This is an extract from:

The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World

edited by Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh

www.doaks.org/etexts.html

The Historiography of the Crusades

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I. The Development of Crusading Historiography

The crusades were from their inception seen from many different points of view, and every account and reference in the sources must be interpreted in the light of where, when, by whom, and in whose interests it was written.[1] Each participant made his—and in few cases her—own crusade, and the leaders had their own interests, motives, and objectives, which often put them at odds with one another. They were all distrusted by the Byzantine emperor Alexios Komnenos, whose point of view is presented in the *Alexiad* written in the middle of the twelfth century by his daughter Anna Komnene. The Turkish sultan Kilij Arslan naturally saw things from another perspective, as did the indigenous Christian populations in the east, especially the Armenians, and the peoples of the Muslim principalities of the eastern Mediterranean. The rulers of Edessa, Antioch, Aleppo, and Damascus, and beyond them Cairo and Baghdad, each had their own attitudes toward the crusades, which are reflected in the sources. To these must be added the peoples through whose lands the crusaders passed on their way to the east, and in particular the Jews who suffered at the hands of the followers of Peter the Hermit.[2]

The historiography of the crusades thus begins with the earliest accounts of their origins and history. Aside from some studies of individual sources, however, and a number of bibliographies and bibliographical articles,[3] the historiography has received com-

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[1] This article is a revised version of the paper presented at the symposium. It concentrates on general problems concerning the crusades to the east. The references to secondary works are illustrative and are not designed to give a bibliography of the crusades. I am indebted to Benjamin Z. Kedar for various suggestions. A shortened version of part I will appear (in Russian) in the forthcoming Festschrift for Aaron Gurevich.

[2] *The Jews and the Crusaders: The Hebrew Chronicles of the First and Second Crusades,* ed. and trans. S. Eidelberg (Madison, Wisc., 1977). Among secondary works, see most recently D. Lohrmann, "Albert von Aachen und die Judenpogrome des Jahres 1096," *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* 100 (1995–96): 129–51.

[3] H. E. Mayer, *Bibliographie zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Hannover, 1960), and idem and J. McLellan, "Select Bibliography of the Crusades," in *A History of the Crusades,* ed. K. M. Setton (Madison, Wisc., 1955–89), 6:511–664. Other general bibliographies are L. de Germon and L. Polain, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de feu M. le comte Riant,* pt. 2 (Paris, 1899), and A. S. Atiya, *The Crusade: Historiography and Bibliography* (Bloomington, Ind.-London, 1962), which has a section on historiography (17–28). Among the review articles, see G. Schnürer, "Neuere Arbeiten zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge," *HJ* 34 (1914): 848–55; T. S. R. Boase, "Recent Developments in Crusading Historiography," *History,* n.s., 22 (1937): 110–25; J. La Monte, "Some Problems in Crusading Historiography," *Speculum* 15 (1940): 57–75; J. A. Brundage, "Recent Crusade Historiography: Some Observations and Suggestions," *CHR* 49 (1964): 493–507; F. Cardini, "Gli studi sulle crociate dal 1945 ad oggi," *RSI* 80 (1968): 79–106; and H. Möhring, "Kreuzzug und Dschihad in der mediävistischen und orienta-

paratively little attention from scholars. The only general works are a long and still useful appendix to the first (but not the second) edition of Heinrich von Sybel's *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs,* which appeared at Düsseldorf in 1841 and was translated into English in 1861, and the two volumes (in Russian) by M. A. Zaborov entitled *Vvedenie v istoriografiju Krestovykh pokhodov* (Introduction to the historiography of the crusades), which deals with the medieval sources, and *Istoriografija Krestovykh pokhodov (XV–XIX vv.)* (Historiography of the crusades [15th–19th century]), which were published in Moscow in 1966 and 1971 respectively.[4] To these can be added a long article, partly historiographical and partly bibliographical, by Laetitia Boehm entitled "'Gesta Dei per Francos'—oder 'Gesta Francorum'? Die Kreuzzüge als historiographisches Problem" and a chapter by Jonathan Riley-Smith on "The Crusading Movement and Historians" in the *Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*.[5] It is interesting, and perhaps significant, that there is no sustained treatment of historiography in the general histories of the crusades by René Grousset, Steven Runciman, and Hans Eberhard Mayer, nor in the six-volume cooperative *History of the Crusades* edited by Kenneth Setton.

The historiography of the crusades as seen from the west, with which this article is concerned, can be divided into three periods, of which the first, and longest, went from 1095 until the end of the sixteenth century; the second covered the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; and the third began in the early nineteenth century and comes down to the present. There was some overlap between the periods, but broadly speaking, during the first, the Muslims were a continuing threat to Western Europe and the defense of Christendom was seen as a pressing concern. In the second period, the crusades moved increasingly into the past, but a past that was colored by confessional or rationalist values, which changed in the third period, when the crusades were subjected to serious, though not always impartial, scholarly investigation. This third period breaks down into the nineteenth century, when the crusades were generally well regarded, and the twentieth century, when there has been a rising tide of criticism and, more recently, a growing division between scholarly and popular views of the crusades.

Interest in the crusades today is still influenced by political and ideological interests, including the consequences of European colonialism, the tensions between western and non-western societies, especially in the Middle East, and, more broadly, the legitimacy of using force to promote even worthy and legitimate causes.[6] These concerns contrib-

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listischen Forschung 1965–1985," *Innsbrucker historische Studien* 10–11 (1988): 361–86. See also H. E. Mayer, "America and the Crusades," *PAPS* 125 (1981): 38–45; C. R. Young, "The Crusades: A Tragic Episode in East-West Relations," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 55 (1956): 87–97; and the collection of reprints and excerpts in *The Crusades: Motives and Achievements,* ed. J. A. Brundage, Problems in European Civilization (Boston, 1964).

    [4] H. von Sybel, *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs* (Düsseldorf, 1841), 148–80, trans. L. D. Gordon, *The History and Literature of the Crusades* (London, 1861), 311–56; and M. A. Zaborov, *Vvedenie v istoriografiju Krestovykh pokhodov* (Moscow, 1966) and *Istoriografija Krestovykh pokhodov (XV–XIX vv.)* (Moscow, 1971). For these references I am indebted to Alexander Kazhdan, who also summarized the contents for me.

    [5] L. Boehm, "'Gesta Dei per Francos'—oder 'Gesta Francorum'? Die Kreuzzüge als historiographisches Problem," *Saeculum* 8 (1957): 43–81, and J. Riley-Smith, "The Crusading Movement and Historians," in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades,* ed. J. Riley-Smith (Oxford, 1995), 1–12. See also L. Boehm, "Die Kreuzzüge in bibliographischer und historiographischer Sicht," *HJ* 81 (1962): 223–37.

    [6] P. Rousset, *Histoire d'une idéologie: La croisade* (Lausanne, 1983), 206–8; K. Armstrong, *Holy War* (London, 1988), xiii–xiv; J. Riley-Smith, "History, the Crusades and the Latin East, 1095–1204: A Personal View," in

uted to the change from the comparatively favorable attitude toward the crusades that prevailed in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries into a more critical, and even hostile, view. Steven Runciman, in the conclusion to his *History of the Crusades,* called the crusades "a tragic and destructive episode" and said 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."[7] Geoffrey Barraclough echoed this view in 1970: "We no longer regard the crusades . . . as a great movement in defense of Western Christendom, but rather as the manifestation of a new, driving, aggressive spirit which now became the mark of Western civilization. We no longer regard the Latin states of Asia Minor as outposts of civilization in a world of unbelievers, but rather as radically unstable centers of colonial exploitation." He attributed this change in "our verdict on the Crusades" to "our experience of total war and the hazards of living in a thermonuclear age. War is always evil, if sometimes an inescapable evil; Holy War is the evil of evils."[8] And John Ward described the crusades in 1995 as "a movement of violent white supremacist colonialism."[9]

This view is now common in works addressed to the general public, including popular presentations and movies. A leaflet distributed in Clermont during the conference held in 1995 to commemorate the summons to the First Crusade was headed "The Crusades—did God will it?" echoing the crusading cry of "Deus le volt." It went on to ask "Can the Church memorialize the Crusades without asking forgiveness?" and called on the pope to deny that any war can be holy and that sins can be forgiven by killing pagans. According to this view, the crusaders were inspired by greed and religious fanaticism and the Muslims were the innocent victims of expansionist aggression. Many scholars today, however, reject this hostile judgment and emphasize the defensive character of the crusades as they were seen by contemporaries, who believed that Christianity was endangered by enemies who had already overrun much of the traditional Christian world, including Jerusalem and the Holy Land, and who threatened to take over the remainder.

Almost all the historians and chroniclers of the expeditions that were later called the First Crusade considered them a response to the Muslim threats to Christian holy places and peoples in the east.[10] They wrote from different points of view, however, and used

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Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria, ed. M. Shatzmiller, The Medieval Mediterranean 1 (Leiden-New York-Cologne, 1993), 7–8; and idem, "Revival and Survival," in *Oxford History* (as in note 5), 386.

[7] S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades,* 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1952–54), 3:480.

[8] G. Barraclough, "Deus le volt?" *New York Review of Books,* 21 May 1970, 16.

[9] J. Ward, "The First Crusade as Disaster: Apocalypticism and the Genesis of the Crusading Movement," in *Medieval Studies in Honour of Avrom Saltman,* Bar-Ilan Studies in History 4 (Ramat-Gan, 1995), 255. Cf. on the current unfavorable view of the crusades M. Balard, *Les Croisades* (Paris, 1988), 9; Riley-Smith, "History" (as in note 6), 1–2; and the review of T. Jones and A. Ereira, *Crusades,* by M. Evans, D. Green, and J. M. B. Porter in *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 39 (1995): 201.

[10] C. Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade,* trans. M. Baldwin and W. Goffart (Princeton, 1977), 8, 349; E. Delaruelle, *Idée de croisade au moyen-âge* (Turin, 1980), 23; and J. Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?* (London-Basingstoke, 1977), 22–33, who stressed the recurrence of "the ideas of liberation (another word for recovery) and defence" (23) and said that "a crusade, whenever and against whomsoever it was aimed, was regarded as being essentially defensive" (29). See also J. Flori, "Guerre sainte et rétributions spirituelles dans la 2e moitié du XIe siècle," *RHE* 85 (1990): 627–28, on the concept of the legitimacy of recovering wrongly taken lands.

varying terminology and biblical passages.[11] Guibert of Nogent stressed the apocalyptic and millenarian aspects, and Ekkehard of Aura the supernatural and physical phenomena that preceded and accompanied the crusade. Many writers had their own heroes. The roles of Godfrey of Bouillon and Peter the Hermit were central for Albert of Aachen; Bohemund of Taranto in the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*; his nephew Tancred for Ralph of Caen; Raymond of St. Gilles for Raymond of Aguilers; Baldwin of Boulogne for Fulcher of Chartres; and Godfrey of Bouillon again in the crusader epics, which dominated the popular perception of the crusades down to the nineteenth century. Odo of Deuil in his history of the Second Crusade concentrated on the activities of Louis VII of France, and the accounts of the Third Crusade in the *Estoire de la guerre sainte* of Ambroise and the *Itinerarium regis Ricardi* glorified the role of Richard I of England. The greatest of all crusader historians, William of Tyre, wrote his *Chronicon* from the point of view of a Latin Christian born and living in the east in order, he said, to record "for the everlasting memory of the faithful of Christ" the way in which God "wanted to relieve the long-lasting oppression of His people."[12]

Innocent III in his crusading bull *Quia maior* of 1213 asked how anyone could "know that his brothers, Christian in faith and name, are held in dire imprisonment among the perfidious Saracens and most profoundly subjected by the yoke of servitude, and not take effective action for their liberation . . . And indeed the Christian peoples held almost all the provinces of the Saracens until the times of the blessed Gregory."[13] Even more strikingly, the fourteenth-century Castilian magnate Don Juan Manuel wrote in his *Libro de los estados* that the Muslims had conquered and held many lands that had belonged to Christians "who had been converted to the faith of Jesus Christ by the apostles. And on this account there is war between the Christians and the Muslims, and will be war until the Christians have recovered the lands that the Muslims seized from them, since there would be no war between them with regard to the law nor the religion (*secta*) that they hold."[14] While the accuracy and realism of these views can be questioned, they reflect

[11] P. Alphandéry, "Les citations bibliques chez les historiens de la première croisade," *RHR* 90 (1929): 139–57.

[12] William of Tyre, *Chronicon,* 1.10, in CC continuatio mediaeualis 63:124. See P. Edbury and J. G. Rowe, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East,* Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought 4.8 (Cambridge, 1988), 41. Von Sybel, *Geschichte* (as in note 4), 148–63, trans. 311–31, classified the sources for the First Crusade (149, trans. 312) as sources (*Quellen*), legends (*Sage*), and William of Tyre, whose unique importance as both a primary source and a secondary writer entitle him to a special place.

[13] G. Tangl, *Studien zum Register Innocenz' III.* (Weimar, 1929), 90, trans. L. and J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095–1274,* Documents of Medieval History 4 (London, 1981), 120. See J. Riley-Smith, "Crusading as an Act of Love," *History* 65 (1980): 177–92, citing this bull (191). P. J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), 105, referred to Innocent's "juridical concept of the crusade as military service for Christ." R. Röhricht, *Kleine Studien zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge,* Wissenschaftliche Beilage zum Programm des Humboldts-Gymnasiums zu Berlin 58 (Berlin, 1890), 9–11, analyzed the motives for the crusades given in papal bulls, including their necessity.

[14] Don Juan Manuel, *Libro de los estados,* ed. R. B. Tate and I. R. MacPherson (Oxford, 1974), 53; see xl, dating it 1328 with subsequent revisions. According to V. Cantarino, "The Spanish Reconquest: A Cluniac Holy War against Islam?" in *Islam and the Medieval West: Aspects of Intercultural Relations,* ed. K. I. Semaan (Albany, N.Y., 1980), 98, "The Spanish Reconquest remained in its essence a territorial struggle." See also R. A. Fletcher, "Reconquest and Crusade in Spain, c. 1050–1150," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5.37 (1987): 31–47, who said that reconquest was really conquest (46–47).

the attitude of most Christians in the Middle Ages and throughout the first period of crusading historiography. The importance of irredentism in motivating the crusades has been emphasized by many scholars, including Islamists like Norman Daniel, who said that "every Christian reference to lands that had once been Christian, and particularly to the Holy Land, must be understood to have been made on the assumption that these were lost provinces belonging by right to the Latin Church."[15]

The process of what has been called the affabulation of the First Crusade, by which it became a "work of collective imagination" rather than historical reality,[16] can be seen already in the earliest accounts, which reflected the view of the crusade as it developed, and perhaps as it should have been, rather than as it actually was. They were influenced in particular by the capture of Jerusalem and the establishment of the Latin Kingdom and crusader states, which were marks respectively of the success and the permanence of the undertaking.[17] This can be seen in the use made of the *Gesta Francorum* by Guibert of Nogent, Baldric of Bourgueil, and Robert of Rheims, and of Fulcher of Chartres by William of Malmesbury, and also in Albert of Aachen's *Liber christianae expeditionis pro ereptione, emundatione, restitutione sanctae Hierosolymitanae ecclesiae,* which was written about 1130 and was long considered the most reliable account of the crusade, but which depends heavily on legendary material, especially concerning Peter the Hermit. Caffaro di Caschifellone, writing in the mid-1150s, in addition to stressing the Genoese contribution to the First Crusade, saw its origins in a visit to Jerusalem by Godfrey of Bouillon, who on his return went with Raymond of St. Gilles and eleven other knights (to one of whom the archangel Gabriel appeared) in order to plan the rescue of the Holy Sepulcher from the Muslims.[18]

The history of the crusades thus became part of the ongoing propaganda, both official and popular, for the crusading movement,[19] and it is often impossible to distinguish clearly between what would today be called primary sources and secondary accounts, because the historical and contemporary concerns of the writers overlapped. "By the 1140s," according to Riley-Smith, "the crusading experiences of previous generations, and pride in them, had been locked deeply in the collective memory of some cousinhoods."[20] Pope Eugene III said at the beginning of *Quantum predecessores,* which opened

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[15] N. Daniel, *Islam and the West* (Edinburgh, 1960), 109, who went on to say that "this was more than a general way of thinking. It had juridical and liturgical expression." See also C. Cahen, "L'Islam et la Croisade," in *Comitato internazionale di scienze storiche: X Congresso internazionale di scienze storiche, Roma 4–11 settembre 1955. Relazioni,* vol. 3, *Storia del Medioevo* (Rome, 1955), 629.

[16] See, on affabulation, P. Alphandéry, *La chrétienté et l'idée de croisade,* ed. A. Dupront, Evolution de l'humanité 38 and 38 bis (Paris, 1954–59; repr. 1995), 1:154.

[17] E. O. Blake, "The Formation of the 'Crusade Idea,'" *JEH* 21 (1970): 11–31, who stressed that the actual course of events contributed to "a developing sense of pattern" (21), and J. Flori, "Mort et martyre des guerriers vers 1100. L'exemple de la première croisade," *CahCM* 34 (1991): 121–39, who argued against the view that the idea of martyrdom evolved in the course of the crusade.

[18] Caffaro di Caschifellone, *De liberatione civitatum orientis,* in *Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori,* ed. L. Belgrano et al., Fonti per la storia d'Italia 11–14 bis (Rome, 1890–1929), 1:97–124.

[19] J. M. Powell, "Myth, Legend, Propaganda, History: The First Crusade, 1140–ca. 1300," in *Autour de la Première Croisade: Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22–25 juin 1995),* ed. M. Balard (Paris, 1997), 127–41.

[20] J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge, 1997), 102.

the Second Crusade, that "we learn from the account of former men and we find written in their deeds how greatly our predecessors the Roman pontiffs labored for the freedom of the eastern church," and he went on to say that Urban II, thundering "like a sacred trumpet," had summoned "the sons of the Roman church" from various parts of the world to free Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulcher "from the filth of the pagans."[21]

The view of the crusades found in accounts written later in the Middle Ages depends to a great extent on the sources used, but they were always presented as a response to the external attacks of the Muslims and pagans or to the internal threats of heretics and schismatics. The Turkish victories in the fifteenth century stimulated a new interest in the crusades in writers who were ostensibly dealing with the past but were really concerned with the present.[22] Philip the Good of Burgundy's devotion to the Holy Land was inspired by political ambition as well as personal piety, and his image of himself as the successor of Godfrey of Bouillon was fostered by his reading of the vernacular epics of the crusades.[23] Eneas Sylvius, the future Pope Pius II, abbreviated the sections on the crusades in Flavio Biondo's *Decades* and referred to the crusaders as "our Christians," and Benedetto Accolti's *Historia Gotefridi seu de bello a Christianis contra barbaros gesto pro Christi sepulchro et Judea recuperandis,* which appeared in 1464, was designed to promote a new crusade against the Turks, who had recently taken Constantinople. It was included, presumably for this reason, among the primary sources published in the *Recueil des historiens des croisades.*[24] Accolti and other humanist historians hoped to find in the accounts of previous crusades, particularly the First, both guidance and inspiration for the contemporary campaigns against the Turks. Even the Jewish chronicler Joseph ben Joshua ben Meir, writing in the first half of the fifteenth century, wanted "the children of Israel to know what they [the Christians] have done unto us" and saw the Muslims as the instruments of divine vengeance on the Christians.[25]

In the sixteenth century the crusades tended to move into the past and to be treated as part of national history, but crusading ideology was kept alive not only by the advances of the Turks but also by the wars of religion. Etienne le Blanc wrote an essay in 1522 to show that Louis IX "had not destroyed the Kingdom [of France] for his holy voyage overseas," and toward the end of the century François de la Noue and René de Lucinge

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[21] Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris,* 1.35, ed. G. Waitz, MGH, *ScriptRerGerm,* 3d ed. (Hannover-Leipzig, 1912), 55.

[22] L. Schmugge, *Die Kreuzzüge aus der Sicht humanistischer Geschichtsschreiber,* Vorträge der Aeneas-Silvius-Stiftung an der Universität Basel 21 (Basel-Frankfurt, 1987), and N. Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford, 1992), 84, 99–100 ("From 1453 . . . the crusade became a simple matter of self-interest"), 385, 388, 420 ("The fact that the golden age of crusading was, by about 1450, beginning to be viewed in historical perspective, did not mean that the crusade itself had become history.").

[23] J. Paviot, "La dévotion vis-à-vis de la Terre Sainte au XVe siècle: L'exemple de Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne (1396–1467)," in *Autour de la Première Croisade* (as in note 19), 401–11.

[24] RHC, HOcc, 5:525–620. See Von Sybel, *Geschichte* (as in note 4), 329–30; R. Black, *Benedetto Accolti and the Florentine Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1985), 224–85, esp. 230 and 237; and Schmugge, *Kreuzzüge* (as in note 22), 12–13.

[25] *The Chronicles of Rabbi Joseph ben Joshua ben Meir, the Sphardi,* vol. 1, trans. C. H. F. Bialloblotsky, Oriental Translation Fund (London, 1835), 325, no. 436.

made use of crusading rhetoric in their polemics against the Turks.[26] Catholics and Prot-
estants both saw themselves as soldiers of Christ fighting a holy war in defense of Chris-
tianity against the forces of evil.[27] Pope Gregory XIII in 1580 offered the same indul-
gence given to crusaders to the Holy Land to the Irish who joined the expedition against
Queen Elizabeth.[28] Echoes of crusading ideology continued in the seventeenth century,
as in the Civil War in England, and down into modern times, when any ideological
enterprise can be called a crusade, like Lloyd George's *The Great Crusade* and Dwight
Eisenhower's *Crusade in Europe.* Reality changed after the battle of Lepanto in 1571,
however, and the huge success of the fictional account of the First Crusade in Tasso's
Gerusalemme liberata, which was published in 1581, shows how far history had moved
from the realm of fact into that of fantasy, where it remained, in popular mentality, until
well into the nineteenth century.[29]

The second period of crusading historiography was meanwhile ushered in by the
appearance in 1611 of the important collection of primary sources on the crusades edited
by Jacques Bongars under the title *Gesta Dei per Francos sive orientalium expeditionum et
regni Francorum Hierosolimitani historia* and in 1639 of Thomas Fuller's *Historie of the Holy
Warre,* which has been called, in spite of its prejudices, the first serious general history of
the crusades to treat them as fully in the past and to raise the question of their legiti-
macy.[30] It has a remarkable frontispiece showing various groups of crusaders setting out
from Europe and returning from Jerusalem ravaged by the attacks of the angel (owing
to their perfidy and falsehood), the Turks, and death (Fig. 1), and an equally remarkable
introductory poem, signed only with the initials J. C., explaining the frontispiece and
concluding that:

> Those that escap'd, came home as full of grief
> As the poore Purse is empty of relief.

Fuller was a Protestant minister and wrote from a strongly anti-Catholic point of view.
The opposite is true of Louis Maimbourg, whose pro-Catholic *Histoire des croisades* came
out in the 1670s, with a dedication to Louis XIV, and was frequently reprinted and
translated into several languages. It is marked, according to Von Sybel, by the author's

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[26] E. A. R. Brown, "A Sixteenth-Century Defense of Saint Louis' Crusades: Etienne le Blanc and the Leg-
acy of Louis IX," in *Cross Cultural Convergences in the Crusader Period: Essays Presented to Aryeh Grabois on His
Sixty-fifth Birthday,* ed. M. Goodich, S. Menache, and S. Schein (New York, 1995), 21–48, and M. J. Heath,
Crusading Commonplaces: La Noue, Lucinge and Rhetoric against the Turks, Travaux d'humanisme et renaissance 209
(Geneva, 1986).

[27] A. Wang, *Der "Miles Christianus" im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert und seine mittelalterliche Tradition,* Mikrokosmos
1 (Frankfurt a. Main, 1975), and P. Rousset, "L'idéologie de croisade dans les guerres de religion au XVIe
siècle," *SZG* 31 (1981): 174–84. Many of the same biblical texts cited by the historians of the crusades were
used in the 16th century. V. J. Gellhaus, "Französische Kreuzzugsideen und Weltfriedensbewegung im Zeitalter
der Aufklärung" (diss., Munich, 1934) deals mostly with the 17th and 18th centuries.

[28] H. Pissard, *La guerre sainte en pays chrétien* (Paris, 1912), 173–74.

[29] Schmugge, *Kreuzzüge* (as in note 22), 46 n. 142, and E. Siberry, "Tasso and the Crusades: History of a Leg-
acy," *JMedHist* 19 (1993): 163–69.

[30] J. E. Bailey, *The Life of Thomas Fuller, D.D.* (London-Manchester, 1874), 173–81; Von Sybel, *Geschichte* (as
in note 4), 163, trans. 332; and Boehm, "Gesta" (as in note 5), 63–64.

self-confidence, religiosity, and "a trace of modern good sense," but his hesitation be-tween enthusiasm and skepticism was replaced in the eighteenth century by "a strong, relentless opposition."[31]

For the rationalist writers of all denominations in the age of Enlightenment, the cru-sades were inspired by religious zeal, worldly motives, and ecclesiastical interference in secular affairs. Voltaire in his book on the crusades, which came out in 1751 and was incorporated (with some changes) into his *Essai sur les moeurs,* called the crusaders adven-turers and brigands who were moved by "the thirst for brigandage,"[32] and for Edward Gibbon their principle was "a savage fanaticism," though he expressed some grudging admiration for their spirit and achievements.[33] "The historical writing of the Enlighten-ment," said Boehm, "cultivated with regard to the crusades a one-sidedness of treatment from which the nineteenth century only slowly freed itself"[34] and which persisted longer in the United States than in Europe. Ralph Waldo Emerson recorded in his journal in 1826 that the crusades had taken their place in public opinion "among the monuments of folly and tyranny" and wrote to Charles Emerson in 1828 about the "shrill and evil sound" of "a fanatic voice saying 'It is the voice of God.'"[35]

By this time the tide of opinion had turned in Europe, ushering in the third period of crusading historiography. A sympathetic attitude toward the Middle Ages, including the crusades, emerged in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries under the influence of romanticism and nationalism and can be seen in the favorable depictions of the crusaders in literature, art, and music, especially the novels of Sir Walter Scott, several of which dealt with the crusades.[36] They were "a holy war, purifying the Holy Land" for Thomas Rowley and a response to "the call of piety and honour" for Kenelm Digby, who converted to Catholicism in 1825 and whose *Broad Stone of Honour,* published in 1822, was widely read in the nineteenth century.[37] The enthusiasm for medieval litera-ture in France at this time has been called "a mythological revolution," and the theme of the crusaders' return frequently appeared in both literature and art.[38]

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[31] Von Sybel, *Geschichte* (as in note 4), 163–64, trans. 332–33; Gellhaus, "Kreuzzugsideen" (as in note 27), 86–87; and Boehm, "Gesta" (as in note 5), 64–66.

[32] Voltaire, *Essai sur les moeurs,* 54, in *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire,* ed. L. Moland (Paris, 1877–85), 11:442. J. H. Brumfitt, *Voltaire Historian* (Oxford, 1958), 68, said that Voltaire was "delighted to be able to show that the crusades were not the result of lofty religious motives, but of a desire for plunder." See Von Sybel, *Ges-chichte* (as in note 4), 164–65, trans. 334; Gellhaus, "Kreuzzugsideen" (as in note 27), 90–92; and the introduc-tion by H. Berr to Alphandéry, *Chrétienté* (as in note 16), 1:viii–ix.

[33] E. Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* chap. 61, ed. D. Womersley (London, 1994), 3:727; see also chap. 58 (ibid., 563 n. 19), where he said that some critics called Bongars's collection *Gesta diavoli per Francos,* and the editor's introduction in 1:xcix–c. See Gellhaus, "Kreuzzugsideen" (as in note 27), 95–97.

[34] Boehm, "Gesta" (as in note 5), 70. Cf. Zaborov, *Istoriografija* (as in note 4), 76–144, on the Enlightenment treatment of the crusades.

[35] *The Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks of Ralph Waldo Emerson,* vol. 3, *1826–1832,* ed. W. Gilman and A. Ferguson (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), 18, and *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson,* ed. R. L. Rusk, vol. 1 (New York, 1939), 246.
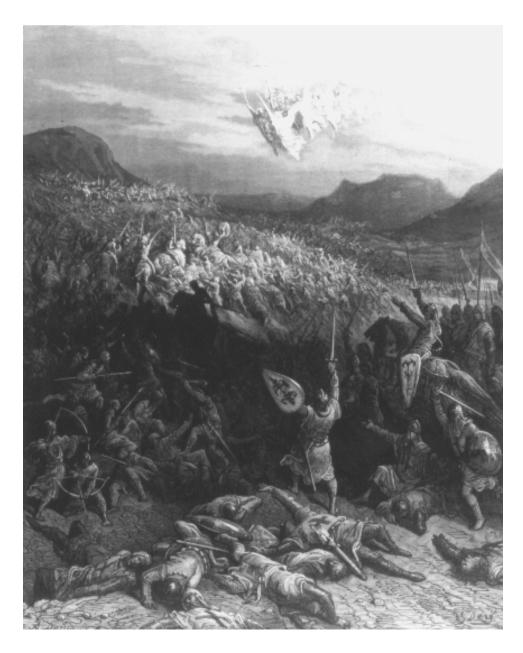
[36] J. Dakyns, *The Middle Ages in French Literature, 1851–1900* (Oxford, 1973), 1–28, and E. Siberry, "Images of the Crusades in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in *Oxford History* (as in note 5), 365–85.

[37] K. Morris, *The Image of the Middle Ages in Romantic and Victorian Literature* (London, 1984), 46, 105.

[38] Dakyns, *Middle Ages* (as in note 36), 4, 17, 254–56.

1 Frontispiece to T. Fuller, *Historie of the Holy Warre* (Cambridge, 1640)

2 Illustration by Gustave Doré for the 1877 Paris edition of J. Michaud,
   Histoire des Croisades

In historical writing this shift was marked by the appearance of two important multi-volume histories of the crusades, one in Germany and the other in France. The first, by Friedrich Wilken, was published between 1807 and 1832 and is still of scholarly value; the second, by J. F. Michaud, appeared between 1812 and 1822 and was often reprinted, including an edition published in Paris in 1877 with a series of illustrations by Gustave Doré that mark a high point in the religious and nationalistic enthusiasm for the crusades in France (Fig. 2).[39] The decision of King Louis Philippe to include the family names of French participants in the crusades in the Salle des Croisades at Versailles produced a flood of forged crusading charters, which still occasionally mislead historians.[40] A more serious scholarly note was struck by the three volumes of *pièces justificatives* that accompanied Michaud's history and even more by his four volumes of translated sources, including one from the Arabic. The *Recueil des historiens des croisades,* which includes editions of primary sources in Latin, Greek, Arabic, Armenian, and Old French and is still a standard work of reference, was officially launched by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles lettres in 1824.[41] In the late 1830s Leopold von Ranke gave "the first impulse" to a critical examination of the sources for the crusades in his seminar at the University of Berlin, and his student Von Sybel put the study of the First Crusade on a new scholarly basis in his *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs,* which included, as mentioned above, the first considerable study of the historiography of the crusades.[42]

In the second half of the nineteenth century, crusading studies continued to flourish in Germany, where the names of Reinhold Röhricht and Heinrich Hagenmeyer in particular come to mind, and in France, where Paul Riant founded the Société de l'Orient latin in the 1870s. Important contributions were also made by scholars in England, Italy, and, somewhat later, the United States, where the study of the crusades was promoted by the teaching of Dana C. Munro.[43] The first task of these scholars was to prepare critical editions of the sources, assess their value, and to establish the facts of the history of the crusades. This prepared the way for the appearance in the first half of the twentieth century of some new general histories, addressed to the public as well as to scholars. Among the most influential of these were the two works, both in three volumes, of René Grousset, published in 1934–36, and Steven Runciman, whose *History of the Crusades* was completed in 1954. These are basically narrative accounts, but Grousset as an Orientalist and Runciman as a Byzantinist both saw the crusades in terms of east–west

[39] On these works see Boehm, "Gesta" (as in note 5), 73–74, and on Wilken, Von Sybel, *Geschichte* (as in note 4), 167–72, trans. 339–43, and on Michaud, ibid., 173–78, trans. 345–53, and Zaborov, *Istoriografija* (as in note 4), 179–211.

[40] G. Constable, "Medieval Charters as a Source for the History of the Crusades," in *Crusade and Settlement: Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and Presented to R. C. Smail,* ed. P. W. Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), 73 and references in n. 3.

[41] According to H. Dehérain, "Les origines du recueil des 'Historiens des croisades,'" *JSav,* n.s., 17 (1919): 260–66, the first initiatives went back to the end of the 18th century.

[42] Von Sybel, *History* (as in note 4), iii. See E. Fueter, *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie,* Handbuch der mittelalterlichen und neueren Geschichte, Abt. 1 (Munich–Berlin, 1936), 535–36; G. P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century,* new ed. (Boston, 1959), 120–21; and Zaborov, *Istoriografija* (as in note 4), 212–27.

[43] *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to Dana C. Munro by His Former Students,* ed. L. J. Paetow (New York, 1928). See also Mayer, "America" (as in note 3), 38.

relations, between either the Christians and Muslims or the Latins and Greeks.[44] The new international Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East has held meetings in Cardiff, Jerusalem, Syracuse (N.Y.), and Clermont-Ferrand.

Meanwhile, a group of American scholars based at the University of Pennsylvania and later at Wisconsin undertook a major collaborative history of the crusades, which was published in six volumes between 1955 and 1989. It is interesting to follow the development of this work from its conception in the 1930s and 1940s down to its completion and to compare its coverage with that in the shorter, but also collaborative, *Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*. The Wisconsin history, as it is called, deals in considerable detail with the factual history of each crusade, down to the fifteenth century, and has a volume each on art and architecture and on the impact of the crusades respectively in the east and in the west. The original plan was to devote the fifth volume to political and economic institutions, agricultural conditions, crusading propaganda, western missions, religious minorities, and social history. The sixth was intended to include an atlas and gazetteer, but it turned out to be something of a catch-all and includes, in addition to other material, a chapter on crusader coins and a long bibliography. The extensive treatment given in this work to the late medieval crusades, to art and architecture, and to the impact of the crusades in the east reflected the development of crusading studies during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[45] The Oxford history devotes yet more space to crusading in the late Middle Ages, to the military orders (to which the Wisconsin history gave comparatively little attention, aside from a chapter on the Teutonic Knights), and above all to the ideology and spirituality of the crusades, which has been a subject of major interest to crusader historians since the publication in 1935 of Carl Erdmann's *Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens,* which appeared in English in 1977 as *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*.[46]

II. Recent Trends in Crusading Historiography

More than any other single work written in the twentieth century, Erdmann's book changed the direction of crusading studies.[47] He had been trained as a theologian, studied under Paul Joachimsen at Munich, and worked on the *Papsturkunden* series and at the

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[44] On Grousset and his "colonialist" point of view, see especially Boase, "Recent Developments" (as in note 3), 116–22; H. Berr in his introduction to Alphandéry, *Chrétienté* (as in note 16), 1:ix; Cardini, "Studi" (as in note 3), 82–83; Mayer, "America" (as in note 3), 41 (esp. n. 18); and on Runciman, Young, "Crusades" (as in note 3), 87–97, and Cardini, "Studi" (as in note 3), 83–86.

[45] See Mayer, "America" (as in note 3), 42–44, and D. Queller, "Review Article: On the Completion of *A History of the Crusades,*" *International History Review* 13 (1991): 314–30, who discussed a number of other recent works on the crusades.

[46] C. Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens,* Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte 6 (Stuttgart, 1935); see note 10 above for the translation, which has additional notes by the translators.

[47] Erdmann, as his title says, concentrated on the origin of the idea of crusade, not its later history, which had already been studied, among others, by O. Volk, *Die abendländisch-hierarchische Kreuzzugsidee* (diss., Halle-Wittenberg, 1911), who covered the popes from Leo IX to Gregory IX (omitting, somewhat oddly, Urban II), and he broke, according to J. Richard in his introduction to Delaruelle, *Idée* (as in note 10), vii, with the thesis that "the crusade was explained above all by its end: the Holy Land." Barraclough, "Deus le Volt?" (as in note

Monumenta Germaniae Historica. He therefore combined the tradition of German intellectual history or *Geistesgeschichte,* which emphasized the ideas underlying the observable events of history, with a rigorous training in source-criticism. He was not alone in his interest and approach. Etienne Delaruelle and Paul Alphandéry in particular wrote along parallel lines at almost the same time as Erdmann, though their works were published later. The series of articles by Delaruelle published between 1941 and 1954 under the title "Essai sur la formation de l'idée de croisade," and republished together in 1980, originated in a thesis presented at the Institut Catholique in Paris in 1935, the same year Erdmann's book appeared.[48] Alphandéry's two posthumous volumes on *La chrétienté et l'idée de croisade,* published in 1954 and 1959, were based on his lectures at the Ecole des hautes études before his death in 1932.[49] As a historian of religion, Alphandéry was interested in the spontaneous and charismatic aspects of the crusades, of which he found the essence in the expedition led by Peter the Hermit and in the so-called popular crusades, to which the Wisconsin and Oxford histories devoted comparatively little attention, aside from a chapter on the Children's Crusade in the Wisconsin history.

Contemporaries for the most part had no clear concept of the ideology of crusading, which lay to a great extent beneath the surface of the events. There was not even a single generally accepted term for a crusade.[50] At their origins, and indeed throughout the Middle Ages, crusades were usually referred to by terms, both in Latin and the vernacular, indicating movement or travel, such as *peregrinatio, iter, via, expeditio,* and later *passagium,* and the corresponding verbs, often combined with a reference to Jerusalem, the Holy Land, the Holy Sepulcher, or the cross, and in the vernacular with *outre mer* or *über meer.* They often expressed a religious engagement or desire (*negotium, bellum, causa, opus, voluntas,* or later simply *crux*), and referred to its sacred character or to God, Christ, or Jerusalem. Although the early crusaders were sometimes referred to as signed with or bearers of the cross,[51] the cross did not become the mark of crusading, as distinct from pilgrimage, until the end of the twelfth century. The earliest known use of *crozada* is in Spain and southwestern France in the early thirteenth century, but it remained rare, as did *croiserie* and *croisade,* and *crusade* was not common in English before the eighteenth

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8), 14 n. 3, called Erdmann's book "by far the most important contribution to crusading history in the last generation." For some reservations see J. Gilchrist, "The Erdmann Thesis and the Canon Law, 1083–1141," in *Crusade and Settlement* (as in note 40), 37–45, and M. Bull, "The Roots of Lay Enthusiasm for the First Crusade," *History* 78 (1993): 355–59.

[48] E. Delaruelle, "Essai sur la formation de l'idée de Croisade," *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 42 (1941): 24–45, 86–103; 45 (1944): 13–46, 73–90; 54 (1953): 226–39; 55 (1954): 50–63; reprinted in his *Idée* (as in note 10), 2–127, with an introduction by J. Richard.

[49] An interesting account of Alphandéry and of Dupront's edition of his work is found in M. Balard's postscript to the reprint (Paris, 1995), 565–93. Balard praised the work especially for its concern with the interior history of the crusade and with the history of collective mentality and psychology (575), but said that since the 1980s it has been more cited than used, especially by English-speaking scholars.

[50] The single best discussion of this topic, which is mentioned by many scholars, is in D. A. Trotter, *Medieval French Literature and the Crusades* (Geneva, 1988), 31–70. See also Rousset, *Idéologie* (as in note 6), 51–57; Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?* (as in note 10), 12; and A. Dupront, *Du sacré: Croisades et pèlerinages. Images et langages* (Paris, 1987), 239–63.

[51] M. Markowski, "*Crucesignatus:* Its Origins and Early Usage," *JMedHist* 10 (1984): 158, and C. Tyerman, "Were There Any Crusades in the Twelfth Century?" *EHR* 110 (1995): 575.

century.[52] The fourteenth-century French crusading propagandist Philippe de Mézières called the crusade "the hunt of God . . . to capture the rich prize,"[53] and for Fuller in the seventeenth century it was simply the holy war. The participants in the crusades were normally referred to in the early sources as pilgrims or Christians or, depending on the writer, as *milites Dei* or *Christi, pauperes,* or *Hierosolymitani* and later as *cruciferi* and *crucesignati,* though some of these terms could also apply to pilgrims. In Old French sources the crusaders were called *pèlerins, croisés,* or Franks. Collectively they were the *populus, plebs, gens, militia,* or *exercitus Dei,* and their enemies were *infideles, barbari,* and *pagani.*

Nothing in this terminology clearly distinguished the crusades from pilgrimages, and it offers little or no guidance to scholars seeking to define a crusade. Those who want a strict definition mostly agree on the importance of taking the cross, making a vow, and the granting by the papacy of spiritual and worldly privileges, though whether the promise of forgiveness from sins applied to eternal as well as temporal punishments is uncertain. They disagree, however, on the centrality of the objective of a crusade. The so-called traditionalists hold that a true crusade must be directed toward the east, either to assist the Christians there or to liberate Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulcher,[54] whereas for the so-called pluralists the defining feature of a crusade, whatever its objective, is papal authorization. The traditionalists ask where a crusade was going and therefore hold that the crusades basically ended with the fall of the crusader states in the east. The pluralists, on the other hand, ask how a crusade was initiated and organized and thus extend the history of the crusades not only geographically but also chronologically, down to recent times.[55]

Both approaches present problems. The traditionalists reject, and even regard as a corruption of legitimate crusading, any crusade not directed toward the east, including those in Spain and northern Europe, and those against heretics, schismatics, and other enemies of the church, even when they were called by the papacy and rewarded by spiritual privileges. These present no difficulty for the pluralists, who find it hard to fit into their definition the "popular" crusades, which were neither authorized nor sup-

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[52] See the charter of October 1212 in S. A. Garcia Larragueta, *El gran priorado de Navarra de la orden de san Juan de Jerusalen: Siglos XII–XIII,* vol. 1, *Estudio preliminar* (Pamplona, 1957), 149, no. 145, and P. Hölzle, *Die Kreuzzüge in der okzitanischen und deutschen Lyrik des 12. Jahrhunderts,* Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik 278 (Göppingen, 1980), 34 (and 31–34 generally). For English, see *The Oxford English Dictionary,* 2d ed., vol. 4 (Oxford, 1989), 85.

[53] Philippe de Mézières, *Letter to King Richard II,* ed. and trans. G. W. Coopland (Liverpool, 1975), 101. See J. Williamson, "Philippe de Mézières and the Idea of Crusade," in *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick,* ed. M. Barber (Aldershot-Brookfield, Vt., 1994), 358–64.

[54] For Erdmann, *Origin* (as in note 10), xxi, "Jerusalem was the immediate goal of the campaign (*Marschziel*), but liberation of Eastern Christianity from the infidel remained the fundamental aim of the war (*Kampf-* or *Kriegsziel*)"; cf. xxviii and 348, saying that pilgrimage was "a late addition."

[55] On the distinction between the traditionalists and the pluralists, see Riley-Smith, in *Oxford History* (as in note 5), 8–10, and Housley, *Later Crusades* (as in note 22), 2–3. Among modern scholars the leading traditionalist is H. E. Mayer and the leading pluralist is J. Riley-Smith, whose *Atlas of the Crusades* (New York–Oxford, 1991) reflects this approach in its breadth of coverage. An attempt to bridge the gap is made by J. Richard, *Histoire des croisades* (Paris, 1996), on which see Riley-Smith in the *Times Literary Supplement,* 2 May 1997, 28, who says that Richard "does not quarrel with the pluralist definition" but sees "the earlier enterprises" as "Crusades *par excellence.*"

ported by the papacy but which for some scholars embody the essence of crusading.[56] Both groups are uncertain what to do with the so-called pre- or proto-crusades, which were neither directed toward the east nor summoned by the pope. I have myself been counted among the pluralists owing to my article showing that contemporaries regarded the expeditions against the Wends and Muslims on the Iberian peninsula as part of the Second Crusade,[57] but I am reluctant to exclude the "popular" crusades or to deny that at least a spiritual orientation toward Jerusalem was an essential aspect of crusading.

Von Ranke was the first, so far as I know, to distinguish between what he called the hierarchical or official and the popular impulse (*Moment*) of crusading.[58] Erdmann also stressed "the fundamental distinction between the hierarchical and popular ideas of crusade," where his use of *Ideen* in place of von Ranke's *Moment* reflected his interest in ideology.[59] The traditionalists and pluralists both tend to look at the official aspects of crusading, but another group of scholars adhere to what may be called a spiritual or psychological definition that emphasizes the inner spirit and motives of the crusaders and their leaders. Alphandéry said that "throughout the west the crusade was a project swept along by eschatological forces, the idea of the proximate coming of AntiChrist, the conquest of the last days, the belief in the dwelling place of the saints in Jerusalem."[60] For Delaruelle the crusade was a permanent miracle that "originally appeared as a moment of collective exaltation, like a 'prophetic' deed by which a man of God announces to an entire people that an hour has come, like the meeting with the Savior . . . , a privileged moment without a tomorrow."[61] These writers and their followers see the crusades as a religious groundswell of the socio-religious elect, the *pauperes, humiles,* and others who made themselves children for the sake of God.[62]

For them the only true crusade was the First, which was marked by widespread religious enthusiasm and popular response.[63] Some have posited two First Crusades: one

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[56] P. Raedts, "The Children's Crusade of 1212," *JMedHist* 3 (1977): 300: "Any definition of the crusade is unsatisfactory if it does not include the hordes who streamed toward Jerusalem in the wake of Peter the Hermit, Emicho of Leiningen and so many others." See F. Cardini, "Per una ricerca sulle crociate popolari," *Quaderni medievali* 30 (1990): 156–67.

[57] G. Constable, "The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries," *Traditio* 9 (1953): 213–79.

[58] L. von Ranke, *Weltgeschichte,* vol. 8, *Kreuzzüge und päpstliche Weltherrschaft* (*XII. und XIII. Jahrhundert*) (Leipzig, 1898), 71, 80.

[59] Erdmann, *Origin* (as in note 10), 269, 355 n. 2, and introduction, xxxv.

[60] Alphandéry, *Chrétienté* (as in note 16), 1:97, 177, 194. Dupront, *Du sacré* (as in note 50), 290, described the crusade as "a march to the meeting with the Second Coming at the end of time" and gave further references to Alphandéry.

[61] Delaruelle, *Idée* (as in note 10), 246.

[62] Alphandéry, *Chrétienté* (as in note 16), 2:36–40, 67, 127–47; Delaruelle, *Idée* (as in note 10), 122; P. Rousset, "L'idée de croisade chez les chroniqueurs d'Occident," in *X Congresso* (as in note 15), 560–61; and M. Mollat, *Les pauvres au moyen-âge* (Paris, 1978), 95, who saw the crusade as "par essence et essentiellement" an affair of the poor. See V. Epp, *Fulcher von Chartres: Studien zur Geschichtsschreibung des ersten Kreuzzuges,* Studia humaniora 15 (Düsseldorf, 1990), 242–50, on the use of the term *pauperes* in the work of Fulcher of Chartres, who used it in a positive as well as a derogatory sense. G. Miccoli, "Dal pellegrinaggio alla conquista: Povertà e ricchezza nelle prime crociate," in *Povertà e ricchezza nella spiritualità dei secoli XI e XII,* Convegni del Centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale 8 (Todi, 1969), 45–80, warned against referring to "the poor as such" in the First Crusade and argued that in the course of the 12th century symbolic/spiritual poverty changed to literal poverty.

[63] Rousset, "L'idée" (as in note 62), 547, and *Idéologie* (as in note 6), 19, 61, and W. Goez, "Wandlungen des Kreuzzugsgedankens in Hoch- und Spätmittelalter," in *Das Heilige Land im Mittelalter: Begegnungsraum zwischen*

official, led by the princes who responded to the appeal of Urban II, and the other popular, led by Peter the Hermit, whose traditional role as the initiator of the First Crusade (which is based on the chronicle of Albert of Aachen and depicted on the frontispiece to Fuller's *Historie*) has recently found some defenders against the attacks of the nineteenth-century scholars who asserted the priority of the official crusade.[64] Alphandéry was particularly interested in the visions, miracles, and apocalyptic signs that accompanied the First Crusade. By the time of the Fourth Crusade, he said, "the animating center of the deed of crusade tends to become a symbol . . . the crusade is enclosed in interior combat." The whole movement petered out after the Children's Crusade, which still expressed "the deep life of the very idea of crusade," and came to an end with Frederick II's negotiated recovery of Jerusalem and the resumption of the "tolerated" pilgrimages of the early Middle Ages.[65]

There is, finally, a group of historians who can be called generalists and who broadly identify the crusades with holy war and the justification of fighting in defense of the faith—the astonishing effort, as Michel Villey put it, to baptize war.[66] They emphasize in particular the traditional concept of the just war, the ideal of Christian knighthood that emerged in the tenth century, the regional movements known as the Peace and Truce of God and designed to protect particular categories of people and to prevent fighting at certain times, and the efforts of the popes in the eleventh century to mobilize the *milites sancti Petri* to support and defend the papacy. Ernst-Dieter Hehl, in an article entitled "Was ist eigentlich ein Kreuzzug?" (What essentially is a crusade?), rejected both the traditionalist and pluralist definitions of a crusade as too restrictive and argued that a crusade was a war fought at the order of and with the authority of God—"a *Deo auctore* war"—and that Urban's innovation was to fit the crusade into "a historical-theological schema" or "a theology of war."[67] According to this view, the essential features of a crusade were to carry out the will of God on earth and thus to win forgiveness for sins, with or without papal approval. Jerusalem was thus spiritualized, and in practice a crusade could be directed against any perceived enemies of God, even though the crusade to the east continued, as Christopher Tyerman put it, to provide "the language of crusading."[68] In the middle of the thirteenth century, the canon lawyer Hostiensis,

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Orient und Okzident, ed. W. Fischer and J. Schneider (Neustadt a. d. Aisch, 1989), 34, who described the First Crusade as "sui generis."

[64] J. Flori, "Une ou plusieurs 'première croisade'? Le message d'Urbain II et les plus anciens pogroms d'Occident," *RH* 285 (1991): 3–27; M. Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony c. 970–c. 1130* (Oxford, 1993), 256; Ward, "First Crusade" (as in note 9), 264–65; and, on Peter the Hermit, E. O. Blake and C. Morris, "A Hermit Goes to War: Peter and the Origins of the First Crusade," *Studies in Church History* 22 (1985): 79–107; M. D. Coupe, "Peter the Hermit—A Reassessment," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 31 (1987): 37–45; Ward, "First Crusade" (as in note 9), 285–87; and D. Lohrmann, "Albert von Aachen" (as in note 2), 150–51.

[65] Alphandéry, *Chrétienté* (as in note 16), 2:110, 147, 257. Goez, "Wandlungen" (as in note 63), 42, said that there was no real *passagium generale* after 1228/9.

[66] M. Villey, "L'idée de croisade chez les juristes du moyen-âge," in *X Congresso* (as in note 15), 593.

[67] E.-D. Hehl, "Was ist eigentlich ein Kreuzzug?" *HZ* 259 (1994): 297–336 (citations on 301 and 307).

[68] C. Tyerman, "The Holy Land and the Crusades of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," in *Crusade and Settlement* (as in note 40), 108. Cf. Raedts, "Children's Crusade" (as in note 56), 301, who said that "I shall consider as crusades all expeditions, armed or unarmed, whose participants took a vow and intended to liberate

while reserving "the vow of the cross" to the pope, wrote that "If the crusade across the sea (*crux transmarina*) is and should be preached in order to acquire or recover the Holy Land, then the crusade against the schismatics on this side of the sea (*crux cismarina*) should be preached all the more strongly in order to preserve the unity of the church. . . . For the Son of God did not come into the world and suffer the cross to acquire land but to redeem captives and to recall sinners to repentance."[69] This points toward a broad definition of a crusade, as Riley-Smith put it, as "a holy war fought against those perceived to be the external or internal foes of Christendom for the recovery of Christian property or in defense of the Church or Christian people," and carrying with it, one might add, an expectation, implicit or explicit, of forgiveness of sins for those who participated.[70]

The view of modern historians who see the crusades as the beginning of European colonialism and expansion would have surprised people at the time. They would not have denied some selfish aspects, including a search for salvation and a desire to escape unwelcome obligations and to find a new life away from home, but the predominant emphasis was on defense and the recovery of lands that had once been Christian and on the self-sacrifice rather than the self-seeking of the participants. Since there was no clear concept of the crusades, however, their character changed over time. On the one hand, they became more institutionalized as their various features were defined by the popes and canon lawyers of the thirteenth century.[71] Prudence and efficiency rather than enthusiasm became the prerequisites for a crusade, and there was an increasing stress on organization, regulations, fiscal arrangements, and administrative routines.[72] Disagreements continued, however, even over the nature of an official crusade. In the thirteenth century, when the popes used the crusades against any enemies of the church, Hostiensis said that some people held that it was unjust and dishonest to take the cross against Christians, and at the Council of Basel in 1420 Alonso of Cartagena argued that a holy war must be against infidels.[73]

At the same time, however, the crusades were spiritualized and internalized, as in the crusading sermons where "the idea of soldiering for Christ is tied inextricably to the idea of the crusade as an imitation of Christ" and to "a moral and spiritual renewal" leading the crusader "to Christ's cross of suffering and physical death in battle."[74] This

Jerusalem and other holy places from Moslem rule or to defend them for Christendom," and Housley, *Later Crusades* (as in note 22), 45, 47, 49.

[69] Henry of Susa (Hostiensis), *Summa aurea,* 3.19 (Venice, 1574; repr. Turin, 1963), 1141. See Villey, "Idée" (as in note 66), 568, 578–81.

[70] J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History* (New Haven-London, 1987), xxviii.

[71] The canonists, according to Villey, "Idée" (as in note 66), 593, created the concept and theory of crusade because they wanted to assure the institution "of a long and solid future." See the elaborate definition of a crusade in M. Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy: The Chief Instruments of Papal Crusading Policy and Crusade to the Holy Land from the Final Loss of Jerusalem to the Fall of Acre, 1244–1291,* Studies in the History of Christian Thought 11 (Leiden, 1975), 10–11.

[72] Delaruelle, *Idée* (as in note 10), 246, discussed whether the crusade should be seen as an event or an institution.

[73] Henry of Susa, *Summa aurea,* 3.19 (as in note 69), 1141, and Cantarino, "Spanish Reconquest" (as in note 14), 100.

[74] Cole, *Preaching* (as in note 13), 124–25; see 172–73 on "the penitential idea of the crusade."

concept of the crusade has been called penitential and imitationist. True crusading never became an institution, according to Alphandéry, who said that by the thirteenth century "the monk-knight of the preceding age disappears before the *vir spiritualis,* poor, weak, predestined to the glory of the saints."[75] Not many scholars today would go as far as this, but there is a tendency to move away from the factual history of the crusades and their growing definition—some would say deformation—at the hands of the popes and canonists and to take a more flexible view of the crusade as an event rather than an institution.[76] "Crusading is coming to have the appearance of a spectrum of enterprises," wrote Riley-Smith, "each with its own personality, united by common elements."[77] And in an article provocatively entitled "Were There Any Crusades in the Twelfth Century?" Tyerman argued that "what we call 'the Crusades' in fact covered a fragmented series of military and religious activities that lacked coherence" and that "the First Crusade only appeared as the beginning of a coherent movement retrospectively when that movement existed, after 1187."[78]

This raises the question, to which no satisfactory answer has so far been given, of the numbering of the crusades, which differs widely both in the sources and in subsequent histories. After the first few crusades, Mayer wrote: "The numbering of the crusades lacks all consistency. Many scholars do not count the Damietta crusade at all and for them, Frederick II's crusade of 1228–9 is the fifth and Saint Louis's first crusade (1248–50) the sixth. Others count the Damietta crusade but not Frederick II's. Still others count the Damietta crusade as the fifth, Frederick II's as the sixth, and Saint Louis's as the seventh."[79] Mayer recently wrote that "Even the numbering of crusades I–IV is a dubious affair. It is accepted by everyone, but it only counts the general expeditions in which more or less all of Europe was involved. It made people blind to the smaller crusades."[80] No one, among either the traditionalists or the pluralists, assigns a number to the crusades in Spain or northeastern Europe, the Children's or other "popular" crusades, the Albigensian crusade, the Mongol crusade of 1241, and other expeditions that seem to meet the definition of a crusade and are commonly referred to as such.

Although there was in the twelfth century an awareness of previous crusades, as the arenga to *Quantum predecessores* shows, there was no practice of numbering them. When Ordericus Vitalis in the 1130s referred to the crusade in 1107 as "the third expedition of the westerners to Jerusalem," he was presumably counting those in 1096–97 and

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[75] Alphandéry, *Chrétienté* (as in note 16), 2:112, 160, 163. See also his "Citations bibliques" (as in note 11), 149. These views are well on the way to what has been called the myth or metahistory of the crusade: see Rousset, *Idéologie* (as in note 6), 211–13; G. Fedalto, *Perchè le crociate* (Bologna, 1986), 70; and Dupront, *Du sacré* (as in note 50), 34–35.

[76] See the definitions of a crusade by Raedts, cited in note 56 above, and D. Nicol, *The Crusades and the Unity of Christendom,* Friends of Dr. Williams's Library 40th Lecture (London, 1986), 5, who (writing as a Byzantinist) called it "a campaign for the liberation of a faraway place dreamed up in a fog of pious romanticism."

[77] Riley-Smith, "History" (as in note 6), 10.

[78] Tyerman, "Were There Any Crusades" (as in note 51), 554, 558, 566 n. 3. He went on to say that "Innocent III transformed one sort of ecclesiastical warfare into juridical crusading."

[79] H. E. Mayer, *The Crusades,* trans. J. Gillingham, 2d ed. (Oxford, 1988), 314 n. 117. See also Bull, "Roots" (as in note 47), 354.

[80] Personal letter, 26 Feb. 1997.

1101–2 as the first two.[81] It is possible, however, to see the entire period from 1095 until 1107, and even later, as part of the response to the appeal for the First Crusade, of which the message spread slowly and to which participants responded at different times.[82] The numbers given to the crusades by later writers during the first period of crusading historiography also deserve to be studied.[83] Fuller, who ushered in the second period, called the crusades "the Holy Warre" in the singular, but in his chronological table he distinguished thirteen voyages (or pilgrimages, as he called them in the text) between 1095 and 1269, counting separately, in addition to the presently numbered crusades, the expeditions of 1101, Henry of Saxony in 1197, the king of Hungary in 1216, Theobald of Navarre in 1239, and Richard of Cornwall in 1241. Maimbourg and Gibbon both counted seven crusades, but Wilken used no system of numbering, and some modern scholars identify the crusades simply by date.

This approach has led to the reformulation and reexamination of various questions concerning crusading. Among these is motivation, which was traditionally considered to include both secular and religious motives, of which the respective importance was assessed differently by scholars according to their religious beliefs and the standards of their times. To these should be added an emotional or psychological element that was neither specifically religious nor secular.[84] "Sentiment, not strategy, has always been the dominant factor in the affairs of Palestine," said the reviewer of a recent book on the background of Palestinian-Israeli disputes. "An understanding of the problems of Arabs and Jews [or of Muslims and Christians] in the Holy Land should begin by clearing the mind of the confusing clutter of strategy and by focusing on the sentiments, or, to put it more precisely, the passionate feelings, of those concerned."[85] Very little is known about the sentiments of the crusaders, let alone their passionate feelings, but they certainly felt a fierce loyalty to Christ and a sense of outrage that his patrimony and tomb were held by infidels and could be visited by Christians only on sufferance. Many years ago Adolf von Harnack said that "the enthusiasm of the Crusades was the direct fruit of the monastic reform of the eleventh century,"[86] and Erdmann associated the concept of holy war with the efforts of the popes, and especially Gregory VII, to free the church from the control of laymen. If lay investiture and lay possession of ecclesiastical property and revenues were abhorrent to the reformers, how much more so the control by the Muslims

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[81] Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica,* 5.19, ed. M. Chibnall, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1969–80), 3:182. See Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders* (as in note 20), 9 and 109, citing references in other sources to the "first" and "second" expeditions.

[82] See the works cited in note 64 above, especially Bull, *Knightly Piety.*

[83] See Schmugge, *Kreuzzüge* (as in note 22), 34, on the numbering of the crusades by Carion and Bullinger, both of whom counted twelve expeditions (reckoning the Third Crusade as three).

[84] On the levels of motivation among participants in the First Crusade, see J. Flori, *La première croisade* (Brussels, 1992), 225–29.

[85] M. E. Yapp, reviewing D. Hiro, *Sharing the Promised Land,* in the *Times Literary Supplement,* 14 Feb. 1997, 28.

[86] A. von Harnack, *Monasticism: Its Ideas and History and the Confessions of St Augustine,* trans. E. E. Kellett and F. H. Marseille (London, 1901), 87. Barraclough, "Deus le Volt?" (as in note 8), 12–13, said that "the Crusades, far from being a unique or isolated phenomenon, were only a particular manifestation of a great spiritual crisis without parallel until the sixteenth century," and Miccoli, "Pellegrinaggio" (as in note 62), 46: "La crociata, nei suoi aspetti ideologici, nasce come tipica espressione della riforma gregoriana."

of the most sacred of Christian shrines. This is not to say that all crusaders were religious reformers, but the view that they were motivated largely by greed and self-interest has been to some extent replaced by an acceptance of their sincerity and idealism, combined with a recognition that altruistic and selfish motives were unconsciously mixed in the minds of individual crusaders. According to Riley-Smith, "There can be little doubt that those who took the cross, and the families who helped to finance them, were moved on the whole by idealism. The only explanation for their enthusiasm seems to be that Urban's message encountered the laity's growing aspirations and the hand stretched out by the Church to lay people was suddenly grasped."[87]

Not all scholars accept this idealistic and somewhat defensive stance, and several recent writers have pointed out the failure of historians to take account of psychological, socio-logical, and economic theory in studying the motivation of the crusaders. In an article on "The Motives of the First Crusaders: A Social Psychological Analysis," published in the *Journal of Psychohistory* in 1990, the crusades were seen as a way of resolving the tension, or endemic cognitive dissonance, between the religious ideals and worldly violence of medieval society. Urban's crusade offered "the new reconciliation" between the desire for salvation and the need to fight and became a mass movement because it met a widespread psychological need.[88] John Ward studied the First Crusade in terms of disaster theory, using the so-called Foster scale, and argued that it was a remedial "disaster-reaction" to the "inflammatory millenarian force," Muslim advances in the east, and consciousness of sin in the late eleventh century. He called this "a 'postmodern deconstruction and reconstruction'" of the nineteenth-century myth of the official, hierarchial crusade and concluded that "*Crusade* is thus interesting not so much for what it was, . . . but for what contemporaries thought it would be."[89] A very different view was put forward by four economists, none of them specialists on the crusades, in an article entitled "An Economic Interpretation of the Medieval Crusades" published in the *Journal of European Economic History* in 1992. They see the crusades in terms of "contemporary economic theory" as "(a) a supply-side response to the attempts of the Moslems and Turks to raise a rival's (the Latin church's) cost in maintaining the credibility of its product and (b) a demand-side attempt by the medieval church to maintain and maximize the value of its wealth by expansion of market area and monopoly control." Although the crusades "claimed to be primarily motivated by ideological or theological fervor," they were in fact "an essential part of a wealth-maximizing strategy" both by the church, of which the monopoly over salvation—called "a pure credence good"—was threatened by the Muslims, and by individual crusaders who hoped to make their fortunes in the east.[90] The views of Voltaire and Gibbon have thus been revived by modern economic theorists.

Another old question that has been addressed with new interest in recent years is the

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[87] J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London-Philadelphia, 1986), 153.

[88] J. R. E. Bliese, "The Motives of the First Crusaders: A Social Psychological Analysis," *Journal of Psychohistory* 17 (1990): 393–411 (quotation on 400).

[89] Ward, "First Crusade" (as in note 9), 253–92 (quotations on 259 and 288–89).

[90] G. M. Anderson et al., "An Economic Interpretation of the Medieval Crusades," *Journal of European Economic History* 21 (1992): 339–63 (quotations on 340 and 342).

background and origin of the crusades. Some scholars believe that they sprang almost out of nothing, like Athena out of the head of Zeus, as Alphandéry put it, calling them "the almost spontaneous outpouring of a prodigious power of collective animation."[91] Others stress the extensive prehistory, reaching back to the early Christian tradition of pilgrimage, the development of the theories of martyrdom and the just war, the Byzantine campaigns against the Muslims, the changing role in Christian spirituality of Jerusalem, both heavenly and earthly, the emergence of chivalric values and the effort to harness them to the interests of local law and order by the Peace and Truce of God, and the policy of the papacy, which Erdmann examined especially in the second half of the eleventh century. The recent defense of the authenticity of the crusading encyclical attributed to Sergius IV, which has long been considered a forgery, would carry back the papal prehistory of the crusades another half century,[92] and raises the question of to what extent the campaigns in Spain in the mid-eleventh century, and later in southern Italy, should be considered authentic crusades.[93]

This research has important implications for the study of the First Crusade, which has been subjected to intensive investigation owing to recent commemoration of its nine-hundredth anniversary. Among the many questions that have been raised are not only those, mentioned above, of the content of Urban's crusading appeal, especially the relative importance he gave to helping Christians in the east and to freeing Jerusalem; the role of Peter the Hermit and his army; the massacres of the Jews (were they an intrinsic part of the crusade or an aberration?); the influence on the chronicles and histories of the development of the crusade;[94] but also how Urban's message was spread and the crusading armies gathered; the participation in the expeditions and how they were financed;[95] the nature of the oaths taken by the crusading leaders to the Byzantine emperor;[96] and the relation of the Latin histories and chronicles to the Old French crusading

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[91] Alphandéry, *Chrétienté* (as in note 16), 1:9. Cf. Flori, *Première Croisade* (as in note 84), 231, on whether the crusade was an end or a beginning.

[92] H. M. Schaller, "Zur Kreuzzugsenzyklika Papst Sergius' IV.," in *Papsttum, Kirche und Recht im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Horst Fuhrmann zum 65. Geburtstag,* ed. H. Mordek (Tübingen, 1991), 135–53, with references to previous literature on this disputed topic.

[93] See among other works Cantarino, "Spanish Reconquest" (as in note 14), and Fletcher, "Reconquest" (as in note 14), 31–47, who denied that the campaigns in Spain were crusades before the 12th century.

[94] According to Erdmann, *Origin* (as in note 10), 147, "The crusading idea became articulate only after it had developed in real life." See E. O. Blake, "Formation" (as in note 17), 11–31, who referred to "a developing sense of pattern" (21), and C. Morris, "The Aims and Spirituality of the First Crusade as Seen through the Eyes of Albert of Aachen," in *Saints and Saints' Lives: Essays in Honour of D. H. Farmer,* Reading Medieval Studies 16 (Reading, 1990), 99–117: "The ideas of the crusaders were further, and deeply, shaped by the remarkable experiences of the expedition itself" (99). On the impact of the conquest of Jerusalem on the concept of the crusade, see Goez, "Wandlungen" (as in note 63), 38–39; and on the dispute over the extent to which the idea of martyrdom emerged during the crusade, see Daniel, *Islam* (as in note 15), 314–15; H. E. J. Cowdrey, "Martyrdom and the First Crusade," in *Crusade and Settlement* (as in note 40), 46–56; J. Flori, "Mort et martyre" (as in note 17), 121–39; and J. France, "The Destruction of Jerusalem and the First Crusade," *JEH* 47 (1996): 1–17.

[95] See F. A. Cazel, "Financing the Crusades," in the Wisconsin *History* (as in note 3), 6:116–49, and J. Riley-Smith, "Early Crusaders to the East and the Costs of Crusading, 1095–1130," in *Cross Cultural Convergences* (as in note 26), 237–57.

[96] See J. Pryor, "The Oaths of the Leaders of the First Crusade to Emperor Alexius I Comnenus: Fealty, homage—πίστις, δουλεία," *Parergon,* n.s., 2 (1984): 111–41; Möhring, "Kreuzzug und Dschihad" (as in note

cycle, some parts of which are older and closer to the historical sources than was once thought.[97]

Among the most important developments in crusading studies in the second half of the twentieth century has been the attention given by scholars such as John La Monte, Joshua Prawer, Jean Richard, Hans Mayer, and Jonathan Riley-Smith to the history of the Latin Kingdom and other crusader states. Prawer, in the introduction to his *Crusader Institutions,* remarked on the shift of interest from "the Crusades as a movement to the history of Crusader establishments in the East" and to "the European colonies on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean," especially their constitutional, legal, cultural, ecclesiastical, social, and economic history.[98] This can already be seen in the Wisconsin *History of the Crusades,* which includes chapters not only on the political and institutional but also on the cultural history of the crusader states. Mayer has in particular studied the role of the church and ecclesiastical institutions and the chancery of the Latin kings of Jerusalem.[99] The old view of the Latin Kingdom as a classic feudal state, which was based to a great extent on legal sources, has been increasingly replaced by a view that puts significantly greater emphasis on the power of the monarchy.[100] Meanwhile, there has been a vigorous debate over the question of whether or not the Latin states should be regarded as colonies in the modern (and characteristically pejorative) sense of the term.[101]

A similar array of questions surrounds the history of the later crusades, including the waning enthusiasm and growing criticism, which is usually seen as developing from a relatively few isolated voices in the twelfth century, beginning with the reaction to the failure of the Second Crusade, into the chorus of doubts reflected in the memoirs solicited by Pope Gregory IX in preparation for the Council of Lyons in 1274.[102] Norman Housley in *The Later Crusades,* however, maintained that "fundamental questioning of the validity of crusading existed from the start of the movement and was at its strongest

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3), 367–68; and R.-J. Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States, 1096–1204,* trans. J. C. Morris and J. E. Ridings (Oxford, 1993), 8–28.

[97] See J. Richard, "L'arrière-plan historique des deux cycles de la croisade," in *Les épopées de la croisade: Premier colloque international (Trèves, 6–11 août 1984),* ed. K.-H. Bender, Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur, Beihefte, n.F., Heft 11 (Stuttgart, 1987), 6–16. Cf. Trotter, *Medieval French Literature* (as in note 50), 27.

[98] J. Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford, 1980), xi. Cf. his *The Crusaders' Kingdom: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (New York–Washington, D.C., 1972).

[99] H. E. Mayer, *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem,* Schriften der MGH 26 (Stuttgart, 1977), and *Die Kanzlei der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem,* Schriften der MGH 40 (Stuttgart, 1996).

[100] S. Tibble, *Monarch and Lordships in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1989), with references to previous literature, and J. Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land: Relations between the Latin East and the West, 1119–1187* (Oxford, 1996).

[101] Barraclough, "Deus le volt?" (as in note 8), 16. The question of the crusades as a colonial enterprise and the crusader states as colonies was posed by J. Prawer, "The Roots of Medieval Colonialism," in *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange between East and West during the Period of the Crusades,* ed. V. Goss and C. Bornstein, Studies in Medieval Culture 21 (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1986), 23–38, and debated at a symposium held in Jerusalem in 1984 and published under the title "The Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem—The First European Colonial Society," in *The Horns of Hattin: Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East. Jerusalem and Haifa, 2–6 July 1987,* ed. B. Z. Kedar (Jerusalem-London, 1992), 341–66.

[102] P. A. Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade: A Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda* (Amsterdam, 1940) and, most recently, E. Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading, 1095–1274* (Oxford, 1985), with references to other works.

in the mid-twelfth century. . . . Fewer such basic doubts were expressed in the thirteenth century, when the crusade was safely enclosed in the armour plating of a just war framework by such canonists as Hostiensis and pope Innocent IV."[103] For some scholars, however, the framework was empty before the armor plating was put in place, and true crusading ended with the Fourth Crusade, of which the diversion to Zara and Constantinople has been the subject of scholarly dispute for more than a century.[104] "The question is basically an unfruitful one," said Mayer, "and will probably never be settled, yet even today there is no sign that the flood of literature on the subject will dry up."[105] This is owing not only to the number and complexity of the sources, which lend themselves to diverse interpretations, but also because the Fourth Crusade stands for so many critical issues in the history and nature of the crusades.

The turning of the crusades against Christians in particular raised major questions for contemporaries as well as for later writers on the crusades,[106] not only the traditionalists who regard the liberation of Jerusalem and the Holy Land as the essential objective of the crusades, but also the pluralists, because Innocent III disapproved of the Fourth Crusade, though later popes declared and promoted crusades against Christians. Some scholars still see the crusades in primarily European terms and as of relatively little importance to Islam.[107] Even an Islamist like Claude Cahen described the crusades as "a western phenomenon" and "a western fact," and Francis Robinson called them "mere pinpricks" from the point of view of Islam.[108] In parts of the Islamic world, however, they had a profound influence almost from their inception,[109] and the impact of the crusades in the east inspired the critical views of scholars like Runciman and much of the current hostility to the crusades. Scholars also disagree over the extent to which missionary work and conversion played a part in the crusades. The desire to exalt (*exaltare*) and expand (*dilatare*) the Christian faith is found in the earliest crusading sources, including the Old French and Middle High German epics,[110] but conversion seems to have played a comparatively small role in motivating the crusades before the thirteenth century, when they began to be seen as "the instrument for opening a country to missionizing."[111]

[103] Housley, *Later Crusades* (as in note 22), 377.

[104] See the bibliographical articles by D. Queller and S. Stratton, "A Century of Controversy on the Fourth Crusade," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 6 (1969): 235–77, and C. Brand, "The Fourth Crusade: Some Recent Interpretations," *MedHum,* n.s., 12 (1984): 33–45.

[105] Mayer, *Crusades* (as in note 79), 201.

[106] Pissard, *Guerre sainte* (as in note 28), and N. Housley, "Crusades against Christians: Their Origins and Early Development, c. 1000–1216," in *Crusade and Settlement* (as in note 40), 17–36.

[107] In addition to the works of Alphandéry (as in note 16) and Erdmann (as in note 10), see H. E. J. Cowdrey, "The Genesis of the Crusades: The Springs of Western Ideas of Holy War," in *The Holy War,* ed. T. P. Murphy (Columbus, Ohio, 1976), 13.

[108] C. Cahen, *Orient et occident au temps des croisades* (Paris, 1983), 7, 179–80, cf. 188–89, and F. Robinson, reviewing B. Lewis, *The Middle East,* in the *Times Literary Supplement,* 8 Dec. 1995, 3.

[109] E. Sivan, *L'Islam et la Croisade: Idéologie et propagande dans les réactions musulmanes aux croisades* (Paris, 1968).

[110] E. R. Curtius, "Der Kreuzzugsgedanke und das altfranzösische Epos," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen* 169 (1936): 53–54.

[111] B. Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton, 1984), 169. See A. Cutler, "The First Crusade and the Idea of 'Conversion,'" *The Muslim World* 58 (1968): 57–71, 155–64, and Goez, "Wandlungen" (as in note 63), 42–43.

Almost every aspect of the crusades has thus been reinterpreted, often from very different points of view, in recent years, and both the learned world and the general public show a voracious appetite for works on the crusades. More perhaps than any other phenomenon of European history, the crusades hold up a mirror to how the west sees itself and is seen by others, and as the angle of the mirror changes, so does the view of the crusades. In the Middle Ages, and down to the end of the nineteenth century, they were part of contemporary history, and the Muslims, pagans, heretics, and schismatics were seen as presenting a threat—real or imagined—to the stability of the west. After the nineteenth century they moved increasingly into the past and were regarded either with aversion or, later, with an admiration and nostalgia that grew into a myth, at the same time heroic and barbaric, that has still not been dissipated by research. Meanwhile, new myths and hostilities have been generated by the effort to relate the crusades to developments in the modern world and to see them from a non-western point of view. There is no reason to believe that this process of revision is near an end or that any agreement concerning the nature and impact of the crusades will ever be reached, given the changing concerns of contemporary society. Today no less than in the past, therefore, writings on the crusades must be interpreted in the light of the differing positions from which they were written.

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