Brown Learning Community: Fall 2002

The Legacy of the Crusades

Information

Thurs 9:00-10:20 Wilson 305 Nathaniel L. Taylor Nathaniel_L_Taylor@brown.edu 435-6020

Course Description and Overview

In the past year the rhetoric of Osama bin Laden has shown that, while we use the word "crusade" as a widespread metaphor for many purposes (from political campaigns to public service initiatives), it retains a specific historical meaning as a term for the "Holy Wars" of the Middle Ages. The original Crusades embraced many forms of military and social action, not only against the Muslims of the Middle East, but against non-Christians and other Christians in many areas of Europe and its borders. This course offers a brief overview of the variety of original Crusades, combined with a focus on the questions raised by the legacy of the Crusades.

This course has two interlaced themes and objectives. First, we will explore the causes and course of the various medieval Crusades, partly through contemporary accounts written by Crusaders and their enemies. The course is not a names-and-dates course, because there would be too much material to cover. However, we will familiarize you with many of the most important moments and areas of Crusading. Next, we will consider questions raised by the legacy of the Crusades in modern Western and Global culture.

Specific focus issues include, first, the ideology of Just War and Holy War, concepts which are just now reemerging in public debate over the terrorist acts of Al-Qa'ida and proposed U.S. military action against the government of Iraq. What are the roots of these ideologies? How did they develop in theory and in practice in the Crusades? What role did the Crusades play in determining contemporary understanding of these ideas? A related issue is to examine our own memory and commemoration of the Crusades. Within Western culture the Crusades have been variously remembered as glorious or shameful. What are the testimonials to that memory? How are the Crusades remembered in the Islamic world?

Book available for purchase:

The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades, ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith (Oxford, 2001). [Not a straight history textbook, but a collection of essays illustrating important aspects of the Crusade story.]

Additional Texts

Primary sources on the Crusades are richly available in translations. One good collection is Edward Peters, *The First Crusade: the Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Texts*, 2d ed. (Pennsylvania, 1998), which is on sale at the Brown Bookstore for my current undergraduate course on the Crusades (along with other relevant books). Excerpts from many original Crusade histories and documents are also available on the Internet, especially at Paul Halsall's comprehensive *Internet Medieval Sourcebook* at Fordham University, available at: <www.fordham.edu/halsall/sbooklk.html>.

Legacy of the Crusades: Schedule of Meetings and Readings

I. (Oct. 3). Overview; the Invention of the Crusades

A definition and overview narrative of the Crusades, with some of the questions raised now as we look back on them.

Readings (in class, xeroxes): Rhetoric of Osama bin Laden; Speech of Pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont (1095); Narrative of the first assaults on European Jews (1096).

2. (Oct. 10). The 'Crusader States'

The Rise and Fall of the Europeans' Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099-1291, an arguably 'colonial' enterprise supported by waves of crusades for two hundred years.

Reading: *Illustrated History*, chapters 1, 2 "Origins"; 6 "The Latin East, 1098-1291"; and 7-8 "Art" and "Architecture in the Latin East." Fulcher of Chartres: Narrative of the First Crusade (xerox). James Brundage, *The Crusades: a Documentary Survey* (Wisconsin, 1962), section 'The Latin States' (xerox). Sir Walter Scott, *The Talisman*, chapters 1-2 (xerox). Sir Stephen Runciman, "Summing Up" (xerox).

3. (Oct. 17). Just War, Holy War, and the Soldiers of Christ

Contrasting concepts of Just War, Holy War, and Jihad; the development of Military / Religious Orders (Knights Templar and others), which institutionalized an aggressive Christianity.

Reading: *Illustrated History*, chapter 4 "State of Mind of Crusaders to the East, 1095-1300;" 4 "Songs;" and 9 "The Military Orders, 1120-1312." Saint Thomas Aquinas, Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, and others: texts defining Holy War and Just War (xerox). James Turner Johnson, "Jihad and Just War" (xerox).

4. (Oct. 24). Redefining 'Crusade' in the Thirteenth Century

The age of Pope Innocent III, which saw the diffusion (or perversion) of crusading into many different theatres, even internally in Western Europe..

Reading: Primary source xeroxes: Fourth Crusade narrative excerpts; Readings on Pope Innocent III; *The Song of the Cathar Wars*—siege of Toulouse; the Battle of las Navas de Tolosa.

5. (Oct. 31). From 'Crusade' to 'Balance of Powers' (14th - 18th centuries)

The waning of the Middle Ages; the Ottomans; Malta & the Barbary Coast; the Wars of Religion. History of Europe and Islam in the Early Modern period.

Reading: *Illustrated History*, ch. 10 "Islam and the Crusades;" ch. 11 "The Crusading Movement, 1274-1700;" and 12 "The Latin East, 1291-1669." Narrative of the Great Siege of Malta (xerox).

6. (Nov. 7). Looking back on the Crusades

Contrasting the romantic memory of the Crusades with the gritty twentieth-century legacy of Western conflict in the Islamic world.

Reading: *Illustrated History*, ch. 14 "Images of the Crusades"; 15 "Revival and Survival." Bernard Lewis, "The Revolt of Islam," New Yorker, 19 Nov 2001 (xerox).



Brown Learning Community: Legacy of the Crusades

1. Major Crusades in the Middle East (1095-1291)

1095-1099	1st Crusade : Crusader states established in 1098-1099 (County of Edessa, Principality of Antioch, Kingdom of Jerusalem)
1144	Edessa falls to Zenghi, a Turkish emir bent on unifying Muslim Syria; it is never retaken
1146-1148 1187	2^d Crusade to restore Edessa; fails (abortive siege of Damascus) Saladin, now lord of Syria and Egypt, defeats Christian field army at Battle of
	Hattin (4 July), opening the way to take Jerusalem and all but one coastal city in that kingdom (Tyre); his dynasty lasts in Egypt until 1250
1189-92	3^d Crusade : Crusaders, led by Richard Lion-Heart , take Cyprus from the Greeks, retake coastal towns in Palestine from the Muslims, not Jerusalem
1202-1204	4th Crusade : intended for Jerusalem; diverted to Constantinople, conquers Constantinople, 1204; 60-year French occupation of Greece begins
1217-1219	5 th Crusade : Crusaders take Damietta (Egyptian coast) but fail to hold it or benefit by it
1229-1231	Emperor Frederick II in Holy Land on an unauthorized crusade (he was excommunicate at the time), fights civil war against other Crusader lords, negotiates control of Jerusalem
1248-1250	6th Crusade : Saint Louis (King Louis IX of France) retakes Damietta but is captured, forced to withdraw after paying ransom; spends time and money in Palestine
1270 - 1291	7 th Crusade : Saint Louis attacks Tunis but dies in the act (of illness) Fall of last vestiges of Crusader States (Acre, last city to fall) in Middle East. 'Kingdom of Jerusalem' continues in name only, on island of Cyprus

2: Other Contemporary Crusades

1147	Wendish Crusade: campaigners against pagan slavs in Northeast Germany are given Crusader status; precedent for 'Baltic Crusades'
1147	Lisbon (Portugal) taken by crusaders en route to East
1193-	Establishment of the Livonian Sword Brothers and (1225-) Teutonic Knights,
	to colonize and convert the Slavs in Latvia & Lithuania, equivalent to Crusade
1209-1228	Albigensian Crusade: against heretics in Languedoc (Southwestern France)
1212	Spanish Reconquista (movement from 1200-1254) exemplified by the
	Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, where three Christian kings defeat a Muslim
	host under grant of Crusader privileges
1212	Children's Crusade: thousands of teenagers from France and the
	Rhineland, travel to Mediterranean ports, where most disappear
1265	Popes summon successful crusade (invasion) by a French party into Imperial
	German / Neopolitan kingdom in Southern Italy: most egregious use of
	'Crusade' status to influence a Christian political war
	*

3: Later Crusading (internal & external)

1309-14	Suppression of the Knights Templar (international military - religious order created after 1st Crusade)
1309-1523	Knights Hospitaller based at Rhodes for defense of Mediterranean
1285	French Crusade against Aragonese (Spanish) following 'Sicilian Vespers'
1265	Papacy sponsors French crusade against heirs of Emperor Frederick II in Italy
1396	Battle of Nicopolis: defeat of French crusade against Ottomans in Balkans
1453	Ottoman conquest of Constantinople; extinction of Byzantine Empire
1530-1798	Hospitalers move to Malta, become known as Knights of Malta
1529, 1683	Ottoman Turks besiege Vienna, twice: high-water marks of Islam in Europe
1565	Great siege of Malta: Hospitalers hold it against large Turkish force
17th-18th c.	Barbary Piracy: North African abduction of 10 million Europeans as slaves

Introduction

'crusade' — elements of a definition

Al-Qa'ida: fighting against the 'Crusaders' (Osama Bin Laden)

When?

a defining 'medieval' event: 1095 to 15th century—the 'High Middle Ages' 16th c. (Armada, e.g.); later (Barbary; now?)

What?

- military campaigns: defensive & offensive
- religious status: bulls privileging combat & combatants
- colonial enterprise: 'Crusader States' 1099-1291 & later
- motivation & justification: 'Holy War' & 'Just War' (mirrored by 'jihad'?)

Where / Who?

confluence of 3 cultures — Islam, Byzantium, Europe (& Jews) protagonists: medieval western Europeans opponents: Muslims; 'Pagans'; Jews; heretics and political opponents within Western Europe; bystanders (Hungarians) theatres: Middle East ('Holy Land', 'Outremer'); Iberian frontier; Baltic crusader states; Greek occupation; internal theatres

Current consequences

- groundwork for specific modern conflicts (Europe and the West versus Arab world)
- paradigm of forceful action, both in religious and secular contexts (Christian fundamentalism, proselytization, and the Crusade metaphor)
- central in the cultural afterlife of medieval Christian Europe (glorifying Crusades; identifying Crusades with the ethos of 'chivalry')

The First Crusade

I. Geopolitics: West, East & South

3 heirs of (Mediterranean) Roman World: Byzantine (East Roman) Empire — Greek (center: Constantinople) Western Europe — Latin (center: Rome) Islamic world — Arabic (center: Mecca → Damascus → Baghdad)

The West: 'feudalism': agricultural society led by warrior elite ('3 orders') social problems: anarchy and exploitation church: Roman catholicism; rise of an international church led by the Pope (8th c. — 11th c.) tradition of pilgrimage lays groundwork for Crusade movement

- **Byzantine Empire:** Greek continuation of Roman empire Christian religion: theocratic state incorporates Church into Empire Urban society (importance of city of Constantinople [Byzantium])
- **Islam:** a newcomer religion (Muhammad d. 632) rapid spreading faith; simple to practice; leaders were learned, tolerant theocracy (like Byzantine system): close link of caliphs (successors to Muhammad) and sultans (more secular kings) formerly unified, split after year 1000.

II. Inventing and launching a 'crusade'

Pope Urban II: papal monarchy, response to appeal; preaching crusade for spiritual and social goals

Waves of response: "people's crusade" (commits atrocities against Jews and Hungarians, is annihilated) vs. "barons' crusade" (better organized and led) Interactions of Westerners with Greeks? Divergent expectations (greed vs. service): Alexios Komnenos (Emperor) vs. Crusader leaders

III. Into the Holy Land

Edessa, Antioch, Jerusalem: founding three 'crusader states' unity and disunity of Crusader armies & opponents: consequences Siege of Antioch (1097-98): irrationality, reliance on divine intervention (the 'Holy Lance') conquest of Jerusalem (July 15, 1099): gore and symbolism

2. The Crusader States (10/8/2002)

I. 'Outremer'—'Kingdom of Jerusalem'—a theocracy? a colony?

feudal monarchy—elective, then hereditary, 1099 – 1291 string of lordships linked by coast 4 main principalities: Edessa, Antioch, Tripoli, Jerusalem mostly urban: walled oases (villages weren't defensible); old trade depots castles protecting land routes & ports; chronic manpower shortage (garrisons) exception to urban rule: villages in arable hinterland of Jerusalem, only in 12th c.

Powers:

King of Jerusalem: acknowledged feudal overlord of Crusader / settlers Patriarch of Jerusalem: supreme Catholic leader (answered to Pope) Byzantine Emperor: strained relations 1097-1204 King of France: nominal overlord of many crusaders German / Holy Roman Emperor: gained claim to Jerusalem in 1220s, but at odds with Crusader powers Templars and Hospitalers: international, autonomous networks, subject to Pope

Templars and Hospitalers: international, autonomous networks, subject to Pope Italian merchants: the growing economic power of the Mediterranean

Disunity: among Crusade leaders (1st Crusade and later)

among colonies (rivalry of Antioch and Edessa; rivalry of ; between newcomers and old colonists (called *pullani*); between church and secular leaders; between Westerners and native Christians; between different Italian cities

II. Decline and Fall

- Unification of Muslim Syria begins under Zenghi, 1128-1146, culminates (1144) in the fall of Edessa, launching **Second Crusade**
- **Second Crusade** (1147-48): kings of France and Germany, greater hopes for success, obligation of crusading tradition.
- After a period of relative stability in the 1150s and 1160s (in which the Kingdom of Jerusalem dominates the Fatimid Sultan of Egypt), Syria and Egypt are reunified under Nureddin and his lieutenant, then successor **Saladin**

Saladin turns against Christian colonies in 1180s Battle of the **Horns of Hattin**, 1187, loses city, destroys Kingdom of Jerusalem

Third Crusade, 1189-92, regains coastal towns, adds island of Cyprus

Fourth Crusade, 1202-4, diverted to Constantinople, reduces Greek strength: long-term disaster for effort

III. Crusader States in the Thirteenth Century

Campaigns to Egypt: Fifth Crusade (1219) and Sixth Crusade (1248) to Damietta

Jerusalem only achieved through diplomacy of German emperor Frederick II

New Muslim initiative under 'Mameluke' regime, 1250-1291, finally destroys colonies

IV. Themes:

Types of European intervention

- 'numbered' Crusades: ambitious campaigns, usually in response to a calamity or vow advantages often neutralized by tensions between settlers and Europeans
- support trips: far more effective for colony (Richard Lionheart, 1191-92; Louis IX, 1250-54)
- diplomacy: 'Crusade' of Frederick II, 1229 (negotiation over war)
- continuous support: the 'Military Orders' (Templars & Hospitalers): continuous infusions of money and men

Crusaders and Muslims

- Was there any fruitful cultural or social interaction? (example: Scott's The Talisman)
- Was the conflict religious or political? evolution of 'Holy War' rhetoric

Crusaders and other Christians

• intolerance shown toward Eastern Christians (Orthodox, Armenian, etc.): was Roman influence over all Eastern Christians a consistent, original goal?

'Summing Up' (see Runciman)

- praise or condemnation? both?
- was this a 'colonial' enterprise? (compare modern models) pro: settlement, exploitation, defense con: did not seek to convert or even exploit indigenous people

3. Military Orders and Just War (10/17/2002)

I. The 'Military Orders'

Q.: How to commit life to Christian service without abandoning military lifestyle?

monasticism; the *militia* Christi — 'soldiers of Christ' **poverty, chastity, obedience**; exemption and leadership tradition of lay service to a church or monastery: *conversi* the Muslim *ribat*

II. The New Orders

Knights Hospitaler — Hospital of Saint John in Jerusalem

• origin as a charitable group (hospital as hostel): protecting & housing pilgrims

• military transition: Castle of Gibelin, 1134 (granted by K. of Jerusalem)

Knights Templars — Temple of Solomon (al-Aqsa mosque)

• Knights of the Blessed Virgin Mary of the Temple of Solomon: religious dedication

• Saint Bernard, De laude novae militiae: praise and publicity

Other orders: Teutonic Knights; Spanish orders (Santiago, Calatrava, etc.)

Papal recognition (1120s) and the constitutional status of the orders

International structure: commanderies international support — King Alfonso the Battler of Aragón (d. 1134) Papal indulgence & the 'Saladin Tithe' Templars as **bankers**

III. The Orders after 1291

Templars — backlash and destruction: King Philip IV (the Fair) of France (1285-1314): arrest (1310); condemnation by Papal council of Vienne (1312); resistance and execution of Jacques de Molay (1313)
Hospitallers — Rhodes (1309-1523); Malta (1530-1798)
Teutonic Knights — Sovereignty in East Prussia: the Marienburg, 1309-1466 • Guibert of Nogent: '... in our own time, God has instituted a holy manner of warfare..., a new way of winning salvation...'

Describing wars: cause, actor (authority), aims, conduct

holy war - not a concept held by all societies

promulgated & directed by **religious** authority; war for the faith (benefit to all faithful + individual benefits for warriors); **unlimited** war (time, scope, method); moral message: war as 'struggle of good men against wicked men' (Augustine)

Just War - definition varies by society

traditional elements: cause, actor, aims, conduct *ius ad bellum* — just causes & aims of war | *ius in bello* — just conduct of a war

- **Roots of Western definitions of Just War: Greece** (Aristotle): self defense; defense of kinsmen; to redress injustice; to avert greater evil **Secular** ends (property, honor); justification of offensive goals (manifest destiny);
 - **Rome**: recovery of lost property or honor; supposition of breach of contract; assumes 'guilt' of enemy; must end in peace (pragmatic limit). Total war? (Carthage)
 - Judaeo-Christian bases: Old Testament: a vengeful God, total war (annihilation of enemies); New Testament: old dilemma between pacifist principle ('put away your sword') & acceptance of secular status quo ('[soldiers,] be content w/ pay')

Medieval concepts & practice of war (from just war to holy war)

- **Byzantine tradition**: state preserves authority in secular matters; causes limited to defense, reconquest; punishing breach of treaty; conduct limited to reestablishment of peace (Augustine)—no total war on ethnic / religious / political lines; no sanctification of war dead—those who **shed blood** can never be **martyrs**; even salvation not assured
- Islam: jihad literally, 'striving' for the faith; one of the 'adjacent duties' (not one of 5 'pillars'); evolves from metaphor to literal image in 12th-century campaigns and rhetoric; geographic doctrine: the dar al-Islam (territory of peace) & dar al-Harb (territory of war). Goal: political domination for peoples of the Book; death or conversion for others; non-Muslims not to be forcefully converted (economic role); theology of martyrdom in jihad (martyr = one who attains paradise)

Western Christianity: theories & practice

Augustine, City of God (410/35) — 'injustice' & sin are causes; war is for peace practice affecting theory: Christian wars of expansion (Charlemagne); bishops directing armies (feudal system); papacy as war authority(11th century—Italy) salvation through death in 'righteous' battle (Pope Gregory VII, c. 1075) against 'enemies of the Lord' (Pope Urban II, 1095, Fulcher)

Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), *Summa Theologica* — codification, combines 'just cause' with 'advancement of good' (Christian morality)

4. Redefining the Crusades: the 13th century (10/24/2002)

I. The other frontiers of (Latin) Christendom

Baltic Frontier (Slavs, Orthodox [Russian] Christians)
Islamic Spain (Al-Andalus)
Frontiers within Christianity: Western vs. Eastern Orthodox (Greece, Russia)
Heresy: criminal diversity within Western Europe (Languedoc, etc.)
political enemies: opponents of Papal lordship in Italy (e.g. Frederick II)

II. Pope Innocent III (1199-1217)

youngest pope (except for Renaissance nepotism); most dynamic proponent of papal leadership in temporal as well as spiritual matters

Reforms: 4th Lateran Council, 1215

- 4th Crusade, 1202-1204
- Sponsors Baltic expansion under Livonian / Teutonic Knights
- Iberian campaigns (Las Navas de Tolosa)
- Albigensian Crusade, 1209-
- 5th Crusade, 1217-1219 (Pope died before it got underway)

III. Second Front with Islam: Al-Andalus

Muslim Al-Andalus, 712-1492; emirate / caliphate of Córdoba, 756-1031 when does Christian 'Reconquest' begin? Pelayo & the Cave of Covadonga, 722 Saint James (Santiago de Compostela): Christianity linked with anti-Muslim resistance Charlemagne, Roland, and Roncesvalles, 779: a tradition of foreign involvement fall of the Caliphate (1031); *taifas* or petty kingdoms permit Christian expansion **El Cid** as a military hero (d. 1099): free agent and lord of Valencia Lisbon & Almería, 1147: Europeans helping reconquest with Crusade privileges Las Navas de Tolosa (1212): victory of 3 kings with many European volunteers under

papal sanction by Innocent III, opens up Southern Spain for reconquest (13th c.) Ferdinand & Isabella (*los reyes Catholicos*), Granada, 1492

conversion or expulsion of Muslims (& Jews): collapse of the convivencia

IV. Crusades Against Christians: Fourth Crusade

begins 1199-1200; intent to continue work of 3d Crusade & recover Jerusalem 1202, diverted to Zara (Croatia) and then to Constantinople Political plot (dynastic fighting among Greeks), + Venetian opportunism (establish

trading monopoly)

Assaults on Constantinople, 1203, 1204: destruction of city

Latin 'empire', 1204-1261: results in permanent fragmentation of Byzantine empire Other crusades vs. Orthodox Christians: Alexander Nevsky in Russia (1242)

V. Crusades against Christians: Albigensian Crusade

Regional war: France vs. Languedoc (the langue d'oc and the langue d'oeuil) County of Toulouse (crusader legacy of Raymond de Saint-Gilles, count of Toulouse) Cathars or Albigensians: a 'dualist' heresy: God of good (light), god of evil (matter) Anti-heresy: Saint Dominic & the Dominican 'order of preachers' (O.P.)

Causes

Heresy = 'choice'; new climate of religious enforcement, 13th century; threats: local traditions, unlicensed preachers, etc.

Murder of papal legate enforcing orthodoxy in South, 1208, launches crusade, appeal for international effort

Simon de Montfort—opportunistic baron with papal sanction

(a veteran of 4th crusade, but hadn't been to Greece to get rich from spoils) Archbishop of Narbonne ("Kill 'em all..."); massacre at Béziers (2000), elsewhere Death of King of Aragón: a Spanish Crusade hero (battle of Las Navas de Tolosa) killed

by Crusaders 1 year later, outside Toulouse, 1213

Siege of Toulouse, 1217–1218: legacy among locals

Northern victory with campaigns led by K. Louis VIII in 1219, 1226

Results: political union of France, relative suppression of southern 'Occitan' culture

VI. Other 'Crusades'

- Political crusades (actions against opponents of the Papal States), 13th & 14th c.; indistinguishable from European wars
- Children's Crusade (1212): only the innocent can retake Jerusalem (?!) (oblivion and slavery)
- Shepherds' Crusades (1251, etc.): incited by lay preaching response to indices of social unrest? (famine, economic depression) seen as subversive: peasants should be bound to their fields

VII. Legacies

- Turning inward: Papacy willing to grant crusade privileges against internal, political opponents
- Multiple fronts detract from defense, prestige of war in Holy Land; if one can be saved through participation closer to home, why go to Cyprus, or Asia? Why not join a Spanish, Italian or German campaign?
- Broadening system of spiritual rewards for military service; why not for financial service? Future problem of paid *Indulgences* (e.g., criticism by Martin Luther)?
- Creation of licensed preaching (Dominicans) and **Inquisition** to regulate heresy response to indices of social unrest? (famine, economic depression) seen as subversive: peasants should be bound to their fields
- Inflation and rigidity insured mixed reaction to news ofte loss of the Crusader states in the East in 1291

5. Rivalry with the Ottoman World (10/31/2002)

I. Legacy of Crusades: surviving Institutions

- Kingdom of Cyprus: last Crusade, King Peter of Cyprus, 1359-1369 (sacking coastal cities, Egypt to Armenia); Cyprus falls to Turks, 1571
- Italian & Aragonese maritime trading empires: Venice, Genoa, Catalans, Angevins: competition & defense of Christianity through 18th century
- Military Orders: Teutonic Knights rule East Prussia –1466; Hospitallers, Iberian orders
- Legacy of Internal Crusades: Great Schism 1378-1417; Hussite Crusades (1420-1431); anti-Protestant Crusades (including Spanish Armada, 1588)
- Religious institutional legacy: indulgences (privileges); taxation for religious defense

II. The Islamic frontier & the defense of Christendom

Mamluk & Ottoman Sultanates: Ottomans a new Turkish state, growing from 14th c.

Ottomans in Europe: a foothold from 1354 (Gallipoli)

siege & conquest of **Constantinople** (now Istanbul), 1453 Ottoman conquest of the Balkans; crusades to Nicopolis, 1396; Belgrade, 1456 Political, military & cultural **apogee**: Sultan Suleiman I the Magnificent, 1520-66) Annexation of Hungary; 1st siege of **Vienna**, 1529 Second siege of Vienna (**1683**); the Holy League Precipitous decline, 1683-1718, vs. Poles, Austrians, Venetians Reconquest of Hungary, Serbia, Peleponnese (Greece), etc.

Ottomans & Muslims in the Mediterranean: the sea frontier

Eastern Islands: Rhodes (lost 1522); Cyprus (lost 1571); Crete (lost 1669) Ottoman absorbtion of Mamluk Sultanate, 16th c.; expansion West Hospitallers moved from Rhodes to Malta (hinge of Western Mediterranean) Siege of **Malta**, 1565; naval battle of **Lepanto**, 1571 (Hapsburgs defeat Ottoman navy, insure European control of central Mediterranean) Possessions in Eastern Mediterranean crest in late 17th century (as above)

The Barbary Coast (Western Mediterranean)

continuation of Spanish *Reconquista*: armies cross to North Africa (16th c.) Portuguese crusade to Morocco, 1578 (massacre of King Sebastiaõ) *corsairs*—taking booty & slaves from European coast

slavery: as many as 1.5 million Christians taken as slaves into North Africa (Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, Morocco), 16th - 19th centuries (contrast black slavery, 10-15mil) Defense: Hospitaller navy, Italian commissioned privateers, French & Spanish

governments, United States Navy & Marines (1801-1805)

Redeemers: Mercedarians & Trinitarians, to ransom Christians

III. Stages in the Death of the Crusading Movement in Europe (when?)

14th-15th Centuries:

- Great Schism & era of mutual crusade declarations, 1377-1415
- last effective 'internal' crusade: against John Hus & Bohemian 'Hussites', 1420s
- last formal appeal for Eastern Crusade: Pope Pius II, †1464
- 16th-17th Centuries:
- Protestant Reformation: dissolves Catholic hegemony
- last formally declared crusade (anti-Protestant): Spanish Armada, 1588
- 'Enlightenment': primacy of statecraft over religious motivations (nations unwilling or unable to unite under papal or religious banner, except at times like the **Holy League** of 1683 against Vienna)
- Question: does the 'Crusade' motive survive in the efforts of **missionary** work in the colonial world? Disagreement.

IV. Legacy of Ottoman rivalry

- Ottoman empire lasts as decrepit empire, subject to manipulation (Napoleon, Nelson, etc.)
- Dismemberment: Egypt, Arabia, Palestine, Turkey (by World War I)
- Creation of Turkish secular state: Ataturk (1922)
- Ottoman empire sole reason for Crusader institutions (Hospitallers / Knights of Malta; redeemers, etc.)

6. The Legacy of the Crusades (11/7/2002)

I. Political legacy

- defining the extent of Christendom: presaging colonialism
- History of the Middle East: Jerusalem and rivalry
- Christians & Muslims: both 'expansionist' religions? If so, is conflict inevitable?

Redrawing the map in the Middle East, 20th (& 21st?) century:

- Final collapse of the Ottoman Empire (Napoleon 1920)
- Greek / Turk conflicts: Greece & the Aegean, Cyprus, Macedonia & the Balkans
- Secularization of old Muslim governments (Republic of Turkey);
- Creation of new secular states (Arab kingdoms): WWI, oil interests

Jerusalem

Allenby & British entry into Jerusalem, 1917 (realizing the dream of King Richard I) 'British Mandate' of Palestine; Zionism & the Jewish state of Israel, 1948 'a land without a people for a people without a land': 2 scenarios Arab-Israeli wars (Independence 1948-9, Sinai 1956, 'Six-Day' 1967, 'Yom Kippur' 1973, Lebanon 1982...) & Arab claims to Palestine, Jerusalem (Israeli capital?)

II. 'Romantic' legacy & historical judgment

pride & commemoration

- nationalism & heroes (Godfrey of Bouillon, Richard Lion-Heart, Saint Louis, etc.)
- Sir Walter Scott (Ivanhoe, The Talisman, Count Robert of Paris) & Victorian 'chivalry'
- King Louis-Philippe (1830-1848), the Algerian 'crusade', & the French crusading past: the Salles des Croisades in the Palace of Versailles
- Crusades as cinematic spectacle: Cecil B. DeMille, The Crusades (1935)—& others

condemnation

- Enlightenment and 'Whig' history: to reject crusades as folly (Gibbon, Hume, others)
- Sir Stephen Runciman, 1951 ('tragic & destructive')
- religious apologizers, e.g. the 'Reconciliation Walk' of 1999: mostly Protestants

• What should our current position be?

III. Religious and Ideological Legacies and Controversies

- Catholic institutions: military orders (charities), preaching orders (missionaries), Inquisition (enforcement), *indulgences* (confessional system): last two discarded in face of Protestant reformation
- Jihad & Holy War: the tradition of 'positive force' in Judaism, Christianity & Islam historical origins: militant Islam reflects militant Christianity (12th century) Militant Christianity no longer a driving force on a national level (since 19th c.?) Islamic world does not accepted secularization of state: strong undercurrent of militancy, both internal (Iranian revolution) and external (bin Laden)