

History of the Crusades.
Episode 18.
After the Conquest. The years 1100 to 1101.

Hello again. Last week, we saw the First Crusade come to its conclusion after the Latin Christians took Jerusalem. So what happened to the Crusading army? Did they head for home, or did they remain in the Middle East? We're about to find out.

Once the city of Jerusalem was taken, the first thing the Council of Princes needed to decide was who would rule the city. The clergy put forward a strong case that the Holy City should not have a secular leader, but a religious one. Had Bishop Adhemar been alive, it's likely that he would have assumed leadership of the city, but in his absence, the next likely contender was the exiled Patriarch of Jerusalem, Simeon, who was currently in Cyprus. Unfortunately, he also died a couple of days before the victory at Jerusalem. Perhaps they could write to Pope Urban II and seek his advice as to who should be leader? Trouble was, the man who instigated the First Crusade, Pope Urban, also died, in Rome, some two weeks after the victory of Jerusalem, and before news of the victory reached him.

Eventually, the clergy threw up their hands in despair. There was just no person of appropriate religious authority who they could put forward as leader of Jerusalem. They conceded that the ruler would need to be a secular one. And with Robert of Normandy and Robert of Flanders keen to return to Europe, with Bohemond still in Antioch, and with Tancred being too young, there were really only two contenders for leader. And those contenders were Raymond of Toulouse and Godfrey de Bouillon.

And really, Raymond was never going to make the grade. He was unpopular with most of the Crusading army, with the exception of the southern French, and after the debacle with the Holy Lance and the failure of the siege at Arqah, his leadership abilities were open to question.

Godfrey de Bouillon however, was a popular choice. Although quiet and pious, it was due mostly to his efforts that the city of Jerusalem was taken. Godfrey was duly elected leader, and decided to assume the title of Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre instead of King, which was a nod to the clergy's argument that religious considerations ought to be paramount in this most holy of cities.

Raymond was rather put out at this turn of events, and in shades of the aftermath of the siege of Antioch, he planted himself and his men inside the citadel in the Tower of David, which he had taken possession of after the surrender of Iftikhar al-Dawla, and refused to cede the tower to Godfrey's command. Eventually, though, he was outmaneuvered. He left the tower under the control of his ally, the Bishop of Albara, and during his short absence, the Bishop quickly betrayed him, opening the gates of the citadel to Godfrey's men, where it was taken without a fight. At the end of July, Raymond conceded defeat. Accompanied by a core group of loyal supporters, he left Jerusalem and set up camp at the nearby town of Jericho. Eventually he made his way to Constantinople, and we will leave him there for the moment. But you can rest assured, that's not the last we've seen of Raymond of Toulouse.

Back in Jerusalem, it was time to elect a Patriarch, who would be leader of the Church in the holy city. In a surprising and controversial move, a Crusader, a French Norman man,

Arnulf of Chocques, was elected Patriarch. Arnulf wasn't a senior cleric. In fact, he had a reputation for womanizing. The decision to elect a lowly Latin Christian cleric as Patriarch, instead of a Greek Orthodox man, strained relations with the Byzantine Church. Arnulf also showed little tolerance for the other Eastern Christian sects: the Armenians, Copts, Jacobites and Nestorians. He had them expelled from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which had them dreaming nostalgically about the good old days when the Muslims were in charge of Jerusalem, and their religions were free to worship wherever they wished.

Arnulf also managed to procure for himself an important relic, a fragment of the True Cross. It consisted of a silver crucifix with a piece of the True Cross contained within it, and while details of its discovery hazy, it's likely that it was found somewhere in Jerusalem. Arnulf busied himself conducting celebratory services at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in honor of the True Cross, and did his best to use the Cross to enhance the legitimacy of Latin rule in Jerusalem.

Now we turn to an obvious question. After the conquest of Jerusalem, what happened to the Crusading army? Well, most of them, just about all of them in fact, returned home to Europe, spending the money they had made from plundering the riches of Jerusalem to secure for themselves berths on ships heading back to Latin Christendom. Only 300 knights elected to remain behind in Jerusalem to help Godfrey de Bouillon defend the newly won territory.

By the time most of the Crusading army made it back to their homes, they had little materially to show for their three years of hardship, battles, toil, and near-death experiences. But they had glory. The returning Crusaders were welcomed as heroes, and you can be sure there were many men in Europe who wished they had gone on that crazy Crusade expedition after all. Many brought back mementos from the holy lands, ranging from valuable relics such as a single hair from Christ's beard, or a handful of hair from the Virgin Mary, to palm fronds taken from trees at Jerusalem. One Crusader is said to have returned home with a pet lion, but I'm afraid I can't guarantee the historical accuracy of that claim.

And what about the main characters from the First Crusade? What happened to them? Well, there are three who bow out of the history of the Crusades, so we might as well say goodbye to them now. Robert of Flanders did rather well for himself after the First Crusade. He returned to Flanders to find his territory in disarray, and after restoring it to order, he remained a popular and respected leader, who was known to his people as "the Jerusalemite" until his death in 1111. Robert of Normandy was not so fortunate. While he had been away in the Middle East, his brother William Rufus, the King of England, died and was replaced by Henry the First. Robert led a campaign against Henry but was unsuccessful. After being defeated in battle by Henry in 1106 he was captured, and spent a total of, wait for it, 28 years in captivity in England, before dying in 1134.

And now this is the moment you've all been waiting for. You're about to receive the answer to the question that I know you've been asking yourselves, and that question is, of course, "What happened to Peter the Hermit"? Well, you'll no doubt be glad to hear that he didn't fare too badly at all. He managed to bring back two relics from the Holy Lands: a piece of the Holy Sepulchre, and a relic of John the Baptist. He founded a monastery in France dedicated to the relics and drew a steady following. He died a very old man in 1131. And that's when we say goodbye to Peter the Hermit. Aah.

And that brings us to the other leaders of the First Crusade. What happened to them? Well, to say the years 1100 to 1101 are going to be rather eventful for the remaining players is quite an understatement. We shall look at them in turn.

Godfrey de Bouillon, of course, is the secular leader back in Jerusalem, and he's finding out that ruling Jerusalem and its surrounds is no easy task. He only has 300 knights and around 2,000 foot soldiers to support him, yet it is essential that he consolidate French rule in the area. While much of the Islamic and Jewish populations in the region surrounding Jerusalem had fled the area, some key coastal towns, particularly Caesarea and Ascalon, remained under Muslim control. Raiding parties fell upon unwary travelers all around the region, and the road between Jerusalem and its main port of Jaffa was particularly unsafe. Godfrey was also challenged by the ambitions of the Church in Jerusalem. All in all, he had his work cut out for him.

In mid-1100, after ruling Jerusalem for nearly a year, Godfrey met with the Emir of Caesarea and shared a meal with him. A few days later, he became sick, and on the 18th of July 1100 Godfrey de Bouillon died. Rumors abounded, of course, that he was poisoned by the Emir of Caesarea, but it's just as likely that he died of an unnamed disease. He was around 40 years of age. On his deathbed, he named his brother Baldwin, Count of Edessa, as his successor. Upon hearing the news, Baldwin wasted no time in making the journey to Jerusalem. He appointed his cousin, a man also named Baldwin, but this one Baldwin of Le Bourcq, to rule Edessa, and then headed south. He had none of his brother's qualms about appeasing the Church, and on Christmas Day in the year 1100 he was crowned the first Latin Christian King of Jerusalem. Count Baldwin of Edessa had become King Baldwin the First of Jerusalem.

There's a nice post script to Godfrey's death. He was buried at the foot of the Mount of Calvary, and a monument built over his resting place. Apparently before he died, he asked one of his knights to take a small casket back to Chateau Bouillon in Europe, and open it. The knight did as he was told, and when he opened the casket on the ramparts of the castle, he discovered that the box was full of tiny seeds, which blew away and lodged themselves in the cracks between the flagstones. The seeds sprouted into tiny pale pink carnation flowers. It is rumored that Jerusalem and Chateau Bouillon are the only two places in the world where this type of carnation is found. This may well be an urban myth, but if it is, it's a pretty nice one.

Right. Now we come to the fortunes of Bohemond. Considering Bohemond's successes to date, you might be surprised to discover that Bohemond's military campaigns in the years following the First Crusade can be described in one word: disastrous. Bohemond was living his dream. He was governing the ancient city of Antioch, which he had fought so desperately to acquire. But once he had carved out some territory for himself, with Antioch as its administrative center, he found it challenging to hold. Threatened by Byzantine interests to the west and north, and Muslim interests to the east, Bohemond seem to be constantly on the defensive. Then, in the summer of the year 1100 disaster struck. Involved in a minor skirmish with the forces of the Danishmend Emir, his forces were overrun and Bohemond was taken prisoner. He spent the next three years in captivity. Further disasters are in store for Bohemond, but we shouldn't get too far ahead of ourselves. We will examine those disasters in next week's episode.

In his absence, Antioch needed a ruler. Bohemond's nephew, Tancred, came down from Jerusalem and assumed control of the city. And despite his relatively young age (he was

only in his twenties at this time) he did an excellent job. He worked hard to secure the borders. Soon, trade from the city's main exports of silk, carpets, glass, and pottery began to flourish, and the city started to prosper.

The year 1100 finds Raymond of Toulouse in Constantinople. He had journeyed there after Godfrey was awarded the rule of Jerusalem, and was staying in Constantinople as the guest of the Emperor Alexius, no doubt enjoying the pleasures and luxuries of that beautiful city.

While Raymond is relaxing in Constantinople, something is happening in Europe, and it involves Stephen of Blois and Hugh of Vermandois. Europe at this time is focused on the exploits of the First Crusade. Some who survived the expedition are busy writing chronicles to record their recollections of events, and stories of terrible hardship, battles, exotic lands, and miraculous occurrences are the talk of the day. Many men who didn't go on the First Crusade now wished they had. Many men who deserted the First Crusade and failed to make it to Jerusalem now really wished they had stuck with the expedition.

Riding this wave of wishful thinking, soldiers from the First Crusade declared that men were needed in the Holy Land to reinforce the contingent at Jerusalem. The Church gave its blessing, and the call went out in 1100 for another Crusade to assemble, to march to Jerusalem. In the end, three main expeditions set out from Latin Christendom that year and headed for Constantinople, and there were quite a few Crusaders. Reports suggest that the numbers were similar to those who set out on the First Crusade, with some commentators suggesting that the numbers exceeded those of the First Crusade.

The first to leave, in September 1100, were the Lombards from Italy. Unfortunately, this Crusade contained few trained soldiers, but plenty of clerics, women, and children. They proceeded across Europe into Byzantine territory, where they made a fair nuisance of themselves, pillaging towns, plundering, and generally showing themselves to be an undisciplined rabble. Once they arrived at Constantinople, the Emperor Alexius, unsurprisingly, was keen to see them ferried across the Bosphorus and into Seljuk Turk territory. He could see that this new Crusade could be advantageous for his Empire. The Byzantine army had been unable to secure the route between Constantinople and Antioch. If the Lombards could re-open the route across Anatolia into Syria, then that would be very beneficial.

The Lombards had heard that other forces from Europe were marching to join them. They refused to move from Constantinople, and eventually a riot broke out. Raymond of Toulouse, who as we have mentioned was in Constantinople at this time, intervened and led the Lombards across the Bosphorus to Nicomedia.

Stephen of Blois led the next wave of Crusaders marching from Europe, the northern French and Burgundians. Stephen of Blois' wife, the Countess Adela, had never really forgiven him for deserting the First Crusade. Being the daughter of William the Conqueror, she wasn't really enjoying her new role as the wife of a coward. She saw this new expedition as an opportunity for her husband to redeem himself, so she pestered Stephen to embark on the journey, and a reluctant Stephen eventually agreed. The Crusaders made their way to Italy and crossed the Adriatic, reaching Constantinople in May. Once there, they joined forces with the Lombards and a small contingent of Germans, and agreed that Raymond of Toulouse should assume overall leadership of the expedition.

They set out from Nicomedia on the road to Dorylaeum. Almost immediately they encountered a problem. The Emperor Alexius had asked them to retrace the route taken by the First Crusade, securing the passage on their way. But the Lombards had other ideas. They were Italians, and one of their heroes, Bohemond, had been taken captive. They decided that before they did anything else, they would march to the northeast of Anatolia and rescue Bohemond from the clutches of the Danishmend Emir. Raymond, who was no friend of Bohemond's, and Stephen protested. But the Lombards were determined, and they way outnumbered the French and German forces. So the expedition turned eastwards and headed for Ankara. They took Ankara easily as it was poorly defended, and buoyed by their success, they continued their trek eastwards.

By now Kilij Arslan, the Seljuk Turk leader had realized what was happening. He gathered his forces and sent some of them in front of the Crusading army, destroying water sources and burning crops. It was summer, and the army soon began to suffer from thirst. Kilij Arslan then sent his forces in to attack the Crusaders. They used their traditional tactic of galloping towards the army, letting loose arrows as they rode, before wheeling around and retreating. The frustrated Latin Christians were unable to engage them in hand-to-hand combat, and Christian losses started to mount up. Pressed tightly together for safety, the army made its way slowly eastwards until it arrived at the town of Mersivan.

By this time, Danishmend forces had joined the Seljuk Turks, and it was clear to Raymond that they were readying themselves to mount an attack. He hastily assembled his army, and the battle began. The French and German Crusaders were holding their ground against the Islamic attackers, but the inexperienced Lombards soon lost their nerve. They panicked and fled. Raymond, with French and German troops fought on, but by night time they'd had enough. Under the cover of darkness, Raymond of Toulouse, Stephen of Blois and a small entourage fled the battleground and headed for the coast, leaving the rest of the army to its fate. And you can probably guess what that fate was. Once they realized their leader was gone, the Lombards panicked and scattered. The Turks descended upon them, and they were annihilated. The elderly Christians left in the camp were killed by the Turks, and the slave markets of the east were swamped by the women and children captured by the Muslims.

And the disasters didn't end there. Another large Crusading force was now leaving Europe. Mostly comprising of French and German troops, it was led by the Duke of Aquitaine and included Hugh of Vermandois. It arrived in Constantinople and crossed into Anatolia, intending to follow the route of the First Crusade. Again, the Seljuk Turks went before the army, destroying water sources and food supplies. Again, the Seljuk Turks harried the marching army, wheeling in to fire arrows at any stragglers.

The army arrived at Heraclea and, finding it deserted, they raced to a nearby river to relieve their thirst. It was an ambush. The Turks had concealed themselves around the river banks. They surrounded the Latin Christians and cut them down. Losses were severe. The Duke of Aquitaine managed to fight his way out of the mess and fled to Tarsus, as did Hugh of Vermandois. However, Hugh had been badly injured in the battle and he died in Tarsus on the 18th of October. He was buried there in the cathedral of St Paul.

The failed Crusades of 1100 had a number of consequences. They affected the relationship between Constantinople and Europe. The Latin Christians unfairly laid the blame for the failure of the expeditions at the feet of the Emperor Alexius, while Alexius for

his part, was staggered at the incompetence of the Crusaders. Importantly, the Crusades had a big effect on the morale of the Islamic forces. Unsettled and lacking confidence after the First Crusade, the failed Crusades of 1100 boosted their reputations, and made them think they could beat large numbers of Franks after all.

Kilij Arslan was able to consolidate his rule over Anatolia, and went on to establish his new capital at Iconium, now Konya. This, of course, meant that there was no safe land route for Crusaders, pilgrims, Byzantines, and Europeans from Constantinople to the Holy Lands. Any travelers faced the real threat of attack by the rejuvenated Turks. Safe passage from Europe to the newly-won Latin Christian territories in the Middle East could now only be achieved by sea, and sea travel was prohibitively expensive. This had the effect of severely limiting the number of Europeans who would otherwise have immigrated to the Holy Lands and colonized the new Crusader territories. So, instead of creating a safe line of supply between the Byzantine Empire and Syria, the Crusades of 1100 just made things a whole lot worse for the Byzantine Empire and the Latin Christians.

For those who like their ends neatly tied, I guess you're wondering what happened to Steven of Blois. Well, he and some other survivors made their way by sea to the port of St Symeon, then to Antioch, where they were warmly welcomed by Tancred. Stephen went on to Jerusalem, where he died assisting King Baldwin I in a battle against Egyptian forces in May 1102. Raymond of Toulouse proceeded by ship to Tarsus, where he was promptly placed under arrest by a knight called Bernard the Stranger on the charge of fleeing from the Battle of Mersivan.

Well, there you have it. That's where all the main characters from the First Crusade were at in 1100. But I bet you're wondering about Bohemond. How will he escape from captivity? Will Tancred be willing to hand Antioch back to him? What are the disasters which will befall him? Join us next week, when we will discover the answers to these questions and more, when we take a closer look at one of the Crusader states, the Principality of Antioch.

There's no further reading this week, but I do have something for you. Believe it or not, I have a playlist on my iPod, which I have called Songs of the Crusades. It's a collection of songs which are either from the era of the Crusades or which I believe evoke the atmosphere of the Crusades. If you're interested, you should be able to download most of them from iTunes. I'll post the full list of the songs on the website at HistoryOfTheCrusades.webs.com. Until next week, bye for now.

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