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RESEARCH PROPOSAL: CRUSADE, LITURGY, IDEOLOGY, AND DEVOTION (1095-1400)

In 1213, Pope Innocent III issued an encyclical bull, *Quia maior*, calling the Fifth Crusade. In it, he instructed all of Christendom to supplicate God through prayers and processions to allow Christian soldiers to recapture the Holy City of Jerusalem from the infidel, and for all priests to incorporate a special “clamour” into the daily mass that entreated God to “snatch the land that Your only begotten son consecrated with his own blood from the hands of the enemy of the cross and restore it to Christian worship.”* Innocent called on God’s power, authority, and aid through liturgical entreaties in the prosecution of his crusading ambitions, claiming divine sanction that legitimized crusade and sacralized warfare. This was only one of the many ways that Crusade, the western European project to capture and then defend Jerusalem and surrounding cities in the Holy Land in the later Middle Ages, intersected with the liturgy, the means by which men and women appealed for God’s aid, expressed devotion to his cause, and embraced the Christian community in common endeavors and values. In addition to Innocent’s eucharistic clamour for the destruction of the infidel, crusaders called for God’s protection in rituals of departure, deployed liturgical formulations (hymns, clamours, penitential processions) on the march and during battle, offered extraordinary appeals to God in specific moments of crisis, and celebrated the Holy Land in the liturgical rites for relics brought back to Europe. Liturgy was thus a “weapon” of crusading warfare, a mechanism of the sacralization of holy war, and a vehicle for social and religious mobilization which enlisted God’s authority in legitimizing and propagandizing Crusade.

Significance

By exploring the interrelationships between crusading and these ecclesiastical rituals I seek to unpack the ideological priorities embedded in this most important but neglected category of historical evidence. (By “ideology” I mean those ideas, values, and accepted “truths” of the culture that enabled – consciously and unconsciously – holy war, that motivated actions, and through which contemporaries made sense of the world and its events.) Medieval crusading is central to modern understandings of the origins of holy war, inter-religious violence, and Christian-Muslim interaction. But the challenge is to understand crusaders’ ideas and ideologies in context – as they resonated at the time to those who participated in, supported, and spearheaded crusading. Liturgy allows for precisely this. Since ecclesiastical ritual was central to all aspects of religious and cultural life in the Middle Ages, the evaluation of the meanings, priorities, and ideologies encoded in these rites is critical to our understanding the motivations and conceptualizations of holy war. My book will also help clarify a number of questions long debated and thus of broad scholarly interest: the nature and timing of the transition from pilgrimage to crusade; the institutionalization of Crusade in the fabric of European life over the course of twelfth century; the propagandization of ecclesiastical ideas relating to crusade; the extent to which crusading was either local or universal in its impetus and meaning; the relative importance of the city of Jerusalem in the medieval understanding of crusade; and, indeed, what crusade *meant* to the men (and women) we called crusaders.

Historiographical Context and Contribution

Over the last two decades, as part of a general turn to cultural history, scholarship on the crusades has increasingly focused on the devotional and ideological aspects of medieval holy war. New areas of research have plumbed crusading sermons for the ways in which crusading ideals were preached to crusaders, crusading charters to excavate the motivations of individual crusaders taking the cross, and the literature of medieval historiography and romance to reveal secular ideals of holy war and the memory of

* Pope Innocent III, “Quia Maior,” *Patrologia Latina*, ed. Migne, vol. 216, col. 821: “...te suppliciter exoramus ut terram quam unigenitus Filius tuus proprio sanguine consecravit de manibus inimicorum crucis eripiens, restituas cultui Christiano.”

crusade (Cole 1991; Constable 1994, 2008; Maier 1994, 2000; Riley-Smith 1986, 2008; Weiss 1998, 2004). We are thus moving increasingly to a new *cultural* interpretation of crusading – an interpretation that speaks more of the ideals and aspirations of a nascent Christian Europe that bound and defined a community with common values and common goals, than of the political and military events that have traditionally structured our crusade narrative.

My book will add liturgy to this analysis. Liturgy itself is not the object of the study. Rather it is the lens through which I explore the ways in which crusade was conceptually and religiously legitimized as well as the evolution of medieval crusading culture and *mentalités*. This study explicitly examines the development of ideological themes, looking at how ideals of holy war, divine authority, and devotion developed over time. It traces both the role of rituals in crusading itself (as for instance, a penitential pilgrimage called in the moment of crisis), and the way in which crusade inflected and was reflected in the liturgy. Tracing the development of liturgical rituals in this way will show how crusading became defined as a coherent and distinct form of religiosity and action only around 1200, having been understood for the better part of a century within the paradigms of traditional forms of devotion. Only after the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187 (leading to the Third Crusade), and the conquest of Constantinople in 1204 (during the Fourth Crusade), do we find the production of new liturgical texts of all forms that sacralize ideals and actions that are recognizable as “crusade.” This study will further document the slow consolidation of ideas and ritual forms under the influence of the papacy that occurred, after a long period of fragmentation, only in the second part of the thirteenth century. At the same time, these texts illuminate the devotional quality of those ideals and actions in ways that reveal the peculiar character of medieval holy war, demonstrating the ways in which penitence, devotion, violence, and militancy were negotiated and reconciled in various ways over time.

Knowledge of the crusades themselves is the heir to five centuries of historiography. Yet, despite the fact that crusading was overwhelmingly a *religious* endeavor, and that the most potent and dynamic vehicle for expressing *religious and devotional* expectations was the liturgy, there is little understanding specifically of the intersection between these two important cultural forms - crusade and liturgy; most of the scholarship that does consist of identification and publication of relevant texts. Christophe Maier, whose work on crusade sermons is at the forefront of the broadening cultural turn, published an important article in 1997 on Crusade, Liturgy and Crisis (though well over half of that article deals with preaching). Amnon Linder catalogued and published the evidence for the “Holy Land Clamour” in a book of 2003, even if one has to consult a series of articles to read any significant analysis of their meaning. James Brundage, Kenneth Pennington, and Lucy Pick have published individual articles on elements of the rite for taking the cross that constitute localized studies, but only William Chester Jordan has offered any broad contextual analysis of the rites’ meanings (Brundage 1966, Pennington 1974, Pick 1995; Jordan 2002, 2009). Jonathan Riley-Smith (1986) offered a few pages on the role of liturgy during the first crusade, much of which was taken up by David Bachrach (2003) in a chapter on the intersection between religion and war. There has been almost no work on crusading relics since Paul Riant published the *Exuviae sacrae constantinopolitane* (1877-78). The texts for “occasional ceremonies” were treated as part of the genre of crusading songs in a dissertation from 1954 and a book from 1971 (Schmuck, Spreckelmeyer); neither dealt primarily with thematic concerns. These studies are all invaluable for their discovery, categorization, and publication of the basic textual sources. However, even individually, they are little concerned with the ways in which liturgy could valorize and legitimize crusade that I seek to trace. None seeks explicitly to use these sacralized texts to explore larger themes of divine authority and sanction that underwrote holy war.

History of project, scholarly competency, dissemination

My interest in this project grew out of my work on one of the great crusaders of the thirteenth-century, Louis IX of France (d. 1270) in which I exploited liturgical sources to examine the symbolic construction of kingship around the year 1300 (*Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, Cornell UP: 2008). In the book and several articles I argued for the extraordinary potential of liturgy – a source generally neglected by historians because of its technical language and

often complicated structures and genealogy – as *historical* evidence that can illuminate the core ideologies of the communities that embraced and performed them. I came specifically to *this* project, however, through my teaching, as I looked for sources for my students to show how crusading ideologies were propagated through ritual practices. The inherent importance of this project was evident the moment I realized no such study existed. I am well into research and writing (with two articles on materials relating to the first section under review). And while there will always be new manuscripts to be discovered, I have reached the point of being able to reconstruct in general terms the main lines of development for sections one, three, and five. (See following paragraph). I have compiled the relevant published and unpublished texts into a searchable TACT [Text Analysis Computing Tools] database, to allow for retrieval, organization, and comparison. Thanks to a grant from Princeton University's Shelby Cullom Davis Center, I will have a term at Princeton in Spring 2012 (Feb-May) to complete remaining research at Firestone Library. By the following academic year (2012-2013), I will be ideally positioned to complete the manuscript. I am already in discussion with Cornell University Press (who published my first book) and Cambridge University Press about this monograph; both presses have expressed their interest, and I should hope to have a contract by the time an NEH fellowship would begin.

As projected, the book has five main sections (each consisting of either one or two chapters; three chapters are already drafted): the liturgy for taking the cross; the liturgy on the march, the liturgy for taking back the holy land, "occasional" rites and celebrations, and, finally, the liturgies for relics brought back to Europe. In a sense, then, the book's structure mimics the liturgy's role in the process of crusade itself, starting with the rite by which crusaders left *for* crusade, the different ways in which liturgy intersected with aspirations of victory and the experience of defeat, and ending with the ways in which the crusaders appropriated "Jerusalem" by bringing back relics and celebrating their piece of the Holy Land at home (in Angers, Paris, Cologne, etc.). The unfolding of these ritual texts over time (1095-1400) and space (France, England, Germany, Italy, Spain) tells a new version of story of the West's crusading project, its institutionalization, and ultimately its impact on European ideals and identity. This will not be a book for liturgical specialists. It is a book for those interested in the ideological legitimization of Crusade and Holy War, the mechanisms of ecclesiastical propaganda, papal leadership and local cultures, and the culture of the Medieval West.