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**CONFRONTATION AND FELLOWSHIP  
FOR JERUSALEM  
DURING CRUSADE I  
- Summery –**

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*Keywords:* Crusade I, Jerusalem, confrontation, Jihad, fellowship, Christians, Muslims, church, repentance, God

## INTRODUCTION

Given the many remarkable events of the Middle Ages, the crusade has been one of the greatest and most complex phenomena of the universal history.

The crusade movement involved every country of Europe, and reached almost every field of life – the Church, her religious thought, politics, economy or society.

The crusade has also generated its own literature which made its remembrance remain alive till nowadays and fix it in the Western mentality as an action carried out in the name of a common ideal against a common enemy.<sup>1</sup> This ideal had a precise purpose, namely the conquest of the tomb of Christ of Jerusalem from under the Muslim domination.<sup>2</sup> The crusade, which appears as a quite new phenomenon at the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, is in fact, no other than the result of some conceptions and practices ripened and developed for quite a long time during the previous centuries. From this point of view, the ever growing role that Jerusalem played in the imagination and spirituality of the mediaeval West should not be underestimated. The image of Jerusalem was outlined by a vision of the past, a construction of history as an echo of an eschatological conception.<sup>3</sup> In the course of time, the mystic topography of Jerusalem brought about both the political and the religious interest of several leaders who let more or less their imprint on these places, changing them into a place of *fellowship* or *conflict*. The end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century best emphasises the image of *confrontation* and *fellowship* of Jerusalem. Here, these two phenomena speak about various civilizations and cultures, the Christian one of East and West and the Muslim one, Western and Oriental which, when merging in quite a new synthesis, institutionalised strong consequences in a dynamic Europe in full economical development

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Keightley, *Templarii. O societate secretă din Evul Mediu (The Templars. Secret Society in the Middle Ages)*, trad. Monica Medeleanu, edit. Herald, Bucharest, 2008, pag. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Emmanuel Dufourcq, *Extraordinara călătorie în Tara Sfântă (Extraordinary Journey to the Holy Land)*, in *Cruciadele (The Crusades)*, trad. Geroge Miciacio, edit. Artemis, Bucharest, 1988, pag. 11-24.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Ousterhout, *Sacred Geographies and Holy Cities: Constantinople as Jerusalem*, in *Hierotopy: The Creation of Sacred Space in Byzantium and Medieval Russia*, ed. A. Lidov, Moscow, 2006, pag. 98-99.

which brought about social changes and tendency of emancipation.<sup>4</sup> It was an expansion of the West to the Orient with less pleasant reverse. The collisions between the two worlds had a significant impact over the Mediterranean basin. Homicides in mass, pogroms of all kinds constituted the picture that accompanied the great battles, and all this in the name of God, of the two “civilisations”.

The importance of knowing the stages of fellowship or confrontation for and from Jerusalem during this period is an important element for the Universal Church History, as well as for better understanding the role of this city in the evolution of the church life in the territory of Palestine. The claim of supremacy at the Holy Places revealed the divergences between Constantinople and Rome. The appointment of a Latin patriarch at the head of the Church of Jerusalem had a baneful role for the relationships between the two parts of Christianity. On one hand, this gesture only deepened even more the breach made by the schism of 1054, affecting the authority of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem in its relations with the other sees. An analysis from a prosopographic point of view of the Latin patriarchs who held the See of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem will provide a good source for identifying the causes which affected the unity of the Christian Church. All these can bring about a basic contribution to the ecumenical dialogue between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches.

The events occurred during the campaigns of the Western feudals at the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century are important for us, the Romanians, too, because according to certain opinions the animosities between Byzantines and Westerners contributed to the colonisation of *Transylvania by the Saxons*. The indiscipline of many groups of crusaders is well known, on their way to the Holy Land looting and committing cruel deeds. While passing through the territories of the Byzantine Empire the crusaders caused many conflicts. All this disorder of the crusade armies made *Horst Klusch* think that because of the conflicts with King Coloman of Hungary and with the Byzantine troops, a part of the army headed by Peter the Eremite, of German nationality, crossed the River Danube and settled in the South of the Carpathians. After inventorying all this information I paid special attention to the military campaigns and to the auxiliary apparatus behind the front. Thus, another sub-chapter appeared emphasising the women’s role and

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<sup>4</sup> Florentina Cazan, *Cruciadele. Momente de confluențe între două civilizații și culturi (The Crusades. Moments of confluence between civilisations and cultures)*, Romanian Academy publishing house, Bucharest, 1990, pag. 9.

contribution to crusade I. The topicality of this theme is represented by the little concern of the contemporary historiography dominated especially by men's or ecclesiastic hierarchy.

We notice from these introductory features that when we speak of Crusade I we are faced with a major event of the universal history which marked the evolution of the history of the European space with consequences till nowadays. Thus, the romanced interpretation of the historical events brought about by these conflicts of the crusade made the mediaeval crusaders get a quasi-mythological statute between the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. Godefroy de Bouillon, and many other names too, was included among the most venerated persons in the history of humankind of the time.<sup>5</sup> These tendencies made no other than stimulate in the 19<sup>th</sup> century the appearance of an impulse for formulating a national identity. Each of the countries participating in the crusade claimed its heroes or merits for the victories of these fights. The force and potential dangers associated with such parallelism have become clearer and clearer in the context of the World War I. All along this conflagration, the United Nations League mandated France to govern "Big Syria", so that the French diplomats sustained their claims over this territory appealing to the history of the crusades.<sup>6</sup> After 1917, the British were entrusted the administration of Palestine.<sup>7</sup> These mediaeval echoes appeared even in the local British press. On 19 December 1917, *Punch* satirical newspaper published a caricature entitled "The Last Crusade", showing king Richard the Lion Hearted looking to Jerusalem and saying: "Finally, my dream has come true".<sup>8</sup> This propaganda image would be seen later on in the discourse of the General Dwight D. Eisenhower who made an analysis of the World War II entitled the *European crusade*<sup>9</sup> published in 1948.

The consequences of the crusades can also be seen in the fact that today the modern historians use the word crusade rather often when they speak about the Westerners' war against

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<sup>5</sup> E. Siberry, *Images of the crusades in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*, in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. J.S.C. Riley Smith, Oxford, 1995, pag. 365- 370; Emanoil Băbus, *Anacronismul si actualitatea Crucidelor (Anachronism and topicality of the Crusades)*, in *Teologia Ortodoxă în dialog. Evocări, analize, perspective. Volum dedicat Părintelui profesor doctor Viorel Ionitã la împlinirea vârstei de 70 de ani (Orthodox Theology in Dialogue. Evocations, analysis, perspectives. Book dedicated to Prof Rev Viorel Ionita at his 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary)*, Publishing house of the University of Bucharest, Bucharest, 2016, pag. 326-328.

<sup>6</sup> J.S.C. Riley-Smith, *Islam and the crusades in history and imagination, 8 November 1898 – 11 September 2001*, *Crusades*, vol.2, 2003, pag. 155-156.

<sup>7</sup> J. Richard, *National feeling and the legacy of the crusades*, in *Palgrave Advances in the Crusades*, ed. H. Nicholson, Basingstoke, 2005, pag. 204-222.

<sup>8</sup> *Punch*, vol. CLII, January-June, 1917, pag. 415.

<sup>9</sup> E. Siberry, *Images of the crusades in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*, pag. 382-385.

those from the Orient, taking care not to give a precise definition. The *holy war* is confused with *the crusade*, two notions which, although met, do not have the same origin. The Western interpretation of the Arab word "*jihad*" is as vexing. Many of the Muslim thinkers believe that the idea of *jihad* is associated, first of all, with an interior spiritual fight. All these confusions generate questions on the analysis of the crusade. Seen as violent military campaigns focused on changing a system of existence and thought in the name of Christ and of His teaching, many of us are tempted to wonder if Christianity is a religion of peace, given the events of the crusades. This confusion makes no other than serve the needs of the Islam propagandists.<sup>10</sup> As they are not presented clearly enough, they can be easily remodelled and manipulated. The useful "*deeds*" can be selected, and any inconvenient details which do not match a certain ideology can be easily left aside.

The delimitation of these historical lacunas make the starting point of the present treatise which tries, through a rather objective approach, not to give a sense to the events, but present or reconstruct a general frame quite faithful to reality seen while consulting the traditional sources and the secondary literature which shows glimpses of the period examined, namely the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

We looked upon the historical excerpts from an inter-textual perspective, comparing the common elements and the distinctive ones while trying to find their relevance for the period of time presented. In order to avoid the unilaterality of the narrative discourse I presented, wherever possible, the historical texts in parallel, in a dialogue of the sources, in order to catch the multiple valences of the same event in several presentations.

Consequently, the internal or external images of fellowship or confrontation shown in the present work can be used in order to make a precious didactic discourse, because their lessons are identical with those provided by other periods of the history of humankind.

**The present stage of research.** The main sources of the first crusade are represented by the chronicles of the time, Byzantine, Latin, Arabic, Armenian, Syrian, Jewish, as well as by the documents including the correspondence or cartularies of various monasteries. The chronological evolution reveals several historiographies of crusade I which analyse from various points of view the ensemble of the phenomena occurred.

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<sup>10</sup> E. Sivan, *Modern Arab Historiography of the Crusades*, in *Asian and African Studies*, vol. 8, 1972, pag. 112.

The number of the theoreticians of the crusade grew in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Due to printing a series of publications like *Flugschriften* or *Newe Zeitung* appeared. All of them dealt with the issue of the crusades. Much literature of crusade propaganda was worked out in this century. Starting with the schism caused by the *Protestant Reform* in the modern epoch between Catholics and Protestants, the Universal Church History was characterised by confessional influences. The most remarkable ones in the Catholic historiography of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries are the 12 volumes of “*Annales ecclesiastici*” by Cardinal Cesare Baronius (1588 – 1607). They were written as a reply to the church history of the Protestant theologian Matthias Flacius Illyricus presented in the book entitled “*Catalogus testium Veritatis*” in 1556.

The best known historians of the crusade of this period are Jacques Bingars (*Gesta Dei per Francos*), Louis Maimbourg (*Histoire croisades pour la délivrance de la Terre-Sainte*) or Thoms Fuller (*History of the Holy Wars*). The last one is one of those who criticise the crusades movement. His view inspired later on Voltaire (1694 – 1778), a firm adversary of the Catholic Church.

The first “*modern*” histories of the crusades, using Latin, Greek and Arabian sources are by the Germans Wilken, in 1807, and Sybel, in 1841. In France, the History of the Crusades written in 1820 by Michaud (re-edited with an introduction by R. Derlot, *Les grands monument de l’Histoire*, 7, Paris, 1970) is favourable to the brave deeds of the French in the Orient and accompanied by a Library of the Crusades, which joins fragments from European, Greek, Arabic and Turkish chronicles, followed by the publication, by care of the *Academy of Inscriptions* of the book entitled *Collection of the historians of the crusades* (1841 – 1906). Very remarkable are the books published in 1834 at *Académie des Belles-Lettres et Inscriptions* in France. An important place in the historiography of the crusades is held by the German publications „*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*”, edited in Leipzig from 1878 on. Due to these researches from the 20<sup>th</sup> century several syntheses appeared out of which we mention those signed by Reinhold Röhricht, René Grousset, Steven Ruciman, John L. La Monte or Hans Eberhard Mayer. New directions of analysing the crusades are approached in the project of research entitled “*Pennsylvanian History of the Crusades*” and “*Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East*”.

One more historiographic guide mark for understanding *the crusade, the holy war, jihad*



or sacredness of *Jerusalem* city is represented by the studies and works of the Romanian historians as those by Nicolae Iorga, Milan Sesan, Francisc Pall, Ilie Gramada, S. Columbeanu, Radu Valentin, Florentina Căzan, Stelian Brezeanu, Mihai Maxim, Radu Manolescu or Emanoil Băbus.

All of them form what we could call the “positive” and “negative” history of the crusades distorted to other targets than the Holy Land, or of the wars to which the Pope granted the statute of crusade, and of the opposition they brought about. Without neglecting the relationship uniting them, the present work tries, as already mentioned, to draft an objective historiography seen from all points of view.

### ***I. Distant causes of crusade I. Premises for conquering a holy city, Jerusalem***

The historians have agreed for quite a long time that the military campaign preached by pope Urban II, at the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, had a huge political, social and economical impact over the three different civilizations, Muslim, Christian – Catholic and Christian – Orthodox.

The large number of followers and reaching the purpose desired made the first crusade be considered, according to some people, the most successful one. Other historians thought that these holy wars caused permanent scars of ethnic religious hate, generating a perpetual cycle of hostilities. But all these opinions are only the object of some quite diversified interpretations.

In order to make a transition to the period studied, the first chapters are designed to emphasize a clear evolution of the direct or indirect causes of the war for Jerusalem city, because in the history of crusade I most confusion is related to the circumstances which generated the crusade phenomenon.

This first chapter is focused on understanding the sacredness of Jerusalem city. The theology of Jerusalem, as *holy city*, was outlined at the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century by a view of the past, a construction of the history with an echo of an eschatological conception. This is why the chapter provides an analysis of the evolution of these conceptions, starting from origins, where various symbolic and allegorical interpretations of the city are emphasized till the Arabian conquest.

Also emphasized are the mystic topography of Jerusalem and the meaning of pilgrimage as act of religious anthropology. All these together show the influence of the legacy of the Jewish people over Christianity. Even the justification of the holy wars is rooted in the old

testamentary epoch.

The policy of Emperor Constantine the Great who had a great influence over all the aspects of the Western and Oriental history could not be ignored. The growth of the Christian conscience over the sacredness of the topography of Jerusalem is due to him. The great attention of Emperor Constantine for these places, the discovery of the Holy Cross or building the church of the Holy Sepulchre can be looked upon as an episode of “*redefining the Christian identity*” in the Roman Empire.

Understanding the spiritual dimension of Jerusalem would help us identify the internal or external factors which influenced the degradation of fellowship both in the Christian Europe and in Jerusalem.

## ***II. Close causes. Geopolitical context. Middle East before crusades***

The second chapter emphasizes the Arab invasion, appearance of Islam, conquest of Jerusalem by the Muslims. Given the context of the crusades’ history all these represented a critical stage in the entire process of formation of the crusade. The moment the Arab domination was instituted in Palestine, three religions with universal character overlapped in Jerusalem. According to the Islam tradition, Mahomed himself was thought to have appreciated Jerusalem as the “*holy city*” of the Jews and of the Christians and to have ascended to heaven from here on the “*power night*” (*the night of his death*). This Islam tradition would develop into a religious and political ideology which caliph Omar would use and raise in Jerusalem, on the place of the former temple of Solomon, a mosque called *El-Aska* (distant mosque).

The following centuries the interaction between the Christian states and the Muslim ones would be characterized by periods of conflict and fellowship. The year the crusades began both the Christian states of the West and the Islam ones of the Orient were in state of confusion and chaos. In the West the crisis was caused both by the Arab invasions and by the disorder and aggressiveness of the fights among the Latin nobles. In the West, the Western Church would assume the social role on the backdrop of such turmoil and confusion. In this context, the Church of Rome unleashed the adventure of the crusades in the name of the Christian solidarity. The chapter also analyses how the first crusaders understood the peoples of the Levant or the spirituality of Jerusalem.

### ***III. Crusade I. Interaction between crusade and the holy war***

The third chapter analyses the effect of the sermon from Clermont – Ferrand. The interaction of pilgrimage with the holy war, the enthusiasm of those who answered the appeal of pope Urban II or the justification of this campaign make the object of the research in the sub-chapters of the chapter.

The combination between the religious zeal and the desire to improve their social position made lots of people answer the appeal of the sermon of the bishop of Rome. The cultivation of the feeling of revenge developed a conduct of the holy war with the crusaders. In this context, the march of masses of people would remember the pogroms against the Jews who came across them. The lack of discipline and the vandalic deeds of these crusaders would cause conflicts with the Hungarian and Byzantine authorities. These confrontations drew the attention of *Horst Klusch* who launched a new hypothesis, basing on some methodic questions of the historical sources and of some logical inference, according to which the groups of Germans who participated in 1096 in the peasants' Crusade headed by monk Peter the Eremite, colonized Transylvania.

The nucleus of the crusade armies did not limit only to the masses of people. Some of those who joined the military campaign preached by pope Urban II were women. This is why special attention is paid in this chapter to their direct or indirect involvement in the crusade. The chapter ends with the inventory of the nobles who answered the appeal of pope Urban II.

### ***IV. Way to Jerusalem. Conflicts with the Muslims***

The fourth chapter describes the way to Jerusalem through Nicene, Anatolia, Antioch and Syria. The way to Jerusalem was accompanied not only by the image of the conflict with the Muslims, but also by that of fellowship. The main challenges taught the crusaders to live in fellowship and overcome the barriers of communication they had before beginning the campaign. An important factor in this stage is the control of the Latins over the cities conquered on their way to Jerusalem, which would finally bring about the foundation of certain Latin kingdoms. The politics of the new owners imposed in the cities conquered would create a regrettable atmosphere of religious intolerance. All these facts are described at length in the sub-chapters entitled "*Latin Kingdom of Antioch*" and "*Patriarchate of Antioch during the crusade*".

## ***V. Jerusalem, holy city, Promised Land***

Chapter five entitled *Jerusalem, holy city, Promised Land* presents the end of a campaign which lasted almost five years. The conquest of Jerusalem was interpreted as an event of great historical importance. In order to strengthen the memory of this victory, the day of 15 would become a liturgical day and a feast. The appointment of an authority lay and spiritual at the head of the Holy City had a baneful role tensioning the relations between West and Byzantium. On one hand, this gesture did no other than enlarge the schism made in 1054 and affect the authority of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem in comparison to the other patriarchal sees.

## ***VI. Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem (1099 – 1118)***

The sixth chapter analyses the ecclesiastic politics of the Latin patriarchs in the Church of Jerusalem. In the time of the first patriarch, Arnulf de Choques, the first conflict between the Orthodox and Latin clergy appears. Arnulf's reforms would affect the jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Anatolia. But the most important reform is related to the regulations of the community of the "*canonicat*" of the Holy Sepulchre. The patriarchal service of Daimbert de Pisa is related rather to the conflicts with king Balduin I of Jerusalem.

## **Conclusions**

As a result of the present research we can conclude that this campaign had several effects both over Christianity and over the other monotheist religions. These effects are based not only on the consequences of the military religious campaigns or immediate reactions but also on the way in which these events were related, described or interpreted. One example in this sense is the image of pope Urban II who is presented, in most histories of the crusade, in quite a bad light because of his appeal to crusade, and who combined a large range of themes to dominate the people's emotion.

Yet, an attentive research of the history shows us that the pontiff sovereign did the same thing the leaders from the Near East and from the Southern Asia did one century before, when they launched a campaign against the Turks. From this point of view crusade I can be looked upon as a reply to the threatening of the Muslim invasions.

Another example is the fact that many historians rushed to criticize the negative description of the Muslims in the Latin chronicles without noticing that in the Arab sources from the time the crusaders hold a similar position. All of them are described as Barbarians, cruel,

savages or non believers. From the point of view of the Latin chroniclers, the Muslims are often presented as instruments of God designed to test the faith of the crusaders and punish them for their bad deeds.

Starting from this remark, we can conclude that on one hand the main conflict between Western Europe and Near East should not be looked on as between Christians and Muslims, but rather between God and devil, a fight in which the Muslims sometimes were insignificant. Yet, the greatest enemies the crusaders were faced with were themselves, and the fate of their souls was the issue at stake. On the other hand, the fight for Jerusalem meant cutting off the universality of God.

If we speak about the effects over Christianity, they are related to the appointment of a Latin patriarch at the head of the Church of Jerusalem. This gesture, besides the claims of supremacy over the Holy Places, had several consequences: it enlarged the breach caused by the schism of 1054 even more and then affected the authority of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem in comparison with the other sees.

For a short or long time, the crusade influenced the social, political, economical, and cultural life. Yet, it is hard to decide what the negative or positive aspect of the crusade I was. Any attempt to exactly identify the effect of this movement is marked by difficulty, because it needs following a thread and isolate another historical thread at the same time.

Nevertheless, in the short run the crusade contributed, in Europe, to diminishing the disorder that dominated in Christianity, but it has also favoured the recrudescence of anti-Semitism. In the Orient, it has stopped the Arabian – Turkish advance for a time, and facilitated the creation of the Latin states in the Levant (East of the Mediterranean Sea) governed first and populated to a small extent by the colonists from Europe. The success of the first crusade influenced the ideas of knight and chivalrousness and reformulated the practice of the mediaeval monarchy. The crusade movement has also contributed to the militarisation of the Western Church and increased the pope's authority.

The interaction of the West with the other cultures played a crucial role in the development of the European civilizations. The first Crusade opened a new world. Maybe the most significant positive effect of the crusade, visibly in the long run, was the vast growth of the cultural horizons. These ones facilitated some artistic, medical, philosophic, theological

influences and contributed to the appearance of Renaissance.

Even if during the last 20 years a conception was cultivated according to which the crusades generated a deep and irrevocable feeling of mutual antipathy, we think that this paradigm cannot be valid. The attitude of the crusaders towards the Muslims was extremely complex, making room not only to conflict, but also to tolerance and even to cooperation. The reality of these interactions must be explored and understood in order to counteract incitement to hostility.

The religious leaders of the world understood the role of this commitment. In this context, in 2001, while Pope John Paul II was on an official visit to Constantinople, the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew I said: *“The spirit of reconciliation is stronger than hate”*.<sup>11</sup> The assertion of the ecumenical patriarch represented a reply given to the bishop of Rome who two years before apologized for the acts committed during the crusades, which affected the relationship between the two Churches. In 2004, during an inter-religious dialogue, sheik Fawzi Fadel al-Zafzaf, president of Al-Azhar Standing Committee for Dialogue with the Monotheist Religions agreed with the other present leaders that *a more solid engagement is needed in “self-criticism and in the fight against stereotypes and generalizations. All these can represent a real obstacle in the way of the dialogue between Christians and Muslims”*.<sup>12</sup> Their examples must be taken into account, and the history of the crusade let in the past.

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<sup>11</sup> Ted Byfield, *The Christians: Their First Two Thousand Years; A Glorious Disaster A.D. 1100 to 1300 The Crusades: Blood, Valor, Iniquity, Reason, Faith*, vol. 7, series the Society to Explore and Record Christian History, 2008, pag. 136.

<sup>12</sup> *Self criticism, a real obstacle in the way of the dialogue between Christians and Muslims* <http://www2.catholica.ro/2004/02/26/catolicii-si-musulmanii-trebuie-sa-apeleze-la-auto-critica/> (accessed on 18.06.2017).

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