

Susan Edgington

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The First Crusade



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Published by
The Historical Association
59a Kennington Park Road
London SE11 4JH

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About the author

Susan Edgington has combined a teaching career in further and higher education with life-long research on the First Crusade, above all editing and translating Albert of Aachen's contemporary Latin narrative *Albert of Aachen: Historia Ierosolimitana, History of the Journey to Jerusalem* (Oxford Medieval Texts, 2007). Her publications include many articles on aspects of the crusades, including medicine and carrier pigeons and she has travelled widely in Europe and the Middle East in support of her research. She is a Senior Research Fellow at Queen Mary, University of London.

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Edited by
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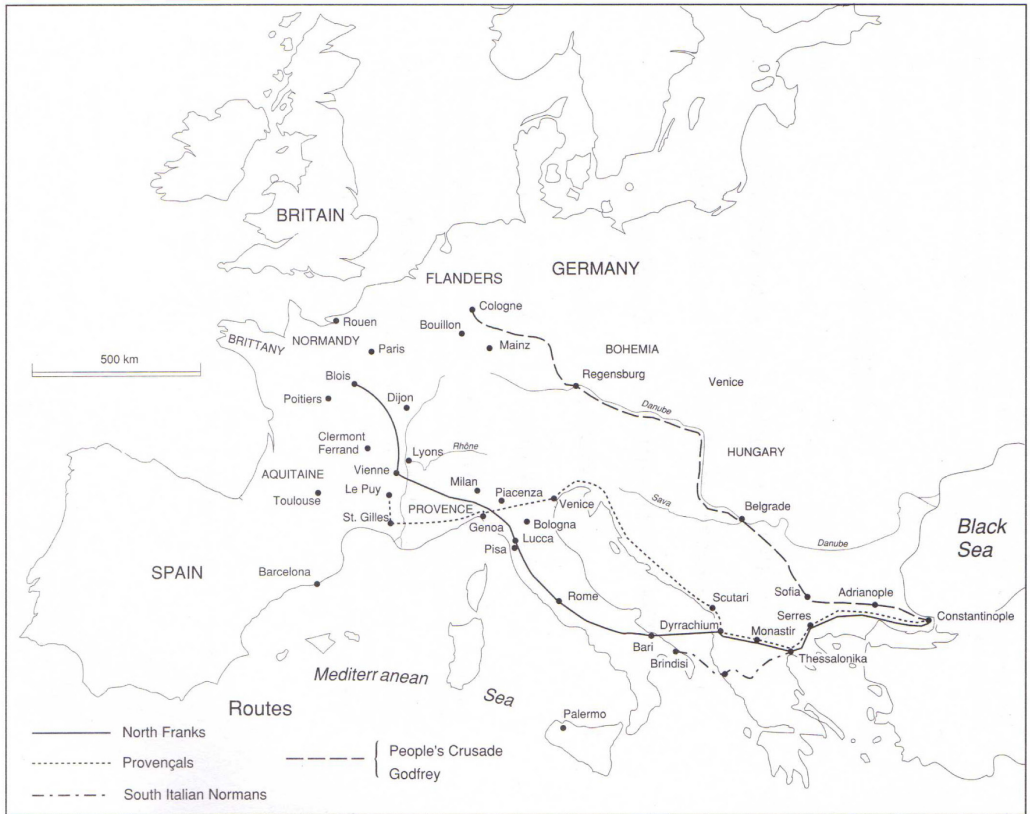
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The armies march to Constantinople



Pope Urban's Appeal

Nine centuries ago, in November 1095, Pope Urban II rounded off a Church Council in Clermont by making an impassioned appeal to clergy and laity for volunteers to fight against the Turks in the east. The movement which resulted was the First Crusade, but at that time even the word 'crusade' had not been coined. A modern definition reads: 'A crusade was a holy war fought against those perceived to be the external or internal foes of Christendom for the recovery of Christian property or in defence of the Church or Christian people.'¹

As it developed, becoming a crusader involved taking a vow, in return for which one received certain privileges, granted by the pope, including the remission of sins, the Indulgence. But when Urban made his appeal these refinements lay in the future and we may be sure that he was not intentionally starting a movement which would last for centuries.

The crusaders' motives

In fact, the consequences of his speech were so extraordinary and have resonated so long that it is hard to trace behind them his original intentions. One difficulty is that accounts of his speech and of subsequent events were written after the capture of Jerusalem in 1099, and that achievement coloured the memories – or imaginations – of the writers.²

Letters which Urban wrote to follow up his speech spoke of the liberation of the eastern Church, a reminder that the expedition was conceived in response to a request from the Byzantine emperor, Alexios I Komnenos, for aid against the Turks, which Urban had received at Piacenza in March 1095. It is possible that the pope, a vigorous Church reformer in the Cluniac tradition, hoped that his sending troops would help to heal the rift between Rome and Constantinople which had been explicit since 1054 and was, in fact, never to be closed.

The pope surely did not foresee the wide-ranging response to his appeal, which he directed more specifically at the knightly class. When dealing with these people his own background, as a member of the lesser nobility of Champagne, enabled him to hit exactly the right note. The violence and political fragmentation of eleventh-century France had produced a group of men whose purpose in life was fighting, but the Church strongly discouraged them from it. The Christian warrior therefore embodied a contradiction in terms, and at Clermont, Urban offered to resolve the internal conflict: by joining Christ's militia, a knight could do what he was good at with the blessing of the Church. There is little doubt that Urban was fully aware of the attraction of this idea: at Clermont he had also promulgated the 'Peace of God', which suspended hostilities on holy days in each week.

Piety was a major motivating force among the 'upper ranks' of crusaders, mixed with the knightly desire for glory and the lure of adventure.³ The idea that many crusaders were landless younger sons seeking their fortune in the east has been abandoned after recent research: crusading was an enterprise which required significant financial outlay. Taking into account arms, armour, war-horses, pack-animals and servants, it routinely took around two years' income to equip a knight; he needed much more for an expedition to the Holy Land.⁴ Furthermore, the risks involved were great and the outcome uncertain. Most survivors returned home when they had completed their pilgrimage, and charters which they made to protect their possessions while they were absent show that they envisaged either dying on the expedition or returning to reclaim their lands. Men who carved out careers for themselves in the east, including Godfrey of Bouillon and Raymond of Toulouse, were by no means lacking in prospects in the west. This is not to say that greed played no part in crusaders' motives: it drove the German count Emich, who superintended the merciless attacks on the Rhineland Jews; and the genuine piety of Bohemond of Taranto, later prince of Antioch, was mixed with powerful ambition.⁵

Complex though their motives were, it is easier to understand why knights joined the First Crusade than to explain why hordes of peasants took part. The poor were not the intended recipients of Urban's appeal. Rather they were the audience of itinerant preachers of whom the best known is Peter the Hermit. Peter's eloquence not only moved the masses in the eleventh century, but persuaded generations of historians that he was the instigator

of the crusade.⁶ His claim to be prime mover of the expedition rests almost entirely on his own testimony, however. At all events, he was clearly a charismatic preacher and an effective leader.

It was Jerusalem which became the inspiration and objective of the expedition. When Urban II spoke in 1095 it was apparently his reference to the Holy City which inspired his audience. When the message was taken up by the popular preachers it led thousands of men, women, and even children to undertake the journey to the Holy Land. To these people the theme of Jerusalem was all-important. Their expedition was primarily a pilgrimage, and pilgrimages were an important feature of eleventh-century life for people of all ranks of society.⁷ People not only prayed at local shrines, they travelled far afield to centres that housed holy relics, to seek help and health in an uncertain world. A journey to the major shrines at Rome or St James of Compostela was an adventure, but could also be undertaken as a penance, earning forgiveness for past sins. The most important place of pilgrimage was Jerusalem, the scene of Christ's passion and resurrection, where the very stones were holy relics. The Holy City maintained a centuries-old tradition of welcoming pilgrims, but when Peter and other popular preachers told stories of alleged ill-treatment of Christians by Muslims, they aroused anger in their listeners as well as devotion. For many, the crusade was a massive pilgrimage blessed by the pope and with powerful armed protection.

Moreover, Jerusalem had an appeal beyond its status as a shrine. It was also the heavenly city and would be the scene of the Last Days which, as told in the Book of Revelation, would be after 1,000 years.⁸ It was important that the scene of divine judgement, Jerusalem, should be in Christian hands. The poor had a special commitment to this idea because theirs would be the kingdom of heaven, and among the vast numbers who travelled to the Holy Land there were countless non-combatants – women, clerics, the old and the young – as well as able-bodied men who could fight as foot-soldiers.

The first departures

These were the sorts of people who left for the east in April and May 1096, disregarding Urban's announced departure date of 15 August. Their total strength amounted to perhaps 20,000 warriors and non-combatants, but they did not depart in a single force.⁹ The first army, led by Walter Sansavoir of Poissy, included eight knights, though they were greatly outnumbered by foot-soldiers. It is misleading, nonetheless, to refer to it as the 'Peasants' Crusade' and to envisage it as an ill-disciplined rabble. Peter the Hermit's contingent followed soon afterwards. There is no reason to think that these leaders were unaware of the distance involved or unacquainted with the land route to Constantinople, whether or not Peter himself had been to Jerusalem before. He certainly claimed that he had travelled to the Holy Land and that it was the sight of Christians' sufferings in Jerusalem which had led to his bringing an appeal from the patriarch to the pope himself. If he were indeed such an experienced traveller it helps to explain the confidence and facility with which he parleyed with foreign leaders, including the king of Hungary, the emperor of Byzantium and – so the sources say – the Turkish general Kerbogha. Peter's army followed Roman roads for much for the way, along the Rhine, the Danube and tributary river valleys as far as the Balkans.

What proved disastrous for the enterprise was the early departure, which was perhaps an indication that Peter could not entirely restrain his followers' enthusiasm. Not only did they leave before the harvest in their homelands, which resulted in their having few supplies to carry with them, but they travelled through countryside equally bare of crops and could not hope to avoid clashes with the local people when they foraged.

Furthermore, Peter's relatively well-organised army was followed by others progressively less orderly. One group, led by a Count Emich, attacked the Jews in the Rhineland cities.¹⁰ Hostility to the Jews also broke out in other areas where the crusade was preached, and seems to have been fuelled on the one hand by desire to convert or kill enemies of Christ, and on the other to appropriate the Jewish communities' wealth in order to finance the journey east. Be that as it may, the attacks in the Rhineland were distinguished by their organised brutality, and by their disregard of the Church authorities who tried to protect the Jews. This aspect of crusading was to resurface at the preaching of each of the major crusades and has been identified as a significant stage in the growth of European anti-Semitism. It should nevertheless be recognised that it was never part of papal policy, nor was it approved by respectable commentators.¹¹

Even less-disciplined groups tagged along behind and had no chance of protection from the larger armies, or realistic hope of reaching the east. One such was a little band who followed a goose, convinced that it was inspired by the Holy Spirit, while another was led by a goat. Again such aberrations were condemned by those who reported them.

Emperor Alexios' feelings when he heard of the trouble these unofficial armies caused as they crossed Europe have been reported by his daughter Anna. Some never reached his territory, including Emich's followers who were slain by the Hungarians, but when the rest reached Constantinople he shipped them across to Asia Minor and cautioned them to wait there for the arrival of the lords and their armies. In spite of these words of caution, during a time when Peter was absent in Constantinople, negotiating for supplies, they provoked both the natives and the Turks and were destroyed near Civetot on the Sea of Marmora.¹²

The official armies

Leading members of the main forces set out later: they had families and possessions to take care of before departure. A fruitful area of recent research has been the close analysis of the charters that were drawn up by local religious houses. These show that the crusaders were anxious to place their possessions under the protection of the Church before their departure, and in some cases to settle long-running disputes, partly so that there would not be trouble in their absence, but also in order to obtain the Church's blessing on their enterprise. The same investigations have illustrated the close ties of kinship between many leading crusaders which, in some parts of France at least, were the foundation of what was to become a family tradition of crusading.¹³

The various 'official' armies set out in August and were thus able to benefit from the excellent harvests of 1096. Besides pack-animals and wagons laden with supplies they took coin to buy more in local markets and could be fairly confident of reaching Constantinople without hardship. This, the capital of the Byzantine Empire, was where the armies expected to rendezvous after taking different routes by land and/or sea. They would have a chance to recover and plan before setting out on the next stage of the expedition. Presumably they expected a warm welcome from the emperor Alexios since, according to their perceptions, they were responding to his appeal for help. He, on the other hand, was almost certainly thinking in terms of a relatively small and efficient force of mercenaries, such as he had employed in the past, and news of the hordes of (to him) barbarians converging on his capital must have caused him considerable concern.¹⁴

Duke Godfrey of Bouillon took the overland route to Constantinople and suffered from following the trail blazed by the unofficial armies: in Hungary he had to hand over his brother Baldwin, along with Baldwin's wife and children, as hostages to guarantee the army's good behaviour. The hostages were released once Godfrey and his men had left Hungarian territory and after this little local difficulty the army reached the territory of the Byzantine emperor without much trouble.¹⁵

There they were alarmed to hear that Hugh of Vermandois, the king of France's brother, had arrived and was being kept under close supervision by the emperor. Lurid rumours depicted him arrested and in chains. Godfrey now had a foretaste of Bohemond of Taranto's attitude to Byzantium, for according to one contemporary historian, Bohemond suggested an attack on Constantinople.

Bohemond was perhaps the most colourful of all the crusade leaders, and it was not surprising that Alexios was suspicious of him, for he had waged war on Byzantium in the 1080s with his father Robert Guiscard. Moreover, later events were to validate Alexios' doubts about Bohemond's good faith. Bohemond brought a contingent of Normans from southern Italy, including his nephew Tancred who likewise had a relationship of mutual distrust with the emperor and managed to avoid meeting him altogether.

Other Normans came from northern Europe in an army led by the son and son-in-law of William I of England, Robert nicknamed 'Curthose' and Stephen of Blois, and by Robert of Flanders. The largest of the expeditionary forces was commanded by Raymond of Toulouse, a veteran warrior whose experience included battling against the Moors in Spain. The pope's legate Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy travelled with Raymond and the Provençals. Unlike the Norman leaders, Raymond succeeded in establishing a good working relationship with Alexios.

As these official armies arrived one after another, the Byzantine emperor was better prepared than he had been for Walter and Peter. He made a deliberate policy of keeping the contingents apart and dealing with them separately, so one by one he presented gifts to their leaders and extracted oaths of loyalty. Already suspicious, especially of Bohemond, he wanted to ensure that towns liberated from Muslim rule were yielded to him and not kept by the westerners. For his part, Alexios promised military and other support for the armies. He dispatched them, with his general Tatikios as escort, across the Bosphorus to Nicaea, which had been in Turkish hands since 1086.

Asia Minor

As they travelled through Asia Minor and beyond, the crusaders encountered a confused political situation. They had come to fight the Seljuk Turks but found their power already in decline. Qilij Arslan still held Nicaea, but in Syria the brothers Ridwan of Aleppo and Duqaq of Damascus found it difficult to agree with each other, let alone impose order on surrounding territories. The Turkish general Kerbogha threatened to invade from the north, and in the south the Egyptians had captured Jerusalem in 1098 and commanded the Mediterranean and Red Seas. (These Egyptians had a truce agreement with the Byzantine emperor which Alexius suggested might benefit the crusaders, but it was a concept they found difficult to accept.) Seemingly in every city petty chieftains, 'emirs', asserted their independence. A further complication were nomadic tribes whose volatile influence might be exerted almost anywhere and, not least, there were the urban and peasant natives. Mainly Arab, these included Jews and Christians as well as Muslims. It was a complex scene, but the political fragmentation worked to the crusaders' advantage in the late 1090s. Had they arrived earlier or later it is unlikely they would have succeeded at all; as it was they profited from a partial power-vacuum to achieve surprising successes.¹⁶

The first of these was the capture of Nicaea. The crusaders began to besiege the city in May 1097, but it took a while to complete the blockade: in fact this could only be achieved after Alexios had boats brought overland from the Mediterranean to cover the lake adjacent to the city. At the same time Alexios was in negotiation with the Nicaean governor, with the result that on 19 June the city surrendered – to the Greeks. The westerners were disappointed not to have the opportunity to loot the town, and in the light of later hostility to Alexios, Latin writers identified events at Nicaea as a notable stage in the deterioration of the relationship.

The siege is also important for other reasons. It was the first co-operative effort of the crusading army. A modern estimate of the numbers involved is 50,000 to 60,000, including non-combatants. The figure is well short of the contemporary commentators' hundreds of thousands, but it is still an impressive number that posed major difficulties of organisation and supply, especially in the absence of a recognised single leader.¹⁷

A popular image of medieval warfare is the pitched battle, with the heavy cavalry charge at its heart. But siege warfare was well developed in the west, in response to castle development, and there were three great set-piece sieges during the crusade. Each developed and was resolved differently. The preferred way to capture a stronghold was quickly and by negotiation, since in hostile territory, as the crusaders were, the blockading troops were themselves exposed to great danger of attack. Settling down to a long blockade depleted the attacker's supplies as fast as it did the defenders'. Knocking down the walls with siege-engines – of which the crusaders deployed a great variety – or undermining them, took longer and made the fortress less defensible when finally taken.¹⁸ So the siege of Nicaea made an excellent start to the campaign. It lasted long enough to test the crusaders with sorties and skirmishes as well as a victory over Qilij Arslan's relieving forces (16 May), but ended in success after a show of strength and the emperor's surprise tactics in bringing up a naval force.

It was followed shortly afterwards by the crusaders' first major success in battle. Once

Nicaea was taken there was little for the army to stay for, since Alexios controlled their entry to the city very strictly, or so they complained. Therefore they set off towards Antioch, accompanied by a contingent of Byzantine troops led by Alexios' general, Tatikios. Because of their great numbers, and perhaps again the lack of overall leadership, within days the column became very stretched out and vulnerable to ambush from the Turks. The attack took place in a valley near Dorylaeum, the precise location still unknown. The crusaders had experienced Turkish tactics at Nicaea, and had doubtless heard about them from the Byzantines, but despite or because of this they were not panicked by the swirling assault of horse archers, and by standing firm until relief arrived they won the day. The double defeat of Qilij Arslan, at Nicaea and Dorylaeum, was important: it was the first major setback to the Seljuk Turks in Asia Minor; it was a warning to Alexios that these allies were militarily more formidable than earlier ones, and it was a boost to the crusaders' morale, as well as a salutary reminder to maintain command and communication as their forces were stretched and divided by the difficult terrain.

The next stage of the journey, across the Anatolian plateau, exposed the crusaders to new hardships. It was the height of summer. The army moved at the rate of its slowest members, perhaps 13 kilometres a day on average. Soon people were dying of thirst – or at one point when they found a watercourse, from drinking too much. Animals died too: there were heavy losses of horses and also of hunting-dogs and hawks, a detail which tells us much about the leaders' travelling arrangements. Later, as they approached Antioch, knights jettisoned their armour and tried to sell their arms to lighten their passage.

Meanwhile Baldwin, Godfrey's brother, and Tancred, Bohemond's nephew, struck out into Cilicia. There was an element of opportunism in their venture, but it turned out rather usefully – so much so that a recent commentator has suggested it was part of a deliberate policy.¹⁹ However that may be, Baldwin penetrated into Armenian lands and by March 1098 he was sole ruler of Edessa. The Christian inhabitants had invited him to be their duke, as much to escape Byzantine domination as to throw off Turkish suzerainty. He then (at the very least) connived at the deposition and assassination of his Armenian co-ruler. There was no question of surrendering the city to Alexios, and in 1098 it became the first Latin state in the east. Other towns on the coast and inland were also taken, giving the crusaders control of an important area; a wedge between Turkish forces; a source of supplies and intelligence, and the precedent of an independent crusader state.²⁰

Antioch

Autumn in Syria found the crusaders as unprepared as they had been for summer in Anatolia. They suffered from cold, rain and even hailstorms. In October 1097 they reached Antioch, a great city which was held to be the key to northern Syria. An important Byzantine trading centre and frontier town before it fell to the Turks in 1085, its repossession was of prime importance to Alexios.

Antioch was the second great siege of the crusade. In the political circumstances there was no future in diplomacy, especially since Alexios had failed as yet to bring up reinforcements, so the leaders decided to try to starve the city into submission. It was an expensive choice. The length of the walls and the difficulty of the terrain made it impossible to close the blockade at first and the besiegers had to fight off sorties from the Antiochenes as well as, at different times, relieving armies led by Duqaq of Damascus and Ridwan of Aleppo. Famine was a constant problem, compounded by epidemic disease. The nearest source of supplies was the port of St Symeon, but the route was subject to ambushes and raids. In fact, by Christmas 1097 deprivation was as severe in the crusaders' camps as it was in the city. Moreover, their numbers were eroded by desertion as well as starvation.

It was not until March 1098 that the blockade was closed around Antioch. By then Tatikios, the Byzantine emperor's chief representative and general, had fled. Why he did so is not certain, though western historians suggested illness or cowardice. It may well be that he was persuaded by Bohemond that his life was in danger, for by now Bohemond had elaborated a scheme to acquire Antioch, and following Tatikios' departure he was quick to assert that the emperor had failed in his part of the bargain, and therefore he had forfeited his claim to Antioch. His fellow princes finally agreed that if the emperor sent no assistance, and if Bohemond could take Antioch, he should keep it. But its governor Yaghi Siyan was prepared for a long blockade. He appealed to his Muslim allies, who were beginning to appreciate the Latin threat and now made preparations to relieve the city. It was clear that Antioch would not be taken by force, and now Bohemond revealed his plan, which was to capture the city by treachery. He had persuaded a disaffected citizen, who commanded three of the towers of the city, to yield them to him so that, taking possession at dead of night, he could admit the rest of the crusaders. Antioch was therefore taken by guile, rather than by negotiation or by force.

The city fell in June 1098, but the crusaders barely had time to occupy it before Kerbogha arrived with his relieving army. The crusaders desperately needed assistance but Stephen of Blois, one of their leaders who had fled just before the city capitulated, met Alexios, who was on his way with a relieving force, and persuaded him that the situation was hopeless. Alexios' consequent inaction lost him any chance of regaining Antioch. The crusaders' plight was desperate. They had not captured the citadel, and now they themselves were under siege, suffering still from famine and epidemic disease. They were saved, as it seemed to them, by a miracle.

A Provençal called Peter Bartholomew reported a series of dreams in which it was revealed to him that the very lance which had pierced Christ's side when He was on the cross was buried in St Peter's church in Antioch. He dug and the relic was found. Even

at the time there were degrees of scepticism about the discovery, ranging from Raymond of Aguilers' complete faith to Radulph of Caen's accusation of fraud.²¹ Modern historians have pointed out that the leaders, at least, must have been aware that there was a better authenticated Holy Lance on display in Constantinople.²² Later when Peter Bartholomew submitted to a trial by ordeal to settle the matter the outcome was still ambiguous: he emerged from the fire carrying the lance and apparently unscathed, but was mobbed by believers who injured him so severely that he died of his wounds. No matter what the truth, it was people's perceptions which were important, and at this time they badly needed to believe that God was fighting for them.

A fortnight after the discovery of the Holy Lance the crusaders rode out against Kerbogha. They were by now weakened by famine and disease; even more critically, almost all of their horses had perished (some had been eaten); moreover, they were closely watched from the citadel, whose garrison signalled their sortie to Kerbogha. Yet they succeeded in defeating Kerbogha, against all the odds. It is still difficult to understand how, though sheer desperation was probably as potent a force as religious fervour. They had at last appointed a single commander, or at least Bohemond had arrogated the role. This added force to his arguments when, the battle won and the citadel finally taken, a commander was needed for the city. The crusaders had defeated Kerbogha without Byzantine help and Bohemond asserted his claim to rule Antioch, which thus became the second Latin state.

The siege and the battle of Antioch were seen very early to be the pivotal experience of the expedition. Although the crusaders' purpose was to reach Jerusalem, and even after they had succeeded beyond reasonable expectations in capturing the holy city, the long months spent at Antioch inspired in their chroniclers more detailed descriptions and deeper empathy than the later siege of Jerusalem and battle of Ascalon. The earliest *chanson* about the crusade, which is also the most authentic in its historical content, was the *Chanson d'Antioche*, and this crucial period also occupies a disproportionate amount of space in the prose accounts.

Jerusalem

Bohemond was one person on the spot who was not eager to continue the journey. The other leaders were also reluctant to move on, partly no doubt, in some cases, through frustration at the way Bohemond had manoeuvred himself into possession of the city; perhaps with some unease over the way Emperor Alexios' claims had been ignored; certainly to give their weary troops a chance to recuperate. Their previous experience of travelling in high summer was a powerful inducement to linger, as were the supplies which could now reach them from Cyprus and beyond via the port of St Symeon.

Finally, according to the chroniclers, it was the restiveness of the troops which forced the leaders to set a date for the onward march, 1 November 1098. The ordinary people had not come to waste time stuck in Syria; they planned to deliver Jerusalem. Then disease struck again; the leaders left the camp to escape it, but Adhémar of Le Puy succumbed to the infection and died on 1 August. His death removed one of the few forces for mediation, and quarrels between the Provençals and the Normans grew fiercer. One way in which Raymond asserted his authority was to lead the troops out into the surrounding territory. In October he captured al-Bara, and in December, Ma'arrat al-Numan, south-east of Antioch. At Ma'arrat the poorer crusaders attacked ferociously, and it is here that the legend of their cannibalism was established. As it is so widely reported there is probably some truth in the story, but there is also little doubt that it was elaborated by the crusaders themselves to intimidate the enemy, a blatant piece of psychological warfare.²³

By this time the expedition should have been on its way to Jerusalem, but the council which met on 1 November to organise the departure had foundered on the rivalry between Raymond and Bohemond. Raymond set off as if for Jerusalem, but spent some time trying to establish a territorial base near Tripoli; it was not until May 1099 that the crusaders began to advance towards Jerusalem in earnest, leaving Bohemond in Antioch and Baldwin in Edessa. This part of their journey was relatively unopposed, since the local emirs were weak and preferred to negotiate their immunity. The crusaders were also helped by the Egyptians' ambivalent attitude; they had sent a delegation to the crusaders at Antioch and still believed that negotiation was possible. There were even opportunities during this stage of the journey for the leaders to replace horses and other vital equipment. On 6 June Tancred occupied Bethlehem, and on the following day the crusaders saw Jerusalem for the first time.

Jerusalem was then, as now, a walled city. It had been captured by the Fatimids of Egypt the previous year and the governor knew from experience how to make things difficult for an attacking force. He had expelled many Christians from the city, so that they would not betray him (as Antioch had been betrayed) and also to reduce demands on his food stocks. He had blocked or destroyed all the wells within a given radius of the city. In the circumstances, and encouraged by a local hermit, the crusaders decided on an early assault, on 13 June, but they were repulsed. They needed wood to construct siege engines before they could try again, and this was in very short supply. Foraging parties brought some back from Samaria; there was even a cache of timbers found in a cave ready hewn, which had been stored there since the Egyptian assault on Jerusalem; but the great stroke of luck was the arrival of Genoese supply ships at Jaffa. According to the Genoese

historian, Caffaro, two of these were broken up to provide the timbers for the great siege engine which enabled the final capture of the city.²⁴

All of this took time, and the increasing heat, combined with a diminishing water supply, was very demoralising to the crusaders. They knew, moreover, that the longer they took over the siege, the more likely it was that a relieving force would arrive from Egypt. In spite of the ill-feeling that split the camp there was an enormous common effort to prepare for the assault. Raymond of Toulouse still had enough money to pay poorer pilgrims for their labour on a giant siege-tower. Then a vision of Bishop Adhémar appeared to a man named Peter Desiderius, so Peter claimed, and the papal legate acted after death as he had in life, to reconcile the leaders and to put heart into the crusading army. On 15 July they attacked the city once more, and this time they were victorious. Godfrey of Bouillon's tower, on the northern wall of the city, provided access by way of a bridge over the wall, so that Godfrey was the first of the leaders to enter the city, closely followed by Tancred and his men.²⁵

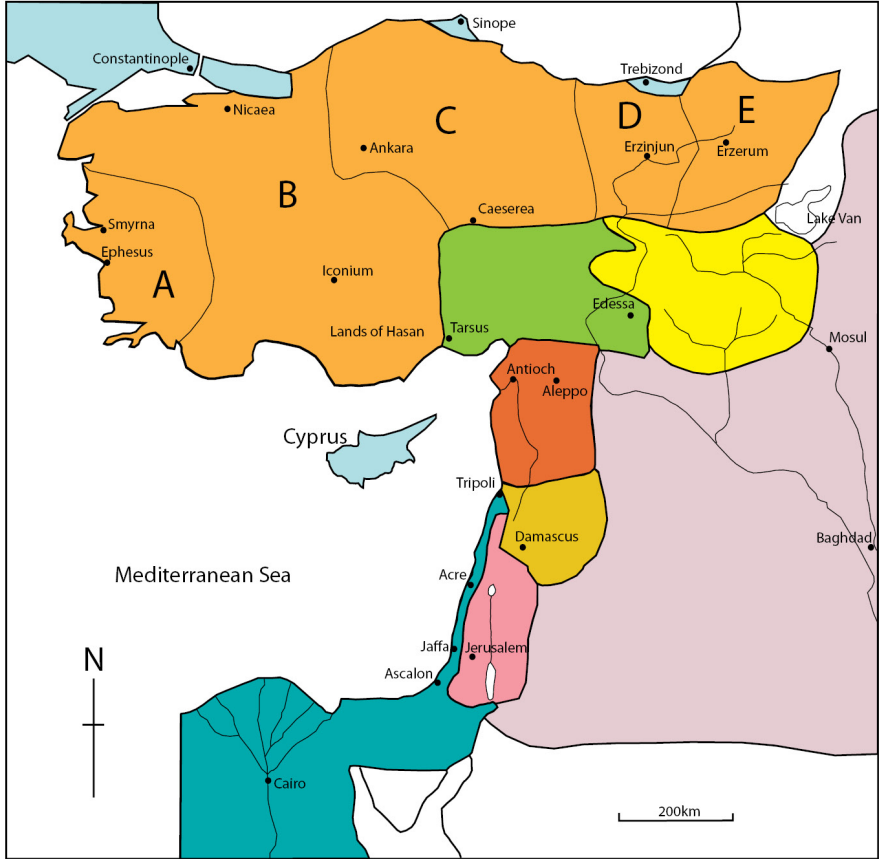










Fighting knights depicted on a capital in the cloister of Monreale, Sicily. Their arms and armour are of the kind used at the time of the First Crusade. (J. FRANCE)



The carving over the door of the church of St George at Fordington in Dorset was done soon after the First Crusade and is believed to show St George's miraculous appearance at the Battle of Antioch, which was a turning point in the campaign

Friends and enemies in the Middle East, 1095



- | | | | |
|---|--|---|---------------------------------------|
|  | Byzantine Lands |  | Held by restless Emirs of the Seljuks |
|  | Fatimid Caliphate |  | Turks of Asia Minor |
|  | Land disputed between Fatimids and Seljuks | A | Emirate of Smyrna |
|  | Armenians | B | Seljuks of Rhüm |
|  | Lands of Ridwan and Aleppo | C | Danishmendids |
|  | Lands of Duqaq and Damascus | D | Menguchekids |
| | | E | saltukids |



Another twelfth century capital, from St Trophim, Arles, portrays the Massacre of the Innocents. After the fall of Jerusalem the crusaders, fired by religious zeal, slaughtered the helpless population. (J. FRANCE)



Krak des Chevaliers in Syria, built by the Knights of St John. Castle building reached new heights of sophistication in the Crusader States.

After the conquest

The capture of Jerusalem, which should have been a triumph for the crusaders, was in the event rather a messy affair, as even the best intentioned of the chroniclers cannot hide. It was marred by continued squabbling among the leaders and by the slaughter which the armies inflicted on the inhabitants.

Godfrey and his followers opened the gate to the rest of the forces, but Tancred made his way at once to the al-Aqsa mosque. The Egyptian commander of the garrison withdrew to the Tower of David, Jerusalem's citadel, but (unlike Antioch), he quickly surrendered to Raymond of Toulouse, saving himself and his men while all around citizens were being slain. Only Godfrey held aloof from the massacre, either from true piety or, as has been more cynically suggested, for the sake of appearances, while not disdaining to share in the loot of Tancred who was his man.²⁶ The killing in hot blood as the crusaders swept through the city is easier to understand than the deliberate execution of all hostages and prisoners a few days later. However, by that time the external threat of attack by the Egyptian army made the killings politic, to avoid leaving potential insurrectionists in the city when the crusaders rode out against the Muslim relieving force.

The excesses of the soldiers at this time also indicated the continued lack of overall control and discipline within the expeditionary force. It is evident, furthermore, that there was no master-plan as to what was to be done with Jerusalem once it was taken. Many crusaders, leaders as well as other ranks, considered their task was accomplished and were eager to return home. In view of this and the impending Egyptian attack it was imperative to make some arrangements for the government of the new conquest.

Realistically there were only two candidates for ruler: Raymond of Toulouse and Godfrey of Bouillon. (There was a legend recorded by Henry of Huntingdon that Robert of Normandy refused the throne of Jerusalem, and his defeat at Tinchebray in 1106 was the consequence of this, but it is not corroborated by historians who were closer to the action.) The story goes that Raymond was offered the crown of Jerusalem first, but he refused it, perhaps because he was aware that he did not have popular support. The reason he gave, however, was that he would not wear a crown in the city where Christ had worn a crown of thorns. It is not unlikely that he intended by this to spoil the chances of his rival, but Godfrey rose to the occasion and became 'prince' of the city, but was crowned in Bethlehem. After some unseemly wrangling Raymond handed over the citadel to Godfrey and went on a journey of pilgrimage to the river Jordan.

In Raymond's absence the matter of ecclesiastical administration also reached an interim settlement with the provisional appointment of Arnulf of Chocques, Robert of Normandy's chaplain, as patriarch.²⁷ The nature of the crusade from its very beginning, as a religious enterprise carried out by lay people, meant that (in the unlikely circumstance of Jerusalem being captured) the balance of power between church and state would be problematical. It was more so because the pope's representative, Bishop Adhémar, who might have been a natural choice of leader, had died at Antioch, and Pope Urban himself, who had launched the whole expedition, had also died (on 29 July, 1099, but as yet unknown to the crusaders). Meanwhile the Greek patriarch of Jerusalem had died on Cyprus, though the crusaders were also not yet aware of this and anyway do not seem to

have considered his claim.

The successor to Adhémar, Daibert of Pisa, did not arrive until September 1099. He was an able churchman and diplomat, and Arnulf was persuaded to stand aside for him, but Daibert's period of office was punctuated by charges of corruption. Godfrey's successor Baldwin (1100-1118) was an astute ruler who profited from Daibert's difficulties to establish himself firmly as king, and to rule Jerusalem as a secular state.

In July 1099, however, there was some urgency in setting the affairs of the new state in order because of the immediacy of the Egyptian threat. The Fatimid caliph's troops, commanded by al-Afdal, were massing at the port of Ascalon in early August, and in view of this the crusaders variously postponed their plans for departure or buried their differences to support the new ruler. The battle of Ascalon was fought on 12 August. This, the crusaders' third great victory in battle, like the second at Antioch, had for its participants a miraculous dimension. The discredited Holy Lance was augmented by a relic of the True Cross sought out by the priest Arnulf. After the battle the victors recounted how an Egyptian trick had misfired: the enemy had brought up herds of cattle and sheep in the hope of distracting the lowlier crusaders, but not only did they resist the temptation to plunder, they found that when they advanced against the Egyptians the animals moved with them, kicking up a cloud of dust which made the army appear much more numerous and powerful than it really was. Such evidence of God's favour strengthened the crusaders' motivation, which as before was a vital element in their success.²⁸

The failure of the Egyptian stratagem (if such it was) also illustrated the distance the crusaders had travelled – figuratively as well as literally – since the early days in Europe and Asia Minor. They now constituted a disciplined, battle-hardened force, honed by the great sieges and battles, sharpened by the sorties and skirmishes, and strengthened rather than diminished by the attrition of dearth and disease.²⁹ Implicit in the contemporary accounts is the knowledge that without the experience of Antioch there could have been no victory at Ascalon.

The triumph at Ascalon was, however, followed by a resumption of the damaging rivalry between Godfrey and Raymond, which now cost them the chance to capture Ascalon. As it was, the Egyptians were able to use the port as a base for operations against the crusaders for a further half-century. Raymond was to turn his attention to carving out a territory for himself further north around Tripoli. Other leaders, including Robert of Normandy, who had distinguished himself by capturing the enemy standard in the battle, left for home as they had always intended.

The new state

In its early years the infant state, which had been established against overwhelming odds, and which seems to have taken even its founders by surprise, had a very precarious existence. The crusaders had benefited from a period of comparative weakness among the Muslims and had even learnt to exploit this by making truces with local chieftains, but there was always the danger that the different groups of Turks and Saracens, as they were called by the westerners, would sink their differences and make a concerted attack. In fact the threat was not co-ordinated until the emergence of the Zengids in the 1130s.

There was also the need to maintain a working relationship with the Byzantine Empire. Some residual bitterness still existed over the emperor's failure to relieve the crusaders at Antioch, but this was exaggerated for propaganda purposes by Bohemond, who was implacably hostile to Alexios and wished to raise western troops against him. He made his attack in 1107 and was comprehensively defeated and discredited by Alexios. But Bohemond's hidden agenda should not be allowed to distort the history of the relationship between the Byzantines and the other crusading states. In fact Alexios and Baldwin I (who succeeded his brother Godfrey in 1100) dealt cordially, if distantly, with each other until their deaths in 1118, while Raymond was a trusted ally of the Byzantine emperor.³⁰

The main problem for the crusaders was their low numbers. There were perhaps 300 knights and 2,000 foot-soldiers left in Jerusalem once the rest had departed. How could so few retain and control the new conquests? Their answers to this question shaped the development of the crusader states and the whole crusading movement.

First, they appealed to the west for reinforcements. Fresh troops had in fact been arriving throughout the expedition, and it is important to see recruitment and service on the First Crusade as a continuous process, rather than a once-for-all event. Now the princes sent an appeal for help, and Pope Paschal I disseminated it. There was an enthusiastic response, but as before the majority of crusaders were pilgrims rather than settlers. Some of them, indeed, were renegades from the first expedition, like Stephen of Blois, spurred to resume the crusade by an uneasy conscience and a nagging wife. Several waves of crusaders arrived at the same time in 1101, but although they had a common purpose – to reach Jerusalem and aid their Christian brothers – they did not concert their efforts and were destroyed piecemeal by the Turks in Asia Minor. Those who arrived and completed their pilgrimage either returned home, like the attractive character William of Aquitaine, or were talked into joining in the defence of the new state, like Stephen of Blois, who died in the battle of Ramleh, 1102. Relatively few of the 1101 crusaders seem to have settled in the east.³¹

This threw the kingdom back on its own resources. An adaptation of feudalism was introduced in the new state. As in orthodox feudalism, land grants were made, and recent archaeological work has confirmed the presence of manorial settlements. In addition, fiefs were granted in the form of the right to the revenues of certain towns or quarters of cities. Modes of co-existence with the natives were found, so that in 1127 Fulcher of Chartres, one of the first generation of settlers, could write his often quoted lines, 'We who were occidentals have become orientals. ...' In the laws of the new state as well as in the chronicles there is evidence of westerners adopting native styles of dress, eating

native food, and consulting oriental physicians. An important stage in the process of normalisation was the conquest of Tyre in 1124: it was one of several coastal cities which were conquered by Baldwin I and his successors, but this time the inhabitants were not subjected to the indiscriminate looting and slaughter of previous conquests; instead the town was preserved as an ongoing commercial concern.³²

An innovation to the Holy Land, and an important provision for its defence, was the development of the Military Orders. The Knights of St John had their origin in a pilgrim hostel founded in Jerusalem in the eleventh century and, although they became militarised in the twelfth century in imitation of the Knights Templar, they maintained an important role in caring for the sick and indigent throughout their long history. The Knights of the Temple seem to have begun towards the end of Baldwin I's reign as an informal group of knights dedicated to the protection of pilgrims on the route to Jerusalem, but after they received papal blessing and a Rule devised for them by St Bernard, they became a powerful military force. The Military Orders were a culmination of the idea of the Christian warrior, in that members were both monks and soldiers, and they could probably only have developed in the context of crusading. They made an important military contribution by attracting fighters from the west. Under their influence castle building reached new heights of sophistication and found its apogee in the Krak des Chevaliers built by the Knights of St John. They also attracted funds to the east and an elaborate banking system developed to facilitate their transfer. Politically their part in the history of the crusader states is more ambivalent, since the two orders became powerful and quasi-autonomous rivals.

Another group without whom the crusader states could not have become established, but whose later influence became destructive, was the Italian merchants. The role of the Genoese in the capture of Jerusalem has been mentioned: equally important were the Pisans, whose fleet brought Patriarch Daibert in September 1099. The crusader states never ceased to depend on supply lines with the west, both for recruits and for provisions, so an early priority was to conquer the seaports. These could only be entirely blockaded by deploying a fleet, and the new states had no navy. So early on we hear of English and Flemish vessels being pressed into service, while later at the siege of Sidon (1110) King Sigurd of Norway played a vital part. But the most important naval powers were the Italian city-states: Genoa, Pisa and Venice. In return for their vital support they were rewarded with trading privileges: for example after the capture of Tyre in 1124 the Venetians were awarded a third of the city. Eighty years later the Venetians were to be able to pervert the course of the Fourth Crusade which captured Constantinople from fellow Christians.

Conclusions

It has been convenient to use the words 'crusades' and 'crusaders' to describe the expeditions of 1096–1101 and their participants. These were terms which did not become current until a century later, however. The people we call crusaders described themselves most often as 'pilgrims' or sometimes as 'soldiers of Christ'. Still less did they consider their campaign, which they called 'the journey' or 'the way', the first of a series. It was not until the 1140s, when the west responded to the fall of Edessa, that the previous enterprise was cited consciously as the model for a second. When a third expedition was summoned in the 1180s to respond to Saladin's capture of Jerusalem, the idea of a series became possible and the concept of the crusade was finally made explicit.³³

We should not then be surprised to find so many strands of later crusading development stretching back to Pope Urban II's expedition and the early years of settlement in the east. Yet one thing is certain: Urban had no idea what he was starting when he addressed the crowd at Clermont in November 1095.

Notes

Where abbreviated titles are given, full publication details will be found in the bibliography.

- ¹ **Jonathan Riley-Smith**, *The Crusades: A Short History* (London, 1987), p.xxviii. The same author had earlier published a lengthy examination (**Jonathan Riley-Smith**, *What were the Crusades?* [London, 1977]) but this later work represents his more recent thinking.
- ² Four versions of Urban's sermon and other documents illustrating his preaching of the crusade may be found in **L & J Riley-Smith**, *Idea and Reality*, pp. 37-53, and it is discussed in **Riley-Smith**, *First Crusade*, pp. 13-30. For a review of the documentary evidence relating to the first crusade, see below.
- ³ **Bull**, *Knightly Piety*, has examined charter evidence and narrative accounts of visions and miracle stories. His findings are clearly set out in his introduction (pp. 1-20) and conclusion (pp. 282-288).
- ⁴ **Riley-Smith**, *First Crusade*, p.43, suggests that a multiple of four or five times a knight's income would not be unreasonable.
- ⁵ Emich has traditionally been identified as Emich of Leiningen on the evidence of a sixteenth-century German source, but Alan Murray has argued convincingly that he was Emich of Flonheim on the middle Rhine: **Alan V. Murray**, 'The army of Godfrey of Bouillon, 1096-1099: Structure and dynamics of a contingent of the First Crusade' in *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 70 (1992), pp. 301-329 (p.320).
- ⁶ The best discussion of Peter the Hermit is to be found in **E. O. Blake and C. Morris**, 'A Hermit goes to War: Peter and the Origins of the First Crusade' in **W. J. Shiels** (ed.), *Monks, Hermits and the Ascetic Tradition* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 79-107.
- ⁷ For the growth of pilgrimage in the eleventh century see **Bull**, *Knightly Piety*, pp. 204-249 and, more generally, **Jonathan Sumption**, *Pilgrimage* (London, 1974).
- ⁸ The standard work on this remains **Norman Cohn**, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (London, 1957), which also has some insights into the mentality of the poor on the crusades and their attitudes to the Jews. See, more recently, **Rubenstein**, *Armies of Heaven*.
- ⁹ **France**, *Victory in the East*, pp. 135-136.
- ¹⁰ For this whole topic, see **Chazan**, *European Jewry*. Whereas Cohn (see note 8) says that the Jews refused to assimilate into western society, Chazan argues that they were a distinct but integrated part of it.
- ¹¹ See **Chazan**, *European Jewry*, pp.100-101.
- ¹² See **Anna Komnene's Alexiad** (tr. Sewter), pp. 274-6.
- ¹³ These are the conclusion of **Riley-Smith**, *First Crusade* and elsewhere, and of **Bull**, *Knightly Piety*.
- ¹⁴ For the relationships of the different crusaders with the Byzantines see **Lilie**,

- Byzantium.** There is a vivid first-hand description of the impact of the westerners at court in **Anna Komnene's *Alexiad***. **France, *Victory in the East***, p.142, estimates the size of the combined armies at this point at around 50,000 to 60,000.
- ¹⁵ There is an entertaining account of a re-enactment of Godfrey's journey in **Tim Severin, *Crusader***. The historical content is quite sound, but Severin was probably mistaken in thinking Godfrey would have used an Ardennes heavy horse (compare **Hyland, *The Medieval Warhorse***, p. 146). He also repeated Peter's error of starting out in May.
- ¹⁶ A more detailed analysis will be found in **Holt, *Age of the Crusades***, especially chapter 1, pp. 9-15.
- ¹⁷ For numbers, and all aspects of military history of the crusade, see **France, *Victory in the East***. This has not, however, supplanted **Smal, *Crusading Warfare***.
- ¹⁸ **Rogers, *Latin Siege Warfare***, Introduction, pp.1-2
- ¹⁹ **France, *Victory in the East***, pp. 193-196
- ²⁰ There is no satisfactory history of these events in English, but a summary may be found in **T. S. R. Boase, *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*** (Edinburgh, 1978), pp. 4-6, which is based on Matthew of Edessa.
- ²¹ The accounts of these two writers are in **Hallam (ed.), *Chronicles of the Crusades***, pp. 83-84.
- ²² **Stephen Runciman**, 'The Holy Lance found at Antioch', ***Analecta Bollandiana***, 68 (1950), pp. 197-205.
- ²³ **Maalouf, *The Crusades through Arab Eyes***, has a whole chapter on the subject (pp.37-55), but he writes as a journalist rather than a historian. For cannibalism in general: **Reay Tannahill, *Flesh and Blood*** (New York, 1975).
- ²⁴ Extracts relating to this are collected in **Hallam, *Chronicles of the Crusades***, pp. 88-93.
- ²⁵ **Rogers, *Latin Siege Warfare***, pp. 61-63, proposes that there were significant developments in siege-machinery production and assault during the crusade.
- ²⁶ **France, *Victory in the East***, p.356.
- ²⁷ For all aspects of the secular church see **Hamilton, *The Latin Church***. He is of the opinion that Arnulf was not confirmed in post in August 1099 (p.14) and this fits in with my own reading of Albert of Aachen, who is by far the most detailed of the Latin historians on this point.
- ²⁸ See the letter from the crusader princes translated in **Hallam, *Chronicles of the Crusades***, pp. 93-94.
- ²⁹ This is the main thrust of **France, *Victory in the East***. Read especially his last chapter, pp. 367-373.
- ³⁰ **Lilie, *Byzantium*** is of a radically different opinion, as the title of his chapter 2 shows: 'The Antagonisms Sharpen: Alexius I Comnenus and the Crusader States (1098-1119).
- ³¹ **James Lea Cate**, 'The Crusade of 1101' in **Baldwin, *Crusades***, vol.1, pp.343-367.

- ³² **Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*.** For new research on rural settlement, see ***Ellenblum, Frankish Rural Settlement*.**
- ³³ **Christopher Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades*** (London, 1998)

A note on primary sources

The success of the First Crusade resulted in a surge of histories. The most precious Latin documents are the few surviving letters from crusaders. The German historian Hagenmeyer published the only complete collection of them, but the most interesting, which include Stephen of Blois's to his wife, have been translated more than once, for example in *Chronicles of the Crusades*, edited by E. Hallam (London, 1989).

The letters are immediate testimony, not coloured by hindsight, while the other accounts were written to celebrate the expedition's achievement. Some writers were eyewitnesses – although not of all the events they recount. It was by chance that they followed the fortunes of different leaders. The anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* ('Deeds of the Franks') was a follower of Bohemond I of Antioch, who left him after Antioch's capture to press on to Jerusalem. An edition is available with English translation by **Rosalind Hill** (Oxford, 1962). Raymond of Aguilers, who left France with Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy and became chaplain to Raymond, Count of Toulouse, represents the Provençal view. He was an enthusiastic reporter of visions and a firm believer in the Holy Lance. Unfortunately the edition of his *Liber* by **J. Hill** and **L. L. Hill** (Paris, 1969) and their translation (Philadelphia, 1968) are not so readily available. The same duo edited and translated Peter Tudebode's *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere* (Paris, 1977; Philadelphia, 1974) and they argued that these three histories (Raymond's, Tudebode's and the *Gesta*) all drew on a common source, which Tudebode represented most closely. Although this theory has its adherents, the most usual position is that Peter Tudebode, though a participant in the First Crusade, used the *Gesta*, and that he added so little of value to it that he may be disregarded.

Fulcher of Chartres went east with Stephen of Blois, but accompanied Baldwin of Boulogne to Edessa and remained his chaplain when he became king of Jerusalem. A reliable historian, he was remarkably tolerant of Byzantines and eastern Christians. Unlike the *Gesta* author and Raymond, who ended their histories with the battle of Ascalon, Fulcher continued to write and is invaluable for the early years of settlement. The most accessible translation of his Book One is in **Edward Peters**, *The First Crusade* (Philadelphia, 1971), while **H. Fink** and **F. R. Ryan** (Tennessee, 1969) provide an edition and translation of the whole work. Radulph of Caen, who did not arrive in Syria until 1108, was fiercely loyal to Tancred, Bohemond's nephew; his violently anti-Provençal chronicle contains interesting anecdotes about his hero (see *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen: A History of the Normans on the First Crusade*, trans. B. S. and D. S. Bachrach [Ashgate, 2005]). The same is true of a group of historians who reworked the *Gesta Francorum* in the first decade of the twelfth century: Guilbert of Nogent, Baudri of Bourgueil and Robert the Monk. (For the last, see *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade*, trans. Carol Sweetenham [Ashgate, 2005].) These three did not go to the east, and a common feature of their histories is that they consciously glorified the part played by the Franks in the expedition. Two writers who did travel to the Holy Land, in 1101, are Ekkehard of Aura and Caffaro, a Genoese civil servant who wrote that rare thing, a totally secular chronicle, very short but

valuable for its different perspective.

Albert of Aachen wrote the most detailed account of the crusade even though he never went to the east. He recorded the reminiscences of pilgrims on their return from the crusade and, although there are occasional mistakes in his work, he is an important purveyor of western perceptions as well as the 'official biographer' of Godfrey of Bouillon. An edition and translation of his *Historia* is available (**Susan B. Edgington** [Oxford, 2007]) and a paperback translation is forthcoming (2 volumes, Ashgate, 2013).

Writers in languages other than Latin tend, naturally, to concentrate on aspects of the crusade which were important to them. The Hebrew accounts of the Rhineland massacres give a unique insight into that dark event; they are edited and translated by **Robert Chazan** as an appendix to his *European Jewry and the First Crusade* (London, 1987). The Old French *Chanson d'Antioche* is available in an excellent French edition by **Suzanne Duparc-Quioc** (Paris, 1977) and in an English translation with commentary by **Susan B. Edgington and Carol Sweetenham** (Ashgate, 2011). The incomparable Greek source is the Princess Anna Komnene's biography of her father Alexios I, written 40 years after the crusade when she was an old woman in exile. It sheds an invaluable light on events in Constantinople and is readily available in a paperback translation (**Anna Komnene, The Alexiad**, trans. E. R. A. Sewter, rev. edn. Peter Frankopan [London, 2009]). The contemporary Armenian writer Matthew of Edessa had first-hand experience of events in his native city, and betrays a fierce hatred of the Byzantines. His work is available in a modern edition and translation: **Ara Edmond Dostourian, Armenia and the Crusades** (New York, 1993).

Inevitably, Muslims viewed the crusade differently and did not chronicle their defeats in detail. Two important Arabic histories are available in English translation: **Ibn al-Athir, al-Kāmil fil-ta'rikh**, trans. **D. S. Richards**, vol.1, 1097 – 1146 (Ashgate, 2006); **Ibn al-Qalanisi, The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades**, ed. **H. A. R. Gibb** (London, 1932; Dover re-issue 2002).

Almost all of the above sources, and more, may be found in the major French collection *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades* (Paris, 1841-1906). They are printed in their original languages, with a French translation from the oriental ones. The following are collections of extracts, all translated into English: **Elizabeth Hallam, Chronicles of the Crusades** (London, 1989); **Edward Peters, The First Crusade** (Philadelphia, 1986); **Louise Riley-Smith and Jonathan Riley-Smith, The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095–1274** (London, 1981).

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Chronology

1071 Battle of Manzikert: Seljuk Turks defeat Byzantine army and found the Sultanate of Rum in Asia Minor.

1081 – 1118 Emperor Alexios I Komnenos of Byzantium.

1088 – 99 Pope Urban II.

1095 (March) Council of Piacenza: Urban thought to have received an appeal for assistance from Alexios.

1095 (27 Nov.) Following the Council of Clermont, Urban II calls for an army to go to the east.

1096 Fatimids of Egypt recapture Jerusalem from the Seljuks.

1096 (March) Peter the Hermit's crusade sets out; (May – June) pogroms of Rhineland Jews; (Oct) crusaders massacred near Civetot.

1096 (15 August) Main armies of the crusade set out: (Nov-Dec) arrive at Constantinople.

1097 (19 June) Capture of Nicaea; (1 July) Battle of Dorylaeum.

1097 – 98 Baldwin of Boulogne becomes Count of Edessa.

1097 (20 Oct) Siege of Antioch begins.

1098 (3 June) Capture of Antioch; (4 June) crusaders besieged; (28 June) Battle of Antioch; Bohemond founds principality.

1099 (7 June) Siege of Jerusalem begins: (15 July) Capture of Jerusalem; (22 July) Godfrey chosen as ruler; (12 August) Battle of Ascalon.

1100 After Easter most of the surviving crusaders leave for home; (18 July) Godfrey dies; his brother Baldwin founds the kingdom of Jerusalem.