Given the sheer amount of scholarship on the crusades produced over the last century, no bibliography can claim to be authoritative. It is hoped that the scholarship noted here, as well as in the endnotes, will serve as a stepping-off point for further study. As a result of this book’s primary target audience, the majority of the works included below are in English. However, a few references to works in non-Anglophone languages are also included. Sources in translation are listed in a separate section.

**Works of reference**

**Bibliographies**

Any attempt to produce a bibliography of crusades scholarship is beset by issues of definition and language, and few attempts have been made to carry on the work of Hans E. Mayer in his *Bibliographie zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (1960), which was supplemented, for works published 1958–67, by ‘Literaturbericht über die Geschichte der Kreuzzüge’, *Historische Zeitschrift* Sonderheft 3 (1969) and for the years 1967–82 by his ‘Select Bibliography of the Crusades’, in collaboration with Joyce McLellan, in Kenneth M. Setton (editor-in-chief), *A History of the Crusades* 6 (1989). The lists of recent publications and works in progress in the *Bulletin of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East*, which is incorporated in the journal *Crusades*, are a useful guide to what is being brought out year by year, and a more up to date online repository has been compiled by Paul Halsall at [https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/crusades-bibliography.pdf](https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/crusades-bibliography.pdf). For Islamic history, Jean Sauvaget’s *Introduction to the History of the Muslim East*, recast by Claude Cahen (1965, repr. 1982) is still useful, but see also now the bibliographies found in the *New Cambridge History of Islam*, 6 vols (2010). Good modern bibliographies for the Latin West and crusading can also be found in the *New Cambridge Medieval History*, 7 vols (1995–2005).

**Historiography**

Two important introductions to the state of research on the crusades is Norman J. Housley’s *Contesting the Crusades* (2006) and Christopher J. Tyerman’s *The Debate on the Crusades, 1099–2010* (2011). Both are useful in their own ways, but much has been produced since their respective publications. Ronnie Ellenblum has important things to say on the historiography behind castles and settler society in *Crusader Castles and Modern Histories* (2007). A more recent collaborative attempt

**Encyclopedias**


**General histories**


**Themes**

**Definition**

The debate on defining the crusades, which used to be quite powerful but is now rather less fearsome, is discussed in Norman J. Housley’s *Contesting the Crusades* (2006) and Christopher J. Tyerman’s *Debate on the Crusades, 1099–2010* (2011). Recently, debate has turned to whether the medieval crusades even existed as a discrete entity, particularly given the lack of secure terminology. See Benjamin Weber, ‘When and Where did the Word ‘Crusade’ Appear in the Middle Ages? And Why?’, in *The Crusades: History and Memory*, ed. Kurt Villads Jensen and Torben Kjersgaard
Nielsen (2021). In many ways, scholars are now more concerned with what participants and impacted communities thought about crusading, including into the modern era.

Crusade ideas

Crusade ideology can be approached in two ways. One is through canon law. The standard works, each in need of updating, are James A. Brundage’s *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (1969), Frederick Russell’s *The Just War in the Middle Ages* (1975), and Ernst-Dieter Hehl’s *Kirche und Krieg im 12. Jahrhundert* (1980).


For the critics of crusading in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see Elizabeth Siberry’s *Criticism of Crusading 1095–1274* (1985) and Martin Aurell, ‘Is Political Theology an Oxymoron?

**Preaching**


**Liturgy**

The liturgy of the Church was also used – through language and symbols – to instruct and inform the faithful. This, like preaching, is a relatively new topic in crusade studies. Most recently, there is M. Cecilia Gaposchkin’s *Invisible Weapons. Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology* (2017) and *Liturgy and Devotion in the Crusader States*, ed. Iris Shagrir and M. Cecilia Gaposchkin (2018). Cristina Dondi has examined the spread elsewhere of the rites in use at the church of the Holy Sepulchre in *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem* (2004), while Amnon Linder’s *Raising Arms: Liturgy in the Struggle to Liberate Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages* (2003) contains an exhaustive discussion of the various rites used by the Church to publicise the needs of the Holy Land.

**Crusade and literature**

In recent years, a methodological shift has seen the rise of literary-cultural approaches to Latin and vernacular texts, as well as a greater recognition of the interplay between the two. Many of the works already noted reflect this. In addition, for Latin texts, a good introduction is Marcus Bull, ‘Narratological Readings of Crusade Texts’, in *The Crusader World*, ed. Adrian J. Boas (2015). More in-depth studies can be found in Bull’s *Eyewitness and Crusade Narrative. Perception and Narration*
Recruitment and motivation


**Gender**


**Finance**

The ability of crusaders to fund themselves, or for crusade leaders to subsidize their followers, is a crucial subject. Giles Constable’s ‘The financing of the crusades in the twelfth century’, in *Outremer*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar, Hans E. Mayer, and Raymond C. Smail (1982) is a starting point, but there is good material in Simon Lloyd’s *English Society and the Crusade* (1988). Most recently, see Christopher J. Tyerman’s *How to Plan a Crusade* (2016) and Daniel Edwards’ *Finance and the Crusades. England, c.1213–1337* (2022).

**Warfare by land and sea (including warfare in the crusader states)**


Numbers and the death rate are estimated by Jonathan Riley-Smith in ‘Casualties and the number of knights on the First Crusade’, *Crusades* 1 (2002) and James M. Powell, *Anatomy of a


Detailed treatment on Iberian warfare is to be found in works on the Iberian military orders by Carlos de Ayala Martínez, *Las órdenes militares hispánicas en la Edad Media (siglos XII–XV)* (2003) and Enrique Rodríguez-Picavea, *Los monjes guerreros en los reinos hispánicos: Las órdenes militares en la Península Ibérica durante la Edad Media* (2008).


The Byzantine Greeks


The Jews

A great deal has been written about the persecutions of Jews by departing crusaders in 1095–6 and the Hebrew sources have now been properly edited by Eva Haverkamp for the Monumenta Germaniae Historica. The following works are strong entry points into the topic: Robert Chazan, European Jewry and the First Crusade (1987) and God, Humanity and History. The Hebrew First Crusade Narratives (2000), and Jeremy Cohen, Sanctifying the Name of God. Jewish Martyrs and Jewish Memories of the First Crusade (2004). For a more general perspective, see Religious Violence between Christians and Jews, ed. Anna Sapir Abulafia (2002).

The Muslims

As regards Muslim responses to the crusades and the crusading settlements, the starting-point is Carole Hillenbrand, The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives (1999), but see also Alex Mallett, Popular Muslim Reactions to the Franks in the Levant, 1097–1291 (2013). More general works are Paul Cobb’s The Race for Paradise. An Islamic History of the Crusades (2014) and Niall Christie’s

For the Ayyubids, see R. Stephen Humphreys, From Saladin to the Mongols: The Ayyubids of Damascus 1193–1260 (1977), and for the Mamluks, Robert Irwin, The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250–1382 (1986). Turkish history is covered by Songül Mecit, The Rum Seljuqs. Evolution of a Dynasty (2014); Alexander Beihammer, Byzantium and the Emergence of Muslim-Turkish Anatolia, ca. 1040–1130 (2017); and Stanford J. Shaw, History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey 1 (1976). For the Nizaris, see Farhad Daftary, The Isma‘ilis: Their History and Doctrines, 2nd edn (2007).


For diplomatic relations, see Michael A. Köhler, Alliances and Treaties between Frankish and Muslim Rulers in the Middle East, ed. and tr. Konrad Hirschler and Peter M. Holt (2013), and Peter M. Holt, Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290) (1995). Western attitudes towards the Muslims are described, although in very different ways, by Norman Daniel in Islam and the West: The Making of an Image (1960; revised edn, 1993) and by John Tolan in Saracens. Islam in the Medieval European Imagination (2002). For a perspective that challenges the prevailing historiographical field, see Kristin Skottki, Christen, Muslim und der Erste Kreuzzug (2015).

The Mongols

**The crusades to the eastern Mediterranean**

The numbered crusades have long dominated scholarship, and for ease it is worth listing specific works for each campaign below. However, as this book recognizes, the modern artificial numbering of crusades is both anachronistic and belies extensive crusading ventures carried out by smaller groups across the period. The *Independent Crusaders Project* is doing much to help reveal the history behind these expeditions and contains both useful primary information and bibliographies. See: https://independentcru...

**The ‘Second’ Crusade**


**The ‘Third’ Crusade**


**The ‘Fourth’ Crusade**


*The Children’s Crusade*

The standard work on this is Gary Dickson, *The Children’s Crusade* (2008).

*The ‘Fifth’ Crusade*


*The Barons’ Crusade*

This is well treated in Michael Lower’s *The Barons’ Crusade. A Call to Arms and its Consequences* (2005).

*The crusades of Louis IX of France*


*The papacy and crusading in the thirteenth century*

*The later crusades, 1274 onwards*


Crusading in other theatres of war


*Iberia*

The most up-to-date general history is Simon Barton’s *A History of Spain, 2nd edn* (2009). More specific is Richard A. Fletcher’s ‘Reconquest and crusade in Spain c. 1050–1150’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 37 (1987), and Peter Linehan’s ‘The Synod of Segovia (1166)’, *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* NS 10 (1980), but more recent are William Purkis’s


The Baltic and northern crusades


Central to this subject is the history of the Teutonic Knights. Works on them are included in the section on the military orders.

Africa


**Crusades against heretics and opponents of the Church**


**The nineteenth century and beyond**


**Latin settlements in the eastern Mediterranean**

For a general overview of the Latin settlements of West Asia in the so-called first period (1098–1187), see Malcolm Barber’s *The Crusader States* (2012). No detailed survey exists for the thirteenth century, though some useful information is found in Jean Richard’s *The Crusades, c.1071–
Recent discussions on the cultural ‘crusading’ aspects of the crusader states can be found in Timo Kirschberger’s *Erster Kreuzzug und Ethnogenese: In novam formam commutatus – Ethnogenetische Prozesse im Fürstentum Antiochia und im Königreich Jerusalem* (2015) and Andrew D. Buck, ‘Settlement, Identity, and Memory in the Latin East: An Examination of the Term “Crusader States”’, *English Historical Review* 135 (2020).

**Edessa**


**Cilician Armenia**


**Antioch and Tripoli**


**Jerusalem**


For settlement and relations with the indigenous, the best entry point is Ronnie Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (1998). See also Cyril Aslanov,

*Trade*


*The Latin Church in the crusader states*


Art and architecture


For religious architecture, see Denys Pringle, The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus, 4 vols (1993–2009), which is the definitive survey of all the church buildings in the kingdom. Camille Enlart’s Les monuments des croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem: Architecture religieuse et civile, 2 vols (1925–8) is still useful for the county of Tripoli and the principality of Antioch.


Cyprus


Greece

**The military orders**


**The Knights Templar**


The orthodox view on the dissolution of the Order, one that stresses their innocence, can be found in Malcolm Barber, *The Trial of the Templars* (1978) and Alan Forey ‘Were the Templars guilty, even if they were not heretics or apostates?’ *Viator* 42 (2011). For an alternative view, see the two essays by Jonathan Riley-Smith in Susan Ridyard ed., *The Medieval Crusade* (2004): ‘Were the Templars guilty?’ and ‘The structures of the Orders of the Temple and the Hospital in c. 1291’. See also now two important edited volumes: *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars* (1307–1314), ed. Helen Nicholson, Paul F. Crawford, and Jochen Burgtorf (2010); *La fin de l’ordre du Temple*, ed. Marie-Anna Chavalier (2012).

*The Knights Hospitaller of St John*


The most detailed examination of the Hospitallers in the eastern Mediterranean before the fourteenth century is Jonathan Riley-Smith’s *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant. c. 1070–1309* (2012), which replaces his *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050–1310* (1967).


The Hospitaller occupation of Rhodes and the Dodecanese is covered by Jürgen Sarnowsky’s *Macht und Herrschaft im Johanniterorden des 15. Jahrhunderts* (2001), Nicolas Vatin’s *L’Ordre de Saint-Jean-de-Jérusalem, l’Empire Ottoman et la Méditerranée orientale entre le deux sièges de...*
Rhodes (1480–1522) (1994), and in Anthony Luttrell’s The Town of Rhodes, 1306–1356 (2003), The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes, 1306–1423. Original Texts and English Summaries (2019), as well as his many articles, some of which have been collected in four volumes: The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West (1291–1440) (1978), Latin Greece, the Hospitallers and the Crusades, 1291–1400 (1982), The Hospitallers of Rhodes and their Mediterranean World (1992), and The Hospitaller State on Rhodes and its Western Provinces, 1306–1462 (1999).


The Teutonic Order


The Iberian Orders

The best general books on the subject are Carlos de Ayala Martinez’s Las órdenes militares hispánicas en la Edad Media, siglos XII–XV (2003), Enrique Rodríguez-Picavea’s Los monjes guerreros en los reinos hispánicos: Las órdenes militares en la Península Ibérica durante la Edad Media (2008) and Philippe Josserand’s Eglise et pouvoir dans la Péninsule Ibérique: Les ordres militaires dans le royaume de Castille, 1252–1369 (2004). A pathbreaking study on Portugal was Luís Adão da Fonseca’s O Condestável D. Pedro de Portugal, a Ordem Militar de Avis e a Península Ibérica do seu tempo (1429–1466) (1982), with a good introduction in English found in ‘The Portuguese military orders and the oceanic navigations: From piracy to empire (fifteenth to early

Lesser military orders

For the Order of St Lazarus, see David Marcombe, Leper Knights (2003). For the Order of the Sword-Brothers, see Friedrich Benninghoven, Der Orden der Schwertbrüder (1965). For the English Order of St Thomas of Acre, see Alan J. Forey, ‘The military order of St Thomas of Acre’, English Historical Review 92 (1977).

Sources in translation


Sources from Latin Christendom
For each of the major ‘numbered’ crusading expeditions, there survive several participant narratives that are central to understanding events. Similarly, particularly for the First Crusade, later texts were commissioned which are vital to our understanding of these events’ later reception.


For an example of the crusade memoranda around 1300, see Pierre Dubois, *De recuperatione Terre Sancte (The Recovery of the Holy Land)*, tr. Walther I. Brandt (1956).

For King Peter of Cyprus’s attack on Alexandria, *Capture of Alexandria/Guillaume de Machaut*, tr. Janet Shirley, with intr. and notes by Peter W. Edbury (2001).


For the Hussite Crusades, see *The Crusade Against the Heretics in Bohemia, 1418–1437*, tr. Thomas A. Fudge (2002).


*The Latin East: Antioch, Tripoli, Jerusalem*

A collection of letters and documents has been translated in Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate, *Letters From the East. Crusaders, Pilgrims and Settlers in the 12th–13th Centuries* (2010). Much of the charter evidence for the Latin East is also now edited and translated through the Revised Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani Database project: www.crusades-regesta.com.


The thirteenth century is represented by Philip of Novara, *The Wars of Frederick II Against the Ibelins in Syria and Cyprus*, tr. John L. La Monte and Merton J. Hubert (1936), Philip of Novara, *Le Livre de Forme de Plait*, tr. Peter W. Edbury (2009), *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century:*

**Cyprus and Greece**


**The military orders**


For the Hospitallers we have much less. Their internal legislation up to the early fourteenth century is in *The Rule, Statutes and Customs of the Hospitallers, 1099–1310*, tr. Edwin J. King (1934). William Caoursin’s account of the siege of Rhodes in 1480 was translated within two years as *The dyelectable newes and tythinges of the glorious victorye of the Rhodyans agaynst the Turks*, tr. Johan Kaye (1482). There is an edition by Henry W. Fincham in Order of St John of Jerusalem, Historical Pamphlets no. 2, 1926. The siege of Malta was described by Francisco Balbi de Corregio, *The Siege of Malta, 1565*, tr. Ernle Bradford (1965).

**Eastern Christian sources**

the Syrian (Michael Rabo, or ‘the Great) is now in English translation in The Chronicle of Michael the Great, tr. Amir Harrak (2019), while the French translation of the so-called 1234 Chronicle, found in volume two of Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad A. C. 1234 pertinens, ed. and trans. A. Abouna, J.-M. Fiey, and J.-B. Chabot, 4 vols (1916–74), is valuable.

**Arabic sources**


Treaties with the Mamluks are found in Peter M. Holt, Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290): Treaties of Baybars and Qalawun with Christian Rulers (1995).

**Hebrew sources**

For the Hebrew sources on the pogroms that marred the First and Second Crusades, see Shlomo Eidelberg, The Jews and the Crusaders (1977), but it should be noted that the dates of the Hebrew narratives and their relationship to one another have been recently revised. For a Hebrew perspective on the crusader states, see Benjamin of Tudela, The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela, ed. and tr. Marcus Adler (1907).