

THE IMPACT OF THE MEDIEVAL CRUSADES: LESSONS FOR THE CHURCH OF UGANDA STUDENT

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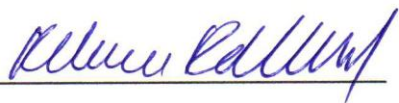
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DECLARATION

I, Rebekka Berthold, hereby declare, that this is my original work, is not plagiarised, and has not been submitted to any other institution for any award.

Name: Rebekka Berthold

Signature: 

Date: 01st July 26

APPROVAL

This is to certify that this research titled “The impact of the Medieval Crusades: Lessons for the Church of Uganda”, has been done under my supervision and is now ready for submission.

Supervisor's name: Moses Stephen Isabinge (Lv Can Dr)

Supervisor's signature: 

01.07.2026

DEDICATION

This research is dedicated to my parents, whose prayers, beliefs, support and encouragement have been a great source of uphold and resilience during this academic journey.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Rev. Can. Dr. Stephen Moses Isabirye for his guidance and support during this research journey. May the Lord continue to bless the works of his hands.

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ABSTRACT

This research study has been relating the dynamics and impact of the historical event of the Medieval Crusades to the present realities of the Church of Uganda, since this knowledge has not yet been made relevant to an African Church context. Therefore, the study has examined the Medieval Crusades concerning their cause, the participants' motivation, the underlying theology and their impact. This was done through the analysis of medieval primary sources and then discussion of the findings in the mirror of respective secondary literature. In a last step these findings were related to the present reality of the Church of Uganda and eleven lessons for the Church were drawn. It was found that the cause and motivation were a highly intertwined mixture of different religious, political and financial motives, whereby the religious aspect played the biggest role. The main motive in the religious aspect was the search for personal salvation. It was found that the Crusades impacted the Medieval Western European Society in different ways, whereby the economical and religious aspect played the biggest role. The lessons that were drawn for the Church of Uganda were ten in number and mainly focussed on the dangers of religiously justified questionable actions and the risks of intertwining religion with other aspects like politics and finance.

CHAPTER 1 - GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction

This research is bearing the title “The impact of the Medieval Crusades: Lessons for the Church of Uganda.”

1.1 Background of the study

The Bible speaks in a few places about zeal - the zeal to work and fight for God and his house. In the Old Testament, the story of Phinehas in Numbers 25 reveals his zeal for the House of God, and the same zeal becomes visible in the New Testament in Jesus, when he cleanses the Temple. It can therefore be said, that it is good to have a certain level of zeal for God and his house. A Christian should be moved by matters concerning God and his church.

But how far should a Christian go in his or her actions? In Church History, the Crusades were an example for Christian zeal, which went very far. In the eight medieval Crusades between 1096 and 1291, Western European Christians from different social classes (Payne, 1984), led mainly by England, Germany and France (Heer, 1963), and called to action by the Pope Urban II on the Council of Clermont in 1095, made their way to fight against the Muslims. Since the 7th century, the Muslims had taken over many territories from Iberia to India, and therefore, the Christians wanted to take back the Holy Lands from them with a big focus on Jerusalem, which they believed to be their Holy Place. The Crusades continued to happen for a period of three centuries based from the European continent and even led to the foundation of the so-called Crusader states in the captured places as “new outposts of the Western European world” (Asbridge, 2010, p. 162) and there is every reason to believe, that such events had a big impact on the church and the society in the Medieval Age. It

will be of interest for this research study to explore the areas in which the Western European Medieval Society was impacted by the Crusades, and of what nature this impact was through the analysis of Medieval primary sources.

Besides the zeal for God's work, the Bible speaks also about love for the enemies. Jesus commands believers in Luke 6 to have love for the enemies. It is visible, that the Christians, who went for the Crusades, did not have any love for the Muslims, which they considered as their enemies. The Muslim-Christian relationship in the Medieval Age has therefore surely not been a harmonious one, but full of hatred and enmity. Since the Bible does clearly condemn the hatred for enemies and advocates for loving them, it is an interesting question: what exactly motivated the European Christians of the Medieval times to undertake such violent enterprises against their fellow human beings like the Crusades? What were the causes for these events? And which with theological arguments did they justify their actions? It will be the aim of the first part of the research to pursue and answer these questions.

Though the Crusades happened about a century back in the past, they are undoubtedly a significant historical event with a relevant impact. Their origin was in the church and its institutional structures, and the Crusades do as well fall in the category of a religious war. It is therefore impossible for the Church to have not been changed and impacted through these conflicts, and hopefully, they could draw lessons out of these happenings. But not only the Medieval Church could have learnt something from the Crusades - the learning out of history does never end and is in all times equally important. Therefore, the question remains for the Church today, and for the case of this work, for the Church of Uganda: what lessons can be learnt and drawn from the Crusades? How can the findings made in the study help the Church of Uganda in her ministry, in her evangelism and even in her contacts and

outreaches to the Muslim community? It will be the aim of the concluding part of the research work to draw and compile the precious lessons for the Church of Uganda out of the Crusades and their impact.

1.2 Problem Statement

In the scholarly world, the Crusades as prominent and impactful historical events are obtaining the acknowledgement and attention they deserve, yet mostly on the academic level. The problem is, that the findings and discussions about them are not being used to generate lessons or applications for the church and her ministry. Furthermore, the so obtained knowledge has also not yet been made relevant for the context of the African church, let alone for Uganda. Since the Church of Uganda has already experienced religious conflicts in her history and is still is encountering several challenges concerning faith and religion like interdenominational disunity, cults, religious extremism or the strong presence of Islam, she should it should not lose out on the opportunity of learning helpful lessons from the Crusades and their impact. Therefore, this work is aiming to make this knowledge relevant in the African context and to take the step of drawing lessons from the Crusades and their impact for the Church of Uganda.

1.3 Purpose of the study

The purpose of this qualitative study is to analyse the events of the Medieval Crusades in the 11th to 13th century regarding their cause, motivation and their underlying theology as well as their impact on the Western European Medieval Society for the purpose of drawing lessons from the findings for the Church of Uganda.

1.4. Objectives

The objectives of this study are:

1. to analyse the Crusades as historical events regarding a) the cause of the events, b) the motives of the Crusaders and c) the theology behind the Crusades (theological justification).
2. to explore the areas in which the Crusades impacted and changed the Medieval West European society.
3. to draw lessons for the Church of Uganda from the Crusades, their impact and their theological justification.

1.5 Research Questions

In line with the objectives, the study will give an answer to the following research questions:

1. What was the cause, the warriors' motivation and the underlying theology of the Medieval Crusades?
2. In which areas did the Medieval Crusades impact and change the Medieval West European society?
3. Which lessons can be drawn for the Church of Uganda from the Medieval Crusades and their impact?

1.6 Scope of the Study

The study is located in the field of Church History and Historical Theology.

The study will explore the Crusades for the first two objectives in the Medieval Western European context by analysing respective primary sources from this setting. This focus is taken due to the Western European Medieval society being the origin, setting and main sphere of influence of the Crusades.

For the third objective (the lessons and applications), the study will focus on the Anglican Church of Uganda.

1.7 Justification

The study will be undertaken due to the high relevance of the Medieval Crusades in History and Church History. If the Crusades had the capacity to act as agents of change of a whole society (Heer, 1963), it can definitely be assumed that it is worth taking a closer look at their nature and their impact. Furthermore, this topic has a high potential of providing useful lessons to the Church of Uganda, since this institution has faced and is still facing challenges and hardships concerning the influence of different religious phenomena its surrounding society.

1.8 Significance

The study is located in the concept of learning about and most especially from history, which is actually the major purpose of historical science. Each historical event, whether big or small, has effects, consequences and impacts. Most of these effects are lasting and are an explanation, why certain things are in a particular condition in our present time, as Prof. Friedrich Heer states in his book:

When we look more closely into the crises and catastrophes, the hopes and fears of our own day, whether we know it or not, we are concerned with developments whose origin can be traced back directly or indirectly to their source in the High Middle Ages. (Heer, 1963, p.17)

Therefore, this study will make a contribution in a twofold way: on the one hand, the study will benefit the academia (particularly the discipline of History and Church History) for a better and enriched understanding of the historical phenomenon of the Crusades and their impact. On the other hand, the study will benefit the Church of Uganda as an institution for her mission, ministry and her strategies of operation in an environment characterized by religious tension and conflicts.

CHAPTER 2 - LITERATURE REVIEW

2. Literature Review

2.1 Literature about the Crusades

The book of Robert Payne (Payne, 1984) gives an account of the eight crusades from the beginning to the end. It uses an event-historical approach and narrates the history of each crusade in a belletristic way. It explores the medieval mind on the crusades and sheds light on the different aims and motives, which moved the people to go for the crusades. The issue in the book is the concentration on event-history and the ignoring of the bigger historical frame of the events of the crusade. The book gives a good foundation, but however, it creates a more narrow and focussed picture of the topic. The work will endeavour to approach this issue by consulting further literature about the Crusades in order to get a broader view and further elaborate and build the picture of the Crusades.

The book of Thomas Asbridge (Asbridge, 2010) is focussed on the exploration of the history of the crusades from both the Christian and the Muslim side with an emphasis on the fight for the control of the Holy Land and gives furthermore insights into the experiences of the Medieval contemporary people. The author is able to provide a broader picture through the analysis of several numbers of Medieval sources from different locations and furthermore through the additional studies of arts and coins. Asbridge places an emphasis on asking questions about the cause as well as about the outcome of the Crusades. He further endeavours to provide a sufficient account of the Muslim side and experience as he dedicates a whole part of his book to the Islamic response. This emphasis on the Muslim side forces the author consequently to balance with the Christian side, most likely not in favour of the latter.

This study agrees with the author in the emphasis on asking the questions about the cause and the outcome of the Crusades, but it aims at - in opposite to the author- emphasising and focussing the Christian side of the events and wishes to further develop the author's suggested answers to the questions about the causes and the outcome. Another point of further development that this study is making is on the special emphasis on the underlying theology and biblical/theological justification of the Crusades - an aspect that is not directly in Asbridge's focus.

The essay of Lisa Blaydes and Christopher Paik (Blaydes & Paik, 2016) focuses on the relationship between war mobilization and the building of state institutions. It assigns the Crusades, and specifically the mobilization for the Crusades, an important role in the process of state formation. It sees them as a turning point in the emergence of a system of territorial states. It further points out specific and direct effects of the Crusades, e.g. the increased urbanization and urban autonomy in Europe, or the increase of trade. The essay addresses the questions, when and why the essential elements of these modern state appear in these times, but it leaves out on the question, how or in what way they appear. The work wants to address this gap by consulting respective literature about the emergence of the modern state in the medieval age.

The essay of Kurram Qadir (Qadir, 2007) works on the area of research and scholarship on the relevance of the Crusades. It compares three British works, which handle this particular topic. For the author, the significance of the Crusades is undeniable, and the Crusades would still be a pertinent event for Christians. The essay sees different tendencies among the European scholars, and it gives an overview about the trends in the scholarship as well as a bibliographical overview. It is his aim to identify the major trends among the Western scholarship about the

Crusades. The essay is quite selective. Though the essay handles three specific works, it does not refer to other individual articles when talking about the tendencies in the scholarship. The work will approach this gap by striving to get a broader and clearer picture about the tendencies in the scholarship, so that it becomes visible, in which arena the discourse about the relevance of the Crusades takes place.

2.2. Literature about the Medieval Age and society

The work of Friedrich Heer (Heer, 1963) examines the transformation of the society in Europe in the 12th -14th century. It puts forth the thesis, that the society had been open and expanding in the 12th century and was then closed and barricaded in the 14th century, which means that within these centuries, the society and the continent had undergone a fundamental transformation. The book therefore examines the different reasons for this development and presents their course and nature. The closure happened on the area of the outward borders of the country as well inside the society, where groups became more distinct from one another. The book clearly sees a contribution of the Crusades in that closing process, and therefore a direct effect of them on the church and society.

The book is written about Europe by an European person in Europe, that means it is written from an European insider perspective. The author himself confesses, that this gives the content a subjective notion, (which also Khurram (2007) still emphasises that in the Western scholarship the picture of the Crusades would often be a bit skewed) since in Europe much of the medieval is still contemporary, and many former things are still visible in the society. Another issue is, that due to the need to summarize the historical developments, some things have been left out, or the significance of certain personalities has not been fully presented. Furthermore,

many controversial areas have been left out and ignored. The reason for all these gaps is the limit of space to present the things.

With the book of Chris Wickham (Wickham, 2016), the non- European perspective is provided, since Heer assigns a good degree of detachment from continental European thinking to the English people. Wickham sees the Medieval Age as an age of change, and it is the intention of the author to show how the various changes within this age happened, and in how far they were important. Contrary to Heer, Wickham is not focused on the outcome of these changes and therefore does not apply the teleological view of history. He focuses on the moments of change in the Middle Ages in order to bring out the main characteristics in the medieval period. As mentioned above, he leaves out on the outcomes of the changes, whose nature he examines. This is the gap that Heer is trying to bridge, when he focuses on the outcomes, and these outcomes are as well in the interest of this work.

The collection of essays published by Albin et al. (Albin, Erler, O'Donnell, Paul, Rowe (eds.), 2019) brings in an interesting aspect about the handling of the Medieval Ages. They, on the one hand, strongly emphasize the distinct uniqueness of the age and deal with the several ways of how the age is dealt with among historians. On the other hand, they put forth the thesis that the Medieval Ages do have the nature of a construct made by historians and that the study of the Medieval Ages has to defend itself against ideologies and ideological instrumentalization. Some of the essays do also deal with the question of the impact of the Crusades into modern day life and reflect also on the ways of how we come to our understanding and knowledge about the Medieval Ages. The essay collection therefore operates more on a meta level - this means it is not really interested in providing any detailed knowledge on historical

events, but deals with the ways of gaining, analysing, interpreting and using that knowledge.

This study will make use of selected essays of that collection as a reference frame to critically review the analysis methods and results, while still acknowledging the importance of solid and founded knowledge. Such contemplations on a meta level as offered in the essay collection can be a great benefit, enlightenment and sounding board for historical work and can help to avoid an uncritical handling of knowledge, but can on the other hand they can become a pitfall when one gets too critical by sticking too much with meta level approaches and narratives. A healthy balance is of crucial necessity hereby, and this is also what this study is aiming at.

2.3 Literature about Islam and current challenges

The book of Khaled Beydoun (Beydoun, 2023) is written from an Islamic perspective and examines the phenomenon of Islamophobia, which means the prejudice against Muslims as a political force. The book claims the existence of modern crusades against Muslims, which could be seen as an extension of the historical crusades and sees them as an imperial campaign against Muslims. It works with Muslim experiences from many different countries. The book brings in a contemporary Muslim perspective as well as a personal perspective. Therefore, the book does present an exquisite insight, but does not present an objective perspective of the matter, since it also works with the catchphrase of Islamophobia. The work will be making use of this book as a point of reference when drawing lessons for the Anglican Church in dealing with the challenge of Islam.

CHAPTER 3 - RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3. Methodology

3.1 Research Design

This study will be carried out in the following design:

a) design

The study will be historical research and is arranged in a qualitative design. The study is not going to collect or analyse any numerical data and is not going to make use of statistical methods or instruments. This study will furthermore be literary research, since it will rely on written sources only, and will not collect any empirical data in the field. It will be library and document based, since it deals with an historical phenomenon, whose nature it will examine depending on the written sources.

b) approach

The study is utilizing a descriptive approach, because it seeks to describe the phenomenon of the Medieval Crusades and its impact. The research desires to know and describe the characteristics of the Medieval crusades and their impact, which is the main focus of a descriptive approach. Furthermore, the study is asking the question: “What is/has been happening?”, which is the main question for a descriptive approach.

c) paradigm

The study will also employ the paradigm of Critical Thinking, which assumes that knowledge is politically and socially situated - an assumption that aligns with the aim

of this research to draw lessons from the examination of an historical event which had influence on the society on a political and social level.

Furthermore, Critical Thinking means thinking through a topic or an aspect as well as analysing it and forming sort of a judgment - a strategy that will be applied in this research study by critically analysing an historical event under given aspects including drawing conclusions at the end.

3.2 Area of study

The study will not collect field data from a certain geographical area, but it will analyse Medieval primary sources which were written by German, Norman, French or Italian participants or observers of the Crusades.

The impact of the Crusades will be examined for Western Medieval European society.

The lessons from the findings will be applied to the Anglican Church of Uganda.

3.3 Sources of Information

For the study, primary sources and secondary literature will be analysed and consulted.

The following Medieval Primary Sources will be considered:

1. **Historia Hierosolymitana** (a document that focuses primarily on the history of the First Crusade and on the beginnings on the Crusader States in Jerusalem)
2. **Crusade Letters** (collection of sources of letters between 1088 and 1100).
3. **A History of Deeds done Beyond The Sea** (an account of the First Crusade and its prelude and the life in the Crusader states)

The secondary literature will be consulted as outlined in the Literature Review and beyond.

3.4 Procedure for data collection

The primary data (or rather the necessary primary information) will be collected from the Medieval primary sources. The process for each source starts with a source criticism, providing all the necessary information about the source including a content summary as well as information about the author and his background to indicate his perspective and possible biases. After this preliminary, but important process, the actual analysis/ generation of information will start by extracting the necessary information from the respective source for the respective aspect (e.g. extracting information about the Crusaders' motivation from a Crusade letter).

3.5 Data collection methods instrumentation

The data will be collected with the analytical method by extracting information from the primary source under the guideline of the given aspect.

3.6 Quality/Error control

The collection of primary data/information is going to take place under the keen observation of the guiding aspects as well as of the source's context, format, scope and content. Furthermore, this process is going to happen under the alignment with the general guidelines and assumptions for historical science and historical research, most importantly the acknowledgement that every historical finding is based on sources, moreover that sources are written from certain perspectives and use subjective languages as well as that there is no existence of an absolute truth in history.

3.7 Strategy for data processing and analysis

The strategy for the procession, analysis and application for each of the three objectives will be outlined in the following section.

Strategy for Objective 1: to analyse the Crusades as historical events regarding a) the cause of the events, b) the motives of the Crusaders and c) the theology behind the Crusades (theological justification).

For this objective, primary data will be collected from the primary sources. The primary information will be extracted from suitable parts of the three sources under the three given aspects (cause, motives, underlying theology).

The extracted information will be then interpreted and discussed in the light of the respective secondary literature in order to get a clear answer for the question of the first objective: “What was the cause, the warriors’ motivation and the underlying theology of the Medieval Crusades?” Reference will be also made to the Bible for the third interpretation aspect (underlying theology) to provide a foundation and reference frame for that aspect.

Strategy for Objective 2: to explore the areas in which the Crusades impacted and changed the Medieval West European society.

The necessary primary data for this objective will be extracted from the primary source A History of Deeds done beyond the Sea, since it provides some broader insights in the themes and occurrences of the Western European Medieval World. The information will be extracted under the guiding aspect of the Crusade impact. This information from the source will be supplemented a little with aspects from the book from Heer (1963).

The extracted information will be interpreted, discussed and supplemented in the light of the respective secondary literature. This is done to get a clear answer to the question of the second objective: “In which areas did the Medieval Crusades impact and change the Medieval West European society?”

Strategy for Objective 3: to draw lessons for the Church of Uganda from the Crusades, their impact and their theological justification.

This section will be carried out in three steps:

The first step will be a brief summary of the findings and analyses made under the first two objectives in order to create a foundation for the drawing of lessons.

The second step will be the generating of lessons from the summary of the findings and the discussions for the Church of Uganda to establish and emphasise the relevance of the obtained knowledge for her present reality.

3.8 Anticipated methodological constraints

The constraints that might be arising for this type and approach of research could be the following:

- ❖ time-consuming process especially in the step of data collection due to the lengthy process of searching for suitable and relevant passages
- ❖ some of the sources are written in Latin language or in Old German language and need therefore translation and interpretation.

CHAPTER 4 - DATA ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

4. Data Analysis, Interpretation and Presentation of findings

Aspect 1: Cause, Motivation and underlying theology of the Crusades

In this section, the collected data from the primary sources under these aspects shall be analyzed, interpreted and presented.

The collection was done from the following sources:

1. the Crusade letters
2. the Historia Hierosolymitana
3. the History of Deeds beyond the Sea.

After a brief introduction to each source, the data collected from them will be analyzed and presented.

Introductions

ad 1. The Crusade Letters (Hagenmeyer, 1901) are a collection of letters written in the years 1088-1100 by people who were either personally a part of the Crusades or who were at least interested in them. (Hagenmeyer, 1901, p. 1) The collection contains twenty-three letters and is considered to be one of the oldest written records about the Crusades. (Hagenmeyer, 1901, p. 1) Out of the twenty-three letters, five have been considered for the collection of data for this study (No. 1, 2, 3, 16, 17).

Letter No. 1 was written in 1088 from the Greek Emperor Alexander to the Flemish count Robert, asking him to come and support him with troops in Constantinople because of the raiding of the holy sites through the Turks.

Letter No. 2 was written by Pope Urban II in 1095 to all the believers in Flanders about the main points of the Crusades enterprise.

Letter No. 3 was also written by Pope Urban II in September 1096 to Christians and Clergy in Bologna (Italy), where he expressed his joy about the people participating in the Crusade.

Letter No. 16 was written in 1098 by the Crusade Leaders to the Pope Urban II to inform him about the current proceedings of the Crusade

Letter No. 17 was written in 1098 by the people and clergy in Lucca (Italy) to all people to invite and exhort them to join the Crusade.

Each of these letters brings out the individual perspective of the respective writer

ad 2. the Historia Hiersolymitana

The Historia Hiersolymitana was written by Fulcher of Chartres, a French Priest and Chronicler, who participated in the first Crusade and lived in the Crusader State of Jerusalem after its capture. (Hagenmeyer, 1913, p. V) Fulcher of Chartres was born in 1059 and came from France and embarked, convicted through his heart and his conscience, in October 1096 on the Crusade. (Hagenmeyer, 1913, p. 2ff.) He began writing the Historia Hierosolymitana in 1101. (Hagenmeyer, 1913, p. 12) His report covers the preparation, beginning, course and end of the first Crusade and continues

to narrate the ongoings of the Franconian rule over Jerusalem under the two kings Balduin I and II, as he served as the chaplain of the King Balduin I until his death in 1127/8. (Hagenmeyer, 1913, p. 19ff.) Fulcher of Chartres' work is strongly influenced by the Bible and testifies of a mystic- ascetic view on the Crusades. (Hagenmeyer, 1913, p. 52)

ad 3. A History of Deeds done beyond the Sea

This work was written by William, Archbishop of Tyre, who was born in the Franconian Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1130. (Babcock & Krey, 1943, p. 15f.) He was most likely of French origin and knew Jerusalem quite well. (Babcock & Krey, 1943, p. 15f.) He was trained in law, embarked on an early Church career and became later the Archbishop of Tyre, which is in today's Southern Lebanon. (Babcock & Krey, 1943, p. 19, 28) His work is covering the proceedings of the Crusades up to 1184. (Babcock & Krey, 1943, p. 37) William of Tyre used the work of Fulcher of Chartres for his writings. (Babcock & Krey, 1943, p. 29) As the purpose of his writing was at first to simply entertain the King of Jerusalem, but later he shifted and became more open to write for all Latin Christians. (Babcock & Krey, 1943, p. 30f.) Though he is seen as a problematic source by several historians, he is also considered to be the first comprehensive history of the Crusades (Babcock & Krey, 1943, p. 4) and even as a main and only source specifically for the years 1144-1184. (Babcock & Krey, 1943, p. 37).

Presentation and analysis of collected data

Concerning the cause of the crusades and the motivation of the Crusaders, the consulted primary sources are shedding light on a few central points.

A) Cause of the Crusades

As one main cause of the Crusades, the sources point out the bad condition of the Holy City Jerusalem and the resulting zeal of the individual people to restore and relieve the City.

The second Crusade Letter, written by Pope Urban II states the following:

*Fraternitatem vestram iam pridem multorum relatione didicisse
credimus barbaricam rabiem ecclesias Dei in Orientis
partibus miserabili infestatione deuastasse, insuper etiam sanctam
ciuitatem Christi, passione et resurrectione inhiustratam, suae
intolerabili servituti cum suis ecclesiis, quod dici nefas est, mancipasse.*

(Hagenmeyer, 1901, p. 136)

These Latin words mean:

“We believe that your brotherhood has long since learned from the reports of many that the barbaric fury has miserably devastated the churches of God in the eastern regions, and has also subjected the holy city of Christ, consecrated by His passion and resurrection, with its churches to its intolerable servitude, which is an unspeakable thing.”

These are the words of Pope Urban in the letter. The phrase “sanctam civitatem Christi” (= the holy City of Christ) talks about Jerusalem. The word “nefas” means something forbidden or sinful. Therefore, the capture of the Holy city Jerusalem through the enemies is something forbidden and sinful, and this fact is clearly being pointed out here.

Fulcher of Chartres in his *Historia Hierosolymitana* takes the same or rather a similar line while also widening the scope. He not only points out the bad condition of the

Holy City, but gives a broader picture of the general moral decline of the whole Occident.

He states:

videns autem Christianitatis fidem enormiter ab omnibus, tam clero quam populo, pessundari et terrarum principibus incessanter certamine bellico nunc istis nunc illis inter se dissidentibus pacem omnino postponi, bona terrae alternatim diripi, multos iniurios vinctos captivari et in carceres teterrimos truculentissime subruui, supra modum redimi vel intus trifariam angariatos, scilicet inedia, siti, algore obitu clandestino exstingui, loca sancta violari, monasteria villasque igni cremari, nulli mortalium parci, divina et humana ludibriis haberi, audiens etiam interiores Romaniae partes, a Turcis super Christianos occupatas, impetu feroci perniciose subdi, pietate compatiendi dilectionisque Dei nutu permotus, montes transmeando in Gallias descendit atque in Alvernia, concilium legationibus competenter undique praemonitum, apud Clarummontem, quae civitas sic vocatur, coadunari fecit, CCCX tam Episcoporum quam abbatum adsistentium cambutis deputatis. his itaque die haec praenominato ad se convocatis adlocutione dulciflua diligenter conventus causam innotuit. nam sub ecclesiae lugentis voce querula a planctum non minimum expressit et de mundi fluctuantis tempestatibus tantimodis, ut superius praefatum est, fide subruta, sermonem prolixum cum eis tenuit. deinceps rogitu supplici cunctos exhortatus est, ut, resumptis fidei viribus, cum ingenti sollicitatione ad expugnandas diaboli machinationes viriher se animarent et ecclesiae sanctae statum, crudelissime a nefandis debilitatum, in honorem pristinum competenter erigere conarentur. (Lib I, I, 2-3)

“Seeing, however, that the Christian faith was being enormously subverted by all, both clergy and people, and that the princes of the earth were incessantly at war with one another, now siding with these, now with those, peace was completely set aside, the goods of the earth were alternately plundered, many were unjustly bound and captured and most brutally thrown into the most dreadful prisons, and either ransomed beyond measure or, once inside, subjected to triple torments, namely, hunger, thirst, and cold of clandestine deaths, the desecration of holy places, the burning of monasteries and villages, the sparing of no one, the mockery of divine and human things, hearing also that the interior parts of Romania, seized by the Turks from the Christians, were being perniciously subjugated by a fierce assault, with compassionate piety and by the will of God’s love deeply moved, he crossed the mountains into Gaul and descended into Auvergne, and there, at Claremont, a city so called, he had a council convened, duly notified by legates from everywhere, with 310 bishops present to the abbots present, appointed as deputies by the abbots. And so, on the day appointed for this, having summoned them to him, he diligently addressed them with sweet speech. The assembly made the cause known. For under the voice of the mourning church, a querulous one, it expressed no small lament and concerning the storms of the fluctuating world, just as has been stated above, with faith undermined, a lengthy discourse.

He held a lengthy discourse with them. Thereafter, at their humble request, he exhorted everyone to, with renewed strength of faith, animate themselves with great zeal to bravely overcome the devil’s machinations, and that they

should strive to competently restore the holy church to its former honor, cruelly weakened by the nefarious.”

These words point out as a characteristic of the time a general decline in the attitude of other peoples towards Christians as well as a decline of the attitude of the Christians towards themselves and their faith. This implements two consequences: on the one hand a restoration of the Christians in the face of persecution, on the other hand the restoration of Christians’ love and zeal for their own faith. It is further laid out, that the restoration should not only concern Jerusalem, the Holy City, but the whole Holy Church, as whose centre Jerusalem was seen. The person spoken about in this passage is Pope Urban, and the council mentioned in the passage was the Council of Claremont in November 1095, where Pope Urban motivated and called the believers to take action in the Crusade and in the restoration of the Holy Church and City. (Asbrigde, 2010) The writer attests the Pope quite unselfish motives (*pietate compatiendi dilectionisque Dei nutu permotus* - with compassionate piety and by the will of God’s love deeply moved) in connection with a sense of this enterprise being the will of God.

William of Tyre takes on the same aspect in his History of Deeds done beyond the sea. He blows into the same horn as Fulcher of Chartres and emphasises the general wickedness of the time. He describes briefly that Jerusalem was subjugated by the Turks and then writes:

“It was not in the Orient alone that the faithful were thus oppressed by the Wicked. In the West too, and in nearly all the Circle of the earth, belief had failed, especially among those who were called the faithful and the fear of the Lord no longer prevailed among men. (...) Verily the world seemed to be declining

toward eventide, and the second coming of the Son of Man appeared to be drawing near.” (p.75)

These words of William of Tyre reinforce the aspect of the widespread apostasy of the people and describe that the Christendom of the 11th century had been in sort of an apocalyptic mood, which might have also caused them to view life and circumstances in a different way.

The above cited sources paint a threefold picture of the cause of the Crusade: the oppression of the Holy City Jerusalem, the oppression of Christians in other areas as well as the general moral decline and apocalyptic mood of the 11th century Christians.

B) Motivation of the Crusaders

The citations above do throw light on the cause of the Crusades.

But through which means and how exactly were the Crusaders motivated to undertake such an enterprise? And what were the very personal motivations of the individual believers? At this point it has to be differentiated between the motivating factors and the personal motivations. The following data from the different sources provide insight on both aspects.

Motivating factors

The sources reveal that one big motivating factor, if not the biggest was the promise of remission of sins in case a believer would decide to be part of a crusade.

In the second crusade letter, written by Pope Urban, it is stated

“cui calamitati pio contuitu condolentes Gallicanas partes visitavimus eiusque terrae principes et subditos ad liberationem Orientalium ecclesiarum

ex magna parte sollicitavimus et huiusmodi procinctum pro remissione omnium peccatorum suorum in Aruernensi concilio celebriter eis iniunximus et carissimum filium Ademarum” (Ep. II.3)

“Condoling with the Gallican provinces in a pious manner over this calamity, we visited his lands and greatly moved the princes and subjects of that land to the liberation of the Eastern churches, and we solemnly enjoined this undertaking for the remission of all their sins at the Council of Arverna, and the most beloved son Ademar.”

This paragraph speaks clearly about the remission of sins as the motivating factor - not only for some of the sins, but for all of the sins.

William of Tyre writes:

“Accordingly, we warn and exhort you in the Lord, and we enjoin upon you, for the remission of your sins, that you endure affliction and hardships with our brethren who dwell in Jerusalem and in the boundaries thereof.” (p. 91)

This paragraph is taken from William of Tyre’s recount of Pope Urban’s sermon to exhort the believers to join the Crusading enterprise. The remission of sins is mentioned here as the motivation to undertake the enterprise and to endure hardships.

Fulcher of Chartres writes:

“praesentibus dico, absentibus mando, Christus autem imperat. cunctis autem illuc euntibus, si aut gradiendo aut transfretando, sive contra paganos dimicando, vitam morte praepeditam finierint, remissio peccatorum praesens aderit. quod ituris adnuo, dono isto investitus a Deo.” (Lib I, cap. III,5)

“To the present I speak, to the absent I command, but Christ is the one who commands. And to all who go there—whether by walking or by crossing over, or by fighting against pagans—if they should end a life burdened by sin through death, the forgiveness of sins will be present. This I grant to those who are going, invested with this gift by God.”

Fulcher of Chartres does also, like the other sources, point out the crucial motivational factor of the remission of sins. While William of Tyre is emphasising the fact that this remission of sins would be valid for all sins, Fulcher here emphasises especially the fact that the remission of sins would be valid to all who go.

All three quotes about the remission of sins as a big motivational factor are taken out of the respective source’s recounts of the speech of Pope Urban. Out of this circumstance it can be derived that the Pope must have played a very crucial role in moving people to join the crusades. This matter will be enlightened more in the next chapter, as the data will be discussed in the light of secondary literature.

Expression of love for God

Another factor, according to the sources, is the joining of a crusade as an active expression for their love for God.

Fulcher of Chartres wrote in the prologue of his *Historia Hierosolymitana*:

“nam qui vivunt in mundo, audita intentione pia praedecessorum fidelium, quomodo mundi flore spreto Deo adhaeserunt et parentes uxoresque suas, possessiones quoque quantaslibet relinquentes iuxta praeceptum

evangelicum Deum secuti sunt, ad diligendum eum ardentius compuncti, ipso inspirante, animantur.”

“For those who live in the world, having heard the devout intention of their faithful predecessors, how they clung to God, despising the world's allure, and leaving behind their parents and wives, as well as any possessions, following the command of the Gospel, are stirred to love Him more ardently, inspired by Him.”

These words of Fulcher do speak a clear language. Fulcher not only describes that the Crusaders were triggered by the love towards God to join the crusades - he also mentions that the Crusades would even cause them to love God more and to willingly leave their possessions as sacrifices for him.

Pope Urban wrote in the third Crusade Letter:

“quoniam res et personas suas pro Dei et proximi caritate exposuerunt”

(Ep. III)

“For they have exposed their own property and persons for the love of God and of their neighbor.”

With “they” the Pope is meaning here the people who have gone for the Crusades. He uses these lines to add on his motivational argumentation as he encourages the people of Bologna to join the crusades and expresses his joy about those who have already joined the enterprise.

fight against Gods enemies

Another motivating factor for the people to join the Crusades was the view on fighting God's enemies.

Fulcher of Chartres is opening this factor in the opening paragraph of his prologue of the *Historia Hierosolymitana* with the words “*praesertim deo militantium*” (Prol. 1) which means “especially fighting for God”. Fighting for God means also fighting against what God does not approve.

William of Tyre in his *History of deeds done beyond the sea* writes as he recounts his version of the sermon of Pope Urban in Clermont:

"Therefore, beloved, arm yourselves with the zeal of the Lord. 'Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O most Mighty.' Gird yourselves and be sons of the Almighty, for it is better to die in battle than to behold the calamities of our race and of the saints. If anyone feels zeal for God's law, let him join us. Let us go to the aid of our brethren. 'Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us. Go, and God be with you. Turn the weapons which you have stained unlawfully in the slaughter of one another against the enemies of the faith and the name of Christ.'" (p. 91)

William of Tyre recounts this part of the sermon of Pope Urban II and emphasizes the mentioned aspect of the zeal for God and the right directing of the weapons against the real enemies. He calls indirectly also for a uniting of the people and the different groups for the purpose of going against the enemies of faith and the name of Christ. (“Turn the weapons which you have stained unlawfully in the slaughter of one another”). William of Tyre therefore supplements the statement of Fulcher of Chartres and lifts the aspect from ‘just fighting for God’ to uniting under the purpose of also fighting against the enemies of God.

chosenness of the crusaders

Another smaller aspect that Fulcher of Chartres brings in is the chosenness of the Crusaders. He writes: “ad hoc negotium praelectum” (lib. I, XXIV, 4) which means “chosen for this task”. Fulcher emphasises with those few words his image and the self-image of the crusaders as being chosen and elected by God to do this task. This gave them pride and confidence as well as the necessary resilience to endure the hardships during the journey.

Other motivations

Especially William of Tyre mentions that some Crusaders also had other, quite profane motivations to join the crusades.

He writes:

“Yet the Lord was not with all in this cause, and discretion, the mother of virtues, was not always the actuating motive for these vows. Some joined the others that they might not leave their friends; some that they might not be regarded as idle; others for frivolous reasons only, or because by going away they might escape their creditors (to whom they were bound by a load of debts). Thus, for diverse reasons, all were hastening toward the same goal.” (p.93)

This paragraph almost speaks for itself. William of Tyre points out that not every crusader was motivated by God or by the zeal to fight for the cause of the church or the Christian name. He emphasises, though, that the goal or the enterprise to go for the Crusade was the same.

Conclusively, the medieval sources present a whole bouquet of factors that motivated the people to go for the crusades. These factors will be further discussed in the light of the secondary literature in chapter 5.

The next point to be enlightened by the sources is the aspect of the underlying theology. What bible verses were used to justify or underline the enterprise of the crusades? What was the theological view on them? This is the aspect of the next data presentation paragraph.

C) Underlying theology

Jerusalem as holy City

One crucial factor that was used by the Pope and other church leaders was the presentation of Jerusalem as the Holy City and the home of the Christian Faith.

In the second Crusade Letter, Pope Urban writes to the believers in Flanders:
Fraternitatem uestram iam pridem multorum relatione didicisse credimus barbaricam rabiem ecclesias Dei in Orientis partibus miserabili infestatione devastasse, insuper etiam sanctam civitatem Christi, passione et resurrectione inlustratam, suae intolerabili servituti cum suis ecclesiis, quod dici nefas est, mancipasse. (Ep. II, 2)

“We believe that your fraternity has long since learned from the reports of many that the barbaric ‘fury’ has devastated the churches of God in the parts of the East by a miserable infestation, and has also enslaved the holy City of Christ, consecrated by the Passion and Resurrection, to its intolerable servitude along with its churches, which is an unspeakable thing.”

The main point here are the words *sanctam civitatem Christi, passione et resurrectione inlustratam*, which means “holy City of Christ, consecrated by the Passion and Resurrection”. The word “inlustratam” can also mean to make big or famous and or to make beautiful.

“civitatem” comes from *civitas* and means city, but also implies the aspects of citizenship and the lawful place of being of someone.

The Pope therefore implies, that the “Holy City of Christ”, which is definitely Jerusalem, is the lawful place of Jesus Christ and is not supposed to be occupied or destroyed by anyone.

Even William of Tyre adds unto that aspect and mentions Jerusalem thrice as the “holy places” (p. 84f.) as well as the “Holy City, beloved of God.” (p. 63)

This view on Jerusalem is biblically founded and can be seen in verses like Revelation 21:1 (“I saw the Holy City, the new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride beautifully dressed for her husband”) or 2 Chronicles 6:6 (“But now I have chosen Jerusalem for my Name to be there”), which do emphasise the special position of Jerusalem - and which do therefore justify the effort fighting for it.

Muslims as enemies

Another point for the theology that was lying under the Crusades and the motivation for it was the view on Muslims as enemies and unbelievers.

This point is handled a little more implicit than explicit in the sources, but does still come through.

In the second Crusade Letter, Pope Urban speaks of “barbaricam rabiem” (Ep. II,2) which means “barbaric fury”, which had destroyed Jerusalem as well as other regarded places. The word “rabiem” comes from “rabies” and means fury or anger, but has an interesting undertone, since the word rabies does exist exactly in this form in the English language and describes an animal disease. This is striking and allows the allusion that this vocabulary was chosen intentionally to express disregard for the people who overtook Jerusalem - in this case the Muslims. The word “barbaricam” which means barbaric does even affirm this notion. It can have many meanings that reach from strange over uncivilised until cruel. This word strengthens and supplements the already expressed despise for the Muslim people.

William of Tyre is singing the same tune and entitles the Muslims with the words “enemies of the faith and the name of Christ”. (p. 91) He becomes a little clearer in his words than the letter above and he uses the twofold description “faith” and “name of Christ”. He does not just say “enemies of Christ”. He spreads it to express the holism of the enmity of the Muslims - they are not just against the name or not just against the faith, but (in his view) against both; therefore it becomes holistic.

The Bible clearly says that God/Jesus Christ and the Christian Faith do have enemies. This is mentioned e.g. in Hebrews 1:13, where it talks about the enemies of Christ, or in Philippians 3:18, which talks about that many people do walk as enemies of the cross of Christ. Furthermore, Psalm 37:20 does bring an interesting aspect: “But the wicked will perish. Though the Lord’s enemies are like the flower of the field, they will be consumed, they will go up in smoke.” This verse not only mentions the fact that there are enemies of God, but that they are also going to die. Another verse supplements on this picture: Nahum 1:2 “The Lord is a jealous and avenging God, the Lord takes vengeance and is filled with wrath. The Lord takes vengeance on his foes

and vents his wrath against his enemies.” This verse shows that God not only has enemies, but that he is also actively taking vengeance against them and does execute his anger. This is interesting because as people fighting for God, the crusaders might have viewed themselves as an executor of God’s anger.

As clerical people, the authors of the primary sources do bank on and do cite a lot of Scriptures. They cite them to justify and support their argumentations and narrations.

The Crusade Letters do not make a lot of references to the Scriptures, it is mostly William of Tyre and Fulcher of Chartres who do make them.

The following paragraphs will outline a selection of Scriptural references for both authors.

As William of Tyre deliberates on the fact that the spiritual leaders were inviting and encouraging their followers to join the crusades, he writes:

“Bishops showed loyal cooperation, as they had been commanded. They invited their own people to go on the pilgrimage and went about their parishes constantly sowing the word of life among the people. Nor did one grain fall to the ground without fruitage. Indeed, it might truly be said that the word of the Lord was being fulfilled: "I came not to send peace but a sword." For husband was separated from wife, wife from husband; fathers from sons, sons from parents. No bond of affection was proof against this enthusiasm.” (p. 93)

The citation "I came not to send peace but a sword " is a direct citation of Matthew 10:34, where Jesus Christ talks to his followers as he sends them out into the world to do his work. This reference allows conclusions about the picture that William of

Tyre (and the Crusaders) had about themselves and the enterprise: being sent into the world to do the work of God (which now meant to go to Jerusalem and to recapture it) as well as bringing an almost heroic sacrifice of going and leaving everything behind, especially the beloved ones.

Furthermore, William of Tyre does describe the Crusade Exhortation as the “word of life”. This is another interesting allusion. The term word of life is usually connected in the Bible with the words of Jesus himself. It shows the level of importance attached to the Crusade message and the whole enterprise as well as the significance it holds in the eyes of the leaders and the author.

William of Tyre further writes:

It had been unanimously agreed and enjoined by order of the pope that all who vowed to undertake this pilgrimage should stamp upon their garments the saving sign of the vivifying cross. Thus they would bear on their shoulders the memory of Him whose place of passion they proposed to visit. This they did in imitation of Him who hastened thither for our redemption; for "the government shall be upon his shoulder." To this movement the following passage from Isaiah seems to refer: The Lord "shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel." This command also of the Lord seemed to be fulfilled to the letter: "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me." (p. 94f)

William of Tyre makes three references here:

1. The words "*the government shall be upon his shoulder.*" are a citation of Isaiah 9:6.

2. The words *"shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel."* are a citation of Isaiah 11:12.

3. The words *"If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me."* are a citation of Matthew 16:24.

The first citation comes from a context where the Prophet Isaiah speaks about Jesus Christ and his future glory. The sentence where the citation is embedded suggests that the Crusaders follow a direct invitation from Jesus. The Biblical citation and the sentence further allows an allusion towards the (self-)image the author projects upon the Crusaders: the suggestion of the direct invitation of Jesus builds up a strong picture of justification and validation of the enterprise (who would reject or oppose a call from God himself?) and the citation from Isaiah supplements this with the aspect of Jesus absolute claim of sovereignty and power as well as his future glory (which is talked about in the verses after the direct citation and which supposedly awaits the Crusaders after the accomplished enterprise - maybe especially the remission of sins which has been mentioned before).

The second citation is used by William of Tyre to describe the Crusading movement. The citation here refers to the circumstance that the people from different nations were gathered under the sign of the cross. The word "ensign" has a military notion and emphasises the belligerent nature of the enterprise. The formulation of the outcasts of Israel being assembled is used here to suggest and emphasise the role of Israel and Jerusalem as home and birthplace of Christianity.

The third citation from Matthew is taken from a scenario in Matthew 16 where Jesus predicts his death and talks about giving up the life and everything on earth for the sake of the saving of one's soul. The verse before the cited verse (v. 24) is talking about Jesus rebuking Peter for opposing Jesus' divine enterprise of going to Jerusalem to die with human concerns. The verses after the cited verse then talk about the necessary readiness of someone who wants to follow Christ to give up their life and the uselessness of wanting to keep the earthly life. This context of the verse allows different conclusions about the thoughts behind and about the crusades. Firstly, the aspect of Jesus rebuking the human arguments of Peter allows an allusion to the thought that the Crusade was seen as a divine enterprise (and even one that could easily lead to death) and which should not be opposed or hindered through human arguments. Secondly, the verses also allow a direct allusion about the going to Jerusalem - which was the aim and final destination of the Crusades. Thirdly, the cited verse (taking up the cross) supports and emphasises the reality that the Crusaders "took up their cross" and made their way to Jerusalem.

Besides William of Tyre, Fulcher of Chartres was also citing several Scriptures which do allow conclusions about the theological thinking behind the Crusades.

In his prologue, he refers to several scriptures. He writes: Because those who live in the world, hearing of the pious intention of the faithful who went before them, how they renounced the pleasures of the world and clung to God, leaving behind their parents and wives, as well as all their possessions, in accordance with the Gospel commandment." (Prol I.) Behind this sentence "In accordance with the Gospel commandment" several Scriptures can be identified that he alludes to.

The first one is Matthew 19:29, “And everyone who has left houses or brothers or sisters or father or mother or wife or children or fields for my sake will receive a hundred times as much and will inherit eternal life.” That Scripture has a direct allusion in the above cited text (“leaving behind...”). Furthermore, the verse points towards the aspect of reward for following Jesus and giving up things for his sake. Above, the aspect of the remission of sins as a point of motivation has been mentioned, and actually this verse can point to that aspect - the fact that the Crusaders went on this journey also because they were having that reward in mind. The next two verses, Mark 10:29f. (“Truly I tell you,” Jesus replied, “no one who has left home or brothers or sisters or mother or father or children or fields for me and the gospel will fail to receive a hundred times as much in this present age: homes, brothers, sisters, mothers, children and fields—along with persecutions—and in the age to come eternal life”) and Luke 18:29f. (²⁹ “Truly I tell you,” Jesus said to them, “no one who has left home or wife or brothers or sisters or parents or children for the sake of the kingdom of God ³⁰ will fail to receive many times as much in this age, and in the age to come eternal life.”) are singing the same tune like the previous verse and is putting even a higher emphasis on the aspect of the reward. The reward mentioned here is twofold: the one for the present, earthly age and the one for the eternal life. These two (or three) verses do point out the high focus on the aspect of being rewarded for joining the enterprise of the crusade.

The next three verses Mark 8:34 (Then he called the crowd to him along with his disciples and said: “Whoever wants to be my disciple must deny themselves and take up their cross and follow me.”), Matthew 16:24 (Then Jesus said to his disciples, “Whoever wants to be my disciple must deny themselves and take up their cross and follow me.”) and Luke 9:23 (“Then he said to them all: “Whoever wants to

be my disciple must deny themselves and take up their cross daily and follow me”) do emphasize the aspect of self- denial and of ‘taking up the cross’. The exhortation is pretty much the same, the only thing that changes if the three verses are compared are the addressee: one time it is the crowd, one time the disciples and one time all people. This points out to the fact that nobody is excluded from this exhortation. The aspect of self-denial does connect with the above mentioned point of leaving everything behind to join the crusades and the aspect of taking up the cross is actually connected to the fact that the crusaders were through their journey taking back the cross of Christ to Jerusalem.

In lib. I, VI, 10 Fulcher of Chartres directly cites two scriptures from the Psalms. The first one is Psalms 86:9 (in the Latin version of the Bible (Vulgata) the author uses it is Psalm 85) “Omnes gentes quascumque fecisti, venient, et adorabunt coram te Domine.” (“All the peoples you have created will come and worship before you, O Lord”). Fulcher cites the verse in a chapter where he talks about the different nations that have come to join the crusades and the different leaders and princes. This verse therefore refers to the aspect that the different nation have now come to Jerusalem in the Crusade to worship the Lord and to restore his kingdom.

The other verse directly cited is Psalm 132 (131):7 adorabimus in loco ubi steterunt pedes eius. (“We will worship at the place where his feet stood.”) This verse once more refers to Jerusalem which is seen as mentioned above as the Holy City of Christ.

The elaboration above has demonstrated how the Bible was used by both authors to generate, support and supplement their argumentation and how the Scriptures also give insight into the theological thoughts that were circulated and propagated in order to motivate people to join the Crusades.

Another aspect under the point of the underlying theology is the sinfulness and the wickedness of the time. This is particularly mentioned by William of Tyre.

He writes: “Thus the Holy City, beloved of God, was subjected to the domination of unbelieving enemies, because of our sins.” (p. 63) On p. 76, William of Tyre further describes the immoral and sinful conditions of the city Jerusalem. According to his narration, both lay and clergy were involved in the acts of immorality and sinfulness and were abusing the longsuffering of God. William of Tyre supplements his words with many Scriptures and sees the foreign oppression on Jerusalem also as a consequence for the wicked behavior and the sinfulness of the people.

This aspect lifts the enterprise from a mere recapturing of a place to the state of a whole cleansing action - the cleansing of the Crusaders through the joining of the Crusades and furthermore the cleansing of the Holy City through the actions of the Crusaders.

Aspect 2: exploration of the areas in which the Crusades impacted and changed the Medieval West European society.

One effect or impact of the Crusades which did affect the Western European states was the foundation and formation of the so-called Crusader states.

Those were Catholic realms established in the obtained territories to secure territorial gain.

William of Tyre’s History of deeds focusses much on the kingdom of Jerusalem. He writes about the leadership in this particular kingdom:

“The illustrious Duke Godfrey, of pious memory in the Lord, was the first Latin ruler of the kingdom of Jerusalem. When he departed from this world

to attain a better life beyond, the throne remained vacant three months. Finally, either out of deference to the last wishes of the duke or by the common consent of the leaders, whose numbers were now reduced to a few, Lord Baldwin, count of Edessa, own brother of the duke by both parents, was summoned to succeed his brother in the care of the kingdom due him by hereditary right.” (p. 415)

He explains in this paragraph, how the Latin (Catholic) leadership of this kingdom is managed and that Lord Baldwin became the new ruler after his brother. William said that he enjoyed “prosperity and good fortune.” (p. 421) William of Tyre also describes the struggles and intrigues between the clergy and the rulers in the Crusader states.

(“Immediately after the duke’s death, Arnulf had made many accusations against the lord patriarch to Baldwin. He had also roused some of the clergy against Daimbert, for he was full of malice and loved to sow the seeds of discord. For the former patriarch was exceedingly rich and possessed great power. He was archdeacon of Jerusalem and also received revenues from the Temple of the Lord and the place of Calvary. Therefore, since he was both wealthy and shrewd, he worked much evil among the clergy and yet more among those of secular rank.”) (p. 425)

He also narrates that some clergy or nobleman were taken from their positions in their country and were sent to the Crusader states, and this came according to William of Tyre’s narrative with further intrigues and struggles, as he writes on p. 468:

“Later, that the subject might be handled with all due consideration, according to custom, a special day was set when the clergy and people might discuss the question of electing a patriarch for the church at Jerusalem. After various expressions of opinion on this side and on that had been offered for deliberation, the unanimous choice fell on Gibelin, the legate of the apostolic see, and he was placed in the patriarchal chair. It is claimed that this choice also was brought about by the subtle plotting of Arnulf, who thought that Gibelin, being old and decrepit, would not survive long in the patriarchal office.”

This paragraph shows that now a lot of energy and effort was put into the considerations about the Crusader states - efforts that would have maybe be needed more in the different affairs in the home country.

In the following paragraphs the areas of impact of the Crusades shall be examined through the lens of the work of Friedrich Heer. Given the age of his publication, the data will be extracted and then discussed in chapter 5 in the light of the more recent secondary literature.

Heer begins by mentioning that the connection between Byzanz and the West became closer through the Crusades and says that “The closer contacts established in the Crusading era made a broad channel for the westward flow of the rich wares of Byzantine fable and romance: the flood-gates of oriental fantasy were now opened to pour out over Western Europe.” (p. 132) He further says that “The hunger for truth and substance, for holy things, made the West a ready market for the treasures of Indian, Arab and classical romance; Byzantium acted as the broker.” (p. 132) This

shows that a spiritual and cultural exchange was happening and that also new religious elements like Buddhism were flowing in and found resonance.

He further says:

“Taking a wide view, it may be said that Europe in the high Middle Ages achieved a co-existence of opposite and conflicting elements and that this is evident in every department of life; the Crusades confirm, in the most obvious way and with a wealth of disparate manifestations, the fact of this co-existence, which seems to later generations as improbable as it is amazing. In every Crusade, and as often as not in the individual Crusader, there was a variety of conflicting motives connected with religion, economics, politics and class. Undermost was faith, strong, sincere, solemn and naive, in which politics and religion were mingled: by the light of faith the Crusade was in essence a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, a journey undertaken as a penance (the eleventh and twelfth century chroniclers do not speak of “Crusades” but of the “Jerusalem journey”, the “journey to the Holy Sepulchre”, the “pilgrimage to Jerusalem”). Penance was to be done for the sinfulness of a life corrupted by the wicked world, for killings and robberies; but there was longing too, longing to see the land which was the “ancient birthright” of God’s son and, simply, there to die. Some were inspired by the desire to take home for themselves or their families relics and other such beneficent objects as were to be found in the Holy Land.” (p. 133)

In this paragraph, Heer mentions one important effect of the Crusades: the reinforcing and strengthening of the co-existence of different motives for the same

action. This testifies of a subtle, but highly important transformation of the society, which could have also laid a foundation of the modern concepts of pluralism and tolerance. According to Heer, the Crusaders must have accepted each other in their different motivations as they were heading towards the same goal.

Heer further mentions that one effect of the Crusades was that the First Crusade was followed by more crusades. Another effect was that the original Crusading idea and ideal changed throughout the course of those Crusades, as he writes:

“a change in the direction of the Crusading movement itself, which started in the mid-twelfth century and was completed by the beginning of the thirteenth. Crusades no longer set forth only for the Holy Land; they were launched as well against internal enemies, chiefly the Slavs of the German East (Wendish Crusade, 1147), the Moors in Spain, and heretics (starting in 1179). The Albigensian Crusade (1209-1228) and the Crusade against the Stedinger peasants in North Germany led directly to the secularization of the Crusading ideal and its perversion for political ends which was to characterize the movement for the rest of the Middle Ages.” (p. 139f.)

Heer shows here how through the following Crusades the idea was changed and perverted and how the Crusade turned from “outside” to “inside”.

The Crusades were extremely big enterprises, and the financial impact was heavy, as Heer continues to say:

The building up of such an enormous financial organization made the Roman Curia the greatest monetary power in Europe. The collection of the Crusading taxes and the traffic in indulgences introduced a commercial element into the administration of the Church, which confirmed the people of Western Europe in their old aversion to Rome. Three things gave rise to particular indignation: the abuse of the power to absolve Crusading vows or to commute them (it was possible to buy oneself out of the obligation to crusade in person); the application of the Crusading taxes to other purposes; and the dishonest acquisition of revenues out of these taxes by rulers who were only sham Crusaders. The Curia was very often the dupe of such transactions. King Henry III of England and King Haakon IV of Norway are the classic examples of rulers adept in converting Crusading taxes to the benefit of their own pockets. (p. 139)

This passage talks about the enormous growth and inflation of the Church's administrative and financial structure. According to Heer, the Church became much more commercial, and the Crusading idea was as well strongly commercialised. Furthermore, Heer shows how the Crusades and this growing financial structure gave great opportunity for rulers to enrich themselves and to shovel money into their own pockets. A selfless idea became the breeding ground for selfish individual actions and personal gain.

Besides the elements of inflation and gain, another crucial effect was also division.

Heer writes that especially the Fourth Crusade put an “unbridgeable gulf between Eastern and Western Christendom” (p. 137). Even Jerusalem, which should be entirely recaptured for Christ in the original plan became now divided as Heer writes:

The Emperor Frederick II who, after his excommunication by the Pope, carried on his Crusade by peaceful means, amazed his Arab friends by declaring Jerusalem a city of three religions, Jewish, Muslim and Christian. Under the peace he concluded as King of Jerusalem with the Sultan al- Malik-al-Kamil in 1229, the Holy Places of the city were divided between the two faiths: the Christians had the Holy Sepulchre, the Muslims the mosque of Omar, and both sections were kept open to pilgrims. (p. 145)

This passage clearly explains the methods of division that were applied after the Crusades. There was no (more) exclusivism for one religion or the other. Three religions were now claiming birthrights to the city. This might have also weakened the picture of Jerusalem as the “Holy City of Christ” as mentioned in other sources, since it was now divided. Furthermore, the dividing of the Holy Places between Christians and Muslims and the opening of them to pilgrims from both sides totally jeopardized the actual value that had been attached to them in the beginning. It is also questionable, since Heer writes that the Emperor Frederick had been excommunicated by the Pope, what the motive behind the move of the Emperor was to make Jerusalem a city of three religions. It could have even been going into the direction of revenge, since this move was the total contradiction to what the Crusades (and the Popes) had been planning in the beginning. This again points out

how much the Crusade idea had been perverted and changed throughout the course of time.

Heer further mentions the “unbridgeable gulf” that had been created between the Eastern and the Western Christendom through the Crusades. The Fourth Crusade ended with the Capture of Constantinople and finalized with the plunder and destruction of the city. (p. 136f.) It is therefore understandable that Heer assumes such an action to cause a gap and a break that can not easily be fixed. Instead of creating unity, the Crusades had now caused division.

Three more aspects shall be pointed out that Heer mentions in his elaborations: 1. the aspect of the change of the picture, 2. the rise of individualism and geographical detachment, 3. the rise of toleration.

Concerning the first point:

the picture that people had of the Crusaders changed rapidly. Heer writes that whereas the Crusaders were formerly seen as brave heroes who fought for the kingdom of God, they were now by “[t]he poets of southern France described Crusaders as fools, criminals and madmen.” (p. 142) This shows a turn from the former heroism towards a new perspective that was no longer focussing on the aspect of a necessary and selfless fight for God, but on the view of the Crusades as something foolish and unnecessary.

Concerning the second point:

Heer writes:

God in France, in Italy, in England, in Germany, in the heart and mind of every simple Christian: the crusading era coincided with the rise of the

nations and of the vernacular languages, the awakening of an individualism founded on religious belief, and of an intellectual movement intensely critical in temper, all of which had violent repercussions on the crusading movement, which by about 1260-70 had completely lost its original form. (p. 143)

This paragraph connects to the first aspect through the mentioning of the change of the picture that people had had of the crusades. He states that about 170 years after the beginning of the Crusades the story was a completely different one. Furthermore, the paragraph shows also a rising detachment from religious places and a shift towards the ubiquity of God and religion. Religion was, according to the paragraph, now focussed more on the individual and the individual's belief and not so much anymore on a specific place or action.

Concerning the third point:

Toleration was on the rise. Heer writes that specifically in the Crusader states, Christian and Muslim nobles tended to have peaceful relations and emphasised a peaceful coexistence. (p. 144) Even worship places were used by both sides. (p. 145) In the view of the Crusading actions happening before this is to be considered to be quite special and outstanding, as he says:

“both part and parcel of the whole East-West conflict and the Crusades and at the same time extends far beyond them (...).

The fact that toleration can be discussed at all in connection with the Middle Ages is striking enough; it underlines the magnitude of the metamorphosis

which transformed the "open" Middle Ages of the expansive twelfth century into the increasingly narrow and constricted later Middle Ages.” (p.146)

It can be seen from this primary and secondary data that the cause, motivation, underlying theology of the Crusades is manifold and various in its nature.

The next chapter will now focus on discussing this data which have been presented in the light of the (more recent) secondary literature in order to lead the study towards the conclusion.

CHAPTER 5 - DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

5. Discussion of results

The data collected and presented in chapter 4 shall now be discussed and enlightened in the reflection of the secondary literature in their respective sections.

5.1. Cause of the Crusades

In the data, the general conditions of the times in the 11th century and the general wickedness of the times were mentioned.

Thomas Asbridge (2010) argues that the Crusades were to some extent a reaction of Christendom to an “act of Islamic aggression” (p. 51) Blaydes & Paik (2016) agree and state that the Crusades came as a response to Islam expansion (p.11).

But the picture is bigger.

Friedrich Heer (1963) further mentions that the 12th century (on the brim of which the Crusades began) was a time of general openness and curiosity towards the world. (p. 101)

The “general wickedness of the time that William of Tyre tended to emphasise so much in his writings is again picked up by Heer (1963) who locates this wickedness highly in the religious sector of the society, specifically the monasteries. (p. 62f) Another point mentioned was the strong perception of personal wickedness and imperfection which needed redemption and purification (p. 57)

This aspect goes straight to the motivation of the Crusaders.

5.2. Motivation

The secondary literature generally agrees with and affirms the diversity of motivations. The primary sources have demonstrated the big role of the promise of

remission of sins and the personal salvation. This is particularly picked up and emphasised by Thomas Asbridge who on the one hand acknowledges the diversity of motivations, yet highly focusses on the religious element as he says: “They also might envisage themselves as fulfilling a duty of service owed to God, as bringing succour to fellow Christians, even as imitating the labours and suffering of Christ himself.” Then he adds that at the “at the heart of the Crusading impulse, lay the promise of individual salvation.” It was believed that participating in a crusade could save somebody from damnation and could effice the forgiveness of sins. “And this was why hundreds of thousands of Latins took the cross in the course of the Middle Ages.” (all p. 873) It is quite clear that Asbridge (like the primary sources) definitely prioritises the religious motivational factors. Blaydes & Paik (2016) do agree with Asbridge and point out the aspect of “pious idealism” and the view on the crusade as an act of love. (p. 11) Furthermore, they do emphasise the aspect of privileges of different nature as a highly motivational factor, e.g. the obtaining of status rewards, legal privileges or land sales privileges. (p. 556) The latter one is of special importance for them, since the Western European medieval society was a feudal society (p. 552) which meant that land was granted from lords to the people in exchange for military service.

On the keyword military service one more aspect has to be mentioned: Heer (1963) elaborates that the medieval society of the 11th century and beyond was a society that was dominated by warfare. (p. 60) Life was seen as a fight for your own right and the right things in general. This aspect of fight was not only seen in a purely military sense but as well in a religious things, as it was believed that everything in life could be overcome by three things: fighting for justice, engaging in righteous warfare and the strict observation of religious ceremonies. (p. 61)

In a closer look, the crusades joined and fulfilled all these three points:

the fight for justice: the Crusades - as elaborated on in the data presentation - were seen as absolutely justified in order to bring back the justice and righteousness into the Holy City of God, which had been captured and which had been an unspeakable thing in the eyes of the church. According to the collected data, the Western church had been requested to assist the Eastern church (Blaydes & Paik, 2016) in doing exactly that what they later did - to bring back the justice to Holy city, even when that victory was only temporary and the Latin Christendom lost in the very end of the Crusades. (Asbridge, 2010) Heer (1963) describes it in an apt and slightly smug way that the Crusades were “fruitless ambitions to subjugate East Rome and the Eastern Church to the Papacy” (p. 130)

The hereby mentioned suggestion to a claim of power from the side of the papacy shall be discussed later in this chapter more detailed.

engaging in righteous warfare: the Crusades were a warfare against the enemies of the Church (Blaydes & Paik, 2016, p. 554) and the Crusades had that clear military element, notation and nature, yet Asbridge (2010) adds that the military element was never the heart of the Crusading matter, but the view on them as a “form of personal penance” (p. 872) (That was incidentally according to Asbridge the reason why the crusades never really captured back the Holy City fully and were not able to keep the Crusader states for a longer period simply because they had not been purposed out in the beginning to strategically do that).

the strict observation of religious ceremonies: Western European medieval Christian religion was highly focussed on a strict observance of sacraments and rites and saw them as an aid to salvation (Heer, 1963, p. 57) Everything that helped to reach salvation and most importantly perfection was observed with high seriousness. Payne

(1984) says that “men lived the sacramental life to a degree that we can now scarcely comprehend.” (p. 18) Even the participation in the Crusades were seen as part of that since they were so deeply connected with the promise of the remission of sins as indicated above. Since it was believed that man was enslaved to the devil, it was also believed that he owed obedience to God and therefore to the church and to the people (the clergy) who worked together for the salvation of man. (Heer, 1963) Sin and damnation were overemphasized in the church and the people wanted to shake it off by all means - and the Crusades were promised to be of crucial help in that enterprise.

It is interesting how much of a role the longing for personal salvation and holiness played in the aspect of the Crusaders’ motivation - only that it was sought in a way that was focussed on the wrong aspects

Another aspect in the motivation for the Crusades were the various other reasons as William of Tyre mentioned in his narration and Payne (1984) describes as every Crusader having their own reason for going for the Crusade.

Concerning this, Heer (1963) writes that “In every Crusade (...) there was a variety of conflicting motives connected with religion, economics, politics and class.” (p. 133) He continues to say that “material, even materialistic motives such as the Crusader’s quest for honours and estates, were not infrequently closely interwoven with others (...).” (p. 134) Another point Heer mentions is the attitude of individual heroism among the Crusaders as well as even their “lust for blood.” (p. 135)

Concerning the motivation of the Crusaders to fight against Asbridge (2010) describes vividly how the Pope Urban was condemning Islam and was demonising the Muslims, portraying them as “subhuman savages” (p. 60) in order to motivate the people to fight against them, the ‘enemies of God’.

This aspect now brings in the role of the Pope, specifically of Pope Urban. It was mentioned in the previous chapter that his role is being more closely examined in this chapter - and this is what is going to be done in the next paragraphs.

The Council of Clermont, on which the first Crusade was proclaimed, was held in France, where the Pope already arrived in August 1095. (Somerville, 1974) When the Pope was appealing for the first crusade on this council, he was also doing this with a political notion. Heer (1963) mentioned rightfully that in the Crusades political and religious motives and aspects were mixed and mingled. This specifically happened also in the person and the actions of Pope Urban II. The exhortation to reclaim the Holy City of Jerusalem were not only to bring back religious and spiritual justice and purity to the Holy Land and the Holy City, but they had also the clear intention of serve political purposes and to increase the influence of the Latin Christianity, as Heer (1963) already indicated.

He writes that “the reformed papacy, strengthened from within by the Cluniac movement, was seeking to unite Europe under its own leadership. The idea was that instead of rending themselves and each other in their perpetual feuds, the nobility of Western Europe should join forces in pursuit of a common aim, the conquest of the Holy Land.” (S. 127)

Payne (1984) adds that “Urban II hoped to establish the principle that the Church was the supreme arbiter over earthly kingdoms with the power to authorize wars and to prevent wars.” (p. 33)

Wickham (2016) drives this very point home by describing these intentions as the desire to establish a so-called “papal monarchy”. (p. 117)

This paragraph makes quite clear that the papacy was not only following religious motives or their sole love for the City of God when they called upon the people to join the Crusades.

Heer continues to say that “Recruitment to the Crusade, in which papal emissaries played their part, was made the occasion of religious-political propaganda aimed at the masses. Everything was there, atrocity stories, over-simplification, lies, inflammatory propaganda.” (p. 139)

This shows that especially at a later point in time, calling upon people for the crusading had nothing to do anymore with a passionate exhortation out of love for God, but rather much with strategic propaganda, also in order to keep up the big financial mechanisms that had been put in place to keep the enterprise running. (Heer 1963)

Smith (2019) adds that “the medieval papacy crafted its calls to crusade so as best to persuade the faithful to sacrifice their normal lives and seek salvation as *crucesignati*” (p. 4)

Exaggerations of the conditions in Jerusalem were used strategically (Smith, 2019) in order to stir up peoples emotions and move them towards joining the Crusades. These aspects show that the Crusades and their ideas were undergoing a metamorphosis throughout the time and that the line between being motivated and manipulated was sometimes very thin.

5.3. underlying theology

Concerning the aspect of viewing Jerusalem as the Holy City, most of the secondary literature agrees unanimously that Jerusalem was counted as the Holy City and was

seen as the central place for the Christian faith, which conclusively needed to be freed from the Muslim influence and occupation.

Grabar (2001) adds the aspect that “the main expression of pious behaviour in Jerusalem was pilgrimage.” (p. 685)

Since crusading was seen as a form of pilgrimage (Heer 1963), the connection between the personal religiosity and the value that was attached to Jerusalem is clearly visible.

Payne (1984) adds in the aspect that specifically the tomb of Christ in Jerusalem was treated by the medieval Christians with the highest value, reverence and awe and it was even believed that it had powers to generate eternal life. (p. 19) The motivation to reach there was consequently quite high.

Concerning the aspect of the Muslims being viewed as enemies of God and of Christianity, it was already mentioned above that according to Asbridge (2010) especially the Pope condemned the Muslims and the Islam in order to also increase the motivation and the radicality of the Crusaders. Heer (1963) describes the attitude of the Crusaders: “The knight set forth under the banner of Christ, war-leader and king, to wrest the “land of His birthright” from the infidels; if he fell, he had his reward in Heaven” (p.127)

This clearly shows how the Muslims were viewed by the Crusaders and their attitude towards them.

Another aspect that the primary sources were mentioning was the matter that the Crusaders were selling everything and leaving behind earthly possessions and their beloved ones in order to join the Crusades.

Robert Payne (1984) states that “Landowners abandoned their land, peasants allowed themselves to be uprooted, princes plundered their treasuries to make the pilgrimage (...).” (p. 17) It can almost be counted as fascinating that people from all walks of life, nobles and peasants side by side were ready and willing to leave everything behind to join the crusades. It is interesting

Blaydes & Paik (2016) do point out that the Crusaders even got land sales privileges (p. 556) in case they would join the Crusades and that through the sales of land and estates funds could be solicited to finance the Crusades, since they were extremely costly. (p. 557) This reveals clearly the connection between religion and financial interventions.

“Medieval prelates granted untold numbers of indulgences to promote the cult of the saints, the oldest expression of popular piety in the Middle Ages. This promotion usually came in the form of indulgences granted for the visitation of a saint's shrine; so the practice of pilgrimage was also crucial. (Shaffern, 1998, p. 645)

It was mentioned above that the Crusades were in the essence seen as pilgrimages (Heer, 1963) and therefore the indulgences (that is remission of sins) were directly granted by the popes in case the people joined the Crusade.

This happened especially in the first Crusade and then later most especially before the Fourth Crusade, which was launched by the later pope Innocent III. (Rist, 2010)

In the medieval Christian belief, people believed that Before they could enter heaven, there would be a need for them to stay in purgatory for a while. According to this doctrine the Crusades were presented as a work so meritorious that this time in purgatory and all punishment for sin would be eradicated through joining it. (Rist, 2010) This made the joining of the Crusades highly attractive.

It is therefore understandable that it has been pointed out in the primary sources that the indulgences and the promise of the remission of sins for the Crusaders was playing an enormous role for the people also in terms of the motivation and that it was also a big - if not the main - theological pillar that carried the whole enterprise of the Crusades.

When the attention is now turned towards the impact that the Crusades had, a few aspects need to be emphasized in the light of the secondary literature.

The first emphasis lies on the Crusade and the Crusading idea itself. The Crusades that started in the 11th century were not the ones that were launched in the 13th century. Asbridge (2010) says that it is “equally important to recognise that the idea of the first Crusade - its nature, intentions and rewards - underwent ongoing, largely organic development throughout the expedition.” (p. 64)

Heer (1963) adds that the later Crusades were no longer or not longer only launched to go to the Holy Land, but to fight against the internal enemies like the Slavs. (p. 139)

This shows a deep rift between the original idea and aim and the later reality. Into play also came the financial aspect: Blaydes & Paik (2016) do point out that the Crusades had an enormous impact on the finances of the states and that even taxes were collected to finance the Crusades (p. 660) Heer (1963) adds that ironically, the Church earned more from the internal crusades than from the external.

Division

Another aspect is the aspect of division. It has been already mentioned in ch. 5 that the Crusades caused an unbridgeable gap between the East and the West and between the Eastern and the Western Church. That gap got there through the

Crusades in those medieval years and is still seen between the churches up to today. The Western and the Eastern church are of different character, of a different nature, a different liturgy and a different emphasis.

That aspect brings us now to the last part of this research study: the lessons that the Church of Uganda can learn from the medieval Crusades, their nature, their impact.

CHAPTER 6 - CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6. Conclusions and recommendations

The Crusades were a very special and unique phenomenon of the medieval age, which had a very genuine mixture of motivations and a very distinct way in which it impacted the Medieval European western world. Through the Crusades and their dynamics the high power (and the longing for power!) from the Church in general and the Popes in particular was revealed. An enormous financial system was built through and kept alive through the Crusades. Thousands of people went under the sign of the cross. New states were established overseas and the politics of the home states were affected.

From this distinct historical phenomenon, the following lessons can be drawn for the Church of Uganda:

1. Reflection on the motives of oneself and others

One of the big points in this work was the motivation of the Crusaders, their motives and the reasons why they went for the Crusades.

The sources and the literature have revealed that the biggest motivation of the crusaders was the one of seeking for personal remission of sins and that they also had other motivations like the gain for money, privileges or other advantages.

This can encourage the Church of Uganda to closely examine the motives and motivations of people in joining ministry. People can have very serious own agendas. They might want to use ministry as means to an end or to gain something out of it, and this should be prevented in an uncompromised way.

2. Motivation and manipulation

In connection with the point of motivation it was also mentioned in the literature that throughout the years and decades the spiritual leadership, specifically the papacy deserted from the original Crusade idea and concept and became highly manipulative in their rhetoric in order to motivate people for the Crusades, whose concept had also been perverted.

This can sensitize the Church of Uganda for the growing number of rhetorically eloquent, but highly manipulative “church leaders” in Uganda and around the world who also want to recruit people for their own “crusades” or just their theology or ideology. It further encourages the Church of Uganda to also not let this phenomenon seep into their lines and to stay clear and faithful - even when the numbers are fewer than expected and the responses to certain events are not coming out as expected.

3. Perversion of concepts and ideas along the way after a good start

In connection with the previous point, it was also pointed out that the Crusading idea and concept had quite a good start but experienced a fundamental twist and perversion along the way.

What started as an armed pilgrimage to reclaim of the Holy Lands had decades later turned into a highly financial machinery that had established monetary systems in the origin countries and kept them alive and was kept alive through them.

Even the Bible points out examples like King David or King Solomon who started very well in their kingship but ended up in a totally different way than they had started. They had started off very well with the Lord and ended up not being with him in the end.

This can sensitize the Church of Uganda to make sure to keep their enterprises, ministries and other endeavours clear and biblically straight and faithful and Christ centred from the beginning until the end and also undertake reviews if necessary. It can happen to any team, any ministry and any church. It calls the church for a high vigilance and for doctrinal stability in order to not fall prey to such developments.

4. People are looking for salvation in the wrong way or at the wrong place

The people who joined the Crusades were primarily looking for salvation, and this has been as well the aim of a person's whole life in the medieval age, trying to get to a place of perfection through a highly strict sacramental life.

The search for salvation is generally a good and legitimate thing - but it has to happen in the right place and in the right way. In the medieval age, as it has been outlined, the faith of the people was quite fixed on becoming perfect and on rites and people. They searched salvation, perfection and remission of sins in mediators and also in the joining of the Crusades. But the joining of such a pilgrimage does not make one holy and does also not bring or accelerate the forgiveness of sins in any way.

It is the definitely wrong place of looking for any spiritual enlightenment or personal holiness.

Salvation only comes through grace by faith according to Ephesians 2 and is not to be found in any works. This can encourage the Church of Uganda to never compromise her teaching on salvation and to teach steadfastly that salvation can not be gotten through works and should not be looked for in works, but is found in Christ alone and is later that what inspires and enables the good works of God.

5. The view on Muslims

The primary sources revealed a quite despising and diminishing nature of the view of the Christianity on Muslims in the medieval times, them being pictured as infidels and enemies of God. The Muslims were fought with weapons and violence. As much as there was cultural exchange between Byzanz and the West and as much as there was a peaceful coexistence in the Crusader states (Asbridge, 2010) - the sources and the events have painted a clear picture of the attitude that the Christianity had towards the Muslims - not to forget that Heer (1963) mentioned that some of the Crusaders were simply lusting for blood. That can not be ignored.

This calls the Church of Uganda to be very careful in the picture that she paints of the Muslims. The Bible encourages Christians to be zealous for God, but in the same time be loving towards their enemies. The Church therefore needs to find the balance between those two concepts and should encourage the believers to have a Biblical view on the Muslims and not a resentful or despicable or hateful one. As much as it is important for the Church of Uganda to stay doctrinally clear and straight and as much as the Muslims need to be evangelized - it should all happen with the right view on the other people, including the Muslims.

6. Allow exchange and dialogue without perverting your ideals and principles

This lesson connects to the previous point. There should be and can be interfaith dialogue and exchange between Christians and Muslims - but without compromising the Christian doctrine or any of the Christian principles. The secondary literature emphasised the cultural and intellectual exchange and dialogue between the Muslim world and the West and the fact that the European civilisation got even advanced through this exchange. This impact and this contribution of the Far and Near East

should be accepted by the Church of Uganda and can be expanded - but with clear boundaries and the clear premise to never be overpowered, especially not in the spiritual way. This is very important, especially in an age of the present one where Islam has also become more agitative and has put itself in a victimized position through terms like “Islamophobia”, demanding attention and space. (Albin et al., 2019; Beydoun, 2023)

7. Imperialistic and supremacy tendencies

Heer (1963) mentioned basing on the sources like the Crusade letters that it was the Papacy’s aim to subjugate East Rome and the Eastern Church to her and that would have led to the spiritual supremacy over the Eastern European sphere. (p. 130)

These tendencies were there and were not even hidden, but spelled out clearly.

Such tendencies can even appear in other ministries today. On the website of a big Ugandan ministry it can be read: “It is moving like a power to be reckoned with, from the centre of Kampala Uganda to Africa, Asia, America, and the entire globe. It is changing debauched men to lovers of God; restoring marriages; altering financial stagnation; redefining indoctrinations; erasing what men have for so long defined as truth yet it was the doctrine of men, launching men into the power of the miraculous, the depths of God and the wisdoms of eternity. (...) We are on the streets, in the hospitals, in the corridors of power, in the education institutions, in the media, and in the fields. We are everywhere and we are there on divine assignment to show men God.” (<https://phaneroo.org/ministry-profile/>, retrieved on 27th June 2026)

These statements do quite explicitly express supremacy tendencies as well as the conviction to have found the ultimate truth.

Even the Islam expresses such tendencies and convictions, as it can be read in the Hadith: Allah 's Apostle said, " I have been ordered to fight with the people till they say, 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allah,' and whoever says, 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allah,' his life and property will be saved by me except for Islamic law, and his accounts will be with Allah, (either to punish him or to forgive him.)" (Sahih al-Bukhari, 2946)

This should alert and sensitize the Church of Uganda in two directions: on the one hand to be vigilant and to fight and block any supremacy tendencies by any person or leader from within the church, but on the other hand to be very well aware about those intentions from other ministries as well as from the side of Islam. These intentions should not be taken lightly by the Church of Uganda, they should not be underestimated and in cooperations and in dialogue vigilance and alertness and clear boundaries should be displayed in order to not be overpowered or to allow any tendencies and thoughts to seep in that can later jeopardize the Church from within.

8. Materialism and the connection of religion and finance

Another point in the Crusades was the aspect of materialism and finance. Being huge and costly enterprises as mentioned above, they were therefore characterized by the mixture and connection between financial and religious aspects.

This connection had been actively strengthened and affirmed through the Papacy and both the religious and the financial aspect kept each other alive in and justified in the course of the Crusades. Heer (1963) has emphasized how the Church got increasingly commercialized.

The Bible warns in Matthew 6 about the fact that one cannot serve God and money at the same time, and in 1 Timothy 6 believers are reminded that the love for money is a root for all sorts of evil.

It has been mentioned how much the Crusade concept had been perverted from the beginning to the end and it is of a high likelihood that the growing focus on the material and financial aspect could have played a role in this.

This can call the Church of Uganda for an act of self- reflection and self-review and to not use religion to justify financial programs and vice versa. These two aspects should be separated, of course apart from the aspect of offertory and tithe. But the focus on God and his kingdom should always be clear and the focus should never be on money.

9. Fighting for God without being led by the need

The Crusaders, as it has been laid out in the data analysis and discussion, went on the Crusades in order to fight for God and they saw this as a legitimate motive. It has also been laid out in the discussion that one of the impulses to launch the Crusades had been the request of the Greek Emperor towards the papacy for assistance in fighting against the Muslim Turks.

It has been laid out that this was also part of the motivation for the Crusades. It can therefore be said that to some extent the Papacy allowed herself to be led by that need when launching the Crusades. This was then legitimized and justified through the aspect of fighting for God.

The Bible clearly points out the priorities that a believer should have, and that a believer should never be led by the need, but by God and by his guidance.

Matthew 6:33 reminds believers to seek first the kingdom of God and to put the focus on God not what is on the earth. 20 chapters later in the same gospel Jesus even tells his disciples that the poor and the need would be always around them. This implicates as well that a believer should not be led by the need because it is always around him or her.

This can encourage the Church of Uganda to put the focus always on God and not on the need and to really seek Gods guidance and to launch projects or any effort out of a clear call and instruction from God and not (just) because the people around are in so much need. The need is always present, and God does not want his church to fall into activism and into putting resources into the places where they should not be. The church should be effective and that happens only through Gods guidance.

10. Politics and religion

The lesson which can be learned here by the Church of Uganda from the Crusades is to be careful with the connection and merging of religion and politics. In the crusades those two areas were highly intertwined and even the Crusader states were established. Political gains were made through the Crusades and it led to political changes and instability in some of the states.

Therefore, the church can learn that religion should not be used as a means to a political end and that politics should never be justified through religion or religious means.

Furthermore, the Church should be aware of her potential and her influence in the area of politics. If used rightfully, the Church can be a strong voice and a highly influential factor in political areas. The Crusades have shown that an enterprise launched by the Church was able to impact a whole continent and was able to get

into the books of history. This potential should therefore be acknowledged and used wisely by the Church.

11. Division and unity

Concerning this point, the Crusades displayed sort of a paradoxon: on the one hand, people from different social classes and from different nations united under the sign of the cross to take the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. On the other hand, the Crusades created a big rift between the Western and the Eastern Christianity as well as between the Muslims and the Christians who fought each other in the Crusades.

This can teach the Church of Uganda to be united - but for God and for a purpose and not against something that will again bring so much hatred between the church and this group. Of course the Bible exhorts believers not to compromise and to condone something that is clearly sinful - but the Church should be united, hate the sin, but love the sinner. The Church should keep up the unity of the Spirit according to Ephesians 4 and not allow herself to be divided by anything.

These eleven significant lessons for the Church of Uganda do mark the conclusion of this research study.

It is recommended that the Church will acknowledge and implement them as she continues to shine and minister to God's people and as she reaches out to the people in Uganda and beyond. It is further recommended that the Church of Uganda continues to learn from history, since many relevant lessons can be drawn from there as this research has demonstrated.

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Research Ethics Committee UG-026



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UG-REC-026 APPROVAL NOTICE



21st July, 2026

To: **Rebekka Berthold**; Principal Investigator

Re: UCU-REC Application titled : *The Impact of the Medieval Crusades: Lessons for the Church of Uganda.*

Application Number: UCUREC-2026-837

Version: 4.1

Type: ☒ INITIAL REVIEW

- ☐ Exemption Request
- ☐ Protocol Amendment
- ☐ Letter of Amendment (LOA)
- ☐ Continuing Review
- ☐ Material Transfer Agreement
- ☐ Other, Specify:

I am pleased to inform you that the **UG-REC-026**; UCUREC under expedited review approved the above referenced application.

Approval of the research is for a period from 21st July , 2026 to 21st July 2027.

This research is considered minimal risk category.

As Principal Investigator of the research, you are responsible for fulfilling the following requirements of approval:

1. All co-investigators must be kept informed of the status of the research.
2. Changes, amendments, and additions to the protocol or the consent form must be submitted to the REC for re-review and approval **prior** to the activation of the changes. The REC application number assigned to the research should be cited in any correspondence.
3. Reports of unanticipated problems involving risks to participants or other must be submitted to the REC. New information that becomes available which could change the risk: benefit ratio must be submitted promptly for REC review.

Research and Ethics



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Research Ethics Committee UG-026



4. Only approved consent forms are to be used in the enrollment of participants. All consent forms signed by subjects and/or witnesses should be retained on file. The REC may conduct audits of all study records, and consent documentation may be part of such audits.
5. Regulations require review of an approved study not less than once per 12-month period. **Therefore, a continuing review application must be submitted to the REC eight weeks prior to the above expiration date of 21st July, 2027 in order to continue the study beyond the approved period.** Failure to submit a continuing review application in a timely fashion may result in suspension or termination of the study, at which point new participants may not be enrolled and currently enrolled participants must be taken off the study.
6. The REC application number assigned to the research should be cited in any correspondence with the REC of record.
7. Your research details have been shared with the Executive secretary of Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST) and you are **not** required to get clearance.

The following is the list of all documents approved in this application by UG-REC _026:

	Document Title	Language	Version	Version Date
1.	Protocol	English	1.0	2026-07-21
2.	Research tools	English	1.0	2026-07-21
3.	Informed Consent form	English	1.0	2026-07-21
4.	Community Engagement Plan	English	1.0	2026-07-21
5.	Risk Management Plan	English	1.0	2026-07-21
6.	Study work plan	English	1.0	2026-07-21
7.	Budget	English	1.0	2026-07-21

Signed and Stamped

Dr. Edward Mukooza.
UCUREC Chairperson,
emukooza@ucu.ac.ug



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