

Christiaan.

This is a good essay on the crusading aims of Louis and his contemporaries. The coverage is broad and you've made good, consistent use of the pertinent primary and secondary sources. A few things to add to the argument: \* Louis was more than willing to treat with the 'heathen' Mongols – does this change anything? Both he and Frederick knew that 'heathens/pagans' had to be dealt with diplomatically when the situation called for it. Being anti-Muslim in Frederick's kingdom would have been a very stupid approach to take! \* Frederick was very strict when it came to matters of heresy in his kingdom. He's often seen to be self-interested, or not committed to Christian and/or crusading principles, but how can that view be reconciled with certain actions and legislation suggesting otherwise? As for his crusading reluctance, there were important reasons for this: he had a lot to worry about, and the papacy, from his perspective – justified to a degree – was not to be trusted. This was the experience of his famous grandfathers, Roger II and Frederick I. Think of it as a birthright, or a form of statecraft passed down to him.\* As I mentioned in a recent Moodle post, Louis was obviously a devout Christian, but like Frederick, he was quick to question the Church when he felt it was overstepping its mark, or acting in an unfair manner. Well done! - 92%

## Essay Response

Between 1210 and 1270, the Papacy and Hohenstaufen Empire used crusading as a political tool with the intention of becoming the overlords of Christendom, whereas Louis IX crusaded for the liberation of the Holy Land. This essay asserts that the actions of the Papacy, Hohenstaufen Empire, and Louis IX reflect the differences in their aims and ideology.

The Papacy aimed to revive Christianity to ensure Papal dominance of Christendom. Pope Innocent III worked to evangelise Christendom and selected members of the clergy such as James of Vitry to preach and recruit crusaders across Europe. James developed standard sermons 'ad cruce signatos vel cruce signandos' (for those who are, or will become crusaders).<sup>1</sup> By linking crusading to Christ's crucifixion, Holy War was preached as penitence.<sup>2</sup> In 1212, inspired by church propaganda thousands of *pueri* (children) aged six and above from France and Germany marched to recapture the Holy Land.<sup>3</sup> Though this Children's Crusade eventually dispersed, it was proof of the success of the Papacy's revitalisation of Christianity.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> James of Vitry's SERMO I in Christopher T Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross*, Cambridge, 2004, pp. 82-83.

<sup>2</sup> James M Powell, 'Vocation of the Cross' in *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213-1221*, Philadelphia, 1986, p. 52; Penny J Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270*, Cambridge, 1991, p. 175.

<sup>3</sup> *Chronica Tegiæ Coloniensis Continuatio prima*, AD 1213, MGH SS XXIV 17-18, trans. James Brundage, *The Crusades: A Documentary History*, Milwaukee, 1962, p. 213 reproduced in *The Fourth Crusade Document Notes*, HIST308 Trimester 3, Armidale, 2012, pp. 18-19; Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades*, Cambridge, 2006, p. 609.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 607-608.

Innocent continued to institutionalise crusading through tax reforms and redemptions. By taxing the church one-twentieth of its revenue for three years, Innocent could adequately fund crusades.<sup>5</sup> He invented crusading redemptions, enabling those unable to fight to redeem their crusading vows for cash.<sup>6</sup> With the system in place, Innocent and his successor Honorius III called for the Fifth Crusade; the Papacy's first effort at directly running a Holy War. Commencing in 1219, its aim was to eliminate the Ayyubid Empire in Egypt from where '...Saracens draw the power and wealth to enable them to hold our land'.<sup>7</sup> Despite early success the expedition failed in 1221, tarnishing the church and the concept of crusading.<sup>8</sup> The church revolutionised the organisation of crusading through standardized preaching, tax reforms and redemptions, however the failure of its fifth crusade dealt a blow to the notion of Holy War.

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Emperor Frederick II's belief was that Christendom should be under Imperial control; his numerous crusading vows focused on securing and expanding his kingdom.<sup>9</sup> In 1215 Frederick was crowned king of a volatile Sicily, and to ensure papal protection, vowed to crusade in 1217. Yet he stalled, choosing to quell Sicilian unrest and consolidate his kingship among German nobles.<sup>10</sup> He vowed to join the Fifth Crusade but refused to fulfil his promise until Pope Honorius III confirmed him as Holy Roman Emperor in November 1220.<sup>11</sup> This pattern continued until he finally set sail in 1227. When Frederick turned back as an epidemic spread through his army, Pope Gregory IX lost patience and excommunicated him in 1228.<sup>12</sup> Ignoring his excommunication, Frederick increased imperial influence through crusading and political manoeuvring. In 1225 he married Yolande, heiress to the kingdom of Jerusalem, and after arriving in Outremer in 1228 concluded the Treaty of Jaffa with the Egyptian Sultan al-

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<sup>5</sup> Ernest F. Henderson, *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, London, 1910, pp. 337-344 reproduced in *The Fourth Crusade Document Notes*, HIST308 Trimester 3, Armidale, 2012, p. 20.

<sup>6</sup> Charles Phillips, *A Complete Illustrated History of the Crusades and the Crusader Knights*, consultant. Craig Taylor, London, 2010, p. 165.

<sup>7</sup> James of Vitry, *Lettres*, ed. R B C Huygens, Leiden, 1960, p. 102 in Thomas Asbridge, *The Crusades: The Authoritative History of the War for the Holy Land*, New York, 2010, p. 552.

<sup>8</sup> W B Bartlett, *The Crusades: An Illustrated History*, Gloucestershire, 2005, p. 220.

<sup>9</sup> Asbridge, *The Crusades*, p. 564; Phillips, *Crusader Knights*, p. 170.

<sup>10</sup> James M Powell, 'Church and Crusade: Frederick II and Louis IX', *The Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 93, no. 2, April 1997, p. 253.

<sup>11</sup> R H C Davis, *A History of Medieval Europe from Constantine to Saint Louis*, 3rd Edition, ed. R I Moore, London, 2006, p. 408.

<sup>12</sup> Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History*, London, 1987, p. 150.

Kamil, securing Jerusalem and a ten-year truce.<sup>13</sup> Despite success, Frederick's excommunication and willingness to work with Muslims gained him little favour and Jerusalem's patriarch refused to be present when Frederick crowned himself in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>14</sup> Frederick's crusading aims of imperial consolidation were solely for personal benefit with scant regard for the cause of the Papacy or Christianity.

Frederick's successful campaign in the East demonstrated a shift in crusading authority from Church to Imperial control. Desperate to reassert its dominance, the Papacy coordinated a new venture. In 1239, the Baron's Crusade led by Theobald King of Navarre and Richard Earl of Cornwall departed for the Holy Land aimed at securing Jerusalem following the expiration of the truce negotiated previously by Frederick.<sup>15</sup> Despite inept military actions by crusaders under Theobald and attempts by Pope Gregory to divert Richard to the Latin empire of Constantinople, the crusade secured further gains in territory and protection for the Holy Land in 1241.<sup>16</sup> Gregory's focus turned to consolidating Papal power in Christendom. Though the Treaty of San Germano reconciled Frederick and Gregory in 1230, Frederick threatened to encircle Rome, leading to his excommunication in 1239.<sup>17</sup> Gregory openly called for a Holy War against the Emperor whom he labelled a heretic and ally of Islam. The Papal crusading machine was brought to bear through preaching, clerical taxation and redemptions throughout Europe, including inside Frederick's empire.<sup>18</sup> Though Gregory died in 1241 followed by Frederick in 1250, the Papacy continued its war until Frederick's grandson Conradin was defeated in 1268.<sup>19</sup> Though victorious, the Papacy was criticised over its use of crusading for political purposes. As Davis states, '...the Empire had fallen and the Papacy had overstepped the pinnacle of its power'.<sup>20</sup>

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As had been the case for all south Italian rulers since Roger II's father.

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**Comment:** The same thing happened to Fred's maternal grandfather, Roger II.

<sup>13</sup> Norman Housely, *Fighting for the Cross: Crusading to the Holy Land*, London, 2008, p. 17; Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 158-159.

<sup>14</sup> Letter from Gerold, Patriarch of Jerusalem to All the Faithful, 1229, Dana C Munro, 'Letters of the Crusades', *Translations and Reprints from the Original sources of European History*, Vol. 1:4, Philadelphia, 1896, pp. 23-31 reproduced in *The Fourth Crusade Document Notes*, HIST308 Trimester 3, Armidale, 2012, pp. 29-32; Housely, *Fighting for the Cross*, p. 17.

<sup>15</sup> Powell, 'Church and Crusade', p. 258.

<sup>16</sup> R L Wolff, 'The Crusade of Theobald of Champagne and Richard of Cornwall', 1239-1241 in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K.M. Setton, Vol. II, *The Later Crusades, 1189-1131*, ed. H W Hazard, Madison, 1969-1989, pp. 476-485.

<sup>17</sup> Wolff, 'The Crusade of Theobald', p. 465; R L Wolff, 'The Political Crusades of the Thirteenth Century' in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K.M. Setton, Vol. II, *The Later Crusades, 1189-1131*, ed. H W Hazard, Madison, 1969-1989, pp. 350-351.

<sup>18</sup> Asbridge, *The Crusades*, p. 572; Wolff, 'The Political Crusades', p. 358.

<sup>19</sup> Davis, *A History of Medieval Europe*, p. 418.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 423-425.

King Louis IX of France felt his responsibility was the safeguarding of the Holy Land through piously motivated action. Without Papal authorization, Louis took the cross in 1244 convinced that divine intervention had spared him from a near fatal illness.<sup>21</sup> With much of Europe involved in anti-Hohenstaufen crusades, Louis determined his own path, collecting one-tenth of the revenue of the French Church for funding, and enlisting French nobles along with his three brothers.<sup>22</sup> A devout Christian, Louis believed that to receive God's grace for his crusade both he and his kingdom must be spiritually pure. He constructed Sainte Chappelle to house Christ's Crown of Thorns, and sent mendicant friars across France to resolve personal grievances against him and root out corruption in Crown affairs.<sup>23</sup> Louis ensured the organization of his kingdom was directly linked to the Christian mission.

The crusade targeted Ayyubid Egypt meeting early success in capturing Damietta in June 1249. Heeding the advice of his brother Robert of Artois that 'he who wishes to kill the serpent must first crush the head', the crusaders targeted Cairo.<sup>24</sup> The Sultan offered to negotiate for Jerusalem but Louis refused; he was bent on conquest.<sup>25</sup> However, indiscipline on the part of Robert precipitated the failure of the crusade and Louis' capture in April 1250.<sup>26</sup> After negotiating ransom payments Louis retreated to Acre and before returning to France in 1254, refortified the cities of Acre, Jaffa, Caesarea and Sidon at his own expense.<sup>27</sup> Despite the failure of his crusade, Louis remained committed to the Holy Land.

Louis' pious example inspired his people. In 1251, a popular movement of *pastoureux* (shepherds and simple people) declared their willingness to join Louis in Outremer.<sup>28</sup> Though French authorities rejected the Shepherd's Crusade, it reflected Louis' popularity and the strength of his Christian mission. His own chance for redemption came in 1266 when he again took the cross with the aim of converting Muhammad I of Tunis to Christianity.<sup>29</sup> Before

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<sup>21</sup> John of Joinville, 'The Life of Saint Louis' in *Joinville and Villehardouin: Chronicles of the Crusades*, trans. Caroline Smith, London, 2008, p. 173.

<sup>22</sup> Tyerman, *God's War*, p. 779; John of Joinville, 'The Life of Saint Louis', p. 173.

<sup>23</sup> Simon Lloyd, 'The Crusades of St Louis', *History Today*, vol. 47, no. 5, May 1997, p. 38; Asbridge, *The Crusades*, pp. 578-579.

<sup>24</sup> John of Joinville, 'The Life of Saint Louis', p. 190.

<sup>25</sup> Tyerman, *God's War*, p. 800.

<sup>26</sup> Bartlett, *An Illustrated History*, p. 245.

<sup>27</sup> Lloyd, 'St Louis', p. 41.

<sup>28</sup> Tyerman, *God's War*, pp. 804-805.

<sup>29</sup> Davis, *A History of Medieval Europe*, p. 420.

achieving his goal, in 1270 Louis died of illness. In keeping with his legend, his last words were said to be 'O Jerusalem!' and he was canonized in 1297.<sup>30</sup>

While the Papacy and Emperor Frederick vied for supremacy of Christendom, Saint Louis remained devoted to Christianity and the Holy Land. The Papacy's aim was to institutionalise crusade preparations, ensuring it was sole patron of Holy War, and attempted to consolidate this position through crusades to the Holy Land and against Frederick. Frederick's crusading aims focused on his own security, and extension of his empire. Louis in contrast crusaded to secure the Holy Land, not for his own personal power.

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<sup>30</sup> John of Joinville, 'The Life of St Louis', p. 333; Lloyd, 'St Louis', p. 43.

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