

THE FIFTH CRUSADE IN CONTEXT

THE CRUSADING MOVEMENT IN THE
EARLY THIRTEENTH CENTURY

CRUSADES – SUBSIDIA 9

EDITED BY
E.J. MYLOD, GUY PERRY, THOMAS W. SMITH,
AND JAN VANDEBURIE

ROUTLEDGE



The Fifth Crusade in Context

The Fifth Crusade represented a cardinal event in early thirteenth-century history, occurring during what was probably the most intensive period of crusading in both Europe and the Holy Land. Following the controversial outcome of the Fourth Crusade in 1204 and the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, Pope Innocent III's reform agenda was set to give momentum to a new crusading effort. Despite the untimely death of Innocent III in 1216, the elaborate organization and firm crusading framework made it possible for Pope Honorius III to launch and oversee the expedition. The Fifth Crusade marked the last time that a medieval pope would succeed in mounting a full-scale, genuinely international crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land, yet, despite its significance, it has largely been neglected in the historiography. The crusade was much more than just a military campaign, and the present book locates it in the contemporary context for the first time. *The Fifth Crusade in Context* is of crucial importance not only to better understand the organization and execution of the expedition itself, but also to appreciate its place in the longer history of crusading, as well as the significance of its impact on the medieval world.

This volume brings together an international group of scholars working on the Fifth Crusade and the crusading movement in the early thirteenth century, exemplifying the new approaches being pursued in the study of the crusades and religious medieval history more broadly. The contributions address the historiographical debate, the roles of the papacy and the German empire, the preaching and recruiting of the crusade, the situation in Egypt and the Holy Land, the textual traditions and, finally, the political importance of the crusade in Europe.

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This series of ‘Subsidia’ to the journal ‘Crusades’ is designed to include publications deriving from the conferences held by the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East along with other volumes associated with the society.

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The Fifth Crusade in Context

E. J. Mylod, Guy Perry, Thomas W. Smith and Jan Vandeburie

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early thirteenth century

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(Landstrass) in the 13th and Early 14th Centuries', *Cîteaux: commentarii cistercienses* 61 (2010).

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Foreword

Although the importance of the Fifth Crusade has never been disputed and although there is no shortage of source material, most of which has been published, in practice this crusade has been neglected by modern historians. Since the late nineteenth century, there has only been one monograph published on the crusade as a whole, James Powell's *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213–1221* (Philadelphia, 1986). This is an excellent work, but it does not claim to be a comprehensive survey of the crusade. It was their awareness of this problem which led a group of young scholars to initiate this project in 2012. The conference on this subject held at the University of Kent on 13–14 April of that year was entirely the work of three postgraduate students, Jan Vandeburie, Thomas Smith and Elizabeth Mylod, and one recently qualified postdoctoral student, Guy Perry. They were responsible for calling for papers, inviting guest speakers, drawing up the programme, making the logistical arrangements and negotiating the financial and academic sponsorship for the conference. Subsequently these four have selected some of the conference papers and commissioned new contributions to form the present volume. In my capacity as President of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, I welcome this impressive initiative by these young scholars.

This is an important collection of chapters. They do not complement a pre-existing body of published work, but in most cases identify and elucidate aspects of the Fifth Crusade on which little or no work has previously been done. Indeed, when the conference met in 2012, there were no satisfactory modern studies of two key figures, John of Brienne as ruler of Jerusalem and Frederick II in his relations with the kingdom of Jerusalem. These matters were being addressed by two of the speakers: Guy Perry was preparing a biography of John, which was published in 2013, *John of Brienne: King of Jerusalem, Emperor of Constantinople, c. 1175–1237* (Cambridge, 2013), and he gave a paper which arose from his research in this field; while Professor Marcello Pacifico generously read a paper based on his book *Federico II a Gerusalemme al tempo delle crociate* (Rome, 2012), which was published later that year.

There was no similar lack of work on the role of Pope Honorius III in the Fifth Crusade, but two of the contributors present his influence in a new light. Pierre-Vincent Claverie discusses the apocalyptic view which the pope held about Jerusalem, which he saw as the site of Christ's Second Coming, which would usher in the end of the world. This is an important insight since, as I have argued in my own paper, the apocalyptic atmosphere in which the crusade was fought played a significant role in its failure. Thomas Smith convincingly challenges the widely held view that Honorius III sought, through his legate Pelagius, to direct the course of the crusade and argues that while Honorius was indisputably responsible for its organization and financial administration in Western Europe, he seldom intervened in its conduct in Egypt, where his role was primarily responsive; that is, he would reply to requests for advice which were made to him, but did not take the initiative.

Barbara Bombi has contributed a brilliant study on the conversion of Muslims during the Crusade, in which she points out that attention has hitherto been almost exclusively focused on the meeting between St Francis of Assisi and the Sultan al-Kamil, while the attitudes of the senior clergy present on the crusade, such as Oliver of Paderborn, have been ignored. Yet Oliver was also concerned with this issue: he records that he baptised orphaned Muslim children and arranged for them to be raised as Christians, and Barbara argues that Francis's intervention should be reconsidered in this context.

Hitherto, the position of Egyptian Christians during the crusade has only received very cursory treatment, and for that reason the article by K. S. Parker is particularly welcome. He considers the status of the various Christian confessions in Ayyūbid Egypt and explains that although they suffered from some forms of mob violence during the Fifth Crusade because they were associated in the popular Islamic view with the Christian invaders, this proved to be a temporary problem. After the crusade had ended, the Coptic Church in particular regained its prosperity and enjoyed the goodwill of the Sultans.

Elizabeth Mylod points out that Egypt was also a Holy Land, where Joseph and Mary and the infant Christ had taken refuge from the persecution of King Herod, and that it contained a number of ancient and important Christian shrines, and examines the long-term consequences of this awareness for Western pilgrimage.

Nicholas Coureas considers what is potentially a new source for the Fifth Crusade, the Cypriot Chronicle of Amadi, which dates from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, but which is based on earlier materials, many of which are no longer extant. The sources for the Fifth Crusade used in this text are unique in that they contain no condemnation of Cardinal Pelagius, the papal legate on the crusade, and are thus evidence that an alternative tradition about his role had once existed.

An interesting re-evaluation of the work of Huon of Saint-Quentin is made by Matthieu Rajohnson in collaboration with Esther Dehoux and Amandine Le Roux. Huon not merely censured Pelagius for the failure of the crusade, but argued more radically that the Church should have no part in crusading, which should be an entirely lay activity, and Matthieu and his colleagues argue convincingly that Huon's work remained popular with the French nobility throughout the thirteenth century because it removed the stigma of failure from the crusading activities of their ancestors and placed the blame entirely on the Church.

The volume ends with three chapters about the impact of the Fifth Crusade on Western Europe: the activity of the Teutonic Order in the West during the Crusade; the support given to the crusade of Andrew II of Hungary by the Croatian nobility; and Pål Berg Svenungsen's chapter on the Norwegian contribution to the Fifth Crusade, which breaks entirely new ground. These are of interest in their own right, but also point the way to the possibility of further regional studies being undertaken about the impact of the Fifth Crusade on Western Europe.

This collection of essays is essential reading for anybody interested in the Fifth Crusade and, indeed, in thirteenth-century crusading history, because, as it sets out to do, it broadens the context of that Crusade and opens up so many new areas of research, and its editors deserve credit for producing this volume of consistently high academic calibre.

Bernard Hamilton

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A special word of thanks goes to John Smedley, Christoph T. Maier, Alan V. Murray and Jon Lloyd for their assistance with the publication of this volume.

James M. Powell passed away on 27 January 2011. His outstanding scholarship greatly advanced our understanding of the Fifth Crusade. We dedicate this volume to his memory.

Abbreviations

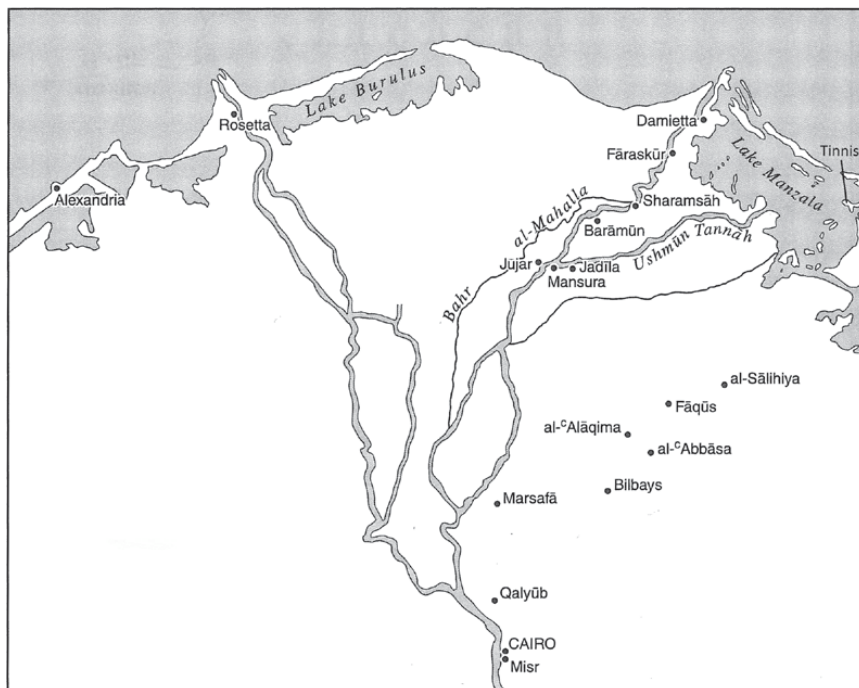
AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana</i> (1643–1940), 68 vols
Alberigo	<i>Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta</i> , ed. J. Alberigo et al. (Bologna, 1973)
<i>Anatomy</i>	James M. Powell, <i>Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213–1221</i> (Philadelphia, 1986)
AOL	<i>Archives de l’Orient Latin</i> (1881–1884), 2 vols
ASV	Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano
Auvray	<i>Les registres de Gregoire IX</i> , ed. Lucien Auvray (Paris, 1896–1907), 3 vols
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
Böhmer	<i>Acta Imperii selecta</i> , ed. Johann F. Böhmer (Innsbruck, 1870)
Bongars	<i>Gesta dei per Francos</i> , ed. J. Bongars (Hanover, 1611)
CCCM	<i>Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis</i> (Turnhout, 1966–)
CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum Series Latina</i> (Turnhout, 1954–)
CDRCDS	<i>Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae. Diplomatički zbornik Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije</i> , ed. Tade Smičiklas, Marko Kostrenčić et al. (Zagreb, 1904–90), 18 vols
CIC	<i>Corpus Iuris Canonici</i> , ed. E. Friedberg (Leipzig, 1879–81), 2 vols
<i>Cont WT</i>	<i>La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184–1197)</i> , ed. M. R. Morgan (Paris, 1982)
<i>Crusade and Christendom</i>	<i>Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291</i> , ed. Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters and James M. Powell (Philadelphia, 2013)
CSM	James M. Powell, <i>The Crusades, the Kingdom of Sicily and the Mediterranean</i> , Variorum (Aldershot, 2007)
DN	<i>Diplomatarium Norvegicum</i> (Christiania-Oslo, 1847–)

<i>Eracles</i>	<i>L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur et la Conqueste de la Terre d'Outremer</i> , in RHC Occ., 1.2 (Paris, 1859)
<i>Ernouf</i>	<i>Chronique d'Ernouf et de Bernard le Trésorier</i> , ed. L. de Mas-Latrie (Paris, 1871)
<i>Gesta</i>	<i>The Deeds of Pope Innocent III</i> , ed. James M. Powell (Washington DC, 2004)
<i>Hennes</i>	<i>Codex diplomaticus ordinis sanctae Mariae Theutonicorum</i> , ed. J. H. Hennes (Mainz, 1845–61), 2 vols
<i>H.Occ.</i>	J.F. Hinnebusch (ed.), <i>The 'Historia Occidentalis' of Jacques de Vitry: A Critical Edition</i> (Fribourg, 1972)
<i>H.Or.</i>	Jacques de Vitry, <i>Histoire orientale/Historia orientalis</i> , ed. and trans. J. Donnadieu (Turnhout, 2008)
<i>H-B</i>	<i>Historia Diplomatica Friderici secundi</i> , ed. J. L. A. Huillard-Bréholles (Paris, 1852–61), 6 vols
<i>HC</i>	<i>A History of the Crusades</i> , ed. K. M. Setton et al., 2nd edn (Madison, 1969–89), 6 vols
<i>Hoogeweg</i>	<i>Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters späteren Bishops von Paderborn und Kardinal-Bishops von S. Sabina</i> , ed. H. Hoogeweg (Tübingen, 1894)
<i>Horoy</i>	Honorius III, <i>Opera omnia</i> , ed. C. A. Horoy (Paris, 1879–82), 5 vols
<i>Lettres</i>	<i>Lettres de Jacques de Vitry (1160/70–1240)</i> , ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Leiden, 1960), reprinted in: <i>Serta mediaevalia. Textus varii saeculorum X–XIII. Tractatus et epistolae</i> , ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CChr.CM 171 (Turnhout, 2000)
<i>Lettres (trans.)</i>	<i>Lettres de la cinquième croisade</i> , ed. R. B. C. Huygens, trans. G. Duchet-Suchaux (Turnhout, 1998)
<i>MGH</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
<i>SrG</i>	<i>Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum</i> (1871–)
<i>SS</i>	<i>Scriptores in folio</i> (1826–)
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> , ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1841–55), 221 vols
<i>Potthast</i>	<i>Regesta Pontificum Romanorum</i> , ed. A. Potthast (Berlin, 1874–75), 2 vols
<i>PPTS</i>	Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society
<i>Pressutti</i>	<i>Regesta Honorii Papae III (1216–1227)</i> , ed. P. Pressutti (Rome, 1888–95), 2 vols
<i>QB</i>	<i>Quinti Belli Sacri Scriptores Minores</i> , ed. R. Röhricht (Geneva, 1879)
<i>Register</i>	<i>Die Register Innocenz' III.</i> ed. O. Hageneder et al. (Vienna, 1964–), 11 vols
<i>Reg. Vat.</i>	Registra Vaticana
<i>RHC</i>	<i>Recueil des Historiens des Croisades</i> (Paris, 1841–1906),
<i>Occ.</i>	<i>Historiens occidentaux</i>
<i>Or.</i>	<i>Historiens orientaux</i>
<i>RHGF</i>	<i>Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France</i> (Paris, 1738–1904), 24 vols
<i>RIS</i>	<i>Rerum Italicarum Scriptores</i> (Milan, 1723–)
<i>RN</i>	<i>Regesta Norvegica</i> (Christiania-Oslo, 1898–)

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- Rodenberg *Epistolae saeculi XIII e regestis pontificum romanorum selectae*, ed. K. Rodenberg (Berlin, 1883–1894), 3 vols
- ROL *Revue de l’Orient Latin* (1893–1911), 12 vols
- RRH *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani and Additamentum*, ed. R. Röhricht (Innsbruck, 1893–1904)
- SCH *Studies in Church History*
- TM *Testimonia Minora de Quinto Bello Sacro*, ed. R. Röhricht (Geneva, 1882)
- WoT Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM 63 and 63A (Turnhout, 1986)

Maps



Map 1 The Nile Delta



Map 2 Syria and Palestine

Introduction

In April 1218, five years after Pope Innocent III called for a new crusade in his letter *Quia maior*, crusaders from the Rhineland and Frisia joined the forces of Andrew II of Hungary and Leopold VI of Austria, who had arrived at Acre in the Holy Land before the winter. Led by the King of Jerusalem, John of Brienne, the assembled forces landed at the Egyptian port of Damietta in May 1218. Despite the postponed arrival of Emperor-elect Frederick II and being surrounded by Sultan al-Kāmil's forces, the crusader army eventually succeeded in capturing Damietta in November 1219. Low on men and resources, but hopeful for Frederick II's arrival, the army marched on Cairo in July 1221. With the army forced to retreat and cut off by the flooded Nile, the Fifth Crusade came to an end with the surrender of Damietta on 29 August 1221 in return for a truce and a safe withdrawal.

The Fifth Crusade and its context together represent a cardinal event in early thirteenth-century history, occurring during what was probably the most intensive period of crusading in both Europe and the Holy Land. The crusade itself marked the last time that a medieval pope would succeed in mounting a full-scale, genuinely international crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land. Despite this, though, the Fifth Crusade and its context have not received much attention in modern scholarship. The crusade itself was last examined in detail in 1986, in James M. Powell's monograph *Anatomy of a Crusade*, which hitherto has been widely considered to be the seminal work on the Fifth Crusade. In an effort to revive academic interest in the Fifth Crusade and in preparation for the octocentennial commemorations of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) and the departure of the Fifth Crusade (1217), the editors of this volume organized the international conference 'Contextualising the Fifth Crusade' at Canterbury on 13–14 April 2012. A selection of essays originating from papers presented at this conference, as well as contributions from scholars who were not present at the conference, have been brought together in this volume.

The first part of the volume focuses on the papal and imperial influence on the crusade. Thomas W. Smith conclusively demonstrates that the pope's role in the Fifth Crusade was far more that of a co-ordinator and

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a supporter than that of a leader. Yet he also draws our attention towards specific moments when Honorius actively sought to influence the campaign's direction. Pierre-Vincent Claverie undertakes a close analysis of Honorius III's papal letters in order to assess how the pope conceptualized the crusade. Tracing Honorius's biblical and patristic references through his letters, Claverie explores how the pope conceived of the position of the clergy as mediators between God and man, how important holy shrines were in his thought, and how the Fifth Crusade was characterized by penitence and miracles. Guy Perry has unearthed a previously unknown letter which sheds new light on the leadership situation of the Fifth Crusade. Perry publishes and translates the letter here, which John of Brienne sent to Frederick II after the capture of Damietta. Perry reveals that the letter is one of a pair that John and his allies addressed to the pope and Frederick on 12 November 1219. He argues that John's intention in issuing the 'new' letter was to establish his own independent correspondence with Frederick in an attempt to refashion his relationship with both of the major 'offstage' powers of the crusade.

The second part of the volume focuses on the preaching and propaganda for the Fifth Crusade. Bernard Hamilton explores the eschatological context in which the Fifth Crusade took place by investigating the prophecies predicting the arrival of the mythical Prester John and his armies from the East. Hamilton discusses the different accounts and letters mentioning Prester John and considers their origin. Although there never was a Prester John, Hamilton finds and evaluates the traces of truth in these documents. In her contribution, Barbara Bombi relies on the account of Jacques of Vitry as the most important and earliest non-Franciscan source accounting for St Francis of Assisi's mission in the East. The chapter compares the attitudes towards non-Christians of Oliver of Cologne and Francis of Assisi, who embodied the two different traditions of Church reform and mission in the early thirteenth century: Oliver's learned approach versus Francis's preaching by example. Bombi argues for a shift in the debate on Oliver's and Francis's attitudes towards non-Christians away from the crusade and to focus on their respective background and their overall activity in the East. The chapter by Jessalynn Bird sheds light on the preaching for the Fifth Crusade and examines the contents of an extant contemporary preaching handbook found in Paris, BnF MS nouv. acq. lat. 999. Bird argues that this manuscript shows how the Paris masters in the circle of Innocent III not only applied new preaching tools to the composition of crusade sermons but also used these texts to craft their self-image as preachers.

The chapters in the third part of the volume focus on Egypt, not only as the goal of the campaign, but also as the home of the Coptic Christians and as a place of pilgrimage. Alan V. Murray presents a broad survey of Egypt and its role in the crusades prior to 1213. He outlines the development of an Egypt-focused crusading strategy from the mid-twelfth century and discusses early attempts by the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem to annex parts of the country.