Montferrat and Constantinople), the nobles of the kingdom and the leaders of the crusade agreed to Conrad's scheme. Isabella was married to the marquis, who then retired to Tyre rather than remaining at Acre to lead the siege.

The Crusades of the Kings

The Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick I Barbarossa, held an assembly at Metz in March 1188 to make preparations for the crusade, and set out in May 1189. He traveled overland, down the river Danube, crossing the Hellespont and marching across Asia Minor. This was a shorter route from Germany than the sea route via the North Sea, and Frederick lacked the ships to transport his whole force by sea. The emperor was accompanied by his son Frederick V, duke of Swabia, and left his son Henry (later Emperor Henry VI) as regent in Germany. Frederick Barbarossa's arrival was eagerly awaited by the crusaders, for the forces he was bringing, for his military experience, and for his authority as emperor of the West. He defeated the forces of the sultan of Rûm, but on 10 June 1190 he was drowned in the river Selk in Cilicia. The remnants of his army reached Antioch late in June, where many abandoned the crusade. A small force, led by Frederick of Swabia, continued to Tripoli (mod. Trâblous, Lebanon), where Marquis Conrad, the duke's kinsman, met them and escorted them to Acre. The duke began renewed assaults on the city, but the city was still holding out when he died in January 1191 from plague.

The kings of England and France were still expected at the siege. Henry II of England had died on 6 July 1189. His son and successor, Richard (the Lionheart), count of Poitou, had been one of the first to take the cross in the West, and was anxious to set out on his crusade. While Richard's speed in setting out on crusade soon after he was crowned king of England indicates that he was genuinely devoted to the crusading cause, he was also bound by family and feudal obligations. Queen Sibyl of Jerusalem and her sister Isabella were related to Richard: the royal family of Jerusalem was descended from Count Fulk V of Anjou (d. 1143), who was Richard's great-grandfather. The family of King Guy were Richard's vassals, as Lusignan was in Richard's county of Poitou. As his cousin and his vassal were in need of his aid, it was Richard's duty to go to their assistance.

King Philip II of France also crusaded partly from family obligations. His father, Louis VII, had taken part in the Second Crusade (1147–1149) with his then queen, Eleanor of Aquitaine, who later became Richard's mother. Many of the nobles of the kingdom of Jerusalem were members of French families, vassals of Philip.

Richard and Philip agreed to travel together and to share any booty they won. They set out in July 1190 and traveled overland across France, taking ship from Mar-

seilles (Richard) and Genoa (Philip) to Sicily. The island was an obvious meeting point, as it was centrally located in the Mediterranean, it could supply the fleets with food for the voyage, and King William II of Sicily was dedicated to the crusade and was also married to Richard's younger sister Joanna. William's death in November 1189 changed the situation, as his successor, Tancred, was not well disposed toward the king of England and refused to surrender Joanna's dowry, which Richard wanted to help finance his crusade.

Philip had engaged Genoese ships to carry his force; Richard had assembled a fleet of English ships, which sailed via the Strait of Gibraltar to meet the king at Sicily in September. Some crusaders, such as the archbishop of Canterbury, continued directly to the Holy Land; the rest waited for Richard. After the arrival of the two kings, skirmishing broke out between crusaders and Sicilians, culminating in open warfare. On 4 October 1190, Richard captured the city of Messina. Eventually he agreed on peace terms with King Tancred, who surrendered Joanna's dowry. As it was now too late in the year to continue to the East, the crusaders wintered in Sicily and proceeded in early April.

While Philip sailed directly to the Holy Land, Richard and his fleet landed on Cyprus, whose self-professed emperor, Isaac Doukas Komnenos, took some of the crusaders prisoner. Richard counterattacked and conquered the island, which came to prove a valuable source of supply for the crusade and a useful haven for crusaders on their way to and from the Holy Land. It is possible that Richard had deliberately set out to conquer it for this reason.

Richard finally reached Acre early in June 1191. The Muslim defenders of the city were suing for peace; although King Philip agreed to the terms, Richard refused, as the defenders wished to take all their possessions with them, which would leave no booty for the crusaders. After further assaults, part of the wall of Acre was undermined and collapsed. On 12 July 1191 the defenders surrendered, in exchange for life and limb only. The peace terms included the return of the True Cross lost at the battle of Hattin, the payment of a sum of money, and the return of Christian captives; the Muslims gave hostages as a guarantee. They evacuated the city, and the crusaders entered, but many were furious when Philip and Richard took all the property within the city as their own booty and divided it between themselves, rather than allowing it to be divided between all the crusaders who had taken part in the siege.

The conflicting claims of King Guy and Marquis Conrad were settled: Guy would hold the kingdom of Jerusalem until his death, and Conrad would succeed him. Philip of France then departed for the West, although the crusade was far from over. Various explanations were given for his sudden departure, including claims that he was worried by news that his young son Louis was sick, or that he was afraid that Richard of England was trying to poison him. Other French crusaders remained under the overall command of Hugh III, duke of Burgundy. Richard, claiming that Saladin had not fulfilled the terms of the treaty of surrender, had most of the Muslim hostages executed and then set out on the next stage of the crusade: the recapture of Jerusalem.

The Second Stage of the Crusade:

The Campaign for Jerusalem

King Richard advanced cautiously, having decided that the army should march down the coast to Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel) and then move inland toward Jerusalem by the most direct route. This would enable him to keep his army supplied by sea for most of the journey, making use of the ships that he had brought from England, as well as those of Pisa and Genoa. The army set out late in August and marched along the coast road, harassed by Saladin's army, which marched on its left, until 7 September 1191, when a skirmish at Arsuf became a major engagement. The Muslims withdrew, and the Christians remained in control of the field. Saladin then destroyed most of the fortresses in Palestine, so that they could not be repossessed and defended by the crusaders. At Jaffa, Richard set about repairing the city's fortifications and other neighboring fortresses on the road to Jerusalem.

Negotiations between the crusaders and Saladin had been in train for many months. Marquis Conrad was in negotiation with Saladin, while Richard himself had contacted Saladin almost as soon as he entered the kingdom. During the period at Jaffa, negotiations between Richard and Saladin reached an advanced stage, but broke down because neither side trusted the other.

In late November the crusaders moved toward Jerusalem, reaching the town of Ramla. The army spent Christmas 1191 in this area, divided between various fortresses on the Jerusalem road. But early in January 1192, on the advice of the Templars, the Hospitallers, and the barons of Outremer, the leaders of the crusade decided to withdraw to Ascalon and refortify that city. As Ascalon controlled the road from Egypt, this move would prevent Saladin bringing up reinforcements

Third Crusade (1189–1192)

and supplies from there. Yet this decision was a serious blow to the crusaders' morale, and during the long march back through the cold, wet winter weather the French contingent left the main army and split up. At Ascalon, King Richard supervised the refortification of the city, and the crusaders ravaged the Muslim-held countryside. The various factions among the crusaders now broke into open dispute: supporters of the marquis against supporters of King Guy, the "French" against the "Normans" or "English," and the Genoese against the Pisans. In addition, Richard received news from England that the government he had left in his absence was in disarray. Realizing that he would have to return home, Richard sought a settlement as a matter of urgency. The leaders of the army chose the Marquis Conrad as king of Jerusalem, but late in April 1192 he was murdered by two members of the Isma'ili Assassin sect. The French then chose Count Henry of Champagne, nephew of both Philip of France and Richard of England, as king. Richard agreed to this settlement, and Henry married Conrad's widow Isabella, the heiress of the kingdom. Although they were acknowledged as rulers of the kingdom, the pair were not actually crowned. Guy, the former king, purchased the island of Cyprus from the Templars, who had bought it from Richard.

The crusaders continued to ravage the land in order to undermine Saladin's hold on it, but their ultimate aim was the reconquest of Jerusalem. The leaders were aware that as soon as the city was captured the crusade would break up and most of the warriors would return to the West, and so they preferred to delay an attack until they had recovered as much territory as possible and thus laid the basis for retaining the kingdom. Yet the crusaders were running out of funds and could not stay much longer in the East. In June 1192 it was decided to make another advance on Jerusalem. The army advanced as far as Beit Nūbā, around 20 kilometers (13 mi.) from the Holy City. Debate continued within the army: the Franks and the military orders argued that the city could not be held if it were captured at this juncture, while King Richard argued that their supply lines were too long and that in summer there would be too little water in the countryside around Jerusalem to support the besiegers. He preferred to make an attack on Egypt, using ships to support his land army. The eventual decision was to withdraw to Ascalon.

After this second withdrawal, the crusade effectively broke up. Many crusaders went home. Richard withdrew to Acre, from where he launched an attack on Beirut. His plans

to return to the West were interrupted by the news that Saladin had attacked Jaffa. The town fell, but the citadel was saved by Richard's arrival with his ships from Acre. Richard's forces drove back Saladin's army, which was none too willing to fight (5 August). Clearly neither side was in a position to fight any longer.

The Treaty of Jaffa (1192)

The two sides negotiated a three-year truce, the Treaty of Jaffa (2 September 1192), which effectively ended the crusade. The important strongholds of Ascalon, Gaza, and Darum were returned to Saladin, but their fortifications were to be demolished. The Franks retained Jaffa; both Christians and Muslims would have free passage through each other's lands; Christian pilgrims could visit the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem without paying tolls; and trade could be exercised freely. The treaty effectively acknowledged the continuing existence of the kingdom of Jerusalem, albeit in a much reduced state. After this treaty was made, many of the pilgrims visited Jerusalem to see the holy sites. Richard sent Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury, as his representative, but did not visit the city himself. The crusaders left the Holy Land in autumn 1192.

Conclusions

The crusade was undermined from the beginning by disputes between the leaders. The rivalry between King Guy of Jerusalem and Conrad of Montferrat developed early in the undertaking. Conrad had taken the initiative in trying to encourage powerful lords in the West to assist the Holy Land: without his efforts in 1187–1188, the whole of the kingdom would have been lost to Saladin. As a renowned warrior who was related to the king of France and Emperor Frederick I, Conrad may have intended to use Tyre as a base from which to reconquer the kingdom of Jerusalem and make himself king. Philip II of France and the Genoese supported Conrad's claim to the throne of Jerusalem, while Richard of England and the Pisans supported Guy's claim. The dispute was only resolved by Conrad's death and Guy's replacement by Henry of Champagne.

The Italian city republics also brought their rivalries to the Holy Land. Genoa and Pisa had lost their trading rights in the Byzantine Empire and were anxious to ensure their rights in Outremer by winning concessions from the rival claimants to the kingdom of Jerusalem in return for their support. Philip of France and Richard of England also brought their rivalry

to the Holy Land. Although Richard was Philip's vassal for his lands in France (Normandy, Anjou, and Aquitaine), he seems to have taken the lead in military affairs, to Philip's annoyance. The French accused Richard of arranging the assassination of Marquis Conrad, and by June 1192, according to the contemporary writer Ambroise, King Richard and Hugh III of Burgundy, the chosen leader of the French contingent, were singing insulting songs about each other.

The crusading army was also divided over strategy. Richard preferred to advance cautiously, establishing a base and securing his rear and supply lines before proceeding. By summer 1192, he had decided that the best strategy was to attack Egypt rather than Jerusalem, which could not be held securely against a well-organized, well-supplied enemy. This strategy was supported by many of the Franks, but many in the crusading army wanted to attack Jerusalem and regarded the diversion to Ascalon and the policy of raiding into Muslim territory as a distraction from the crusade's true purpose. The argument over strategy eventually led to the disintegration of the army in the summer of 1192. In effect, the crusade ended in stalemate, with neither side able to inflict final defeat on the other, and both sides divided, demoralized, and short of resources.

—Helen J. Nicholson

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St. Thomas of Acre, Order of

A small English military order founded during the Third Crusade (1189–1192) and named after the martyred Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury.

Twelfth- and thirteenth-century sources credit the order's foundation variously to one William, chaplain to Ralph of Diceto; to Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury; or to King Richard I of England; it is possible that all three men were involved. The Order of St. Thomas of Acre originally consisted of a chapel served by Augustinian canons. It performed charitable and devotional duties, including hospital and ransom work, before being militarized by Peter of Roches, bishop of Winchester, probably in 1228. In 1236 Pope Gregory IX instructed it to follow the Rule of the Teutonic Order, with which St. Thomas had been associated since at least 1192, and to carry out both military and hospitaller functions.

The order was never large or powerful enough to play a significant role in the affairs of Outremer; it is mentioned only occasionally by contemporary chroniclers. Despite this, the knights of St. Thomas seem to have acquitted themselves well enough in battle and at times became embroiled in the political squabbles of the Latin East. Although the order had possessions throughout western Europe, most of its holdings were concentrated in England and Ireland, and they were few in number compared to those of the other military orders. It fought a constant but losing battle for resources for much of its existence, partly because Englishmen who wished to join or support a military order usually turned to the Hospitallers or Templars.

After the fall of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) to the Mamlūks in 1291 the Order of St. Thomas retreated to Cyprus and established its headquarters there. In the early fourteenth century tensions apparently arose between the military brethren in the East and the members of the order in England, for whom hospitaller activities were paramount. Ultimately the English chapter appears to have won out. The last mention of a militant officer of St. Thomas in Cyprus occurs in 1367; thereafter its military function seems to have been abandoned entirely, and the order concentrated on charitable and devotional activities in England for most of the next two centuries. The order became increasingly associated with the Mercers' Company of London, reverted to following the Rule of St. Augustine, and in the early sixteenth century even operated a grammar school in London. In October 1538 it was dissolved on the order of King Henry VIII of England. Its property was confiscated by the Crown, and the Mercers' Company purchased it for £969. Its archive was ultimately split into three parts, which are now in the Mercers' Company (London), the British Library, and the Public Record Office.

—Paul Crawford

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Thoros

See T'oros

Tiberias

Tiberias (mod. Teverya, Israel) was a major town in the kingdom of Jerusalem, the capital of the lordship of Tiberias.

Situated on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee (Lake Tiberias), Tiberias was occupied by Tancred and his followers after the arrival of the First Crusade (1096–1099) in Palestine. It became the center of the lordship of Tiberias (sometimes known as the principality of Galilee) and the seat of a Latin bishop who was a suffragan of the archbishop of Nazareth. The population included a substantial Jewish community. The town's walls were in a poor state of repair at the time of the Frankish conquest, but had been improved by 1113. A citadel, erected or fortified on an earlier site at some point during the twelfth century, was situated on the lake shore, occupying an area of some 70 by 50 meters (230 by 165 ft.).

The citadel was surrendered to Saladin in the aftermath of the battle of Hattin in 1187 by Eschiva, lady of Tiberias, who accepted a safe conduct for herself and her men. In 1190 Saladin had the fortifications destroyed. The town was restored to Frankish rule in 1241, and the citadel may have been rebuilt by Odo of Montbéliard, who held the lordship at that time. However, the town was captured by the Ayyūbids on 17 June 1247.

—Alan V. Murray

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Tiberias, Lordship of

The lordship of Tiberias, also known as the principality of Galilee, was one of the major lordships of the kingdom of Jerusalem during the crusader period.

The lordship's origins are to be found during the immediate aftermath of the First Crusade (1096–1099): in 1099 the Norman Tancred conquered much of Galilee and took the title of prince of Galilee. Under Muslim rule the town of Tiberias (mod. Teverya, Israel) had been the capital of Jund al-Urdunn (that is, "province of the Jordan"). Tancred fortified the northern part of the city; the other parts, including the famous thermal baths, had been devastated after the flight of its Muslim inhabitants and the murder of its Jewish ones. In 1100 Tancred extended his authority eastward across the Jordan into the Sawād region (Fr. *Terre de Suète*) and the Golan Heights, becoming suzerain of its Arab lord, who was known as the Fat Peasant.

After Tancred's departure to Antioch (1101), King Baldwin I of Jerusalem appointed Hugh of Fauquembergues as lord of Tiberias. Hugh dedicated his efforts to the eastern sector of the lordship, facing constant attacks from Damascus. As a defensive measure he built two castles: Toron, near the sources of the Jordan, and El-'Al, on a hill east of the Sea of Galilee (Lake Tiberias). Hugh was killed during one of these battles in 1105. As his successor Baldwin appointed an experienced warrior, Gervase of Bazoches, who was captured and killed by ʿTughtigin, *atabeg* of Damascus, in 1108. Thereupon the king appointed Tancred as titular prince, but the lordship was administered by royal officers until 1113, when it was bestowed on Joscelin I of Courtenay, who had come from Edessa after a conflict with its ruler, Baldwin II (of Bourcq). Joscelin dedicated his efforts to the consolidation of the lordship, increasing the number of vassals. Some of them were established in the sumptuous castle of Tiberias, while others were entrusted with lordships of villages. Joscelin built a small castle on a hill northeast of Lake Tiberias at Qasr Bardawil in order to control access to the heart of his lordship. Joscelin attempted to extend his authority into northern Transjor-

dan, but with little success.

Upon the election of Baldwin of Bourcq as king of Jerusalem, Joscelin was made count of Edessa by the new king and left Galilee. In 1119 Baldwin II appointed William of Bures, who founded a dynasty at Tiberias. He played a significant role in the affairs of the kingdom. In 1123, during the king's captivity, he became constable of the kingdom and led the attacks that resulted in the conquest of Muslim-held Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon); in 1128 Baldwin II sent him to France to find a suitable husband for Melisende, the heiress to the kingdom. By 1140 William of Bures was succeeded by his son, also called William, and later by his second son, Elinand.

Elinand's rule in Tiberias was characterized by his faithful cooperation with Queen Melisende and her husband Fulk. After the building of the castle of Belvoir in 1136, which was given to the Hospitallers, Elinand carried out a reorganization of the lands of his vassals in the area. In 1144 he helped Melisende to establish her joint rule with her son, Baldwin III, and in 1148 he took part in the unsuccessful expedition of the Second Crusade (1147–1149) against Damascus. Elinand's prestige in the Latin East grew, and as one of the most powerful princes of the kingdom, he increased it by his own marriage to Ermengarde of Ibelin and by that of his sister Agnes to Gerard, lord of Sidon. Under Elinand's rule, the city of Tiberias grew and became a prosperous center of the realm. Its agricultural products (especially fruits) were shipped through Haifa (mod. Hefa, Israel) and Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) to western Europe and became a significant source of revenue for the principality. His sole daughter and heiress, Eschiva, was married to Walter of Saint-Omer (who may have been a grandson of Hugh of Fauquembergues). She bore four sons, who were still children at the premature death of Walter (by 1170).

As princess of Galilee and lady of Tiberias, related to the Ibelin and Sidon families and on friendly terms with the counts of Tripoli, Eschiva became a patron of cultural activities in Outremer. However, the campaigns of the Muslim leader Nūr al-Dīn were a real danger to the principality, and according to feudal custom Eschiva could not govern the fief on her own. In 1173 she married Raymond III, count of Tripoli, who thus became the most important baron of the kingdom of Jerusalem. In 1174, after the death of King Amalric I, Raymond served as regent of the kingdom of Jerusalem; under Baldwin IV he became the leader of those barons who

Toron des Chevaliers

supported a policy of compromise with the Muslims. Raymond and Eschiva established good terms with Saladin, who spared Tiberias during his incursions into Galilee. His stepsons were not associated with their administration, though they grew to maturity. In 1179 Eschiva's eldest son, Hugh, was taken captive by the Muslims near Beaufort and was ransomed by his mother for 55,000 dinars. While Raymond spent most of his time either at the royal court or with the army, Eschiva dedicated her energy to the government of Tiberias, ordering the vassals to respect the truce concluded by Raymond with Saladin. During Saladin's invasion in 1187 she held Tiberias in her husband's absence until the aftermath of the battle of Hattin (4 July 1187), when she surrendered the city to Saladin, who allowed her to leave with her household to Tripoli. Raymond died there in the same year.

The history of the principality or lordship of Tiberias ends after the collapse of the kingdom at the battle of Hattin. Eschiva's sons settled in Acre, hoping for a reconquest of Galilee. After the failure of one such attempt in 1197, Hugh of Tiberias, who had married Margaret, daughter of Balian of Ibelin and Maria Komnene, tried to organize another expedition. However, in 1204 he left Acre and took service with Baldwin of Flanders, the Latin emperor of Constantinople. Hugh's brother William settled in Cyprus as titular prince of Galilee, holding one of the four main baronies of the kingdom of Cyprus. The third brother, Otto, left Acre in 1201 and settled in Cilicia, where he took service at the court of Leon I of Armenia. The youngest brother, Ralph of Tiberias, who was held in high repute for his legal training, remained in the kingdom of Jerusalem. He served the new ruler, Henry of Champagne, at Acre, and upon Henry's death (1197) he was proposed by his brother Hugh as a husband for Henry's widow, Queen Isabella I. The barons rejected his candidature on the ground that he was a younger son and therefore unsuited to her royal dignity. Instead, they chose the king of Cyprus, Aimery of Lusignan. Ralph agreed to serve his rival, advising him on legal questions. However, when he was suspected of a plot against the king, Ralph left the court and settled in Tripoli. There he compiled his main contribution to Frankish society, the draft of the *Livre au Roi*, an introduction to the *Assizes of Jerusalem*.

—Aryeh Grabois

See also: Galilee; Jerusalem, (Latin) Kingdom of

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Toison d'Or

See Golden Fleece, Order of

Toron des Chevaliers

A Templar castle built on a low hill in the Judaeen foothills adjacent to 'Amwas (in mod. West Bank) at the point where the road from Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel) to Jerusalem was met by one from Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel).

The foundation of Toron des Chevaliers between 1137 and 1141 is attributed by the *Chronica Aldephonsi imperatoris* to Rodrigo González, count of Toledo, who was apparently serving with the Templars at the time. Like the castles of Ibelin, Blanchegarde, and Bethgibelin, its purpose was to protect the southern parts of the kingdom of Jerusalem from Muslim raiding from Ascalon, and to serve as a nucleus for Frankish settlement. In 1169–1171, the Jewish traveler Benjamin of Tudela refers to it in Spanish as Toron de los Caballeros (Tower of the Knights).

Archaeological remains confirm that this name, from which the Arabic name Latrun was subsequently derived, referred to a large tower, or donjon, that stood at the center of the castle, within a rectangular enclosure filled with vaulted buildings, including a chapel. Enclosing this was a larger polygonal enceinte, containing stables and other buildings.

It seems likely that the Templars held an extensive estate in the area, including 'Amwas (Lat. *Emmaus*) and Chastel Hernaut (Lat. *Castellum Arnaldi*), though information about it is sparse. They surrendered Toron and Gaza to the Ayyūbid prince al-'Ādil in September 1187 in return for the release of their master, Gerard of Ridefort, and in December 1191 Saladin ordered its destruction. Although it was returned to the Christians between 1229 and 1244, there is no evidence that the order ever rebuilt it.

—Denys Pringle

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T'oros I, Rupenid (d. 1129)

Armenian prince, of the Rupenid family, foremost chieftain in northern Cilicia (Lesser Armenia).

In 1100 T'oros succeeded his father Constantine to territories in the Taurus Mountains, centered on the castle of Vahga (mod. Feke Kalesi, Turkey). T'oros tried not to get involved in the conflict between the Byzantines and the Franks of Antioch over control of the Cilician plain, but he was able to extend his rule by capturing the city of Anazarba. He based himself there, refortifying it and building a church. Despite the occupation of Anazarba, and his revenge-killing of some Greek castellans at Herakleia (mod. Ereğli, Turkey), he maintained good relations with the Byzantines. He sought to do the same with the Franks, who were dispossessing other Armenian barons: he contributed troops to assist Roger of Antioch's successful siege of Azaz in 1118. He was able to consolidate control of his lands and was succeeded by his brother Leon.

—Angus Stewart

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T'oros II, Rupenid (d. 1168)

Armenian prince of the Rupenid family, ruler of much of Cilicia (Lesser Armenia).

In 1137 T'oros was captured with his father, Leon, by the Byzantine emperor John II Komnenos and imprisoned in Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey). He was able to escape in 1145, and by 1148 he had regained the family's old centers. Exploiting the concentration of the Franks and the Muslims on the former county of Edessa, T'oros was able to expand his realm, occupying Mamistra (mod. Misis, Turkey). This provoked a Byzantine intervention: one Byzantine army was defeated in 1152, but T'oros was forced to submit to Emperor Manuel I Komnenos in 1158. Relations remained good, despite conflict following the murder of T'oros's brother, Stephen, in 1162.

T'oros sought friendship with the Franks: he married the daughter of Simon of Raban and allied with Reynald of Châtillon, prince of Antioch; he participated in the campaign to relieve Harenc (mod. Ḥarim, Syria) in 1164, withdrawing before the disastrous battle but then obtaining the release of Bohemund III of Antioch.

—Angus Stewart

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T'oros of Edessa (d. 1098)

T'oros, a Chalcedonian Armenian, ruled the city of Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey), nominally on behalf of the Byzantine Empire, in the period after the Turkish invasions of Upper Mesopotamia in the late twelfth century, holding the titles of *doux* and *kouropalates*.

In 1095, however, T'oros was forced to accept the presence of a Turkish garrison in the citadel of Edessa. After their expulsion, he strengthened the fortifications and maintained a strong armed force, although he became unpopular because of his heavy taxation of the local population. In 1098 he requested the assistance of Baldwin of Boulogne, who had arrived with the armies of the First Crusade (1096–1099) and was then campaigning in the Upper Euphrates Valley. Though contemporary accounts are contradictory, T'oros probably offered Baldwin a share in the government of Edessa and may even have adopted him as his son and heir.

Tortosa (Spain)

After an unsuccessful campaign to Samosata, Baldwin returned to Edessa, where dissident Armenians in the city overthrew T'oros. He was murdered while trying to escape, having been warned of the plot by Baldwin, whose role in the affair is unclear.

—Rosemary Morris

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Tortosa (Spain)

Town in the northeast of the Iberian Peninsula, situated on the river Ebro.

The ancient Iberian Dertosa was an important trading emporium under Muslim rule. Its control was imperative to secure the Ebro region politically and economically. During the first half of the twelfth century, Christian forces under the counts of Barcelona repeatedly attempted to conquer the town. The ultimately successful campaign of 1148 was heavily influenced by crusading ideals, repeatedly depicted as part of a general struggle against Islam, and strongly supported by the papacy. Count Raymond Berengar IV assembled an army comprised of Catalan, Aragonese, Genoese, and Occitan forces, aided by military orders and by Anglo-Flemish crusaders on their way to the Holy Land in the course of the Second Crusade (1147–1149). After a seven-month siege, Tortosa surrendered on 30 December 1148. Many of the conquerors remained in Tortosa, cohabiting with the local Jewish and Muslim population, thus forming a multicultural and multiconfessional urban society that in some ways resembled that of the towns in the Latin East.

—Nikolas Jaspert

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Tortosa (1148–1200)," in *L'incastellamento*, ed. Miquel Barceló and Pierre Toubert (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1998), pp. 99–121.

Tortosa (Syria)

Tortosa (mod. Tartūs, Syria) was a small port town at the northern end of the county of Tripoli.

The town was acquired by the Order of the Temple, probably in the 1150s. It was surrounded by walls (which have now largely disappeared) and contained a twelfth-century cathedral, now a museum. This is one of the most perfect surviving examples of Frankish ecclesiastical architecture in a simple early gothic style with a pointed barrel-vaulted roof. At the northwest corner of the city, the Templars built a castle. The twelfth-century donjon was strengthened (probably between 1202 and 1212) by the addition of shooting galleries and a bailey surrounded by ditches and a double curtain wall with rectangular interval towers. The inner walls rose to the height of 25 meters (82 ft.) and were equipped with vaulted galleries and arrow slits at two different levels. In the interior there were a chapter house and chapel with ribbed vaulting, now incorporated into the houses of the town. The Templars held Tortosa until 3 August 1291, when it was finally abandoned, two months after the fall of Acre to the Mamlūks. The Templars held the small offshore island of Ruad (mod. Arwād, Syria) for the next ten years.

—Hugh Kennedy

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Toulouse

The city and county of Toulouse in southern France were home to Raymond IV of Saint-Gilles (1093–1105), one of the richest and most respected leaders of the First Crusade, yet only a century later Toulouse and its hinterland were the target of a crusade launched against the Cathar sect.

The city of Toulouse, located on a sharp bend of the river Garonne, grew exceedingly rich in the eleventh century as a port and crossing point for regional trade. Its wealth also came from pilgrims from northern France and elsewhere, who rested in the city before continuing their journeys to the shrine of St. James at Santiago de Compostela in northwestern Spain.

Links between Toulouse and Spain were strengthened by the involvement of the Cluniac monks of Saint-Sernin in the wars against the Moorish kingdoms of Spain. Count Raymond IV participated in such campaigns. Pope Urban II visited Toulouse during his tour of southern and central France in the fall of 1095, and he consecrated the rebuilt abbey church of Saint-Sernin, which included a relic of St. James. Raymond probably met with Urban at that time and committed his support to Urban's expedition to the Holy Land, weeks before the Council of Clermont. The First (1096–1099) and Second (1147–1149) crusades furthered the reputations of Count Raymond IV and Count Alphonse-Jordan (1112–1148) as devout *militēs Christi* ("knights of Christ") and conquerors of the county of Tripoli in Outremer. Their protracted absences encouraged the people of Toulouse to establish an elected consulate (Fr. *consulat*) to govern the courts and markets of the growing city, and the autonomy of the consulate became a significant marker of Toulousan identity after the middle of the twelfth century.

The fame linking Toulouse and the crusades suffered a reversal at the end of the twelfth century, however. The growth of the sect of the Cathars in the region was blamed on the tolerance shown by Count Raymond VI (1195–1222). After the murder of the papal legate Peter of Castelnau in the region in January 1209, a crusade was called against Raymond and the Cathars he purportedly protected. Many Toulousans initially supported the crusade, because they too envisioned Catharism as a threat to religious and social order. Yet once the crusaders came to be perceived as being more interested in conquering wealthy towns than in destroying heresy, Toulouse became the center of resistance, a shift evident in the Occitan *Chanson de la Croisade albigeoise* begun by William of Tudela. The leader of the crusade, Simon of Montfort, was killed outside its walls in 1218, but the crusade dragged on until the Treaty of Paris was drawn up between Count Raymond VII (1222–1249) and King Louis IX of France in 1229. The treaty required Raymond's daughter Jeanne to marry Louis's brother Alphonse, which brought Toulouse within the influence of the Capetian dynasty.

—Christopher K. Gardner

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Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre Ierosolimitane

A Latin treatise that systematically describes the kingdom of Jerusalem in the years before the battle of Hattin (1187).

The anonymous author situates the *terra Ierosolimitana* ("land of Jerusalem") at the world's center and goes on to describe the adjacent countries. He then presents the Christian groups inhabiting the land (Franks, Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, Georgians, Jacobites, and Nestorians), remarking on their military worth, external appearance, dogmatic tenets, and alphabet. A lengthy passage on the Templars is followed by a brief one on the Hospitallers. The structure of the Latin Church is surveyed in detail, and the country's most prominent holy places are listed. Sections on mountains, fauna, and fruit trees are followed by a passage on the names by which main towns were known in different periods. Next, the author turns to the kingdom's governance, mentions the king's coronation oath, lists the ten most important barons, and spells out that each must follow the king into battle with a specified number of knights. The treatise concludes with the characterization of the non-Christian groups living in the country: Jews, Samaritans, Assassins, and Bedouins.

The treatise was probably written after 1168 and before 1187 by a visitor from Europe. It was utilized by Thietmar, James of Vitry, and Burchard of Mount Zion.

—Benjamin Kedar

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Transjordan

Transjordan (Fr. *Oultrejourdain*) is a modern designation for one of the main lordships of the kingdom of Jerusalem, situated to the east and south of the Dead Sea and covering the biblical lands of Moab and Edom (Idumaea).

The Franks first penetrated this region in the year after the conquest of Palestine by the First Crusade (1096–1099), when King Baldwin I of Jerusalem led an expedition to reconnoiter the area south of the Dead Sea in November–December 1100. Further reconnaissances and raids followed, but a permanent Frankish presence was only established in 1115–1116, when the king constructed the castle of Montréal (Lat. *Mons Regalis*) at Shaubak in Edom. Under Baldwin I the entire region remained part of the royal demense, but Baldwin II formed Moab and Edom into a lordship for Roman of Le Puy, whom, however, he later dispossessed for rebellion (probably before 1126). Roman's successor, the royal butler Pagan, constructed a larger castle in 1142 at the town of Kerak (mod. Karak, Jordan) in Moab, east of the Dead Sea, which became the new capital of the lordship.

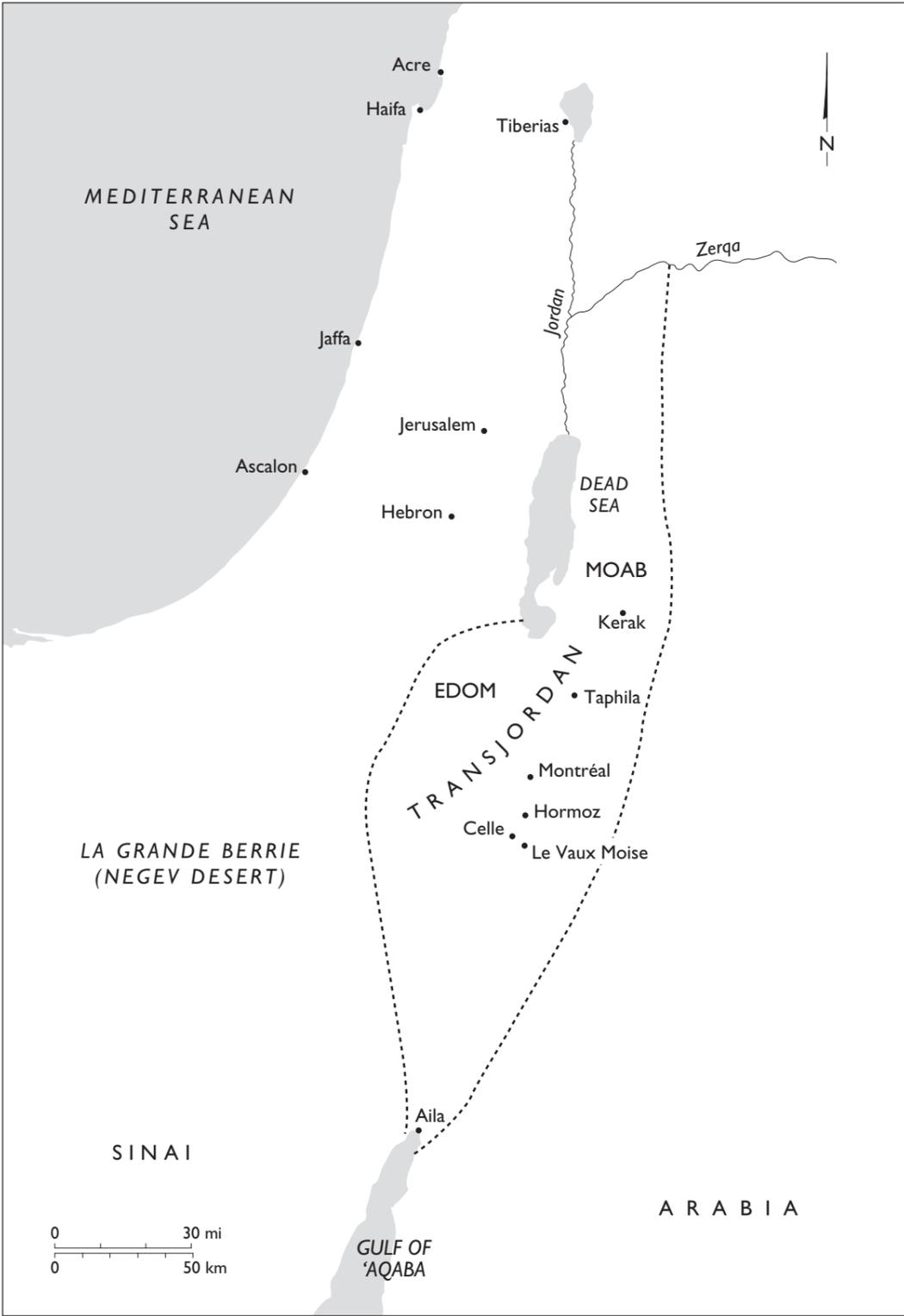
After the death of the third lord, Maurice (c. 1153), the territory reverted to the royal demesne until 1161, when Baldwin III gave it to Philip of Nablus in exchange for the latter's fiefs in Samaria, and added to it the lands to the south as far as Aila at the head of the Gulf of 'Aqaba. When Philip joined the Order of the Temple (c. 1166), he was succeeded first by Walter III Brisebarre (husband of his elder daughter Helena), and in 1174 by Miles of Plancy (husband of his younger daughter Stephanie), who, however, was murdered later the same year, possibly at the instigation of the Brisebarre family. The lordship was kept vacant until 1177, when Baldwin IV gave Stephanie in marriage to Reynald of Châtillon, who received Transjordan together with the neighboring fief of Hebron.

Transjordan ranked as one of the four major lordships of the kingdom of Jerusalem, owing the service of forty knights to the king. Nevertheless, the number of resident Franks was small, probably consisting mainly of garrisons and their families. There were few Latin churches and no Latin monasteries. A metropolitan see was established in 1168; although its title derived from the ruined city of Petra, the archbish-

ops resided in Kerak. The settled population of the lordship consisted predominantly of Syrian Christians with smaller numbers of Muslims, concentrated in the two fertile regions around Kerak and Montréal, which produced an abundance of wheat, olives, wine, sugar cane, fruit, salt, and other products. In addition to their two major fortresses, the Franks held smaller castles at Taphila, situated midway between Kerak and Montréal, and at Le Vaux Moïse (mod. Wādī Mūsā, Jordan), Celle (or Sela), and Hormoz, all to the south of Montréal. This chain of strong points gave the Franks possession of most of the main water supplies as far as the Syrian desert for a distance of over 100 kilometers (c. 60 mi.) south of Kerak, and for most of the twelfth century, the lordship not only protected the kingdom from attack from the southwest, but also controlled the main trade route from Muslim Syria to Egypt and the Hijaz. Muslim traders were obliged to pay tolls to obtain passage (which constituted an important part of the lordship's income), while Muslim armies moving between Syria and Egypt were impeded by having taken a more difficult route to the east of the Transjordanian castles.

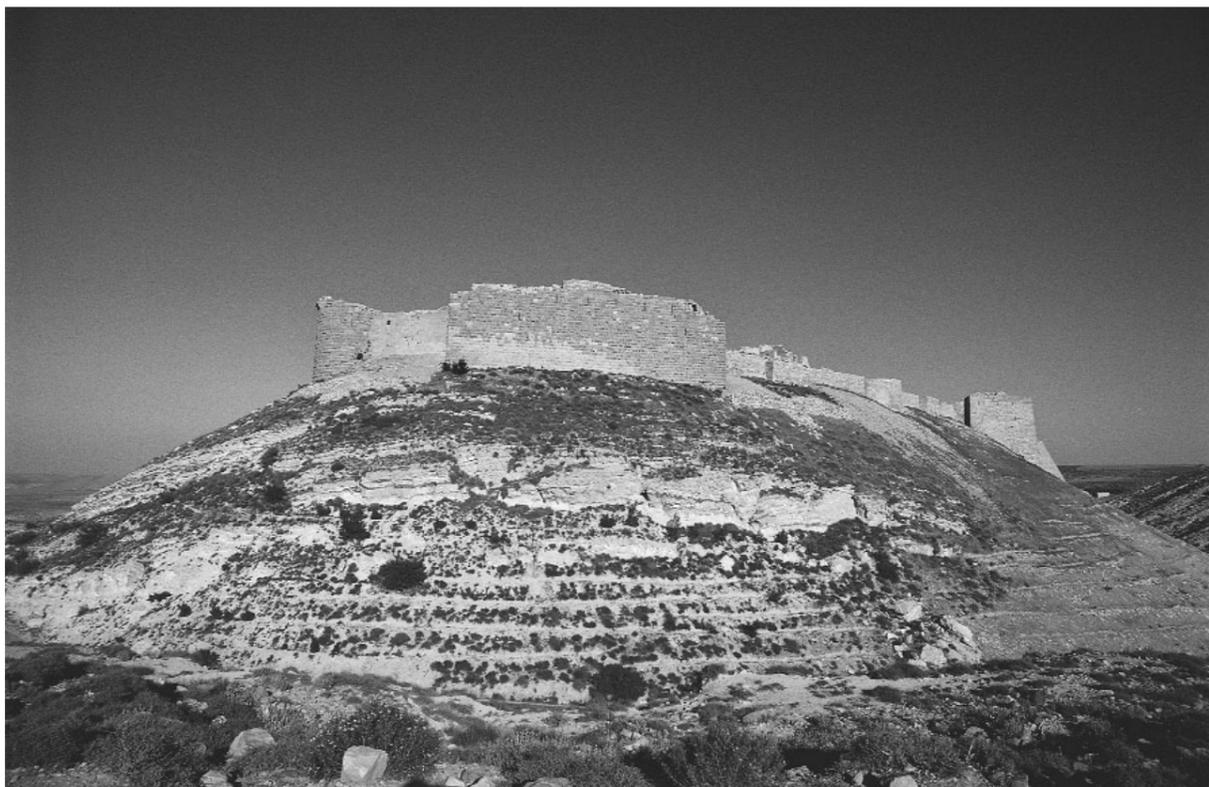
By 1161 Frankish Transjordan stretched from the river Zerqa (a tributary of the Jordan) in the north to the Red Sea in the south. Although separated from the rest of the lordship by some 90 kilometers (c. 55 mi.) of uninhabited territory, the southern strong points of Aila and the Ile de Graye (Pharaoh's Island) in the Gulf of 'Aqaba controlled the main road from Egypt across the Sinai peninsula to Arabia. From these bases the Franks could prey on pilgrims going to Mecca as well as traders, and even impede the movement of Muslim armies. Aila therefore posed a significant threat to the empire of Saladin after his conquest of Egypt (1169). He besieged and captured it in December 1170 and invaded Edom in 1171 and Moab in 1173. However, in late 1181 Reynald of Châtillon retaliated with an audacious raid that bypassed Aila and struck deep into Arabia; in the winter of 1182–1183 he transported ships from Kerak to the Red Sea, which blockaded the Ile de Graye and preyed on Muslim shipping until they were defeated by a fleet organized by Saladin's brother al-'Ādil. Two subsequent sieges of Kerak by Saladin were repulsed by Frankish relieving armies (1183, 1184), but Saladin's great victory at Hattin (July 1187), at which Reynald was captured and executed, left Transjordan exposed. Kerak capitulated in late 1188 and Montréal in the spring of 1189.

The Franks cherished hopes of recovering Transjordan well into the thirteenth century, and claims to the lordship



The Lordship of Transjordan at its greatest extent (boundaries approximate)

Trebizond, Empire of



Castle of Montreal in Transjordan, built by King Baldwin I of Jerusalem in 1115, which fell to Saladin in 1188. (Erich Lessing/Art Resource)

passed to the family of the lords of Toron. However, Saladin's Ayyūbid heirs had too great an appreciation of the region's strategic significance to risk it again passing under Frankish control, as it formed the vital link between the Ayyūbid possessions in Syria and Egypt. Thus when the sultan al-Kāmil offered to surrender Saladin's conquests in Palestine as the price for the withdrawal of the Fifth Crusade from Egypt (1219), he specifically excluded Kerak and Montréal from any concessions. Transjordan was also excluded from the territories he conceded by treaty to Emperor Frederick II in 1229.

—Alan V. Murray

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Trebizond, Empire of

An empire on the northern coast of the Black Sea (Gr. *Pontos*), with its capital at the thriving city of Trebizond (mod. Trabzon, Turkey) from 1204 until 1461. Although its foundation was not a direct consequence of the capture of Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) by the Fourth Crusade in 1204 (as was the case with the Empire of Nicaea and the despotate of Epiros), the Empire of Trebizond is often considered as one of the three main successor states of the Byzantine Empire following the Latin conquest.

The empire was founded when two grandsons of the last Komnenian emperor of Byzantium, Andronikos I (d. 1185), namely the *Megalokomnenoi* (“Great Komnenoi”) Alexios I (1204–1222) and David (d. 1212/1213), seized Trebizond from its Byzantine duke, Nikephoros Palaiologos, with the help of their aunt Tamar, queen of Georgia, in March or early April 1204.

For most of its history the new state was cut off from the main Byzantine centers at Nicaea (mod. İznik, Turkey) and Constantinople and was restricted to a narrow strip of land along the southeast Pontic littoral. Its main coastal centers were Kerasous (mod. Giresun, Turkey), Oinaion (mod. Ünye), Amisos (mod. Samsun), and Sinope (mod. Sinop). Its chief inland centers were Bayberdon (mod. Bayburt), Neocaesarea (mod. Niksar), Amaseia (mod. Amasya), and Payrae (mod. Bafra), while its two celebrated monastic centers were those of Soumela and Vazelon.

Although not directly involved in the crusades, the empire holds a particular place in Anatolian affairs in the late Middle Ages, with its twenty-one rulers claiming the imperial Byzantine title until 1280/1282 and thereafter the title of basileus and autokrator (both reflecting Byzantine imperial usage) of all the East, the Iberians (i.e., Georgians), and Perateia.

The empire’s initial years were consumed in fratricidal strife with the rival empire of Nicaea and in attempts to ward off attacks from the Saljūqs of Rūm, who took Sinope in 1214 but failed twice before Trebizond itself (1205/1206 and 1222/1223). For much of the remainder of the century, the empire was in a state of vassalage to the Rūm sultanate and (from 1243) to the Ilkhanids. However, with the decline of the sultanate, the empire was frequently attacked by Turcomans, especially the Ak-Koyunlu (White Sheep) confederacy, from the 1340s onward, and in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the Grand Komnenoi pursued a consistent policy of marriage alliances with Georgian and Turcoman dynasties. Alexios II (1297–1330), Michael (1344–1349), and Alexios III (1349–1390) were also forced to grant commercial privileges to the Genoese and Venetians. However, the most menacing adversary was the Ottoman sultanate. John IV Kaloioannes (1429–1458/1460) was forced to acknowledge Ottoman suzerainty in 1456, and after a long Ottoman siege by land and sea, the last Trebizondine ruler, David I (1458/1460–1461), was forced to capitulate on 15 August 1461 and surrender his capital to Sultan Mehmed II. The execution of David and his male

descendants in 1463 shattered any future attempts to restore the Grand Komnenian Empire.

—Alexios G. C. Savvides

See also: Byzantine Empire

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Treiden, Battle (1211)

A battle between crusaders and pagan Estonians fought in the course of the conquest of Livonia at the castle of Treiden (mod. Turaida, Latvia).

During the spring of 1211 the Estonians made a series of raids into the Christian-held areas of Ymera, northern Lettgallia, and the lower reaches of the river Aa (mod. Gauaja, Latvia). In the course of this fighting a force of up to 3,000–4,000 Estonians from the areas of Ösel, Wiek, and

Trencavel, Family

Revele mounted a campaign against the castle of Treiden on the north bank of the Aa, which was held by baptized Livs. The Estonian forces assembled by land and waterways and besieged the castle until the arrival of reinforcements, consisting of members of the Order of the Sword Brethren and German crusaders from Riga.

The Estonians defended their position on a hill until they declared that they were ready to surrender and accept baptism. At night, however, they tried to escape in their ships. The crusaders then built a wooden bridge over the Aa and prevented the ships from leaving. The Estonians were forced to abandon their ships; they retreated the following night, suffering heavy losses and relinquishing a large amount of booty to the crusaders. The source for the battle is the chronicle of Henry of Livonia.

—*Anti Selart*

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Trencavel, Family

A noble family in southern France that was dispossessed in the course of the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229) and its aftermath.

The Trencavels traced their origins to the tenth century, when Bernard was viscount of Albi around 918. In 1068 Raymond-Bernard Trencavel married Ermengarde, the daughter of the count of Carcassonne. Their son, Bernard Aton IV, became viscount of Carcassonne, Béziers, Albi, Razès, Nîmes, and Agde. Thus, during the eleventh century, by judicious marriages the family built itself a power base in eastern Languedoc with Béziers as the core of its lands. The Trencavels often divided the family possessions among sons; after the death of Bernard Aton IV, his domains were divided, with Roger (1130–1150) receiving Carcassonne, Albi, and the Razès, Raymond (1130–1167) receiving Béziers and Agde, and Bernard Aton (1130–1163) receiving Nîmes. Raymond inherited Carcassonne, Albi, and Razès when Roger died, and his grandson, Raymond-Roger II, became viscount at the age of nine, in 1194.

By 1179 the family had become vassals of the kings of Aragon. Despite this, when the crusaders entered Languedoc,

the Trencavel town of Béziers was sacked by the crusaders, and its inhabitants were massacred (1209). Raymond-Roger II was expropriated by Simon of Montfort when Carcassonne surrendered, and he died in prison. He was unfortunate in that the crusaders were unable to attack the county of Toulouse immediately, because Raymond VI of Toulouse had submitted to the leaders of the crusade and done public penance for his defiance of the pope and his complicity in the death of the pope's legate, Peter of Castelnau. Raymond-Roger was more vulnerable because his viscounty of Carcassonne contained many heretics, including numbers of Cathar sympathizers among the landowning nobility. In these circumstances it was easy for the crusaders to turn their energies against Raymond-Roger.

Raymond-Roger II's son Raymond Trencavel was born in 1207 and spent his youth in exile in Barcelona. On the withdrawal of Amalric of Montfort from Carcassonne in January 1224, Raymond Trencavel was installed as viscount, but in the summer of 1226 he was driven out by King Louis VIII of France. During the revolt of 1242 he regained control of Carcassonne but was rapidly swept aside by the royal forces. In August 1246 he came to terms with King Louis IX. He relinquished his claim to the Trencavel titles and lands in exchange for the grant of a small estate, and he followed Louis to the Holy Land. In 1332 his granddaughter was living at Cessero, near Minerve. Thereafter the family disappeared.

—*Michael D. Costen*

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Trinitarian Order

The Order of the Most Holy Trinity and of the Redemption of Captives (Lat. *Fratres Ordinis sanctae Trinitatis et redemptionis captivorum*), generally known as the Trinitarian Order, was a redemptionist religious order founded by St. John of Matha (1154–1213) at the end of the twelfth century. It was the first church institution whose main purpose

was the redemption of Christian captives from the Muslims, by means of ransom, charity, and mercy. The Rule of the order was devised by John of Matha but was modified over time. According to monastic tradition, the hermit St. Felix of Valois was the cofounder of the order and was instrumental in establishing its first house in the desert of Cerfroid, some 80 kilometers (50 mi.) northeast of Paris. John based his Rule on his own monastic experiences in Cerfroid, which was soon joined by two other communities at Bourg-la-Reine and Planels. The Rule was approved by Pope Innocent III in the bull *Operante Divine dispositionis* (17 December 1198), and a modified version of it was confirmed by Pope Urban VI in 1267.

The distinctive element of the white Trinitarian habit was a red and blue cross. By the 1250s some fifty Trinitarian monasteries had been founded in France, Italy, Portugal, Ireland, Scotland, and England. Soon the Trinitarians also dedicated themselves to the various services of mercy, hospitality, care of the poor and sick (Lat. *cura hospitum et pauperum*), education, and even preaching. The Rule required every Trinitarian community to devote a third of its income for the purpose of ransoming, which also was the main object of fundraising. The friars took vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience. During journeys they were allowed to ride a donkey.

The general chapter of the order was held every year at Pentecost. The monastery of St. Mathurin located near the Sorbonne in Paris became its main house. By the end of the Middle Ages, there were some 150 houses within twelve provinces throughout Europe. The order received numerous endowments from the various Iberian rulers, notably King Peter I of Aragon (d. 1213) and his son James I the Conqueror (d. 1234), and maintained close relations with the Iberian monarchies to the end of the Reconquista (the reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula from the Muslims).

The initial character of the order was the dedication to redemption of Christian captives, mainly crusaders or those taken by Muslim pirates on the Mediterranean Sea. The total number of rescued captives is hard to estimate, but can be counted in the thousands. The redemption missions to the North African coast, mainly undertaken by Spanish friars, were organized and carried out with the financial support (from alms and specific donations) of the order's other provinces, as well as of the local magnates and knights. The redemption missions were sometimes connected with trading activity (e.g., in textiles and jewelry), organized at the request of Spanish or North African rulers. Their contacts

with the Muslim world allowed the Trinitarians to develop theological and apologetic studies of Islam. They were involved in redemptionist activities until the middle of the nineteenth century. For example, friars of the Polish-Lithuanian province organized eighteen great redemption missions in 1688–1782 to the Crimea, the Golden Horde, and Turkey and succeeded in ransoming over 500 Christians. Another important element of Trinitarian activity was the maintenance of hospitals for the poor and sick, established since the very beginning of the order, for example, at Marseilles, Arles, Saint-Gilles, Lérida (Lleida), Toledo, and Burgos. The hospitals could also be used to accommodate freed captives.

Political, economic, and religious changes between the late fifteenth century and the mid-sixteenth century brought about a period of decline for the Trinitarians. All of their houses in England, Scotland, and Ireland, as well as some of those in Germany, were suppressed as a consequence of the Protestant Reformation. A move toward reform could be observed after the Council of Trent, when the Spanish, Portuguese, and French houses issued new, reformed provincial statutes. The new revised versions were published as *Regula et statuta* in 1586 at Douai. According to this book of statutes there were 154 monasteries distributed in provinces: Ile de France (12), Champagne (11), Picardy (14), Normandy (14), Languedoc (14), Provence (10), Aragon (26), Portugal (5), Old Castile (15), and New Castile and Andalusia (21), as well as so-called *domus antiquae* (former houses) in the provinces of England (6) and Scotland (6), which by that time had been suppressed.

A strong and vital reform movement among the Trinitarians, known later as the Recollection (Lat. *Reformatorium*), was led by the zealous John Baptist of the Conception (1561–1613). It resulted in the establishment of the Spanish Discalced Trinitarians, soon followed by the French Discalced Trinitarians (1622). The Discalced (barefooted) Trinitarian reform movement followed the example of the Discalced Carmelites and symbolized the Christian virtues of poverty and chastity. Pope Clement VIII in his letter *Ad militantes ecclesiae* (20 August 1599) recognized this new observance officially as the Congregation of the Reformed and Discalced Brothers (Lat. *Congregatio fratrum reformatorum et discalceatorum*). By the time of the death of John Baptist, as many as eighteen convents had joined his reform movement, which also flourished in the Habsburg territories and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The suppression of religious communities in 1782–1783 by Joseph II of Austria, fol-

Tripoli, City of

lowed by the French Revolution (1789) and Spanish and Portuguese suppressions in the 1830s, brought about the near total destruction of the order. After the dissolution of the surviving Polish monasteries in the 1860s, the Trinitarians were restricted to Rome, where the monastery of the Spanish friars survived (S. Carlino alle Quattro Fontane). The restoration of the order began at the end of the nineteenth century in France, Spain, Italy, and Austria and resulted in the unification of the discalced and calced branches in 1900.

—Rafal Witkowski

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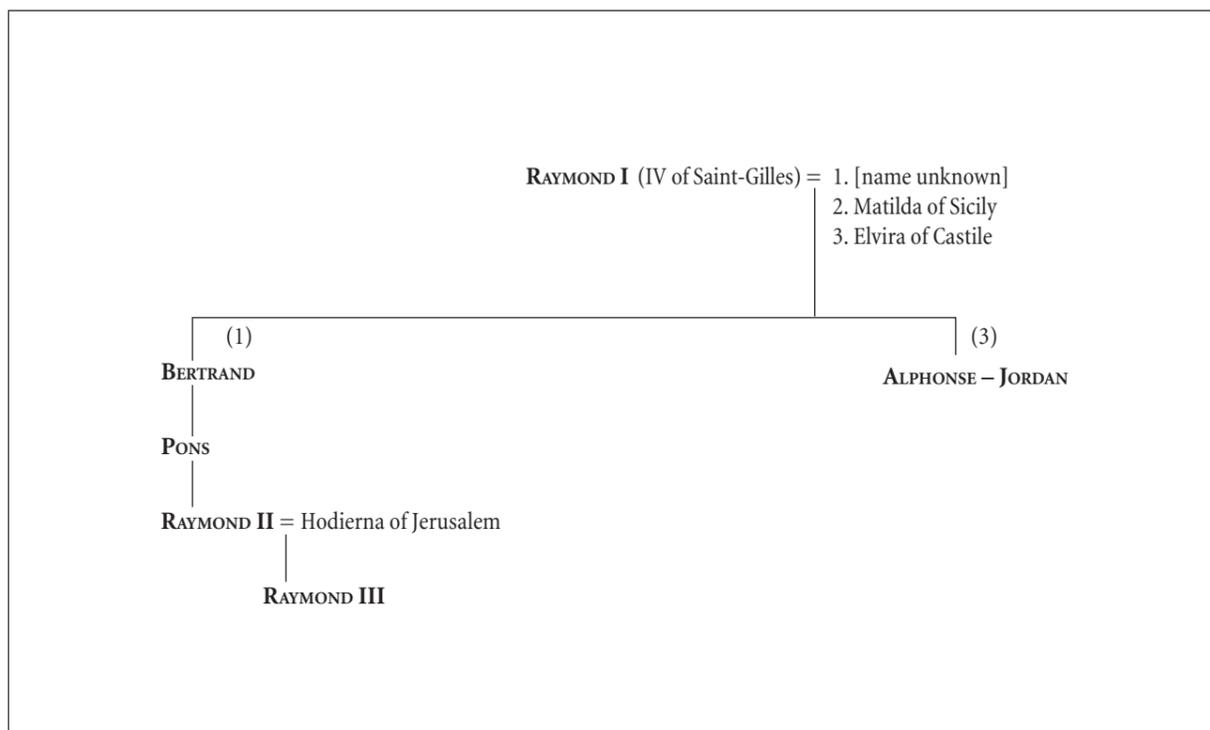
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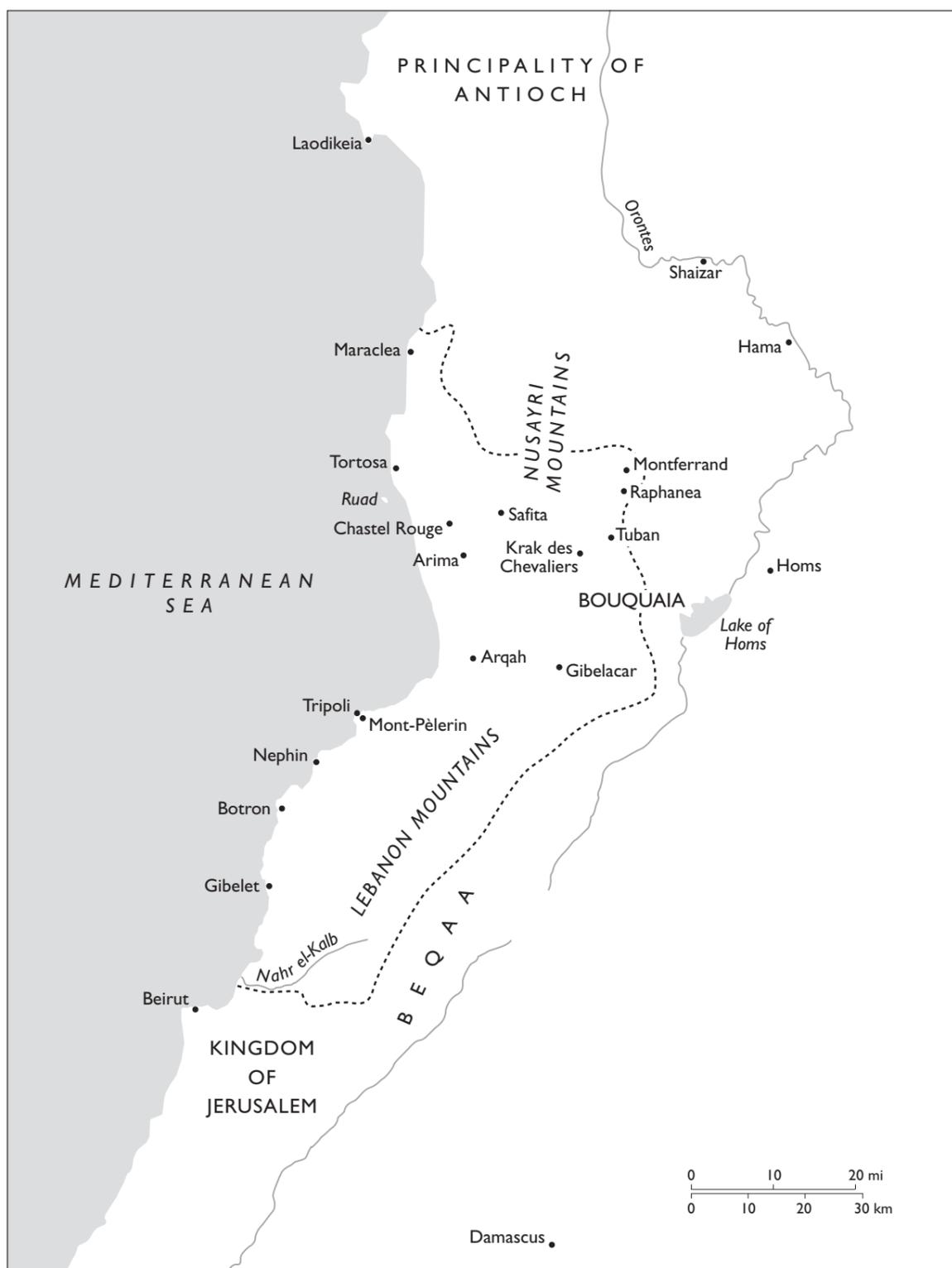
Tripoli, City of

The capital (mod. Trâblous, Lebanon) of the Frankish county of Tripoli.

Before the First Crusade (1096–1099), the city of Tripoli, by then reduced to the peninsular part of the present city (al-Mina), was ruled by the *qādī* (magistrate) Fakhr al-Mulk ibn 'Ammār, who had made himself independent of the Fāṭimids. He was able to hold Raymond of Saint-Gilles, count of Toulouse, at bay during the siege of Arqah (February–May 1099), but Raymond returned in 1102 and started a siege by constructing the castle of Mont-Pèlerin (Arab. *Qal'at Sanjil*) above the city. Tripoli capitulated to Raymond's son Bertrand and his allies on 12 July 1109, suffering a certain amount of pillaging, in which the great library of the *qādī* was destroyed.



Succession to the County of Tripoli



The County of Tripoli in the earlier twelfth century

Tripoli, City of



Castle at Tripoli, c. 1920. (Library of Congress)

As capital of the county of the same name, Tripoli attracted inhabitants originating from southern France and Italy who joined a primarily Christian local population. A Latin diocese was founded that combined the former sees of Botrys, Arqah, and Orthosias, and was directly subject to the patriarchate of Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey). The cathedral of St. Mary was destroyed by an earthquake in 1171 but was soon rebuilt. Several Latin religious institutions were established, both around Mont-Pèlerin and in the older town.

The principal industry was silk weaving, which produced renowned fabrics known as *camelines*. The port had good communications with inland Syria and attracted merchants from Pisa, Venice, Amalfi, and Marseilles, all of whom estab-

lished *fondes* (markets) there. Genoa was promised a third of the city at the time of the conquest, but this undertaking was never fully kept. The city was governed by a viscount, who presided over the burgesses' court (Fr. *Cour des Bourgeois*). A medical school, which became famous in the thirteenth century, attracted many Syrian clerics, and the city became an important point of contact between the different churches. It was a cantor of the Latin cathedral, Philip, who translated the *Secretum Secretorum*, attributed to Aristotle, from Arabic at the request of his bishop.

From 1278 onward, the city increasingly suffered from factional strife. In 1282 the Templars tried to seize the town with the help of the lord of Gibelet, and in 1288, after the death of Count Bohemund VII, knights and burgesses who

Counts of Tripoli

Raymond I (of Saint-Gilles)	1102–1105
Bertrand	1109–1112
Pons	1112–1137
Raymond II	1137–1152
Raymond III	1152–1187
Bohemund IV of Antioch	1187–1233
Bohemund V	1233–1252
Bohemund VI	1252–1275
Bohemund VII	1275–1287
Lucy	1287–1289

were hostile to the new regent of the county rebelled and formed a commune, choosing as their mayor Bartholomew Embriaco of Gibelet, who appealed to the Genoese for help. A settlement was negotiated with the new countess, Lucy, which confirmed the liberties of the commune and the autonomy of an enlarged Genoese quarter. However, certain Franks convinced the Mamlūk sultan Qalāwūn of the potential threat posed to Egypt by a Genoese base in Tripoli, and in violation of the truce then in force, the Mamlūks seized Mont-Pèlerin and besieged the city. Despite assistance from Acre and Cyprus, Tripoli fell on 26 April 1289, and those inhabitants who had not been able to flee were massacred. The city was razed to the ground, and a new town established around Mont-Pèlerin.

—Jean Richard

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Tripoli, County of

The fourth and last of the Frankish states founded in Outremer by the First Crusade (1096–1099). It survived to the late thirteenth century.

The county of Tripoli came into existence when Raymond of Saint-Gilles, count of Toulouse, having seized Tortosa (mod. Tartūs, Lebanon) in 1102, attempted to conquer the surrounding country with his southern French followers, with the city of Tripoli as his principal objective. Raymond attacked Homs (1103), occupied Raphanea (mod. Rafan̄yah, Syria) and Gibelet (mod. Jubail, Lebanon) in 1104, and invested Tripoli (mod. Trāblous, Lebanon) by constructing the castle of Mont-Pèlerin ("Mount Pilgrim") outside the city.

History to 1187

On the death of Raymond of Saint-Gilles (1105), his cousin William-Jordan, count of Cerdagne, took possession of his conquests, while Raymond's younger son, Alphonse-Jordan, was sent back to Toulouse. William-Jordan had taken Arqah (1108 or 1109) when Raymond's elder son, Bertrand, arrived in Tortosa to claim his father's inheritance. King Baldwin I of Jerusalem imposed a settlement dividing the county between the two cousins, but William-Jordan died, whereupon Bertrand seized Arqah, and Tancred of Antioch, who had supported William-Jordan, occupied the rest of his share. Meanwhile Bertrand had captured the city of Tripoli (1109) and pushed his frontier as far as the mountains that dominated the upper Orontes Valley. After Bertrand's death, his son Pons placed himself under the protection of Tancred, who ceded to him Tortosa, Chastel Blanc (Safitha), and Krak des Chevaliers (Ḥisn al-Akrād). Thus by 1113 the unity of the county was established.

Bertrand was succeeded by his descendants Pons (1112–1137), Raymond II (1137–1152), and Raymond III (1152–1187), without incident other than the unexpected arrival (1148) of the count of Toulouse, Alphonse-Jordan. The latter may have envisaged claiming the county for his own illegitimate son Bertrand, but soon died in a manner regarded as suspicious; Bertrand seized the castle of Arima, and Raymond II was obliged to appeal to Nūr al-Dīn, who recaptured the castle. The childless Raymond III intended that the county should pass to his godson Raymond, son of Bohemund III of Antioch, although he reserved the rights of the counts of Toulouse. Nevertheless, Bohemund III appointed his second son Bohemund (IV) as heir in Tripoli. After a war against his nephew Raymond-Rupen, Bohemund of Tripoli gained control of Antioch (1219), and thereafter Tripoli was ruled by successive princes of Antioch, who, however, maintained the separate character of the county, notably with

regard to its legal customs, the usages of its chancery, and the appointment of its chief officers.

The political status of the county was a complex issue. Raymond of Saint-Gilles had benefited from the support of the Byzantine emperor, and Bertrand also received Byzantine subsidies and supplies, and apparently agreed to support the emperor when he tried to establish a coalition against Tancred, but Pons did not continue such policies. In 1137 Raymond II went to Antioch to do homage to Emperor John II Komnenos, but by this time the county's ties with Byzantium had become much looser. Raymond III even led a punitive expedition against Cyprus when Manuel I Komnenos broke a promise of marriage made to his sister Melisende. Pons had done homage to the prince of Antioch when he received the north of the county from him, but this vassalage does not seem to have had further consequences. By contrast, Bertrand had done homage to the king of Jerusalem at the time of the capture of the city of Tripoli; he and his successors often took part in the military operations of the kings of Jerusalem, and King Amalric governed the county during the captivity of Raymond III (1164–1174), although it was always stipulated that Tripoli was not part of the kingdom.

At first the county expanded swiftly at the expense of its Muslim neighbors. The early counts apparently even intended to conquer Homs and Hama, and sometimes these towns did pay tribute. Yet it took a considerable effort to conquer Raphanea, which was taken only in 1126 by Pons after he had built the castle of Montferrand to control it, and both places were lost by 1137. Other castles (such as Tuban) dominated the plain of Homs, known to the Franks as the *Bouquée* (Arab. *Buqaia*). Raymond II even claimed fishing rights in the Lake of Homs. A series of defeats, however, demonstrated the limits of the counts' power: a Damascene raid reached Mont-Pèlerin in 1137 (the same year that Montferrand capitulated to Zangī); Nūr al-Dīn seized Tortosa in 1152 and in 1167 exploited the captivity of Raymond III to take Arima, Chastel Blanc, and Gibelcar (Jebel 'Akkar), albeit only temporarily. Thereafter the counts increasingly turned to the military orders to rebuild and garrison castles. In 1144 the Hospitallers received Krak des Chevaliers, Felis, and Lak (Tell Kalakh), which guarded the approaches to the valley of the Nahr al-Kabir; they received Chastel-Rouge in 1177, Tuban in 1180, and Eixserc in 1183. The Templars were given Tortosa in 1152 and Chastel Blanc in 1167. From that time, it was the orders who held the frontier facing Homs,

Hama, and the mountain massif where Ismā'īlīs of the Bāṭiniya sect (better known as the Assassins) had built up a domain bristling with fortresses, of which at least one, La Coible (al-Khawabi), had been captured from the Franks. The knights of the orders feared assassination by these fanatics much less than the secular rulers did: the Assassins' victims included Bohemund IV's eldest son Raymond (1213), but the orders were able to exact a tribute from the Ismā'īlīs.

History, 1187–1289

The fall of the kingdom of Jerusalem in 1187 occurred at a time when Count Raymond III's relations with the king, Guy of Lusignan, were strained. Although present at the defeat of Hattin, Raymond managed to return to his county and died not long afterward. In 1188 Saladin's army invaded the county but failed to take Krak des Chevaliers, Chastel Blanc, or Arima, and made only a demonstration at the city of Tripoli, which was protected by a fleet sent by the king of Sicily. A complete collapse of Frankish positions in the county was thus prevented. Hostilities with the Ayyūbid rulers remained sporadic, and primarily involved the military orders. Yet some Frankish raids went deep into Muslim territory, and the Mamlūk sultan Baybars I used one such as a pretext to punish the Christian inhabitants of Qara, supposedly for collusion with Frankish raiders from Gibelcar. The situation changed with the arrival of the Mongols in Syria and their alliance with Bohemund VI of Antioch-Tripoli. In 1261 Baybars invaded the county, capturing Tuban, Arqah, Halba, and Coliath and thus reaching the coastal plain. The Mamlūks also seized Krak des Chevaliers, Chastel Blanc, and Gibelcar, and forced the counts to share the revenues of the plain of Tripoli. A treaty concluded in 1281 delimited the size of the count's domain, which included Tripoli, Nephin, Botron, Gibelet, Arqah, and fifty-one villages, and established a condominium in the mountains. Bohemund V married Luciana of Segni, a relative of Pope Innocent IV. Her brother Paul of Conti became bishop of Tripoli and attracted a number of "Roman" clerics and laymen who became members of the count's entourage. During the reign of Bohemund VI, a conflict broke out between the count and the lord of Gibelet, who had fought against him during the War of St. Sabas. In the course of hostilities, Bohemund was wounded by Bertrand of Gibelet, who was subsequently killed by peasants. Eventually a settlement was imposed by the master of the Temple, who set

up a commission to mediate between the count and the barons (1258). Another conflict broke out between the count and the Gibelet family on the occasion of the marriage of a brother of the lord of Gibelet to the heiress of a rich lord whom Bohemund VI had intended for another suitor. The ensuing struggle pitted the Templars and Paul of Conti against the count and his vassals: the Templars' house in Tripoli and the cathedral were besieged, and many "Romans" were massacred, while the Templars attacked the count at Botron and inflicted two defeats upon him (1278–1279). When eventually it seemed that peace might be restored, the master of the Temple and Guy of Gibelet tried to take Tripoli by surprise. Guy was obliged to submit, and was imprisoned and left to die of starvation. His heir placed himself under the sultan's protection.

On the death of Count Bohemund VII (1287), a fresh conflict erupted because of his mother's decision to confer the regency on Bartholomew Mansel, bishop of Tortosa. The count's vassals rejected this choice and refused to accept Bohemund's sister Lucy as countess unless she removed the cause of their grievances. A commune was established at Tripoli under the leadership of Bartholomew Embriaco, lord of Gibelet, and sought an alliance with Genoa. Lucy, who had found refuge at Nephin under the protection of the Hospitallers, was installed as countess after accepting the terms of the Genoese, but enemies of the Republic provoked an intervention by the sultan Qalāwūn, who seized Tripoli by surprise on 26 April 1289, massacring its inhabitants. The lordship of Gibelet was permitted to survive as an *iqṭā'* (grant of revenues) belonging to Qalāwūn's empire. Only in 1303, after the withdrawal of the Mongols from Syria, did the last of the Embriaci set fire to his castle and abandon the lordship.

Government and Institutions

Raymond of Saint-Gilles and his successors retained direct lordship over a number of towns (Tripoli, Raphanea, Arqah, Mont-Pèlerin, Montferrand, and others) and villages. They granted the rest of the county as fiefs to lords who largely came from Languedoc and Provence: the Porcelet family in Artussa; the Montolieu in Chastel Rouge; the Puylaurens in Gibelcar, Felis, and Lac; the Meynes in Maraclea and Tortosa; the d'Agout and d'Aurel families in Botron. Gibelet was a special case: in return for naval help rendered to Counts Raymond I and Bertrand, the city was given to the Genoese, who installed the Embriaci family as lords. The Embriaci became integrated into the Tripolitan nobility, as did one

Pleban, a wealthy Pisan, who married the heiress to Botron. When the count had occasion to grant castles to the military orders, he was obliged to indemnify the owners of these fiefs. Fiefs were subject to an evaluation expressed as *caballarie*, that is, the number of knights a lord had to contribute to the comital army. In the twelfth century the total number of knights available to the count through enfeoffment was around 300, a figure considerably smaller than those of the other Frankish states.

The accession of the Antiochene dynasty in Tripoli does not seem to have caused any conflict between the new counts of Poitevin extraction and their vassals, who largely originated from the southern French lands of the Saint-Gilles family; indeed, on his accession Bohemund IV made a point of marrying into the Gibelet family. Yet serious disputes did arise, often as a consequence of the right claimed by the counts to authorize the marriages of heiresses to fiefs. When Raynouard of Nephin married the heiress to the fief of Gibelcar without the count's consent, Bohemund IV seized his fief. A coalition immediately formed to oppose the count and attacked Tripoli, but Bohemund prevailed, and Raynouard had to surrender Nephin and Gibelcar to him (1205). Bohemund was careful not to commit himself to the cause of Emperor Frederick II when the latter came into conflict with the Ibelin family in the kingdom of Jerusalem; yet neither did he compromise himself with the Ibelins, for fear of antagonizing the powerful Porcelet family, who were allied with the Barlais family, the Ibelins' chief adversaries.

The Latin Church

Raymond of Saint-Gilles had intended to create endowments in his future county for the religious institutions of the Holy Land and his own country of origin. The canons of St. Ruf in Avignon were offered the church of Artussa when it was restored to Christian worship, as well as a church in Tripoli. Around the castle of Mont-Pèlerin, Raymond established priories dependent on the churches of the Holy Sepulchre, St. Mary of the Latins, and Bethlehem (and later Mount Zion), as well as on the Hospital of St. John, endowing them with landed properties in the neighboring region. Hospitals for pilgrims founded by the early counts at Mont-Pèlerin and Raphanea were handed over to the Hospitallers by Count Pons in 1126. The Hospitallers especially were richly endowed at the time when their activities were purely charitable, but from 1144, as the order became militarized, they acquired an extensive dominion based on the possession of

several castles, as did the Templars. During the thirteenth century, both orders were frequently involved in political disputes, as, for example, when the Templars backed the party hostile to Count Bohemund VI. A Cistercian monastery was founded in Belmont near Tripoli (1157) and another at St. Sergius near Gibelet (1231); we also know of a nunnery dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene in Tripoli. Religious life also included the veneration of the sanctuary of Our Lady at Tortosa; it was visited by numerous pilgrims, including the chronicler Joinville, and the son of Bohemund IV was praying there when he was murdered. We know less of parochial life, although it is clear that many Latin churches existed in the city of Tripoli, which had a large population belonging to the Roman rite.

Before the capture of Tripoli, Raymond of Saint-Gilles had appointed a bishop for the city, who administered the united former dioceses of Tripoli, Arqah, Orthosias (Artussa), and Botron. A second bishop was appointed at Tortosa for the former dioceses of Arados, Antarados, and Maraclea, and a third at Gibelet. All three bishoprics, which were probably in existence by 1110, were part of the ecclesiastical province of Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon), which had traditionally belonged to the patriarchate of Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey). They thus depended directly on Antioch as long as Tyre remained in Muslim hands. After the capture of Tyre by the Franks in 1124, an archbishop was appointed by the patriarch of Jerusalem, and thereafter the see and its southern bishoprics were treated as part of the Jerusalem patriarchate. The Tripolitan bishoprics, however, continued to be dependent on Antioch, as did a fourth bishopric, that of Raphanea (1126), which belonged to the see of Apamea.

The Native Communities

The non-Latin Christian communities prospered in the days of Frankish rule, as is demonstrated by the architectural and artistic activity of the Lebanese churches. Arabic-speaking Melkites of the Greek Orthodox rite as well as Western (Monophysite) and Eastern (Nestorian) Syrians each had their own clergy and episcopal hierarchy. The Greek Orthodox Church, however, was most probably subject to the same restrictions as in the kingdom of Jerusalem: it was regarded as an integral part of the Latin Church, and in each diocese the Greek bishop had to make submission (at least formally) to the Latin bishop, although he had sole authority over the clergy and congregations of the Greek rite. Syrian Monophysites were numerous, particularly on the coast, and

according to the Syrian chronicler Bar Hebraeus, they and the less numerous Nestorians were on friendly terms with the Latins. The Latins themselves were not ignorant of Arabic culture: it was a cantor of the cathedral of Tripoli, Philip, who in the mid-thirteenth century translated from Arabic the *Secretum Secretorum*, attributed to Aristotle.

The particular ecclesiastical characteristic of the county was the presence of the Maronite Church. The Syriac-speaking Maronite community had its own patriarchate, episcopal hierarchy, and priests; the life of the church, however, was centered on the monasteries, where the archbishops and bishops normally resided. The precise doctrines of the Maronites have been much discussed, but it seems that at least part of the church adhered to monothelism (a doctrine that recognized one will and two natures in Christ); this seems to have been the understanding of the Latin Church, which in the twelfth century conducted negotiations with the Maronite hierarchy with the aim of reaching doctrinal agreement. An accord was proclaimed in 1182, thanks to the efforts of Aimery of Limoges, Latin patriarch of Antioch, and at the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), the Maronite patriarch Jeremiah received from Pope Innocent III a bull confirming his dignity and authority as head of the Maronite archbishops and bishops. Some conflicts among the Maronites have been ascribed to opposition to the union of the churches, but it is difficult to establish the extent of ecclesiastical quarrels. The election of the patriarch Jeremiah in 1283 was carried out in the presence of the lord of Gibelet and an envoy from Rome, and apparently coincided with a schism in which he was opposed by a rival patriarch, Luke of Beniharan, who was backed by the leaders of the Besharri region.

The Maronites (and probably other Christians) of the Lebanese mountains provided the counts of Tripoli and their vassals with auxiliary soldiers, especially archers. It was customary in all of the Frankish states of Outremer to employ "Syrian" recruits, yet in this particular region we also know of the existence of lordships held by local headmen or chieftains (known in Arabic as *raʿīs* or *muqaddam*). While recognizing the authority of Frankish lords, these leaders administered villages, presided over courts of justice, maintained order, and also on occasion raised troops. This did not rule out the possibility of conflicts among the chieftains or collusion with the Muslims: Count Pons was the victim of an act of treachery in 1137, which his son punished by confiscating the lands of the culprits. The Franks had similar relations with non-Maronite local chieftains, whether Muslim,

Druze, or Nuṣayri, including the Ismāʿīlīs who occupied the frontier areas to the north.

Economy

Frankish society in the county does not seem to have involved rural colonization: villages maintained their traditional structure, under their *raʿīs* and other notables, while paying traditional dues to the counts or Frankish lords. In the towns, by contrast, Frankish burgesses mingled with a population of Eastern origin that included some wealthy merchant families; the Saīs family who advanced Guy of Lusignan the money he paid for the acquisition of Cyprus may have been one of these. These Syrian burgesses enjoyed personal freedom and came under the authority of their own *raʿīs*. In Tripoli and Raphanea (and probably elsewhere), the Frankish burgesses were answerable to a court consisting of jurors chosen from among their own numbers and presided over by a viscount.

The county had considerable agricultural resources. The flow of the rivers permitted abundant irrigation, which particularly benefited sugarcane plantations, while olive cultivation produced sufficient quantities of oil to supply soap factories. Industrial activity was also important. According to Burchard of Mount Zion, there were some 4,000 weavers in Tripoli, and Louis IX of France is known to have commissioned John of Joinville to bring back fabrics from the city. These products contributed to a flow of commerce that also involved merchandise originating from inland Syria: according to the Arab geographer al-Idrīsī, Tortosa was the port for Homs, and Tripoli that for Damascus. Even states of war did not interrupt these relations, and merchants from Montpellier, Genoa, and Pisa enjoyed trading rights in the towns of the county, although Genoa, originally promised a third of the city of Tripoli, was obliged to be content with the possession of Gibelet, which it made over to the Embriaci; in the late thirteenth century the republic was still trying to obtain a street in Tripoli that it claimed it had been granted by one of the counts. The Pisans had a more favored status until they fell out with Bohemund IV.

The county of Tripoli seems to have enjoyed real prosperity under both comital dynasties, in no small part thanks to its geographical situation, which enabled it to escape the worst effects of the conquest of the Frankish states by Saladin in 1187–1188. The multi-ethnic structure of the Latin East may well have been more pronounced there than in the other states, and in the twelfth century the county had a certain individuality owing to the predominance of southern

French elements in its nobility, although this characteristic gradually faded. But the county of Tripoli never possessed a power comparable to the neighboring states of Antioch and Jerusalem.

—Jean Richard

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Troyes, Council (1129)

A church council, held at Troyes in Champagne in January 1129 (not 1128, as often cited in earlier works), that was a pivotal moment in the early history of the Order of the Temple.

The assembly marked the church's formal approval of a rule (regulations for the observance of a religious life) for this group of knights, which had formed in the Holy Land in 1120 with the aim of protecting pilgrims to Jerusalem. Although initial recruitment had been slight, King Baldwin II of Jerusalem saw the knights as making an important contri-

Troyes, Council (1129)

bution to the defense of his lands, and in 1125/1126 he wrote to Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, to try to secure his endorsement for the Templars. In 1127 their leader, the Champenois knight Hugh of Payns, toured the West to seek backing for the order and also to recruit men for a planned crusade against Damascus, and he successfully solicited grants of land and money in Champagne, Flanders, and Anjou.

In 1129 the papal legate Matthew of Albano presided over a council where Hugh set out the basic precepts for his men. Hugh proposed a community that attended the offices of the choir (or recited a set number of Paternosters), wore plain clothing, was celibate, but was also active in the outside world and had horses and servants. The order was to be governed by a master, under the jurisdiction of the patriarch

of Jerusalem. The churchmen present dissected Hugh's proposals, and, with the guiding hand of Bernard of Clairvaux, a rule of seventy-two clauses was drafted. This approval for the new order enabled it to attract substantial support over the next few years and laid the foundations for its long-term existence.

—Jonathan Phillips

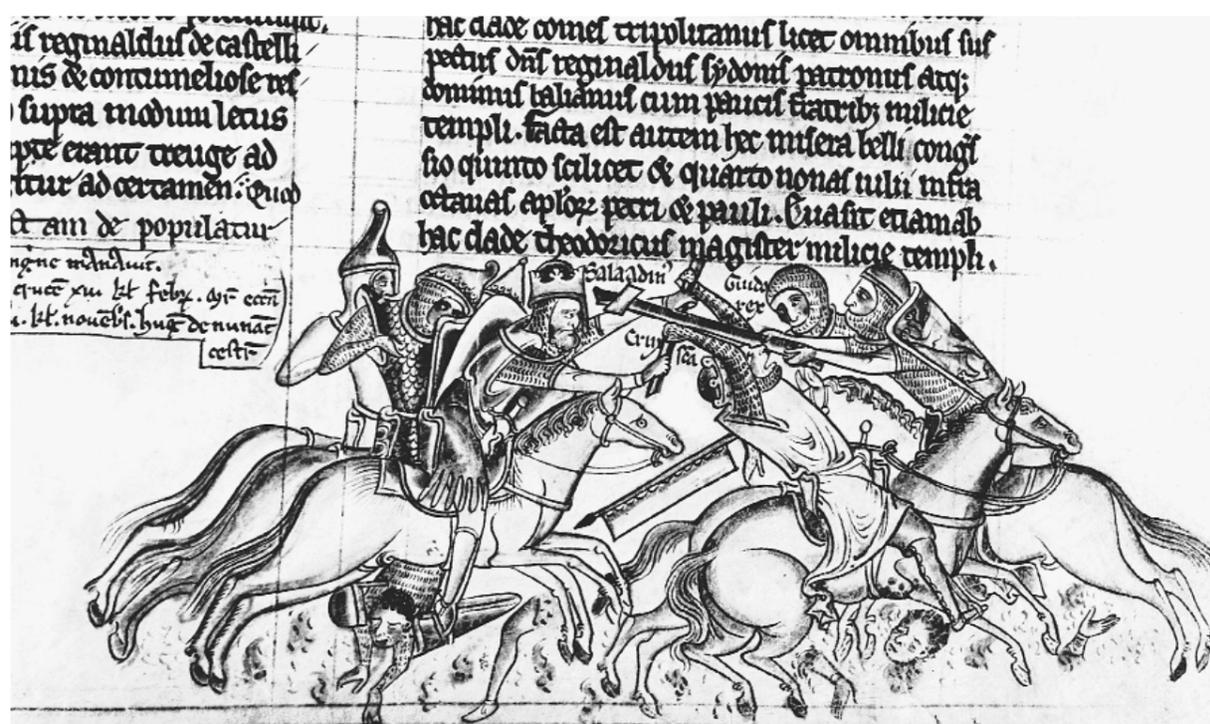
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Templar castle of Baghras in Cilician Armenia; it served as the northern Templar headquarters. (Courtesy Alfred Andrea)



Capture of the True Cross by Saladin at the battle of Hattin (1187). Illustration from a manuscript of Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora* (c. 1250). (TopFoto.co.uk)

Truce of God

See Peace and Truce of God

True Cross

The cross on which Christ died was a major impulse of the crusade movement, a symbol of the Frankish states of Outremer, and an important element of devotion to the Holy Land.

According to Eusebius of Caesarea (d. 339), the Roman emperor Constantine the Great chose the cross as his military insignia and standard following a vision, and Cyril of Jerusalem (d. c. 386) was the first to relate that the True Cross itself had been discovered. This event, which must have occurred before the middle of the fourth century and which two generations later was ascribed to St. Helena (d. 329), stimulated devotion to the True Cross both in Palestine and in the Latin West. When the Persians conquered Jerusalem

in 614, the relic was abducted, but Emperor Heraclius (d. 641) recovered it in the course of a counteroffensive in 628. When Jerusalem fell to the Muslim Arabs (c. 637) the relic was sent to Constantinople for safety. These occurrences only intensified the cult of the True Cross: from the seventh century onward, the Exaltation of the Cross (Lat. *Exaltatio sanctae Crucis*) was celebrated liturgically in both Eastern and Western Christendom; the Discovery of the Cross (Lat. *Inventio sanctae Crucis*) was also commemorated in some areas, and hymns or poems reinforced popular devotion. Particles of the True Cross formed part of processions and other liturgical acts, particularly in Rome and Constantinople, and relics of the True Cross were also carried into battle even before the First Crusade (1096–1099), both in Byzantium and in Christian Spain. Thus, it is not surprising that participants in the First Crusade carried relics of the True Cross to the East, just as crusaders from Germany and Flanders did when they made their way to the Holy Land in the course of the so-called Second Crusade (1147–1149).

Ṭughtigin (d. 1128)

The conquest of Jerusalem by the Christians in 1099 substantially promoted the cult of the True Cross. In the summer of that year, a fragment of the cross came to light, which was entrusted to the Latin patriarch and the chapter of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. This relic had supposedly been hidden in the seventh century before the Muslims took the town, and the major part was sent to Constantinople; it now became the symbol and liturgical focal point of the kingdom of Jerusalem. In the principality of Antioch, a separate particle was taken into battle as a palladium, only to be lost in battle at the Field of Blood on 28 June 1119. The Jerusalem relic, however, continued to serve liturgical, political, and military functions. It was kept in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, where it was an object of devotion for pilgrims and was watched over by the canons of the church. The patriarch and his chapter sometimes presented particles of the Cross to prominent visitors or sent *stauratheques* (reliquaries in the form of a double cross, which held a part of the original wood of the Cross) to the West, especially to priories of their own order.

The main Jerusalem relic, the “wood of the Lord” (Lat. *lignum Domini*), played a central part in the religious life of the kingdom during celebrations and processions; on occasions it also left the Holy City, most notably during military crises. It first served as battle insignia at the victory of Ascalon of 1099, and subsequently was taken on military expeditions no less than thirty-one times. It also accompanied the army on the ill-fated march to Hattin, where it was seized by the Muslims on 4 July 1187. In spite of diplomatic efforts to recover it, the Jerusalem relic remained lost. However, devotion to the True Cross remained strong, and fragments of it continued to be used, among other things, to emphasize crusade preaching. The flow of reliquaries from Constantinople to the West persisted and reached its climax as a result of the town’s sack and pillage in 1204.

—Nikolas Jaspert

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Tudebode

See Peter Tudebode

Ṭughtigin (d. 1128)

Zāhir al-Dīn Ṭughtigin was *atabeg* and regent for Duqāq, king of Damascus (1093–1104), and thereafter effectively independent lord of Damascus and its dominions (1105–1128).

In his youth, Ṭughtigin was in the service of Alp Arslān, the Great Saljūq sultan (d. 1072), and later joined the administration of Alp Arslān’s son Tutush I, the ruler of the Saljūq kingdom of Syria. In 1093 Tutush appointed Ṭughtigin as *atabeg* for his heir, Duqāq, and married him to Duqāq’s mother, Şafwat, after divorcing her. After the death of Tutush (1095), Ṭughtigin was de facto ruler of Damascus and southern Syria in his capacities of *atabeg* and commander of the army, under the nominal rule of Duqāq, who died in June 1104 at a relatively young age. Ṭughtigin then recognized Duqāq’s son, Tutush II, as ruler. After three months he replaced him with Duqāq’s brother Artāsh, who, however, soon fled to Frankish territory.

Ṭughtigin was now the unchallenged ruler of the realm. He continued to rule Damascus until 1115 without any change of title, declaring loyalty to the Saljūq sultan

Muḥammad in Persia. The sultan did not recognize him as ruler, but was too preoccupied with civil wars to intervene. The Saljūqid king of Aleppo, Riḍwān, was unable to claim Damascus, as he was occupied in warfare with the Franks of Antioch. Throughout his long career, Ṭughtigin was acutely pragmatic, aiming only to secure power for himself and for his son Būrī, who was a well-trained candidate married to Zumurrud, the sister of Duqāq. Ṭughtigin repeatedly shifted his alliances between the Turcoman lords of Iraq, the sultan, the Franks, and even the Fāṭimids in order to survive.

Between 1095 and the fall of Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) to the crusaders in 1099, Ṭughtigin fought alongside his lord Duqāq against the latter's brother Riḍwān of Aleppo. Until the death of Duqāq, Ṭughtigin did not show serious hostility toward the new Frankish states in Jerusalem or Edessa. He participated with a limited force in the ill-fated campaign of Karbughā at Antioch in 1098 and failed to defend the Damascene city of Haifa (mod. Hefa, Israel), which fell to the Franks in 1100. Ṭughtigin focused instead on consolidating his grip on Upper Mesopotamia, the life-line for new Turcoman recruits. He turned down an Egyptian request to cooperate against the Franks in 1103, as he feared the large Egyptian army and the consequences for Damascus if it was successful.

From 1105 to 1108, the Frankish lords of Tiberias tried to build forts on the Jaulan heights, threatening the vital trade route between Damascus and the port of Tyre (mod. Soūr, Lebanon). After much fighting in which two lords, Hugh of Fauquembergues and Gervase of Bazoches, were killed, Ṭughtigin and King Baldwin I of Jerusalem in 1108 agreed on a truce and a division of the revenues from the border area of al-Sāwad (Terre de Suète). The capture of the Fāṭimid port of Sidon (mod. Saīda, Lebanon) by Baldwin I (1110) put more economic pressure on Damascus. In consequence Ṭughtigin made an alliance with Mawdūd, lord of Mosul, and also responded to a Fāṭimid appeal to save Tyre from the Franks of Jerusalem. In 1112 Ṭughtigin sent troops under his capable son Būrī, who relieved the city, thus securing the last coastal outlet for Damascene trade, and improving relations with Fāṭimid Egypt.

The high point of Ṭughtigin's political career occurred in 1113, when Baldwin I invaded Damascene territory and Mawdūd of Mosul responded to Ṭughtigin's request for help. On 28 June 1113 the armies of Ṭughtigin and Mawdūd defeated the Franks at al-Sinnabrāh in Galilee and plundered northern Palestine as far as the coast for months. However,

Ṭughtigin feared that Mawdūd's success might endanger his own position and ended the campaign. After they returned to Damascus, Mawdūd was murdered by Assassins hired by Ṭughtigin (September 1113). Ṭughtigin then concluded a truce with King Baldwin, and proceeded to form a great alliance that included his son-in-law Ḳhāzī and Roger, prince of Antioch. Deterred by this alliance and in order to secure nominal authority over southern Syria, Sultan Muḥammad confirmed Ṭughtigin's political status in Damascus in November 1115, granting him the title *amīr* (prince, emir) and giving his family the right of inheritance.

In 1116 Ṭughtigin allied with Aq-Sunqūr al-Bursuqī, the new lord of Mosul, and both rulers defeated an invading army led by Pons, count of Tripoli. The last major victory for Ṭughtigin came about in alliance with Ḳhāzī, now lord of Aleppo, in defending their lands against the Franks of Antioch. In June 1119 the allies inflicted a major defeat on the Antiochenes, known as the *Ager Sanguinis*, in which Prince Roger was killed and his army largely destroyed. Yet Ṭughtigin never capitalized on the victory, as he feared the revenge of Baldwin II of Jerusalem and could not keep his army of seasonally mustered Turcomans together. When the Franks of Jerusalem finally captured Tyre in 1124, Damascus was weakened and came under renewed attacks from Jerusalem for the rest of Ṭughtigin's rule. In 1128 Ṭughtigin died after two years of illness, appointing his son Būrī as successor.

–Taef El-Azhari

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Tūrān Shāh (d. 1250)

Tūrān Shāh ibn al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb (royal title al-Mu'azzam) was the last Ayyūbid sultan of Egypt (March–May 1250).

He was one of four sons of Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ, and he acted

as his father's deputy at Hisn Kayfa and other dominions of Diyar Bakr until al-Ṣāliḥ's death. Al-Ṣāliḥ constantly turned down his commanders' advice to recall Tūrān Shāh to his father's court in Egypt; neither did he nominate him (or anyone else) as successor to the Ayyūbid sultanate during his final illness, even though the army of the first Crusade of Louis IX of France (1248–1254) had occupied the eastern part of the Nile Delta.

When al-Ṣāliḥ died (November 1249), his widow Shajar al-Durr, with the help of two commanders, concealed his death from the army and the locals, fearing a collapse in morale in the struggle against the crusaders. Shajar al-Durr dispatched an embassy to Hisn Kayfa to summon Tūrān Shāh to Cairo to assume the sultanate. Tūrān Shāh came with a small force via Damascus to Egypt, where he took power in early March, with the full support of his father's widow and the commanders of the *mamlūk* troops (military slaves). In April 1250 King Louis IX was defeated in the Delta, although Tūrān Shāh made little personal contribution to the Ayyūbid victory. He showed ingratitude to his fathers' commanders, replacing some of them with his Iraqi companions, and further isolated himself by threatening and even killing them while drunk. Encouraged by Shajar al-Durr, the *mamlūk* commanders, led by Baybars and Aqtay, murdered Tūrān Shāh in a brutal fashion (May 1250). This coup marked the inception of the Mamlūk sultanate in Egypt, and King Louis was allowed to leave Egypt for Palestine in the same month.

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Turbessel

Turbessel, known in Arabic as Tall Bāshir (mod. Tellbaşar Kalesi, Turkey), was a castle and town in northern Syria in the valley of the Sājūr, a tributary of the Euphrates. During the Frankish period Turbessel was one of the most important strongholds of the county of Edessa and was the seat of its greatest lordship from 1101 to 1113.

The castle is sited on a high, steep mound (partly artificial), about 350 meters (c. 1,150 ft.) long; in the crusader

period the town was also defended by a wall. It was a minor Byzantine center after its reconquest from the Muslims by Emperor Nikephoros I in 962, and it was repopulated by Armenians. It was captured by the Saljūq sultan Malik Shāh in 1086, but during the First Crusade (1096–1099) it was taken by Baldwin of Boulogne in 1097 with local support. On his departure for Edessa (February 1098) Baldwin gave it to a local Armenian lord, Fer; and then, with Ravendel, to Godfrey of Bouillon, who based himself there in the summer of 1098. In 1101 Baldwin II of Edessa granted it to his cousin Joscelin I of Courtenay as the main seat of a fief covering all of the lands of the county of Edessa west of the Euphrates.

Turbessel was a base for raids into Muslim territory and became very wealthy, so much so that Baldwin confiscated it from Joscelin in 1113. Thereafter it formed part of the count's own domain, and after Joscelin succeeded to the county (1119) when Baldwin became king of Jerusalem, the counts tended to live there rather than in Edessa. Turbessel was probably also the usual residence of the Latin archbishops whose nominal see was at the smaller town of Duluk further to the north.

Turbessel's strategic position also attracted raids: it was briefly besieged by the army of Mawdūd of Mosul in 1111; the region was raided by the Artūqid ruler Īlghāzī in 1120; it was threatened by the Byzantine emperor John II Komnenos in 1142. After the capture of Count Joscelin II by the Turks in 1150, Turbessel was defended by his wife, Beatrix, against the Saljūq sultan Ma'sūd and Nūr al-Dīn. Beatrix sold the castle to the Byzantine emperor, who sent a garrison to occupy it, but in July 1151 it surrendered to Nūr al-Dīn's general Hassan al-Manbijī. It remained in the hands of followers of the Zangids until a brief occupation by the Saljūq sultan 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs in 1218, after which it belonged to Ayyūbid princes.

The town flourished until the Mongol invasion of Hülegü in 1260. It may have been briefly given to the Armenian king, Het'um I, but by 1263–1264 it was held by the Mamlūk sultan Baybars I, who demolished the castle. An Arab geographer writing at this time, Ibn Shaddād, describes Turbessel as having been rich and fertile but as being by then depopulated apart from a group of Turcoman nomads; it still possessed a Mamlūk governor, and some of the dependent villages remained settled. The town was sacked by the army of the Turkic conqueror Timur in 1400, after which the Mamlūks no longer maintained a garrison there.

–*Angus Stewart*

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Turcomans

Turcomans, or Türkmén, was the name given principally to the Oghuz (Ghuzz) Turks when they entered the Islamic world from their homeland to the northeast of the Caspian Sea in the course of the eleventh century.

The term is most likely to mean “*the* Turks,” and to have been used for Turkish immigrants who had accepted Islam. The Turks in question were those who had accompanied the Saljūq clan of the Oghuz into Persia from the beginning of the eleventh century. As unarmored horsemen armed with composite bows and curved swords, they provided the Saljūqs with the numbers to conquer an empire, but as shepherding nomads, they moved through the mountains to the south of the Caspian Sea in search of pasture, resisting Saljūq control as they pressed ahead into Mesopotamia, Anatolia, and Syria as *ghāzīs* (warriors for Islam) to create their own principalities. They failed at Damascus and Jerusalem, but the Dānishmendid dynasty and others established themselves in highland Anatolia, and the Artūqids in Diyar Bakr, becoming more heavily armed and armored in the Saljūq fashion.

The westward spread of these nomads across the uplands of northern Persia and Anatolia introduced a major new element into the population and the economy of the highland zone. In Anatolia (Asia Minor) it began the process of Turkification and Islamization of the majority of the population by the end of the Middle Ages, but whether this resulted from repopulation or conversion is difficult to say. Turcomans often made up an important element of the Muslim military forces that confronted the Franks of Outremer, serving not only their own leaders but frequently also joining armies led by Saljūq commanders. However, they were usually less amenable to discipline than the Saljūqs' own household troops.

By the end of the twelfth century, the Turcoman principalities of Anatolia were in retreat before the Saljūq sultanate of Rūm and the Ayyūbids, but farther east the Turcomans of Khurasan had defeated the Great Saljūqs, before the whole

region fell to the Khwārazm-Shāh and the Mongols. Turcoman expansion, however, continued, until by the end of Mongol rule in the fourteenth century, a rash of new Turcoman principalities appeared in Anatolia, notably the Ottomans, the Aydin dynasty at İzmir (Smyrna), and the Karaman at Konya (Ikonion). By the fifteenth century, the Turcoman Kara Koyunlu (“Black Sheep”) in eastern Anatolia, followed by the Ak Koyunlu (“White Sheep”) in Diyar Bakr, had conquered a vast but ephemeral empire in Iraq and Persia. All fell victim to the Ottomans and the Şafawids of Persia.

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Turcoples

Turcoples or Turcoples (Gr. *Tourkopouloi*, Lat. *Turcopoli* or *Turcopolieri*) were Christianized mercenaries of Turkish origin in the service of Byzantine and Frankish armies in the Balkans and the Near and Middle East in the period of the crusades, especially from the late eleventh century onward.

Turcoples were found fighting for the Franks of Outremer against the Muslims (twelfth–thirteenth centuries), for Byzantium against the Catalan invaders in Greece, on the latter's side against the eastern empire (fourteenth century), as well as in Cyprus and Rhodes in the course of the Latin dominations there (late twelfth to early sixteenth centuries). Western sources such as Raymond of Aguilers and Albert of Aachen present them mainly as offspring of mixed marriages between Turkish (either Saljūq or Turcoman) fathers (archaically referred to as Persians by the Byzantines) and Christian (Anatolian Greek) mothers.

Initially encountered in late eleventh-century Byzantine

Turks

sources as *Tourkopouloi*, they were active in imperial service chiefly in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, according to the Byzantine historians Pachymeres and Gregoras. They played a significant role in the Byzantine-Frankish war of 1263–1264 in the Peloponnese, while in the late thirteenth century the Turcopole descendants of Kay-Kāwūs II, Saljūq sultan of Rūm (1246–1257), were installed in imperial lands in central and northwest Macedonia, in the area of the river Axios (Vardar). In the early fourteenth century, several of them were settled in western Thrace, following their participation in Catalan raids against Byzantium.

In Frankish states of Outremer, Cyprus, and Greece, Turcoples were employed in imitation of the Byzantine *Tourkopouloi*. Several twelfth- and thirteenth-century Western sources mention them as troops in the service of various Frankish rulers or of the military orders. After 1204 the Latin Empire of Constantinople received Turcopole reinforcements against the Bulgarian Asenids. In Cyprus, from 1192 the Lusignan rulers distributed fiefs among Turcopole mounted troops under the command of an officer known as the Grand Turcopolier, and from that time Latin sources refer to them mainly as light-armed archers who served in the capacity of police forces. The Hospitaller Knights effected the conquest of Rhodes (1306–1309/1310) with the help of light-armed horsemen called *Turcopolieri* or *Turcupelleri*, who were then used extensively by the order to patrol the island's coasts.

—Alexios G. C. Savvides

See also: Warfare: Outremer

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Turks

Turks is a name that refers to any group speaking a language from the Turkic subfamily of the Ural-Altai language family. The original home of these groups was in Central Asia, where there was a Turkic empire during the sixth century. During the period of the crusades, large areas of the Muslim world were under Turkish rule, and the period of the later crusades saw the unification of the region under the Ottoman Turkish dynasty.

When the crusades began, the Saljūqs represented the most important Turkish dynasty in the Near and Middle East. They were a family of Ghuzz (or Oghuz) Turks who had filtered into the Islamic world in the tenth century; by the eleventh they had come to rule an empire covering most of the region from Syria and Anatolia in the west to Khurasan in the east. However, the division of territory among different princes led to the break-up of the Saljūq domains, and by the thirteenth century only one branch of the family held power, in the sultanate of Rūm, with its capital at Ikonion (mod. Konya, Turkey).

Several smaller Turkish dynasties rose to fill the power vacuum left by the Saljūq decline. One of these, the Dānishmendids, ruled central and northeastern Anatolia in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. The Artūqids ruled in northern Iraq and Syria during much of the same period, and prevented the Franks from taking Aleppo in 1119. They were in part superseded by the Zangids, who conquered Egypt before both they and some of the remaining Artūqids lost power to the Ayyūbids, a dynasty that was Kurdish in origin but that nonetheless retained Turkish features. The Khwārazm-Shahs ruled in Central Asia and Persia from the late eleventh until the early thirteenth century, when they were defeated by the Mongols.

In addition, nomadic Turkic groups, usually called Turcomans (Türkmen), inhabited much of the Middle and Near East. Some of these groups followed regional urban rulers, while others paid allegiance only to their own chiefs. Different groups fought for both Muslim and Christian powers. At the time of the First Crusade (1096–1099), the Kipchak confederation occupied the steppes of southern Russia (i.e., mod. Ukraine), and large numbers of the Mamlūks were originally slaves taken from their numbers. Some Kipchaks also fought for the Franks or Byzantines. During the fourteenth century, two large Turcoman confederations, the Kara Koyunlu (Black Sheep) and Ak Koyunlu (White Sheep), fought for preeminence in Iraq and Persia.

The age of the later crusades saw the rise of the Ottoman Empire. Dispute rages on the ultimate origin of the Ottomans, but during the thirteenth century they emerged as a leading *ghāzī* (warriors for Islam) state in the vicinity of Bursa in northwestern Anatolia. By the sixteenth century the Ottomans had united the Balkans, the Near East, and North Africa in an empire with its capital at Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey). Crusades called against the Ottomans, such as the Nikopolis Crusade (1396) and the Varna Crusade (1444), were unsuccessful, and the empire lasted for several centuries.

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Tutush I (1066–1095)

Tutush I ibn Alp Arslān was Saljūq king (Arab. *malik*) of Syria (1078–1095), with the title Taj al-Dawla (Crown of the State), ruling under the overlordship of his brother the Great Saljūq sultan Malik Shāh I (d. 1092).

Tutush was a son of Sultan Alp Arslān (d. 1072), whose armies conquered Syria from the Fāṭimids of Egypt in the years 1070–1075. His appointment as ruler came about after the defeat of Atsiz ibn Uwaq, the Saljūq commander of southern Syria and Palestine, by the Fāṭimids at Cairo (February 1077) and the ensuing rebellions against Saljūq rule in Palestine. At this time Malik Shāh I was busy fighting a civil war in Persia, but wanted to ensure continuing Saljūq rule of Syria and Palestine, and ultimately, a successful invasion of Egypt and the ending of the Fāṭimid Shīʿite caliphate.

Tutush came to Syria in 1078. He executed Atsiz ibn

Uwaq and took control of Damascus and most of Palestine, including Jerusalem and the important coastal cities of Jaffa (mod. Yel Aviv-Yafo) and Sidon (mod. Saīda, Lebanon). In his government the young king depended on several Turcoman officers, notably his faithful commander Zāhir al-Dīn Ṭughtigin, who acted as his deputy. Tutush did not gain control of all of inland Syria until May 1094, when he finally captured Aleppo. He established a modus vivendi with the ruling dynasties of Tyre (mod. Soūr, Lebanon), the Banū ʿUqail, and of Tripoli (mod. Trāblous, Lebanon), the Banū ʿAmmār. In 1081 Tutush seized Tortosa (mod. Tartūs, Syria) from the Fāṭimids, weakening further the Fāṭimid naval presence in Syria.

With most of the Palestinian coast under Tutush's control, the Fāṭimids allied with the ʿUqailids of Aleppo, who refused to submit to Tutush's authority. In June 1083 Damascus came under siege from the Aleppan army, which was defeated by Tutush. The Fāṭimid-Aleppan alliance caused Tutush to change his strategy by seeking good relations with the Fāṭimids of Egypt, although his diplomatic initiatives proved fruitless. In 1086 Sultan Malik Shāh arrived in northern Syria and appointed some of his Turkish commanders as governors in key cities there: Yāghī Siyān at Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey) and Aq-Sunqur at Aleppo. As they answered to Malik Shāh in Persia, Tutush's authority and ambition in Syria were restricted. The Fāṭimids continued to press him in Palestine, capturing Sidon, Tyre, and Acre (mod. ʿAkko, Israel).

On the death of Malik Shāh (December 1092), Tutush decided to claim the sultanate, challenging the dead sultan's sons Maḥmūd (the designated heir) and Barkyārūq. He secured the support of all the Turkish leaders of Syria (including Aq-Sunqur) and was about to confront his nephew Barkyārūq in battle at al-Rayy in summer 1093, when Aq-Sunqur and another commander, Buzān, shifted their loyalties to Barkyārūq, forcing Tutush to retire to Damascus. Tutush spent the winter of 1093–1094 in Damascus and in the spring attacked Aleppo, having arranged a marriage between his son Riḍwān and a daughter of Yāghī Siyān of Antioch. In May 1094 he defeated the Aleppan army and had Aq-Sunqur executed. By January 1095 Tutush had gained recognition as sultan from the Abbāsīd caliph, and controlled most of Syria, Anatolia, Iraq, and western Persia. However, on 26 February 1095 his forces were defeated by the army of Barkyārūq in a battle at the village of Dashlu, south of the Caspian Sea, where Tutush was killed. He left

Tutush II (d. 1105)

five sons; two of them, Duqāq and Riḍwān, started a civil war in Syria that continued up to the arrival of the First Crusade (1096–1099).

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Tutush II (d. 1105)

Nominal Saljūq ruler of Damascus in June–October 1004.

At the age of one, Tutush was nominated as successor by his father, Duqāq, who died at the end of June 1104. However, real power in Damascus was exercised by Duqāq's *atabeg*, Zāhir al-Dīn Ṭughtigin, who after little more than three months replaced the young prince with Duqāq's brother Artāsh ibn Tutush.

–*Alan V. Murray*

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Tyre

The city of Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon) was one of the most important ports of the kingdom of Jerusalem from the time of its capture by the Franks (1124) up to its final loss to the Mamlūks in 1291.

Tyre was a major entrepôt for the exchange of goods between the Near East and Europe, thanks to its position at the end of roads from Damascus and Aleppo. Its physical location made the city almost impregnable: it was situated on a tongue of land that was defended on the seaward side by a double, and on the landward side by a triple wall. Muslim Tyre owed allegiance to Fāṭimid Egypt at the time of the crusader conquest of Palestine in 1099, and resisted the Franks until 1124, when it was forced to capitulate after a concerted siege by land and sea conducted by the army of the kingdom of Jerusalem and a Venetian fleet, lasting almost four months.

For its help in conquering Tyre, the Republic of Venice received by treaty (the *Pactum Warmundi* of 1123) one-third of the city and its surrounding area as sovereign territory, along with wide-ranging legal privileges and an annuity of

300 bezants from the proceeds of the royal market in the city. The estates in the surrounding area were granted to leading Venetians as fiefs. The non-Venetian section of the city and its surrounding territory became part of the royal demesne, and this was where the commercial activity of the other Western merchants came to be concentrated. In the period up to 1187, only the Pisans maintained a trading dependency in the royal part of the city; from the time of the Third Crusade (1189–1192) onward, they attempted to secure additional privileges. The Genoese and Provençals obtained a privileged toehold in Tyre only after 1187.

The native population played no part in long-distance trade, which was dominated by the Italians. The city itself had important industries, notably silk, produced by highly specialized Syrian weavers (especially in the Venetian Quarter), as well as the manufacture of glass. The coastal plain was fertile, and agriculture there was very productive, thanks to a well-developed system of irrigation (at least in the thirteenth century) and to some extent was geared toward the export of products such as sugarcane, wine, and oil.

In the church hierarchy of the Latin patriarchate of Jerusalem, the archbishop of Tyre was second only to the patriarch. However, only his suffragan bishops within the kingdom of Jerusalem (Acre, Beirut, and Sidon) came under the authority of the patriarchate of Jerusalem; the others belonged to the Latin patriarchate of Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey). The cathedral was the burial place of Frederick I Barbarossa, Holy Roman Emperor (1190) and of other prominent individuals. Documents refer to several parish churches, as well as to churches inside the Italian trade quarters (whose legal status was frequently contested between the Italian communes and the archbishop), and those belonging to other bishops, military and monastic orders, and canons.

After the defeat of the army of Jerusalem by Saladin at Hattin (3–4 July 1187), Tyre became the most important base of military operations for the Franks of Outremer and crusaders from the West. Thanks to the assistance of the Italians, especially Pisan and Genoese fleets, it was able to repel two Muslim sieges. From July 1187 the defense of the city was directed by Conrad, marquis of Montferrat, who proceeded to make it into a power base of his own in opposition to Guy of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem. The following year Conrad refused Guy entry to Tyre after his release from captivity by Saladin, and in 1190 the king ceded the city to him. On the death of Guy's wife, Queen Sibyl (3 November 1190), Conrad married her sister Isabella, who was the

heir to the kingdom, and claimed the government for himself. In the spring of 1192 Conrad was recognized as future ruler of the kingdom, but shortly before his coronation he was murdered by the Assassins (28 April 1192); he was buried in the cathedral of Tyre.

From this time Tyre replaced Jerusalem as the coronation venue for the kings of Jerusalem. Its financial importance for the Crown began to overtake that of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), where, although it was the more important metropolis, many of the royal prerogatives could no longer be exploited or had been surrendered to the Italian and Provençal cities. Thus, from the reign of Henry of Champagne (1192–1197) onward, the monarchy revoked many of the privileges that had been conceded in Tyre to the Italian cities.

When Emperor Frederick II came to the Holy Land in 1228–1229 as regent for his son Conrad (king of Jerusalem after the death of his mother Isabella of Brienne), he was able to assert his claims to Tyre, and secured Frankish rule through his treaty with the Ayyūbid sultan al-Kāmil. After Frederick's departure (May 1229), Tyre became a stronghold of the pro-Staufen party in the kingdom and the residence of the imperial *bailli* (regent) Richard Filangieri until his expulsion in 1243. Thereafter it was governed by Balian of Ibelin and from 1246 by Philip of Montfort (d. 1283), to whom King Henry I of Cyprus assigned the guardianship (Lat. *custodia*) of the city. Philip invested a great deal of money in improving the city's defenses, which had suffered considerable damage from an earthquake in 1203/1204.

During the War of St. Sabas (1257–1258), Philip allied himself with Genoa against Venice. The expulsion of the Genoese from Acre by the Venetians led him to confiscate all Venetian possessions in Tyre and expel the Venetians from the city. The Genoese who had been driven out of Acre settled in Tyre, which became the seat of the Genoese colonial administration for all of Syria and Palestine. Philip's treaty with the Genoese in 1264 and its precise description of their position, rights, and responsibilities shows his hope of a revival of international trade from their presence in Tyre and with it an increase of his own income. His son and successor John reestablished peace with Venice in 1277, restoring the rights and property the Venetians had previously held in Tyre, and granting reparations for loss of income and funds to reconstruct buildings in the Venetian Quarter.

In 1269 John of Monfort married Margaret of Lusignan, sister of King Hugh III of Cyprus I of Jerusalem, thus securing the position of his family in Tyre. The city now became

Hugh's most important base on the mainland, although this did not save Tyre from Mamlūk expansion. After the city was threatened by Mamlūk raids in 1266 and 1269, John of Montfort was forced to enter into a treaty with Sultan Baybars I in 1270–1271 over the division, administration, and financial use of the territory around Tyre. In 1285 John's widow Margaret agreed to a ten-year truce with Sultan Qalawūn, by which she relinquished half of her revenues and promised never to rebuild the defenses of the city. This armistice secured for the sultan the most profitable lands in the lordship. After the fall of Acre (1291), the nobility and wealthier inhabitants fled to Cyprus, and when Mamlūk troops occupied Tyre on 19 May, the remaining inhabitants were either killed or sold into slavery. The city was completely destroyed on the orders of the sultan; it had no significance in the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods.

—Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie

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Tzachas

See Chaka

U

Ugaunia

Ugaunia (Est. *Ugandi*) was a province of medieval Livonia corresponding to the southeastern part of modern Estonia. Its main centers were Odenpäh (mod. Otepää) and Dorpat (mod. Tartu). During the Baltic Crusades, Ugaunia was one of the first Estonian provinces to confront the crusaders.

The chronicler Henry of Livonia claims that Lettgallian tribes had suffered greatly under the Ugaunians, who had also robbed merchants from the Baltic island of Gotland. The first crusader raid to Ugaunia was undertaken in 1208, when Odenpäh was burned. In the following years, Ugaunia was raided often by crusaders, Lettgallians, and Russians. The Ugaunians were, however, able to organize counter-raids. By 1216 the people of the province had been baptized and the crusaders had started to fortify themselves in Odenpäh, but they were temporarily driven out by Estonian tribes allied with Russians from Pskov, who also had claims over the province.

Another serious drawback in the development of German government in the province was an Estonian uprising in 1223–1224 that was also supported by neighboring Russian principalities. After the final subjection of the province by crusader forces from Riga (1224), Ugaunia formed the core possession of the bishops of Dorpat.

–*Juhan Kreem*

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Ulrich von Jungingen (d. 1410)

Grand master of the Teutonic Order (1407–1410) who died in the battle of Tannenberg.

Ulrich was born around 1360 into a knightly family from Swabia, and later joined the order along with his elder brother Konrad. From 1383, Ulrich held different offices in Prussia before becoming the order’s marshal in 1404. After the death of Konrad, who had been grand master, Ulrich became his successor, on 26 June 1407. One of his main tasks was the permanent pacification of the province of Samogitia, which had been granted to the order in 1398 by the Treaty of Sallinwerder. The order could not, however, secure its lordship, and in 1409 Vytautas, the grand duke of Lithuania, supported a Samogitian uprising. Because Poland refused to guarantee a truce while the order was fighting its Lithuanian opponents, Ulrich decided on an attack on Poland.

This plan seemed at first to be a convincing one, but it turned out to be a fatal mistake. In late summer 1409, the order started a successful attack against Poland that led to a nine-month truce. When hostilities were resumed, King Władysław II of Poland had allied with Vytautas, whereas Sigismund, king of Hungary, and Wenzel, king of Bohemia, did not provide the help that Ulrich had hoped for. On 15 July 1410, the order’s army clashed with the united Polish-

Unur (d. 1149)

Lithuanian forces near the villages of Tannenberg and Grunwald. After a fierce battle, the order suffered the most dramatic defeat in its history. Ulrich and more than 200 knight brethren died in combat. His body was later recovered from the battlefield and buried in St. Anne's chapel at the castle of Marienburg (mod. Malbork, Poland). Because of his decision for war, Ulrich has often been labeled as a hothead, but modern historians have developed a more balanced view of Ulrich's character.

–Axel Ehlers

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Unur (d. 1149)

Mu'īn al-Dīn Unur, *atabeg* of Damascus (1138–1149). Unur was originally a Turcoman *mamlūk* (slave soldier) of Ṭughtigin, *atabeg* of Damascus (d. 1128). He came to power in a coup in April 1138, and until his death was *atabeg* and army commander (Arab. *isfahsālār*) under three successive rulers ("kings"): Maḥmūd ibn Būrī (d. 1139), Muḥammad ibn Būrī (d. 1140), and Ābaq ibn Muḥammad.

Up to 1146–1147, Unur's policies were characterized by resistance to Zangī, *atabeg* of Mosul, and cooperation with the Franks of the kingdom of Jerusalem. When Maḥmūd ibn Būrī was murdered in June, probably at the instigation of Zangī, Unur managed to keep Damascus secure by smoothly transferring the government to Muḥammad ibn Būrī. The latter died during a seven-month siege of the city by Zangī (1139–1140), and Unur installed Muḥammad's young son Ābaq as the new sovereign. Unur obtained help from King Fulk of Jerusalem, offering him 20,000 dinars per month during the campaign and the surrender of the strategic town of Banyas. Zangī abandoned the siege at the approach of the Frankish army. The alliance between Damascus and Jerusalem lasted until 1147. In that year, Unur gave his daughter in marriage to Nūr al-Dīn, Zangī's son and successor, which led to an improvement in relations between the two rulers.

Later in the year, Queen Melisende of Jerusalem abandoned the long-standing alliance with Damascus and sup-

ported a rebellion against Unur by one of his vassals in Bosra. Unur joined with Nūr al-Dīn, and their combined forces inflicted a heavy defeat on the Franks during the summer; Unur prevented the Turcoman troops from pursuing the defeated Franks. On 24 July 1148 Unur successfully defended his city against the siege mounted by the combined armies of the kingdom of Jerusalem and the Second Crusade (1147–1149), having obtained military assistance from Mosul and Aleppo for help. He welcomed the truce for two years proposed in May 1149 by the kingdom of Jerusalem, which enabled him to continue his policy of keeping the balance of power between the Franks and the Turkish powers in the north. Unur died on 28 August 1149, and Damascus suffered long economic warfare by Nūr al-Dīn until it was forced to surrender to him in 1154.

–Taef El-Azhari

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Urban II (d. 1099)

Pope (1088–1099), who can be considered as the initiator of the crusade movement through his promulgation of the expedition that came to be known as the First Crusade (1096–1099).

Originally named Odo of Châtillon, the future pope was born in the diocese of Soissons around the year 1035, a member of the aristocracy of Champagne. Odo was educated at the cathedral school of Rheims and became a canon and eventually archdeacon at Rheims. In 1067/1070 he entered the monastery of Cluny, where he became prior under Abbot Hugh. In about 1080 Pope Gregory VII appointed Odo as cardinal bishop of Ostia, a signal honor that indicates the great esteem in which he was by then held in the church. During the crisis of Gregory's last years, he entrusted Odo with a legatine mission to Germany, where he shored up support for the reformed papacy in the south. After the death of Gregory's successor, Victor III (September 1087), the papacy seemed in greater distress than ever, with Rome firmly in the hands of the imperialist antipope, Clement III (Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna). Odo was elected pope at Terracina south of Rome on 12 March 1088, choosing the papal name



The arrival of Pope Urban II in France, from the *Roman de Godefroi de Bouillon*, 1337. (Giraudon/Art Resource)

Urban; this was most likely out of veneration for his distant predecessor Urban I (222–230), familiar to him on the basis of decretals forged under his name in the ninth-century canonical collection known as the *Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals*, but the name could also be understood as an indication that he considered himself the bishop of the Eternal City.

Urban's beginnings were very difficult indeed. He could not enter Rome until 1093, after Clement III had withdrawn to the north of Italy. The situation in southern Italy, where Norman princes struggled against each other, the Byzantines, and non-Normans, was politically and ecclesiastically confused. The issue of whether bishops and churches were to follow Greek or Latin rites was nearly insoluble, and the experiences gained in that struggle as well as during the *Reconquista* (the reconquest of Iberia from the Muslims) probably formed the background to one of his later rulings regarding the Holy Land. As reported by Paschal II at the Council of Benevento (1113), in response to an appeal regarding the archbishopric of Tyre, Urban II determined at

the Council of Clermont that ecclesiastical and political boundaries in Outremer should coincide, a decision that Paschal upheld.

Even during the early years of his pontificate, Urban never hesitated in his efforts to reform the church and elevate the Christian morals of both clergy and laity, particularly of the former, enjoining celibacy, ensuring canonical elections to church offices, prohibiting simony in connection with ordinations, and excluding lay influence in general from matters ecclesiastical. He convened three major councils while in southern Italy: Melfi (1089), Benevento (1091), and Troia (1093). The canons (decisions) of these councils were included in contemporary canonical collections and thus preserved. A decree from Melfi prohibited lay investiture of bishops and abbots. Like the letters and privileges of the pontiff, many of his conciliar and juridical decisions were of fundamental importance for the burgeoning new religious movements, foremost among them eremitical foundations and the canons regular. It is no exaggeration to state that it

Urban II (d. 1099)

was Urban II who rescued the eleventh-century church reform and endowed the measures of Gregory VII with permanent validity. Urban's successes were also in part a result of administrative changes at the Curia, in particular the reorganization of papal finances under a chamberlain on the pattern established at Cluny. He secured support from Roman churches by further expanding the college of cardinals and granting all ranks of cardinals participation in the government of the church.

Urban's return to Rome in late 1093 marked the second phase of his pontificate, a rebuilding of papal authority throughout the Latin Church. Even with the invaluable assistance in the north of Countess Matilda of Tuscany and her troops, who defended Urban against Emperor Henry IV, and in the south of the Normans, Urban was never able to defeat Clement III, who had withdrawn to his archbishopric of Ravenna, but he proved himself a master of diplomacy. Willing to grant concessions and dispensations, he managed to secure the recognition of his pontificate in France and Spain as well as in England, ecclesiastically isolating the German monarchy. Since Henry IV refused to renounce the traditional right of investiture and to abandon Clement III, no compromise was possible there. Urban II even expanded the prohibition of lay investiture to a prohibition of fealty or homage by clerics to laymen. He gained the unstinting support of Count Roger I of Sicily, whom he granted special privileges regarding legations (1098), in a document that was to become the basis of the Sicilian monarchy. He carefully avoided a complete rupture with King Philip I of France despite that king's marital problems. In Spain Urban furthered the Reconquista and reorganized the church by establishing Bernard, the Cluniac archbishop of Toledo, as primate and settling quarrels over episcopal ranking among old and newly Christian towns. In 1095 he granted a solemn papal privilege to King Peter I of Aragon.

Urban's journey to France in 1095–1096 along an itinerary that touched many important regions, though not the area under the authority of Philip I, could be described as a triumphal return to his homeland. Beginning with the Council of Piacenza in northern Italy (March 1095), the journey was punctuated by several important councils, which Urban used to publicize reforming legislation and to give pastoral encouragement, as well as to settle disputes: Clermont (1095), and Tours and Nîmes (1096). His later councils at the Lateran in Rome (1097), Bari (1098), and St. Peter's in Rome (1099) continued the traditions established since the

beginning of his pontificate and probably repromulgated and expanded the legislation best known from the councils of Piacenza and Clermont. The Council of Bari was one of his largest councils, but no decrees issued there have survived. However, it is known as a forum for the exchange of views held by the Latin and the Greek church; Anselm of Canterbury, who was in exile at the time, gave an address defending the Latin tradition of the double procession of the Holy Spirit, that is, the belief that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father "and from the Son" (Lat. *filioque*).

Urban's most famous council is that of Clermont in Auvergne (18–28 November 1095). It is forever associated with the crusades because two of its recorded regulations became the juristic foundation of the crusading movement. Urban announced a remission of all penance for all those who went to Jerusalem for the sake of liberating the church without any desire for personal gain. He placed the goods and property of all who participated under the protection of the Peace and Truce of God, that is, he protected them from any kind of seizure or infringement until the owners had returned from the East. As a third component, he issued a call to arms in a public speech at the conclusion of the council. The immediate motivation was an appeal to Urban as the leader of the Latin West by emissaries of Alexios I Komnenos, the Byzantine emperor, for military aid against the Turks, an appeal that arrived prior to the Council of Piacenza in March 1095. But Urban's request at Clermont was not formulated as a response to the emperor's appeal. He asked for aid for the Christian churches in the East and mentioned Jerusalem, but geography made an alliance between Alexios and Urban II a precondition of the crusade, and Constantinople the only possible point of departure for an army on the way to the Holy Land. Thus, assisting Constantinople and assisting the Eastern Christians and Jerusalem must be seen as a single objective.

The reconquests of Spain and southern Italy (especially Sicily) were examples that certainly must have come to mind. At Clermont Urban is not known to have mentioned Byzantium or the rapprochement between Latin and Greek Christians, but it is conceivable that he may have hoped to create better conditions for future negotiations. Urban's appeal brought forth an immediate response from those assembled to hear it and rapidly gained adherents throughout the West. Adhemar of Monteil, bishop of Le Puy, was appointed as leader of the expedition on 27 November, and its departure was fixed for August 1096, after the harvest.

Chroniclers tell unanimously of crosses worn by those who were to participate.

After Clermont, Urban continued to drum up support for the crusade through his travels and letters. During the winter of 1098–1099, he appointed Daibert, archbishop of Pisa, as legate for the new territories that the crusaders had conquered. However, Urban's death on 29 July 1099 at Rome meant that he did not hear of the culmination of the expedition he had proclaimed, the capture of Jerusalem on 15 July 1099.

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Urban IV (d. 1264)

Pope (1261–1264).

Jacques (James) Pantaléon, as he was originally known, was born toward the end of the twelfth century (perhaps in 1185) as the son of a shoemaker at Troyes. After attending the cathedral school of Notre-Dame-aux-Nonnains in Troyes, he studied canon law in Paris and became a canon of Laon in 1223. Around 1242 he was appointed archdean of Campine (Liège) and three years later attended the First Council of Lyons. Pope Innocent IV, probably recognizing his diplomatic qualities on this occasion, sent him as legate to Poland, Prussia, and Pomerania in 1247. During this

legation he held a synod at Breslau (mod. Wroslaw, Poland) in 1248, where he restored the ecclesiastical discipline of the clergy and mediated a peace between the Teutonic Order and its rebellious Prussian vassals.

Three years later Innocent IV sent Pantaléon to Germany (1251), where his task was to strengthen the position of William of Holland, the papal candidate for the throne, against King Conrad IV. Elected bishop of Verdun in 1253, Pantaléon was appointed by Pope Alexander IV as Latin patriarch of Jerusalem on 9 April 1255 and as legate to the kingdom of Jerusalem on 7 December of the same year. After his arrival at Acre (mod. ‘Akko, Israel) in June 1256, Pantaléon was confronted with the so-called War of St. Sabas between the Venetians and the Genoese for economic hegemony over Acre, a conflict that developed into a general civil war in the kingdom of Jerusalem. His attempts to negotiate a peace between the conflicting parties failed during the following years. As a consequence Thomas Agni, bishop of Bethlehem, was appointed as legate by the pope in 1259. Probably because he rejected this appointment, Pantaléon returned to the papal court at Viterbo in late 1260 or early 1261.

After the death of Alexander IV (25 May 1261), a conclave, composed of only eight cardinals, surprisingly elected Pantaléon as pope on 29 August 1261, probably as a compromise candidate. He was consecrated on 4 September and assumed the name Urban IV. Urban strengthened his position in the church by nominating fourteen new cardinals, among them several Frenchmen.

The main task of the newly elected pontiff was a solution to the problem of the succession to the kingdom of Sicily, as he was determined to end the rule of the Staufen dynasty in southern Italy. The possibility of an intervention by King Henry III of England in favor of the papacy, a project favored by Urban's predecessor, became increasingly improbable. From 1258 onward, Manfred, the Staufen king of Sicily, was able to stabilize his rule and extend his influence into central and northern Italy. Although Manfred tried to come to an agreement with the pope in 1262, Urban never took the offers of the king into serious consideration. Instead, the pope started negotiations (as early as 1261) with the royal family of France, and despite some initial reservations on the part of King Louis IX, Urban offered the Sicilian crown in 1262 to Louis's younger brother Charles, the ambitious count of Provence and Anjou. The result of these negotiations was a treaty (17 June 1263), by which Charles of Anjou

Usāma ibn Munqidh (1095–1188)

was invested with the kingdom of Sicily, in return for an annual tribute of 10,000 ounces of gold, a lump sum of 50,000 marks sterling, and explicit agreement not to accept any imperial dignity. However, as a consequence of the election of Charles as senator of Rome in summer 1263 and the military pressure of Manfred, Urban was forced to accept some modifications of the draft treaty in favor of the French prince. Although the pope's death on 2 October 1264 (probably at Deruta between Orvieto and Perugia) prevented him from seeing the downfall of the hated Staufen dynasty, the final conquest of southern Italy by Charles I of Anjou in 1265–1266 was mainly the result of Urban's diplomatic abilities.

The Sicilian question also overshadowed the other problems of Urban's pontificate. He initially supported the efforts of Baldwin II, titular Latin emperor of Constantinople, who since 1262 had been attempting to organize a military campaign for the reconquest of his lost capital. However, the pope changed his mind completely when he got wind of an alliance between Baldwin II and Manfred of Sicily. The Latin emperor supported the Staufen case at the court of Louis IX in 1263 and tried to undermine the negotiations of Urban with Charles of Anjou. After initial hesitation, the pope intensified relations with Baldwin's mortal enemy, the Byzantine emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos, and sent envoys to Constantinople in summer 1263 to negotiate the union between the Latin and Greek churches. Because of his sudden death, these negotiations came to a standstill and were then broken off by his successor Clement IV.

In the kingdom of Jerusalem, Urban especially favored the Order of the Holy Sepulchre, perhaps with the purpose giving it a future central role in the administration of Outremer. In 1263 or 1264 he received also an envoy from the Mongol Ilkhan of Persia, Hülegü, who proposed a united action by Latins and Mongols against the Mamlüks. The pope's death meant that this project, too, was not pursued.

Despite the brevity of his pontificate, Urban IV can be considered as one of the most important popes in history. As the first French pope of the thirteenth century, he prepared the ground for the close alliance between the French Crown and the papacy, which had as a short-term consequence the establishment of the Angevin dynasty in southern Italy and as a long-term effect the so-called Babylonian Captivity of the papacy under the influence of the French monarchy during the fourteenth century, with all its dramatic consequences.

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Usāma ibn Munqidh (1095–1188)

Usāma ibn Munqidh was a remarkably long-lived warrior, political adventurer, and poet, who wrote the *Kitāb al-I'tibār* (*Book of Examples*), a memoir that drew on incidents in his action-packed life in order to provide moral guidance for his descendants.

Usāma was born on 25 June 1095. His father, a member of the Banū Munqidh clan who ruled over the city of Shaizar (mod. Shayzar, Syria), renounced his inheritance in favor of his youngest brother. Most of Usāma's kinsmen were killed in an earthquake that struck Shaizar in 1157 at the time of a circumcision feast. Successively Usāma sought service with Mu'īn al-Dīn Unur in Damascus, with Ibn Salār in Egypt, and

with Nūr al-Dīn in Damascus. In the 1160s he spent time in Ḥiṣn Kayfā before retiring to Damascus, where he died on 6 November 1188 at the age of ninety-three. Usāma's account of his political intrigues is somewhat disingenuous and elliptical. He finally ended up in Damascus as a pensionary of Saladin, who is reported to have been a great admirer of Usāma's poetry. During his early career in Unur's Damascus, Usāma went on frequent embassies to the kingdom of Jerusalem, and it emerges from the various vivid anecdotes in the *I'tibār* that he fraternized with the Frankish aristocracy, hunting with them, and enjoying their hospitality. It is clear that he found much to ridicule as well as much to admire in such matters as Frankish medicine and justice. Together with Ibn Jubayr's account of his journey through Palestine, Usāma's *I'tibār* provides the most vivid and revealing account of the Latin kingdom seen through Muslim eyes. However, Usāma wrote a great many other books, and in his own lifetime he was chiefly famous as a poet. Some of his writings, such as his books on women and on dreams, have not survived, but historians still have not paid sufficient attention to the historical materials to be found in such texts as the *Kitāb al-'Aṣā*, his anthology of stories about sticks.

—Robert Irwin

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Üxküll

Üxküll (mod. Ikšķīle, Latvia) was a site on the river Dūna some 28 kilometers (17 mi.) upstream from Riga. It became the earliest center of missionary activity in medieval Livonia.

The first known missionary in Livonia, an Augustinian canon from Segeberg named Meinhard (d. 1196), settled there with some German merchants in the 1180s, erecting a church on the site of an older stone building, and began to preach Christianity to the Livic inhabitants. In about 1185, Meinhard had a castle built at Üxküll by masons from Gotland, the first stone fortress in Livonia. Together with another castle on the island of Holme, Üxküll was important in securing commerce on the waterway between Russia and the West. In 1186 Meinhard was named bishop of Üxküll by Hartwig II, archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen.

The bishopric remained at Üxküll until it was moved downstream to the newly established town of Riga by Bishop Albert of Buxhövdén in 1201, probably because of better connections overseas. Üxküll was subsequently enfeoffed to members of the German nobility in Livonia. The castle itself remained small and was ruined in the seventeenth century.

—Juhan Kreem

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V

Vadum Jacob

See Jacob's Ford

Valdemar I of Denmark (1131–1182)

King of Denmark (1157–1182), whose military expeditions against the pagan Wends established Denmark as a major sea power in the Baltic.

Valdemar, known to posterity as “the Great” (Dan. *den Store*), was the son of Knud Lavard, duke of Schleswig, and Ingeborg, daughter of Mstislav, prince of Kiev; he was named after his maternal great-grandfather, Vladimir II Monomakh, prince of Kiev.

Born only a week after his father's murder in 1131, Valdemar was brought up by a Danish nobleman, one of whose sons was later the archbishop of Lund, Absalon. Following years of civil war, which opened Denmark to attacks from the pagan Wendish tribes on the southwestern shore of the Baltic Sea, Valdemar became sole ruler of Denmark in 1157. The chronicler Saxo Grammaticus recounts almost yearly crusading expeditions led by Valdemar and Absalon against the Wends in cooperation and competition with Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony. These culminated in the conquest of the pagan island of Rügen in 1168 and the submission of this region to the Danish church. After 1170 Danish crusading efforts were directed further east, against Pomerania. Valdemar was the founder of Antvorskov, the first hospital of the Order of St. John in Scandinavia, although the precise date of the foundation is unknown.

Valdemar died in 1182. A lead plate on his grave tells of a king devoted to conquering and converting the

Wends. He was married to a Russian princess, Sophia of Minsk (d. 1198). Of his seven children, two legitimate sons, Knud VI (d. 1202) and Valdemar II (d. 1241), became kings of Denmark.

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Valdemar II of Denmark (d. 1241)

Valdemar II Sejr (the Victorious) was king of Denmark (1202–1241) in succession to his brother Knud VI.

Valdemar was born around 1168, the second son of King Valdemar I and Sophia of Minsk. In 1201 the city of Lübeck, the most important port on the Baltic Sea, submitted to Valdemar after a period of Danish expansion in northern Germany, partly due to Valdemar's efforts in the area as duke of Schleswig in the 1190s. By the beginning of the thirteenth century Denmark under Valdemar was a naval superpower, since all of the southwestern shores of the Baltic Sea as far as Prussia had yielded to Danish rule.

Despite a remark in the chronicle of Henry of Livonia, it is doubtful whether Valdemar took part in an abortive cru-

La Valette, Jean de (1495–1568)

sade against the island of Ösel (mod. Saaremaa, Estonia) in 1206, as other sources report him to have been militarily engaged in Germany at the same time. However, following crusades to Livonia in 1217 undertaken by Valdemar's vassal Count Albert of Orlamünde, Bishop Albert of Riga asked for support from Valdemar in 1218. The ensuing agreements secured (at least temporarily) Danish royal recognition of Albert of Riga. In the summer of 1219 a royal Danish army conquered the northern parts of Estonia, where Valdemar swiftly introduced a Danish administration.

To secure his position against Danish claims, Albert appealed to Pope Honorius III, who confirmed the bishop's right to Estonia and the Livonian provinces of Selonia and Sengallia. However, in 1221, following a Danish blockade of Lübeck lasting over a year, Albert of Riga was forced to accept Valdemar's lordship over Estonia and Livonia as well as Valdemar's bestowal of land on the Order of the Sword Brethren. In 1222 Valdemar conquered Ösel in a campaign joined by Albert of Riga and the Sword Brethren, and negotiations between the three parties led to a division of Estonia. Valdemar still claimed overlordship over the whole country, but retained direct rule only over the northern provinces. He ceded the central and southern provinces to the Sword Brethren, and granted spiritual rights there to the bishop of Riga. He gave up his claims to Livonia proper.

The Estonians of Ösel had not been fully subjected and soon revolted against Danish rule. The rebellion spread to the mainland, with the result that all the Danish conquests in Estonia were lost with the exception of the town of Reval (mod. Tallinn). At the same time Valdemar was taken hostage by one of his northern German vassals, Count Henry of Schwerin (May 1223). This incident effectively halted Danish expansionist politics. Although Valdemar was released from captivity after payment of a large ransom (1225), his defeat by the forces of Lübeck and its allies at the battle of Bornhöved (1227) marked the end of Danish supremacy in the Baltic region. Valdemar worked hard to regain power in Estonia, and the Christian powers in the Baltic region finally agreed on a division of Estonia in the Treaty of Stensby (1238). A royal cadastral work from the 1230s gives details of the Danish administration of Estonia.

Valdemar's two marriages, to Dagmar (Margaret) of Bohemia (1205) and Berengaria of Portugal (1212), reflect the level of international recognition accorded to the Danish king at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

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La Valette, Jean de (1495–1568)

Grand master of the Order of the Hospital (1557–1568).

Born in Quercy in Gascony on 4 February 1495, La Valette joined the *langue* (Hospitalier province) of Provence in 1515. Hardly anything else is known of his childhood or his early years within the order, except that he was on Rhodes during the Ottoman siege of 1522. In 1546 he was elected governor of Hospitalier Tripoli (mod. Tarābulus, Libya) in North Africa, serving until 1549. The style of his governorship here was a foretaste of his later magistracy, dictated by sound Christian moral values, a deep sense of commitment to hospitalier and military ideals, firm allegiance to orthodoxy, and an inborn enmity toward the infidel. In 1548, he convinced the Hospital's chapter general of the advantages of transferring the convent to Tripoli. The project failed to materialize because the North African fortress fell to the Ottomans in August 1551.

Six years later La Valette was elected as forty-eighth grand master of the order (21 August 1557). Apparently reluctant to retain Malta, he repeatedly sought unsuccessfully a better place for the convent, first on Corsica and then again at Tripoli. It was the Ottoman siege of 1565, the major event of his magistracy, that ultimately made the order's stay on Malta permanent and determined the building of the new fortress city, Valletta, which still bears his name today. He died on 21 August 1568.

—Victor Mallia-Milanes

See also: Hospital, Order of the; Malta

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Varna Crusade (1444)

The last great land-based crusade against the Ottoman Empire, which ended in the defeat of a Balkan Christian coalition by the Turks near the city of Varna (in mod. Bulgaria).

The Varna Crusade came about in response to Ottoman advances in the Balkans, notably the occupation of Serbia (1439) and the siege of Belgrade (1440). In 1443, for the first time after the disastrous Nikopolis Crusade (1396), Hungary initiated an ambitious offensive campaign against the Ottoman Empire, encouraged by Pope Eugenius IV and his legate Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini. A Hungarian army of some 35,000 troops, led by the famous general John Hunyadi (Hung. *Hunyadi János*), was accompanied by Cesarini, the Serbian despot George Branković, and King Vladislav I (king of Poland as Władysław III), who had been elected as king of Hungary in expectation of significant Polish support against the Turks. The army left Buda on 22 July 1443, crossed the Serbian border by mid-October, and occupied Sofia by December. Having gained some other minor victories, it returned home in January after learning that Sultan Murad II had crossed the Bosphorus, and celebrated a spectacular triumphal march in Buda.

Faced with a revolt by the Karamanids in Anatolia in spring 1444, the sultan was unwilling to face war on two fronts, and offered favorable peace conditions to Hungary: peace for ten years, the surrender of Serbia and Bosnia, the liberation of the sons of Branković, and 100,000 gold florins. The extravagant peace terms confused the political parties in Hungary; before the sultan's offer in April the Hungarian diet had voted for war, and the king had taken a solemn oath to carry it out. The war was also supported by the legate Cesarini, who envisaged the union of the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox churches and the relief of Constantinople, and by the Polish court party in Buda, though it was rejected by Poland.

The period between April and September is very controversial, and has been clarified only recently. Despot Branković accepted the sultan's conditions, and offered John Hunyadi his own immense possessions in Hungary in exchange for his support of a future peace treaty. Hunyadi seems to have accepted Branković's offer, which meant that Hungary was preparing for war and negotiating peace terms at the same time. A tentative peace treaty was concluded by the Hungarians at Adrianople (mod. Edirne, Turkey) on 15 June, and the sultan left Europe on 12 July to lead his

troops against his adversaries in Anatolia. In this precarious situation, the Hungarians tried to win both peace and war. On 4 August at Szeged, King Vladislav declared invalid any former or future treaties made with the infidels, with the approval of Cesarini. Meanwhile the Hungarian-Ottoman peace treaty was ratified on 15 August in Várad (mod. Oradea, Romania) by the king, John Hunyadi, and Branković, only a few miles from the forward outposts of the royal army. A papal-Venetian fleet sailed to blockade the Dardanelles, but the Hungarian-Ottoman diplomatic activity disturbed the European Christian coalition and the efficacy of the blockade, causing delay and depriving the campaign of the necessary surprise effect. The unity of the coalition was now in tatters. Despot Branković was satisfied to have at least regained northern Serbia together with its capital (22 August); he not only failed to join the coming war, but even tried to hinder it.

The Christian coalition army amounted to some 20,000 men, considerably fewer than the previous year. It consisted mostly of Hungarians, along with Polish and Bohemian mercenaries and some 2,000–3,000 Wallachian light cavalry led by Vlad Dracul; the absence of any Serbian and Albanian auxiliary troops should have been a warning signal. The army left Orșova on 20 September, intending to strike at the Ottoman capital of Adrianople. The Christians marched along the Danube route via Vidin (26 September) and Nikopolis (16 October), and turned southeast via Novi Pazar and Shumen, capturing and plundering all these cities. Due to bad reconnaissance, they did not know that the sultan had already crossed the Bosphorus with an overwhelming (perhaps double) numerical superiority.

The Christians met the sultan at the city of Varna on 9 November, on terrain unfavorable for them, between the lake of Devna and the sea coast. Despite John Hunyadi's military talent, the Christians were defeated as a result of poor cooperation among the multinational coalition forces. Hunyadi initially gained the upper hand on both wings by the overwhelming attack of his heavy cavalry. The sultan considered a retreat, but at the next decisive moment King Vladislav attacked the Turkish elite janissary units with his Polish troops. This ruined the Christian tactics, and resulted in the death of the king and the papal legate. The Christian battle order dissolved, and the cavalry left in panic-stricken flight, including John Hunyadi, who escaped to Wallachia. Both sides suffered heavy losses, above all among the Christian infantry units that attempted to defend their camp

Varna Crusade (1444)



The Varna Crusade (1444)

behind wagons in a manner similar to that of the Hussite troops of Bohemia.

The Hungarian and papal war parties had been correct in their assessment that 1444 presented the best opportunity in a long time to wear down Ottoman power by force of arms. This crusade, however, proved to be the last spectacular failure of traditional crusading strategy: sweeping the Ottomans out of Europe in a single campaign, in the absence of political unity among the fragmented and partly conquered Balkan states, proved to be impossible, and the Christians were unable to make full use of the favorable peace conditions. Much more could have been achieved by accepting the peace terms than by launching a campaign into an unstable region. As had been done by King Sigismund after the defeat of the Nikopolis Crusade in 1396, the Hungarian kings again adopted a deliberate defensive strategy (particularly under King Matthias Corvinus, son of John Hunyadi) up to the final collapse of the Hungarian defense system in 1521 and of the medieval kingdom of Hungary itself in 1526.

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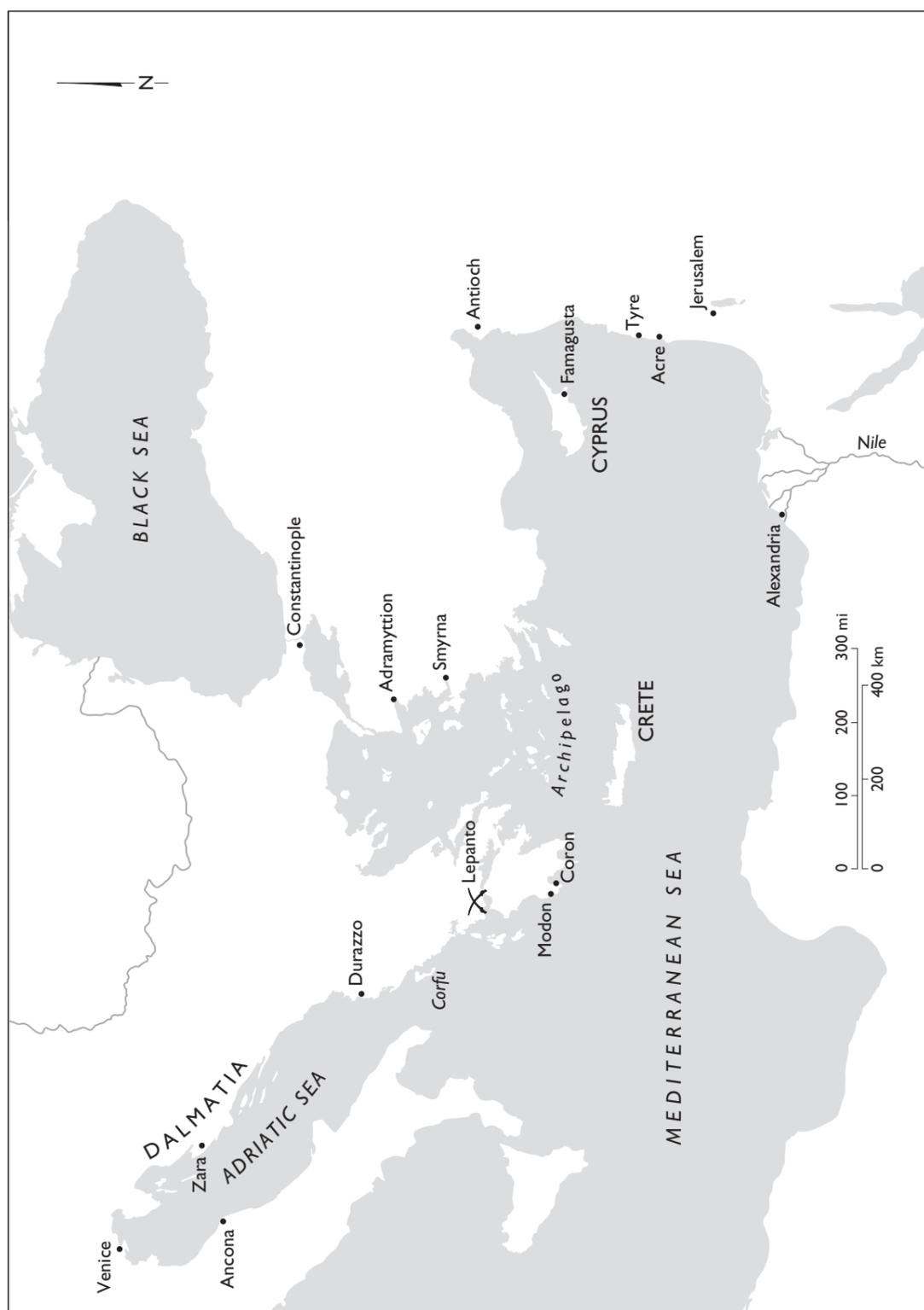
Venice

With the exception of the papacy, no polity in Europe was as frequently and consistently engaged in crusading as the

republic of Venice. Unlike elsewhere in the medieval world, Venetians tended to approach crusading from a communal perspective. In other words, although they individually took crusading vows, the decision to go on crusade was usually a corporate one. In part this was due to the necessities of producing large war fleets in a republican commune, but it was also a reflection of the Venetians' highly developed self-identity. Despite centuries of crusading, modern accounts have tended to write the Venetians (indeed, all Italians) out of crusade histories.

Venice joined the First Crusade (1096–1099) as a state enterprise, although belatedly, either because of the infirmity of Doge Vitale Falier (1084–1096) or a skepticism that he may have shared with his royal counterparts in England, France, and Germany. When the Venetians assembled to choose a new doge on Falier's death, they turned to Vitale Michiel (1096–1101), a proponent of the crusade. Michiel immediately sent word to the towns on the Dalmatian coast to prepare for a great enterprise to free the Holy Land. In the Venetian lagoon, shipwrights began work on war galleys, while merchant vessels were pressed into service as supply transports. In the spring of 1099, Venice was at last ready: an armada of some 200 major vessels was prepared for war—the largest single contribution to the First Crusade. The fleet left in July 1099, commanded by the doge himself, and with some 9,000 Venetian crusaders on board. In June 1100 they landed at Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-yafo, Israel), recently conquered by the crusade. Godfrey of Bouillon was eager to extend Christian control to other port cities and agreed with Michiel to launch an attack on Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel). However, Godfrey's subsequent death scuttled that plan. Instead, Michiel helped Tancred capture Haifa, which fell on 20 August 1100. Doge Ordelafo Falier (1101–1118) took command of another crusade fleet, sailing to Sidon, which was captured in 1110 with the help of King Sigurd of Norway. King Baldwin I of Jerusalem rewarded the republic with a street and a marketplace in Acre.

After the crushing defeat of the Franks of Antioch by the Turks at the *Ager Sanguinis* in 1119, the king and patriarch of Jerusalem requested assistance from Pope Calixtus II, who, preoccupied with the Investiture Controversy, passed the request on to Venice. In 1120 Doge Domenico Michiel (1118–1129) made an impassioned appeal to the people, who consented to a new crusade. Michiel suspended all overseas commerce while the Venetians prepared a fleet of approximately 120 major vessels. With the doge in com-



Areas of Venetian crusading and commercial activity in the period of the crusades

mand, it set sail on 8 August 1122, carrying more than 15,000 Venetian crusaders. During the winter, it tried without success to capture Corfu in retaliation for John II Komnenos's refusal to renew Venetian trading privileges in the Byzantine Empire. The Venetian fleet arrived at Acre in May 1123, where it destroyed the Fāṭimid navy. The following year, the Venetians joined with the Franks to capture the coastal city of Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon), which fell in July 1124. The Venetians were granted one-third of Tyre as well as a street, bakery, bath, and church in every city in the kingdom of Jerusalem. More than sixty years later, Doge Orto Mastropiero sent a large crusade fleet to join the Third Crusade (1189–1192), which took part in the siege of Acre.

Given a century of Venetian involvement in the crusades, it is not too surprising that Pope Innocent III turned to Venice for support when he proclaimed the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) in 1198. The aged and blind Doge Enrico Dandolo (1192–1205) was inclined to support the crusade, but he pointed out to the pope that Venetian merchants were already paying a heavy price for the good of Christendom because of the ban on trade with Muslims. The pope responded by allowing the Venetians to trade in nonstrategic goods with Egypt. The failure of the Frankish crusaders to meet their commitments forced Dandolo to balance the good of the crusade against the enormous financial losses of the commune. The diversion of the crusade to Zara (mod. Zadar, Croatia) solved several problems, getting the expedition under way, providing a place to winter, and in part compensating the Venetians for their losses. But the attack on Zara, which was under papal protection, convinced Innocent that Dandolo and the Venetians had hijacked the crusade for their own purposes. He excommunicated all of the Venetian crusaders, although this was kept secret from the rank-and-file, including the Venetians.

There was no direct Venetian involvement in the decision to divert the Fourth Crusade to Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) to support the claims of the Byzantine pretender Alexios Angelos. Dandolo went along with the deal negotiated by the Frankish barons, although it posed significant risks to Venice's profitable position in Byzantium. The crusade's original goal, Egypt, was much more favorable from the Venetian perspective, since the low level of business that Venetian traders did there risked little, while the possible gains were great. The exhaustion of the crusade's provisions, however, made the trip to Egypt impossible; only the diversion to Constantinople offered the opportunity to repair

the crusade sufficiently so that it could repay its debts to Venice and embark on its mission.

The conquest of Constantinople in 1204 would one day be a boon to Venice, but at the time the communal government viewed the fall of Byzantium with great trepidation. In theory, Dandolo had won three-eighths of the empire, yet the Venetians did not at first act to claim much of it. They moved quickly to secure those areas that were crucial to safeguarding shipping (such as Dyrrachion, Corfu, Coron, and Modon) and only gradually extended their control over the entire eastern shore of the Adriatic Sea. The Venetians showed little interest in Crete (which Dandolo had purchased from Boniface of Montferrat) until the Genoese moved to capture it; the island, which remained in Venetian hands until 1691, became the centerpiece of the republic's maritime empire. Over time, Venice also extended control over other nearby islands, including Negroponte (Euboea). Elsewhere in the Aegean, the Venetian government gave permission to individual Venetians to capture islands at their own expense.

Despite the disappointing results of the Fourth Crusade, Innocent still urged Venetians to take part in the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221). Buoyed up by a ten-year truce with Genoa, a Venetian fleet transported King Andrew II of Hungary and his armies to Outremer. Vessels from Venice and Crete participated in the siege of Damietta in Egypt in 1219, suspending high ladders from their masts just as they had done at Constantinople in 1204. The following year, Doge Pietro Ziani (1205–1229) sent a fleet of 14 galleys to join the crusade.

Venetians in the Latin East were not immune to the factional strife and violence that afflicted the region in the thirteenth century. The worst outbreak was in Acre, where a street fight over a house that belonged to the monastery of St. Sabas escalated into a war between Venice and Genoa. The War of St. Sabas finally ended in June 1258 when the Venetians defeated the Genoese and demolished their quarter in Acre.

After the fall of Outremer in 1291, the Venetians took their share of blame for rivalries that pitted Christian against Christian. The military orders were also blamed, as were the popes, who had increasingly been more interested in using crusades to advance political interests at home rather than the good of Christendom in the East. Venetians, who had long been committed to crusades against Muslims, had little patience for domestic crusades. When Pope Martin IV



Bronze horses from the fourth century B.C., seized from Constantinople in 1204 and later mounted on the Cathedral of St. Mark, Venice. (Mimmo Jodice/Corbis)

proclaimed a crusade against the king of Aragon in 1284, the communal government refused to allow it to be preached in Venetian lands. Martin responded by putting Venice under interdict, although it was lifted by Martin's successor the following year.

Venice's support for crusades against Muslims found an eloquent voice in the writings of the Venetian nobleman Marino Sanudo Torsello. In 1321 he presented to Pope John XXII and King Charles IV of France his *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis*, which laid out plans and advice for the reconquest of Outremer. In his various writings, Sanudo sharply criticized the popes for diverting crusade energy to fight their Ghibelline enemies at home. He argued for an economic blockade of Egypt before a general invasion. With Egypt as a base, the Holy Land could then be restored.

Sanudo's ideas did not fall on deaf ears; there was a real desire throughout the West to organize a large crusade to check Turkish expansion. When Pope John XXII called a new crusade to deal with the Turks, Philip VI of France took up the cause, sending word to Venice that he wanted to contract ships and provisions to transport his crusade army. The following year, the Venetians agreed to provide a large crusade

fleet, provided that the arrangement was confirmed by the pope and that there would be no attack on Christians. In addition, the Venetians promised to join the crusade themselves and to immediately launch war galleys to engage Turkish pirates. But the enterprise was delayed by other events, including the death of the pope. Nevertheless, the Venetians sent galleys to capture Turkish vessels in the Aegean. Together with the Byzantines and Hospitallers, the Venetian crusaders defeated the Turks at Adramyttion in 1334. The French, though, never did show up. Distracted by the English threat, they dropped the idea, and Pope Benedict XII finally canceled the crusade in 1336.

In 1342 Pope Clement VI authorized the crusade indulgence for Venetians who would join with the king of Cyprus and the Hospitallers in a war against the Turks. A fleet was quickly assembled and sailed to Smyrna (mod. İzmir, Turkey) on the coast of Asia Minor, which the crusaders captured. Despite these minor successes, Turkish power continued to grow, closing off and isolating Constantinople. When Pope Boniface IX called a crusade to aid the great city in 1399, the Venetians sent a fleet that, together with crusaders from Genoa, Rhodes, Lesbos, and France, broke through the Turkish blockade and pillaged coastal territories.

After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, several crusades were called to recapture it. The most ambitious was that of Pope Pius II, finalized at the Council of Mantua in 1459. Of all the European states that promised troops for the enterprise, Venice alone kept its promise by declaring war on the Turks. Doge Cristoforo Moro (1462–1471) took the cross himself and led the Venetian crusade fleet to Ancona to rendezvous with the pope and the promised armies. However, the armies failed to materialize, and Pius died shortly before the Venetians arrived. The crusade came to nothing, except that Venice was now at war with the Ottomans, who wrested the island of Negroponte from the republic. Despite the setback, Venetians still responded favorably when Pope Sixtus IV proclaimed a new crusade against the Turks in 1471. A large Venetian fleet joined with papal and Neapolitan vessels to deal damaging blows to Antalya and Smyrna.

By 1500 the Venetians had paid dearly for their support of crusades, losing additional territories in the East (although picking up control of Cyprus by inheritance). Venetians had come to believe that the incessant crusade talk in Europe was little more than that. This feeling was amplified in 1508 when the pope formed the League of Cambrai. The league's stated

purpose was to launch a crusade against the Turks, but in reality it was the result of an agreement to destroy Venice. Thus, when Pope Leo X and other European powers began planning a grand crusade to sweep the Muslims out of the Mediterranean (which took on a new urgency after the Ottoman conquest of Syria and Egypt in 1517), Venice promised to take part only when it was clear that something other than paper was being generated. In fact, that is all that was generated. Despite this caution, the Venetians would still be stung by failed crusade promises. In 1537 Venice and the papacy planned a large crusade to recapture Constantinople. Emperor Charles V joined the following year, promising to send substantial forces. The Venetian-papal fleet was launched, but it was quickly defeated by the Turks. Charles then backed out of the crusade, leaving Venice to fight alone, which cost Venetians their last holdings in the Peloponnese and 300,000 ducats to make peace. Throughout the remainder of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Venetians continued their crusading tradition. Their most famous engagement was at the battle of Lepanto in 1571, when, in league with papal and Spanish forces, they destroyed the Ottoman fleet.

–Thomas F. Madden

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Venice, Treaty of (1201)

The Treaty of Venice was a contract, entered into by Doge Enrico Dandolo and the Venetian Republic on one side, and Baldwin IX of Flanders, Thibaud III of Champagne, and Hugh of Saint-Pol on the other, to provide transport for the army of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204). The treaty, which was confirmed by Pope Innocent III, committed the Venetians to providing sufficient vessels and provisions for 4,500 knights, 4,500 horses, 9,000 squires, 20,000 infantry, and all of their equipment. The vessels were to remain in the service of the crusade for one year, beginning 29 June 1202. The crusaders were to pay the Venetians 85,000 silver marks of Cologne.

The terms of this treaty would ultimately be responsible for the Fourth Crusade's tragic diversions: only one-third of the projected number of crusaders arrived in Venice, making it impossible to reimburse the Venetians fully for their enormous expenses. The resulting poverty of the army led the crusade first to Zara (mod. Zadar, Croatia) and then to Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) in an attempt to secure the funds necessary to meet the terms of the treaty. In August 1203 the newly crowned Emperor Alexios IV Angelos paid the crusaders for their services, thus closing the books on the troubled treaty. Yet by that time the crusade was already entangled in a thicket of Byzantine politics that would later lead to the conquest of Constantinople in April 1204.

–Thomas F. Madden

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Venetian Crusade of 1122–1124

See Crusade of 1122–1124

Viborg

Viborg (mod. Vyborg, Russia) was a Swedish fortress, founded in 1293 during the so-called Third Swedish Crusade against Karelia.

The fortress was located on an island in the western estuary of the river Vuoksi that linked Lake Ladoga and the Gulf of Finland. An attempt to gain control over the eastern estuary into Lake Ladoga at Kexholm a year later failed. A further attempt in 1300 to control the Neva link between Lake Ladoga and the Baltic Sea by founding the fortress of Landskrona likewise failed, and so Viborg remained the cornerstone in Sweden's defense against Russia and in future crusades toward the east. On numerous occasions Novgorod and later Moscow tried to take Viborg, always in vain. The Russians came closest to achieving this during the war in 1495–1497, which was also the last occasion when a Swedish ruler obtained a crusading bull from the pope against the Russians.

–John H. Lind

See also: Baltic Crusades; Karelia; Novgorod; Sweden

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Vienne, Council of (1311–1312)

A church council held at the town of Vienne in the Dauphiné (16 October 1311–4 May 1312).

The main topics discussed in the course of the council were the fate of the Order of the Temple, the renewal of the crusade, and the reform of the church. Although impressive delegations from Aragon, England, Sicily, Portugal, Castile, Cyprus, and France attended, most Christian rulers stayed away; only the dauphin of Viennois, John II, came to the opening session. The number of prelates present (between 144 and 170) was relatively small in comparison with the average ecclesiastical participation in thirteenth-century councils; furthermore, the committee system established in the council reduced its general sessions to three.

At the opening session Pope Clement V reported on the different stages in the prosecution of the Templars and alluded in general terms to the project of the crusade and to the difficult situation of the church. Though during the first sessions of the council most prelates advocated giving the

Templars the chance to defend their order against the charge of heresy, Capetian pressure prevailed. On 3 April 1312 a great majority of prelates voted for the immediate abolition of the order by apostolic mandate. Without pronouncing a guilty verdict on the order as a whole, the constitution *Vox in excelso* decreed the abolition of the Order of the Temple because of the many flaws of its members, which had become evident during the five-year trial. Clement V appointed special commissioners to carry out the conciliar decisions throughout Christendom. Provincial councils were to decide the fate of the Templars. Those who were found innocent or who had submitted to the church were to be given a pension, drawn on the property of the order, in accordance with their respective status. Those who relapsed or remained impenitent were to be treated with the full rigor of canon law. All fugitives were ordered to appear before the relevant provincial council within one year, failing which they were to be declared heretics. The property of the order, probably a main factor in the arrest of the Templars by King Philip the Fair of France, was assigned to the Order of the Hospital on the grounds of the latter's efforts in the defense of Christendom.

Apart from the trial of the Templars, it was the business of a new crusade that received the highest priority in the deliberations. On 3 April 1312 Clement proclaimed a new *passagium generale* (major crusade expedition) overseas, its expense to be covered by the ecclesiastical establishment and its management to be entrusted to Philip IV the Fair. Philip took the cross in 1313, together with his three sons, his son-in-law Edward II of England, and many nobles, but the crusade never materialized.

In the field of church reform, the council objected to the infringement on ecclesiastical privileges by royal agents and to their readiness to condone crimes committed against the church. The prelates also accused the exempt orders (i.e., monastic orders subject only to the papacy) of encroaching on the rights of the secular clergy and eventually succeeded in restricting their prerogatives. Neither revolutionary nor conservative, on the whole the Council of Vienne maintained the doctrinaire path established by former ecumenical councils.

–Sophia Menache

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Villehardouin

See Geoffrey of Villehardouin (the Marshal)

Villehardouin Family

A noble French family from the area of Troyes in Champagne. In the wake of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), a branch of the Villehardouin family came to rule the Frankish principality of Achaia in southern Greece from 1209 to 1278.

The first known lord of Villehardouin was Vilain of Arxilleres, who had died by 1170, when the family is mentioned in the sources for the first time. His second son was Geoffrey (d. 1218), later chronicler of the Fourth Crusade, who became marshal of Champagne in 1185 and as such represented the count of Champagne on a number of diplomatic missions, including negotiations at Venice in 1201 to arrange transport of the crusading army to Egypt. As a member of the inner councils of the Fourth Crusade, Geoffrey provides insights into the organization and decision-making processes of the expedition. By 1208 he had been given the title of marshal of Romania, and he stayed in Greece until his death in 1218.

The chronicler's nephew Geoffrey I of Villehardouin established the family as princes of Achaia by substantially subduing the Morea in the years after 1209. He brought his wife from Champagne to Greece in 1210. In 1217 he arranged the marriage of his son, the future Geoffrey II (1228–1246), to Agnes of Courtenay, daughter of the Latin emperor of Constantinople. Geoffrey II succeeded as prince in 1228 and substantially established the hegemony of Achaia in Frankish Greece by the time of his death, without heirs, in 1246.

Geoffrey II's brother William, who had been born in Kalamata in 1210 and was recorded as fluent in Greek, followed him. William completed the conquest of the Morea by capturing Monemvasia and the district of Skorta, but he was forced to cede lands around Mistra in 1261 following his

defeat at the battle of Pelagonia and subsequent captivity in Constantinople. In the face of Greek opposition from Mistra, he sought help from Charles I of Anjou, king of Naples. By the Treaty of Viterbo (1267), William became a vassal of Charles. He betrothed his daughter and heiress, Isabella, to Charles's son Philip; their children were to inherit the principality, and in the event of no heirs being born, the principality was to revert to the Angevin kings of Naples. The marriage took place at Trani in 1271. In 1277 Philip of Anjou died. The marriage was childless, and so when Prince William himself died on 1 May 1278, the principality passed to the Angevins of Naples.

In France the lands of Villehardouin passed to the heirs of Geoffrey, the marshal of Romania. His son Erard (1175/1180–1226) was mentioned as lord of Villehardouin as early as 1213. Erard's son William became marshal of Champagne in 1231 but was never referred to as lord of Villehardouin. He died in 1246.

—Peter Lock

See also: Achaia

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Villiers de L'Isle Adam, Philippe (1464–1534)

Grand master of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem (1521–1534).

Born in Beauvais in France, Villiers de L'Isle Adam occupied various posts in the order (captain-general of the galleys, seneschal of Rhodes, grand hospitaller, and grand prior of France) before being elected grand master on 22 January 1521. Less than sixteen months later, the second

Vironia

Ottoman siege of Rhodes (mod. Rodos, Greece) had begun. On 18 December the grand master surrendered to the Turks, and on 1 January 1523, along with the rest of the convent, the order's archives, and a few thousand inhabitants of Rhodes, he was allowed to leave the island in safety, proceeding to Rome via Crete and Sicily. On the death of Pope Adrian VI (November 1523), he and his knights were entrusted with guarding the conclave that elected Clement VII. Established temporarily at Viterbo, they spent eight years without a home, experiencing plague, war, famine, religious schism, and near institutional collapse. On 23 March 1530, they were granted the islands of Malta and Gozo and the North African fortress city of Tripoli (mod. Tarābulus, Libya) by Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor and king of Spain.

On Malta, Villiers de L'Isle Adam chose to reside in Fort St. Angelo, the medieval castle overlooking the Grand Harbour where the order's fleet anchored for the next 268 years. He died on 21 August 1534. By then he had summoned a general chapter, in an endeavor to restore the order's confidence, raise its morale, and reassess the value of its European estates. Through his initial legislation, he also set the tone and style of Hospitaller government for Malta.

–Victor Mallia-Milanes

See also: Hospital, Order of the

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Vincent of Kraków

See Wincenty Kadłubek

Vironia

Vironia (mod. Virumaa, Estonia; Ger. *Wierland*) was a province of medieval Livonia on the southern coast of the Gulf of Finland, roughly situated between the rivers Loop, Valgejõgi, and Narva.

In 1217 German crusaders from Riga raided Vironia for the first time, but in the following years the province was subjected by the Danes from Reval, although the Germans persisted in their claims. It was only the Treaty of Stensby

(1238) that definitively placed the province under the rule of the king of Denmark.

Most of the land in Vironia was enfeoffed to the vassals of the king. According to the land register known as the *Liber Census Daniae*, the most powerful among the new magnates was Dietrich von Kievel; some native Estonians also appear among the lesser vassals. During the Danish period, the two main urban centers of Vironia were Wesenberg (mod. Rakvere, Estonia), at the foot of a royal castle, and the economically more important town of Narva on the eastern frontier. In 1346, along with the rest of Danish Estonia, Vironia was sold to the Teutonic Order.

Bailiwicks of the order were established in Wesenberg and Narva, and during the fifteenth century the order erected the new castles of Tolsburg on the coast and Neuschloß on the northern shore of Lake Peipus, where the river Narva exits the lake. In 1558 the Russians were able to quickly conquer most of Vironia. Along with the rest of Estonia, it came under Swedish rule in the 1580s.

–Juhan Kreem

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Votia

Votia (Ger. *Watland*, Russ. *Vodskaya zemlya*) was the land situated between the river Narva, the southern shore of the Gulf of Finland, and the Izhorian plateau. The native population, related to the northeastern Estonians, were the Votians (Russ. *Vod'* or *Vozhane*). The authentic native names are Vad'jalaizet or Vatjalane. The Votians are first mentioned in written sources from the second half of the eleventh century, when their land was incorporated into the Novgorodian state. The first invasion via Votia into Novgorodian territory by Estonians subject to the Order of the Sword Brethren occurred in the winter of 1221–1222.

In the first half of the thirteenth century, the Votians were mostly pagans. Their nobles resented the growing power of the Novgorodian rulers; by the end of the 1230s Roman Catholic preaching among the Votians and other Finnic peoples of the Novgorodian state resulted in a number of Votian noblemen promising to embrace the Latin faith, hoping that the Livonians would help free them from Nov-

gorodian rule. In the winter of 1240–1241, the Teutonic Knights from Livonia and the Estonian vassals of the Danish crown occupied Votia and built a fortress at Kopor'e in concert with the Votian social elite. According to an agreement between the order and the bishop of Ösel (13 April 1241), the bishop was to have ecclesiastical authority over any newly conquered lands, while temporal power would belong to the Livonian order. Late in 1241 the order and its allies were expelled from Novgorodian territory by Prince Alexander Yaroslavich, who destroyed the fortress and hanged the Votian traitors.

Archaeological evidence suggests that after these events the Russian Orthodox church made a more active attempt to convert the Finnic peoples to Christianity. At the same time, Roman Catholic attempts at conversion continued. Around 1257 Frederick of Gaseldorf was ordained as bishop of Kopor'e (or Karelia). The new bishopric, which was to depend on the archbishopric of Riga, was meant to be established during a new offensive that was planned for the end of the 1260s. These plans failed and were not renewed after the signing of the Russian-Livonian treaty of 1270.

—Evgeniya L. Nazarova

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Vow

The crusade vow was the means that transformed an individual's inner conversion and intention to participate in an armed expedition in defense of the Holy Land or Christendom against Muslims, pagans, heretics, or other enemies of the church into a penitentially and legally binding obligation.

Development and Implications of the Crusading Vow

Retrospectively described by chroniclers and scholars as the fusion of holy war with the Jerusalem pilgrimage, the First Crusade (1096–1099) appealed to the knightly classes as a form of arduous yet temporary renunciation of the world

close in penitential efficacy to the permanent adoption of the monastic life, which was unavailable to those committed to a life of temporal warfare. At the same time, although Pope Urban II seems to have intended to recruit knights to serve the Byzantine emperor against the Muslims, it was the pope's focus on the popular pilgrimage site of Jerusalem as the ultimate goal of service in the *militia Christi* (knighthood of Christ) that led many noncombatants to join the crusade.

The terminology, ritual, and spiritual imagery of the new expeditions to the Holy Land remained tightly tied to the concept of pilgrimage. Legally and spiritually, crusaders were viewed as pilgrims. From the Council of Clermont (1095) onward, crusaders usually had crosses sewn on their clothing as an outward sign of the obligations inherent in their vows. Yet a distinctive liturgical rite for bestowing the crusader's cross was slow to develop; when it did, it was modeled closely on existing ceremonies used to mark an individual's solemn vow of pilgrimage through the blessing and bestowal of the pilgrim's distinctive insignia, the staff and scrip (wallet), before his or her departure. Some individuals received their tokens from a priest or chaplain in a relatively private atmosphere, while others took their crosses and vows in the rather more public setting of a clerical or secular court or during the revivalism that characterized the galvanizing sermons preached by local clergymen or crusade recruiters. Moreover, the term *crucesignatus* (one signed with the cross) gradually began to supplement the term *peregrinus* (pilgrim) as a title for individuals who had taken the crusade vow only during the twelfth century. The full or partial remission of the penance enjoined for confessed sins (known as the indulgence) granted to crusaders also remained mentally linked to the full remission believed to be earned by an unarmed pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the partial remissions granted to those journeying to other holy sites.

Not until the period of the late twelfth to late thirteenth centuries was the theory of the crusade vow fully developed in canon law and the privileges and rules governing the vow's obligations and the legal enforcement of them systematically defined and elaborated. For, as in the case of a vow of pilgrimage, the crusader's vow placed him in a category of persons temporarily granted privileges and responsibilities normally reserved for secular ecclesiastics or those who had taken the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience required for entry in a religious order. Such privileges and responsibilities included the adoption of distinctive clothing or habit and varying degrees of dietary and sexual absti-

nence. In fact, the crusade was often viewed as an ideal preparation or substitution for entry into monastic life.

The crusade vow and the penalty of excommunication for failing to fulfill it (or for doing so in a dilatory fashion) enabled the mustering of organized military campaigns, and the obligations and privileges attached to its adoption evolved over time, as did the categories of persons considered capable of taking it. From the First Crusade onward, attempts were made to prevent unfree serfs, minors, secular clergymen, and monks and nuns sworn to obedience and stability in the cloister from making the crusade vow without their superior's permission. Married persons were also urged not to take the cross without their spouse's consent. Other groups considered to present logistical burdens or temptation to crusading armies were periodically discouraged from taking the cross or from fulfilling their crusade vow by personally participating in a military expedition, including young single women, the poor or physically debilitated, the aged and very young, and those lacking both military skill and the funds necessary to subsidize contingents of trained fighters. For this very reason, until the pontificate of Innocent III (1198–1216), individuals were urged to confess their sins and be vetted by a clergyman for suitability before taking the cross. However, limited numbers of some categories of noncombatants were considered potentially valuable to the crusader host, including clergymen necessary for moral leadership and provision of the sacraments, experienced albeit aged fighters, merchants, artisans, laundresses, and farmers.

Confessors and ecclesiastical and secular courts in regions with a long tradition of penitential pilgrimages also imposed the crusade vow upon those guilty of serious crimes or notorious sins, including violence against ecclesiastics, murder, arson, sacrilege, sorcery, illegal trading with Muslim powers, heresy, and clerical incontinence or pluralism. Such a penance or judicial penalty was viewed by many as an honorable or attractive alternative to humiliating public penances, heavy fines, mutilation, or the death penalty. Increasingly, deceased individuals' heirs were considered liable to fulfill crusading vows assumed both voluntarily and involuntarily, whether in person or through the provision of a substitute or donation. Although in principle the crusade was meant to enable perpetrators to expiate their sins and earn spiritual benefits for their victims while temporarily shielding them from vengeance, reformers complained that the Holy Land had become a dumping ground for moral

undesirables, who, removed from the strictures of their kin, culture, and native laws, earned God's ire by their recidivist turpitude.

Privileges Attached to the Crusading Vow

As the privileges attached to the crusading vow were increasingly defined, elaborated, and enforced, many assumed the cross in order to obtain the temporal and spiritual benefits it provided. In addition to the various indulgences offered to those participating in the crusading movement, *crucesignati* shared in the spiritual credit generated by prayers and liturgies organized for the crusades. As pilgrims, they were allowed to deal with excommunicates and receive the sacraments in regions under interdict. They could sometimes choose their own confessors, who like crusade preachers were often granted the ability to absolve *crucesignati* from excommunication and other irregularities normally requiring an arduous journey to Rome. Reformers complained that the cynical used these concessions to escape the penitential jurisdiction of their local parish priests and bishops, to circumvent the arduous penances or excommunications imposed upon them for sins or crimes, and to avoid making restitution to their victims.

From the First Crusade onward, crusaders were also promised papal protection of their persons, property, and households until their return or certain evidence of their death, a privilege enforced by the power of excommunication and interdict wielded by local prelates. However, surviving petitions and court records show that these spiritual penalties were disregarded by many eager to wreak revenge upon the crusader's vulnerable family or encroach upon undefended lands by violence or lawsuits. Some crusaders obtained individualized papal letters of protection; popes threatened to punish prelates who failed to shield crusaders and called upon secular rulers to stop encroachments by force if necessary.

Crusaders also enjoyed certain legal and financial privileges that evolved over time. Enumerated, extended, and clarified in papal letters written in response to specific cases, they received one of their most elaborated and authoritative descriptions in Innocent III's bull *Ad liberandam* (1215), which became a crucial authority cited by canon lawyers who continually redefined crusaders' privileges and the institutions of the crusading movement. To enable clergymen to personally participate in various expeditions, ecclesiastical crusaders were exempted from the income taxes levied on

diocesan and regular churches for the crusade. Those with benefices were freed from the usual residence requirements and were allowed to either mortgage or continue receiving the incomes attached to them for up to three years, provided that they remained on crusade and appointed a vicar to minister in their absence if pastoral responsibilities were attached to their office. By 1145, if their lords or relatives were unable or unwilling to lend them money, laypersons were allowed to sell or mortgage inalienable lands to raise funds for their journey and were also granted a moratorium on paying interest on debts contracted before, and in some instances, after they took the cross, until their return.

Later popes attempted to extend these financial privileges to include freedom from payments on the principal of debts and exemption from all taxes and tolls, as well as from levies instituted for the crusade such as the Saladin Tithe (1188). Prelates were called upon to enforce these privileges with excommunication and interdict, and secular rulers were urged to force Jews in their lands to remit interest on crusaders' debts and make restitution of any interest already charged. Crusaders soon found, however, that creditors were reluctant to lend them money unless they waived their privileges, and some secular and ecclesiastical magnates proved notoriously reluctant to restrict the incomes of the Jewish and Christian moneylenders to whom they lent protection in return for lucrative taxation. Secular rulers also proved loath to exempt crusaders from feudal duties (including military service), taxation, and tallages, particularly in times of war or when a significant percentage of the population took the cross.

As pilgrims, crusaders were also entitled to expedite or delay legal proceedings initiated after they took the cross and to enjoy freedom from all lawsuits concerning possessions held peacefully and without dispute before taking the crusade vow. As temporary religious, they could also opt for trial in ecclesiastical courts. As with clerical immunity from prosecution in secular courts, this privilege became the object of much jurisdictional wrangling between secular rulers and the papacy and local ecclesiastics, resulting finally in compositions that specified that in cases arising after individuals took the cross, they could be tried in church courts except in instances involving property or serious crimes, which fell under feudal and royal law. These compositions redressed rulers' concerns regarding lawlessness, defaulting on loans, and the abuse of legal privileges by those who, like Gerald of Wales, became *crucesignati* in order to gain advan-

tage in ongoing lawsuits. By the thirteenth century, popes sought to restrict abuses by stressing that those who took the crusade vow in prison forfeited any special legal privileges, while appointing crusade preachers and legates to supplement local prelates as official protectors of crusaders' rights. Innocent III extended many of these rights to those involved in crusades other than those destined for the Holy Land, including the crusade against heretics in southern France, and enshrined them in *Ad liberandam*, which became the basis for crusading bulls' declarations of crusaders' privileges and obligations throughout the thirteenth century.

Dispensation from and Redemption of Crusading Vows

From the 1190s onward, immense developments took place in the definition of the precise nature of the duties attached to the crusade vow and the possibility of dispensations from it. A dispensation meant the relaxation of the original terms of the vow because of unavoidable circumstances preventing its fulfillment, such as grave or permanent disability, illness, poverty, public necessity such as the safety of the realm, or old age. Dispensations could include fulfilling one's pilgrimage through a hired substitute, the commutation of its obligations into an alternative pilgrimage goal or charitable work, and its redemption through a donation of the funds that would otherwise have been spent in personally fulfilling the vow to a crusade or another charitable cause. Boundaries between redemptions of the full crusading vow and voluntary donations to the crusading effort rewarded by partial indulgences could be easily blurred, particularly when groups of impoverished crusaders banded together to subsidize one fighter as a substitute.

During the period when individuals were required to seek the permission of their spouse and temporal and spiritual superiors before taking the vow, and were theoretically examined for their ability to fulfill its obligations before being allowed to take it, dispensations were granted only under strict circumstances. Although bishops possessed the ability to dispense from pilgrimage vows, popes attempted to reserve the ability to absolve individuals from the crusade vow to themselves and their delegates, who were ideally meant to weigh the particulars of each case and prescribe fitting penitential alternatives. Typically, up until and throughout the pontificate of Innocent III, a combination of poverty and infirmity was necessary to justify redeeming the crusade vow. Those unable to fight in person or provide aid to the crusading army through providing sacramental services,

spiritual exhortation, military advice, or contingents of fighters could redeem or commute their vows, and those whose absence on crusade would prove dangerous to their lands or realm could delay their fulfillment.

These general guidelines partly reflected the attempts of secular rulers to rid crusading armies of noncombatants and convert the desire of pious noncombatants for personal participation in the crusade enterprise into monetary subsidy of trained fighters. The priorities of noblemen often responsible for organizing crusade contingents thus often conflicted with the desire of many poor noncombatants to personally participate in expeditions. And even though some popes often wanted to enable the participation of as many penitents as possible and believed that all physically capable of fulfilling their vows ought to make the journey, they were also responsible for ensuring the military viability of crusade expeditions. From the First Crusade onward, attempts were made to discourage monks, women, the poor, the weak, and the elderly from taking the cross, until Innocent III called for crusade preachers to give the vow to whoever desired it without first examining their ability to fulfill it or requiring permission from their spouse or superiors. Many historians have seen in this declaration a prescient attempt to hijack the crusade vow and use it to secure support for papal crusade policy or deliberately convert the devotion of the faithful into the financial subsidy of professional fighters. In fact, Innocent III seems to have followed reformers from Peter the Chanter's school in Paris who saw the crusade vow as the means of signifying and institutionalizing the penitential fervor required of the home and foreign fronts for the crusades' success. He appears to have intended that alms gathered during crusade preaching and processions and the institution of a clerical income tax would subsidize the financially insolvent but hardy poor. To this end, he deferred the examination and dispensation of crusaders until just before the crusading expedition departed, when those who could not be subsidized or were unfit to participate could commute, redeem, or delay their vows.

By the time of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), however, Innocent had come under pressure from military leaders who worried about being burdened with the poor and militarily useless. *Ad liberandam* made no mention of indiscriminate signing, and soon weak or poor individuals were urged to and, by the mid-thirteenth century, often forced to redeem their vows by donating money to the crusade. Com-

mutations followed a similar pattern, from the voluntary commutation of goals from the Holy Land to the antiheretical crusade and vice versa under Innocent III, to attempts by Gregory IX and Innocent IV to force individuals to transfer their vows for the Holy Land to aid for the Latin Empire of Constantinople and the papal struggle against Emperor Frederick II. Gradually, despite continuing manifestations of populist enthusiasm for personal participation, the vast majority of vows made during preaching tours, which were increasingly organized by members of the mendicant orders, were almost immediately redeemed for money granted to those organizing crusade contingents to subsidize trained *milites* and professional soldiers.

Terms for the Fulfillment of Crusading Vows

In this and other instances, policies were not merely mandated in a top-down fashion by the papacy, but were formed as the result of a dialogue between the pope, legates and crusade preachers, local clergymen, the military leaders of the crusade, and *crucesignati* of all stripes. This is particularly true in the case of the discussion of precisely what kind and what length of service was considered necessary to fulfill the crusade vow. Although many crusaders considered their vows completed when they had attained their pilgrimage goal of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, once the vow became severed from the journey to Jerusalem, the period of military service considered necessary to fulfill one's vow became the subject of debate. Popes occasionally set a period of one to three years for crusades to the Holy Land in papal bulls, although the term needed to gain the plenary indulgence was often left unspecified. In the case of the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229), Innocent III delegated the decision to the men he appointed to organize the crusade in France, who specified the forty-day period typical of the military service owed by vassals to their lord as the minimum needed to earn the plenary indulgence. Departure dates and locations were often set in bulls outlining the organization of a crusade, and papally appointed preachers responsible for organizing crusading contingents in a certain diocese or region were often urged to ensure that a sufficient army materialized by threatening to excommunicate those who did not leave in a timely fashion from the appointed ports. However, dates and departure points often became the subject for negotiation, as local crusaders experienced trouble in finding funding or settling disputes. For example, many of the common crusaders in the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221)

complained that while delays had been granted to the noblemen expected to lead local contingents, they were being threatened with excommunication if they failed to depart at the date set by the Fourth Lateran council, despite the fact that the funding meant to subsidize them had been granted to these same noblemen, who refused to disburse it. Some became so frustrated that they simply tore off their crosses and refused to fulfill their vows. Similarly, crusaders often considered their vow fulfilled and left the army once their funding ran out or once a significant military or devotional objective had been obtained.

During the Third Crusade (1189–1192), Richard I of England refused to proceed directly to Jerusalem, for fear that his army would dissolve before the outlying regions necessary to protect the city had been taken. During the Fifth Crusade, the papal legate Pelagius attempted to stem the flood of crusaders planning to depart after the capture of Damietta (1219) before crucial reinforcements arrived, by threatening to excommunicate anyone who left without obtaining a letter of permission from him. Letters were also sent to recruiting centers in Europe broadcasting the legatine excommunication of those who had deserted the army prematurely or had failed to join the army in Egypt, demanding that they be forced to return to fulfill their vows. These events illustrate that, in the end, the conditions for the fulfillment of the crusade vow remained open to debate, even during a period that saw great advancements in the institutionalization of the crusading movement.

—Jessalynn Bird

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Vytautas (d. 1430)

Grand duke of Lithuania (1392–1430), who broke the power of the Teutonic Order and brought medieval Lithuania to the peak of its might.

Vytautas (Germ., Pol. *Witold*, Russ. *Vitovt*) was born around 1350, the son of Kęstutis, duke of Trakai, and Birutė of Palanga. He was meant to succeed his father in Trakai and to co-rule the grand duchy of Lithuania with Jogaila, the son of Grand Duke Algirdas. But after Algirdas died, the Teutonic Order provoked a conflict between Kęstutis and Jogaila. In 1382 Kęstutis was murdered, but Vytautas managed to escape to Prussia. There he persuaded the Teutonic Order to wage war against Jogaila in his favor. In 1384 Vytautas was received into the Roman Catholic Church (taking the baptismal name Wigand) and granted the order the strategic western Lithuanian territory of Samogitia, which lay between the order's possessions in Prussia and Livonia. But soon Jogaila offered him peace, and Vytautas returned to Lithuania, receiving Grodno and later, Lutsk. Vytautas converted to the Orthodox form of Christianity, but when Jogaila was baptized into the Roman Catholic faith on becoming king of Poland (1386), Vytautas also converted back to Catholicism (with the new name Alexander). However, as Jogaila failed to

Vytautas (d. 1430)

keep his promise to return Trakai, Vytautas fled to Prussia again in 1390 and fought against Jogaila with the help of the Teutonic Order until peace was concluded. In 1392 Jogaila was forced to recognize Vytautas as grand duke of Lithuania.

In 1398 Vytautas granted Samogitia to the Teutonic Order again, in the hope of gaining a respite from its attacks. He also tried to exploit the idea of the crusade by applying its ideology to his own war against the Mongols of the Golden Horde, but his crusade ended in defeat at Vorskla (1399). Then Vytautas organized a Samogitian rebellion (1401). The struggle was complicated by wars in Rus', and in 1404 Vytautas had to give up his claims on Samogitia once more, but in 1409 he organized a new rebellion and finally succeeded in liberating Samogitia. Next year Vytautas and Jogaila marched on Prussia, and at the battle of Tannenberg (15 July 1410) they inflicted on the Teutonic Order its greatest ever defeat. In 1411 the order conceded Samogitia to Vytautas for his lifetime, although he sought a permanent recognition of his possession, claiming that Samogitia was "our heritage and patrimony . . . which is and always was one and the same with the land of Lithuania due to the same language and the same people" [*Codex epistolaris Vitoldi, magni ducis Lithuaniae, 1376–1430*, ed. Antoni Prochaska (Cracoviae: Academia Literarum, 1882), p. 467].

As the dispute over Samogitia continued, Vytautas and Jogaila strengthened the Lithuanian-Polish alliance, formal-

izing it through the Union of Horodlo (1413); they imposed Christianity on Samogitia (1413) and established a diocese there.

Vytautas also gave support to the Hussites and was elected king of Bohemia (1421–1423), thus preventing Emperor Sigismund from providing active support for the Teutonic Order. In 1422 Vytautas and Jogaila attacked Prussia again and forced the final recognition of Samogitia as a Lithuanian possession. Thereafter Vytautas's relationship with the order improved, as he sought to rid Lithuania of Polish suzerainty. In 1429 Emperor Sigismund offered to have Vytautas crowned as king of Lithuania, but this overture was undermined by the Polish nobility. Vytautas died on 27 October 1430. He was succeeded by Švitrigaila, brother of Jogaila.

Vytautas was married twice: to Anna (d. 1418), then to Juliana, both of Lithuanian origin. His daughter from the first marriage, Sofia, married Grand Duke Vasilii I of Moscow.

—Tomas Baranauskas

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W

Waldemar

See Valdemar

Walter the Chancellor

The author of a Latin text known as the *Bella Antiochena*, which deals with the “Antiochene Wars,” that is, the campaigns fought against the Turks by the Franks of the principality of Antioch between 1115 and 1119.

Walter is known only through two references to himself made in his work; he is not recorded in any charter or witness list, although he was chancellor of Antioch between about 1114 and about 1122. Thus when he records that “the chancellor” was consulted by Roger, prince of Antioch, on the eve of the battle of the *Ager Sanguinis* (Field of Blood) in 1119, this is a reference to his own part in the events he narrates. That Walter was educated as a cleric is a safe assumption, which is borne out by his use of biblical and liturgical allusions, and also by his explicit intent to demonstrate the workings of divine will. His work comprises two books: the first recounts the Antiochenes’ triumphant campaign against Bursuq of Hamadan in 1115; the second their disastrous defeat at the hands of ʿIlghāzī of Aleppo in 1119. Although Walter exploits the contrast between initial success and defeat in book 2, nothing in book 1 foreshadows the later reverses: it was apparently originally intended to stand alone as a record of a great victory.

As an eyewitness, Walter left an invaluable account. He probably accompanied Roger on the 1115 campaign and was almost certainly present when Roger was killed at the *Ager Sanguinis*. He was probably among those taken pris-

oner afterward: he says that his vivid description of the torments of the Christian captives derives from his own eyewitness experience.

–Susan B. Edgington

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Walter Mahomet

A nobleman in the kingdom of Jerusalem, who is attested as lord or castellan of Hebron between 1107/1108 and 1115. He is known to have accompanied King Baldwin I on a military expedition to the north in 1111. Nothing is known of his origins, although his name may indicate that, unusually for a member of the ruling class of the kingdom, he may have been a converted Muslim.

–Alan V. Murray

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Walter Sans-Avoir (d. 1096)

A military commander in one of the contingents of the so-called People's Crusades of 1096. Although Walter's surname has sometimes been translated into English as "the Penniless," it more probably derives from the village of Boissy-Sans-Avoir, west of Paris.

In the spring of 1096 Walter and his uncle (also called Walter) were inspired by the preaching of Peter the Hermit, but rather than following him, they departed with a separate band of crusaders via Cologne and Hungary, arriving (the first contingent of the People's Crusades to do so) in Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) in July 1096. They crossed the Bosphorus into Bithynia along with Peter the Hermit's main army and crusader groups from northern Italy (6 August 1096), and this combined force based itself at the fortress of Kibotos on the Sea of Marmara to await the arrival of further armies. Walter seems to have been recognized as military commander among the French crusaders during Peter's absence in Constantinople, but he was unable to prevent crusader incursions into the territory of Qilij Arslan I, sultan of Rüm, who annihilated a German-Lombard force that had seized a castle called Xerigordon. Walter was killed when, against his counsel, the remaining crusaders at Kibotos marched out to confront the approaching Turkish forces and were rapidly ambushed and routed (October 1096).

—Alan V. Murray

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Walther von der Vogelweide

The greatest medieval German lyric poet and first exponent of German political poetry, active in the period 1190–1230. A clerically educated professional singer, he was the first nonchivalric German poet of crusade.

Walther composed four songs of recruitment and religious motivation and some twenty topical verses commenting on crusading issues within the broader context of imperial and papal politics. He had many patrons, including King Philip, the emperors Otto IV and Frederick II, Landgrave Hermann of Thuringia, the Austrian dukes Frederick and Leopold VI, and Wolfger, bishop of Passau and patriarch of Aquileia, as well as lesser magnates, such as Diether

of Katzenellenbogen. Frederick II conferred an unspecified fief on him around the year 1220.

Walther's four crusading songs cannot be firmly dated. *Owe, waz eren sich ellendet von tiuschen landen* ("Alas, how honor flees the German lands") [*Walther von der Vogelweide*, ed. Cormeau, L 13, 5–32] is an eschatological summons to penance. In *Vil süeze waere minne* ("Most sweet true love," L 76, 22–78, 23), a meditation on divine love and redemptive sacrifice, each stanza ends with an appeal to liberate Jerusalem. The song's metrical form resembles Latin hymns. Both of these songs speak in the collective first-person plural. *Nu alrest lebe ich mir werde* ("Now at last my life has worth," L 14, 38–16, 35), also known as the *Palästinalied* (Palestine Song), voices the pilgrim's first-person singular celebration of treading in the earthly footsteps of Christ, visiting the scenes of Nativity, Passion, Resurrection, and anticipating Judgment and God's adjudication that Christians are rightful heirs of his earthly kingdom. Walther's melody for this song survives, based on Latin hymn types. *Owe, war sint verschwunden alliu miniu jar* ("Alas, where has my whole life vanished," L 124, 1–125, 10) contains a personal lament for his exclusion, as "needy man" (III, 11), from the rewards of the chivalric crusader. He depicts the courtly world suddenly stricken with disaster, pleads for penitence, and beseeches the knighthood to seize the offer of redemption, "the dear journey overseas" (III, 15). The catalyst of spiritual crisis is "stern letters from Rome" (II, 9). The song has traditionally been linked with the excommunication of Emperor Frederick II in 1228, despite Walther's polemics since 1201 against papal abuse of spiritual sanctions against German kings.

In his political satires, Walther comments frequently on crusading issues. He castigates Duke Leopold V and Duke Frederick I of Austria for holding King Richard the Lionheart to ransom after his return from crusade; urges Emperor Otto IV to lead a crusade after his imperial coronation in 1209; lampoons Pope Innocent III for the crusade tax of 1213; and praises Leopold VI of Austria for crusading in 1219. Repeatedly he urges Frederick II to fulfill his crusading vow, though he defends him from critics in Germany and Rome, and he reminds the archangels that even they have left the heathen unscathed.

—Jeffrey Ashcroft

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Warfare: The Baltic Crusades

In nineteenth- and twentieth-century literature on the history of war, warfare in the Baltic region at the time of the crusades is mentioned only marginally, because the Christianization and subjection of the pagan Finno-Ugrian and Baltic tribes to the south and east of the Baltic Sea between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries largely occurred without the kind of highlights that lend themselves to the writing of grand narrative. Decisive battles were rare, and warfare mostly consisted of expeditions for the purposes of looting and devastation. During the last few decades, however, this type of warfare has attracted increasing attention not only from scholars in Germany and the modern countries in what once were the target areas of crusading, but also from English-speaking historians. The best known aspect of the Baltic Crusades is the century-long war against the Lithuanians, which ended in 1410 with the disastrous defeat of the Teutonic Order at Tannenberg (also known in Polish as *Grunwald* and Lithuanian as *Žalgiris*). That battle can be seen as the final point of the crusading era in the Baltic region.

Not only heathens but also the Greek Orthodox Christians of Russia, regarded as "schismatics" by the Roman Catholic (Latin) Church, were targets for the crusades. One main theater of war in this respect was the inner part of the Gulf of Finland, where the Swedes fought with the Novgorodian state for control of important trade routes. The Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order also tried to expand its territory at the expense of Novgorod but had to give up this undertaking after a defeat in 1242.

Except for the Lithuanians, the heathen tribes in the Baltic had not yet begun any process of nation building, which is one important reason why the early and successful expansion of the numerically much inferior Christians was

possible. The crusaders profited from the rivalry and hostility between the tribes, using the old technique of divide and rule to secure victory and expand. Through alliances with some tribes, others could be fought and defeated. Thereafter the allies were often ready to accept Christian protection and domination and to convert to the new faith. Within the sphere of influence of the military religious orders, Christianity mostly spread by force, by means of the so-called mission of the sword (Ger. *Schwertmission*).

Any peaceful coexistence of the heathen tribes in the Baltic region before the arrival of the crusaders was the exception rather than the rule. Just as modern anthropology has ascertained that the descriptions of the idyllic life of the indigenous peoples on the Pacific islands given by Margaret Mead in her book *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928) are highly exaggerated, a reading of the chronicle of the thirteenth-century writer Henry of Livonia provides proof that similar romantic ideas about the heathen tribes in the eastern Baltic do not correspond to reality. Equally, it would be a mistake to think that the Christians in the Baltic region were always united. There were numerous tensions and conflicts between the military orders and the bishop (after 1250 archbishop) of Riga; in 1233 there was even a fierce battle between the Order of the Sword Brethren and papal troops in Reval (mod. Tallinn, Estonia), in which the former were victorious.

Recorded history in the Baltic region mostly derives from the victors; only the Greek Orthodox Christians of Russia had a written culture like that of the Latin West from the beginning of the crusade period. The pagan tribes in Finland, Livonia, and Prussia left no written records. In Lithuania diplomatic correspondence gradually developed, but there were no early Lithuanian chronicles; the first appeared only at the beginning of the sixteenth century, written in Belorussian. For that reason research is heavily dependent on Russian annals and chronicles and, above all, the many important chronicles from the crusader states of Livonia and Prussia: the *Chronicle* of Henry of Livonia, the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, and chronicles by Peter von Dusburg, Nicolaus von Jeroschin, Hermann von Wartberge, Wigand von Marburg, Johann von Posilge, and others. There are also several extensive editions of charters, letters, and different sorts of accounts. The most important records of the Teutonic Order in Prussia (most of them still unedited) are now kept in the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin. Unfortunately, no equivalent records of the Livonian branch of the order have survived.



Crusaders battle Russians in the film *Alexander Nevsky*, directed by Sergei Eisenstein (1938). (Bettmann/Corbis)

Besides written sources, archaeological sites and artifacts give evidence of warfare at the time of the Baltic Crusades. There are hundreds of remains of pagan hill forts and other defensive structures, which are now being thoroughly investigated and sometimes reconstructed by archaeologists. The advance of settlement and colonization is exemplified by the many imposing, strong castles of the military orders, notably the main castle of the Teutonic Order, Marienburg (mod. Malbork, Poland) in Prussia.

Pagan Arms, Armor, and Warfare

If battle could not be avoided, pagan warriors fought on foot at long range with bows, slings, and javelins and man-to-man with spears, swords, long and broad battle knives, axes, and clubs. As speed and surprise were decisive for the success of an attack, body protection was relatively light.

However, when heathen warriors are described in the chronicles as being unarmed (Lat. *inermes*), this merely means that they were not ironclad; that is, they had no armor corresponding to that of the Western knights. Besides their weapons they may at least have had shields and helmets and probably also had other body protection of leather and metal. There was no uniformity in equipment but, rather, regional differences in the vast area from Finland in the north to Prussia in the south.

Eastern elements sometimes played an important role, as can be demonstrated in the case of the open conical "Prussian" helmet that originated in Byzantium and Russia and was equipped with mail aventails (flaps) on the sides and at the rear or with aventails consisting of small rectangular plates fixed together on leather. This type of helmet was adopted from the Prussians by the Teutonic Order and

became very popular, being worn not only by the indigenous auxiliary troops. A similar helmet, called *pekillhube* in the inventories of the order (the origin of the later German *Pickelhaube*, literally “spiked bonnet”), was also borrowed from the Prussians by the Teutonic Knights. A type of equestrian shield, or pavise, of Baltic origin was the so-called Prussian or Lithuanian shield (Lat. *scutum Pruthenicum* or *clipeus Litwanicus*), which became popular even in western Europe. It was rather small, ranging in size from 30 to 50 centimeters in width and 60 to 70 centimeters in height. Another example of transfer from East to West was the light Lithuanian lance called the *sulice*. According to the Polish chronicler Jan Długosz, such lances could be seen among the weapons of the Teutonic Order’s troops at Tannenberg.

The heathen armies in the Baltic region were levies of peasants under the command of a small elite of nobles, who could be regarded as professional warriors. Each village had an elder, villages formed districts, and districts formed provinces, governed by councils of district elders. It was possible to decide in advance the numbers required by the territorial levy (in Livonia called *malewa*) and to coordinate plans.

Swift expeditions with surprise attacks, designed to plunder and devastate enemy territory, were characteristic of such tribal warfare. The small but tenacious and hardy indigenous horses (Ger. *Schweike*, from a Baltic word for “healthy”) served as fast and reliable warhorses, saddle horses, packhorses, and draft horses for carts and sledges. When enemy settlements were reached, fixed quarters (called *maia* by Henry of Livonia, and *sowalk* by Hermann von Wartberge) were set up, and groups of men spread out for looting. Booty consisted largely of captives, horses and livestock, weapons, textiles, furs, and metals and was gathered in the *maia*; it was then important either to continue the campaign elsewhere or to withdraw quickly in order to avoid counterattack by the local levy. The defeated men were in most cases killed, whereas the women and children were taken along with the expedition as captives. On occasion no one was spared. People and animals that could not be taken away were killed, and houses and stores were burned. As the principal purpose of warfare was plundering and devastation, not the acquisition of land, battles and sieges were avoided. Places of refuge existed in the form of forts built of timber and earth, or sometimes of loose stones from the fields (without mortar), and surrounded by ditches and palisades. Sites were chosen with the criterion of providing

refuge: preferably hills, islands, or locations near a river or lake. When the alarm was given, villagers took refuge in their forts along with their animals and belongings or retreated to hiding places in surrounding forests and bogs.

Enemy territories and settlements that were selected to be ravaged were often surrounded by vast forests and swamps. Besides such natural obstacles, the attacking levy often had to face artificially erected barriers or barricades (in the German chronicles called *hagen*) made of felled trees, branches, bushes, and thicket. These were constructed at strategic sites and were carefully maintained by the local population as protection for their territories or villages. Such obstacles could delay an attack and make it possible for guards to give the alarm. Raids mostly took place in summer or early autumn, but sometimes also in winter when weather conditions were favorable. They could be short or could last for many weeks, and often covered hundreds of kilometers.

Christian Arms, Armor, and Military Innovations

The confrontation of the heathen levies with the crusaders and the armies of the military orders (the Sword Brethren, the Teutonic Order, and the short-lived Knights of Dobrin) was a clash between two different worlds: one of a fundamentally archaic structure, the other representing the peak of military progress of the time. The development of chivalry and warfare in Latin Europe had profited from the experiences of Christian knights during the crusades to the Holy Land. Horses were not simply a means of transport; large horses were systematically bred and trained to carry a saddle with an armored knight, who fought the enemy with his lance and sword. The knight of the thirteenth century was protected by a coat of mail (known as a hauberk) consisting of small iron or steel rings and by a pot helmet or (from the end of the century) a great helm, as well as a shield. The great helm was an irreplaceable attribute of chivalry in the West, but in Livonia and Prussia it never became popular among the knights during the campaigns because it was heavy, limited the range of sight, and made breathing difficult. The Teutonic Knights surmounted their great helms with crests in the shape of a circle with a black cross or with white pennons also with a cross. From the second half of the fourteenth century the more practical basinet with mail aventails were worn even by the highest dignitaries of the order. Also kettle-hats (iron caps with brims) were often used by the Teutonic Knights as well as by knights of lesser status.

After the mid-fourteenth century the very popular and

common mail hauberk was slowly being replaced by new body and limb defenses (various types of lamellar and scale plates) and, from the end of the century, by full plate armor. At an earlier stage plates were made in the form of a “poncho” consisting of rows of iron plates arranged vertically or horizontally and riveted to leather or thick cloth. There is also evidence of a combination of the two types of armor, the mail hauberk being worn under the plates. Thus, a horse had to carry a knight weighing up to 150 kilograms (c. 330 lb.) or even more. On the battlefield under normal conditions such heavy cavalry was able to crush even numerically superior heathen armies. Only in forests, in boggy terrain, or in places with poor visibility was it possible for light cavalry and infantry to defend themselves successfully and win victories. The surviving inventories of the Teutonic Order in Prussia give much information about the knights’ arms and armor stored in the castles.

Because Christian campaigns had to deal with the difficult terrain of forests and bogs, the Teutonic Knights often did without armor and coverings for the horses and straps for their breast and croup. The saddles had to be simple, without superfluous heads and straps, since both horse and equipment needed to be streamlined to avoid being caught in the scrub.

There were many innovations in Christian military techniques in the Baltic region. One such important development was the erection of permanent fortresses in stone or brick: the manufacture of bricks and mortar was unknown in the eastern Baltic lands until the crusader conquest. The military orders undoubtedly took over and practiced the heathen techniques of erecting fortifications made of wood and mounds of earth, but they also built networks of castles in suitable sites all over the Baltic region. These, together with the fortified larger towns, constituted the backbone of the new Christian states: it was practically impossible for heathen forces to take them by storm.

When the crossbow was introduced to the Baltic region (in the thirteenth century at the latest), the Christians had an effective long-range weapon that proved superior to the javelins, slings, and bows of their opponents and could be used in battle as well as in sieges and the defense of fortifications. The heathen tribes and their Russian neighbors in Novgorod, Polotsk, Smolensk, and Pskov dreaded the crossbow; up to this time they knew only the traditional bow, which was less effective. There was an extensive production of crossbows in the order’s workshops (Ger. *Schnitzhaus*, pl.

Schnitzhäuser), probably on a scale that was unparalleled elsewhere in Europe. To be sure, the longbows of the English archers were more powerful than crossbows of wood and horn, although not more so than the steel crossbows introduced at the end of the fifteenth century; they also had faster rates of fire, as did the composite bows of the Turks and Mongols. The Teutonic Order became increasingly aware of this, as can be seen in the chronicle of Johann von Posilge, in which the effectiveness of the English longbow is praised. However, it was used only in the Baltic region on occasions when English crusaders came to Prussia. Thus, the crossbow remained the most important long-distance hand weapon in the Baltic until it was slowly replaced by firearms from the fifteenth century onward.

Also unknown to the peoples in the Baltic region were the heavy siege weapons, such as catapults and trebuchets, battering rams, and siege towers, which were also introduced by the crusaders. In the second half of the fourteenth century the use of gunpowder was effectively demonstrated, first by the Christians and then, two decades later, by the Lithuanians, who were eager and sufficiently skillful to adopt the new techniques.

The combination of these new developments made it possible for Christian garrisons to withstand long sieges, provided they had sufficient supplies of food, weapons, and crossbow bolts. Conquered territories were secured systematically with new fortresses that served different purposes. One such purpose was to enable new military operations into enemy territory. For that reason the breeding of large horses was established on the order’s estates (Ger. *Vorwerke*), and stud farms were protected by castles. The warhorses of the order were mostly rendered infertile by sterilization or (less commonly) by castration in order to prevent them from being used for breeding in case they were caught by the enemy; for this reason they were called “monk horses” (Ger. *Mönchhengste*). Mares were not used as warhorses.

The large horses were bred not only by the military orders but also in the Livonian and Prussian bishoprics and on the estates of the German and (in Estonia) Danish nobles. Around 1400 there were almost 14,000 horses in the Prussian castles, on the breeding farms, and on the estates, of which 7,200 belonged to the breed of large military horses. In addition there were the warhorses and saddle horses of the brethren, estimated at 2,250, and the horses belonging to the bishoprics and cities and some 4,700 nobles who were obliged to perform military service. These were the so-called

freemen (Ger. *Freie*). The figures for Livonia are more difficult to estimate because of the lack of sources, but they were probably about half of the totals just mentioned.

Christian Military Service and Warfare

According to the Charter of Kulm (Ger. *Kulmer Handfeste*) of 1233, those nobles who held more than forty hides of land (672 hectares, or about 1,680 acres) from the Teutonic Order were to serve with heavy armor on a covered horse (Lat. *dextrarius opertus*); in this case the horse was specified as having to be a stallion, and at least two further horsemen were required as escorts. This form of service was called *Rosdienst* (stallion service). Those with ten to forty hides had to perform one or more of the less expensive services known as *Platendienst* (plate service), with plate armor or light weapons. In this form of service the horse was sterilized or castrated; castrated horses were certainly easier to handle on the march and in camp.

With the increasing importance of the crossbow as a long-range weapon, armor became heavier and plate service developed into service on a warhorse, which was about three to four times as expensive as the horses of the indigenous peoples. Around 1400 plate cost one-fifth of the price of a good warhorse. The native light auxiliary troops who made up a large proportion of the Christian forces fought on foot with their native weapons, using their smaller horses primarily as a means of transport.

Around 1400 there were some 700 knight brethren, sergeants, and priests of the Teutonic Order in Prussia and some 250 in Livonia. In Prussia the army, including the forces of the bishoprics and the towns, numbered well in excess of 10,000 men. This number did not include those serving in the baggage train, troops held reserve, seasonal crusaders, or mercenaries. The army of the Livonian branch of the order may have been about half as large as the Prussian.

In many respects the crusaders and military orders adopted the forms of warfare practiced by their heathen adversaries. They undertook swift expeditions and assaults in order to weaken and demoralize the enemy. Looting, killing, and taking prisoners were also important aims, whereas conversion often seems to have been of only secondary interest. Sometimes the pagans could save their lives if they agreed to accept the Christian faith, but mostly the men were killed and the captured women and children were brought as prisoners to Prussia or Livonia, where they were ransomed or sold, used in prisoner exchanges, or employed

as slaves or settlers. It was a great advantage for the order to have access to this reserve of heathen human labor when Europe was struck by demographic crisis in the fourteenth century and the influx of settlers from the west gradually ceased. According to the theologian Thomas Aquinas, Christians could not be enslaved, but heathens could be. This was one of the reasons why the order refused to accept the Christianization of Lithuania (1387) and ignored the prohibitions on military expeditions into Lithuania by Wenceslas IV, king of Bohemia, in 1394 and Pope Boniface IX in 1403.

Besides brief attacks there were also longer campaigns, which could last several weeks. In all cases good planning was a precondition for the success of the undertaking. The provision of sufficient fodder for the horses and other supplies was part of this. In winter food for the troops and hay and oats for the horses had to be transported on packhorses or sledges; in summer the stages of the march had to be planned so as to give the horses the opportunity to graze. If necessary, provisions and fodder were also transported on packhorses, as the terrain made the use of carts difficult. The indigenous horses were well suited for this. Depots for provisions and fodder were placed along the line of march. If, when the army arrived, these were found to have been captured or destroyed by the enemy, the situation often became so acute that it was a matter of life or death. Because of the many lakes, rivers, and swamps in the wild frontier countryside (Ger. *Wildnis*), expeditions were very dependent on the weather: too much rain in summer made the terrain just as difficult to travel through as when the winter was too mild, too hard, or very snowy. A cold but not too snowy winter provided the best conditions: waterways and bogs froze over, thereby helping rather than hindering the progress of horses and sledges. Tracks in the snow also made it easier to find settlements and hiding places in the district that was to be ravaged. Thus the winter *reyse* ("campaign" or "journey") of the Teutonic Order from Prussia against the Lithuanians was the order's campaign par excellence. The excellent logistics and organization of the order functioned well in winter, whereas the more lightly armed heathens on their smaller horses preferred expeditions in summer.

In summer the Teutonic Knights in Prussia transported parts of the army and supplies along waterways when this was possible, whereas the mounted army had to force its way through the dreaded wilderness area east of Sambia, called Grauden. The chronicles tell of the hardships endured by the men and horses during these marches. In 1427 the marshal

of the order remarked that there were no waterways from Livonia into Lithuania, so that campaigns in that direction could only be carried out with the indigenous small, shaggy horses. Both sides used spies and scouts (Lat. *speculatores*). Often barricades of felled trees had to be cleared or bypassed. Sometimes trees along the planned route of march were marked by axes before the expedition started, to enable it to find the way easily and avoid obstacles and pass the wilderness more quickly.

One hundred descriptions of campaign routes from the two last decades of the fourteenth century have been preserved in the archives of the Teutonic Order: these are the so-called *Wegeberichte*, which originated from scouts and guides (Ger. *Leitsleute*) in the region. These valuable sources were compiled and revised by local knight brethren or servants of the order and sent to the marshal, who was also commander of Königsberg (mod. Kaliningrad, Russia). They served as an important resource in the planning and execution of expeditions from Prussia to Lithuania. They give details of distances, Lithuanian settlements, suitable places for depots and camps, the condition of the terrain, roads, and paths as well as of natural or artificial obstacles to be overcome. They also carefully note where water and, in summer, grass for the horses could be found. Besides their importance for military history these sources are valuable for Lithuanian linguistic research.

When the targeted settlements were reached, a camp was built and groups of knights and armed men spread out to loot and kill. The Sword Brethren and the Teutonic Knights thus used the same tactics that the indigenous peoples had practiced for hundreds of years before they were confronted with Christianity. In order not to be surprised by a counterattack of the local levy, the army did not stay long at the same place but soon moved to another district, where the same procedure was repeated. Some days or weeks later the campaign ended, and the army marched back to Prussia or Livonia with its prisoners of war, captured horses, and other booty.

Small groups of irregulars were used by the Teutonic Order in the wilderness, where they ravaged and killed settlers on their own initiative. These were the dreaded *latrun-culi* ("robbers" or "bandits"), who were called *struter* in the contemporary sources of the order. The order wanted to keep the wilderness intact as a broad natural defensive barrier, especially against the Lithuanians.

The indigenous peoples in the target countries defended

themselves by various means: by defending their own castles and other fortifications, by besieging those of the Christians, and by attacks, ambushes, feigned retreats, and the destruction of the crusaders' depots of provisions and fodder. The Lithuanians especially also undertook long expeditions into the lands of the order, killing, plundering, and taking prisoners, who, according to the chroniclers of the order, were enslaved. It was a vicious circle that was broken mainly by the battle of Tannenberg in 1410.

There were also types of expeditions other than the raids mentioned above: fortresses and castles had to be erected, and enemy fortresses had to be besieged and destroyed. Fortifications in the wilderness were built in summer for preference, when the waterways could be used for transporting building materials. If possible, heavy equipment for sieges was also carried by boat; otherwise these war machines had to be constructed before the enemy's fortresses. Defensive measures in the event of an attack required the levy (or parts of it) to be mobilized and mustered at places of strategic importance near the frontier. The levy not only consisted of the knight brethren of the order and German, Danish (in Estonia), and indigenous nobles but also included armed men from the bishoprics and towns.

Compared to expeditions for plundering and devastation, pitched battles were rather rare. In these cases the knight brethren and crusader heavy cavalry took their place in the middle of the formation, with the indigenous auxiliaries and other troops on the wings to the right and the left. Many of the battles were won by the Christian armies, but in a significant number the pagans or Russians were victorious. The heathen Estonians were defeated at Treiden (1211), Fellin (1217), and Lyndanise (1219), whereas the Sword Brethren were defeated by the Lithuanians at Saule in 1236. The Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order was defeated by the Novgorodians at Lake Peipus in 1242 and by the Lithuanians of Samogitia at Schoden in 1259 and at Durben in 1260. Well-known battles of the Teutonic Order in Prussia include the victories over the Lithuanians at Strebe (1348) and at Rudau (1370) and the defeat at Tannenberg at the hands of the Lithuanians and Poles in 1410. The Novgorodians had already halted Swedish expansion at the inner part of the Gulf of Finland through a victory at the river Neva in 1240.

A constant strategic goal of the Teutonic Order was to conquer the western Lithuanian land of Samogitia (Lith. *Žemaitija*) in order to achieve a territorial connection between the two branches of the order in Livonia and Prus-

sia. Military operations were therefore often coordinated. The warlike Samogitians were never subjugated by the order, but in the peace treaty between Grand Master Konrad von Jungingen and the Lithuanian grand duke Vytautas at Sallinwerder in 1398, Samogitia was awarded to the order. However, this acquisition only brought disaster, because an uprising in Samogitia in 1409 launched the chain of events that ended one year later with the defeat at Tannenberg.

Mutual Influences and Adaptation

For the military orders it was always a struggle to maintain their advantage through continual improvements in techniques, equipment, and horsepower. The element of surprise was short-lived. Innovations are notorious for the speed with which they spread, and it was always only a question of time before the Christians' opponents became familiar with them and thus able to use them in turn. In the first half of the fourteenth century stone or brick fortresses were increasingly replacing wood and earth constructions in Lithuania, while heavy siege weapons were also known to the heathens by this time. The first reliable report of the use of firearms (Ger. *Lotbüchsen*) by the Teutonic Order occurs in a chronicle describing a siege in 1362. Two decades later, bombardments were used by the Lithuanians against the fortresses of the order. The possession of large warhorses and knightly armament was not confined to the Christians in the long term, since capture or purchase made it possible for the heathens to overcome this disadvantage to some extent. After the defeat at Tannenberg, the Teutonic Order's lawyers accused the Poles of having disregarded the old prohibitions on supplying warhorses and knightly weapons to the heathens (as they still called the Lithuanians) and other nonbelievers and of having taught them Christian techniques of warfare. These accusations suggest that by this time the heathen armies were in no way inferior in equipment to those of the Christians. Even if they are regarded as harsh anti-Polish propaganda, they reveal the truth that times had changed and that the opponents of the military orders had made good many of their former deficiencies.

Christian warfare in the Baltic region also adapted to the particular conditions existing there and thus differed significantly from knightly warfare in western Europe. The enslavement of women and children had deep roots in Baltic tradition. The Christian knights took over the Prussian helmet and shield, the light Lithuanian lance, the use of small indigenous horses, and heathen building techniques. Other

indications of adaptation to regional and local conditions are the sterilization or castration of warhorses, the "streamlined" equipment of the horsemen, and the relinquishing of horse armor. More than elsewhere warfare was dependent on weather, because of the nature of the wild countryside, with its dense forests, rivers, and swamps. Warfare in winter was therefore common in the Baltic but unusual in western Europe. This feature was undoubtedly an additional exotic enticement for crusaders from the west.

The Crusaders

Among the crusaders who participated in the campaigns of the order in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were kings, dukes, counts, and many renowned nobles. Werner Paravicini has listed more than 300 expeditions from Livonia and Prussia against Lithuania between 1305 and 1409 [Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, 2:20–45].

It was a very expensive undertaking to travel to Livonia or Prussia, and only those with a solid financial background could afford it. Among the most famous expeditions were the crusade of King Ottokar II of Bohemia in 1255, when Königsberg was founded, and the campaign in the summer of 1390, when the Lithuanian capital of Vilnius was besieged by an army that included Henry Bolingbroke, earl of Derby (the future King Henry IV of England). He brought with him English longbowmen, who proved very effective in fighting.

Very often crusaders from western Europe took part in these martial enterprises not only out of religious devotion and an eagerness to convert heathen peoples but also for other reasons, including desire for adventure, the search for fame and honor, and material advantage: these various motives frequently overlapped. Despite all its harshness and cruelty the crusade was regarded like a kind of chivalric romance: this conception was manifested in the late Middle Ages in the Teutonic Order's renowned Table of Honor (Ger. *Ehrentisch*), knightly dubbings, feasts, and hunts during the military campaigns to Lithuania. However, the continuing importance of indulgences in inducing crusaders to risk their lives in the fight against the heathen demonstrates that they were not motivated only by secular concerns.

Conclusions

The Teutonic Order strove to unite its territories in Livonia and Prussia by the conquest and subjection of the western Lithuanian territory of Samogitia, but this strategic goal was never reached. Instead, the Polish-Lithuanian Union of

1385 and the Christianization of Lithuania in 1387 changed the political map of Europe. Two decades later the defeat at Tannenberg in 1410 marked the end of the order's forays against the "heathens." Prussia had lost much of its might and influence, and the question now was of the survival of the order's territories. Instead of carrying out raids, the Teutonic Knights had to defend themselves against enemies both within and beyond their borders. The greatest threat to Prussia came from rebellious towns and nobles and from the Poles; the threat to Livonia came from the Russians. War in the region took on the forms that prevailed in the rest of Europe: mercenaries replaced crusaders, firearms increased in importance, and sieges with artillery became a matter of routine. Crusaders and knightly warfare now belonged to the past.

—Sven Ekdahl

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Warfare: Byzantium and Frankish Greece

The crusader armies that conquered large parts of the Byzantine Empire at the start of the thirteenth century found themselves facing forces that were much closer to themselves in terms of tactics and equipment than were the Muslim armies they faced in the Holy Land. Yet Byzantine armies were by no means identical to those of western Europe. The type of terrain in which the crusaders campaigned was, however, familiar, at least to those who came from or had served in Mediterranean regions such as southern Italy. The Frankish states established around the Aegean in the wake of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) also existed in a state of almost permanent war, their foes including not only Byzantine Greeks, but also Bulgarians, occasionally Serbs, and of course the Muslim Turks who gradually took control of the Anatolian coast of the Aegean Sea. During the second half of the fourteenth century and after, the Ottoman Turks went even further, conquering the Balkans and what remained of Byzantine northern and central Greece, thus reaching the land frontiers of the now much reduced Frankish principalities in later medieval Greece.

The social and military organization of the short-lived Latin Empire of Constantinople and of the small Frankish principalities in Greece were practically identical to those of southern France and of the feudal (rather than urban-republican) states of thirteenth-century Italy. The only important difference was that the Frankish principalities in Greece soon enlisted local troops whose military traditions were those of the Byzantine world. Most of these men served as light cavalry or light infantry. Such similarities made it almost inevitable that, as far as the Franks in Greece were concerned, warfare was conducted in much the same manner as was seen in, for example, Italy. Offensive operations largely consisted of raiding and ravaging enemy territory to inflict

as much economic damage as possible, or to take or recapture a fortified place. The latter ranged from isolated castles to small but strategically significant coastal towns. After the first rush of conquest in the early thirteenth century, the Frankish states on former Byzantine territory were usually on the defensive. The initiative had largely gone to the various rival Byzantine successor states, when these were not fighting each other. Major offensive operations by Frankish or crusade armies were almost always in the form of attacks from farther afield, most notably from southern Italy. Some of the latter were quite ambitious, but most ended in failure. This caused surprise and embarrassment in western Europe, which, with some justification, considered itself to be superior to the declining Byzantine world in military and economic terms.

Byzantine success in containing and, to a large extent, expelling the Franks is something of a paradox, for during these same centuries the Byzantine states suffered repeated and eventually complete defeat at the hands of the Muslim Turks. The Byzantine Greeks also suffered significant setbacks at the hands of their fellow Orthodox Christian (Bulgarian and Serb) neighbors in the Balkans. So how did the Greeks defeat the Latins?

Traditional Byzantine defensive strategy had failed against the Saljūq Turks in the eleventh century because these new invaders occupied the hills as well as the central plains. There is also evidence that Byzantine military morale had declined and that the old systems of defensive guerrilla warfare, or “shadow warfare,” were not attempted until too late. Once the richest western part of Anatolia had been regained by the Komnenian emperors in the early twelfth century, however, it was secured by a broad band of depopulated no-man’s-land with a series of impressive fortresses to the rear. The Byzantines had held on to the northern coastal strip along the Black Sea, and this area, though apparently narrow and vulnerable, was protected by densely forested mountains where raiders could be ambushed. It could also be reinforced by sea. Everywhere a first line of defense was provided by garrisons and local militias backed up by mobile central forces, a system that worked well until the second half of the thirteenth century. But then the Frankish occupation of Constantinople and much of the Byzantine heartland seriously weakened the ability of central armies to support the often rundown frontier forces.

After the Greeks of the Empire of Nicaea regained Con-

Constantinople from the Franks in 1261, they remained more concerned about western European invasions and consequently concentrated the better part of their forces in the Balkans, thus further weakening the eastern frontier, which increasingly relied on static defenses to plug the valleys against Turkish raiders. Meanwhile the success of relatively lightly equipped cavalry and infantry archers in defending places like Albania against Western heavy cavalry from southern Italy in the late thirteenth century suggests that the Byzantine army was not as enfeebled as sometimes thought. It apparently relied on guerrilla tactics, cutting enemy communications with the coast, then isolating and blocking enemy forces inland. A similar strategy was used against the Frankish states in southern Greece. Its ultimate failure against similar Serbian forces in the fourteenth century, and even more dramatically against Ottoman Turkish forces, probably reflected the greater economic, manpower, and moral resources of these enemies.

Western European prejudice concerning the supposedly superior strategy but inferior fighting skills of the average twelfth–fourteenth century Byzantine soldier may, in fact, have been based on reality, since the Komnenian emperors certainly tried to train their own heavy cavalry along Western knightly lines. In the event, this Western-style cavalry failed dismally against the Turks but may have been more effective against Western invaders.

Several sources provide interesting details about Byzantine tactics during this period. Attempts to fight the Turks in their own manner, with light cavalry horse-archers, failed and the Byzantines reverted to ambushing their enemies in mountainous or close country. Nevertheless they still made great use of archery. On one occasion a Byzantine force lit many campfires at night to make its numbers appear larger, then ambushed its disconcerted foes as the latter withdrew through a narrow mountain pass. Even against Frankish forces, the Byzantines used their armored cavalry to hold high ground while their light cavalry harassed the enemy in the valleys. Here they again used the ruse of lighting multiple fires, but also moved herds of cattle around to look like additional cavalry from a distance.

Otherwise Byzantine cavalry tactics remained very traditional. Cavalry still used the *syntagma* (a close formation) within a formation known as a *parataxis*, whose precise meaning is obscure, as had been the case since at least the tenth century. The *taxis* was probably one of three usual divisions. These divisions may have formed part of what the

early thirteenth-century crusader observer Geoffrey of Villehardouin described as a *bataille* (“battalion,” or “division”), with archers and crossbowmen ahead of the cavalry, and infantry sergeants bringing up the rear. A battle line was theoretically formed of *allagia* (regiments or squadrons) divided according to ethnic origin or combat role.

At the battle of Peritheorion (1345) during a Byzantine civil war, some of the Byzantine cavalry, probably consisting of relatively heavily armored troops, were placed on the defensive left, with allied Turkish horse-archers placed on the offensive right, while the best troops, both infantry and cavalry, held the center. Somewhat earlier a Byzantine army had drawn up in five *syntaxeis* (divisions) with Alan cavalry (refugees originally from the northern Caucasus) and Turcopole archers in the vanguard. Cavalry was still the dominant arm, though the *pezoi* (infantry) had an important role to play. These were often given classical titles, as, for example, the *hoplitai* (armored infantry) and *psiloi* (infantry archers).

By the fourteenth century, Byzantine armies were usually small, and this accords well with the assertion by the Italian-educated Prince Theodore Palaiologos that, if a force was caught by surprise, it should not waste time trying to form divisions. Instead it should gather into one large formation. Even so, the baggage animals and squires must remain at some distance to the rear where the squires could also catch riderless horses and hold any prisoners. Other interesting observations made by this Byzantine prince were that natural obstacles such as rivers and passes should be defended from a slight distance, rather than too close, and that some of the enemy should be permitted to cross such obstacles before being attacked, presumably before they had time to reform. Cavalry should not be divided into too small companies; the best should be in the vanguard with a division of inferior cavalry remaining a crossbow shot behind them. A third division should be to the left of the second, since this was where the enemy was most likely to launch a flank attack. The third division would also be able to hit the foe in the flank if the latter broke through the Byzantines' own front line. If, however, the commander had sufficient infantry archers, crossbowmen, and spearmen, these, rather than the third cavalry division, should be on the left flank. In reality, however, such theories probably reflected northern Italian military practice as much as that of the fourteenth-century Byzantine world.

–David Nicolle

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Warfare: Iberia

Until the tenth century, the army of the Christian kingdom of Asturias seems to have maintained some Visigothic military traditions, while also reflecting Muslim influence from al-Andalus. Nevertheless, a different army developed as the Christians pushed southward into Muslim-held territory. Towns as well as noblemen played a major role in both León and Castile, with urban cavalry and infantry both existing by the tenth century. In eleventh-century Castile, the powerful magnates (Sp. *ricos hombres*) fought for their king, and many had their own *masnada* (military retinue). A lesser aristocracy (Sp. *infanzones*) consisted of warriors like the famous Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, better known as El Cid. Urban militias were divided into *caballería* (cavalry) and *peonía* (infantry), the former including *caballeros villanos* (nonnoble cavalry). Soldiers from north of the Pyrenees played some role in the Spanish *Reconquista* (reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula from the Muslims), but the Christian states of northern Iberia received limited help from outsiders after the mid-twelfth century.

Recruitment and Military Service

A western European feudal structure of military obligation was never fully implemented in the Iberian Peninsula. Instead poorer *peones* (the nonnoble, or peasant, strata of society) paid taxes and fought as infantry; richer but still nonnoble *caballeros villanos* served as cavalry and were generally excused taxation; while many Muslim troops who served in Christian armies were listed as nonnoble *cavallers* (horsemen). Even in the early fourteenth century, the garrison of Mahon in Mallorca included so-called Turks, presumably remnants of the Muslim population. The *almogavers* (lightly equipped troops, from the Arabic *al-mughāwar*, "raiders") clearly included both Christians and Muslims recruited from autonomous nonfeudal mountain pastoralists.

The small northern kingdom of Navarre had limited manpower, and perhaps as a result the late fourteenth-century local military elite (Sp. *mesnaderos*) included Muslim soldiers from around Tudela, each serving in person with an armed retinue for forty days a year. Castile became the most powerful state in the Iberian Peninsula, and despite the fact that the military religious orders provided a permanent army to defend Castile's advancing frontier, urban militias played an increasingly vital role from the early twelfth century onward. Here again many Muslims transferred their loyalty to Christian kings. Portugal was the least influenced by French military systems among the Christian Iberian states. Nevertheless, a new military elite emerged, and by the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries most Portuguese troops were drawn from the military orders, the towns, the king's own feudal following, and mercenaries paid through taxes. Richer farmers or peasants still had an obligation to serve as *cavaleiros-vilãos* (nonnoble cavalry, comparable to the Spanish *caballeros villanos*).

Andalusian Muslims were of very mixed origins; they included descendants of the original Muslim conquerors, of more recent Muslim immigrants, and of Iberian Christian or Jewish families that had converted to Islam. All played some military role, as did an indigenous aristocracy of Mozarabs (Arabized Christians), usually in regions where central authority was weak. The early eleventh century probably saw the peak of Berber recruitment in al-Andalus, but when Muslim Iberia fragmented into tiny states known as the Taifa kingdoms, most of the latter were too small to maintain large armies. Their recruitment patterns also tended to reflect the origins of their dynasties, being variously Arab, Berber,

“Slav” (i.e., descended from European slaves), or merely Andalusian.

There was a second Taifa period after the collapse of the North African Almoravid domination in the twelfth century, during which most Andalusian troops were apparently mercenaries. A third Taifa period following the collapse of Almo-had domination was stifled by the Christian conquest of all Andalusia except the state of Granada. During this period, Andalusian military systems had more in common with those of Christian northern Iberia than those of Muslim North Africa. The army of Granada initially consisted of the ruler’s clan and its political clients, while refugees fleeing Christian conquest and Berbers from Morocco provided additional troops. In later years, large numbers of religiously motivated volunteers, including North Africans, continued to play a major role, while a bodyguard of Christian renegades plus *mamlūks* (slave soldiers) drawn from Christian captives formed an elite light cavalry regiment.

The army of the Almoravids who ruled half of the Iberian Peninsula in the eleventh century was initially recruited from a Berber tribal confederation. Yet as the Almoravid Empire grew, so its army became more varied, including slave-recruited black African troops alongside an elite of Christian Iberian captives and mercenaries. The army of the subsequent Almohad rulers was initially a Moroccan rather than a Saharan tribal levy. Nevertheless, it again included slave-recruited Africans, Christian prisoners of war, and a guard of Christian mercenaries.

Military Organization

Military organization in Christian Iberia differed considerably from that farther north, while the states of northern Iberia also differed from one another. Asturias and Galicia retained strong Visigothic traditions; León and Castile were superficially influenced by military developments in France, and Aragon and Catalonia were deeply influenced by France.

Two basic characteristics, however, distinguished the military organization of twelfth–thirteenth century Christian Iberia. The first was a looser command structure and inferior discipline when compared to Muslim forces from al-Andalus. The second was the extent of conquered land handed over to the military orders as the Christian frontier pushed southward. Meanwhile the old Pyrenean heartland of Aragon had never been fully feudalized, and by the thirteenth century the kingdom was dominated by its cities. Most soldiers were now apparently paid professionals,

largely recruited from urban militias. Castles were held by officers of the king or his leading barons, while the latter also had their own professional armies. The newly conquered south was organized along similar lines, though the rugged mountains around Valencia were divided into military zones, often dominated by a free Christian and Muslim peasantry. Many of these mountaineers were led by their own Muslim military elites, some of whom controlled castles as late as 1276.

In Castile and León, the traditional term *apellido* still meant a defensive operation, usually involving urban forces, while the *fonsadera* (the duty of taking part in offensive operations) had generally been commuted for a money payment. The French term *hueste* appeared in the thirteenth century, meaning a major expedition. By the fourteenth century, a *hueste* necessitated urban militias assembling according to their *collación* (quarter) under a *juez* (town leader) appointed by the Crown. Among the most effective Castilian frontier forces, however, were *almogavers* comparable to the *almogavers* of Aragon. Until the fourteenth century, Portugal remained traditional in its military organization, the only consistent command position being that of *alférez mór* (army commander). Extensive changes came in the wake of English and French involvement in Iberian affairs in the late fourteenth century, and the Portuguese military system was overhauled in 1382, the *alférez mór* being replaced by a more typical constable and marshal on western European lines.

A link between military obligation and the possession of land seems to have been more characteristic of al-Andalus than elsewhere in the medieval Islamic world. Nevertheless, fortresses and fortified towns formed the framework of Andalusian military organization. In other respects the Umayyad rulers of Córdoba adopted the military systems of the ‘Abbāsīd caliphate to the east. By the tenth century, the provincial armies, supported by elite units in the capital, were regulated by a government department (Arab. *diwān*) divided into three sections dealing, respectively, with mercenaries around Córdoba, provincial-territorial troops, and short-term volunteers. The highly regularized command structure was again similar to that of the ‘Abbāsīd army. In the late tenth century, the ineffectiveness of such forces convinced the military dictator al-Manṣūr to instigate ruthless reforms. Yet some Andalusian *jund* cavalry evolved into a provincial elite, maintained by *iqṭā’* (grants of revenue), organized into squadrons, and operating alongside a rag-tag army of largely infantry volunteers.

The organization of the Umayyad Andalusian frontier had been based upon large military provinces, each facing a Christian state. "Popular" military organizations, such as the urban *futūwa* (religiously motivated confraternity) or *ahdath* (urban militia) only developed in response to the massive Christian conquests of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, although the militia of Córdoba did play a role in the emergence of a small Taifa state when Umayyad authority collapsed. Two types of Taifa state emerged in the eleventh century: relatively large ones in sparsely populated regions, usually close to the Christian frontier, and smaller statelets in the urbanized south. Most reflected the old *jund* (territorial military divisions), and their tiny armies generally used existing military systems. In later years the organization of indigenous rather than North African forces in al-Andalus had features in common with the Christian territories. Nevertheless, Andalusian society was not as differentiated along class lines as was the case in the Christian north. Instead it consisted of extended family networks and alliances. As a result, ordinary soldiers often garrisoned a castle held by a leader to whom they were related through shared or imaginary tribal origins. In Granada, however, this military structure was overhauled in the mid-fourteenth century, resulting in separate Andalusian and North African Berber armies under their own leaders. Theoretically an *amir* (senior officer) led 5,000 men, a middle-ranking *qa'id* 1,000, while the junior-officer ranks of *naqib* led 200, an *'arif* led 40 and a *nazir* led 8, but it is unknown how far this classical Islamic ideal was reflected in reality.

Strategy and Tactics

Until the eleventh century, Christian Iberian warfare was modeled upon that of Islamic Andalusia, with raiding by light cavalry being the main form of offensive operation. At that time the high plains of La Mancha and Extremadura were not the cereal-growing regions that they are in modern times. Instead they were dominated by sheep ranching, raiding, and rustling. Meanwhile Christians and Muslims both made great efforts to control the passes through the sequence of mountain ranges that straddle the Iberian Peninsula.

Ecological factors continued to play a part in the strategy of the Christian states during the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. For example, control of winter and summer pastures was economically important for frontier communities on both sides, resulting in small-scale but sometimes far ranging campaigns. Offensive warfare largely consisted of such

raiding, plus larger campaigns of conquest. Major operations usually took place in the dry summer and autumn, the Christian reconquest largely being channeled via the main bridges and passes. As a result, such choke points were defended by castles or fortified towns. Smaller raids took place at almost any time of year, the main concern being to keep escape routes open. The main problem with such a strategy was that it could leave an army's own urban base vulnerable to an enemy counter-raid.

An early fourteenth-century book on military affairs by the Castilian prince Don Juan Manuel emphasized the significance of fortresses as bases for attack and as centers of resistance, but also indicated that the old raiding strategy still had a major part to play. Juan Manuel also emphasized the importance of sowing dissension within enemy ranks, adopting good defensive positions while moving through enemy territory, and using special large lanterns when marching at night. These preoccupations seem to stem from Islamic rather than western European military traditions.

The main thrust of Muslim operations in Iberia was against enemy fortresses and the towns from which Christian armies launched their raids. By and large the Muslim armies of North Africa and al-Andalus relied on superior mobility when compared to the Christians and habitually sent raiders far ahead of their main line of march. In later centuries, of course, the rump state of Granada relied on counter-raiding rather than full-scale invasions of its powerful Christian neighbors.

Most troop types seen in early medieval Christian Iberia were the same as those of al-Andalus, largely consisting of light cavalry armed with javelins and infantry using long spears. The little that is known of Christian Iberian battlefield tactics during this period indicates that cavalry still used the tactic of repeated charges and withdrawals (Sp. *turnafuye*) that, once employed by Roman horsemen, had been continued by Arab cavalry, who knew it as *karr wa farr*. Paradoxically, western European heavy cavalry proved ineffective in the Near East because of their Muslim foes' increasing ability to use their own relative lightness and notably superior maneuverability to evade such crusader cavalry charges. Nevertheless, heavily armored cavalry modeled upon the even heavier Western knightly horsemen became more widespread in Iberia, at least until the late thirteenth century. There then seems to have been a reversal, with the majority of fourteenth-century Spanish cavalry being lightly armored skirmishers fighting *a la jineta* (riding on the relatively light

Warfare: Injuries

horse subsequently known in English as a jennet) as opposed to heavy cavalry fighting *a la brida* (riding a heavier horse, using a *bridón*, “snaffle,” and a deeper saddle and with a straight-legged riding position). Clearly they were under military influence from Granada or North Africa.

As the frontiers of al-Andalus collapsed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, there was a growth in the importance of small monastery-like *ribāts*: this term perhaps originally meant a group of religiously motivated frontier or coastal defenders, but now also referred to the small fortification in which they served. From such positions religiously motivated volunteers conducted small-scale counter-raids. Despite their Arabic name of *al-Murābiṭūn* (“those organized into *ribāts*”), the early Almoravid armies of the western Sahara and Morocco did not emerge from the same circumstances. During the eleventh century, they were largely infantry, including many camel-riding mounted infantry, whose animals were at first said to have terrified Spanish cavalry horses. In battle, North African and Andalusian armies traditionally relied on an infantry phalanx; cavalry made repeated charges and withdrawals, while also being expected to overthrow an exhausted enemy. The early Almoravids, who had few cavalry, introduced significant changes by relying on absolute discipline, neither advancing nor retreating but expecting their enemies to break against their own static formations.

During the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, an elite of Muslim Andalusian cavalymen were equipped much like their Christian opponents, perhaps because traditional military systems were failing and Andalusians now tried to adopt Christian cavalry styles. These even included the couched lance, as well as the deep saddle and a long-legged riding position. In the mid-fourteenth century, however, the horsemen of Granada abandoned Western fashions and largely adopted Berber-style weapons and harness, including lighter swords, leather shields, and heavy javelins. The only major difference between the armies of Granada and those of Morocco was that the former continued to make considerable use of crossbows, both on foot and on horseback.

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Warfare: Injuries

Fighting in the course of crusade expeditions and in the states established by them in the Near East, Greece, and the Baltic region meant that many thousands died from weapon injuries in battle.

By comparing mortality among clergy and knights in the course of the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221), James Powell has suggested that roughly 14 percent of knights died from weapon injuries during the campaign [James M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213–1221* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1986), pp. 169–171]. We would expect the figure to be much higher for the poor foot soldiers, who would have been able to afford little armor or medical care for wounds.

Past excavation of battlefields from medieval Europe has demonstrated what parts of the body were most likely to suffer injuries. The vulnerable areas were the left side of the head, the forearms, and the right lower leg. This is thought to be due to the right-handedness of most soldiers, the stance taken while fighting, and the protective armor worn. Rather surprisingly, evidence of healing on the bones shows that it was common to survive many of the blows sustained in such battles. The study of accounts of battles in the crusader chronicles suggests that the most lethal weapon employed by Frankish troops was the lance. This is because it could be guided by a horseman right up until it hit the target, while its weight and speed meant that it carried significant energy, and the tip could penetrate mail. The most common injuries were from arrows and crossbow bolts. A widespread practice of the time was to shower an opposing army with arrows, and many accounts tell of individuals being hit by a significant number. However, the inability to correct their course after release, coupled with their light weight, meant that arrows were much less likely to kill a soldier in armor than a lance thrust.

In close-quarter fighting other weapons were more widely used, such as the sword, mace, and war hammer. Those wounds most likely to be fatal were penetrating wounds to the abdomen, chest, and skull and amputation of a limb. The Frankish castle at Jacob's Ford in Galilee was besieged in 1179 by Saladin's forces, and many of the Frankish garrison died when it was captured. Excavation of their skeletal remains has shown evidence for multiple sword and arrow wounds and has demonstrated the effectiveness of mail as protective armor. In contrast to injuries from hand-to-hand fighting in a pitched battle, siege warfare led to other types of wounds as well. Greek fire (an oil-based flammable composition) was employed to set siege engines alight, and many soldiers using siege towers and battering rams suffered burns. Engineers undermining city walls with tunnels were at risk from crush injuries if the tunnels collapsed unexpectedly.

Excavation of the port city of Caesarea (mod. Har Qesari, Israel) has shown a very different pattern with regards to the trauma sustained by the population there. Virtually no weapon injuries were present in the crusader-period inhabitants, while a significant proportion did sustain fractures from falls and other accidental causes. It seems that the location of a community, the strength of its defenses, and the professional activities undertaken by the inhabitants were

closely associated with the likelihood of sustaining weapon injuries at the time of the crusades. However, participation in a crusade army was clearly associated with a significant risk of sustaining wounds that may have led to disfigurement, disability, or death.

—Piers D. Mitchell

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Warfare: Muslim Armies

The crusades to the Near East, Egypt, and the Balkans encountered a variety of Muslim armies between the late eleventh and the fifteenth centuries. The earliest crusades were confronted by the Great Saljūq Empire and its dependencies (covering Persia, Iraq, and Syria), the Saljūq sultanate of Rūm in Anatolia, and the Fāṭimid caliphate in Egypt. Later the main enemies were the Ayyūbids in Syria and Egypt (the later twelfth and earlier thirteenth centuries), the Mamlūk sultanate in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria (thirteenth century and later), and the Ottoman Empire (fourteenth–sixteenth centuries).

Recruitment

Military recruitment in the Islamic world during the period of the crusades reflected established traditions until the coming of the Mongols in the thirteenth century. Most eastern Muslim states recruited multi-ethnic armies, which included local volunteers as well as large numbers of soldiers of slave origin called *mamlūks* or *ghulāms*. Even the Saljūq Turks turned to such traditional methods as their authority spread across most of the Middle and Near East. Paradoxically, however, it seems that many of the first so-called Turks who erupted into Byzantine Anatolia around 1025 were actually Persians, Daylamis, or Kurds. Non-Turks, including Armenians and Arabs, also played an important role in the

armies of several Saljūq successor states in eleventh-century Syria and Iraq. Meanwhile, by the end of the eleventh century, some of the Christian Greek and Armenian military elites of Anatolia had also been Turkified through intermarriage. The Khwārazm-Shāhs, who took over Transoxania and eastern Persia following the decline of the Saljūqs, recruited numerous troops of slave origin, though their garrisons also included freeborn Turkish and Persian professional soldiers. Traditional Islamic military recruitment reappeared in Mongol Persia and Iraq during the fourteenth century, but was more characteristic of the post-Mongol successor states.

The most significant military development in the heartlands of Islamic civilization was a continuing professionalization of most armies, because the skills demanded of a soldier were now so high that the old militias and tribal forces could not compete. This trend prevailed despite the fact that, after the fragmentation of the Great Saljūq sultanate, many of the states involved were remarkably small and could only maintain small armies. Most rulers could only afford a small *askar* (bodyguard of slave-recruited *mamlūks*), which formed the core of a larger force of provincial soldiers, mostly Turks or Kurds plus a few Arabs. *Ahdath* (urban militias) played a minor role in some cities, while, further south, Bedouin Arab tribes continued to dominate the semi-desert and desert regions.

Saladin and his Ayyūbid successors built a large and powerful military system in Egypt, Syria, and northern Iraq, making use of existing Zangid-Turkish and Fāṭimid-Egyptian structures. Though Saladin was himself of Kurdish origin, the role of Kurds in Ayyūbid armies has been greatly exaggerated, and the *halqa*, “elite,” of Saladin’s army were slave-recruited Turks. Thereafter *mamlūks* continued to form the elites of subsequent Ayyūbid forces. Among the more exotic troops in Saladin’s army were ex-Fāṭimid infantry of black African slave origin, but these proved unreliable and were soon disbanded. The same applied to most of the ex-Fāṭimid Armenian soldiers. Many North Africans were recruited by the Ayyūbid navy, while large numbers of renegade European warriors served Saladin and his successors after Saladin’s reconquest of most of Outremer.

The army of Mamlūk Egypt was essentially the same as that of the preceding Ayyūbid dynasty, except that *mamlūks* now formed the ruling caste, as well as forming the military elite. Under the Bahrī, or first “dynasty” of Mamlūk sultans, the majority were of Turkish origin, but

in the late fourteenth century larger numbers of Circassians, Russians, Greeks, and western Europeans were enlisted. Meanwhile, freeborn troops had a far lower status in the Mamlūk army.

The Saljūqs of Rūm who ruled central Anatolia attempted to model their army on that of the Great Saljūqs of Iraq and Persia. At first their military forces consisted of Turcoman tribesmen around an elite of slave-recruited *ghulāms* that included many Greek prisoners of war, but by the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, the bulk of the professional cavalry were probably freeborn Turks. Other characteristics of the army of the Saljūqs of Rūm were its assimilation of existing Byzantine, Armenian, and Georgian military elites, and the use of professional mercenaries (at the height of the sultanate’s prosperity). Rūm and the subsequent Turkish principalities (*beyliks*) also encouraged urban Islamic brotherhoods as a source of religiously motivated volunteers.

Like the other western *beyliks*, the Ottomans attracted military and civil refugees from the Mongol occupation of central Anatolia. Nevertheless, the earliest Ottoman armies were entirely traditional, consisting of a majority of Turcoman tribal cavalry, perhaps a tiny elite recruited from slaves or prisoners, and a few ill-trained infantry. By 1338 the Ottoman ruler already had a small force of ex-prisoner or slave-recruited soldiers, and although these were not as yet known as such, the famous janissary (Turk. *yeni çeri*) infantry may have developed out of this earlier formation. The janissaries also differed from previous slave-recruited formations because they eventually came to be drawn from “enslaved” members of the Ottoman sultan’s own non-Muslim population.

Organization

Traditional systems of military organization characterized the Islamic world until the Mongol invasions. Military ranks remained much the same as they had been for centuries. The Great Saljūq sultanate was theoretically divided into twenty-four military zones, each commanded by an officer whose Turkish or Persian title reflected the culture of his district. Each had to raise, train, equip, and lead a specified number of local troops. However, this idealized system proved inadequate, and the sultan soon created a palace-based army loyal to himself. The inadequacy of traditional structures also led to a great extension of the *iqṭāʿ* system of allocations of revenue. Although this system was largely destroyed by the

invading Mongols, it was partially recreated by the Ilkhans (the Muslim Mongol rulers of Persia) and their successors.

The success of the Ayyūbids, Mamlūks, and Ottomans in expelling the Franks of Outremer and defeating later crusading expeditions was not a result of superior numbers but reflected superior organization, logistical support, discipline, and tactics. Such sophistication could even be seen in the small forces of some city-states, such as that of twelfth-century Damascus. This force was divided into five sections, according to the origins of the soldiers or their specific role. The militia, though primarily defensive, sometimes took part in offensive campaigns. The *mutatawwī'a* (religious volunteers) also formed a permanent though part-time force. There were three senior military ranks: the *isfahsalār* (commander) who was often the ruler himself, the *ra'īs* (head of the militia), and the *shihna* (head of internal security forces). Many grants of *iqṭā'* appear to have become hereditary and were largely reserved for the ruler's *'askar* of regular cavalry. This force was in turn divided into *ṭulb* (platoons), whose weapons were normally held in the ruler's own *zardkhānah* (arsenal).

Cavalry was now the dominant arm, but Egypt, the primary center of Ayyūbid power, was seriously short of pasture. Consequently the Egyptian army relied on small numbers of exceptionally well-trained and equipped horsemen, with larger mounted forces being stationed in Syria. In Egypt the Ayyūbids also inherited the sophisticated Fāṭimid *Diwān al-Jaysh* (ministry of war).

The elite of the Ayyūbid army was the *jandarīyah*, which largely consisted of regiments of *mamlūks*, while the bulk of the army consisted of the professional but non-elite *ḥalqa*. Infantry remained essential for siege warfare but mostly consisted of mercenaries and volunteer auxiliaries. On campaign, Ayyūbid tactical units were not necessarily the same as the administrative formations, and they varied considerably, often overlapping or being created in response to circumstances. These included a *yazak* (advance guard) selected from the best cavalry and the *jālīsh*, which appears to have been a cavalry vanguard carrying banners. The term *qufl* (literally "fortress") may have referred to soldiers sent to secure the main routes; the term *ḥārafīsha* ("rabble") seems to have referred to guerrillas operating inside enemy territory, while the *liṣūṣ* were light cavalry sent to attack enemy supplies or caravans. Ayyūbid logistical organization was even more sophisticated and was based upon an *atlab al-mīra* (supply train) commanded by a senior officer. There

was also a recognized military market (Arab. *sūq al-'askar*) of civilian, specialized merchants.

The army of the Mamlūk sultanate was a development of that of the preceding Ayyūbid dynasty and consisted of three main elements. The most important were the Royal Mamlūks (Arab. *mustakhdamūn*), while the *khāṣṣakīya* formed an elite bodyguard within the Royal Mamlūks. Lower in status were the *mamlūks* of senior officers, and thirdly there was the *ḥalqa*, the freeborn cavalry. However, the status of the *ḥalqa* steadily declined and, within Egypt, had little military value by the end of the fourteenth century.

The Mamlūk army's ranking structure was equally elaborate. Until the late thirteenth century, the most senior officer was the *nā'ib al-salṭana* (viceroy of Egypt), but later the *atābak al-'asākir* ("father-leader of soldiers") was considered senior. The *amīr silah* (master of arms) was in overall charge of government arsenals, the *ra'īs nawbat al-nawāb* commanded the Royal Mamlūks, the *ustadar* was in charge of *mamlūk* pay, and the *dawadar al-kabīr* selected which members of the *ḥalqa* went on campaign. Other officers were in charge of government stables, arsenals, garrisons, and so on. Ordinary officer ranks were based upon the number of soldiers the man maintained as his own retinue rather than the number he commanded on campaign. Provincial forces remained vital for the Mamlūk state, each *qirāṭ* (military district) theoretically supplying 1,000 soldiers. Syria was by far the most important region outside Egypt. Its army commander was called the *'atābak 'amīr kabīr* and was directly responsible to the sultan in Cairo. Syria itself was divided into small *mamlaka* (districts), each with a local administration with an officer called *nā'ib al-salṭana* in charge of local military forces.

The army of the Saljūqs of Rūm was divided into two parts: an "Old" or traditional force and a "New" army. The "Old Army" mainly consisted of Turcoman tribesmen and the ruler's *mamlūks*, plus the *havashvi* (armed retainers) of *iqṭā'* holders and urban governors. The "New Army" was essentially a mercenary force under the ruler's immediate control. Following the Mongol conquest of Anatolia, these elite forces were replaced by Turcoman tribesmen whose loyalty was gained by giving them grants of freehold land rather than grants of revenue, while urban militias known as *igdish* were responsible for maintaining security under their own *igdishbashis*. The little beyliks that then emerged had small military forces under the command of the local ruler. Many of the *ghāzīs* ("fighters for the Faith") who typified this

Warfare: Outremer

period formed religious brotherhoods (Arab. *futūwa*) characterized by a very egalitarian spirit.

The Ottoman Turks absorbed a variety of military traditions, of which that of the Mamlūks was most important. At the start of the fourteenth century, the Ottomans' Turcoman tribal forces were led by their own chiefs, whose loyalty was based upon traditional Turco-Mongol rather than Islamic concepts. But by the late fourteenth century the Ottoman army consisted of two parts. The freeborne *timarli* (holders of estates) were mostly *sipahi* (cavalry), while the *maasli* (troops recruited from slaves or prisoners-of-war) received salaries from the government. Irregulars and auxiliaries formed an unrecognized third part of the Ottoman army. At the very heart of the later fourteenth-century Ottoman army were the elite *silahdar* ("guardians of the ruler's weapons") who formed one of six Palace cavalry regiments. Quite when the two janissary cavalry regiments were established is unclear, though another elite janissary unit, the *solak* (infantry bodyguard), certainly existed from an early date. The janissary infantry were part of the Ottoman sultan's *birun* ("outer service") and consisted of a single *ocak* ("hearth"), a corps commanded by the *Yeniçeri Agası*. This *ocak* was divided into *orta* (companies), each commanded by a *Çorbacı basi* ("soup chief"). Ottoman provincial forces were divided into European and Asian armies, those in the Balkans consisting of three *uc* (frontier marches), which had, in fact, existed even before the Ottomans crossed into Europe. By the late fourteenth century, the fast expanding Ottoman Empire was divided into *sanjaq* (provinces), each of which fielded a specified number of cavalymen. The *timarli* of these provinces were grouped into *alay* (regiments) under *alay bey* (officers), who were in turn led by the *sanjaq bey* (provincial governor). Several *sanjaq beys* were commanded by the *beylerbeyi* of the wider *eyalet* (military province).

—David Nicolle

See also: Arms and Armor; Iqṭā'; Warfare: Iberia; Warfare: Mamlūk; Outremer; Siege Warfare

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Warfare: Outremer

Palestine and Syria were the scene of constant warfare from the inception of Frankish rule at the beginning of the twelfth century up to its final overthrow by the Mamlūks in 1291.

Western and Eastern Warfare

In the period of the crusades western European state structures were weak and depended on subsistence agriculture. Standing armies, except for the small personal followings gathered around kings and lords, could not be afforded. The rich equipped themselves and their retainers with horses, armor, and swords and lances. This military elite was well trained to fight on horse or foot. Some were nobles; others, simply bully-boys for whom a military career offered prospects. They were housed in and around fortified residences, castles, which they defended for their masters, whose rule they imposed upon the peasantry.

At the end of the eleventh century military capacity was vested in the aristocracy and their retainers. Any large army was a gathering of retainers of lords. This elite was accompanied to war by foot soldiers, humbler men prepared to take the risks of war, among whom were sergeants, who held petty lands of lords in return for military service. Infantry were mostly spearmen and archers, sometimes supplemented by mercenaries, who became increasingly popular in the twelfth century, and by crossbowmen. Mobility gave cavalry the initiative in war, but they were not necessarily the decisive arm. Climate, geography, and topography in western Europe often favored infantry. At the battle of Hastings (1066) solid ranks of English foot soldiers massed on a hill held off the Norman cavalry for a long time. Armies in Europe had almost no light horsemen. By the late twelfth

century *sergeants à cheval* (mounted sergeants) were fairly common and were clearly less well equipped than knights, but they did not represent a different kind of cavalry and fought in much the same way. At the battle of Bouvines (1214) the Flemish knights scorned the French sergeants who charged them like knights. Europe lacks vast plains where ponies can be easily grazed, so the focus of horse raising was on stall-feeding larger animals.

Tactically, commanders knew that infantry and cavalry needed to be deployed in close-ordered units so that men could support one another in battle. But large armies were occasional bodies that were so expensive to maintain that they were dispersed as soon as possible; thus, they were relatively incoherent. This partly explains the reluctance of commanders to risk battle. Even sieges raised organizational problems. The need for hand-to-hand fighting favored the besieged, and protracted operations meant that besiegers needed equipment and regular supply. Therefore, the staple of war was ravaging to destroy the enemy's economic base.

Cities, with flourishing money economies, dominated the Near and Middle East. The Great Saljūq sultanate and the Fāṭimid caliphate of Egypt were centralized, and their rulers depended on ministries (Arab. *diwāns*) that collected and spent revenues centrally. The *Sisāyat-nāma* (*Book of Government*), by the Saljūq vizier Niẓām al-Mulk, records much about the support of armies in Syria at the end of the eleventh century. Standing forces were larger than in the West but represented only the cores of armies that, as in Europe, were ad hoc gatherings. Saladin created an unusually strong regular core, but even he had difficulty keeping the remainder of his forces together. In 1250 the Circassian and Turkish *mamlūks* (slave soldiers) in Egypt slew his descendant Turān-Shāh, and set up the Mamlūk sultanate, which created a standing army. The Mamlūk regime was able to fight off the Mongol onslaught and in 1291 captured Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel), extinguishing the Frankish states of Outremer.

Infantry can be isolated and cut off from water in the arid lands of the Near and Middle East. However, these provided large areas of grazing for light horses. Light cavalry were easily available and useful, though heavily equipped cavalry became more important in the course of the twelfth century. Saladin's *ghulāms* (horsemen using the bow and close-quarter weapons) were never as heavily equipped as the best of the crusader knights, but they were not very different. Among the light cavalry of the East, Turkish horse-archers

direct from the steppes were preeminent. At the battle of Dorylaion (1097) the anonymous knight who wrote the *Gesta Francorum* was impressed by the swirls of Turkish horsemen who surrounded the crusaders. Armenians, Syrians, and North Africans also provided light cavalry, while infantry were relegated to a subsidiary role. Tactically, Islamic commanders used mounted archers to shake the resolve of an enemy and thin their ranks, destroying isolated individuals or groups to open gaps in enemy formations. Victory against any resolute enemy depended on charging home, but the Muslim style of war, in contrast to that of the West, allowed for considerable maneuver in the approach to battle.

The Crusades to the East in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries

The First Crusade (1096–1099) was a collection of five major armies and many lesser forces run by a committee of leaders. Divided command dogged all crusades. On the Second Crusade (1147–1149) King Louis VII of France and King Conrad III of Germany did not meet until the German army had been defeated in Asia Minor. On the Third Crusade (1189–1192) King Richard I of England and King Philip II of France bickered, and after Philip's departure Richard quarreled with other leaders. The republic of Venice commandeered the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204). On the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221) crusaders came and went so frequently that military decisions were made by the papal legate Pelagius of Albano. Only the crusade of Louis IX of France to the East (1248–1254) had a single leader. The problem was that crusader leaders were reluctant to accept subordination to any single person. This did not improve the coherence of crusading armies.

In the case of the First Crusade, good leadership, good luck, and the divisions of its enemies enabled it to survive long enough to become an efficient fighting force. The siege of Nicaea (mod. İzmit, Turkey) from 14 May to 19 June 1097 placed no special strains on the collective leadership, though the scale of the fortifications astounded the Westerners. An ill-judged Turkish relief effort on 16 May was repelled easily because the lightly armed enemy attacked in a confined space. The sheer number of the crusaders, about 50,000–60,000 strong, enabled them to brush aside the Turks of Asia Minor at Dorylaion on 1 July. During the siege of Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey), lasting from 21 October 1097 to 3 June 1098, they slowly extended their siege in an effort to



Crusaders and Turks in battle during the First Crusade.
(Bettmann/Corbis)

strangle the city. With the aid of a fleet and of food from the Byzantines on Cyprus and the Armenians in the mountains, they managed to supply their army, though in early 1098 they almost starved to death. In battle they learned the value of solidity of formation, of guarding their flanks, and of establishing a rear guard against the Turkish tactics of encirclement. On 2 February 1098, under threat from a Muslim army from Aleppo, they chose as sole commander Bohemund of Taranto, who led a successful ambush of the enemy army.

After the capture of Antioch Bohemund claimed the city. This caused dissension among the leaders, and eventually a relatively small army of about 12,000 marched south and captured Jerusalem from the Fāṭimids of Egypt in July 1099. The Fāṭimids had been taken by surprise because they had initially regarded the crusaders as potential allies against the Saljūq Turks. They concentrated a great force at Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel) in August 1099: the crusaders marched toward them, adopting a formation in which each squadron of cavalry was protected by footmen. This complex formation was only possible because they had become a disciplined force, and this contributed to their triumph in the battle.

No later crusade, except that of Louis IX of France, stayed together long enough to achieve this kind of coherence. On the Second Crusade Louis VII's vanguard abandoned the main force, leaving it open to Turkish attack in the mountains of southern Anatolia, while the crusading fleet attacked the city of Lisbon in the Iberian Peninsula, delaying its arrival in the Holy Land. Crusades to the eastern Mediterranean remained wedded to Western methods of war throughout their relatively short lives.

The Strategic Situation of the Franks of Outremer

Because there was no "land bridge" to Europe, the condition of survival for the Frankish settlers in Outremer was the naval supremacy of the Italian cities. Their fleets helped supply the First Crusade. Egypt, the only Islamic naval power in the Mediterranean, offered some resistance, but this weakened as Egypt suffered factional struggles in the twelfth century. The Italian cities received privileged quarters in the Frankish cities to serve as bases for trade. This stimulated their maritime power and helped sustain their naval supremacy, which was enhanced when Richard I of England conquered Cyprus in 1191. The only serious Muslim challenge before the rise of the Ottoman Turks was mounted unsuccessfully by Saladin. This acquiescence in Western naval supremacy was not due to technical factors, because the Islamic world enjoyed a flourishing trade with the Far East. Perhaps this promoted a lack of interest in trade with Europe. Moreover, the Europeans interfered very little with the Islamic trade routes across the southern Mediterranean. Above all, Islamic forces defeated the Franks on land, negating the need to revive naval power.

The most important military problem of the Franks was that they were few in number. By the mid-twelfth century the kingdom of Jerusalem contained about 120,000 Westerners [Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, pp. 102–104, 380–381], and perhaps the same number lived in the other Frankish principalities of Outremer. It has been suggested that castles were an adaptation to this circumstance and that they copied the art of stone fortification from Byzantium and the Islamic states. In fact castles were the consequence of the seigneurial structure of Frankish society, and stone was used because numerous ruins provided supplies of readily available building materials. Most were not especially formidable. Fortified cities anchored the Frankish states just as they anchored the Islamic states. However, the growing power of the Islamic states stimulated the Franks to produce the first concentric



Attack on the city of Tyre. From the *History of Alexander the Great*, fifteenth century. MS Paris, Musée du Petit Palais, Dutuit 456, fo. 58 v. (Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource)

castle: Belvoir, overlooking the Jordan Valley, was built in a single campaign in 1168–1170. There is little doubt that Jacob's Ford, under construction between October 1178 and March 1179, would have been built in the same style had Saladin not overwhelmed it before completion. This represented a formidable adaptation of castle design to the circumstances of war in the East.

Siege warfare was vital to the Franks in the twelfth century because they needed to capture the well-fortified Levantine ports. Siege warfare demanded machinery, but the Westerners enjoyed no technical advantages over the Islamic world and, indeed, never mastered the use of oil-based fire projectors, collectively called Greek fire. What is striking about crusader sieges is their persistence and organization. The Franks of the kingdom of Jerusalem prepared carefully, with a Venetian alliance, for the attack on Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon) in 1124. Once the siege had begun, the Frankish army had to dig fortifications against a relief force as well as

create a strong camp from which machines and attacks could be launched against the city. A similarly massive preparation brought the long siege of Ascalon (January–August 1153) to a successful conclusion.

Frankish Tactics

The key tactical adaptations of the Franks to the conditions of war in the East were readiness for battle and the employment of the massed cavalry charge as a battle-winning tactic. The Franks were a minority whose existence depended on a psychological supremacy. The Arab writer Usāma ibn Munqidh refers to their caution, but overall their hallmark was aggression. In 1119 Prince Roger of Antioch and his army were trapped when the larger army of the Artūqid emir Īlghāzī infiltrated the mountains and passes around the plain in which he had encamped on his way to relieve the siege of Atharib, but Roger chose the option of attack. In 1149 Raymond, prince of Antioch, challenged the power of

Nūr al-Dīn, only to go down to total defeat at Hattin. At the springs of Cresson on 1 May 1187 about 140 Templars and Hospitallers attacked 7,000 of their enemies. These were defeats, but King Baldwin IV of Jerusalem took the enormous risk of confronting Saladin in 1177 and won at Mont Gisard.

The Franks were constantly at war and so gained experience in fighting together. As a result the armies of Outremer were more disciplined and coherent than those of the West. This meant that the Franks were ready for battle. In the face of a mobile enemy their cohesiveness enabled them to employ their magnificent warhorses in what Muslim sources call their “famous charge.” This sudden, disciplined onslaught had to be timed precisely if it was to be successful, as at Marj al-Suffar on 25 January 1126. In Europe cavalry was not disciplined enough to risk a mass charge, a tactic that only evolved there in the thirteenth century. Another indication of the Franks’ discipline was the fighting march. Frankish forces in certain circumstances refused to confront their enemies when they met them in the field but, instead, formed into columns of march that fought off the enemy in a kind of mobile siege. This could only have been achieved by disciplined and coherent forces.

Frankish Armies

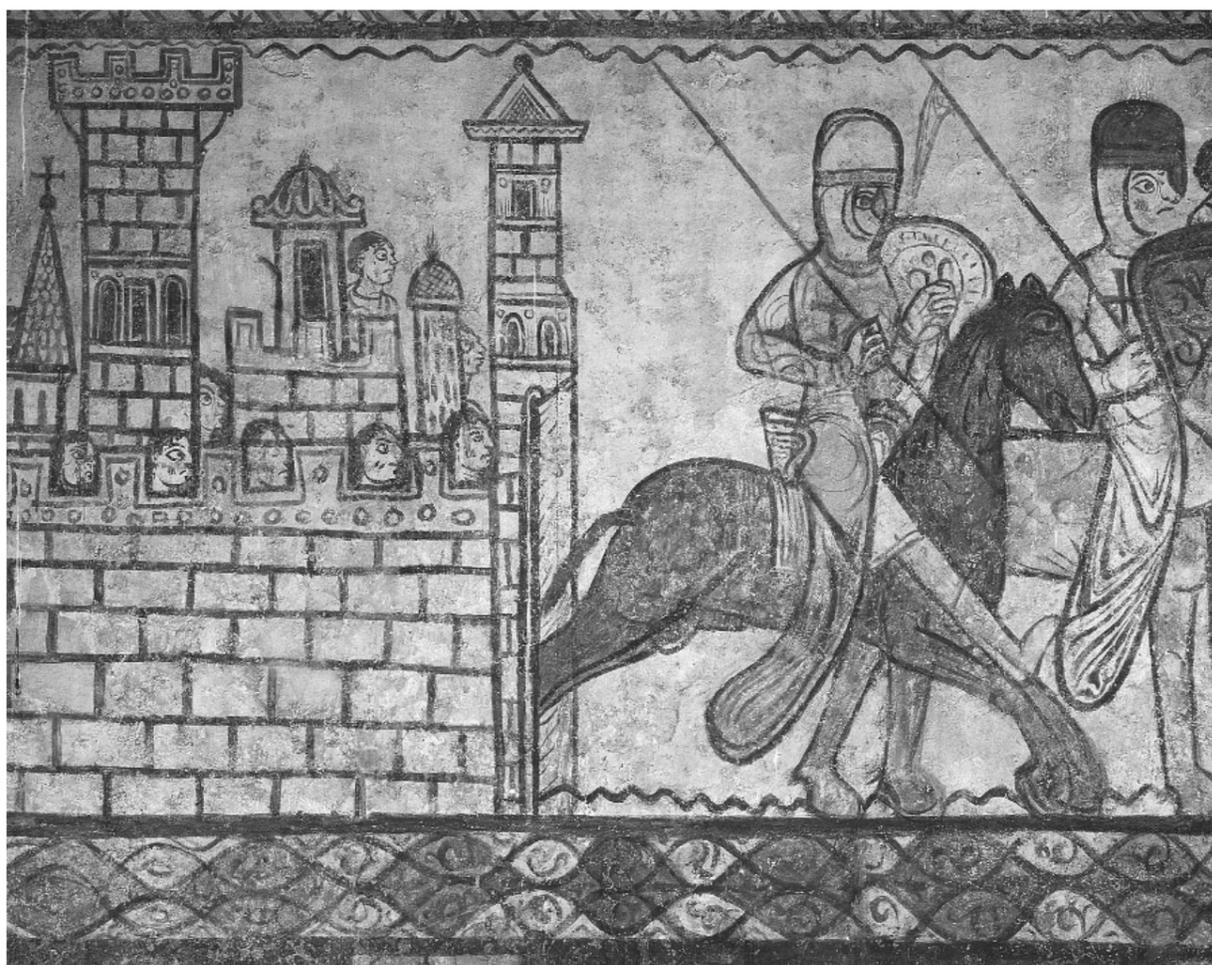
Another remarkable military development was the establishment of military orders that provided regular forces to support the Frankish states. The Order of the Temple was originally founded to protect pilgrims on the dangerous roads of Palestine, but it quickly developed into a small army with enormous resources in the West, and the Order of the Hospital followed a rather similar evolution from its original purpose of caring for poor pilgrims. Each order could probably field about 300 knight brethren, but their wealth enabled them to hire mercenaries and foot soldiers in addition. They formed the nucleus of a standing army, and the Rule of the Templars lays down careful rules for the conduct of their forces in almost all circumstances, in much the same way as does a modern military manual. The discipline of the orders should not be exaggerated, but by the standards of the age it was remarkable.

The Franks were few, but the army of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, which was defeated at Hattin on 3–4 July 1187, contained about 1,300 knights and 12,000–15,000 others. By comparison, France and the German Empire mustered only about 15,000 between them at Bouvines in

1214. How was such a great force raised? At its core were 1,200–1,300 knights raised by the nobility and the military orders. Pilgrims could be pressed into service in an emergency: The chronicler William of Tyre says that pilgrims who fought at the siege of Ascalon in 1153 were paid. We know that Western knights sometimes came to the East to do service with the king or with one of the religious orders. In addition, mercenaries were employed. In 1183 a special tax was levied throughout the kingdom in order to raise mounted men and infantry. King Guy used all possible resources to hire paid men for the army of 1187.

Among the 12,000–15,000 “others” in the Frankish army at Hattin were many horsemen described as turcoples (light horsemen), who were perhaps more numerous than the knights. The identity of the turcoples has raised much controversy. Early chroniclers say that they were the children of Christian-Turkish marriages, but this applies to Byzantine turcoples. In Outremer the turcoples were light cavalry, used as mounted archers, in reconnaissance, and to carry messages. Richard I of England used them to ambush a supply caravan. The use of such an arm represents a substantial modification of Frankish fighting methods, though the turcoples never seem to have been numerous enough to play the major role of the light cavalry in Muslim armies in battle. This still leaves the question of where they and large numbers of infantry came from. Good evidence suggests that the Franks could raise 5,000 Frankish sergeants, but this may be an underestimate. It has recently been shown that Frankish settlement in the Latin kingdom was intimately associated with Eastern Christian settlement, and this must lead us to suspect that in 1187 this population provided infantry, perhaps with the stimulus of the money that we know King Guy was liberally paying out. This might explain where the huge numbers of turcoples and foot soldiers came from. Moreover, from early times the Franks had employed Armenians, Maronites, and Syrians as soldiers. Such native Christians, long used to contact with the Franks and attracted into military service by pay, probably made up a sizable proportion of Frankish forces and may well have been a very large element in the army of 1187. The readiness of the Franks to enlist such people represented a considerable adaptation of European military methods.

The kingdom of Jerusalem was destroyed at the battle of Hattin. We have relatively little reliable information about why King Guy gave battle or about the course of events



Frankish knights before a fortified city. From a twelfth-century fresco in the former Templar church in Cressac, France. (The Art Archive/Templar Chapel Cressac/Dagli Orti)

because our sources are poisoned by partiality, obscurity, and ignorance. This confusion should not be allowed to obscure the fact that Guy's army held together through two days of constant attack by an enemy vastly superior in numbers and that even at the last it kept its baggage train and attempted to erect a fortress-camp. But Guy failed to realize just how heavily outnumbered he was; Saladin had enough troops, perhaps as many as 30,000 in all, to surround and harass the Franks, while standing his main force off, protecting them from a charge. Considering that much of the Christian army had been hastily recruited, it was no small achievement that the Franks fought on for two days, and this underlines the skillful adaptation to Eastern

conditions that the Franks had achieved in their years in the Holy Land.

The kingdom of Jerusalem continued to exist until 1291, but after the failure of the Third Crusade it was always heavily dependent upon outside aid. The military culture of this period was dominated by the need to defend a few well-fortified cities, notably Acre, Tripoli (mod. Trâblous, Lebanon), and Antioch, and some remarkable castles, notably Margat (mod. Marqab, Syria), Krak des Chevaliers (mod. Ḥisn al-Akrād, Syria), Château Pèlerin (mod. 'Atlit, Israel), and Arsuf. They could no longer challenge the Muslim powers in open battle and so sought to extend their influence by raids, consolidated by new fortresses and agree-

Warmund of Picquigny (d. 1128)

ments with neighbors. At La Forbie in 1244 the forces of the kingdom were decimated, but on this occasion they were really only ancillaries to a quarrel between Muslim powers.

Conclusions

The Franks of Outremer in the twelfth century substantially adapted their style of warfare to regional conditions. Outnumbered, they developed an aggressive style of war that depended on a readiness to face their Muslim enemies in battle to a degree unknown in the West. They depended on a high degree of cohesion and discipline, and this enabled them to introduce their great tactical innovation: the mass cavalry charge. They raised infantry and cavalry through landed obligation and by payment, as in the contemporary West. The military orders provided regular troops to supplement the secular armies. The skills of Eastern Christians supplemented their forces. In siege warfare their persistence, discipline, and organization gave them success. Castles were a consequence of their social and political structure, but the rise of powerful enemies led them to develop a radically new design, the concentric castle. In an age when technological innovation was very limited, these were major adaptations of Western fighting methods to the conditions of warfare in the Near and Middle East.

—John France

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Warfare: Prisoners

See Captivity

Warmund of Picquigny (d. 1128)

Latin patriarch of Jerusalem (1118–1128) during the reign of King Baldwin II of Jerusalem.

Nothing is known about Warmund's early career apart from his origins in northern France. Baldwin II nominated him as patriarch shortly after his own accession in spring 1118. Together, Warmund and Baldwin II summoned the Council of Nablus (1120), which promulgated the first canons consciously designed to meet the needs of the Latin Church in Palestine. During the king's captivity in 1123–1124, Warmund negotiated a treaty with the republic of Venice (the *Pactum Warmundi*) that added a wealthy port to the kingdom through a successful joint siege of Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon). Warmund did little to further church organization, but he was not above exploiting his spiritual position, particularly his control over the True Cross, to intervene in political and military issues.

In 1120, Warmund initially refused to carry the relic on a campaign to the north because he and many magnates disapproved of the king's regency of Antioch and consequent absences from the kingdom. Warmund rarely allowed Baldwin II to carry the cross into battle after this incident, although the patriarch took it to the siege of Tyre and allowed royal regents access to it during the king's captivity.

—Deborah Gerish

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Wenden

Wenden (mod. Cēsis, Latvia) was one of the main castles of the Teutonic Order in Livonia.

First mentioned in 1210, the castle was evidently built by the Order of the Sword Brethren on the site of a hill fort. After passing into the possession of the Teutonic Order, it underwent considerable enlargement into a conventual building. By the fifteenth century, because of its central position in the territories of the order in Livonia, Wenden became the place where the chapter of the order was held. After the destruction of the order's castle in Riga in 1484, it became the administrative center of the master of the Livonian branch of the order. In 1577 Wenden was captured by Russians, and later by the Poles.

—Juhan Kreem

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Wenden, Treaty (1501)

A treaty between Lithuania and Livonia, directed against Muscovy.

Fearing an attack by the Russian principality of Muscovy, Grand Duke Alexander of Lithuania concluded a ten-year treaty with the Teutonic Order and the bishops of Livonia. Both parties were obliged to support the other against Mus-

covy, to attack the Russians simultaneously, and to divide any conquered territories. Each party could only initiate war or make peace with the agreement of the other party. Provision was also made for the future regulation of the border between Lithuania and Livonia. Finally, if Poland were to attack Prussia, peace would be made with Muscovy.

The treaty was ratified on 15 May in Vilnius, the Lithuanian capital, and on 21 June in Wenden (mod. Cēsis, Latvia) in Livonia. Alexander's brother John Albert, king of Poland, died on 17 June, whereupon Alexander claimed the Polish throne; this meant that in fact Livonia was left alone in the war against the Russians in 1501–1502.

—Anti Selart

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Wendish Crusade (1147)

The name traditionally given to the expeditions, that developed as part of the Second Crusade (1147–1149), mounted by German, Danish, and Polish armies against the pagan Slavic tribes (known as Wends in the Germanic languages), living between Poland and Saxony in the regions bounded by the rivers Oder and Elbe.

Antecedents and Origins

The Wendish Crusade was not the first attempt by neighboring Christian powers to convert and dominate the Wends. In fact some, although by no means all, of the Wendish tribes had already been Christianized after coming under the administration of the system of marches set up on the frontiers of the early German kingdom (the so-called Nordmark, the March of the Billungs, and other marches), but they had risen against German supremacy in 983 and resumed paganism. Later attempts to reintroduce Christianity, usually by indigenous Christian princes, met with new pagan insurrections in 1018 and 1066, leading to the abandonment of bishoprics that had been established at Oldenburg in Holstein, Havelberg, and Brandenburg. This in itself provided a perfect foundation for future crusades. In 1108 Adelgoz, archbishop of Magdeburg, had already thought of applying the idea of crusading against the Wends, calling upon the seasoned crusader Count Robert II of Flanders and other rulers to join the Danish and German kings.

Wendish Crusade (1147)

Together they were to follow the example of those who had freed Jerusalem by freeing what the archbishop called “our Jerusalem” from defilement by local pagans. This would be an occasion to “save their souls” and, if they wished, “acquire the best land in which to live” [*Urkundenbuch des Erzstifts Magdeburg*, vol. 1, ed. Friedrich Israel and Walter Möllenberg (Magdeburg: Landesgeschichtliche Forschungsstelle für die Provinz Sachsen und für Anhalt, 1937), pp. 249–252]. It is worth noting that, in contrast to the Wendish Crusade of 1147, the archbishop did not envisage converting the Wends but contemplated only (in a similar fashion to the First Crusade) defending Christianity. This “crusade” probably did not come off, but the double promise of remission of sins and acquisition of land may well have been an important stimulus for those who in 1146–1147 advocated a Wendish crusade as an alternative to a crusade to the Holy Land.

Soon after the Magdeburg initiative, Bolesław III of Poland (1102–1138) began to put the Wends under pressure from the east when he started a drawn-out conquest of Pomerania, culminating in the capture of Stettin (mod. Szczecin, Poland) in 1121. Although this campaign was described as a missionary war by the contemporary writer known as Gallus Anonymus, the Poles failed to convert the Pomeranians. Bolesław therefore invited Bishop Otto of Bamberg, former chaplain at the Polish court, to undertake a mission to the region in 1124–1125. This led at least to the nominal conversion of the Pomeranians. At this point, however, Germany, under Lothar of Supplingenburg (first as duke of Saxony and from 1125 as king), began a more active policy toward the Wends. Lothar supported the Pomeranian prince Vartislav (who had been one of Otto’s earliest converts) in his attempt to regain independence from Poland, by enfeoffing him with the pagan lands west of Pomerania. With Lothar’s support Vartislav in 1127 invited Otto of Bamberg to undertake a second mission. This brought Vartislav, Otto, and indirectly Lothar into conflict not only with Bolesław but also his ally, King Niels Svensen of Denmark, who laid claim to the pagan-inhabited island of Rügen. Lothar, however, managed to weaken Niels by installing Niels’s nephew Knud Lavard as prince of the pagan Abodrites. The murder of Knud in 1131 and the ensuing civil war in Denmark together with internal pressures on Lothar, however, gave paganism in the region a breathing space.

It was not only in the north that Lothar activated German policy toward the Wends. While still duke of Saxony, he had installed Albert the Bear, a nobleman of the Ascanian

dynasty, in the march of Lusatia. However, on becoming king, Lothar wished to avoid having too powerful a vassal and refused to bestow the duchy of Saxony on Albert. Instead, he installed a member of the Welf dynasty, Henry the Proud of Bavaria, who was succeeded in 1143 by his son Henry the Lion. Supported in turn by the archbishops of Magdeburg and Hamburg-Bremen in their attempts to regain their former influence among the Wends, the Ascanians and Welfs thereafter competed in seeking to extend their rule into the former Wendish marches, often in changing alliances with successive kings and emperors. In the 1130s Albert had already managed to establish himself beyond the Elbe in Havelland, where he began to settle colonists from the west, and by the 1140s he had taken the title margrave of Brandenburg, although the territory was as yet unconquered.

Preaching and Recruitment

This was the situation when Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, began preaching in Germany in 1146, following the proclamation of the Second Crusade by Pope Eugenius III. King Conrad III and many German nobles decided to go to the Holy Land, but a number of aristocrats, primarily Saxons, and churchmen such as Bishop Anselm of Havelberg thought that a crusade nearer to home was called for: they argued that if many crusaders left for Outremer, Christianity at home would be exposed to attacks from pagan Wends east of the Elbe. Such a threat was scarcely real: when the chronicler Helmold of Bosau and the author of the *Annales Palidenses* described events from a distance of a generation, they were only able to point to some Wendish raids against the fairly distant Danes. Nevertheless, at a diet in Frankfurt am Main on 13 March 1147 Bernard accepted this view. He managed to construe the crusade as a war of defense by arguing that the devil, fearing the impending salvation of Israel, had incited the wicked pagans, who now “with evil intent lie in wait.” Therefore, in order to keep the “road to Jerusalem” open, the “enemies of the cross of Christ,” across the Elbe, had to be attacked [Bernardus abbas Claravallensis, “Epistolae,” in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 225 vols. (Paris: Migne, 1844–1865), 182, no. 457]. Consequently, Bernard promised those who took the cross against the Wends the same privileges as those who departed for the Holy Land.

A delegation from the diet, which included Anselm of Havelberg, was sent to Pope Eugenius, who responded on 11

April by issuing the bull *Divini dispensatione*. The pope officially proclaimed the crusade against the Wends and appointed Anselm as legate to it. Eugenius explicitly confirmed Bernard's promised remission of sins but also made a point of threatening with excommunication those who agreed to take money or other benefits for allowing the Wends to remain infidels.

Bernard was even more outspoken in a letter he circulated soon after the diet to rulers in order to rally crusaders. There he forbade them in any circumstances to come to terms with the pagans, until "either the religion or the nation be wiped out (Lat. *aut ritus ipse, aut natio deleatur*)" [Bernardus abbas Claravallensis, "Epistolae," no. 457]. This stipulation and other passages in the letter have been the subject of intense debate as to Bernard's exact intentions. Did Bernard envisage the outright extermination of the pagan Wends unless they converted to Christianity, as argued by Hans-Dieter Kahl? Or was the choice, as Friedrich Lotter suggests, not between baptism or death but between voluntary baptism with preserved independence on the one hand and coerced destruction of communal bonds and traditions under foreign Christian rule on the other?

In any case, it does seem that Bernard changed his view on how to treat pagans during his preaching of the Second Crusade. In a letter from the autumn of 1146, touching on why Jews under Christian rule should not be destroyed, Bernard made a point of stating that "if the pagans were similarly subjugated to us then, in my opinion, we should wait for them [to convert] rather than seek them out with swords." Then, however, as an afterthought, he continued, "but as they have now begun to attack us, it is necessary that those of us who do not carry a sword in vain repel them with force" [Bernardus abbas Claravallensis, "Epistolae," no. 363]. This may suggest that Bernard thought the situation of the Christians on the Elbe to be desperate. At any rate, in connection with the Wendish Crusade, conversion of pagans came to play a role it had not done during earlier crusades. In that respect it seems that Bernard and the pope deliberately wished to widen the scope of crusading so that all pagans could be targeted.

Course of the Crusade

According to Bernard of Clairvaux, the crusaders were to muster on 29 June 1147 in Magdeburg. It took, however, another month before they were ready. By then the forthcoming crusade had already forced Count Adolf of Holstein

to abandon the agreement with the Abodrite prince, Niklot, that had allowed him to reestablish the town of Lübeck, restore churches, and even establish a monastery. Not wishing to wait for the crusaders to strike, Niklot took the offensive by attacking Lübeck and ravaging the surrounding country.

When the crusaders were finally ready, at least four armies moved against the Wends: two from Saxony (a northern and a southern one), one from Poland, and one from Denmark. According to the *Annales Magdeburgenses*, a Polish army also joined the Orthodox Russians in an attack on the pagan Prussians. Since the pope had targeted the crusade not only against Wends but also "other pagans" in the north, this campaign would qualify as the first crusade against the Prussians.

The northern Saxon army under Archbishop Adalbero of Bremen, Conrad of Zähringen, and Henry the Lion was the first to depart, moving against Niklot's Abodrites. When they laid siege to his stronghold, Dobin, they were joined by the Danes, who had arrived by sea. A Wendish attack on the Danish fleet, however, forced it to retreat. The Saxons, disregarding the papal ban, then made peace, in return for a Wendish promise to convert. Soon afterward Count Adolf reestablished his pact with Niklot, who remained a pagan.

The southern Saxon army, led by Bishop Anselm of Havelberg and Albert the Bear, moved toward Pomerania, probably cooperating with the Poles. Part of the army laid siege to Demmin on the river Peene but gave up in September and returned home. Another part invested Stettin. The people of Stettin demonstrated their Christian faith by displaying crosses on the walls, and through their bishop, Adalbert, they rebuked the crusaders for wishing to conquer the land instead of strengthening the faith by preaching. Having lost many knights without taking the town, the crusaders finally decided to make peace with the Pomeranian prince, Ratibor, and return home. Next year Ratibor appeared in Havelberg in order to profess his Christian faith as he had received it from Otto of Bamberg. In choosing to target Stettin, Albert the Bear and the archbishopric of Magdeburg probably hoped to achieve precisely what they had failed to accomplish through Otto's mission in 1128: to bring Pomerania under their influence.

Consequences

The poor results of the Wendish Crusade (one pagan temple is recorded to have been destroyed) led to severe criti-

Wendish Crusade (1147)

cism from several quarters. Helmold of Bosau, with hindsight, explained the crusaders' lame performance by their disinclination to devastate the land they saw as future possessions. Yet even if the crusade accomplished little, it did begin a kind of permanent crusade against the Wends throughout the remainder of the twelfth century, perhaps still based on the bull *Divini dispensatione*. Step by step, the Wends were converted and subjugated to foreign rule. In 1157 Albert the Bear finally managed to make good his title as margrave of Brandenburg by capturing the town of Brandenburg itself. Soon afterward Henry the Lion intensified his activity among the Wends, partly in collaboration and partly in competition with a rejuvenated Denmark under Valdemar I the Great. During the 1160s most of the Wends along the Baltic coast between the Oder and Elbe were brought under either Saxon or Danish rule, culminating in the Danish conquest of the important temple-fortress at Arkona. When Henry the Lion fell out with Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa in 1180, the Danes managed to take political control over most of the region as a basis for their further crusades into, and temporary domination of, the Baltic region.

The Saxon-Danish expansion was accompanied by colonization by peasants from northern Germany, Holland, and Frisia, similar to that which Albert the Bear had begun in his territory in the 1130s. This gave rise to a layer of indigenous Germanized princes, who managed to stay in power as vassals, while Wendish peasant villages managed to coexist with German settlements for several centuries. By the end of the twelfth century churches and monasteries had been established in all former pagan regions and linked to one or other of the surrounding archbishoprics. Only the Pomeranian church, now centered in Kammin (mod. Kamień Pomorski, Poland), managed to remain exempt.

—John H. Lind

See also: Abodrites; Polabians; Second Crusade (1147–1149)

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Werner von Orseln (d. 1330)

Grand master of the Teutonic Order (1324–1330).

Werner was probably born between 1285 and 1290, and

originated from the family of the bailiffs of Ursel in Hesse. He is first mentioned as a brother of the order while serving as commander of Ragnit (mod. Neman, Russia) in Prussia in 1312. Three years later he had become grand commander. When Grand Master Karl von Trier was deposed in 1317, Werner supported him against the opposition in Prussia. After Karl's death, Werner was elected grand master (6 July 1324). One of his opponents, Friedrich von Wildenberg, became grand commander, thus creating a balance between the factions. Werner attempted to restore and increase spiritual life and discipline.

During Wener's mastership the priest brother Peter von Dusburg wrote the *Cronicon Terrae Prussiae*, the first extensive narrative of the order's history in Prussia, possibly aiming, among other purposes, at stirring new vigor among the brethren. Werner also welcomed the first international guests who participated in the order's campaigns. His attempts to impose discipline seem to have caused his murder at Marienburg (mod. Malbork, Poland) on 18 November 1330. According to Peter von Dusburg, the murderer, Brother Johannes von Endorf, wanted to take revenge for having been rebuked harshly by the master.

—Axel Ehlers

See also: Baltic Crusades; Teutonic Order

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Wesenberg, Battle of (1268)

A battle fought between Livonians and Russians near Wesenberg (mod. Rakvere, Estonia), a fortress in the district of Vironia in northeastern Estonia, which at the time belonged to the Danish Crown.

Wesenberg had been a target of the Novgorodians in their attempts to ward off a new crusade against Russia. In 1267 the Novgorodians besieged the fortress unsuccessfully and retreated with losses. They then prepared for another attack, mustering a large army from the Novgorodian state and elsewhere in northeast Russia. They also signed a treaty with the archbishop of Riga, the bishop of Dorpat (mod. Tartu, Estonia), and the Livonian master of the Teutonic Order, which

forbade their interference in the war between the Russians and the Estonian vassals of the Danish king.

On 23 January 1268 the Russian troops entered Vironia, but unexpectedly came upon a combined army of the Livonian rulers who had broken the treaty. The battle took place on 18 February, by the river Kegol about 8 kilometers (5 mi.) from Wesenberg. The Russians managed to drive the Livonians back to Wesenberg, but in the evening the Livonians attacked their enemies' baggage train and thus drew the Russian forces off. Fighting ceased in the darkness, and as both armies had suffered heavy losses, the action was not begun anew the next morning. The Russians retired, and the Livonians did not have sufficient forces to pursue them. Alexander, bishop of Dorpat, Mikhail, the mayor of Novgorod, and many Russian noblemen were killed in the battle.

—Evgeniya L. Nazarova

See also: Baltic Crusades

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Western Sources

At the time of the inception of the crusade movement, Latin was the near-universal language of reading and writing throughout western Europe. Latin was thus the dominant medium of primary sources until the end of the Middle Ages, although from the late twelfth century, such texts also began to be written in the main vernacular languages, notably French and German. The linguistic character of narrative, documentary, and other sources thus stood in marked contrast to that of imaginative, that is nonfactual, literature with crusade themes, in which the predominant linguistic vehicles were French, Occitan (Provençal), Middle English, Middle High German, Middle Dutch, and other vernaculars. The number of individual sources potentially relevant to the various aspects of crusading is simply too vast to allow an exhaustive treatment in the scope of an encyclopedia. This entry, therefore, concentrates on the most important and accessible sources specifically devoted to crusade expeditions and associated settlement.

Principal Genres

It is usual to divide primary sources into different generic categories. Narrative sources of the crusades can be understood as comprising prose (or very rarely, verse) accounts of the crusading expeditions and settlement in the countries of the Near East, Greece, and the Baltic region. There survive a great number of chronicles, histories, and biographies specifically devoted to such themes, often composed by eyewitnesses, whose testimony is usually to be preferred to that of those more removed from the events they describe in space or time. However, the number of narrative accounts relevant to the crusades is vast and goes far beyond works with specific crusading themes. Particularly in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the crusades were regarded as so important that they were treated in a vast range of works, and so important information can often be obtained from texts not specifically devoted to crusading or settlement, such as universal histories (histories of the world from the Creation up to the writer's time) or annals of particular cities or regions.

The success of the First Crusade encouraged the writing of histories that were more elaborate and engaging than previous chronicles. Moreover, participants who wrote histories of the First Crusade were conscious that they were describing an unprecedented event, and the writers in western Europe who took up their stories emphasized the importance of divine intervention in ensuring success. This interpretation of events was to present difficulties to those who wanted to record later expeditions, since all of them fell short of expectations. Thus there is considerable variation in coverage and quality among Western sources for the different crusades. Furthermore, before the end of the twelfth century, a single writer dominated the field: William of Tyre, whose *Chronicon*, written in Outremer using a wealth of earlier materials, displaced its exemplars and formed the basis of secondary history writing on the crusades through the Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Enlightenment, only being challenged in the nineteenth century. The critical study of Western sources began with Heinrich von Sybel (1817–1895), a pupil of the great historian Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886). Sybel's *History of the Crusades* appeared in 1841. Thereafter, critical editions of many Western sources began to appear, notably those produced by Heinrich Hagenmeyer between 1877 and 1913. Many of the Western texts edited for the series *Recueil des historiens des croisades* (1841–1906) have now been superseded by better editions.

Documentary sources include charters, diplomas, letters, privileges, and similar texts. The most common form of documentary source in the Middle Ages was the charter, which was essentially the written record of a legal transaction, such as the sale or gift of property, or concession of rights. Since charters were important to document such property and rights, the majority of those that survive derive from versions or copies originally held by the recipients of such transactions rather than the issuers or donors. Charters survive in various forms: originals, contemporary copies, confirmations (often issued by higher authorities), and authenticated copies (usually known by the Latin terms *vidimus* or *inspeximus*) made by notaries or other officials. Particularly where the recipients were ecclesiastical institutions, such as religious orders or individual monasteries or bishoprics, a common practice was to compile cartularies: these were collections of individual charters and other documents copied into manuscript volumes or parchment rolls, to provide a consolidated record of the recipient's property and rights.

A significant number of charters have come down to us that were issued by departing or potential crusaders, recording acts intended to raise funds for their journeys or to make pious donations for the benefit of their souls or those of their families. Such documents provide valuable information about the financing of crusades, but also about the motivation and state of mind of crusaders, as well as family traditions of crusading. Charters, which have a greater immediacy, and also record more prosaic information than narrative sources, are also fundamental to the study of the histories and societies of the states founded by the crusades in Outremer, Greece, and the Baltic region. Particularly valuable in this context are the extensive collections of charters relating to military orders such as the Hospitallers and other ecclesiastical institutions based in the Holy Land, such as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

Letters can also be considered as belonging to the category of documentary sources. These include diplomatic correspondence as well as private communications, such as letters sent home by individual crusaders. Many of these have not survived in their original form, but have been transmitted as quotations or reports embedded in narrative sources. Other types of letters had a more public relevance and, in some cases, a legal status. This applies particularly to papal letters dealing with the crusades (often known as bulls). These were the means used by the papacy to proclaim and regulate crusades: they generally set out the cause and aims

of a new crusade and specified the various spiritual and temporal privileges to be gained by crusaders. Another type of letter with a specific, crusading-related content was the appeal for military assistance sent by monarchs and ecclesiastical leaders in Outremer, directed to popes and Western rulers. Such appeals became more frequent with the major Muslim military encroachments on the Frankish states by Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin in the second half of the twelfth century.

Treaties and contracts also give important information on the organization, course, and outcomes of many individual crusades. Important examples are the Treaty of Adrianople (1190), which regulated relations between Byzantium and Frederick I Barbarossa during the Third Crusade; the Treaty of Venice (1201), the fateful agreement between the Venetian Republic and the leaders of the Fourth Crusade that determined the terms for the transport and provisioning of the expedition to the East; and the Treaty of Christburg (1269), which ended the first great rebellion of the native Prussians against the rule of the Teutonic Order.

Apart from these main categories, there are numerous other types of sources relating to the crusade movement, Outremer, Frankish Greece, and the Baltic lands. These include crusade sermons, law codes, genealogies, financial records, the rules and customs of military orders, and inscriptions. Although most narrative sources specifically devoted to the crusades are available in good editions and, in most cases, translations into English or other modern European languages, documentary and other sources are much less accessible, particularly for the later Middle Ages, where as many are dispersed among different archives and still remain to be edited.

The First Crusade (1096–1099) and the Crusade of 1101

Three participants wrote about their experiences in the course of the expedition that culminated in the capture of Jerusalem in 1099: the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum*, Raymond of Aguilers, and Fulcher of Chartres. All three were clerics writing in Latin, but each accompanied a different contingent of the crusade, and so there are differences of perspective. However, they are to some extent interdependent, Raymond and Fulcher having apparently used the *Gesta Francorum*. This last work was also reproduced with some variations by Peter Tudebode and the *Historia Belli Sacri*, both of which preserve scraps of original information. The *Gesta Francorum* was more thoroughly rewrit-

ten by three authors, all French Benedictine monks, early in the twelfth century. Guibert of Nogent retitled his work *Dei Gesta per Francos*, a change that expresses his didactic purpose; book 7 contains valuable information unique to Guibert. Baldric of Dol's alterations to the *Gesta* were mostly stylistic. He was the chief source for the account of the expeditions of 1096 and 1101 given by the Anglo-Norman monk Orderic Vitalis, who added details from oral sources and biographical detail about Norman participants in the expeditions. Robert, a monk of Rheims, was both the least adventurous adapter and the most influential; his text was widely copied. The original Latin version exists today in more than 120 manuscripts, and at least four German translations were made in the later Middle Ages. Robert's influence may be discerned in texts as disparate as the works of Henry of Huntingdon and Gilo of Paris.

Four other chroniclers also wrote accounts of the First Crusade early in the twelfth century. Ekkehard of Aura was a participant in the Crusade of 1101, traveling with an army from German territory. The Genoese annalist Caffaro also sailed to Outremer in 1101, and his *Annals*, as the work of a layman, record interesting detail. Radulph of Caen, who arrived in Outremer in 1108, wrote the *Gesta Tancredi*, which, as its title suggests, celebrated the exploits of Tancred, later prince of Galilee and regent of Antioch. This work is extant in a single manuscript, written in very idiosyncratic Latin. However, the longest and most detailed account of the First Crusade and of the first twenty years of settlement in Syria and Palestine was written by Albert of Aachen, a cleric from the German Rhineland. Since Albert never traveled to Outremer, there has been much discussion of his sources and veracity. Nevertheless, he has proved himself indispensable to later historians, from William of Tyre in the twelfth century to Steven Runciman in the twentieth. One virtue of Albert's *Historia Iherosolimitana* is that he presents a version of the instigation and preaching of the crusade that was evidently current in his region and features the charismatic preacher Peter the Hermit. Albert gives the fullest account of the so-called People's Crusade of 1096, including the massacres of the Jews in the Rhineland cities. Later he centers his story on Godfrey of Bouillon and his brother Baldwin. Thus his focus is quite different from and independent of the eyewitness accounts.

There are two vernacular accounts of the First Crusade that have been thought to incorporate authentic and original material, but both must be dismissed: that contained in

Western Sources

the *Chronicle of Zimmern* has been shown to be a sixteenth-century fabrication, while the Old French *Chanson d'Antioche* was composed in the last quarter of the twelfth century and any authentic material cannot be distinguished from later additions with any security.

There is a small but significant corpus of letters sent by participants of the crusade to recipients in the West. Some of these can be regarded as essentially diplomatic correspondence, such as the famous Laodikeia Letter sent by the leaders of the crusade to the pope in September or October 1099. Others, such as those written by Anselm of Ribemont and Stephen of Blois, have a more private character. However, all are important for their information on the atmosphere in the crusade army and events and conditions in the course of the march.

Outremer (1098–1291)

Fulcher of Chartres was not an eyewitness to the culminating events of the First Crusade because he was with Baldwin of Boulogne in Edessa. However, when Baldwin became king of Jerusalem in 1100, Fulcher was at his side, and for the next twenty-seven years he wrote the best-informed account of the Frankish settlement of Outremer. Albert of Aachen provides supplementary and sometimes contradictory detail for the years to 1119, based apparently on the testimony of returning travelers. Quite independently, the official known as Walter the Chancellor wrote the *Bella Antiochena*, a history of the wars fought by the principality of Antioch against the Turks of northern Syria between 1114 and 1122.

The texts of Fulcher and Walter were used by William of Tyre, the outstanding chronicler of life in the Latin East in the twelfth century. In addition to his surviving *Chronicon*, which deals with the history of Palestine and Syria from the reign of the Byzantine emperor Heraclius up to 1184, he is also known to have written another work, now lost, which was a history of the Islamic world up to his own day. For the *Chronicon's* account of the period before his own lifetime, William was dependent on other writers, but after the late 1120s he provides a well-informed account of the affairs of the kingdom of Jerusalem. His influential history was translated into French and attracted continuators, whose accounts are important for the end of the first kingdom of Jerusalem (1099–1187) and the thirteenth century. The "Latin Continuation" is generally thought to give a sober and reliable account of events. An interrelated group of continuations in Old French were written in France and are usu-

ally known as the *Eracles*, while the *Chronique d'Ernoul* was written in Outremer and at some time attached to the French translation of William. Events leading up to the battle of Hattin (1187) and Saladin's subsequent conquests are described in a short but detailed work known as the *Libellus de expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum expeditione*, and in two narratives by the theologian Peter of Blois, the *Passio Reginaldi* and the *Conquestio de dilatione vie Ierosolimitane*, as well as in other works of more general character. Insights into the topography and society of the Holy Land can be gained from the travel accounts of pilgrims such as John of Würzburg, Saewulf, and Nikulás of Munkethverá.

For the thirteenth century, there is a notable corpus of legal texts, written in Old French and collectively known as the *Assizes of Jerusalem* (Fr. *Assises de Jérusalem*), while the genealogical compilation called *Lignages d'Outremer* (first version from around 1268/1270), gives important genealogical and prosopographical information on the nobility of Outremer and Cyprus, although its accuracy can often be questioned for the earlier twelfth century.

Regarding the end of Frankish settlement with the fall of Acre in 1291, there is only one eyewitness account: the *Gestes des Chiprois*, written by the "Templar of Tyre," who was not in fact a Templar, though as secretary to the master of the order he was well placed to describe events. Marino Sanudo the Elder based his account on the *Gestes*. Two works accused the garrison of Acre of cowardice, and even treachery, but the author of neither was present during the siege: the anonymous author of *De excidio urbis Acconis*, and Thaddeus of Naples who called his account *Hystoria de desolacione civitatis Acconensis*.

The conquest of much of Syria and Palestine by Saladin in 1187 and the final loss of Outremer in 1291 meant that a large number of the archives of these countries were lost. There survive a considerable number of documents of the kings of Jerusalem, the princes of Antioch, and the counts of Tripoli. However, there are only a handful of documents from the county of Edessa, while the only baronial archive to survive was that of the lordship of Joscelin III of Courtenay (the so-called *seigneurie de Joscelin*), which was taken over by the Teutonic Order when it acquired the lordship from Joscelin's heirs in 1220. The vast majority of the documents and letters that survive relate to the military orders or the other main ecclesiastical institutions: the Hospitallers, the Templars, and the Teutonic Order; the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; and the abbey of Our Lady of Jehosaphat in

Jerusalem. A large number of the documents relating to Outremer are not yet available in full-text editions, and the historian is still dependent on the calendar of documents in digest form provided by Reinhold Röhrich in his *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani* (1893–1904).

The Second Crusade (1147–1149)

The success of the First Crusade engendered a large number of histories; the failure of the Second ensured it would be less well recorded. For the expedition to Outremer, there are three main narrative sources: Odo of Deuil's *De Ludovici VII profectio in Orientem*, Suger's *Life of Louis VII*, and Otto of Freising's *Gesta Friderici*, which is a good example of how historians did not like to write about failure. From the point of view of the Franks of Outremer, William of Tyre is important, less for narrative content, since the Second Crusade happened during the period of his absence from the Levant, but because he took pains to seek out information that might help to explain the expedition's failure. An interesting development in Second Crusade studies is a new understanding of the crusade as an advance on three fronts: against the Turks in the Levant, against the pagan Slavs in northern Europe, and against the Moors in the Iberian Peninsula. The last campaign is recounted in the work known as *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* and in the "Teutonic Source," now more generally known as the "Lisbon Letter." These two texts are largely in agreement as to the events of the campaign in Portugal, though the *De expugnatione* incorporates theological discussion. The expedition against the Slavic tribes to the east of the river Elbe has also been established as part of the papal master plan, and so the only chronicle to describe this in detail, by Helmold of Bosau, should be added.

The Third Crusade (1189–1192)

The part played by King Richard I of England in the Third Crusade, as well as its comparative, if qualified, success, ensured that it would be celebrated in historical narrative. An important source is the *Itinerarium peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*. This has some disputed relationship with the "Latin Continuation" of William of Tyre. Ambroise, who claimed to be an eyewitness of many of the events he described, wrote a long poem in Old French. Anglo-Norman writers who were well informed about some part of the crusade are Roger of Howden, who traveled with the fleet to Outremer, returning in 1191; Richard of Devizes, whose informant traveled with the royal party as far as Sicily; Ralph

de Diceto, whose chaplain went on the expedition and provided him with information; Ralph of Coggeshall, who names his informants; and William of Newburgh, whose account is well-informed and who may have used the "Latin Continuation." Only one source takes the French perspective: the *Gesta Philippi Augusti* of Rigord, while several German chroniclers recorded the exploits of Emperor Frederick I until his death in Asia Minor. The best known of these accounts is the *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris*, whose author is unknown but traditionally called Ansbert. The voyage of a Danish-Norwegian fleet, which arrived much later than the other contingents, is described in the *Historia de profectio Danorum in Hierosolymam*, composed by a monk of the Norwegian monastery of Tønsberg. A short text known as the *Narratio de primordiis ordinis Theutonici* gives an account of the foundation of the German hospital at Acre (1190), the institution that was converted into the Teutonic Order eight years later.

The Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) and Frankish Greece

Geoffrey of Villehardouin's *Conquête de Constantinople* has long overshadowed all other works: the author was at the center of the events and recorded them in engrossing detail. His authoritative and "top-down" account has its counterpart in Robert of Clari's view (with the same title) from the ranks of poorer knights: it is partial and unreliable but occasionally gives information, particularly about attitudes, that serves to correct Villehardouin. The *Devastatio Constantinopolitana*, thought to be the work of a participant from the Rhineland, complements these two sources: it conveys accurate data, but also the disillusionment of the poorer crusaders. Three sources celebrated the triumphal return of their heroes with relics that were seen as proof of divine favor: Gunther of Pairis, whose work reads as an apologia for his patron Abbot Martin; the Anonymous of Halberstadt's defense of his bishop, Conrad; the Anonymous of Soissons's account of the translation of relics to his church. These three accounts are relevant to the study of mentalities relating to the Fourth Crusade. Finally, the *Gesta Innocentii III* is an uncritical biography of the pope, but preserves innumerable details that would otherwise be lost.

There are fewer narrative accounts of the subsequent Latin settlement in the Empire of Constantinople and Frankish Greece. Villehardouin's account is continued for the reign of Emperor Henry by his court chronicler, Henry of Valenciennes. For the Frankish states of central and south-

Western Sources

ern Greece in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the key text is the *Chronicle of the Morea*, which exists in French, Aragonese, and Italian versions, as well as Greek. The *Assizes of Romania* (Fr. *Assises de Romanie*) represent the legal customs of the Frankish states.

The Albigensian Crusade (1209–1219)

There are three works specifically devoted to the crusade against the Cathars of southern France. Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay was a nephew of the bishop of Carcassonne and witnessed many of the events he describes in his *Historia Albigensis*. Peter wrote (in Latin) from the point of view of the crusading knights, and the narrative effectively ends with the death of his hero, Simon of Montfort, in 1218. The vernacular *Chanson de la Croisade albigeoise* had two authors: the first, William of Tudela, supported the papacy and the French campaign, though not without some reservations; the second, anonymous writer was wholeheartedly opposed to the crusade and the intervention of the northerners. As an entertainment intended for a lay audience, the poem is very different in tone from Peter's *Historia*, but where the two narratives cover the same ground they are in substantial agreement. The major difference relates to Simon of Montfort, whom the anonymous poet depicts as villain rather than hero. The third source is the *Chronica* of William of Puylaurens, who was a southerner and also notary for the Inquisition. He covers events more briefly as part of a chronicle of the years 1146–1272.

The Baltic Crusades

Much of the early Danish involvement in the Baltic region is described by the chronicler Saxo Grammaticus, but by far the most important source for the early crusades to Livonia is the chronicle of the German priest Henry of Livonia.

Most of the other narrative sources dealing with the Baltic Crusades were the work of authors associated with the Teutonic Order, and written in High German or Low German: the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle* (Ger. *Livländische Reimchronik*), the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, and the chronicles of Nicolaus von Jeroschin, Hermann von Wartberge, Wigand von Marburg, Johann von Posilge, and Bartolomäus Hönecke; the main Latin narrative after Henry of Livonia is the chronicle of Peter von Dusburg, a priest of the order. There are also various unique types of source relating to the military campaigns of the Teutonic Knights. These include the records of payments to mercenaries (the *Soldbuch*) as well as some 100 different so-called *Litauische Wegeberichte*,

descriptions of routes to be taken by campaigns against Lithuania, compiled on the basis of information provided by scouts and other local informants. There are extensive edited collections of documents for both Prussia and Livonia, as well as a large number of archival sources, only partly published, in the collections of the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin.

Crusades to the Levant in the Later Middle Ages

The popular expeditions of the later Middle Ages, such as the Children's Crusade (1212), and the First and Second Shepherds' Crusades (1251 and 1320), which were largely composed of the poor and uneducated, did not produce specific records. They are described in some narrative sources, although the information these yield is often sketchy and elliptical. Oliver of Paderborn's *Historia Damiatana* is the most important account of the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221); it may be supplemented by the letters of James of Vitry and the universal chronicle of Alberic of Troisfontaines (who also gives information on the Fourth Crusade and the Albigensian Crusade).

The Crusade to the East of Louis IX of France (1248–1254) is described in John of Joinville's life of the king, *Livre de saintes paroles et des bons faiz nostre saint roy Looys*. Joinville accompanied Louis to the East, and his narrative is both well informed and vividly readable. However, he did not join the king's crusade to Tunis (1270), and his account of this expedition is much less detailed. Guillaume de Machaut's verse history, *La Prise d'Alexandre*, is the main source for the capture of the city of Alexandria in Egypt by King Peter I of Cyprus in 1365. Important information on the Mahdia Crusade (1390) and the Crusade of Nikopolis (1396) is given by chivalric biographies in French of two of the major participants: Jean Cabaret d'Orville's life of Louis of Bourbon (the *Chronique du bon Loys de Bourbon*) and the anonymous *Livre des Faiz* describing the career of Jean II Le Meingre, Marshal Boucicaut (which also describes the marshal's expeditions to Prussia in 1384 and 1385).

Finally, mention should be made of a new genre that came into being after the loss of Syria and Palestine to the Mamlüks, which culminated in the fall of Acre in 1291. This genre consisted of treatises or memoranda setting out projects or strategies relating to the recovery of the Holy Land (Lat. *de recuperatione Terrae Sanctae*) which is often used as a generic name for them. From the late thirteenth century, a large number of such works were produced and circulated,

varying considerably in their practicality and influence. Some of the best-known examples were composed by Fidenzio of Padua, Marino Sanudo Torsello, Philippe de Mézières, Bertandon de la Broquière, Ramon Llull, and Pierre Dubois.

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Wetheman (d. c. 1170)

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Wetheman (d. c. 1170)

Founder of a lay confraternity in the city of Roskilde in Denmark formed around 1150 in order to fight against the heathen Wends.

Wetheman probably belonged to the Danish aristocracy; he was one of the leading figures in the crusades organized

in the Baltic region by King Valdemar I of Denmark and Absalon, bishop of Roskilde (1158–1178) and later archbishop of Lund (1178–1201). Wetheman and his confraternity are known only from the chronicle of Saxo Grammaticus (written around 1200), which seems to give a paraphrase of the statutes of the confraternity from a now lost written source.

All of the members of the confraternity were equal. If they lacked funds, the citizens of Roskilde could share their expenses in return for half of the booty, and the confraternity had the right to take a man's ship, without his approval, in return for an eighth of the booty. Contrary to usual practice and customary law in the area, Christian captives discovered among the Wends were to be given clothes and sent back to their homes. Before battle, the members confessed their sins as if they were on the threshold of death. The ascetic behavior on campaign expected by the statutes gave the wars of the confraternity an almost penitential character, which, taken together with the other religious and charitable elements, places them within the general context of crusading ideology.

Early twelfth-century parallels to this organization are known from Spain, for example, the confraternities of Belchite and Monreal.

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See also: Baltic Crusades; Denmark

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Wigand von Marburg (d. c. 1410)

A chronicler and herald in the Teutonic Order.

Wigand served under Grand Master Konrad von Wallenrod (1391–1393) and is mentioned in the accounts of the order as having received a payment in 1409. He is chiefly known as the author of a rhymed German chronicle that described the history of the order in Prussia from 1293 until 1394.

The original text of Wigand's chronicle, whose length has been variously estimated at between 16,500 and 25,000 lines, survives only as short fragments; its content has been preserved in a Latin translation written at the instigation of

the Polish historian Jan Długosz in 1464. The most important sources for Wigand's chronicle were the *Chronicon Olivense* and Hermann von Wartberge's *Chronicon Livoniae*. It was written to be read aloud to lay crusaders from Germany and elsewhere in the West at the high table at the order's castle of Marienburg (mod. Malbork, Poland) as the ceremonial high point of their participation in the Baltic Crusades. The subject of the chronicle is therefore warfare and the celebration of the achievements of warriors, both Christian and pagan, in contrast to the predominantly spiritual concerns of the earlier chronicles of the order.

—Mary Fischer

See also: Teutonic Order; Teutonic Order: Literature

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William VI of Montferrat (d. 1225)

Marquis of Montferrat (1207–1225) and claimant to the kingdom of Thessalonica.

Son of Boniface I, marquis of Montferrat, and his first wife Helena del Bosco, William was left to administer his father's lands after Boniface left Lombardy as one of the leaders of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204); Boniface subsequently founded a principality in Thessaly and central Greece, after the crusader capture of Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) in 1204. William was thus well experienced in government and warfare by the time of his father's death (1207), and in subsequent years many of Boniface's Lombard followers were keen to see William installed as king of Thessalonica (mod. Thessaloniki, Greece) in the place of the young and inexperienced Demetrius, Boniface's son by his second wife, Margaret of Hungary.

By 1222 the Greek successor state of Epiros had conquered large parts of Demetrius's kingdom, cutting off Thessalonica from Constantinople, and Demetrius himself fled to the West to seek help. Pope Honorius III was now prepared to sanction a crusade under William's leadership for the defense of the Latin Church in Thessalonica. The crusade was proclaimed on 13 May 1223 and preached in Italy

and southern France. Participants were promised an indulgence, and their goods were placed under the protection of the papacy, while a ban was put on the export of horses, weapons, and food to the lands of Theodore Doukas, despot of Epiros. William pledged his own lands to the Emperor Frederick II for 9,000 marks, while further finance was provided by the papacy. The plan for the crusade as it assembled in spring 1224 was for a naval expedition, led by William, Demetrius, and the papal legate, Bishop Nicholas of Reggio, to be coordinated with a land attack from Constantinople by Robert, the Latin emperor. However, William suffered a prolonged illness, and he was not able to sail from Brindisi until 1225. By the time the army arrived in Thessaly, the Frankish garrison of Thessalonica had surrendered to Epirote forces. A dysentery epidemic claimed the lives of many crusaders, including William, and the army broke up. Demetrius returned to Italy and sought refuge at the court of Frederick II. William was succeeded by his son Boniface II (1225–1253), who was able to restore the fortunes of the marquisate.

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William IX of Aquitaine (1071–1126)

Count of Poitou and duke of Aquitaine (1086–1126), and one of the leaders of the Crusade of 1101.

At the age of fifteen, William succeeded to a vast inheritance stretching from the Loire to the Pyrenees and from the Auvergne to the Atlantic. As such, he was one of the two or three most powerful princes in the France of his day, and marriage ties linked his family with the royal houses of England, France (he was the grandfather of Eleanor of Aquitaine), and Aragon. As the author of ten or eleven short compositions in Occitan that stand as the oldest surviving vernacular poems in the tradition of courtly love, he is regarded today as one of the famous poets ("William the Troubadour") of medieval literary history. Having failed to take part in the First Crusade (1096–1099), for reasons not fully understood, William had a leading part in the organi-

William of Beaujeu (d. 1291)

zation and execution of the abortive Crusade of 1101 from its very outset.

The principal source of information on William, Orderic Vitalis, tells how he helped recruit the Aquitanian contingent in the crusader army as well as leading the march overland through Hungary to Constantinople. William also figured prominently in a confused confrontation with the Byzantine emperor Alexios Komnenos after the crusaders had crossed into Asia Minor. He commanded the Aquitanian army in the decisive battle of Herakleia (mod. Ereğli, Turkey) in south-eastern Anatolia in late August or early September 1101. In this battle, the Turkish army of the Saljūq sultan Qilij Arslān I routed the crusaders and brought the campaign to a premature end. William and a handful of his men managed to elude the victors, hid in the surrounding countryside, and eventually reached safety in Tarsos (mod. Tarsus, Turkey) and Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey). After visiting Jerusalem, William returned home in 1102. Orderic Vitalis, as well as other contemporary historians, most notably Albert of Aachen, Ekkehard of Aura, Fulcher of Chartres, and Matthew of Edessa, leave no doubt that William's narrow escape from death at Herakleia was a harrowing experience that left him deeply shaken.

William remained in his French domains for almost twenty years, but in 1119–1120 he joined Alfonso I, king of Aragon, in a campaign against the Almoravid rulers of southern Spain. He fought at the major victory gained by the Christians at Cutanda near Zaragoza (17 June 1120). William's second son, Raymond of Poitiers, succeeded to the principality of Antioch through marriage to Constance, daughter of Prince Bohemund II.

—George T. Beech

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William of Beaujeu (d. 1291)

The last master of the Order of the Temple (1273–1291) on the Palestinian mainland.

William was born around 1230, the fourth son of Guichard of Beaujeu, lord of Montpensier, and had joined the Templars

Order by 1253. He was in the East by 1261, and had become preceptor of Tripoli by 1271, and master of Apulia by 1272. He retained close ties with Charles I of Anjou, king of Sicily, to whom he was related, until Charles's death in 1285.

William was elected master in 1273 and spent nearly two years traveling through France, England, and Spain, recruiting men and collecting funds, before attending the Second Council of Lyons in May 1274. He returned to the Holy Land in September 1275, and from that time on he was identified with the claim of Charles of Anjou to the kingship of Jerusalem in opposition to Hugh III of Cyprus. This stance contributed significantly to the political divisions within Outremer but also ensured Charles's continued material support, much needed at this time.

William's partisan role certainly contributed to his lack of credibility in the years 1289 to 1291, when his warnings of impending Mamlūk attacks, derived from spies in the Egyptian army, were ignored. William was killed during the siege of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) by the Mamlūks on 18 May 1291.

—Malcolm Barber

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William of Châteauneuf (d. 1258)

Master of the Hospitallers (1242–1258).

Originally from France, William of Châteauneuf had joined the order in Outremer by 1233, when he witnessed the agreement between the Hospitallers, the Templars, and the citizens of Marseilles concerning the military orders' rights in the port of Marseilles. He became marshal of the central convent (1241) and was elected master after the death of Peter of Vieillebride (1242).

William was captured at the battle of Forbie (17 October 1244) and spent the following six years in an Egyptian prison, with John of Ronay serving as vice master in the interim until King Louis IX of France procured his release in 1250, paying a notable ransom. William admitted the priors and brethren of St. James in Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) into the Hospitallers' confraternity (1253/1254), and during his mastership the building activities in the order's compound in Acre continued. In 1255 substantial portions of the archdiocese of Nazareth came under the administration of the Hospitallers.

William also reached important agreements concerning disputed rights and possessions with John of Ibelin and Bohemund VI of Antioch-Tripoli (1256/1257). He died in 1258 during the final phase of the War of St. Sabas and was succeeded by Hugh Revel, whose career he had supported since 1250.

–Jochen Burgtorf

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William-Jordan of Cerdagne (d. 1109)

Count of the district of Cerdagne in the eastern Pyrenees and claimant to the inheritance of Raymond of Saint-Gilles in Outremer.

A cousin of Raymond, William-Jordan accompanied him on the First Crusade (1096–1099) and remained with him in the East. After Raymond died while engaged in the siege of Tripoli (mod. Trâblous, Lebanon) in 1105, his younger son Alphonse-Jordan was sent back to succeed to the Saint-Gilles lands in the West. William-Jordan was accepted as successor to Raymond's nascent county in the East, although he did not use the title "count of Tripoli." His tenure was challenged by Raymond's elder son, Bertrand, who arrived at Tortosa (mod. Tartûs, Syria) with a large force in 1109. William-Jordan abandoned the siege of Tripoli to Bertrand's men and appealed to Tancred, regent of Antioch, agreeing to become his vassal in return for support. A settlement imposed by King Baldwin I of Jerusalem awarded Tortosa and Arqah to William-Jordan and the remaining domains to Bertrand. Shortly afterward William-Jordan was killed. Though the precise circumstances are unclear, the obvious beneficiary was Bertrand, who succeeded to Raymond's undivided eastern inheritance.

–Alan V. Murray

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William Longsword (d. 1177)

First husband of Sibyl, sister to King Baldwin IV of Jerusalem, and father of the infant king Baldwin V (1183–1186).

The eldest son of William V "the Old," marquis of Montferrat, and Judith of Austria, William Lungaspada (Longsword) was chosen in 1176 by Baldwin IV and the High Court of the kingdom of Jerusalem as husband for Sibyl, the king's elder sister and heir, most probably on account of his family's ties with Frederick I Barbarossa, Holy Roman Emperor, from whom the kingdom hoped to receive assistance.

On his marriage (November 1176), William was invested with the county of Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel) and Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel). He was the obvious candidate to be regent of the kingdom in the event of the leper Baldwin IV becoming incapable of exercising government, and eventually to become king himself. However, William fell ill and died in June 1177. The following winter Sibyl gave birth to a posthumous son, Baldwin V, who was crowned co-king with Baldwin IV in 1183, and succeeded as sole ruler in 1185, but died the following year.

–Alan V. Murray

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William of Machaut

See Guillaume de Machaut

William of Malmesbury (d. c. 1143)

A Benedictine monk at the abbey of Malmesbury in England and author of the *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, completed in early 1126. This substantial work in five books covers the history of England to 1125, but also includes much continental material, including a history of the First Crusade (1096–1099) and its aftermath to 1102; that history occupies most of book 4 (chapters 343–384), making it as long as some independent crusading chronicles.

Although substantially a summary of the chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres, with occasional reference to the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, William's work offers much independent and unique information: a detailed report of Pope Urban II's speech at Clermont, summaries of lost descriptions of seventh-century Rome and of relics at Constantinople, biographical information about Godfrey of Bouillon, Bohemund I of Antioch, Robert Curthose, and Raymond of

William of Modena (d. 1251)

Saint-Gilles, and a variety of snippets probably gained from returned soldiers. William, who was impressed and worried by the expansion of Islam, interprets the crusade as a pan-European defensive war and as a great knightly exercise, rather than as a penitential pilgrimage. His account is characterized by the skillful use of rhetoric to heighten drama and clarify motivation, often using parallels and reminiscences from Greco-Roman antiquity.

—Rodney M. Thomson

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William of Modena (d. 1251)

A papal legate and diplomat, active in the Christian conquests of Prussia and Livonia.

William was probably born around 1180 in Piedmont. He served as papal vice-chancellor (1219/1220–1222), bishop of Modena (1222–1233/1234), and cardinal-bishop of Sabina (1244–1251).

William first acted as papal legate for Livonia in 1225–1226, where he reached a temporary solution to the territorial disputes between Danish and German crusaders. After serving as a diplomat in Pomerania and Silesia (1229–1230), he returned to Livonia as legate in 1234–1235 and reorganized the structure of the Livonian bishoprics. He also mediated a settlement between Conrad, duke of Mazovia, and the Teutonic Order over the tenure of the lands formerly held by the Knights of Dobrin. In 1236–1238 he arranged the restitution of North Estonia to the king of Denmark, and subsequently (1239–1242) he was in Prussia where he regulated relations between Bishop Christian and the Teutonic Order and established the Prussian diocesan organization that was recognized by the pope in 1243.

In 1244 William was again named as legate for Prussia but actually stayed in Lyons. In 1246 he was appointed as legate for Norway and Sweden; he crowned Haakon IV Haakons-son as king of Norway in 1247, and on his way back from Sweden to Lyons he took part in the coronation of William

of Holland as king of Germany. William of Modena played an important role in the politics of the crusade regions of Livonia and Prussia, where he was able to successfully resolve complex political conflicts. He was often appointed legate at the request of local powers and could usually rely on them in his activities; his regulations often favored the Teutonic Order. He also assisted the expansion of the Dominican Order in the Baltic region.

—Anti Selart

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William of Puylaurens

A cleric and author of a chronicle dealing with the history of the struggle against the Cathar heresy in southern France.

William was born around 1201 in the region of Toulouse, and around 1228 he is found in the entourage of Fulk of Marseilles, bishop of Toulouse. By 1237 he had become vicar of Puylaurens; from 1237 he served Fulk's successor, Raymond de Fauga, and from 1241 was chaplain to Raymond VII, count of Toulouse. William's chronicle, which was completed between 1273 and 1276, covers the period from around 1145 to 1275, dealing with the preaching missions against the Cathars, the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229), and the work of the Inquisition in the archbishopric of Narbonne and the dioceses of Albi, Rodez, Cahors, and Agen, as well as related events in Aragon and Provence. Three chapters also give an account of the crusades of Louis IX of France to Egypt (1248–1254) and Tunis (1270–1272). William died around the year 1276.

—Alan V. Murray

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William the Troubadour

See William IX of Aquitaine

William of Tyre (d. 1186)

William II, Latin archbishop of Tyre (mod. Soûr, Lebanon), author of a chronicle that is the main narrative source for the history of twelfth-century Outremer.

William was born in Jerusalem to Frankish parents of the burgher class. His early life was illuminated by the discovery of an autobiographical chapter of his chronicle (published by Robert Huygens in 1962), which reveals that (after probably attending the Holy Sepulchre school) William went to the West and studied arts, theology, and canon and civil law at the universities of Paris, Orléans, and Bologna over a period of twenty years, returning to the kingdom of Jerusalem in 1165. His education and ability enabled William, unusually for a Frank born in Outremer, to rise to high ecclesiastical office in a church that was dominated by immigrants from the West. As archdeacon of Tyre (1167–1175), he undertook an embassy to Constantinople to negotiate an alliance against Egypt with the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1168) and was appointed by King Amalric of Jerusalem as tutor to his young son, the future Baldwin IV (1170). During the regency of Raymond III of Tripoli (1174–1176), William was made chancellor of the kingdom (1174–1185) and archbishop of Tyre (1175–1186). After Baldwin's accession he undertook a further diplomatic mission to Constantinople (1179–1180); on his return he was an unsuccessful candidate for the office of patriarch of Jerusalem, which was given to Eraclius, archbishop of Caesarea. William died on 29 September 1186.

William knew Latin, French, Italian, and possibly Greek. His knowledge of Arabic and Persian, often confidently assumed by earlier commentators, is less certain. He wrote two important narrative histories. The first was a history of the Muslim world, which he refers to as the *Historia de gestis orientalium principum* (or variants thereof), and which has not survived. The second is known as the *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* or simply *Chronicon*, conceived as a propagandistic history in twenty-three books dealing with Christian rule in the Holy Land from the time of the Byzantine emperor Heraclius (610–641) up to William's own time. The *Chronicon* was commissioned in 1167 by King Amalric, who provided William with important source materials. Although much of it was written by the



Siege of Antioch from *Estoire d'Outremer*, by William of Tyre. (Art Resource)

1180s, it is evidently incomplete, and the narrative breaks off with the year 1184.

In addition to a great number of archival sources, William made use of earlier Latin narratives, particularly the first six books of the *Historia Iherosolimitana* of Albert of Aachen for the First Crusade (1096–1099). He also drew on Christian Arab writers such as Eutychius, Melkite patriarch of Alexandria. For the period after 1127, the *Chronicon* is the most important extant source on Outremer. Since William died before the defeat of the Franks of Jerusalem at the battle of Hattin (1187), he was not affected by the hindsight that characterized many of the authors writing after the disaster, although he clearly was troubled by the threat to Outremer presented by the increasing unity of the Muslim world under Saladin. As someone close to the royal family and the machinery of government, William was excellently informed about political affairs, but the discretion expected of someone in high office meant that he often chose to reveal far less than he knew of important events. As chancellor and archbishop, he was also an interested party in the politics of his own time; he was sympathetic to his patron Raymond III of Tripoli, and ambivalent toward Byzantium, but ill-disposed to his rival Eraclius, Reynald of Châtillon, and to the military orders, especially the Templars.

William of Villaret (d. 1305)

In the early thirteenth century the *Chronicon* was translated into Old French. This version, known as the *Eracles*, gained a wide circulation, and many manuscripts continue William's narrative into the thirteenth century. By the fifteenth century translations had been made into Castilian, Italian, and (by William Caxton) Middle English. The first printed edition appeared at Basel in 1549.

—Alan V. Murray

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William of Villaret (d. 1305)

Master of the Hospitallers (1296–1305).

William came from a Provençal noble family, several of whose members are known to have joined the Order of the Hospital.

By 1269 William was draper of the order's central convent and was delegated to France to administer the vacant priory of Saint-Gilles (1270/1271–1296), although he repeatedly ignored his obligation to travel to Outremer to report on his priory's status. Pope Gregory X appointed him administrator of the Venaissin in 1274 (the post was renewed by Nicolas III in 1278 and by Martin IV in 1282). In 1295 William and Boniface of Calamandrana, grand preceptor of all Hospitallers in the West, presented Pope Boniface VIII with complaints concerning the conduct in the office of the master, Odo of Pins, and after Odo's death (1296) William was elected master in absentia. His failure to relocate to the order's new headquarters in Cyprus, and his plan to hold a general chapter in Avignon, provoked the opposition of the central convent (1299).

William was forced to move to Cyprus (1300), and in the following years a series of statutes was issued curbing the master's influence (1300–1304). William died on 9 June 1305 and was succeeded by his nephew Fulk of Villaret.

—Jochen Burgtorf

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Winand

See *Teutonic Source*

Wincenty Kadłubek (d. 1223)

Bishop of Kraków (1208–1218) and chronicler who narrated the events of the Polish crusades against Pomeranians, Prussians, and Sudovians.

Wincenty (Vincent) was born in Poland around 1150 at Kargów near Stopnica or at Karnów near Opatów. His erudition and literary skill were acquired during studies probably in Italy or France, or both, and he returned to Poland between 1183 and 1189 to be ordained a priest. As a canon of the cathedral of Kraków, he became prominent at the court of Kazimierz II Sprawiedliwy (the Just). After 1194 he became a provost at the collegiate Church of Our Lady in Sandomierz and chaplain to Kazimierz's widow Helena. It is likely that he started his work on the *Chronica Polonorum* at this time.

In 1208 the cathedral chapter of Kraków elected Wincenty as bishop (the first to be canonically elected). He was consecrated by Henryk Kietlicz, archbishop of Gniezno, on 24 May. Wincenty supported his metropolitan in the reform of the Polish church and took part in the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). However, he did not take an active role in the political events of the country, possibly due to his personal convictions or because of his long association with his patron Kazimierz II and his family. Wincenty's episcopate ended in 1218 when his supplication to be relieved of his duties was accepted by Pope Honorius III. Subsequently, Wincenty entered the Cistercian convent in Jędrzejów and completed work on his *Chronica*. In 1223 he was reappointed to the see of Kraków, but he died on 8 March 1223 before he could leave Jędrzejów to resume his duties as bishop.

The *Chronica Polonorum* was the second work, after the *Gesta* of Gallus Anonymus, to chronicle the early history of Poland and its rulers (both mythical and historical). The first three books of the *Chronica* were written in the form of a dialogue between Archbishop Jan of Gniezno (1148–1165) and Bishop Mateusz of Kraków (1143/1144–1166), while the fourth was written as a narrative. All were based on oral tradition, the *Gesta* of Gallus Anonymous, and Wincenty's own experiences. The chronicle contains accounts of several Polish expeditions against pagans: by Bolesław III Krzywousty (Wrymouth) in 1109 against the Pomeranians; by Bolesław IV Kędzierzawy (the Curly) to Prussia in 1147 and 1166; and by Kazimierz II Sprawiedliwy in 1191–1192 against the Sudovians.

The language of the *Chronica* suggests the influence of Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux. For example, it cautioned that

the Prussians were more dangerous to the soul than the body, and were not simply pagans but followers of Saladin, idolaters, and enemies of the Holy Faith. It also criticizes Bolesław IV for accepting tribute from the Prussians instead of converting them, a practice forbidden by Bernard of Clairvaux. This failure is used to explain Bolesław's failure to subjugate the Prussians. The *Chronica* advocates the use of force in the conversion of souls alienated from God, following the Augustinian interpretation of the Parable of the Great Supper (Luke 14:15–24).

–Darius von Guttner *Sporzyński*

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Winrich von Kniprode (d. 1382)

Grand master of the Teutonic Order (1352–1382); perhaps the most influential grand master in the fourteenth century as far as his policies toward the Prussian estates, Lithuania, and the Hanseatic League were concerned. His reign was considered to have been the golden age of the Teutonic Order in Prussia.

Born in the Rhineland about 1310, Winrich made his career in Prussia, as commander at Danzig (mod. Gdańsk, Poland) and Balga, then marshal and grand commander of the order. He was elected grand master after the resignation of Heinrich Dusemer and was the first grand master to be officially honored by the estates. He reorganized the campaigns against the heathen Lithuanians, supported by knights from Western Europe. In 1362, Kaunas was conquered and destroyed, and the order erected fortresses north

Wolfram von Eschenbach

of the river Nemunas, but military and political success was limited. In 1370, the Lithuanian princes Algirdas and Kęstutis even successfully attacked Sambia, only to be driven back by an army headed by the grand master himself. When Algirdas died and Jogaila became prince of Vilnius in 1377, Winrich's plan to strengthen his position by supporting Jogaila against Kęstutis failed. After the grand master's death (24 June 1382), the conflict with Lithuania was a legacy that weighed heavily on the order's future.

–Jürgen Sarnowsky

See also: Teutonic Order; Teutonic Order: Literature

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Władysław II Jagiełło

See Jogaila

Wolfram von Eschenbach

Acknowledged as the greatest narrative poet of the German Middle Ages, much of whose work deals with crusading themes. Wolfram portrays himself in his narrator persona as a professional warrior who is ignorant of books and letters, but for a self-confessed illiterate, he handles Old French sources with confident originality and constructs immense and intricate narrative structures. No documentary evidence of his life survives. His main patron was Landgrave Hermann of Thuringia, crusader and power broker between 1190 and 1215.

Wolfram's Grail romance, *Parzival*, composed in the first decade of the thirteenth century, is set in a fictional world. Its problematics are internal to Christian chivalric society, yet significant details foreshadow the crusades. Parzival's father, Gahmuret, fights for the caliph of Baghdad. His son by the heathen queen Belakane, the piebald Feirefiz, is eventually baptized and sent by his half-brother, the Grail King Parzival, to convert the East; Feirefiz's own son will be Prester John. Through his son Lohengrin, linked in twelfth-century legend with the family of Godfrey of Bouillon, Parzi-

val becomes ancestor of the Christian kings of Jerusalem. The celibate knights who defend the Grail kingdom are called *templeisen*, presumably a calque on "Templars."

War between Christendom and Islam is the dominant theme of *Willehalm*, begun around 1210 and broken off, unfinished, around 1220. Wolfram's source, the Old French epic stories of the warriors Guillaume and Rainouart, he adapts with typical freedom. As in Konrad's *Rolandslied* (c. 1170), the ideological concerns of high medieval German Empire and crusade are injected into the epic tradition of Carolingian holy war. Although Wolfram and his characters frequently invoke events and heroes of the *Rolandslied*, *Willehalm* is the story of the second Carolingian generation. The age of Charlemagne's and Roland's aggressive expansion of Christian faith and empire is over. The Islamic Empire of Terramer fights back, and Willehalm must defend his marcher county of Provence against overwhelming heathen armies. Crushing defeated, he seeks reinforcements. While his kinsfolk rally to the cause, King Louis proves a vacillating coward. Though he grudgingly pledges troops, he refuses to lead the army. It is Willehalm, not Louis, who must assume the mantle of Charlemagne. Yet victory is only won by the heroic prowess of Rennewart, the young pagan who, unknown to all, is the lost son of Terramer, but who for his refusal to be baptized has been consigned to menial service in Louis's kitchens. Willehalm recognizes his innate nobility and enlists him in the Christian army.

The catalyst of this conflict between Christians and Muslims is Willehalm's marriage to Giburg, Terramer's daughter, who had freed Willehalm from captivity by her father. Here Wolfram connects an old epic motif with the idealization of marriage as an ethical agency common in courtly fiction around 1200. For Giburg, love for Christ and love for Willehalm are inseparable impulses. Yet Willehalm can only defend his wife and their faith by sacrificing the lives of their Christian and heathen kinsmen. This personal dilemma concretizes a larger ambivalence within the idea and practice of crusade. Willehalm and his army, *die getouften* ("the baptized"), wear the badge of the cross, and death in battle earns the martyr's reward. Yet Giburg reminds them that they and the "heathen" they slaughter are children of one creator. Christian victory is won by the heathen Rennewart, Terramer's son and Giburg's brother. The internecine conflict ends in a welter of blood. Willehalm fears that Rennewart, who disappears in the rout of Terramer's fleeing army, may be the last casualty of a pyrrhic victory. Lament-

ing the carnage on both sides of the religious divide, he shows mercy toward the defeated enemy.

But it is the narrator Wolfram whose more dispassionate voice articulates the ultimate question: "Is it not a sin to slaughter like cattle those who never heard tell of baptism? I say it is a great sin, for they are all creatures of God's hand" [Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Willehalm*, ed. Heinze, lines 450, 15–19]. This radical repudiation of crusade might have been partly revoked had Wolfram completed his story. In the source epics, Rennewart reappears, accepts baptism, and marries Alyse, King Louis's daughter, offering new hope of reconciling East and West. Wolfram is not alone in the 1220s in questioning the theological and human justification of crusade, but *Willehalm* remains unique in its time for the cogency with which it challenges the validity of holy war.

–Jeffrey Ashcroft

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Wolter von Plettenberg (d. 1535)

Master of the Teutonic Order in Livonia (1494–1535).

Wolter von Plettenberg was born in Westphalia around the year 1450. He joined the order in Livonia in about 1464. After holding minor offices, he became marshal of Livonia in 1489 and master in 1494, serving for over forty years. In the face of the expansion of Muscovy, which had subjected Novgorod and Pskov and threatened the eastern frontier of Livonia, Plettenberg attempted to reform the economic basis

of the Livonian military forces and launched a massive campaign to raise funds from the West to pay for mercenaries. He concluded an alliance with Lithuania against Moscow and started hostilities in 1501, which culminated in a battle at Lake Smolino near Pskov in 1502, where the Livonians remained undefeated. A treaty with Muscovy the following year ensured peace until the beginning of the Livonian War in 1558 and brought Plettenberg fame as the last great victorious master of Livonia.

After the Lutheran Reformation, Plettenberg was forced to accept the spread of Protestantism, which remained, however, mostly confined to the towns. The secularization of the order in Prussia by Grand Master Albrecht von Brandenburg put pressure on the Livonian branch, but Plettenberg did not follow the Prussian example. The traditional political structure of the order had survived better in Livonia, and unlike Albrecht, Plettenberg was bound to the institutions of the order through his long career. In 1526 Plettenberg gained the status of a prince of the Holy Roman Empire (Ger. *Reichsfürst*), which further ensured the independence of the Livonian branch from the ambitions of the master of the order in Germany.

–Juhan Kreem

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Women

The crusade movement was a wide-ranging phenomenon that touched the lives of people all over Europe, crossing social boundaries of wealth, politics, culture, and gender. Three main categories of women were affected by crusading: those who actually accompanied crusade armies, those who helped to maintain and protect the frontier societies that were established in Europe and the Levant, and those who remained in the West to guard the interests of absent kin.

Women and the Sources for Crusading

In the early thirteenth century, the Cistercian monk Thomas

Women

of Froidmont composed an elegy for his elder sister, Margaret of Beverley, celebrating her adventures on crusade. She reputedly fought at the siege of Jerusalem in 1187 wearing a cooking pot on her head for protection, and twice endured capture and slavery at the hands of Muslim enemies. She was ransomed, however, and returned safely to tell her brother about her experiences before entering a convent at Montreuil, where she died in 1215. Thomas's work is unique for its time; it was written as if narrated by Margaret herself, a woman giving a firsthand account of her pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Its exceptional nature was doubtless influenced by the fact that Thomas wrote to emphasize the religious character of his sister's experiences in the Levant rather than to chronicle her deeds in an historical sense.

For the most part, women seldom feature in the surviving sources for crusading. Throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the church and its male clergy dominated education and literature, and there were strong legal and social restrictions on women. This situation resulted in a shortage of written information about them, especially of material presented from a female perspective. In addition to these general conditions, those who wrote histories of the crusades had two further reasons for avoiding the subject of women. First, crusading was by definition a military activity, and warfare was traditionally a male pursuit. Second, women were actively discouraged from taking part in crusade expeditions. Papal appeals and sermons by crusade preachers often specified that women should not accompany armies to the Holy Land unless they had proper permission and guardianship. They could not be banned outright, because the crusade was a form of pilgrimage and open to all repentant Christians. Nonetheless, female crusaders often drew criticism.

Some concerns were based on the logistical problems caused by non-combatants in general: they were "useless mouths" who consumed supplies and slowed the pace of crusader armies. Other fears were more specific to the female sex, especially the fear that the presence of women would tempt crusaders into sexual sin. As pilgrims, crusaders were supposed to refrain from sexual activity, a situation at odds with the reality of life in a medieval army where camp followers abounded. Military setbacks on crusade were often seen as the result of God's displeasure with the crusaders' profligate behavior, and women were blamed accordingly. Despite these views, women of all social levels continued to take the cross. On rare occasions women like Margaret of

Beverley even received praise for their bravery, and for their contribution to the holy war.

Women's Motivation

Most of the women mentioned in the sources for crusading are noble, following the established literary and historical traditions of the time. Noblewomen usually followed papal guidelines and accompanied male relatives, which makes it hard to assess the motives of individual women; they were often overshadowed by their male counterparts. Seven women named in the sources for the First Crusade (1096–1099) were the wives of noble crusaders, and of nine women known to have joined the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221), only two may have gone without family [Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 107; Powell, "The Role of Women on the Fifth Crusade," p. 299]. Crusader-queens who accompanied husbands leading major expeditions include Eleanor of Aquitaine, Berengaria of Navarre, Margaret of Provence, and Eleanor of Castile (although her husband, Lord Edward of England, had not yet ascended the throne). Joanna, dowager queen of Sicily, went on the Third Crusade (1189–1192) with her brother, King Richard I of England, but may also have been fulfilling the commitment to the crusade of her dead husband, King William II of Sicily. She used the remainder of her dowry to help finance Richard's expedition. Such important women were usually accompanied by retinues of noble ladies and maidservants, about whom less is known. Family ties and household bonds to crusaders may have influenced women to take the cross, but some managed to make the journey on their own, such as Margaret of Austria, widow of King Béla II of Hungary. Following the death of her husband, she longed to go to Jerusalem, so she sold her dowry and embarked on the German Crusade of 1197–1198 with her own retinue of knights.

Although information about women's motivation is scant, they evidently responded to the same spiritual incentives as men. Medieval women had a pronounced role as patrons of the church, and their involvement in both monastic reform and heretical movements during this period testifies to the sincerity of their religious concerns. Spiritual rewards such as the remission of sins offered to crusaders were attractive to all Christians. Religiously motivated women on the First Crusade included a nun from Trier, and a woman who followed her goose on crusade, believing it to be imbued with the Holy Spirit, although they both attracted criticism from chroniclers for behaving inappropriately.

Pilgrimage was very popular with both men and women, and Jerusalem, the Holy City, represented the pinnacle of such penitential journeys. Hitherto pilgrims had not been supposed to carry arms, but now large numbers of unarmed pilgrims could travel to the Holy Land with an army sanctioned to fight by the pope and destined to succeed by God's will. The advent of crusading thus actually enabled some women to realize their spiritual ambitions and visit the holy places. Sibyl, wife of the serial crusader Thierry of Alsace, count of Flanders, reputedly decided to stay at the convent of Bethany after her first visit to the East, leaving her husband to return home without her. The continued Latin presence in the Holy Land after the success of the First Crusade also made the journey there more achievable for women. Organizations such as the military orders were founded with the intention of aiding and protecting pilgrims, and the settler population provided bonds of kinship with the West. Countess Ermengarde of Brittany acted as regent for her husband, Alan IV, during the First Crusade, and helped to administer the county after he entered a monastery in 1112, despite her own wish to join a convent. She finally took the veil in 1130 at Dijon, but in 1132 her half-brother King Fulk of Jerusalem invited her to visit the Holy Land. Although in her mid-sixties, she took the opportunity to travel to the East, spending some time in Nablus and at the nunnery of St. Anne's in Jerusalem, returning to Brittany before 1135.

Women's Activities on Crusade

Were women attracted by the military aspects of crusading? Romantic and stereotypical images of armed female warriors abound in medieval literature, but it is very unlikely that there were women on crusade who were specifically designated to fight. Medieval women were considered to be unfit to bear arms, which was one of the reasons they were discouraged from crusading. Some eyewitness Muslim sources for the Third Crusade give accounts of Frankish women wearing armor and fighting in battle; one even mentions a female archer at the siege of Acre in 1191, but representations of women warriors were sometimes used to mock the weakness or barbarity of an enemy, and thus cannot always be trusted.

The few examples of Christian women fighting in Western sources were also loaded with gendered symbolism. The chronicler Ambroise recorded how women slit the throats of prisoners taken from a captured galley at Acre in 1190. This was seen as a particularly humiliating death because the women had to use knives instead of swords, prolonging the

pain of their dying enemies. During the Fifth Crusade women stood armed guard over the crusader camp and killed the Muslims who fled shamefully from a failed attack on Damietta. In the Baltic region women successfully defended the town of Elbing in 1245 when the garrison of Teutonic Knights was engaged elsewhere, but had to gird themselves with manly armor first. Both on crusade and as settlers defending newly claimed territories, women probably did fight, but only in times of extreme desperation. Chroniclers were keen to emphasize that such fighting only occurred in the absence of suitable male warriors and that women were transcending the natural weakness of their gender by fighting.

Some noblewomen who brought retinues of their own knights on crusade were considered to be feudal lords. Ida, widow of Margrave Leopold II of Austria, was counted among the leaders of the ill-fated Crusade of 1101. Nonetheless, all lords were subject to the acknowledged military leader of the host or contingent in which they traveled, and noblewomen probably had little influence over strategic decisions. Rather than taking an active role, women usually became the casualties of crusader battles: they were regarded as booty by Muslims, Christians, and pagans alike. Ida herself was either killed or captured by the forces of Qilij Arslan I, sultan of Rüm, at Herakleia. Captured women might be ransomed if they were wealthy, but even the most noble risked slavery or even death if they went on crusade.

Less is known about women from the lower classes who took the cross. A passenger list from a crusade ship in 1250 records that 42 of the 342 common people en route to the Holy Land were women, 22 of whom had no male chaperone [Kedar, "The Passenger List of a Crusader Ship, 1250," p. 272]. Such women usually aided crusade armies by performing more mundane duties; on the First Crusade, women were praised for bringing refreshments and encouragement to crusaders at the battle of Dorylaion (1097), and they helped to undermine a tower at Arqah by carrying away rubble in their skirts. At the siege of Acre in 1191, one admirable woman who had been mortally wounded while filling a ditch reputedly begged her husband to use her corpse to continue the work. Women's activities ranged from washing clothes and lice picking to helping provision the crusaders. During the Fifth Crusade both Christian and Muslim women were employed grinding corn, while the women of the camp maintained markets for fish and vegetables, and probably tended to the wounded and sick.

Prostitution was always associated with the presence of lower-class women, and bearing in mind the poverty and hardship that crusader armies sometimes endured, it is not surprising that trade in sex for money or food took place. It was a major concern to crusade leaders and chroniclers because of the perceived link between sin and military failure. At times we are told that crusaders expelled women from the camp to remove sexual temptation, as, for example, at the siege of Antioch in 1098, at Constantinople in 1204, and at Damietta in 1249. Sexual relations with indigenous Muslims and Jews were regarded as being particularly sinful and in some cases leading to divine retribution. Medieval historians were sometimes at pains to obscure any element of sexual crime in crusader successes, emphasizing that the crusaders purified the Holy Places through the wholesale slaughter of men, women, and children.

Sexual activity on crusade also led to an exclusively feminine health issue: pregnancy and all the risks associated with it in the medieval period. The German chronicler Albert of Aachen reported that the harsh conditions of the journey on the First Crusade had led to premature births and mothers abandoning their infants. In a recent study, Sabine Geldsetzer has listed the children known to have been born during crusades or on pilgrimage to the Levant at this time, although these were mostly noble [Geldsetzer, *Frauen auf Kreuzzügen*, pp. 213–215]. There was some recognition that the journey was too dangerous at certain stages of pregnancy; Mabel of Roucy, wife of Hugh II of Le Puiset, went with her husband on the 1107 crusade, but stopped in Apulia to give birth to a son. As the child's health was fragile, he remained there to be brought up by relatives, while Mabel went on to settle in the East. Marie of Champagne, the wife of Count Baldwin IX of Flanders, delayed her departure on the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) because she was close to childbirth, and afterward died en route to being reunited with her husband. However, Margaret of Provence, the wife of King Louis IX of France, gave birth three times while on her husband's crusade to the East (1248–1254): to John-Tristan (1250), Peter (1251), and Blanche (1253). The chronicler John of Joinville went into considerable detail about her experience giving birth to John-Tristan in Damietta. It was indeed a dramatic situation: her husband had been defeated and imprisoned by the Egyptians, and she was trapped inside the city and terrified of capture. She had to break the traditional confinement of childbed in order to secure the ransom for her husband and organize the surrender of the city.

Despite the restrictions on sexual activity for crusaders, such noble women were seldom criticized for fulfilling what was seen to be their duty, the provision of heirs. Among the lower ranks, however, pregnancy attracted more criticism, as, among the unmarried, it could be evidence of illicit sexual activity. Guibert of Nogent asserted that the crusaders' desperate situation at Antioch in 1098 led them to punish any unmarried pregnant women severely, along with their lovers (or customers).

Crusading and Inter-marriage in the Latin East

Despite concerns about the presence of women on crusade expeditions, even the harshest of critics recognized that women were crucial to the establishment of a permanent Christian population on all fronts where religious war was waged. One contemporary, Ralph Niger, reluctantly admitted that relations with women were a necessary evil for repopulating conquered territories, but he asserted that women had no place in armies sent to the East and should only be sent for once the land had been pacified. Women did play an important part in the settlement of conquered lands, but it seems that most female crusaders, like their male counterparts, probably returned home after their pilgrimage vows were fulfilled. In fact, some of the early Frankish rulers of the Levant (including Baldwin I and Baldwin II of Jerusalem) married into the local Armenian Christian population in order to secure new political ties, a policy that extended to include Byzantine marriage alliances in the later twelfth century.

Once a settler society was established, marriage provided diplomatic links between East and West, encouraging new crusade expeditions. Continued warfare created a constant lack of manpower, and in the absence of male heirs, lands and titles often fell to widows and daughters. Delegations were then sent to the West to entice crusaders to the Holy Land with the promise of favorable marriages. Crusaders who married heiresses to the throne of Jerusalem included Fulk V of Anjou, William and Conrad of Monferrat, Guy and Aimery of Lusignan, Henry of Champagne, John of Brienne, and Emperor Frederick II. The more important bridegrooms usually brought with them an entourage of knights on crusade to help secure their new domain, although this could cause friction with the established baronage. Kings and nobles of the Levant also sought wives from western Europe and Byzantium to improve political ties and gain dowries to aid the defense of the Latin East. Bohemund I, prince of Anti-

och, came to the West on a recruitment drive for a crusade against the Byzantine Empire, a drive that included making a prestigious marriage in 1106 to Cecilia, the daughter of King Philip I of France. Yet the need for cash dowries to fund military activities could also spell the end of political alliances based on marriage. When the dowry from the marriage of King Baldwin I to an Armenian princess failed to materialize, he put her aside and controversially married Adelaide of Sicily, who brought him considerable wealth and military resources. Once he had exhausted Adelaide's resources, he repudiated her in turn, a decision that resulted in a serious political rift with her son, King Roger II of Sicily.

The strong dynastic links between the Latin East and Western Christendom could also cause problems for crusaders. Raymond of Poitiers, prince of Antioch, was famously accused of initiating an affair with his own niece, Eleanor of Aquitaine, during the Second Crusade (1147–1149). This was reputedly because Raymond was bitter at his failure to convince her husband, King Louis VII of France, to provide military support on the grounds of their kinship. Rumors of the affair highlighted negative perceptions about women on crusade, and conveniently sidestepped the political issues. Some contemporaries blamed Eleanor for the failure of the entire expedition. She had encouraged other women to take the cross by her example, leading to dissolute behavior in the crusader camps and ultimately the loss of divine favor.

Women Who Remained in the West

Finally, it is impossible to discuss the impact of the crusade movement without considering those who were left behind: they were affected by the crusades in a number of ways. From the outset the church had pledged to protect the property and families of those who took the cross, but some crusaders left charters including specific provision for their female relatives and other loved ones while they were away. They often gave money or endowments to religious houses for the care of their kin. Gilbert of Aalst founded the nunnery of Merham for his sister Lietgard in 1096 before embarking on the First Crusade. At the same time, the crusader Hugh of Vermandois arranged a marriage for his daughter Elizabeth with Robert, count of Meulan. Crusaders' wives were not kept in chastity belts during their husbands' absence as popular myth supposes, but canonists were concerned about adultery. To avoid this problem, a wife could theoretically prevent her husband from cru-

sading because he would be unable to fulfil his conjugal duty of sexual intercourse.

Crusade preachers often described wives as inhibiting crusaders, but there is little hard evidence to suggest that wives actually stopped their husbands from taking the cross. The chronicler Orderic Vitalis even suggested that after Stephen of Blois deserted the siege of Antioch in 1098 during the First Crusade, his wife Adela used the art of seduction to encourage him to return to the Holy Land in 1101. During both of his absences, Adela was left to continue the administration of the family estates, and there are two extant letters from her husband, in which he gave her news of the expedition and advice for the management of their lands. Female relatives did not always administer the estates of absent crusaders, but certain women were recognized to be capable regents. In particular, Blanche of Castile and Eleanor of Aquitaine filled very high-profile roles in regency governments on behalf of their crusading sons Louis IX of France and Richard I of England, acting with considerable acumen under difficult circumstances.

Women could also support the crusade movement spiritually and financially without taking the cross. Patterns of intermarriage in France have suggested that, far from inhibiting men from taking the cross, certain alliances helped to import traditions of crusading from one family to another. Women may even have encouraged the crusade idea through their participation in the early religious education of their children and by employing chaplains who supported the crusade. In the thirteenth century, Pope Innocent III asked women to pray collectively for the success of crusade expeditions. In some cases, the support of specific holy women was sought. Count Philip of Flanders is known to have written to Hildegard of Bingen, abbess of Rupertsberg, for her advice on the eve of his departure for the Holy Land in 1177. The influential St. Birgitta of Sweden wrote polemics in favor of the Baltic Crusades in the fourteenth century.

With regard to finance, Innocent III encouraged women to donate cash or sponsor a knight instead of going on crusade themselves, in return for the same spiritual benefits as crusaders. This measure was probably designed to address the problem of noncombatants on crusade, but was also an effective way to raise money and at least recognized that women were willing to support crusading. Women could also donate money and endowments to monastic houses that helped to organize cash for crusaders, including the newly

established military orders. Crusaders often relied on family relationships, both to raise money for crusade expeditions and to cover debts on their return. Some charters demonstrate that they sold or mortgaged land to female kin, or engaged in transactions where the consent of a female relative was required. At the time of the Fifth Crusade, ten out of fifteen wills in Genoa that left money to support crusading were drawn up by women [Powell, "The Role of Women on the Fifth Crusade," p. 296].

Many men and women who went on crusade were overcome by the arduous journey and its associated dangers, and did not return to their homes at all. Sometimes it was impossible to certify whether crusaders were still alive or not, which meant that women who had remained in the West could not remarry without the risk of committing bigamy. Canonical sources varied from 5 to 100 years as to how long a crusader's wife should wait for her husband's return, and some considered remarriage to be out of the question. Such women lingered in the shadow of widowhood, unable to progress with the normal cycle of life, which usually entailed becoming a dowager, entering a monastery, or a new marriage. Ida of Louvain went to Jerusalem in 1106 in a desperate attempt to find her husband, Baldwin II of Mons, count of Hainaut, who had gone missing in Asia Minor during the First Crusade, but without success.

By the time of the fall of Acre to the Mamlūks in 1291, crusading had become an integral part of medieval society that touched the lives of women all over Europe, whether they took the cross or not. The crusade propagandist Pierre Dubois, writing in 1306–1307, thought that women could be instrumental to the recovery of the lost Holy Land. He asserted that they could be trained in theology and logic, and given as wives to Eastern Christians and Muslims, or educated in the medical care of women's ills, thereby influencing others to convert to Christianity. His vision may not have been realistic, but now that the possibility of a successful military operation to the East was rapidly dwindling, he recognized that women, who had traditionally been excluded from martial activities, might play an alternative role in spreading Christianity. In fact, for good or ill, women had committed themselves together with their families to the holy war throughout the crusading era, and without the network of support they provided, the boundaries of medieval Christendom could not have expanded, nor could a Latin society in the East have flourished for as long as it did.

—Natasha Hodgson

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Woplauken, Battle of (1311)

A battle between the Teutonic Order and the Lithuanians.

In early April 1311 the Lithuanian grand duke Vytenis raided Prussia. The Lithuanians plundered Warmia (Ermland) and withdrew, laden with loot and prisoners. Grand Commander Heinrich von Plötzke (1309–1312) followed the retreating Lithuanians. The armies met on the Wednesday before Easter (7 April 1311) at a place called

Woplauken (mod. Wopławki, Poland). The chronicler Peter von Dusburg mistakenly rendered the date as 6 April. Initially the Lithuanians were able to hold out behind wooden barriers, but discouraged by a general assault of the order's full forces, they fled and were pursued by the order's troops. According to the order's chroniclers, most of the Lithuanians were killed. The grand duke, however, escaped. The incident represents one of the few great pitched battles between the order and the Lithuanians. In memory of their victory, the Teutonic Knights founded a Benedictine nunnery at Thorn (mod. Toruń, Poland), which illustrates the importance of the battle for the order.

—Axel Ehlers

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Z

Žalgiris

See Tannenberg, Battle

Zangī (d. 1146)

‘Imād al-Dīn Zangī was governor of Mosul and Aleppo, famous for his capture of the city of Edessa (mod. Şanlıurfa, Turkey) from the Franks in 1144.

Zangī was born around 1084, the son of Aq-Sunqūr al-Ḥājib, a Turkish emir in the service of the Great Saljūq sultan Malik-Shāh I. Aq-Sunqūr was appointed governor of Aleppo in 1087, but after Malik-Shāh’s death in 1092 he was slain by the sultan’s brother Tutush I, whom he had opposed in favor of Malik-Shāh’s son Barkyārūq. Zangī was brought up by Karbughā, the governor of Mosul, became an emir, and distinguished himself over the years in the service of the various rulers of the city. In 1123 his efforts were rewarded when he was awarded two governorships in Iraq.

In 1126 Zangī was appointed governor of Baghdad and Iraq. A year later, responding to requests made by envoys from Mosul, Maḥmūd, the Saljūq sultan of Persia and Iraq, appointed Zangī to the governorship of the city. Zangī made his formal entry into Mosul in the autumn of 1127 and soon after also took control of other territories in Iraq and Upper Mesopotamia, including Nisibis (mod. Nusaybin, Turkey) and Harran. He then turned his attention to the city of Aleppo, which was in uproar. The city’s governor had made himself unpopular with its people, who had besieged him in the citadel. Zangī sent representatives to the city, then made a formal entry in June 1128. He brought

with him the remains of his father, whose memory was very dear to the populace. To further establish his legitimacy he linked himself to his predecessors by marrying the daughter of Riḍwān, one of the earlier Saljūq rulers of Aleppo.

In early 1130 Zangī captured Bahā’ al-Dīn Sāwinj, the ruler of Hama (mod. Ḥamāh, Syria), and a son of Tāj al-Mulūk Būrī, the ruler of Damascus. He thus gained possession of Hama itself. He also attempted to take Homs (mod. Ḥimṣ, Syria) but was resisted by its inhabitants. In the same year he raided the Frankish fortress of Atharib. Zangī then conducted a campaign against the Artūqids of Mardīn and Ḥisn Kayfa, before spending two years preoccupied by conflict in Iraq. Then, in the spring of 1134, he attacked the Artūqid ruler of Hisn Kayfa, defeating his forces near Amida (mod. Diyarbakır, Turkey) but failing to take the latter. Meanwhile, Zangī had been invited to intervene in Damascus by Shams al-Mulūk Ismā‘īl, the son of Būrī, but when he arrived with his army in February 1135, he found that Ismā‘īl had been murdered and replaced by his brother Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd. After a number of inconclusive skirmishes with Damascene troops, a message arrived from the ‘Abbāsīd caliph in Baghdad ordering Zangī to return to Mosul. He was thus able to retreat honorably. He then conducted a campaign against the Franks, taking Atharib, Zerdana, Tell A‘di, and Ma‘arrat al-Nu‘man and repelling an attack by Bertrand, count of Tripoli. He also besieged Homs but was forced to withdraw upon hearing of fresh instability in Iraq. This instability would occupy his attention until 1137.

In December 1135, fearing a renewed assault from Zangī, the ruler of Homs handed it over to the rulers of Damas-

Zangī (d. 1146)

cus. In May 1137 Zangī took troops from Mosul and Aleppo and besieged Homs but was resisted. In July, hearing that the Franks had moved on Hama, he was forced to make peace. The Franks entrenched themselves at Montferrand (mod. Bārīn, Syria), a stronghold to the west of Hama and Homs. Zangī besieged Montferrand, while his troops took Kafartab and Ma'arrat al-Nu'man from the Franks. Hearing that reinforcements were approaching from Jerusalem and Tripoli, he accepted the capitulation of Montferrand, which he had previously rejected, in August 1137.

Another factor affecting Zangī's decision to accept the capitulation of Montferrand was the arrival at Antioch of the Byzantine emperor John II Komnenos. John's initial intentions had been to try and bring Antioch under his control, and indeed, initially contact between the emperor and Zangī was peaceful, but in 1138 John made an alliance with Prince Raymond of Antioch. In April 1138 the Byzantine emperor took Buza'ah and then, reinforced by troops from Tripoli, besieged Aleppo for three days. In the face of resistance, the emperor decided to isolate the city. Frankish troops reoccupied Atharib, Ma'arrat al-Nu'man, and Kafartab, while the emperor besieged Shaizar (mod. Shayzar, Syria). Harassed by Zangī's troops and beset by disagreements with the Franks, the emperor allowed himself to be bought off by the inhabitants of Shaizar and withdrew from the area in May. By the end of October Kafartab, Buza'ah, and Atharib had been retaken, removing the threat to Aleppo. Meanwhile, in August 1138 Zangī finally took possession of Homs when he married Būrī's widow, Şafwat al-Mulk, who brought him the city as her dowry.

In June 1139 Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd of Damascus was assassinated and replaced by his brother Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad. Zangī, who at the time was engaged in a campaign against the Artūqid Timurtash, was incited by Şafwat al-Mulk to take vengeance for her son's assassination, with the result that he decided to attack Damascus. Before doing so he attacked Baalbek. The city was taken on 10 October, but the citadel continued to hold out until the twenty-first, when a capitulation agreement was made. However, when the troops of the citadel came out, Zangī reneged on the agreement and had many of them killed, something that only increased hostility toward him elsewhere. Zangī then advanced on Damascus, eventually besieging it in October and November 1139. Jamāl al-Dīn died in March 1140 and was succeeded by his son Mujīr al-Dīn, who was a minor. Acting on his behalf was Mu'īn al-Dīn Unur, an old oppo-

nent of Zangī. Unur sought the aid of the Franks, offering to give them the border town of Banyas (mod. Bāniyas, Syria), along with hostages and payment for their expedition. Hearing of this, Zangī withdrew, then reinforced the defenses of Baalbek, which he left in the hands of Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, the father of Saladin. In June 1140 he returned to Damascus but was forced to retreat in the face of a sortie by the forces of the city. An agreement was made by which Damascus recognized the sovereignty of Zangī, who, having won a moral victory, returned to Mosul.

Zangī spent the next three years subduing rebellions and rivals to the north and east. His efforts caused friction with the Saljūq sultan Mas'ūd (1143–1144), but he was able to avoid serious conflict by paying an indemnity. Then, in late spring of 1144, following both the instructions of the sultan and the interests of Mosul, he set out toward Edessa, taking several towns en route. He was engaged in operations against the Artūqids in the Diyar Bakr region when he heard that Count Joscelin II of Edessa, responding to a request for help from the Artūqid Qara Arslān, had left Edessa with a strong force of troops. Seizing the opportunity, Zangī besieged Edessa, taking it by storm on 24 December 1144. Thus the first of the capitals of the Frankish states of Outremer fell back into Muslim hands. Building on his success, Zangī took Saruj (mod. Suruç, Turkey) in January 1145. In March he besieged Bira (mod. Birecik, Turkey) but was forced to abandon the siege in May, when he heard that his deputy in Mosul had been assassinated.

After dealing with plots against his life in Mosul and Edessa, Zangī set out on his last campaign in the spring of 1146. He subdued Timurtash, then attacked Qala'at Ja'bar on the Euphrates. It was during this siege, in September 1146, that Zangī was assassinated by a Frankish slave while he lay in a drunken stupor. He was succeeded at Mosul by his eldest son, Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī, and at Aleppo by his second son, Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd.

It is clear that Zangī spent much of his life pursuing military campaigns. The core of his military forces was a permanent body of cavalry, the *'askar*, consisting of warriors skilled at both close combat and horse archery and composed of a mixture of Turkish *mamlūks* (slave soldiers) and free Kurdish warriors. The *'askar* was bulked out by Arab and Turcoman tribal auxiliaries. This core, which was maintained from the income of Zangī's territories, was supplemented by both the *'askars* of Zangī's subordinates and locally recruited cavalry armed only for close combat. Usu-

ally infantry would only be employed if a siege was to be undertaken.

A detailed study of Zangī's career reveals that he was both opportunistic and ruthless, ruling his territory with an iron grip; indeed, he was feared by both his army and his subjects alike. He had far-reaching political ambitions in both the eastern and western Islamic world, and it is worth noting that he spent a significant amount of his career fighting against fellow Muslims. However, he was also an adept politician and skilled military commander, and in the later years of his career he was clearly regarded by some of his Muslim contemporaries as a *mujāhid* (holy warrior), even before the fall of Edessa. The latter achievement significantly enhanced his reputation in this regard, and he received several honorific titles from the 'Abbāsid caliph, stressing his position as a champion of Islam. Had he lived longer, he would probably have taken Damascus and so brought all of Muslim Syria under his control. He might well then have led the united Muslims in the *jihād* (holy war) against the Franks.

—Niall Christie

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Zara

Zara (mod. Zadar, Croatia) was a port on the Dalmatian coast that played an important role in the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204).

Formerly under Venetian control, the city successfully rebelled, with Hungarian aid, in 1180. Venetian attempts to recapture it were unsuccessful and hamstrung by crusading vows taken by the kings of Hungary, Béla III (in 1195/1196) and his son Imre (in 1200), which conferred the protection of the church on their lands, including Zara. The doge of



The Conquest of Zara, 1202, by Andrea Michieli Vicentino (1539–1614). (Scala/Art Resource)

Venice, Enrico Dandolo, became increasingly exasperated with Imre, suspecting that he was cynically exploiting his vow. The problem was brought to the forefront when the Venetians agreed to join the Fourth Crusade in 1201; Pope Innocent III, who still hoped Imre would make good on his vow, warned Dandolo that the crusade could not be used against Hungarian lands.

By late summer 1202, it had become clear that the crusade army camped at Venice was unable to pay the contracted sum for transport. The crusaders accepted an offer made by Dandolo to loan the crusaders the money to pay their passage—if they would sail first to Zara and help recapture it. When the crusade fleet arrived in November 1202, the Zarans insisted that their city was under papal protection, even hanging banners of the cross on the city walls. A letter from Innocent explicitly forbidding an attack on Zara was ignored. The city fell on 24 November 1202.

Zimmern, Chronicle of

In response to their disobedience, Innocent excommunicated all of the crusaders. He later absolved the Franks, but not the Venetians, whom he believed had perverted the crusade for their own ends. Dandolo was also eager for an absolution, yet he knew the price would be the restoration of Zara to Imre, and for that reason he had the city demolished in April 1203. The diversion to Zara saved the crusade from collapse and helped stabilize Venice's control of the Adriatic while its military forces were absent, but it also provoked the enduring enmity of the pope against Venice.

—Thomas F. Madden

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Žemaitija

See Samogitia

Zimmern, Chronicle of

A family chronicle written in Early New High German, compiled by Froben Christoph, count of Zimmern (1519–1566). It survives in two manuscripts: a draft version and a

fair copy (MSS. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod.Don.580 and 581). The chronicle includes an account of the First Crusade (1096–1099) that purportedly derives from lost eyewitness traditions. This account gives considerable detail on a large number of named crusaders from Swabia and the Rhineland, who were long thought by scholars to have formed part of the forces led by Peter the Hermit, which were defeated by the Turks in Asia Minor in 1096. In fact, the narrative framework of this section is based largely on the much earlier accounts given by Robert of Rheims and William of Tyre, but almost all of the names of crusaders given are anachronisms or inventions, intended to magnify the German contribution to the crusade and to exalt the ancestry and reputation of the counts of Zimmern and other noble families of sixteenth-century southern Germany.

—Alan V. Murray

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Texts and Documents

I. A Letter to an Old Crusader

Translated by Kathleen Thompson

In the early twelfth century the focus of Christian expansion in the Iberian Peninsula shifted to the kingdom of Aragon under the energetic leadership of Alfonso I “the Battler” (Sp. *el Batallador*) (1104–1134). The success of his campaigns against the Muslims owed much to the participation of Frankish veterans of the First Crusade (1096–1099). By 1120 Zaragoza and the Ebro valley had been captured with the help of Gaston of Béarn and his half brother, Centulle of Bigorre. After 1123 they were joined by Count Rotrou II of the Perche, who became Alfonso’s governor in Tudela until the middle 1130s.

So great was the prestige of these early crusaders in the generation after 1099 that their presence was an important factor in Spanish politics. In this letter its probable sender, Blanche, the daughter of King García IV of Navarre, tries to persuade her great-uncle, Rotrou of the Perche, to come back to the Spanish front after he has returned to northern France. She reminds him of his success against the Muslims, his reputation, and the potential reward in heaven. The letter was subsequently preserved among a collection of exhortatory exemplars in the library of St. Victor of Paris.

To Rotrou, by Grace of God, the distinguished count of the Perche, most beloved lord and uncle, from B, his own

dearest niece in both body and spirit. Fight in the earthly army for Christ so that you may be able to obtain a final home among heavenly forces. Obviously I rejoice with you in your glory, which is spread far and wide throughout the world, for the greater it becomes, the more reflected glory I receive. You secured the pagans’ land for God’s service with his help and grace, and, fighting for God, not the world, you bravely drove from there the infidels and despisers of God. Now I hear that you do not intend to go back to the place where you came from, and I am afraid that you may therefore incur the wrath of the Supreme Judge, for your absence will perhaps encourage the enemy to move against the Christians whom you have so rashly abandoned, and it will enable them to attack those helpless people. Truly the divine scripture declares: “the victory of battle standeth not in the multitude of a host; but strength cometh from heaven.” Display wisdom therefore and return to the place you have lightly left. Reach the fulfillment of your life in the place where you spent a good portion of it in the service of God. Out of family affection I would welcome your presence with me, but your spiritual welfare makes me demand it from you as the fruit of good work. If in truth you brought back any silk with you, be kind enough to send it to me to make clothing. Farewell.

Sources

MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 14615, formerly Saint-Victor JJ 23 (Grandrue), fol. 346r–v.

Thompson, Kathleen, “An Old Crusader Is Encouraged Back to the Spanish Front: A Woman’s Letter to Count Rotrou of the Perche,” *Bulletin of International Medieval Research* 9–10, for 2003–2004 (2005), 40–50.

2. Five Letters Concerning the Second Crusade

Translated by G. A. Loud

These letters, hitherto untranslated, illustrate important aspects of the Second Crusade (1147–1149). Letter A shows clearly that the decision of King Conrad III of Germany to take the cross was made without the knowledge or agreement of the pope.¹ Letters B and C reveal the problems encountered en route, the aims of the crusade leaders, and the very different attitudes toward the Byzantines of the German and French rulers. The last two letters are important evidence for the failure of the siege of Damascus (letter D) and the legacy of bad feelings that were left behind, and the hostility toward Byzantium that resulted from the crusade (letter E). This last letter was part of the attempt to create a new expedition after the crusade's failure.

A. King Conrad III of Germany Writes to Pope Eugenius III from the Diet of Frankfurt to Inform Him of His Plans for the Crusade (March 1147)

Conrad, by the grace of God king of the Romans and always Augustus, to his father in Christ Eugenius, supreme pontiff of the Holy Roman Church, [expressing to him] filial love and due reverence in the Lord.

We have gratefully received the letter from Your Holiness sent with your legate Bishop Theodwin of Santa Rufina, a man who has been received by us with love and honor, and we have carried out the suggestions contained within it with filial and cordial charity. Hence we have with God's assistance taken careful and effective steps for the government of our kingdom, which has been granted to us by God, a matter about which you advised and exhorted us with paternal affection. This was discussed with great attention and thoroughness at a gathering of the princes at Frankfurt, where we held a general court. A lasting peace has been confirmed throughout every part of our kingdom, and our son Henry has been chosen with the unanimous agreement of the princes and the eager acclamation of the whole kingdom as king and as the successor to our scepter. We have ordered that in accordance with divine mercy he should be crowned in the palace at Aachen in the middle of Lent.² Indeed, the matter which was of concern to your good self, that we have assumed such a great task, namely, the holy and life-giving cross and the intention of [making] so great and lengthy an

expedition, without your knowledge, proceeds from a strong feeling of true love. But the Holy Spirit, which "bloweth where it listeth,"³ and is accustomed to "coming suddenly,"⁴ allowed us to make no delay to take counsel with you or anybody else; and immediately he touched our heart with his wondrous finger, he commanded our absolute obedience without there being any opportunity for delay interposing. Since we understand both from your letter and from the legate that you will come to Gaul, we request, venerable father, and advise you with the utmost respect and thought, that you seek to cross the Rhine so that we can meet together so that we may be able both to discuss and to plan how, with [the help of] God's compassion, the peace of the churches and the ordering of the Christian religion may be augmented with appropriate measures and the well-being of the kingdom that has been granted to us by God, and the enhancement of our honor, may be confirmed through necessary decisions. And since there is very little time available for preparing our journey, we would very much like to have a face-to-face meeting with you at Strasbourg on the sixth day of Easter Week.⁵ We commend to your sincerity our envoys, men who are especially prudent and discreet, lovers of the Holy Roman Church and of the kingdom, and who are most dear to us, namely Bishop Bucco of Worms, Bishop Anselm of Havelberg, and Abbot Wibald of Korvey, so that you may hear those things that they say as though [they were] from our own mouth, and you will not refuse to discuss and arrange the affairs of the Holy Roman Church and the kingdom with them in a friendly fashion.

Notes

1. The interpretation of this letter by Jonathan Phillips, "Papacy, Empire and the Second Crusade," in *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences*, ed. Jonathan Phillips and Martin Hoch (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2001), pp. 20–21, is based on a singularly inaccurate translation.
2. The fourth Sunday in Lent would have been 30 March 1147.
3. John 3:8.
4. Mark 13:36.
5. 18 April 1147.
6. 7 March 1148.
7. 10 March 1148.
8. 8 September 1148.

Source

Die Urkunden Konrads III. und seines Sohnes Heinrich, ed. Friedrich Hausmann, MGH Diplomatum Regum et Imperatorum Germaniae 9 (Wien: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1969), pp. 332–333, no. 184.

B. King Conrad III of Germany Writes to Abbot Wibald of Korvey Describing His Journey to the East and His Future Plans (January/February 1148)

Conrad, by the grace of God king of the Romans, to the venerable Abbot Wibald of Korvey and Stavelot [wishing him] his grace and all good things.

Since we have had proof of your loyalty toward us and our kingdom shown on many occasions, we do not doubt that you will greatly rejoice now that you hear of the favorable state of our affairs. We therefore bring news to you, our loyal subject. After we had arrived at Nicaea with a numerous and untouched army, we wanted to complete our expedition in good time. So we set off toward Ikonion on the direct route, accompanied by guides to show us the way, and carrying with us as many supplies as we could. But however, after ten days on the road, and with a similar march still left, the supplies began to run short for everyone, particularly for the cavalry, while the Turks unceasingly harried and inflicted death upon the crowd of people on foot, who were unable to keep up. Pitying the fate of the suffering people, who were dying both from famine and from the arrows fired by the enemy, and on the request of all the princes and barons, we led the army away from that wasteland toward the sea, so as to regroup, preferring to keep it unharmed for greater things [in future] rather than to win a bloody victory over the archers. When we arrived at the sea coast and pitched camp, much to our surprise the king of France arrived at our tents in the midst of a great storm, not wanting to wait for better weather in his joy. He was distressed that our army had been worn down by hunger and toil, but showing no little joy in our company. Indeed he and all his princes faithfully and devotedly offered us their service [Lat. *obsequium suum*]. They provided us with money and whatever else they had that we wanted. They then joined forces with us and our princes, although indeed some of our people were left behind, being unable to follow either because of illness or through lack of money, and because of this they became separated from the army. We then went without difficulty as far as St. John [Ephesos], where the saint's tomb is, from which manna is believed to gush forth, and there we celebrated the Lord's Nativity. We stopped there for some days, since both we and many of our men had fallen ill. We wanted to go on when we had recovered our health, but were so ill that we were quite unable to proceed. Hence, after waiting for us as long as they could, the king and his army set off regretfully, but we remained

racked by illness for a considerable time. When our brother the emperor of the Greeks heard of this he was much upset, and he and our most beloved daughter the empress came to us in haste, and generously provided us and our princes with everything that we needed for our journey from his own resources. He brought us back almost by force to his palace in Constantinople, so that we might be speedily restored to health by his doctors. There he showed us greater honor, so we have heard, than had ever been demonstrated to any of our predecessors. We now plan to set off for Jerusalem on Quadragesima Sunday;⁶ we shall muster a new army there over Easter and then travel on to Edessa. We ask that you yourself pray, and have your brothers also pray, that God should indeed deign to make our journey a success; and commend us to [the prayers of] all the faithful. We ourselves commend our son to your faithful care.

Source

Die Urkunden Konrads III. und seines Sohnes Heinrich, ed. Friedrich Hausmann, MGH Diplomatum Regum et Imperatorum Germaniae 9 (Wien: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1969), pp. 354–355, no. 195.

C. King Louis VII of France Gives News of the Crusade to His Regent, Abbot Suger (March–April 1148)

Louis, by the grace of God king of the French and duke of the Aquitanians, to Suger, venerable abbot of Saint-Denis, greeting and [his] grace. It is our duty to send news of our affairs in the East as quickly as we can to you, who are dear to us. For we know that you have a heartfelt desire to hear about them, and nothing can make us happier than for you to receive good news about us.

After we had departed the frontiers of our kingdom, the Lord favored our journey, and he brought us in good health and unharmed as far as Constantinople, and by divine mercy with our whole army safe and in excellent spirits. There we were joyfully and honorably received by the emperor. After remaining there for a little while to gather the supplies that seemed to be needed, we sailed across the Bosphorus and commenced our march through Romania. However, we suffered great damage in these regions, both through the treachery of the emperor and through our own fault, and we were indeed threatened by many and grave perils. For we were spared neither the vicious ambush of robbers nor the serious difficulties of the route, and faced

daily battles with the Turks, who with the emperor's permission entered his lands to harry the soldiery of Christ, and who strove with all their might to harm us. Since in many places it was impossible to find food, the people were soon suffering from hunger. And on one particular day divine judgment exacted punishment for our sins, and a number of our barons were killed. For among those who died on the climb into the mountains of Laodikeia the Lesser and in the region round about were our blood relation the count of Warenne, Rainald of Tonnerre, Manasses of Bulles, Walter of Montjay, Everard of Breteuil, and many more, the list of whom will be announced at a more favorable moment than the present, since our grief does not allow us to speak further about them now. We ourselves frequently risked death, but on each occasion were saved by divine grace. We escaped the attacks of the Turks and, protected by the Lord, arrived at Attaleia with our army safe. There we had frequent and prolonged discussions as to the best way to continue our journey, and the general opinion of the bishops and princes was that, since our horses had for a long time been worn down by hunger and the hardships of the journey, and the way forward was beset with great difficulty, we should hurry on to Antioch by ship. We followed their advice, and on the Friday after the middle of Lent⁷ we and the majority of our princes arrived safely by sea at the aforesaid city, and it is from there that we have had this letter dispatched to you. As for the rest, all our work is in the hand of God, who, as we trust in him, will not abandon us who have our hopes in him, but will guide his enterprise to a glorious conclusion. For you should most certainly know that we shall either return in glory, or we shall never return at all. It remains therefore for you to think frequently of us, and always commend us most sincerely to the prayers of religious men everywhere. And since our money has been in no small way diminished by many and various expenses, all of which have been entirely necessary to us, you should devote your energy to raising cash, and hasten to send what has been collected to us by trustworthy envoys. We shall not be able to further Christ's business without much expense and great labor. Farewell.

Source

Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France, ed. Léopold Delisle et al., 24 vols (Paris: Palmé, 1840–1904), 15:495–496.

D. King Conrad III of Germany Informs Abbot Wibald of His Imminent Return Home (September 1148)

Conrad, by the grace of God august king of the Romans, to the venerable Abbot Wibald of Korvey [wishing him] his grace and all good things.

Because we know that you very much want to hear from us and to learn how we are prospering, we take this opportunity to tell you first of this. By God's mercy we are in good health, and we have gone on board ship to return on the festival of the Blessed Mary in September,⁸ after having accomplished all that God allowed us to do in these regions, and the men of the land permitted.

Let us speak of these men. We arrived by general agreement at Damascus, and we pitched camp by the city gate, albeit with our men facing considerable resistance. There can be no doubt that we came very close to capturing the city. But then certain people whom we had no reason to distrust treacherously alleged that the city was impregnable on that side, and they led us to another position where there was neither water for the army nor could anyone gain entry. Everyone was annoyed, and also upset by this, and we retreated, abandoning the enterprise as a failure. However, they all without exception promised to undertake another expedition against Ascalon, and fixed a place and a day for this. But when we arrived there as had been agreed, we found scarcely anybody else present. After we had waited in vain for the rest to arrive for some eight days, and had been deceived by these people a second time, we consulted our own interests. In short therefore, we shall with God's aid return to you. We render our thanks to you, as you deserve, for the care that you have shown to our son, and for all the loyalty that you have shown us. With regard to other matters, we ask that you continue in the same vein, and all your kindness will be suitably rewarded.

Source

Die Urkunden Konrads III. und seines Sohnes Heinrich, ed. Friedrich Hausmann, *MGH Diplomatum Regum et Imperatorum Germaniae* 9 (Wien: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1969), pp. 356–357, no. 197.

E. Abbot Peter of Cluny Writes to King Roger II of Sicily, Offering to Act as Mediator between the King and Conrad III of Germany, and Urging Him to Attack Byzantium in Punishment for the Empire's "Betrayal" of the Second Crusade (c. 1150)

... Furthermore, we make known to your royal majesty that we greatly lament the conflicts that are going on between you

and the lord king of the Germans (or emperor of the Romans). Both I and many others are strongly of the opinion that this discord is harmful to the Latin kingdoms and to the Christian faith. For we have heard many times and often how your military power has brought benefits to the church of God in the lands of his enemies, that is, those of the Saracens. Moreover, we believe that greater advantages would accrue if you and the aforesaid king were united in a lasting peace and concord. There is also another matter that has long been of concern to us, and to almost all of our fellow countrymen in France, in seeking such a peace for you; namely, the wicked, unheard of, and disgraceful betrayal by the Greeks and their miserable king of our pilgrims, that is, those in the army of God.

I shall speak of what I have in mind. If it should be necessary, insofar as is appropriate for a monk, I would not refuse to perish, if the justice of God would, through the death of one of his servants, revenge that of so many men, both nobles and commoners, indeed the flower of almost the whole of France and Germany, destroyed by wretched treason. Moreover, I can see no Christian prince under heaven through whom this work can be carried out who is better, more suitable, nor more effective than yourself, nor so acceptable to heaven and earth. For, by the grace of God, I say this not in flattery but on account of your outstanding deeds and from the general opinion about you. You are wiser of mind, better endowed with riches, and more practiced in courage than other princes, and furthermore you are physically closer to this place. So therefore, rise up, good prince, to fulfill what not just I with my voice am saying, but what is the wishes both of myself and of everyone else. Rise up to help the people of God, zealously to uphold the law of God like the Maccabees, to revenge so many insults, injuries, and deaths, and such effusion of blood in the army of God, shed so impiously.

I myself am ready, should an opportunity present itself, to go immediately to the aforesaid emperor, along with anybody else I can recruit, to secure the peace of which I spoke above. I shall try with all my strength and all my care to restore and confirm between you and him a peace that is so pleasing to God.

Source

The Letters of Peter the Venerable, ed. Giles Constable, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 2:394–395, no. 162.

3. The Endowment Deed of the Khānqāh al-Ṣalāḥiyya in Jerusalem Founded by Saladin on 17 October 1189

Translated by Johannes Pahlitzsch

After the conquest of Jerusalem in 1187 Saladin started an ambitious building program for the city that had one objective: to restore the Islamic holy sites of old and to re-Islamize the rest of the city through and through. For this purpose, the sultan founded—among other things—three institutions: a *madrassa* (Islamic law school), a *khānqāh*, which designates a Ṣūfī convent, and a hospital. This gave Jerusalem some of the institutions required of an Islamic city: The *madrassa*'s jurists took care of public life in secular and spiritual respects, the ill and the elderly were nursed in the hospital, and the mystically oriented Ṣūfīs led a life entirely devoted to God in their *khānqāh*. All three of them were settled in buildings that had been constructed and used by Latin Christian institutions. The *madrassa* was established in St. Anne's Church, the hospital was probably located in the Church of St. Maria Major, and the Ṣūfīs were assigned the former palace of the Latin patriarch located to the north of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre for their *khānqāh*.

The Khānqāh al-Ṣalāḥiyya was founded on 5 Ramaḍān 585 (17 October 1189). Its endowment deed (Arab. *waqfiyya*), which includes a detailed list of all of the property with which Saladin endowed it, survived in the Ottoman court registers (*sijillāt*) in a confirmation document dating from the sixteenth century. In comparing the *khānqāh*'s real estate with what is known of real estate ownership under Frankish rule, a notable continuity becomes apparent: a considerable part of the property of the patriarch and the canons of the Holy Sepulchre were transferred to the *khānqāh*. However, property previously belonging to other institutions—such as, in this case, land belonging to the Knights Hospitallers—was also integrated into the foundation. The choice of property with which Saladin endowed his foundations was most certainly not arbitrary. As the crusaders had done a century earlier, Saladin seems to have followed a policy of the smoothest possible transition in the administration of real property. Thus, the affiliation of some plots of real

estate to their former institutions remained untouched if this fitted in well with the concept of creating a more or less uniform property. On the other hand, old affiliations were dissolved without further ado if this served the same purpose.

Translation⁹

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

This is what the Most Excellent Lord, al-Malik al-Nāṣir [the Victorious King], the Unifier of the Word of the Belief, the Subduer of the Adorers of the Crosses, Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn [the Righteousness of the World and of the Religion, i.e., Saladin], Sultan of Islam and the Muslims, Revivifier of the Dynasty [or state, *dawla*] of the Commander of the Believers Abū l-Muẓaffar Yūsuf, Son of the Most Exalted Lord, of the Just King, of the Leader of Kings and Sultans, Abū Saʿīd Ayyūb ibn Shādhī, the Sultan over the Egyptian and Syrian lands,¹⁰ gave, founded, and established as alms. God, may he be exalted, make his kingdom everlasting, commit creation (5) to his protection, uplift his station above the two Simak Stars,¹¹ fortify his helpers and his army, and grant him abundant graciousnesses. [May he see to it that] his orders are carried out among all peoples and his commands are executed by the one serving him with sword and quill.

[Saladin founded this] in physical health, with stalwart heart, in full possession of his power, in the execution of his precepts regarding the revocation and confirmation of his [orders], steadfast in his opinion, by virtue of his word and his extending powers, with sincere intention and the urgent plea to God, may he be praised and exalted, to accept this from him and [grant] him the beauty of his reward, in the quest for a close bond with [God] and his reward [or “in the quest to be the means of [God’s actions] and for the accomplishment with him”] on the day on which God rewards the almsgiver, and the remuneration for the benefactors is not lost.

He [Saladin] endowed the entire house known as the Patriarch’s Palace [*dār al-baṭrak*] and found in the noble Jerusalem, as well as whatever belongs thereto. Belonging to this are the neighboring quarter, namely, a mill called (10) ‘Uṣfūr [the sparrow], an oven and a monastery bordering thereon called the New, a large vault called Patriarch’s Stable [*iṣṭabl al-baṭrak*], and a house that lies to the north of this stall, including the vaults lying thereunder. All this is surrounded by four boundaries. The first, southern boundary runs along the Qubbat al-Qumāma¹² on to the house of Yūsuf

al-Saḥḥāf [the Consumptive]¹³ and continues on the street called . . . , which leads to the west to the city wall. From this [boundary] opens the entranceway of the house and stall mentioned. The second, eastern boundary leads to the house that is known as that of the priests of the Qumāma.¹⁴ The third, northern boundary runs from below to the street that leads to the house of Pilatus (*dār al-Bilāt*) and further. That is where is located the entranceway to the house mentioned and to the (15) ‘Uṣfūr mill. From above, it leads by a house called Fuwayla [small elephant] to a Georgian monastery (*dayr kurj*) known as al-Tuffāḥa [the apple] and on to the al-Kharājī quarter (?). The fourth, western boundary leads to a certain monastery and a neighboring . . . over the Georgian al-Sanikul monastery (St. Nicholas) to a house called al-Jāmūs [the buffalo].¹⁵

Further belonging to this are the bath that is known as that of the patriarch, the vault, and the neighboring shops. This is surrounded by four boundaries. The first, southern boundary runs along an alley that leads to the *zardkhānāh* [i.e., ordnance depot, literally, the place where coats of mail are kept] and onto which the Bāb al-Aqmīn [either “gateway of the chimney” or “gateway of the oven of the bath”] opens. The second, eastern boundary runs along a house that was earlier called that (20) of the Hospitallers [*al-isbitār*] and now is designated as *zardkhānāh*. The third, northern boundary runs along the *zardkhānāh*. The fourth, western boundary runs along the street running there,¹⁶ which is called Sūq al-Zayt. In it are located the entranceways to the bath, to the vault, and to the shops.¹⁷

To the [endowment] belong also the so-called Patriarch’s Pool as well as the quarter bordering above and below.

Outside of the noble Jerusalem belongs to it the pool called Māmīllā and the canal in which the water from this pool flows into the inner, so-called Patriarch’s Pool.

(25) Moreover, the land of the upper, that is, northern hollow [*jūra*] belongs to it. It is enclosed by four boundaries. The first, southern boundary runs along the path that leads between [the northern] and the southern *jūra* to *Ṣrnta* [unidentified place-name]. It ends at the long rock that separates [the northern *jūra*] from the barren rock bottom that serves as a quarry. The eastern boundary runs along the path that separates [the northern *jūra*] from the moat. The northern boundary runs along the path that leads to Māmīllā and further. The western boundary leads to the low ridge that separates [the northern *jūra*] from the *jūra* known as that of Zawīrut [Severus?] ibn Mnklb al-Firanjī.

Moreover, the lower, that is, southern, hollow [*jūra*], which is known as that of the Hospitallers, belongs to it. It is enclosed by four boundaries. The southern one leads along an old wall in which is found (30) an old canal; the eastern boundary runs along the path that leads to the Hebron gate and further; the northern boundary runs along the street to *Šrnta*, which separates [the southern *jūra*] from the upper *jūra*. The western boundary runs along the street that leads to Jarmin's Pool [the pool of Germain] and to the Buq'a and further.

To it also belongs the land known as the Buq'a. It is enclosed by four boundaries. The southern one leads along a wall that extends from east to west and separates it from fertile estates to which an olive grove belongs, known as that of Salamah ibn al-Šarišir [?], further on a piece of land of Ibn Suflāt as well as one known as the land of Ibn Raqiya [?]. Within (35) this boundary lies a piece of land known as pasture of *Šhbkr* [unidentified name] and belonging to the titles of the Buq'a. The boundary ends at the estates of Ṭabaliya and consists of an old wall that separates al-'Unuq [the Neck] from the estates of Ṭabaliya. The wall mentioned runs along the street that leads from there to Ṭabaliya. The boundary ends at an old wall next to which stands a terebinth and in which a pear tree grows. [This wall] separates the estates of the Buq'a from those of Bayt Šafāfā. The eastern boundary runs along the path to Sūr Bāhir and beyond. The northern boundary runs along the Murabba' al-Nisā' [?] and ends at an old street. The western boundary runs along the way to Bayt Šafāfā and beyond. (40) To it also belong two pieces of land [within the Buq'a], a part of one of them being known as the pasture of *Šhbkr* and the other part as Rās al-Khinawš [Head of the Piglet]. The rest of this [first piece of land] . . . the eastern boundary corresponds [to that] of the Buq'a and consists of the way that leads to Sūr Bāhir and further. Coming from the north, [the boundary] consists of a small piece of land in the Buq'a that is called Daqq Ma'āsh [?] and al-Ḥamādiya [?]. Coming from the west, [the boundary] consists of the street and the old canal. The second piece of land is known in part as lowland [or estate] of Abū l-Waqiya and in part as vineyard of Rikār [of Ricard]. The rest of this [second piece of land] consists of two small plots of land, of which one is called al-'Unuq and the other Ḍaribat al-Arjām. This [entire second] piece of land is enclosed by four boundaries. The southern boundary is the boundary of the Buq'a coming from the south and consists of the wall that separates [the Buq'a] from the estates of Ṭabaliya. The east-

ern boundary runs along the canal mentioned, which separates this piece of land (45) from the first piece of land. The northern boundary of it is known as al-Rikār and the adjacent land. Coming from the west, [the boundary] consists of a street that separates this land from that of Bayt Šafāfā.

Everything found within these boundaries, all rights, what is small and what is large, hills, plains, canals, and what is known as [belonging] to it, as well as all that is attributed to it of its rights inside and outside of it, constitutes a fixed and established, inviolable, endless, definite, admissible, valid alms for God's sake, may he be exalted. [All this] is a plea for reward, [an expression of the] desire to please him and to [receive] richly of his gifts. These are the stairs leading to him. By no means shall [all this] be sold. No causes (50) for the transfer [of the property] shall revoke the establishment [of the foundation], which remains existent in its original state. Neither the passage of days and months shall alter it, nor shall the passage of the years and the ages debase it. It shall maintain the provisions [established by the founder] and serve charitable purposes according to its capabilities. It shall [suffer] neither a change nor a substitution, nor shall it ever be abolished or transformed, as long as the heavens and earth exist, until Allāh inherits the earth and those who are on it—verily, he is the best of heirs—according to what [literally: “in the manner that”] will be mentioned here.

The Most Excellent Lord, al-Malik al-Nāšir, the Unifier of the Word of the Belief, the Subduer of the Adorers of the Crosses, Šalāḥ al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn, this founder, founded, established and made all these marked-off locations imperishable for the venerable *shaykhs* of the Šūfis, for all mature men, old, middle-aged, or young, wedded (55) or unwedded, be they Arabs or non-Arabs. He made the upper floor of the above-mentioned building known as Palace of the Patriarch into a hospice (*ribāt*) for them and into a dwelling place for the unwedded among well-known Šūfis, be they residents of [Jerusalem] or newcomers from remote lands [coming] from *khānqāhs* with their [proper] customs and manners. However, may none join them who is not likewise a Šūfi, neither through an advocate nor through one who is in charge [the steward?, *walī amr*]. If someone does this, both the advocate as well as he for whom advocacy has been brought assume the responsibility that each one of them receives for his living only what he needs, without exceeding it and without harming another. [Furthermore, they are responsible] that no one evicts or replaces with another any-

one who occupied a place in this house before him and lived in it before the other. When one journeys to (60) any land he wants and returns from his journey to this house, then he shall be permitted to reside therein: If his place is open, then it is to be allocated to him; if someone else occupies this place, then he shall nevertheless be permitted to reside in this house receiving only what he needs for satisfaction and in the same way as the others who live there. When someone dies, however, then [they are likewise responsible] that his right to residence and his other [rights] expire due to his death. And when it [i.e., the right of abode?] is accorded another who has no place to reside in this house, and who urgently requests an abode, then he shall reside [in the house].

Al-Malik al-Nāṣir, the Unifier of the Word of the Belief, the Subduer of the Adorers of the Crosses, Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn, the founder [*muḥabbis*] mentioned, has stipulated that the community (65) mentioned (i.e., the Ṣūfī) gather together as a whole every day following the afternoon prayer at this location to recite as much as possible from the illustrious Qurʾān in noble parts of one-thirtieth each, to practice the exercise of *dhikr*¹⁸ as long as appears good to them, and thereafter to pray for the founder mentioned and all Muslims.

Al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn, the founder mentioned, also stipulated that the proceeds from the mentioned goods [*jahāt*], in accordance with what the lawful steward considers correct, be used according to his discretion and his opinion. All matters of this foundation [*waqf*] are to be subject to their *shaykh*, the lawful steward; no other shall speak out on them. Their *shaykh*, who is one of them, is their steward; the *shaykh* and steward of this (70) foundation shall transfer the stewardship to someone who both is competent for this office and has the rank of a *shaykh*, providing he has no son qualified for it. [But] if he has male children, then he shall transfer [the control] and the office of *shaykh* to the oldest and best of them, without anyone being involved in this [decision]. This provision is in force as long as there are descendants from him. When their line ends and no one else remains from them, then the best of the Ṣūfīs of this place shall be selected. Their *shaykh* shall be one of them, not one of someone else, and he shall be their steward. He should have the same authority as whoever preceded him. In the case that the encounter with God [*wijdān*] [of this community] no longer takes place [or “the passion of this community succumb”]—may God protect us from this—

then the revenues of the locations mentioned are to be given to the poor and needy. And if something comes to light from the community mentioned for which he [the steward] must punish and banish [the guilty one], then may he punish and banish [him] from this place. May (75) he return to it only after a journey to the venerable Ḥijāz or elsewhere and [his] betterment as well as his penitence, repentance, and renunciation to God the Exalted.

Al-Malik al-Nāṣir, the founder mentioned, has also ordained that the community mentioned shall gather together with its *shaykh* on Fridays following sunrise at this place or in the venerable Aqṣā mosque to recite from the noble Qurʾān and thereafter pray for the founder and the Muslims. In the presence of their *shaykh* [they shall] recite as much as possible from the writings of the Imāms, the Ṣūfī *shaykhs*, every Friday—may God grant them all well-being. If this is not possible, then may this occur [at least] on some Fridays. May this remain so as long as the world persists.

(80) [Herewith] this foundation was consummated and its stipulations and rules established. It [thus] became through its protection [*tahrīm*] of God—may he be praised—an eternally inviolable foundation. This is the all-embracing protection through which he declares inviolable that which is holy to him, forbids profanations of that which is holy to him, designates the unity in his name as inviolable, and preserves the holiness of his prophets, his emissaries, his angels—may God bless them—and his house that God created as a place of refuge for mankind and as security and something that is holy for the belief and its followers. To no one who believes in God and in the Final Days, neither to the shepherd nor to the flock, not on the basis of the strength of his might, the pleasantness of his life, the keenness of his intellect, or the breadth of his interpretation, is it permitted to disband [this foundation], not one of its conditions or rules. It may not be altered, neither concerning its basis or regarding [its] design, exchanged, or impaired by something not befitting the care of [the foundation]. May [no one] strive to attain any of this by any means (85) whatsoever, neither through negligence nor through anything about which God knows, who perceives the treacherous glance and that which is hidden in the heart. He who nevertheless does this or helps therewith harms his soul, robs himself of honor, deviates from the order of his Lord, and violates his prohibition. He rebels against him, disregards his threats, and deserves his curse as well as that of his prophets and emissaries. [This is] a curse that will attach to him its shame in this world and hell

and its fire on the day of the resurrection. God, may he be exalted, demands an accounting from him. He is his avenger, punishing him for his act and repaying him for that which he has done on the day on which every soul is presented with that which it has brought about, good and bad. [Then] he will wish that a great distance lay between [hell] and himself. God himself warns you—by God, he is kind to mankind! He punishes those who do evil and rewards those who do good. He lies in ambush for the evildoers according to his exalted word: “Then if any man changes it after hearing it, the sin shall rest upon (90) those who change it; surely God is All-hearing, All-knowing.”¹⁹

The Most Excellent Lord, al-Malik al-Nāṣir, the Unifier of the Word of the Belief, the Subduer of the Adorers of the Crosses, Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn, Sultan of Islam and the Muslims, Revivifier of the State of the Commander of the Believers, Killer of the Unbelievers and Dissenters, Abū l-Muzaffar Yūsuf, the founder already named—may God make his well-being complete and his realm everlasting, eternalize his power and raise his prestige, allow his protection to spread over creation, make his helpers strong and multiply their power—authorizes those righteous witnesses and illustrious lords who place their signature beneath this deed to attest to that to which it refers. They attested to this and this was on the fifth of the venerable Ramaḍān (95) in the year 585 [17 October 1189]. Praise to God, the Lord of the worlds, and may God bless our Lord Muḥammad, his family, and his companions and give them much peace. God is sufficient for us and suffices.

Notes

9. Parenthetical numbers relate to the text of the Arabic edition published in Johannes Pahlitzsch, “The Transformation of Latin Religious Institutions into Islamic Endowments by Saladin in Jerusalem,” in *Governing the Holy City: The Interaction of Social Groups in Medieval Jerusalem*, ed. Lorenz Korn and Johannes Pahlitzsch (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004), pp. 47–69.
10. For the titles of Saladin and the Ayyūbids, see G. Wiet, “Les inscriptions de Saladin,” *Syria* 3 (1922), pp. 307–328; Samuel Miklos Stern, “Two Ayyūbid Decrees from Sinai,” in *Documents from Islamic Chanceries*, ed. S. M. Stern (Oxford: Cassirer, 1965), pp. 19–25, reprint in Stern, *Coins and Documents from the Medieval Middle East* (London: Variorum, 1986).
11. That is, Arcturus and Spica.
12. That is, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.
13. Or *al-Ṣaḥḥaf*, the bookseller.
14. Probably the convent of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre.

15. The name Jāmūs is testified for the eighth to ninth centuries on pottery lamps from Jerash on which is inscribed “līl-Jāmūs” (for Jāmūs). See A.-J. ‘Amr, “More Islamic Inscribed Pottery Lamps from Jordan,” *Berytus* 34 (1986), 161–168. I am indebted to Professor Oleg Grabar for this reference.
16. Something seems to be missing here, since *al-shāri‘al-maslūk* is in all the other cases followed by *minhu ilā*, “the street that runs somewhere”; cf. lines 12, 14, and 36. Or the phrase might be translated as “the paved street.”
17. This is apparently the Street of the Patriarch of the Frankish period, today’s Christian Quarter Road. The designation as Sūq al-Zayt is ambiguous, as it suggests an identification with the street known today as Khān al-Zayt that, however, cannot be intended here.
18. A specific mode of prayer that consists of a tireless repetition of an ejaculatory litany; see Louis Gardet, s.v. *dhikr*, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 10 vols. (Leiden: Brill), 2: 223–227.
19. Qur’ān, Sūra 2:181.

Source

Pahlitzsch, Johannes, “The Transformation of Latin Religious Institutions into Islamic Endowments by Saladin in Jerusalem,” in *Governing the Holy City: The Interaction of Social Groups in Medieval Jerusalem*, ed. Lorenz Korn and Johannes Pahlitzsch (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004), pp. 47–69.

4. The “Lost” Autobiographical Chapter of William of Tyre’s Chronicle (Book XIX.12)

Translated by G. A. Loud and J. W. Cox

This chapter is our main—indeed, almost our only—source for the early career of Archbishop William of Tyre, the principal historian of twelfth-century Outremer. It was omitted from the copies made of William’s *History* at a very early stage of its transmission. Only the chapter heading was preserved, and it was believed that its contents had been lost. This chapter was therefore not included in the English translation by Babcock and Krey, published in 1941.²⁰ It was, however, discovered in a manuscript in the Vatican Library by Robert Huygens, who published it in 1962.²¹ It had always been known that William had spent some time at the schools in Europe before his return to the Holy Land around 1165. But it was only with the discovery of the lost chapter that it was real-

ized that he had spent almost twenty years in Europe and that he had attended the classes of most of the leading teachers at the Schools of Paris and Bologna, the two most important intellectual centers of twelfth-century Christendom. Not only does this discovery do much to clarify William's career and intellectual formation, but the text is also important evidence for higher education at a key period during which the nascent universities were developing and gives us almost a who's who of the grammarians, philosophers, theologians, and law teachers of the so-called Twelfth-Century Renaissance. Furthermore, it enables us to be clear as to which parts of the chronicle deal with events when William himself was present in the East, and which must have been based on secondhand evidence, albeit often very detailed and carefully researched.

In the same year [1165?] I, William, by God's patience unworthy minister of the holy church of Tyre, author of this history, which I have compiled to leave something of the past to those who come after, after nearly twenty years in which I had most avidly followed in France and Italy the schools of the philosophers and the study of liberal disciplines, as well as the improving dogmatics of the celestial philosophy and the prudence of canon and civil law, returned home to the memory of my father and to my mother—may her soul now receive eternal rest—and was received with embraces. I was born in the holy city of Jerusalem, beloved by God, and was brought up there by my parents. During this middle period, in which I spent my adolescence across the sea in the [various] disciplines and dedicated my days to the study of letters in voluntary poverty, I was taught by the following distinguished doctors in the liberal arts, venerable men worthy of pious record, founts of knowledge, and treasurers of the disciplines. [These were] Master Bernard the Breton, who afterwards returned to the town where he was born and became Bishop of "Cornwall" [Quimper],²² Master Peter Helias of the Poitevin nation,²³ and Master Ivo from the people and nation of Chartres. All these had for a long time been pupils of that most learned of men Master Theodoric the Elder. The youngest of them, Master Ivo, had also profited from the doctrine of Master Gilbert Porrée, bishop of Poitiers, whom he had heard after Master Theodoric.²⁴ I heard these alternately, as the pressure of their duties made them available to me or not, for about ten years. I heard others also, albeit not so assiduously, but however more fre-

quently and especially through the means of disputation following the distinguished and praiseworthy Alberic *de Monte*,²⁵ Master Robert of Melun,²⁶ Master Mainerius, Master Robert Amiclas and Master Adam of Petit Pont,²⁷ who seemed to me to be "the greatest luminaries."²⁸ In theology, I diligently heard for the space of six years a man unrivalled in that field whose surviving work the chorus of the prudent welcome with veneration and study with reverence, a man commendable for his sound doctrine in everything, Master Peter Lombard, afterwards bishop of Paris.²⁹ I heard most frequently [too] Master Maurice, who later succeeded him in the same bishopric.³⁰ In civil law at Bologna I had as teachers Don Ugolino di Porta Ravennate and Don Bulgarus, jurists and men of supreme authority.³¹ I also often saw, and went to the lectures of, their contemporaries Don Martino and Don Giacomo, men most learned in law; these four seemed as if columns on solid foundations in the Temple of Justice, placed there to sustain it. I also had as a teacher in the exposition of [classical] authors Hilary of Orléans,³² and in geometry, and especially Euclid, Master William of Soissons, a man of halting speech, but of sharp mind and subtle ingenuity. Memory of all these lives up to the present, and record remains perpetual. Those who elucidate knowledge and make it multiply to those travelling [in search of it], those who teach righteousness to many, shall live in perpetuity and not suffer the waste of oblivion. Their light shall be as of the stars, as in the sermon of Daniel. "Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased," and also, "And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever."³³ May the clement and merciful God remember all of them in the reward of the just. Let all of those who mercifully brought me from ignorance to the light of knowledge and righteousness, and who, even to a small extent, raised me by their erudition, deserve eternal reward.

After I returned home by the will of God, Lord William, bishop of Acre,³⁴ of pious memory, of the nation of the Lombards, a careful and discreet man, who had been translated to that church from the archdeaconate of Tyre, immediately after my arrival and with the generosity of true charity, and with the consent of all his chapter, gave me a benefice, known as a prebend, in his church. Furthermore King Amalric, whose deeds I describe in the present work, seemed to receive my arrival quite welcomingly. Had not a certain person, moved by envy, presented objection to me and turned the royal mind somewhat against me, he would have imme-

diately assigned a whole benefice (as it is called) to me. However, he did not cease to show solicitude for me, and sought an opportunity to direct his prayers among the bishops for a benefice to be promised to me (although I was ignorant of this). He much enjoyed our conversations; and it was at his suggestion, which I freely embraced, that I wrote the volume showing the deeds which happened in the kingdom from [the time of] its liberation from the hand of the enemy. But let us now return to our story.

Notes

20. *A History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea* by William Archbishop of Tyre, trans. Emily A. Babcock and August C. Krey, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943).
21. Robert B. C. Huygens, "Guillaume de Tyre étudiant: Un chapitre (xix.12) de son 'Histoire' retrouvé," *Latomus* 21 (1962), 811–829.
22. Bernard of Moëlan was bishop of Quimper (in Brittany) from 1159 to 1167.
23. Peter Helias was a famous teacher of grammar who also taught the celebrated English scholar John of Salisbury.
24. Ivo, dean of Chartres cathedral, attested the orthodoxy of Bishop Gilbert Porrée of Poitiers (1142–1154) when the latter was accused of heresy at the Council of Rheims in 1148. See Beryl Smalley, "Master Ivo of Chartres," *English Historical Review* 1 (1935), 680–686.
25. Those named in the next part of the list, Alberic *de Monte* (Mont-Sainte-Généviève) and so on, were all teachers in the Schools of Paris.
26. Robert of Melun, despite his name, was an Englishman and was bishop of Hereford from 1163 to 1167.
27. Adam, also known as Adam of Balsham, was another Englishman who taught logic in Paris from 1132 onward, although his teaching was criticized for its complexity by John of Salisbury.
28. Cf. Gen. 1:16.
29. Peter Lombard's *Sentences* (written c. 1150) became the fundamental medieval theology textbook. He was bishop of Paris from 1158 to 1160.
30. Maurice de Sully was bishop of Paris from the autumn of 1160 until his death on 11 September 1196.
31. Ugolino, also known as Ugo Alberici (d. 1168), was famed for his "Disputations." Master Bulgarus wrote glosses (commentaries) on the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* of Justinian. Both were also active as judges, including at the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa's Diet of Roncaglia in 1158.
32. Hilary was yet another Englishman, who taught grammar at Orléans and Angers and at Paris from c. 1145. A number of his letters and poems have also survived. See N. M. Häring, "Hilary of Orléans and His Letter Collection," *Studi Medievali*, ser. 3, 14 (1973), 1088–1122.
33. Dan. 12:3–4.
34. Bishop of Acre c. 1165–1172.

Source

[Translation © G. A. Loud and J. W. Cox (1983)]
 Huygens, Robert B. C., "Guillaume de Tyre étudiant: Un chapitre (xix.12) de son 'Histoire' retrouvé," *Latomus* 21 (1962), 811–829.

5. German Crusade Songs of the Late Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries

Translated by Jeffrey R. Ashcroft

A. Friedrich von Hausen

Friedrich von Hausen is recorded in charters and chronicles as a ministerial knight with military, legal, and diplomatic functions in the service of Frederick I Barbarossa, Holy Roman Emperor, and his son King Henry VI between 1171 and 1188. He was killed in battle on the Third Crusade, in May 1190. Hausen wrote courtly love songs during the 1180s, and this song of crusading propaganda must date from 1188–1189.

"*Min herze und min lip diu wellent scheiden*"

My heart and my body want to part company, though they have been together for a long time now. Body is keen to go fight the heathen, but Heart has chosen a woman in preference to all the world. This pains me ever more, that they will not stay with one another. My eyes have caused me much grief. God alone can settle this dispute.

Since, Heart, I cannot dissuade you from leaving me in this unhappy way, I pray God that he may deign to send you somewhere where you will be well received. Alas, how will you fare, poor thing? How can you venture to face such peril alone? Who shall help you bring your cares to an end so loyally as I have done?

I thought I had freed myself of such cares when I took the cross in honor of God. It should by rights have been so, if my own steadfastness had not prevented it. If my heart had given up its foolish will, I should be truly a whole man. Now I realize that it doesn't care how I am to fare in the end.

No one can reproach me with inconstancy if now I hate her whom before I loved. However much I begged and beseeched her, she behaves as if she doesn't understand. It seems to me indeed as if her words behave exactly like the fickle summer weather does in Trier. I'd be a fool if I took her foolish obstinacy seriously. It will not happen again.

Source

Des Minnesangs Frühling, ed. Hugo Moser and Helmut Tervooren, 36th ed. (Stuttgart: Hirzel, 1977), pp. 81–83.

B. Albrecht von Johansdorf

Albrecht von Johansdorf was a ministerial knight in the service of the bishops of Passau between 1180 and 1206. His songs of crusade were composed in the context of recruitment either for the Third Crusade (1189–1192) or for the German Crusade of 1197, in which Wolfger of Erla, bishop of Passau, played a leading role.

“Guote liute, holt”

Good vassals, claim the wages God our Lord himself pays out, he who has power over all things. Earn his fee, which lies waiting for the blessed ones there with all manner of joys forevermore. Suffer hardship willingly for a while in place of the death that lasts for ever. God has given you both soul and body. Give him back your body here on earth, which will bring the soul eternal life there in heaven.

Love, let me free, you're to leave me without pleasure for a while. You have robbed me of my senses. If you come by again once I have completed this crusade for God, then you'll be welcome once more. But if you will not leave my heart—and perhaps that's not to be avoided—I shall take you with me to the Holy Land. Then I shall there appeal to God for half my reward to go to my dear one.

“Alas,” said that woman, “what sorrow love has gifted me. What pain love inflicts on me. Joyless creature, what will you do with yourself when he goes away from here, since it was he who gave you all your happiness. How can I live with the world and my misery?”

“In this situation I would need good counsel if I were to succeed in meeting both demands. It was never so urgent a need: the moment approaches when he will set out on crusade.”

Blessed is that fortunate woman, whose pure womanly virtue makes her lover take her with him in his heart overseas. Anyone who ever experienced heartfelt love should praise her purity, since she suffers such pain here at home. When, alone, she thinks about the danger he is in, she says “Whether my dearest love is alive or dead, may God care for him on whose behalf my sweetheart gave up this world.”

Source

Des Minnesangs Frühling, ed. Hugo Moser and Helmut Tervooren, 36th ed. (Stuttgart: Hirzel, 1977), pp. 194–195.

C. Hartmann von Aue

Hartmann von Aue, best known as the first adaptor of Arthurian romance in Middle High German, also wrote three crusading songs, either for the Third Crusade or for the German Crusade of 1197. The lord whose death he laments in this song may be Berthold IV, duke of Zähringen (d. 1186), or Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa (d. 1190), or Emperor Henry VI (d. 1197). This song gives a rare glimpse into personal motivations for taking the cross.

“Ich var mit iuweren hulden, herren unde mage”

I set off with your kind leave, lords and kinsmen. May land and people flourish! There is no need for anyone to ask where I am going, I shall tell you in truth what journey it is. Love took me prisoner and set me free on parole. Now she has commanded me by her love that I go off to war. There is no way out, my departure is urgent. How loath I should be to break my oath of loyalty!

Many a man boasts what he does for love's sake. Where are the deeds?—all I hear are the words. Yet I'd be glad to see her ask any one of them to serve her as I shall serve her. That is real love when someone leaves his home behind for love's sake. Now see how she takes me over the sea from my native land. And if my lord were alive, Saladin and all his army would not bring me a foot away from Germany.

You singers of love songs, you are bound to come to grief; what does you harm is your vain hopes. I dare boast that I can confidently sing of love, since love possesses me and I her. What I desire, see, that desires me just as much. You continually find your vain hopes dashed. You strive for pleasure that wants no part of you. Why can't you poor creatures love such a love as I do?

Source

Des Minnesangs Frühling, ed. Hugo Moser and Helmut Tervooren, 36th ed. (Stuttgart: Hirzel, 1977), pp. 428–429.

D. Walther von der Vogelweide

Walther von der Vogelweide was the greatest medieval German lyric poet, active between 1190 and 1230. A clerically educated professional singer, he was the first nonchivalric German poet of crusade.

“Her keiser, ich bin fronebote” = Ottenton, 1212 (L12,6)

In this song Walther urges Otto IV, Holy Roman emperor, after his coronation in 1209, to fulfill his

imperial duty and lead a crusade to liberate Christ's earthly kingdom.

Lord Emperor, I am God's envoy and bring you his message. You have sway over the earth as he does over heaven. He bade me lament to you, his regent, how the heathen rise up in his son's kingdom in defiance against you both. You will be eager to restore his rights. His Son is called Christ. Make a solemn bond with him. Where he is regent, he will grant you your rights, even though your adversary were the devil from hell.

Source

Walther von der Vogelweide: Leich, Lieder, Sangsprüche, ed. Christoph Cormeau (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1996), p. 18.

"Ahi wie kristenliche nu der babest lachet" = Unmutston, 1213 (L34,4 and 34,14)

Walther von der Vogelweide's "Songs of Discontent" attack the caricatured Pope Innocent III for the crusade tax of 1213, which, Walther alleges, the Roman Curia will misappropriate for its own corrupt ends. Rivalry between pope and Holy Roman Emperor for control of the crusade is a long-running theme of Walther's political lyrics in the first three decades of the thirteenth century.

Ah, what a Christian smile the pope wears when he tells his Italian pals, "I've done it!" What he says, he should never even have thought. He reckons, "I've made two Tedeschi wear one crown, so that they disrupt and lay waste the kingdom. While they're at it, we'll fill our purses. I've yoked them both beneath my offertory chest; all they have shall be mine. Their German silver trickles into my cash box. My priests, eat your chicken and sup your wine and let those Germans . . . fast!"

Tell us, friend Alms Chest, has the pope sent you here, so you can make him rich and beggar us Germans? When the full loot reaches the Lateran, he'll play the same mean trick he's played before. He'll tell us how the empire will stay in chaos till every parish has filled up the chest a second time. I reckon little of this silver will ever go to help God's Holy Land. It's rare that a cleric's hand gives away largesse. Friend Alms Chest, you've been sent here to do mischief, to make fools and ninnies of German folk.

Source

Walther von der Vogelweide: Leich, Lieder, Sangsprüche, ed. Christoph Cormeau (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1996), pp. 64–65.

"Owe war sint verschwunden alliu miniu jar?" = Elegy, traditionally dated 1227–1228 (L124,1)

Walther von der Vogelweide's best-known song of crusade is traditionally associated with the crusade of Emperor Frederick II in 1228–1229 and interpreted as a protest against Frederick's excommunication by Pope Gregory IX for failing to arrive in the Holy Land by the date laid down by papal ultimatum. However, the internal evidence of the song could point at least as relevantly to the excommunication of Duke Leopold V of Austria by Pope Celestine III in 1195 and to the ensuing German Crusade of 1197–1198.

Alas, where have all my years vanished to? Did I dream my life, or is it true? What I always thought was real, was it truly so? Then I must have slept and know nothing more of it. Now I have woken up, and what I once knew like the palm of my hand I recognize no more. People, the land I was brought up in, they are as foreign to me as if they were figments. My playmates and friends are weary and old. The fields are ploughed, the forest hewn down. If it were not that the river flows as it ever did, truly I would deem my misfortune great. Many greet me wearily who once knew me well. All the world is full of misery. When I think back to many a glorious day vanished as utterly from me as a slap of the hand in the sea—ever more, alas.

Alas, how miserably young people behave, whose hearts were once open to all that was new. They can do nothing but worry; alas, how can they be so? Wherever I turn in the world, no one is happy. Dance and song decay into care. Never did a Christian witness such grievous times. See now how ladies wear their headdress, how proud knights wear rustic clothes. Harsh letters have reached us from Rome. We are permitted only sorrow, and all joy is denied us. That grieves me to the core—we fared so well till now—that instead of laughter I now must choose to weep. Our lamentation makes the wild birds mourn. No wonder that it makes me despair. But what am I saying, foolish man, in my misguided anger? Whoever is seduced by these joys forfeits those in the life to come. Evermore, alas.

Alas, how we have been poisoned by sweet things. I see the bitter gall that floats in the honey. The world is outwardly fair, white, green, and red, and inwardly pitch black, dark as death. If it has led you astray, see your salvation. By small penance you may be redeemed from great sin. Think upon it, knights, it is your very own vocation. You wear shining

helmets and hard-forged mail, you carry stout shields and consecrated swords. Would to God that I were worthy of such victory. Then, needy man as I am, I would earn rich reward. Nor do I mean lands or princes' gold. I would wear a crown myself and for eternity. A soldier might win it with his spear. If I might make the precious journey overseas, then I would sing for joy and nevermore "alas."

Source

Walther von der Vogelweide: Leich, Lieder, Sangsprüche, ed. Christoph Cormeau (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1996), pp. 264–265.

6. The Crusade of Emperor Frederick II in Freidank's *Bescheidenheit*

Translated by Jeffrey R. Ashcroft

Freidank was a didactic poet who gave an eyewitness account of the city of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) during the Crusade of Emperor Frederick II (1227–1229) in his ethical compendium *Bescheidenheit* ("Wise Judgment"). His satirical verses attack the avarice and irreligious behavior of the Franks of the Holy Land, they deplore Pope Gregory IX's hostility to Frederick II, they express Freidank's disquiet over Frederick's negotiated truce with al-Kāmil, the Ayyūbid sultan of Egypt, but despite all misgivings they assert the continuing validity of pilgrimage and crusade.

I have heard many a man express the wish: "If I might get to Acre, and just see the Holy Land, I would not care if I died there on the spot." Now I see these folk glad to be alive and anxious to get back to their homeland.

I advise those who intend to come here after us to be well equipped: the first shock comes when you buy or exchange something. Acre has gobbled up silver, gold, horses, and clothes, and whatever a man may possess, nothing eludes their clutches. Now they mock us and say, "*Allez*—off you go home across the sea." And if thirty armies came to Acre, they would fare as we have fared; the locals would treat them as they've treated us.

In Rome and Acre it's the same business, which always finds enough fools to exploit. In no time at all they've gobbled so much treasure that I'm amazed it doesn't burst out of the houses.

Since Acre won't relent, it's better to be sheared than

skinned: if you get away with your hide intact, you can sing for joy.

Acre is rich in diseases, death is quite at home there, and if thousands died there every day, you'd hear nobody lamenting for long.

The first question they ask when someone's died is, "Sir, where's his money?" (And that's the last word of mourning. God send us a speedy end!)

If anyone doesn't want to live long, I advise him to hurry off to Acre.

There's no difference between the Christians and the heathen in Acre: all the crusaders' might won't disturb their friendly alliance. Young and old all speak the heathen tongue. They prefer the company of one heathen to two or three Christians. So it's no wonder that they're treacherous.

In Acre I'm well acquainted with the food, the climate, people and land: all are bad news to Germans. So many a man slips away to the graveyard—there's a friendly landlord who's never stuck for guests; he does his best to greet all strangers. Acre is the pit of death, where there's naught but death and disease; and a dead donkey would be mourned more in other places than a hundred thousand who die there.

In Acre they live corrupt lives: if the pope has imposed that on them as penance for their sins, then even Judas has hope of salvation.

In Acre the citizens are treacherous: an army of a hundred thousand will be more quickly sold there than ten oxen anywhere else.

The business they are up to in Jaffa is a good bargain for the heathen, but it won't help against the Christians who are in league with the heathen. The allies of this land are showing how far they can be trusted, and if it were up to them, the talks at Jaffa would not be happening.

We were given the cross to protect against sin and to free the Holy Sepulchre. Now the church wants to ban us from doing that. So how shall we save our souls now?

No ban has more force in God's eyes than is justified by a man's guilt. Obedience is only valid if the master acts justly; if the master forces a man to desert God and do wrong, then you must leave the master and cleave to what is right. Though whether the church's ban is wrong or right, it is to be feared, that's true.

It would be fitting if the emperor put a stop to the whispering he and the Sultan have been carrying on. Can that lead to a happy and honorable end without God's help? It's a

strange matter, and fools don't believe it—I hear wise folk too say they'll only believe it when they see it.

Mr. Mean and Mr. Stingy were supposed to share three marks: Mean wanted the bigger half, Stingy wouldn't give up. The two misers still haven't settled their quarrel. That's just how the emperor and the sultan are behaving.

When did an emperor ever go on a crusade banned by the pope and without the princes' support? And now he's reached a land where neither God nor man ever found a loyal friend. And without treasure to help him he's met much opposition—may God settle it.

I don't care how, so long as I glimpse the Holy Sepulchre: then I'd return to Acre, stuff myself full of good food, and be happy to board the first ship I found. I deplore all that's ever been told of this land, whether it was true or false; they've enticed many a band of crusaders here.

I'd gladly go back over the sea and send another army here—but I never want to return myself, because of the treachery that goes on here.

What can an emperor achieve when heathen and clerics alike fight against him? Solomon's wisdom would be inadequate there. Treachery is a birthright in this land, and the natives have sworn to reinforce it with false counsel. Treachery, arrogance, and enmity never run short in Syria. If the emperor's might is demonstrated here, all lands will fear him; his honor will either soar or sink to the depths through what happens here.

Whatever the emperor achieves here without sufficient support, the help and cunning of the locals will be pitted against him, so far as they dare.

Many an army has come to Acre, and all, I've been told, perished without achieving honorable victory. The pope's ban and the cunning tricks of many Christians here wanted to thwart us of success. Now God has won his own honor. He was able to ensure without their help that sinners shall see the Holy Sepulchre.

God and the emperor have freed that tomb and brought comfort to all Christians. Since the emperor has done the best he ever could, he should be released from the ban—but I guess those in Rome don't want that. If something good happens without their consent, they don't wish it to endure—and now it's happened against their wishes. All sinners agree that no one should breach the peace treaty. Rome could do us no greater honor than to affirm that too. Those who must live and survive in this land, they did not want to be given it back. What if a miracle happens and their arrogance is taken

way from them? Treachery will come to their rescue.

God has liberated the city that is the joy of our faith. What more do sinners need but the Holy Sepulchre and the honor of the cross? If those who tried to cheat him of his honor had stood by the emperor, the Sepulchre and all this land would have been in his hands: Nazareth and Bethlehem, the Jordan and Jerusalem, and many a holy place where God's own feet trod, Syria and Judaea, many a fair land besides. The roads all lie open before us that lead to the holy places.

It grieves the false hearted that the emperor did not let so many armies be betrayed that would have perished defenseless here. If a lord has men, might, and wealth and gives these for God's cause, it is a grievous sin when anyone gives treacherous counsel.

A ban has no force if it is imposed out of enmity; a ban that harms the faith can do no good. Acre has banned kettle and frying pan, boiled meat and roast; may God provide for us! The masters of our faith rant and rave. Lord God, where shall we praise you, since we are banned from your city, in which you, Lord Christ, were martyred and buried? The honor of your faith is extinguished; sinners are deprived of comfort; how shall we be rid of sin? All Christendom despairs. Lord God, have pity on this inexcusable scandal. This ban will bring scorn on the Sepulchre and all Christendom; disbelief will prosper for it.

I witnessed Christ's own land left without visible defense. When we should be reconquering it, no one was prepared to defend it. The devil has succored this land because no one prevented it. It was the devil's cunning that stopped more of it from being won back. God punish those who are guilty for us Germans being the laughing stock of the Franks. And if the Germans might win back the land today, the Franks hate them so much they would much rather the heathen kept it.

If anyone comes sick and poor to Acre, he will readily get a lodging there—one seven feet long, where he can do penance for his sins.

Nothing was ever better against sin than a pure-hearted pilgrimage across the sea. Even if you never glimpse the Holy Sepulchre, your reward is none the less for that. Anyone who with devout intent bears his cross over the sea (this is my firm belief) shall be freed from sin. Acre roasts the body yet brings comfort to the soul. Have no doubt of this: if you die a righteous death there, you shall be saved!

Source

Kreuzzugsdichtung, ed. Ulrich Müller (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1979), no. 72, pp. 102–109.

7. *The World's Reward*, by Konrad von Würzburg

Translated by Alan V. Murray

Der Werlte Lôn (*The World's Reward*) is a poem in Middle High German by Konrad von Würzburg, written in rhyming couplets. Konrad was born around the year 1235 and died in 1287. He was probably a professional poet who was active in the Upper Rhine area from around 1260, writing love poetry and moral and religious lyrics as well as longer poems.

Although *The World's Reward* is a fictional account, its central character is a historical individual, a German knight called Wirnt von Gravenberg, who between 1210 and 1220 composed an Arthurian romance, *Wigalois*, or *Der Ritter mit dem Rade*. *The World's Reward* has a certain similarity to works of the *exemplum*, a prose genre that narrates a purportedly true event in order to bring out a moral. A factor in the choice of Wirnt von Gravenberg as hero may have been the fact that his own subject, *Wigalois*, is characterized as “the knight with the wheel,” that is, the Wheel of Fortune, which could be regarded as applying to the character of Wirnt in Konrad's poem.

Sir Wirnt is introduced as the epitome of secular chivalry, skilled and finding delight in deeds of arms and in leisure pursuits such as hunting, music, literature, and chess. He is keen to win honor, that is, to maintain and increase his reputation in the estimation of the society in which he lived. Above all, it was ladies who provided him with inspiration to undertake deeds of knighthood and who praised him when he had performed them. The idea of service to a lady was a central part of the literary chivalric culture of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and was particularly appealing to many knights since it employed the same vocabulary of service that was used to describe their military and administrative obligations to their lords.

It is this relationship of service that characterizes Sir Wirnt's mysterious female visitor, who insists that he has served her all of his life; the confused knight is certain he has never seen her before but is so smitten by her appearance that he is prepared to freely offer her his service for the rest of his life. The revelation of the name and identity of the beautiful, mysterious stranger forms the climax of the poem. The conclusion

describes an act of conversion: the only hope for Wirnt's salvation is a form of knighthood very different from that which he has pursued all of his life. Taking the cross, he becomes a crusader and leaves home with the purpose of serving God by fighting the heathen; Konrad's phrasing implies a journey to the Holy Land, known to the medieval West as Outremer (the land beyond the sea). This model of religious knighthood involves renouncing every vestige of his previous life, even to the extent of abandoning his wife and children, and doing penance for his past sins. The message of *Der Werlte Lôn* is one of uncompromising criticism of the lifestyle and ideology of secular chivalry, but it nevertheless presents the crusade as a route to salvation.

All you who love the world, listen to this story of the fortunes of a knight who constantly strove to achieve the world's reward. Often he considered how he might go about obtaining the reward of worldly honor. He knew how to enhance his reputation everywhere, and both in word and in deed his life was so accomplished that he was counted among the best in the German lands. His whole life long he had kept himself free from disgrace; he was courteous and wise, handsome and full of all the virtues. Whatever prize of honor a man might pursue, this knight knew how to obtain it. This fine man was to be seen wearing choice clothing. He was a skilled and active hunter, with hounds, with hawks, and on horseback. Chess and music were his leisure pursuits. If deeds of knighthood were announced over a hundred miles distant, he would have ridden there and gladly fought to gain the reward of love. He was so devoted to well-mannered ladies that he served them with such constancy all of his days that all happy women praised this delightful man. As the books relate and as I found written, this knight was called Sir Wirnt von Gravenberg. He had done worldly deeds all of his days, and his heart burned after love, both secret and open.

This celebrated man was sitting in a chamber with all kinds of diversion, holding open a book that contained adventures of love. With this he occupied his day until evening, and he found great pleasure in the charming story he was reading. As he was sitting like this, there entered a woman such as was his heart's desire, and of such a lovely form that no one had ever seen a more beautiful lady. Her beauty quite surpassed that of all of today's ladies. Such a

lovely child had never before slipped from a woman's breast. I declare upon my baptism that she was far more beautiful than Venus or Athene and all the goddesses of love. Her countenance and her complexion were both as bright as a mirror. Her beauty gave off such an aura and such splendor that the very palace was illuminated by her. Perfection had skimmed with none of her skills on her, but deployed her fullest powers. Whatever one might have to say about beautiful women, she surpassed them all; a more lovely woman could not be seen on earth. Furthermore, she was magnificently dressed. The clothes and the crown that this elegant lady was wearing were so rich that no one could have bought them, even had they been for sale. Sir Wirnt von Gravenberg drew back from her in shock as she strode in. Her arrival caused him to turn pale, for he was quite surprised that such a lady should come in. Shocked and pale, the charming man sprang to his feet and welcomed the lovely lady as courteously as he was able, saying, "Welcome, lady! Whatever ladies I have ever known, you surpass them all." The lady replied gracefully,

May God reward you, my dear friend. Do not be so alarmed, for I am that same lady whom you willingly serve and whom you have always served. However much you may be alarmed at my presence, I am that same woman for whom you have repeatedly risked body and soul. Your heart does not weary, because it gains joy through me. You have been courtly and noble all of your days. Your fair, sweet body has striven for me, and spoken and sung as well of me as it can; you were my vassal in the evening and the morning, and you knew how to win the greatest praise and the most worthy prizes; you blossom like a flower in May in numerous virtues. From the time of your youth you have borne the garland of honor, and your loyalty to me has always been true and complete. Most worthy and excellent knight, this is why I have come here, so that you can view my excellent body, both front and back, to your heart's content, and see how lovely I am, how perfect. The great rewards and rich benefits that you may receive in my service, these you should examine closely. I will gladly let you see what reward you may expect, since you have served me so well.

The virtuous, noble lord thought the lady's words amazing,

for he had never seen her before, and yet this very lady had said that he had been her vassal. He said,

If it please you, my lady, if I have ever served you, then I am not aware of it. I must say without deceit that I have never set eyes on you. But since you declare me to be your servant, blessed lady, then my heart and my body are ready for your service until my dying day. You have such grace and such virtue that your joy-bearing youth may bring me a reward. Happy I am that I have lived this day! I rejoice, lovely lady, that you are willing to accept my service. Most virtuous lady, by the joy-bearing fortune that is in you, please reveal this to me: let me know from where you come or what your name is, so that I might know for certain whether I ever heard tell of you.

Courteously, the lady replied,

My dear friend, that shall be done. I will gladly reveal to you my highly praised name. You should never be ashamed that you are in my service. Everything of wealth and property on earth serves me. I am so exalted that the emperor and the sons of kings are subject to my crown, while counts, free lords, and dukes have knelt down before me and obey my command. I fear no one but God, who has power over me. I am called "the World," and am that which you have striven after for so long. You shall be granted a reward from me, as I shall show you. I have come to you, now look!

With that, she turned her back on him. All over it was adorned and hung with worms and snakes, with toads and adders; her body was full of sores and horrible cancers, with flies and ants squatting on it, and maggots eating away at the flesh down to the bone. She was so foul that there went forth from her suppurating body a smell that no one could endure. Her rich clothing was in a pitiful state: on her back it was but a shoddy rag. Her lovely bright complexion now had the color of pale ashes.

And so she departed. May she be cursed by me and all Christendom! When he had seen this wonder, the noble, free knight knew in his heart that anyone in her service would be ruined. Straightaway he bade farewell to his wife and children; he put the cross upon his clothing and traveled across the wild sea to aid God's army fighting against the heathen.

Texts and Documents

There the virtuous knight did constant penance. This he did at all times until he died, so that his soul would find repose.

Now all you who are children of this wild world, take note of this story: its truth is such that one should be glad to hear it. The World's reward is full of grief: this you should have understood. Now I have come to the end: whoever is found serving her will never receive the joy that God in his constancy has prepared for the chosen.

I, Konrad von Würzburg, give all of you this advice: only you who abandon the World will keep your soul.

Source

English translation based on *Kleinere Dichtungen Konrads von Würzburg*, 1: *Der Welt Lohn – Das Herzmaere – Heinrich von Kempten*, ed. Edward Schröder, 2d ed. (Berlin, 1930), pp. 1–11.

General Bibliography

This bibliography lists works that provide general orientation on the crusades and the main geographical areas affected by them; it is not intended to be a comprehensive listing and its emphasis is on works in English. For bibliography on more specific topics, such as individual crusades, people, places, texts, institutions, and event, the reader should consult the relevant entries in the A–Z section of the encyclopedia.

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