The Islamic View and the Christian View of the Crusades: A New Synthesis

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Abstract
Conventional wisdom maintains that the Islamic world and western Christendom held two very different views of the crusades. The image of warfare between Islam and Christendom has promoted the idea that the combative instincts aroused by this conflict somehow produced discordant views of the crusades. Yet the direct evidence from Islamic and Christian sources indicates otherwise. The self-view of the crusades presented by contemporary Muslim authors and the self-view of the crusades presented by crusading popes are not in opposition to each other but are in agreement with each other. Both interpretations place the onset of the crusades ahead of their accepted historical debut in 1095. Both interpretations point to the Norman conquest of Islamic Sicily (1060–91) as the start of the crusades. And both interpretations contend that by the end of the eleventh century the crusading enterprise was Mediterranean-wide in its scope. The Islamic view of the crusades is in fact the enantiomorph (mirror-image) of the Christian view of the crusades. This article makes a radical departure from contemporary scholarship on the early crusading enterprise because it is based on the direct evidence from Islamic and Christian sources. The direct evidence offers a way out of the impasse into which crusade history has fallen, and any attempt at determining the origin and nature of crusading without the support of the direct evidence is doomed to failure.

Since 11 September 2001 the crusades have hit the headlines. Shortly after the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, President George Bush used the term ‘crusade’ to describe his new war on terrorism. Al-Qā‘idah has been using the term for more than a decade, most notably in ‘The World Islamic Front Statement of Jihād

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against Jews and Crusaders’ of 22 February 1998 that speaks of ‘the brutal Crusader occupation of the [Arabian] Peninsula’ and ‘Crusader armies spreading in it like locusts, eating its riches and wiping out its plantations’. Usâmah bin Lâdin and his deputy Ayman al-Zawâhiri have repeatedly referred to the crusades in their taped messages. To judge from their rhetoric, the Muslim world has harboured a sense of grievance against the west that goes all the way back to the crusades. But what exactly were the crusades, and how have Muslims in the past understood them?

Modern scholars have ignored how Muslims in the past have understood the crusades. Those who study the crusades cannot credit what medieval Muslim authors say about crusading, particularly regarding the origins, purpose and scope of the enterprise. Simply put, the modern researcher cannot accept what the Islamic evidence is telling him about crusading. The modern researcher is so sure that the prevailing theory of the crusades is the correct one that he cannot bring himself to adopt the self-understanding that Muslims had of the crusades. As a result, modern scholarship, whether in the west or in the Muslim world, passes over the Islamic interpretation of the crusades as irrelevant.

The framework of analysis that guides current understandings of how crusading emerged and developed cannot accommodate the historical vision of the crusades put forward by Muslim authors who had direct knowledge of crusading. Modern scholars in the west, as well as in the


3 Carole Hillenbrand’s recent study, The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives (Edinburgh, 1999) [hereafter Hillenbrand, Islamic Perspectives], fails to recognize the Islamic view of the crusades because the assumption that forms her starting point is that crusading began in 1095 with Pope Urban II’s call to ‘rescue Jerusalem and the other Churches of Asia from the power of the Saracens’.

Islamic world, accept what can be called the ‘Big Bang’ theory of the crusades. According to this theory, a mass movement, sparked by Pope Urban II’s famous appeal at Clermont in 1095, brought the crusades into being. All at once crusading and crusading institutions burst forth with sudden violence, and the Muslim east found itself the object of a full-scale invasion emanating from the Latin west that involved tens of thousands of combatants. Advocates of the ‘Big Bang’ theory are unwilling to concede that crusading developed in a piecemeal fashion and progressed by fits and starts. Instead, they rely on an implicit syllogism that runs something like this:

**Major premise:** The crusades began in 1095, because that is the date agreed upon by scholarly authorities.

**Minor premise:** The earliest evidence for crusading dates from the year 1095.

**Ergo:** The crusading enterprise as a political force and as a set of ideas and institutions (e.g. the ecclesiastical apparatus of indulgence, vow and cross) emerged in 1095.6

Despite the fact that a number of prominent scholars have found the minor premise to be mistaken, the ‘Big Bang’ theory of the crusades has

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proved remarkably durable. Crusade historians have been successful at promoting this paradigm and converting historians to this time-honoured theory, but they have not achieved their success by providing conclusive proof that the ‘Big Bang’ theory is historically accurate or by proving that alternative theories are not possible. Medieval Muslim authors proposed an alternative theory of the origin of the crusades that modern historians have ignored.

I

Six years after the crusader conquest of Jerusalem in 1099, a legal scholar and preacher at the Great Mosque of Damascus, ‘Alī ibn Ṭāhir al-Sulamī (1039–1106), presented an account of the crusading movement in his book Kitāb al-jihād (‘The Book of Holy War’). His interpretation of the crusades came to enjoy canonical status in the Islamic historiographical tradition and was eventually incorporated in the main historiographical tradition of the Middle East.

Al-Sulamī was able to see the crusading movement in its full range. He does not confine crusading to a brief and localized conflict that centred on the Holy Land or the eastern Mediterranean. Instead, al-Sulamī presents the crusades as a Christian jihād against Islam that had three main fronts: Sicily, Spain and Syria. This ‘holy war’ began with the Norman conquest of Islamic Sicily (1060–91), then spread to Islamic Spain, and, by the end of the eleventh century, had advanced on Syria:

A host [of Franks] swooped down upon the island of Sicily at a time of division and dissension, and likewise they took possession of town after town in Islamic Spain [al-Andalus]. When reports mutually confirmed the condition of this country [Syria] – namely, the disagreements of its lords, the discord of its leading men, coupled with its disorder and disarray – they acted upon their decision to set out for it [Syria] and Jerusalem was the chief object of their desires . . . They [the Franks] continued zealously

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7 Evidence that the most important crusading institution, the crusade indulgence, first appeared more than three decades ahead of the accepted historical schedule for the crusades has been acknowledged by leading scholars for many years. See Nikolaus Paulus, Geschichte des Ablasses im Mittelalter vom Ursprung bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts (3 vols., Paderborn, 1922–3; repr. Darmstadt, 2000), i. 134; Carl Erdmann, Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens (Stuttgart, 1935; repr. Darmstadt, 1980) [hereafter Erdmann, Kreuzzugsgedanke], p. 125; trans Marshall W. Baldwin and Walter Goffart as The Origin of the Idea of Crusade, foreword and additional notes by Marshall W. Baldwin (Princeton, NJ, 1977), pp. 138–9; Augustin Fliche, La réforme grégorienne et la reconquête chrétienne (1057–1123) (Paris, 1950), p. 52; José Goñi Gaztambide, Historia de la bula de la cruzada en España (Vitoria, 1958) [hereafter Goñi Gaztambide, Historia], pp. 50–1; Mayer, Crusades, p. 26; Joseph F. O’Callaghan, Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain (Philadelphia, 2003) [hereafter O’Callaghan, Reconquest], pp. 24–7; Chevedden, ‘Crusade Indulgence’, 278–86. Although the existence of the crusade indulgence for Sicily and Spain from as early as 1063 is the clearest a posteriori proof of the existence of crusading prior to 1095, crusade scholars for the most part have been unwilling to re-examine the hypothesis that 1095 was ground zero of the crusades.
in the holy war (*jihād*) against the Muslims . . . until they made themselves rulers of lands beyond their wildest dreams.  

This depiction of a Mediterranean-wide struggle that started in the western Mediterranean basin and finally encompassed the eastern Mediterranean basin was the prevailing view presented in Islamic historical writing of that general war between Islam and Christendom that became known as the crusades. Ibn al-Athīr (1160–1233) elevated this interpretation of the crusades to canonical status in Arabic historiography in his monumental work *al-Kāmil fī al-taʿrīkh* (‘The Consummate History’). His account reads:

The first appearance of the power of the Franks and the extension of their rule – namely, attacks directed against Islamic territory and the conquest of some of these lands – occurred in 478/1085, when they took Toledo and other cities in Islamic Spain [al-Andalus], as previously mentioned.

Then in 484/1091 they attacked and conquered the island of Sicily, as I have also described; from there they extended their reach as far as the coast of North Africa, where they captured some places. The conquests [in North Africa] were won back, but they took possession of other lands, as you will see.

In 490/1097 they attacked Syria, and this is how it all came about: Baldwin, their king, a relative of Roger the Frank, who had conquered Sicily, after having amassed a sizable force, sent a message to Roger saying: ‘I have assembled a large army and am now on my way to you, and

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9 Ibn al-Athīr correctly notes that the conquest was completed in the year 1091, but it began some thirty years earlier in 1060 (Graham A. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard: Southern Italy and the Norman Conquest* (Harlow, 2000), pp. 148, 149, 172).

10 Presumably this is Baldwin of Bouillon. If so, Ibn al-Athīr incorrectly identifies him as a king and relative of Count Roger I of Sicily. Baldwin of Bouillon was the brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, the first king of Jerusalem (1099–1100). He succeeded his brother on the throne (1100–18), but at the time of the ‘First’ Crusade he was neither a king nor a leader of crusader forces. Peter Malcolm Holt’s suggestion for why ‘Baldwin’ was designated by Ibn al-Athīr as the leader of the ‘First’ Crusade has merit: ‘Since [Baldwin of Bouillon] was followed in due course by four other Baldwins, the name may have seemed almost like a regal or dynastic title to the Arabic chronicler’ (Peter Malcolm Holt, *The Crusader States and their Neighbours, 1098–1291* (Harlow, 2004) [hereafter Holt, *Crusader States*], p. 19).

11 Roger I, Count of Sicily (d. 1101), was the youngest son of Tancred de Hauteville. He was largely responsible for the Norman conquest of Sicily, although Tancred’s fourth son, Robert Guiscard, the Norman Duke of Apulia and Calabria (1059–85), played an important role in conquering the north-eastern part of the island (1061–2) and the city of Palermo (1072). See Graham A. Loud, ‘Kingdom of Sicily’, in *The Crusades: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Alan V. Murray (4 vols., Santa Barbara, Calif., 2005), iv. 1104–7.
from your land I shall conqueror North Africa and thereby become your neighbour.12

Roger gathered his companions and consulted them about this matter... [After considering the plan carefully] he summoned Baldwin’s messenger and said to him: ‘If you want to make holy war (jihād) against the Muslims, it would be better for you to conquer Jerusalem and deliver it from their hands and thereby win great glory. As for North Africa, I am bound to its people by oaths and treaties.’ So the Franks made their preparations and set out to attack Syria.13

Ibn al-Athīr enumerates the main events of the crusading enterprise during the eleventh century as follows. In 1085, the Franks invaded Islamic Spain and occupied Toledo and other parts of the country. In 1091, they conquered Sicily, and then extended their power to North Africa. Finally, in 1097, they advanced on Syria. He views the crusades as belonging to the same world that produced the conquest of Sicily, the Castilian incursion into al-Andalus, and Latin attempts to dominate North Africa. His description of the crusades was highly influential. Al-Nuwayrī (1279–1332?) drew upon it in the early fourteenth century in his colossal Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab (‘The Ultimate Aim in Letters and Literature’), and Abū al-Faraj Gregorius Bar Hebraeus (1226–86) incorporated it into the Syriac historical tradition.14

Both the Syriac and Arabic chronicles of Bar Hebraeus show the influence of the Islamic interpretation of the crusades. In his great Syriac chronicle, Bar Hebraeus fuses two variant interpretations of crusading:


one taken directly from Michael the Syrian (1126–99) that links hardships suffered by Latin pilgrims in the east to a Latin military expedition to the east, and the other derived from an Arabic historiographical tradition that connects the ‘First’ Crusade (1095–1102) to a general Christian offensive against Islam that began in the western Mediterranean. He ends up with a hybrid account: attempts by the Latin west to curb the oppression suffered by Christian pilgrims in the east led to a Latin offensive that began in Spain. Or, conversely, a Latin military resurgence in the western Mediterranean was generated by concerns about Christians in the eastern Mediterranean. When Bar Hebraeus wrote the Arabic counterpart to his Syriac history, Ta'rikh mukhtasar al-duwal (‘A Short History of the Dynasties’), he thrust aside Michael the Syrian’s account of the crusades and adopted the Islamic interpretation of the crusades from Ibn al-Athir’s history.

Islamic sources define the crusades as a Frankish holy war (jihād) against Islam that began in the western Mediterranean basin and finally enveloped the whole Mediterranean world. These sources implicitly recognize that events in Sicily, Spain, and Syria share a common character. The Norman war in Sicily, the Catalan and Castilian advances southward into al-Andalus, and the ‘First’ Crusade were part of the same general phenomenon: a Mediterranean-wide surge of the Latin west against Islamic powers.

II

How has modern scholarship regarded the Islamic interpretation of the crusades? To begin with, the Islamic view of the crusades has not been recognized for what it is: a historically accurate description of crusading – at least in broad general outline – that can be corroborated by papal documents. Modern scholars exhibit an ambivalent attitude towards the Islamic sources for the crusades. They extract certain details from these sources regarding crusading and esteem these details as ‘extraordinarily far-sighted and illuminating’, abounding in ‘penetrating insights’ and offering ‘a wider view of historical processes’, while they fail to discern the incisive vision provided by these sources into the nature and character


16 Abū al-Faraj Gregorius Bar Hebraeus, Ta’rikh mukhtasar al-duwal, ed. Aṭīn Šālīḥānī (Beirut, 1890), p. 341. Herman Teule wrongly states that Bar Hebraeus’s account of the ‘First’ Crusade in the Mukhtasar includes ‘the story of the long detour via Spain’ and that this tale is ‘not mentioned in the Chronicle of Syria’. On the contrary, the Spanish ‘detour’ is found only in the Chronicle of Syria; the Mukhtasar makes no mention of it (Teule, ‘Barhebraeus’, pp. 45, 47).
of the crusades. Here is the paradox. Islamic sources are praised for their ‘penetrating insights’, but they are not valued as being a source of sound information about crusading. Scholars cannot help praising Muslim authors for their perceptive powers, but, on the other hand, they are not about to recommend that their ‘extraordinarily far-sighted and illuminating’ views be adopted as the basis for a new understanding of the crusades. In so far as crusading is viewed as the outcome of Urban’s call for the ‘First’ Crusade, medieval Muslim thinkers cannot be credited with having provided an explanation of crusading that is objectively true.17

It is time that Islamic sources for the crusades are taken seriously. It is not generally recognized that medieval Muslim scholars enjoyed a distinct advantage over modern scholars when it came to interpreting the crusades: they did not come to the subject with a preconceived idea about what crusading ought to be. Undeterred by the accidents of crusading, such as the ecclesiastical apparatus of indulgence, vow and cross, Muslim authors focused on the essence of crusading: a general movement against Islam by the Latin west. According to Islamic sources, this movement had its origins in the western Mediterranean, not the eastern Mediterranean.


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These same sources indicate that the crusades emerged as the outgrowth of an ongoing conflict; they were not the start of something new. Muslim authors also recorded the understanding that medieval Christians regarded crusading as being sanctioned by God and inspired by a common Christian cause. What is more, Muslim authors accurately recorded the patriotic sentiment that inspired crusading: a desire to recover lands that had ‘originally belonged to the Christians’ but had been conquered by Islam and subjected to Islamic rule. In an encounter with the Mozarab count Sisnando Davídiz, who served under both Fernando I, king of León-Castile (1016–18–1065), and his son Alfonso VI (1065–1109), ‘Abd Allâh ibn Buluggîn, the last Zirid ruler of Granada (r. 1073–90), recalls what the Christian wâzîr told him ‘face to face’: ‘Al-Andalus originally belonged to the Christians. Then they were defeated by the Arabs and driven to the most inhospitable region, Galicia. Now that they are strong and capable, the Christians desire to recover what they have lost by force.’ Ibn ‘Idhârî’s fourteenth-century chronicle records the remarks made by Fernando I to an embassy from Toledo soon after his accession to the throne. His words sound the same theme as the statement of Count Sisnando Davídiz:

We seek only our own lands which you conquered from us in times past at the beginning of your history. Now you have dwelled in them for the time allotted to you and we have become victorious over you as a result of your own wickedness. So go to your own side of the straits (of Gibraltar) and leave our lands to us, for no good will come to you from dwelling here with us after today. For we shall not hold back from you until God decides between us.19

Despite their many shortcomings in understanding an alien tradition of divinely justified engagement in war, Muslim scholars were able to perceive the general nature and the scope of the crusading enterprise. 

By linking the crusades to jiha’d, Muslim authors drew attention to the interrelationship of jiha’d and crusading and the reciprocal bond between them.20 This linkage is a reminder that history often follows a course of alternate action and reaction. Jiha’d and crusade are fatally linked to

20 Al-Sulâmî, Kitâb al-jiha’d, p. 207; Ibn al-Atîhir, Kâmîl, x. 273. Niall Christie claims that al-Sulâmî was the ‘only one who recognize[d] that the Franks were fighting their own version of the jiha’d’, while he declares with equal certitude that ‘Ibn al-Atîhir acknowledges that the Franks were fighting a jiha’d against the Muslims’ (Christie, ‘Religious Campaign or War of Conquest?’, pp. 66, 68, 69, 71). Both al-Sulâmî and Ibn al-Atîhir refer to the Crusade as a jiha’d.
each other as action is linked to reaction. There can be no crusade without jihād, and no crusade without counter-crusade, or jihād, making for an historical continuum that is reciprocal and mutually dependent. Without heed to this intricate and complex interplay, there is no explaining the tangled relations between Islam and Christendom.

Crusade as the mimesis of jihād also provides a needed reminder that the crusading movement did not enter a static, timeless and peaceful Mediterranean world. Many Muslims today forget to consider why western Christendom acted as it did. They fail to consider that it was Muslim aggression that provoked a response on the part of Christendom. They have conveniently erased from their minds the memory of the Islamic jihād conquests.21 Standing reality on its head, many Muslims choose to see the crusader onslaught as a unique phenomenon and as an egregious crime committed by the west against Islam. The father of modern Islamist fundamentalism, Sayyid Qutb (1906–66), offers a reworking of the crusades that has had widespread impact on Muslim perceptions of the crusading enterprise. In his view, the crusades were a form of imperialism, and Islam has suffered from the ‘savage hostility’ of the ‘crusader spirit’ from the eleventh century until today.22

For the west, the Islamic interpretation of the crusades offers a unique opportunity to consider the point of view of the ‘Other’. What if the crusades first passed from Sicily to Spain, and then from the western Mediterranean to the eastern Mediterranean? It just may be that Islamic sources are able to throw into proper relief the truly creative steps that constitute the onset of the crusades. The Islamic interpretation of the crusades by its very existence serves to cast doubt upon the traditional assumption that crusading began with Pope Urban II’s summons at Clermont in 1095. Surprisingly, this assumption has never had the weight of the evidence in its favour. Nor has it had the support of the so-called founding father of crusading, Pope Urban II (1088–99).

It is well known that Pope Urban did not consider the ‘First’ Crusade to be a new creation or the first enterprise of its kind. Urban adopted, adapted and applied the apparatus related to crusading in the western Mediterranean – the crusade indulgence and the crusading vow – to the struggle against Islam in the eastern Mediterranean and carried out a plan originally put forward by his predecessor, Pope Gregory VII (1073–85). In the words of noted Islamic scholar Claude Cahen, ‘the plan envisaged extending to Palestine what had been begun in Sicily and Spain’.

At the Council of Clermont in November 1095, Pope Urban presented the ‘First’ Crusade as ‘an expedition of knights and foot-soldiers’ that was designed ‘to rescue Jerusalem and the other Churches of Asia from the power of the Saracens’. In 1096, as the crusade was getting underway, he described the undertaking as an expedition of ‘knights who are making for Jerusalem with the good intention of liberating Christendom’ so that ‘they might be able to restrain the savagery of the Saracens by their arms and restore the Christian Churches to their former freedom’. He made it quite clear, however, that the campaign ‘to aid the Churches in Asia and to liberate their brothers from the tyranny of the Saracens’ was part of a wider movement ‘to liberate Christians from Saracens’ throughout the Mediterranean, ‘for it is no feat of valour to liberate Christians from Saracens in one place [i.e. in Asia] only to deliver Christians...’


25 Robert Somerville (ed.), The Councils of Urban II, i: Decreta claromontensia (Amsterdam, 1972), p. 124. The quotation is from Canon 9 of the Cencius-Baluze version of the decrees of the Council of Clermont (1095) that survives in a manuscript in the monastery of St. Sauveur near Montpellier ‘written in the twelfth century either in southern France or northern Spain’ (ibid., 119). For an analysis of the Clermont decrees pertaining to the so-called ‘First’ Crusade, see Paul E. Chevedden, ‘Canon 2 of the Council of Clermont (1095) and the Goal of the Eastern Crusade: “To liberate Jerusalem” or “To liberate the Church of God”?’, Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum, xxxvii (2005), 57–108.

Urban portrayed crusading as a Mediterranean-wide struggle against Islam that was directed against ‘the Turks in Asia and the Moors in Europe’ for the purpose of ‘restoring to Christian worship cities that were once celebrated’. This broader view of the crusades did not originate overnight but rather grew into existence as the crusading enterprise expanded its horizons. From its beginnings in Sicily and Spain, crusading advanced by stages until it encompassed the Mediterranean world.

Urban traced the wider movement ‘to liberate Christians from Saracens’ back to the Norman conquest of Islamic Sicily. In his letter of 10 October 1098 to Bishop Gerland of Agrigento (Sicily), he begins by making a reference to the passage from the book of Daniel about how God changes the times and the seasons and uses his power to depose kings and set up kings (2:21). The pope tells the bishop that this process has begun again ‘in our time’ (nostris temporibus) with the Norman conquest of Sicily. It is to this event that the bishop must look if he is to understand ‘the changing times’ and ‘the overturning of kingdoms’ spoken of in Dan. 2:21:

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\text{By the arrangement of Almighty God, times change, kingdoms exchange fates. Hence, have we never read of nations that were once of great repute being diminished and laid low and of lowly and weak nations being exalted? This is because in certain regions of Christian name the savageness of pagans took control. In some of these, the honour of Christian power once more treads underfoot the tyranny of the pagans, just as in our time, by the mercy of divine favour, the most glorious princes Duke Robert and Count Roger, through their courage, have won out over all the violence of the Saracens in the island of Sicily and have restored the}
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ancient status of the Holy Church in accordance with God’s will and gracious purpose.30

Why did Urban mention the Norman conquest of Sicily? Why did he specifically single out Duke Robert Guiscard and his younger brother Count Roger, ‘the most glorious princes’, by whose efforts ‘the honour of Christian power once more treads underfoot the tyranny of the pagans’ through their victory ‘over all the violence of the Saracens in the island of Sicily’, which has led to the restoration of ‘the ancient status of the Holy Church in accordance with God’s will and gracious purpose’? Urban might more appropriately have mentioned the Council of Clermont (1095) or his Jerusalem Crusade as the turning point that ushered in ‘the changing times’. Surely, ‘the changing times’ began with the ‘First’ Crusade! Conceivably, Urban could have selected any number of events as the starting point of the momentous historical changes that he was witnessing in his own time. He might, for example, have selected his own crusade to restore the archbishopric of Tarragona in Spain (launched in 1089) or the Castilian conquest of Toledo in May 1085. Or, he might even have chosen the great turning point of the ‘First’ Crusade in June 1098, the conquest of Antioch and the defeat of the relieving force of Kerbogha, the atabeg of Mosul, in a pitched battle on the outskirts of the city.

Alternatively, Urban might not have mentioned any event at all. He could just as well have come up with an idea that was responsible for ‘the changing times’, such as ‘war-pilgrimage’, the supposed union of the idea of holy war and the idea of pilgrimage that many believe generated crusading. According to Carl Erdmann, Pope Urban called a halt to the old holy war that was raging in the Mediterranean and in its place he established the new dogma of the two-natured holy war, the crusade, the war that was fully war and fully pilgrimage.31 Clearly, Urban ought to


have said ‘war-pilgrimage’, and disregarded the Norman conquest of Sicily! But he did refer to the Norman conquest of Sicily. This was a turning point for the Christian world in Urban’s eyes. It marked the close of an old epoch and the beginning of a new epoch. The old epoch had seen the greater part of Christendom (Christianitas) subjected to Islamic domination; the new epoch was ushering into form a restoration of the community of Christian peoples brought about by a movement of reconquest initiated by Christian princes ‘chosen by God’.

Urban, however, was not content with a two-epoch theory. His biblically based concept of *translatio regni* (‘transfer of power’) consisted of four epochs and ranged over the whole of Christian history. Urban looked back to a time when Christianity had prospered in the Mediterranean world, when it was the universal religion of a world empire and had spread throughout the known world. This high point came to a crashing end with the Islamic conquests of the seventh and eighth centuries. The first *translatio* brought Christian communities in the Mediterranean world under Islamic subjection. The second *translatio* brought their liberation. Yet the crusades were not simply a war for independence, for freedom from Islamic domination. A military victory over Islam was but a prerequisite to the main objective of the crusades: rebuilding the Church. The ‘Church’ (*ecclesia*) to be rebuilt was certainly the Church of ‘brick-and-mortar’, as well as the Church of ‘prelates and priors’, but mostly it was the religious community itself, the ‘assembly or congregation of the faithful’ (*convocatio sive congregatio fidelium*).32

The military aspect of the crusades was fundamental to the enterprise, but it was not the most important aim of the undertaking. The whole object of the enterprise was to rebuild a ‘fallen’ Church in order to establish a permanent foundation for freedom. Hence, the third *translatio* was a restoration of ‘the ancient status of the Holy Church’ (*antiquum ecclesie sancte statum . . . reparavit*). This entailed far more than the regeneration of an ecclesiastical organization; it included repopulation and resettlement, as well as political and economic reconstruction. In short, the rebuilding of an entire society.33

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Out of the books of the Old Testament, Urban had fashioned an explanation of ‘the tyranny of the Saracens’ as divine punishment for the sins of Christians. He adopted and applied the Old Testament sin–punishment–restoration cycle to Christian history, and he believed that this cycle was on the verge of completion. For Urban, the central fact of his time was the ‘Deeds of God through the Christians’ (*Gesta Dei per Christianos*) effecting the recovery of the lost lands of Christendom and the restoration of the Church.\(^34\)

Whether in Spain or in the eastern Mediterranean, Urban’s avowed purpose was to be a ‘fellow-labourer’ with God in the restoration of the Church by wresting from Muslim control former Christian territory and by recovering ancient sees and ecclesiastical provinces.\(^35\) On 1 July 1089, when Urban launched his first crusade in Spain, a campaign to rebuild Tarragona, he directed the leading counts of Catalonia ‘to use all of [their] armed might and material wealth for the restoration of this Church’ and to carry out this task ‘in penitence and for the remission of [their] sins’.\(^36\) Urban’s objectives in the eastern Mediterranean were similar. Almost immediately after the start of the Jerusalem Crusade, Urban wrote to his supporters in Flanders and described how he had ‘visited Gaul and urged most fervently the lords and subjects of that land to liberate the Eastern Churches’. At the Council of Clermont, he reports, ‘we imposed on them the obligation to undertake such a military enterprise for the remission of all their sins’, following the example of what he had done in Spain.\(^37\) When Urban died at the end of July 1099, shortly after the crusader conquest of Jerusalem, his successor, Pope Paschal II (1099–1118), continued the crusade and declared, less than a year after the capture of the Holy City, that the Eastern Church was now ‘to a large extent restored to the glory of its ancient liberty’ and appealed for prayers that God might finish what had been begun.\(^38\)


39 Paschal II to ‘all triumphant Christian soldiers in Asia’ (*omni populo militie christianae in Asia triumphantis*), 28 April 1100; Hiestand, *Papsturkunden*, pp. 90–2, no. 4; Erdmann, *Kreuzzugsgedanke*, p. 373; Eng. trans., pp. 366–7. See also Paschal II’s letter to the bishops of Gaul, December 1099; Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, p. 175, no. 20; trans. Peters, *First Crusade*, p. 297. The letters of Urban and Paschal and the Clermont crusading decrees all attest to the scope and final objective of the ‘First’ Crusade, an objective still in the process of completion nine months after the conquest of Jerusalem.
Urban envisaged a broad advance against Islam, in the west as well as in the east, that pursued the same goal – the restoration of Churches (i.e. bishoprics) – and received the same spiritual reward – the crusade indulgence offering the remission of sins. Urban articulates this vision in May 1098 when referring to the recovery of Huesca by Aragón (1096) and the victories in the east at Nicaea and Dorylaeum (1097): ‘In our days God has eased the sufferings of the Christian peoples and allowed the faith to triumph. By means of the Christian forces He has conquered the Turks in Asia and the Moors in Europe, and restored to Christian worship cities that were once celebrated.’ Urban adopted a comprehensive approach to the war against Islam and took up the fight in both the western and the eastern Mediterranean. The war in the west and the war in the east were one in Urban’s thinking, representing different campaigns in the same overarching enterprise, and he persistently resisted all attempts to divert attention from the Spanish theatre of war at a time when the Eastern Crusade had captured everyone’s interest. Urban saw the conflict with Islam as being fought along three major fronts – Sicily, Spain and the eastern Mediterranean – and the successes that he witnessed he considered to be the beginning of a new epoch of history. He selected as the starting point of the new era the Norman conquest of Sicily, and in doing so he formulated a theory of the crusades that corresponded to reality as it was and as contemporaries experienced it. He did not rewrite the past to suit his own political or ideological agenda nor did he fit the events of his day into a preconceived theoretical framework. Instead, he established a conceptual link between his theory of *translatio regni* and the exploit of *translatio regni* as it was experienced by contemporaries and expressed by contemporary historians. Contemporary historiography, according to Erdmann, ‘represent the Sicilian undertaking as a crusade from the first’ and provide ample evidence for determining the crusading objectives of the Normans. In Erdmann’s words, these objectives were ‘that the Christians inhabiting the island should cease to live in servitude, that Christianity should govern there, and that Christian observance should be restored to fitting

40 See n. 28 above and text.
splendour’. Pope Urban formulated the objectives of Duke Robert and Count Roger in much the same way: victory ‘over all the violence of the Saracens in the island of Sicily’ and the restoration of ‘the ancient status of the Holy Church in accordance with God’s will and gracious purpose’. Urban’s own stated objectives for his Jerusalem Crusade were no different: ‘to restrain the savagery of the Saracens . . . and restore the Christian Churches to their former freedom’.

The principle of *translatio regni*, which formed the framework of Urban’s crusading ideology, was revolutionary in its implications. It went back to a time when Christendom had encircled the Mediterranean. It promised a return to an ‘early period’, a *pristinus status*, that had existed before the rise of Islam, and it claimed grounding in a divine plan that was inexorably being carried out ‘in accordance with God’s will and gracious purpose’. Urban expressed his firm conviction that the events of his day were facilitating a return to a time when Christians had been in possession of rights and liberties of which conquest and tyranny had deprived them. The supremacy of Islam had been endured for centuries, but now the tables had turned owing to the outpouring of God’s mercy and grace. A dramatic reversal of Islamic domination had begun in the central, western and eastern Mediterranean. ‘Led by the princes chosen by God’, the Christian people (*populus christianus*) had embarked on a movement of reconquest that sought to restore, reorganize and assimilate Christian territory that had been lost to Islamic holy war.

In Urban’s mind, the Norman war in Sicily assumed the status of a new beginning, and the event itself became a decisive turning point in the history of Christendom because it ushered in a new age. The Norman conquest of Sicily achieved the breakthrough that led to the restoration of ‘the ancient status of the Holy Church’ that Urban could see in his own day. For Urban, the new beginning of history did not start with the Jerusalem Crusade. His ‘March on Jerusalem’ was the end-product of a process already underway, not a new beginning. The ‘First’ Crusade did not create a new beginning. Rather, it put into effect in the eastern Mediterranean a movement of reconquest that was already underway in the western Mediterranean. The ‘First’ Crusade should not be seen as something new but as the developed form of a type of enterprise that


43 See n. 26 above and text.

had already become widespread in the western Mediterranean. It was the Norman conquest of Sicily that created the new beginning of history, and it by rights should be regarded as the first stage of ‘the changing times’, or, simply, the First Crusade.

Al-Sulamī also experienced ‘the changing times’, and he too traced the beginning of the new age back to the Norman conquest of Sicily. He saw the crusades as a Mediterranean-wide surge of the Latin west against Islam that began in Sicily, spread to Spain and ultimately targeted his own country, Syria. There is a remarkable uniformity between the contemporary Christian interpretation of the crusades and the contemporary Islamic interpretation of the crusades. Both interpretations point to the Norman war in Sicily as the decisive breakthrough that ushered in a new epoch for Christians and Muslims in the Mediterranean world. Both interpretations place the onset of the crusades ahead of their accepted historical debut in 1095. And both interpretations contend that by the end of the eleventh century the crusading enterprise was Mediterranean-wide in scope.

For Christians, the new beginning of history brought with it the prospect of recovering from Islam the lost lands of Christendom. For Muslims, the new beginning of history brought with it a growing sense of dread. War after war now engulfed Islam: in Sicily, in Spain, in Syria. The Christian view of the crusades and the Muslim view of the crusades are not contradictory to one another, but in fact are complementary to one another, and both interpretations are essential to an understanding of crusading.

To be historical in the widest sense requires that attention be paid to both the Christian view of the crusades and the Islamic view of the crusades. This will not be an easy task. Modern scholars in the west and in the Islamic world have found it difficult to credit what the medieval evidence says about crusading and to adopt the self-understanding that medieval peoples had of the crusades. The traditional criticism of the western orientalists has always been that they go to Islamic sources, not seeking to discover anything new or original in them, but merely to verify their own knowledge. This is certainly true regarding western scholarship of the crusades. But such criticism can also be levelled at Arabic scholarship. Arabic scholarship of the crusades has not gone to Arabic sources seeking to discover anything new or original in them but merely to verify a western interpretation of the crusades. Contemporary Arabic scholarship on the crusades mimics western scholarship on the

Western ideas of the crusades that mesh with current political views in the Arab world are welcomed, while historical accounts by Muslim authors who had direct knowledge of the crusades are ignored. Thus, self-interpretation is achieved, not through a direct understanding of the ‘self’, but by relying on the west’s understanding of the ‘self’.

The image of the past is certainly a factor in the outlook of contemporary Muslims towards the west. When this image is formed by western historical writing and is reflective of western views, as is the case with the crusades, historical consciousness becomes a borrowed consciousness, no longer a product of one’s own society or one’s own past. So long as history is borrowed, modern Muslim self-interpretation will consist of the thoughts of others. Self-identity in the Muslim world should be built upon the self-views presented in Islamic sources and should not serve a master narrative of Arab nationalism or Islamic fundamentalism. When self-understanding is held to consist in the ‘Other’s’ understanding of the ‘self’, self-identity is sacrificed, and historiographical self-analysis becomes inseparable from historiographical self-alienation. The road to modern Muslim self-identity is to be found in Islamic history. Once the image of the crusades begins to reflect Muslim historical writing on the crusades, the foundations will have been laid for an informed understanding of the Islamic past.

Islamic historiography offers Muslims a way by which they can understand their own history. Islamic historiography also offers western scholars a way by which they can understand their own history. Once the a priori presumption against the possibility of discovering anything new or original in Islamic sources for the crusades is abandoned, the irreconcilable conflict between the views expressed by western scholars on the crusades and those expressed by medieval Muslims scholars on the crusades will come to an end. Contrary to the prevailing view in the west and in the Islamic world, there is something new and original to be discovered in the Islamic sources for the crusades, and what is more, these sources can be corroborated by papal documents. In other words, the self-view of the crusades presented by contemporary Muslim authors and the self-view of the crusades presented by crusading popes are not in opposition to each other but in agreement with each other.

Although the west has much to learn (and unlearn) about crusading, the Muslim world has a very great deal to learn (and unlearn) about crusading as well. Islamic sources can be the starting point for both the west and the Muslim world to gain a new and deeper understanding of the crusades. The Islamo-Christian view of the crusades challenges the widely accepted hypothesis that crusading emerged in 1095. Direct evidence from Latin and Arabic sources indicates that the development and diversification of crusading occurred well before 1095. The pivotal event that set crusading in motion was the Norman-papal plan to retake Sicily. It was from the Norman war in Sicily that western Christendom began the great movement to undo the Islamic occupation of Christian territories and restore the freedom of the Church (libertas ecclesiae). By
the time of the so-called ‘First’ Crusade, the diversification of crusading activity to include Islamic Spain was well underway, and the deeds of the crusaders in Sicily and Spain became the model for future crusading activity.\(^46\) When Pope Urban delivered his sermon at Clermont calling on Christian warriors to march on Jerusalem to liberate the Eastern Church, he gave impetus to the further diversification of crusading by extending the crusades to the eastern Mediterranean. The Islamo-Christian view of the crusades opens a door to a better understanding of the evolutionary history of the crusades and invites scholars to re-examine their assumptions about the crusades.

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\(^46\) O’Callaghan declares that ‘there seems no significant difference . . . between [Pope Alexander II’s] concession to “the knights destined to set out for Spain” [in 1063 to capture Barbastro] and later bulls of crusade to the Holy Land’. He adds: ‘Indeed, concession of that benefit by Alexander II in 1063 and by Urban II in 1089–91 [for Tarragona] antedated the First Crusade by some years and must be taken into account when discussing the origin of the crusading movement. Whether the military actions in Spain following the issuance of these papal bulls constituted a crusade, a pre-crusade, or an anticipation of the crusade will likely be disputed for many years. Nevertheless, there seems to be no significant difference in the benefits offered by both popes [i.e. Alexander II and Urban II] and by the early twelfth-century bulls of crusade’ (O’Callaghan, *Reconquest*, pp. 26, 48). Others disagree and contend that crusading and crusading institutions arrived in the Iberian Peninsula after 1095; cf. Carl Erdmann, ‘Der Kreuzzugsgedanke in Portugal’, *Historische Zeitschrift*, cxli (1929), 23–53; Richard A. Fletcher, ‘Reconquest and Crusade in Spain c.1050–1150’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., xxxvii (1987), 31–47; John France, *Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom, 1000–1714* (2005), pp. 28–31.