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The Historiography of the Crusades in the Late Middle Ages

Abstract: The chapter examines the evolving narratives about the crusading past from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. It highlights that medieval historiography was in general, and in particular when it comes to the crusades to the Holy Land, less about recounting the events and more about conveying political and moral lessons through constructing the past. The crusades were often remembered not just for their historical significance but as a means to address contemporary challenges, to entertain, educate and to evoke nostalgia for a lost Golden Age. With the Ottoman expansion and the growing fear of the "Turk" over the course of the 15th and 16th century, for instance, the crusading past became a tool for political mobilization, as demonstrated by humanist writers such as Enea Silvio Piccolomini (the later Pope Pious II) and Flavio Biondo. Providing further examples from different genres, the article explores how authors adapted and modified crusading narratives to suit the sociopolitical or religious needs of particular audiences. At the same time, earlier crusade chronicles, of which some gained prominent status through multiple copies and print editions in late medieval and early modern time, continued to be influential. This provides methodological challenges in interpreting premodern crusade historiographies including careful considerations about the historian's role in shaping the crusading past, but also chances of studying the transformation of concepts of time in premodern societies.

Introduction

> Medieval crusade historiography, like other historical writing of the period, was less concerned to recite information than in illustrating didactic lessons conjured from an invented universe of optimism, virtue, evil, punishment for sin, reward for goodness: a world defined by memories of past glory. For many generations, these images bore simultaneous witness to the crusade as cultural habit and moral exemplar. Its histories created an accessible past while addressing the concerns of the present [. . .].[1]

Christopher Tyerman's apt description highlights the link between the past, present, and the future in medieval historiographical sources. The crusading past—as with any other historical episode—was not recalled solely for its own sake; rather, it was

1 Christopher Tyerman, *The Debate on the Crusades* (Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press, 2011), 32.

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remembered with the purpose of informing and educating the people of ensuing ages. It should offer orientation in a complex world and provide morale advice for present-day challenges. References to the past could be used to warn of a dangerous future to come if its lessons were not learned, or evoke nostalgic feelings of a Golden Age now lost. Given the late medieval development of using the idea of crusading and holy war in geographical and political settings beyond the Holy Land,[2] a certain knowledge and awareness of the crusading past was commonplace. In the face of the Ottoman expansion from the second half of the fourteenth century onwards, the fear of the Turk became a defining discourse that goes hand in hand with evoking images of the crusading past.[3] In particular, the heroic deeds of the successful First Crusades were induced for political purposes, most famously perhaps by Enea Silvio Piccolomini, the later Pope Pius II, when promoting a new crusade to the German nobility at the diet of Frankfurt in 1454 (*Constantinopolitana clades*).

Yet to what extent were the military campaigns to the East in general remembered? Which events were highlighted, and which were neglected? How were they selected and compiled to form a crusading past in the first place? This article provides an overview of late medieval historiographical writings that refer to the crusades to the Holy Land between 1095 and 1291, and reflects on their various purposes. It follows the assumption that every generation negotiates the meaning of past events anew. Remembering the crusades means to construct, even to redefine, a specific version of the past that is not passive and neutral, but reveals specific intentions. Sometimes, these are openly addressed; on other occasions, they are more hidden. Even though the crusade chronicles of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries set the agenda in terms of themes, rhetoric, and intertextual references—and created an image of the crusades that was highly influential even up to present times—authors of the late Middle Ages nonetheless further modified the crusading past according to the specific needs and interests of the audiences they were addressing.

2 See the introduction from Norman Housley to this volume, as well as Magnus Ressel and Kerstin Weiand, "The Crusading Discourse in the Late Middle Age and Early Modern Period: Manifestations, Effects and Changes of a Fundamental Category of Premodern Europe," in *Crusading Ideas and Fear of the Turks in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Magnus Ressel (Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Midi, 2021), 7–32.

3 See also the contributions of Elena Tounta and Paul Srodecki in this volume.

Topics and Themes

Primary Crusading Sources in Late Medieval Times

Despite some rare evidence for the use of expressions such as *crozada* or *croisade* in late medieval times, 'crusade' is a modern term that in general encompasses the various fights in the Middle Ages against groups labelled as non-Christians and/or heretics, and specifically incorporates the campaigns to the Holy Land between 1095 and 1291.[4] Contemporaries regarded these latter examples, in particular what is today called the First Crusade that led to the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 and subsequently to the foundation of four Latin-Christian realms in the Levant, as extraordinary. Tales of the events were collected and written down early on and engendered a rich tradition of historiographical writings, foremost in the Latin-Christian West.

The most prominent of these are the chronicles of the First Crusade that comprise the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* and its derivatives, the so-called *Gesta*-family, consisting of works by Peter Tudebode, Baldric of Bourgueil, Robert the Monk, and Guibert of Nogent, as well as further important texts by Fulcher of Chartres, Raymond of Aguiler, and Albert of Aachen. Yet there is also a rich historiographical tradition of the later crusades, often with more than one primary source. The *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi,* the *Gesta Philippi Augusti,* and the *Historia de expeditione Friderici I imperatoris*, for instance, provide elaborate narrations of the Third Crusade from different perspectives, each highlighting the armed pilgrimages of King Richard I Lionheart, King Philip II of France, and Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa. Regarding the Fourth Crusade that led to the conquest of Constantinople in 1204, Geoffrey of Villehardouin has left a comprehensive report. The most detailed descriptions of the campaigns of Louis IX of France in 1248–1250 and 1270 (the Sixth and Seventh respectively Seventh ad Eight Crusade according to various modern enumerations), are part of John of Joinville's Vita on the French king. With William of Tyre's *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, there is also one source written in Outremer itself that is of outstanding importance for our historical knowledge.

These and further works defined the parameters for narrating and transmitting the crusading past to ensuing generations. In many cases they were not only copied, but reworked, adjusted, and translated into vernacular languages, so that recent re-

4 For a general introduction to the development of the crusading historiography as well as to the traditional and pluralist view, see Giles Constable, "The Historiography of the Crusades," in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, eds. Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy P. Mottahedeh (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001), 1–22; Andreas Rüther, "Die mittelalterlichen Kreuzzüge in der westlichen Geschichtsschreibung seit Runciman," in *Kreuzzüge des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit: Realhistorie, Geschichtskultur, Didaktik*, ed. Felix Hinz (Hildesheim, New York: Olms, 2015), 21–36.

search regards these sources as works-in-progress rather than as fixed entities.[5] In late medieval and early modern times, they were part of library collections of ecclesiastical houses, royal courts, and noble families.[6] However, translations into and/or writings in vernacular languages, as well as the new letterpress printing process, brought significant changes to late medieval reading and writing cultures and opened up new opportunities for distributing texts and addressing broader audiences. One example of such a reception history and changes to early narratives on the crusades is Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana*. This Latin chronicle, written shortly after the First Crusade, is preserved in at least 84 copies. The majority dates from the twelfth century, with far fewer manuscripts ascribed to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. From the fifteenth century, however, again more copies of the text are preserved.[7] It seems that this cannot be explained solely by the possibility of a more significant loss of manuscripts containing Robert's work in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in comparison to the fifteenth century. By contrast, the five translations of the Latin text into German produced independently in the fifteenth century, as well as the Latin *editio princeps* published by Johann Schilling at Cologne around 1472, which was followed by a German (1482), Dutch (1486), and Italian (1552) edition, bear witness to an increasing interest. Robert's work, furthermore, became the opening text of Sigmund Feyerabend's famous collection of travelogues to the Holy Land (*Reyßbuch deß heyligen Lands*), which was printed for the first time in 1584 at Frankfurt. During these translation and reception processes, the texts underwent several significant adjustments.[8]

A second example of no less importance is William of Tyre's *Historia*, which narrated the First Crusade and the History of the Kingdom of Jerusalem until the 1180s from the perspective of the powerful chancellor and patriarch.[9] The Latin text that

5 Elizabeth Lapina, "Crusader Chronicles," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Literature of the Crusades*, ed. Anthony Paul Bale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 11–24, at 11.

6 For crusading chronicles in medieval libraries see Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, eds., *Context and Reception: A Crusading Collection for Charles IV of France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Mark Cruse, "Stories for the King: Narration and Authority in the 'Crusade Compilation' of Philippe VI of France (London, British Library, MS Royal 19.D.i)," in *Telling the Story in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Evelyn Birge Vitz*, eds. Kathryn A. Duys, Elizabeth Emery and Laurie Postlewate (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2015), 205–18; Elizabeth Johnson Moodey, *Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good of Burgundy* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

7 Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, eds. Damien Kempf and Marcus Bull (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2013), xlii–xlvii.

8 Thomas Martin Buck, "Von der Kreuzzugsgeschichte zum Reisebuch. Zur 'Historia Hierosolymitana' des Robertos Monachus," *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 76 (2002): 321–55; Anne Simon, *Sigmund Feyerabend's Das Reyßbuch deß heyligen Lands. A Study in Printing and Literary History* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1998).

9 For further references on William and his chronicle see David Thomas and Alex Mallett, "William of Tyre," in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 3 (1050–1200)*, eds. David Thomas and Alex Mallett (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 769–77; Susan B. Edgington and Helen J. Nicholson, eds.,

was used by, among others, Jacques de Vitry in the twelfth and by Matthew Paris and Roger of Wendover in the thirteenth century. It was printed for the first time at Basel in 1549 and included in Jacques Bongar's essential collection *Gesta Dei per Francos* in 1611. However, the impact of the Latin text, which survives in nine manuscripts, on late medieval readers was limited in comparison to its Old French translation. Entitled *Livre dou conquest* or *L'Estoire de Eracles*, and produced in the early thirteenth century and augmented by various additions over the course of the following decades, it circulated widely in Europe and became a central source for many authors narrating the crusading past in late medieval times.[10] It was distributed further by a Spanish translation commissioned by Alfonso X (the Wise) of Castile in the late thirteenth century, a translation back into Latin by Francesco Pipino in the fourteenth century, and by a Middle English print edition in 1481 by William Caxton under the title *Godeffroy of Boloyne*. The Old French continuation of William's *Historia* already incorporated some relevant changes in comparison to the Latin text.[11] Further changes were the result of extending the text to include events roughly up to the 1260s. Research differentiates here between several redactions (the so-called Ernoul-Bernard compilation, the Acre continuation, and the Rothelin continuation) that each survived in various manuscripts. These examples show that the primary sources on the crusades were still read and used, and therefore played a considerable role in shaping narratives in later medieval times.

Incorporation of the Crusading Past in Late Medieval Sources

In addition to these primary sources, the crusading past or elements thereof reflected in earlier sources were also utilized and adjusted in twelfth and thirteenth century works that became influential.[12] These include Jacques de Vitry's *Historia orientalis*

Deeds Done Beyond the Sea: Essays on William of Tyre, Cyprus and the Military Orders Presented to Peter Edbury (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).

10 Research offers different numbers of known copies. For the manuscript tradition see Peter Edbury, "The Old French Translation of William of Tyre and Templars," *Medievalista* 27 (2020): 1–11; Philip D. Handyside, *The Old French William of Tyre* (Leiden: Brill, 2015); Bernard Hamilton, "The Old French Translation of William of Tyre as an Historical Source," in *The Experience of Crusading. Vol. 2: Defining the Crusader Kingdom*, eds. Peter Edbury and Jonathan Phillips (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 93–112.

11 Philip D. Handyside, "Differing Views of Renaud de Châtillon: William of Tyre and L'Estoire d'Eracles," in *Deeds Done Beyond the Sea: Essays on William of Tyre, Cyprus and the Military Orders Presented to Peter Edbury*, eds. Susan B. Edgington and Helen J. Nicholson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 43–52.

12 For views on the crusades in the twelfth and thirteenth century see in general Annette Seitz, *Das lange Ende der Kreuzfahrerreiche in der Universalchronistik des lateinischen Europa (1187–1291)* (Husum: Husum Verlag, 2010).

(specifically his *Historia Hierosolimitani,* of which the *Historia orientalis* is the first part), encyclopaedic texts such as Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum maius,* as well as epic poems of the so-called 'Crusade Cycles' such as the *Chanson d'Antioche*. Jacques de Vitry's "moralized version of history [of the Holy Land]" is known from no less than 124 manuscripts.[13] The *Speculum maius* of Vincent of Beauvais saw a similar, if not even greater dissemination, of which the third part (*Speculum historiale*) is preserved in roughly 340 manuscripts of different redactions;[14] in addition, it was translated into Old French in the fifteenth century. Books xxv to xxxi of this highly influential work include chapters on the crusading past from the First to the Seventh Crusade compiled from various earlier chronicles. Based on the number and dissemination of manuscripts, the *Chanson d'Antioche* and similar poetic texts that mixed some historical background with fictional tales (therefore resembling the *Chansons de Geste* and further romances) might have been less known. Nonetheless, they contributed significantly to shape and uphold crusading ideals and societal norms, especially when it came to courtly values and images of knighthood.[15]

As a result, the crusading past was well known in late medieval and early modern times. It was further referred to in many historiographical writings as well, bearing in mind that the context of composition, narrative structure, content, and functions naturally varies from case to case. Firstly, there are texts that exclusively narrate the crusades to the Holy Land between 1095 and 1291 (and sometimes refer to connected events beyond the turning point of the loss of Acre). Secondly, the crusading past is

13 See for more information John Tolan, "Jacques de Vitry," in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 4 (1200–1350)*, eds. David Thomas and Alexander Mallett (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2012), 295–306, at 297.

14 Eduard Frunzeanu, "Vincent of Beauvais," in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 4 (1200–1350)*, eds. David Thomas and Alexander Mallett (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2012), 405–15, at 408.

15 For the parallels e.g. of the Chanson d'Antioche and Albert of Aachen in regard of events of the First Crusade see Susan B. Edgington, "Albert of Aachen and the Chansons de Geste," in *The Crusades and Their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, eds. John France, Bernard Hamilton and William G. Zajac (Aldershot et al.: Ashgate, 1998), 23–37. For further relations between historiographical texts on the crusades and the Chansons de Geste see Marianne Ailes, "The Chanson de geste," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Literature of the Crusades*, ed. Anthony Paul Bale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 25–38; Carol Sweetenham, "Reflecting and Refracting Reality: The Use of Poetic Sources in Latin Accounts of the First Crusade," in *Literature of the Crusades*, eds. Simon Thomas Parsons and Linda M. Paterson (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2018), 25–40; Robert Rouse, "Romance and Crusade in Late Medieval England," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Literature of the Crusades*, ed. Anthony Paul Bale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 217–31; Lee Manion, *Narrating the Crusades: Loss and Recovery in Medieval and Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Peter C. Jacobsen, "Die Eroberung von Jerusalem in der mittellateinischen Dichtung," in *Jerusalem im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter: Konflikte und Konfliktbewältigung—Vorstellungen und Vergegenwärtigungen*, eds. Dieter R. Bauer, Klaus Herbers, and Nikolas Jaspert (Frankfurt am Main, New York: Campus Verlag, 2001), 335–65.

also part of works that discuss other events that are not necessarily directly related to it. Thirdly, there are texts that only briefly refer to an event or a person linked to the crusades, but where the given context clearly shows that these references were meant to activate a fuller picture of the crusading past on the part of the reader.

One late medieval example of the first category, if not the most impressive, is Sebastian Mamerot's *Passages d'Outremer*, commissioned by the governor of Champagne and councilor of King Louis XI of France, Louis de Laval, and produced from 1472 to 1475.[16] Mamerot wrote the text by using several sources, foremost William of Tyre and Vincent of Beauvais. Jean Colombe, one of the most experienced illuminators of the time, painted the 66 sumptuous miniatures. Two other manuscripts, albeit less lavishly illuminated, and a printed edition of 1518 are also known, covering the crusading past roughly from 1095 to around 1270—that is from the First to the Eighth Crusade. An equally sumptuous manuscript is the so-called *Les chroniques de Jérusalem abregées*, produced in 1455 for Count Philip the Good of Burgundy shortly after his famous Feast of the Pheasant.[17] In contrast to the much larger *Passages d'Outremer*, the miniatures are the focal point of the work, with the brief text providing only some elementary information, predominantly on the First Crusade and the early years of the crusader states.

A large number of historiographical works referring to the crusades belong to the second category, meaning that the crusading past is narrated within a broader historic framework. This encompasses proposals for the recovery of the Holy Land, travel accounts, chronicles of various kinds both in manuscript and early print editions, as well as historical and political treatises by Renaissance humanist authors. There are frequent intertextual borrowings within this category of works, bearing evidence to the vast circulation of such texts in late medieval Europe.

With its splendid illuminations and its set of cartographical representations, the *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis* of Marino Sanudo (the Elder) stands out from the treatises written at the end of the thirteenth to the first half of the fourteenth century outlining the plans to regain the Holy Land after the fall of Acre 1291.[18] Large parts of

16 Sébastien Mamerot, *Les passages d'outremer, une chronique des croisades jusqu'en 1462 enluminée par Jean Colombe*, ed. Thierry Delcourt, Danielle Quéruel, and Fabrice Masanès (Cologne: Taschen, 2009).

17 *Les Chroniques de Jherusalem Abregies (Die Chronik des Kreuzfahrer-Königreichs Jerusalem) Faksimile des Originals Les Chroniques de Jherusalem Abrégées mit der Signatur Cod. 2533 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek Wien* (Vienna: Idion, 1980). For both works see Moodey, *Illuminated crusader histories*.

18 Marino Sanudo, *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis super Terrae sanctae recuperatione et conservatione*, ed. Jacques de Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos* 2 (Hannover: Heitz, 1611; reprint Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1972); idem, *The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross. Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis*, ed. Peter Lock (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011). On the genre of texts promoting a new crusade, see the seminal works of Sylvia Schein, *Fideles Crucis. The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land 1274–1314* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); Antony Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy*

book three of the *Liber,* which the Venetian patrician continuously reworked throughout his lifetime and vigorously promoted to the ruling elites, narrate the crusading past within a history of the Holy Land from the beginning of creation up to his own time.[19] Sanudo based his version largely on one Old French continuation of William of Tyre. Yet it also has many similarities to the *Chronologia magna*, a universal chronicle written by Paulinus Minorita, a fellow native from Venice who had met Sanudo in 1321 at the latest, when acting as member of the commission appointed by Pope John XXII to evaluate Sanudo's *Liber*. Among the shared material is a synchronistic table listing the kings and patriarchs of Jerusalem next to the magnates of the principalities of Tripoli, Antioch, Edessa, and the Muslim rulers of Egypt, Damascus, Persia, and Turkey of the twelfth century. This provided readers with a visual timeline that helped them follow Sanudo's descriptions of the complex historical developments in the Near East with its many players, including the Mongols, who had entirely altered the geopolitical situation in Asia.

Another genre with a direct geographical connection to the Holy Land and its past are late medieval pilgrimage reports. Several hundred documents of this exceedingly heterogeneous category of texts from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries are known.[20] The remembrances of travelers were frequently combined with various additional information about the journey and its destination. Most notably this includes descriptions of the sacred places and the achieved indulgences, but in some cases also references to the crusading past. These are most often just brief allusions, such as mentioning the tombs of the rulers of the Kingdom of Jerusalem visible in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, or denoting the custom of becoming a knight of the Holy Sepulcher as echoing crusading ideals. Some authors, such as Bernhard of Breidenbach, dean of the Cathedral of Mainz, explicitly mentioned some key persons and events in their appeal to Christianity to unite to fight against the Turks.[21] Others, such

Land. The Crusade Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

19 Some elements suggest that they also might have independently used a common source now lost. For further details, see Michelina di Cesare, *Studien zu Paulinus Venetus De mapa mundi* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015); Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, *Die „Nationes christianorum orientalium" im Verständnis der lateinischen Historiographie von der Mitte des 12. bis in die zweite Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Köln, Wien: Böhlau, 1973); Stefan Schröder, "Religious Knowledge within Changing Cartographical Worldviews—Spatial Concepts and Functions of Maps in Marino Sanudo's *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis* (c. 1321)," in *Geography and Religious Knowledge in the Premodern World*, ed. Christoph Mauntel (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021), 189–219.

20 For recent research on these texts with further references see Susanna E. Fischer, *Erzählte Bewegung: Narrationsstrategien und Funktionsweisen lateinischer Pilgertexte (4.–15. Jahrhundert)* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2019); Stefan Schröder, *Zwischen Christentum und Islam. Kulturelle Grenzen in den spätmittelalterlichen Pilgerberichten des Felix Fabri* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009).

21 Stefan Schröder, "Between Pilgrimage and Reform. Bernhard of Breidenbach's Travelogue to the Holy Land (1486) as Printed Paradigm, Mirror of Princes and Memory of the Crusades," in *Golden Leaves and Burned Books: Religious Reform and Conflict in the Long European Reformation*, eds.

as the Nuremberg patricians Sebald Rieter and Hans Tucher, supplemented their reports with an overview of the history of the Kingdom of Jerusalem by summarizing the reign of each king from Godfrey of Bouillon to Guy of Lusignan, which they extracted from a Latin chronicle kept by the Franciscan monks in Jerusalem.[22] The most extensive history of the crusades, however, is part of Felix Fabri's massive *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem*.[23] As part of the sixth *tractatus* on the history of Jerusalem, Fabri included a meticulous history from the First Crusade until 1291 and discussed the various efforts to recover Jerusalem up to his own time. As on other occasions, Fabri was probably inspired by (sketchier) references to the crusades in previous pilgrimage reports and decided to elaborate on the topic by exploiting further available material from Jacques de Vitry, Vincent of Beauvais, and many others.

Despite the examples of Sanudo and Fabri, descriptions of the crusading past do not always form a coherent narrative, nor are the military campaigns to the Holy Land always properly embedded in global history. This can be seen especially within the genre of chronicles, where, due to their chronological order, historical events related to the crusading past are noted in different folio pages. Occasionally, a brief summary of the various crusades was even interpolated almost randomly. Probably resulting from the author's and/or scribe's intention to add historical information found elsewhere, such interpolations lack any relation to events described either before and after.[24] Other chronicles, particular those with a focus on regional or family history, refer only to specific events, e.g. outlining the role of one particular city in

Teemu Immonen and Gabriele Müller-Oberhäuser, *Cultural History—Kulttuurihistoria* 16 (Turku: University of Turku Press, 2020), 219–63.

22 For the Franciscan Library in Jerusalem see, with further references, Michele Campopiano, "Islam, Jews and Eastern Christianity in Late Medieval Pilgrims' Guidebooks: Some Examples from the Franciscan Convent of Mount Sion," *Al-Masāq* 24,1 (2012): 75–89; idem, "Écrire/décrire la Terre sainte: les Franciscains et la représentation des lieux sacrés (début du XVIe–début du XVIIe siècle)," in *Orbis disciplinae: hommages en l'honneur de Patrick Gautier Dalché*, eds. George Tolias, Nathalie Bouloux and Anca-Cristina Dan (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 167–82.

23 Felix Fabri, *Fratris Felicis Fabri Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem*, ed. Konrad D. Hassler, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1843–49), here vol. II, 249–318 (Breidenbach and Tucher were, among others, important sources for him). For more on Fabri see Folker Reichert and Alexander Rosenstock, eds., *Die Welt des Felix Fabri* (Weißenhorn: Anton H. Konrad Verlag, 2018).

24 See, for instance, Wilhelm Altmann, "Die Beschreibung der heiligen Stätten von Jerusalem in Eberhard Windeckes Denkwürdigkeiten über das Zeitalter Kaiser Sigmunds," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 16 (1893): 188–92. This interpolation is closely related to versions of the text to be found in several travel reports and other manuscript collections. See Stefan Schröder, "To Follow the Deeds of Godfrey of Bouillon. The Remembrance of the Crusades and Crusading Ideas in Late Medieval Travel Reports to the Holy Land," in *Crusading Ideas and Fear of the Turks in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Magnus Ressel (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Midi, 2021), 35–70, at 57–8.

crusading efforts,[25] recalling the participation of one person,[26] or respectively creating a gallant family history by naming ancestors as participants in a crusade.[27] On a royal dynastic level, the often lavishly illuminated *Grandes Chroniques de France* repeatedly dealt with the campaigns to the east, but frequently adjusted the crusading past to highlight the merits of the French kings in defending the Holy Land.

Sometimes, however, there are also cases where the general chronological order is deliberately ignored for the benefit of thematically linking events that took place at different times. As, for instance, Hartmann Schedel's *Nuremberg Chronicle* of 1493 shows, this can be confusing as well. In that work, Frederick I Barbarossa's campaign that led to his death in the river Saleph in 1190 is not mentioned in the account of that year, and is not connected to the crusades of the French and English kings as part of what is now considered the Third Crusade. Instead, it is described only within the biographical section on Frederick, included already for the year of his birth in 1122.[28] As Bernd Michael has stated, late medieval chronicles such as Schedel's monumental project are actually illustrated handbooks of historical places and persons;[29] the history is fragmented into single images or scenarios that are only loosely bound together by the general idea of salvation history.[30] To some extent, the reader had to know beforehand what he wanted to investigate by searching through the index provided at the beginning of the book.

The *Nuremberg Chronicle*, moreover, is a prominent example of a text specifically produced for the new and emerging market of printed books. It targeted a much

25 This is valid especially for various Italian communities. See Elena Bellomo, "Rewriting the Past. The Conquest of the Holy Sepulchre in the Memory of Italian Communal Cities," in *Jerusalem the Golden: The Origins and Impact of the First Crusade*, ed. Susan B. Edgington and Luis García-Guijarro (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 275–90.

26 See for instance the memoria concerning the landgraves Louis III and Louis IV of Thuringia: Melanie Panse, "Sichtbare Macht. Herrschaftsinszenierung in Abwesenheit der Kreuzfahrer," *Das Mittelalter. Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung* 21,1 (2016): 40–60; Nicholas Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 2012). For the interrelation between crusading texts and objects of art, see the contributions in: Elizabeth Lapina et al., eds., *The Crusades and Visual Culture* (London, New York: Routledge, 2018).

27 Alan V. Murray, "Walther, Duke of Teck. The Invention of a German Hero of the First Crusade," *Medieval Prosopography* (1998): 35–54; idem, "Deutsche Anführer beim Ersten Kreuzzug in der Geschichtsschreibung der Frühen Neuzeit: Zur Kreuzzugsdarstellung der Zimmerischen Chronik," *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte* 61 (2002): 145–58.

28 Hartmann Schedel, *Weltchronik. Kolorierte Gesamtausgabe von 1493*, ed. Stephan Füssel, Cologne et al. 2001, fol. 203r.

29 Bernd Michael, "Weltgeschichte als Heilsgeschichte. Bemerkungen zur deutschsprachigen Welt- und Regionalchronistik des Hoch- und Spätmittelalters," in *Aderlass und Seelentrost: die Überlieferung deutscher Texte im Spiegel Berliner Handschriften und Inkunabeln*, eds. Peter Jörg Becker and Eef Overgaauw (Mainz: Zabern-Verlag, 2003), 402–7.

30 Schedel provided a lengthy description of the end of the world and Christ's second coming, yet also inserted a note instructing the printers to leave some pages free before this section so that owners could add notes for events after 1493.

larger audience, and enabled writers to distribute their version of the past, or of current events, in a notably faster way. While the amount of produced and sold copies is often difficult to evaluate, it is nonetheless safe to say that historical topics such as the crusading past were facilitated early on for the new market and enriched the program of the early printing workshops.[31] Significant examples include William Caxton's *Godeffroy of Boloyne* and Sebastian Brant's history of the city of Jerusalem, published in Latin in Basel in 1495, entitled *De Origine et conuersatione bonorum Regum & laude Ciuitatis Hierosolymae*. The content of Caxton's print is an English adaptation of the first nine books of William of Tyre's *Historia* translated from the French, thus focusing on and specifically highlighting the deeds of Godfrey of Bouillon as leader of the First Crusade and as the first ruler of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Brant, instead, followed the example of Jacques de Vitry and inserted the crusading past in a wider framework of the history of the Holy Land. In 1518, he published a German translation (*Von dem Anfang und Wesen der hailigen Statt Jerusalem*) printed in Strasbourg that was enhanced with many woodcuts that both illustrated and loosened up the text.[32]

Brant is by far not the only writer of the fifteenth and sixteenth century that is usually labelled a Renaissance humanist author that engaged with the crusading past. Although their historical works have to be seen primarily in the context of their governmental affairs, their own interests, and the agendas of their employers,[33] many of them were written under the impact of the expansion of the Ottoman Empire. The most influential work in this context is Flavio Biondo's *Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum imperii decades* (written ca. from 1439 to 1453). Its main function was to

31 For the theme of the crusading past in early printed works see the overview in Anna-Dorothee von der Brincken, "Die Rezeption mittelalterlicher Historiographie durch den Inkunabeldruck," in *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewußtsein im späten Mittelalter*, ed. Hans Patze (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1987), 215–36. In addition to monographs, there are also examples of single broadsheets referring to the crusading past. The author is currently preparing a study on a printed Almanac recalling some crusading events with the aim of uniting Christianity against the Turks.

32 Jörg Fichte, "Caxton's Concept of 'Historical Romance' within the Context of the Crusades: Conviction, Rhetoric and Sales Strategy," in *Tradition and Transformation in Medieval Romance*, ed. Rosalind Field (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999), 101–13; Antje Niederberger, *Sebastian Brant als Historiker. Zur Perzeption des Reichs und der Christenheit im Schatten der osmanischen Expansion* (PhD thesis, Universität Freiburg, 2004).

33 See, with further references, James Hankins, "Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995): 111–207; Ludwig Schmugge, *Die Kreuzzüge aus der Sicht humanistischer Geschichtsschreiber* (Basel; Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang, 1987); Barbara Meserve, "Italian Humanists and the Problem of the Crusades," in *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century: Message and Impact*, ed. Norman Housley (Basingstoke, Hampshire, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 13–38, 183–8; Robert Black, "La Storia della Prima Crociata di Benedetto Accolti e la diplomazia fiorentina rispetto all'Oriente," *Archivio Storico Italiano* (1973): 3–25; idem, *Benedetto Accolti and the Florentine Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985). See also the contribution of Iulian Mihai Damian in this volume.

provide (political and morale) lessons from the past for Biondo's present and to promote communal and/or Italian identities. Biondo wrote the segments dealing with the crusades around 1250 using Robert the Monk and William of Tyre as his main sources, and portrayed some of the material in orations to convince current rulers to oppose the threat of the Turks. The *Decades* were broadly used by Enea Silvio Piccolomini, the later Pope Pius II and most prominent promoter of crusading ideas in the fifteenth century, despite his criticism of the Florentine for his style and methods.[34] Yet, as with Benedetto Accolti, Andrea Biglia, Francesco Filelfo, and Marc Antonio Sabellico in the Italian Peninsula, Jakob Wimpfeling and Johannes Nauclerus in the Holy Roman Empire, Paulus Aemilius in France and Polidor Vergil in England, many other humanist writers intertwined descriptions of the crusading past—frequently by using Biondo as source—with their particular universal, proto-national and/or urban historiographies.

Modifications and Uses of the Crusading Past in Late Medieval Sources

As the various approaches to and extent of the references to the crusading past within the mentioned works (and others not mentioned) indicates, the late medieval narratives of the crusading past are remarkable not only for their number. They also incorporated significant alterations that become apparent when reading them against the sources that they are based upon, with further modifications appearing over time during the processes of copying and republishing. A systematic, comparative, and detailed study of all late medieval developments is still missing, and could well augment the following general observations.

Following Annette Seitz, there is reason to believe that the several campaigns to recover the Holy Land were seen generally by late medieval authors as a connected movement.[35] This is valid despite the fact that, as has been shown above, descriptions of the various campaigns to the East could be placed in different sections of a historiographical writing. However, the narratives of the particular campaigns reveal not only considerable differences in the remembrance of particular groups—ranging from elaborate stories with many details to very dissimilar reports or no information

34 Specifically for Piccolomini, see with further references Nancy Bisaha, "Pope Pius II and the Crusade," in *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century: Message and Impact*, ed. Norman Housley (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 39–52; Johannes Helmrath, "Pius II. und die Türken," in *Wege des Humanismus: Studien zu Praxis und Diffusion der Antikeleidenschaft im 15. Jahrhundert. Ausgewählte Aufsätze 1*, ed. Johannes Helmrath (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto Verlag, 2013), 279–341.

35 Seitz, *Das lange Ende*.

at all—but also how they have been used to justify and glorify the authors' own histories.[36]

The crusading past was frequently viewed within the broader framework of an ongoing existential conflict between good and evil—that is between Christians and non-Christians. On a general level, this led to the application of the crusade idea to other geographical regions, from Eastern Europe and the Baltic regions to the New World.[37] Regarding Christian-Muslim relations, late medieval authors set the beginning of the crusades not to the eleventh century, but already in the seventh century, and linked it with Muhammed's birth and the expansion of Islam. The campaigns for the recovery of the Holy Land therefore became a part of a larger as well as a defensive war that was still being waged in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, now with the Ottoman Empire as main opponent. In fact, the threat posed by the expansion of the Ottomans and the subsequent losses of territories formerly ruled by Christian realms was probably the central incentive for remembering the crusading past in late medieval times. Referring to the glorious victories of the Crusades, especially those achieved during the First Crusade, and of heroic deeds accomplished by Christian knights should not necessarily inform the reader about related but remote events. It should rather remind readers of the strengths, persistence, and sacrifices that Christians manifested by fighting their religious enemy, and thus provide some hope within contemporaneous discourses that Europe, as the last Christian corner of the earth, would not soon be overrun by the Turks. It is no wonder that the legend of Charlemagne's alleged triumphant recovery of the Holy Land (first outlined in an eleventh century text entitled *Descriptio clavi et corone Domini* or *Descriptio qualiter*) gained huge popularity in late medieval texts and visual arts. As 'implanted' into the collective consciousness of the time, it inscribed Charlemagne into the crusading past. It not only depicted him as the ideal role model of a strong, just, and pious crusader, but

36 Due to the involvement of France and Venice, more space was devoted to the conquest of Constantinople in 1204 (today labelled as the Fourth Crusade) in sources of French and Venetian provenience than e.g. in sources from the territories of the Holy Roman Empire. According to Favreau-Lilie, the remembrance of the events was generally fading in late medieval times. Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie, "Die Wahrnehmung des Vierten Kreuzzugs außerhalb Venedigs. Perspektiven der Geschichtsschreibung im 13. Jahrhundert," in *The Fourth Crusade Revisited: Atti della Conferenza Internazionale nell'Ottavo Centenario della IV Crociata, 1204– 2004*, ed. Pierantonio Piatti (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2008), 215–36. Starting at least in the 16th century, there are also more and more negative assessments of the Fourth Crusade in historiography (see Tyerman, *The Debate*, 55 and 60). For the Venetian perspective, see Serban Marin, "Between Justification and Glory: the Venetian Chronicles' View regarding the Fourth Crusade," in *The Fourth Crusade: Event, Aftermath, and Perceptions*, ed. Thomas Madden (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 113–21; Thomas Madden, "The Venetian Version of the Fourth Crusade: Memory and the Conquest of Constantinople in Medieval Venice," *Speculum* 87,2 (2012): 311–44.

37 Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274– 1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); see also ibid, *The Crusade in the Fifteenth Century: Converging and Competing Cultures* (London: Routledge, 2017).

marked his campaign (that factually never took place) as a crusade before the First Crusade.[38]

As a consequence of the encounter with Islam the 'Muslim Other' received a more detailed, if nonetheless distorted, profile in later historiographical writings. Earlier primary sources provided little information on Islam and ascribed to Muslims—usually labelled as 'Saracens', pagans, or some other type of idolatrous worshippers—the role of God's scourge, sent to test or to punish the Christians.[39] Yet, over time, the encounter with the third monotheistic religion let to a more in-depth knowledge of Muslim cultural practices and their history. The main reason to do so was of course to refute and debase Islam, which frequently resulted in quite negative descriptions of the Prophet and Muslims in general. Occasionally, single Muslim protagonists or groups like the 'Turks' were even valued for their piety, excellence in warcraft, or generosity. Saladin, as the most renowned example, was depicted in some sources as a virtuous pagan who could, following Dante, even hope for redemption at the end of all days.[40] Such positive nuances fulfilled the role of criticizing conditions at home as

38 See with further references Nikolas Jaspert, "Von Karl dem Großen bis Kaiser Wilhelm: Die Erinnerung an vermeintliche und tatsächliche Kreuzzüge in Mittelalter und Moderne," in *Konfrontation der Kulturen? Saladin und die Kreuzfahrer. Wissenschaftliches Kolloquium in den Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen Mannheim zur Vorbereitung der Ausstellung 'Saladin und die Kreuzfahrer' 3. bis 4. November 2004*, eds. Heinz Gaube, Bernd Schneidmüller and Stefan Weinfurter (Oldenburg: Isensee, 2005), 136–59; Jace Stuckey, "Charlemagne as Crusader? Memory, Propaganda, and the Many Uses of Charlemagne's Legendary Expedition to Spain," in *The Legend of Charlemagne in the Middle Ages: Power, Faith, and Crusade*, eds. Matthew Gabriele and Jace Stuckey (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 137–52; Ingo Deloie, "Sacrum illum et salutarem noster—Karl der Große und Jerusalem, Jerusalem in Aachen—'Aachener' in Jerusalem. Mittelalter und Frühe Neuzeit," (Neustadt a. d. Aisch: Degener, 2018), 13–47; Matthew Gabriele, "The Provenance of the *Descriptio Qualiter Karolus Magnus*: Remembering the Carolingians in the Entourage of King Philip I (1060–1108) Before the First Crusade," *Viator* 39,2 (2008): 93–118.

39 The literature on the topic is vast. See with further references John V. Tolan, *Saracens. Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); Michelina Di Cesare, ed., *The Pseudo-Historical Image of the Prophet Muhammad in Medieval Latin Literature. A Repertory* (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2012). Specifically on the early crusader chronicles see Yan Bourke, "Muslims in the 'Gesta Family': Understanding of Muslim Religious Identity and the Use of Accounts of Violence to Depict Muslims as 'Other' in the Gesta Francorum and Its Derivatives," in *Crusading in Art, Thought and Will*, eds. Matthew E. Parker, Ben Halliburton and Anne Romine (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 244–85; John V. Tolan, "Muslims as Pagan Idolaters in Chronicles of the First Crusade," in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perception of Other*, eds. David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 97–117; Nicholas Morton, *Encountering Islam on the First Crusade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016). The notable exception among the early chronicles providing more information on Muhammed and Islam is Guibert of Nogent.

40 See with further references Christine Chism, "Saladin and Richard I," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Literature of the Crusades*, ed. Anthony Paul Bale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 167–83; Carole Hillenbrand, "The Evolution of the Saladin Legend in the West," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 58 (2005): 497–512; Margaret Jubb, *The Legend of Saladin in Western Literature and Historiography* (Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 2000); Jonathan Phillips,

well as providing alluring images of the exotic, lavish, and adventurous worlds in the East. In sum, however, debasing and excluding representations of the Muslims as inhumane, immoral, and dishonest people continued to dominate. In the context of the 'Turkish fear', images of Islam and of the Ottomans were updated and adjusted to strengthen own identities.[41] References to or actual descriptions of crusaders fighting and being victorious over the religious enemy contributed to consolidating a system of values that praised chivalry, bravery, gallantry, and piety as virtues every Christian knight should aspire to.

Defining the crusades as a fight of the righteous followers of God against unbelievers of all kinds goes along with the understanding, or rather claim, that it was a collective (Latin-) Christian enterprise. Following the interrelated concept of the identity and alterity, excluding and dehumanizing the 'Muslim Other' contributed to strengthening the identity of the 'Christian Self' by promoting the (nostalgic) image that during the previous crusades Christians from all 'nations' were united in their relentless fight against the enemy.[42] This should have marked a clear contrast with

The Life and Legend of the Sultan Saladin (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019); Hannes Möhring, *Saladin. Der Sultan und seine Zeit: 1138–1193* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2005). For negative portrayals, e.g., as Antichrist especially in earlier sources, see Dirk Jäckel, "Saladin und Antichrist. Das andere Bild vom Ayyubidensultan im 12. Jahrhundert," in *Antichrist: Konstruktionen von Feindbildern*, eds. Wolfram Brandes and Felicitas Schmieder (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2010), 117–34.

41 On the Turks, see Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Almut Höfert, "Turcica," in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 7: Central and Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa and South America (1500– 1600)*, ed. David Thomas and John Chesworth (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2015), 516–31.

42 Which, of course, was not the case. Despite various tensions and struggles between Christian factions in Outremer (e.g. between the military orders or between the Italian merchants), there was no clear-cut border between Christians and Muslims. Christians and Muslims agreed on many occasions to alliances and truces. While subjected and treated as 'second class citizens', and with the exception of several massacres in the course of the First Crusade, the Frankish rulers generally applied a rather pragmatic attitude to the Muslim population. Crusader armies, moreover, often relied on non-Latin or even non-Christian contingents. See Yvonne Friedman, "Peacemaking: Perceptions and Practices in the Medieval Latin East," in *The Crusades and the Near East: Cultural Histories*, ed. Conor Kostick (London, New York: Routledge, 2011), 229–57; Benjamin Z. Kedar, "The Subjected Muslims of the Frankish Levant," in *Muslims Under Latin Rule, 1100–1300*, ed. James M. Powell (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 135–74; Alan V. Murray, "Franks and Indigenous Communities in Palestine and Syria (1099–1187): A Hierarchical Model of Social Interaction in the Principalities of Outremer," in *East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Transcultural Experiences in the Premodern World*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2013), 291–309; K. A. Tuley, "A Century of Communication and Acclimatization: Interpreters and Intermediaries in the Kingdom of Jerusalem," in *East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Transcultural Experiences in the Premodern World*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2013), 311–39; Nicholas Morton, "The Crusades to the Eastern Mediterranean, 1095–1291," in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 15: Thematic Essays (600– 1600)*, eds. David Pratt and Charles L. Tieszen (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 281–306.

(then) current times, where Christianity was seen as fragmented and weakened by struggles with groups labelled as heretics (e.g. Albigenses and Hussites), through schisms (between Latin and Orthodox Christianity, but also as a result of popes and antipopes residing both in Avignon and Rome between 1378 and 1417), by economic crises and pandemics, and by the effects of European Realpolitik with its numerous particular interests.

Calls for a new crusade and elaborate plans to recover Jerusalem from the hands of the 'infidels', such as those by Marino Sanudo, were often combined with demands for a united and reformed Christianity. Sanudo, in fact, did not include his exhaustive historical part of previous campaigns to the Holy Land just to inform the reader of what had happened in the past. He also provided some very concrete instructions for a new ruler of the Holy Land. These range from advice on military strategy, such as finding the right locations for a camp and for battle, to suggestions of what kind of equipment is needed to ensure success in fighting. However, it also notably involved counsel for leading a morale life and on how to build a stable foundation for the future Christian realm in the Levant. Similar to the approach of, e.g., Pierre Dubois, Sanudo advocated learning the lessons of the past, which should lead to a reformed Christian society.[43] However, despite many efforts of clerics and laymen, and some smaller campaigns such as the sack of Alexandria by Peter I of Cyprus in 1365, a *passagium generale* was never realized.[44]

Even if the crusading past was often used to promote the reunification of a fragmented Christianity on a large scale, it was at the same time linked with local history. As the example of Italian communal cities shows, the remembrance of the crusading past and/or legitimation thereof played an important role in shaping the collective identities of one's own capital and in differentiating themselves from rival communities. This general conclusion was not even contradicted by families living in the same community who each ascribed the same deeds to their ancestors (e.g. two Pisan families each claiming the accomplishment of an ancestor being the first to surmount the walls of Jerusalem), or of examples where vital contributions to crusading efforts were not made to amplify the city's glory, as one would expect (e.g. the Genoese flo-

43 Sanudo, *Liber secretorum*, 262–81; Id, *The Book of the Secrets*, 416–48. For Dubois see in this context Thomas Ertl, "De Recuperatione Terrae Sanctae. Kreuzzugspläne nach 1291 zwischen Utopie und 'Useful Knowledge,'" in *Zukunft im Mittelalter: Zeitkonzepte und Planungsstrategien*, ed. Klaus Oschema and Bernd Schneidmüller (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2021), 283–310.

44 For a concise overview of the political situation and efforts and obstacles organizing a crusade see, e.g., Norman Housley, "The Crusading Movement 1274–1700," in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 260–93; idem, "Costing the Crusade: Budgeting for Crusading Activity in the Fourteenth Century," in *The Crusades. Critical Concepts in Historical Studies. Volume III: Crusading and the Crusader States 1198–1336*, ed. Andrew Jotischky (London, New York: Routledge, 2008), 376–89.

tilla providing the First Crusade with food and warfare material).[45] In the context of state building developments, there are some, though slim, late medieval tendencies towards exploiting the crusading past for the sake of a 'national history'. This can be seen in particular regarding the campaigns of Louis IX and Richard I, as well as the attempts to define (proto-) crusaders such as Charlemagne and Godfrey of Bouillon as being of French or German origin.[46]

On an individual level, finally, owning a manuscript or an early print about the crusading past enabled readers to orientate themselves in the perpetual drift of time, to draw conclusions from the past about present times, and thus to perhaps predict the future course of events. Some owners had of course a specific historical interest in the crusading past, be it to be entertained by epic stories set in an exotic environment, to preserve the *memoria* of a crusading ancestor, or in planning to participate in a crusade themselves. For travelers who planned to embark on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, the basic historical background provided e.g. in Tucher's travel guide, might have been seen as beneficial for a better understanding of what to expect once arriving in Jerusalem. Detailed historical digressions, such as the chapters about the crusades in Fabri's pilgrimage guide, furthermore supported his aim to provide his readers, foremost the Dominican brethren of his monastery at Ulm, with a complete and precise account of the situation in the Holy Land. Carefully studying his text should subsequently lead to the readers' enhanced understanding of God's deeds and of Christian virtues. Knowledge about the crusading past derived via such works could even be an asset in diplomacy.[47] In addition, precious illuminated manuscripts like the ones of Sanudo or Mamerot were also luxury products that increased the prestige of their owners; they were not to be used for private reading alone, but also to be shown to guests and thus demonstrate the wealth and erudition of their owners.

While the First Crusade—as in modern times—in general receives special attention in late medieval sources, the perspective on particular events changed from case to case and over time. For instance, authors of the early chronicles such as Guibert of Nogent and Robert the Monk ascertained and elevated the campaign, with its conquest of Jerusalem in 1099, to an important moment in sacred history. Chosen people

45 Bellomo, "Rewriting the Past"; idem, "The First Crusade and the Latin East as Seen from Venice: The Account of the *Translatio Sancti Nicolai*," *Early Medieval Europe* 17,4 (2009): 420–43; Steven A. Epstein, "Quattrocento Genoa and the Legacies of Crusading," in *The Crusade in the Fifteenth Century: Converging and Competing Cultures*, ed. Norman Housley (London: Routledge, 2017), 133–47.

46 Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (London: Penguin, 2006), 906–12; M. Cecilie Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008); Anja Rathmann-Lutz, *"Images" Ludwigs des Heiligen im Kontext dynastischer Konflikte des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2010); Jean Richard, "National Feeling and the Legacy of the Crusades," in *Palgrave Advances in the Crusades*, ed. Helen J. Nicholson (Houndmills, Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 204–22, who argues that a 'national' view emerged only in the eighteenth century.

47 Tyerman, *God's War*, 886.

from the Western edges of the world had been called to reclaim the Holy Sepulcher from the infidels. Fulfilling this assignment in a heroic way, they not only verified the truth of salvation history, but pushed it on.[48] Looking back at two centuries of fighting in the Holy Land, with its numerous failed attempts to defend the new Christian realms, late medieval authors were less enthusiastic. The triumph of the capture of the Holy City was still seen as initiated by God, but not necessarily as a significant step forward in salvation history. There is less of what can be called a "monumental mode of remembering" that operates with superlatives and accentuates the numinous character of events.[49]

And, while it can be assumed that people living in late medieval times, like their ancestors, believed that the future was determined by the return of Christ, millenarianism, and the Last Judgment, and that this end-of-times was near (following the idea of living in the fourth kingdom of Daniel and/or the sixth age of the world), the exact starting point and whether, for instance, a new and successful crusade would actually instigate these biblically prophesied events is not prominently discussed in the sources. Frequently, only the basic dates of events are pinpointed to set up a chronological order, without providing conclusions as to how to interpret the crusading past in terms of salvation history. There is nonetheless no evidence of a transition process in which an eschatological medieval conception of time was increasingly replaced by a modern approach characterized by more and more rational forecasts and reflective attitudes towards human history. According to this (debated and by medieval historians mostly refuted) view, an allegedly very narrow medieval horizon of the future (in which the end of time is expected within the next three generations) is contrasted with a perception that the future is open and has an infinite number of possibilities—a perception that is seen as a characteristic feature of the dawn of modernity.[50]

48 Matthew Gabriele, "From Prophecy to Apocalypse: The Verb Tenses of Jerusalem in Robert the Monk's *Historia* of the First Crusade," *Journal of Medieval History* 42 (2016): 304–16, at 316; William J. Purkis, "Rewriting the History Books: The First Crusade and the Past," in *Writing the Early Crusades: Text, Transmission and Memory*, eds. Marcus Bull and Damien Kempf (Woodbridge, Rochester: Boydell & Brewer, 2014), 140–54.

49 Astrid Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen* (Stuttgart, Weimar: J.B. Metzler, 2011), 203–5.

50 See with further references Eric Weiskott, "Futures Past: Prophecy, Periodization, and Reinhart Koselleck," *New Literary History* 52,1 (2021): 169–88; John H. Zammito, "Koselleck's Times," *History and Theory* 60, no. 2 (2021): 396–405; Felicitas Schmieder, "Zukunftswissen im mittelalterlichen Lateineuropa: Determinanten sozialen und politischen Handelns, wenn die Zeit gemessen ist," in *Representing the Future: Zur kulturellen Logik der Zukunft*, eds. Andreas Hartmann and Olivia Murawska (Bielefeld: transcript, 2015), 197–216; Andreas Rüther, "Krisendenken und Zukunftshandeln in politischen Schriften des späten Mittelalters," in *Krise und Zukunft in Mittelalter und (Früher) Neuzeit. Studien zu einem transkulturellen Phänomen – Festschrift für Gerhard Wolf zum 60. Geburtstag*, eds. Nadine Hufnagel et al. (Stuttgart: Hirzel, 2017), 265–85.

The losses of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187 and of Acre in 1291 were seen as significant thresholds in crusading history. Not as the end of the crusading movement as such, but as severe defeats that sometimes evoked pessimistic views and even a critical attitude towards the crusades.[51] Setbacks, in this context, were sometimes explained by the (at times supposed) misdeeds of single persons (e.g. Eleanor of Aquitaine and Raymond of Poitiers in the Second Crusade; Raymond III of Tripoli for the events leading to 1187; the decisions of the Papal legate Pelagio Galvani in the Fifth Crusade) and of political players (e.g. the fights between Genoa and Venice in Acre before 1291). Such explanations, partly issued already by contemporaneous authors, could be used as *exempla* of moral failures and to cast blame on political opponents. On a more general level, however, the defeats were seen as the result of the sins of the Christians living in the Holy Land and of a fading Christian faith as such. The drastic and exaggerated interpretation of the failing conditions of the Holy Land by Jacques de Vitry became decisive for many later authors.[52] Such a perspective also helped to address the worrying question of why God allowed the followers of the true faith to be defeated by their enemies, a question that sometimes even raised the terrifying thought that God could ultimately abandon his flock.[53]

Further modifications to the history of the First Crusade encompassed an increasing emphasis in later sources on the siege and conquest of Jerusalem as a triumphant finale, whereas the earliest sources, as well as the early crusade chronicles, devote more space to describing the siege and conquest of Antioch as marking a very critical phase of the whole endeavor.[54] Diminishing the role and meaning of other leaders of the First Crusade, late medieval crusading narratives carried on with the trend started already by Albert of Aachen and the *Chansons de Geste* to elevate Godfrey of Bouillon as the ideal Christian warrior and one of the Nine Worthies. In this process, Godfrey was seen as the central leader from the start (at the expense especially of Adhemar of Le Puy as the representative of the Pope), and some events that were originally linked to other crusaders were ascribed to Godfrey in order to support the

51 Military defeats were of course not the only factor fostering critical views regarding the crusades. The numerous taxations to raise money, often going together with inefficient use and even fraud, and smear campaigns such as the trial against the Templars, had an impact as well. See in general Palmer A. Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade: A Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda* (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1940); Martin Aurell, *Des chrétiens contre les croisades (XII^{e}–XIII^{e} siècle)* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2013).

52 See, e.g., Felix Fabri, who devoted a whole chapter to pointing out why Jerusalem deserved to be taken by the infidels. Fabri, *Evagatorium*, vol. II, 287–93.

53 The pattern of interpreting setbacks against pagan or heretic groups as a sign of God's warning or wrath is of course nothing new but based on biblical examples and outlined in early Christian times.

54 See, for instance, Thomas W. Smith, "Framing the Narrative of the First Crusade: The Letter Given at Laodicea in September 1099," *Journal of Religious History, Literature and Culture* 5 (2019): 17–33; Georg Strack, "Pope Urban II and Jerusalem: A Re-examination of his Letters on the First Crusade," *Journal of Religious History, Literature and Culture* 2 (2016): 51–70.

image of a most brave, noble, and pious hero (e.g. the alleged cleaving of Muslim combatants in half and his decision to decline the crown at the place where Christ suffered).[55] Peter the Hermit, as the person who initiated the crusade movement through his visions and counselling of Pope Urban II, is given more credit in some later sources as well.[56] This does not mean, however, that Urban's role in the enterprise was diminished. Particularly after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453, a renewed political interest in crusading evoked the recollection of the history of the First Crusade and, as an integral part of it, of Urban's II speech at the council of Clermont. Based on Biondo's already dramatized version of the speech, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Sebastian Brant, Marcus Antonius Sabellico, and other authors engaged in attempts to apply Urban's II appeal to recover the Holy Land to the geopolitical situation in the fifteenth century, both as an historical exemplum to follow and an admonition to the current threat of an expanding Ottoman Empire.[57]

Methods and Approaches

The history of the crusades has been a very popular topic throughout the centuries and was investigated by academic research early on, resulting in a long tradition of (Western) historiographical writings and master narratives. According to Giles Constable, these can be roughly differentiated into three phases: 1) from the twelve to the sixteenth centuries, 2) the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, 3) from the nine-

55 Anne Latowsky, "Charlemagne, Godfrey of Bouillon, and Louis IX of France," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Literature of the Crusades*, ed. Anthony Paul Bale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 200–14; Annette Güntzel, "Godfrey of Bouillon: The Stylization of an Ideal Ruler in Universal Chronicles of the 12th and 13th Centuries," *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 70 (2013): 209–22; Simon John, *Godfrey of Bouillon: Duke of Lower Lotharingia, Ruler of Latin Jerusalem, c. 1060–1100* (London, New York: Routledge, 2018; Friedrich Wolfzettel, "Gottfried von Bouillon. Führer des ersten Kreuzzugs und König von Jerusalem," in *Mythen Europas: Schlüsselfiguren der Imagination. Volume 2: Mittelalter*, eds. Inge Milfull and Michael Neumann (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2004), 126–43.

56 For the early sources see Colin Morris, "Peter the Hermit and the chroniclers," in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, ed. Jonathan Phillips (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 21–34; Jay C. Rubenstein, "How, or how much, to reevaluate Peter the Hermit," in *The Medieval Crusade*, ed. Susan Janet Ridyard (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004), 53–69.

57 Peter Orth, "Papst Urbans II. Kreuzzugsrede in Clermont bei lateinischen Schriftstellern des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts," in *Jerusalem im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter: Konflikte und Konfliktbewältigung—Vorstellungen und Vergegenwärtigungen*, ed. Dieter R. Bauer, Klaus Herbers, Nikolas Jaspert (Frankfurt, New York: Campus, 2001), 367–405; Dieter Mertens, "Claromontani passagii exemplum: Papst Urban II. und der erste Kreuzzug in der Tûrkenkriegspropaganda des Renaissance-Humanismus," in *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance*, eds. Bodo Guthmüller and Wilhelm Kühlmann (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2000), 65–78.

teenth century to the present.[58] In the light of recent research and of further changing perspectives following 9/11, after which the medieval crusades have once more been utilized in debates by all sides of the political spectrum, the later phases might need some adjustment.[59] In addition, the various uses of the past outlined above suggests that Constable's defining characteristic for the first phase of historiography—namely the threat to Christian Europe by Muslim realms as a pressing concern until the end of the sixteenth century—might overshadow other reasons why premodern audiences turned towards the crusading past.

However, his general conclusion that all "writings on the crusades must be interpreted in the light of the differing positions from which they were written" remains imperative, irrespective of whether these writings were produced recently or in the past.[60] The foremost aim of medieval historiographical sources, which formally includes annals, chronicles (particularly universal, but also works focusing on specific regions or families), biographies, and travelogues was to record events that were seen as worth remembering.[61] Yet, as research has long pointed out, this does not mean that there are reliable sources that can account for what has happened at specific points in time. Recent research regarding the crusading past has increasingly focused on questions of how the crusades have been remembered, commemorated, and communicated in various ways by different groups.[62]

Memorializing is itself a complex and dynamic process that involves various stages of remembering and forgetting, both on an individual and collective level, of preserving and communicating the subject in oral and written form or visualizing it in images and artefacts. During this process, events are transformed and become part of the cultural memory of a society. Always a mix of a *retrospective* and *prospective* memory, the remembrance of the past and the efforts to preserve it for future gener-

58 Constable, "The Historiography," 2.

59 Regarding Constable's second and third phase, see with further references Tyerman, *The Debate*; Kristin Skottki, *Christen, Muslime und der Erste Kreuzzug: Die Macht der Beschreibung in der mittelalterlichen und modernen Historiographie* (Münster: Waxmann, 2015); Felix Hinz, *Mythos Kreuzzüge: Selbst- und Fremdbilder in historischen Romanen 1786–2012* (Schwalbach am Taunus: Wochenschau, 2014); Mike Horswell and Jonathan Phillips, eds., *Perceptions of the Crusades from the Nineteenth to the Twenty-First Century* (London, New York: Routlegde, 2018).

60 Constable, "The Historiography," 22.

61 In general to historiographical writings and their functions see with further references Hans-Werner Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewußtsein im hohen Mittelalter* (Berlin: Akademie, 2008); Justin Lake, "Current Approaches to Medieval Historiography," *History Compass* 13 (2015): 89–109; Gabrielle M. Spiegel, ed., *Practicing History: New Directions in Historical Writing after the Linguistic Turn* (New York, London: Routledge 2005); idem, "Revising the Past / Revisiting the Present: How Change Happens in Historiography," *History & Theory* 46,4 (2007): 1–19.

62 For further references see Nicholas Paul and Suzanne M. Yeager, eds., *Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image, and Identity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012); Megan Cassidy-Welch, ed., *Remembering the Crusades and Crusading* (London, New York: Routledge, 2017); idem and Anne Elisabeth Lester, eds., *Crusades and Memory: Rethinking Past and Present* (London: Routledge, 2015).

ations is neither neutral nor static, but dynamic, and results in constant changes following socio-political trends.[63]

By selecting and putting events in a sequence of consecutive happenings (e.g. to create a chronological order), authors of historiographical writings on the crusades generated a version of the past that was supposed to be true. This implies that there are also events that are left out and therefore not remembered. While this can be caused unintentionally as a result of, e.g., a restricted accessibility to sources and difficulties in understanding them (and in the case of scribes copying texts, also misreading), authors also deliberately omitted events (sometimes even to the extreme of an intentional *damnatio memoria*). They emphasized different aspects, and therefore suppressed some elements of the past in favor of others. Usually, an author had a specific audience in mind that he felt should be instructed and educated at the same time by narrating the past in the most convincing and/or entertaining way. Prologues can give hints about who was explicitly addressed, yet in many cases there was also an implicit intended audience extending beyond those with a personal relationship with the author, one which can also include future generations (be it the author's own descendants, future members of the author's institution, or the general public). Hence, historiographical writings do not simply transmit knowledge or data to subsequent generations in order to make sense of the past. They do not simply bring order to a chaotic world of infinite past events to enable readers to situate themselves in space and time. In contrast, they were often written to support political or ideological claims or to legitimate or justify someone's actions. They frequently elevated certain persons or groups over others to preserve an appropriate *memoria*. They inscribed an individual's own local history (e.g. the author's city and country of origin, the monastery or the court as his place of living and working) into global history, thus strengthening the communities' unity internally and positively representing the community/institution to the world outside.

In (late) medieval times the religious dimension was of course of distinct significance. Events, or a succession of events, acquire sense and importance not only in the context of past and present times and ongoing secular affairs, but ought to be seen in the wider frame of salvation and the divine order.[64] Being mostly of clerical back-

63 From the multitude of decisive memory studies see with further references Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis*; idem and Ansgar Nünning, eds., *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (Berlin, Boston: de Gruyter, 2008); idem and Ansgar Nünning, eds., *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (Berlin, Boston: de Gruyter, 2010); idem and Ann Rigney, eds., *Mediation, Remediation, and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory* (New York: De Gruyter, 2009); Jan Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011) [English translation of the German editio princeps, Munich 1992].

64 For medieval conceptions of time see, with further reference, Hans-Werner Goetz, "The Concept of Time in the Historiography of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, ed. Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried and Patrick J. Geary (Washington:

ground, the authors interpreted the past, present, and future by ascribing a higher meaning to events. The past was seen from the perspective that God actively intervened in history, that he tested, rewarded, or punished humans, and specifically Christians, for their deeds. With the Apocalypse and Christ's second coming, there was a definite, though yet unknown point of time in the future when the history of humankind would end. Interpreting the past from this perspective led to efforts to search for hints of how Christians should act or when the beginning of the Apocalypse could be expected. It allowed making conclusions about God's will. In doing so, historiographical authors not only referred to many biblical chapters to explain and decipher the past, but often framed their language following rhetorical and metaphorical themes from the Bible.[65]

As part of defining how the past had to be understood, (late) medieval authors aimed to actively influence the worldviews of their readers. The latter should learn from exemplary deeds or from the mischiefs of their forerunners. Their life, as well as the belief system of the whole remembering group being addressed, should be aligned to the norms and values the author outlined when writing on the past. They manufactured a 'usable past' that does not reconstruct what happened (though this was of course proclaimed).[66] Instead, they shaped a compelling narrative that denoted more weight to one version of history out of many other possible ones. That does not mean to equate historiographical texts with fictional writings, even when in medieval times the boundaries between the genres, as well as between 'fact' and 'fiction', were blurred.[67] Nonetheless, it should give way to the fact that authors gave meaning to historical events by rearranging the story and by imposing narrative structures. This can include a plot to build up suspense, slowing down or speeding up the story line, the use of direct or indirect speech, the inclusion of anecdotes, and the installing of a narrator or other figures that could act as eyewitnesses to verify events.[68]

German Historical Institute, 2002), 139–65; idem, "Die Gegenwart der Vergangenheit im früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Geschichtsbewusstsein," in *Historische Zeitschrift* 255 (1992): 61–97; Miriam Czock and Anja Rathmann-Lutz, eds., *ZeitenWelten: Zur Verschränkung von Weltdeutung und Zeitwahrnehmung, 750–1350* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2016).

65 Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton, eds., *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources* (Leiden: Brill, 2017); Sini Kangas, "Scripture, Hierarchy, and Social Control: The Uses of the Bible in the Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Chronicles and Chansons of the Crusades," in *Transcultural Approaches to the Bible. Exegesis and Historical Writing across Medieval Worlds*, eds. Matthias M. Tischler and Patrick S. Marschner (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), 109–44.

66 See in this context also Peter Lambert and Björn Weiler, eds., *How the Past Was Used: Historical Cultures c. 750–2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

67 Buck, "Von der Kreuzzugsgeschichte," 346–7.

68 For a balanced view of Hayden White's concept see Ansgar Nünning, "'Verbal Fictions?' Kritische Überlegungen und narratologische Alternativen zu Hayden Whites Einebnung des Gegensatzes zwischen Historiographie und Literatur," *Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch* 40 (1999): 351–80; Ann Rigney, "History as Text: Narrative Theory and History," in *The SAGE Handbook of Historical Theory*, eds. Nancy F. Partner and Sarah Foot, (London: SAGE, 2012).

With regard to narrating the crusading past, the political history, respectively dynastical and ancestral, and its religious implications, e.g. in terms of the Christian realms in Outremer and Christian-Muslim relations, were usually the main topic and red thread. However, the military campaigns to the East comprised all the elements of an epic tale: spectacular battles, noble deeds and heroic sacrifices, almost unbearable agony, malicious treachery and envy, unfulfilled love and sexual misconduct, as well as divine miracles and an intriguing encounter with an exotic world. The numerous micro-narratives[69] provided medieval (as well as modern) authors with various opportunities to combine their version of the crusading past with moralizing exempla and with social, ethical, religious, political, and legal values.

How the implied readers, whose expectations were of course taken into account (in the case of a patron or purchaser who commissioned a text, there might have even concrete instructions of what and how to write), ultimately comprehended and reacted to this history and its more-or-less subtle messages, is another matter. To some extent, the modifications of the crusading past in historiographical writings reflect the changing literary taste of readers. Indeed, it shows that historiographical writings adjusted the past for contemporaneous audiences (sometimes with an explicit dedication) and future generations. The authors' narrative strategies, their use of intertextual references, and their ways of compiling and (sometimes rationally or critically) approaching sources were meant to ensure that their version of the past was a convincing and 'official' one. Ideally, the final product should be an authoritative and enthralling text to read that would shape the collective memory of the past for a long time.

The crusader chronicles of the First Crusades have been proven especially fruitful sources for an examination of narrativity.[70] Yet, there is still potential for an in-depth narratological reading of the crusading past in later sources, especially from the perspective of the many further campaigns beyond the Holy Land that were also labelled crusades. Research has so far focused particularly on the uses and narrations of the crusading past in modern times and has outlined various purposes for this, from shaping a cruel and violent 'Dark Age' to compare favorably to an enlightened present, to the glorification of the crusaders' deeds for national, imperial, and romantic

69 Simon John, "'Claruit Ibi Multum Dux Lotharingiae'. The Development of the Epic Tradition of Godfrey of Bouillon and the Bisected Muslim," in *Literature of the Crusades*, eds. Simon Thomas Parsons and Linda M. Paterson (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2018), 7–24.

70 Marcus Bull, "Narratological readings of crusade texts," in: *The Crusader World*, ed. Adrian J. Boas (London, New York: Routledge, 2016), 646–60; idem, "The Western narratives of the First Crusade," in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 3 (1050–1200)*, eds. David Thomas and Alexander Mallett (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2011), 15–25; idem and Damien Kempf, eds., *Writing the Early Crusades: Text, Transmission and Memory* (Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer, 2014); Wolf Schmid, "Narrativity and Eventfulness," in *What Is Narratology? Questions and Answers Regarding the Status of a Theory*, eds. Tom Kindt and Hans-Harald Müller (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2003), 17–33.

purposes.[71] Tyerman's insightful and provocative study "The Debate on the Crusades" has provided a most valuable starting point and sketched out the various shifts from medieval to modern times, but his focal point is naturally more on authors from Western Europe (the Anglophone World, France, and Germany) and from the Enlightenment Era onwards to the end of the 20th century. In comparison, the later medieval and early modern periods, as well as non-European perspectives, are still understudied.

Tyerman's and other authors' studies, moreover, have shown the effects of contemporaneous political and cultural approaches on researchers of the crusades itself. Over the course of the last century—which has witnessed an exponential growth in crusader studies—the research perspective on the topic was shaped by the experience of the World Wars, totalitarianism, the Holocaust, and post-colonialism, thus creating many additional images of the Middle Ages in general and of the crusading past in particular. On a methodological level, for instance, it showed the way to finally take non-Christian sources and viewpoints much more into account, thus at least mitigating, but not negating, Eurocentric perspectives, while on a moral level it occasionally resulted in rather critical standpoints regarding (religious) violence by drawing a line from the crusades to the brutal excesses of the twentieth century.[72] The various 'turns' in academia moreover opened up the field to diverse questions of cultural history (e.g. gender and intersectional aspects).[73] The early twenty-first century context, with its wars in the Middle East, radical Islamism, populism, and right-wing extrem-

71 See Elizabeth Siberry, *The New Crusaders: Images of the Crusades in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000); Adam Knobler, "Holy Wars, Empires, and the Portability of the Past: The Modern Uses of Medieval Crusades," in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 48 (2006): 293–325; Skottki, *Christen, Muslime und der Erste Kreuzzug*; Mike Horswell, ed., *The Crusades in the Modern World* (London: Routledge, 2020); idem, ed., *Nationalising the Crusades* (London: Routledge, 2022).

72 On Arabic sources and views of the crusades in the Islamicate world, see for instance Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999); Paul Cobb, *The Race for Paradise: An Islamic History of the Crusades* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Matthias Determann, The Crusades in Arab School Textbooks, in *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 19 (2008): 199–214. For the crusading realms and (proto-)colonialism: Joshua Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1972); Corliss Slack, "The Quest for Gain: Were the First Crusaders Proto-Colonists?" in *Seven Myths of the Crusades*, eds. Alfred J. Andrea and Andrew Holt (Indianapolis; Cambridge, MA: Hackett Publishing, 2015), 70–90. For examples of accentuating the violence during the Crusades: Zoé Oldenbourg, *Les Croisades* (Paris: Éditions Plon, 1965); Gerhard Armanski, *Es begann in Clermont: Der erste Kreuzzug und die Genese der Gewalt in Europa* (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus Verlag, 1995).

73 See for instance Susan B. Edgington and Sarah Lambert, eds., *Gendering the Crusades* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2001); Natasha R. Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007); Ingrid Baumgärtner and Melanie Panse "Kreuzzüge aus der Perspektive der Genderforschung. Zielsetzung und Forschungsansätze," *Das Mittelalter. Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung* 21,1 (2016): 1–21.

ism has seen the politicization and ideologization of the crusading past on many occasions, and thus influenced the scholarly interpretation of the medieval campaigns in additional ways.[74] Depending on the specific country, different education systems, and personal upbringing, the studies of the history of the crusades are—and will be—quite diverse and sometimes confrontational.[75]

Finally, as a (healthy?) admonition, Tyerman put on view how institutional-academic aspects, 'cohesive clusters', and 'schools' of crusade historians have impacted research and dominated the field.[76] This is a reminder that the work of a historian is not only dependent on the times and societies he/she lives in, but is also very much affected by the circles he/she associates with: their peers, networks, and working conditions influence their views of the past, despite all academic claims and ideals of offering an objective interpretation. To what extent current academic research is able to shape the image of the crusades for societies in the future, however, still needs to be seen. The vast impact of social media, with its fast-moving and opinion-based debate culture, and the increasing use of AI in retrieving, transmitting, or even manipulating information raises the important question of the future role and ability of historians as authoritative experts in forming, guiding, or correcting the interpretation of the historiography of the crusades.

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74 See for instance Daniel Wollenberg, "The new knighthood": Terrorism and the medieval, in: *Postmedieval* 5,1 (2014): 21–33; Andrew B. R. Elliott, Medievalism, Politics and Mass Media: Appropriating the Middle Ages in the Twenty-first Century (Martlesham; Rochester: Boydell & Brewer, 2017); Jason T. Roche, "The Appropriation and Weaponisation of the Crusades in the Modern Era," *International Journal of Military History and Historiography* 41,2 (2021): 187–207.

75 Felix Hinz and Johannes Meyer-Hamme, eds., *Controversial Histories. Current Views on the Crusades* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020).

76 See Tyerman, *The Debate*, 216–46.

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