PRIMARY SOURCES FOR THE NEA

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Part One - The First Crusade - cont'd

Introduction - The rise and fall of Frankish Syria 1099-1187

July 1099 western army captured Jerusalem and defeated the Egyptian relief army at Ascalon. Most of the victors looked to return home. A scanty garrison under Godfrey of Bouillon remained in Jerusalem. Bohemund remained in Antioch. The other leader to stay in the east, Raymond IV of Toulouse, allied with the Byzantine emperor Alexius I and after joining the new western armies that arrived in Constantinople to be defeated in Asia Minor in 1101, focused his activities in what is now Lebanon. The settlers lived in constant danger from the Seljuks of Syria, Anatolia and Iraq and persistent attempts to reverse the decision of 1099 by the rulers of Fatimid Egypt.

Godfrey died in 1100 and was succeeded by his brother as Baldwin I whose military energy, skilled generalship and diplomatic acumen established a viable kingdom partly through luck as much as judgment and partly because of the continued disunity among his opponents - the Seljuk warriors of Syria were as reluctant to protect Fatimid coastal ports from Frankish attack as they were to submit to the authority of the sultan of Baghdad.

The Franks were able to establish four distinct principalities:

The kingdom of Jerusalem maintained initially by the northern French connections of Godfrey and Baldwin I

The principality of Antioch, under Bohemund and his heirs and successors with familial links to Norman southern Italy

The county of Edessa, essentially a Franco-Armenian condominium

The county of Tripoli, ruled by the heirs of Raymond of Toulouse, often uneasily perched between the secular and ecclesiastical pull of Jerusalem and Antioch

In all four lordships political power was wielded by a Frankish nobility and higher clearly supported by a military establishment comprising their own household troops, their vassals and tenants men, urban and rural levies from the non-noble western settlers, local mercenaries and from the mid-century, growing numbers from the new military Order of the Temple and Hospital.(charged with protecting and healing pilgrims respectively However there was a severe lack of military manpower to sustain the network of imposing castles although it was usually concealed by divided enemies, careful alliances with neighbouring Muslim rulers or avoidance of risky pitched battles. With none of these in 1187, the whole structure of Frankish rule fell into hazard.

Unlike their opponents,the Franks lacked a readily available pool of reinforcements. To sustain power they required immigration from Europe. This took four forms:

Venetian crusaders settled in the east for reasons pious, material or seigneurial

Western aristocrats and clergy were attracted by dynastic ties or the prospect of greater opportunities

Non-noble colonists were sometimes lured by faith, others by offers of preferential settlement

The Italian mercantile cities of Genoa, Pisa and Venice provided settlers established in their privileged trading depots, rewards for their services in helping in their capture.

Part 1 The Establishment of Outremer 1099-1145

The Struggle for Survival July 1100-May 1102

Baldwin of Edessa, crowned king of Jerusalem, was charged with transforming a tiny Christian garrison into a viable kingdom in a very hostile environment vulnerable to Turkish raiders, local Muslim lords and Egyptian armies.

Details of the chronicles of Fulcher of Chartres (his Historia) can be found on p3-5 - his patron was Baldwin

This extract deals with his establishment of power, his coronation, the campaigns of 1101 and the pivotal year of 1102 - the narrow survival of the kingdom despite the failure of the new western crusade of 1101-2 and the near fatal defeat at Ramleh at the hands of the Egyptians pp5-30

The Conquest of the Coast. March 1103-August 1124

The priority was for more of the coast to be wrested from the Turkish rulers - providing easier access from the west; more opportunities for Italian mercantile communities to export the commercial potential; greater regional and political authority for Baldwin and increased revenue for the King or his vassals. The extract on pp31-59 also from Fulcher covers the capture of Acre, Tripoli, Beirut and Sidon and the defeat of the last successful Egyptian counter-attack (1105) and with Bohemund's unsuccessful attack on Constantinople of 1107-8. The account ends with his death in 1118. pp31-59

The Field of Blood June 1119

Walter, chancellor of the principality of Antioch, offers an insight into a different western settlement. The field of blood saw Roger of Salerrno's Frankish army annihilated by Aleppans and others. Walter was present and carried off captive to Aleppo. pp61-91.

Occidentals and Orientals 1119-1140

The Field of Blood was the most serious reverse for Frankish arms in Outremer since the First Crusade. Although the situation in the north was stabilised by Baldwin II (1118-31) the following decade wines see further setbacks. The main political disruption was provoked by the invasions of Cilicia and Syria by the Byzantine emperor John II Comnenus in 1137-8 and 1142. The extract is taken from the memoirs of Usamah Ibn Munqidh, a Muslim who cultivated extensive contacts among the nobility of Syria, Egypt and even Frankish Outremer and so his autobiography provides some interesting evidence of contact between local Muslims and Frankish lords. pp94-113

The Muslim Revival December 1129-September 1146

The success of the First Crusade and the early survival of the state of Outremer depended on the inability of their Muslim neighbours to combine to resist or destroy the newcomers. The main threat appeared to lie with the Greeks. But the rise of a new Muslim militancy fuelled by the issue of Muslim heresy as much as by Christian invasion developed a programme of ideological aggression, spritual and political jihad (struggle). This was dangerous because it was combined with a political leader bent on uniting Syria and northern Iraq not from a distant Baghdad but from within the region itself. In the forefront was the ruler of Mosul, Imad al-Din Zengi. He captured Edessa in 1144 which provided the incentive for a new mass armed expedition for the West, the Se cond Crusade. The account of Zengi comes from the Damascus chronicler Ibn al-Qalansi p116-133

For an alternative portrait of Zengi from an anonymous thirteenth century Syriac chronicle see pp133-141

Part Two - The Second Crusade 1146-1148

The New Crusade December 1145-October 1147

On 1 December the papacy issued a bull that called for a new general expedition to recover Edessa and protect Outremer. For the first time this gave explicit details of the spiritual and temporal privileges available to those who took the Cross - remission of sins, Church protection of property and family; temporary immunity from lawsuits; cancellation of usury on past debts and freedom to raise money by pledging land-holdings. In contrast to Urban II in 1095-6, Eugenius III sought to enlist support of monarchs as well as leading dukes and counts - in particular Louis VII of France. Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux was appointed as chief preacher and recruiting officer.

pp146-148 Pope Eugenius III to King Louis VII of France and His Subjects

The impact of Bernard's presence and his preaching was etched on the two contemporary accounts recorded by participants in the crusade, Odo of Deuil and Otto of Freisling. Odo was a monk at St Denis and accompanied Louis VII on crusade as one of his chaplains and he wrote an account (De Profectione Ludovici in Orientem) which traced the king's trouble-strewn journey as far as Antioch. He was consistently anti-Greek in tone, blaming problems on Byzantine trickery and treachery. pp149-151

Otto was bishop of Freising and half brother to King Conrad III of Germany and uncle to his chief lieutenant on Crusade and eventual successor Frederick of Hohenstaufen, later King and emperor. His account of the crusade in which he played a major role was included in his unfinished Gesta Frederici. He describes the preparations for crusade and emphasises the pivotal part played by Bernard of Clairvaux pp151-156

Although Bernard of Clairvaux's exhaustive preaching and diplomatic journeys in 1146 and 1147 covered wide areas for recruitment, he relied on letters and personal agents to reach those parts of Western Europe he was unable to visit. Letters from 1146 are:

To the English People ( summer 1146 ) pp156-159

To the Duke Vladislav and the Nobles and People of Bohemia (late 1146) pp159-161

To Henry, Archbishop of Mainz (summer 1146) pp161-162

To All the Faithful (March 1147) pp163-164

The preacher Radulph railed against the Jews (in the Rhineland and elsewhere in the spring and summer and autumn of 1146) - the account comes from Rabbi Ephraim of Bonn pp165-176

The Road East February-October 1147

The main thrust of the new expedition centred mainly in the east, with extensive fleets from Germany, the Low Countries, and England and similar ones from southern France complementing huge land armies collected by the French and German kings following the overland route of Godfrey of Bouillon in 1096. An important part of the fleet assembled at Dartmouth in May 1147 and there is an account of it by Raol, probably from Suffolk, and a chaplain to one of the Anglo-Norman commanders. After success in Lisbon in October 1147. A significant number of ships set sail the following spring for the Holy Land. A commune was established in Dartmouth to promote unity amongst the polyglot multi-national forces. pp178-180

Otto of Freisling describes the German army's progress across Central Europe and the Balkans towards Constantinople in the summer of 1147 under Conrad III. pp180-184 describes the flood in Thrace.

John Cinnamus provides an account of Conrad's time in Constantinople in September 1147. He was an imperial secretary and civil servant pp184-192

King Louis of France's chaplain Odo of Deuil left a detailed account of the march to the Bosporus pp193-215

Cinnamus had a cooler interpretation of Louis's arrival in Constantinople p215

Disaster in Asia Minor October 1147-March 1148

Odo of Deiul recorded the disasters that destroyed the German army - by the time Conrad's army reached Nicaea at the end of November it had been destroyed as an independent fighting force. As well as pointing to rash over-optimism, he also blames the Greeks for misleading advice and lack of logistical and material support. pp216-221

King Louis pressed forward only to be confronted with the defeated Germans. His army showed much determination as it fought its way south to Ephesus where a sick King Conrad left to recuperate in Constantinople before sailing direct to Palestine. When it became clear that Louis lacked the material resources or reserves of energy to lead the whole army by land to Cilicia and Antioch, he abandoned his infantry, and took ship for Syria where he arrived on 19 March 1148.

Odo of Deuil's description of the travails of Louis's armies in Asia Minor in the winter of 1147-8 is one of the epic set pieces of prose military narrative of the twelfth century. pp222-247

The Kings wrote home in 1148: Louis VII to Abbot Suger, cMarch 1148 p248-9; Conrad III to Abot Wibald February 1148 p249-50

Defeat in the Holy Land March 1148-October 1149

The assault on Damascus (following the council at Acre ) lasted from 23 to 28 July 1148 and was a disaster. It is described by Ibn al-Qalansi on p253-256 and by William, Archbishop of Tyre (probably one of the finest historians in Outremer) on p256-270

Both Louis and Conrad subsequently sent letters home announcing their independent decisions to return to the West- Louis VII to Abbot Suger Autumn 1148 on p271; Conrad III to Abbot Wibald, September - November 1148 p272

The fiasco of the Second Crusade, in numbers probably at least the equal of the First and in organisation and preparation probably its superior, soured relations between Outremer and the west for forty years, casting doubt on the very idea of such Holy Wars. It helped no one more than Nur al-Din in his quest to unify Syria. The failure of the second crusade caused a great scandal throughout Christendom. John of Salisbury included a lively account of the crusade's travails in his Historia Pontificalis, written in the 1160s - a picture of feeble leadership, general bickering and dissent and chaos - pp273-278

Past Three - The Destruction of Frankish Syria 1149-1187

Outsiders 1165-1184

In the 1150s on both sides there was a reorientating of alliances and policy. Zengi's son, Nur al Din, could pose as the best protector available to Muslim neighbours of the Franks and at the battle of Inab in 1149 he destroyed the army of Antioch, killing Prince Raymond. In 1154 he assumed power in Damascus, Baldwin III, the young king of Jerusalem, began to turn his attention to his southern border, taking Ascalon in 1153, opening the way to take advantage of the increasingly evident implosion of the Fatimid caliphate of Egypt. There was also a revival of Byzantine interest in the region with the arrival of Manuel I at Antioch in 1159 to assert his claims which Baldwin was compelled to accept since and Egyptian policy required Byzantine neutrality or active alliance.

During the 1150s order within the Fatimid caliphate collapsed completely. The new king of Jerusalem from 1163, Amalric I, invaded Egypt three times which eventually led to Franks and Syrians withdrawing from Egypt. A fourth and unsuccessful attempt was made in 1168. The vizier Shawar was assassinated however in 1169 - he was replaced by Shirkuh, on whose own death two months later the viziership passed to his nephew Saladin. An attempt by Amalric to dislodge Saladin by a Franco-Byzantine amphibious force failed before Damietta - handing a major advantage to his enemies.

By 1171 Saladin had secured his personal control over Egypt and he suppressed the Fatimid caliphate in September 1171. Both Nur al-Din and Amalric died in 1174 and in Jerusalem the new King was a boy and a leper - Baldwin IV - and so there were a number of regencies and ministries with competition in particular between Count Raymond III of Tripoli and the king's mother's family led by Joscelin of Edessa.

Saladin quickly seized control of Damascus (1174) and began a long process of wearing down the resistance and independence of Nur al-Din's Zengrid successors in northern Syria - there was though little sign of imminent catastrophe despite the new danger posed by the ever closer and more complete unification of Syria and Egypt.

Visitors to Outremer provide in their accounts some objectivity beneath their religious perspectives. The German priest John of Wurzburg account describes his travels to the main Christian pilgrim sites including an account of the great hospital in Jerusalem that could house up to 2000 patients and was run by the military order of St John, the Hospitallers. He reveals the central importance of twelfth-century Outremer for western Christians as a form of huge relic and reliquary for all Christianity pp284-312

A second account is provided by the Jewish Spaniard Benjamin of Tudela - he also gives an impression of a polyglot, religiously mixed society dominated by a Frankish ruling class governing a considerable diversity of communities. He takes special interest in the Jewish communities he encounters pp313-323

The third account comes from Ibn Jubayr, secretary to the Muslim governor of Granada in southern Spain. After completing his haj, he travelled extensively and spent the autumn of 1184 in Jerusalem, a time of acute political crisis with the ailing leper King fading fast while the factions around the throne circled the regent, Raymond III. He makes many critical observations about Christian rulers and religion but also condemns Muslim lords who treat their own people badly. pp324-336

Encirclement 1144-December 1182

Archbishop William of Tyre notes in the early 1180 how the strategic balance in the near East had tilted decisively against the Franks pp337-339

He identifies the formidable threat Saladin presented - Aleppo fell to him in 1183 and Mosul in 1186. With the military resources of Egypt to support a growing coalition of Syrian lords, Saladin's military capacity grew with each passing year. Meanwhile, civil war threatened within the kingdom of Jerusalem. William of Tyre's history of the years 1177-1182 catalogues the internal fissures and external pressures consequent on Baldwin IV's illness as well as some extraordinarily detailed accounts of military campaigns, battles and sieges including the Franks attempt to recapture the cave-castle overlooking the Yarmuk river in 1182 - pp342-374

The Gathering Storm February 1183-May 1187

1183 proved decisive in souring relations between the main factions within the kingdom of Jerusalem and in Saladin's consolidation of his grip on Syria. Baldwin ceded control to his brother in law, Guy of Lusignan, much to the dismay of Raymond of Tripoli and his followers. In June Saladin achieved control of Aleppo -as master of Syria, he wished to demonstrate his jihad credentials. William of Tyre explains how in 1184 Guy refused to admit the king into Ascalon which led directly to the reappointment of Raymond of Tripoli as regent. pp376-390.

William of Tyre then surveys the precarious position of Jerusalem in 1183-4 pp390-394

The kingdom remained spilt politically and this led to contradictory responses to Saladin's aggression. Early in 1187 Reynald of Chatillon attacked a caravan travelling from Cairo to Damascus allegedly carrying one of Saladin's sisters breaking the fragile truce between Saladin and the Franks. The most immediate eyewitness account of this period from a Frankish perspective comes from Ernoul whose chronicle covered the period 1186-7. pp395-402

For the Arabic perspective, the account of an Iraqi historian, Izz al-Din ibn al-Athir who expressed a preference for the Zengrids over the usurping Saladin pp402-404

On 1 May 1187 a force of Templars and Hospitallers encountered Saladin's raiding party near Nazareth (the Springs of Cresson). Only a few Templars and their master, Gerard of Ridefort, managed to escape. Ernoul recounts on pp405-410

The Horns of Hattin June-July 1187

The disaster of the Springs of Cresson produced a reconciliation between Raymond (who severed his alliance with Saladin) and Guy who managed to assemble one of the largest armies the kingdom had seen with as many as 20,000 troops. On 4 July 1187 at the Horns of Hattin, an extinct volcano overlooking the Sea of Galilee, the Franks were surrounded by Saladin's forces, and massacred. King Guy was captured and Reynald of Chatillon killed - Raymond of Tripoli escaped (rather suspiciously). Ernoul describes pp412-421

Ernoul's account is followed by Ibn al-Athir's pp422-427

Imad al-Din al-Isfahani (secretary to Saladin) was an eyewitness pp427-434

Saladin himself describes the battle in a letter to the caliph of Baghdad p435-438

The Fall of Jerusalem September - October 1187

Saladin's conquest of the kingdom of Jerusalem was rapid and almost total. Within days Acre had capitulated and by early September only a few fortresses remained in Christian hands south of Tripoli. He then turned his attention to Jerusalem which he entered on 2 October. The plight of Jerusalem was made clear by Patriarch Heraclius, writing from the city to Pope Urban III in early September pp439-441

Ernoul provides a detailed and powerful account of the siege and fall of Jerusalem pp441-454

Saladin's secretary Imad al-Din al-Isfahani catches the mood of Islamic victory pp454-467