

Further Reading

Updated with the assistance of Andrew D. Buck

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>. 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

to trace national historiographies and legacies of crusading is found in *Controversial Histories – Current Views on the Crusades: Engaging the Crusades, Volume Three*, ed. Felix Heinz and Johannes Meyer-Hamme (2022). There is a critique of Spanish historiography by Luís García-Guijarro Ramos in ‘Historiography and History: Medieval Studies on the Military Orders in Spain since 1975’, *The Military Orders Volume 3. History and Heritage*, ed. Victor Mallia-Milanes (2008).

Encyclopedias

Two valuable recent publications are *The Crusades. An Encyclopedia*, ed. Alan V. Murray, 4 vols (2006) and *Prier et Combattre. Dictionnaire européen des ordres militaires au Moyen Âge*, ed. Nicole Bériou and Philippe Josserand (2009). They provide valuable up-to-date guides to many aspects of the histories of the crusades and the military orders.

General histories

Popular or general histories of the crusades, often focused on the traditional period 1095–1291, continue to emerge. Any reader of Christopher J. Tyerman’s *God’s War. A New History of the Crusades* (2006), Thomas S. Asbridge’s *The Crusades. The War for the Holy Land* (2010), or Andrew Jotischky’s *Crusading and the Crusader States*, 2nd edn. (2017) will gain a great deal. For perspectives that seek to expand the parameters of crusading beyond 1291 and the eastern Mediterranean, see Norman J. Housley’s *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (1992) and Susanna Throop’s *The Crusades. An Epitome* (2018). *A History of the Crusades*, ed.-in-chief Kenneth M. Setton, 2nd edn, 6 vols (1969–89) is still useful, but is soon to be replaced by a 2-volume set under the editorial leadership of Jonathan Phillips.

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).

A second way is to look at crusading against a wider theological background. For the First Crusade, enduringly influential are Carl Erdmann's 1935 *The Origin of the Idea of the Crusade*, tr. Walter Goffart and Marshall W. Baldwin (1977) and Jean Flori's *Le guerre sainte: La formation de l'idée de croisade dans l'Occident chrétien* (2001). Jonathan Riley-Smith described, in 'Crusading as an act of love', *History* 65 (1980), the way crusading was portrayed as a charitable exercise. Benjamin Z. Kedar has tackled, in *Crusade and Mission* (1984), the relationship between crusades and conversions, Norman Housley has studied, in *Religious Warfare in Europe 1400–1536* (2002), the borderline between crusades and other wars of religion, and Susanna Throop has demonstrated how crusading was represented as an act of vengeance in *Crusading as an Act of Vengeance, 1095–1216* (2011). The studies collected in *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources* (2017), ed. Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton, also make a substantial contribution.

Most research has concentrated on the twelfth–early fourteenth centuries. Giles Constable's 'The place of the crusader in medieval society', *Viator* 28 (1998) and H. E. John Cowdrey's 'Christianity and the morality of warfare during the first century of crusading', in *The Experience of Crusading. 1: Western Approaches*, ed. Marcus Bull and Norman Housley (2003), are good entry points. More recent works include William Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia c.1095–c. 1187* (2008), Katherine Allen Smith, *War and the Making of Medieval Monastic Culture* (2011), Ane L. Bysted, *The Crusade Indulgence. Spiritual Rewards and the Theology of the Crusades, c. 1095–1216* (2015), Stephen J. Spencer, *Emotions in a Crusading Context, 1095–1291* (2019), and David Crispin, *Ihr Gott kämpft jeden Tag für sie Krieg, Gewalt und religiöse Vorstellungen in der Frühzeit der Kreuzzüge (1095–1187)* (2019). For the theoreticians of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see Sylvia Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land 1274–1314* (1991), Antony Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land: The Crusade Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (2000), and Pamela Beattie, 'Ramon Llull's Crusade Treatises', in *A Companion to Ramon Llull and Llullism*, ed. Amy M. Austin and Mark D. Johnston (2019).

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?

Radical Criticism of the Crusades in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries’, in *Political Theology in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Discourses, Rites, and Representations*, ed. Montserrat Herrero, Jaume Aurell, and Angela C. Miceli Stout (2017).

Preaching

The ideas of the theoreticians, as transmitted through preaching, have been the subject of important recent study. Key starting points are Penny J. Cole’s *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (1991), Christoph Maier’s *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (1994) and *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (2000), and Miikka Tamminen, *Crusading Preaching and the Ideal Crusader* (2018). A sampling of works by scholars currently active in this aspect include Lydia M. Walker, ‘Living in the Penultimate Age: Apocalyptic Thought in James of Vitry’s *ad status* Sermons’, in *The Uses of the Bible in Crusade Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton (2017), and Jessalynn L. Bird, ‘Damietta the Whore, the Purification of the Virgin Mary, and the Crusade Movement’, *Medieval Sermon Studies* 65 (2021).

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*

in *Accounts of the Second, Third and Fourth Crusades* (2018), as well as Katherine Allen Smith's *The Bible and Crusade Narrative in the Twelfth Century* (2020) and Beth C. Spacey's *The Miraculous and the Writing of Crusade Narrative* (2020). Two useful edited volumes are *Writing the Early Crusades. Text, Transmission and Memory* (2014), ed. Marcus Bull and Damien Kempf, and *Literature of the Crusades*, ed. Simon Thomas Parsons and Linda Paterson (2018). For vernacular sources, that is the crusading *chansons* and lyrics, Michael Routledge's, 'Songs' in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith (1995), remains a good starting point. However, much has been written since. For the Old French Crusade Cycle, see the translations (with detailed introductions) by Susan Edgington and Carol Sweetenham of the *Chanson d'Antioche* (2011), the *Chanson des Chétifs* (2016), and the *Chanson des Jérusalem* (2016), as well as chapters by Sweetenham and Simon Thomas Parsons in *Jerusalem the Golden. The Origins and Impact of the First Crusade*, ed. Susan B. Edgington and Luis García-Guijarro (2014). For lyrics and poetry, see Linda Paterson, *Singing the Crusades. French and Occitan Lyric Responses to the Crusading Movements, 1137–1336* (2018), Stefan Vander Est, *The Knight, the Cross and the Song: Crusade Propaganda and Chivalric Literature, 1100-1400* (2017), and William Jackson, *Ardent Complaints and Equivocal Piety: The Portrayal of the Crusader in Medieval German Poetry* (2003).

Recruitment and motivation

Two good books on recruitment in England are Simon Lloyd's *English Society and the Crusade* (1988), which is a detailed and very informative study of English crusading in the thirteenth century, and Christopher J. Tyerman's *England and the Crusades* (1988), which surveys the responses and experiences of the English from the first crusade to the late sixteenth century. Giles Constable's 'Medieval charters as a source for the history of the crusades', in *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. Peter W. Edbury (1985) opened the way into the European charter collections as sources for motivation, though Jean Flori has sought to temper the charter-based approach somewhat in 'Ideology and Motivations in the First Crusade', in *Palgrave Advances in The Crusades*, ed. Helen Nicholson (2005). The documents for fourteenth-century England are discussed in Timothy Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade. The English Experience of the Fourteenth Century* (2013).

A number of historians are now engaged in researching the mind-set of recruits. An important introduction is Marcus Bull's 'Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem in miracle stories, c. 1000–c. 1200: reflections on the study of first crusaders' motivations', in *The Experience of Crusading. Volume One. Western Approaches*, ed. Marcus Bull and Norman J. Housley (2003). The following are examples of what might be described as an empathetic approach: Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade. The Limousin and Gascony, c. 970–c. 1130* (1993), Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders 1095–1131* (1997), Caroline Smith, *Crusading in the Age of Joinville* (2006), Norman Housley, *Fighting for the Cross. Crusading to the Holy Land* (2008), and

Nicholas Paul, *To Follow in their Footsteps. The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (2012).

Gender

The intersection between crusading and medieval ideas of gender is a still burgeoning field. A pathbreaking start was made by *Gendering the Crusades*, ed. Susan B. Edgington and Sarah Lambert (2001), and Sabine Geldsetzer, *Frauen auf Kreuzzügen 1096–1291* (2003). More recently, important developments have been made through Natasha R. Hodgson's work, especially her *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative* (2007) and other studies, as well as *Crusading and Masculinities*, ed. Natasha R. Hodgson, Katherine J. Lewis, and Matthew M. Mesley (2019). Other minor studies can also help to elucidate how dialogues around gender permeated crusading sources. See, for example, Andrew D. Buck, 'William of Tyre, Femininity, and the Problem of the Antiochene Princesses', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 70:4 (2019); and Beth C. Spacey, 'Visionary Masculinities: Emotion and the Experience of the Miraculous in Latin Narratives of the First Crusade', *Emotions: History, Culture, Society* 4:2 (2020).

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)

Raymond C. Smail's magisterial study of warfare in the twelfth-century Latin East, *Crusading Warfare (1097–1193)* (1956) has a sequel in Christopher Marshall's *Warfare in the Latin East, 1192–1291* (1992). John France followed *Victory in the East. A Military History of the First Crusade* (1994) with a wider survey in *Western Warfare in the Age of the Crusades, 1000–1300* (1999). See also now Nicholas Morton, *The Crusader States and their Neighbours, 1098–1291* (2020).

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*

Crusade, 1213–1221 (1986). Siege warfare is treated in Randall Rogers's *Latin Siege Warfare in the Twelfth Century* (1992) and Michal Fulton's *Artillery in the Era of the Crusades. Siege Warfare and the Development of Trebuchet Technology* (2018). Sea-power and logistics are clarified by John Pryor in *Geography, Technology and War* (1988) and *Logistics of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades* (2006). For an interesting and novel approach which adopts the view point of a sailor, see Dan Mirkin's *Sailing to the Holy land. Crusader Ships, Seamanship, Logistics, and Landing Operations* (2018). Armour and weapons are described in David C. Nicolle's *Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era 1050–1350*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (1999). The transfers of prisoners are considered in Yvonne Friedman's *Encounter between Enemies: Captivity and Ransom in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (2002), and Phillipe Goridis' *Gefangen im Heiligen Land* (2015).

There is not yet a definitive book specializing on the Order of St John's navy in the Rhodian and Maltese periods, although Anne Brogini has important things to say in *Malte, frontière de chrétienté, 1530–1670* (2006). A good deal of work has been done on the innovative activities of the Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia. See Sven Ekdahl, 'Horses and crossbows. Two important warfare advantages of the Teutonic Order in Prussia', in *The Military Orders Volume Two. Welfare and Warfare*, ed. Helen Nicholson (1998) and the magnificent, but unfinished, treatment of the *Reysen* by Werner Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen des Europäischen Adels*, 2 vols (1989–95).

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).

For crusader castles, it would be best to start with Hugh Kennedy's *Crusader Castles* (1994). The most detailed treatment to date is Paul Deschamps's *Les châteaux des croisés en Terre Sainte*, 3 vols (1934–77) and there is a magnificent survey of Crac des Chevaliers in *Der Crac des Chevaliers. Die Baugeschichte einer Ordensburg der Kreuzfahrerzeit*, ed. Thomas Biller (2006). However, see also Robert W. Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia* (1987), Denys Pringle, *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: An Archaeological Gazetteer* (1997), Kristian Molin, *Unknown Crusader Castles* (2001), *Burgen und Städte der Kreuzzugszeit*, ed. Matthias Piana (2008), and, for Prussia, Tomasz Torbus, *Die Konventsburgen im Deutschordensland Preußen* (1998).

On the fortifications of the city of Rhodes, see Albert Gabriel, *La cité de Rhodes, 1310–1522*, 2 vols (1921–3). See also Anthony T. Luttrell, 'The later history of the Maussolleion and its utilization in the Hospitaller castle at Bodrum', *The Maussolleion at Halikarnassos* (1986) and 'English contributions to the Hospitaller Castle at Bodrum in Turkey: 1407–1437', in *The Military Orders Volume 2. Welfare and Warfare*, ed. Helen Nicholson (1998). For the fortifications of Malta, see Stephen C. Spiteri, *The Art of Fortress Building in Hospitaller Malta, 1530–1798: A Study of Building Methods, Materials, and Techniques* (2008).

For the siege of Malta in 1565, see Anne Brogini, *1565. Malte dans la tourmente: le grand siège de l'île par les Turcs* (2011) and Stephen C. Spiteri, *The Great Siege: Knights vs Turks, mdlxv [1565]. Anatomy of a Hospitaller victory* (2005).

The Byzantine Greeks

Excellent starting points for Latin-Greek relations are Michael Angold, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025–1204*, 2nd edn (1997), Jonathan Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades, 2nd edn* (2014), and Ralph-Johannes Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States, 1096–1204*, tr. J. C. Morris and Jean E. Ridings (1993). For a recent study on Latin attitudes towards the Greeks, see Savvas Neocleous, *Heretics, Schismatics, or Catholics? Latin Attitudes to the Greeks in the Long Twelfth Century* (2019).

Jonathan Shepard has transformed our understanding of the attitude of Alexios I to the preaching of the First Crusade in 'When Greek meets Greek: Alexius Comnenus and Bohemond in 1097–8', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 12 (1988) and 'Cross-purposes: Alexius Comnenus and the First Crusade', in *The First Crusade. Origins and Impact*, ed. Jonathan Phillips (1997).

For the centuries after 1204, see Michael Angold's *A Byzantine Government in Exile* (1975), John W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391–1425)* (1969), Angeliki E. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins: The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II, 1282–1328* (1972), and Nikolaos Christis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece. A Study of Byzantine-Western Relations and Attitudes, 1204–1282* (2012).

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

Muslims and Crusaders. Christianity's Wars in the Middle East, 1095–1382, 2nd edn (2020). For West Asia on the eve of the First Crusade, see Michael Brett's 'The Near East on the eve of the Crusades', in *La Primera Cruzada Novecientos años Después*, ed. Luís García-Guijarro Ramos (1997) and 'Abbasids, Fatimids and Seljuqs', in *New Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith, vol. 2 (2004). For Islamic ideological responses, see Osman Latiff, *The Cutting Edge of the Poet's Sword: Muslim Poetic Responses to the Crusades* (2017) and Kenneth A. Goudie, *Reinventing Jihād. Jihād Ideology from the Conquest of Jerusalem to the end of the Ayyūbids (c. 492/1099–647/1249)* (2019). For the social background, see Shelomo D. Goitein's, *A Mediterranean Society*, 6 vols (1967–93), which focuses on the Jewish community in Egypt but provides a wealth of material on the Near East. Ronnie Ellenblum's *The Collapse of the Eastern Mediterranean. Climate Change and the Decline of the East, 950–1072* (2012) argues for the catastrophic effects of climate change on the Levant. Later economic history, such as papal embargoes, is covered in Eliyahu Ashtor's *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (1983).

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).

There are some good biographies of key Muslim rulers. See Taef el-Azhari, *Zengi and the Muslim Response to the Crusades. The Politics of Jihad* (2016), Nikita Elisséeff, *Nur ad-Din*, 3 vols (1967), Malcolm C. Lyons and David E. P. Jackson, *Saladin* (1982), Anne-Marie Eddé, *Saladin*, tr. Jane M. Todd (2011), Hans L. Gottschalk, *Al-Malik al-Kamil von Egypten und seine Zeit* (1958), and Peter Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century*, tr. Peter M. Holt (1987).

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 history of the Mongols and their dealings with Latin Christendom are covered in Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1221–1410* (2005), David O. Morgan, *The Mongols* (1986), and Timothy May, *The Mongol Empire* (2016). For the first crusade against them, see Peter Jackson's 'The crusade against the Mongols', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 43 (1991).

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://independentcrusadersproject.ace.fordham.edu/>.

The First Crusade

The topic has attracted almost as many books as there are general histories. The most straightforward is Thomas S. Asbridge, *The First Crusade. A New History* (2004). Several retell the story from a particular viewpoint, such as Peter Frankopan's *The First Crusade. The Call from the East* (2012) or Jay Rubinstein's *Armies of Heaven. The First Crusade and the Quest for the Apocalypse* (2011).

For the eleventh-century background, Carl Erdmann's *The Origin of the Idea of the Crusade*, tr. W. Goffart and M. W. Baldwin (1977) is still very useful, as is H. E. John Cowdrey's *Pope Gregory VII, 1073–1085* (1998). For the efforts of the Byzantine emperor Alexios, see the works of Shepard listed above.

The best biography of Pope Urban II remains Alfons Becker's *Papst Urban II (1088–1099)*, 2 vols (1964–88). Robert Somerville's studies of councils – *Pope Urban II's Council of Piacenza* (2011), 'The Council of Clermont (1095) and Latin Christian Society', *Archivum historiae pontificiae* 12 (1974), and 'The Council of Clermont and the First Crusade', *Studia gratiana* 20 (1976) – are important. H. E. John Cowdrey's 'Pope Urban II's preaching of the First Crusade', *History* 55 (1970) is still useful. For attempts to reinstate Peter the Hermit as the crusade's originator, see Ernest O. Blake and Colin Morris, 'A Hermit goes to war: Peter and the origins of the First Crusade', *Studies in Church History* 22 (1984), and Jean Flori, *Pierre l'Ermitte et la Première Croisade* (1999).

For the response to Pope Urban's appeal, see Marcus Bull's *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade. The Limousin and Gascony, c. 970–c. 1130* (1993); Jonathan Riley-Smith's *The First Crusaders 1095–1131* (1997); and Lars Kjaer, 'Conquests, Family Traditions and

the First Crusade', *Journal of Medieval History* 45:5 (2019). For the military history of the crusade, see John France, *Victory in the East. A Military History of the First Crusade* (1994). For the development of crusade ideas on the march and in the immediate aftermath, see Jonathan Riley-Smith's *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (1986). A social history of the crusade is found in Conor Kostick's *The Social Structure of the First Crusade* (2008).

The 'Second' Crusade

Jonathan Phillips's *The Second Crusade. Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (2007) is now the standard account. Giles Constable's 'The Second Crusade as seen by contemporaries', *Traditio* 9 (1953) is still well worth reading. There are also three good edited volumes: *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. Michael Gervers (1992); *The Second Crusade. Scope and Consequences*, ed. Jonathan Phillips and Martin Hoch (2001); and *The Second Crusade: Holy War on the Periphery of Latin Christendom*, ed. Jason Roche and Janus M. Jensen (2015).

The 'Third' Crusade

No authoritative account has been published, though extensive treatments of the venture's narrative can be found in Christopher J. Tyerman, *God's War. A New History of the Crusades* (2006) and Thomas S. Asbridge, *The Crusades. The War for the Holy Land* (2010). Scholars are for the most part reliant on works focused on singular figures, such as John B. Gillingham's *Richard I* (1999), Rudolf Hiestand, "'Precipua tocius christianismi columpna". Barbossa und der Kreuzzug', in *Friedrich Barbarossa. Handlungsspielräume und Wirkungsweisen des Staufischen Kaisers*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp (1992), Jim Bradbury, *Philip Augustus. King of France, 1180–1223* (1998), and Malcolm C. Lyons and David E. P. Jackson, *Saladin* (1982). A highly useful entry point into the historiography is Stephen J. Spencer, 'The Third Crusade in Historiographical Perspective', *History Compass* 19:7 (2019).

The 'Fourth' Crusade

Several books are dedicated to this venture, but the most useful are Donald E. Queller and Thomas F. Madden's *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, 2nd edn (1997), Michael Angold's *The Fourth Crusade* (2003), and Jonathan Phillips', *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople* (2004). See also the essay collection *Urbs Capta. The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences*, ed. Angeliki Laiou (2005). Jean Longnon's *Les compagnons de Villehardouin* (1978), on the men who took part, is still of great interest.

The best treatment of Pope Innocent III's general crusading policies is in Helmut Roscher's *Papst Innocenz III und die Kreuzzüge* (1969). See also Christopher R. Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England* (1976), and, for a wider perspective, *The Fourth Lateran Council and the Crusade Movement: The Impact of the Council of 1215 on Latin Christendom and the East*, ed. Jessalynn Bird and Damian Smith (2018).

The Children's Crusade

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

The 'Fifth' Crusade

The starting point remains James M. Powell's *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213–1221* (1986). More recently, see *The Fifth Crusade in Context. The Crusading Movement in the Early Thirteenth Century*, ed. Elizabeth J. Mylod, Guy Perry, Thomas W. Smith, and Jan Vanderburie (2017) and Megan Cassidy-Welch, *War and Memory at the Time of the Fifth Crusade* (2019).

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 essential starting point is William C. Jordan's *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade* (1979). The most recent treatment of these crusades in the context of Mediterranean history is Michael Lower's *The Tunis Crusade of 1270: A Mediterranean History* (2018). The best biography, from the point of view of crusading, is Jean Richard's *Saint Louis*, tr. Simon Lloyd (1992), but see also M. Cecilia Gaposchkin's *The Making of St Louis (IX) of France. Kingship, Sanctity and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (2008). Caroline Smith's *Crusading in the Age of Joinville* (2006) is a good study of Louis's followers. Interesting material is found in Daniel Weiss, *Art and Crusade in the Age of Saint Louis* (1998) and *France and the Holy Land*, ed. Daniel Weiss and Lisa Mahoney (2004).

The papacy and crusading in the thirteenth century

Though Innocent III's career has long been the main point of study for thirteenth-century papal responses to crusading, recent work has expanded our knowledge of other popes and wider theatres of conflict. See, for example, Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades 1147–1254* (2007), Rebecca Rist, *The Papacy and Crusading in Europe, 1198–1245* (2009), Pierre-Vincent Claverie, *Honorius III et l'Orient (1216–1227): Étude et publication de sources inédites des Archives vaticanes* (ASV) (2013), Philip B. Baldwin, *Pope Gregory X and the Crusades* (2014), and Thomas W. Smith, *Curia and Crusade. Pope Honorius III and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1216–1227* (2017).

The later crusades, 1274 onwards

The best treatments are Norman J. Housley's *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades, 1305–1378* (1986) and *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (1992). Other useful works include Malcolm Barber, 'The pastoureaux of 1320', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 32 (1981), Timothy Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade. The English Experience of the Fourteenth Century* (2013), Sophia Menache, *Clement V* (1998), Andrew C. Hess, 'The Battle of Lepanto and its place in Mediterranean history', *Past and Present* 57 (1972), Sylvia Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1274–1314* (1991), and Mike Carr, *Merchant Crusaders in the Aegean, 1291–1352* (2015). Most recently, the ideas and activities of crusaders in the late fifteenth century have been of particular interest. See Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West* (2004), Norman J. Housley, *Religious Warfare in Europe 1400–1536* (2002), *Crusading and the Ottoman Threat 1453–1505* (2012) and his edited volume *The Crusade in the Fifteenth Century. Converging and Competing Cultures* (2017), and Liviu Pilat and Ovidiu Cristea, *The Ottoman Threat and Crusading on the Eastern Border of Christendom during the Fifteenth Century* (2018).

Crusading in other theatres of war

A valuable and recent collection of work on crusading across traditional boundaries of space and time is *Fighting for the Faith—The Many Crusades* (2020), ed. Carsten Selch Jensen, Janus Møller Jensen, and Kurt Villads Jensen.

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

Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia c. 1095–c. 1187 (2008), and the comparative volume *Crusading on the Edge. Ideas and Practice of Crusading in Iberia and the Baltic Region, 1100–1500*, ed. Torben K. Nielsen and Iben Fonnesberg Schmidt (2016). See also Robert I. Burns's *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia*, 2 vols (1967), and *Muslims, Christians and Jews in the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia* (1984), as well as Richard A. Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela* (1984) and Hussein Fancy, *The Mercenary Mediterranean: Sovereignty, Religion, and Violence in the Medieval Crown of Aragon* (2016). For an alternative view, see Luis García-Guijarro, 'Reconquest and the Second Crusade in Eastern Iberia: The Christian Expansion in the Lower Ebro Valley', in *The Second Crusade: Holy War on the Periphery of Latin Christendom*, ed. Jason Roche and Janus M. Jensen (2015).

Warfare in Iberia after 1274 is treated by Norman Housley in *The Avignon Papacy* and in *The Later Crusades*. Its extension into North Africa in the sixteenth century is described by Andrew C. Hess in *The Forgotten Frontier: A History of the Sixteenth-century Ibero-African Frontier* (1978). Works on Iberian military orders are included in the section on the military orders.

The Baltic and northern crusades

Eris Christiansen's *The Northern Crusades* (1980) is still useful, but several important books have recently appeared: Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades 1147–1254* (2007); Janus M. Jensen, *Denmark and the Crusades, 1400–1650* (2007), *Jerusalem in the North. Denmark and the Baltic Crusades, 1100–1522*, ed. Ane L. Bysted, Carsten Selch Jensen, Kurt Villads Jensen, and John H. Lind (2012); and the aforementioned *Crusading on the Edge. Ideas and Practice of Crusading in Iberia and the Baltic Region, 1100–1500*, ed. Torben K. Nielsen and Iben Fonnesberg Schmidt (2016). Norman Housley has interesting things to say in *The Avignon Papacy* and *The Later 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

Though much remains to be done regarding the intersection between crusading and Africa, good starting points are Bernard Hamilton's 'The Lands of Prester John. Western Knowledge of Asia and Africa at the Time of the Crusades', *Haskins Society Journal* 15 (2004) and 'The Crusades in North East Africa', in *Crusading and Warfare in the Middle Ages. Realities and Representations. Essays in Honour of John France*, ed. Simon John and Nicholas Morton (2014), and *Croisades en Afrique: Les expéditions occidentales à destination du continent africain, XIIIe–XVIe siècles*, ed.

Benjamin Weber (2019). See also Verena Krebs, *Medieval Ethiopian Kingship, Craft, and Diplomacy with Latin Europe* (2021), and Adam Simmons, *Nubia, Ethiopia, and the Crusading World, 1095–1402* (2022).

Crusades against heretics and opponents of the Church

A brief introduction to the Albigensian Crusade is found in Malcolm Barber's *Cathars* (2000). Papal Policy is explained in Rebecca Rist's *The Papacy and Crusading in Europe 1198–1245* (2009). Pavel Soukup has published a number of works on the Hussites, as cited in this book's notes. A good short description of the crusades against the Hussites is F. G. Heyman, 'The crusades against the Hussites', *A History of the Crusades* 3, ed. Kenneth M. Setton (1975). See also Mark Whelan, 'Between Papacy and Empire: Cardinal Henry Beaufort, the House of Lancaster, and the Hussite Crusades', *English Historical Review* 133 (2018), and Thomas A. Fudge, *Jan Hus. Religious Reform and Social Revolution in Bohemia* (2010). There is interesting treatment by Norman Housley in his *The Later Crusades* (1992) and *Religious Warfare* (2002).

The standard work on the political crusades in Italy is Norman Housley's *The Italian Crusades* (1982). He continues the story in his *The Avignon Papacy*. See also Simon Lloyd's "'Political Crusades" in England, c. 1215–17 and c. 1263–5', in Peter W. Edbury ed., *Crusade and Settlement* (1985).

The nineteenth century and beyond

The historiography on crusading in the nineteenth century and beyond is ever growing. For important starting points, see Elizabeth Siberry, *The New Crusaders. Images of the Crusades in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (2000), Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades, Christianity and Islam* (2008), and Mike Horswell, *The Rise and Fall of British Crusader Medievalism, c. 1825–1945* (2018). On the wider 'medievalism' of the early twentieth century, see also Stefan Goebel, *The Great War and Medieval Memory. War, Remembrance and Medievalism in Britain and Germany, 1914–1940* (2007). Those interested in the continued influence of crusading in the modern era should consult the ongoing *Engaging the Crusades* series, edited by Mike Horswell and Jonathan Phillips.

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–*

c.1291 (1999). 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

Monique Amouroux-Mourad’s *Le comté d’Edesse* (1988) should be supplemented by Christopher MacEvitt’s *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East. Rough Tolerance* (2008) and Alan V. Murray’s *Baldwin of Bourcq. Count of Edessa and King of Jerusalem (1100–1131)* (2021).

Cilician Armenia

An introduction in English is Thomas S. R. Boase ed., *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia* (1978). It is also worth consulting Isabelle Augé, *Byzantins, Arméniens et Francs au temps de la croisade: politique religieuse et reconquête en Orient sous la dynastie des Comnènes (1081–1185)* (2007) and Marie-Anna Chevalier’s *Les ordres religieux-militaires en Arménie cilicienne* (2009).

Antioch and Tripoli

The groundwork for the principality of Antioch was laid in Claude Cahen’s *La Syrie du Nord à l’époque des croisades et la principauté franque d’Antioche* (1940). It has been carried further by Hans E. Mayer’s *Varia Antiochena: Studien zum Kreuzfahrerfürstentum Antiochia im 12. und frühen 13. Jarhundert* (1993), Thomas S. Asbridge’s *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch, 1098–1130* (2000) and several smaller studies, and Andrew D. Buck’s *The Principality of Antioch and its Frontiers in the Twelfth Century* (2017) and other shorter studies, most especially ‘Women in the Principality of Antioch: Power, Status, and Social Agency’, *Haskins Society Journal* 31 (2019). For Tripoli, the starting point was Jean Richard, *Le comté de Tripoli sous la dynastie toulousaine (1102–1187)* (1945), but see now Kevin James Lewis, *The Counts of Tripoli and Lebanon in the Twelfth Century. Sons of Saint-Gilles* (2017) and *Le Comté de Tripoli. État multicultural et multiconfessionnel (1102–1289)* (2010), ed. Gérard Dédéyan and Karim Rizk. For the archaeological evidence, an excellent starting point is Balázs Major, *Medieval Rural Settlements in the Syrian Coastal Region (12th and 13th Centuries)* (2015).

Jerusalem

The best general introduction to the kingdom of Jerusalem remains Jean Richard's *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, tr. Janet Shirley, 2 vols (1979), although it was first published in 1953. Joshua Prawer's *Crusader Institutions* (1980) is still also important. Alan V. Murray's *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Dynastic History 1099–1125* (2000) is relevant to the early years of settlement. King Baldwin IV has been the subject of Bernard Hamilton's *The Leper King and His Heirs. Baldwin IV and the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (2000) and Eric Bohme's *Die Außenbeziehungen des Königreiches Jerusalem im 12. Jahrhundert: Kontinuität Und Wandel Im Herrscherwechsel Zwischen König Amalrich Und Balduin IV* (2019). Jonathan Riley-Smith's *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277* (1973) concentrates on the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. There have also been several recent biographies of Jerusalemite rulers, including Simon John, *Godfrey of Bouillon. Duke of Lower Lotharingia, Ruler of Latin Jerusalem, c.1060–1100* (2019), Susan B. Edgington, *Baldwin I of Jerusalem, 1100–1118* (2019), Alan V. Murray, *Baldwin of Bourcq. Count of Edessa and King of Jerusalem (1100–1131)* (2021), and Helen J. Nicholson, *Sybil, Queen of Jerusalem, 1186–1190* (2022). For a more general study on royal diplomacy, see Jonathan Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land: Relations between the Latin East and the West, 1119–1187* (1996).

Hans E. Mayer has led the way in the examination of individual lordships. His articles, many of which are in English, have been collected in *Kreuzzüge und lateinischer Osten* (1983), *Probleme des lateinischen Königreiches Jerusalem* (1983), and *Kings and Lords in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (1993). See also Steven Tibble, *Monarchy and Lordships in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099–1291* (1989). For an innovative approach that sets a crusader lordship in a much wider temporal setting, see Marcus Milwright, *The Fortress of the Raven. Karak in the Middle Islamic Period (1100–1650)* (2008).

On the legal and administrative history of the kingdom, see Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'On the origins of the earliest laws of Frankish Jerusalem: The Canons of the Council of Nablus, 1120', *Speculum* 74 (1999), Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'Further Thoughts on Baldwin II's établissement on the confiscation of fiefs', in *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. Peter W. Edbury (1985), Peter W. Edbury, *John of Ibelin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (1997), which is a preliminary study to his edition of the law-book of John of Jaffa: *John of Ibelin, Le Livre des Assises* (2003), and 'Fiefs and Vassals in the Kingdom of Jerusalem: from the Twelfth Century to the Thirteenth', *Crusades* 1 (2003), and Marwan Nader, *Burgesses and Burgess Law in the Latin Kingdoms of Jerusalem and Cyprus (1099–1325)* (2006). Hans E. Mayer's *Die Kanzlei der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, 2 vols (1996) is a masterful study of the chancery in advance of his four-volume edition of the royal charters, *Die Urkunden der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem* (2010).

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,

‘Languages in contact in the Latin East: Acre and Cyprus’, *Crusades* 1 (2002), Benjamin Z. Kedar, ‘The subjected Muslims of the Frankish Levant’, in *Muslims Under Latin Rule, 1100–1300*, ed. James M. Powell (1990), Jonathan Riley-Smith, ‘Government and the indigenous in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem’, in *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, ed. David Abulafia and Nora Berend (2002), Iris Shagrir, *Naming Patterns in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (2003), and Adrian Boas, *Domestic Settings. Sources on Domestic Architecture and Day-to-Day Activities in the Crusader States* (2010).

Trade

The operations of European merchants are described in all the general works, but a wide-ranging survey is needed. The best introduction is Michel Balard’s collected articles in *La Méditerranée médiévale. Espaces, itinéraires, comptoirs* (2006) and the same author’s *Les Latins en Orient (Xe–XVe siècle)* (2006). See also David Abulafia, ‘Trade and crusade’, in *Cross-cultural Convergencies in the Crusader Period*, ed. Michael Goodich, Sophia Menache, and Sylvia Schein (1995), Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie, *Die Italiener im Heiligen Land vom ersten Kreuzzug bis zum Tode Heinrichs von Champagne (1098–1197)* (1989), Mike Carr, *Merchant Crusaders in the Aegean, 1291–1352* (2015), and *Crusading and Trading between East and West. Studies in Honour of David Jacoby*, ed. Sophia Menache, Benjamin Z. Kedar, and Michel Balard (2019). The context is brilliantly described in Shelomo Goitein’s *A Mediterranean Society. The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 6 vols (1967–99) and Jessica L. Goldberg’s *Trade and Institutions in the Medieval Mediterranean: The Geniza Merchants and their Business World* (2016).

The Latin Church in the crusader states

The best introduction in English is Bernard Hamilton’s *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church* (1980). See also Andrew Jotischky, *The Perfection of Solitude: Hermits and Monks in the Crusader States* (1995), Hans E. Mayer, *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem* (1977), Jean Richard, *La papauté et les missions d’Orient au moyen âge (XIIIe–XVe siècles)* (1977), Miriam R. Tessera, *Orientalis ecclesia: Papato, Chiesa e regno latino di Gerusalemme (1099–1187)* (2010), and Bernard Hamilton and Andrew Jotischky, *Latin and Greek Monasticism in the Crusader States* (2020).

On schools, learning, and literary cultures, see Benjamin Z. Kedar, ‘Gerard of Nazareth: A neglected twelfth-century writer in the Latin East’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 37 (1983), Peter Edbury and John G. Rowe, *William of Tyre. Historian of the Latin East* (1988), Piers Mitchell, *Medicine in the Crusades. Warfare, Wounds and the Medieval Surgeon* (2004), Emilie Savage-Smith, ‘New

evidence for the Frankish study of Arabic medical texts in the crusader period’, *Crusades* 5 (2006), Charles Burnett, ‘Stephen, the disciple of philosophy, and the exchange of medical learning in Antioch’, *Crusades* 5 (2006), and Julian Yolles, *Making the East Latin. The Latin Literature of the Levant in the Era of the Crusades* (2022).

Art and architecture

Two of the most important publications on crusader art are Jaroslav Folda: *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land 1098–1187* (1995) and *Crusader Art in the Holy Land from the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291* (2005). However, recent debates have re-considered the nature of the term ‘crusader art’, for which see Lucy-Anne Hunt, ‘Art and Colonialism: The Mosaics of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem (1169) and the Problem of “Crusader” Art’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45 (1991) and Maria Georgopoulou, ‘Orientalism and Crusader Art: Constructing a New Canon’, *Medieval Encounters* 5 (1999). See also *The Crusades and Visual Culture*, ed. Elizabeth Lapina, April J. Morris, Laura J. Whatley, and Susanna A. Throop (2015).

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.

For coins and seals, see D. Michael Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East*, 2nd edn (1995), Hans E. Mayer, *Das Siegelwesen in den Kreuzfahrerstaaten* (1978), and Gustave Schlumberger, Ferdinand Chalandon, and Adrien Blanchet, *Sigillographie de l’Orient latin* (1943).

Cyprus

The best study is Peter W. Edbury’s *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374* (1991). It can be supplemented by Jean Richard, *Chypre sous les Lusignans: Documents chypriotes des archives du Vatican (XIVe et XVe siècles)* (1962), Nicholas Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1195–1312* (1997) and *The Latin Church in Cyprus 1313–1378* (2010), Camille Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus*, tr. David Hunt (1987), and Thomas Devaney, ‘Spectacle, Community and Holy War in Fourteenth-Century Cyprus’, *Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue* 19:3 (2013).

Greece

The history of Latin Greece has had detailed, if rather unanalytical treatment, in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth Setton, vols 2–3. See also Michel Balard, *La Romanie génoise (XIIe-début du XVe siècle)* (1978), Antoine Bon, *La Morée Franque: Recherches historiques, topographiques et archéologiques sur la principauté d'Achaïe (1205–1430)* (1969), Giorgio Fedalto, *La chiesa latina in Oriente*, 3 vols (1973–8), Peter Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500* (1995), Teresa Shawcross, *The Chronicle of Morea* (2009), Nikolaos Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece. A Study of Byzantine-Western Relations and Attitudes, 1204–1282* (2012), and *Contact and Conflict in Frankish Greece and the Aegean, 1204–1453. Crusade, Religion and Trade between Latins, Greeks and Turks*, ed. Nikolaos Chrissis and Mike Carr (2014).

The military orders

For general introductions to the military orders, an encyclopedia now covers all the medieval orders: *Prier et Combattre. Dictionnaire européen des ordres militaires au Moyen Âge*, ed. Nicole Bériou and Philippe Josserand (2009). It can be supplemented by *World Orders of Knighthood and Merit*, ed. Guy Stair Sainty and Rafal Heydel-Mankoo, 2 vols (2006), which extends to the present day. Good introductions are also found in the chapters by Alan J. Forey and Anthony T. Luttrell in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith (1995). See also Alain Demurger, *Chevaliers du Christ: Les ordres religieux-militaires au Moyen Âge* (2002), and Alan J. Forey, *The Military Orders* (1992). Recent works dealing with more than one order include Jochen Burgdorf, *The Central Convent of Hospitallers and Templars. History, Organization, and Personnel (1099/1120–1310)* (2008), Marie-Anna Chevalier, *Les ordres religieux-militaires en Arménie cilicienne* (2009), Adrian J. Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders: A Survey of the Urban Centres, Rural Settlement and Castles of the Military Orders in the Latin East (c. 1120–1291)* (2006), Jonathan Riley-Smith, *Templars and Hospitallers as Professed Religious in the Holy Land* (2010), Myra Miranda Bom, *Women in the Military Orders of the Crusades* (2012), and *The Templars, the Hospitallers, and the Crusades. Essays in Homage to Alan J. Forey* (2020), ed. Helen Nicholson and Jochen Burgdorf. Likewise, the series *The Military Orders*, which includes the proceedings of a quadrennial conference on the military orders and is now into its seventh volume, contains much that is useful.

The Knights Templar

Reliable histories of the Templars are Malcolm Barber's *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (1994), and Alain Demurger's *Les Templiers. Une chevalerie chrétienne au Moyen Âge* (2005). See also *The Templars. The Rise, Fall and Legacy of a Military Religious Order*, ed. Jochen Burgdorf, Shlomo Lotan, Enric Mallorquí-Ruscalleda (2021). For the Templars in the East,

see Pierre-Vincent Claverie's *L'Ordre du Temple en Terre Sainte et à Chypre au XIIIe siècle*, 3 vols (2005).

The best book on their provincial structure remains Alan Forey's *The Templars in the Corona de Aragon* (1973). See also Evelyn Lord's *The Knights Templar in Britain* (2004). A new way of looking at the local relationship of the Templar commanderies with neighbouring families is found in Damien Carraz's *L'ordre du Temple dans la basse vallée du Rhône (1124–1312): Ordres militaires, croisades et sociétés méridionales* (2005), and Jochen Schenk's *Templar Families. Landowning Families and the Order of the Temple in France, c. 1120–1307* (2012).

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 Burgdorf (2010); *La fin de l'ordre du Temple*, ed. Marie-Anna Chavalier (2012).

The Knights Hospitaller of St John

For the general history of the Hospitallers, see Helen Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller* (2001) and Jonathan Riley-Smith, *Hospitallers* (1999).

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).

For the Hospitaller sisters see Anthony Luttrell and Helen Nicholson, *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages* (2006) and Myra Miranda Bom, *Women in the Military Orders of the Crusades* (2012).

On the Hospitallers' European estates, see Judith Bronstein's *The Hospitallers and the Holy Land. Financing the Latin East 1187–1274* (2005), Pierre Bonneaud's *Le prieuré de Catalogne, le couvent de Rhodes et la couronne d'Aragon 1415–1447* (2004), Michael Gervers's 'Pro defensione Terre Sancte: The development and exploitation of the Hospitallers' landed estate in Essex', *The Military Orders*, ed. Malcolm Barber (1994), Gregory O'Malley's *The Knights Hospitaller of the English Language 1460–1565* (2005), and Simon Phillips's *The Prior of the Knights Hospitaller in Late Medieval England* (2009).

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 siècles 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 Order's occupation of Malta is covered in Anne Brogini's *Malte, frontière de chrétienté, 1530–1670* (2006) and Alain Blondy's *L'Ordre de Malte au XVIIIe siècle: Des dernières splendeurs à la ruine* (2002). See also Emanuel Buttigieg, *Nobility, Faith and Masculinity: The Hospitaller Knights of Malta, c. 1580–c. 1700* (2011) and *Hospitaller Malta, 1530–1798: Studies on Early Modern Malta and the Order of St John of Jerusalem*, ed. Victor Mallia-Milanes (1993).

The Teutonic Order

The best general histories are Udo Arnold ed., *800 Jahre Deutscher Orden* (1990), Hartmut Boockmann, *Der Deutsche Orden: Zwölf Kapitel aus seiner Geschichte* (1981), and Klaus Militzer, *Die Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens* (2005). See also Nicholas Morton, *The Teutonic Knights in the Holy Land, 1190–1291* (2009).

For the thirteenth century, see Klaus Militzer's *Von Akkon zur Marienburg: Verfassung, Verwaltung und Sozialstruktur des Deutschen Ordens, 1190–1309* (1999).

For Prussia, English readers should consult Norman J. Housley's *The Avignon Papacy* (1986) and *The Later Crusades* (1992), but also the on-going work of Gregory Leighton, for example his 'Did the Teutonic Order create a Sacred Space in Thirteenth-Century Prussia', *Journal of Medieval History* 44:4 (2018). Axel Ehlers's *Die Ablasspraxis des Deutschen Ordens im Mittelalter* (2007) is a good study of the Teutonic Knights' use of indulgences. For their recruitment of European nobles, see Werner Paravicini's *Die Preussenreise des Europäischen Adels*, 2 vols (1989–95).

The Iberian Orders

The best general books on the subject are Carlos de Ayala Martínez'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

sixteenth centuries)' in *The Military Orders Volume 4. On Land and by Sea*, ed. Judith Upton-Ward (2008). English speakers might also consult Alan J. Forey, 'The military orders and the Spanish reconquest in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', *Traditio* 40 (1984), repr. in Alan J. Forey, *Military Orders and Crusades* (1994), Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *The Spanish Military Order of Calatrava and its Affiliates* (1975), and Philippe Josserand, 'Frontier conflict, military cost and culture: The Master of Santiago and the Islamic border in mid-fourteenth century Spain', in *The Military Orders Volume 6:2. Culture and Conflict in Western and Northern Europe*, ed. Jochen Schenk and Mike Carr (2017), as well as other interesting chapters contained in volumes of *The Military Orders*.

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

Scholars of the crusades are now blessed by a proliferation of accessible English translations of major texts through the *Crusade Texts in Translation* series. There are also several useful source collections or anthologies, including Louise and Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades, Idea and Reality, 1095–1274* (1981), Norman J. Housley, *Documents on the Later Crusades, 1274–1580* (1996), Corliss Slack, *Crusade Charters, 1138–1270* (2001), S. J. Allen and Emilie Amt, *The Crusades. A Reader*, 2nd edtn (2014), Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters, and James M. Powell, *Crusade and Christendom. Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291* (2013). For Muslim perspectives, see Suleiman A. Mourad and James E. Lindsay, *Muslim Sources of the Crusade Period. An Anthology* (2021) and the collection of translated sources in Niall Christie's *Muslims and Crusaders: Christianity's Wars in the Middle East, 1095-1382, from the Islamic sources*, 2nd ed (2020).. Recent essay collections edited by Alex Mallett also provide context and authorial details for key texts outside of the Latin Christian canon, *Medieval Muslim Historians and the Franks in the Levant* (2014) and *Franks and Crusades in Medieval Eastern Christian Historiography* (2021).

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 the Latin participant narratives of the First Crusade, see: *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. and tr. Rosalind Hill (1962); Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia*, tr. John H. and Laurita L. Hill (1968); Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem 1095–1127*, tr. Frances R. Ryan, ed. Harold S. Fink (1969). See also the translations found in Edward Peters, *First Crusade* (1998), especially for Raymond of Aguilers. For later texts, see especially Albert of Aachen, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, tr. Susan B. Edgington (2007), Baldric of Bourgueil, *History of the Jerusalemites*, tr. Susan B. Edgington with notes by Steven J. Biddlecombe (2020), Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds of God through the Franks*, tr. Robert Levine (2011), and Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, tr. Carol Sweetenham (2006).

Three of the main sources for the ‘Second’ Crusade, one covering the fighting in Asia Minor, two other the engagements in Portugal and Iberia, are Odo of Deuil, *De profectioe Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. and tr. Virginia G. Berry (1948), *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, ed. and tr. Charles W. David (1936, repr. with an introduction by Jonathan Phillips, 2001), and *The Conquest of Santarém and Goswin's Song of the Conquest of Alcácer do Sal: Editions and Translations of De expugnatione Scalabis and Gosuini de expugnatione Salaciae carmen*, tr. Jonathan Wilson (2021).

For the ‘Third’ Crusade, see *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade. The Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, tr. Helen J. Nicholson (1997), *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade*, tr. Peter W. Edbury (1996), Ambroise, *History of the Holy War*, tr. Marianne Ailes with notes by Malcolm Barber, 2 vols (2003), *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa. The History of the Expedition of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and Related Texts*, tr. Graham Loud (2013), and *The Deeds of Philip Augustus. An English Translation of Rigord's Gesta Philippi Regis*, tr. Larry J. Field and ed. M. Cecilila Gaposchkin and Sean L. Field (2022).

For the ‘Fourth’ Crusade, see Robert of Cléry (Clari), *The Conquest of Constantinople*, tr. Edgar H. McNeal (1936), *Capture of Constantinople: The Hystoria Constantinopolitana of Gunther of Pairis*, tr. Alfred J. Andrea (1997), Alfred J. Andrea, *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade* (2000), and Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, tr. Caroline Smith, *Joinville and Villehardouin* (2008).

For the ‘Fifth’ Crusade, see Oliver of Paderborn, *The Capture of Damietta*, tr. John J. Gavigan (1948) and Edward Peters, *Christian Society and the Crusades, 1198–1229* (1971).

For the first crusade of Louis IX of France, see John of Joinville, *The Life of Saint Louis*, tr. Caroline Smith, *Joinville and Villehardouin* (2008). See also Peter Jackson, *The Seventh Crusade, 1244–1254. Sources and Documents* (2007), which contains translated extracts from the narrative of Ibn Wasil, an important Arabic source still unavailable to readers.

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 Albigensian Crusade, see *The History of the Albigensian Crusade. Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay's Historia Albigensis*, tr. W. A. and M. D. Sibly (1998), *The Chronicle of William of Puylaurens: The Albigensian Crusade and its Aftermath*, tr. W. A. and M. D. Sibly (2003), *The Song of the Cathar Wars: A History of the Albigensian Crusade/William of Tudela and an Anonymous Successor*, tr. Janet Shirley (1996), and Catherine Léglu, Rebecca Rist, and Claire Taylor, *The Cathars and the Albigensian Crusade. A Sourcebook* (2014).

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

For the northern crusades of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see Henry of Livonia, *The Chronicle*, tr. James A. Brundage (1961), *The Chronicle of Prussia by Nicolaus von Jeroschin: A History of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia, 1190–1331*, tr. Mary Fischer, and *The Chronicle of Arnold of Lübeck*, tr. Graham Loud (2020).

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 early history of Antioch is described by Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, tr. Bernard S. and David S. Bachrach (2005), and Walter the Chancellor, *The Antiochene Wars*, tr. Thomas S. Asbridge and Susan B. Edgington (1999).

The early history of Jerusalem is best described in Albert of Aachen and Fulcher of Chartres (see above). The chief narrative for the twelfth century is William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, tr. Emily A. Babcock and August C. Krey, 2 vols (1943). For a Jerusalemite narrative of the city's loss to Saladin in 1187, see *The Conquest of the Holy Land by Salah al-Din. A Critical Edition and Translation of the Anonymous Libellus de Expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum*, ed. and tr. Keagan Brewer and James H. Kane (2019). For those with French, see Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Orientalis*, tr. Jean Donnadiou (2008).

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:*

The Rothelin Continuation of William of Tyre with Part of the Eracles or Acre Text, tr. Janet Shirley (1999), and *The 'Templar of Tyre' Part III of the Deeds of the Cypriots*, tr. Paul Crawford (2003).

Itineraries and pilgrimage descriptions of the Holy Land can be found in *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099–1185*, tr. John Wilkinson, Joyce Hill, and William F. Ryan (1988), and *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187–1291*, tr. Denys Pringle (2012).

Cyprus and Greece

See *The Assizes of the Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus*, tr. Nicholas Coureas (2002), Leontios Machairas, *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus*, ed. and tr. Richard M. Dawkins, 2 vols (1932), and *The Old French Chronicle of Morea. An Account of Frankish Greece after the Fourth Crusade*, tr. Anne van Arsdall and Helen Moody (2015).

The military orders

A good collection of documents is *The Templars. Selected Sources*, tr. Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate (2002). Their internal legislation is found in *The Rule of the Templars*, tr. Judith Upton-Ward (1992). Two important accounts of their dissolution are *The Fall of the Templars in the Crown of Aragon*, tr. Alan Forey (2001) and *The Proceedings Against the Templars in the British Isles*, tr. (in vol. 2) Helen Nicholson (2011).

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 dylectable newesse 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

For Byzantine historiography, see Anna Komnena, *The Alexiad*, tr. E. R. A. Sewter and Peter Frankopan (2009), John Kinnamos, *The Deeds and John and Manuel Comnenus*, tr. Charles M. Brand (1976), and Niketas Choniates, *O City of Byzantium. The Annals of Niketas Choniates*, tr. Harry J. Magoulias (1984). The Armenian texts of Matthew of Edessa and Gregory the Priest can be found in *Armenia and the Crusades: Tenth to Twelfth Centuries*, tr. Ara E. Dostourian, 2nd edn. (2013), while there is a French translation of Sempad the Constable's thirteenth-century text in *La Chronique attribuée au Connétable Smbat*, tr. Gerard Dédéyan (1980). Finally, the major Syriac text of Michael

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

For certain Arabic chroniclers, historians are still reliant on the French translations found in the *Recueil des historiens des Croisades. Historiens Orientaux* (1872–96) and the *Revue de l’Orient Latin*. However, several now have modern translations. The most important of these so is Ibn al-Athir, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from al-Kamil fī’l-ta’rikh*, tr. Donald S. Richards, 3 vols (2006–8). For the period to the middle of the twelfth century, see *The Book of the Jihad of ‘Ali ibn Tahir al-Sulami*, tr. Niall Christie (2015), Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Chronicle of Damascus*, tr. Hamilton A. R. Gibb (1932), with a fuller French translation in Roger le Tourneau, *Damas de 1075 à 1154: Traduction annotée d’un fragment de l’Histoire de Damas d’Ibn al-Qalansi* (1952), and Alex Mallett, ‘Al-‘Azīmī’s Ta’rikh for the Crusading Period: The Years 489–508/1095–1115’, *Crusades* 19 (2020). For Saladin, see Baha’ al-Din ibn Shaddad, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin*, tr. Donald S. Richards (1997) and Imad al-Din al-Isfahani, *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Saladin*, tr. Henri Massé (1972). For the thirteenth century, see Abu’l-Fida’, *The Memoirs of a Syrian Prince*, tr. Peter M. Holt (1983), Ibn ‘Abd al-Zahir, *Sirat al-Malik al-Zahir*, part ed. and tr. Syedah F. Sadeque (1956) and *Chronicles of Qalawun and his son al-Ashraf Kalil*, tr. David Cook (2020), as well as Ibn al-Furat, *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, part ed. and tr. Ursula and Malcolm C. Lyons, 2 vols (1971) and *Baybars’ Successors. Ibn al-Furat on Qalawun and al-Ashraf*, tr. David Cook (2020).

For relations with the Christians and descriptions of the Latin East, see Ibn Jubayr, *Travels*, tr. R. J. C. Broadhurst (1952) and Usamah ibn Munqidh, *The Book of Contemplation: Islam and the Crusades*, tr. Paul Cobb (2008).

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).