1.2 Leadership of the crusades, 1095–1192

KEY QUESTIONS

- How did the actions of individual princes affect the course of the First Crusade?
- Why did the leaders of the Second Crusade fail?
- What effect did the leaders of the Third Crusade have on its outcome?

INTRODUCTION

On 20 August 1192, Richard the Lionheart, the hero of the Third Crusade, was faced with a choice. He had 2,700 Muslim prisoners after his successful capture of Acre. He had kept them as hostages to ensure his enemy, Saladin, stuck to the terms of his surrender. However, when the conditions were broken, the prisoners were a useless bargaining token. He could not release them, because they would join the enemy's forces. He could not keep them indefinitely, as he would have to spend the rest of his life guarding them at Acre. Instead, he did what he had to do. They were murdered, in cold blood, in full view of Saladin's army. The crusaders were free to advance their campaign and Saladin retreated from Ascalon.

Almost 100 years before, Bohemond of Taranto, one of the leaders of the First Crusade, faced defeat on the plains of Antioch. His forces, along with the supporting armies of six other princes, had made little progress in the capture of Antioch. The Turks always seemed to be one step ahead and Bohemond suspected this was due to espionage. In order to stop this, Bohemond ordered any the bodies of any Muslim killed to be brought before the city walls. The bodies were cooked and preparations were made to eat them. The crusaders, at this stage, did not resort to cannibalism but the spies had been scared off.

The leaders of the crusades did what they had to do. They would go to extraordinary lengths to achieve their goals and, in a time before the idea of basic human rights, often did so. This chapter will look at the impact the key leaders had on the course of each crusade. It will explore how the eight princes of the First Crusade, each with a different goal in mind, shaped the crusader landscape of Outremer. It will explain why the leaders of the Second Crusade failed so utterly to retake the land lost to Zingi. Finally, it will outline the progress King Richard I made in the Third Crusade, but also examine why he, along with two of the most powerful rulers in Europe, was unable to recapture Jerusalem.

Draft Material – Subject to Edexcel Review



1096 – The armies of the eight princes set off on their journey to the Holy Land

July 1099 – Jerusalem is captured by Godfrey of Bouillon

1095 | 1096 | 1097 | 1098 | 1099 | 1100 | 1101–1145 | 1146 | 1147

March 1098 – Baldwin of Boulogne leaves the First Crusade and establishes his own county in Edessa

June 1098 – Bohemond of Taranto defeats the forces of Kerbogha and takes possession of Antioch

May 1147 – The German army, under Conrad III, sets off to Outremer on the Second Crusade; a month later the French follow

HOW DID THE ACTIONS OF INDIVIDUAL PRINCES AFFECT THE COURSE OF THE FIRST CRUSADE?

The eight princes and their changing priorities

Who were the leaders of the First Crusade?

The First Crusade had no single commander-in-chief who could direct the campaign to Jerusalem with a sense of common purpose. Instead, its leaders were a mixed bag of princes from different parts of Europe, with different political backgrounds and different expectations of what they would gain from the crusade. The main **contingents** of crusaders were:

- Germans and Lotharingians, led by Godfrey of Bouillon and his brother, Baldwin of Boulogne
- northern French, led by Hugh of Vermandois, Robert of Normandy, Robert of Flanders and Stephen of Blois
- Italian Normans, led by Bohemond of Taranto and his brother, Tancred of Hauteville, although the latter was not of princely status
- southern French and Provençals: led by Raymond of Toulouse (or Saint-Gilles).

KEY TERM

Contingent
A group of armies with a shared sense of purpose or identify. For example, the northern French contingent of the First Crusade contained at least four armies.

EXTEND YOUR KNOWLEDGE

The first wave: the People's Crusade
The first wave of crusaders left much earlier than the **contingents** of the eight princes. This wave contained a 40,000-strong, mainly peasant army from all across Europe. Its two most famous leaders were Peter the Hermit and Walter Sansavoir. Their journeys began in spring 1096 and Peter's forces reached Constantinople on 1 August 1096. There they caused so much trouble that they were shipped across to Asia Minor within a week. The crusaders established a camp at Civetot and began raids on the surrounding countryside. One such raid, at the fort of Xerigodos, ended with the slaughter of the crusaders by Turks. In a revenge attack, Walter Sansavoir and a force of 500 knights set out on 21 October 1096. They were defeated and the Turks proceeded to massacre the crusaders encamped at Civetot. The few that remained escaped to Constantinople. They joined the main army, under the guidance of Peter the Hermit, at Nicomedia in May 1097.

Main priorities: the aims of the princes

It is very difficult to work out the precise aims of each of the princes, as the various chroniclers tended to focus on their own leader's divine motive and shied away from any other. However, the outcome of the First Crusade for each leader can reveal something about their main priorities. The table below, divided by contingent, lists the outcome of the First Crusade for each of the eight leaders. It is important to note that some continued to campaign after the final battle at Ascalon, while others returned in a later crusade. However, this is only referred to in the case of Raymond, as it had an impact on his actions in the First Crusade. These outcomes, their cause and effect, are discussed throughout this chapter.

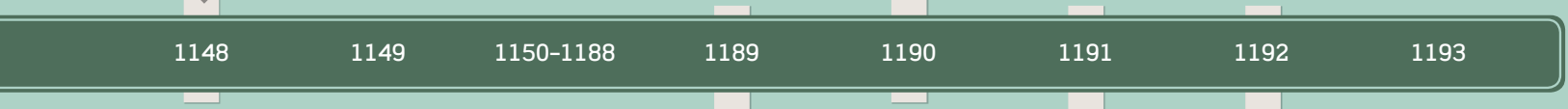
Draft Material – Subject to Edexcel Review

June 1148 – The Kings of Germany, France and Jerusalem meet at the Council of Acre; they decide to attack Damascus

July 1148 – The siege of Damascus fails; the Second Crusade is over

June 1190 – Frederick Barbarossa dies while swimming in the River Göksu; the German forces are demoralised and only a few continue the journey to Acre

July 1190 – King Philip II of France and Richard I of England meet and set off from Vézelay together on the Third Crusade



May 1189 – The German Emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, sets out on the Third Crusade to help at the Siege of Acre

July 1191 – The Siege of Acre finally comes to an end and the garrison of Acre surrenders

July 1192 – Rather than launch an attack, the crusaders decide to withdraw from Jerusalem; the Third Crusade is over

The aim and achievements of the eight princes

Contingent	Prince	Stated aim of the First Crusaders	Did they contribute to the stated aim of the crusade?
German and Lotharingian	Godfrey of Bouillon	To capture Jerusalem from the Muslims.	Yes – became ruler of Jerusalem.
	Baldwin of Boulogne		Partially – conquered Edessa but priorities changed after this. He established himself in northern Syria as the Count of Edessa.
Northern French	Hugh of Vermandois		Partially – he helped to secure possession of Antioch, but abandoned the crusade after this.
	Robert of Normandy		Yes – he fought to the end at the Battle of Ascalon.
	Robert of Flanders		Yes – he fought to the end at the Battle of Ascalon.
	Stephen of Blois		Partially – he took part in the early stages of the siege of Antioch but deserted when it looked like failure was imminent and he feared for his own safety.
Italian Normans	Bohemond of Taranto		Partially – he helped to capture and secure Antioch. His priorities then changed and he established himself as Prince of Antioch and left the crusade.
Southern French	Raymond of Toulouse		Yes – he fought to the end of the Battle of Ascalon, although his priority, to secure his own territory, slowed the crusade. He achieved this after the First Crusade when he became Count of Tripoli.

Divisions: the political background of the princes

The seeds of conflict between the leaders were sown long before their journey began in 1096. There were three significant issues that would later cause delays, separation of the crusading army and outright violence between the princes.

The first was the attitude towards the pope, with some princes being long-time supporters of the papacy, whilst others had been in direct conflict with it. For example, Raymond of Toulouse led his contingent jointly with the pope's representative, Adhemar of le Puy. In contrast, Godfrey of Bouillon, a supporter of Henry IV of Germany, had taken part in the siege of Rome in the early 1080s. His attitude to the pope, though no longer overtly hostile, would certainly have influenced his relationship with Raymond.

A more significant issue was the diverse range of relationships with Alexius I, the Byzantine Emperor. Some crusaders, notably Bohemond and the Italian Normans, had led campaigns against Alexius, and in June 1081 to February 1082, Bohemond had laid siege to the Byzantine city of Durazzo. This was to result in both tension and a concerted effort by Alexius to get the leaders to swear an oath of **vassalage** to him. This would have been much easier for Robert of Flanders, whose father, Robert I of Flanders, had sent 500 knights to support Alexius earlier in the 1090s. However, it was a measure, discussed below (see ['Early divisions: the journey through the Byzantine Empire'] pages xx), that would cause delay and later result in disunity amongst the crusaders.

KEY TERM

Vassalage
This was a formal commitment to acknowledge someone as your overlord in return for land. In the context of the First Crusade, this meant any land the crusaders acquired they held on behalf of Alexius I.

The final issue between the eight princes was their attitude to power. This was to have the biggest impact on their priorities throughout the crusade. Some leaders wanted to establish their own principalities rather than campaign all the way to Jerusalem. The most notable example was Bohemond of Taranto (see Chapter 1), who went to extraordinary lengths to secure the principality of Antioch. Other leaders wanted control and glory, such as Raymond of Toulouse who sought, without success, to become commander-in-chief of all the crusading armies. Finally, there were others, such as Stephen of Blois, who had no desire for more power, which led to a somewhat lukewarm commitment to the campaign.

The first priority: getting to the Byzantine Empire

Naturally, the four contingents chose different routes across Europe to reach their rendezvous point in Constantinople. However, the fact they chose departure times that would not result in a common arrival time illustrates how disconnected they were from the start. Hugh of Vermandois, without his fellow French princes, departed in August 1096 and travelled via the port of Bari, in Italy, but had to be rescued by the Byzantines when he was shipwrecked on the way to Durazzo. He was thus the first to arrive.

The Germans and Lotharingians, with a long distance and troublesome territory to traverse, set off next. Godfrey of Bouillon left in the early autumn of 1096 and, in order to cross Hungary without violence, had to temporarily surrender his brother as a hostage. They were followed by the Italian Normans, who lived close by the borders of the Byzantine Empire and crossed the Adriatic in October 1096. Finally, the southern French and Provençals departed in late November 1096, but chose a long south eastern route that slowed the pace of their journey.

The short-term impact of their staggered departures was to delay the beginning of the crusade itself, but did have one beneficial side effect. It prevented any single place in Europe having to feed and provision the entire army of the First Crusade at the same time.

Draft Material – Subject to Edexcel Review

Early divisions: the journey through the Byzantine Empire

The princes' armies arrived at Constantinople between late 1096 and early 1097. Alexius, fearful of disorder and distrustful of some of the leaders, decided to force them to take an oath. This was a very serious undertaking for any medieval person, because it was considered an act of extraordinary sin to break an oath. Each prince who encountered Alexius was made to promise the return of any land they captured that had once been part of the Byzantine Empire as part of an oath of vassalage. In return, Alexius guaranteed help and supplies.

The decision to take the oath divided the crusaders. Some, like Godfrey of Bouillon, took it very seriously. He entered into a long negotiation with Alexius and only took the oath after the emperor temporarily cut off his supplies. When he swore it, on 20 April 1097, he understood the seriousness of his commitment. He was followed by the northern French, Hugh of Vermandois, Duke Robert of Normandy, Count Robert of Flanders and Count Stephen of Blois who all took the oath without objection. This suggests that the priority of these crusaders from the start was not to grab land that formerly belonged to the Byzantine Empire but to stick with the primary aim of the First Crusade: the capture of Jerusalem.

In contrast, the following three princes took a very different attitude to the oath.

- Bohemond of Taranto: He took the oath on 10 April 1097, but had no intention of keeping it. This is illustrated by his actions during the siege of Antioch.
- Raymond of Toulouse: He arrived in Constantinople on 21 April 1097, but refused to take the oath Alexius demanded. Instead, he took an oath to maintain the emperor's life and honour. This explains why he too tried to become Prince of Antioch.
- Baldwin of Boulogne: He, along with Tancred of Hauteville, avoided the oath altogether and bypassed Constantinople. He was the first to abandon the crusaders to establish his own county in Edessa.

These decisions set the tone for the rest of the expedition. They highlighted the division between those who were prepared, at least in theory, to go all the way to Jerusalem, and those who had more limited goals in mind.

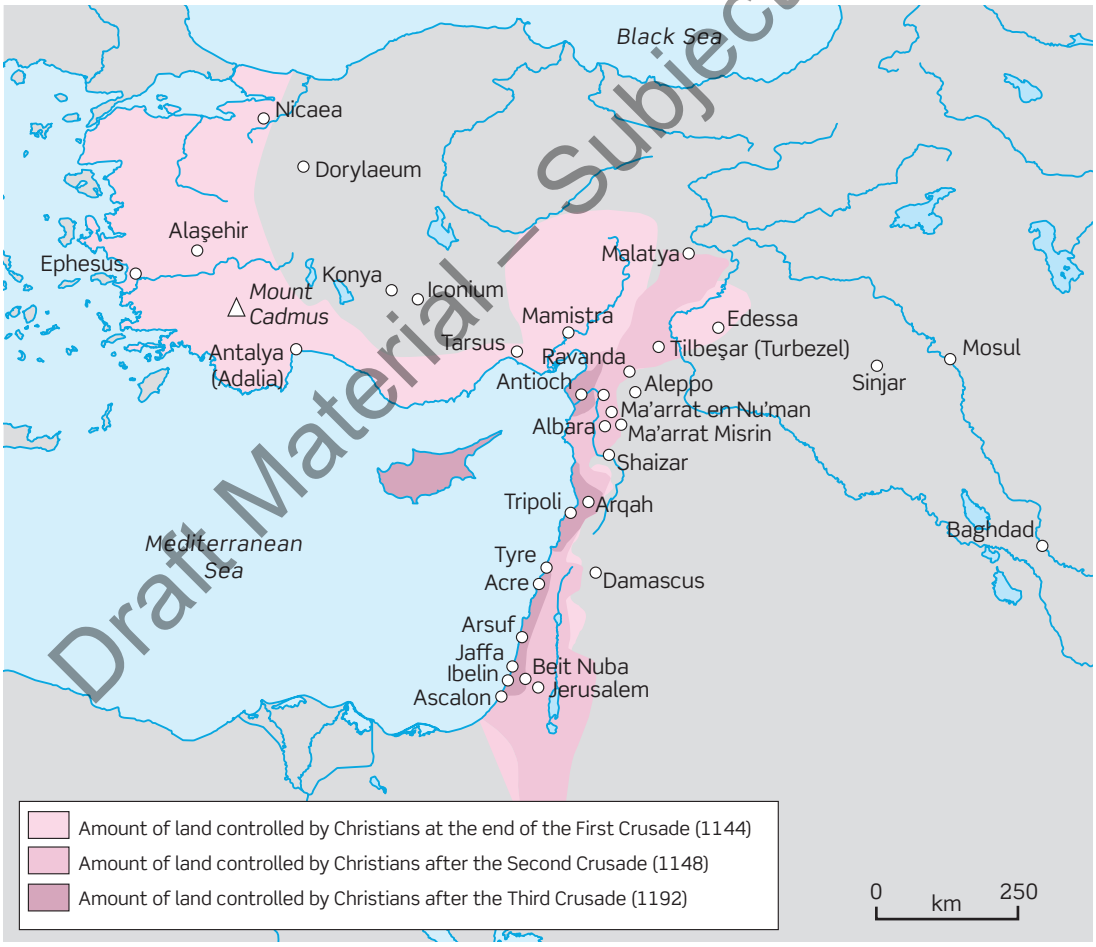


Figure 2.1 A map of the key locations on the First, Second and Third Crusades in the Near East.

Draft Material – Subject to Edexcel Review

Turning point: the siege of Nicaea

The siege of Nicaea was the first time the leaders of the crusade realised that they would have to work together. In May 1097, they began to arrive at Nicaea. Godfrey of Bouillon, Robert of Flanders, Hugh of Vermandois and Tancred arrived in early May, followed by Bohemond's forces on 14 May and the rest two weeks later. This meant the assault to take the city did not really begin until all the armies had arrived. However, by 18 June, they had taken the city through a combined strategy. On the one hand, they blockaded the Askanian Lake that surrounded Nicaea, which cut off the city's main supply route, and at the same time they maintained a siege using their land forces.

SOURCE 1 An illustration of the siege of Nicaea from a medieval manuscript. It shows the most common type of warfare that crusaders engaged in, which was to lay siege to a town. It also graphically illustrates the savage tactics crusaders would use to defeat a town's garrison. In this case the heads of slain Muslim soldiers are thrown back into the city using a trebuchet.



Draft Material for Pearson Review

KEY TERM

Council of princes
The term for the group that met to make command decisions during the First Crusade. It included the key princes who led the crusade, such as Bohemond of Taranto.

This success was a result of the leaders' decision to work together. During the siege, a system known as the **Council of princes** was devised. This provided a forum, in the absence of a single commander, for decisions to be reached jointly. It was this council that decided on the blockade strategy. They also realised, as a result of the delays at Nicaea, that they needed to plan their journeys together. After the siege they divided the army into two waves, one under Bohemond of Taranto and the other under Raymond of Toulouse. This, they hoped, would make it easier to collect, steal or purchase supplies because the troops would be spread out over a larger area.

The council also decided to maintain frequent and close communication between the two waves. This joint planning helped the crusaders to survive their journey through Asia Minor. For example, at Dorylaeum, Bohemond of Taranto and Robert of Normandy were attacked by the Turks. The two princes took up a defensive position, communicated with the second wave, which then joined them and made the Turks retreat. This illustrates that the leaders' priorities, at least in Asia Minor, had combined. They needed to survive to meet their goals and they were prepared to work together to achieve this.

ACTIVITY
KNOWLEDGE CHECK

The priorities of the eight princes

a) Construct a table with two columns labelled 'The crusade leaders were divided' and 'The crusade leaders were united'.

b) Read back through the material in this chapter so far, and then add evidence to your table to support each view.

c) On the basis of the material in your table alone, do you think the First Crusade was more likely to succeed or fail?

Baldwin's conquest of Edessa, 1097

Why was Baldwin tempted east to Edessa?

On 10 September 1097, Tancred of Hauteville and Baldwin of Boulogne left the main crusading army to journey through Cilicia on their way south to Antioch. They both used this as an opportunity to gain land for themselves, which led to conflict between them. For example, when Tarsus was taken by Tancred his banners were raised, which meant that the town was his to control. However, Baldwin, who outnumbered Tancred, had the banners pulled down and replaced with his own.

An even more serious conflict occurred in Mamistra, of which Tancred took control and then fought with Baldwin over. This was the first example of fighting between the crusading armies themselves, but did not last long. Once both sides had cooled off, Baldwin took the decision to abandon the competition, allow Tancred's occupation of the Cilician towns and went in search of territory further east in Edessa. This enabled Tancred to **garrison** his conquests, resume his journey south and rejoin the crusaders.

In the meantime, Baldwin began his journey east with the successful capture of Ravanda and Tilbeşar. By the time he reached the city of Edessa, which was under Armenian rule, his reputation as a powerful military leader had preceded him. On 6 February 1098, he was invited by Toros, the ruler of Edessa, to become his son and heir. However, Toros was deeply unpopular and was murdered on 9 March. This meant that Baldwin was now the ruler of Edessa and he set about the task of taking complete control of his new county.

SOURCE 2 An account of Baldwin's conquest of Edessa from Fulcher of Chartres. Fulcher was the chronicler of the northern French, but became Baldwin of Boulogne's chaplain during the crusade. He witnessed the events first hand and wrote up his chronicle in 1101, 1106 and 1124–2.

Then, trusting in the Lord and in his [Baldwin's] own strength, he collected a few soldiers, and set out toward the Euphrates River, and there seized many forts both by force and cleverness. Among these, he took the very best one, which was Turbezel [Tilbeşar]. The Armenians who lived there granted it to him peaceably, and many others were subjected to him...

...Baldwin was invited to go there [Edessa], so that they would become mutual friends like father and son as long as both should live. If, by chance, the Edessan duke should die, immediately Baldwin, as if he were his son, would possess the city and his whole land in inheritance forever. For he had neither son nor daughter. And because they were unable to defend themselves from the Turks, that Greek [Toros] wished to have himself and his land defended by Baldwin and his soldiers, who he had heard were very brave warriors.

Draft Material – Subject to Edexcel Review

The effects of the acquisition

The events during the Cilician passage had several important effects for the armies of the First Crusade.

- The loss of Baldwin of Boulogne and his army: he did not complete his vow to travel to Jerusalem until 21 December 1099, which was after its capture.
- Money: Edessa was a prosperous county and Baldwin was able to give his brother, Godfrey of Bouillon, 50,000 gold **bezants** to fund the campaign south to Jerusalem, via Antioch.
- Distraction: the Muslim army, led by Kerbogha, which was headed to Antioch to stop the siege in May 1098, was distracted for three weeks by an unsuccessful attempt to capture Edessa. This gave the main Crusader army more time to break into Antioch.

KEY TERM

Bezant
A gold coin used by Greeks. It was a standard unit of currency throughout the Mediterranean world.

Baldwin's decision to leave the First Crusade showed that his chief priority was to gain land for himself, which weakened the overall strength of the crusaders. However, his selfish actions did at least contribute to the crusaders' first significant success in the Holy Land: the capture of Antioch.

Bohemond's seizure of Antioch, 1098

Stage 1: the siege of Antioch

The main body of the crusader army reached Antioch in October 1097 and began to lay siege to the city. It had a formidable garrison, led by Yaghi Siyan, which meant that the siege dragged on for seven and a half months. This drained the crusaders' strength, but also gave figures like Bohemond and Raymond a chance to hone their military leadership skills and strengthen their position as leaders. Bohemond rose to especial prominence, because he was responsible for the victory of the Lake of Antioch in February 1098 where 1,500 of the 5,000-strong garrison were killed. He also helped the crusaders to gain access to the city in June 1098 through his negotiations with an Armenian, or possibly a garrison captain, who let them sneak in.

The effects of the siege

The lengthy siege of Antioch placed an incredible strain on the crusading armies and their leaders. It resulted in considerable loss of life and damage to morale. During the famine of December 1097, while the other leaders were on **foraging** campaigns, Raymond of Toulouse and the remainder of the crusading army were attacked by Yaghi Siyan. This led to around 35 deaths, but more significant for morale the **banner** of Adhemar of le Puy was captured. The loss of this banner, which the garrison delighted in waving around, sapped the morale of the starving crusaders.

SOURCE 3

An account of Bohemond's victory at the Lake of Antioch, also known as the Lake Battle, in the *Gesta Francorum*. This was written by an anonymous southern Italian Norman. The chronicler, although a supporter of Bohemond, reveals the effect a strong leader could have on the battlefield.

> Our army joined battle successfully and fought hand-to-hand; the din arose to heaven, for all were fighting at once and the storm of missiles darkened the sky. After this the main army of the Turks, which was in reserve, attacked our men fiercely, so that they began to give back a little...
>
> ...So Bohemond, protected on all sides by the sign of the Cross, charged the Turkish forces, like a lion which has been starving for three or four days, which comes roaring out of its cave thirsting for the blood of cattle, and falls upon the flocks careless of its own safety, tearing the sheep as they flee hither and thither. His attack was so fierce that the points of his banner were flying right over the heads of the Turks.
>
> The other troops, seeing Bohemond's banner carried ahead so honourably, stopped their retreat at once, and all our men in a body charged the Turks, who were amazed and took flight. Our men pursued them and massacred them right up to the Orontes Bridge.

THE SIEGE OF ANTIOCH

October 1097
The siege of Antioch begins

29 December 1097
Raymond of Toulouse, left to defend the crusading army, is attacked by the Antioch garrison

December 1097
The army suffers from severe famine; Bohemond and Robert of Flanders are sent to attack Ma'arrat Misrin in order to gain supplies

January 1098
The Byzantine general Taticius leaves the crusaders

February 1098
The victory of the Lake of Antioch; Bohemond plans to divide the army into six squadrons, which helps him to defeat part of the garrison

May 1098
A large Muslim army, under Kerbogha, stops off to besiege Edessa (unsuccessfully) before heading to Antioch

2 June 1098
An insider lets Bohemond and his forces past the walls of Antioch before Kerbogha reaches them

4 June 1098
The siege is complete, but Kerbogha takes up a position outside, in the Tower of the Iron Bridge, which traps the crusaders inside

KEY TERM

Foraging
An attempt to search and steal food supplies. These were a common feature of the crusades, because they could not travel with enough supplies to sustain their army for long periods.

Draft Material – Subject to Edexcel Review

The siege also caused the First Crusade to lose two of its leaders who, out of fear, retreated from Antioch back to Constantinople and did not return. In January 1098, for example, Taticius, a Byzantine general who had provided vital tactical advice during the siege of Nicaea and journey through Asia Minor, headed back to the empire. Even more significant was the desertion of Count Stephen of Blois who, on his journey back to Constantinople, convinced Alexius and his army to turn back from their plan to help the crusaders at Antioch.

EXTEND YOUR KNOWLEDGE

General Taticius

Taticius was a Byzantine general who was known for his distinctive physical appearance, as he wore a replacement metal nose. He made a vital contribution to the First Crusade as both a military advisor and commander. He travelled with the armies of the princes in command of around 2,000 **turcopoles**. He was also an invaluable guide and helped to plan the itinerary of the crusaders to Antioch. This ensured they were well supplied and arrived at an appropriate time of year. However, despite the support he offered during the march, at the siege of Nicaea and at the Battle of Dorylaeum, Taticius left the First Crusaders during the siege of Antioch. There are two versions of why he did this. These said it was either out of fear for his life or to collect supplies. Regardless of which version is closest to the truth, once Taticius had left he did not return.

KEY TERM

Turcopole
The light cavalry troops used by the Byzantine Empire. They were paid mercenaries with mixed Greek and Turkish heritage.

Why did the capture of Antioch succeed?

The city of Antioch was successfully captured by the crusaders in June 1098 in spite of the besiegers' poor supply of food, the loss of two of their leaders and the resolve of Siyan's garrison. There were three main reasons for this.

The foraging strategy: the leaders knew that to survive the siege they would need plentiful supplies. This led to a plan in which Raymond of Toulouse would forage in the Ruj Valley and Tancred in the areas surrounding Harim. This helped to ensure supplies in the early stages of the siege.

Financial support: Raymond of Toulouse was exceptionally wealthy. He was able to use this money to help the crusaders. For example, it was used to fund the building of La Mahomerie in May 1098, a fort to block access to Antioch at the Bridge Gate.

Secret negotiations: Bohemond of Taranto entered into secret negotiations with someone inside the city, who one chronicler called Firouz. This allowed the crusaders access to Antioch just before the relief force under Kerbogha arrived.

Stage 2: securing Antioch

By 4 June 1098, the crusaders had not simply secured access to Antioch; they had, in fact, become imprisoned within it. The forces of Kerbogha had abandoned their siege of Edessa and as a result around 35,000 Turks were encamped outside Antioch. This was a major challenge for the leadership of the crusades, because morale was at an all-time low. On 12 June, Bohemond had to order the closure of the city's gates in order to stop crusaders escaping. However, the victory that they were about to achieve showed how strong the princes had become.

EXTEND YOUR KNOWLEDGE

The Holy Lance

One event that helped to improve morale was the discovery of the Holy Lance. On 10 June, a peasant called Peter Bartholomew reported that he had seen a vision of St Andrew and Christ. He said that the two figures had revealed the location of the Holy Lance to him. This was a very high profile relic, because it was believed to be the spear that Longinus, a Roman soldier, had attacked Christ with. On 14 June, when the siege of Kerbogha was at its height, the search for the Holy Lance began. It was found in the Basilica of St Peter, within the church of Antioch. This had an extremely positive effect on morale, because relics were believed to have huge power and significance. It partly helps to explain why the crusaders managed to stave off defeatism during this period.

Draft Material – Subject to Edexcel Review

On 28 June, the battle for Antioch began. The army was now under the control of Bohemond, who had been elected by the council of princes to replace Raymond, who was ill, as the supreme commander of the First Crusade. He faced a huge challenge, as he only had around 200 horses and the city was surrounded by Kerbogha's troops. Nevertheless, Bohemond was able to win the battle and force Kerbogha to retreat for several reasons.

- He arranged for his troops to leave Antioch via the Bridge Gate. Its position meant that Kerbogha's troops, stationed at the other gates, would not be able to reach him quickly because the river blocked their path.
- He broke his army up into seven divisions, each with a clear leader. This would help to keep the army in formation during Kerbogha's counter-attack.
- He was able to convince Kerbogha, through the relatively small size of each division, that this was not an all-out offensive. Kerbogha did not respond until most of the troops were gathered on the plains outside the city.
- He kept back extra troops in a separate division. They were used as a **rearguard** and countered Kerbogha's first relief force, which never reached the main divisions. In the meantime, the main divisions were able to hold their ground against the troops already stationed around Antioch.

KEY TERM

Rearguard
The soldiers who travelled at the back of the army. They either stayed behind to defend when the vanguard (front) had launched an attack, or protected the rear of a march formation.

All of these measures meant that when Kerbogha finally realised that Bohemond had arranged for a decisive battle, the crusaders were ready for him. Kerbogha's first relief force was repelled by the extra division. During their retreat, they encountered Kerbogha's main force and threw them into disarray. They joined the retreat and Kerbogha, though not decisively beaten, was forced into a withdrawal by his now uncontrollable troops. The Turks were thus defeated and the reputation of Bohemond secure.

Stage 3: the possession of Antioch

Antioch had been seized thanks to Bohemond, but he was not prepared to give it up to Alexius I under the obligations of his oath. This was a problem because Raymond, who recalled the oath made to Alexius I, wanted to rule it in the name of the Byzantine emperor. He held on to two strategically important locations: the Palace of Yaghi Siyan and the Tower of the Iron Bridge. This led to a six-month long stalemate over what to do with Antioch, which was perpetuated by Raymond's recovery and refusal to accept Bohemond's overall leadership. Instead of progress, Bohemond busied himself consolidating control over Tancred's Cilician towns and Raymond attempted to establish himself in the towns to the south, such as Albara and Ma'arret en Nu'man.

The First Crusade was not just delayed; this time it faced paralysis and potential collapse. No single leader seemed able to enforce a decision. Instead, an embassy, including Hugh of Vermandois, was sent by Raymond to Alexius to appeal for his help. His reply did not arrive until the following April and thus did nothing to help. In fact, it made the situation worse, because Hugh chose to stay in Constantinople, which deprived the crusade of yet another leader. This delay was compounded by the death of Adhemar of le Puy in November 1098, whose leadership of the Council of princes had helped to bring an element of cohesion to the crusaders.

By December 1098, the crusade seemed to have ground to a halt. Both Raymond and Bohemond had attacked the town of Ma'arret en Nu'man, which fell on 12 December, and again both argued over what to do with their new possession. At the end of the year, little had changed since June, as no new leader had established control. However, the patience of the bulk of the crusading armies had begun to run out. The popular backlash that was to follow finally shocked the leaders into action.

KEY TERM

Fortify
[KEY TERM TO COME FORTIFY]

In January 1099, while Raymond made a failed attempt to bribe the other leaders to support him, the remainder of his contingent took actions into their own hands. They believed Raymond would try to **fortify** Ma'arret and continue his conflict with Bohemond. In order to prevent this, a mob pulled down the walls of Ma'arret and destroyed its fortifications. This forced Raymond's hand and under intense popular pressure he was the first to set off for Jerusalem on 13 January 1099. The crusaders' final journey was now under way, but they had left one more prince, Bohemond, behind them.

Draft Material – Subject to Edexcel Review

SOURCE 4 A description by Raymond of Aguilers of the events that followed the capture of Antioch. He was a chronicler from the southern French and Provençal contingent and acted as Raymond of Toulouse's personal chaplain. The source illustrates the effect the crusaders believed the dispute over the possession of Antioch had on the course of the First Crusade.

Internal strife worried our leaders and further undermined friendly relations, so that only a few avoided disputes with their comrades or servants over theft or violence. In the absence of a judge who could or would discuss lawsuits, each person became a law unto himself. In these conditions the ailing Count [Raymond] and Bishop [Adhemar] offered little protection to their followers. But why trifle with such petty details? Luxuriating in idleness and riches, the crusaders, contrary to God's commands, postponed the journey until the Kalends of November. We believe that, if the Franks had advanced, not one city between Antioch and Jerusalem would have thrown one rock at them so terrified and weakened at this time were the **Saracen** cities following the defeat of Kerbogha.

KEY TERM

Saracen
The name used by Christian crusaders to refer to followers of Islam.

Emergence of Godfrey of Bouillon as leader and the capture of Jerusalem, 1099

The fall of Raymond of Toulouse

Raymond began his march south with the support of Tancred of Hauteville, who was at the rear of his contingent, and was joined two days later by Robert of Normandy. These powerful men were crucial to Raymond's continued dominance over the crusading armies. However, Raymond stretched their support to breaking point when, upon arrival in Arqah, he began to besiege the city on 14 February 1099. His motivation for doing this was not to help capture Jerusalem, instead it was part of his plan to take control of nearby Tripoli and establish his own county there. He was joined, at the end of March, by Godfrey of Bouillon and Robert of Flanders.

At this point, despite the support of the hardened core of crusaders that had survived the journey, Raymond finally lost control. On 13 May 1099, he heard that the caliph of Baghdad was on his way with a powerful relief force. Raymond's nerve had broken and he gave up on the siege of Arqah. Tancred, who could see that Raymond's commitment to the crusade had faltered, shifted his allegiance to Godfrey of Bouillon. The march to Jerusalem began again on 16 May and, as they approached Jerusalem, Robert of Normandy also transferred his support to Godfrey. Raymond's hopes of leading the crusaders to victory had been shattered by his attempt to take power for himself.

The siege of Jerusalem

The attack on the walls of Jerusalem took five weeks. The crusaders divided their efforts between Godfrey of Bouillon's followers, which included Robert of Flanders, Robert of Normandy and Tancred, in the west and Raymond of Toulouse's contingent in the south. Despite the fact that Godfrey and Raymond were now at odds with one another, the siege was a success. On 15 July 1099, Godfrey's men, who had shifted their focus to the east of Jerusalem, broke through the walls and took the city.

The attack, rather than taking the seven and a half months the crusaders had endured at Antioch, had been achieved in a short time for the following reasons.

- They used a range of strategies. At first Godfrey focused on the western wall, but when this did not produce results he shifted the attack to the northern wall as well. This did not work either, so he tried the eastern wall, which they managed to cross using a **siege tower**. The crusaders' flexibility helped to speed up the siege.
- Godfrey of Bouillon was prepared to take part in the heart of the attack. This helped to raise the morale of his troops and to maintain their commitment to yet another siege.
- The crusaders were a hardened core. Aside from Raymond of Toulouse, the crusaders who had reached Jerusalem were an experienced force of united and loyal soldiers that had endured long marches, protracted sieges and faltering leadership. They were fully prepared for the task of besieging Jerusalem.

KEY TERM

Siege tower
A large tower made of wood and protected by animal skins to prevent it being sent alight. These were used, along with ladders, to break into a fortified town or city.

Draft Material – Subject to Edexcel Review

Securing control: Godfrey of Bouillon

Jerusalem had been captured, but the First Crusade had one last crisis to tackle before their task of securing the Holy City was complete. A Muslim counter-attack was on its way from Egypt and by 4 August the Muslims were encamped outside Ascalon. Godfrey quickly contacted the forces of Robert of Flanders, Robert of Normandy and, in spite of their ongoing conflict, Raymond of Toulouse. They gathered on 12 August 1099 at Ibelin and launched a surprise attack. The result, thanks largely to Raymond's quick thinking, was that the Egyptian camp was captured and the threat extinguished.

In the meantime, the dispute between Godfrey and Raymond rumbled on and their argument reached a crescendo on 22 July 1099 when Godfrey was elected ruler of Jerusalem. Raymond was not happy with this and, with memories of Antioch in mind, held onto the strategically significant Tower of David. This time, however, the conflict did not drag on, as Raymond was betrayed by one of his followers and the Tower was handed over. However, the bitterness between the two men came to the fore once more. After the Battle of Ascalon, the crusaders were divided again and unable to get surrender terms from the town of Ascalon itself. This important city remained in enemy hands, leaving a base for future Muslim counter-attacks to the south of Jerusalem.

The First Crusade had come to an end. Jerusalem was secure, despite the fact that there was a base for future counter-attacks to its south. Robert of Normandy and Robert of Flanders began their journey home and Raymond continued to try to take further towns, but failed. He decided to make his way back to Constantinople and was later to head the Crusade of 1101 with limited success.

ACTIVITY
KNOWLEDGE CHECK

The success of the First Crusade

a) Produce a timeline of five key events in the First Crusade from the victory at Dorylaeum to the Battle of Ascalon.

b) Add to your timeline the leader who had the biggest effect on the outcome of each event.

c) Identify the leader who you feel had the biggest effect on the course of the First Crusade. This could be the one you have labelled most frequently.

d) In no more than 100 words, explain the effect your chosen leader had on the course of the First Crusade.

WHY DID THE LEADERS OF THE SECOND CRUSADE FAIL?

Personal and political rivalries and tensions

Who were the leaders of the Second Crusade?

The Second Crusade was called for in December 1145 after the capture of Edessa by Zingi, and its leaders were very different from those of the First Crusade.They were powerful rulers in their own right. Louis VII was the king of France and now possessed a sizeable kingdom thanks to his marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine. There are several theories as to why he agreed to lead the French in a crusade, which include that it was an act of penance for burning a church at Vitry, or that he wanted to fulfil his dead brother's vow to go to Jerusalem. Whatever his motivation, Louis was committed to the crusading cause at Vézelay during Bernard of Clairvaux' sermon at Easter 1146 and set his departure date for 15 June 1147.

Louis VII was joined by another powerful ruler, Conrad III, the king of Germany. He had the support of an army of around 30,000 to 35,000 soldiers and used the call to crusade to consolidate his power in the empire. His rivals, such as Duke Welf VI of Bavaria, who had already made their desire to go on crusade public, were forced to support Conrad when he made a formal commitment at Speyer on 18 December 1146. This was again in the presence of his senior nobles and Bernard of Clairvaux. He set his departure date for May 1147, which gave him six months to prepare for the journey to Outremer.

Draft Material - Subject to Edexcel Review

The journey to Constantinople

The routes both kings chose to get to Constantinople were affected by their political rivalries, but also showed willingness on their part to try to work together. Conrad's route went through Hungary in order to reach the borders of the Byzantine Empire. He chose this path with caution, as he had recently been defeated in a war with Geisa II, King of Hungary. However, it was his only real option, because his poor relationship with Roger of Sicily meant that he could not travel via the sea route. This was a result of his campaigns against Roger to protect the papacy in Rome.

Louis' choice of route showed considerable sensitivity to Conrad's circumstances, as well as his own personal situation. For example, Louis rejected Roger of Sicily's offer to ship the French to the Byzantine Empire. This decision was made for two reasons. It was partly because he did not want to antagonise his new ally, Conrad III, but it was also because Roger had made it clear he wanted control of Antioch. However, this principality was under the control of Eleanor of Aquitaine's uncle. Louis' wife, who was very powerful in her own right, therefore played an important part in his decision to follow a similar land route to Conrad.

Their journeys therefore began with a spirit of friendly relations between Conrad and Louis, in spite of the tricky issue of Louis' earlier negotiations with Roger over transporting troops. Louis had met with Conrad's ambassadors at Châlons-sur-Marne in the middle of 1146 and had reacted positively to their requests. In return, when Louis arrived in German territory he found preparations had been made for his journey. For instance, when he arrived at Regensburg there were ships ready to take his troops along the River Danube. There were occasional conflicts between French soldiers and Germans along the way, but the Second Crusade had got off to a promising start.

Louis and Conrad's relationship with Manuel I

Why was a good relationship important?

In 1095, Alexius I had invited crusaders into the Byzantine Empire to help him tackle the Muslim threat. However, there was no such invitation in 1147 from the new Byzantine emperor, Manuel I. This was very significant because the key to the success or failure of the crusade depended on the relationship between the leaders and the emperor. This relationship would affect several aspects of the crusade.

- The level of military support: during the First Crusade, Alexius had provided a Byzantine general, Taticius, both to act as a guide and to provide crucial support in battle. The crusaders would not have made it very far into Asia Minor without him.
- The amount of supplies and provisions: it was within Manuel's power to provide markets for the crusaders to buy goods from and ensure reasonable prices. If these were unavailable the crusaders would struggle to provision their troops. The emperor could also make ships available at ports under Byzantine control in Asia Minor.
- The loyalty of the Byzantines: Manuel had a treaty with the Turks, which was signed at Konya. A poor relationship might lead to betrayal of the crusaders' location or plans to their enemy.
- The level of delay: the First Crusaders had been held up at Constantinople in order to get them to swear an oath to Alexius I. The same delays could be imposed on Louis and Conrad if the emperor had reason to distrust them.

Conrad III's relationship with Manuel I was strong, however, and the two had formed an alliance against the southern Italian Normans. This relationship came under strain, though, when Conrad's forces began their march through Hungary and the Byzantine Empire to Constantinople. This was because Manuel had the Byzantine army, commanded by Prosuch, follow the Germans in order to prevent any efforts to capture territory. This led to several violent incidents, which included an attempt to burn down a monastery by Frederick of Swabia after a Greek soldier killed a German. Perhaps as a result of actions such as these, Conrad was made to swear a limited oath not to act against Manuel I's wishes.

The relationship between Manuel I and Louis VII was somewhat more strained because of the latter's close association with Roger of Sicily. This was partly a result of Roger's Norman origins, but mainly because Roger and Louis had originally planned to crusade together. Louis and the pope therefore tried to build bridges with Manuel, in the autumn of 1146, when they sent him a letter to explain their intentions. Manuel's reply, which referred to an oath of **homage**, showed that he was mistrustful of the French.

KEY TERM

Homage
A formal commitment to acknowledge someone as your overlord. Alexius asked for a similar commitment from the First Crusaders.

Draft Material – Subject to Edexcel Review

This mistrust was not helped when, in the autumn of 1147, Roger's admiral, George of Antioch, began to attack parts of the Byzantine Empire. Therefore, when Louis arrived in Constantinople on 4 October 1147, he was, after protracted negotiations, made to swear an oath of homage and to guarantee not to take Byzantine lands. In return he would receive guides and supplies.

The German campaign: September 1147 to June 1148

Conrad's plan was to get to Antioch as quickly as possible so that the operation to recapture Edessa (see pages xx) could begin. His idea was to split the army into two parts with the fastest contingent, made up of soldiers, led by Conrad from Nicaea along an inland route via Iconium to pick up supplies. Otto of Freising would lead the rest along the supposedly safer coastal route. They were to depart with eight days of supplies for a journey that Conrad estimated would take 20 days, because he assumed supplies could be acquired on route to Iconium. This plan was put into action on 25 October 1147.

However, in reality events did not go as planned, largely a result of Conrad's overconfidence. He believed they could acquire supplies as they travelled, but they struggled to do so because Manuel actually had little control of the area they journeyed through. The result was that, as the crusaders neared the site of the battle of Dorylaeum, they were ambushed by the Turks and had to retreat to Nicaea. They suffered a casualty rate of around 17 percent and many Germans gave up and headed back home. The other force, under Otto, also suffered raids, but little is recorded of their journey.

SOURCE 5 A description of the journey of the German contingent from Constantinople into Asia Minor by Odo of Deuil who travelled with the French army. In this source he reveals the attitude of the French to the Germans, as well as their mistrust of Manuel I.

> Meanwhile the king of the Franks [Louis], whose wont was always to season majesty with humility, enjoined upon the German emperor with urgent entreaty that he should wait for him on this side of the Arm and those whose common will had undertaken a common task should also use a common plan of action. The German emperor [king], however, was hastening ardently toward the place for which he had set out, and when he had received a guide for the journey (or, rather, for wandering and death) from the Greek emperor, he went across. Although I have written before, and it is true, that an infinite number of his men had already perished, we heard from the Greeks who counted them as they crossed that he went across with 900,566 men [inaccurate]. Accordingly, he came to Nicomedia, where his men divided into groups because of a disagreement. The emperor went to Iconium; his brother, Bishop Otto of Freising, and many nobles took the shore route. We shall refer to their lamentable and swift misfortunes at the proper time and place...

Conrad himself, with the remnants of his army, joined up with the French when they arrived at Nicaea in mid-November 1147. However, Conrad fell ill when they reached Ephesus and left, with his army, for Constantinople to recover. He did not arrive in Acre until April 1148 and travelled there directly by ship. He joined the crusaders at the important Council of Acre on 24 June 1148, which was to decide the future of the Second Crusaders. His relationship with Manuel I had enabled him to make it there safely, but his impatience and overconfidence had lost him a large part of his army.

The French campaign: December 1147 to March 1148

Louis left for Outremer in late 1147 and initially met with more success than Conrad and his army. He chose to march along the Maeander valley towards Antalya where, Manuel assured Louis, ships would be waiting to take him to Antioch. It was during this march that Louis showed himself to be a talented leader. He ensured that his army kept in formation, which limited the opportunities available for the Turks to attack. When they did attack, in December 1147, Louis made effective use of a cavalry charge on steep ground to overcome the raid. However, the same difficulties the Germans faced as a result of their relationship with Manuel were soon to beset the French.

The first major problem was logistics. From around the 3 or 4 January the French were extremely short of supplies. They had struggled to get provisions from the locals and when Manuel's guides did make markets available, they also passed on the movements of the French to the local Turks. This was partly a consequence of the treaty Manuel had signed at Konya and made it very easy for the Turks to track the crusaders. Even when they reached the well-established Byzantine town of Antalya, the markets that the guides secured were very expensive. This caused a heavy drain on Louis' limited financial resources.

Draft Material – Subject to Edexcel Review

However, Louis did not just lose money and suffer the consequences of shortages; his army also came under intense pressure. Around mid-January the French began to march across Mount Cadmus. They had planned to complete the journey over two days, but the vanguard decided to carry on from the summit, which left the baggage train some distance behind and unguarded. The Turks, who saw this break in formation, attacked. Louis was forced to hand over authority to the Templars, who had travelled at the rear, in order to reform his troops. The main body of the army survived, thanks to the Templars, but Louis' reputation as a military leader was damaged.

By the time the French reached Antalya, on 20 January 1148, their morale had taken a serious hit. They had lost support from the German army, their leader had lost authority and they had either been betrayed or exploited by the Byzantine Greeks. The final challenge they faced on their journey was that the fleet Manuel had promised was too small to carry the whole army. Only Louis and his officers could travel by ship, the other 7,000 had to endure a long march to Tarsus during a harsh winter with many difficult river crossings. When Louis, and what remained of his army, finally made it to Antioch on 19 March 1148, they could breathe a sigh of relief. They had survived the journey but at considerable expense in both money and lives.

The failure to consult the leaders of the crusader states

Neither Conrad nor Louis had consulted with the leaders of Outremer in advance of the Second Crusade, which had several negative effects on the course of their campaign.

The crusader's stated goal was the recapture of Edessa, but this had been completely destroyed in 1146. However, as late as February 1148, Conrad wrote a letter explaining his intention to take Edessa, showing the leaders still had no knowledge from the leaders in Outremer that their objective was unrealistic. Having eventually found this out, the crusaders then took four months, from March to June 1148, to establish a new goal for the campaign, delaying their progress into Outremer. Keeping the crusading army together was an expensive business, and these delays did not help their cause. Finallly, the crusaders did not respond to the needs of all of Outremer. Instead, they were presented with a plan in Antioch, which reflected northern interests, and a plan in Jerusalem, which reflected the threat that kingdom faced from the south.

The Antioch plan

Prince Raymond of Antioch made a military proposal to Louis, alongside the nobles of Antioch, in May 1148. His plan was that the crusaders could help to capture Aleppo and Shaizar, which would neutralise the Muslim threat to Antioch in the north. This was important because the threat had begun to increase ever since Nur ad-Din had replaced Zingi as the leader of Aleppo. It was also a fairly realistic aim because Shaizar had nearly been captured in a previous campaign with the Byzantines in 1138. The Antioch plan would have been a sensible move for Louis and his forces.

However, Louis, much to Raymond's chagrin, rejected the plan out of hand. William of Tyre, the medieval chronicler, claims that Louis' only interest was to finish his journey to Jerusalem to fulfil his vow. The result of this decision was that Raymond tried to use Louis' wife, Eleanor, as a pawn to get, or possibly force, Louis' support. Louis remained steadfast in his objection to the Antioch plan and the attempt to use his wife created a permanent rift between the two rulers. When Louis resumed his journey southwards, he left behind any hope of Antiochene military support for the Second Crusade.

EXTEND YOUR KNOWLEDGE

The affair of Prince Raymond of Antioch and Eleanor of Aquitaine

The lack of Antiochene support for the Second Crusade, as well as the unwillingness of Louis VII to pursue a campaign in the north, were both central to its failure. At the heart of the matter was an alleged affair between Eleanor, Louis' wife, and Raymond, her uncle. The allegation is largely based on chronicle material from William of Tyre and John of Salisbury. They claim that Raymond lured Eleanor into an intimate relationship, which she chose to pursue. The story goes that Eleanor sought a divorce, but Louis denied her this. His reputation had already been damaged along the journey to Antioch, and he could ill afford the embarrassment of an unfaithful spouse. Louis therefore forced Eleanor to continue with him on the crusade. This left an enduring bitterness between the two rulers that led to the adoption of the Jerusalem plan.

Draft Material – Subject to Edexcel Review

The Jerusalem plan

SOURCE 6 An illustration from William Tyre's *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea* written in the 12th century. It shows the Council of Acre (top) and the siege of Damascus (bottom). This event marked the turning point of the Second Crusade and this was perhaps why it was chosen for illustration. It shows that the Council of Acre was an important gathering of powerful rulers and that their choice to target Damascus created a formidable challenge for the crusaders.



On 24 June 1148, an array of important nobles gathered at the Council of Acre to debate an objective for the Second Crusade. The most significant representatives were the French barons under Louis VII the German dukes under Conrad III, and the nobles of Jerusalem chiefly represented by Queen Melisende. They had a choice of three plans, which included a northern campaign to Edessa, a southern campaign to capture Ascalon or an eastern campaign to take Damascus. The representatives chose the Damascus plan. It was a sensible choice because:

- there was no point in a northern campaign; Edessa had been razed to the ground and Prince Raymond had withdrawn his support
- Ascalon was not an immediate threat and was surrounded by crusader castles
- the truce between Jerusalem and Damascus, which up until this point had limited the threat to Jerusalem, had come to end with the rise of Nur ad-Din in Aleppo.

The choice was made with the interests of Jerusalem at the forefront and preparations began for the attempt to capture Damascus in July 1148.

Draft Material © Oxford University Press

Failure at Damascus in 1148 and the end of the crusade

The siege of Damascus

The siege of Damascus started out well under the troops of King Baldwin III, who launched an attack through the orchards in the west, which was supported by Louis VII's soldiers. However, Conrad III, who had an army made up of those soldiers who had sailed via Lisbon and a further 2,000 horses that Manuel I had given to him, made the most gains. It was thanks primarily to his efforts that the river was won and the crusaders were able to establish a camp outside the city. They now had a ready water supply from the river and a food source from the orchards. All that remained was to begin the lengthy process of an attack on the city walls and to defeat its garrison.

However, on 27 July 1148, the crusaders changed their plan. They decided to shift their attack to a weak point in the eastern walls of the city. They hoped it would speed up the siege, which was important because Nur ad-Din had begun to mobilise troops from Mosul and Aleppo to stop the attack on Damascus. Unfortunately, the strategy change was a very bad decision. There was no access to water or food on the eastern side of the walls and the crusaders were quickly exhausted. After three days they retreated and the siege of Damascus was at an end.

THINKING HISTORICALLY **Cause and consequence (3c&d)**

Causation and intention

1) Work on your own or with a partner to identify as many causes of failure of the Second Crusade as you can. Write each cause on a separate card or piece of paper.

2) Divide your cards into those which represent:

   a) the actions or intentions of people

   b) the beliefs held by people at the time

   c) the contextual factors or events (i.e. political, social or economic events)

   d) states of affairs (long- or short-term situations that have developed in particular ways).

3) Focus on the intentions and actions of the key people in the run-up to the failure of the Second Crusade. For each person draw on your knowledge to fill in the table below, identifying:

   a) their intentions

   b) the actions they took to achieve these

   c) the consequences of their actions (both intended and unintended)

   d) the extent to which their intentions were achieved.

Key figure	Intentions in 1147	Actions taken	Consequences	How far intention achieved
Manuel I	To ensure the Germans did not capture any land in Hungary. To protect Byzantine land from the French. To ensure the Turks did not launch a reprisal attack on the Byzantine Empire.	The Byzantine army followed the Germans through Hungary. Louis was made to swear an oath of homage and provided guides and supplies. A treaty was made with the Turks at Konya.	The German army clashed with the Byzantines in Hungary. The French and Germans were rushed through the Byzantine Empire, which led to supply problems. The Byzantine guides betrayed Louis and his forces suffered heavy losses.	Short term – the Byzantine Empire was safe from attack. Long term – the Second Crusade was weakened and ultimately failed.
Louis VII				
Conrad III				
Raymond of Antioch				

4) Discuss the following questions with a partner:

   a) Did any one party intend for the Second Crusade to fail?

   b) How important are people's intentions in explaining the failure of the Second Crusade?

Draft Material – Subject to Edexcel Review

SOURCE 7 William of Tyre's explanation of why the siege of Damascus failed. He was a contemporary of the Second Crusade and interviewed participants as part of his research, but was not present at the siege itself. He rose to the position of Archbishop of Tyre in 1175 and had been the tutor of Baldwin, son of King Amalric I of Jerusalem. His account reveals the attitude of contemporaries to the leaders of the Second Crusade.

At this crisis [the success of the western attack]...the Damascenes began to work upon the cupidity of some of our people. By offering inducements, they attempted to capture the hearts of those whose bodily strength they could not hope to overcome. Skilful arguments led certain of our nobles to assume the role of the traitor Judas and induced them, on assurance of receiving a great sum of money already collected, to endeavour to raise the siege...

...Their wicked suggestions persuaded the king and the pilgrim princes, who fully relied upon their loyalty and assiduity, to leave the orchards and move the armies to the opposite side of the city. In order to conceal their guilt under some plausible pretext, they said that on the opposite side of the city which faced south and east there were no protecting orchards and neither river nor moat to hinder the approach to the fortifications...

... Their sole purpose in presenting these arguments was to cause the removal of the army from its present position, for here the city was particularly hard pressed and powerless to hold out, while on the other side the siege could not possibly be long maintained. This specious talk was believed by the kings and all the principal leaders of the united host. The position which had been won with great toil and loss of men was abandoned...

There was some discussion, at a new council, that the crusaders should now attack Ascalon, but nothing happened. On 8 September, Conrad realised the Second Crusade was over and began his journey home via the Byzantine Empire. In the meantime, Louis stayed in Jerusalem until April 1149 to fulfil his vow to spend a year there. When he finally returned home, with a fleet sent by Roger of Sicily, he was attacked by Byzantine forces, which soured their relationship still further. Finally, Prince Raymond of Antioch was killed in June 1149 at the Battle of Inab and the northern crusader states began to buckle. By the end of the1140s, the king of Jerusalem had arranged to sell off the castles in Edessa and the rest of the county was abandoned for good.

ACTIVITY
KNOWLEDGE CHECK

The failure of the Second Crusade

a) Create a spider diagram called 'The failure of the Second Crusade' and add the following branch titles to it.

- The retreat of the Germans at Dorylaeum
- The rejection of Prince Raymond of Antioch's plan
- The unsuccessful siege of Damascus

b) Annotate each branch with an effect the event had on the course of the Second Crusade and a reason why the event occurred.

c) Look at your reasons why each failure occurred. Then, using the information from your diagram, explain which of the following statements is more accurate:

- 'The Second Crusade failed because of poor leadership.'
- 'The Second Crusade failed because of circumstances beyond the control of Louis VII and Conrad III.'

AS level Section B Exam-style question

To what extent was the leadership of the First and Second Crusades responsible for their different outcomes? (20 marks)

Tip

This is asking you to explain two different outcomes. You must refer to the fact that the First Crusade succeeded whereas the Second Crusade did not.

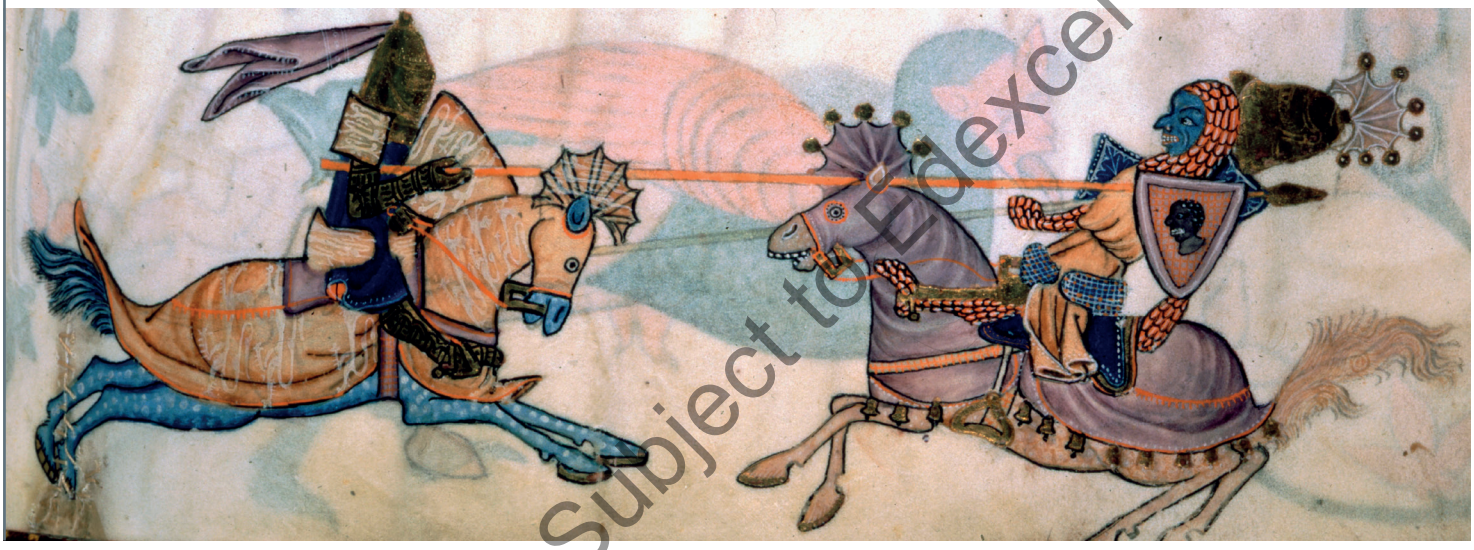
Draft Material – Subject to Edexcel Review

WHAT EFFECT DID THE LEADERS OF THE THIRD CRUSADE HAVE ON ITS OUTCOME?

Background to the Third Crusade

The years that followed the Second Crusade witnessed the gradual erosion of the crusader states of Outremer. After the Battle of Hattin in 1187, Jerusalem was taken by the Muslim forces of Saladin. Christian control of Outremer had been reduced to the county of Tripoli, a pocket of land surrounding Tyre and the principality of Antioch. In 1189, the crusader states were in a fight for their lives. The king of Jerusalem, Guy, had begun to besiege Acre in April, but made little progress in two years. It was in this context that the three most powerful rulers of Europe emerged to attempt to retake Jerusalem by force.

SOURCE 8 A scene from the Luttrell Psalter produced in England in the 14th century. It shows King Richard I knocking Saladin off his horse. The fact that this scene was chosen for the Luttrell Psalter, despite the fact the two never met face to face, illustrates the central role that leaders, and their strong personalities, played in medieval warfare.



The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa of Germany, aged 70, was the oldest and most experienced of the leaders of the Third Crusade. He had taken part in the Second Crusade and had an army of around 15,000 soldiers at his disposal. His initial campaign was followed by the forces of King Richard I of England and King Philip II of France. Richard was the wealthier of the two thanks to his father's successful collection of the Saladin Tithe. This enabled him to outfit his force much more fully for the English journey. Despite his comparative lack of finance, however, Philip had the largest army, with 2,000 mounted men to Richard's 800. These leaders set in motion the last crusade of the 12th century that could claim to have been a success.

EXTEND YOUR KNOWLEDGE

The Saladin Tithe

The Saladin Tithe was an innovation in the organisation of a crusade. The terms of the tax were agreed by King Henry II of England and King Philip II of France on 22 January 1188. It was imposed on those who had not taken a crusade vow and required the taxpayers to part with a tenth on their **movables**. The collection was successful in England, in spite of heavy opposition, because of the innovations Henry II had made to government administration. However, in France, which did not have the same developed institutions as England, only a small part of the tax was collected and Philip promised never to impose it again.

KEY TERM

Movable
An item of property that is not land or buildings. In the medieval period a tax on movables usually involved animals, monetary assets and supplies.

Draft Material – Subject to Edexcel Review

The significance of the death of Frederick Barbarossa

German participation in the Third Crusade had begun and come to an unsuccessful conclusion before Richard I and Philip II had even arrived at Outremer. On 11 May 1189, Frederick's army marched out of Regensburg towards the Byzantine Empire on its way to Asia Minor. It was about to face many challenges, because in the years since the Second Crusade the Byzantine Greeks had grown much closer to the Turks. For example, the emperor, Isaac Angelus, had come to an agreement with Saladin to delay the German journey. However, it was largely thanks to Frederick that Isaac struggled to fulfil that agreement.

Upon entering the Byzantine Empire it became clear that Frederick's army was not welcome. Isaac, contrary to an agreement he made with Frederick back in September 1188, prevented markets from being set up. This cut off supplies to the Germans, so Frederick took radical action. On 26 August 1189, his troops seized control of Plovdiv and began a military campaign. This resulted in a decisive victory against the Byzantines at Dhidimotikon on 22 November, which enabled the German army to use Adrianople as a rest stop for the winter. Isaac realised on 14 February 1190 that his conflict with Frederick was not worth the effort and returned to the September agreement. Frederick's troops were allowed to cross the Dardanelles in March.

However, the problems did not end there. The march across Asia Minor from Alaşehir towards Konya was a serious challenge for the crusaders and they faced the same problems as their First Crusade counterparts. During the journey they quickly ran out of food and many horses and supplies were lost. It was not until they reached Konya, which was captured from the Turks on 18 May 1190, that they had the opportunity to recover. Unfortunately, once they had resumed their journey and reached the River Göksu on 10 June, Frederick decided to go for a swim. The water was extremely cold and the shock killed him.

Frederick's death had a profound effect on the army. Some of them went home, others sailed to Antioch and Tripoli, and the rest marched overland. Many died during the journey, as disease was rife in Antioch in 1190. Those who finally made it Acre in early October 1190 were few in number and in weakened condition and their help at the ongoing siege of Acre was minimal. They were further demoralised by the death of Duke Frederick of Swabia on 20 January 1191. The German campaign, for the most part, was over. The emperor's death had fractured his army, preventing it army from turning the tide of the siege.

Draft Material – Subject to Edexcel Review



Figure 2.2 A route map of the Third Crusade. It shows the various routes the Third Crusaders took to join the siege of Acre.

SOURCE 9

A description of the effects of the death of Frederick Barbarossa on the soldiers present at the siege of Acre from the *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, which was written by Canon Richard between 1216 and 1222. It was based on two sources: an eyewitness account from a Templar chaplain and a Norman clerk who had been on crusade. This excerpt gives a broader view of the effects of Frederick's death.

Climbing up the towers, Turks yelled insults at the besieging Christians outside [Acre]. 'What are you doing, wretches? What more are you hoping for? You were expecting the imminent arrival of your emperor, but he's drowned! Your hope has disappeared and you can do no more to resist, as you see!'

Shouting these insults, they led a dance around the city, blowing trumpets, cawing as is their custom, with drums crashing and declaring the joy of their hearts in as many ways as they could. So they mocked and derided the Christians and aroused confidence and rash joy in their own side.

The Christians were shattered by this news. They were afflicted with incredible grief, almost desperate, mortally wounded by this bitter disaster, because it was true that they had expected to achieve their end with the emperor's help. So they could hardly believe what the Turks had said, but the latter claimed that it was true and that Saladin had told them. For there were not enough Christians to control the entrances to the city or to prevent Turks from going in and out secretly.

The rivalries of Richard I and Philip II

On 30 December 1189, King Richard I of England and King Philip II of France met at Nonancourt. There they both swore an oath to protect the crusaders and that they would work together to achieve this. They met again at Vézelay in July 1190 and agreed to share any spoils of the crusade equally between them. They then set out together on their journey to Outremer. However, beneath the surface of this apparent co-operation was a series of contentious issues that would not only slow the progress of the Third Crusade, but also minimise their chance of recapturing Jerusalem. A timeline of the Third Crusade is provided below, in stages, to illustrate the effects of their rivalry.

Issue 1: the betrothal of Richard and Alice

The first issue that divided the kings of England and France was the tricky matter of Richard's engagement to Philip's sister, Alice. It would be a matter of national embarrassment for Philip if Richard went back on the engagement. However, Richard wanted to marry Berengaria of Navarre in order to form an alliance against his old enemy, Raymond, the Count of Toulouse. He hid this plan from Philip until he knew that he too had taken a crusade vow. This was because he feared it might provoke a war that Richard could not fight if he was in Outremer. When the engagement to Berengaria was made public, Philip eventually released Richard from his commitment for 10,000 marks.

However, the cost to the crusade itself was even more substantial. It had created tension between the leaders, which caused problems during early conflicts. For example, when Richard besieged Messina in order to collect his own sister's **dowry** and fund the crusade, Philip was present but did not help. In fact, the chronicler Ambroise claimed that Philip's men actually defended Messina against Richard's attack. In addition to tension, it also caused delay. Richard was anxious to secure the succession before he went on crusade and therefore had to wait until Philip released him from his engagement to Alice. He then delayed until Berengaria could reach him in Cyprus and they could marry, which they did on 12 May 1191.

KEY TERM

Dowry
This was used in its archaic sense to mean dower, or the widow's share of her husband's money. In the case of Richard's sister, Tancred denied her the money she should have received after King William II's death.

STAGE 1: THE THIRD CRUSADE BEGINS

4 July 1190
King Richard and King Philip II depart together at Vézelay

4 October 1190
Messina, in Sicily, iss sacked by Richard

6 May 1191
Richard reaches Cyprus and takes control of the island

12 May 1191
Richard marries Berengaria instead of Philip's sister, Alice

Draft Material – Subject to Edexcel Review

KEY TERM

Feudatory
A person that held land from a lord under the feudal system. For example, King Richard also ruled the county of Poitou where Guy's family held its land.

Issue 2: the rival claims to Jerusalem

The relationship between Richard and Philip was further complicated by their connections to the kingdom of Jerusalem. There were two rival claimants to the throne of Jerusalem who were each supported by a different crusade leader:

- Conrad of Montferrat was Philip's cousin and held the garrison at Tyre in Outremer
- Guy Lusignan was a **feudatory** of Richard in Poitou; Guy led the siege against Acre and held the title of king of Jerusalem.

The effect of these links to Conrad and Guy were two-fold. First, it increased the strain on the crusaders. For example, when Richard arrived at Tyre on 6 June 1191, Conrad refused to allow him entry; Richard was therefore forced to march directly to Acre and begin the siege without any respite. Secondly, it caused delay in the attempt to retake Jerusalem, because it took so long to make any decisions. For instance, when Acre surrendered on 12 July 1191, it took until 28 July to decide who the ruler of the kingdom of Jerusalem would be. Guy was chosen, but after his death Conrad was to inherit the title.

STAGE 2: THE SIEGE OF ACRE

20 April 1191
Philip reaches Acre and helps to strengthen the siege against Saladin's occupation

6 June 1191
Richard reaches Tyre, but the garrison will not allow him in

8 June 1191
Richard reaches Acre and joins the siege

12 July 1191
Acre surrenders and iss retaken by Philip and Richard

Issue 3: European politics

Philip returned to France before the Third Crusade was over, which extended the rivalry back into Europe. In April 1192, Richard received news that Philip was threatening the border of his territory in Normandy. He received further news in May 1192 that Philip had been openly conspiring against him with his brother John. This had a profound impact on Richard, who was deeply troubled by a threat to his kingdom that he could do nothing about. It was also one of the reasons why he ultimately chose to withdraw rather than besiege Jerusalem in July 1192.

STAGE 3: THE CRUSADE ENDS

31 July 1191
Philip sails back to France

7 September 1191
Saladin's troops are defeated at a battle north of Arsuf

October 1191
Richard begins to march to Jerusalem

Richard recaptures Jaffa

13 January 1192
Richard orders a retreat from Jerusalem to Ascalon

7 June 1192
Richard marches to Jerusalem again

4 July 1192
Begins withdrawal and returns to Acre

27 July 1192 – 31 July 1192
Saladin attacks Jaffa, but Richard drives his troops back

2 September 1192
Truce is signed with Saladin

Draft Material – Subject to Edexcel Review

ACTIVITY
KNOWLEDGE CHECK

The troubled leadership

According to the *Itinerarium*, the Turks said: 'Your hope has disappeared and you can do no more to resist.'

a) What effect does this suggest Frederick's death had on the course of the Third Crusade?

b) Do you think his death had a more serious impact than the rivalries of Richard I and Philip II? Explain your answer with reference to the goal of recapturing Jerusalem.

AS level Section B Exam-style question

To what extent did the quality of crusade leadership improve in the years 1147–92? (20 marks)

Tip

This question is asking you to consider both continuity and change. Even though Richard I was a strong leader, some of the weaknesses that troubled the Second Crusade leaders continued.

Richard's decision to attack Sicily and Cyprus

Richard's first stop on the crusade was in the city of Messina in Sicily. He arrived there on 22 September 1190 with the express purpose of collecting his sister's dowry from Count Tancred of Lecce. When Tancred refused to pay, Richard attacked Messina to force his hand. On 4 October, Messina was under Richard's control and Tancred paid up. By the time Richard set sail from Sicily, with an estimated force of 17,000 troops, he had extorted 40,000 gold ounces from Tancred to finance the crusade.

On 10 April 1191, Richard's army left Sicily. Its journey proceeded peacefully until 25 ships went missing. Three of these had run aground on the island of Cyprus and Isaac Comnenus, its independent Greek ruler, had imprisoned their crews. This prompted Richard to invade the island on 6 May. He took the coastal town of Limassol immediately and then began a campaign inland. By 1 June, after the capture of Kyrenia, where Isaac's wife and daughter were hiding, Isaac had surrendered. The island was now at Richard's disposal and he chose to sell it immediately. The Templars bought it for 100,000 bezants.

Richard's leadership at Acre and Philip's return to France

SOURCE 10 A section of a map of Outremer drawn by the medieval chronicler, Matthew Paris in the mid-13th century. It is a drawing of Acre's walls (left) and the fortifications at Jerusalem (centre). It shows how important ships were to the survival of this coastal strip of Christian territory and how heavily fortified each city was.



Draft Material – Subject to Edexcel Review

Philip was the first to arrive at Acre on 20 April 1191, while Richard was still busy collecting funds. The arrival of the French king provided vital support for the siege on Acre. It had made very little progress since 1189. However, Philip provided six full supply ships and began to construct siege weapons to attack the walls of the city. He was joined by Richard on 8 June, who travelled with 25 ships from his fleet of 200, and began to construct his own siege weapons. Together their combined forces gradually destroyed the walls of Acre and by 12 July 1191 the Muslim garrison surrendered.

SOURCE 11 A chronicle account of the siege of Acre from the *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*. The chronicle is full of stories about Richard I and his skilled leadership. This one illustrates the impact of Richard on morale as the siege of Acre entered its third year.

> The king considered the difficulties which they had encountered; how warlike their enemies were, and that courage is needed at critical junctures. He decided that the best way to arouse enthusiasm in the young was to offer a reward rather than force them by commands, because everyone is attracted by the smell of money. So he resolved that a public crier should announce that everyone who took one stone from the wall next to the aforesaid tower would receive two gold coins from the king. Later he promised three gold coins, finally four: so that for each stone that anyone took from the wall they received four gold coins in payment.
>
> You would have seen youths leap forward, and men-at-arms of great valour rush to the wall and eagerly keep on pulling out stones, as greedy for glory as for gain. Even among the darts of their adversaries they boldly pressed on with the destruction of the wall. A great many of them were wounded and had to abandon the work...However, men of valorous spirit overcame the danger and took a great many stones from the body of the wall.

The surrender provided a genuine morale boost for the crusaders. However, it also caused the campaign to falter. Progress was delayed due to a month-long argument over who would be king of Jerusalem. It was eventually decided that Guy Lusignan would be king for life. After that Conrad of Montferrat would inherit the kingdom. Once this was resolved King Philip decided to return to France, because Philip of Flanders had been killed at the Acre campaign, which left his land in the Vermandois vulnerable to French expansion. Philip journeyed home on 31 July to claim his land and left the Duke of Burgundy in charge of the French forces that remained. The crusade had lost another leader, but at least it now had one clear commander: King Richard I of England.

Richard's leadership at Jaffa

After King Philip had left for home, Richard put into action a plan to take back all the territory along the coast of Outremer. On 22 August 1191, his army began the 70 mile march down the coastline towards Jaffa. They were a huge force and were carefully organised. The knights were separated into three divisions and marched in columns. On their left were the infantry, who would fight off raids and surprise attacks from the Turks. On their right, cushioned between the knights and the sea, marched the baggage train. This meant the baggage train was protected and the knights, except those at the back, were not troubled greatly by Turks. The result of this careful and well-ordered journey was that the crusaders arrived safely at Jaffa.

Richard's leadership was the key reason why this journey succeeded. He had planned the march formation and monitored it closely. He also made preparations to ensure it held firm. For example, he allowed the infantry who were exposed to the Turks to alternate with those marching alongside the baggage train. This gave them rest and helped sustain morale. The king also ensured that if the formation was broken, it would quickly be reformed. For instance, on the first day when the rearguard fell behind and was attacked by Turks, Richard rushed to help them and the enemy were repelled.

His other contribution was at the Battle of Arsuf, which occurred on 7 September when Saladin's troops attacked the marchers. Richard showed strong leadership at this battle because he acted quickly to ensure success. At the start the Turks had tried to force the Franks into action by constant attacks on the Hospitallers in the rearguard. Richard had ordered them to wait until the army were ready for a general attack, but they could not and charged too early. Richard reacted immediately and launched a full-scale attack to support them. He was then able to stop the attack when it had made progress and reform the army before a counter-attack was launched. Saladin's troops gave up and Jaffa was theirs for the taking.

Draft Material – Subject to Edexcel Review

Reasons for Richard's decision not to attack Jerusalem

The first march to Jerusalem

SOURCE 12 A letter written by King Richard I at Jaffa on 1 October 1191 to the Abbot of Clairvaux, Garnier of Rochefort. This was written before Richard set off for Jerusalem and reveals the king's state of mind prior to his decision to abandon the march.

> Because the inheritance of the Lord is already partly recovered, and because to further its recovery we constantly endure the heat of day and have already exhausted all our money – and not only our money but both our strength and our body also – we have to tell your fraternity that we can in no way remain in Syria beyond next Easter. The duke of Burgundy, with the French under his command, and Count Henry with all his men … have spent all their wealth in the service of God and will return to their own lands unless by the ingenuity of your preaching thoughtful provision may be made for people to populate and defend the land and for more money to be spent in God's service.
>
> So, throwing ourselves at your holiness's feet with profuse tears, we offer up our affectionate prayers, asking ever more earnestly that you … will make every effort to induce princes and nobles … throughout the Christian world to share in the service of the living God. Call upon them that from next Easter they will uphold and defend the Lord's inheritance which we, with God's favour, will by then have fully obtained.

The Third Crusade's goal was to recapture Jerusalem and in late October 1191 Richard's army began a slow advance to the city. It took its time because Richard wanted to secure castles as it went in order to maintain a supply line. The army reached Beit Nuba, 12 miles from Jerusalem, on 3 January 1192 and then stopped. On 13 January, it turned around and headed back to the abandoned city of Ascalon to refortify it. The chief reason for this change of heart was the advice Richard received at an army council on 6 January. The Templars and Hospitallers, who were local to the region, said that the army could not win. It might take the city, but Saladin's forces would take it back. The crusaders therefore had to deal with Saladin first.

The second march to Jerusalem

There was no further action, other than the refortification of Ascalon, until May 1192. This was because the crusaders were divided over the issue of who would rule the kingdom, which had reappeared in February 1192. After the siege of Acre, Guy had been made king of Jerusalem, but Conrad had the combined support of the French and the local lords (see ['Issue 2: the rival claims to Jerusalem'] pages xx). His supporters decided to take action and tried to seize control of Acre for Conrad in February. This internal dispute threatened to plunge the kingdom into civil war.

In order to avoid this, the barons of Jerusalem and the French crusaders, in spite of Richard I's wishes, pressured him to revise the agreement of 28 July 1191 and replace Guy with Conrad. Richard accepted this and gave Guy Cyprus to rule instead, but Conrad still refused to help the crusaders. It was not until his assassination on 28 April 1192 and his replacement by Count Henry of Champagne, who both Richard and Philip were related to, that the crusade could continue. The effect of this dispute had been both to cause delay and to weaken Richard's resolve to fight for the kingdom.

The joint English and French forces set out to Darun in May 1192. Their plan was to take the coastal town, which would extend the coastline of Outremer and block Saladin's communication link with Egypt. This was achieved on 22 May. The crusaders then resumed the journey to Jerusalem and reached Beit Nuba on 7 June. Here they began a long wait for Henry of Champagne's forces to arrive and bolster their numbers. It was during this wait that the crusade finally disintegrated.

In mid-June, a committee of 20 gathered to agree the next stage in the crusader's campaign. It recommended, with the full support of Richard, that the combined forces launch an Egyptian campaign and strike at the heart of Saladin's territory. However, despite the merits of this plan, the French refused. They even threatened to begin an attack on Jerusalem without English support. Richard was anxious, especially after he received news about the troublesome situation back in England. He also knew that they could not hold Jerusalem and, in an atmosphere of disunity, recommended withdrawal. This began on 4 July 1192.

Draft Material – Subject to Edexcel Review

THINKING HISTORICALLY **Cause and consequence (3a&b)**

The might of human agency

1) 'Our lack of control'. Work in pairs.

Describe to your partner a situation where things did not work out as you had intended. Then explain how you would have done things differently to make the situation as you would have wanted. Your partner will then tell the group about that situation and whether they think that your alternative actions would have the desired effect.

2) 'The Tyranny of failed actions'. Work individually.

Richard I set out on the Third Crusade with the intention to recapture Jerusalem. He failed to achieve this goal.

a) Write down three ways in which Richard I could have acted differently.

b) Now imagine that you are Richard I. Write a defence of your actions. Try to think about the things that you would have known about at the time and make sure that you do not use the benefit of hindsight.

3) 'Arguments'. Work in groups of between four and six.

In turn, each group member will read out their defence. Other group members suggest ways to reassure the reader that they were not a failure and that in some ways what happened was a good outcome.

4) Think about Baldwin of Boulogne and the conquest of Edessa.

Baldwin of Boulogne had abandoned the First Crusade to secure land for himself. He replaced his brother as king of Jerusalem in 1100.

a) In what ways were the consequences of the conquest of Edessa not anticipated by Baldwin of Boulogne?

b) In what ways did the conquest of Edessa turn out better for Baldwin of Boulogne than his intended consequences?

5) Think about Conrad III and the plan to travel to Antioch during the Second Crusade.

Conrad III began his journey from the Byzantine Empire to Antioch in order to recapture Edessa in October 1148. He retreated after an ambush near Dorylaeum. Answer the following questions:

a) In what ways were the consequences of the planned journey not anticipated by Conrad III?

b) In what ways did the planned journey turn out worse for Conrad III than his intended consequences?

6) To what extent are historical individuals in control of the history they help to create? Explain your answer with reference to specific historical examples from this topic and others you have studied.

The final battle: Jaffa

Before the Third Crusade came to an end, there was one last twist in the story. Once Saladin heard that the crusaders had begun to withdraw from Jerusalem, he decided to attack Jaffa before Richard's forces made it back. Saladin's siege began on 27 July 1192 and Jaffa surrendered on 30 July, although its **citadel** still held out. However, Richard arrived before Saladin could secure control and, according to the chronicler Ambroise, heroically jumped from his ship into the water and launched a counter-attack. Jaffa was retaken and secured by 5 August. Saladin could have cut Outremer's coastal strip in half, but he had been stopped just in time.

KEY TERM

Citadel
A fortified castle built within medieval cities to protect and control them.

By September 1192, Richard was ill and anxious to return to England. He sought a truce with Saladin and the following terms were agreed.

- The Christians would retain control of the territory from Tyre down the coast to Jaffa.
- The Christians would relinquish control of Ascalon to Saladin.
- Saladin would allow Christian pilgrims access to Jerusalem to visit its holy shrines.

With the coast secure and the truce signed, Richard set sail from Acre on 9 October 1192. The Third Crusade had not recaptured Jerusalem, but it had regained Christian control of the coast.

Draft Material – Subject to Edexcel Review

ACTIVITY
KNOWLEDGE CHECK

The Third Crusade in Outremer

Use the information in this chapter to explain whether the Third Crusade was a success or a failure. Try to explain your answer thoroughly by referring to different individuals or groups.

ACTIVITY
SUMMARY

The leadership of the Crusades

a) Choose three ways to assess the significance of a crusade leader on the course of a crusade from the following list:

- How successful were they in battle?
- How committed were they to the stated goal of their crusade?
- How much land did they capture?
- How effectively did they work with other leaders?
- How much support did they have?
- How responsive were they to changing circumstances?
- How far did they speed up or slow down the course of their crusade?
- How well did they prepare for their crusade?

b) Create a table with four columns, one headed 'Leader' and the rest headed by the three criteria you selected in (a). Then list the following leaders down the left-hand side of your table:

- Bohemond of Taranto
- Godfrey of Bouillon
- Conrad III
- Louis IV
- Frederick Barbarossa
- Richard I
- Philip II

c) Use the material in this chapter to assess each of the leaders against your chosen criteria.

d) Explain who you think had the most significant impact on the success of a crusade.

e) Explain who you think had the most significant impact on the failure of a crusade.

WIDER READING

Asbridge, T. *The First Crusade: A New History – The Roots of Conflict Between Christianity and Islam* Oxford University Press (2004)

Nicolle, D. *The Third Crusade 1191: Richard the Lionheart, Saladin and the struggle for Jerusalem* Osprey Publishing (2005)

Phillips, J. *The Crusades: 1097–1197* Routledge (2002)

Phillips, J. *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* Yale University Press (2010)

A Level Section B Exam-style question

How far do you agree that the Third Crusade in the years 1189–92 was more effectively organised than the First Crusade in the years 1095–99?
(20 marks)

Tip

This question is asking you to reach a judgement on the extent to which each crusade was organised, rather than which was more successful. It is important to move beyond the fact that the First Crusade achieved a lot more than the Third Crusade.

Draft Material – Subject to Edexcel Review