RETHINKING THE CRUSADES

By

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I declare that RETHINKING THE CRUSADES is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

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Abstract

RETHINKING THE CRUSADES

The study focuses on the unique phenomenon of society's changing attitudes towards the Crusades. Right from its inception the Crusades made a lasting impact on history, an impact which is still evident in the present day. Several aspects contributed to the start of the Crusades, among them the world and ideology of the eleventh century, the era in which the Crusades began.

In current times there have been calls demanding an apology for the Crusades, while at the same time some within Christianity have felt the need to apologise for the atrocities of the Crusades. The Crusades are often blamed for the animosity between Christians and Muslims, a situation worsened by the fact that leaders on both sides misuse the word 'crusade' for their own agendas.

The thesis is written within a historiographical framework making use of both critical enquiry and historical criticism.

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Key words:

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Changing attitudes towards the Crusades
Holy War
Pilgrimage
The world of the eleventh century
The Byzantine Empire

Chapter 1

1. Introduction

The Crusades arguably represent one of the most interesting, yet most controversial periods in the history of the Church. More than just ideology, more than just another war or event in history, the Crusades constitutes an enigma that seems to transcend the boundaries of one's imagination. Even at the time, the Crusades were more than just wars or military campaigns; for example, it also contained the important element of a devotional practice or religious exercise (Tyerman 2005). Today, the Crusade influence can be seen across the world in novels, movies, sport teams and even restaurants. In addition the word 'crusade' also has commonplace in our vocabulary as we use it to refer to anything from an evangelistic campaign to the fight against hunger, poverty or any other worthy cause. In the modern political sphere the word 'crusade' has also been known to appear in the rhetoric of politicians as they lash out against their enemies.

In reality, the average person's knowledge about the Crusades is limited to possibly envisioning heroic knights on horseback, each of their shields boldly portraying a large red cross, galloping off into battle against a Muslim hoard, to defend the innocent and safeguard the bastions of Christianity. In the western world especially, the Crusaders would arguably be seen as the heroes in the minds of the average lay citizen. Their peers in the Muslim world would however undoubtedly think of the Crusaders as murderers, rapists and thieves who pillaged and plundered their way to the Holy Land. Generally therefore, the identification of the guilty party during the Crusades would depend mostly on whom you're asking.

In addition to this, we must also acknowledge the fact that in the present day, the Crusades are becoming all the more controversial as an increasing number of people add their voices to those already asking forgiveness or demanding an apology for the atrocities committed by the Christians during the Crusades. This interesting phenomenon confirms the fact that present day attitudes towards the Crusades are changing. The

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questions that remain to be answered however are the reasons behind these changing attitudes towards the Crusades, as well as the extent of these changing attitudes.

1.1 Area of investigation

The area of investigation is the Crusades, which falls under the church of the Middle Ages in the Church History discipline. In addition to this, the research will also be widened to incorporate the development of human thought on the Crusades, which will eventually lead to the current interpretation of the Crusades. The idea at this point would be to identify the reasons behind the changing attitudes towards the Crusades.

1.2 Justification

If I were to ask the question 'who or what should be blamed for the Crusades?' I would involve myself in a longstanding debate in which countless arguments have been raised, and yet it remains a contentious issue if this important question has actually ever been properly answered. One of the reasons for this could possibly be found in the tendency to generalise, for example if I were to conclude that Christianity should be blamed for the Crusades, I would be generalising and oversimplifying the matter. Christianity consists of many different groupings, many of which won't condone violence. To complicate the matter even further, we could also compare Christianity today with the Christianity at the time of the Crusades. Whatever our approach, the Crusades remain a sensitive issue capable of stirring up emotions in certain circles.

Current times have however brought an interesting trend in the human thinking on the Crusades. Notably an increasing number of Christians today feel the need to apologise for the Crusades. A very good example of this occurred during the 2000 Millennium celebrations, when the late Pope John Paul II sought to achieve Muslim-Christian reconciliation by asking 'pardon' for the Crusades (Owen, 2006). Although the Pope's apology also included other 'past errors' of the church such as the Inquisition and anti-Semitism, the Crusades seem to stand out above the rest in the light of present day events

such as terrorist attacks by right-wing Islamic groups on western (Christian) or pro-western targets. Other similar concerns such as persecution of Christians in Muslim countries, as well as general hostility between Christians and Muslims in countries like Nigeria (Sookhdeo 2005), causes some to suggest that the Crusades could be seen as the root cause for present day tensions between Muslims and Christians (Maalouf 1984:265). This idea is accurately captured by the words of Mehmet Ali Agca, who tried to assassinate Pope John Paul II in 1981: 'I have decided to kill John Paul 2, supreme commander of the Crusades' (Maalouf 1984:265).

It would be ideal if one could appreciate the Crusades as part of history, but at the same time diffuse the current explosive situation wherein the Crusades become the proverbial 'fuel to the fire' in the volatile relationship between Christian and Muslim. While it is doubtful that this could ever be successfully achieved, it would certainly be beneficial for all interested parties to thoughtfully consider finding common ground. Although asking pardon might seem like a step in the right direction, one has to wonder about the motives, authenticity, as well as the origin of these intentions. In summarising therefore, the challenge is to determine the blame, determine the responsibility in seeking pardon, and identify the reasons behind the changing attitudes towards the Crusades.

1.3 Aims and objectives

Although the historical aspects of the Crusades will be addressed in general, these serve mostly as a foundation for the rest of the study which will focus on the development of human thought on the Crusades. The latter will culminate in the changing attitudes towards the Crusades, specifically regarding current times, and the reasons behind this phenomenon.

1.4 Research method and procedures

1.4.1 Research Methodology

This thesis will be written within a historiographical framework. Although the problem statement implies a modern-day issue, the origin is to be found in the Crusades and therefore my primary focus will be historical. This does not mean however that the present day issues will not be addressed. On the contrary, I will be moving from the historical aspects of the Crusades right up to the burning current issues surrounding this topic.

As far as research methodology is concerned, I will be relying on critical enquiry as well as historical criticism. Both these methods are situated within the fourfold understanding of the research process, i.e. define the problem; gather the evidence; analyse the evidence; draw conclusions (Flew 2008:5).

Critical enquiry can be defined as a research method which takes nothing for granted, but instead asks questions to ensure that as much information as possible is gained about a subject (Stone & Duke 1996:121). Historical criticism on the other hand, tries to determine what actually happened in history 'before', 'behind', or 'under' the text rather than seeking a 'divine' meaning in the text itself. The text can take a variety of forms, for example oral, written, artefacts, people, customs, traditions, pictures, icons, poems, songs and sayings. In effect it includes everything that acts as windows to the past (Grenz, Geretzki & Nording 1999:59). According to Erickson (1994:39), the ultimate aim of historical criticism is to determine what actually occurred.

Sources:

Erickson, MJ 1994. *Concise dictionary of Christian Theology.* Grand Rapids: Baker Books.

Flew, T 2008. *Introduction to critical enquiry research*.

http://www.slideshare.net/tflew/introduction-to-critical-enquiry-research-presentation

Grenz, SJ Guretzki, D & Nordling, CF 1999. *Pocket dictionary of theological terms*. Inter-varsity Press.

Stone, HW & Duke, JO 1996. *How to think theologically*. Fortress Press.

1.4.2 Research Design

I intend to use a wide range of books and articles written on the subject of the Crusades. All of these are easily accessible through either the UNISA library, the internet or from books and magazines in my personal possession. This thesis will consist of two main sections, the first involving the historical aspect of the Crusades, and the second focused on the development of the human thought on the Crusades. I will primarily be working with secondary sources throughout the thesis.

1.4.3 Research Limitations

The research limitations are quite prominent as far as the primary sources on the Crusades are concerned. Many of the primary sources on the topic of the Crusades, Islam, as well as some other aspects of this thesis, are simply not available in English, and were written in languages like French and Arabic. These sources and others that might be in English are also very difficult to find due to the fact that these books were written such a long time ago. Most of these books cannot be located through the UNISA library network. The ones that can be located and are written in another language, poses the problem of translation that would have to be done by another individual. It is my intention to follow this route once I start with my doctoral thesis on this subject. For this thesis however, I will rely strongly on respected secondary sources in addition to a small number of primary sources.

1.4.4 Theoretical Framework

Although I will be working historically within the confines of the Crusades, I will set the course towards finding a possible solution for the present dilemma we are facing as a result of the Crusades. This would require me to investigate the trend in current thinking on the Crusades and the reasons behind it. The first order of business however would concern the historical aspect of the Crusades. The challenge here would be to objectively consider the available facts, incorporating the various views on the topic of the Crusades.

The next challenge would be to determine at what point in history awareness about the guilt and blame of the Crusades came to the fore. The reasons behind this phenomenon would obviously also be important. From this point forward I will be following the development of the views on the Crusades. This will eventually bring me into our present era where I will investigate the interesting situation regarding the changing views about the Crusades and the possible reasons behind this.

1.5 Literature review

Generally speaking, the current trend in the study of the Crusades seems to lean significantly towards an 'enlightened' approach, i.e. a definite moving away from the championing of the Crusade cause to the extreme opposite, where the Crusades are branded or at least acknowledged as a blot on the name of Christianity. While the folly of the Crusades may be recognized by modern day scholars, a more balanced view concerning the Crusades is also evident amongst these scholars. This change in approach is indicative of the changing attitudes towards the Crusades. That said however, it is notable that although the attitudes towards the Crusades may have changed, very little attention (if any) is given to the reasons why attitudes changed. Some present day authorities touch ever so lightly on this subject, basically just mentioning or implying that attitudes towards the Crusades have changed. Occasionally one or two reasons for this change may be given in passing.

Although I will be using a wide range of sources, I have identified certain current main sources alongside other much older, classic sources which proved popular with later scholars. These I present alphabetically as follows:

Bartlett, WB 2005. The Crusades: An Illustrated history. Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing.

Bartlett's work comes across as a sound, straightforward, current account of the Crusades. The author sticks to sharing the Crusades with the reader without any indication that he intends to introduce the reader to any agenda other than telling the Crusade story. In the introduction however, it is clear that the author is all too aware of the modern sensitivities surrounding even the word 'crusade'. He seems sensitive to the fact that the Crusade story can be ill perceived in an already volatile present day environment, but at the same time he cautions that similarities between the medieval and modern world should not be overplayed (2005:xi). For Bartlett the greatest lesson of the Crusades is that 'intolerance breeds intolerance' (2005:278) asserting his attempt to an unbiased approach. Although his statement regarding intolerance is significant in dealing with the current concerns regarding the Crusades, I will be using Bartlett mostly for the historical part of this thesis. The reason for this is simply because, apart from two or three statements regarding modern times, Bartlett's work is purely based on the historical aspects of the Crusades.

Fuller, T 1840. *The History of the Holy War*. London: William Pickering

Thomas Fuller (1608-61) wrote the *History of the Holy Warre* (1639), which clearly resembled moderate Protestant criticism towards both the theology and the actions of the crusaders. In his balanced view Fuller (1840:8) referred to Islam as a senseless religion, the Crusades as a tragedy (1840:292) and the papacy as the first cause of the ill success of the Crusades (1840:263). Although Fuller claimed that the Turks were no better than dogs, he was of the opinion that they were 'to be let alone in their own kennel' (1840:17). Still Fuller was no friend of the Crusades and commented the following about the end of

the Crusades '…for continuance the longest, for money spent the costliest, for bloodshed the cruellest, for pretences the most pious, for true intent the most politic the world ever saw' (1840:241). This study will (amongst other things) investigate the development of human thought on the Crusades, and Fuller's work will prove valuable when discussing the view of scholars during the seventeenth century.

<u>Lock, P 2006. The Routledge Companion to the Crusades. New York: Routledge.</u>

Lock gives a thorough account of the Crusades, but in addition to this, he also ventures somewhat into the area of research that concerns the second part of my thesis. For instance, he addresses the concept of a crusade as a modern term, not a medieval one (2006:289). He also touches on Pope John Paul II's apology (mentioned in 1.2 and 5.2.1) and some issues relating to it (2006:291). Although Lock delves somewhat into the development of thought on the Crusades, he does not linger on why present day attitudes are changing towards the Crusades. Concerning the historical aspect of the Crusades, Lock includes the more unusual topic of 'what the west knew of Islam at the time of the Crusades, and vice versa' (2006:308). This, in my opinion, will be helpful to both main sections of my thesis. The historical value speaks for itself, and the value for current developments lay in hindsight of the matter, providing possible motive for present day developments.

<u>Madden, TF (ed) 2002. The Crusades: The essential readings. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.</u>

Madden's work consists of a compilation of works from several authors on the Crusades. Although these are again focused on the historical aspect of the Crusades, the editor himself introduces the work, devoting a part of his introduction to changing perspectives on the Crusades (2002:2). He briefly discusses how, amongst others, nationalism, colonialism and racism changed crusade history (2002:4). He ends the section by pondering on how the 9/11 attacks on the Twin Towers will affect the next generation's approach toward the crusades (2002:7). Certain other approaches in Madden's work can

also be helpful to this thesis, for example the thinking on violence in the medieval church (2002:71). This of course relates to my study as it sheds light on changing thoughts, in this case the Church's view on violence.

Mastnak, T 2002. Crusading Peace: Christendom, the Muslim World and Western Political order. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Although Mastnak deals historically with some aspects of the Crusades (notably the First Crusade, as well as some leading figures of the 12th and 13th centuries), his main concern and focus is the delicate balance between (holy) peace and (holy) war, with specific reference to the volatile relationship between Christian and Muslim. He discusses how initially, there was 'holy peace' and that the church was averse to the shedding of blood. During the 10th century however, a different view emerged (2002:16). Mastnak investigates the reasons behind the changing attitudes from peace to war, and the way that this shaped the minds of the western world to the point that 'everyone, including the distinguished and angelic thinkers, mystics, all bent their heads and knees before the Crusading spirit' (2002:345). The relevance of this approach for this thesis is of course the fact that Christendom moved from peace to war, and in current times seemingly back to peace again.

Mills, C 1820. *The History of the Crusades for the recovery and possession of the Holy Land. Volume 2*. London: Longman.

The popularity of Mills's work is evident from the fact that he is to be found in 'most bibliographies or footnotes of nineteenth century histories of the crusades' (Siberry 2000:14). Mills condemned the Crusades for their cruelty and intolerance while at the same time having sympathy for the crusaders whom he referred to as 'the deluded fanatic and noble adventurer in arms' (Mills 1820:373/4). Mills was sceptic about the role of the Roman Catholic Church and its pontiffs in the Crusades: 'It was the policy of the Church of Rome to encourage the spirit of crusading, because they who skilfully administer to public prejudices, become in time masters of the people' (Mills 1820:284). In addition

Mills felt that the pontiffs were enriched by Crusade contributions, a fact that 'broke the spirit of crusading' (1820:285). As with Fuller, Mills as a source will prove valuable when addressing the development of human thought on the Crusades in this study.

Partner, P 1998. God of Battles: Holy wars of Christianity and Islam. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Partner's work focuses on the concept of 'holy war'. Although some attention is given to this phenomenon amongst the nations of the Ancient Near East, the book focuses mainly on Christian and Muslim holy war. The relevance of this book for my thesis concerns the ideology of both Christians and Muslims in the medieval world. One of the many interesting aspects Partner mentions in this regard, is the idea that in the West, 'holy war magnified the role of a particular religious authority' (1998:113). In addition to this, I also find the discussion on the eighteenth century enlightenment, with specific reference to the Crusades (1998:276), important. Although this occurrence was more than two centuries ago, it has direct relevance to the changing attitudes towards the Crusades. Interestingly, Partner links holy war with human behaviour (1998:xvi). Based on this view, one can surmise that since there is a change in some people's view on holy war, it means their behaviour has changed. The question then remains: why? This is the essence of what I will be investigating.

Prawer, J 1972. *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Prawer is considered to be the founder and inspirer of Israeli crusading studies. He was one of several modern Israeli scholars who still believe that 'it is justified to regard the Crusader kingdom as the first European colonial society' (Prawer 1972:469; Tyerman 1998:122/3). In addition to the colonial aspect of the Crusades, Prawer also considers the Latin rule of the Crusaders as "non integration, or more exactly *Apartheid*" (Prawer 1972:524). The contribution of Prawer as a source for this study will become evident once the view and contribution of scholars during the twentieth century are discussed.

<u>Tyerman, C 2006. God's War: A new history of the Crusades. London: Penguin Group</u>.

Tyerman, a leading present day authority on the Crusades, gives an extremely thorough account of the history of the Crusades. He sees the Crusades as 'perhaps the most familiar, if misunderstood, of all medieval phenomena' (2006: xv). With this in mind he tells the story of the Crusades. Interwoven with the Crusade story as told by Tyerman; one will also find several discussions on the changing thought of the western mind during the time of the Crusades. One example of this is the discussion on how pacifism was replaced with 'Christian just war', as well as the roots of Christian just war (2006:33). Tyerman further relates how holy war became part of the papal program (2006:47), as well as the role religion played in Christian and Muslim wars (2006:54).
Tyerman also sheds refreshing light on Pope Urban's speech, seen by many as the spark that ignited the Crusades. The difference in Tyerman's version however, is that the propaganda and deception behind the pope's speech is revealed (2006:63-65). Furthermore, other important aspects, like the anti-Semitic feeling in the west is also addressed (2006:100).

In addition to this current and insightful work of Tyerman, I also intend to include as source a radio interview that he had with National Public Radio on 2005-02-27 (www.npr.org/programs/wesun/transcripts/2005/feb/050227.tyerman.html) accessed on 2011-04-29. One of the interesting statements that he makes in this interview is that it is not correct to see the Crusades as a precursor of modern conflicts in the Near East. This statement in itself is a wake- up call back to the drawing board for many today, especially considering that Tyerman is actually an enlightened authority on the Crusades. Obviously one has to determine why Tyerman makes this statement in the first place and if the reasons are solid and legitimate. Nevertheless, Tyerman's approach to the Crusades is ground-breaking, and for this reason he will be one of the main sources of this study.

This chapter elaborated on the justification for, and the method of approach to this study. The following chapter will address the rise and spread of Islam, a factor that is inextricably linked to the outbreak of the Crusades.

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Chapter 2

The rise and spread of Islam

One might argue that without Islam there would have been no Crusades. In no way would this mean that Islam was the sole reason behind the Crusades, instead it points to the fact that Islam was one of the key role-players in the Crusades. The roots of Islam reveal a certain tendency and character that eventually led directly to the undertaking of the Crusades. For this reason the focus of this chapter is the rise and spread of Islam, highlighting its main characteristics.

2.1 The origin of Islam

Islam as a religion was founded at the beginning of the seventh century AD and its followers are called Muslims. The name 'Islam' means 'giving in to the will of God' (Chrisp 1991:4), or simply to 'surrender' (Armstrong 2002:5). It should be noted that, depending on the viewpoint of individual authors, various sources would refer to the deity of the Muslims as either 'God' or 'Allah'. This is a contentious issue for some who feel that 'Allah' is 'simply the Arabic name for the one God worshipped by all monotheists, just as Germans worship 'Gott' and the French worship 'Dieu' (Bloom & Blair 2002:12). Propagators of this view feel that to refer to 'Allah' would imply that Muslims believe in a different God than other monotheists, resulting in a focus on the differences rather than the similarities between these religions (Bloom & Blair 2002:12). For the purpose of this chapter however, 'God' and 'Allah' will be used alternately depending on the source quoted from, but referring to the same deity.

Muhammad, the great prophet and founder of Islam, was born in Mecca around 570 AD, and belonged to one of the poorer families of the Quraish tribe (Chrisp 1991:7). Muhammad married Khadija, a widow whose wealth and status elevated his own position in the society of Mecca (Bloom & Blair 2002:28). Several years after his marriage, Muhammad began to have visionary dreams and hearing voices (Bloom & Blair

2002:29). Attempting to understand the visions and voices, Muhammad started regularly visiting the mountains outside Mecca to find solitude and to think (Bloom & Blair 2002:29). It was here that he had a supernatural experience where, according to tradition, the angel Gabriel appeared to him and said: 'Recite!'(Chrisp 1991:8). Over the next twenty-two years the Koran (recitation) was revealed to Muhammad verse by verse (Armstrong 2002:4).

Initially, Muhammad kept quiet about these revelations but after about two years, he started to preach in 612 AD and gradually gained converts (Armstrong 2002:4). According to Chrisp (1991:8) the main themes of Muhammad's preaching were:

- There is only one god, Allah.
- It is required of everyone to submit to the will of Allah.
- After death, believers would be rewarded in Paradise while unbelievers would burn in Hell.
- All Islamic believers were also equal before Allah.

According to Armstrong (2002:4), Muhammad did not teach the Arabs new doctrines about God, since according to the polytheistic religion of his tribe it was believed that Allah had created the world and would judge humanity in the Last Days. The problem however was that Muhammad proclaimed that Allah was the only god. To Arabs in general at this time, Allah was the supreme god over many other gods but not the only god as Muhammad was preaching (Chrisp 1991:6). There were therefore those in Mecca, specifically amongst the wealthier section, who believed differently and they did not take kindly to Muhammad's message. It was especially Muhammad's teaching on the equality of all believers before Allah that caused friction between him and the wealthy merchants of Mecca. These merchants feared that Muhammad had political aspirations to take control of Mecca (Armstrong 2002:12).

After the death of his wife and uncle in quick succession, Muhammad's position in Mecca was weakened and his tribe forced him to leave (Bloom & Blair 2002:31). In the

year 622 Muhammad and his followers moved to the oasis of Yathrib, which later came to be called Medina (from the phrase *madinat al-nabi*, 'the city of the prophet') (Bloom & Blair 2002:31). This move provided Muhammad with political and military power, since he was no longer just a religious preacher, but now also the leader of the first Muslim community (Chrisp1991:9). Mecca, having rejected Muhammad's preaching, became the target of Muhammad's military force (Chrisp 1991:9).

In 630 AD Muhammad attacked Mecca with a force of ten thousand and captured the city (Armstrong 2002:23). This victory was the deciding factor whereby not only the wealthy Meccans but also other Arab tribes converted to Islam. According to Armstrong (2002:23) this conversion to Islam meant the end of tribal warfare in Arabia because their membership of the Muslim community (*ummah*) prohibited them to attack each other. Muhammad had succeeded to single-handedly bring peace to Arabia (Armstrong 2002:23). By the time Muhammad died in 632, the whole of western Arabia was Muslim (Chrisp 1991:10).

2.2 The expansion of Islam

According to Armstrong (2002:27) *ghazu* (raids) on other tribes were customary amongst Arabs for many centuries before Islam. Under Islamic rule however, tribes of the *ummah* (community) were not allowed to attack one another. This created a major problem since the *ghazu* was a means of providing a livelihood for Arabs. The logical solution to this problem was a series of raids against non-Muslim communities in surrounding countries. The Arabs soon realised that wars against foreigners were much more profitable than the customary raids against fellow Arabs (Chrisp 1991:11).

So it came to be that under the leadership of Umar ibn al-Khattab, the second caliph and formerly one of Muhammad's closest companions, the Arab armies burst into Iraq, Syria and Egypt (Armstrong 2002:27). They achieved several surprising victories and defeated the Persian army at the battle of Qadisiyyah in 637 (Armstrong 2002:27). They did however encounter stronger resistance in the Byzantine Empire (Armstrong 2002:27).

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Arab armies conquered Jerusalem in 638, and by 641 they controlled the whole of Syria, Palestine and Egypt (Armstrong 2002:27).

The Arab conquests didn't lose momentum and in the century after Muhammad's death Arab armies had conquered an empire that stretched from India to Spain (Chrisp 1991:11). According to Armstrong (2002:29), the Arabs saw these victories as a sign of Allah's favour. Before the coming of Islam, the Arabs were a despised group. After surrendering to the will of Allah however, they became a force to be reckoned with; a fact asserted by the Koran therein that a correctly guided society, in tune with Allah's laws, must prosper (Armstrong 2002:29).

Armstrong (2002:29) emphasises that the initial Arab conquests were not religiously motivated, as many mistakenly believe. Instead, the reasons can be seen to be more pragmatic since the objectives were plunder, a common activity that would preserve the unity in the Arab community (Armstrong 2002:30). This however, does not take anything away from the fact that the Arab conquests were obviously seen as serious threats by the surrounding communities.

Furthermore, certain verses in the Koran relating to infidels reveal intentions, which are perceived to be dangerously threatening to non-Muslims. Sourdel (1983:16) states that these verses 'recommend that infidels should be fought until they are converted, with the exception always of the possessors of a scripture, meaning essentially Jews and Christians, who might still enjoy the life of salvation on condition that they paid tribute'. This means that Jews and Christians were generally allowed to practise their faith as long as they paid tribute to the Muslim authorities. On the topic of *jihad* (holy war) against unbelievers, Chrisp (1991:14) quotes the following from chapter four from the Koran: 'Let those who would exchange the life of this world for the hereafter fight for the cause of Allah; whether they die or conquer, we shall richly reward them'.

Although these conquests might not have been undertaken on religious grounds, they still resulted in Islam becoming a universal religion (Sourdel 1983:17). The reasons for this

can probably be found in the fact that Islam as a religion had both an attraction and advantages for the people in conquered territories. Chrisp (1991:12) explains that the people of Syria and Egypt for instance, often welcomed the Arab armies as liberators who freed them from the oppression of their Byzantine rulers who enforced only their form of Christianity.

Under Muslim rule, followers of Judaism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism (ancient Persian religion) and other Iranian religions were able to keep security of life and freedom of worship (Sourdel 1983:23). The followers of these religions were however required to accept Islamic rule and pay special taxes. In order to avoid the payment of these taxes many converted to Islam (Chrisp 1991:12). It should be noted, that not all people in the newly conquered territories were equally fortunate under Islamic rule. Pagan Arabs of Arabia for example, were simply reduced to slavery (Sourdel 1983:23).

The acceptance of the Islamic religion was not only beneficial to the followers of certain other religions, but also to former enemy warriors. According to Sourdel (1983:23), captured enemy warriors were normally freed quite quickly, and if they accepted the Islamic faith, they were accepted into the new society. For anyone living in Islamic territory, it was obviously beneficial to accept the Islamic faith, although actual encouraging of conversion to Islam only started towards the middle of the eighth century (Armstrong 2002:30).

These conversions to Islam essentially meant that eventually the Islamic forces did not consist solely of Arab warriors. A good example of this was the prominent part that converted North African Berbers played in the Islamic conquest into Spain (Sourdel 1983:24). A few centuries later, on the other side of the Islamic empire, it was the Seljuk Turks, also converts to Islam, who were directly involved in the events that led to the start of the First Crusade, as will be explained later. On the basis of certain aspects of Islamic expansion, such as the need to raid other communities, one can therefore surmise that this rapid growth of Islam, amongst the various people groups in the conquered territories, bore the seed of future confrontations with the other empires of the world.

Through these conquests, Islam convincingly established itself as a religion of conquest. Bartlett (2005:19) remarks that Islam did not experience any philosophical difficulty in expanding its aims by force. Regarding the issue of the Crusades therefore, it should at this point be noted that the initial provocation came from the Arabs; whose increasing conquests and unprovoked attacks posed a clear threat to the countries that surrounded their rapid expanding empire. During the seventh century conquests the Muslims captured three of the five centres of Christianity, i.e. Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria (Severy 1983:736). The threat to Christian countries increased over the centuries that followed, and even Rome was raided in 846 by Muslim forces (Partner 1998:57).

The one positive thing about the Muslim conquests that should be noted is the fact that evidence seems to suggest that other religions under their rule, notably Jews and Christians, were mostly treated with a certain amount of respect, and tolerated to a certain extent. There were exceptions to this rule however, all seemingly dependent on the attitude of the Muslim rulers at any given time and if the situation, in the Muslim view, called for it. Hammond (2009:34) for instance mentions that shortly after the Islamic conquest of Jerusalem in 638, Christian pilgrims were harassed, massacred and crucified.

During the eighth century, Muslim rulers banned all displays of the Cross in Jerusalem and increased the penalty tax (*jizya*) on Christians. In 772, the Muslim caliph (the chief Muslim civil and religious leader) ordered the hands of all Christians and Jews in Jerusalem to be branded. Plundering and destruction of church buildings in Jerusalem also occurred during the tenth and eleventh centuries (Hammond 2009:34). These violent outbursts against especially Christians obviously did nothing to quell the gathering clouds of war that would eventually erupt when the Crusades started. The rise and spread of Islam as discussed in this chapter is only one of several factors that have to be regarded when attempting to understand the Crusades. It is also necessary to consider the world into which the Crusades were birthed. This aspect will be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 3

3.1 The world of the eleventh century

According to Bartlett (2005:6), Europe and the Middle East at the end of the eleventh century (thus at the time of the start of the First Crusade), could simplistically be divided into three power blocks. At the eastern extreme one would find the world of Islam, in the west, bordering the Atlantic, were the feudal states of Western Europe, and between the two, at the center of the world, was Byzantium. One needs to take a closer look at these three empires, specifically during the eleventh century, in order to gain a better understanding of the world that inspired the Crusades.

(Erbstösser 1978:210)

Regarding the Islamic Empire, it should be noted that where the previous section covered its beginnings and growth, this section would mostly be concerned about the condition of the Islamic Empire in the run-up to the First Crusade. Furthermore, special attention needs to be given to the Turks, the single most significant part of the Islamic Empire during especially the latter half of the eleventh century. It goes without saying that the significance of the Turks relates directly to the First Crusade as the discussion develops.

3.2 The Islamic world of the eleventh century

During the eleventh century the Islamic Empire had its fair share of problems that could mostly be blamed on a lack of unity within itself, in fact, unity was virtually non-existent. According to Bartlett (2005:20) the Islamic Empire was too widely dispersed, and the various regions contained too many different cultures, to continue on the initial path of glorious conquests. The Omayyad, Islam's first great dynasty, was replaced in the eighth century by a new dynasty, the Abbasid, after a 'bitter civil war' (Bartlett 2005:20). This resulted in Baghdad becoming the chief city of the Muslim world. Baghdad had a magnificent culture which flourished with artists, scientists and poets, and yet the division within Islam was obvious (Bartlett 2005:20). Over the next three centuries this resulted in the unraveling of the Islamic Empire.

Beginning with Spain, several Islamic regions asserted their independence by rebelling against the leadership in Baghdad. In addition to cultural and political divisions in the Islamic Empire, there were also doctrinal differences within Islam. These differences led to the development of two major groups, in addition to several smaller ones, within the Islamic religion. It was however the actions of, and the disputes between the two main groups, the Sunnis and the Shiites, that set the scene for deeper divisions and conflict within Islam (Bartlett 2005:20).

Bartlett (2005:20) explains that the Shiites believed that the holy men who claimed their descent from Ali, the son-in-law of Mohammed, held spiritual authority. The Shiites found their strongest support in the leader of Egypt, the head of the Fatimid dynasty

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(Bartlett 2005:21). The Sunnis on the other hand, considered their spiritual leader to be the Caliph, who resided in Baghdad (Bartlett 2005:20). Although the power of the Caliph eroded over time with the decline of the Abbasid dynasty, the symbolism of his position remained significant (Bartlett 2005:20).

According to Bloom & Blair (2002:81) the Abbasid dynasty declined after 945 with the arrival in Baghdad of the Persian Buyids who reduced the once powerful caliphs to mere puppets. The Buyids were a Shiite clan of adventurers who became the "protectors" of the Abbasid caliphs 'who retained only their religious authority as spiritual heads of Sunni Islam' (Bloom & Blair 2002:89). In the years that followed Persian and Turkish warlords yielded the real power, while a series of weak caliphs presided over little more than the palace in Baghdad (Bloom & Blair 2002:81/89).

The weakening of the caliph's power resulted in the growth of the influence of Egypt, and by the end of the tenth century, the Fatimid ruler was not only in control of Egypt, but he also held southern Syria, including Palestine (Bartlett 2005:21). The growing power of Egypt posed a serious threat to the caliph in Baghdad, who desperately needed protection, which he ideally found in the Seljuk Turks. The Turks were Sunni Muslims, and therefore respected the caliph as spiritual leader. So it came to be that in 1050 the caliph invited the leader of the Seljuk Turks, Tughril Bey, to Baghdad to assume the role of protector (Bartlett 2005:22). The caliph granted Tughril the title of 'sultan' (an Arabic word meaning 'power') in return for the restoration of the name and authority of the caliph (Bloom & Blair 2002:90).

3.2.1 The Turks as the eleventh century Muslim power

Bartlett (2005:22) describes the Turks as 'a nomadic people from the steppes of central Asia'. They could not be considered to be one coherent racial grouping, but consisted of many different clans, which often fought against each other. During the tenth century, the Turks were ruled by the Persian Samanid dynasty, which resulted in the Turkish conversion to Islam. Although there were initial paganistic tendencies amongst some

clans, the Turks became strong defenders of the Islamic faith, specifically the Sunni persuasion.

The Turks, just like the Arabs, had long been a people fond of raiding, and their greatest expansion took place in the eleventh century. One of the Turkish clans, the Seljuks, became increasingly aggressive and powerful in the eleventh century, eventually capturing most of Persia. It was at this time that the Caliph in Baghdad sought the protection of the Seljuks against the growing threat from the Egyptian ruler (Bartlett 2005:22). According to Armstrong (2002:81) the Seljuks came to a special arrangement with the Caliph, who recognized them as his lieutenants throughout the Dar al-Islam (the house of Islam, i.e. lands under Muslim rule). This arrangement with the Caliph was very beneficial for the Seljuks, firstly because it gave them major legitimacy within the Islamic Empire, and secondly they had a great opportunity to increase their power base (Bartlett 2005:22).

Invading Syria and Palestine, the Seljuks captured Jerusalem and Damascus from the Fatimids. Their raids also extended into Asia Minor, which brought them in direct conflict with the Byzantine Empire. In 1071, the same year that they captured Jerusalem, they also defeated the Byzantine army at Manzikert (Bartlett 2005:23). Bartlett (2005:1) considers Manzikert to be one of the catalysts of the Crusading movement, a battle that heralded an apocalyptic age for Asia Minor: 'The country, once fertile, became a wasteland, and its people were ruthlessly exploited. Villages were reduced to rubble and the native population fled the marauding Turks so quickly that often they did not even take their flocks with them' (Bartlett 2005:3).

It appears that the Turks, as followers of the Islamic faith, seemed to lack the finesse and general civility portrayed by the Arabs in the initial Islamic conquests. In addition to this, something more alarming accompanied the increasing Turkish dominance of the Islamic world. According to Partner (1998:58) the Turks 'frequently sought the label of Islamic legitimacy that the holy war conferred'. To make things worse, the same was happening with other Islamic groups to the west, notably North Africa and Spain. What this

essentially meant, is that by the mid-eleventh century, the concept of holy war was a virtually indestructible characteristic of Islamic life. The purpose behind this varied from political convenience to giving legitimacy to a regime (Partner 1998:58). Thus we find that where the initial Arab conquests were not religiously motivated, the Islamic world of the eleventh century thrived on holy war seemingly as the driving force behind their conquests.

3.3 The Byzantine Empire

When Constantine established Constantinople in 330, he effectively moved the centre of the Roman Empire to the east. This step caused the eventual decay of the western part of the Empire, but at the same time it boosted the Church in Rome, causing it to grow powerfully independent (Dowley 1988:134). Christian civilization however, became centred around Constantinople, which eventually became the largest city in the Christian world, 'bigger by far than any city in the west' (Bartlett 2005:6).

According to Bartlett (2005:6) parts of the tenth and early eleventh centuries can be considered a golden age for the Byzantine Empire, of which Constantinople was of course the capital city. Bartlett (2005:8) describes the Byzantines as 'a proud people, conscious of their traditions, their wealth and their standing in the world. They looked out at the newly emerging nations of Western Europe and saw only Barbarians'.

By the middle of the eleventh century the Byzantine Empire stretched from the Lebanon to the Danube and from Naples to the Caspian Sea, and Constantinople itself had never before been so wealthy (Runciman 1980:32). In addition to this, Byzantium was on good terms with Fatimid Egypt: 'The Fatimids showed goodwill towards the local Christians and welcomed merchants and pilgrims from the West; and this goodwill was guaranteed by the power of Byzantium' (Runciman 1980:32).

In spite of all its power and splendour however, the foundations of the Byzantine Empire was insecure (Runciman1980:32). Bartlett (2005:8) goes even further by referring to the

Byzantine Empire as being 'in a state of irrevocable decline' and 'terminally ill'. This situation was brought about by several factors, the first being that the Byzantine throne passed through the hands of several weak usurpers. In addition to this, the local governors in the Byzantine administrative districts became more independent, making it more difficult for the Emperor to maintain centralised control over the vast Empire (Bartlett 2005:8).

The vastness of the Empire forced the Byzantines to rely strongly on the help of mercenaries in their army, many of who were unreliable and their loyalty questionable (Bartlett 2005:1). Incidentally, it was this mercenary problem that proved to be the decisive contribution to the defeat of the Byzantine forces by the Turks at the Battle of Manzikert in 1071 (Bartlett 2005:2). Although the Byzantine Empire survived for a few centuries thereafter, the Battle of Manzikert broke the soul of the Empire, bringing it nearer to the end (Bartlett 2005:3).

3.4 Western Europe

Although the Byzantine Empire and Western Europe shared the Christian faith that theoretically should have brought the two cultures together, there were sharp contrasts between the two civilizations. According to Bartlett (2005:8), many of the nations of Western Europe were newly formed and peopled by 'men who prized military prowess above most other virtues'. It is not surprising then that the eleventh century western society was rife with violence (Bartlett 2005:9). At the same time the eleventh century in Western Europe was also a time of immense religious change. This century saw a renaissance in monastic institutions, and in general, 'an intense religious feeling was abroad in Europe' (Bartlett 2005:8).

During the eleventh century, Western Europe was emerging from the Dark Ages, and many of its nations were newly formed (Bartlett 2005:6, 8). Due to these factors, Western Europe was economically very far behind the rest of the civilized world. While Byzantium and the Islamic states shared a flourishing commercial system, the same could

not be said for Western Europe where urbanization along the trade routes only started to pick up by 1000 (Tyerman 2006:2).

Even when comparing the size of the various cities in the eleventh century, one can clearly see that Western Europe was no match, at least economically, for the rest of the civilized world. According to Tyerman (2006:2), cities like Constantinople, Baghdad and Cairo boasted populations of hundreds of thousands, while the largest Western European cities like Rome, Venice and Milan only managed between thirty to fourty thousand. Cities like Paris and London were even less populated, with figures around twenty thousand each (Tyerman 2006:3).

The difference in the sizes of these cities could possibly be contributed to an 'economic imbalance' between Western Europe and the rest of the civilized world (Tyerman 2006:2). According to Tyerman (2006:2), 'Byzantium and the Islamic states shared a flourishing commercial system that supported gold currencies and towns, while in Christian Western Europe, by 1000 urbanization – or, in the perspective of the Roman Empire, reurbanization – had only recently begun to accelerate along the major trade routes...'

The western society of the eleventh century, dominated by the Church in the west, had changed immensely since Roman times. The Roman society of the first five centuries had been a secular society in which Christianity eventually became the state religion. By the eighth century however the west had become an essentially Christian society that was no longer dominated by the secular state, but by the church (Van Wijk & Spies 1985:72). In every aspect of western life, the importance of the church was evident. Even at the courts of the Germanic kings, the bishops had replaced the *curiales* and Roman bureaucrats: 'Without the secular clergy there would have been no administrative system of any kind in western Europe' (Van Wijk & Spies 1985:72).

According to Bartlett (2005:10), eleventh century western society could be divided into three classes, namely the clergy, the lords and the laity. Out of these three the clergy were

at the top of the hierarchy because they interceded with God. There were however grave frictions within this hierarchy, frictions that helped to shape the environment within which the Crusades evolved (Bartlett 2005:10). This friction flowed from the oppression and violence that often characterised the rule of the lords, which had harmful effects on clergy and laity alike. This eventually led to the development of the 'peace movements', which attempted to impose 'the Peace of God' on the world (Bartlett 2005:10). These peace movements contributed in a unique way to shape western ideology, unknowingly preparing western society for the Crusades.

Bartlett (2005:10) describes the peace movements as 'coalitions between some elements of the Church and the laity'. The initial idea behind the peace movements was to impose some order on the military aggression of the lords. According to Bartlett (2005:10), it is also understandable that self-interest lay at the root of the peace movements, since the establishment of these movements represented a desire to protect the property of the Church and the wellbeing of the laity. Through the peace movements the lords were asked to pledge peace towards both the possessions of the Church as well as the unarmed clerics.

Through the peace movements 'truce days' were also established on which men were not allowed to fight. These truce days were however frequently ignored by the lords, and the Church, failing to put a stop to violence altogether, eventually settled for the regulation of violence. In essence the Church could not ban war, but they tried to control it (Bartlett 2005:10). This state of affairs was a vital contributing factor in preparing the ideology of western society for the Crusades (Bartlett 2005:10). In addition to the peace movements, two other prominent features in the ideology of Western Europe should be considered as crucial in shaping western thought, making it more susceptible to the idea of war in God's Name: The concepts of pilgrimage and holy war.

3.4.1 Pilgrimage

According to Runciman (1980:21) pilgrimages were initially rare in the early days of Christianity, since Christian thought at the time tended to focus more on the universality of Christ than on His manhood. In addition to this the Roman authorities did not encourage voyages to Palestine. The destruction of Jerusalem by Titus was a further deterrent, although the city was later rebuilt by Hadrian and renamed Aelia by the Romans (Runciman 1980:21). Christians however still remembered the setting of Christ's life, and their respect for the site of Calvary was of such a nature that Hadrian purposely had a temple to Venus Capitolina built on the site (Runciman 1980:21).

Christian persecution under the Romans did not last however, and with the triumph of the cross at the time of Constantine, the practice of pilgrimage grew (Runciman 1980:21). In addition to this, Constantine's mother, Helena, who went to Palestine 'to uncover Calvary and to find all the relics of the Passion', attributed greatly to the interest in pilgrimages to Jerusalem with her archaeological finds in Palestine (Runciman 1980:21). Constantine endorsed her findings by building the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (Runciman 1980:21).

During the next century, with the endorsement of Church Fathers like Jerome, pilgrimages to Palestine multiplied, and the Roman authorities encouraged the practice. It is estimated that at the beginning of the fifth century, there were already two hundred monasteries and hospices in or around Jerusalem, (most of these under the protection of the Emperor), specifically catering for pilgrims (Runciman 1980:22). During the seventh and eighth centuries pilgrims were faced with the problems of the Arab conquests as well as Muslim pirate activities on the Mediterranean. Regardless of these, pilgrimages to Palestine continued, albeit on a smaller scale (Runciman 1980:24).

Runciman (1980:24) considers the tenth century to be the beginning of the great age of pilgrimage. During the tenth century, the Arabs lost the last of their pirate-nests in Italy and southern France, and had to give up Crete in 961 (Runciman 1980:24). The

Byzantine navy had successfully secured the Mediterranean for travellers. Ships could sail freely between Mediterranean ports, and with the goodwill of Muslim authorities, trade with Syria and Egypt opened up (Runciman 1980:25). In Palestine itself the Muslim authorities seldom caused problems for travellers, but rather welcomed them because of the wealth that they brought into the area (Runciman 1980:25).

Although pilgrimages were recommended by the Church in earlier centuries, no specific goals were given (Runciman 1980:25). By the tenth century however, the growth of pilgrimages also saw a significant change in western religious thought: '...the belief was growing that certain holy places possessed a definite spiritual virtue which affected those that visited them and could even grant indulgences from sin' (Runciman 1980:25). So in addition to pilgrims physically being in the same surroundings where Jesus and the saints walked, the new outlook on pilgrimages meant that people might also be pardoned by God for their wickedness.

Starting in the tenth century, the increasing popularity of pilgrimages continued throughout the eleventh century, with '...an unending stream of travellers pouring eastward...' (Runciman 1980:31). Only in 1055 and 1056, as well as the last two decades of the eleventh century, did pilgrims face growing opposition from the Muslim authorities (Runciman1980:31). In 1055 it was 'considered dangerous to cross the frontier into Moslem territory' after the bishop of Cambrai was not granted an exit visa from Muslim territory (Runciman 1980:31). In 1056 the Muslims, for uncertain reasons, 'forbade westerners to enter the Holy Sepulchre and ejected some three hundred of them from Jerusalem' (Runciman 1980:31).

The last two decades of the eleventh century became increasingly difficult for pilgrims travelling to Palestine because the Turks controlled the whole of Asia Minor by 1080 and were attempting to enlarge their territory (Runciman 1980:40). The violence and warfare flowing from this situation caused the area to become unstable and dangerous for travellers (Runciman 1980:40). This endangered one of the main conditions for the success of a pilgrimage: '...that life in Palestine should be orderly enough for the

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defenceless traveller to move and worship in safety...' (Runciman 1980:31). Given the great spiritual value linked to pilgrimages by this time, it is not hard to understand why Muslim actions in this regard were seen as a definite threat that had to be eliminated. Not surprisingly then, was the fact that many who participated in the First Crusade saw themselves as pilgrims (Tyerman 2006:65).

3.4.2 Holy War

Mastnak (2002:59) describes holy war as '…war conceived of as a religious action or as a military action directly related to religion'. To this he adds the following: 'In slightly less abstract terms, holy war is a war waged by spiritual power or fought under the auspices of a spiritual power and for religious interests. It is a war fought for the goals or ideals of the faith and waged by divine authority or on the authority of a religious leader' (Mastnak 2002:60). According to Riley-Smith (2008:14) holy war can be defined 'as being considered to be authorized directly or indirectly by God (or Christ) and as being fought to further what are believed to be his intentions'. Crusades can be considered to be 'particularly theatrical manifestations' of holy war (Riley-Smith 2008:14).

According to Mastnak (2002:61) neither Christianity nor Islam can be credited for originating holy war, as this tradition 'predates both religions comfortably'. Holy war in the Christian tradition had its roots partly in the Old Testament, based on the wars of Yahweh: 'Those wars in the service of God, carrying out the punishment of God – the collective warlike fury that, in its mystical aspects, was more terrible and impressive than the individual heroism of German and Nordic epics – had significant bearing on the medieval practice of war' (Mastnak 2002:61).

According to Mastnak (2002:61) the other source of legitimation for holy war was the Roman influence on Christianity. The Roman tradition and codification of wars against barbarians, seen as enemies of mankind, eventually became a model for Christian hostility toward pagans, heretics and the like (Mastnak 2002:61). Initially the ancient Church practised pacifism, just one of the examples of wilful estrangement from the

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Roman world. With time however, Christianity outgrew pacifism, exchanging it for just war and eventually holy war. Just war differs from holy war therein that it was war fought within the confines of law, setting limits on warfare and prohibiting clerics from participating in wars and shedding blood (Mastnak 2002:62).

It should also be noted that some scholars feel that there is a difference between holy war and the Islamic *jihad*. The concept of *jihad* (struggle in the way of Allah) was introduced by Muhammad as 'one of the virtues most required of the helpers of Muhammad after their submission to Allah' (Partner 1997:32). According to Mastnak (2002:65) *jihad* cannot properly be defined as holy war since they were not conducted on the level of the state. In this sense it is more appropriate to speak about 'holy battles' (Mastnak 2002:65). Furthermore, '*jihad* is a doctrine of spiritual effort of which military action is only one possible manifestation' (Mastnak 2002:65). In this sense therefore, the crusade and *jihad* are not comparable.

According to Mastnak (2002:65) there are other scholars who consider jihad to be holy war, although they recognize the strong spiritual nature of *jihad* which does seem to set it aside from Christian holy war. Partner (1998:38) considers *jihad* to be holy war and refers to the 'Islamizing of the whole world by force of arms' with religious conquest at the heart of the message. Political rule was a secondary, yet essential, condition for the triumph of Islam (Partner 1998:38). According to Partner (1998:103) there are several similarities between the Crusades and Islamic *jihad*:

- After its inception the Crusades and Islamic holy war both went through 'a relatively unstructured period in which its military practice was vigorous and unrestrained, but its institutions and ideas had not been subject to much analysis by theologians and lawyers'.
- The idea of martyrdom in battle was present in both religions by the late eleventh century.
- Theoretically both the crusade and *jihad* was 'an obligation that could be accepted by any believer capable of bearing arms and undertaking the journey'.

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- Crusades also tended to be elitist in practice, involving high costs and specialized warfare, characteristics that were true too for the Islamic holy war.

According to Partner (1998:103) there are however distinguishing factors between the Crusades and Muslim holy war, the most notable being the different natures of the two religions: 'There was no equivalent in Islam to the predominance of the bishop of the single Western see of Rome, still less to the idea of a single juridical structure in which this bishop should legislate for all believers'. The role that the papacy played as a driving force of the crusades was much more prominent than that of the caliphate in the history of the *jihad* (Partner 1998:103). In addition the papacy also benefitted from the holy war concept: 'The power and privilege that the Roman bishop enjoyed over other Latin bishops, and the place he occupied in the religious conceptions of Western Christians, had been greatly enhanced by the central role of the papacy from the First Crusade onwards' (Partner 1998:113).

This chapter focused on the major power blocks in the world at the end of the eleventh century along with the important concepts of pilgrimage and holy war, creating a better understanding of the world that inspired the Crusades. The following chapter will investigate the Crusades itself.

Chapter 4

4.1 The Crusades

The previous two chapters concerned certain aspects which covered the years and centuries immediately before the start of the Crusades, aspects which are vital to the understanding of the Crusades. It basically 'set the stage' for the birth of the Crusades. This chapter introduces the event of the Crusades. The information in this chapter is very selective, since the historical nature of the Crusades is well documented. Out of the various crusades, more attention will also be given to the First Crusade seen by many as the only truly successful crusade to the Holy Land (Severin 1989:335).

The focus will be mostly on the ideology at the time of the Crusades. This will include possible hidden agendas, beliefs and fears that were all part and parcel of the motivating force behind the Crusades. The people at the time of the Crusades had a specific worldview that was shaped by the world they were living in. Their actions were the results of various influences and circumstances in their world. The idea therefore is to determine how and why the worldview changed, starting out with the Crusades, continuing through the centuries, right into the present era.

4.2 The ideology surrounding the First Crusade

According to Deist (1990:120), 'ideology' can be defined as 'the ideas and manner of thinking characteristic of an individual or group, shaped by political, social, religious and other factors (conscious, unconscious and subconscious) and providing the frame of reference within which he or they judge and act'. It is this aspect of humanity that surfaces time and again in the study of the crusades, from the start of the First Crusade, through to the current way of thinking on the crusades.

It is therefore of vital importance to investigate firstly the thinking of the people during the crusades, and secondly the thinking of later generations concerning the crusades. It

should also be noted that the focus will mostly be on the thinking of those in the Latin West, since this is where the idea of crusade originated (Lock 2006:299). The crusade as practised by the West with a combination of pilgrimage, penance and holy war was completely foreign to the thinking of the Christians in Byzantium who considered defensive wars necessary but regrettable (Lock 2006:299).

4.2.1 Violence

As pointed out in the previous chapter, Christian thought developed from pacifism to just war to holy war during the centuries leading up to the First Crusade. Already in the ninth century, Pope Leo IV, declared that if a man were killed in battle while defending the Church, he would receive a reward in heaven (Bartlett 1999:11). Others after him went even further, declaring that those dying for such a cause should have all their sins remitted (Bartlett 1999:11). It was also during the ninth century that Charlemagne converted pagans by the power of the sword, making violence into a method for mission acceptable to the Christian community (Pillay & Hofmeyr 1991:91).

According to Madden (2002:71), no crusade would be possible without the eleventh century 'revolution in Church thinking' concerning violence. It was during this century that holy war became part of the papal programme (Tyerman 2006:47). The association of the papacy with holy war was first made clear with the Civitate campaign of Pope Leo IX in 1053 (Madden 2002:72). During this campaign the papacy could not secure imperial aid against Norman counts in southern Italy, so Pope Leo recruited German soldiers and personally led them against the Normans (Madden 2002:72). Although Pope Leo maintained that he raised this army 'to compel the Normans to submit without shedding blood', the outcome was a battle in which the papal troops 'suffered a decisive defeat and Leo was captured' (Madden 2002:72).

During the eleventh century, the Church's policy resulted in the directing of aggression towards non-Christian enemies (Bartlett 1999:11). Gregory VII, the most militant of the reforming popes (associating with holy war) attempted to recruit knights from across

Europe to form a papal army to fight for papal interests (Tyerman 2006:47). Gregory 'significantly developed the theory and practice of holy war and holy warriors' (Tyerman 2006:47). One of his favourite scriptural quotations was Jeremiah 48:10 – '...and cursed is he who keeps back his sword from bloodshed' (Tyerman 2006:47). Gregory VII also granted spiritual rewards on several occasions to those who took up arms for his cause (Madden2002:74).

4.2.2 What Christians thought and knew about Muslims

The volatile situation created by the Church's embrace of holy war was further escalated by the Christian view of pagans at the time of the crusades. According to Mastnak (2002:125) it was a matter of 'the pagans are wrong and the Christians are right'. It should be noted that the word 'Muslim' is absent from medieval sources, and that the opponents of the crusaders are referred to as 'infidels', 'gentiles', 'enemies of Christ/God' and above all 'pagans' (Nicholson 2005:228). These terms were set in direct opposition to words like 'the faithful' and 'soldiers of Christ', which referred to the crusaders themselves: 'These semantic oppositions are revealing of a clerical mindset that viewed the world in Manichean terms as a battleground on which the forces of Evil were engaged in an apocalyptic struggle with the forces of Good under the command of Christ' (Nicholson 2005:228).

According to Mastnak (2002:125), Christians at the time of the Crusades considered pagans to be outside the law and without rights because they did not share the Christian faith. Furthermore, the Church prohibited Christians to make contracts with infidels (Muslims), making it impossible to make truce or peace with them (Mastnak 2002:125). According to Mastnak (2002:125) Muslims were seen as inconvertible, and extermination was an acceptable solution. Muslims were considered to have no freedom of choice and could therefore not choose between conversion and death (Mastnak 2002:125). Muslims were not even considered to have the right to defend themselves when faced with extermination (Mastnak 2002:125).

According to Mastnak (2002:125) extermination (excidium) of the pagans (Muslims) was preached by the popes and also St. Bernard. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) was 'the greatest clerical figure of his day, even more influential than the pope' and 'virtually launched the Second Crusade on his own' (Bartlett 1999:115; Lock 2006:231). Bernard declared that 'to kill an infidel was not homicide but "malicide", annihilation of evil, and that a pagan's death was a Christian's glory because, in it, Christ was glorified' (Mastnak 2002:125). Just like the early martyrs who died 'at the hand of idolatrous pagans, so the crusaders should earn their heavenly crown at the hands of no less idolatrous pagans' (Nicholson 2005:232).

According to Mastnak (2002:115) the success of the propaganda of Pope Urban II in calling for the First Crusade, can partly be explained by 'his contemporaries' lack of knowledge about the people they were called on to fight'. Urban characterised Muslims as 'subhuman and ravishers of women, murderers of Christians and polluters of Christian churches, violent, rapacious and aggressive' (Lock 2006:308). Urban's opinion went unchallenged in the Latin West simply because their knowledge of the Muslims were basically non-existent (Lock 2006:308). Ironically European Christians had been in contact with Muslims since the seventh century, but did not distinguish between them and 'other pagan aggressors', therefore taking no interest in them or their religion (Lock 2006:309). According to Lock (2006:309), this attitude was simply due to the fact that comparative religion was of no interest to European Christians.

Only in 1142, some decades after the First Crusade, was the first research project on Islam done when Peter the Venerable (ca. 1092-1153), abbot of Cluny, 'commissioned a translation of the Koran into Latin' (Lock 2006:308). It should be noted that Peter commissioned this translation with the purpose to 'refute the theological errors of Islam' (Lock 2006:308), but also hoped it would lead to 'reasoned missionary argument' (Partner 1997:88). According to Partner (1997:89) Peter's initiative had very little influence, and this could be seen in the attitude of the clergy who actually lived in the East and dealt with Islam regularly. William, bishop of Tyre, who lived in the generation

after Peter the Venerable, for instance referred to Muhammad as 'the firstborn of Satan' (Partner 1997:89).

According to Partner (1997:89) the learned in the West 'had gradually increasing access to more accurate information about Islam' but in general Christians, even in Palestine, remained ignorant and negative about Muslims. Only during the thirteenth century a 'serious missionary interest' started to develop among Catholic laity 'that the Muslims were not necessarily idolatrous monsters' (Partner 1997:89). The church at that time started to take a serious interest in the possibilities of conversion of Muslims and in some areas, like Spain, such conversions actually occurred (Partner 1997:89).

Christians in general however still had a very low level of knowledge about Islam (Partner 1997:90). This became apparent when the French monarchy and learned French judges at the end of the thirteenth century accused the Templars of being traitors, siding with Muslims and 'worshipping an image of Muhammad' (Partner 1997:90). The fact that the fierce monotheism of Islam would consider such worship to be 'blasphemous and inconceivable' was completely ignored (Partner 1997:90). Although the potential was there to learn more about Muslim history, philosophy and culture, the Christian world view at the time could not adopt such an approach: 'It appeared that the rulers in the West were just not interested, and were satisfied with stereotypical images of the other that marked them off from west European Christians' (Lock 2006:310).

From the preceding discussion it seems clear that Christians in the west knew nothing or very little about Muslims. This ignorance, coupled with the right propaganda, was a very powerful weapon, a weapon used to incite the masses to embrace the crusading spirit (Mastnak 2002:115).

4.2.3 The call to arms

If one were to consider the reasons behind the start of the First Crusade purely from a layman's point of view, it would probably suffice to say that Christendom was threatened

by the threat of Muslim expansion and responded by undertaking the Crusades against the Muslim enemy. The reasons behind the initiating of the First (and later) Crusades, were however legion and quite complex. True, the Muslim expansion was a reality, and during the late eleventh century the Seljuk Turks were pressing westwards conquering Palestine, Syria and Anatolia, which placed them within striking distance of Constantinople itself (Tyerman 2006:11,12). This imminent threat on the Byzantine Empire, prompted the emperor, Alexius Comnenus, to appeal to Western Europe for military assistance (Bartlett 1999:5).

According to Bartlett (1999:5) Alexius was an outstanding statesman and a clever strategist, who appealed to the West by way of an eloquently worded letter which was addressed to Pope Urban II. Bartlett (1999:5) points out that in the wording of the letter, Alexius 'humbly begged the lord Pope and all the faithful of Christ to send some help to him for the defence of the Holy Church against the pagans'. It is strikingly interesting that Alexius focused on the one common factor that could bridge the gap between Western Europe and the Byzantine Empire - the Christian religion. It is doubtful that even Alexius could foresee just how effective his appeal to the West would be, since it unleashed 'a tidal wave of humanity [that] was about to sweep into the Middle East' (Bartlett 1999:5).

In Western Europe, some months after receiving the appeal from Alexius, Pope Urban II delivered his famous sermon at Clermont on 27 November 1095, which effectively set the Crusading movement in motion (Tyerman 2006:58). The whole event of Urban's sermon seemingly reeked of a personal agenda. Tyerman (2006:63) explains that in the months before Urban arrived in Clermont, he undertook a papal tour of France, during which he also discussed an eastern offensive with key people. He also invited all the key people to attend his Clermont sermon, asking all the diocesans to bring with them the most powerful magnates from their regions (Tyerman 2006:63).

According to Tyerman (2006:63) everything points to the fact that Urban came to Clermont with most or his entire eastern project in place, namely 'a penitential journey in

arms to Jerusalem to recover the Holy Sepulchre and to liberate Christianity'. Urban carried with him relics of the True Cross (Tyerman 2006:63). Urban left nothing for chance, even ensuring a much needed physical and vocal reaction to his sermon by apparently 'planting' people in the audience to fervently react to his message, a practice that was often used by later crusade preachers as well (Tyerman 2006:65).

Although Pope Urban apparently had a genuine desire to defend Christianity against a Muslim onslaught, he also stood to gain a lot personally from his successful sermon at Clermont. According to Bartlett (1999:27) the Papacy benefited greatly from Urban's successful call to arms. Since it was traditionally the prerogative of kings and emperors to call up armies at this period in history, Urban's authority would be greatly enhanced if he succeeded in uniting the warlords behind him. Furthermore, Urban's success could contribute a great deal in reconciling Christianity between East and West. At the time, many in the east couldn't care less about the western papal claim of supremacy in spiritual affairs. If successful however, all of that could change, and great progress could be made towards reunification of the church (Bartlett 1999:27/28).

In order to gain a better understanding of other motivating factors behind Urban's conduct at this time, it would be beneficial to also consider the personal mindset of pope Urban. According to Tyerman (2006:66), 'Urban's scheme reflected sentiments central to his personal understanding of Christendom, Christian history and the papacy's role in reform'. Pope Urban had a particular schematic view of Christian history wherein the purity of the early church was treasured as opposed to the later corruption of the church by sins which resulted in the loss of Christian centres to Islam (Tyerman 2006:66). The opportunity of the re-conquest of former Christian areas, alongside possible restored unity within Christendom, surely proved attractive to pope Urban II. Add to this the pope's role in this whole venture as 'God's executor and coadjutor', and one arrives at an immense motivating force (Tyerman 2006:66).

According to Bartlett (1999:29), Pope Urban's speech had all the makings of brilliant propaganda. The response of those gathered at Clermont is legendary. The ecstatic crowd

shouted triumphantly 'Deus Le Volt' ('God wills it'), and from this moment on the euphoria spread and vast numbers committed to the Crusade (Bartlett 1999:29). In addition to the above mentioned motivating factors, those who partook in the First Crusade were further enticed by seemingly lucrative offers in exchange for their service. Firstly, the family and possessions of those going on crusade would be protected. Secondly, crusaders were subject to ecclesiastical rather than secular courts.
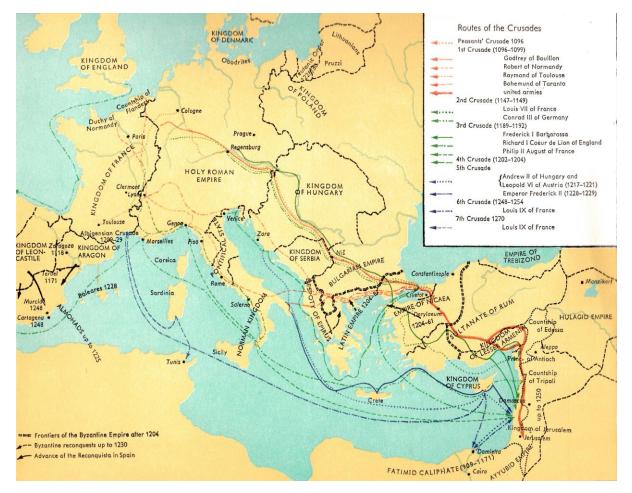
 The most promising offer however was a Papal Indulgence in the form of forgiveness of past sins committed. This offer was very special and meant a great deal in a society where the punishment of sin in the afterlife was perceived to be a terrible reality (Bartlett 1999:29). With this offer Urban II took the conversion of warfare a step further. Up to this time warriors engaging in combat for the service of the Church were valued for their sacred duty, but they were 'still seen as sinners because of their profession-following the ancient belief in the defiling effect of bloodshed-and they had to do penance for it' (Nicholson 2005:17). What Urban II promised those joining the crusade meant that 'rather than the military expedition making way for penance, it took the place of penance' (Nicholson 2005:17).

The importance of the control over Jerusalem as a motivation behind the Crusades should also not be underestimated. Tyerman (2006:68) highlights the fact that Jerusalem was seen as 'the holy city' or 'God's celestial city', considered by many to be not just a city, but also an ideal, 'temporal as well as spiritual, corporal as well as supernatural'. According to Bartlett (1999:15) many Christians considered Jerusalem to be God's city on earth, an image which was developed by itinerant preachers 'who spoke in biblical imagery so vivid that some simple people tended to confuse the earthly and the heavenly Jerusalem'. Having this strong symbolic appeal, one can imagine how the loss of Jerusalem to a perceived enemy of Christianity would eventually lead to a very powerful reaction (Bartlett 1999:15). This opportunity of course presented itself quite uniquely with the encouragement created by Emperor Alexius' appeal to the west, followed by Urban's call to arms.

In addition, the sign of the cross, employed as a military banner for the crusades, was not only significant in symbolism, but contributed immensely to the encouragement of those partaking in the crusade. Tyerman (2006:70) explains that at the ceremony at Clermont, Urban quoted Christ's command: 'If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me'. 'And whosoever doth not bear his cross, and come after me, cannot be my disciple' (Matthew 16:24; Luke 15:26). The cross then, 'mystically represented Christ, His Passion, the Resurrection and the Church, inspiring a literary devotional genre of its own' (Tyerman 1998:76).

According to Madden (2002:33), it was generally believed that the crusaders expressed their love of God by becoming literal followers of Christ, and from the outset they were treated as 'soldiers of Christ' who had joined the crusade out of love for Christ. Since the theme of following Christ was well-known in eleventh century rhetoric, Urban easily established the sign of the cross not only as a military banner, but also as 'personal insignia and mystical symbol; part relic, part totem, part uniform' (Tyerman 2006:70). The cross was sewn onto the garments of crusaders as a symbol of their vow to the crusade, and in doing so it was also seen as a response to Christ's command in Matthew 16:24 to 'take up the cross' (Madden 2002:33).

4.2.4 On crusade for Christ

(Erbstösser 1978:211)

According to Bartlett (1999:30), the primary response to Urban's call was from ordinary people, even though Urban tried to place certain restrictions on certain classes of people not to go on the crusade. Urban had tried to forbid 'un-chaperoned women, the old, the infirm and the poor' (unless subsidised by the wealthy) to participate in the crusade (Tyerman 2006:67). In general, the warlords were not noticeably quick to respond, probably due to greater responsibility on the home front and the time needed to assemble their forces (Bartlett 1999:30). The difference in the response time between the warlords and the ordinary people to pope Urban's call could probably be credited as the main reason behind the First Crusade basically existing in two divisions. Traditionally the First

Crusade can be divided into the 'crusade of the people' (common people, paupers) and the 'crusade of the princes' (warlords with their soldiers) (Lock 2006:139).

The 'crusade of the people' initially consisted of five contingents who gathered in April and May 1096 (Lock 2006:139). Three of these contingents were dispersed in Hungary between June and August after threatening settled life by their plundering activities (Lock 2006:139). The other two contingents of the People's Crusade were led by Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless (Lock 2006:139). Bartlett (1999:31) points out that these so-called 'armies' consisted largely of old men, women and children, and even the men of fighting age were poorly armed. Although some low-ranking knights formed part of these groups, the majority were not only poorly armed but also poorly informed about the major challenge that lay ahead (Bartlett 1999:32).

Arriving in Constantinople in July 1096, the contingents of Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless threatened public order in the city and Emperor Alexius arranged for them to be ferried across the Bospherus River, advising them to await the arrival of the main crusading armies (Bartlett 1999:34; Lock 2006:140). This advice of Alexius was ignored and the two contingents moved on, pillaging as far as they went, even into Turkish territory (Bartlett 1999:34). By late October however, before the arrival of the main contingent, these two groups were annihilated by Turkish forces, largely in response to the plundering activities that were characteristic of the People's Crusade (Lock 2006:140).

Unfortunately the general conduct of many partaking in the Crusades was despicable. Contrary to the actual purpose of the First Crusade, crusaders had an aggressive attitude to anyone who stood in their way, whether physically or ideologically (Tyerman 2006:97). Especially those forming part of the People's Crusade were notorious for displaying ill discipline. For example, Peter the Hermit's followers forced masses of Jews at Regensberg to be baptised in the Danube, after which his army sacked the town of Semlin following disputes over supplies (Tyerman 2006:97). The treatment of the Jews by Peter's followers was by no means a secluded incident. For example, in the year that

followed, other crusading groups were responsible for the massacre of Jews in towns like Worms and Spier (Runciman 1980:88).

According to Runciman (1980:82) the unpopularity of the Jews in Western Europe grew throughout the eleventh century. Many Jews were wealthy moneylenders, and peasants were often indebted to them (Runciman 1980:84). The Christians in Europe resented the wealth of the Jews, especially since Christians were not allowed to charge interest on loans but Jews were exempt from this rule, profiting from the situation (Bartlett 1999:36). What made matters much worse for the Jews was the fact that they were seen as the people that crucified Christ. Although the Muslims were viewed as those who were persecuting Christ's followers, the Jews were guilty of persecuting Christ Himself (Runciman 1980:84).

The First Crusade was called against the Muslims that threatened the Holy Land, but ironically the Jews in Europe became victims as the crusaders marched on. Already in 1063 Pope Alexander II forbade attacks on Jews, but the crusaders saw the Jews as enemies of Christ (Richard 1999:39; Tyerman 2006:104). Although there was nothing in official Christian doctrine that justified the slaying of Jews, the preaching of meritorious Christian violence apparently resulted in a gospel of indiscriminate religious hate (Tyerman 2006:104). Godfrey of Bouillon, one of the leaders of the crusade of the princes, 'reputedly said that he would take his revenge on the killers of Christ before he reached the Holy Land' (Bartlett 1999:37). In response the Jews 'hurriedly offered large sums of money to Godfrey as a placatory offering' which Godfrey in turn accepted 'refuting all thought of ill will towards them' (Bartlett 1999:37).

In comparison to the People's Crusade, the Princes' Crusade was better equipped with weapons, military skill, provisions and discipline. According to Tyerman (2006:59), these armies were led by nobles such as the dukes of Lower Lorraine (Godfrey of Bouillon) and Normandy, the counts of Toulouse, Boulogne, Flanders, Blois and the brothers of the king of France. They were also accompanied by important churchmen as well as a papal legate and of course a large number of knights, foot soldiers and even servants. These

armies united at the siege of Nicaea in June 1097 (Tyerman 2006:59). Although better disciplined than their contemporary's in the People's Crusade, the knights and soldiers of the Princes' Crusade were extremely violent men, many of them natural killers to whom Urban's remission of sins was a lifeline (Tyerman 2006:87).

According to Tyerman (2006:59), the princes' army also enjoyed financial and military assistance from the Byzantine emperor as they fought their way to Jerusalem. Arriving in Syria in October 1097 they laid siege to Antioch and captured the city in June 1098 (Tyerman 2006:59). Soon thereafter they in turn had to endure a siege from a Syrian relief force that arrived too late to prevent the crusaders from occupying the city. Although they suffered appalling material conditions at this time (which caused many to desert), their morale was boosted by 'visions, relics and a growing belief in their providential status' (Tyerman 2006:59). At Antioch for instance, one crusader claimed to have had a vision that the lance that pierced Christ's side could be found buried beneath a church floor in the city. This was apparently dug up and boosted the crusaders' morale to such an extent that they defeated the Syrian relief force (Severin 1989:357).

The phenomenon of visions was not uncommon during the First Crusade. After the incident at Antioch, while en route to Jerusalem, 'a new series of reported visions pressed the case for an immediate attack on Jerusalem' (Tyerman 2006:152). After arriving at Jerusalem on 7 June 1099, yet another vision, received by one Peter Desiderius, motivated the crusaders to hold a procession around the city of Jerusalem, imitating the Biblical account of Joshua at Jericho (Tyerman 2006:156). Peter ordered that 'the army should fast, and then process around the city walls in penitence for their sins' (Bartlett 1999:78). So strong was the conviction of the crusaders that the whole army marched barefoot around Jerusalem (Tyerman 2006:156).

At Jerusalem the crusaders were faced with problems like scarcity of provisions, summer heat, and numbers that dwindled to well below fourteen thousand due to disease and desertions (Bartlett 1999:77; Lock 2006:141). The defenders inside Jerusalem, commanded by Iftikhar, an experienced general, had already taken preventive measures

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like poisoning all the wells in the area, as well as evicting the large Christian population from the city as it was believed that they could become a liability during the Christian siege of Jerusalem (Bartlett 1999:77).

In addition to the challenges faced by the crusaders, disputes and in-fighting amongst the crusading leaders over issues like ownership of captured towns and cities worsened the situation. Many crusaders felt that any land taken in the Holy Land belonged to God, yet disagreement over ownership of Bethlehem and who should rule Jerusalem brought about division amongst the crusaders (Bartlett 1999:78). The news of a large relieving force from Egypt, followed by the abovementioned vision of Peter Desiderius, restored the crusaders' focus on capturing Jerusalem (Bartlett 1999:78).

After initial unsuccessful attempts to breach the city walls, the final assault on Jerusalem began on 13 July 1099, and on 15 July the crusaders managed to breach the city walls and poured into the city (Tyerman 2006:156/7). An appalling massacre followed. According to Tyerman (2006:157), 'the scale of the slaughter impressed even hardened veterans of the campaign, who recalled the area streaming with blood that reached the killers' ankles'. Severin (1989:361) confirms the scale of the massacre in the recorded words of one of the knights: 'No one has ever seen or heard of such a slaughter of pagans. Almost the whole city was full of their dead bodies'.

Some of the city's inhabitants escaped the slaughter by paying ransom to the crusaders, a fact indicating that the crusaders did not have an entirely indiscriminate policy of killing, in fact, 'profit vied with destruction' (Tyerman 2006:158). The rest of the city's inhabitants were not so fortunate. Jews were burnt inside their synagogue, and (on Christian evidence) Muslims were 'cut to pieces, decapitated or slowly tortured by fire' (Tyerman 2006:157/8). Surviving Muslims were forced to carry the bodies of the dead outside the city, to be burnt in great pyres, after which they themselves were also massacred on the spot.

According to Tyerman (2006:158) this secondary massacre provoked increasing shock and outrage amongst Muslim intellectuals, religious leaders and politicians over the next hundred and fifty years. It should perhaps be noted that the practice of indiscriminate massacres were not only limited to the crusaders, as victorious Muslim armies 'could behave as bestially as any Christian' (Tyerman 2006:158). After the killing and pillaging in Jerusalem ended, the crusaders ironically went to the church of the Holy Sepulchre to worship and pray (Tyerman 2006:159). According to Lock (2006:141), (who is of the opinion that the massacre in Jerusalem was 'neither exceptional nor unusual in terms of European warfare of the day'), it was this 'religious triumphalism and rejoicing that left a baleful legacy in East-West relations'.

The atrocities committed by the Christians on the First Crusade are not only worlds apart from the pacifism of the early Christians, but also alien to present day Christians (Caner & Caner 2004:21; Partner 1998: xviii). This section gave some insight into the mindset of the eleventh century, identifying possible reasons for the actions of the First Crusade. The next challenge is to determine to what extent the First Crusade influenced the thinking of those in the centuries to come.

4.3 Crusading over the centuries after the First Crusade

It is not the purpose of this section to go into the detail of the various crusades succeeding the First. The main challenge is to determine to what extent the attitudes of people (towards the crusades), changed throughout the centuries. For this reason selective information from a few of the crusades will be given to try and establish just how popular the crusading ideal was in the centuries following the First Crusade, and just when and why the popularity of crusading subsided and eventually disappeared. It should be noted that although there were individual identifiable crusades, some large and others small, the Crusades should be seen as a continuous movement consisting of various expeditions (Dowley 1988:269).

4.3.1 The twelfth century aftermath of the First Crusade

Although the First Crusade achieved its intended goal, to capture Jerusalem, holy war activities did not subside at the time. According to Lock (2006:142), it was in fact the very success of the First Crusade that seemed to justify this form of military campaigning. According to Riley-Smith (1995:78) the triumph of the First Crusade 'confirmed for participants and observers alike that it really was a manifestation of God's will'. Asbridge (2005:335) supports this view by pointing out that the conquest of Jerusalem 'was seen as definitive proof that the crusading ideal did indeed enjoy divine sanction'. So instead of returning to the pre-crusade 'normality', Western Europe set off on a crusading course that kept gaining momentum. By justifying its soldiers, the crusade became an important part of the self-image of the military aristocrats of Western Europe (Tyerman 1998:84).

The crusading movement was at its most popular from the late twelfth- to the late fourteenth centuries, and still active in the fifteenth- and sixteenth centuries (Riley-Smith 2008:1). It should be noted that crusades were not only waged against Muslims, but also against 'pagan Wends, Balts and Lithuanians, shamanist Mongols, Orthodox Russians and Greeks, Cathar and Hussite heretics, and those Catholics whom the church deemed to be its enemies' (Riley-Smith 2008:9). According to Riley-Smith (1995:88) it eventually did not matter where crusading combat would take place and against whom, but what mattered 'was fighting the enemies of Christ' regardless of who they were.

As early as 1101, the next Crusade was called with the aim of providing aid to Christians in Palestine by specifically strengthening the position of the crusaders in Jerusalem (Richard 1999:34). Lock (2006:142) refers to this event simply as 'the Crusade of 1101' (the actual Second Crusade was between 1145-9), and notes that it was called by Pope Paschal II who continued the policy of Urban II by threatening excommunication on anyone who had not fulfilled their vows for the First Crusade. For this reason the Crusade of 1101 also became known as the 'crusade of the faint-hearted' since many who did not join the First Crusade, or deserted on the way to Jerusalem, joined this crusade (Lock

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2006:142). Asbridge (2005:329/330) explains that those who deserted the First Crusade because of fear, starvation, illness and exhaustion, were scorned by Latin society. This intense public shame they had to endure, spurred many to join the next wave of armies to the Holy Land (Asbridge 2005:330).

There were those however, who stayed with the First Crusade until the end, and departed again with the Crusade of 1101 (Richard 1999:35). According to Richard (1999:35) the conquest of Antioch, and above all Jerusalem, was perceived to be divine favour which aroused even greater fervour amongst the crusaders of 1101. Like with the First Crusade, the papal authority was responsible for the necessary call and accompanying threats that seemingly exploited the religious conscience of the Christian population. The similarities with the First Crusade did not stop here either. Unacceptable behaviour like pillaging and disorder was also characteristic of this group (Lock 2006:143).

Written histories of the First Crusade, originating in the immediate years after the Christians captured Jerusalem in 1099, contributed immensely to the popularity of the crusading movement. According to Tyerman (2006:244), the scale and rapid production of histories on the First Crusade, finds no parallel in medieval historiography. These accounts, originating in monasteries and cathedrals, were filled with striking tales of 'faith, bravery, suffering, danger, tenacity and triumph', and did much to support the preaching of theologians on God's immanence and Christian duty (Tyerman 2006:244).

According to Tyerman (2006:245), these histories basically fed the language of preaching, putting them on the same level as the propaganda and invented versions of Urban's Clermont address. The effectiveness of the crusading propaganda (both preaching and written histories), along with the backing of the Church and Papal authority, proved to be a potent formula when mixed with the violent, yet religiously minded Western European society of the time.

4.3.2 The Third Crusade

The Third Crusade was called after Jerusalem fell back into the hands of the Muslims in 1187 (Bartlett 1999:168). Immediately after capturing Jerusalem, the Muslims, under leadership of Saladin, started with the restoration of the sacred sites of Islam while at the same time removing all traces of Latin presence (Lock 2006:152). The loss of Jerusalem, along with the changes made to the religious character of the city, subsequently 'reawakened the conscience of the West' because 'the infidel had occupied Jerusalem, destroyed the Christian defences and committed repeated acts of profanation' (Richard 1999:216). According to Richard (1999:217) it was the loss of Jerusalem and the duty of its re-conquest that 'primarily dictated crusading activity' from 1188 to 1213.

In addition, the Third Crusade had marked a certain changed attitude towards crusading, although not against the idea of crusading in itself (Partner 1997:112). The realization dawned on mostly the literate and the noble class that revivals of the emotionalism that marked the First Crusade would never suffice in breaking the Muslim grip on Jerusalem. Therefore the trend turned 'towards the mobilization of Christian military resources, and to supplying the diplomatic and financial organization that this needed' (Partner 1997:112). The Papacy, wholly committed to this venture, was determined to stay at the forefront, leading the way (Partner 1997:112).

It should be noted that after the loss of Jerusalem to the Muslims in 1187, the preaching of churchmen became even more threatening, although the outcome of a crusade was increasingly attributed rather to the will of God than to the crusaders themselves (Riley-Smith 2008:23/4). This by no means meant that the attitudes of crusaders were not addressed; in fact an important development in crusading ideology took place in this regard. According to Lock (2006:152), more focus was placed on the lives of each and every Christian. Attention was drawn to the need for sincere repentance, as well as on Christian outlook, attitudes and behaviour (Lock 2006:152). To 'avert the wrath of God', preachers ordered fasts and public penances which were seen as a 'necessary preliminary to the taking of the cross' (Richard 1999:218).

During the Third Crusade the image of the cross also received renewed focus, not only as a banner of victory, but also a 'badge of faith and a sign of repentance' (Tyerman 2006:375). The taking of the cross now 'in theory clearly separated crusading from pilgrimage' (Tyerman 2006:375). Notably crusade propagandists at the time of the Third Crusade 'began talking almost exclusively of "*crucesignati*" (crusaders), a habit that soon found its way into chronicles, histories and government records' (Tyerman 2006:375). The Third Crusade also introduced different colours for the emblem of the cross worn by the troops: the French wore red, the English white and the Flemings green crosses (Richard 1999:218).

The armies of England and France opted to travel to Palestine via the sea route, which proved to be expensive since extra ships had to be built (Richard 1999:220). To meet these expenses, the kings of England and France levied the 'Saladin Tithe' which was a special tax taking a tenth of everyone's income and moveable goods, except precious stones (Billings 2006:97; Richard 1999:220). The arms and horses of the knights, and the 'horses, books, vestments and church furniture' of the clergy were exempt from the 'Saladin Tithe' (Billings 2006:98). The parishioners had to hand over their taxes in the presence of a local committee, and those found guilty of under-declaration could be fined (Billings 2006:98). Although the 'Saladin Tithe' aroused hostility, collection of this tax went ahead (Billings 2006:98).

The Third Crusade did not succeed in regaining charge of Jerusalem. However, in sharp contrast to the atrocities committed by Christians sacking Jerusalem during the First Crusade, the victorious Muslim leader Saladin allowed the defeated crusaders free access to Jerusalem to fulfil the vow of their pilgrimage (Bartlett 1999:193). According to Bartlett (1999:193), Saladin stood out above all men of the Crusades as a man of his word whose mercy and generosity often managed to infuriate even his own people. Saladin's kindness however did not stop the Christian zeal to re-conquer Jerusalem, since the Muslim occupation of the holy places was 'an insult offered to Christ' (Partner 1997:112).

4.3.3 Pope Innocent III

In 1198, only a few years after the Third Crusade, Lothar of Segni was elected pope, and took the name Innocent III (Tyerman 2006:479). According to Partner (1997:112), Innocent III 'has been identified as marking the culmination of a process by which all barriers between religion and war in Latin Catholicism were removed'. Of all the popes, Innocent III was the one who had the most substantial influence on the development and definition of the Crusades (Lock 2006:241). Innocent III was a crusade enthusiast who did not merely 'invite the clergy to support the crusade but ordered them to do so' (Billings 2006:116).

For Innocent III, crusading was 'the business of the cross', or more specifically, 'the business of the crucified' (referring to Christ, but also by analogy, all Christians) (Tyerman 2006:480). Crusading under Innocent therefore took on a more menacing form, whereby refusal to serve in holy war was equated to infidelity to Christ (Partner 1997:112). Innocent, who popularized the title 'Vicar of Christ' (Tyerman 2006:480), represented Christ Himself as calling for war; portraying the defeat of Christians in the Holy Land 'by the inhuman and barbaric Saracens as a re-enactment of the betrayal and captivity of Christ' (Partner 1997:112).

Shortly after calling the Fourth Crusade, Innocent III also issued orders for 'crusade taxation', whereby churches in the West were told to 'contribute the fortieth part of their annual revenues' to the crusade (Partner 1997:113). Although some clergy reluctantly paid the crusade taxation, an important precedent had been set 'for such a tax and with it the beginning of central funding for crusades, managed in Rome' (Billings 2006:116). Innocent's crusade taxation was most probably motivated by the fact that the Fourth Crusade involved mostly French and Flemish noblemen, and not reigning monarchs (as in previous crusades), which effectively meant less funding for the crusade (Lock 2006:157).

The main reason that reigning monarchs did not dominate the Fourth Crusade as they did with previous crusading campaigns, was because they 'were just not available in 1199' (Lock 2006:157). Richard I and Philip II of France were at war during this time, a war which claimed the life of Richard I on 6 April 1199, leaving his successor, John, to first establish himself in power and then continue the struggle with France (Lock 2006:157). Germany on the other hand was in political turmoil with both a king and a counter-king being elected in 1198 since the king elect, Frederick II, was still an infant at this time (Lock 2006:157).

The customary 'spiritual benefits' to joining a crusade also underwent some developments under Innocent III. On God's behalf, the remission of sins for which penitence had been expressed, and eternal salvation were promised. These privileges were also extended to those who provided funding for a crusader (Lock 2006:158). Innocent made it clear that 'fighting for God was the "servant's service" to his Lord, a test of faith "as gold in a furnace" which determined salvation or damnation, not just for warriors but for all Christians' (Tyerman 2006:477).

Innocent's obsession with crusading also seriously diminished the rights of women married to crusaders. According to Tyerman (2006:486), crusaders before the time of Innocent theoretically needed the permission of their wives to go on crusade. Innocent however, relaxed this provision, basically giving permission for wives to be abandoned. This was problematic since crusade widows were very vulnerable; having to suffer challenges such as loss of income, theft of property and danger to their lives itself. Ironically Innocent strongly promoted Christian marriage, but it seems that all such good was abandoned in favour of the crusading zeal (Tyerman 2006:486).

In spite of Innocent's zeal towards crusading, the Fourth Crusade was a failure. Considered by some to be the 'unholy crusade', and others the 'first of the misguided crusades', this crusade set out with the purpose of liberating Jerusalem by an attack on Egypt (Lock 2006:156). The idea was for the crusaders to cross the Mediterranean Sea to Egypt by ships supplied by the Venetians (Lock 2006:159). However, due to a series of

unforeseen events, the crusaders were diverted from their course, and ended up capturing the Christian city of Zara instead, followed by the sacking of Christian Constantinople (Tyerman 2006:501).

The capture of the city of Zara by the crusaders was directly linked to the supply of boats by the Venetians. Arriving in Venice, the crusaders were short of money to pay for all the boats needed for the voyage across the Mediterranean (Lock 2006:159). The Venetians offered a temporary moratorium on this debt (which would be held on account and be paid off by future conquests), if the crusading army could bring the city of Zara, a former Venetian colony in Dalmatia, back under Venetian control (Lock 2006:159; Tyerman 2006:527). The crusaders agreed to the terms and arrived at Zara on 11 November 1202, greeted by the displaying of banners with a cross on them hanging from the walls of the city, a move meant to appease the crusading army, reminding them that Zara and its inhabitants are also Christian (Lock 2006:159). After initial negotiations failed, the crusaders attacked the city, and by 24 November Zara surrendered (Tyerman 2006:528).

The attack on Zara by the crusading army infuriated Pope Innocent III who excommunicated both the crusaders and the Venetians, 'an action that was kept a secret from the bulk of the crusading army since excommunication also meant the abrogation of their crusading indulgence' (Lock 2006:159). Two months later however, Innocent lifted the excommunication on the crusading army but the Venetians still remained excommunicated (Lock 2006:160). Pope Innocent at this time forbade the crusaders to invade or violate Christian lands in any way "unless, perchance they wickedly impede your journey or another just or necessary cause" 'in which case an exception could be made but only with papal guidance' (Tyerman 2006:532).

The crusader army remained encamped at Zara for the winter, where during December 1202 they were approached by envoys from Alexius, son of Isaac Angelus the former Byzantine emperor (Billings 2006:120). In 1195, Constantinople experienced a palace revolution during which Isaac Angelus had been deposed by his brother, Alexius III (Billings 2006:120). After he was deposed, Isaac Angelus had been blinded and

imprisoned but his son Alexius managed to escape to the West where he tried to seek support for the restoration of his father to the imperial throne (Billings 2006:120).

Alexius' envoys approached the crusaders at Zara requesting them to help restore Isaac Angelus and his son to the throne in exchange for a substantial monetary reward as well as a Byzantine contingent of 10 000 men for one year in aid of the Crusade (Lock 2006:159). Alexius also undertook to ensure that the Orthodox Church 'was brought into canonical obedience to Rome' (Lock 2006:160). The crusade leaders agreed on the terms and diverted to Constantinople, ignorant of a letter of prohibition (which arrived too late) from Pope Innocent III forbidding them to go to Constantinople (Billings 2006:120).

After a crusader 'show of force that went as far as an attack on the walls' (of Constantinople), Alexius III fled Constantinople leaving the way open for Isaac Angelus and his son (now Alexius IV), who were crowned together on 1 August 1203 (Billings 2006:120). During the winter of 1203/1204 relations between Alexius IV and the crusaders deteriorated rapidly, since Alexius only paid part of the agreed reward, and could not convince his people to 'submit their ecclesiastical affairs to Rome' or to pay large amounts of cash to westerners (Billings 2006:120).

This situation caused tensions within Constantinople between locals and westerners that also lived in the city, resulting in fighting between the various factions which caused a fire that consumed large parts of the city (Billings 2006:121). Thousands of westerners living within the walls of Constantinople fled the city and took refuge within the crusader camp, immediately providing more manpower and skilled labour within crusader ranks (Tyerman 2006:548). This chaos was followed in January 1204 by a palace revolution that brought the son-in-law of the former emperor Alexius III, Alexius Ducas (nicknamed Murzuphlus), to the throne of Constantinople under the name Alexius V (Billings 2006:121; Lock 2006:160; Tyerman 2006:549).

Murzuphlus made initial attempts to negotiate with the crusaders, but he was not willing to honour their agreement with his predecessor, something that the crusaders insisted on

(Tyerman 2006:549). Reaching stalemate, Murzuphlus gave the crusaders notice to leave Byzantine territory (Lock 2006:161). The crusader army on the other hand was desperate, they were without money and supplies, and all hope that the reward that Alexius IV promised would still be paid, was lost (Lock 2006:161; Tyerman 2006:549). Constantinople held the key to the crusaders' survival and their hope to fulfil their vows to journey to Jerusalem, so they decided to attack the city (Lock 2006:161; Tyerman 2006:550).

Since many in the crusader army's ranks were uncertain of the legitimacy and justice in attacking Constantinople, the crusade leadership 'staged a public presentation of the case for war to reassure their followers of the legitimacy and justice of what they were doing' (Tyerman 2006:551). The clergy at this occasion 'declared "that this war is just and lawful" on the grounds that the Greeks were schismatics, their emperor a regicide and a usurper, crimes in which his subjects were accomplices' (Tyerman 2006:551). The clerics also added spiritual incentives to the crusaders by promising that anyone that would die while attacking Constantinople would benefit from the indulgence granted by the pope, thus receiving full remission of their sins (Tyerman 2006:551).

The crusader army attacked Constantinople on 9 April 1204, and by 12 April they successfully captured part of the walls of the city (Lock 2006:161). Fearing imminent defeat, Murzuphlus fled the city during the night of 12 April 1204, and on 13 April the crusaders was met with no serious opposition (Lock 2006:161; Tyerman 2006:552). The crusaders' victory was followed by the plundering of Constantinople: 'For three days the crusader captains allowed their troops to vent their anger, relief and greed in an orgy of looting, the thoroughness and lack of finesse of which appalled most of those who heard it' (Tyerman 2006:553).

The main focus of the plundering of Constantinople was treasure and property, although violence against the population of the city also occurred, mostly on the first day (Tyerman 2006:553). According to Billings (2006:124) 'there was a scramble for relics throughout the city, justified by Western Christians who believed that the saints often

desired their remnants to be transferred to other places'. This particular objective led to 'the wholesale desecration of holy places' as churches throughout the city was ransacked and robbed of their riches and relics, among them pieces of the True Cross, Christ's tunic and the crown of thorns (Billings 2006:124; Tyerman 2006:553).

In Constantinople pillaging went on for three days before it was stopped by the crusader leadership, followed by summary punishment for any further plundering (Lock 2006:161). On 9 May 1204, Baldwin of Flanders was elected the first Latin Emperor of Constantinople (Lock 2006:161). He set out running the empire, now renamed Romania, along familiar, feudal lines (Billings 2006:125). Apart from some knights who went on to Jerusalem, most of the crusading army returned home, effectively ending the Fourth Crusade (Billings 2006:126; Lock 2006:161).

The unexpected outcome of the Fourth Crusade surprised even Pope Innocent, who was utterly appalled by the events (Tyerman 2006:501). To Innocent, the crusader attack on Constantinople effectively ruined any possibility of the Greek church being brought back in union with the Church in the west, since now the Greeks would see in the Latins 'only an example of perdition and works of darkness so that she now, and with reason, detests the Latins more than dogs' (Billings 2006:126). Needless to say, the main purpose of the Fourth Crusade, namely the recovery of Jerusalem was never accomplished (Tyerman 2006:501).

4.3.4 Crusading: From increasing popularity to eventual decline

After Innocent III, crusading remained popular for centuries to come. Across Europe the cross was adopted as 'national symbol, banner or uniform' (Tyerman 2006:908). With specific reference to crusading up to the late thirteenth century, Siberry (1985:217) points out that 'most critics were concerned with abuses or with particular aspects of the crusading movement, rather than with the concept itself'. It was their intention to help ensure the success of future campaigns by making the necessary suggestions for improvements (Siberry 1985:217). Some examples of criticism intended to make future

crusading campaigns more successful include recommendations that the poor, elderly and women stay at home since they were seen as unsuited to crusading (Siberry 1985:27/44).

By the start of the fourteenth century, crusading was seen by the French as a national prerogative with the king the major shareholder in this enterprise (Tyerman 2006:909). Nationalist propaganda in France was impregnated by crusade ideology and mentality: 'God directs the destiny of France; those who die in her cause will gain paradise' (Tyerman 2006:910). Successive popes however still refused to elevate French conflicts with Christian countries to the level of crusades (Tyerman 2006:910). Nevertheless, the crusading movement did not lose momentum: 'As a movement and as an idea, it continued to be relevant for a long time to come' (Mastnak 2002:256).

Still later, during the fifteenth century, a popular phrase referred to the crusade as 'the public business of Christendom' (Tyerman 1998:85). The fact that crusading evolved, from initially targeting the Muslims and the recapture of the Holy Land, to any other people and area, was also evident. From the late thirteenth to the early fifteenth century, crusades against other Christians within Christian society 'formed the most consistent application of papal holy war (Tyerman 2006:894).

4.3.4.1 Philip IV and Pope Boniface VIII

Another development that affected the 'face' of crusading was the relationship between king and pope. The watershed moment in this regard was the confrontation between Philip IV of France and Pope Boniface VIII (the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century), which is seen by many historians as marking 'the end of the Middle Ages' or 'the dawn of the modern era' (Mastnak 2002:241). This confrontation was basically a power struggle between king and pope, thus between temporal and spiritual power. Boniface was of the opinion that there was no one on earth, who could judge the pope, so subsequently those who opposed the papal doctrine of power were accused of heresy (Mastnak 2002:230).

Philip IV on the other hand, did not appreciate the pope meddling in affairs of state, and in addition he bypassed ecclesiastical jurisdiction by taxing churches without papal permission in order to finance his military campaigns (Mastnak 2002:234). The eventual outcome of their lengthy confrontation was the death of Boniface from shock after Philip had him arrested (Mastnak 2002:239). As a direct result of these events, the papal court moved to French-controlled Avignon (Mastnak 2002:239).

According to Mastnak (2002:245), the outcome of this conflict also meant sanctification of kingship and the establishment of the king's direct relationship with and access to God. The king was the highest temporal ruler, and as such Philip also appropriated to himself jurisdiction in spiritual matters, seeing that he derived his authority directly from God, he used his powers without limitation (Mastnak 2002:250). With Philip war in defence of his kingdom and territory was religious war, and as such 'the soldier of the king was assimilated to the soldier of Christ' (Mastnak 2002:248). The outcome of this conviction was that the defence of all that was Christian (the kingdom, king and people), became synonymous with the defence of the faith and the Church (Mastnak 2002:249).

All this however did not mean that the papal view was completely overthrown since both king and pope were still seen to possess 'universal sovereignty' (Mastnak 2002:251). What it did mean however, is that the role of the Church 'was henceforth auxiliary: to contribute toward defence, not to initiate or direct it' (Mastnak 2002:250). The confrontation between Philip and Boniface mainly impacted the ownership aspect of the Crusades. The pope no longer had the sole initiating authority in calling a crusade, since crusading now became a national prerogative, 'an enterprise in which the king of France held the major shareholding' (Tyerman 2006:909).

4.3.4.2 Crusading in secular hands

According to Mastnak (2002:257), the growing role of secular government in organizing and implementing the crusade, led to what is termed by some historians as 'national crusading', which essentially means that crusading began to serve 'worldly ambition' and

'national interests'. National wars were now also portrayed 'as of equal worth as crusading, as holy wars in their own right, independent of the Holy Land tradition' (Tyerman 2006:911). In England liturgy and practices like church processions and prayers, formerly devoted to the recovery of the Holy Land, were now directed to the support of royal wars (Tyerman 2006:911). During the 1340's those in service of the royal wars also received privileges very similar to those granted to Holy Land crusaders: 'privileges of essoin of court, exemption from taxation, moratorium on debt and pardon for crimes' (Tyerman 2006:911).

The crusade's 'cross-fertilization' with the new phenomenon of 'national war' proved quite potent, and the violence committed in the name of king and country 'was sanctified through association with crusading ideas and ideals' (Mastnak 2002:257). Where crusading formerly concerned the defence of the faith, it now also incorporated the extension of the faith, an idea embraced by none other than Christopher Columbus, 'an enthusiast for the recovery of the Holy Land' (Tyerman 2006:914).

Although crusading had crossed over into the secular sphere, it was still held in high regard in society: '...neither the popularity of the Crusades nor the enthusiasm for them abated. Western Christendom's ties to the Holy Land were still "very much alive" (Mastnak 2002:259). Secular government's involvement however led to crusading becoming more 'territorially centred', meaning essentially that individual countries, like France, could independently arrange a crusade. With the emergence of nationalism, it was the French in particular who began to see the Crusades as an important part of their national heritage (Madden 2002:4).

The fact that the pope theoretically retained the right of final authorization of a crusade meant little in the light of his sudden weakening of power (Mastnak 2002:260). One has to keep in mind that the pope's power was now on a decline and by the seventeenth century, the pope's influence had deteriorated to such an effect that he 'could no longer effectively participate in the political affairs of western Europe (Cragg 1990:9). The emergence and rapid growth of nationalism in the preceding centuries had a lot to do with

the weakening of the pope's power: 'But as the national states grew stronger, it became increasingly more difficult for the pope to exert his powers. In endeavouring to do this he was plunged into a whole series of wars which exhausted his financial means' (Pillay & Hofmeyr 1991:129).

According to Pillay & Hofmeyr (1991:129) the increasing strength of the national states resulted in Church members tending to have a greater loyalty to their king than to the pope. With the papacy's decline in power and support came eventual financial difficulties which the papacy tried to overcome by selling indulgences (Pillay & Hofmeyr 1991:129). Representatives of the pope were sent all across Europe 'to sell letters of indulgence to penitent souls at their homes', letters that could even be bought on behalf of a deceased person (Pillay & Hofmeyr 1991:130). In addition to this practice the Church made indulgences available that could provide for future needs thus enabling the local priest to pronounce absolution (Pillay & Hofmeyr 1991:130).

While the selling of indulgences strengthened the flow of money to the Church coffers, it also 'opened the door for very serious abuse' and highlighted the 'spiritual bankruptcy of the Church' (Pillay & Hofmeyr 1991:130). Because of conditions such as these many, especially in Germany, 'found their spiritual nourishment in movements outside the Church', while many others 'realised that there was something drastically wrong with the Church' (Pillay & Hofmeyr 1991:130/1). The stage had been set for the Reformation to sweep across Europe.

With the growing dominance of nationalism and its effects on crusading, one cannot but see the early signs of certain aspects of colonialism which eventually became popular amongst European nations. Mastnak (2002:346) hints on this idea as well: 'The Crusades set a model for "expansionist campaigns by European Christians against non-Europeans and non-Christians in all parts of the world". In addition there are those scholars who link crusading directly to colonialism, referring to crusading as "the first age of European colonialism" (Madden 2002:152).

4.3.4.3 The decline of crusading

There are varying opinions among scholars concerning the issue of when the Crusades supposedly came to an end. Depending on their answer to this question, scholars would be placed in one of two groups, namely the traditionalists and the revisionists (Madden (2002:8/9). The traditionalists see the Crusades as 'a series of major campaigns launched by the West to capture and defend the Holy Land and its neighbouring regions' (Madden 2002:8). Therefore those campaigns fitting this description were the only Crusades to receive a number (e.g. First Crusade, Second Crusade, etc.) (Madden 2002:8).

The traditional cut-off date for the Crusades is 1291, 'the year in which the last vestige of western European control of parts of Syria and Palestine that had begun with the First Crusade came to an end' (Bull 2005:121; Madden 2002:8). In this year, Acre, the last remaining city in the area of Syria and Palestine still under Christian control, fell to the Muslims (Pillay & Hofmeyr 1991:89). With the fall of Acre all crusading military orders withdrew from Palestine and Syria. The Teutonic Knights moved to Venice while the Templars, Hospitallers and the Order of St Thomas of Acre transferred their headquarters to Cyprus (Lock 2006:122).

The revisionists, in the majority amongst modern scholars, are of the opinion that 'a crusade need not have been focused on the Holy Land in any way', but that it was 'any papally sanctioned war against the enemies of the faith' (Madden 2002:8). This view, also called the 'pluralist' or 'expansive' view, recognises the fact that although the face of crusading changed over the centuries, 'there is an underlying continuity which underpins the notion of a long-term "movement" (Bull 2005:121). One has to bear in mind that the difference in the cut-off dates given for the crusades by various scholars depends on what definition a scholar would give to the term 'the crusades' (Bull 2005:121). According to Bull (2005:121) the best modern definition, and the most influential, is that of crusade historian Jonathan Riley-Smith, a revisionist by definition (Madden 2002:8). It is therefore necessary to establish Riley-Smith's view on the subject.

Riley Smith (2002) explains what the crusades were by using the following defining elements:

- It was a war authorised and proclaimed by the pope as Christ's vicar.
- A crusade had a certain penitential quality.
- Those participating in a crusade took a vow committing them to the crusade.
- Upon making such a vow each participant was required to attach a cloth cross to his/her clothing.
- Participants gained privileges assuring them of the protection of their families, interests and assets in their absence.
- Participants also enjoyed indulgences.
- A crusade was fought for what was believed to be a just cause.

Even in keeping within the confines of the above defining elements, one would find valid crusades well beyond the traditional cut-off date of 1291, since popes continued to 'call crusades to recapture lost territories abroad or to defend the Church and its interests at home' (Bull 2005:121; Madden 2002:9). Later centuries brought about mutated forms of crusading due to events like the rise of nationalism as discussed in the previous section (Bull 2005:121).

As established in a previous section, crusading did change somewhat with time. In addition to this, it should be mentioned that with time, crusading as a movement faced certain challenges which led inevitably to its eventual decline. Although crusading attracted increasing criticism, Tyerman (2006:918) is of the opinion that the 'idea that the crusade "declined" through growing unpopularity makes little conceptual or historical sense'. Since 'crusading certainly did not decay through lack of interest' (Tyerman 2006:918), the reasons for its decline should be sought in other areas.

According to Tyerman (2006:918), the changing attitude towards the moral authority of the papacy (as experienced with the rise of nationalism), certainly did its fair share of damage to crusading. In addition to this, many of the 'traditional chivalric impulses' that

formed an integral part of crusading, was left redundant with the gradual transformation, 'of military aristocrats from knights to officers, from warriors to gentlemen', that came with changes in educational habits and social conditions (Tyerman 2006:918). The change in religious and social value systems had a detrimental effect on the crusading ideal, since it brought with it different ways of looking at the world (Tyerman 2006:918/9).

It seems that the change in the influence of the Church remains the main reason behind the decay of crusading: 'Fundamentally, the western Christian church lost its attempt to control civil society' (Tyerman 2006:919). The triumph of secular rule over Church authority also meant that 'warfare became subject to secular rules and laws as well as leadership' (Tyerman 2006:919). This essentially led to national interests being promoted above Christian interests, resulting in wars within Christendom which attracted severe criticism (Tyerman 1998:92). Crusades to the Holy Land still had few opponents, except when crusade campaigns 'had gone disastrously wrong', but even then the tendency was 'to blame the organizers or fighters for letting Christendom down...' (Tyerman 1998:92).

According to Tyerman (2006:917), the last formal crusade was the war of the Holy League against the Ottomans in 1684-99. Crusading itself is considered to have ended only in 1798, when the Knights Hospitallers of St John surrendered Malta to Napoleon Bonaparte (Riley-Smith 2002:89). The impact that crusading had on the world however had a much more enduring effect: 'As an ideal and as a movement, the crusades had a deep, crucial influence on the formation of Western civilization, shaping culture, ideas, and institutions' (Mastnak 2002:346).

After the Second World War General Eisenhower published his memoirs 'The Crusade in Europe' (Siberry 2000:101). Even current times have not escaped this phenomenon. After the attacks on September 11 2001 on American soil, President Bush was quoted as saying: 'This crusade, this war on terrorism, is going to take a while' (Tyerman 2005). On the other side of that battle, Osama bin Laden and other extremist Islamist leaders, declared their holy war against the 'American crusaders' (Madden 2002:2). From these

examples it is obvious that the world of today has taken proper ownership of words like 'crusade' and 'crusader', and easily uses them in present day conflicts, especially when those conflicts are between Christians and Muslims. Undeniably the scars of the Crusades can still be seen in attitudes, approaches and ill feelings of hatred and the like in our modern society.

While this chapter addressed the Crusades as well as the development and eventual decline of crusading, the following chapter will focus on the development of human thought on the Crusades.

Chapter 5

The development of human thought on the Crusades

The historical aspect of the Crusades has been generally addressed in the preceding section of this study, serving mostly as background information to the rest of the study. The nature and ideals of the Crusades have been established, its history touched upon, its changing face determined and finally its end confirmed. Yet as seen in the previous chapter, the mentality of man has kept crusading alive into the present day, albeit out of context. It is the purpose of this specific section to study the development of human thought on the Crusades, arriving ultimately at the intended goal which is the changing attitudes toward the Crusades and the reasons behind it.

The main question asked in support of this research project, relates to the awareness about the Crusades. Just how old is the debate on the blame for the Crusades, i.e. has it been going on since the time of the Crusades or is it a more modern issue? If it happens to be a modern issue, the reasons behind this phenomenon have to be identified. One has to bear in mind that the changing attitudes toward the Crusades appear to be a current tendency. If the debate on the blame for the Crusades is also a more present day issue, its relation to the changing attitudes toward the Crusades would be extremely relevant.

5.1 Crusade awareness

Our present day understanding and views on the Crusades are worlds apart from those in the centuries since the Crusades started. Even simple things we take for granted today, like certain words relating to the Crusades, were alien at the time of the Crusades. The word 'Muslim' for example, was not used in the Middle Ages and the followers of Islam was commonly referred to as 'Saracens' by Christians (Mastnak 2002:103). Likewise, the word 'crusade' is not a medieval word either (Tyerman 1998:1).

According to Lock (2006:258) the term 'crusade' came into use during the seventeenth century, and by the late seventeenth century it 'was becoming common although by no means exclusive'. Just as these two simple yet meaningful words became established with time, current views and attitudes on the Crusades are products of the process of time. For the benefit of this study, a closer look into this process, insofar it relates to the crusades, is called for. Attention will be given to the insights of Crusade historians and other authors through the centuries as well as the popular opinion where possible.

5.1.1 The changing Christian view

According to Tyerman (1998:98), crusading was defeated not by Islam, but by the politics of Christendom and the Christian Reformation. Apart from the power struggle between king and pope already mentioned, there were other undercurrents in the politics of Christianity, increasingly so in the later centuries of the Crusades. Notably the sixteenth century seemingly stands out as the watershed century, wherein more commentators were distancing themselves from the 'age of certainty' that characterised the earlier Crusade centuries (Tyerman 1998:109). According to Van Wijk & Spies (1985:302), conditions in Europe during the early sixteenth century, were 'favourable for far-reaching religious changes'. Central Europe at this time experienced an intense religious fervour and concern about the state of the church (Van Wijk & Spies 1985:302).

One has to remember that the sixteenth century was the century that saw the birth of the Reformation (Dowley 1988:360), which in its own unique way contributed to new approaches to the Crusades (as will be discussed further on in this section). Furthermore, in the greater picture, one has to consider the fact that the previous two centuries saw the birth and growth of the Renaissance (meaning rebirth, regeneration, renewal) in Europe, which by the sixteenth century was firmly established and could certainly be credited as one of the catalysts for the Reformation (Pillay & Hofmeyr 1991:123).

In addition, one major incident that immediately preceded the sixteenth century contributed much towards setting the stage for the Reformation as well as the resulting

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impact on Crusade historiography. This was the fall of Constantinople in 1453 signalling the end of the Byzantine Empire (Lock 2006:133). One curious effect of this incident was that Western Europe, and particularly Italy, was now flooded 'with scholars whose views were different from those that had become common in the West' (Gonzalez 1985:7).

Apart from the new philosophical outlooks that this introduced, manuscripts these scholars brought with them also placed the spotlight on changes that had taken place in the copying of ancient texts (Gonzalez 1985:7). Comparisons could also be made between the Greek text of the New Testament and the Latin Vulgate since Greek became more commonly known amongst western scholars (Gonzalez 1985:7). All these factors contributed to a conviction to return to the sources of the Christian faith, resulting in a reformation of doctrine and practice (Gonzalez 1985:7)

Taking the information contained in the preceding four paragraphs into consideration, I have therefore decided to start with the sixteenth century, working my way through into the modern era, highlighting the changing opinions and attitudes within Christianity towards the Crusades.

5.1.1.1 The Sixteenth Century

During the sixteenth century, the widening schism between Catholics and Protestants resulted, amongst other things, in the identifying of Protestants with Turks as a familiar theme in Catholic discourse (Tyerman 1998:105). Some, like Francois Moschus in his 'Preface to Readers', even went as far as comparing the religion of Mohammed with that of Luther (Tyerman 1998:105). Luther himself attacked the Crusades as the tool of a corrupt papacy (Madden 2002:3). Yet even the Protestants recognised the power of the Turks and the threat that this posed to Europe, which beckoned the question 'If the crusades were morally bankrupt, as the Protestants insisted, how then could Europeans unite to defend against the common enemy?' (Madden 2002:3).

Not surprising then is the fact that during this time, the Protestants were at the forefront of 'studying the crusades as a distinct historical phenomenon', dismissing the legal and theological foundations of the crusades, but not necessarily condemning armed conflict with the infidel altogether (Tyerman 1998:105). Obviously scathing attacks were made by Protestant historians on 'crusades' against the Albigensians and Waldensians, resulting in a favourite Protestant critique at the time, that the desire to fight the infidel had been corrupted by Roman Catholicism (Tyerman 1998:105). The Englishman John Foxe, in his work *History of the Turks* (1566), confirmed that the Muslims were 'the enemies of Christ', but at the same time he identified the failure of the Crusades with 'the impure idolatry and profanations' of the Roman Church (Tyerman 1998:105).

It was also during the sixteenth century that the marked change in the religious and political environment brought about a new response to the Crusades, as the romantic view of the Crusades became more popular (Tyerman 1998:108). According to Tyerman (1998:108), even the famous playwright William Shakespeare explored this approach, while others like Torquato Tasso 'reinvented the First Crusade as a romantic tale of chivalry, love and magic within the more familiar story of Godfrey de Bouillon'. It is said that Tasso 'lionised Godfrey of Bouillon as the ideal military leader, and placed him at the forefront of crusading writing for nearly two centuries' (Lock 2006:257). Several other writers at the time found the Crusades 'entertaining rather than uplifting or admonitory' (Tyerman 1998:109).

In contrast to these, there were individuals like Francis Bacon (who himself was concerned about the crusades), that approached the topic with seriousness. Bacon tried to investigate the views of all sides in the form of a dialogue in his work *Advertisement touching the Holy Warre* (1622), but he never completed it (Tyerman 1998:109). The completed part of the work however contains a variety of opinions on the Crusades, ranging from the traditional Catholic defence of war fought for religion to the 'cynical dismissal of the whole idea' (Tyerman 1998:109). Nevertheless, Bacon's work managed to highlight the fact that a shift occurred in the standard of viewing the crusades. This shift was from 'faith to prudence, from religion to law' (Tyerman 1998:109).

Late in the sixteenth century, the German scholar Matthew Dresser (1536-1607), a Lutheran, was asked to contribute a commentary on the causes for the Crusades, for a compendium called *Chronicon Hierosolymitanum* (1584) (Tyerman 1998:106). Dresser's commentary elaborated on how the Holy Wars (the standard academic description of the Crusades at the time) were scarred by papal lust for terrestrial power (Tyerman 1998:106). He distinguished however between the greed and deceit of the papacy and the honesty and piety of the crusaders themselves. He suggested that the crusaders were ignorant and misled rather than mischievous, an opinion that has persisted and to this day remains familiar to students of the Crusades (Tyerman 1998:106).

5.1.1.2 The Seventeenth Century

Pillay & Hofmeyr (1991:174) points out the fact that the period of church history from the seventeenth century to the present is referred to as 'modern' church history due to 'the new world-view that began to emerge in the seventeenth century in contrast to the medieval world-view of the previous almost one thousand years'. According to Cragg (1990:37), the seventeenth century brought about a new era in western thought, an era in which 'men's minds would no longer be governed by assumptions which were an inheritance from medieval and classical times'.

Cragg (1990:37) considers the middle of the seventeenth century to be the starting point of this new era. The Peace of Westphalia was signed in 1648 bringing about not only the end of the Thirty Years War, but also religious wars in general: 'During the next century and a half the peace of Europe was often broken; there was warfare among the nations but religion seldom provided the pretext' (Cragg 1990:9). According to Gonzalez (1985:140) the principles of tolerance of the Peace of Westphalia were born out of 'a growing indifference to religious matters'. People at this time desired peace and stability (Cragg 1990:11).

Cragg (1990:37) is of the opinion that the French philosopher Descartes made a huge contribution to this 'new Age of Reason'. Although Descartes died in 1650 Cragg

(1990:37) considers his influence to have been so powerful that one couldn't understand the new age without considering the contributions of Descartes. The well known philosophical phrase 'I think, therefore I am' was the primary principle that Descartes built his philosophy on, and his system of knowledge embraced physics, mathematics and metaphysics (Cragg 1990:38). Although Descartes was not primarily concerned with religion (Cragg 1990:38), Spinoza, who was deeply influenced by him, was of the opinion that 'the church had become the prey of greedy and ambitious men' and that a new beginning had to be made with reason as the point of departure (Cragg 1990:40).

Other occurrences also affected religious thought in this century. The endless squabbles between the various sects and movements that appeared during the seventeenth century, especially in England, compelled many to become Deists, or 'freethinkers' (Gonzalez 1985:190). According to Gonzalez (1985:190), the first great figure of Deism was Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who held the conviction 'that true religion must be universal, not only in the sense of calling for the allegiance of all, but also in the sense of being a religion that is natural to all humankind'. Deism was opposed to the narrow dogmatism of traditional Christianity, while at the same time refuting the scepticism of those who abandoned religion altogether (Gonzalez 1985:190).

It should be noted that the change in thought (especially religious thought), that characterised the seventeenth century, was largely promoted by convinced Christians (Cragg 1990:73). Thomas Sprat, bishop of Rochester, and Joseph Glanvill, rector of Bath, undertook the task of interpreting the new science of the seventeenth century (Cragg 1990:73). Their eventual conclusion was that 'scientists deal with natural phenomena, but they approach them in a reverent and religious spirit' thus religion couldn't suffer from their efforts, in fact, it could only benefit from it (Cragg 1990:73). Whatever the intentions of the various role-players might have been, the 'Age of Reason' was making philosophical inroads into each and every field, and it would be unavoidable for the Crusades to get by untouched.

By the seventeenth century the expansion of the Ottoman Empire had basically stopped, and although the Turks still remained powerful, the threat was not severe (Madden 2002:3). 'This allowed Europeans to take a step back and view the crusades more as a historical phenomenon than an ongoing campaign' (Madden 2002:3). Because of this new approach, 'traditional crusading was no longer an active part of what Gibbon (in the eighteenth century) was to call the "World's Debate" (Tyerman 1998:109). Three prominent crusade historians during the seventeenth century were Jacques Bongars, Thomas Fuller and Louis Maimbourg.

Jacques Bongars

The crusade historian Jacques Bongars (1554-1612), who Tyerman (1998:107) refers to as 'one of the greatest editors of crusade texts', along with his fellow-editors, opted for religious, intellectual or moral disapproval of the Crusades, balanced with admiration for national rather than religious pride (Tyerman 1998:110).

Jacques Bongars managed to bring together (for the first time) all the major western sources for the First Crusade in his work *Gesta Dei per Francos* (2 vols, 1611) (Lock 2006:259). Bongars described Holy War 'simultaneously as "most dangerous and most glorious" (Tyerman 1998:108). He was a royalist who dedicated the first part of the *Gesta Dei* to the 'Most Christian King of France, Louis XIII' (Tyerman 1998:108). Furthermore, the title *Gesta Dei per Francos* 'presented the crusades as God's deeds done by Frenchmen' (Tyerman 1998:108).

In addition to Bongars, Tyerman (1998:110/1) mentions two seventeenth century historians, whose seemingly contrasting traditions persisted into the eighteenth century 'scholarly, judgementally and patriotically', namely Thomas Fuller and Louis Maimbourg.

Thomas Fuller

Thomas Fuller (1608-61) wrote the *History of the Holy Warre* (1639), which 'resounded with moderate Protestant criticism both of the theology and actions of the crusaders' (Tyerman 1998:110). The fact that Fuller acknowledged the danger of the Turks as well as the role of the Catholic powers in protecting Protestant countries, added much impact to his criticism of the Crusades, which he considered to be a wasteful enterprise filled with wickedness and treachery (Tyerman 1998:110). In his balanced view Fuller (1840:8) referred to Islam as a senseless religion, the Crusades as a tragedy (1840:292) and the papacy as the first cause of the ill success of the Crusades (1840:263).

Fuller (1840:14) refers to the debate amongst the 'learned men' of his time regarding the lawfulness of the Crusades. The main reasons in support of the lawfulness of the Crusades are listed by Fuller (1840:14) as follows:

- While the whole earth belonged to God, Judea especially was considered to be His.
- The crusaders were helping brethren in distress (with reference to the Christians in Syria and Palestine).
- Christians could seize the Holy Land since 'The Turks, by their blasphemies and reproaches against God and our Saviour, had disinherited and divested themselves of their right to their lands'.
- The Crusades would advance and increase the Christian religion.
- 'God set His hand to this war, and approved it by many miracles...'

In addition to these Fuller (1840:16) also lists the main reasons against the Crusades:

- Since the Jews were no longer God's people, Judea was no longer God's land.
- Although the Turks were 'no better than dogs, they were to be let alone in their own kennel'.

- The visit to the holy places in Jerusalem by pilgrims were considered by some to be useless since the angel at the tomb of Jesus said to the women after the resurrection: 'He is not here; he has risen'.
- The Crusades were 'quicksand to devour treasure and valiant men'

With reference to the arguments against the Crusades Fuller (1840:18) noted the following: 'These reasons have moved the most moderate and refined papists, and all protestants generally, in their judgments against this holy war'. Fuller himself criticized the Crusades, referring to those marching on Jerusalem as carrying a goose before them 'pretending it to be the Holy Ghost' (1840:18). Fuller was of the opinion that pope Urban should have bought some land for graves 'when he first persuaded this bloody project, whereby he made all Jerusalem Golgotha, a place for skulls, and all the Holy Land, Aceldama, a field of blood' (1840:276).

According to Fuller (1840:18) the papacy had a private agenda with the Crusades, an agenda which served to profit the pope. Fuller (1840:18) compared the biblical story of Saul sending David to fight the Philistines hoping that he would fall in battle, to the pope sending his enemies to war: '...so the pope had this cleanly and unsuspected conveyance to rid those he hated, by sending them against the infidels'. In addition Fuller (1840:19) points out that the pope got a lot of money out of the Crusades and that he, along with the clergy, improved their estates since many who went on these voyages 'sold or mortaged most of their means'.

With reference to the end of the Crusades Fuller commented the following: '...for continuance the longest, for money spent the costliest, for bloodshed the cruellest, for pretences the most pious, for the true intent the most politic the world ever saw' (1840:241). Although some consider Fuller's work to be 'more anecdotal than historical' (Lock 2006:278), it is evident that he clearly distanced 'himself from the emotions and culture of the crusades' (Tyerman 1998:110).

Louis Maimbourg

Louis Maimbourg on the other hand, had a completely different view of the Crusades. Maimbourg was a French church historian and a Jesuit, who strongly opposed Protestantism, and whose works (although beautifully written) 'have a clear partisan agenda that did not always respect the facts' (Lock 2006:280). Maimbourg wrote the History of the Crusades (1675), a work that was drenched in national and royal bias (Tyerman 1998:110). He painted a picture of the Crusades portraying it as a vast, important enterprise 'full of heroic actions...scarcely to be outdone' (Tyerman 1998:110). By introducing the story of the Crusades to the seventeenth century, Maimbourg managed to relate it to rising fears of the Ottomans and how to combat them in Eastern Europe (Tyerman 1998:110).

5.1.1.3 The Eighteenth Century

By the eighteenth century, the military might of the Ottoman Empire had been broken, and the tables were turned as Europeans now expanded globally (Madden 2002:3). The eighteenth century also saw a new era introduced as The Enlightenment (Aufklärung) swept across Europe (Pillay & Hofmeyr 1991:184). The Enlightenment is defined by Deist (1990:83) as 'an 18th-century intellectual movement which made human reason the ultimate norm of truth...' Pillay & Hofmeyr (1991:184) points out the fact that although this movement is often dated from 1720-1770, it is best understood as a 'mood of optimism that permeated thinking in the eighteenth century'. With new-found confidence in their own abilities to shape their world, people believed that reason would free man intellectually, socio-economically and politically (Pillay & Hofmeyr 1991:184).

According to Partner (1998:276), The Enlightenment was in some way also an attempt by Christians in the West to rethink the history of their religion, an exercise that would undoubtedly focus renewed attention on the Crusades. In addition to this, The Enlightenment also brought about a change in the 'attitude of cultivated Europeans to Islam' thus bringing about the first elements of what was labelled in the twentieth century

as 'sympathy for alien concepts' (Partner 1998:279). Although this by no means meant the abolition of religious prejudice, it still enabled historians like Edward Gibbon to 'treat Muhammad as a religious teacher to be compared with Jewish and Christian religious teachers, and the Islamic Empire as one to be compared with the Roman Empire' (Partner 1998:279).

Madden (2002:4) points out that The Enlightenment with its emphasis on rational thought, religious toleration and anticlericalism provided an intellectual atmosphere wherein the medieval crusades did not fare well. Prominent Enlightenment historians like Voltaire and Edward Gibbon, looked back on the Middle Ages, regarding it as 'a fetid pool of ignorance, superstition and fanaticism that stood between them and the glories of antiquity' (Madden 2002:4). It comes as no surprise then that these individuals described the Crusades as 'a bizarre manifestation of medieval barbarism in which thousands of the deceived and the foolish marched through rivers of blood in a pitiful attempt to save their souls' (Madden 2002:4).

Leaders of the Enlightenment remained firmly opposed to the Crusades in more or less the same way the Reformed churches did. Rousseau for instance, took a strong stance against the Crusades calling it a pagan phenomenon and further commenting: 'all holy war was impossible to Christians, there was no such thing as "Christian troops" and the crusading forces were simply "the priest's soldiers..."(Partner 1998:277). It should be noted at this point that it was holy war and not war in itself that was shunned. Rousseau was of the opinion that the Crusades were an example of trickery that had turned civic duty to the service of priestly interest (Partner 1998:277). This essentially meant that under the correct circumstances war could still be seen as a civic duty, but no war could be holy.

In addition to this strong opposition against the Crusades, rationalism in the eighteenth century treated the Crusades in an essentially ironic way (Partner 1998:276). On the one hand the Crusades were viewed as barbaric, but on the other, it was seen as a vehicle by which a wider culture and more civilized manners were brought into Europe from the

Muslim East (Partner 1998:276). In like manner, the Turks with their capture of Constantinople in 1453 were responsible for the migration of scholars (thus knowledge) from the East to the West, which essentially was a good thing for the West (Partner 1998:276). In essence, the fanaticism on either side of the Crusades was unwittingly responsible for the advancement of European learning and customs (Partner 1998:277).

Historians in the eighteenth century brought both a critical faculty as well as a sense of historical integrity to their sources, and in addition to these, the use of the footnote as well (Lock 2006:259). According to Tyerman (1998:111), the four most influential writers of the eighteenth century were Diderot, Voltaire, Gibbon and Hume, who incidentally all considered the Crusades arriving at similar conclusions, but at the same time retaining some unique individual opinion. In general, they were all appalled and at the same time intrigued by the violent fanaticism that was characteristic of the Crusades (Tyerman 1998:111/2). Due to the prominence and influence of these four individuals, it is necessary to briefly consider the contribution of each one to the changing attitudes towards the Crusades.

Voltaire

The great French Philosopher Francois-Marie Arouet (1694-1778), better known by his pen name 'Voltaire', was an enemy of all forms of fanaticism (Gonzalez 1985:192; Bull 2005:17). According to Cragg (1990:239), Voltaire was the most powerful influence in European thought for nearly half a century. Notably, Voltaire's influence encouraged a complete denial of God (Cragg 1990:239). As far as the Crusades were concerned, Voltaire was of the opinion that the whole enterprise was wasteful and pointless (Tyerman 1998:112).

Voltaire ascribed the crusading movement to 'religion, avarice and vexation of spirit' (Partner 1998:278). He wrote of the 'madness for the crusades' and lamented that 'they had drained Europe of its men and money without their having the least contributed to civilize it' (Siberry 2000:2). Voltaire did however have a more favourable approach to

individuals caught up in the Crusades, for example, Frederick Barbarossa was commended for the care with which he prepared the Third Crusade, and Saladin was hailed as 'at once a good man, a hero and a philosopher' (Tyerman 1998:112).

David Hume

Gonzalez (1985:190), describes David Hume (1711-1776) as 'a man of boundless optimism who was nevertheless very pessimistic as to the powers of reason'. Some consider Hume to be the greatest of the British philosophers, a man who 'demolished the cherished certainties of his age with elegant simplicity' (Cragg 1990:167). As far as the Crusades were concerned, Hume famously referred to them as 'the most signal and most durable monument of human folly that has yet appeared in any age or nation' (Tyerman 1998:112). In addition to Hume's view of utter disdain concerning the Crusades, he was also very critical of Crusade individuals like Peter the Hermit, who were considered to be crusade heroes by their contemporaries and later historians (Siberry 2000:2).

Denis Diderot

Denis Diderot (1713-1784), based some of his work on the Crusades on that of Voltaire (Lock 2006:259). His entry into the *Encyclopaedia* referred to the Crusades as a quest for 'a piece of rock not worth a single drop of blood' (Tyerman 1998:112). He recognised both wars by Christians to recover the Holy Places, as well as wars undertaken for the fight against heresy and paganism, to be defined as crusades (Tyerman 1998:112). To Diderot the Crusades functioned by means of 'imbecility and false zeal' as well as political self-interest, and they were sustained by 'intolerance, ignorance, violence and the Church (Tyerman 1998:112). He considered the dire consequences of the Crusades to include 'the Inquisition, vast loss of life, the impoverishment of the nobility, decline in agriculture, and the collapse of ecclesiastical discipline', and the like (Tyerman 1998:112).

Edward Gibbon

Edward Gibbon (1737-1794) wrote the *History of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire* (1776-1788), in which he included some chapters on the Crusades, which again derived many attitudes directly from Voltaire (Lock 2006:278; Tyerman 1998:112). Gibbon is said to have had a large private library, and it is noted that there are over 8000 source references in the *History of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire*, with the *Gesta Dei per Francos* of Jacques Bongars being one of the basic sources of crusade texts (Siberry 2000:3/4). Included in Gibbon's source references were also some Muslim sources (Gibbon 1906:347).

In his discussion of the Crusades, Gibbon focused on the clash of religions and cultures that were involved in the Crusades, and is thought by some to have been the first person to assign numbers to the various crusades, although only identifying the First to the Seventh Crusade in this way (Gibbon 1906:358; Lock 2006:259). Gibbon identified 'savage fanaticism' as the principal cause of the Crusades, and in this regard parted ways with Voltaire, referring to Saladin as 'a fanatic in a fanatic age' while at the same time referring to Louis IX as the 'promoter and victim of "this holy madness", whose crusade vow was the "result of enthusiasm and sickness" (Gibbon 1906:342/359; Tyerman 1998:113).

Gibbon was of the opinion that the cold philosophy of the eighteenth century was incapable of feeling the impression that was made on a sinful and fanatic world: 'At the voice of their pastor, the robber, the incendiary, the homicide, arose by thousands to redeem their souls, by repeating on the infidels the same deeds which they had exercised against their Christian brethren; and the terms of atonement were eagerly embraced by offenders of every rank and denomination' (Gibbon 1906:270; Mastnak 2002:54). According to Gibbon (1906:267) the Christians of Western Europe 'had a right and interest in the support of Constantinople, the most important barrier of the West' but he attributes their conquest of Palestine to 'fanaticism alone' since 'Palestine could add

nothing to the strength or safety of the Latins' and therefore such conquest could not be justified.

Gibbon (1906:271) explains the 'temporal and carnal motives' of the 'soldiers and chiefs' who marched in the First Crusade as follows: '...I will dare to affirm that all were prompted by the spirit of enthusiasm, the belief of merit, the hope of reward, and the assurance of divine aid'. He cautions however that in many it was not the only or main reason for participating in the Crusade, but that the abuse of religion to justify war also played a part since 'war and exercise were the reigning passions of the Franks or Latins; they were enjoyed as a penance, to gratify those passions, to visit distant lands, and to draw the sword against the nations of the East' (Gibbon 1906:271).

Although Gibbon criticized the Crusades, he remarkably did not condemn the crusaders alone, but also criticised Islam, blaming them for the outbreak of the crusades and the evils that this brought. Gibbon's opinion in this regard is evident from the following comments regarding the treatment of pilgrims to Jerusalem in the last few decades before the start of the First Crusade:

> The pilgrims, who, through innumerable perils, had reached the gates of Jerusalem, were the victims of private rapine or public oppression, and often sunk under the pressure of famine and disease, before they were permitted to salute the holy sepulchre. A spirit of native barbarism, or recent zeal, prompted the Turkmans to insult the clergy of every sect; the patriarch was dragged by the hair along the pavement and cast into a dungeon, to extort a ransom from the sympathy of his flock; and the divine worship in the church of the Resurrection was often disturbed by the savage rudeness of its masters. The pathetic tale excited the millions of the West to march under the standard of the Cross to the relief of the Holy Land; ... Gibbon (1906:257).

Regardless of his criticism of the Crusades Gibbon concluded that the Crusades were, in a limited way, a potential force for change and possibly progress. Gibbon was of the

opinion that the Crusades should cause people in the West to realize that new horizons exist for trade, manufacture and technology (Gibbon 1906:443; Tyerman 1998:113). In Gibbon's opinion the West needed progress at the time: 'If we compare, at the æra [sic] of the crusades, the Latins of Europe with the Greeks and Arabians, their respective degrees of knowledge, industry and art, our rude ancestors must be content with the third rank in the scale of nations' (Gibbon 1906:443). Although Gibbon acknowledged the crusades for 'great success' and 'rapid progress' of the West, he also felt that the millions of lives lost in the East 'would have been more profitably employed in the improvement of their native country' (Gibbon 1906:445).

5.1.1.4 The Nineteenth Century

Where preceding centuries introduced themes of national pride and religious or rational disapproval, the nineteenth century added to this the 'cultural progress and political ascent of the West' (Tyerman 1998:113). In addition to this, the nineteenth century introduced a mixture of emotion and reason with the rise of romanticism, nationalism, imperialism, colonialism, liberalism and socialism (Tyerman 1998:114). According to Madden (2002:4), these "isms" 'profoundly shaped western thought and history' and in addition had a 'profound effect on popular and scholarly attitudes toward the medieval crusades'.

Nationalism changed the view of the Crusades, especially among the French, 'who began to see the movement as an important part of their national heritage' (Madden 2002:4). It comes as no surprise therefore that during the nineteenth century a 'vast compilation of crusade sources, the *Recueil des historiens de croisades* (1841-1906), was edited and published in France' (Madden2002:4). In addition to the effect of nationalism, colonialism and racism also impacted crusade history during the nineteenth century. The Muslim East no longer posed a threat, in fact, Europeans viewed it as 'backward, quaint, exotic or just barbarous (Madden 2002:4). As a result, the Crusades were celebrated as Europe's first colonial expansion (Madden 2002:4).

Romantic images of chivalric crusaders marching to a foreign land to fight the enemy became popular during the nineteenth century, especially in Victorian England, 'where the idea of fighting in faraway lands for ostensibly noble goals was a familiar one' (Madden 2002:4). This romantic nostalgia mixed with the supremacist ideology of the time, produced unexpected, bizarre and sinister results as 'crusading became popularly admired' (Tyerman 1998:117). Where crusading was formerly regarded as a 'disreputable example of excess' it became 'synonymous with fighting good causes, primarily religious or moral, throughout the western world, including North America' (Tyerman 1998:117).

The sudden popularity of the Crusades during the nineteenth century was evident from the 'innumerable evangelical and temperance organizations' that appropriated the crusade name for themselves, as well as new crusading hymns like 'Onward Christian Soldiers' which were composed during the nineteenth century (Tyerman 1998:117). Furthermore, the Crusades were also 'fashionable across Europe as subjects or settings for novels, poetry, paintings, sculpture, plays and operas' (Tyerman 1998:117). Even the first edition of John Wisden's *Cricketers' Almanack* (1864) displayed a list of dates of the eight main crusades (Tyerman 1998:118). Little wonder then that crusade historiography blossomed during the nineteenth century, the century of which is said to mark the beginnings of crusade historiography based on an analysis of primary sources (Siberry 2000:5).

Medievalism is billed by Tyerman (1998:114) to have touched crusade historiography the most during the nineteenth century. The early nineteenth century was perhaps the first time that writers truly 'made the effort of imagination to examine the Middle Ages on their own terms, without condescension' (Tyerman 1998:114). In practice, many of these attempts were often 'unsuccessful, sentimental, sometimes downright absurd, but the removal of disdain was a prerequisite for serious academic study' (Tyerman 1998:114). Although this approach was not always immediately apparent in the studies of the Crusades at the time, it was noticed by Heinrich von Sybel, one of the first genuinely critical textual scholars, who commented approvingly on the positive attitude adopted towards the Middle Ages by the historian Frederick Wilken (Tyerman 1998:114).

The nineteenth century, and more specific the early nineteenth century, is considered by some to have been the 'golden age of German crusade historiography' (Siberry 2000:8). The great crusade historians of the nineteenth century were to be found in Germany and France rather than in Britain (Siberry 2000:7). This does not mean however that British scholars did not produce anything on the Crusades during the course of the nineteenth century (Siberry 2000:9). Bearing the above mentioned in mind, it is necessary to consider the work and influence of some of the prominent writers of the nineteenth century, with specific reference to the Crusades.

Joseph Francois Michaud

According to Tyerman (1998:116), Joseph Francois Michaud (1767-1839) made the most substantial contribution to the study of the Crusades in the early nineteenth century. Michaud was a journalist and historian who accomplished several memorable achievements, but is best remembered for his history of the Crusades which 'emphasised the religious motivation of the First Crusade and stressed its importance in defining western Christendom' (Lock 2006:281). Michaud was essentially also a 'monarchist, anti-revolutionary, nationalist' who despised the patronising of the philosophers (Tyerman 1998:116). Michaud is also considered to be the last serious crusade scholar of the 'age of innocence' before the era of critical textual analysis was introduced by Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886) (Tyerman 1998:116).

Michaud published his *Histoire des croisades* in Paris between 1817 and 1822 (Siberry 2000:8). This work, seen as a major landmark in European historiography, was available in English by 1852, and by 1899 in its nineteenth edition, with further translations available in Russian, German and Italian (Siberry 2000:8). In 1829 Michaud published the four volume *Bibliothèque des croisades*, the first major source collection chronologically, and in its introduction Michaud stated that 'his purpose was to make these sources available to a wide range of readers' (Siberry 2000:5/6).

Michaud believed the Crusades to be 'heroic victories...astonishing triumphs which made the Muslims believe that the Franks were a race superior to other men' (Tyerman 1998:116). At the time such a message was well received across the political divides in France, where 'crusader heroism was edifying, explicitly Christian, a product of religious and martial enthusiasm' (Tyerman 1998:116). Michaud heaped particular praise on crusade leaders, specifically Louis VII and Louis IX, and further directed his enthusiasm 'towards what became a dominant feature of French crusade historiography: The victorious Christian law began a new destiny in those faraway lands from which it had first come to us' (Tyerman 1998:116).

Michaud defended the material consequences of the Crusades in line with the popular opinion of the time, namely that the holy wars had as their goal the conquest and civilization of Asia, and as such the crusaders established 'Christian colonies' (Tyerman 1998:117). This kind of reasoning was effective during this period in which Europeans once again imposed their culture on far distant lands, and with this ideology came the recognition that the Crusades played some part in the triumph of western progress (Tyerman 1998:117).

Friedrich Wilken

Friedrich August Wilken (1777-1840) was a historian and orientalist who was well connected with the Prussian royal family to which he served as a tutor, and from 1817 until his death he was Professor of History at Humbolt University (Lock 2006:286). Between 1807 and 1832 Wilken published the monumental seven volume *Geschichte der Kreuzzuge nach morgenländischen und abendländischen Berichten*, which was noted as late as 1880 to still be a key crusade text, unsurpassed by (then) modern research (Siberry 2000:8/9).

In drawing a comparison between Michaud and Wilken's work, Lock (2006:261) concludes that 'both attempted to evaluate the evidence at their disposal in an impartial light; but both provided a model for Christian West versus the Islamic East, centred the

Crusades firmly on the Holy Land and, incidentally, opened the rivalry between French and German historical scholarship in the nineteenth century'. Wilken's work is seen as the more judicious of the two, specifically in the use of his source material and the fact that his was the first to use Arabic sources, while Michaud's work became the more popular study (Lock 2006:261).

Charles Mills

Charles Mills (1788-1826), an English barrister and historian who abandoned the law to concentrate on his historical writing, published *The History of the Crusades* in 1820, a work which was already in its fourth edition by 1828, although it lacked the consideration of the primary sources as found with Michaud and Wilken (Lock 2006:282; Tyerman 1998:115). Mills's *The History of the Crusades* started out with the First Crusade and ended surprisingly with the 'extinction of the crusading spirit, manifested in the crusade projects of Henry IV and V of England and the fate of the military orders' (Siberry 2000:11). Mills disregarded the work of Hume and Gibbon on the Crusades, maintaining that it was aimed at the destruction of Christianity (Siberry 2000:11). The popularity of Mills's work is evident from the fact that he is to be found in 'most bibliographies or footnotes of nineteenth century histories of the crusades' (Siberry 2000:14).

According to Tyerman (1998:115) Mills's position on the Crusades was not always clear since he basically 'stood on the cusp between disapproval and devotion'. On the one hand Mills condemned the Crusades claiming that they 'retarded the march of civilization, thickened the clouds of ignorance and superstition and encouraged intolerance, cruelty and fierceness', but on the other hand he had sympathy for 'the deluded fanatic and the noble adventurer in arms' (Mills 1820:373/4). According to Siberry (2000:11) Mills 'praised the motives and sacrifices of many, if not all crusaders', while at the same time being critical of the cruelties inflicted on the Muslims.

Although Mills was awed by the bravery and stamina of the crusaders, he remained cynical of papal motives (Tyerman 1998:115). According to Mills (1820:285) popes were

enriched by crusade contributions and their greed 'broke the spirit of crusading'. Mills (1820:286) considered the sale of indulgences by the church to have been '...a traffic which was at once the cause and the effect of the decline of the holy wars'. In addition he suspected the papal agenda to stretch far wider than just enrichment: 'It was the policy of the Church of Rome to encourage the spirit of crusading, because they who skilfully administer to public prejudices, become in time masters of the people' (Mills 1820:284).

Although Mills may have been sympathetic towards devoted crusaders, he felt that the Crusades themselves changed the face of war as well as religion: 'Religion lost its mildness and charity; and war its mitigating qualities of honour and courtesy. Such were the bitter fruits of the holy wars' (1820:373). He concludes as follows: 'We feel no sorrow at the final doom of the Crusades, because in its origin the war was iniquitous and unjust' (Mills 1820:375).

Sir Walter Scott

The novelist Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) is considered by some to be 'one of the most influential figures in the creation of the popular image of the Middle Ages and the Crusades themselves' (Siberry 2000:112; Tyerman 1998:114). According to Siberry (2000:112) Scott was the most outstanding historical novelist of his day. Scott was extensively read by his contemporaries, and his work and influence widely discussed in literary scholarship (Siberry 2000:112). Scott's essays, poems and novels contain a wide range of references to the Crusades (Siberry 2000:112).

Although Scott admired chivalry and gallantry, he was 'no friend of the Crusades' (Tyerman 1998:114). In novels such as *The Talisman* (1825) and *Ivanhoe* (1819), he contrasts 'chivalrous heroes' with 'devious and intolerant Templars', while Saracens and Jews are some of the most sympathetic characters (Tyerman 1998:114). The Muslim leader Saladin is portrayed in *The Talisman* as 'a perfect chivalrous paladin' (Lock 2006:404). One has to bear in mind that Scott, as a novelist, was not limited to exact

historical detail, and he 'mixed and matched according to his literary requirements' (Siberry 2000:113).

Heinrich von Sybil

The German nationalist historian Heinrich von Sybil (1817-1895) was the first professor of History at Munich, and is best remembered for his work on French and German history in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Lock 2006:285). Sybil was a pupil of the German historian Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886) who introduced a new approach to the study of history by subjecting the past to critical textual analysis (Lock 2006:285; Tyerman 1998:116).

According to Madden (2002:5) Ranke's seminars on the subject forever changed the nature of historical investigation: 'No longer could scholars simply read a few medieval chronicles and produce a narrative'. Former favourite crusade sources like William of Tyre were now criticised as third hand accounts, creating the need for new histories of the crusades to be founded on 'solid textual criticism that looked dispassionately at the worth of every source' (Madden 2002:5).

Sybil also made profound inroads into crusading history by applying source criticism to the First and Second crusades (Lock 2006:285). His *History of the First Crusade* (1841) proved to be a milestone in crusade historiography (Siberry 2000:9). Sybil considered the crusades to be 'one of the greatest revolutions that has ever taken place in the history of the human race' (Siberry 2000:9). Sybil emphasised the opinion (of Ranke) that William of Tyre could not be used as an original source for the First Crusade, and in addition, demolished 'almost all previous historians since the twelfth century who had based their accounts on William of Tyre (Tyerman 1998:119).

Sybil pointed out that the key to understanding sources was 'appreciation of the process by which memories of actual events were transmitted through contemporary stories and later legends' (Tyerman 1998:119). Sybil called his approach 'critical method' which he

found lacking in all earlier writers, resulting in his condemnation of such writers (Tyerman 1998:119). Sybil's study of the sources for the First Crusade showed for instance, that Peter the Hermit was very unlikely to have travelled to Jerusalem before 1095 to instigate armed pilgrimage to the Holy Land, a 'fact' that was universally believed until Sybil's time (Partner 1997:290). Sybil's influence placed the study of the Crusades 'on a sounder intellectual basis, grounded on critical editing rather than simple transcription of sources (Tyerman 1998:119).

Reinhold Röhricht

The German teacher and crusade historian Reinhold Röhricht (1842-1905) wrote overview histories of the Crusades as well as studies of individual crusades, but scholarly, he focused his attention on the golden age of crusading in the thirteenth century (Lock 2006:283). He innovatively made use of pilgrim texts and geographical material, and his edition of the charters of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (which is still in use and reprinted in modern times), set high technical standards (Lock 2006:284). According to Lock (2006:284) Röhricht deserves the title of 'father of modern crusade studies'. Lock (2006:267) points out that Röhricht was one of the first historians 'to publish an extensive corpus of articles in which he discussed the sources interpreted in the widest possible terms'. These achievements along with Röricht's dedication, productivity and focus, 'leave all crusade historians in his debt' (Lock 2006:267).

During the nineteenth century several European nations 'were establishing or re-establishing a sense of identity and pride in a corporate past as a guarantee for a common future', and the Crusades provided an effective source for these national myths (Tyerman 1998:121). Scholarship and nationalism was thus closely linked, and Röhricht's work did not escape this phenomenon, aiding in this venture in a unique way (Tyerman 1998:121). In the same year Röhricht's pioneering history of the Latin Kingdom was published (1898), Germany's Kaiser Wilhelm II made a 'pretentious, highly posturing visit to Jerusalem and Damascus, during which he associated himself with the mantle of pilgrim

and holy warrior as well as, rather confusingly, the reputation of Saladin' (Tyerman 1998:121).

5.1.1.5 The Twentieth Century

During the nineteenth century the word 'crusade' was increasingly used by Christian evangelical movements for their outreaches, a custom that is still in use today (Bull 2005:123/4). The twentieth century saw an escalation of different ways in which the word is used, evoking 'diverse, even contradictory, sets of associations' (Bull 2005:123). The metaphorical use of the word 'crusade' abounds: 'There are crusades against poverty, illiteracy, social injustice and crime, for example' (Bull 2005:123).

In addition, the twentieth century is perceived by some to have the dubious reputation of annexing the Crusades for 'malignly political' reasons (Tyerman 1998:121). This becomes evident when one considers some of the many examples of obvious association with the crusading theme during the twentieth century. Campaigners for the Second and Third Reichs for instance, 'exploited the memory of the Teutonic Knights' gory activities in the Baltic' (Tyerman 1998:121). According to Tyerman (1998:121) the Nazi's admired and sought to imitate what they saw as the Teutonic Knights' 'powerful mix of violence, discipline, racism and nationalism'.

During the Spanish Civil War (1936-39), both sides identified with crusading: 'members of the pro-Republican International Brigade saw themselves fighting a crusade, in the sense of an ideological war, against fascism, while Franco's fascists portrayed their revolt against the republican government as the "crusade of Spain", a Holy War against godless leftists and democrats' (Tyerman 1998:121). After Franco's fascists won the war, the crusade approach further influenced Spanish history writing by reinforcing 'a historiographical fashion which conveniently interpreted Spanish medieval history as the rise of Christian Spain to expel the infidel...'(Tyerman 1998:122).

According to Siberry (2000:87) the most significant use of the crusade image in relation to modern warfare was to be found during the First World War. The crusade image was used by all sides during the War and 'appeared in connection with all theatres of operation from France to Palestine' (Siberry 2000:87). In Britain the idea that the War was a holy war seemingly originated in the Anglican Church through sermons preached by its clergymen, such as Bishop Winnington-Ingram (the so-called Bishop of the battlefields), who considered the War to be a holy war against the Antichrist (Siberry 2000:87). The crusade approach was not only confined to the Anglicans, as many others 'used language which would not be out of place in a crusade sermon of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, drawing from the same corpus of biblical texts' (Siberry 2000:88).

In addition to warfare, the popularity of the crusading image during the twentieth century could also be found in colonialism. Already during the nineteenth century many historians associated crusading history with colonial history (Partner 1997:291). This tendency continued to influence academic perceptions well into the twentieth century, especially in France where the Crusades were viewed as the forerunners of colonialism (Tyerman 1998:122). The seeming inability to distinguish between lands captured by the crusaders and French colonies can be best exemplified with reference to the work of René Grousset, which will be discussed further on in this section.

Regardless of the political abuse of crusading, several prominent studies were done on the crusades during the twentieth century (Lock 2006:269). Where crusade historiography belonged to the French and the Germans during the nineteenth century, the prominent crusade historians during the twentieth century were American, British and Israeli scholars, although of course historians from other countries also produced crusading works (Lock 2006:269). From the beginning of the twentieth century, crusade studies also became 'a distinct and specialised area of study, with a considerable academic infrastructure in the form of monographs, atlases, chronologies and glossaries' (Lock 2006:268). As with preceding centuries, it is necessary to have a closer look at the individuals whose studies shaped crusading historiography during the twentieth century.

René Grousset

René Grousset (1885-1952) is best known for his two most important works, *Histoire des Croisades* (3 vols, Paris, 1934-6) and *L'Empire des Steppes* (Paris, 1939) (Lock 2006:279). It was in *Histoire des Croisades* that he focused on the Crusades in the Holy Land, placing these Crusades 'within a model of French colonial expansion', a step that sparked a debate on the 'very existence and nature of medieval colonialism' (Lock 2006:269). According to Tyerman (1998:122) Grousset's *Histoire des Croisades* contains the lengthiest exposition of the concept of 'French colonies'.

The following comment from Grousset indicates that he considered French colonialism and crusading to be very similar, if not in fact, the same thing: "The Templars held on only to the islet of Ruad (until 1303) south of Tortosa through which one day – in 1914 – the "Franks" were to set foot once again in Syria" (Tyerman 1998:122). Several years later, in 1953, Jean Richard showed that this approach (as held by Grousset), was still very much alive when he wrote of crusader states in the Holy Land as "Frankish colonies" and of crusading as "the first attempt by Franks of the West to found colonies" (Tyerman 1998:122).

Joshua Prawer

Joshua Prawer (1927-1990) was born in Poland but emigrated to Palestine in 1936, where he eventually became Professor of Medieval History at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem (Lock 2006:282). He is considered to be the 'founder and inspirer of Israeli crusading studies', and in recognition of his groundbreaking work, a street in Jerusalem, leading to the remains of a crusader village, was named after him in 1999 (Lock 2006:282). Prawer was one of several modern Israeli scholars who still believe that 'it is justified to regard the Crusader kingdom as the first European colonial society' (Prawer 1972:469; Tyerman 1998:122/3).

Although colonialism decayed since 1945, the idea of viewing colonialism as an interpretation of the Crusades has not disappeared, in fact 'it has been lent a new dimension through the work of modern Israeli scholars, most notably the French-educated Joshua Prawer' (Tyerman 1998:122). Viewing the Crusades from a colonial history perspective, a distinction must be made between the First Crusade and all other crusading campaigns:

> Future movements were substantially different. One knew, or at least, thought that one knew something about the land of immigration, and possible risks could be weighed against potential advantages. Thus in its mass character, unpreparedness and motivation the First Crusade differs basically from any other movement of expansion and colonization' (Prawer 1972:471).

According to Prawer (1972:472) 'the typical elements found in all colonial enterprises – namely the marginal people who play such a major role in the history of colonization – were hardly decisive in the First Crusade'. The political aims of the First Crusade were unformulated and little more was envisaged than the rescue of Eastern Christendom (Prawer 1972:472). Only once Godfrey de Bouillon was elected to safeguard the conquest of Jerusalem, a turning point was reached in the history of the Crusades and their ideology, namely 'the decision to create a European kingdom and society in the Holy Land' (Prawer 1972:473).

According to Prawer (1972:478) the Crusades as a colonial movement seem 'rather unique' since there was 'no actual colonizing centre or homeland with political or economic claims to future conquests'. Furthermore the crusader states represent 'a particular case in colonial history, in that from beginning to end they existed as absolutely independent states' (Prawer 1972:480). The crusader establishments had a moral dependency on the papacy, but economic dependence 'was never formulated in political terms' (Prawer 1972:480). The development of a colony has a lot to do with the amount of support it receives from the homeland, but the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem leaned more towards independence, which resulted in its weakness (Prawer 1972:481).

In addition to the colonial aspect of the Crusades, Prawer also considers the Latin rule of the Crusaders as "non integration, or more exactly *Apartheid*" (Prawer 1972:524; Tyerman 1998:123). Prawer (1972:524) is of the opinion that this *Apartheid* was not only reflected in the social and political spheres, but in 'a particular attitude, a mental disposition to erect barriers even in spheres where proximity created contacts and co-existence exerted mutual influence'. According to Tyerman (1998:123) Prawer's unique historical interpretation is more than likely the result of living in Palestine and Israel (given the modern political atmosphere in that area).

Steven Runciman

Sir James Cochran Stevenson Runciman (1903-2000) wrote many works, among them his *History of the Crusades* (3 vols, Cambridge, 1951-4) (Lock 2006:284). His work is held in high regard by many modern day crusade historians. According to Riley-Smith (2008:66) Runciman wrote 'the most admired history in English' on the Crusades. Tyerman (2006:28) refers to Runciman's opinion on the Crusades as 'the most ringing modern verdict' that 'has become justifiably famous'. Madden (2002:211) considers Runciman to be the 'best-known crusade historian in the world' largely due to his three volume History of the Crusades, 'a compellingly written work that is still extraordinarily popular'.

Runciman was no friend of the Crusades. He considered the massacre at Jerusalem during the First Crusade to have been the 'bloodthirsty proof of Christian fanaticism that recreated the fanaticism of Islam' (1951:287). The Second Crusade Runciman called a fiasco, achieving only embitterment between Christians of the East and West, separation between the western Frankish princes and enabling the Muslims to draw closer together (1952:288). Runciman referred to the Fourth Crusade as the greatest crime against humanity and an act of 'gigantic political folly' (1955:130). Runciman felt that the Fourth Crusade caused 'the destruction or dispersal of all the treasures of the past that Byzantium had devotedly stored, and the mortal wounding of a civilization that was still

active and great', bringing no help to Christians in Palestine but robbing them of potential helpers (1955:130).

The Crusades as a movement was summed up by Runciman to be 'a vast fiasco' and a tragic and destructive episode' (1955:469/480). Although Runciman blames the intolerance of the Crusaders for growing intolerance amongst Muslims, he was of the opinion that the harm done to Islam by the Crusades, 'was small in comparison with that done by them (the Crusades) to Eastern Christendom' (1955:474). According to Runciman (1955:476) the Crusades had become a movement that established the authority of the Roman Church instead of protecting Christendom. In conclusion Runciman stated that 'the Holy War itself was nothing more than a long act of intolerance in the name of God, which is the sin against the Holy Ghost' (1955:480).

Kenneth Setton

Kenneth Meyer Setton (1914-2000) was the general editor of *A History of the Crusades* (6vols, Madison 1955-89) a project in which he oversaw the work of over sixty specialists (Lock 2006:269/285). According to Lock (2006:269) Setton's *A history of the Crusades*, also known as 'the Wisconsin History' or 'the Pennsylvania History', ranks as being monumental by twentieth century standards. Setton recognized the convergence of two lines of Christian development, namely pilgrimage and holy war, in the First Crusade (1969:xxi). The concept of pilgrimage was well established by the time of the First Crusade, being 'nearly as old as Christianity', but the idea of holy war against the infidel was a later, 'distinctively western development' (Setton 1969:xxi).

According to Setton (1969:xxii) Constantinople regarded the Muslim states in the same way 'it had formerly regarded Persia', namely as established powers with whom they dealt with accordingly, considering mandatory war as 'an instrument of policy' but preferring diplomacy. Western Europe on the other hand, already considered war against the infidel as 'in some way religious' by the eleventh century (Setton 1969:xxii). According to Setton (1969:xxii) several military conflicts against Muslims received

approval from the Church long before the First Crusade. Amongst these were Italian attacks on North African ports, Norman expansion in Sicily and the Spanish re-conquest (Setton 1969:xxii). Because of such campaigns, participation in the First Crusade was natural to many Europeans (Setton 1969:53).

According to Setton (1985:33) the contribution of the Crusades were poor towards the edification or enlightenment of the Muslim lands: 'The chain reaction of counter-crusades and of the anti-Christian and anti-western feeling they generated has not ceased. The festering sore they left refuses to heal, and scars on the face of the lands and on the souls of their inhabitants are still in evidence'. Christian propaganda at the time of the Crusades was met with Muslim counterpropaganda which enhanced the veneration of cities like Jerusalem and their shrines (Setton 1985:36).

Apart from the political impact, Setton (1985:38) considered economic transformation to have made the largest impact on Muslim lands. On the one hand the Crusades had a negative impact on the economy by the destruction of life and property, but on the other, it caused a 'reverse current' of trade from east to west (Setton 1985:38). The trade in textiles, spices, pottery, glassware, perfumes, and the like flourished since Europeans on Crusade acquired desires and tastes for these, resulting in the growing importance of Muslim merchants as middlemen between east and west (Setton 1985:38). Because of this many Muslim merchants amassed 'huge fortunes' (Setton 1985:39). The lower levels of Muslim society however were largely unaffected by these economic changes (Setton 1985:41).

According to Setton (1985:44) the Crusades did influence the architecture in Muslim lands as is evident in the citadel of Cairo, 'the greatest architectural monument of Saladin' as well as in the introduction of church bells and towers. In other areas however, such as the fine arts, science, letters and intellectual achievements the westerners were 'almost entirely on the receiving end' (Setton 1985:44). In the Muslim lands, many crusaders adopted Muslim clothing finding it more suitable for the warmer climate (Setton 1985:45). Concerning language, more crusaders attempted to study and master

Arabic as opposed to Muslims trying to master Latin or French (Setton 1985:47). According to Setton (1985:47) this was probably due to the fact that the Muslims considered their own language to be the "tongue of Angles", making the study of a foreign language 'not only useless but sheer condescension'.

In general however, Setton (1985:49) blamed the Crusades for making Islam 'more militant, less tolerant, and more self-centered'. In addition he also blamed the Crusades for severely affecting Eastern Christendom: 'The enterprise which had its inception in the urge to defend Christendom came near to destroying Christendom's eastern wing' (Setton 1985:49). Setton (1985:57) mentions missionary work among Muslims as one of the 'interesting and enduring by-products of the crusades': 'With the failure of Christians to subdue the "infidel" by force, the theory prevailed that his soul might be subdued by persuasion'.

5.2 Present day attitudes towards the Crusades

According to Tyerman (1998:124), 'religion and war, ideology and violence, civilization and barbarism, cultural exchange or dominion, attract as passionate interest now as they have done for centuries past'. Tyerman (1998:124) is of the opinion that 'modern disapproval, like past enthusiasm, is as much a product of our times as of the crusades'. In order to determine to what extent present day attitudes towards the Crusades may have changed, it is necessary to have a closer look at certain signs of possible changing attitudes, as well as at the opinions of current scholars.

5.2.1 Signs of change?

Several incidents over recent years seemingly indicate a modern tendency of changing attitudes towards the Crusades. During the 1990's a total of 2500 Western Christians participated in the Reconciliation Walk, a three year and four month journey retracing 'the massacre trail of the Crusaders from Cologne, Germany, through Turkey, Syria and Lebanon, turning it into a repentance route' (Dixon 1999). At the end they gathered in

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Jerusalem 'to ask forgiveness for the historical bloodshed and for a lingering "crusader mentality" in the Church today' (Dixon 1999). According to Dixon (1999), the Reconciliation Walk, while doing much for reconciliation, also 'confirmed that a majority of Middle Easterners still view Western Christians, and Westerners in general, as "crusaders" seeking to dominate the Middle East politically, militarily, economically and religiously'.

During the 2000 millenial celebrations, the late Pope John Paul II apologized for 'Catholic sins past and present' (Boudreaux 2000). The pope 'begged God's forgiveness for sins committed or condoned by Roman Catholics over the last 2000 years, including sexism, racism, hatred of Jews and violence in defence of the Catholic faith' (Boudreaux 2000). Based on this apology, many understood the Pope's action as a 'pardon' for the Crusades (Jenkins 2006). Madden (2004) however, points out that the Pope failed to apologize for the Crusades directly and merely 'asked forgiveness from all those that Christians had unjustly harmed'. According to Riley-Smith (2008:4) the Pope only gave the impression that he apologized for the Crusades, but he never did.

At the time, Pope John Paul II's apology 'irritated many Vatican conservatives, including according to some, then Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger', who would become Pope John Paul's successor as Pope Benedict XVI (Jenkins 2006). These contrasting convictions within the Vatican became evident when, in 2006, the Vatican (under papacy of Pope Benedict XVI), 'began moves to rehabilitate the Crusaders by sponsoring a conference at the weekend that portrays the Crusades as wars fought with the noble aim of regaining the Holy Land for Christianity' (Owen 2006). For those who considered Pope John Paul's apology as a pardon for the Crusades, this move of the Vatican was a stark contrast to the former Pope's apology (Jenkins 2006).

In 2000, Wheaton College, well known alma mater of evangelist Billy Graham, made a decision to abandon their crusader mascot (Olsen 2000). This decision was taken 'as a matter of principle' and because 'the Crusades are not something we want to glorify' (Olsen 2000). According to Spencer (2000) school mascots usually change due to

evolving attitudes about racial and ethnic groups, but Wheaton's mascot changed because it was the wrong symbol for a school that 'puts as much emphasis on peaceful evangelism as it does on academic excellence'. While this move represents a changing attitude in modern times, one has to consider the fact that many others across the world have not changed crusader related names. The New Zealand based Super Rugby team, the Crusaders, is a fitting example of this.

5.2.2 The opinion of scholars

Tyerman (2006:xv) is of the opinion that the Crusades are in modern times 'perhaps the most familiar, if misunderstood, of all medieval phenomena'. In addition, modern day scholars do not understand the Crusades 'in quite the way they were in the 1950's by scholars'. According to Madden (2002:6), modern historians are not in agreement with famous scholars like Runciman when it comes to the characterization of the Crusades: 'Recent scholarship has overturned the idea that medieval crusaders were motivated solely by a desire for plunder and conquests. New evidence and new interpretations have stressed religious motivations'. Madden (2002:6) is of the opinion that although we may not agree with the crusaders' methods or reasoning, 'most crusaders were honestly attempting to perform a selfless act for the good of Christendom'.

Tyerman (2005) confirms Madden's reasoning by stating that the crusaders went to Palestine 'for essentially ideological religious reasons' and not for profit since 'crusaders habitually made thumping losses' financially and the loss of crusaders' lives was also very high. According to Tyerman (2005) the main profits for those participating in the Crusades were 'the spiritual indulgence, the time off purgatory, the prospect of heaven and, of course, relics, which were important'. Asbridge (2005:329) confirms that for most of the crusaders the "booty" consisted of religious relics. These relics included a piece of the Holy Sepulchre, as well as 'an array of artefacts, including a single hair from Christ's beard, a whole ball of the Virgin Mary's hair, pieces of the True Cross and the Holy Lance and remnants of numerous saints' (Asbridge 2005:329).

Tyerman (2005) points out that the Crusade was a holy war, 'therefore, it was a devotional practice in itself' and the crusaders were in their minds conducting a religious exercise through which they could 'gain spiritual merit and benefit'. The fact that the Crusades were considered to be holy wars by Christian society at the time meant that those who engaged in these wars were performing a holy act in itself, making the killing and fighting out to be in accordance with God's will (Tyerman 2005).

The difference in the thinking between medieval and modern man is also brought into reasoning by present day scholars. According to Bull (2005:5) the 'mindsets of the people who conceived, planned and went on crusades were fundamentally different from our own assumptions and values. They were not "like us" only more thuggish and intolerant'. Bull (2005:131) is of the opinion that modern man needs to make 'mental adjustments' if we want to 'understand the crusaders and their world without importing anachronistic value judgements'.

Bull (2005:131), continues to address this reasoning by saying that one of the biggest challenges in studying the Middle Ages 'is to unthink a raft of modern assumptions and values about the morality of violence, because only then is it possible to understand how people with entirely different approaches were able to function'. According to Bull (2005:131), the Crusades are a demonstration of the 'complete "alterity" of the Middle Ages: that is to say, the notion that when we mentally project ourselves into the medieval past, what we will find is an alien environment in which the differences from our own experience impress themselves upon us far more than the similarities, which are likely to be superficial anyway'.

Bull is not alone in this approach and reasoning. Tyerman (2006:920) cautions that we cannot extract the 'thread of the crusade from the weave of the middle ages' as this would distort both (the Crusades and the Middle Ages). According to Tyerman (2005), the Crusades are to be viewed as 'a very striking phenomenon of a very different sort of society in the Middle Ages' and as such the Crusades 'should not be discounted as a barbaric eccentricity'. Also Riley-Smith (2008:79) reasons that the Crusades 'were not

thoughtless explosions of barbarism' but instead were 'considered to be theologically justifiable by a society that felt itself to be threatened'.

According to Riley-Smith (2008:79), it is difficult for us today to understand 'the intensity of the attachment felt for the holy places in Jerusalem, the concern aroused by heresy and physical assaults on the church, and the fear Westerners had of Muslim invaders'. Furthermore, Riley-Smith (2008:79) is of the opinion that 'modern Western public opinion, Arab Nationalism, and Pan-Islamism all share perceptions of crusading that have more to do with nineteenth-century European imperialism than with actuality'.

Present day scholars are also outspoken on the role of Islam in relation to the Crusades as well as in modern times. According to Tyerman (2006:920), 'Islam's holy war, the lesser *jihad*, remains a modern phenomenon' while the Christian crusade does not live on in modern times 'except in the mouths of certain meretricious and unthinking politicians'. Tyerman (2005) distinguishes between the 'greater *jihad*' which is largely a struggle for internal 'spiritual purity', and the 'lesser *jihad*' which is 'expressed in military terms, particularly against infidels'. According to Partner (1998:298), the idea of jihad in modern times is more acceptable amongst Muslims than the crusading identity is amongst Christians.

According to Riley-Smith (2008:76), the erroneous idea that the West is still engaged in crusading is very much alive in the Muslim mind across the spectrum and not only in that of extreme Islamists. With reference to possible apologies (whether real or perceived), by the Catholic Church regarding the Crusades, Riley-Smith (2008:77) points out that 'an apology for past events would have been futile as far as the Muslims are concerned, since crusading is for them still a reality, conducted in more sophisticated and effective ways than before'. Several prominent Muslim leaders such as Usama bin Laden, Saddam Hussein and Colonel Qaddafi, have all referred to their western enemies as 'crusaders' (Bull 2005:122/3).

According to Bull (2005:122/3), both the West and the Muslim world make use of this kind of crusade rhetoric, and 'in the post-9/11 war of words' both sides are guilty of 'forcing historical continuity out of discontinuity'. Bull (2005:123), calls this the 'wormhole effect' something that happens 'when a piece of the past, A, is brought into immediate contact with a piece of the present, B, without asking awkward questions about what happened in the interval between them'. In addition to this, Bull (2005:131) reasons that there is a difference between 'what actually happened in the past and what some people would like to have happened'. Because so many in the modern world fail to see this difference, there is a 'current misappropriation of the crusades' which is 'so rampant' Bull (2005:131).

This chapter investigated the development of human thought on the Crusades and confirmed the reality of the changing attitudes towards the Crusades. The following chapter will conclude the study on this topic.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

This study investigated several aspects regarding the Crusades. It proved valuable to include sections on Islam, the world of the eleventh century, holy war, pilgrimage, violence and Crusade ideology in addition to information about the Crusades themselves. All of these were necessary to establish the solid foundation needed for the ultimate purpose of this study, i.e. determining the nature of, and reasons behind, the changing attitudes towards the Crusades. The research established that changing attitudes towards the Crusades are not only a reality, but also a unique phenomenon that has been evolving throughout the centuries and to this day continues to evolve.

Considering the task at hand, the conclusion can be drawn that the reasoning of present day scholars (see 5.2.2), makes a lot of sense. It is noticeable that none of these scholars condone the atrocities committed during the Crusades. Instead, they follow a more balanced path where they recognise the fact that the world and its people have changed a lot over the centuries. From that viewpoint they are maintaining that it is difficult for modern Christians to be compared with their predecessors during the time of the Crusades. The idea that Christians would consider it their religious duty to slaughter people in God's Name is an alien concept in current times. Yet at the time of the Crusades 'everyone, including the distinguished and angelic thinkers, mystics, all bent their heads and knees before the crusading spirit' (Mastnak 2002:345).

Although the religious zeal that inspired Christians to wage war in God's Name might be alien for modern day Christians, it was commonplace at the time of the Crusades. As is clear from this study, there are several reasons behind this complex phenomenon. To simply say that the Crusades were a response from a Christian society who felt threatened by the Muslim onslaught would be very insufficient. One has to consider other aspects of the time, like the culture of violence coinciding with the teaching of Holy War for instance. The power and influence of the Church and the Pope during the time of the

Crusades should also not be underestimated in fact these were of vital importance, since initially only the Pope could call a crusade. Considering the fact that joining in a crusade would mean forgiveness of sins and access to heaven, the importance of religious reasons cannot be overemphasised.

The evidence presented in this study makes it clear that the general populace of Western Christendom during the Crusades were simple minded people who were easily convinced by the propaganda of those in especially religious authority. Few, if any, amongst present day Christians would believe that participating in a war could provide forgiveness of sins, yet at the time of the Crusades it was accepted across all levels of society. The facts presented in this study proved that, if one were to determine blame for the atrocities of the Crusades, the bulk would be placed on the Roman Catholic Church and its popes during the time of the Crusades. While succeeding in enriching and empowering themselves as well as selling the lie of the forgiveness of sins for those joining a crusade, the popes failed to impress basic human decency on the crusaders, resulting in the terrible atrocities committed by the crusaders.

These atrocities, like the slaughter of Jews, other Christians, and Muslims who surrendered in battle, to name a few, are the leading contributors to the notoriety of the Crusades in the mind of modern man. Add to that the notion that all this was supposedly done in God's Name, the whole idea becomes completely unacceptable. If we were to leave out these negative aspects of the Crusades, we would be left with very 'normal' wars that were fought, perhaps in self-defence due to an imminent threat, perhaps to reclaim an area of vital religious importance. If then, apologies need to be made; it should not be made for the Crusades as such, but for those terrible atrocities committed by the crusaders in the Name of God.

If an apology is required in the present day, the responsibility in seeking pardon for the atrocities committed during the Crusades should be that of the Roman Catholic Church. When pope Urban II called the First Crusade (and for centuries thereafter), the Roman Catholic Church was the only church and everyone in society adhered to it. Today

Christianity consists of so much more than just the Roman Catholic Church, and in general Christianity can again be called a pacifistic religion. In all fairness to the modern Catholic Church, we have to bear in mind that it too has changed. Modern day popes have had the tendency to oppose violence and bear messages of peace, a stark contrast to their predecessors during the Middle Ages. For Christians today the Crusades is something of the past and like Tyerman says (see 5.2.2) it only lives on in the mouths of unthinking politicians.

What is concerning however, is the fact that crusading lives on in the Muslim mind as a modern day reality (see 5.2.2). As discussed, several prominent Muslim leaders of recent years have referred to their western enemies as 'crusaders' (see 5.2.2). Another good example would be Mehmet Ali Agca, who tried to assassinate Pope John Paul II, referring to the pope as the 'supreme commander of the Crusades' (Maalouf 1984:265). If one were to add to these the persecution of Christians in certain Muslim countries; Muslim attacks on Christians in countries like Nigeria; and countless incidents of terrorism, suicide bombings and the like on 'western' targets, we have to admit that this is not an issue that modern scholars have misjudged.

Although many Christian crusaders acted shamefully during the Crusades, one has to remember that the initial threat seemingly came from the Muslim side. In addition there is the problem of the present situation where the crusading idea is something of the past for Christians but still current for many Muslims. The problem increases even more if one considers the suggestions of certain scholars that the preoccupation of Muslims with the Crusades is not a matter of a wrong never forgotten through the centuries, something that just kept gaining emotional momentum and reaching boiling point in modern times. No, the suggestions are that these feelings are relatively 'new': 'It was only in the twentieth century when the west had become more powerful and threatening, that Muslim historians would become preoccupied by the medieval Crusades' (Armstrong 2002:95). Bull (2005:129) supports this theory: 'It was only around the middle of the nineteenth century that Muslim writers and thinkers began to revive awareness of the history of the crusades as a response to Western imperialist expansion: the Muslims had 'won' the

crusades, the theory went, so they were a comforting and inspiring symbol of what renewed resistance could achieve'.

These suggestions prove yet again that it is easy, yet irresponsible, to take the Crusades out of their historical context and force it into the present day political agendas and rhetoric. In the Muslim world this kind of propaganda has the ability to stir up emotions within the fanatic fringe where the idea of *jihad* is still adhered to. Resulting attacks on Western ('Christian') targets triggers reprisals again from the West. Conveniently the Crusades are then made out to be the 'original scapegoat' behind the conflict between these forces. This scenario fits in perfectly with what Bull refers to as the 'current misappropriation of the Crusades' (see 5.2.2).

Evidence suggests that there are changing attitudes towards the Crusades in the world today. The nature of these changing attitudes, just like the reasons behind them, is legion and complex. The world, along with Christianity has changed tremendously over the centuries since the Crusades started. This situation in itself greatly affects our opinion towards something like the Crusades. In addition to this, modern events can also influence our attitudes towards the Crusades: 'How much of our understanding of the medieval holy wars today is shaped by our own wars to defend ideals like democracy or human rights?' (Madden 2002:7). Writing at the time just after the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Centre Madden (2002:7) in addition wonders how these attacks would affect the next generation's approach toward the Crusades.

This type of approach reveals not only a changing attitude towards the Crusades but in fact a change in awareness about the Crusades. It seems that certain present day struggles, along with their political agendas, propaganda and the like have all succeeded in generating a sudden awareness about the Crusades. Being aware of the Crusades however, even having a certain opinion towards it, is still worlds apart from understanding the enigma that is the Crusades. Ideally modern society should understand the Crusades within their historical context and not refer to them by any means in the

process of addressing modern day differences. All that these wrongful referrals to the Crusades do is instigate those who don't know better.

Unfortunately there are many misconceptions in modern society, not only about the Crusades, but also certain related issues. For instance, for many it would not be correct to refer to 'the West' as 'Christian', nor would it be proper to refer to Christianity today by addressing only the Roman Catholic Church or the Pope. All that these notions reveal is a medieval mind-set. In fact, if one were to pose the question 'what is a Christian?' one would get different answers, and many of those answers would reveal that great numbers of those that went on crusade in God's Name were probably, per definition, not Christians at all. Understanding these issues sheds new light on the validity for even asking anyone in the modern world for an apology for the Crusades. Hopefully through dialogue such burning issues could be addressed and explained from all sides. True, attitudes towards the Crusades are changing, but there are areas of understanding where change is still desperately needed.

This study has basically scratched the surface on this topic and further investigation is needed. In many respects the research was limited due to inadequate access to certain sources (see 1.4.3). When attempting my doctoral study on this matter I would like to investigate some of the primary sources with the help of French and Arabic translators, after of course first gaining access to these hard to find sources. I conclude then with these striking words that are so true and yet beg to be disproved: 'There can be no unified opinion of the Crusades' (Tyerman 1998:125).

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