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Crusader Colonialism: *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* and the Coloniality of the Latin Kingdom (1099-1291)

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Abstract

The Kingdom of Jerusalem (1099-1291), also referred to as the Latin Kingdom, was one of four Middle Eastern territories created after the First Crusade (1096-1099). The kingdom fulfilled several of the crusader's goals by administering some of the holiest Christian shrines and cities, securing the territory from reconquest, and overseeing the protection of Latin pilgrims and settlers. Accounts written by pilgrims to the kingdom provide firsthand knowledge of their journey, experiences, and worldview. These travel narratives form an integral part of European knowledge about the Holy Land and its peoples even after the Latin Kingdom's collapse. *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* is one such narrative, written in the 13th century by a German Dominican named Burchard of Mount Sion. In part this paper serves as a contribution to the emerging field of scholarship around *Descriptio*.

Since the 1970s scholars have debated the extent to which the Latin Kingdom constituted an early form of European colonialism, largely in response to the influential work of Joshua Prawer. This paper mediates and enters that discourse before turning to a theoretical discussion of medieval travel narratives as sources of colonial worldviews and knowledge. That historiographical and theoretical foundation is then applied to *Descriptio* through contextualizing Burchard's dual role as a friar and pilgrim and examining his work's ethnographic and propagandistic elements. This thesis argues that *Descriptio* is an ideal narrative to explore the coloniality of the Latin Kingdom and the Crusades within the context of thirteenth century European thought.

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Introduction

Travelling down the Via Regia, across the Alps, and into an Italian port, a Dominican friar and his companion have left Magdeburg on a great pilgrimage to the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The pair are two of thousands who have travelled and settled there, and now they are to see it for themselves. Brother Burchard's account of the kingdom and its surroundings provides insight into his worldview and context, and demonstrates the inherent power of interpretating the exotic.

The first section of this work examines Joshua Prawer's thesis that the Kingdom of Jerusalem constituted an urbanized, segregated, and colonial regime, and then major academic works created in response. Through exploring Prawer's claims of the Latin Kingdom's economy, society, and institutions and its counterclaims, this section examines the deficiencies of Prawer's model and the insights of later scholarship on the Latin Kingdom. Understanding the vital historiography of Joshua Prawer to the coloniality question helps to contextualize later analyses of *Descriptio*.

The second section builds on that discussion by providing a formal definition of colonialism before comparing the Latin Kingdom to other forms of European settlement up to the early sixteenth century. Prawer's colonialism thesis is therefore reframed to argue that though the Latin Kingdom does not match any other colonial enterprise completely, its institutions and economy fulfill the definition of a colony.

The third section pivots to a discussion of travel narratives as crucial sources of medieval racialization. Through what I would describe as a postcolonial understanding of race applied originally to medieval Iberia, I analyze *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* by Burchard of Mount Sion in terms of its ethnographic content, contextualizing Burchard's insights within the wider cultural milleu of thirteenth century Europe. By situating *Descriptio* as a source of European racialization

of the thirteenth century Latin East, I provide an alternative means of assessing the Latin Kingdom's colonial context.

The fourth section attempts to provide insight into Burchard of Mt. Sion's motivations and biases by examining traces of his biography in *Descriptio* and contextualizing him as both a Dominican and a pilgrim. Through further examining the intellectual and political context surrounding a late thirteenth century mendicant like Burchard journeying to the Holy Land, this section argues that Burchard might have intended his work to be used as an authoritative treatise on the Holy Land and a source for preaching crusade.

The fifth and final section builds upon the previous inquiries by focusing on three aspects relevant to preaching crusade within *Descriptio*: 'agreeable' non-Latin Christians, the holy sites Burchard visited, and the paradaisacal characterization of areas under Latin control. This section argues that *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* implicitly engages with crusade ideology, the same intellectual forces behind medieval European colonialism.

Perhaps it is unsurprising that the Crusades and their impact on the Middle East has a controversial and profound saliency in politics, pop culture, and indeed academic discourse. The application of theories around colonialism to the medieval past is certainly also controversial, yet remains unsatisfactorially explored. The discussion provides an eclectic yet comprehensive survey of the context and content of *Descriptio*, its author, and its subject.

Ultimately I aim to redeem a colonialist intepretation of the Latin East and explore the coloniality of Western knowledge formation and crusader theology through *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*. The narrative is ideal to explore the coloniality of the Latin Kingdom and the Crusades within the context of thirteenth century European thought.

Section 1: After Prawer: Latin East Studies and Colonialism

Formed during the aftermath of the First Crusade, the Latin East was a group of Western European kingdoms that ruled over parts of modern day Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Turkey from 1099 to 1291, and until the 15th century on Cyprus. Study of this field has historically been subsumed into the wider study of the Crusades, however independent interest in the Latin East developed in the 1830s in the French academy as a response to the colonization of Algiers. Broadly speaking these French historians championed the Latin East or *Outremer* as a precursor to their contemporary imperialism. However the historiographical interpretation of the Latin East was of an unchanging, fundamentally 'feudal society' embraced wholesale by a receptive local population. Israeli medievalist Joshua Prawer later interpreted the institutional character of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in particular not as a Franco-Syrian 'feudal commonwealth', but as a stagnating apartheid regime; a European colony. Prawer's *The Crusader's Kingdom: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* is a foundational text to scholarship around the Latin East with his vision of the Latin Kingdom generating innumerable responses and critiques.

Prawer's first focus is on the political influence of the mercantile class in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, which cannot be overstated. Prawer notes that large-scale commerce was monopolized in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by southern European cities, namely Italian city states like Genoa or Venice or others in Aragon and Provence.[1] His narrative focuses more heavily on the political and economic influence of Genoese, Pisan, and Venetian merchants than any other external group. The Italian city states were granted communes within the major port cities and legal privileges whilst maintaining political autonomy from the Latin monarchy.[2] The

[1] Joshua Prawer. *The Crusaders' Kingdom: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages*. New York: Praeger, 1972: 82 & 85.
[2] Prawer, 19.

communes were connected nonetheless to their metropole, with this environment cultivating a parochial merchant class in the Latin Kingdom with conflicting interests both between communes and against the monarchy.[3] The merchants realigned Levantine trade towards Europe around luxury exports, primarily silk and sugar, and served as middlemen between European and Middle Eastern traders.[4] Prawer argues that the extensive legal privileges and influence of the merchant communes in the Kingdom of Jerusalem is indicative of a 'colonial spirit' later exemplified by English, French, and Dutch trading companies of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries.[5] This 'colonial spirit' he refers to may allude to the trading companies negotiating trading posts with local leaders, such as the Dutch presence on the artificial island of Dejima in Edo-period Japan. Alternatively, the 'colonial spirit' may refer to the overall focus on luxury trade taken by the communes, comparable to the East India Company's tea and spice monopoly. Prawer regrettably did not provide a definition for this crucial component of his argument.

Religious life in the Levant transformed as a result of the crusader victory to resemble the institutions of Western Europe. The Franks had simultaneously ousted Byzantine bishops in favor of Latins and reassigned the majority of Eastern Orthodox lands to Latin dioceses or monastic houses. The rest remained under Latin supervision.[6] The Holy See then empowered the Latin Patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem with authority over all bishoprics, including new dioceses established in townships where major Christian shrines were located while maintaining older Orthodox divisions.[7] For example, due to its lack of biblical significance, Acre never became a diocesan see under Frankish rule whereas the smaller settlement of Nazareth did. The

[3] Prawer, 85-88, 90-93.
[4] Prawer, 398-399.
[5] Prawer, 85.
[6] Prawer, 220-221.
[7] Prawer, 163. Bernard Hamilton provides insight on the organization of the Latin Church in *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*.

institutional upheaval did not stop at the highest levels of secular clergy either. New monastic houses were established either in former Orthodox sanctuaries or in new constructions primarily concentrated in Jerusalem, particularly around the Holy Sepulchre and Mount Zion.[8] These policies secured Latin control over the major religious sites and dioceses of the Frankish territories at the primary expense of Byzantine Orthodoxy and fundamentally shaped the religious environment that Burchard would eventually step into.

Despite their ideological and symbolic power, Prawer argues that the clergy held little political influence in the kingdom due in part to the king's undisputed authority over episcopal investiture, and their lack of a strong economic base.[9] The Church did have a lot of lands, yet confusion over the rights to tithing and frequent exemptions from tithes severely limited their coffers.[10] Prawer argues that a 'colonial dependence' on European clergymen led to a lack of 'notable personalities' amongst Frankish prelates.[11] The church hierarchy were exclusively immigrants from Europe who were elevated through royal investiture rather than merit, and there were few intellectual opportunities within the kingdom to produce a similar caliber of theologian or statesman necessary to assert the Church's interests against the monarchy or landowners. Prawer argues that the concurrent forces of conservatism and dependence on Europe within the Latin Kingdom led to its stagnation and eventual failure. An understanding of the institutional framework of the Latin East reveals the extent of this stagnation.

Prawer naturally explores the stagnancy within more secular institutions of the Latin Kingdom. Frankish nobles were largely descended from petty nobles who swore fealty to more prominent magnates during the First Crusade. Though the higher nobility returned to Europe

[8] Prawer, 163.
[9] Prawer, 106.
[10] Hamilton, Bernard. *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church*. London: Variorum Publications, 1980: 148.
[11] Prawer, 187-191. The descriptions of the Latin bishops in *The Latin Church in the Crusader States* is disputation enough of this claim. Note that Sion is another form of spelling Zion

they granted rule over the realms to their followers which Prawer argues gave each realm a 'quasi-national' character.[12] He describes the Kingdom of Jerusalem as sharing characteristics of a northern French government. Furthermore he states that the Franks established a wholesale feudal system over the pre-existing monetary economy whose unchanging rigidity is indicative of a 'colonial spirit' to cling to the past.[13] Here that ineffable spirit may refer to a colonial administration retaining the governmental structures of their original homeland despite external pressures, leading ultimately to stagnation. Indeed, Prawer accounts for very little administrative innovation comparable to contemporary regimes in Western Europe; the same twelfth century Northern French governmental apparatus persisted until the kingdom's collapse in 1291. The king's household and a high court of prominent landowners remained the central organ of legislation and justice, becoming increasingly outdated over the two centuries of Jerusalemite rule as more specialized courts developed elsewhere in Europe.[14] Without innovation at the highest level, Prawer argues that control was largely devolved to local landowners who established rural and urban burgess courts within their territories, and retained local courts that were holdovers from Muslim rule.[15] The administrative underdevelopment and stagnation from an earlier form that Prawer describes is indicative of what he views as an inherent colonial mindset of retaining a connection to the homeland at all cost. The spirit of retaining older French institutional systems described here further develops Prawer's notion of Frankish society.

The most controversial claims of *The Crusader's Kingdom* relates to Prawer's characterization of the ethnic and religious cleavages present in Latin society. Prawer makes the case for the Latin East being the sole example of a medieval European colonial administration,

[12] Prawer, 62-63.
[13] Prawer, 66 & 128.
[14] Prawer, 112-121.
[15] Prawer, 79-80, 141-151.

featuring an absolute legal and ethnic separation between the conquering landowners, largely French, and local peasants; along with little judicial innovation at the local level.[16] A persistent stigma against the native Christians, termed Syrians by Frankish sources, originated from the indiscriminate slaughter accompanying the First Crusade.[17] Syrians were stigmatized for speaking Arabic, dressing similarly to their Muslim neighbors, and undoubtedly for their Byzantine Orthodox liturgy.[18] Despite this stigma, Prawer claims that the Franks did not expel the Syrians or other natives nor attempt to convert them. Instead the Franks extended legal equality to all Levantines regardless of creed, which Prawer characterizes as a form of 'colonial pragmatism'.[19] According to Prawer, the Frankish nobility separated themselves absolutely from their Levantine subjects along ethnic and religious lines, forming an apartheid state. The Frankish nobles and knights were exclusively Western European due to the stigma against all Levantines, resulting in an insular and dwindling ruling caste.

Prawer extends this apartheid assessment even to Frankish rural and urban settlement. He claims the Franks adapted to the local principles of urban administration and therefore were found almost entirely within the major cities of the kingdom.[20] The Franks furthermore did not affect rural settlements and only had minor settlements in the countryside. In terms of rural settlement, Prawer notes Frankish settlers established fortified towns to support castle garrisons stationed along an extensive fortifications network.[21] Existing rural settlements were therefore self- sufficient or autarchic, though they still paid tax to their landlords.[22] The lack of major rural settlement apart from the fortified towns led to the development of a knightly class of absentee

[16] Prawer, 60, 62 & 138-141.
[17] Prawer, 218.
[18] Prawer, 53. Also in Jotischky, Andrew. *Crusading and the Crusader States*. Second edition. London: Routledge, 2017: 139.
[19] Prawer, 60, 219 & 232.
[20] Prawer, 66-67.
[21] Prawer, 21-23.
[22] Prawer, 379-381.

landlords with no direct relationship to the Syrians or Levantines they held suzerainity over. Despite laws incentivizing European nobles to settle existing until the mid-thirteenth century, the kingdom suffered a chronic shortage of manpower and could neither expand nor resettle territory.[23] The apartheid and urban nature of Frankish society coupled with a lack of consistent European immigration led to rural settlement being largely impractical and interactions traditional to manorial relationships on the continent impossible. In other words the Latin Kingdom lacked both consistent European support and a reliable food supply: a crippling combination.

Counterclaims of Prawer's assessment of the Jerusalemite economy broadly center around a rejection or nuancing of his claim of the Franks being nearly completely urban. Andrew Jotischky, for example, utilized archaeological surveys of planned Frankish villages from the twelfth century to evidence a picture of urban-rural economic integration in the Latin Kingdom.[24] The material evidence compensates for the lacunae of written sources on the subject that would have otherwise presented Frankish life as singularly urban.[25] Perhaps Prawer did not engage with the material evidence and focused solely on textual sources. These excavations demonstrate that the Franks had a greater spatial distribution than was previously thought. Though they were primarily based in cities, the Frankish settlers nevertheless had a presence in the rural Levant. Jotischy states that both Franks and Italians engaged in intentional colonial settlement of the hinterland to further their economic interests.[26] Jotischky provides one interpretation of how Frankish society was more economically integrated than Prawer assessed.

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[23] Prawer, 26 & 68-69.
[24] Jotischky, Andrew. "Crusader Society" in *Crusading and the Crusader States*. Second edition. London: Routledge, 2017, 141-142.
[25] Jotischky "Crusader Society", 141-142. Jotischky is clearly following Roni Ellenblum's conclusions from Frankish Settlements in the Latin East. See bibliography.
[26] Prawer, 138.

Jotischky and other scholars describe the Latin East as a frontier society where the subject peoples share common identity with outside groups. He states that Frankish policy towards native Christians was heavily influenced by a pervasive view that these Christians would revolt in support of a Muslim invasion or insurrection.[27] This does complement Prawer's claim that the Syrians were stigmatized by the Franks. However Jotischky dismisses Prawer's view that the Levant was primarily inhabited by Muslims, claiming instead that Christians and Muslim populations were relatively equal.[28] Therefore the policies around non-Latin, non-Orthodox Christianity had a broader impact than previously believed. Prawer constructed a model of interfaith relations based solely on institutions and did not consider for instance how religious practice might differ in a more pluralistic religious context like the Latin Kingdom. Without strict and widespread enforcement of religious orthodoxy, how elites and peasants worshiped must have deviated from the official doctrine, and in a multifaith environment that would lead to some acculturation to local religious traditions.[29] The religious landscape of the Latin Kingdom in particular evidences such Frankish acculturation. The Franks had a distinct ecclesiatical architectural style with elements from Romanesque, Byzantine, and local Syrian art which featured in the numerous shrines and chapels built during the period.[30] The influence of Byzantine art and architecture in particular reflects a reliance on native artists and the influence of external patronage on religious infrastructure.[31] These surveys of ecclesiastical architecture reveal that far from being an apartheid hyperconservative caste that perpetuated only European

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[27] Prawer, 135-136.
[28] Prawer, 135.
[29] Riley-Smith, Jonathan. "Government and the Indigenous in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem" in *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*. David Abulafia and Nora Berend, eds. London: Routledge, 2016, 125. For an alternate model to state religious tolerance, see Rubenstein, Jay. "Tolerance for the Armies of the Antichrist" in *Papacy, Crusade, and Christian-Muslim Relations*. Bird, Jessalynn --, et al. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018: 89.
[30] Riley-Smith, 125. For a more thorough exploration of the architectural programs of Latin churches, see Jotischky, 147-153.
[31] Jotischky, 157-161.

styles, the Frankish elite engaged artistically, economically, and religiously with their subjects and neighbors. Prawer's thesis relies on Frankish society being isolated from the native population, a view that cannot account for the material evidence of acculturation that these religious sites represent.

Jonathan Riley-Smith in his response to Prawer's work reinterpreted Frankish adoption of local legal principles as an innovation rather than merely a pragmatic policy decision. Riley-Smith argued for an inherent experimentality in a regime governing over an already settled people. In that spirit Frankish rulers adapted the Islamic legal doctrine of *dhimma* to reinforce their economic control over non-Latins.[32] Prawer had mentioned at one point that the Franks had preserved a form of *dhimma* as a tool of domination, yet ignored that fact in his overall assessment of the Kingdom's legislative and judicial development. The multiculturality of the legal system, combined with the preservation of local legal courts, is itself an innovation unique to the Latin Kingdom amongst its contemporaries in Europe.[33] Though Prawer also stated that there was no unique legal discrimination along sectarian lines, there is evidence of consistent discrimination of Muslim peasants by local landlords. This discrimination took the form of extortionate taxes, requirements to work on Fridays, and fees to visit shared shrines and holy spaces.[34] Prawer's assessment does not account for the arbitrary nature of seigneural taxation imported by the Franks or how it was applied in the context of the Latin Kingdom to Muslims. The discrimination also reflects direct interactions between lords and peasants, further disproving Prawer's claim that the Franks were absentee landlords unconcerned with sectarian politics.

It is vital to recognize that the framework Joshua Prawer utilized centers around a comparative between the Latin Kingdom and Zionism. David Ohana, a fellow of the Ben-Gurion

[32] Riley-Smith, 121 & 129.
[33] Prawer, 131.
[34] Jotischky, 137.

Institute for the Study of Israel and Zionism and professor at the same institution, stated that Israeli historiography of the Crusades began in response to Arab propoganda during and scholarship after the Six-Day War in 1967. The propoganda directly compared Israel to the crusaders and the following critique allowed Israeli academics to indirectly question the relationship between Israeli statehood and colonialism.[35] Published in 1972, *The Crusader Kingdom* by Joshua Prawer is perhaps the first major work of Israeli crusade scholarship, or at least the first to examine the coloniality of the Latin East. Prawer's work focuses on the colonial-settler aspects of the Latin East, specifically the Kingdom of Jerusalem, as an instructive model to Israeli policy in what ways the crusaders failed where Zionists should not.[36] The themes of a chronic lack of Frankish settlers, the urban-focused nature of Frankish society, and the 'flattening' of non-Latin Christians and Muslims into a single 'Syrian' category who provided indispensable but uneasy labor to absentee landlords: all of these analyses illuminate the political questions of the day in mid-late 20th century Israel moreso than the Frankish past.

Joshua Prawer's model of Frankish settler colonialism, framed in similar terms to the then contemporary conditions in Israel, has proven to be quite influential in shaping the discourse around the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Prawer's contribution to the Israeli academy, especially in popularizing the study of the crusader states and fostering a generation of scholars and academics in his own right: he was one of the key founders for instance of Haifa and Beer Sheva Universities, and taught the crusades for close to 40 years at Hebrew University in Jerusalem.[37] However, later scholarship has demonstrated that the urban-rural divide between Franks and Syrians was more complex than his account suggests. Moreover there does appear to

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[35] Ohana, David. "Are Israelis the New Crusaders?". *Palestine-Israel Journal of Politics, Economics & Culture*. 13 (3), 2006: 36–42.
[36] Asali, Ziad J. "Zionist Studies of the Crusade Movement" *Arab Studies Quarterly* 14, no. 1 (1992): 47-49.
[37] Schein, Sylvia. "Joshua Prawer. " *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin* 25, no. 1 (1991): 151–52.

be a discriminatory element against Muslims rather than a universal othering. And finally there is evidence as well of the Franks acculturating to the local cultural milieu as expressed in the way their ecclesiastical architecture evolved from a broadly European style to something more resembling Syrian or Byzantine forms. Prawer's work omits key factors of Frankish society in the Latin Kingdom, though that does not diminish the intrigue of *The Crusader Kingdom's* central claim, that the Kingdom of Jerusalem serves as a medieval European form of settler colonialism created within the context of the crusading movement of the 11th to 13th centuries. A reexamination of the Latin Kingdom through the lens of coloniality and identity formation remains a fruitful field of inquiry that involves both the study of the Crusades and European colonialism. Since I have established the contribution that Prawer made in *The Crusader Kingdom* and its pitfalls, the next section establishes an alternative interpretation of the Latin East's coloniality in which I contextualize Burchard's work.

Section 2: Was the Latin Kingdom a Colony?

Modern crusade historiography tends to deny Prawer's central premise that the Latin Kingdom functioned as a colony. Most authors simply state the Latin Kingdom was not a colony without elaboration, or otherwise ahistorically compare Frankish societies to industrialized colonial enterprises. It is true that the model of colonial activity practiced in the 18th century and onward was deeply inveigled in concepts foreign to the medieval world: capitalism, scientific racism, nationalism, amongst others, and therefore that model would not fit this context. However, that does not preclude the existence of medieval colonial activity. Several medieval European societies have been variably described as colonial by medievalists: the Genoese Black Sea colonies, Venetian colonies in the Aegean, Norman Ireland, and most relevantly to this essay the Christian resettlement of Muslim Iberia. The Latin Kingdom can be described in a colonial framework drawn from the context of thirteenth century Spanish colonies more convincingly than to early modern and industrial regimes. In both cases, the Europeans recognized the Muslims they encountered as having comparable 'civilization', there was a greater proximity to Europe which allowed more direct institutional communication especially within the Catholic Church, and more fundamentally the Franks and Spanish were colonizing at the same point in time. This section makes that comparison in terms of settlement formation, cultural interactions between settlers and the native population, and the formation of a distinct settler identity.

Before Columbus: Exploration and Colonisation from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, 1229-1492 by Felipe Fernández-Armesto is an important text in the study of medieval Spanish colonialism and indeed medieval colonialism in general. Fernández-Armesto tracks both the ideological justifications and responses to colonial efforts in the Mediterranean and Atlantic by the kingdoms of Portugal, Aragon, and Castile; how these colonies operated, and especially the extent to which these colonial experiences informed Spanish and Portuguese colonialist practice

and discourse in the early modern period. In his work, Fernández-Armesto defines colonialism as the establishment of settler communities in new environments often in close proximity to native cultures.[38] He concludes that colonial administrations adapted existing legislative forms from the metropole to their physical and human environments.[39] Fernández-Armesto also concludes that settlers themselves undergo cultural adaptation, forming new identities or calcifying pre-existing ones depending on the relationship the colony had with the metropole.[40] Fernández-Armesto proposes that the colonists form a mental image of the host culture as well.[41] These general conclusions will guide my dissection of Frankish society in this section as well as in other, later sections. Using Fernández-Armesto's methodology opens up a different reading of Frankish coloniality. Each subsection shall begin with a general conclusion of this framework drawn from my reading of *Before Columbus*.

Section 2a: Displacement

Colonies established in close proximity to local populations tend to engage in ethnic cleansing for the benefit of future settlers. Thirteenth century Al-Andalus was a colonial world where Moorish communities were absent or in retreat. As rural Moorish settlements were relatively concentrated around regions suitable for pastoralism, intensive agricultural cultivation of rice, or in cities, vast swathes of land were largely uninhabited and uncultivated. The population density allowed for the Castilian conquerors to effectively engage in mass ethnic cleansing of urban centers and later rural communities. Canonists critiqued this policy by likening it to the illegitimate practice of forced conversion as the Castilians were displacing a

[38] Felipe Fernández-Armesto. *Before Columbus: Exploration and Colonization from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, 1229-1492*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987: 5-6.
[39] Frankish administration for example largely left the existing legal and religious structures alone and reinterpreted Islamic legal principles into the language of feudal Europe.
[40] There is both material and textual evidence that suggests the Franks did acculturate, forming a distinct identity from the settlers' broadly Western Mediterranean background.
[41] The perceptions of Muslims and other settled groups in the Latin Kingdom will be explored in the following section.

largely non-Christian population for the benefit of Christian settlement.[42] However instances of non-sectarian ethnic cleansing during the period did occur, as Aragon attempted to catalanize Sardinia through displacing the native Sards, who were also Christians, and resettle these lands with Catalans.[43] We see similar instances of ethnic cleansing being imagined or enacted in the Kingdom of Jerusalem on both sectarian and non-sectarian lines.

In embarking on the First Crusade, Pope Urban II aimed for the displacement of all Turks, pagans (including Muslims), and non-Latin Christians. The stated purpose of such mass displacement was to purify the Holy Land and make it suitable for Latin stewardship.[44] Perhaps given the spiritual significance of the Holy Land, this policy's overtly sectarian nature was not condemned as forced conversion unlike Castilian settlement. Despite no universal policy of either ethnic cleansing or mass conversion, both did occur in the Latin Kingdom on a localized scale.[45] Major cities along the Syrian and Palestinian coast were often the sights of devastating massacres, where crusaders targeted Muslims and Jews specifically. Jews and Muslims were also forbidden from residing in Jerusalem during Frankish rule. Much like Castilian settlement, Frankish rural settlements were also established in depopulated areas, though this displacement was the result of locals fleeing violence during wartime rather than a concerted, organized effort after the fact. The deficit of European settlement in the Latin Kingdom necessitated the preservation of local populations where possible, however settlements in depopulated areas were nevertheless established. Frankish settlement in the Latin East follows Fernández-Armesto's criteria of colonial expansion.

[42] Fernández-Armesto, 47-48.
[43] Fernández-Armesto, 39-40.
[44] Jotischky, A. *Crusader States*: 89.
[45] Jotischky, 137-138.

Pope Urban's proposal was blatantly impractical given the scarcity of both Latin Christians and Franks able to engage in both mass displacement and resettlement. given how few Franks there were, collaboration was necessary for the kingdom's survival. Notably the Aragonese landowners on Majorca encouraged Moorish populations from outside Majorca to immigrate to urban centers given the scarcity of Catalan laborers. Fernández-Armesto argued that the collaboration between the crusading Aragonese king and a local Moorish governor during the former's invasion of Valencia in 1238 preserved the Moorish populations where they may have been otherwise expelled *en masse*. [46] We see a similar phenomena in the aftermath of the First Crusade where Syrian Christians formed a significant population in Jerusalem after resettlement, Syrian collaborators were enfeoffed as lords of Transjordan, and Muslim sheikhs in al-Gharb near Beirut ruled over Maronite Christians. [47] The lack of either Frankish or Catalan settlers necessitated collaboration with local populations, a practice in conflict with the religious justifications of colonialism in the period.

Section 2b: Adaptation

A colonial society adapts the settler's cultural and administrative structures in response to local customs and circumstances. Prawer provides a convincing analysis of the Frankish administrative structure, though he argues that the retention of an older framework contributed to the kingdom's collapse. Prawer states that there is a 'colonial spirit' at play when settler societies retain older organizations of central administration from the metropole that consequently allows native systems and local interests to compete.[48] Fernández-Armesto argues that equating the formality of state institutions with the state's overall stability is a historical fallacy derived from

[46] Fernández-Armesto, 72-75.
[47] Prawer, *The Crusader's Kingdom*: 20 & 40.
[48] Prawer's characterization of Frankish administration makes three assumptions: that native legal systems persisting is a sign of defective colonial administration, that decentralized power is a byproduct of a feeble administration, and that there is an inherent teleological progression from informal administration to bureaucratic administration.

a modern post-industrial viewpoint of how states operate. He states that no pre modern European state, by which he means a central administration, could reasonably exert influence over a given territory without the consent of local landowners.[49] Therefore the complexity of a medieval administration is less important than maintaining legitimacy, incentivizing cooperation, and so on from the royal administration to local lords. As a colony adapting to local conditions is an innovation, the Latin Kingdom's preservation of *dhimma* and religious courts represents an effort to maintain legitimacy and incentivize cooperation, instead of it being a consequence of administrative deficiency.

A colonial society, while generally preserving local systems that benefit the settler colony, can create legal distinctions to privilege the settlers over the native population. Valencia had interpenetration between religious and ethnic groups, their communities were regulated by a dual religious hierarchy and court system, and they were subject to the previous Andalusian tax structure.[50] As explored in Section 1, the Frankish legal system similarly acculturated to local conditions. Religious identity in both the post-conquest Valencian and Frankish contexts was crucial in determining the court of appeals for any particular plaintiff. There were however legal privileges associated with Frankish identity unlike in Valencia. Franks were allowed to own rural property, had protection from debt imprisonment, and their testimony in criminal cases were generally given more weight.[51] Though the legal institutions of both Aragonese rule over Valencia and Frankish rule featured innovations upon Islamic legal principles, the Franks adapted these principles to grant themselves greater legal privileges over the natives. As parish records were used in determining religious affiliation and Latin parish churches were only

[49] Fernández-Armesto, 41.
[50] Fernández-Armesto, 87.
[51] Correlation between Latin Christianity and Frankish identity in Hamilton, 161. Legal privileges explored in Prawer, 74.

established in Frankish settlements or quarters, the privileges associated with Frankish identity were inherently tied to a subject's record in these parish records.[52] Therefore non-Latin Christians could not claim the legal privileges of Frankish identity.

The Latin Church's attitude towards other faith groups is crucial in determining how expansive the coterminous and privileged Latin and Frankish identities. Even with the suggestions Urban II had to 'purify' the Holy Land, engaging in religious persecution would be dangerous not only for the Franks' relationship with their non-Christian subjects but their non-Latin subjects as well. Syrian Christians, Armenians, and other groups often collaborated with the Latins because they made a conscious choice not to emulate earlier Byzantine persecutions targeted against these communities.[53] Otherwise practical accomodations to the local Muslims would provide fewer incentives to foreign invasions or uprising. The sources suggest for instance that there was no effort to prohibit the operation of existing mosques and synagogues or interreligious or interconfessional worship at common holy sites.[54] The centralization of Catholic religious authority in the thirteenth century led to growing religious intolerance towards non-Catholics.[55] Thus the vital collaboration between local Christian groups and the Franks was damaged, and opened the possibility (or the perception of a possibility) of those groups turning against the regime. Institutional developments in the thirteenth century Latin Church sharpened distinctions between local Christian groups and Franks and antagonized non-Christians as well.

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[52] For a failed mission that did occur in this period, see Hamilton's description of the Premonstratensian canons on 101-102. For the parish system, see Hamilton, 110-111. Note that Hamilton's work preceded Ellenblum, so it follows Prawer's work alone. While less explicit in Fernández-Armesto's work the question of how religious conversion affects identity formation in the Latin East is also an important aspect to consider.
[53] Hamilton, 189. This does come with the caveat that Italian communes also had Latin churches.
[54] Jotischky, 138 and Prawer, 185.
[55] Hamilton, 315. Jotischky, 137.

Section 2c: Economic Incentives

Since the same individuals who controlled land in a colonial context also controlled trade, noble and commercial interests were interpenetrative. As discussed in the previous section on Prawer, the crusader-conquered territories in the Levant were partitioned and awarded to allied interests by royal enfeoffment, creating the Frankish nobility and Latin bishoprics among other institutions. After the conquest of Majorca in 1229, the Aragonese monarchy had a similar obligation to their collaborators and engaged in a policy of intensive colonization through land partition and enfeoffment.[56] Regardless of their profession these enfeoffed magnates held overlapping commercial and political interests and often subenfeoffed parcels of land to their subordinates; both nobles and merchants were enfeoffed and afforded commercial or taxation privileges leading to a successful colonial effort.[57] Frankish and Italian landholders similarly engaged in intentional colonial settlement to further the economic interests of settled landlords and international merchant communities respectively.[58] The establishment of sugar mills, mulberry plantations for silk production, or other forms of agricultural infrastructure formed a key part of the Frankish economy as they were valuable not only to local markets but to European markets as well.

As demonstrated by thirteenth century Genoese sugar and silk plantations in the Algarve, Granada, and Sicily; Catalan and Provencal concessions on Majorca; and Venetian settlements near Tyre; the colonial concessions given to merchants tended to be managed by family enterprises, granted in exchange for military aid during the initial conquest, and were maintained in close cooperation with the settled nobility.[59] These concessions played host to a seasonal population of traveling merchants from the mainland, yet were run by more acclimatized

[56] Fernández-Armesto, 18-19.
[57] Fernández-Armesto, 15, 26-27.
[58] Jotischky, 138**.**
[59] Fernández-Armesto, 16-17 & 108. Prawer, 88-89.

merchants. The Venetians for example sustained a continuous presence and commercial interest in the kingdom, often as middlemen between traveling Venetians and the locals.[60] Both economic privileges and bureaucratic ties back to Europe were key factors in maintaining Italian mercantile concessions in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Given that these privileges were attached to an affiliation to one of the Italian communes, this provides another legal distinction to Frankish identity: they must be Latin Christians and *not* Genoese, Pisan, or Venetian.

Colonial settlement tends to be skewed towards more developed areas, especially when sufficient economic incentives are not offered. I see this clearly in Castilian colonial activity: when incentives to settle the rural countryside were deemed unsatisfactory compared to the land's worth, the landowner tended to abandon that property or transfer their ownership to another party like the Church or another noble.[61] The uncertain negotiation between domestic interests and the lack of a large labor population caused Castilian colonization efforts in Andalusia to occur sporadically over several centuries. Prawer's description of similar wariness towards Frankish land is compelling: heirs rejected inheritances as the Kingdom was viewed as ungovernable and unproductive and when direct inheritance failed, more distant relations on the mainland would be invited to settle. In the Latin Kingdom as in colonial Andalusia, landowners had to balance the perceived risk of tenureship against the economic incentives provided by the state. Therefore urban settlement was more successful in both contexts, especially in coastal cities along major trade networks, as the infrastructure was there and profit was assured.

Subsequent scholarship has largely moved away from Prawer's reading of Frankish society as solely urban and French-speaking. This follows the work of Israeli geographer Roni

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[60] There was less individual settlement resulting from the military or mendicant orders compared to the Italian merchant clans as they were celibate and did not personally hold property. Nevertheless the bureaucratic ties between the local chapters and the hierarchy established in Europe were crucial for the continuity of church institutions and land tenureship in the Kingdom.

[61] Fernández-Armesto, 45 & 61-63.

Ellenblum, particularly *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (1998).[62] Ellenblum argued that while the majority of Franks did settle in urban centers, there is nonetheless evidence of extensive Frankish settlement in rural Palestine that took a variety of forms: unfortified villages, manors, and so on; and not solely fortified villages as Prawer suggests.[63] Ellenblum concluded from surviving censuses of Frankish villages that the majority of Franks were Southern Europeans who settled outside the context of crusade. Pilgrims and non-pilgrims alike settled in the Latin Kingdom to seek better opportunities, land, and for religious reasons as well, much like in Castilian and Aragonese settlements.[64] The multifaceted nature of Frankish settlement speaks to the differing incentives in coming to the Holy Land beyond economic gain, as well as to the diversity of Europeans who settled and became Franks.

Section 2d: Settler Identity

Like all settler populations, the Franks developed a distinct legal and cultural identity through interacting with the local environment and peoples. The veterans of the First Crusade, largely from Francophone nobility, formed the upper nobility of the Latin Kingdom. They spoke a dialect of old French and the language of administration was Latin, as was common in Western Europe as well; literacy in these languages would have been a key criteria of Frankish identity. According to Prawer, the majority of crusaders who remained in the Latin Kingdom after the First Crusade were younger, bachelors, and male, with very few women at all accompanying the crusaders.[65] As dynastic succession is vital to the stability of any aristocratic realm the presence of non-Latin Christians in the Holy Land led to widespread intermarriage between them and the

[62] I point out that Ellenblum is Israeli to further demonstrate the contribution of the Israeli academy towards this field.
[63] Ellenblum, Roni. *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*. Cambridge, U. K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998: 281. For the traditional view, see Prawer, *The Crusader's Kingdom*: 83-84 and Hamilton, *Latin Church*: 91.
[64] Ellenblum, 77-78.
[65] Prawer, 68.

Franks, as interconfessional marriage was permissable by Latin canon law so long as the wife then converted to the Latin Rite. However since thousands of settlers arrived over the following decades from conquest, intermarriage was undoubtedly a facet of all levels of society. It is however difficult to know how integrated Frankish society was due to the lack of material evidence. However, if Ellenblum's survey is authoritative, the majority of Franks spoke a variety of Western European languages, as well as any number of local languages: Arabic, Armenian, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, and so on, depending on their profession. As Ellenblum's work demonstrates a wide variety of settlers who claimed Frankish identity, religion is a more vital criteria of Frankish identity than kinship or language.

In a colonial context the settler population creates a frontier myth, a justification for their presence and their conquest. Prawer argues that the Franks were crusade veterans, largely from Northern France, who settled in order to defend the kingdom from constant Muslim aggression within segregated and fortified urban centers. I follow Ellenblum's argument that this crusader-settler narrative associates a constructed frontier myth of the Latin Kingdom that contrasts with the reality of Frankish settlement. A frontier myth presents an idealized portrait of how the first settlers conquered the territory from an identifiable enemy, often in contrast to subsequent generations.[66] For example, the crusaders piously and selflessly sacrificed themselves to liberate the Holy Land from the Muslim infidel through holy war, thereby establishing the Kingdom of Jerusalem. It then follows that subsequent generations have sullied this good work by being selfish, worldly, and cowardly. It is telling that Prawer allows only for a hypermilitarized, defensive, and frankly apocalyptic view of Frankish society. I would argue Prawer passively reads frontier myths and constructed his understanding of settlement through

[66] Ellenblum, 277-282.

that mythology, and therefore Ellenblum provides a more robust analysis of Frankish rural settlement through his critical engagement of a wider primary source base.

The crusader-settler narrative informed how the Franks were described by European sources. When the Europeans perceived the Frankish nobility positively, they characterized the Franks as embodying an ideal knightly virtue *vis a vis* their defense of Christendom from the infidel and stewardship of the Holy Sepulchre.[67] Oftentimes the literature followed the same pattern Ellenblum described: this picture only accounts for very few Franks overall, and generally of the first crusading generation. The polemical view was that the subsequent generations of Franks had embraced 'the Orient' to their detriment, reflected in their appearances, their personal connections with local peoples, and their ceremonial practices. To put it another way, the Europeans thought that the Franks had 'gone native'. Baldwin I, the first acknowledged King of Jerusalem, was a prime target of such polemics. Western chroniclers criticized his policies that arguably cemented Frankish colonial rule and the adoption of rituals that helped legitimize his rule to the locals.[68] It should be noted that the Frankish elite did not entirely acculturate to local norms, as Baldwin I's coronation exemplifies. His coronation largely resembled contemporary examples in Western Europe: he swore oaths to preserve the rights of the Church and nobility, Mass was sung, and he was anointed by the highest ranking bishop, in this case the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem.[69] Nevertheless Western chroniclers emphasized Frankish adaptations from the 'standard' as a negative, as a betrayal of the sort of idealism Pope Urban II had to sweep away what came before and establish a virtuous Christian realm.

[67] Prawer, 61.
[68] Rubenstein, 89-91.
[69] Prawer, 94-101.

Section 2e: Conclusion

Felipe Fernández-Armesto's analysis of medieval Aragonese and Castilian colonial activity provides a historically grounded methodology to explore the Latin Kingdom as a settler colony. Aragonese and Castilian conquest was often justified through similar religious language as the crusade-settler myth and Urban II's proposed policy: the colonizer would sweep away pagans and purify the land in God's name. Ethnic cleansing and mass displacement of local populations would be followed by economically-induced resettlement and concessions to mercantile interests. However the reality of colonial rule in the studied cases generally favored adaptation rather than zeal once rule was established. The lack of settler labor, the need to control an established population effectively, and economic interest in the territory and its resources necessitated an adaptation of existing legal frameworks, the retention of existing social structures, and collaboration with sections of the local population. We see comparable examples of these trends in Castilian Andalusia, Aragonese Mallorca, Sardinia, and Valencia; and in the Latin Kingdom. Frankish identity, like all dominant groups in settler colonies, afforded an individual the greatest legal and social privilege and was determined at the state level by literacy, religion, and descent. While certainly not the definitive answer, I believe this analysis provides a more historically informed interpretation of the Latin Kingdom in colonial terms than what had been originally proposed by Joshua Prawer. With the colonial background of the Latin Kingdom established I can now explore *Descriptio* within that context. The next section will focus on *Descriptio* as a travel narrative and its ethnographic content.

Section 3: *Descriptio* and Identity in Medieval Travel Narratives

A cultural phenomena like the Crusades or a political formation like the Latin East tends to provoke an intellectual response both locally and externally. There have been many fine works on the impact of the Crusades and the Latin East on medieval European thought for example, with a wealth of perspectives and disciplines being brought to bear on the subject. I have relied on what I believe to be the common view of the Latin Kingdom to scholarship on other medieval colonial contexts, namely Castilian and Aragonese colonies in their peripherie. Here again the methodology of scholars focusing on Medieval Iberia proves useful in a complimentary analysis: the European racialization of the Latin East through travel narratives. I define racialization as the social process of constructing ethnic or racial identities. Given that I am exploring a premodern context, before pseudoscientific race theory emerged, it may seem pointless to discuss medieval European knowledge about the Latin East in terms of racial identities. In his work *Race, Caste, and Indigineity*, Michael Harney utilizes travel narratives to explore racialization in medieval and early modern Iberia. A similar methodology applied to one travel narrative of the Latin East, namely *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, reveals the author's perspective on local identities that were crucial to Frankish colonial society.

Thirteenth century Europeans engaged in racialization, the social process of constructing ethnic or racial identities, under different paradigms than what we are familiar with. The concept of 'biological race' emerged in the 18th century after three centuries of European contact with the outside world in the context of colonialism. Medieval racialization was instead justified on philosophical and religious principles. An understanding of Aristotelian philosophy was critical in Western European racialization after the thirteenth century. What separated 'civilized' peoples from 'natural slaves' were cultural and behavioral attributes: religion, law, social practice; and

inherent dispositions imposed by climate.[70] Every population then can be placed on a spectrum between those two extremes with the observer's own attributes naturally being the ideal. In Catholic doctrine, humanity shared a common descent from Adam and Eve and thus were marred by original sin. Without that understanding, the sacrament of baptism which is fundamental to conversion and maintaining the Christian community would not be doctrinally legitimate.[71] Societies that had the wrong culture or religion were at best ignorant of the true Gospel and could be redeemed through conversion, or were at worst servants of evil, deceived by Satan or the Antichrist.

It should be noted that Aristotelian philosophy and original sin were not the only methodologies available to medieval Europeans, who could also be informed by classical tradition, legends, histories, and other aspects of Catholic doctrine. Nevertheless racialization created legal hierarchies: separate law systems and legal penalties may be applied to populations identified as 'Other'.[72] In keeping with Albert Memmi, we might define racism as conferring benefits through devaluing the Other, which inspires anxiety about purity among the in-group (Us), and ultimately to rigid taxonomic boundaries between Us and Them.[73] Examples from Medieval Europe of racialized practices might then include anti-Jewish laws, massacres of pagans in the Baltics, or the persecution of the Welsh and Irish by the Normans and Plantagenets. Religious and cultural identities were racialized in the medieval European imagination and carried legal ramifications especially for undesirable groups. Travel narratives are ideal for exploring medieval conceptions of race as they are inherently centered around describing foreign lands and peoples.

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[70] James Muldoon. "Race or Culture: Medieval Notions of Difference" in *Race and Racism in Theory and Practice*. Daniel G. Blackburn, et al, eds. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000: 82-83.
[71] Muldoon, 81, 84-85.
[72] Michael Harney. Race, *Caste, and Indigeneity in Medieval Spanish Travel Literature*. First edition. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015: 5-6.
[73] Harney, 7.

There is always a question of retrojection when it comes to applying 'race' as a concept to medieval identity formation. Ultimately Harney's work in *Race, Caste, and Indigineity* is inherently part of the growing field of postcolonial medieval studies; the association in Harney's work to postcolonial thought shines most clearly in his use of Albert Memmi.[74] William Chester Jordan famously rejected the use of 'race' and 'racism' as historiographical terms. Jordan prefers 'ethnic identity' for the former primarily to avoid ordinary readers' inability to distinguish a scholarly reinterpretation from the more mainstream definition.[75] While I do appreciate the difficulty that Jordan foresees, I'm not convinced that a genuine historiographical effort does not attempt to account for modern usage of terminology, or conversely retroject terms to historical processes. Jordan's argument partly critiques some authors for evaluating medieval Catholic authors in particular as being 'racist' that, while not detracting from his overall conclusion, does demonstrate where the term may be most problematic. There is after all little analytical value in presenting unqualified value judgements on past societies and thinkers. However, I would question the politics of Jordan's argument given that other modern terms such as religion and colonialism are both applied successfully and unproblematically.[76] Does limiting the usage of 'race' to a modern context *not* limit historical analysis in similar ways to how colonialism is often restricted? As I am not explicitly presenting a critique of *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* as a 'racist' work, this section would not be comparable to the problematic scholarship that Jordan identifies. Since the identities Burchard characterizes differ in legal and social privilege within

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[74] For a general survey on postcolonial thought applied to medieval literature, see Lampert-Weissig, Lisa. *Medieval Literature and Postcolonial Studies*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010.

[75] William C. Jordan. "Why Race?" in *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* vol. 31, issue 1. Thomas Hahn, ed. Durham: Duke University Press, 2001.
Riley-Smith, "Government and the Indigenous", 125.

[76] Medieval Catholicism and Greco-Roman paganism are both commonly referred to as religions in scholarship, though the latter is much less doctrinally and institutionally unified than the former and both predate the modern comparative term 'religion' entirely.

Frankish society in ways comparable to modern 'racial' identities, presenting these identities as race is historiographically justifiable.

In *Race, Caste, and Indigineity*, Michael Harney notes that the Iberian Peninsula presents an ideal case study of medieval racialization. This is due to the fact that there was a highly diverse and stratified population that traveled extensively throughout the region.[77] These travelers: military officials, aristocrats, pilgrims on the Camino de Santiago, among others, recorded their insights about the land and peoples of the Iberian Peninsula and beyond. Though I would argue again that the Latin Kingdom and Iberian Peninsula share a similar diversity in populations. Harney recognizes general trends of medieval travel narratives as they relate to racialization: the author's home community is often taken as a template, their taxonomic inventories of different 'races' are influenced by ancient and other medieval encyclopedic models, and the authors synecdotally present contradictory characterizations of the races.[78] Burchard of Mt. Sion arguably engages with these trends in *Descriptio* as he travels through the Fertile Crescent. Travel writers also present 'exotic' individuals and communities around a narrow set of cliches and tropes, as monolithic stereotypes. These monoliths may be the author's way of reflecting or critiquing their own culture, as a call to action against the presented group, or as a model for certain virtues that their audience would recognize.[79] Harney analyzes Iberian travel literature through these broad genre conventions and argues that the diversity of perspectives lends a certain uniqueness to Iberian travel writing of the period, however similar diversity could be found in the Holy Land. Pilgrims of all three Abrahamic religions, military officials and bureaucrats, Papal delegates, and so many more wrote about the Latin East.

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[77] Harney, 25.
[78] Harney, 26.
[79] Harney, 75-76, 92, 101 & 103.

European and Frankish chroniclers of the period in particular often comment on the highly diverse population, critique new converts or 'oriental' people, and angst over settlers 'going native'. Given the similarities between the Iberian Peninsula and the Latin East in these aspects, Harney's observations of medieval Iberian travel literature can be reasonably applied to examples from the Latin East.

The thesis' primary source is *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, an account of the Holy Land and surrounding regions written by a traveling Dominican monk named Burchard of Mount Sion in 1284.[80] Burchard traveled quite extensively throughout the Kingdom of Jerusalem and surrounding areas and described local populations. *Descriptio* is primarily a geographic work with ethnographic elements common to travel literature featuring in two sections. Genre conventions were not as rigid in the thirteenth century as they are now, and texts ostensibly serving one purpose can have conventions of another literary genre. *Descriptio* engages the same racemaking *topoi* that Harney observed were common to medieval travel narrative. Burchard constructs a taxonomy of peoples based around their religion, with more positive traits being afforded to those closer to his Catholic European identity and negative traits associated with those who share fewer qualities with him. Despite the comparative lack of emphasis placed on the local peoples, Burchard's racialization can be analyzed with the same scrutiny as works of travel literature.

Burchard uses the Latin word *natio* to describe communities that share a common religion. *Natio* has been invariably translated as 'tribe', 'nation', or 'race' and in this instance is used to group together Christians, Jews, and Muslims. In the section about the inhabitants of the Holy Land, he states "sunt in ea habitatores ex omni *natione*, que sub celo est" or that

[80] For ease of analysis I have chosen the recent critical edition done by Reverend John Bartlett in 2019. See bibliography.

"inhabitants from every nation live there", further describing how 'our' Latins or Franks came to the crusader states often to escape lives of crime only to cheat and deceive other Latins on pilgrimage.[81] For context, Latin religious services had declined in quality during the middle to late thirteenth centurydue to absentee prelates, as well as church and monastic corruption; however, even the rough-and-tumble settlers and absentee bishops are part of the same natio as other Latins.[82] The fact that Latin Christians would have had the same privileged legal status in Frankish society reaffirms Harney's association between racemaking and legal status. In the same passage Burchard also uses *gens*, a word often translated as ethnic group, to further distinguish Latins by geographic and ethnic origins. Therefore there are Latins from Germany, from England, or Poland, and so on who have settled in the Latin East.[83] I would therefore say that as Burchard uses them, *natio* refers to a legal and religious affiliation whilst *gens* refers to a perceived ancestral affiliation.

Burchard's narrative also features other non-Latin Christian groups that are local to the Levant. Eastern Orthodox Christians comprised the majority of Christians in the Levant under Roman rule, though there were smaller communities who were considered heretical both to Eastern Orthodoxy and later still the Latin Church.[84] Non-Orthodox Christians were largely united in their political opposition to Byzantine rule due to the long-standing persecution they faced, and allied regimes that promised them religious autonomy as they did during the Muslim conquests in the 7th century. The Jacobites, Maronites, and Armenian Church later collaborated with the Franks due to a promise of religious autonomy. Despite this Burchard describes the Armenians in great detail, and other groups only by name and locations. Burchard's priority to

[81] Burchard of Mount Sion, 191, para. 111.
[82] Hamilton, 365-366.
[83] Burchard of Mount Sion: 191, para. 111
[84] Hamilton, 188, 208 & 333. Prawer 53-55, 202-203.

Armenians may be due to the fact that Armenian Christians were the most politically prominent Christian group in the Levant other than the Latins and were frequent collaborators with them. Burchard claims Christians constitute a majority of any other *natio* as far as India or Ethiopia. He further claims they are only considered Muslims because they submitted to their oppression, that the 'Saracens' form only an oppressive upper class.[85] Burchard may be making a veiled comparison to the Franks themselves, as they like the Saracens form an upper class who tax the local Christians, yet no group is totalized in the same way as Muslims are. Burchard presents Muslims as inherently invasive with no legitimate form of belonging, while he does not characterize local Christians in similar regards.[86] By claiming that the majority of the East is Christian, Burchard further alienates Muslims by characterizing them as an eternal foreigner in their own lands.

Burchard does not qualify many Muslim groups, instead flattening them into a single Saracen *gens* and *natio*. The only two other Saracen groups he describes as such are the Assassins and 'Vannini', who are distinguished from the norm by their exceptional ferocity.[87] Muslim groups and individuals are characterized as violent, superstitious, and as stated before, foreigners in their own land. He states that the majority of Saracens, as well as other followers of Muhammad, are in Arabia or Egypt. He does make that distinction between Muslims and 'other' followers of Muhammad without elaboration. Arabia and Egypt also appear to be the only legitimately Saracen realm to Burchard, though he notes the presence of Christians in Egypt all the same. Strangely the Tatars, Turks, and Turkmens are not recognized by Burchard as part of this racialized 'Saracen', even though these communities were Islamized by the late thirteenth

[85] Burchard, 201-203, para. 118. Given that there is little evidence that Burchard traveled beyond the Holy Land he does not provide concrete examples of Christian populations outside of that context.
[86] His vague assertions of powerful Christian kingdoms in the East is explored more in Section 5.
[87] Burchard of Mount Sion: 29, para. 24 and 199, para. 117. I am unable to find a consensus as to which group Burchard is referring to as Vannini.

century. Similarly Burchard does not correlate the Bedouins with being Saracens, which may imply that 'Saracen' indicates a settled people rather than a nomadic people.

Burchard makes only one mention of Jews living in the Latin East. Despite the massacre of the Jewish community in Jerusalem and other cities during the First Crusade, there were no pogroms recorded in the Latin East nor specialized policy towards Jewish communities.[88] Prawer states that Jewish communities persisted mainly in Palestine, more specifically around Tiberias and Galilee, from before the First Crusade and that the Crusades also led to settlement.[89] The Jewish community in Acre is also noted by Prawer, who were particularly influential and numerous, defined too by intercommunity tension between different sects of Judaism.[90] Though Burchard certainly visited all of these places he only references Jews in the context of an anti-Jewish polemic.

Burchard states that a Jew living in Beirut found an image of a crucified Jesus that was left by the previous owner of his home. The Jew took the image to his synagogue, where it was mocked and pierced in the side with a spear. Miraculously the image welled with blood that was later venerated as a relic.[91] The canard was created to advocate for the veneration of images as sources of divine revelation and miracles. "Jesus of Beirut" is part of a wider genre of pagans, Muslim, and Jews destroying images, however the polemic also references the common anti-Jewish trope of Jews as 'Christ-killers': they were believed to 'kill' images in emulation of the original crucifixion.[92] Burchard provides an uncritical reading of this text and associates it with an authoritative text that would have been recognizable to educated readers in Western

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[88] Prawer, 237.
[89] Prawer, 59.
[90] Prawer, 238-242.
[91] Burchard of Mount Sion: 23, para. 14. Burchard cites 4th century scholar Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History as his source, however the "Jesus of Beirut" story has its origins in the Iconoclasm Controversy of the 8th century, first recorded at the Seventh Ecumenical Council of Nicaea in 787.
[92] Aron-Beller, Katherine. *Christian Images and Their Jewish Desecrators: The History of an Allegation, 400-1700*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2024: 46-53.

Europe, presenting this legend as history. *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* provides only one narrative of the local Jewish population, thereby reducing a vibrant and diverse community to an anti-Jewish literary cliche.

In the first section I argued that Joshua Prawer's description of the Latin Kingdom presented the medieval past as a model to his current moment, and that a reexamination of his claim ought to base itself within a medieval context. By comparing the Latin East and medieval Iberia, I have presented similarities between both regions in terms of coloniality and now in being sites of medieval racialization. Travel narratives such as Burchard of Mount Sion's Descriptio Terrae Sanctae offer a glimpse into the worldview of their authors and allow readers both past and present to draw connections between the narrative and what they already understand about the world. Burchard's racialization of Christians, Muslims, and Jews in his narrative model the same characteristics that Harney identifies in medieval Iberian travel literature and demonstrate the ways in which medieval Europeans thought about both their cultures and foreign cultures as well. As exemplified in Burchard's authoritative reading of the "Jesus of Beirut" polemic, his epistemology is based around legitimizing his observations through authoritative authors and texts rather than the empirical model modern audiences may take for granted. Understanding Burchard's racialization of the Latin East is critical to studying the area through his work, and opens the possibility to make connections to trends outside of his narrative.

Burchard of Mount Sion's *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* admittedly offers a narrow perspective of the Latin East heavily influenced by the author's epistemology, biases, and purpose. The next section of this work will explore the potential influences on Burchard's work before exploring what I believe to be its fundamental purpose: as an aid to Dominicans preaching

crusade in the late thirteenth century. I chose *Descriptio* not because I believe it offers a comprehensive view of the Latin East in colonial terms, but offered a wide variety of inquiries into medieval scholarship and the Dominican influence on the crusading movement. In anticipation of what is ahead, I would argue that Burchard's racialization in *Descriptio* presents taxonomic hierarchies of Frankish settlers, local Christians, Muslims, and Jews to provoke further action from his audience, namely European settlement of the Latin Kingdom and crusade. The question of whether the Latin Kingdom could be analyzed as a colony being settled for the sake of argument, we turn to an analysis of the cultural milleu of late thirteenth century Europe through the lens of *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*.

Section 4: Sharing the Word: *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* and its World

Travel narratives operate within an epistemilogical framework that privileges the author's perspective of foreign lands and peoples, thereby encoding their preconceptions as objective truth. Focusing an analysis on one particular narrative of the Latin Kingdom deepens our understanding of medieval European coloniality, identity formation, and the actors that perpetuate authoritative knowledge of Frankish society and its peripherie. We continue our analysis of *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* with these questions in mind as it is one of the last firsthand travel narratives written about Frankish society during its rule over the Holy Land and was written by an educated scholar with a religious background. Exploring the relationship between Burchard's dual status as a pilgrim and Dominican through his narrative may reveal crucial insights into the production of late thirteenth century colonial knowledge.

There is precious little about Burchard's life that he records in *Descriptio*, yet what is there is nonetheless informative to his work's purpose. Burchard's identity as a Dominican is made quite explicit in the prologue of his work and carries through within most of the manuscripts, if not all of them. The difficulty going beyond that basic identification is that different manuscripts record or invent aspects of the journey or about Burchard himself. There are two major rescensions that the manuscript witnesses of *Descriptio* follow:, the 'long' and the 'short'. The 'long version' is considered to be closer to the original and includes sections detailing his travels to Armenia and Egypt in addition to his travels through the Latin Kingdom.[93] Bartlett's critical edition of the 'long version' includes only one firm date, Burchard's account of his journey through Gilboa records that he was soaked through with rain on both The Feast of

[93] J.R. Bartlett. "Burchard's Descriptio Terrae Sanctae: The Early Revision" in *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 145(1), 2013: 61–71.

All Saints (November 1) and St. Martin's Day (November 11) in 1283.[94] *Descriptio* dates after the Second Council of Lyons in 1274 and before the capture of Margat by the Mamluks in 1285. Burchard refers to Orthodox converting to the Latin Rite after a "general council for Christ under the lord Gregory X", referring to the Second Council of Lyons (1274).[95] He locates the Assassins near the castle at Margat and as he usually references a place's capture as he does with the Hospitalier castle at Asser, the implication is that Burchard's account dates before Sultan Qalawun's capture of Margat from the Hospitaliers in 1285.[96] According to the dates presented in the long version of his work, Burchard traveled to Armenia, Egypt, and the Latin Kingdom anywhere from 1274 to 1285.

The 'short version' of *Descriptio* however includes more clues. In the prologue Burchard adds a dedication to "our most beloved father in Christ Jesus, Brother Burchard, teacher of the brothers of the Order of Preachers in Magdeburg".[97] Burchard of Mount Sion then had a superior, also named Burchard, who might have asked him to produce this work. Since their arrival in 1220, the Dominican contingency in Germany was both educated and elite as they exclusively recruited upper class clerics and German residents at the major European universities.[98] The exclusivity of their recruitment created a more prestigious institution compared to other territories. We can then infer that Burchard was a university academic before he took his vows, if not also nobleman. As for the Magdeburg connection, the Dominicans were invited personally by the archbishop to establish a convent within his diocese in order to combat Waldensian heretics

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[94] Burchard of Mount Sion. *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* (1284). Translated by J. R. Bartlett. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019: 81.
[95] Burchard of Mount Sion, 194-5.
[96] Adrian J. Boas. *Crusader Archaeology: The Material Culture of the Latin East*. Third edition. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2024: 126.
[97] Burchard of Mt. Sion, 277.
[98] J. Freed. *The Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century*. Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1977: 124-125.

in 1225.[99] As the Dominicans were sanctioned only nine years prior the Magdeburg convent was perhaps one of the first in the Empire, and would later be the crucible in which Burchard's intellectual career would begin.

As Burchard was both a pilgrim and a Dominican, his work ought to be situated in the context of his order's efforts around crusading. Through promoting spiritual and legal benefits of crusade and polemics on Christ's enemies, preaching crusade furnished funding and reinforcements for the military orders and crusaders states. In the eleventh and twelfth century crusading was a coordination between the Church and secular rulers; secular priests would preach crusade and rulers would furnish the troops and funds. However over the course of the thirteenth century crusading evolved into an institutionalized instrument of papal politics, and as the Dominicans were both trained preachers and frequent papal agents, they were the ideal crusade propagandists.[100] Until the 1260s German Dominicans preached and or mobilized their contacts in the upper crust of Germanic societies to raise funds and troops to assist the Teutonic Order against Slavic pagans, or later on to use similar means to rally support against the Emperor.[101] The German Dominicans were chosen for this task by successive Popes due to these important contacts, local knowledge, and their ability to preach to high and low.

A similar pattern existed for preaching crusades to the Holy Land: the friars networked, were socially mobile, and learned about the lands and peoples they were sent to. Dominican master Humbert of Romans wrote *De predicatione S. crucis* (1266-8), a preacher's guide which specifically recommended that friars possess knowledge of biblical references to the Holy Land, the geography of the Holy Land, Islamic doctrine, and episodes of Muslim aggression against

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[99] Freed, 139.
[100] Christoph T. Maier. *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century*. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994: 1-4.
[101] Freed, 65-67, 128, 150.

Christians.[102] *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* engages with all the topics referenced by Humbert and frequently references other geographic and historical scholarship.[103] If Burchard wrote his account with the crusade preachers in mind, then the content would be tailored to the most salient rhetorical points of why Christendom ought to go on crusade.

Given that manpower was critical in preserving Frankish sovereignty and a key motivator in crusade preaching, efforts would have been taken in a Dominican text to justify European settlement into the Latin Kingdom. Frankish society in the twelfth century was perpetuated by a consistent stream of pilgrims and settlers as successive crusades and growing economic prospects spurred migration and pilgrimage.[104] The first Frankish generation were veterans of the First Crusade, and if crusades led to settlement then the last major influx may have been the Ninth Crusade in 1271. Due to Latin control of the Levantine ports, Western pilgrimage to the Holy Land was revived and pilgrim's guides became popular in creating personal itineraries.[105] A pilgrim's guide would share the author's recollections of their travels to Jerusalem, perhaps giving information about where to exchange currency, rest, and places to avoid. Undoubtedly as the Latin Kingdom continued to contract through the thirteenth century, a practical-minded pilgrim would probably not choose to settle given the tumultuous political climate, though too little is known about Frankish demographics to give a concrete answer. Nevertheless both appeals to living and dying amongst the sites of the New Testament and prospering in the land of milk and honey could conceivably attract settlement. In *Descriptio*, Burchard makes several mentions of the agricultural output of the Latin kingdom, especially in places where good Christians live.[106] The majority of Europeans traveling to the Latin Kingdom were visitors:

[102] Maier, 114-115.
[103] Specific examples of Burchard's engagement with the Holy Land in terms of its peoples and crusading tropes are explored in more detail in sections 3 and 5 respectively.
[104] Prawer, 60.
[105] Prawer, 193.
[106] This idea is further explored in Section 5.

merchants, pilgrims, or as members of a military order, yet an effort was still made in *Descriptio* to provide justification for any good Christian to make their pilgrimage permanent.

Though it contains information useful to potential pilgrims, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* is fundamentally a work of geography. Burchard organizes his observations within four broad divisions centered on Acre, the capital of the Kingdom and the most popular port of call for Western pilgrims to the Holy Land.[107] The visualization that Burchard's description gives of where each site was, especially in relation to the prominent mountains, would help guide pilgrims and center discussion of the biblical passages referenced alongside those sites.[108] In other words, Burchard provides both a map and justification for why each site is significant in terms of its connection to episodes from the Old and New Testament. Additionally there are cross-references between the first through fourth divisions of the Holy Land which itself was intentional: knowledge was often learned through rote memorization, and having multiple mentions of a concept would aid in retention. Despite the numerous references to sites from classical and biblical history throughout the work it is unlikely that Burchard had written *Descriptio* with pilgrims in mind, at least not the general public. He cites works other than the Bible or commentaries, writes in an impersonal voice for much of the work, engages in discourse on where important sites are that are not concretely located, and formatted the text not conducive to creating a personal itinerary. Given all these factors it is more likely that Burchard wrote *Descriptio* not as a pilgrim's guide but as a geographical treatise.

As with any good travel guide, *Descriptio* also informs its reader about the dangers on the road. The protection of Christian pilgrims had been a pressing concern for the Church even

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[107] Prawer: 134, 195-196.

[108] Ingrid Baumgärtner and Eva Ferro. "The Holy Land Geography as Emotional Experience" In *Geography and Religious Knowledge in the Medieval World*. Mauntel, Christoph, ed. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2021. 247-272. ; E. J. Mylod. "Routes to Salvation: Travelling through the Holy Land, 1187-1291" in *Journeying Along Medieval Routes in Europe and the Middle East*. Gascoigne, Alison L. et al. ----, eds. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2016: 50-85.

before the First Crusade, as it was to the Latin Kingdom afterwards. Pilgrims were vital to them as their donations brought in much-needed money and their news from the road could prove valuable to the administration.[109] However the wealth required not only to pay for the trip but to sustain oneself on pilgrimage, coupled with the fact that few pilgrims were armed, meant that pilgrims were easy targets for bandits and thieves.

The routes to Jerusalem were dangerous to the point where a chivalric order dedicated to the protection of Latin pilgrims was established in 1129: the Knights Templar, joined later by the Knights Hospitalier and the Order of St. Lazarus.[110] These orders were established to look after the health of pilgrims en route to Jerusalem: safeguard them from attack, provide healing and shelter, and tend to lepers. They certainly held more functions than that and were able to purchase castles for their use from the Kings of Jerusalem as Prawer noted. It is important to note that by the middle of the thirteenth century, the coastal route from Acre to Jerusalem was preferred by European pilgrims over the inland route through Samaria.[111] The military orders may have lost control of the major inland strongholds by the time Burchard traveled through; certainly by 1283. Burchard's knowledge of Transjordan is much more sketchy than his knowledge of the coast, implying that he took the preferred route, and he comments too on the strongholds that remain in the hands of the military orders. Nevertheless Burchard includes more than what may interest a Christian pilgrim 'on the ground' or indeed give insight into what parts were the most typically dangerous. In other words, it was not written with pilgrims in mind.

Born in the Holy Roman Empire, Burchard was educated in both classical and theological scholarship. He joined the innovative Dominicans in their convent at Magdeburg where he would be trained in preaching, administering pastoral care, and diplomacy by the brothers who

[109] Hamilton, 170.
[110] Hamilton, 363.
[111] Prawer, 204-205.

mobilized their kinsmen against Slavic pagans and or the Emperor's dynasty. After a while Burchard would himself be assigned as an envoy to the East. His master Burchard asked him to record and organize his observations of the Holy Land and his missions for the benefit of the convent and the Order at large. Following best practice Burchard prepared by studying the authoritative texts on the Holy Land and perhaps even a few local languages. He then set out with a companion for one of the Italian city states with not much more than toll money and something to write with. He landed first in Tarsus to seek an audience with the Armenian king, who was a fellow Christian of a different creed. He traveled down the Levantine coast with his companion and began to record his observations as soon as they entered Acre. Burchard would record a variety of insights in a format easy for the learned few to memorize, focusing less on his personal experiences unless they elucidate a common theme or provide some authority to a contentious observation he made. After all, there may come a time when Burchard's knowledge may be used by his brothers to preach a new crusade, to encourage new souls to settle or reinforce the militant orders. Upon his return or in his memory he was given a new epithet, a new citizenship, a badge of honor for making the treacherous journey to the city of the living God. He was then Brother Burchard *of Mount Sion*.

It is unlikely that more concrete details of Burchard's life will be found, much less the full context behind why *Descriptio* is written in the way that it is. Regardless, by tracking the realities faced by contemporaries, both pilgrims and Dominican scholars, the general intellectual environment Burchard would have received can be explored. It is unlikely that *Descriptio* was intended for guiding pilgrims as there is little information on the logistics, waystations, tolls, or other considerations that Burchard himself likely faced along the road. It is likely that he wrote it for his order as he does not mention the remarkable work done by the chapter in Acre, implying

the commonality of that knowledge to his audience. The purpose of the work instead seems to be to in part act as both a geographic and antiquarian survey of the Holy Land and an account of Burchard's diplomatic missions to Cilician Armenia and Mamluk Egypt. *Descriptio* would have then been memorized or referred to by crusade preachers in keeping with Humbert of Romans' guide written a few decades before. *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* demonstrates the value that thirteenth century Dominicans like Burchard placed on first-hand knowledge that is rooted in established tradition. The overall impersonal style and broad subject matter allows *Descriptio* to touch on topics of interest to biblical scholars and crusade preachers.

Section 5: *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* and Preaching the Later Crusades

We have established that *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* was likely used directly or indirectly as a crusade preacher's guide yet the question of the extent to which Burchard engaged with the ideological underpinnings of crusading and the examples he provides to incentivize a crusade remain not fully explored. As discussed in section 4, the Dominicans were at the forefront of both crusade preaching and the Catholic Church's presence in the Latin East. Given the cost of traveling to the Holy Land, having a document that provides a potential crusade preacher with an eyewitness account is quite valuable. Burchard provided a wealth of information on the peoples of the Holy Land, echoing common tropes about Muslims especially. Similarly Burchard does not explicitly engage with crusading as an act of pilgrimage or with just war theory, or indeed much of any direct discourse on crusading. However he chooses to include about Jerusalem, about other Christians in the Latin East, and the land's agricultural bounty all can be utilized persuasively by preachers to incentivize donations and enlistment, to preach crusade.

The crusading movement relied in part on two concurrent developments in medieval Catholic theology in the late eleventh century. The penitential aspect of crusading is one shared with Christian pilgrimage in general, ultimately derived from early medieval practices of exiling criminals from a community for them to seek redemption at a holy shrine.[112] Pilgrimage became viewed as a collective rather than an individual act of penance in the eleventh century, a product of rising collective uncertainty brought on by the failure of millenarist prophecy.[113] Widespread belief that either 1000 or 1033 would be the beginning years of Armageddon sparked intense anxiety and anticipation which led to the popularization of Christians travelling in groups to holy shrines and sites to spur on the end of days or seek penance for their communities. In this context

[112] Prawer, 194.
[113] Prawer, 70-72.

Jerusalem was redeemed in Western thought as an important site in Christianity, and thousands from every walk of life went on pilgrimages there.[114] The eschatological associations of both pilgrimage to Jerusalem and Muslims were prominent in justifying the crusades and undoubtedly remained so in preaching crusade within Burchard's context.

The other prominent shift was in the Christian attitude towards violence through the articulation of just war. Just war theory was first formulated in a general sense by St. Augustine back in the 5th century and would only be codified by Aquinas in the 13th century.[115] Augustine argued that a sinful act like violence performed with right intent and good cause enacted under legitimate authority would be legitimate. In attempting to rally troops to support the Romans in 1074 after the Battle of Manzikiert, Pope Gregory VII argued that military service under papal authority imitated Christ's passion, and that violence within that service constituted an act of penance: this was the first major articulation of 'holy war' in the Christian mindset to be expanded on by Urban II and subsequent intellectuals.[116] Whereas traditional Christian teaching forbade violence in all forms, the crusading oath legitimized violence when enacted on behalf of Christ and his church. The military orders are the most profound example of this new tradition, wherein knightly ideals and monastic vows were unified.[117] Foundational to Western conceptions of legitimate violence, Aquinas reformulated just war to also include when violence was required to maintain the common good, not just in defending the faith.[118] The restriction of *bellum* to describe armed conflicts enacted by legitimate authority is arguably informed by contemporary institutional developments within the crusading movement. Though the popes often called for crusade, and is a legitimate authority, it was the secular rulers who coordinated soldiers and

[114] Richard Landes. "The Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000: Augustinian Historiography, Medieval and Modern". University of Chicago Press: Speculum, Vol. 75, No. 1 (Jan. 2000): 97-145.
[115] Christopher Tyerman. *The World of the Crusades*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019: 14.
[116] Tyerman, 19.
[117] Prawer, 253-256.
[118] Gregory M. Reichberg. *Thomas Aquinas on War and Peace*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017: 7-10.

money to support the virtuous cause of crusading. While Burchard does not mention either crusading oaths nor just war explicitly, his work does provide specific evidence to legitimize future crusades in terms of virtue: the pressing need to reconquer Jerusalem from pagans and the settlers' moral failings are especially relevant.

The chronicles contemporary to the First Crusade often conceptualized the conflict as an apocalyptic war between good and evil, between Christendom and Islam. They described individual battles against Muslim groups, or Saracens, in terms of graphic brutality and their connection to biblical prophecies of Armageddon. Christians recapturing Jerusalem was often understood by intellectuals or crusaders as a prerequisite condition for the Second Coming and the end of days. Muhammad was characterized as the Antichrist, and Muslims therefore were the Antichrist's armies.[119] The Antichrist of course represents an obstacle as it is both a great persecutor of Christians and a great deceiver to potential Christian converts: both themes are often brought up in the literature. Eschatology may inform why Muslims were so vilified, however an alternate interpretation is that the Crusades were indicative of a widespread prejudice in Christianity against the East. Islamophobia then was rooted in both the perceived righteousness of Catholicism over other faith traditions and an intellectual rejection of Islam as paganism.[120] I believe neither interpretation can fully account for the Islamophobic rhetoric utilized both in *Descriptio* as explored in Section 3 nor to justify crusade, yet both form part of an important rhetorical trope that Burchard would have had to respond to in his work, namely the occupation of Jerusalem by a vilified enemy.

In writing a description of the Holy Land, Burchard deliberately presents the area in the most favorable terms in hopes of inspiring a new crusade to Jerusalem. It is difficult to overstate

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[119] Jay Rubenstein. "Tolerance for the Armies of the Antichrist" in *Papacy, Crusade, and Christian-Muslim Relations*. Bird, Jessalynn --, et al. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018: 87.
[120] Rubenstein, 84.

the importance Jerusalem held to the medieval Catholic. Jerusalem and other places mentioned in the Old and New Testament formed a vital part of the cultural milieu of Western Europe through their frequent mention in the Latin liturgy.[121] The Romans held on to the Holy City for hundreds of years before it was taken by the Rashidun caliphate, or in the dominant Western view, idol-worshipping pagans. By conquering Jerusalem from the non-believers, the crusaders believed it would be liberating the spiritual heart of Christendom. A state that then had Jerusalem as its capital would be profoundly prestigious due to the city's importance to biblical history. For Christians, Jerusalem was the site of Christ's trial, passion, and resurrection. Jerusalem was where the first Church was established by Saint Peter. Jerusalem was where Christ would return at the end of days. For all these reasons, Jerusalem was made the capital of the Latin Kingdom in 1115 despite its economic and strategic liabilities, due to the prominence it has within Christianity.[122] Burchard touches on all of the important sites, gates, and pilgrim routes through Jerusalem in order to reinforce the significance of the holy city, the '*why*' of crusading. A Dominican would be able to preach crusade with authority by memorizing the comprehensive knowledge that Burchard provides.

Jerusalem notwithstanding, the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Holy Land in general hosts innumerable holy sites to Latin Christians. Burchard describes the locations he claimed to visit primarily through their distance from a major city, the significant biblical passages associated with them, and pilgrimage sites that exist within the space. For example he describes Cana of Galilee as being four leagues after Acre, the site of the Wedding at Cana, and the house mentioned within the town being a prominent site.[123] Interestingly Burchard also remarks in the

[121] Prawer, 10.
[122] Prawer, 39.
[123] Burchard of Mount Sion. *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* (1284). Translated by J. R. Bartlett. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019: 37, 61. and John 2:1-12.

same description on the 'extreme lengths' that Christians go to find the authentic places of biblical events. The locales directly connected to the life of Jesus were the most desirable destinations for Christian pilgrimage.[124] Works like *Descriptio* often center the author's position on disputed locations which is displayed quite liberally in Burchard's description of Jerusalem: even the location of mountains seemed to be controversial.

There are also references to the location of Christian relics still within the Holy Land, as well as sites of martyrdom. It should be noted that churches and shrines within Palestine especially held innumerable relics and holy objects prized across Christendom for their spiritual value. These relics proved to be a great incentive both to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land as well as to spur on crusade.[125] Descriptio contains mention of relics in all contexts, whether extant, transported, or especially destroyed relics or relics in Muslim territory. Burchard additionally includes a contemporary reference to Christian martyrdom when he states that a group of pilgrims had been killed by Muslims near Tyre en route to Jerusalem.[126] The persecution and martyrdom of Christians, especially pilgrims, during Muslim rule over the Holy Land was a fundamental justification for the Crusades. In describing more current martyrdom, Burchard is substantiating the persistent belief that Muslims are Christianity's fundamental enemy. In situating the relics and holy places important to Latin Christians, as well as mentioning episodes of Christian martyrdom, Burchard is harkening back to the original rhetoric of the crusades as a war of liberation and protecting pilgrims.

Bartlett's version of *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* includes an account of Burchard's travels to the court of Tarsus in Cilicia Armenia. As noted in other sections both the Armenian Church and state were perennial allies of the crusaders united by common interest against the Seljuks

[124] Prawer, 193.
[125] Prawer, 182-18.
[126] Burchard of Mount Sion: 21, para. 7.

and Mamluks.[127] Burchard most likely knew the value of maintaining good relations even with heretical sects of Christianity, as he defends Armenian Christians in a backhanded sort of way. He characterizes them as devoted, respectful, simple people who live simple lives with only *some* heretics among them.[128] He makes particular reference to the unmatched piety of the Armenian *catholicus*, and compares their rite favorably to the Latin Rite. Nevertheless they are not without their faults, as he speaks to the abundance of prostitutes and the practice of burning priests' widows who attempt to remarry.[129] Burchard here might be demonstrating the errors and vices of Armenian society generally either as a subversion of his tepid defense or to demonstrate the necessity of missionary work in Armenia. The latter would echo the common Catholic sentiment of the time that the Armenians would haved eventually submitted to papal supremacy, itself a reflection of the unease some Church officials of Latins collaborating with heretics.[130] By pointing out both the flaws and virtues of the Armenians in Cilicia, Burchard engages with Catholic unease over the Frankish-Armenian alliance as an evil that the Kingdom's survival made necessary.

However Burchard's nuanced view on Armenians as 'agreeable heretics' is repeated for other regional sects of Christianity. He has a very expansive view of how many Christians. Every 'Eastern people from India' to Ethiopia, apart from Muslims, Turks, and the Turkomans in Cappadocia, are Christians in Burchard's account. Even within Muslim territories, Burchard reports that Christians outnumber them thirty to one, if not more, yet have submitted to that rule as they are not 'men of arms'.[131] In the same section that Burchard describes Armenians as devoted simpletons he extends this view to the Georgians, Jacobites, Maronites, and Nestorians;

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[127] Hamilton, 201.
[128] Burchard of Mount Sion: 203, para. 8.
[129] Burchard of Mount Sion: 205-207, para. 122-123.
[130] Hamilton, 336.
[131] Burchard of Mount Sion: 118-203, para. 8.

part of Burchard's vision of an overwhelming Christian majority in The East. There are many ways to interpret why Burchard chose to give this information. If we expand on the idea that Burchard's account serves in part as a crusade preacher's guide, the idea that a thirty-to-one Christian majority in all of the East might be called on to assist in crusade would be inspiring both to potential crusaders and Dominican missionaries on missions in the Middle East and further afield.[132] Hamilton regards the activities of the Church in the Latin East as a watershed moment in the idea of the universal church. Whereas before Latin Christians considered Catholicism as universal, the contact with other Christianities developed the idea of reconcilment and communion between different traditions.[133] While doctrinal reconciliation, the idea Hamilton described, might have been developed in this context it would not resemble the modern ecumenical movement. Since their founding the Catholic Church has believed that they are the one true Church from which all other doctrines have strayed, therefore ecumenical dialogue would ideally result in the other party conforming to Catholic doctrine. While it is true that the Latin East did bring Catholic institutions in close contact with other Christian traditions, the form of ecumenism practiced was one of subsumation rather than compromise.

Descriptio engages with the same anxieties that motivated the Crusade, that Muslims held Jerusalem, the holiest city in Christendom, and that the land was ripe for settlement after reconquest. While he does not directly mention any plans to reconquer the Holy Land or reference recent history concretely, Burchard does describe the castles held by the military orders and strategic value of each Frankish city he enters, such as ports and so on.[134] The Second Kingdom period (1192-1291) saw a massive shrinkage of territory held by the Franks to only the

[132] This reading also echoes the legend of Prester John, the mythical Christian king.
[133] Hamilton, 368-369.
[134] This has everything to do with the manuscripts that Bartlett chose for his critical edition of Descriptio, as there are works that deal with Burchard's plan.

coast beginning in Beirut and ending south of Chastel Pelerin, a crusader castle in modern day Haifa, with the city of Jaffa as an exclave. The common view amongst Latin Christians was that the loss of former Jerusalemite and Latin lands were temporary and reconquest was inevitable. This belief reflects in two policies in the Latin East: the maintenance of the tithe and retainment of otherwise landless bishoprics who maintained financial endowments elsewhere in Europe.[135] Though these dioceses proved only to be a financial burden on the kingdom, they figured into the wider belief that these bishops still had real spiritual authority. The early thirteenth century in general can be viewed as a long period of intense crusading zeal as no fewer than eight crusades were launched to recover the Holy Land and restore the Latin Kingdom to its former glory.[136] I would say that the financial capital raised by preaching crusades was perhaps more impactful than military action. Some of these large sums of money did end up in Frankish hands where it was spent fortifying Acre and other cities, while the majority of gains made during the early thirteenth century were reversed within a decade. Nevertheless, reconquering the Holy Land was rhetorically salient for the Church throughout the thirteenth century. Burchard would have made a relevant contribution to Catholic discourse in writing *Descriptio* as none would have anticipated the kingdom's collapse.

Burchard presents the Latin Kingdom and its former territories as a near-utopia for cultivation. Each Frankish city tends to a paradaisical variety and output of staple and cash crops, such as the highly lucrative sugar canes owned by the rulers of Tyre or fruit orchards owned by the lords of Tripoli that net three hundred thousand gold coins every year.[137] Whether what he claims to be true is ultimately irrelevant. Since *Descriptio* might have been used as a crusade preacher's guide, grand claims about agricultural output would certainly entice settlers to go to

[135] Hamilton, 247.
[136] Hamilton, 247.
[137] Burchard, 17, para. 4 for Tyre; 25, para. 18 for Tripolitania.

the Latin East. Land given as a reward to crusaders had been a staple of crusading since the beginning of the movement.[138] If colonization relied on incentivizing settlers, it comes as no surprise then that *Descriptio* includes an account of the abundant, luxurious crops and livestock. Burchard describes sugar cultivation and processing, when the vineyards are harvested and how lucrative they are, and in general how easy it is to grow "all the world's good things, and the land flows everywhere with rivers of milk and honey".[139] While certainly part of his description draws rather explicitly from scripture, the choice of what Burchard describes is revealing: sugar and wine were cash crops and were wildly popular back in Europe. Rather jarringly, Burchard also denounces the farmers as vile sinners who are nonetheless supported by the land. He states earlier that the plain of Galilee was some of the finest land he'd seen, and that sin prevented Christians from exploiting it.[140] I would argue that Burchard presents the Latin Kingdom through its bounty as a land that deserves a higher, more virtuous class of settler more deserving of its riches.

Western chroniclers often view the Franks as having become decadent and worldly, Easternized, and abandoning the idealized crusading myth of the Latin Kingdom as a frontier of Christendom. Chronicler Radolphus Niger provided an account of Patriarch Heraclius of Jerusalem's fundraising tour of France and England in 1184-1185, where he discredits Heraclius' religious virtue by way of his elaborate regalia, manner of speech, and the cloud of perfume that supposedly engulfed him. Niger compares Heraclius unfavorably to the dour, pious bishops in the West. His contemporary Walter Map described the Knights Templar as collaborators with Muslims for their own material gain. He accuses the order of killing Christian knights and stalling their progress against the Muslims by sabotage before turning around and begging

[138] Prawer, 63-64.
[139] Burchard, 185, para. 107-110.
[140] Burchard, 75, para. 4.

poverty for more land, castles, and knights.[141] These polemics as well as Burchard's were undoubtedly used in preaching crusades and common to critiques of the Franks in general.

The moral quality of local populations is criticized by Burchard, which brings up a further connection of crusade to colonial thought. In "Empty Land: Righteous Theology, Sneaky Coloniality", Santiago Slabodsky argues that colonialism over the last five hundred years has relied on a theological argument concerning the relationship between land and people. The usurpation of land was legitimized as a just cause if it was held by the unrighteous, by those who did not have the correct religion, civilization, or economics. Naturally Europeans fulfilled all three criteria and were therefore better stewards of the colonized land.[142] By pointing out the moral deficiencies of the local Christians, Frankish settlers, and Muslims, Burchard anticipates the argument of Western Europeans being more righteous and lawful. Admittedly the economic angle is less clear in *Descriptio* though it is clear that Burchard elevates settled agriculture over pastoralism through his more extensive treatment of agriculture and negative perceptions of pastorialists, particularly Bedouins.

Though Slabodsky's analysis conceptualized coloniality as beginning in the early modern period, major theological justifications of European colonization were conceptualized in the contexts of crusading. Just war theory, though certainly rearticulated over the centuries, was foundational in the composition of *Requerimiento* in 1513. The text was a statement theoretically be read by conquistators to native communities declaring the Spanish monarchy's god-given right to Native American lands and the necessity of the natives' submission to the Catholic faith.[143] If the community's leaders did not agree to the statement for any reason, the Spanish

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[141] Rubenstein, 82-84.
[142] Santiago Slabodsky. "Empty Land: Righteous Theology, Sneaky Coloniality" in *People and Land: Decolonizing Theologies*. Havea, Jione, ed. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books/Fortress Academic, 2020: 52-53.
[143] Hector D. Polanco. *Indigenous Peoples In Latin America : The Quest For Self-Determination.* Latin American Perspectives Series. Boulder, CO: Routledge, 1997: 25-28.

conquest of their lands would be justified on the European's own terms. The Aragonese conquest of Majorca was similarly justified in that by conquering the island from the Moors the Aragonese would be returning the land to God, to righteous rule. Burchard's treatment of the local Franks and Levantines as sinners holding a bounteous land could be viewed as part of the same intellectual framework used to legitimize medieval and Early Modern colonial conquest.

Viewed within the context of crusade ideology and Dominican preaching, *Descriptio* engages with themes that are quite relevant to furthering the righteous cause. He presents the Holy Land as an eternal land of milk and honey, heavily fortified in areas of Christian control and bountiful even when the farmers who cultivate the land are wicked, vile sinners. Furthermore he describes Jerusalem in far more detail than any other location even though it lay outside the borders of the Latin Kingdom at the time, signifying the Holy City's overall value not only as a major site of pilgrimage but the cassus belli of any crusade worth its salt. Finally he mentions the natural allies of the crusaders that might be spurred to aid their efforts either indirectly or directly. Eventually Burchard and his brothers might turn their sights towards redeeming these simple-minded Christians in the far flung reaches of the world, yet until then Descriptio would be a vital source to their preaching. *Descriptio* serves as a vital firsthand account of the Kingdom of Jerusalem that engages implicitly or explicitly with crusading tropes.

Conclusion

This paper sought to argue that *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* is an ideal narrative to explore the coloniality of the Latin Kingdom and the Crusades within the context of thirteenth century European thought. I began with summarizing the foundational colonial understanding of the Latin Kingdom presented within Joshua Prawer's *Crusader's Kingdom: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages*. Prawer provides a political-cultural reading of the Latin East as an urban apartheid regime in terms of its laws, customs, and approach to settlement. By summarizing works by major scholars of the field in response to *Crusader's Kingdom*, I came away with the understanding that Prawer's thesis insufficiently explored the Latin Kingdom on its own terms. By first examining then critiquing Joshua Prawer's foundational work on the Latin Kingdom, I opened the floor for an analysis of the Latin Kingdom as a colony through a more historically grounded methodology.

Comparing the Latin Kingdom to the Castilian colonization of Andalusia and the Aragonese colonization of Majorca, Valencia, and Sardinia, I found broad institutional and intellectual similarities between these two contexts and the Latin Kingdom. Castilian and Aragonese colonial conquest in the thirteenth century was justified in terms informed by the Crusades, that these conquests would give the land 'back to God' and stewarded by a more righteous people. I further explored Prawer's work through Roni Ellenblum's foundational text *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin East*, providing a richer understanding of how the Franks settled within the Latin East. I noted that despite the ideological justification of conquest as a crusade, the reality of colonial rule in both the Iberian and Frankish contexts favored adaptation over their initial stance. The section rearticulated the Latin Kingdom as a settler colony within

the context of the thirteenth century, setting up the necessary background to explore *Descriptio* using concepts normally applied to Iberia and other colonial contexts.

I explored *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* as a European narrative of the Latin East and analyzed Burchard's ethnographic observations. Michael Harney's methodology in *Race, Caste, and Indigeneity* was the model for this section, and I followed his central claim that travel narratives were ideal sources to explore medieval racialization. I argued that medieval racialization existed and that it was distinct from the modern view of what racial and ethnic identities are; Burchard identifies groups he encountered in terms of *natio* and *gens*, legal and religious identity and ancestry respectively. His presentation of different groups in the Latin East would be informed by Aristotelian dialectics and Catholic doctrine, and legitimized through citing major works of literature rather than empiricism. Racialization in the medieval context relies on legitimizing personal observations through authoritative doctrine and scholarship.

Contextualizing Burchard of Mount Sion within the context of late thirteenth century European life informed my reading of *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* and my analysis of its purpose. I first spoke to the difficulty in situating Burchard as a historical figure and gave my own thoughts as to when he would have traveled to the Holy Land. I argued that his work was informed by the increasing role Dominicans took especially in Germany in preaching the crusade. By first exploring thirteenth century pilgrimage then referring back to *Descriptio*, I further cemented the text to not be a pilgrimage guide but a preaching aid. Therefore my earlier exploration of Burchard's racialization of the Latin Kingdom would have been transmitted through the text and into advocating for the crusade as a reference by Dominican preachers

Finally I turned to the ideology behind the crusading movement and the various rhetorical strategies that preacher's guides would have to fulfill in order to be effective for crusade

preachers. This ‘crusading ideology’ informs medieval European perceptions of the Franks and locals, the crusader-settler myth, justifications for colonial conquest, and the content of *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*. In other words, it ties together the entire thesis in a neat bow. I identified how the crusades came about, key aspects of crusading rhetoric, and how it was later used in a Spanish colonial context. Expanding on my conclusions in Section 3, I argued Burchard’s observations of the sinful Franks, collaborators with heretics, and occupiers of prosperous lands provides a call to action for righteous resettlement Overall I argue that Burchard’s observations are informed by the rhetorical tropes in the later crusading movement that would be reinterpreted in justifying both medieval and early modern colonialism.

By exploring the colonial aspects of the Latin East and its surrounding literatures I've sought to expand the definition of colonialism to account for what was experienced in the medieval European past. It was never my goal to be comprehensive as that would take at least five books utilizing as many fields, if not more. Creating a different conception of medieval colonialism from Prawer certainly or in other works allows research on the topic to be done on its own terms, gaining a richer understanding of the phenomena on its own terms. Scholarship on *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* is quite limited, yet it is an important source for the later period of the Latin Kingdom. Yet this thesis is not only an entry into hoary academic debates. European colonialism and imperialism from the 16th century onward both have had a tremendous impact on the world we live in. Including the medieval precedents, the Crusades and Latin East both, into a discussion of how European colonialism was justified and operated fosters a richer, more complete understanding of how the medieval past is not as distant as it seems.

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