

THE SULTAN AND THE SAINT



FOR TEACHERS



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Foundation

Companion Lessons and Supplementary Learning for the Classroom

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The Sultan and the Saint: For Teachers

The Sultan and the Saint is a 60-minute documentary film created by Unity Productions Foundation. It tells one of the great, lost stories from history. Set in a past period of East-West conflict, it speaks with urgency to our present. Two men of faith, one an itinerant Christian preacher, the other the ruler of a Muslim Empire, bucked a century of war, distrust, and insidious propaganda in a search for mutual respect and common ground.

Unity Productions Foundation has developed these lessons and learning exercises in conjunction with writer consultants Susan Douglass and Alison Kysia. The Arthur Vining Davis Foundations and the supporters of Unity Productions Foundation have made funding for these lessons possible. All lessons are available with companion short videos on the film's website www.sultanandthesaintfilm.com/education.

The mission of Unity Productions Foundation (www.upf.tv) is to counter bigotry and create peace through the media. UPF produces films that tell compelling stories for television, online viewing, and theatrical release. These films are part of long-term educational campaigns aimed at increasing understanding among people of different faiths and cultures, especially among Muslims and other faiths.

Questions about accessing the full-length film, the short films and other technical questions can be directed to support@upf.tv.



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**BIOGRAPHIES OF
HISTORICAL FIGURES IN**
THE SULTAN AND THE SAINT



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Biographies of Historical Figures in *The Sultan and the Saint*

Al-Malik al-Kamil

Malik al-Kamil Nasir al-Din Muhammad (1180–1238) was the fourth Ayyubid sultan of Egypt and the lands under Ayyubid rule in Syria and Palestine from 1218 until his death. His name means The Perfect (al-Kamil) Prince (Malik), Victory (Nasr) of the Religion (al-Din). He was the son of al-Adil, brother of Salahuddin (Saladin), the first Ayyubid ruler of Egypt and legendary leader of Muslims against the European crusaders; this made al-Kamil Salahuddin's nephew. He was just a young boy in 1187, when Salahuddin returned Jerusalem to Muslim rule after it had been captured in 1099 during the First Crusade. Al-Kamil's father was a military leader who helped defeat the crusader forces at the Battle of Hattin. The young al-Kamil was often present with his father, and may have been at Hattin.

Historian Taqi al-Din Ahmad al-Maqrizi (1364–1442) is a contemporary source for the history of the Ayyubid Sultans. From his *Khitat*, or *Chronicles*, we learn details about the characters, reigns, and struggles of the various Ayyubids, from their origins through Salahuddin and his successors. Al-Maqrizi describes conditions in the Holy Land and in the Near East before the Crusades began, and shows the fragmentation of rule in the region. Far from being a unified Islamic empire, the region was ruled from Baghdad only in name. The Abbasid caliph was himself not independent, but controlled by Seljuk military leaders. In Anatolia (today's Turkey), other groups of Turkic warriors put pressure on Byzantine control of the region. Egypt was ruled by the weakening rival caliphate, the Fatimids of North Africa. Syrian and Palestinian cities and their surrounding lands were ruled by rival leaders who often fought among themselves, or contested their succession among rival family members. The absence of unified rule made life unstable for everyone, and left the situation along trade routes and pilgrimage routes alike uncertain. The situation also prevented a unified response to the arrival of the First Crusade, or resistance to their rule.

Al-Kamil was raised to be a ruler, and educated with the necessary military skills and intellectual preparation for rulers in this time of rival power centers. He learned to recite the Qur'an, and studied Islamic law and religious sciences. Paul Moses, author of *The Saint and the Sultan*, narrates (p. 68) that during negotiations between Salahuddin, Richard the Lionhearted, and al-Kamil's father, the English king conferred knighthood upon the eleven-year-old al-Kamil as a symbolic gesture of his relationship with Salahuddin. Al-Kamil was raised in a Muslim society that was multireligious, in which Jews and Christians maintained their own laws, customs, and houses of worship. The presence of diverse religions was completely ordinary, and had existed in these lands for centuries already. Neither Christian nor Jewish groups had vanished with the arrival of Islam, but continued to conduct their religious life. Members of society, regardless of religious group, practiced trade, farmed, and participated in a shared economic, cultural, and artistic life. Jews and Christians performed government service, worked as merchants, and interacted with Muslims. Western European crusaders, when they found themselves ruling over Muslims and Jews, had to adapt, in fact, to this diversity, and could not eliminate the practice of other religions.

Among the lessons al-Kamil grew up with was the treatment of crusader prisoners and hostages by Salahuddin, and the contrast between his rule and the behavior of the crusaders in Jerusalem after their victory. The massacre of 1099, in which Muslims, Jews, and Eastern-rite Christians were killed by the crusaders, was followed by destruction and misuse of holy sites such as the al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock. In contrast, Salahuddin had ransomed the prisoners and refrained from massacre and destruction. Salahuddin's religious policies were tolerant of religious diversity in the Holy Land, leaving the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to Christians, although he converted some others and placed restrictions on some Christian activities. As a ruler in his own right, al-Kamil gained a reputation among the Coptic Christians of Egypt for tolerance and justice, for listening to their concerns and judging fairly, on more than one occasion against the claims of Muslims. The Coptic chronicles record these acts of justice and tolerance, and also the fact that he was well-informed about their affairs.

Dialogue at the courts of Muslim rulers was also a long-standing tradition. Religious scholars, scientists, and all sorts of artists gathered around the rulers, holding discussions and sharing their knowledge and skill. Artisans created fine objects such as silk textiles, ceramics, glassware, wood carving, and metalwork for use in the palace, among the wealthy, and for export across the Mediterranean to Italy and Spain, for example. In their speeches calling for Crusades, the Popes of Rome sometimes called for this trade with Muslims to stop. The luxury goods that left Egyptian and Syrian ports, however, were too valuable for European importers to give up.

Diplomats and military leaders came to the court of al-Adil (who ruled from 1200–1218) and the young al-Kamil learned how negotiations and warfare among rivals were required to stay in power, and how Salahuddin had secured rule over Egypt, and how his sons' rivalry for power took a toll on their subjects. As his father Sultan al-Adil grew older, he granted al-Kamil power to make decisions over political, social and economic matters. Struggles among fellow Muslim rulers and Ayyubid rivals were only one side of the challenges al-Kamil faced. The crusaders continued to hold territories in the eastern Mediterranean, especially important port cities, and the Church planned and executed new attempts to recover Jerusalem and strengthen their foothold in the Holy Lands.

In 1218, the dangerous invasion of the Fifth Crusade began when the Franks (crusaders) marched on the Egyptian Delta city of Damietta with the idea of taking control of Egypt or at least its gateway city. Al-Kamil's father al-Adil died soon after hearing that the Franks had captured a tower along a branch of the Nile. Al-Kamil became Sultan of Egypt in 1218, in the face of the Frankish invasion of Egypt, after having served as his father's viceroy (deputy) from the age of twenty. Early in his rule, he also faced a famine when the Nile floods failed for three years. Al-Kamil worked to build up the irrigation dams to support agriculture, but disease and hunger killed many.

Al-Kamil also faced uprisings, rebellions among his armies, and rivalries that usually marked the change of ruler. After he had strengthened his position as ruler, he continued the defense of Egypt against the crusaders, who now besieged Damietta, and finally took the city, killing many inhabitants. The crusaders' attempt to invade even further toward the capital of Cairo finally led to their defeat. The crusaders' camp was flooded by cutting the irrigation dams and releasing the Nile. St. Francis's visit to al-Kamil's camp took place during that time. The Fifth Crusade ended with a treaty that returned Damietta to al-Kamil, after the Frankish army would have died of hunger had not al-Kamil sent food for weeks.

Jerusalem remained under Muslim rule, but to prevent another siege of Jerusalem, the city's walls were dismantled. Later, in 1229, al-Kamil agreed to a treaty to give up Jerusalem to the Franks—an attempt to avoid a sixth crusade. This was a great trial for al-Kamil, because he was accused of giving up the holy city after so much struggle. His personal relationship with Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor—and partner in the treaty—was also controversial. Frederick II was the son of Frederick Barbarossa, ruler of Sicily. Sicily's court culture in Frederick's time was influenced by the Muslims who had ruled the island until the Norman invasion. As the Sixth Crusade was being planned, Frederick II, who also ruled Sicily, was suspected of disloyalty to the Church, and sympathy toward the Muslims. Al-Kamil offered Frederick II a peace treaty to avoid another devastating attack on Egypt, and fear that the disunity of the local Muslim rulers might cause greater losses to the crusaders. Al-Kamil offered to cede the city of Jerusalem to Frederick, except for the Muslim holy places, the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque, for a period of ten years. Frederick was willing to accept this offer in order to save face for himself, having been viewed as a reluctant crusader. The treaty was agreed to, and Jerusalem, as the greatest symbol to the crusaders, was turned over to Frederick in a ceremony. Behind this encounter were two men who preferred peace to war, and who had a cordial relationship. They even exchanged questions about mathematics, and Frederick well understood and even sympathized with the Muslims' position in Jerusalem, and was inclined to tolerance. Al-Kamil was not rewarded for the treaty by his fellow Muslims, who saw only that his father had won the city back from the crusaders at great cost. It was poorly understood that it probably prevented much worse destruction and loss in the entire region. In the end, his decision proved to have been a wise one, since Jerusalem was in fact retaken, and the Seventh Crusade, led by Louis IX against Egypt, was decisively defeated by forces under al-Kamil's son and successor.

Throughout his reign, al-Kamil had little relief from both rival Ayyubid and other rivals challenging his power. Al-Maqrizi's *History of the Ayyubid Sultans of Egypt* paints a picture of the constant pressure on al-Kamil from plots by rival rulers, some from among his own relatives. There were the risks of upsetting relations with the Abbasid caliph—though he was no longer very powerful—in Baghdad. Crusaders were major foreign enemies, but far beyond Baghdad, the Mongol advance on lands and cities of Central Asia was moving toward the city, and threatened Syria and Egypt if Baghdad fell to the Mongols, which happened in 1258.

Al-Kamil met these many challenges by trying to negotiate peace wherever possible, making trade pacts with other Mediterranean cities like Venice, and looking after the welfare of his people rather than seeking glory on the battlefield. Al-Maqrizi described al-Kamil as one who was sparing with the resort to war and the risk to soldiers and civilians. The pages of the *History* are also filled with accounts of years when the Nile floods failed, the scarce rains did not fall, and prices rose with people's hunger. Plague often struck populations weakened by hunger and suffering warfare. Administering domestic affairs for the welfare of people meant taking care of defensive walls, keeping roads secure, and maintaining irrigation. Al-Kamil was always interested in scholarship and learning beyond the military challenges. Al-Maqrizi wrote of him: "Al-Kamil much loved men of learning, preferring their society. He . . . listen[ed] to the traditions of the Prophet, and himself related traditions. . . . He built the Kamiliyah College of Traditions in Cairo. . . . He loved discussions with Muslim scholars]. . . . Learning and literature flourished under him."

Discussion questions:

- Look at a map of the Mediterranean region in 1092, just before the Crusades. Which Christian and Muslim groups ruled the lands around the shores of the Mediterranean [see map]?
- After the losses of territory from the First Crusade, how did Muslim leaders respond? Was the Ayyubids' rise and rule a change in response?
- It took almost ninety years from the capture of Jerusalem by the crusaders in 1099 until Ayyubid armies under Salahuddin retook the city in 1187. Why do you think it took almost ninety years for the Muslim rulers to turn the tide? What does this say about the idea of an Islamic Empire?
- Apart from external and internal military conflict, what aspects of al-Kamil's upbringing and the society under his rule reflect cultural continuities in Muslim lands during the period of the Crusades?

Saint Francis of Assisi

Francis of Assisi, (1181-1226 CE), who was canonized as a saint by the Catholic Church only two years after his death, is perhaps the best known medieval saint, among Catholics, Protestants, and people of other religions. He founded the Franciscan Order of friars, or monks, which still exists today. Francis also composed poems, letters, prayers, and testimonies to his spiritual experiences. He wrote documents to guide his followers, known as the Franciscan Rule. Francis' immediate followers also recorded his biography, and his life has been studied in every generation since.

Francis was born in 1181 or 1182, in Assisi, a town in modern Italy. His father was a wealthy cloth merchant, and his mother was a noblewoman. Francis grew up as a carefree, well-loved and popular boy whose father showered him with fine clothes and entertainment. He grew to be a chivalrous young noble. Like others of his class in Italy, he learned the military arts and engaged in the rivalries among local towns. During one such war between Assisi and neighboring Perugia, he was wounded and imprisoned for a year. After his release he suffered a long illness, perhaps caused by the misery of medieval imprisonment.

When he recovered, he resumed his military career, and set out finely equipped as a young noble to fight a war on the side of the Pope. His experiences on that journey, however, were milestones on a different path. He met a poor knight and gave him his fine equipment and clothing. He also had a dream that he saw his father's house glorified with signs of military and religious glory that would come to Francis and his family. He set forth in that spirit but became ill, and heard a voice telling him to end his journey in order "to serve the Master rather than the man."

Francis returned home and entered a period of spiritual transformation. He wandered in the woods and fields by himself, changing his attitude toward the riches and idle play that had captured his attention before. He searched instead for a new direction to his life, and began to discover a deep compassion toward other people and even creatures of the earth. He was riding in the countryside when he met a group of lepers (people with a contagious disease that wasted parts of the body). Such lepers were forced to live outside the towns and to avoid contact with healthy people. Francis overcame his fear and disgust at their condition and embraced the lepers, giving them money. He began to visit with the leper community and help them. His life had changed forever.

Francis then made a pilgrimage to Rome, where he gave all his money at the tomb of St. Peter and exchanged his own clothes with a beggar in order to experience poverty. As he was returning from Rome, he stopped in a small chapel near Assisi to pray, and had a vision of Jesus calling upon him to repair the poor little church called St. Damian. Following his vision, he went home and took some of his father's goods, sold them and took the money to the church. He asked the priest if he could stay in the church. The priest refused the money but let him stay. Francis' father came angrily looking for his son. Francis remained in the church praying and fasting, and then went to his father, who beat and imprisoned him at home. His mother set him free, and he became an object of ridicule in the town. His father demanded that he change and threatened to disinherit him, calling upon the Bishop of Assisi to back up his demands. Francis returned the money he had taken, then publicly took off his clothes and gave them to his father in a sign of separation from his worldly ways. At this, the bishop covered Francis with his own robe, as Francis declared, "From now on, I say only "Our Father who art in Heaven," (referring to the Lord's Prayer), and cut off ties with his father.

Francis then began to wear only a simple tunic and to walk on the roads in the area singing and praising God, seeking work and alms, and sometimes finding ridicule, other times friendly help from those who knew him. The priest of St. Damian's church let him stay and repair the church, asking for donations of building material, until, by 1208, he had restored the church, then did the same for other abandoned churches in the area.

Gradually, his reputation for simplicity and selflessness began to attract followers instead of ridicule. Listening to a sermon in 1209 at one of those churches, he took to heart a passage in the Bible, Matthew 10:7-19, to take a vow of poverty and devote his life to preaching and compassionate work. He felt commanded to do so by Jesus himself. He made a vow of poverty, and in a simple woolen coat tied with a rope and without shoes, returned to Assisi and began preaching about the need to follow the path of God and to make peace among people. His preaching attracted several followers to whom he gave similar garments and let them join him in his vow of poverty and preaching. They became his brothers in the mission, and went to live with him at the chapel, working and establishing a way of life as brothers, or friars.

Francis wrote an outline of rules for his followers, and in 1210, the group went to Rome to seek permission to found an order of monks. Pope Innocent III was attracted to the ideals Francis set forth, but hesitated on the advice of others. Then the Pope dreamed he saw Francis propping up the roof of the Church, and approved the rule and mission of his order, with Francis as its leader. Back in his hometown, their preaching began to attract large crowds, and local Benedictine monks gave them a chapel and permission to build huts on its land. This was the first Franciscan monastery.

The Friars Minor, or Little Brothers, worked to earn their living, helped each other in their chosen poverty and took alms but not money. They aided the sick and lepers. About two years later, a noblewoman of eighteen years old asked to become a follower and took a vow of poverty and service. The Benedictines again offered her and some other women a place of sanctuary to live under the Franciscan Rule. The friars were often asked to broker peace among competing cities in their petty struggles in the central provinces of the Italian peninsula.

In 1212, Francis undertook a journey to the East to preach in Muslim lands, but suffered several setbacks before actually going there. The work of the Friars Minor in Europe continued to grow and attract followers, even as it became more difficult to keep to the simple message and example of Francis. Missions were sent to other countries of Europe as far as England and Germany. Francis sent friars to North Africa and Muslim regions of Spain. Francis finally traveled to Egypt and Syria with the Crusader forces, arriving in 1219 during the siege of Damietta. He was horrified by the carnage of the siege and its aftermath. He made efforts at peace and preached among the Christian soldiers and their leaders. He also daringly crossed the battle lines into the camp of the Ayyubid leader al-Malik al-Kamil. Accompanied by Brother Illuminato, he came before the Sultan, saying that he wanted to preach Christian Gospel to save the Sultan and his Muslim companions' souls. The Sultan received Francis graciously and allowed him to preach, since such conversations about religion at the courts of Muslim rulers were not uncommon. The two friars were offered gifts and rights to serve as guardians of certain places in the Holy Land, which Francis and his companions next visited.

When he returned to Italy, the changes to his movement under the leadership of his deputies caused Francis great dismay. They were falling short of the ideal of poverty, living in a fine new building, which Francis rejected. As the movement grew, its organization became more complex, and Francis asked to be removed as head of the order in 1220 to concentrate on his spiritual mission. In 1221, however, he wrote up a revised rule for the order, but was unable to reconcile the extreme demands of his radical way of life, and meet the needs of the growing order. Eventually, he agreed to allow the friars a less rigid vow of poverty.

In 1223, Francis presented a newly written rule to his followers and to Pope Honorius, which remains the basis of the Franciscan Order today. He also established a lay Third Order of followers who were not monks but lay (non-clergy) preachers and spiritual leaders in their communities. In that year at Christmas, Francis enacted the first live nativity scene at the village of Greccio to animate the spirit of Christ's life. It became a popular practice as it is today.

By June, 1224, Francis had become weak in body and retreated to a mountainous area, where a few of his closest followers tended to him in a hut. He meditated, prayed, and wrote praises, and his writings of that time show influence on his ideas of worship from what he saw at the Muslim court of al-Kamil, such as invoking the different attributes of God as Muslims do the 99 Names. He is said to have experienced a vision of Christ and an angel, after which the wounds of Christ, or stigmata, appeared on his body. He continued to preach in his frail state of health, and worried about the legacy of the Franciscans. He visited his female followers, Clare and her sister nuns and stayed for a month at their cloister. Going blind from an eye disease, he continued to write praises and guidance for his followers after his death, about the need to keep the mission of poverty, service, humility and love of God and fellow man.

In the spring of 1226, he returned to the place given to the Franciscans by the Benedictines, and lay in a hut there, where he dictated his Will, sent messages to his followers, and received visitors. As death approached, he asked to lie on the bare ground without clothes, to feel closeness to the earth and to submit to the sureness of death. He died on Saturday, October 3, 1226. His body was carried to the church of St. George in Assisi, and was later taken for re-burial in the Basilica that was begun in 1228, soon after the Catholic Church declared Francis a saint.

Sources: Moses, Paul. *The Saint and the Sultan: The Crusades, Islam, and Francis of Assisi's Mission of Peace*. New York: Doubleday Religion, 2009; "Saint Francis of Assisi | Italian Saint." Encyclopedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Saint-Francis-of-Assisi>; "CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA: St. Francis of Assisi." Accessed November 28, 2017. <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/06221a.htm>.

Cardinal Pelagius

Cardinal Pelagius (died 1230) was a papal legate, or representative, during the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221). He was in charge of the funds provided for the army of the Fifth Crusade, and head of the Pope's Roman fleet. Pelagius was the chief of spiritual and military leaders of the army, and had major decision-making authority. He could make laws for the conduct of the army, and enforce them by excommunicating those who disobeyed, or grant indulgences to encourage the army to fight and sacrifice. He had the authority to surrender or make truces or declare territory taken in the name of the Pope. From this authority, Pelagius was able to reject offers of truce and negotiation with Sultan al-Malik al-Kamil at Damietta.

Pelagius rose in the ranks of the clergy by serving as cardinal deacon, then priest, then bishop. He was in charge of the Church's funds as an auditor (controlling accountant), and made efforts to unify the Roman and Greek Orthodox churches in the Latin Empire of Constantinople that was established after the Fourth Crusade and the sack of Constantinople. He tried to close Orthodox churches and imprison the priests but local resistance made this impossible.

He was appointed papal legate to the Fifth Crusade by Innocent III, where he was to reform the Eastern church and keep the peace after the expected victory. In 1218, he met the crusading army that was already besieging Damietta in Egypt. He differed with John of Brienne, King of Jerusalem, on strategy, and urged the army to continue the attack instead of negotiating. He believed it would be possible to take Cairo, and that Frederick II of Bavaria would become Emperor of Egypt.

After the defeat of the army under Pelagius, he was taken hostage until the Crusaders were granted safe passage to leave Egypt, and took much of the blame for the defeat, even though the shortage of funds, soldiers and the late arrival of Frederick II, as well as the Nile flood, were important to the defeat.

Pelagius remained an important figure in Outremer, or the Crusader States, resolving conflicts among leaders and branches of the Church, and planning further crusades and internal campaigns in the Mediterranean region among competing officials. John of Brienne became Latin Emperor of Constantinople, Frederick II returned victorious after concluding a treaty with al-Kamil that gave him temporary control of Jerusalem. Before his death in 1230, Pelagius conducted negotiations between Emperor Frederick II and Pope Gregory IX.

Sources: "Pelagius of Albano (d. 1230) - The Crusades." <http://erenow.com/postclassical/crusades/719.html>; "Cardinal Pelagius | Project Gutenberg Self-Publishing - eBooks | Read eBooks Online." http://www.gutenberg.us/articles/cardinal_pelagius.

John of Brienne

John of Brienne was born in about 1170 CE. He was the youngest son of a minor noble, Count Erard II of Brienne. As a youngest son, he would have been left without inheritance of property, on account of primogeniture, meaning that only the eldest son inherits property from his father.

Like many who were motivated to join the Crusades, John might have thought he could improve his lot and gain land, nobility and fame in the Holy Land. John participated in the Second and Third Crusades. The outlines of his early life are not well known, but he may have first joined a monastery, and later left the monastery to become a tournament knight. After 1200, his loyalty to the counts of Champagne (in today's France) brought him ownership of land. His brother Walter III of Brienne died in 1205, and he became regent, or temporary custodian, of his son's brother Walter IV until he became an adult.

John's fortunes changed with the support of Pope Innocent III and King Philip Augustus, who ruled from 1180 to 1223—the first to call himself King of France. With the Pope's and King's support and funding, John of Brienne married Queen Marie of Jerusalem in 1210, as regent to their daughter Yolanda/Isabella. His domain included the port cities of Tyre and Acre, but Jerusalem had been lost to the Crusaders in 1187, with the defeat by Salahuddin (Saladin). Queen Marie died in 1212, which left his kingship insecure against competing nobles. In further efforts to secure his power and territory, he married the daughter of Leo I of Cilicia (in Armenia) in 1214, and received a large amount of money through this marriage, which gave him a son and heir.

As King of Jerusalem, John joined the Fifth Crusade in 1218 as a military leader. He struggled with Papal Legate Cardinal Pelagius over strategy. When Al-Malik al-Kamil offered a treaty that would return the city of Jerusalem and pay tribute to the king, John was of course in favor. Pelagius dreamt of a wider victory over Egypt. They quarreled over whether the occupied city of Damietta should belong to the Church or to the territory of Jerusalem. Pelagius had the authority to reject al-Kamil's offer. John left Egypt in 1219 the midst of the campaign, in order to take possession of Cilicia by marriage, but John's new wife and son both died in 1219. John returned to Egypt in 1221, in time to witness the defeat of the Fifth Crusade. He had enjoyed the support of the military nobles when he arrived, but their allegiance weakened after he left. His military advice was overruled and the Crusaders were overcome by the Nile flood, hunger, and disease, and were forced to surrender. He and Pelagius were taken hostage to secure the agreement that the Crusaders would leave Egypt.

After the Fifth Crusade, John continued to try to shore up his fortunes in Europe by making alliances with Latin kings of Europe, traveling as King of Jerusalem and seeking donations for his realm. In 1224, he made another royal marriage to the sister of Ferdinand III of Castile (Spain). John became involved with Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II by marrying his daughter to him in hopes of further securing his continued role as regent of Jerusalem. The Pope supported this marriage to encourage Frederick II to embark on a further Crusade. Frederick II took control of the realm, however, which still did not include Jerusalem (it would later be returned through a treaty with Al-Malik al-Kamil). John lost power in the Holy Land, but because of Frederick II's tension with the papacy, Pope Honorius III continued to recognize John's claim to Jerusalem. Competition between Frederick II and John led him to attempt the overthrow of the Emperor's lands in Sicily with the Pope's support. This campaign failed, but in 1228, John was named regent of Constantinople for the infant Baldwin II. John became Emperor of Constantinople in 1231, but lacked the money and soldiers to defend or expand the territory of Latin rule over former Byzantine territory. He campaigned to secure the Latin empire until his death in 1237. Before his death, he took vows to enter the order of the Franciscans, and was the first royal leader to join the order.

Source: Isbell, Matthieu. "John de Brienne, the Man Who Would Be King and Emperor." Bearers of the Cross. <http://www.bearersofthecross.org.uk/john-de-brienne-man-king-emperor/>. **Image credit:** Illuminated Manuscript depicting the coronation of John de Brienne as King of Jerusalem. Bibliotecque Nationale de France at <http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/ConsulterElementNum?O=IFN-07849966&E=JPEG&Deb=1&Fin=1&Param=C> and Wikimedia Commons https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:John_of_Brienne_tyr.jpg

Oliver of Paderborn

Oliver of Paderborn was a Church official who was present in Egypt during the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221). He was highly educated, had studied in Paris, and was head of the cathedral school in Cologne (today's Germany). He became a preacher for the Crusades from 1207 on, and was appointed to arrange recruiting and funding for the Fifth Crusade in the archdiocese of Cologne, then set sail for the Holy Land in 1217, landing at Acre. He acted as religious leader for the German group of soldiers.

Oliver's education suited him to write accounts of the campaign in the form of letters back to Europe, encouraging recruiting there. He reworked his letters into detailed accounts of the Fifth Crusade that became the *Historia Damiatina*, a source used by many historians since. As a historian, Oliver wrote about the Holy Land and accounts of earlier Crusades, using the work of famous chroniclers Fulcher of Chartres and William of Tyre.

Far from being just an observer or religious leader, Oliver of Paderborn is most famous for designing and directing construction of the siege tower in the summer of 1218, which allowed the crusaders to take over the city of Damietta. The tower was built on top of two ships lashed together, topped by a structure of wood, ropes, and leather. From this tower, the crusader army was able to mount ladders to scale the walls of the city and invade it. He wrote: "*We joined two ships which we bound together sturdily by beams and ropes... We erected four masts and the same number of sail yards, setting up on the summit a strong fortress joined with poles and a network fortification. We covered it with skins about its circumference...and over its top as a defense against Greek fire. Under the fortress was made a ladder, hung by very strong ropes and stretching out thirty cubits beyond the prow.*"

After the defeat of the Crusade at Damietta, Oliver continued his work of promoting and recruiting, especially for the Crusade of Emperor Frederick II (1227–1229). He had written letters to the *ulama* (Muslim religious scholars) of Egypt, and he was also interested in encouraging missions to Eastern rite Christians, in support of papal efforts, and he advocated for military orders such as the Teutonic Order of knights to crusade to spread Christianity in the Baltic region of northern Europe. Oliver was elected bishop of Paderborn in April 1225, and then became a cardinal.

Source: "Oliver of Paderborn (d. 1227) - The Crusades." Accessed December 21, 2017. <https://erenow.com/postclassical/crusades/695>; Sandra Alvarez. "Oliver of Paderborn and His Siege Engine at Damietta » De Re Militari." <http://deremilitari.org/2014/04/oliver-of-paderborn-and-his-siege-engine-at-damietta/>.

Jacques de Vitry

Jacques de Vitry (ca. 1160–1240) was a historian of the Crusades, and one of the most important preachers of the effort to recruit for the campaigns. He was educated at the University of Paris and became a priest after his meeting with famous female mystic Marie d'Oignies. He was appointed bishop of the crusader-held city of Acre, and traveled to Egypt with the Fifth Crusade. He was an eye-witness to the capture of Damietta (1218–20) and wrote a historical narrative of the campaign for the Pope. Like Pelagius, he was known for stubborn refusal to negotiate, and received some of the blame for the defeat at Damietta. Jacques de Vitry's lasting influence was as a historian. He wrote a life of Marie d'Oignies, the female mystic. His letters to Pope Honorius are an important surviving source on the Fifth Crusade in Egypt. He also wrote about conditions in the Holy Land, including a description of Palestine's geography in which he described sugarcane grown there. He included a survey of the Holy Land from the time of Muhammad and the rise of Islam, which he described as a pagan religion of idol-worship, but he also wrote unfavorably about the practices of Eastern Orthodox Christians.

Source: Catholic Encyclopedia, "Jacques de Vitry," <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/08266a.htm>.

Elias of Cortona

Elias of Cortona, born near Assisi in about 1180, was an early follower of St. Francis who became minister general of the Friars Minor. He is often called simply “Brother Elias” because he was very close to St. Francis and even attended at his death. Before he joined St. Francis as a friar, he worked as a mattress maker. He was literate, but never became a cleric or a priest, but remained a lay brother. He studied at Bologna and became a notary, and as a literate person, he taught children to read the psalter.

As an early follower, Elias became part of the mission to the Holy Land, and became a “provincial,” or person acting under the superior general of the Franciscan order, to the province of Syria, where he received new followers into the order. In 1220–21 Elias returned to Italy with St. Francis, who naming him to an even higher position in the order, as vicar-general. Five years later, in 1226, St. Francis died, Elias took on many responsibilities in Francis’s order of Friars Minor.

He is known for his announcement of the death of St. Francis to the order in a letter. He supervised the burial of St. Francis at Giorgio, and with the support of the Pope, he planned construction of the basilica at Assisi as a place for St. Francis’s final burial. Such a grand project was not really in the spirit of the Povarello who had chosen a life of extreme poverty. Under the authority of the pope, Elias collected money for the construction. He was opposed in this by many of St. Francis’s followers, and in 1227, Elias was rejected as general of the order. He continued, however, to work to build the basilica, which was begun with laying the first stone in 1228 on the day after Francis was canonized as a saint by the Church. The lower church was finished less than a year later, and in 1230, St. Francis’s remains were secretly brought to a crypt in the lower part of the basilica at Assisi just before the building was consecrated in 1230, and before the friars had assembled.

Elias has remained a controversial figure who was both very close to and loved Francis while he was alive, but was seen as seeking to move the order in a different direction against the will of the friars. The dispute was over the question of whether to impose strict poverty through the rule, or relax it—to move toward materialism or to retain Francis’s extreme asceticism. Elias governed the order again after his dismissal and was accused of diluting the purity of the order, and is said to have acted as a despot toward other early followers of Francis who objected to what he was doing. He gained a reputation as a lover of luxury, as well as a despotic ruler of the order. When he encountered papal attention, Elias became involved in the competitive politics between Pope Gregory IX and Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II, and the pope forced him to resign as general of the order in 1232. He remained dedicated to the task of building the basilica and convent at Assisi, and then retired to Cortona, where he built another church in honor of St. Francis. He was excommunicated for supporting Frederick, the excommunicated emperor. A few days before his death, Elias repented of his sins and received Holy Communion from a priest at Cortona, and was buried in the church he had built there. He died outside the order of Friars Minor in which he had been such an important figure, who had loved St. Francis and been loved and trusted by him. Like many leaders who have followed strong spiritual figures, his ambition to honor Francis and shape the order blinded him to the need to follow the simple spirit of Francis when the saint was no longer present to lead him.

Source: Kevin Knight, “Elias of Cortona,” Catholic Encyclopedia, New Advent, 2012, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/05382a.htm>.

Thomas of Celano

Thomas of Celano was born in Italy in about 1200. He was one of St. Francis's first followers, and joined the order of Friars Minor in about 1215. After about 1220 he began to carry out missions for the Friars to Germany, and was put in charge of administering several convents, or religious communities, in that region and became vicar in the government of the German province. Around 1223, Thomas returned to Italy and lived near to Francis. After Francis was canonized as a saint by the Church in 1228, Thomas was commissioned to write the first life of the saint by Pope Gregory IX. In 1247, he completed a second life of St. Francis, commissioned by the minister of the Franciscan order. He continued to write about St. Francis and his miracles, and to compose other writings in honor of St. Francis. He also wrote a "Life of St. Clare of Assisi," an ascetic early follower of St. Francis who, with her sister Agnes and other women, insisted on following a life of extreme poverty. Thomas of Celano's works have been collected and remain in use in the order today. Thomas of Celano died about 1255.

Source: Kevin Knight, "Thomas of Celano," Catholic Encyclopedia, New Advent, 2012, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/14694a.htm>.

JESUS IN ISLAM VIDEO LESSON



www.sultanandthesaintfilm.com/education

Jesus in Islam Video Lesson

<https://www.sultanandthesaintfilm.com/jesus-in-islam/>

Video Discussion Questions

- In what spirit did Francis approach the court of al-Malik al-Kamil
- Why was Jesus familiar to al-Malik al-Kamil?
- What are the main differences between the Islamic and the Christian views of Jesus noted by the scholars in the video?
- What are the similarities in views of Jesus between Islam and Christianity?

Overview and Purpose of the Lesson:

The purpose of this activity is to learn about the role of Jesus in the Islamic tradition. Students will investigate the Qur'an as a primary source that can be used to locate some evidence about the role of Jesus in the Islamic tradition.

Performance Objectives:

Students will:

- Identify Islamic beliefs about Jesus based on Qur'anic verses
- Explain the similarities and differences between Islamic and Christian perspectives on Jesus
- Locate primary source evidence in the Qur'an for Islamic beliefs about Jesus

Materials Needed:

Computers and internet access to watch an excerpt of the film *The Sultan and the Saint*

Computers or other electronic device and internet access to search an online searchable Qur'an:

<https://quran.com/?local=en>

Handout: Qur'anic verses about Jesus, one for each student

Lesson Procedure:

1. View the following excerpt from the film *The Sultan and the Saint*: <https://vimeo.com/203330986>.
2. Have students sit in small groups of four. Ask them to discuss the following:

Learning from the Past: Jesus in Christian and Islamic Traditions

- How are Christian monks represented in the Islamic tradition?
- How could this have influenced al-Kamil when he met Francis?
- How is Jesus represented in the Islamic tradition that is familiar to many Christians?
- How is Jesus represented in the Islamic tradition that differs from most Christian teachings?

Applying the Lessons of History to the Present

- Religious adherents hold their beliefs to be sacred and it can be challenging to hear about beliefs in another tradition that disagree with our own. How can we think about these differences in a way that fosters humanization rather than dehumanization?
3. Next, ask students to investigate what an Islamic primary source says about Jesus by researching and analyzing passages from the Qur'an. Explain: The Qur'an is not organized by topic or chronology. Therefore, the reader has to skip around the book and collect pieces of evidence to then, later, put the story together.
 4. Give each student the handout with Qur'anic verses about Jesus.
 5. Assign an equal number of chapters and verses from the Qur'an to each small group to investigate. Ask them to summarize what they read by putting it in their own words.
 6. Once all of the students have completed their research, ask each group to share their research with the rest of the class. Students should be taking notes about the evidence being shared by classmates.
 7. After all of the groups have presented their research, ask each student to take out some paper and answer the following: after conducting your own research and hearing about your peers' research of the Qur'an, describe in your own words the role of Jesus in the Islamic tradition. What did you find most interesting in this investigation? What questions remain?

Handout: Quranic verses about Jesus

Source: Verses taken from: www.quran.com, Yusuf Ali translation.

3:42–47

Behold! the angels said: “O Mary! Allah has chosen you and purified you—chosen you above the women of all nations.

“O Mary! worship Your Lord devoutly: Prostrate yourself, and bow down (in prayer) with those who bow down.”

This is part of the tidings of the things unseen, which We reveal unto you (O Messenger!) by inspiration: You were not with them when they cast lots with arrows, as to which of them should be charged with the care of Mary: Nor were you with them when they disputed (the point).

Behold! the angels said: “O Mary! Allah gives you glad tidings of a Word from Him: his name will be Christ Jesus, the son of Mary, held in honour in this world and the Hereafter and of (the company of) those nearest to Allah;

“He shall speak to the people in childhood and in maturity. And he shall be (of the company) of the righteous.”

She said: “O my Lord! How shall I have a son when no man has touched me?” He said: “Even so: Allah createth what He willeth: When He has decreed a plan, He but says to it, ‘Be,’ and it is!

19:16–26

Relate in the Book (the story of) Mary, when she withdrew from her family to a place in the East.

She placed a screen (to screen herself) from them; then We sent her our angel, and he appeared before her as a man in all respects.

She said: “I seek refuge from you to (Allah) Most Gracious: (come not near) if you do fear Allah.”

He said: “Nay, I am only a messenger from your Lord, (to announce) to you the gift of a holy son.

She said: “How shall I have a son, seeing that no man has touched me, and I am not unchaste?”

He said: “So (it will be): Your Lord says, ‘that is easy for Me: and (We wish) to appoint him as a Sign unto men and a Mercy from Us’: It is a matter (so) decreed.”

So she conceived him, and she retired with him to a remote place.

And the pains of childbirth drove her to the trunk of a palm-tree: She cried (in her anguish): "Ah! would that I had died before this! would that I had been a thing forgotten and out of sight!"

But (a voice) cried to her from beneath the (palm-tree): "Grieve not! for your Lord has provided a rivulet beneath you;

"And shake towards yourself the trunk of the palm-tree: It will let fall fresh ripe dates upon you.

"So eat and drink and cool (thine) eye. And if you do see any man, say, 'I have vowed a fast to (Allah) Most Gracious, and this day will I enter into not talk with any human being'"

23:50

And We made the son of Mary and his mother as a Sign: We gave them both shelter on high ground, affording rest and security and furnished with springs.

3:48-63

"And Allah will teach him the Book and Wisdom, the Law and the Gospel,

"And (appoint him) a messenger to the Children of Israel, (with this message): "I have come to you, with a Sign from your Lord, in that I make for you out of clay, as it were, the figure of a bird, and breathe into it, and it becomes a bird by Allah's leave: And I heal those born blind, and the lepers, and I quicken the dead, by Allah's leave; and I declare to you what you eat, and what you store in your houses. Surely therein is a Sign for you if you did believe;

"(I have come to you), to attest the Law which was before me. And to make lawful to you part of what was (Before) forbidden to you; I have come to you with a Sign from your Lord. So fear Allah, and obey me.

"It is Allah Who is my Lord and your Lord; then worship Him. This is a Way that is straight."

When Jesus found Unbelief on their part He said: "Who will be My helpers to (the work of) Allah?" Said the disciples: "We are Allah's helpers: We believe in Allah, and do you bear witness that we are Muslims.

"Our Lord! we believe in what You have revealed, and we follow the Messenger; then write us down among those who bear witness."

And (the unbelievers) plotted and planned, and Allah too planned, and the best of planners is Allah. Behold! Allah said: "O Jesus! I will take you and raise you to Myself and clear you (of the falsehoods) of those who blaspheme; I will make those who follow you superior to those who reject faith, to the Day of Resurrection: Then shall you all return unto me, and I will judge between you of the matters wherein you dispute.

"As to those who reject faith, I will punish them with terrible agony in this world and in the Hereafter, nor will they have anyone to help."

“As to those who believe and work righteousness, Allah will pay them (in full) their reward; but Allah loves not those who do wrong.”

“This is what we rehearse unto you of the Signs and the Message of Wisdom.”

The similitude of Jesus before Allah is as that of Adam; He created him from dust, then said to him: “Be”. And he was.

The Truth (comes) from Allah alone; so be not of those who doubt.

If any one disputes in this matter with you, now after (full) knowledge Has come to you, say: “Come! let us gather together,- our sons and your sons, our women and your women, ourselves and yourselves: Then let us earnestly pray, and invoke the curse of Allah on those who lie!”

This is the true account: There is no god except Allah; and Allah-He is indeed the Exalted in Power, the Wise. But if they turn back, Allah has full knowledge of those who do mischief.

19:27–37

At length she brought the (babe) to her people, carrying him (in her arms). They said: “O Mary! truly an amazing thing hast you brought!

“O sister of Aaron! Your father was not a man of evil, nor your mother a woman unchaste!”

But she pointed to the babe. They said: “How can we talk to one who is a child in the cradle?”

He said: “I am indeed a servant of Allah: He has given me revelation and made me a prophet;

“And He has made me blessed wheresoever I be, and has enjoined on me Prayer and Charity as long as I live;

“(He) has made me kind to my mother, and not overbearing or miserable;

“So peace is on me the day I was born, the day that I die, and the day that I shall be raised up to life (again)”!

Such (was) Jesus the son of Mary: (it is) a statement of truth, about which they (vainly) dispute.

It is not befitting to (the majesty of) Allah that He should beget a son. Glory be to Him! when He determines a matter, He only says to it, “Be”, and it is.

Verily Allah is my Lord and your Lord: Him therefore serve you: this is a Way that is straight.

But the sects differ among themselves: and woe to the unbelievers because of the (coming) Judgment of a Momentous Day!

5:110–15

Then will Allah say: "O Jesus the son of Mary! Recount My favour to you and to your mother. Behold! I strengthened you with the holy spirit, so that you did speak to the people in childhood and in maturity. Behold! I taught you the Book and Wisdom, the Law and the Gospel and behold! you makest out of clay, as it were, the figure of a bird, by My leave, and you breathest into it and it becometh a bird by My leave, and you healest those born blind, and the lepers, by My leave. And behold! you bringest forth the dead by My leave. And behold! I did restrain the Children of Israel from (violence to) you when you did show them the clear Signs, and the unbelievers among them said: 'This is nothing but evident magic.'

"And behold! I inspired the disciples to have faith in Me and Mine Messenger: they said, 'We have faith, and do you bear witness that we bow to Allah as Muslims'".

Behold! the disciples, said: "O Jesus the son of Mary! can your Lord send down to us a table set (with viands) from heaven?" Said Jesus: "Fear Allah, if you have faith."

They said: "We only wish to eat thereof and satisfy our hearts, and to know that you hast indeed told us the truth; and that we ourselves may be witnesses to the miracle."

Said Jesus the son of Mary: "O Allah our Lord! Send us from heaven a table set (with viands), that there may be for us - for the first and the last of us - a solemn festival and a sign from you; and provide for our sustenance, for you art the best Sustainer (of our needs)."

Allah said: "I will send it down unto you: But if any of you after that resisteth faith, I will punish him with a penalty such as I have not inflicted on any one among all the peoples."

61:14

O you who believe! Be you helpers of Allah: As said Jesus the son of Mary to the Disciples, "Who will be my helpers to (the work of) Allah?" Said the disciples, "We are Allah's helpers!" then a portion of the Children of Israel believed, and a portion disbelieved: But We gave power to those who believed, against their enemies, and they became the ones that prevailed.

4:171–173

O People of the Book! Commit no excesses in your religion: Nor say of Allah aught but the truth. Christ Jesus the son of Mary was (no more than) a messenger of Allah, and His Word, which He bestowed on Mary, and a spirit proceeding from Him: so believe in Allah and His messengers. Say not "Trinity": desist: it will be better for you: for Allah is one Allah: Glory be to Him: (far exalted is He) above having a son. To Him belong all things in the heavens and on earth. And enough is Allah as a Disposer of affairs.

Christ disdaineth nor to serve and worship Allah, nor do the angels, those nearest (to Allah): those who disdain His worship and are arrogant,-He will gather them all together unto Himself to (answer).

But to those who believe and do deeds of righteousness, He will give their (due) rewards,- and more, out of His bounty: But those who are disdainful and arrogant, He will punish with a grievous penalty; Nor will they find, besides Allah, any to protect or help them.

5:17

In blasphemy indeed are those that say that Allah is Christ the son of Mary. Say: "Who then has the least power against Allah, if His will were to destroy Christ the son of Mary, his mother, and all every - one that is on the earth? For to Allah belongeth the dominion of the heavens and the earth, and all that is between. He createth what He pleaseth. For Allah has power over all things."

5:73-75

They do blaspheme who say: Allah is one of three in a Trinity: for there is no god except One Allah. If they desist not from their word (of blasphemy), verily a grievous penalty will befall the blasphemers among them. Why turn they not to Allah, and seek His forgiveness? For Allah is Oft-forgiving, Most Merciful. Christ the son of Mary was no more than a messenger; many were the messengers that passed away before him. His mother was a woman of truth. They had both to eat their (daily) food. See how Allah doth make His signs clear to them; yet see in what ways they are deluded away from the truth!

5:116-118

And behold! Allah will say: "O Jesus the son of Mary! Did you say unto men, worship me and my mother as gods in derogation of Allah?" He will say: "Glory to You! never could I say what I had no right (to say). Had I said such a thing, you wouldst indeed have known it. You knowest what is in my heart, You I know not what is in Thine. For You knowest in full all that is hidden.

"Never said I to them aught except what You did command me to say, to wit, 'worship Allah, my Lord and your Lord'; and I was a witness over them whilst I dwelt amongst them; when You did take me up You were the Watcher over them, and You art a witness to all things.

"If You do punish them, they are Your servant: If You do forgive them, You art the Exalted in power, the Wise."

6:100-103

Yet they make the Jinns equals with Allah, though Allah did create the Jinns; and they falsely, having no knowledge, attribute to Him sons and daughters. Praise and glory be to Him! (for He is) above what they attribute to Him!

To Him is due the primal origin of the heavens and the earth: How can He have a son when He has no consort? He created all things, and He has full knowledge of all things.

That is Allah, your Lord! there is no god but He, the Creator of all things: then worship you Him: and He has power to dispose of all affairs.

No vision can grasp Him, but His grasp is over all vision: He is above all comprehension, yet is acquainted with all things.

9:30

The Jews call 'Uzair a son of Allah, and the Christians call Christ the son of Allah. That is a saying from their mouth; (in this) they but imitate what the unbelievers of old used to say. Allah's curse be on them: how they are deluded away from the Truth!

10:68–70

They say: "Allah has begotten a son!" - Glory be to Him! He is self-sufficient! His are all things in the heavens and on earth! No warrant have you for this! say you about Allah what you know not?

Say: "Those who invent a lie against Allah will never prosper."

A little enjoyment in this world!- and then, to Us will be their return, then shall We make them taste the severest penalty for their blasphemies.

17:111

Say: "Praise be to Allah, who begets no son, and has no partner in (His) dominion: Nor (needs) He any to protect Him from humiliation: yea, magnify Him for His greatness and glory!"

19:88–95

They say: "(Allah) Most Gracious has begotten a son!"

Indeed you have put forth a thing most monstrous!

At it the skies are ready to burst, the earth to split asunder, and the mountains to fall down in utter ruin, That they should invoke a son for (Allah) Most Gracious.

For it is not consonant with the majesty of (Allah) Most Gracious that He should beget a son.

Not one of the beings in the heavens and the earth but must come to (Allah) Most Gracious as a servant. He does take an account of them (all), and has numbered them (all) exactly.

And everyone of them will come to Him singly on the Day of Judgment.

21:26–29

And they say: “(Allah) Most Gracious has begotten offspring.” Glory to Him! they are (but) servants raised to honour.

They speak not before He speaks, and they act (in all things) by His Command.

He knows what is before them, and what is behind them, and they offer no intercession except for those who are acceptable, and they stand in awe and reverence of His (Glory).

If any of them should say, “I am a god besides Him”, such a one We should reward with Hell: thus do We reward those who do wrong.

37:149–160

Now ask them their opinion: Is it that your Lord has (only) daughters, and they have sons?-

Or that We created the angels female, and they are witnesses (thereto)?

Is it not that they say, from their own invention,

“Allah has begotten children”? but they are liars!

Did He (then) choose daughters rather than sons?

What is the matter with you? How judge you?

Will you not then receive admonition?

Or have you an authority manifest?

Then bring your Book (of authority) if you be truthful!

And they have invented a blood-relationship between Him and the Jinns: but the Jinns know (quite well) that they have indeed to appear (before his Judgment-Seat)!

Glory to Allah! (He is free) from the things they ascribe (to Him)!

Not (so do) the Servants of Allah, sincere and devoted.

39:4-5

Had Allah wished to take to Himself a son, He could have chosen whom He pleased out of those whom He doth create: but Glory be to Him! (He is above such things.) He is Allah, the One, the Irresistible.

He created the heavens and the earth in true (proportions): He makes the Night overlap the Day, and the Day overlap the Night: He has subjected the sun and the moon (to His law): Each one follows a course for a time appointed. Is not He the Exalted in Power - He Who forgives again and again?

43:81

Say: "If (Allah) Most Gracious had a son, I would be the first to worship."

112:1-4

Say: He is Allah, the One and Only;

Allah, the Eternal, Absolute;

He begetteth not, nor is He begotten;

And there is none like unto Him.

61:6

And remember, Jesus, the son of Mary, said: "O Children of Israel! I am the messenger of Allah (sent) to you, confirming the Law (which came) before me, and giving Glad Tidings of a Messenger to come after me, whose name shall be Ahmad." But when he came to them with Clear Signs, they said, "this is evident sorcery!"

4:155-159

(They have incurred divine displeasure): In that they broke their covenant; that they rejected the signs of Allah; that they slew the Messengers in defiance of right; that they said, "Our hearts are the wrappings (which preserve Allah's Word; We need no more)";- Nay, Allah has set the seal on their hearts for their blasphemy, and little is it they believe;-

That they rejected Faith; that they uttered against Mary a grave false charge;

That they said (in boast), "We killed Christ Jesus the son of Mary, the Messenger of Allah";- but they killed him not, nor crucified him, but so it was made to appear to them, and those who differ therein are full of doubts, with no (certain) knowledge, but only conjecture to follow, for of a surety they killed him not:- Nay, Allah raised him up unto Himself; and Allah is Exalted in Power, Wise;-

And there is none of the People of the Book but must believe in him before his death; and on the Day of Judgment he will be a witness against them

MEDIEVAL HUMANISM IN ISLAMIC HISTORY



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Medieval Humanism in Islamic History

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Discussion Questions for “Medieval Humanism in Islamic History Video”

- What does it mean to be a humanist? According to the scholars who speak in the video, is humanism only about being a seeker of knowledge, or also about humane acts?
- What evidence of al-Kamil’s humanism does the video present?
- How is humanism defined in our own times?
- Who were some famous humanists of the European Renaissance?
- A word with a similar meaning to that of Renaissance humanists in Arabic is “Hakim,” meaning a person of wisdom and accomplishment. Two famous Islamic humanists were Avicenna (Ibn Sina) and Rhazes (al-Razi). Research these two figures and evaluate the claim that they were humanists.
- How do you think humanism relates to religious faith?

Lesson Overview

The lesson examines common historical definitions of humanism and explores whether they should be applied beyond traditional Western culture. Students also explore contemporary meanings of the term vs. historical ones. Using several examples from Islamic history, students explore the application of humanism’s characteristics to al-Malik al-Kamil and two famous Muslim scholars, al-Razi (Latinized as Rhazes) and Ibn Rushd (Latinized as Averroes).

Lesson Procedure

1. Students view the video “Medieval Humanism in Islamic History” and read definitions and historical background on humanism to explore their characteristics, working independently or in groups to answer the questions posed in the handout.
2. The next part of the lesson applies what students observed about the characteristics of humanism to determine how they apply to the historical figures of St. Francis and al-Kamil as shown in the film *The Saint and the Sultan* by listing characteristics they identify in the film, using the instructions in the student handout.
3. The last part of the lesson explores definitions of humanism by contrasting the medieval period and today, with the goal of creating a definition of humanism that suits our own time, using the instructions in the student handout.
4. Optional Extension: Assign students to read the student handout on the Hakeem in Islamic scholarly tradition and compare to the prototype of the Renaissance Man in the Western historical tradition.

ANSWER KEY to Al-Kamil (answers will vary)

- Thoughtful
- Intellectually curious
- Religiously (theologically) curious
- Open-minded
- Interested in housing scholars at court
- Not dogmatic
- Not one to act solely on the basis of power plays
- Felt responsibility toward society

ANSWER KEY to St. Francis (answers will vary)

- Willing to reach across religious lines without fear, taking a huge risk of failure from his own and the Muslim side
- Curious and able to absorb new ideas and information he witnessed
- Open to learning from other ways of worship
- Appreciative of others' culture and values
- Feeling responsibility to cultivate peace and end conflict for the greater good
- Able to conduct dialogue with others across cultural, religious, and language barriers

Handout: Medieval and Contemporary Humanism

Q: What is humanism in Western and Islamic culture?

Can it only be defined as a Renaissance movement that was identified and named by historians during the 19th century? That was defined as an outlook attaching prime importance to human rather than divine or supernatural concerns. This outlook was distinguished from a medieval, scholastic, sacred and otherworldly outlook, and marked the 15th century beginning of modern European thought.

In Islam, humanism is a balance of otherworldly and worldly concerns. If the goal of life is to improve life on earth and achieve heavenly salvation with God, this can only be achieved by means of carrying out the individual's duties and responsibilities in this world, not merely through worship.

The spread of Islam beyond the Arabian Peninsula brought early Muslims in contact with the great civilizations of the Mediterranean such as the Greek and Roman, but also Persia, and India, and even contacts across the Silk Roads to China. During these early centuries of Islamic rule, Muslims formed a small minority, while Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians, Buddhists and Hindus lived and exchanged ideas with Muslims. Travel, urban growth, prosperity and the exchange of ideas and languages brought about the movement to translate all kinds of knowledge and literature into Arabic. By the time of the Abbasid rulers after 750, translations bore fruit not only in the sciences, but in a burst of cultural life in literature and the arts, law and history and many other fields. Al-Jahiz, a Muslim teacher and intellectual, expressed a humanist outlook on this knowledge: "Did we not possess the books of the Ancients in which their wonderful wisdom is immortalized and in which the manifold lessons of history are dealt with, so that the past lives before our eyes—did we not have access to the riches of their experience which would otherwise have been barred to us, our share in wisdom would be immeasurably smaller, and our means of attaining a true perspective most meager."¹ Institutions such as libraries, schools, and later colleges sprang up over the following centuries, and patronage of arts and sciences spread widely, even after the breakup of the Abbasid Empire into many parts. Travel, prosperity and competition among royal courts spread learning and the arts far and wide.

An Islamic outlook during this period was not focused solely on the afterlife. The concept of the public benefit and seeking justice in this world's affairs was a central idea in Islamic law as it was then developing. This emphasis on human welfare, and the awakening to the capacity of human beings to learn the secrets of nature—without negating the idea that God created the world—can be called a humanist movement. The Muslim scientists, literary figures and philosophers were multi-faceted scholars called hakim (wise men) in the Islamic tradition. For example, Ibn Sina (known in the West as Avicenna), was a philosopher, physician and astronomer who also wrote on the subjects of alchemy, geography, geology, psychology, theology, logic, mathematics, physics and education. Other famous scholars such as Al-Razi (Rhazes), Ibn Rushd (Averroes), al-Farabi (Alpharabius) and many others studied and made scientific advances in many fields.

¹ Nakosteen, *History of Islamic Origins of Western Education, A.D. 800–1350* (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 1978), p. 13. See lesson plans 9, 11, and 13 on the 12th-century Renaissance in Spain at <http://www.islamicspain.tv/For-Teachers/LessonPlans.htm>.

While the term humanist is usually associated with the European Renaissance of the 14th and 15th centuries, that movement, which was named during the 19th century—grew out of the engagement of European thinkers with the works in philosophy by Muslim scholars like those named above. The opening to Greek philosophy came about through translations from Greek into Arabic made in the 8th and 9th centuries, translated from Arabic into Latin in the 12th century in Spain and Sicily, and carried into European learning circles and expanding universities². This turning toward a human perspective alive with possibilities, and away from a fatalistic focus on the afterlife, characterizes humanism wherever it has taken root. It is part of the heritage of human civilization.

Contemporary Definitions of Humanism

The American Humanist Association provides several definitions by prominent authors³. “Humanists stress the potential value and goodness of human beings, emphasize common human needs, and seek rational ways of solving human problems.”

Q: In what ways was the encounter between St. Francis and al-Kamil a humanist experience? How were these values reflected in the encounter? After watching the video, make a chart of two columns, one headed by al-Kamil, and the other headed by St. Francis. In the rows under each, write keywords that relate to definitions of humanism.

Q: What do the commentators in the video say about humanism as it relates to this encounter?

Q: What would you include in a personal definition of humanism?

Q: In what ways is humanism important to our own society? Is it essential that humanism exclude religious perspectives in favor of secular rationalism, or is there room for both? In view of the encounter between St. Francis and al-Kamil, what common ground can we find to support humanism today? Make another chart with two columns that lists humanist values from the definitions above in the left column, and in the right, list ways in which these values can be applied to specific social issues in the secular and religious spheres of interaction today.

² See lesson plans 9, 11, and 13 on the 12th-century Renaissance in Spain at <http://www.islamicspain.tv/For-Teachers/LessonPlans.htm>.

³ <https://americanhumanist.org/what-is-humanism/>.

Handout: The *Hakeem* and the “Renaissance Man”

The Hakeem

With the spread of Islam, a group of learned scholars, or ulama, developed, who pursued learning in various branches of knowledge. A number of individuals emerged whose accomplishments were similar in scope to the varied achievements of the Western “Renaissance man.” Such a scholar was often called a hakeem. The term hakeem comes from the Arabic word hikmah, meaning “wisdom.”

A hakeem was a scholar of religion and philosophy, a writer, a teacher, a traveler, and a scientist. It was also assumed that the hakeem would be trained as a physician and a judge, since the focus of higher education in Muslim culture was on medicine and law, based upon the necessary foundation of religious studies. The true hakeem was expected to be a well-educated and often well-traveled individual. No matter where in the world they are born, Muslims are expected to make the Hajj or pilgrimage to Makkah if they are physically and financially able. (Although thousands of Christians made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem to visit their holy land, it is not a clearly stated religious duty. For Muslims, making the Hajj is one of the Five Pillars of Islam, and as such, it’s mandatory.) As early as the 8th century, Muslims were traveling all the way from Africa and Central Asia to the city of Makkah on the Arabian peninsula. Regular Hajj caravans left annually from major cities such as Baghdad, Damascus, Cordoba, and Cairo.

Qur’anic revelation also encourages all Muslims to gather knowledge. In addition, there are many hadith (sayings of the Prophet Muhammad) which indicate that seeking knowledge is a religious activity incumbent upon every Muslim. Many scholars set out upon a journey for the sake of acquiring knowledge, called in Muslim culture rihlah fi talab al-ilm. Another example of a hakeem is a scholar from Cordoba, Spain, who left home at the age of fourteen, in the year 941. By the time he finished his studies, he had visited Makkah, Medina, Jedda, Yemen, Fustat, Jerusalem, Gaza, Ashkelon, Tiberias, Damascus, Tripoli, Beirut, Caesaria, Ramla, Farama, Alexandria, and Qulzum.

Intellectual leaders of the Renaissance also made great advances in science and technology. Many of the seeds of this great flowering of ideas were planted by the medieval scholars who lived within Dar al-Islam (the “Abode of Islam,” or Muslim lands). Great centers of learning in cities such as Damascus, Baghdad, Alexandria and Timbuktu in Africa, Jundi-Shapur in Persia, and Cordoba and Seville in Spain attracted scholars from all over the world. Here they benefited from the wisdom of learned scholars and libraries which contained thousands of texts. When Europeans translated, then disseminated, these works into Europe, this knowledge became part of the European intellectual heritage. During the Renaissance, many of the works that had been translated centuries earlier were made available as printed editions. At this time, the impact of this learning rapidly increased. Many new European works that came into print reflected the process of absorbing the knowledge of Arab scholars, in fields such as agriculture, mathematics, metallurgy, and astronomy.

The efforts of the humanist scholars who rediscovered Greek learning represented a different, and in many ways uniquely European, movement, but their impulse grew out of the vast influx of knowledge from the East, which included Arabic versions of many classical Greek works, which were translated in Spain from Arabic into Latin, and began to enter Europe during the 12th century, especially through universities in Paris and Italian cities such as Palermo. This intellectual movement of great value to Europe took place during the later Crusades.

The humanists' revival of classical Greek and Roman literature paved the way for new content in the arts, which now included subjects from classical mythology. These rediscoverers of ancient wisdom fanned the flames of the Renaissance, encouraging the changes in scholarship that brought forth the ideals of the "Renaissance man."

True humanist thinkers questioned the reason for their existence and placed mankind within some sort of natural and religious order. They grappled with such questions as "Why was man placed on earth, and where does he stand among all of God's earthly creations? What happens to the soul after death?" and "What is man's relationship with God?" Eventually, in conjunction with the overall religious upheaval of the Reformation, conflict over the discoveries of scientists versus the doctrines of the Church arose within Europe. As the Renaissance progressed, European thinkers continued the medieval debate over reason and faith, as a number of thinkers immersed themselves in philosophy. Many of these men also referred to translations of works by the great hakeems, such as Ibn Sina (Avicenna), al-Kindi, al-Farabi, and others. This and other studies based on speculation as well as experiment and observation enabled them to develop methods of scientific experimentation that opened the path to the Scientific Revolution of the 17th century.

STUDENT ACTIVITY

- Read the following short biographies of two famous hakeems, al-Razi and Ibn Rushd. What made the Arab scholars such valued individuals, not only in Muslim lands, but in Europe as well?
- Write a list of the values you see reflected in the lifetime achievements of these scholars. How do their lives reflect humanistic values?

AL-RAZI (865–925)

Admired in both the east and west, Abu Bakr Muhammad bin Zakariya al-Razi (known as "Rhazes" in Latin) has been referred to as "the unchallenged chief physician of the Muslims" and "the most brilliant genius of the Middle Ages." Manuscripts have been discovered in which al-Razi wrote about philosophy, logic, astronomy, math, physics, medicine and music. (He played the ud, or lute, which is a forerunner of the guitar). With this wide array of interests and skills, al-Razi exemplifies what Europeans always admired in a true "Renaissance Man."

At an early age, al-Razi developed an interest in the healing arts. A Persian by birth, he traveled in his youth to the vibrant city of Baghdad, which in the 9th and 10th centuries was one of the world's greatest centers of scholarship and medical studies. By the time he returned to Persia, al-Razi's reputation as a scholar, lecturer, and physician enabled him to become the director of a hospital near Tehran. He also served as physician to the rulers of Persia.

Al-Razi's gentle and generous nature, as well as his teaching skills, attracted students from across the Muslim lands, who traveled to Persia just to study under this brilliant physician, mathematician and philosopher. Like the ancient Greek physician Hippocrates, al-Razi urged physicians to enter formal training, to be licensed, to be cautious of charlatans in the health field, and to dress, eat and live simply. He also observed the connections between eating a balanced diet, reducing psychological stress, and maintaining one's health. One book of essays he wrote, called *Spiritual Healing*, discusses the importance of avoiding anger and conflict, of moderation in food and drink, and other healthful practices.

A prolific writer, this many-sided scholar studied the medical writings of Hippocrates and Galen (another ancient Greek philosopher and physician), and corrected mistakes which both of them had made. Al-Razi collected medical data, performed experiments, and, while in Baghdad, wrote his book *al-Tibb al-Mansuri*. His text was later translated into Latin as the *Medicinalis Almansoris*. This book served as one of the most influential medical textbooks in the West throughout the Middle Ages. Later in his life, as he was approaching death and blindness, al-Razi wrote a medical encyclopedia which was so huge that there were only two copies made until a Jewish physician, Faraj bin Salim, copied it in 1279 under the title *Continens*. This became one of the first medical books to be printed in the West (in 1486), and was reprinted many times over the next two centuries. It served as a university medical text in Europe during the Renaissance and beyond. Today, one can see al-Razi depicted in a beautiful stained-glass window of the University Chapel at Princeton University, recognizing his broad contributions to science and scholarship⁴.

IBN RUSHD (1126–1198)

“I believe the soul is immortal, but I cannot prove it,” declared the frustrated philosopher, scholar, judge and physician, Abu al-Walid Muhammad ibn Rushd (known in the West as the philosopher Averroes). Along with Ibn Sina (called Avicenna in the West), Ibn Rushd was instrumental in reintroducing Greek learning to Europe. For this reason, both of these scholars are considered major catalysts for the avid study of philosophy and religion which shook the foundations of European thought during the Renaissance. The works of Greek writers such as Aristotle and Ptolemy were translated into Arabic and expounded upon by the great Muslim hakeems, or learned men. Their works were eventually translated into Latin, providing the vital link between the ancient Greek philosophies and the European Renaissance.

Ibn Rushd was born in Cordoba, Spain, in 1126, a time when much of Spain was ruled by Muslims. It was under Muslim rule that Jewish, Christian, and Muslim scholars from all over the world were gathered together to work on reclaiming and expanding upon ancient Greek philosophy. Muslim Spain was such a well-respected center of scholarship that the prominent families of Europe who wanted to increase their status sent their sons to Spain. There they could learn Arabic - an important language of scholarship and literature - and acquire a university education under the tutelage of Muslim scholars.

Ibn Rushd was born into a long line of distinguished scholars and judges. He followed the Muslim tradition of focusing his studies on religion, medicine, and law. He never desired wealth or power, seeking only to increase his knowledge. According to one of his biographers, there were only two days upon which he did not study - the day of his wedding and the day his father died.

He led a quiet, contemplative life until, one day, a friend sent for Ibn Rushd to travel to Marrakesh to meet the Almohad khalifah (caliph). Even though he was a well-respected scholar, judge, and physician, an interview with such a powerful ruler made Ibn Rushd quite nervous. When the Khalifah began to question Ibn

⁴ You can sample al-Razi's essays in *Beyond A Thousand and One Nights: A Sampler of Literature from Muslim Civilization* (Council on Islamic Education, 1999).

Rushd, he became apprehensive; philosophy and theology were potentially dangerous occupations. What if he offended the Khalifah? When Ibn Rushd began to insist that he knew nothing of philosophy, the Khalifah recognized the discomfort of his guest, and told him the real reason for the interview. The Khalifah wanted to employ Ibn Rushd to conduct an extremely important project—to continue analyzing the writings of the Greek philosopher, Aristotle, and present commentary on Aristotle in a manner which would blend Greek and Islamic philosophy. He also appointed Ibn Rushd as religious judge of Seville and personal physician to the Khalifah's court. Ibn Rushd accomplished the task at hand with such energy and enthusiasm that he not only influenced the great Muslim thinkers of his time, but also set the foundations for philosophical discourse of the European Renaissance.

Ibn Rushd's most significant impact on Renaissance thought was the idea that there is no conflict between scientific study and religious belief; that someone could pursue scientific observation and experimentation and still be a devout believer in divine revelation. His most important work was a response to disputes among Muslim scholars over the validity of philosophy in the search for knowledge. Ibn Rushd recognized the value in such thought. With its translation the following century, his work became more famous in Western Europe than in his own culture, where it became better known much later. It was through the works of Ibn Rushd that Aristotle was introduced to the early humanists and scholastics. "Averroism," as his philosophy was called, became a hotly debated issue in European intellectual circles. The works of Ibn Rushd were studied by such great thinkers as St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Bonaventura, and Roger Bacon. Ibn Rushd was so influential on Renaissance thought that by the 13th century, the Age of Scholasticism, the whole intellectual scene of Europe was dominated by debates over the writings of Ibn Rushd and other Arabic scholars who had expanded upon the ancient wisdom of the Greeks. It has even been said that the commentaries of Ibn Rushd, which were translated from Arabic into Latin, introduced two Aristotles to the European mind: Aristotle's own work, and Ibn Rushd's interpretations of Aristotle's works. By Dante's time (1265–1321), it has been said that "Averroes" was so famous that even the slightest allusion, or reference to him, in literature or art would be understood. Ibn Rushd's contribution was honored by including his portrait in several important medieval and Renaissance paintings, including the fresco Triumph of St. Thomas and Raphael's School of Athens.

(Excerpt by permission from S. L. Douglass and K. D. Alavi, *The Emergence of Renaissance: Cultural Interactions between Europeans and Muslims* (Council on Islamic Education, 1999), pp. 238–43.)

THE ROLE OF RELIGION IN CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION



www.sultanandthesaintfilm.com/education

The Role of Religion in Conflict Transformation

<http://www.sultanandthesaintfilm.com/religion-role-conflict-transformation/>

Discussion Questions for Video

- What does Emile Bruneau describe as the dual role of religion in conflict?
- In the analogy of the elephant and the rider, why does the elephant represent the unconscious mind, and the rider the conscious mind?
- What are the two ways to overcome the negative drivers of the unconscious mind to mitigate violent impulses toward others?
- How can religious ideas be used to encourage conflict?
- What kinds of religious ideas and teachings can overcome violent impulses toward others?
- How did the encounter between St. Francis and Al-Kamil represent conflict transformation?

Lesson on the Role of Religion in Conflict Transformation

Overview

The lesson focuses on an argument from psychological research on the sources of human conflict in the processes of the human brain. Students analyze the arguments in the short video “The Role of Religion in Conflict Transformation” <http://www.sultanandthesaintfilm.com/religion-role-conflict-transformation/>, using the website http://www.copingskills4kids.net/Reptilian_Coping_Brain.htm.

Objectives

- Students will be able to describe psychologists’ arguments about the neurological origins of human conflict
- They will explain the role of the conscious and unconscious mind (or reptilian brain) in guiding human behavior
- They will analyze the dual role of religious teachings in controlling or encouraging conflict with others
- They will describe and analyze how to acquire coping skills that allow individuals to make sound choices in dealing with impulse control and interpersonal relations

Lesson procedure

1. View the video “The Role of Religion in Conflict Transformation” at <https://www.sultanandthesaintfilm.com/religion-role-conflict-transformation/> more than once, and have students write down keywords as they watch the second time, whether they understand the concepts or not. As a group or in breakout groups, try to answer the guiding questions below.
2. Use the website and the page on the Reptilian Brain http://www.copingskills4kids.net/Reptilian_Coping_Brain.htm to understand how the unconscious mind operates in different ways than the conscious mind. How is the “reptilian brain” similar to the “elephant” in the video analogy, and how is it different? How is fear related to the reactions of the reptilian brain?
3. Discuss the “problem” of religion and violence. There are two possibilities for religious ideas in this arena: to encourage viewing others as hostile outsiders, and to encourage viewing all human beings as brothers and sisters, and therefore not as outsiders. What role does fear play, and how can religious difference be used to create fear, or to minimize fear through universal understanding and empathy toward others?
4. The second part of the lesson gives examples from Christian and Islamic scriptures that focus on universal teachings about human brotherhood and peacemaking. Discuss how internalizing these ideas can affect people as individuals and groups.
5. Finally, discuss how St. Francis’ life and his encounter with Al-Kamil in the midst of war relate to these ideas.

Guiding Questions for the Lesson part 1

- How is human behavior related to animal behavior as psychologists explain the brain?
- What parts of human psychology does the speaker represent in the image of the elephant & rider? What does each part represent? [sub-conscious/conscious mind]
- Imagine yourself riding an elephant as the cartoon shows. Who is in control? What skills does a human have to put in play in order to control a huge, powerful elephant? What happens if the rider is not skilled enough to control the elephant?
- What kinds of human behavior result from an uncontrolled elephant/subconscious mind?
- How does Bruneau refer to “the reptilian brain” as a way of understanding the brain’s deep responses? (Look up http://www.copingskills4kids.net/Reptilian_Coping_Brain.html for interesting coping skills using this concept—see Lesson 1 below to apply these ideas) Based on the information you studied in Coping Skills for Kids, what role does fear play in “letting the elephant decide where to take the rider”?
- What skills can the rider/conscious mind develop to control the impulses of the elephant? Give examples of controlled and uncontrolled impulses in the behavior of people (you may use examples of your own impulse control struggles)

Guiding questions for the lesson, part 2

- At the end of the video, Bruneau talks about the role of “us” and “them” in intergroup understanding to overcome the human tendency toward violence. How does he suggest that religious ideas can help control violent impulses and behavior? (see Lesson 2, below, on scriptures from Christianity and Islam)
- How do these quotations from Islamic and Christian scriptures illustrate what Bruneau is saying about “expanding the group”?

Optional: Wrap up the lesson with using the discussion points listed in the Concluding Discussion

Extension: Read historical examples of treaty language and covenants from Crusades period (See handouts for texts)

- Historian Ibn Wasil's description of Frederick II's visit to Jerusalem in fulfillment of the treaty with al-Kamil after the Fifth Crusade.
- Praise of warriors of the Franks and the Muslims among each other
- Covenants of the Prophet Muhammad with the monks of Sinai (see handout)

Handout: Religion and Conflict Mitigation—expanding the “us” group to include “them” & human empathy

Read the following passages from the holy books/scriptures of Christianity and Islam. Discuss how they employ universal language that appeals to believers to erase the lines between “us” and “them”. How does this language try to control violent impulses toward others, and substitute empathetic and compassionate behavior?

Statements from the Bible

“Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called sons of God.”(Matthew 5:9)

“Deceit is in the heart of those who devise evil, But counselors of peace have joy.” (Proverbs 12:20)

“So then we pursue the things which make for peace and the building up of one another.”(Romans 14:19)

“If possible, so far as it depends on you, be at peace with all men.” (Romans 12:18)Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies and God of all comfort, who comforts us in all our affliction so that we will be able to comfort those who are in any affliction with the comfort with which we ourselves are comforted by God. For just as the sufferings of Christ are ours in abundance, so also our comfort is abundant through Christ.” (2 Corinthians 1:3-5)

“To sum up, all of you be harmonious, sympathetic, brotherly, kindhearted, and humble in spirit” (1 Peter 3:8)

But whoever has the world’s goods, and sees his brother in need and closes his heart against him, how does the love of God abide in him? (1 John 3:17)

“In everything I showed you that by working hard in this manner you must help the weak and remember the words of the Lord Jesus, that He Himself said, ‘It is more blessed to give than to receive.’” (Acts 20:35)

“Thus has the LORD of hosts said, ‘Dispense true justice and practice kindness and compassion each to his brother” (Zechariah 7:9)

Statements from the Qur’an

“O people of the Book! come to common terms as between us and you: that we worship none but the One God; that we associate no partners with Him; that we erect not from among ourselves Lords and patrons other than God.” If then they turn back say: “Bear witness that we (at least) are embracing God’s will.” (Surah Al `Imran, 64)

O you who believe! stand out firmly for justice as witnesses to God even as against yourselves or your parents or your kin and whether rich or poor: for God can best protect both. Follow not the lusts (of your hearts) lest you swerve, and if you decline to do justice, indeed God is well-acquainted with all that you do. (Surah Nisa’, 135)

O you who believe! Be steadfast witnesses for God in equity, and let not hatred of any people seduce you

from justice. Deal justly, that is nearer to your duty . Be conscious of God: indeed God is aware of what you do. (Qur'an, Surah al-Ma'idah, 8)

The good deed and the evil deed are not alike. Repel evil with that which is better, then he between whom and you there was enmity will become like an intimate friend. But none is granted it save those who are steadfast, and none is granted it save the holder of great happiness. (Qur'an, Surah Ha Mim, 34-35)

"... To each of you [communities of scripture] We prescribed a law and a method. Had God willed, He would have made you one nation, but He intended to test you in what He has given you; so race to do good. To God is your return all together, and He will inform you concerning that about which you used to differ." (Qur'an, Sura al-Maidah 5:48)

Concluding discussion

- Address the tension in religious ideas and scriptural sources that encourage human brotherhood and those that permit or seem to create hostility and sanction violence against others of different beliefs
- Can religious teachings really have an effect in taming violent impulses between groups? Is it a choice (see rider/elephant) and how does one set of scriptures temper the other seen in a holistic context vs. cherry-picking quotes to either support religion or condemn it.
- How does the psychological explanation help us to understand the choices we have to overcome the impulse of the reptilian brain stimulated by fear and reveal and act upon our inborn response of empathy toward others—to control the elephant. What role does information and learning about others play in making this choice?

Handout: Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor, enters Jerusalem after concluding the treaty with al-Malik al-Kamil

“Then al-Malik al-Kamil and the Emperor [Frederick II] swore to observe the terms of the agreement and made a truce for a fixed term. In this way they arranged matters between themselves, and each side felt secure in its relations with the other. . . After the agreement the Emperor asked the Sultan for permission to visit Jerusalem. This the Sultan granted, and ordered the qadi [head jurist] of Nablus. . . to be at the Emperor’s service during the time of his visit. . . Ibn Wasil says: ‘The Qadi of Nablus Shams al-Din of blessed memory told me: “I took my place beside him as the Sultan al-Malik al-Kamil had ordered me to and entered the Sacred Precinct with him, where he inspected the lesser sanctuaries. Then I went with him into [the Mosque] of al-Aqsa, whose construction he admired, as he did that of the Dome of the Rock. When we came to the mihrab [prayer niche] he admired its beauty, and commended the pulpit, which he climbed to the top. When he descended he took my hand and we went out in the direction of al-Aqsa. There he found a [Christian] priest with the Testament [Bible] in his hand about to enter al-Aqsa. The Emperor called out to him: ‘What has brought you here? By God, if one of you comes here again without permission I shall have his eyes put out! We are servants of al-Malik al-Kamil. He has handed over this church to me and you as a gracious gift. I do not want any of you exceeding your duties.’ The priest made off, quaking with fear. Then the King went to the house that had been prepared for him and took up residence there. “ The Qadi Shams al-Din said: “I recommended the muezzins [prayer callers] not to give the call to prayer at night, out of respect for the King. In the morning I went to him, and he said: ‘O Qadi, why did the muezzins not give the call to prayer last night in the usual way?’ ‘This humble slave,’ I replied, ‘prevented them, out of regard and respect for Your Majesty.’ ‘You did wrong to do that,’ he said: ‘My chief aim in passing the night in Jerusalem was to hear the call to prayer given by the muezzins, and their cries of praise during the night.’ Then he left and returned to Acre.”

Source: Francesco Gabrieli, Arab Historians of the Crusades (Dorset Press, 1957), pp. 270-272.

Praise of Warriors on Both Sides

A Turkish chronicler: "They [the Franks] are good corsairs; they are men; and as such they behave... Were they not cross-kissing Christians, and so much our enemies as they are, they would be very worthy of our esteem; nay the best of us would take pride in calling them brothers, and even in fighting under their command." (Ernie Bradford, *The Sword and the Scimitar: the Saga of the Crusades* (Milan, Italy: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1974), p. 55)

Salahuddin on the Frankish army: "Regard the Franks! Behold with what obstinacy they fight for their religion, while we, the Muslims, show no enthusiasm for waging jihad!" (Amin Maalouf (Jon Rothchild, transl.), *The Crusades Through Arab Eyes* (New York: Schocken Books, 1984), p. 1.

Gesta Francorum, Account of a Christian Chronicler: "Who is so wise that he can afford to decry the skill, the warlike gifts and the valor of the Turks? Indeed they claim that none but the Franks and themselves have the right to call themselves knights. Certainly if they kept the faith of Christ, they would have no equal in power, in courage, and in the science of war." (Ernie Bradford, *The Sword and the Scimitar: the Saga of the Crusades*. Milan, Italy: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1974, p. 54.)

From the primary Latin biography of King Richard: "The Turkish warriors, hurriedly seizing their arms, came thronging up and flung themselves upon their assailants. The men-at-arms strove to get in; as the Turks [tried] to hurl them back. Rolled together in a confused mass, they fought at close quarters, hand against hand, and sword against sword...Never has there been such a people as these Turks for their prowess in war." (Based on *Itinerarium et Gesta Regis Ricardi* by an unknown 12th century chronicler, in Ernie Bradford, *The Sword and the Scimitar: the Saga of the Crusades*. Milan, Italy: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1974, p. 157).

Treatment of Elites from Enemy Sides Based on Class Identification

An account by Fulcher of Chartres, a 12th century inhabitant of Jerusalem: “Those who were strangers are now natives, and he who was a sojourner now has become a resident”; “We who had been Occidentals [westerners] have become Orientals [easterners]; the man who had been a Roman or a Frank was here become a Galilean or a Palestinian; and the man who used to live in Reims or Chartres now finds himself a citizen of Tyre or Acre. We have already forgotten the places where we were born; already many of us know them not or at any rate no longer hear them spoken of. Some among us already possess in this country houses and servants which belong to them as a hereditary right. Another has married a wife who is not his compatriot—a Syrian or Armenian woman perhaps, or even a Saracen who has received the grace of baptism [i.e. a Muslim who converted to Christianity]...why should anyone return to the West who has found an Orient like this?” (Geoffrey Regan, *Saladin and the Fall of Jerusalem*. London: Croom Helm, 1987, pp. 2-4)

RESPECT FOR RELIGIOUS MINORITIES VIDEO LESSON



www.sultanandthesaintfilm.com/education

Respect for Religious Minorities Video Lesson

<http://www.sultanandthesaintfilm.com/respect-religious-minorities-islam/>

Discussion Questions for Video

- How did Prophet Muhammad behave toward Jews and Christians? How did he view the revelations given to earlier prophets?
- Did Prophet Muhammad view the problem of intolerance and persecution against people of other faiths?
- What is religious pluralism according to Michael Calabria in the video, and how did Islam accommodate those of other religions in its history?
- What does the Qur'anic verse "Let there be no compulsion in religion" mean for religious freedom and tolerance?

Lesson Overview

The lesson prescribes viewing the video "Respect for Religious Minorities in Islam" and discuss what the scholars say about religious minorities under Muslim rule (as minorities or majorities). The series of documents present evidence of Islamic principles and historical precedents regarding treatment of religious minorities (or, in the case of early Islam, majorities of non-Muslims under Muslim rule). Finally, the lesson analyzes a modern document, the Marrakesh Declaration, which calls upon Muslims to restore these principles in the context of modern nation-states.

Lesson Objectives

- Students will analyze the statements of the experts in the video to build understanding of the rights of religious minorities in Islam
- Students will analyze the Islamic sources of Qur'an and Hadith to build understanding of the principles behind tolerance of religious difference and peaceful coexistence between Muslims and those of other faiths
- Students will analyze the modern document produced by contemporary Muslim scholars at Marrakesh, and explain why it was seen as necessary to redress instances of lack of tolerance and respect for minorities by Muslim states and groups.
- Students will describe the groups on whom the Marrakesh Declaration calls to contribute to redressing the lack of respect among Muslims today to restore original Islamic principles.
- An extension activity allows for reading critiques by Muslims who do not feel that the Marrakesh Declaration does not go far enough, and inferring situations that give critics reason to doubt that the Declaration will solve the problem.

Lesson Procedure

1. View the video and discuss the questions, reading the handouts that contain original sources to which the expert speakers' statements, refer and including them in the discussion. How strong is the case for tolerance of other religions in Islamic sources? (See questions and answer key below)
2. There are several options in the lesson for further exploration of the topic and its connection to religious tolerance in Islam:
 - a. Prophet Muhammad made covenants with "People of the Book" and others: (1) the Constitution of Madinah was an agreement of mutual protection agreed to when Muhammad made the migration from Makkah to Madinah. (See "The Constitution of Madinah and the Mayflower Compact at http://islamproject.org/pdfs/Muhammad_Guide.pdf, pp. 47-52, or http://www.islamproject.org/muhammad/muhammad_09_PrimarySourceDocuments.htm,
 - b. Prophet Muhammad also made agreements with settlements of monks in the Arabian Peninsula. View the document on the Prophet's Covenant with the Monks of Sinai (handout).
3. Part 2 of the lesson focuses on the recent Marrakesh Declaration, one of several statements created by convening international groups of Muslim scholars to respond to Muslim extremists such as ISIS/ISIL who are viewed by the consensus of Muslim scholars as violating Islamic principles—in this case regarding religious minorities. In groups or as a class, assign the 2-page Declaration and use the guiding questions to discuss the content, spirit, and prospects for success of the document.

Video Discussion Questions and Key

Q: What did the crowd of Muslims want the Sultan to do regarding their Christian fellow citizens, and what claim did they make to support their demands?

[KEY] they claimed that a mosque had once been on the site of a church used by the Coptic Christians of Egypt. Al-Kamil denied their claim, and in fact, Copts were in Egypt long before Islam came in the 7th century, and the church in question was the holiest site for Copts.

Extension activity: Research modern incidences of contested claims over holy or sacred sites in various religious and cultural traditions

[Suggested sites: Jerusalem and the Temple Mount/Dome of the Rock & al-Aqsa Mosque; the Babri Mosque and a Hindu Temple; Cordoba Mosque built on Roman site, then mosque, then church; native American burial and sacred places threatened by development, mining, pipelines, and archaeological sensitivities

Q: What is the substance of the experts' testimony about the status and rights of religious minorities under Muslim rule (See handout).

Part 2: of the lesson on Respect for Religious Minorities: Document Analysis on Religious Minorities in Islam Today

Introduction

Media reports on hear the persecution of Christians and others today, especially by extremists and in post-conflict situations such as Afghanistan and Iraq, and about the persecution of non-Muslims and Muslims of different sects. The Marrakesh Declaration is a contemporary document that provides evidence that Muslim scholars cite Islamic sources that condemn does not condone acts against discrimination against religious minorities and offer social reforms to minimize such behavior.

Lesson procedure

1. Examine the document called The Marrakesh Declaration of 2016 (<http://www.marrakeshdeclaration.org/marrakesh-declaration.html>), which consists of 2 pages of declaration points agreed to by a group of international Muslim scholars. Read the document and analyze it using the following questions as a framework:

Q: Discuss the title: “Rights of Religious Minorities in Predominantly Muslim Majority Communities”; what message does it send to readers?

Who are the signatories and sponsors of the gathering in Morocco that produced this consensus document? [*Described as more than 200 scholars and intellectuals from 120 countries, organized by the Forum for Promoting Peace in Muslim Societies at http://peacems.com/?page_id=2973&lang=en]*

Q: Why do the writers of the document call it “necessary”? HINT: look at the passages that begin with the word “whereas”

KEY: *due to conditions in Muslim countries; on the occasion of the 1400 year anniversary of the Charter of Medina (See IslamProject.org lesson on the Constitution of Medina); to reaffirm principles governing interfaith relations and responsibilities to Muslims*

Q: What points of relationship does the MD make between the Charter of Medina and modern documents outlining human rights and minority rights (UN Charter, Declaration of the Rights of Man, etc.)

Q: Upon whom does the Marrakesh Declaration call in order to fix the problem of violation of minority rights in Muslim countries?

ANSWER KEY:

1. Educated people, artists, civil society

2. Muslim scholars called upon to create a “jurisprudence of inclusive citizenship” that takes into account Islamic tradition and global changes (“bound by the same national fabric” i.e. nationalism as a homogenizing force endangers those who don’t fit a certain national mold. Politicians invoking a “state of selective amnesia” (see the incident with the mob and al-Kamil about the church)

3. Educational institutions, curriculum and textbooks must get rid of what instigates aggression and extremism

4. Politicians and decision-makers to take legal and policy steps to improve relations.

5. Analyze the phrase in the MD “it is unconscionable to employ religion for aggression upon the rights of minorities”

2. **Extension:** Research the Common Word interfaith dialogue project (<http://www.acommonword.com/>) Explain its relationship to the use of this phrase in the Qur’an “Say: O People of the Scripture! Come to a common word between us and you: that we shall worship none but God, and that we shall ascribe no partner unto Him, and that none of us shall take others for lords beside God. And if they turn away, then say: Bear witness that we are they who have surrendered (unto Him). (Qur’an, 3:64)
3. **Extension:** Critiques of the Marrakesh Declaration—research the following questions using the suggested links to documents critical of the Marrakesh Declaration that follow. Answer the question: How might this document be criticized, and what actual chance might these scholars’ statements of bringing about change in interfaith relations? What obstacles exist to its implementing these ideas as policy and cultural influence? See Khan, Amjad Mahmod. “The Marrakesh Declaration: Promise and Paralysis.” Georgetown Journal of International Affairs, March 2, 2016. <http://journal.georgetown.edu/the-marrakesh-declaration-promise-and-paralysis/>; Also, Petersen, Marie Juul, and Osama Arbh Mofteh. “The Marrakesh Declaration: A Muslim Call for Protection of Religious Minorities or Freedom of Religion?” Religion and the Public Sphere, May 26, 2017. <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/religionpublicsphere/2017/05/the-marrakesh-declaration-a-muslim-call-for-protection-of-religious-minorities-or-freedom-of-religion/>.

Handout: Respect for Religious Minorities in the Qur'an and Hadith

Cited in the Video by Michael Calabria:

“There is no compulsion in religion. The right direction is henceforth distinct from error. And he who rejects false deities and believes in Allah has grasped a firm handhold which will never break. Allah is Hearer, Knower.” (Qur'an 2:256)

Cited in the Video by Suleiman Mourad:

“To thee We sent the Scripture in truth, confirming the scripture that came before it, and guarding it in safety: so judge between them by what Allah hath revealed, and follow not their vain desires, diverging from the Truth that hath come to thee. To each among you have we prescribed a law and an open way. If Allah had so willed, He would have made you a single people, but (His plan is) to test you in what He hath given you: so strive as in a race in all virtues. The goal of you all is to Allah. It is He that will show you the truth of the matters in which ye dispute.” (Qur'an 5:48)

Hadith or Saying of the Prophet Muhammad, Cited by Tareq Algawhary:

Safwan ibn Sulaim reported: The Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him, said, “No doubt, if anyone wrongs a person protected by a covenant, violates his rights, burdens him with more work than he is able to do, or takes something from him without his consent, then I will be his advocate on the Day of Resurrection.” (Source: *Sunan Abu Dawud* 3052, at <https://abuaminaelias.com/dailyhadithonline/2012/08/16/hadith-on-oppression-the-prophet-will-support-the-oppressed-non-muslims-on-the-day-of-judgment/>).

Cited in the “Common Word” Interfaith Dialogue Project

(<http://www.acommonword.com/>):

“Say: O People of the Scripture! Come to a common word between us and you: that we shall worship none but God, and that we shall ascribe no partner unto Him, and that none of us shall take others for lords beside God. And if they turn away, then say: Bear witness that we are they who have surrendered (unto Him).” (Qur'an 3:64)

Handout: The Covenant of the Prophet Muhammad with the Monks of Mount Sinai

Source: as cited in John Andrew Morrow, *The Covenants of the Prophet Muhammad with the Christians of the World* (Angelico Press/Sophia Perennis, 2013), pp. 211–12:


“To all whom it may concern this letter is addressed by Muhammad, son of Abdullah, he who proclaims and admonishes men to take knowledge of the promises of God to his creation, in order that men may raise no claim or right against God or against the Prophet, for God is almighty and all-wise. It is written to people of this faith and to all in the world who profess the Christian Religion in East and West, near and far, whether they are Arabs or non-Arabs, unknown or known, as writ which he has issued for their protection. If any person henceforth violates the protection hereby proclaimed, or contravenes it or transgresses the obligations imposed by it, he foregoes the protection of God, breaks his covenant, dishonors his religion and deserves to be accursed, whether he be sultan or any one soever of the faithful of Islam.

If a monk or pilgrim seeks protection, in mountain or valley, in a cave or in tilled fields, in the plain, in the desert, in a church, in such case I am with him, and defend him from everyone who is his enemy—I, my helpers, all men of my faith, and all my followers, for these people are my followers and protégés. I wish to protect them from interference with the supply of victuals [food], which my protégés have procured for themselves, and also from the payment of taxes over and above what they themselves approve. On none of these accounts shall either compulsion or constraint be used against them.

A bishop shall not be removed from his bishopric, nor a monk from his monastery, nor shall a pilgrim be hindered from his pilgrimage. Moreover, no church or chapel shall be destroyed, nor shall the property of their churches be used for the building of mosques or houses for the Muslims. Whoever offends against this rule forfeits God’s protection and is subordinate to his Messenger.

Neither poll-tax nor impost shall be laid on monks, bishops, or hermits, for I wish to extend protection to them, wherever they are, in East or West, in North or South, for they are under my protection, within my covenant, and under my security against every injury. Those who also go to the solitude of mountains, or to the holy places, shall be free of poll tax, and from tithe or duty on whatever they grow for their own use. . . .

They shall not be obligated to serve in war, or to pay the poll-tax; even those for whom an obligation to pay land-tax exists, or who possess resources in land or from trade, shall not have to pay more than 10 dirhams a head a year. On no one shall an unjust tax be imposed, and with these people of the Book there is to be no strife, unless it be over what is for the good. We wish to take them under the wing of our mercy, and the penalty of vexation shall be kept at a distance from them, wherever they are and wherever they may settle.



If a Christian woman enters a Muslim household, she shall be received with kindness, and she shall be give the opportunity to pray in her church; there shall be no dispute between her and a man who loves her religion. Whoever contravenes God's protection and acts to the contrary is a rebel against his covenant and his Messenger. These people shall be assisted in the improvement of their churches and religious dwellings; thus they will be aided in their faith and kept true to their allegiance. None of them shall be compelled to bear arms, but the Muslims shall defend them; and they shall not contravene this promise of protection until the hour comes and the last day breaks upon the world.

As witnesses to this letter of protection, written by Muhammad, son of Abdullah, God's Messenger, and as sureties for the fulfillment of all that is prescribed herein, the following persons set their hands.

Ali the son of Abu Taleb, Homar the son of Hattavi, Ziphir the son of Abuan, Saith the son of Maat, Thavitt the son . . . Ambtullak the son of Omar.

This promise of protection was written in his own hand by Ali bin Abu Talib in the Mosque of the Prophet on the third of Muharram in the year 2 of the Prophet's Hegira. . . . Praise be to all you abide by its contents, and cursed be all who do not observe it."

MARRAKESH DECLARATION

(<http://www.marrakeshdeclaration.org/marrakesh-declaration.html>)

In the Name of God, the All-Merciful, the All-Compassionate

Executive Summary of the Marrakesh Declaration on the Rights of Religious Minorities in Predominantly Muslim Majority Communities

25th-27th January 2016

WHEREAS, conditions in various parts of the Muslim World have deteriorated dangerously due to the use of violence and armed struggle as a tool for settling conflicts and imposing one's point of view;

WHEREAS, this situation has also weakened the authority of legitimate governments and enabled criminal groups to issue edicts attributed to Islam, but which, in fact, alarmingly distort its fundamental principles and goals in ways that have seriously harmed the population as a whole;

WHEREAS, this year marks the 1,400th anniversary of the Charter of Medina, a constitutional contract between the Prophet Muhammad, God's peace and blessings be upon him, and the people of Medina, which guaranteed the religious liberty of all, regardless of faith;

WHEREAS, hundreds of Muslim scholars and intellectuals from over 120 countries, along with representatives of Islamic and international organizations, as well as leaders from diverse religious groups and nationalities, gathered in Marrakesh on this date to reaffirm the principles of the Charter of Medina at a major conference;

WHEREAS, this conference was held under the auspices of His Majesty, King Mohammed VI of Morocco, and organized jointly by the Ministry of Endowment and Islamic Affairs in the Kingdom of Morocco and the Forum for Promoting Peace in Muslim Societies based in the United Arab Emirates;

AND NOTING the gravity of this situation afflicting Muslims as well as peoples of other faiths throughout the world, and after thorough deliberation and discussion, the convened Muslim scholars and intellectuals:

DECLARE HEREBY our firm commitment to the principles articulated in the Charter of Medina, whose provisions contained a number of the principles of constitutional contractual citizenship, such as freedom of movement, property ownership, mutual solidarity and defense, as well as principles of justice and equality before the law; and that,

The objectives of the Charter of Medina provide a suitable framework for national constitutions in countries with Muslim majorities, and the United Nations Charter and related documents, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, are in harmony with the Charter of Medina, including consideration for public order.

NOTING FURTHER that deep reflection upon the various crises afflicting humanity underscores the inevitable and urgent need for cooperation among all religious groups, we

AFFIRM HEREBY that such cooperation must be based on a “Common Word,” requiring that such cooperation must go beyond mutual tolerance and respect, to providing full protection for the rights and liberties to all religious groups in a civilized manner that eschews coercion, bias, and arrogance.

BASED ON ALL OF THE ABOVE, we hereby:

Call upon Muslim scholars and intellectuals around the world to develop a jurisprudence of the concept of “citizenship” which is inclusive of diverse groups. Such jurisprudence shall be rooted in Islamic tradition and principles and mindful of global changes.

Urge Muslim educational institutions and authorities to conduct a courageous review of educational curricula that addresses honestly and effectively any material that instigates aggression and extremism, leads to war and chaos, and results in the destruction of our shared societies;

Call upon politicians and decision makers to take the political and legal steps necessary to establish a constitutional contractual relationship among its citizens, and to support all formulations and initiatives that aim to fortify relations and understanding among the various religious groups in the Muslim World;

Call upon the educated, artistic, and creative members of our societies, as well as organizations of civil society, to establish a broad movement for the just treatment of religious minorities in Muslim countries and to raise awareness as to their rights, and to work together to ensure the success of these efforts.

Call upon the various religious groups bound by the same national fabric to address their mutual state of selective amnesia that blocks memories of centuries of joint and shared living on the same land; we call upon them to rebuild the past by reviving this tradition of conviviality, and restoring our shared trust that has been eroded by extremists using acts of terror and aggression;

Call upon representatives of the various religions, sects and denominations to confront all forms of religious bigotry, vilification, and denigration of what people hold sacred, as well as all speech that promote hatred and bigotry; AND FINALLY,

AFFIRM that it is unconscionable to employ religion for the purpose of aggressing upon the rights of religious minorities in Muslim countries.

Marrakesh
January 27, 2016

THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF INTERGROUP CONFLICT VIDEO LESSON



www.sultanandthesaintfilm.com/education

The Social Psychology of Intergroup Conflict Video Lesson

<https://www.sultanandthesaintfilm.com/social-psychology-inter-group-conflict/>

Video Discussion Questions

- What does it mean to “dehumanize” a group?
- What does Bruneau say about the natural human tendency toward empathy? How does empathy prevent violence between people?
- How can people be motivated to fight according to Bruneau, despite their natural tendency to empathize?
- How does Pope Urban II’s speech use religious imagery, language, and authority to call out the Crusade?
- What emotions do you think the people listening to Pope Urban II in the video are experiencing, based on their body language and expressions? (peasant man, child, noblewomen, clergymen)
- How is fear put into play to encourage Urban II’s listeners to take action?
- Give examples of imagery used in media today to dehumanize other groups and people. What role does fear play in these appeals to the psychology of intergroup conflict?
- What can a listener today do to interrupt the process of dehumanization?

Lesson on Social Psychology of Intergroup Conflict Using Document Analysis

Lesson Overview

Students analyze the language in texts produced during the Crusades period to illustrate the use of in-group and out-group language used to stimulate dehumanization or empathy.

Lesson Objectives

- Demonstrate comprehension of the argument from psychology on the causes of intergroup conflict.
- Identify uses of rhetoric to cultivate empathy toward and include people of other groups.
- Identify uses of rhetoric to dehumanize or exclude people of other groups.
- Analyze the possible effects of dehumanizing or inclusive/empathetic language on its hearers.
- Consider ways that consumers of media and other persuasive speech can resist dehumanizing tendencies.
- Consider strategies that produce empathy toward people of other groups.

Lesson Procedure

1. Assign students in small groups to read the handout texts that speak about war in religious terms, both from Christians and Muslims, during the Crusades.
2. Students will analyze the language used by the popes calling out the first and fifth Crusades and documents calling for jihad against the crusaders to identify how groups of people are singled out as “us” and “them,” and motivate people to make war.
3. After reading the texts, have students highlight the passages that refer to the following concepts: claiming authority, using religious imagery to create feelings of belonging to “us” and to dehumanize or separate from “them,” language that incites fear, language that creates incentives to fight, language that justifies self-sacrifice to overcome their fear.

Possible alternative methods:

Students read all of the documents.

1. Have students individually use different colored highlighters to locate passages related to each category.
2. Have each group of students identify a different category of language (also using a specific color of highlighter).
3. Use Google Docs or other online platform to highlight the categories.
4. Students create a chart or spreadsheet in which to place citations from the texts that correspond to the categories and concepts. Cut and paste the highlighted text into the spreadsheet under each category and text using color code. (See handout.)
5. Share out results: Students share what they highlighted and why that represents the categories. Discuss whether students highlighted some language for more than one category. Discuss why such language fit into both categories.
6. Analyze how the different categories of language identified in the exercise interrelate to achieve the goal of the speeches/texts in rousing listeners to action. How does each category of language support and reinforce what the speaker is trying to achieve in motivating the listeners?
7. **Conclusion:** Hold a debriefing session using some or all of the following questions:
 - What is the role of words delivered in public to a group that is to be convinced to undertake an action?
 - How does this environment make the language more potent?
 - How does this language appeal to psychological characteristics of people and group dynamics to convince people to overcome fear, tap into altruistic motives and take personal actions that may result in loss or death?
 - Having heard Bruneau's argument, do you think that you can use this information as a tool for better understanding perceptions of others acquired from various media, and being better able to evaluate such claims of authority and attempts to dehumanize others?



Claiming authority	Language that creates feelings of belonging to “us” and dehumanizes or separates from “them”	Language that incites fear	Language that creates incentives to fight	Language that justifies self-sacrifice to overcome their fear



Handout: Pope Urban II's Speech at Clermont 1095, as Related by Fulcher of Chartres

"Most beloved brethren: Urged by necessity, I, Urban, by the permission of God chief bishop and prelate over the whole world, have come into these parts as an ambassador with a divine admonition to you, the servants of God. I hoped to find you as faithful and as zealous in the service of God as I had supposed you to be. But if there is in you any deformity or crookedness contrary to God's law, with divine help I will do my best to remove it. For God has put you as stewards over his family to minister to it. Happy indeed will you be if he finds you faithful in your stewardship. You are called shepherds; see that you do not act as hirelings. But be true shepherds, with your crooks always in your hands. Do not go to sleep, but guard on all sides the flock committed to you. For if through your carelessness or negligence a wolf carries away one of your sheep, you will surely lose the reward laid up for you with God. And after you have been bitterly scourged with remorse for your faults, you will be fiercely overwhelmed in hell, the abode of death. . . .

Although, O sons of God, you have promised more firmly than ever to keep the peace among yourselves and to preserve the rights of the church, there remains still an important work for you to do. Freshly quickened by the divine correction, you must apply the strength of your righteousness to another matter which concerns you as well as God. For your brethren who live in the east are in urgent need of your help, and you must hasten to give them the aid which has often been promised them. For, as the most of you have heard, the Turks and Arabs have attacked them and have conquered the territory of Romania [the Greek Empire] as far west as the shore of the Mediterranean and the Hellespont, which is called the Arm of St. George. They have occupied more and more of the lands of those Christians, and have overcome them in seven battles. They have killed and captured many, and have destroyed the churches and devastated the empire. If you permit them to continue thus for awhile with impunity, the faithful of God will be much more widely attacked by them. On this account I, or rather the Lord, beseech you as Christ's heralds to publish this everywhere and to persuade all people of whatever rank, foot-soldiers and knights, poor and rich, to carry aid promptly to those Christians and to destroy that vile race from the lands of our friends. I say this to those who are present, it is meant also for those who are absent. Moreover, Christ commands it. All who die by the way, whether by land or by sea, or in battle against the pagans, shall have immediate remission of sins. This I grant them through the power of God with which I am invested. O what a disgrace if such a despised and base race, which worships demons, should conquer a people which has the faith of omnipotent God and is made glorious with the name of Christ! With what reproaches will the Lord overwhelm us if you do not aid those who, with us, profess the Christian religion! Let those who have been accustomed unjustly to wage private warfare against the faithful now go against the infidels and end with victory this war which should have been begun long ago. Let those who, for a long time, have been robbers, now become knights. Let those who have been fighting against their brothers and relatives now fight in a proper way against the barbarians. Let those who have been serving as mercenaries for small pay now obtain the eternal reward. Let those who have been wearing themselves out in both body and soul now work for a double honor. Behold! on this side will be the sorrowful and poor, on that, the rich; on this side, the enemies of the Lord, on that, his friends. Let those who go not put off the journey, but rent their lands and collect money for their expenses; and as soon as winter is over and spring comes, let them eagerly set out on the way with God as their guide."

Source: Oliver J. Thatcher and Edgar Holmes McNeal, *A Source Book for Medieval History* [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905; Project Gutenberg, 2013], pp. 514–18, citing Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, I, pp. 382 f, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/42707/42707-h/42707-h.htm#mh279>.

Handout: Quia Maior: Pope Innocent III Proclaims the Fifth Crusade, 19–29 April 1213

“Because at this time there is a more compelling urgency than there has ever been before to help the Holy Land in her great need and because we hope that the aid sent to her and will be greater than that which has ever reached her before, listen when, again taking up the old cry, we cry to you. We cry on behalf of him who when dying cried with a loud voice on the cross, becoming obedient to God the father unto the death of the cross, crying out so that he might snatch us from the crucifixion of eternal death. He also cries out with his own voice and says, ‘If any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me,’ as if to say, to put it more plainly, ‘If anyone wishes to follow me to the crown, let him also follow me to the battle, which is now proposed as a test for all men.’ For it was entirely in the power of almighty God, if he had so wished, to prevent that land from being handed over into hostile hands. And if he wishes he can easily free it from the hands of the enemy, since nothing can resist his will. But when already wickedness had gone beyond all bounds and love in the hearts of many men had grown cold, he put this contest before his faithful followers to awaken them from the sleep of death to the pursuit of life, in which he might try their faith ‘as gold in the furnace.’ He has granted them an opportunity to win salvation, nay more, a means of salvation, so that those who fight faithfully for him will be crowned in happiness by him, but those who refuse to pay him the servant’s service that they owe him in a crisis of such great urgency will justly deserve to suffer a sentence of damnation of the Last Day of severe Judgment. . . .

For how can a man be said to love his neighbor as himself, in obedience to God’s command, when, knowing that his brothers, who are Christians in faith and in name, are held in the hands of the perfidious Saracens in dire imprisonment and are weighed down by the yoke of most heavy slavery, he does not do something effective to liberate them, thereby transgressing the command of that natural law which the Lord gave in the gospel, ‘Whatsoever you would that men should do to you, do you also to them?’ Or perhaps you do not know that many thousands of Christians are being held in slavery and imprisonment in their hands, tortured by countless torments? . . . So rouse yourselves, most beloved sons, transforming your quarrels and rivalries, brother against brother, into associations of peace and affection; gird yourselves for the service of the Crucified One, not hesitating to risk your possessions and your persons for him who laid down his life and shed his blood for you, equally certain and sure that if you are truly penitent you will achieve eternal rest as a profit from this temporal labour. For we, trusting in the mercy of almighty God and the authority of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, by that power of binding and loosing that God as conferred on us, although unworthy, grant to all those submitting to this labour personally or at their own expense full forgiveness of their sins, of which they make truthful oral confession with contrite hearts, and as the reward of the just we promise them a greater share of eternal salvation.”

Handout: Poetry and Sermons on War and Jihad during the Crusades Period by Muslims

Speech given by al-Harawi, 1099, Baghdad: “During the First Crusade, the crusaders laid siege on Jerusalem for forty days and slaughtered every single Muslim living within the city walls. Abu Sa’ed al-Harawi was one of those fortunate enough to escape and after making his way to Baghdad, he burst into the Diwan of the Khalifa, al-Mustazhir Billah, and spoke words that shook the entire Ummah. . . . Wearing no turban, his head shaved as a sign of mourning, the venerable Qadi (Muslim chief judge) Abu Sa’ad al-Hawari cried loudly into the spacious Diwan (audience hall) of the caliph al-Mustazhir Billah, a throng of companions, young and old, trailing in his wake. Noisily assenting to (agreeing with) his every word, they, like him, offered the chilling spectacle of long beards and shaven heads. A few of the court dignitaries tried to calm him, but al-Hawari swept them aside with disdain, strode resolutely to the center of the hall, and then, with the searing eloquence of a seasoned preacher, al-Hawari proceeded to lecture to all those present, without regard to rank. *‘How dare you slumber in the shade of complacent safety, leading lives as frivolous as garden flowers, while your brothers in Syria have no dwelling place save the saddles of camels and the bellies of the vultures? Blood has been spilled! Beautiful young girls have been shamed, and must now hide their sweet faces in their hands! Shall the valorous Arabs resign themselves to insult, and the valiant Persians accept dishonor?’* ‘It was a speech that brought tears to many an eye and moved men’s hearts,’ the Arab chroniclers later wrote. The entire audience broke out in wails and lamentations, but al-Harawi had not come to elicit sobs. *‘Men’s meanest weapon,’* he shouted, *‘is to shed tears when rapiers stir the coals of war.’*”

Source: Amin Maalouf, *The Crusades through Arab Eyes* (Schocken Books, 1984), pp. xiii-xiv.

Prayer by Ibn al-Mawsiliya, 11th century scholar: “O God, raise the banner of Islam and its helper and refute polytheism by wounding its back and cutting its ropes. Help those who fight jihad for Your sake and who in obedience to you have sacrificed themselves and sold their souls to You. . . . Because they persist in going astray, may the eyeball of the proponents of polytheism become blind to the paths of righteousness.”

Source: Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* [Edinburgh University Press, 1999], p. 165, note 114, citing al-Husayni, *Akhbar al-dowla al-saljuqiyya*.

Inscription on the minbar built for Nur al-Din in hopes of the conquest of Jerusalem, and carried by Salahuddin to al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem after the reconquest:

“Its construction has been ordered by the servant [of God] the one needful of His mercy, the one thankful for His grace, the fighter of jihad in His path, the one who defends [the frontiers] against the enemies of His religion, the just king, Nur al-Din, the pillar of Islam and the Muslims, the dispenser of justice to those who are oppressed in the face of oppressors, Abu’l Qasim Mahmud ibn Zengi ibn Aqsunqur, the helper of the Commander of the Faithful [i.e. the caliph in Baghdad]. . . . May He grant conquest to him [Nur-al-Din] and at his own hands.”

Source: Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* [Edinburgh University Press, 1999], p. 152. See note 88, p. 169.

LESSON ON PROPHET MUHAMMAD, PEACE, AND DIPLOMACY



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Lesson on Prophet Muhammad, Peace, and Diplomacy

<https://www.sultanandthesaintfilm.com/prophet-muhammad-diplomacy/>

Discussion Questions for The Prophet Muhammad on Peace and Diplomacy Video

- Who was al-Kamil's uncle, and what made his uncle famous?
- What characterized al-Malik al-Kamil's upbringing in Egypt? What was expected of him?
- What gives the Qur'an and Hadith its authority for Muslims?
- How did Tareq al-Gawhary describe the relationship of Prophet Muhammad to military leadership and diplomacy?
- What are the limits placed on warfare and the conduct of war according to Hodayra Ziad?
- When you hear about Prophet Muhammad, what do you think about his relationship to peace and compromise?

Lesson Overview

This lesson has three parts. The first concerns the upbringing of al-Kamil and the teachings he absorbed from his uncle Salahuddin and his mother. It also describes the life of Muhammad and his leadership of the Muslim community against resistance to his ideas, and efforts to end his mission, as well as the conduct of his response to persecution and attacks, and how he taught his followers. The second part of the lesson is document study from Qur'an and hadith on the conduct of war and the mandate to make peace as soon as possible. The third segment expands on the Islamic sources on war and peace, and their interpretation and implementation in the real world.

Lesson Objectives

- Students will identify authoritative texts and points of Muslim scholars' interpretation on the conduct of war and peace.
- They will relate aspects of the life of Muhammad as an example of the conduct of war and peace, and its effect on al-Kamil's decisions to offer negotiation, and to temper his victory over the Crusaders by offering them favorable terms of surrender, and feeding the army in its dire situation.

Lesson Procedure

1. Watch the video and use the discussion questions as context for the document study in the other parts of the lesson, which are introduced by the experts speaking in the video on Islamic principles of war, peace and compromise.
2. Assign the handout on the life of Muhammad and his example, and use its discussion questions to draw a line between al-Kamil's upbringing to be a ruler, his study of the Qur'an and the prophetic example.
3. Recall the Sultan & Saint film and the other short videos to relate al-Kamil's actions to the Islamic sources. Students may refer to the al-Kamil bionote as well.
4. How did his actions in first offering the crusaders a compromise, then defending Egypt from invasion by allowing the Nile to flood the battlefield, then feeding the crusader soldiers and allowing them safe passage home after the defeat.
5. Assign groups or pairs to select Qur'an verses and prophetic hadith to analyze their content in depth. One method is to cut the handout into strips containing one verse or hadith each, and having the students analyze their meaning and calls to action. They may try to pair Qur'an verses and hadith of similar meaning.
6. Finally, discuss the limitations on warfare, the role of the Qur'an in limiting war and encouraging peace, and compare both with the state of the world in medieval times, and current media perceptions around Islam as fostering war and atrocities.

Handout: The Life of Prophet Muhammad and His Example

Muhammad (son of Abdullah) (ca. 570 – 632) is known as “Prophet Muhammad” among believers in the religion of Islam. According to Islamic teachings, he was the last prophet, or messenger of God, who received revelation. When Muslims mention Muhammad’s name, they ask God to bless him, as they do for other prophets such as Adam, Abraham, Moses and Jesus. Muhammad was born into the tribe of Quraysh, in the Arabian city of Makkah. Quraysh was the tribe that took care of the sacred Ka’bah, or house of worship, and gave water and food to pilgrims who visited it. Quraysh traced its ancestry to Abraham and his son Ishmael, and believed that the two of them founded Makkah and built the Ka’bah.

Muhammad’s father died before he was born and his mother died when he was a child. Muhammad lived with his grandfather, and later his uncle, Abu Talib. Abu Talib was generous but not wealthy, and taught Muhammad to trade on their caravan journeys to Syria. A wealthy Makkan widow named Khadijah employed Muhammad to sell her goods in Syria. She was so pleased with his work that she asked him to marry her. For twenty-five years, Khadijah and Muhammad were happily married. Their four daughters lived to be adults, but two sons died.

Muhammad did not like the idol-worship of the Makkans or the unjust way the rich treated the poor and even members of their own tribe. He often spent time in thought and prayer in a cave outside Makkah. There on the Mountain of Light (Jabal al-Nur), Muhammad first experienced the call to prophethood. Muhammad described how the Angel Gabriel awoke him and told him to read. Muhammad replied that he could not read. Gabriel then said, “*Read (or recite) in the name of your Lord who created, created man from a clinging clot.*” (Qur’an 95:1–2) These were the first verses of the Qur’an, the holy book of Islam.

Muhammad was about forty years old then. The experience frightened him and he hurried home, shivering, to his wife, who wrapped him in a blanket. Khadijah reassured him that his search for truth would not lead him astray. Her cousin Waraqah, a man of faith who knew the Christian holy books, reassured them that Muhammad’s call to prophethood was true. He also warned them that his own tribe would reject him as other prophets had been rejected by their people.

After a short time, Muhammad began experiencing more revelations. These new verses told Muhammad to preach to his family. Members of Muhammad’s household and immediate family accepted Islam, including his wife Khadijah, the first Muslim woman. Later, he gathered members of his tribe and warned them to believe in one God and turn away from worshipping idols and behaving unjustly. All of them rejected him except for his young cousin Ali, son of Abu Talib. The earliest Muslims were mostly poor people, slaves and women. Some important Makkans joined him, but the most powerful leaders of the Quraysh continued to reject him. His growing influence among the members of Makkan society threatened their prestige and power. They bribed him with offers of wealth and power, but he refused to give up. Quraysh persecuted the Muslims and finally banished them to a dry valley and forbade anyone from trading with them. Khadijah and Abu Talib both died during the boycott. During this time Muhammad sent a small group of Muslims to Ethiopia to seek asylum, or protection from persecution, which was granted by its Christian king, the Negus. The Quraysh feared that Muhammad’s preaching against the idols would reach their visitors during the pilgrimage, causing people to stop visiting the Ka’bah.

Visitors from Yathrib, a city north of Makkah, did respond to Muhammad's teaching. Seeing the suffering of the Muslims, they pledged to protect Muhammad and his followers in their town. Gradually, the Muslims left Makkah. When Quraysh plotted to kill Muhammad, he and a close companion, Abu Bakr, secretly left Makkah to join the Muslims in Yathrib. Muhammad's journey in 622 called the **Hijrah** marks the beginning of the Muslim calendar. Yathrib was renamed Madinat an-Nabi, or "City of the Prophet." The people of Yathrib invited Muhammad to become their leader and arbitrator to solve the tribal warfare that was tearing Yathrib apart. Muhammad drew up an agreement of cooperation among the Muslims and the tribes of the city. To help the refugees from Makkah, who had left all that they owned behind, Muhammad joined each migrant from Makkah (Muhajirun) in brotherhood with a Muslim from Madinah (Ansar). This policy helped the refugees to begin new lives, and helped the new Muslims of Madinah learn Islam from the experienced Muslims from Makkah.

Muhammad's successful escape from the murder plot enraged the Makkani leaders. They had gained the wealth of the refugees, but they saw a greater danger from the Muslims. Muhammad's growing influence among the tribes of Arabia might replace Quraysh's leadership. They tried to weaken or eliminate the Muslims. Throughout his time in Makkah, Muhammad had not fought against Quraysh's persecution of the Muslims. In Madinah, according to Islamic teachings, a Qur'anic verse now told the Muslims to fight the Makkans. The first battle came at the arrival of a Makkani caravan near the wells of Badr. Although the Muslims were greatly outnumbered, they defeated the Quraysh in the Battle of Badr. The Quraysh sought revenge in a second battle at Uhud, where many Muslims and Quraysh died, but the outcome was a standoff.

Unable to defeat the Muslims as easily as they expected, Quraysh planned to attack Madinah with the help of allied tribes. Instead of going out to meet the attack, the Muslims fortified the city by digging a deep trench around an undefended part of Madinah. The Makkans had never seen such a defense, and were used to quick raids, but not siege warfare. During the Battle of the Trench, Quraysh and their allies camped outside the trench and tried to break through. After many of their allies lost patience and went home, the weather turned bad, and Quraysh broke camp and returned home, humiliated. Their prestige with local tribes was in serious trouble, and their economic power was weakened by the new threat to their caravans.

After the Battle of the Trench, Muhammad decided to make the pilgrimage to Makkah. Although the Quraysh had the ancient duty to honor visiting pilgrims, they stopped the Muslims outside of Makkah at a place called Hudaibiyyah, and denied them the right to visit the Ka'bah. Instead of entering the city, Muhammad succeeded in getting Quraysh to make a peace treaty. The treaty allowed the Muslims to make pilgrimage the next year, and Quraysh agreed to ten years of peace, with other terms that seemed to benefit the Makkans. The treaty was a victory for Muhammad, however, for three reasons: (1) The Quraysh, after trying to exterminate the Muslim community, had been forced to recognize it as a bargaining partner. (2) The Quraysh had failed in its traditional duty by keeping Muhammad away from the Ka'bah, and was already weakened by defeat in battle. (3) The treaty gave both the Quraysh and Muhammad the right to make alliances with other tribes, and allowed Muslim influence to grow unchallenged.

A short time later, the Quraysh broke the treaty. Muhammad marched an army of thousands toward Makkah. Recognizing certain defeat, the Quraysh surrendered the city without a fight. Muhammad granted amnesty, or safety, to any Makkans who stayed in their houses. He removed the idols from the Ka'bah, and the Islamic call to prayer sounded from its roof, as it has every day since. After the conquest of Makkah, many people in Arabia began to accept Islam.

During this time, Muhammad married several women, including 'Aisha, the daughter of Abu Bakr, and Hafsa, the daughter of 'Umar, two important companions. Other wives were mainly older widows, or women who helped to cement relations with their tribes. All agreed to the marriages. His wives spoke of him as a fair and affectionate husband, and passed on the record of his words and deeds to later generations.

Revelation of the Qur'an continued for 23 years, until shortly before Muhammad's death in 632. He recited the final verse during a sermon on his Farewell Pilgrimage. By that time, the Qur'an had already been memorized by many of Muhammad's followers, recited in his presence, and written down by secretaries such as Zayd ibn Thabit. Many also had memorized or recorded Muhammad's words and deeds, which became known as the hadith. The pattern of Muhammad's life came to be called the Sunnah, the second source of Islamic knowledge after the Qur'an. Muhammad was buried in Madinah in the house where he died, which was connected to the main mosque, or masjid, that had been the gathering place in Madinah. Today, the masjid where he lived is known as the Mosque of the Prophet, or Masjid an-Nabawi.

Study & Discussion Questions:

1. What was the origin of the city of Makkah? How did trade and the pilgrimage make the city important to the Arabs?
2. Describe Muhammad's childhood. At what stage of life did the call to prophethood come, according to Islamic teachings?
3. What response did the Makkans show toward the Qur'an and the teachings of Muhammad? How did the various Makkan groups express their reactions?
4. What does it mean that Muslims were they not allowed to defend themselves in Makkah, relation to other prophets
5. What was the purpose of the Hijrah, and what did it achieve for the Muslims from Makkah and Yathrib?
6. In your view, what was the most important factor in the success of Muhammad's mission?

Handout: Qur'an verses on Peace, Compromise, and Diplomacy

"It was by God's grace that you (Muhammad) did deal gently with your followers: for if you had been harsh and hard of heart, they would indeed have broken away from you. Pardon them, then, and pray that they be forgiven. And consult with them in all matters of public concern." (Quran 3:159)

"O you who believe . . . never let the hatred of others to you make you swerve to wrong and depart from justice. Be just: that is next to piety." (Quran 5:8)

People often quote verses to claim that the Qur'an justifies constant, unlimited, and aggressive warfare, especially to force conversion. This is an incorrect and biased view, because it interprets a very conditional allowance for people and communities to defend themselves against aggression, and pretends that there are no limits imposed by the verses that allow but limit it by including commands such as those quoted above. In the following paragraphs, follow the argument and cite the evidence for Islamic sources and their interpretations putting limits on warfare in favor of peace and compromise.

Qur'an Verses on Peace and Compromise

"The servants of the Most Merciful are those who walk upon the earth in humility, and when the ignorant address them, they say words of peace." (Qur'an 25:63)

"So turn aside from them and say words of peace, but soon they are going to know. (Qur'an 43:89)

"Peace, a word from a Merciful Lord." (Qur'an 36:58)

"If the enemy inclines to peace, then incline to it also and rely upon Allah. Verily, it is He who is the Hearing, the Knowing." (Qur'an 8:61)

"So if they remove themselves from you and do not fight you and offer you peace, then Allah has not made for you a cause for fighting against them." (Qur'an 4:90)

Hadith, or Sayings of Prophet Muhammad on Peace and Compromise

The term *hadith* refers to what Prophet Muhammad said and did, based on reports of those who lived with him and recorded his words and deeds. The whole of his words and deeds, his example that believers were to try to follow in their lives, is called the *sunnah*, or path, or way. While he was alive, his followers exchanged news of his words and deeds, and after he died, they recorded them in memory and in writing. Collection of hadith was an important religious effort and discipline, and hadith scholars took care to verify and preserve the chains of transmission—who heard the Prophet, who related a saying to whom, and so on. These chains were passed down with the sayings.

In the early centuries of Islamic history, critical hadith scholars compiled large collections that became standard reference works of accepted hadith, graded by degrees of accuracy. Several of these standard collections were al-Bukhari, Muslim, Sunnan Abu Dawud, Tirmidhi, and al-Tabari, who was also a historian.

These are examples of hadith on peace and diplomacy.

Aisha reported: Whenever the Messenger of Allah, peace and blessings be upon him, would invoke peace while sitting in prayer, he did not sit but long enough to say: "O Allah, you are Peace and from you is peace. Blessed are you, O Majestic and Generous." (Source: Sahih Muslim 592)

Abu Huraira reported: The Messenger of Allah, peace and blessings be upon him, said: "You will not enter Paradise until you believe and you will not believe until you love each other. Shall I show you something that, if you did, you would love each other? Spread peace between yourselves." (Source: Sahih Muslim 54)

Abdullah ibn Umar reported: A man asked the Messenger of Allah, peace and blessings be upon him, "Which Islam is best?" The Prophet said: "To feed the hungry and to greet with peace those you know and those you do not know." (Source: Sahih Bukhari 28)

Ammar ibn Yasir, may Allah be pleased with him, said: "Whoever has three qualities together will have gathered the faith: equity with yourself, offering peace to the world, and spending from small amounts." (Source: Sahih Bukhari 28)

Ali ibn Abu Talib reported: The Messenger of Allah, peace and blessings be upon him, said: "Verily, after me there will be conflicts or affairs, so if you are able to end them in peace, then do so." (Source: Musnad Ahmad 697)

Abdullah ibn Salam said: When the Messenger of Allah, peace and blessings be upon him, came to Madinah [in the time of the Hijra], the people rushed towards him and it was said, "The Messenger of Allah has come!" I came along with the people to see him, and when I looked at the face of the Messenger of Allah, I realized that his face was not the face of a liar. The first thing he said was: "O people, spread peace, feed the hungry, and pray at night when people are sleeping and you will enter Paradise in peace." (Source: Sunan Ibn Majah 1334)

Abdullah ibn Amr reported: The Messenger of Allah, peace and blessings be upon him, said: "Worship the Most Merciful and spread peace." (Source: Sunan Ibn Majah 3694)

Urwah ibn Ruwaim reported: I saw Abu Umamah Al-Bahili greet with peace whomever he would meet among the Muslims and non-Muslim citizens and he would say: "This is the greeting for the people of our religion, an assurance of security for the people of our covenant, and the name among the names of Allah that we spread between us." (Source: At-Tamheed Ibn Abdul Barr)

FRANCIS OF ASSISI: A LIFE OF TRANSFORMATION



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Francis of Assisi: A Life of Transformation

Francis lived a life of transformation and inspired the creation of a spiritual movement that continues in the present. Nevertheless, his story and legacy have been debated since his death in 1226.

Performance Objectives:

The student will:

- Describe the salient features of Francis's life before and after his transformation from an enthusiastic soldier to an unwavering pacifist
- Describe how Francis was impacted by his encounter with al-Kamil, as evidenced by his later writing
- Compare the similarities and differences that surface in competing histories of Francis
- Investigate some Franciscan communities today

Materials Needed:

Film: *The Sultan and the Saint*

Paper or notebook and a pen for each student

Handouts: "99 Names of God"; "Saint Francis's 'The Praises of God'"; "A Letter to the Rulers of the People"; "Salat in English"; "Letter to a General Chapter"

Lesson Procedure:

Directions:

1. Watch the film, *The Sultan and the Saint*. Ask students to pay close attention to the story of the life of Saint Francis and, after viewing the film, ask students to answer the following questions, allowing different students to add more details to the story:
 - Describe Francis's early life in as much detail as you can remember.
 - How was Francis's consciousness transformed? In other words, what happened to Francis that made him reject his early life?
 - Give students a copy of the painting below or project it on a screen if possible. Recall from the film the story being portrayed in this painting. Describe what is happening in the painting. What is the meaning and significance of it? What were the consequences of Francis's decision to renounce his former life?
 - Lastly, why did Francis want to engage with Sultan al-Kamil? What outcomes do you think he expected from the encounter?



Giotto, *St. Francis Renounces all Worldly Goods*, 1297–1299, Basilica of Saint Francis of Assisi, Assisi, Italy, <https://www.wikiart.org/en/giotto/st-francis-renounces-all-worldly-goods-1299>.

2. Next, ask students to investigate the influence of the encounter between Francis and al-Kamil as evidenced in Francis's subsequent writing. Give students a copy of the Handout: "**99 Names of God**" and Handout: "**Saint Francis's 'The Praises of God.'**"
3. Explain to the students that the 99 names (*asma al-husna* or beautiful names) have been part of the Islamic tradition from the beginning since the names derive from the Qur'an (Islam's revealed text) and hadith (sayings of the Prophet Muhammad). For example, one hadith says, "Clothe yourself with the excellent qualities of God Most High . . . God has nine and ninety virtues; whosoever puts on one of them will surely enter the Garden [Heaven]." Francis wrote "The Praises of God" after his encounter with Sultan al-Kamil. After reading these texts side-by-side, ask students to describe what they think happened in Francis's encounter with al-Kamil, as evidenced by Francis's writing.
4. Next, give students the Handout: "**A Letter to the Rulers of the People**" written by Francis, which references the *adhan* (call to prayer) and muezzin (the one who calls the prayer); also give students a copy of the Handout: "**Letter to a General Chapter**" (which includes a reference to Muslim *salat* or prayer).
5. Have students read each text. Then show them the following videos about the *adhan* or Muslim call to prayer, which is performed by a muezzin or prayer caller: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fe8qRj12OhY>.
6. Give each student the Handout: "**Salat in English.**" Instruct them to spend two minutes reading it to familiarize themselves with the words of the prayer. Show them the following video of the Islamic obligatory prayer (only watch first 5 minutes): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W9kTd7q1zjE>.
7. Have students answer the following: What is the *adhan*? What is a muezzin? Describe the body language of Muslims when they pray.
8. Prompt students to go back to the handouts in #4. Now that you know what the *adhan* and muezzin are, identify where these may be referenced in "A Letter to the Rulers of the People" and "Letter to a General Chapter."
9. Ask students to put all of this information in their own words. Give students a piece of paper and ask them to spend a couple minutes answering the following prompts: We have some evidence that Francis was impacted by his encounter with al-Kamil. What can we assume about the impact of their encounter, as evidenced by Francis's writing after he spent time in the Muslim camp with al-Kamil?
10. Ask students to share their thoughts and any remaining questions.

Handout: The 99 Names of God

Allah		The Greatest Name				
Ar-Rahman	1	The All-Merciful		Al-Hasib	40	The Accounter
Ar-Rahim	2	The All-Beneficent		Al-Jalil	41	The Mighty
Al-Malik	3	The Absolute Ruler		Al-Karim	42	The Generous
Al-Quddus	4	The Pure One		Ar-Raqib	43	The Watchful One
As-Salam	5	The Source of Peace		Al-Mujib	44	The Responder to Prayer
Al-Mu'min	6	The Inspirer of Faith		Al-Wasi'	45	The All-Comprehending
Al-Muhaymin	7	The Guardian		Al-Hakim	46	The Perfectly Wise
Al-'Aziz	8	The Victorious		Al-Wadud	47	The Loving One
Al-Jabbar	9	The Compeller		Al-Majid	48	The Majestic One
Al-Mutakabbir	10	The Greatest		Al-Ba'ith	49	The Resurrector
Al-Khaliq	11	The Creator		Ash-Shahid	50	The Witness
Al-Bari'	12	The Maker of Order		Al-Haqq	51	The Truth
Al-Musawwir	13	The Shaper of Beauty		Al-Wakil	52	The Trustee
Al-Ghaffar	14	The Forgiving		Al-Qawi	53	The Possessor of All Strength
Al-Qahhar	15	The Subduer		Al-Matin	54	The Forceful One
Al-Wahhab	16	The Giver of All		Al-Wali	55	The Governor
Ar-Razzaq	17	The Sustainer		Al-Hamid	56	The Praised One
Al-Fattah	18	The Opener		Al-Muhsi	57	The Appraiser
Al-'Alim	19	The Knower of All		Al-Mubdi	58	The Originator
Al-Qabid	20	The Constrictor		Al-Mu'id	59	The Restorer
Al-Basit	21	The Reliever		Al-Muhyi	60	The Giver of Life
Al-Khafid	22	The Abaser		Al-Mumit	61	The Taker of Life
Ar-Rafi'	23	The Exalter		Al-Hayy	62	The Ever Living One
Al-Mu'izz	24	The Bestower of Honors		Al-Qayyum	63	The Self-Existing One
Al-Mudhill	25	The Humiliator		Al-Wajid	64	The Finder
As-Sami	26	The Hearer of All		Al-Majid	65	The Glorious
Al-Basir	27	The Seer of All		Al-Wahid	66	The Only One
Al-Hakam	28	The Judge		Al-Ahad	67	The One
Al-'Adl	29	The Just		As-Samad	68	The Satisfier of All Needs
Al-Latif	30	The Subtle One		Al-Qadir	69	The All Powerful
Al-Khabir	31	The All-Aware		Al-Muqtadir	70	The Creator of All Power
Al-Halim	32	The Forebearing		Al-Muqaddim	71	The Expediter
Al-'Azim	33	The Magnificent		Al-Mu'akhhir	72	The Delayer
Al-Ghafur	34	The Forgiver and Hider of Faults		Al-Awwal	73	The First
Ash-Shakur	35	The Rewarder of Thankfulness		Al-Akhir	74	The Last
Al-'Ali	36	The Highest		Az-Zahir	75	The Manifest One
Al-Kabir	37	The Greatest		Al-Batin	76	The Hidden One
Al-Hafiz	38	The Preserver		Al-Wali	77	The Protecting Friend
Al-Muqit	39	The Nourisher		Al-Muta'ali	78	The Supreme One
				Al-Barr	79	The Doer of Good

At-Tawwab	80	The Guide to Repentance	Al-Mani'	90	The Preventer of Harm
Al-Muntaqim	81	The Avenger	Ad-Darr	91	The Creator of The Harmful
Al-Afu	82	The Forgiver	An-Nafi	92	The Creator of Good
Ar-Ra'uf	83	The Clement	An-Nur	93	The Light
Malik al-Mulk	84	The Owner of All	Al-Hadi	94	The Guide
Dhul-Jalali			Al-Badi	95	The Originator
Wal-Ikram	85	The Lord of Majesty and Bounty	Al-Baqi	96	The Everlasting One
Al-Muqsit	86	The Equitable One	Al-Warith	97	The Inheritor of All
Al-Jami	87	The Gatherer	Ar-Rashid	98	The Righteous Teacher
Al-Ghani	88	The Rich One	As-Sabur	99	The Patient One
Al-Mughni	89	The Enricher			

Source: <https://sufism.org/ninety-nine-names/the-most-beautiful-names-of-allah-2>

Handout: To the Rulers of the People

This letter is known to us only by the testimony of the Ven. Francis Gonzaga, O.F.M., who, speaking of the Province of Aragon in his work on the origin of the Seraphic Order, mentions that Bl. John Parenti, first Minister General after St. Francis (1227–1232), brought a copy of the letter into Spain. On the good faith of Gonzaga, Wadding included this letter in his edition of the *Opuscula*, where it figures as Epist. XV. As the style of the letter and the ideas it embodies corresponded so admirably with the writings of St. Francis, the Quaracchi editors and Professor Goetz, have not hesitated to accept it as genuine. No copy of the letter other than that transcribed by Wadding has so far been found, and it is according to his text of 1623 that it is here translated:—

TO THE RULERS OF THE PEOPLE

To all *podestàs*, and consuls, judges and governors, in whatever part of the world, and to all others to whom this letter may come, Brother Francis, your little and contemptible servant, wishes health and peace to you.

Consider and see that the day of death draws nigh. I ask you, therefore, with such reverence as I can, not to forget the Lord on account of the cares and solitudes of this world and not to turn aside from His commandments, for all those who forget Him and decline from His commandments are cursed and they shall be forgotten by Him. And when the day of death comes, all that which they think they have shall be taken away from them. And the wiser and more powerful they may have been in this world, so much the greater torments shall they endure in hell.

Wherefore, I strongly advise you, my lords, to put aside all care and solicitude and to receive readily the most holy Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ in holy commemoration of Him. And cause so great honor to be rendered the Lord by the people committed to you, that every evening it may be announced by a crier or by another sign to the end that praises and thanks shall resound to the Lord God Almighty from all the people. And if you do not do this, know that you are beholden to render an account before your Lord God Jesus Christ on the day of Judgment. Let those who keep this writing with them and observe it know that they are blessed by the Lord God.

Source: *The Writings of St. Francis of Assisi*, tr. by Paschal Robinson, [Dolphin Press, 1905], pp. 125-126, <http://www.sacred-texts.com/chr/wosf/wosf15.htm>.

Handout: Salat in English

Salat, or Ritual Prayer

Note: There are minor but significant differences in the salat as it is recited and performed by Muslims who belong to different legal and theological traditions. While the prayer below comes from Sunni traditions, we are by no means claiming this as normative.

Adhan – Call to Prayer

Allahu Akbar	God is Greater
Allahu Akbar	God is Greater
Allahu Akbar	God is Greater
Allahu Akbar	God is Greater
Ashhadu an la ilaha illa Allah	I bear witness that there is no god except the One God.
Ashhadu an la ilaha illa Allah	I bear witness that there is no god except the One God.
Ashadu anna Muhammadan	
Rasool Allah	I bear witness that Muhammad is a messenger of God.
Ashadu anna Muhammadan	
Rasool Allah	I bear witness that Muhammad is a messenger of God.
Hayya 'ala-s-Salah	Hurry to the prayer
Hayya 'ala-s-Salah	Hurry to the prayer
Hayya 'ala-l-Falah	Hurry to success
Hayya 'ala-l-Falah	Hurry to success
Allahu Akbar	God is Greater
Allahu Akbar	God is Greater
La ilaha illa Allah	There is no god except the One God

Niyya (intention) silently in any language; for example, "I intend to pray maghrib (the sunset prayer)."

First Rak`a (cycle) of prayer: Fatiha (opening); the first chapter of the Quran

God is greater

In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful, all praise is due to God, Lord of the worlds, the Beneficent, the Merciful, Master of the day of judgment. It is You we worship and You we ask for help. Guide us on the straight path, the path of those You have favored, not the path of those who deserve Your anger or those who have gone astray. Amen.

God is greater.

Then a second chapter or portion of a chapter of the Quran is recited. For example:

Surat al-Ikhlās (Chapter of Sincerity)

In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful
Say: He is God, the One, God the Eternal Refuge
God did not give birth nor was God birthed
Nor is there anything comparable to God

God is greater.

(Bowing)

Glory to my Lord the Exalted (3x)

(Standing)

Verily God listens to one who praises God. Oh our Lord, all praises be to You.

(First prostration)

Oh God, glory be to You, the most High (3x)

(Sitting on knees)

Oh God, forgive me, and have mercy on me

(Second prostration)

Oh God, glory be to You, the most High (3x)

(sitting on knees)

All praise, prayers, and worship is for God

Peace be upon you, oh Prophet, and his mercy and blessings

Peace be upon us and on all of God's servants

I testify that there is no God but God and Muhammad is the messenger of God

Depending on the time of day, there can be between 2–4 cycles of the prayer. After the final cycle, we say silently:

All praise, all worship

and all good works are for God.

Peace be upon you, Oh Prophet,

and God's mercy and blessings.

Peace be on us and on all righteous servants of God.

I bear witness that no one is worthy of worship except God

And I bear witness that Muhammad is His servant and Messenger.

Oh God, send grace and honor on Muhammad and

On the family and followers of Muhammad

just as You sent grace and honor on Abraham

and on the family and followers of Abraham

Surely, You are Praiseworthy, Great.

Oh God, send Your blessing on Muhammad and

the family and followers of Muhammad, just

as You sent blessings on Abraham

and on the family and followers of Abraham

Surely, You are praiseworthy, Great.

Turn to the ones praying to the right and left of you:

Peace be on you, and the mercy of God.

Source:

Handout: Letter to a General Chapter

by St. Francis of Assisi

Excerpts

In the Name of the Most High Trinity and Holy Unity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Amen.

To all the friars, so reverend, so well-beloved; to the Minister General of the Order of Minors and to his successors; to all the ministers and custodes; to the ordinary priests of the Order, and to all the friars who are obedient and without pretensions, to first and last, Brother Francis, the least of your servants, worthless and sinful, sends greetings in him who redeemed and cleansed us in His precious Blood. At the sound of His Name you should fall to the ground and adore Him with fear and reverence; the Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the Most High, is His Name, and He is blessed for ever. Amen.

Listen, then, sons of God and my friars, and give ear to my words. Give hearing with all your hearts and obey the voice of the Son of God. Keep his commandments wholeheartedly and practice his counsels with all your minds. Give thanks to the Lord, for He is Good; extol Him in your works. This is the very reason He has sent you all over the world, so that by word and deed you might bear witness to His message and convince everyone that there is no other almighty God besides Him. Be well disciplined then and patient under holy obedience, keeping your promises to Him generously and unflinchingly. God deals with you as with sons.

...

And so I beseech the Minister General, my superior, to see that the Rule is observed inviolably by all, . . .

Almighty, Eternal, Just and Merciful God, grant us in our misery that we may do for Thy sake alone what we know Thou wants us to do, and always want what pleases Thee; so that, cleansed and enlightened interiorly and fired with the ardor of the Holy Spirit, we may be able to follow in the footsteps of Thy Son, Our Lord Jesus Christ, and so make our way to Thee, Most High, by Thy grace alone, who lives and reigns in perfect Trinity and simple Unity, and are glorified, God Omnipotent, for ever and ever. Amen.

Source: Adapted from "The Writings of St. Francis," trans. by Benen Fahy, OFM, Burns & Oats, London, 1964, <https://franciscan-archive.org/patriarcha/genchapt.html>

Handout: “The Praises of God”

Francis composed this prayer of praise on Mount La Verna in September 1224, when he received the stigmata. The prayer was written on a parchment which also contains the blessing that Francis gave to brother Leo. The parchment with the autographs of Francis is conserved as a relic in the Basilica of St. Francis in Assisi.

*You are holy Lord God Who does wonderful things.
You are strong. You are great. You are the most high.
You are the almighty king. You holy Father,
King of heaven and earth.
You are three and one, the Lord God of gods;
You are the good, all good, the highest good,
Lord God living and true.
You are love, charity; You are wisdom, You are humility,
You are patience, You are beauty, You are meekness,
You are security, You are rest,
You are gladness and joy, You are our hope, You are justice,
You are moderation, You are all our riches to sufficiency.
You are beauty, You are meekness,
You are the protector, You are our custodian and defender,
You are strength, You are refreshment. You are our hope,
You are our faith, You are our charity,
You are all our sweetness, You are our eternal life:
Great and wonderful Lord, Almighty God, Merciful Savior.*

Source: “The Praises of God (FAED I,109).” Custodia Terrae Sanctae. <http://www.custodia.org/default.asp?id=1453>.

HOW FRANCIS IS REMEMBERED AND WHY IT MATTERS



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How Francis Is Remembered and Why It Matters

Overview

In the introduction to the book, *The Saint and the Sultan*, author Paul Moses claims that there was a cover-up to “hide the truth about Francis’s relationship to Islam and the Crusades.”

Materials:

Handout: Paul Moses, *The Saint and the Sultan*, p. 3–4

Handout: Paul Moses, *The Saint and the Sultan*, chapter 18, “The Story Changes”

Lesson Procedure:

1. Give a copy of Handout: Paul Moses, *The Saint and the Sultan*, pp. 3–4 to every student and ask different students to read it out loud, one paragraph at a time.
2. After reading the handout, ask the class to brainstorm a few ideas about who would want to control the way we remember Francis and what their goal might be in trying to control the story. Think about some of the different characters in the story and what they might want to emphasize in their memory of Francis.
3. Give each student a Handout: Paul Moses, *The Saint and the Sultan*, chapter 18, “The Story Changes.” Have student break out in to small groups. Ask them to read the chapter quietly while highlighting the answers to the following questions:
 - How did Pope Gregory IX influence Francis’s biography, *The Life of Saint Francis*, written by Thomas of Celano?
 - What did the Spirituals want Francis’s biography to emphasize? What did critics of the Spirituals want the biography to emphasize?
 - Why couldn’t Celano discuss Francis’s anti-war rhetoric?
 - What was Bonaventure’s perspective on Francis in *The Major Legend of Saint Francis*?
 - Describe the new stories included in the *A Book of Exemplary Stories* written at the end of the 13th century or early 14th century.
 - Describe the new stories included in *The Deeds of the Blessed Francis* and *The Little Flowers of Saint Francis*.
 - How does the evolution of these stories about Francis culminate in relations between the Spanish Crown and American Indians? How did these stories influence Christopher Columbus?
4. Ask students to go back to the brainstorming list they created in #2 and ask them to revise it, adding the new evidence they collected in the reading. Discuss as a large group. Students will use this information for the next activity, “art history sleuth.”

Handout: Excerpt from Paul Moses, *The Saint and the Sultan*

“Sultan al-Kamil, Saladin’s nephew, clearly was taken by this charismatic monk who dared to cross into his encampment. Francis, one the greatest Christian saints, was changed by the experience and came away deeply impressed with Islamic spirituality. In a revolutionary departure for his time, he urged his brothers to live peacefully among Muslims even as the Fifth Crusade clattered on to its deadly and fruitless conclusion. This encounter endures as a memorable forerunner of peaceful dialogue between Christians and Muslims. I’ve written this book with the hope that it will encourage others to build on the example of the saint and the sultan.

Spectacular as it was, Francis’s journey to Damietta plays little role in the timeworn portrayal of the saint as a pious, miracle-working mystic and a quaintly impoverished friend to animals and nature. As a journalist for some three decades, I’ll just say, in the language of the newsroom, that the truth about Francis and his relationship to Islam and the Crusades was covered up. The key early biographies of Francis were written under the influence of powerful medieval popes—the same men who organized the Crusades and used the battering ram of excommunication to force reluctant rulers to take part. With the medieval papacy at the zenith of its theocratic power in the thirteenth century, the early biographers could not say what really happened in Damietta—that Francis, opposed to the Crusade, was on a peace mission and hoped to end the warfare by converting the sultan to Christianity.

Journalistic training tells me to be skeptical about the tendency in our day to re-cast Francis as a medieval flower child, a carefree, peace-loving hippie adopted as the patron saint of the Left. Francis was far too devoted to suffering, penance, obedience, and religious orthodoxy to be cast as an ancestor to the hippies of the 1960s or the New Age movement. Yet a probing look at the early documents concerning Francis reveals that the quest for peace—a peace encompassing both the end of war and the larger spiritual transformation of society—was at the core of Francis’s ministry and thus at the heart of his mission to the sultan’s court.

The major problem faced in trying to recover the Francis of history is that these medieval documents, however detailed and informative, cannot be taken at face value. Their aim is to portray Francis’s saintliness, not to provide a true history of his life. For me, that has meant trying to approach the material on Francis as an investigative reporter would, looking for the agendas and “spin” in the accounts. In deciding which portions of the medieval documents to accept as historical and which to reject, I’ve kept in mind that the accounts of Francis’s life were written to fulfill various needs: to enhance his cult as a saint; to convince the church hierarchy of the Franciscan order’s orthodoxy; to appease competing factions within the order. I’ve relied mainly on accounts from the first half of the thirteenth century because the later ones tend to be much more embellished. I’ve also given heavy weight to clues in Francis’s own writings, which show that he favored a peaceful solution to the conflicts between Christian and Muslim.

The method used in this book to seek the true story of Francis and the sultan is a journalist’s version of the detective work Scripture scholars have done to find the historical Jesus in the gospels. In both cases, the accounts in question need to be viewed in the context of their own times: the audiences they were written for, the political pressures at hand, the writers’ theological goals in telling the story. By doing that, it’s possible to decode the early documents and uncover the story of Francis, the sultan, and what their encounter can mean today.”

Source: Paul Moses, *The Saint and the Sultan* (Doubleday, 2009), pp. 3–4.

EXPERIENTIAL LEARNING IN THE SPIRIT OF SAINT FRANCIS



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Experiential Learning in the Spirit of Saint Francis

Francis's determination to confront his fear of "others" through relationship building is a story of transformation. He offers us a model of behavior that many would agree is noble but in practice is more difficult. Our fears are real in that they shape our behavior, as when we avoid certain kinds of people based on our perceptions of them rather than on substantive personal experience. Francis chose to confront his fear and, as a result, started a movement.

The purpose of this lesson is to give students the opportunity to think more deeply about prejudice and how it is formed. Students will devise a plan to learn more about people they may avoid because of prejudice and, if possible, seek out an event where they can encounter real people. By accepting that we each have prejudices that are created in a variety of ways, and devising a plan to challenge our own thinking, we can learn more about our values and relationships in a diverse world.

Performance Objectives:

Students will be able to:

- Identify a group of people they want to learn more about in order to cross a border
- Develop a list of questions and concerns they have about the encounter
- Conduct research to address their questions and concerns
- Role play with peers around remaining concerns
- Devise a plan to cross a border
- Cross a border and reflect on the experience

Materials Needed:

- Blank paper
- Handout: Brian Resnick, "The Dark Psychology of Dehumanization, Explained." Vox.com
- Handout: Q&A with Gwendolyn Keita, PhD, former executive director of American Psychological Association's Public Interest Directorate, "Discussing Discrimination" from the American Psychological Association

Time (projected):

Multiple class periods over a number of weeks

Activities Description/Procedure:

1. Watch the short video excerpt from the film, *The Sultan and the Saint*, <http://www.sultanandthesaintfilm.com/rise-franciscan-movement/> and complete the discussion questions.
2. Learning from the Past: Francis's Relationships with Lepers
 - Describe Francis's initial attitude towards people with leprosy. Where could he have learned these attitudes?
 - How did Francis overcome his fear and disdain to build relationships with them?
 - How does his action lead to a change in his own attitude towards lepers?
 - What were the risks he took in associating with lepers?
 - How did the encounter with lepers change Francis and shape his preaching to the larger community?
 - Francis attracted followers very quickly. Why do you think people listened to him?
 - How does the story of Francis's encounter with people with leprosy lead to the creation of the Franciscan movement?
3. Applying the Lessons of History to the Present: We are all vulnerable to misconceptions about people based on their group identity, in the same way that Francis dehumanized lepers out of fear. One of the benefits of learning about the past is that we can use knowledge to shape future choices.
 - Can you share a story of a time when you met someone who challenged your perceptions about them based on their group identity?
 - Is there a group of people who you approach with fear or apprehension or who you were taught to fear?
 - What might you risk by reaching out and spending time with members of that group?
 - What do you think you could gain from such an encounter?
 - How might you influence others through your action?
 - Students/participants need to get comfortable with the idea that we all have prejudice and we don't like to admit it. But if we don't admit it, we cannot use logic to override the neuroscientific predisposition humans have to dehumanize others. How can neuroscience help us overcome prejudice and dehumanization?

4. Use online or make a handout from the article Brian Resnick, “The Dark Psychology of Dehumanization, Explained.” Vox, March 7, 2017. <https://www.vox.com/science-and-health/2017/3/7/14456154/dehumanization-psychology-explained>. Read the article and then in small groups, answer the following questions:
 - What did the “Ascent of Man” study reveal about prejudice and dehumanization?
 - The authors of the “Ascent of Man” experiment conclude that “Perception of ‘otherness’ is like a dial in our minds that can be turned on.” What does this mean?
 - What does this study tell us about current attitudes towards Muslims?
 - The author describes a “vicious cycle” that is created when a group of people is dehumanized. Explain this cycle and the different ways people can respond to dehumanization.
 - According to the author, how do we challenge current attitudes towards Muslims?
 - What is your reaction to this article? What questions remain?

5. The teacher will lead a conversation to develop ground rules for respectful communication. Have students take turns reading out loud the following short Refer to: Q&A with Gwendolyn Keita, PhD, former executive director of American Psychological Association’s Public Interest Directorate, “Discussing Discrimination” from the American Psychological Association, <http://www.apa.org/helpcenter/keita-qa.aspx>. Ask students:
 - How can we listen and respond with compassion when sharing?
 - How can we help one another better understand our perceptions and assumptions without being judgmental?
 - How can we communicate our discomfort in a way that maintains respect for each of us? Our goal is dialogue, not debate. What is the difference between the two?
 - What does constructive feedback sounds like versus destructive feedback?

6. The class as a whole will develop ground rules for respectful dialogue. On a whiteboard or easel-sized paper, the teacher elicits ideas from students. Students copy the list by hand or the teacher can take a picture and give students an electronic copy.

7. Ask each student to take out a piece of paper. Recall your answer to the question: Is there a group of people who you approach with fear or apprehension? Why? Provide at least three reasons for your answer. Then, provide three possible sources from which you learned information about this group. Finally, list at least three concerns you have about encountering someone from this group. The teacher can remind students to be as honest as possible by remembering that we all have assumptions about other groups of people that can lead to prejudice. The goal of this exercise is to learn from the lesson of Francis by thinking critically about how our perceptions of others are formed.

8. Sit in groups of three or four students and share their writing responses from #1. After a student shares her response, the other students will quietly answer the following in writing: What suggestions can you offer this student that will assist them in gathering more critical information about their “fear” group? Students will not share these suggestions until everyone in the group has shared their initial responses. This allows students to focus on listening and not reacting, but rather making time and space for reflection before responding.

9. After all the students have shared their initial responses, each student will then receive two minutes of feedback from the group.
10. After students hear their peers' feedback, each student will then devise a plan to challenge at least three of the concerns they have about their "fear" group. Students can work on this for homework or class time.
11. Report your findings in your small groups. What did you learn? Were any of your fears resolved? What is left that still needs to be resolved?
12. In small groups, give each student an index card. Write up to three concerns that you have about interacting with the "fear" group. For example, you could write "I am worried someone will say __ to me" or "I'm worried someone will accuse me of __" or "I am scared of __" or "I am concerned that I will react like ___." Take turns in the small group to present your concerns and allow other group members to brainstorm ways of constructively and kindly responding to these concerns.
13. Devise a plan to cross a border. Take out a piece of paper and answer the following: Who do you want to encounter? Where could you meet them? Locally? If not locally, is there another option for communicating with them, like Skype? If not, are there documentaries you can watch or books you can read?
14. Teachers will need to spend individualized time with each student reviewing their encounter proposal and fostering discussion about it with parents and guardians.
15. After you have an encounter scheduled and attend, describe the encounter in writing:
 - Where was it, with whom, for how long did you meet?
 - What did you talk about?
 - What did you learn?
 - What fears came up in the encounter?
 - What surprised you?
 - What are your lasting impressions of this encounter?
 - Will you attempt to spend more time interacting with this group? Why or why not?
16. Once all of the students have completed their encounter and writing assignment, have them return to their small group of three or four students. Each student should share their observations and outcomes from the reflection exercise.

ART HISTORY SLEUTH: HOW HAS THE STORY OF FRANCIS'S ENCOUNTER WITH AL-KAMIL CHANGED OVER TIME?



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Art History Sleuth: How Has the Story of Francis’s Encounter with al-Kamil Changed over Time?

Lesson Overview:

Students work in small groups to visually analyze a series of paintings that portray the encounter of St. Francis and Sultan al-Kamil, explaining how these images reflect artistic choices and changing ideas of the meaning of the encounter and the historical figures involved in it from the 13th century to the 21st century. The lesson illustrates how the stories we tell can change over time, depending on a variety of factors.

Objectives:

Students will interpret historical information in order to determine the power dynamics underlying the stories we tell about the past and how those stories shape our understanding of the present.

Lesson Procedure:

1. Print or project the images and study questions in the Handout “Images of St. Francis and al-Kamil Over Time.” Explain the following: In societies where most people did not know how to read and write, communication was limited to spoken words and images. Ordinary people attended church regularly, where they heard liturgy and sermons, and also viewed images in the church that told stories. Not all monks were literate, so images also played an important role in teaching and inspiring them along with ordinary adherents. Images expressed emotions about the figures portrayed in sculptures, paintings and altarpieces used in rituals. Think of images of Jesus and Mary, whether they portrayed a tender image of mother and child, or the suffering of Jesus on the cross and the grief of his followers after death. These pictures do not present a uniform narrative, but changed over time and created a fund of stories that we have today. We can learn a lot about the way each generation and society represented their beliefs and perspectives based on the images they created.
2. Break students in to small groups of 3–4, and ask them to discuss the Image Discussion Questions.
3. After students have discussed the images for a couple minutes, the teacher can read the analysis provided by John V. Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan: The Curious History of a Christian-Muslim Encounter* (Oxford University Press, 2009). The point of this exercise is not to come up with a “right” answer, but rather to get students to think about the way that images, like these painting, communicate ideas and perspectives that, at first glance, they may not be aware of.
4. Lastly, bring the class back together as a whole. Ask students: What did you learn through the analysis of these images? What story do these images tell about the story of Francis and al-Kamil over time? Why does the story change so often? How can we use this information to better understand the study of history? What does this exercise tell you about the way power affects the study of history?

Handout: Images from the Life of St. Francis and al-Kamil Over Time



This altarpiece was probably painted by Coppo di Marcovaldo around 1240 and was placed in the Bardi Chapel of Santa Croce Church in the city of Florence, Italy. The image on the left is part of the storyboard on the right. You can view the entire altarpiece at http://www.keytombria.com/Assisi/St_Francis_Art.html.

Image Discussion Questions:

- Who is St. Francis preaching to in the top left image? Who is he preaching to in the bottom left image? What connection is the artist trying to make in this comparison?
- In the bottom left image, who is the larger figure sitting on the throne?
- To whom is St. Francis and his fellow monk preaching in the bottom left image (the smaller figures)?
- Describe the posture of the listeners. There are a number of hand gestures. What do they communicate?
- Does the artist portray a peaceful encounter or a threatening, dangerous one? What evidence is there for your conclusion?

Tolan's Explanation:

Tolan notes that the artist who painted the Bardi altarpiece created a simple but impressive scene of Francis preaching to the sultan and his court. The background is golden, and the crowd of people are assembled in what seems to be a public space with their eyes all fixed on the saint. Francis stands in his simple robe tied with a cord, with an open book in his hand, preaching with his fellow friars behind him. The audience listens to him, as does the sultan from his throne. He preaches to a very attentive audience, an open book in his left hand; he makes a gesture of blessing with the right. To the right of the composition, the sultan sits in a throne wearing a crown and holding a scepter as a European king would, with a soldier behind him. This painting, which was used in contemplation and worship by Franciscan friars, shows Francis as one of Christ's faithful apostles teaching the Gospel—the good news—to nonbelievers in the world. Even the birds listen to St. Francis with attention (Tolan, p. 93–94).



This is one of a series of 28 frescoes (paintings on wet plaster) that tell the *Legend of Saint Francis*, used to decorate the Upper Church of the Basilica di San Francesco in Assisi, painted between 1297 and 1300. Scholars believe that Tuscan Italian artist Giotto di Bondone (d. 1337) either painted them or designed and supervised several artists who painted parts of the scenes. To see the whole series of frescoes, visit http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Saint_Francis_cycle_in_the_Upper_Church_of_San_Francesco_at_Assisi.

Image Discussion Questions:

- What do you think is happening in this scene? Think about the positions and posture of the characters. What do you think the mood is in the room? What do you think they might be saying to one another?
- Note the clothing choices. What do these choices communicate about the people in the scene?
- Why is there fire? What does it symbolize?
- Who is the figure standing nearest to St. Francis, and what role does he play?
- Who is standing near the sultan?
- Which is more prominent in the image - St. Francis or the sultan? Why?
- Who are the figures on the left of the painting, and what do they appear to be doing? What emotion do their faces show?

Tolan's Explanation:

This image draws upon a later narrative of St. Francis by another sainted figure, Bonaventure. Saint Bonaventure was a Tuscan scholastic theologian and the greatest Franciscan mystic after St. Francis himself. He was commissioned by the Franciscan Order in the year 1250 to write the Life of St. Francis—the *Legenda Maior*—finished in 1263, which is both a biography and a spiritual work. According to Tolan, “Bonaventure introduced a completely new element to the story. Francis, seeing that, even though the sultan listens attentively to his preaching, he does not wish to convert, proposes a challenge, a trial by fire. He asks the sultan to light a fire so that he can enter [the fire] with the sultan’s ‘priests’ [Muslim religious scholars at the sultan’s court]. The sultan responds that he does not think that any of his priests is ready to throw himself into the fire to defend his religion; on cue, a venerable [elderly] priest flees the scene, frightened away by the challenge. Francis then proposes to enter the fire alone: if he burns, it will be on account of his sins, but if he comes through unharmed, it will prove the superiority of Christianity. Yet the sultan again refuses to light a fire, fearing to provoke a popular uprising.

“Why did Bonaventure add this strange episode? . . . Probably Bonaventure inserted this proposition by the saint . . . to illustrate the fervour of his love, which is the subject burning with a perfect love of this chapter of the *Legenda*. This challenge allows Bonaventure to deny that Francis’s mission was a failure, since he managed in a way to show the superiority of Christianity by daring to propose an ordeal which frightened off the Saracen ‘priests.’ The proposed confrontation allows Bonaventure to highlight the sultan’s growing admiration for the saint. This esteem grows even more when Francis rejects the gifts he offers; the sultan recognizes and admires Francis’s disdain for worldly wealth. But he does not share this disdain, for it is precisely his love of power in this world and the fear of his subjects which prevents him from granting Francis’s request for a trial by fire. The saint concludes that the roots of faith are not present in the sultan’s heart; he leaves for Italy” (Tolan, pp. 126–27).



This fresco by Benozzo Gozzoli (1421–1497) is entitled *St. Francis of Assisi—Trial by Fire before the Sultan*. It was painted in 1452 for the church in San Francesco, Montefalco, Italy. (https://www.wga.hu/html_m/g/gozzoli/2montefa/10scene.html)

Image Discussion Questions:

- In this image, Francis is standing in fire. What does that symbolize?
- Who is the woman in the painting? What does she symbolize?
- Note the difference in clothing. What do you think the artist is trying to communicate to the viewer?
- How does the artist show where the story he is telling takes place? You now know that the encounter actually took place in Egypt. Does this image seem to be an accurate setting for Egypt?
- Look at the visual elements framed in the image. What has been added to the drama that is the St. Francis story? What makes this image different from the others? How does that change the meaning of the encounter between St. Francis and the sultan?

Tolan's Explanation:

Gozzoli introduced a lot of new elements to the story of St. Francis and the sultan. The scene is a courtyard near a garden with some palm trees. Two friars are with Francis, and the sultan's men are wearing armor and turbans. Francis has a golden crucifix and makes a sign of blessing with his right hand. Gozzoli's image of the fire seems to smolder with glowing coals, and walks with both feet in the fire. The sultan, looks amazed at Francis, and the Muslim "priest" hides behind the column near the sultan. Gozzoli literally shows a miracle taking place as Francis's is victorious over the fire.

Gozzoli added another novel element to the story. A beautiful young woman stands gracefully in the background near the fire. The inscription below the fresco explains: "When the sultan sent a girl to tempt blessed Francis and he entered into the fire and all were amazed." Tolan notes that the artist combined the trial by fire episode with another story about Francis, in which a dancing girl tried to tempt Francis at an inn during his travels. The sultan had nothing to do with this episode, though some legends say that the sultan offered riches and clothing to Francis, and he refused these worldly temptations. Gozzoli made the scene a double test of his faith, but the higher love of God and his faith was won out in this drama (Tolan, p. 198).



This panel belongs to an altarpiece made for a chapel near the town of La Bañeza in León, called *Lives of the Virgin and Saint Francis* painted from 1445–60 by Spanish miniature painter Nicolás Francés (d. 1468). The altarpiece's main scene is *The Virgin with the Christ Child surrounded by Angel Musicians*, but it includes three scenes from the life of Saint Francis. One of those is the story of Francis and the sultan.

(Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid) <http://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/altarpiece-of-the-lives-of-the-virgin-and-saint/84f4be5c-201b-49dc-a5ac-dbbf598aa96e>

Image Discussion Questions:

- Who are the characters in this painting? What do they each represent? What emotions are being expressed by each character?
- What is the small black figure in red doing? What might this represent?
- What role does violence play in this dramatic scene? Where does the artist place St. Francis in the composition to emphasize his point?
- What element is missing in this painting of the encounter between St. Francis and the sultan?

Tolan's Explanation:

This image is unlike other portrayals of St. Francis's story, in which the artists focused on St. Francis preaching. He is still at the center of the action in his Franciscan robe and sandals, but instead of preaching, he and his companion are being roughly treated by the sultan's soldiers, whom the artist portrays, according to Tolan, as "ferocious and barbaric men," who grab Francis and his companion harshly, with dogs at their feet. The saint, in the center of the composition, has a halo, and he interprets the small, dark creature dressed in red as a devil, leading Francis by the cord of his habit toward the sultan.

The figure of the sultan has a huge, black beard and a golden headdress with rich robes, and he is pointing his finger at Francis. One of his soldiers has a masked shield of gold that may give the idea that the Saracens (a word used to refer to Muslims) worship idols—not something belonging to Islamic artistic traditions, as a Spanish artist would know.

Another soldier is shown beating an old man in the doorway. The sultan's soldiers scowl aggressively, which Tolan compares to the soldiers who persecuted Jesus when he was about to be crucified. Tolan compares Francis with Christ and the sultan with Pontius Pilate. Unlike the previous paintings, the sultan is not peaceful and not prepared to listen to Francis. "The Saracens and their sultan are the implacable enemies of Christ and his servants." This hostile image may reflect fear of the Turks in the East during the 15th century when it was painted, or the battles called the Reconquista in the Iberian Peninsula, which extended to efforts to conquer North Africa: "In the 1430s King Juan II of Castile tried to convince King Duarte of Portugal to participate in a new crusade against . . . Granada." This, Tolan thinks, reflects painter Nicolas's message that "the Moors [Muslims] are our enemies" (Tolan, pp. 209–10).




This multimedia image is part of a set of fresco murals and wooden sculptures in a group of chapels on the Sacred Mount of Orta on the island of San Giulio, a UNESCO World Heritage Site. This scene is from the XIV Cappella (Fourteenth Chapel), showing *Saint Francis Meets the Sultan of Egypt*. The composition was created in 1750; the wooden sculptures are by Carlo Beretta, and frescoes by Federico Ferrari. The background and foreground show multiple scenes from the story over time, from the landing of St. Francis in Egypt to the encounter at the sultan's camp. Photo by Raffaele Pagani; see the album showing other chapels and scenes from the UNESCO site at <http://www.flickr.com/photos/94185526@N04/16846201472/in/photostream/>.

Image Discussion Questions: (Note: The two images overlap, and were photographed at slightly different angles.)

- Try to follow the story line from the upper left of the image to the upper right, toward the figures in the foreground, ending at the lower left. Describe the story elements.
- How many times are Francis and the friar depicted? What is happening to them in each scene? (Think of a storyboard or comic strip.)
- How do the artists represent the idea of warfare in the scene? Who is being violent? If the scene shows the Fifth Crusade at Damietta, Egypt, which was the invader? Which the defender?
- Who is the shirtless central figure? What does his shape and clothing remind you of? Why would the artist include this character? What is the artists communicating by including this character?

Tolan's Explanation:

This set of chapels at the Sacred Mount of Orta were begun in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and completed in the mid-eighteenth century. At that time, there were wars going on between the Ottoman Turks and the European powers of Austria-Hungary and Russia. In the sixteenth century, the Ottomans were seen as a threat to Italy. The chapels contain hundreds of realistic wooden sculptures in dramatic poses against painted backgrounds. For example, 52 statues represent witnesses to Francis's trial by fire.



The fresco shows the friars arriving by boat in Egypt and coming into the Crusader camp. The Crusaders capture the city of Damietta. When the friars decide to cross over to the sultan's camp, they are shown being captured and beaten by soldiers, dragged by the cords of their robes. The background of waves, angels, clouds, and smoke is dramatic. Fresco artist Ferrari painted an American Indian on the shore with his back to the viewer. This is said to represent the Franciscans to the New World—all the way to the Pacific Ocean, where they established missions to convert the American Indians. Francis' voyage across the Mediterranean is made to represent the first act in a wider Crusade in the whole world.

Another part of the scene shows the sultan on his throne and the trial by fire, witnessed by 52 sculptured people on the floor of the chapel (not shown in this detail). The sultan has his servants offer a tray of gold pieces, but Francis pushes it away. Francis prepares to confront the fire, which blazes dramatically beside him. The Muslim "priests" hold books and stand in different poses - looking at the fire and Francis, turning away, some unconcerned, others surprised. One sculpture shows a Muslim falling to his knees. One friar offers a Muslim his book.

Tolan says that artists Baretta and Ferrari interpret the encounter as many before them have, but with more drama for the viewers. The Muslims are seen as violent, they refuse the trial by fire out of fear, and they do not respond to St. Francis's preaching. They do show the sultan as possibly open to St. Francis's message, and so are some of his men. The mission is not only not a failure, but St. Francis has begun a mission to the whole world, for centuries to come (Tolan, pp. 240–42).



This is an engraved (printed from a metal plate) book illustration by Gustave Doré from 1877, in the book *Histoire des Croisades* (*History of the Crusades*) by Joseph-Francois Michaud (b. 1767– d. 1839) published in seven volumes between 1812 and 1822, with another edition in 1838. The book was very popular in France and other European countries, translated into German, English, Spanish, and Italian. Illustrator Gustave Doré made 100 illustrations for the luxury 1877 French edition: <https://www.wikiart.org/en/gustave-dore/st-francis-of-assisi-1877>.

Image Discussion Questions:

- Compare and contrast the postures of St. Francis and of the sultan in this illustration by Gustave Doré with those in the other images you have studied so far. What are the similarities and/or differences?
- How are the Muslim scholars at the sultan's court portrayed here, and what do you think the artist is trying to say about them?
- Which of the two main characters in the encounter seems to have more authority and power? Why?
- This is an encounter between persons of two different religions—Christianity and Islam. What is the artist communicating to the viewer about these different religions?
- Describe the setting in which the encounter takes place. Where are they? Where did the historic encounter actually take place? Does this detail matter? What might the artist be trying to convey?
- Why do you think the fire is absent from this late 19th century image of the story?

Tolan's Explanation:

The *Histoire des Croisades* was popular in France and all over Europe during the 19th century. This was the period when European powers had begun to conquer Muslim lands and rule them as colonies. The history of the Crusades in the popular mind was revived by comparing the modern European imperial adventures to a new Crusade.

Political and military leaders at the time made direct use of the *Histoire*. Author Michaud himself took part in preparations by French King Charles X for the expedition to invade Algiers in 1830. Michaud compared Charles X to King Louis of the Sixth Crusade. An abridged version of Michaud's book for young readers was published in 1838. The preface states that "the conquest of Algiers in 1830 and our recent campaigns in Africa are nothing other than crusades. If Saint Louis's crusade against Tunis had succeeded, Charles X would not have needed to send his armies into Africa" and, "The narration of the great events of olden times shall serve as lessons of patriotism for our youth. Napoleon III spoke to troops going to Lebanon in 1860, calling them 'the worthy children of those heroes who gloriously carried Christ's banner into those countries.'"

Imperialism and nationalism combined to give new meaning to the Crusades. Gustave Doré's illustrations presented the Crusades as a great epic, from the first Crusade to the battles against the Ottoman Turks in the 15th century. Defeating the Ottoman Empire and taking over its lands was "the Eastern Question" of the 19th century until that happened as a result of World War I.

Doré set the stage for St. Francis's encounter with the sultan in a Moorish palace that looked like the Alhambra in Granada—a building which was much admired in Doré's time. St. Francis stands before the sultan like a prophet, visually dominating over him. The sultan was shown lounging near the floor on a luxurious pile of cushions, draped in rich fabrics. He looks down and does not seem to listen to the saint who is preaching. Doré's sultan doesn't look powerful at all; compared to the earlier images, he has no soldiers defending him, and the Muslim scholars are not even gathered in his throne room. They huddle in a hallway outside, barely visible. The sultan looks like an exotic, lazy, passive figure—not even violent. To summarize Tolan's view, Doré's portrayal is "a romantic and Orientalist vision of the encounter of Damietta, which complement's Michaud's text. The reader can appreciate the energy and the audacity [boldness] of the founding saint of Franciscan mission as he notes the indolence, passivity, and inscrutability of the Oriental monarch. When the Turks were colonizing Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, the enthroned sultan lorded over Francis; now, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries . . . artists like Doré show a confident Francis standing over a seated, passive sultan" (Tolan, pp. 280–86).



Painting by Robert Lentz, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*, 2006. (For a video by the artist explaining his painting, see <http://robertlantz.com/featured-icons-st-francis-and-the-sultan/>.)

Image Discussion Questions:

- Describe the size of the figures, their posture and facial expressions. How does this artist portray the two men?
- What idea does the artist convey by painting only the two main characters in the drama of St. Francis and the sultan? What figures from the earlier versions of the story are missing from Lentz's image? Why do you think he left them out?
- What is the meaning of the flames in this image, and what else surrounds the two figures' heads? How does this differ from other images you've analyzed?
- What mood does the decorative frame around the image create through design and color? Contrast the mood of the background behind the two men.
- This painting was created in 2006. What story of the encounter does this painting tell?

Tolan's Explanation:

Painter Robert Lentz is a Franciscan friar. He combines Western, Byzantine, and Islamic artistic traditions, in the composition and imagery in the painting. Lentz presents the two men in a fraternal embrace. He portrays them as equals, joined in recognition of a holy spirit of the love of God. Such a veil of flames is used in Persian miniature painting. He gives the fire a completely different meaning than the trial by fire. Each man's name is written in Arabic, and under the figures is an expression from the opening verses of the Qur'an, the Holy Book of Islam: "Praise to God, Lord of the worlds!" Fr. Robert Lentz explains his view of St. Francis in a video about the painting. Before you listen to it, describe what you think the meeting of St. Francis and the sultan could mean for our time.

You may view this video of the artist Robert Lentz explaining how and why he created this painting: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZBFf6JbstbA>.

WHO ARE THE FRANCISCANS TODAY?



www.sultanandthesaintfilm.com/education

Who Are the Franciscans Today?

Lesson Overview:

This lesson brings the story of St. Francis and his movement up to the present day.

Objectives:

Students will investigate who the Franciscans are today and describe the kind of work they do in the world.

Lesson Procedure:

1. Have students sit in small groups and research the following websites to gather evidence about who the Franciscans are today.

<https://usfranciscans.org/>

<https://www.franciscans.org/>

<http://franciscansisterspeoria.org/>

<http://poorclaresosc.org/>

<https://www.lutheranfranciscans.org/>

<http://tssf.org/>

2. Ask students to answer the following:
 - Where are the Franciscans located?
 - Who is allowed to join their community?
 - What kind of work do they do?
 - Are Franciscans one community or multiple communities?
 - Are all Franciscans Catholic?
 - What are the similarities and differences between communities?
 - Why do you think there are differences in communities of Franciscans? In your study of the life of Saint Francis and the different historical interpretations of him, explain this diversity.

Handout: Who Are the Franciscans Today?

The Franciscans are members of a religious order that follows the rule of Saint Francis of Assisi. The first Franciscans, called the Order of Friars Minor, followed an ideal of total poverty; they possessed nothing in common or individually. Forbidden to accept money, they lived from day to day by working and begging. When they began studying and living at universities, however, they had to modify their strict ideal of poverty. By the time Saint Francis died (1226), the order had spread from Italy to England, the Holy Land, and all of Europe. The friars were known as the people's preachers. They wore a gray tunic with a white cord at the waist; hence, their English name Grey Friars.

From the beginning, there were disagreements about the direction the order would take. The Franciscan minister general, Saint Bonaventure, sought a balance between the Conventuals, who wanted to adapt their poverty to the needs of the time, and the Spirituals, who wanted a strict poverty. The quarrel intensified during the 14th century when some of the Spiritual Franciscans, known as the Fraticelli, were condemned (1317–18) by Pope John XXII. Disagreements about the ideal of poverty brought a permanent division in the 15th century between the Friars Minor Conventual and the Order of Friars Minor. In the 16th century, the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin established a stricter independent branch of Franciscans.

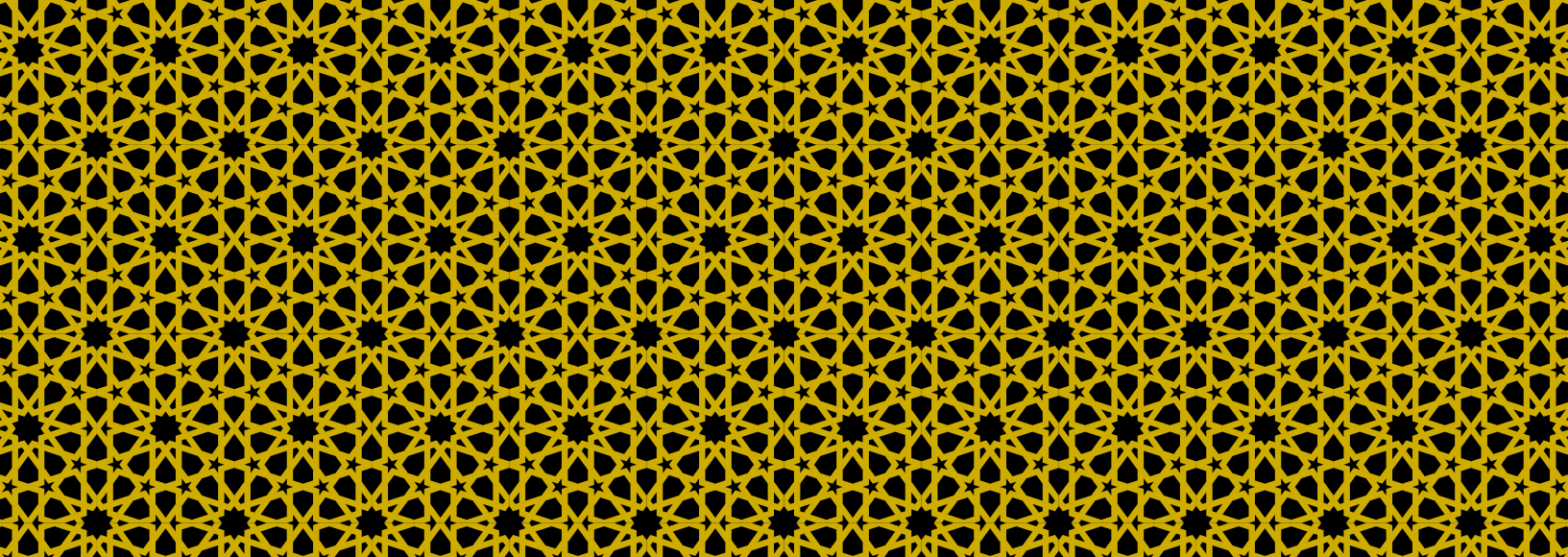
Preaching, teaching, foreign missions, and parish work remain the work of the Franciscans today. The Poor Clares, Franciscan nuns, are the second order. The Third Order comprises lay men and women who combine prayer and penance with everyday activity. Many sisters, brothers, and priests follow the Franciscan ideal in communities affiliated with the Third Order. There are Franciscan communities in the Roman Catholic church and the Anglican (or Episcopalian) churches.

The English philosopher and scientist Roger Bacon was a Franciscan, as were the philosopher-theologians Duns Scotus and William of Occam. Other famous Franciscans include Saint Anthony of Padua; two Renaissance popes, Sixtus IV and Sixtus V; and Junipero Serra, the founder of the California missions.

by Reverend Cyprian Davis

Bibliography: Lambert, Lawrence, *The Friars: The Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society* (1994); Moorman, John R., *A History of the Franciscan Order from Its Origins to the Year 1517* (1968; repr. 1988); Short, W., *The Franciscans* (1989).

Source: Adapted from <https://www.scholastic.com/teachers/articles/teaching-content/franciscan/>.



**LESSON OF SAINT
FRANCIS IN THE MODERN
WORLD: CONSCIENTIOUS
OBJECTION**



www.sultanandthesaintfilm.com/education

Lesson of Saint Francis in the Modern World: Conscientious Objection

Overview and Purpose of the Lesson:

The purpose of this activity is to explore the way that Saint Francis promoted dialogue and nonviolence through a story about his mediation between a violent wolf and a terrorized community.

Objectives:

The student will:

- Recall from the film, *The Sultan and the Saint*, why Saint Francis became an advocate of nonviolence after being an enthusiastic soldier.
- Analyze a painting in order to describe how Saint Francis conceptualized war and violence.
- Explain the consequences of Saint Francis's choice to promote nonviolence within his family and community.
- Describe the story of Saint Francis and the wolf.
- Define the meaning of conscientious objection in the United States and the steps necessary to become one.
- Extended learning: watch a film about a famous Muslim conscientious objector in U.S. history, Muhammad Ali.

Materials Needed:

Handout: Saint Francis and the Wolf

Time (projected):

1.5 hours (plus 3 hours if watching the film, *The Trials of Muhammad Ali*)

Activities Description/Procedure:

1. Explain to students: In the short video, "The Rise the Franciscan Movement," you learned of Francis's refusal to take oaths. From approximately the 9th–15th centuries, feudalism was a common way of structuring European societies. A powerful landowner would secure oaths of allegiance from members of the community. In exchange for land, the community member would swear an oath of allegiance that obliged him to fight in a militia if called upon. While not the same, it was similar to the concept of a military draft: if and when fighting broke out, someone needed to defend the community.
2. Ask students: Recall what you learned in the film, *The Sultan and the Saint*, about the life of Saint Francis. Reflecting on Francis's biography, explain why Francis became a staunch proponent of nonviolence.

3. Explain to students: Paul Moses, in the book, *The Saint and the Sultan*, explains that Francis's devotion to poverty was intimately linked to his disdain for violence. Francis said, "My Lord, if we had any possessions we should also be forced to have arms to protect them, since possessions are a cause of disputes and strife, and in many ways we should be hindered from loving God and our neighbor. Therefore, in this life we wish to have no temporal possessions" (Moses, p. 38). Ask students: Do you agree or disagree with this statement? Explain your answer. Allow time for open discussion.
4. Project the following painting on a screen in front of the room. Ask students to analyze the painting and how it might represent Francis's understanding of war and violence. After students share some of their ideas, explain that, "Francis saw warfare as quite literally the devil's work" (Moses, p.44).



Giotto di Bondone, *The Expulsion of the Devils from Arezzo*, 1297-1299, Saint Francis of Assisi, Assisi, <http://www.travelingintuscany.com/art/giotto/expulsionofthedemons.htm>.

5. Next, explain to students to think about the consequences of Francis's choice to advocate nonviolence. Ask students to recall from Francis's biography the story of his father bringing charges against him. Project the following image on a screen in front of the room. Ask individual students to summarize the story, using the following painting as a prompt. Recall from the film the story being portrayed in this painting. What is the meaning and significance of this painting? What does this painting tell us about the reaction of some members of Francis's community to Francis preaching nonviolence? What was one of the consequences of his preaching nonviolence?



Giotto di Bondone, *Legend of St Francis: 5. Renunciation of Wordly Goods*, 1297–1299,
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Giotto_bisschop.jpg

6. Give each student a copy of the following story: HANDOUT: Saint Francis and the Wolf, or have them read it on an electronic device: <http://tamingthewolf.com/saint-francis-and-the-wolf/>.
7. After reading, ask students to take out a piece of paper and answer the following prompts: Describe the story in your own words. What is the moral of the story? What is your reaction to the story? Does this story remind you of any others? Explain.
8. The story of Saint Francis and the wolf is another example of Francis's belief in nonviolence. In the context of the United States, we call this conscientious objection. Ask students to conduct research in order to better understand this concept.
9. Break students in small groups and ask them to read the following websites and answer the questions: <https://www.sss.gov/consobj> and <https://girightshotline.org/en/military-knowledge-base/topic/conscientious-objection-discharge>.
 - What is conscientious objection?
 - How does someone apply for conscientious objector status?
 - After someone applies for CO status, what happens next?
 - If someone is designated as a CO, what do they have to do to meet the expectations of their service to the U.S. military?

Extension: Watch the film *The Trials of Muhammad Ali* to learn more about a Muslim conscientious objector in U.S. history at <http://www.kartemquin.com/films/the-trials-of-muhammad-ali>. See also PBS discussion guide for *The Trials of Muhammad Ali* at https://cdn.itvs.org/trials_of_muhammad_ali-discussion.pdf.

Handout: Saint Francis and the Wolf

The Legend of Saint Francis and the Wolf of Gubbio

“There was in Italy the town of Gubbio, a prosperous village that had a great problem. A wolf was eating their livestock, and attacking the people. Nothing the townspeople did protected them from the wolf. Never had they seen such a fierce predator. He killed a shepherd, then the shepherd’s brother and father when they went out to deal with this menace. The next morning the town was abuzz with the story told by the shepherd’s mother and sisters.

The mayor of Gubbio announced he would send three of his best guards to find and slay the wolf that very afternoon. At dusk the townspeople could hear shouts and clashing of metal from the woods. Then it was quiet. The guards had met the wolf.

Late in the night the only survivor of the encounter struggled into the anxious town and collapsed. After he was revived, he told his tale of their fight with the fierce and powerful wolf. As the story rushed through town the wolf grew larger and more ferocious. Fear was in the eyes of everyone in Gubbio. Children were kept close by, weapons at the ready and the defenses of the town raised.

The mayor consulted with his advisors and decided to see if Francis of Assisi could help them. They had heard that he could talk to animals and that God talked to him.

Several brave messengers were sent to find Francis and ask him for his help. They had the good fortune to find him in Assisi at the house of Bernardo Quintivalle, his first follower. They told him of the tragic attacks of the wolf and how the frightened people were almost in a state of siege. They thought Francis was the only one who would be able to help them. They begged the simple holy man to help and implored him to come with them right away.

Francis was moved by their plight and wanted to do what he could. He said they could leave in the morning and they should eat and rest with his Brothers that night. After dinner they prayed with Francis for a solution and slept that night with hope in their hearts.

Dawn found them walking down the hill from Assisi on their way to Gubbio. In time they arrived at the woods near the town. The messengers pointed to where the wolf had slain the two guards not far from the road. They stayed in a tighter group as they hurried the rest of the way, watching for the wolf.

The gate to the town was opened as they arrived and was quickly closed behind them. The entire town followed Francis to the town square where the Mayor eagerly met them. They went into the town hall to eat and discuss what Francis would do with the wolf.

The mayor wondered what Francis could do with such a challenge. The mayor hated that wolf. He knew the men who were killed and their families. One of the guards was a cousin to the mayor’s wife. If he were younger, he would have led the guards after the wolf. He wanted Francis to strike the wolf dead or send him to the town of Spoleto, their old enemy. Either would satisfy a need for revenge and stop the attacks.

Francis listened as the mayor described what had happened to their peaceful town. He had much empathy for the families of the victims and wanted to meet the wolf and hear his story, too. Francis stated that the next morning he would go the woods where the guards had been killed to see if he could find the wolf. That night he prayed for the wisdom to find a solution that would benefit everyone.

Early the next morning, refreshed and confident this would work out, Francis was accompanied by the townspeople to the gates of Gubbio. They wished him well and retreated to their homes, worried that Francis would share the fate of the shepherds and guards.

He walked on to the woods, ready to engage the wolf. As he neared the first stand of trees, the wolf appeared and began to stalk Francis. His slow, deliberate steps, the walk of a predator, announced his intention. He drew nearer and nearer, closing in a circle around the holy man from Assisi.

Seeing the wolf, Francis felt a connection. He made the sign of the cross and called the wolf to meet him in peace under the grace of the Lord. The wolf watched as Francis came closer. "Come Brother Wolf, I will not hurt you. Let us talk in peace." The wolf froze in mid step. The wolf struggled with doubt and uncertainty. Finally, understanding that Francis meant him no harm, the wolf walked to Francis and sat back on his haunches, ready to listen.

Francis told the wolf that he had come from Gubbio and described what the townspeople were experiencing because of the wolf's actions. He described the pain and resentment they held toward the wolf. "How did this come to happen?" Francis asked the wolf. "Why did you kill the livestock and people?"

The wolf told Francis his story. He had been left behind by his pack because he was injured and couldn't keep up. He could only catch prey that didn't run fast, like sheep and goats. He really preferred to eat deer and rabbits, but, with his injured leg, that was out of the question. He explained to Francis that all he wanted was to eat when he was hungry.

Francis implored him to explain his actions. The wolf continued. The first shepherd he had killed was trying to protect his flock and the wolf had no choice but to fight back and kill him. That afternoon two more men came after him and instinct took over. He quickly killed them, leaving their bodies where they fell. The next day the three guards came hunting him. He was only defending himself when he fought them. Two were slain. As the third man was no longer a threat, he let him go.

Francis could see that the wolf was only acting to fill his needs. He had made unfortunate choices that affected people of whom he knew nothing. Through Francis the wolf was able to feel the pain of the people in Gubbio and he felt remorse. He was sorry for the pain he had caused, but he needed to eat. What could he do?

Hours passed as Francis prayed. The wolf watched closely, not fully understanding what was taking place, but sensing that Francis believed he felt remorse at having caused such pain. When Francis emerged from his contemplation, he quietly suggested an answer to the dilemma. It was a suggestion that could meet the needs of both the town and the wolf. He proposed to the wolf that the townspeople could feed him and, in return, the wolf would stop killing the people and their livestock.

The wolf thought this would work well for him, but worried the people would still want to kill him. Francis understood the wolf's concern and assured him he would present the idea to the townspeople in such a way that he would be forgiven and welcomed into the town. He knew they could let go of their fear and hate if they saw the wolf ask for forgiveness and accede to a peaceful relationship. Francis extended his hand. The Wolf showed agreement by placing his paw in Francis's hand.

Saint Francis and the wolf walked back to Gubbio.

As they neared the gate, the citizens could not believe their eyes. Francis and the wolf continued to the town square, although the mayor and the entire town watched with hate and fear. The wolf had to keep his eyes on Francis to still his fear.

Francis called out, "Come countrymen, the wolf will not hurt you. Let us talk in peace. I have spoken with the wolf and he apologizes for his actions and wants to make amends."

Francis told them the wolf's story. "He has the same needs as you and only wants to eat and not go hungry. Can the people of Gubbio feed him if he promises to never again take the lives of the people and their animals? Remember, our Savior taught forgiveness. He taught us to love our enemies."

The citizens returned skeptical stares. Francis continued, "This will be your wolf. He can't be killed or passed off to Spoleto or Perugia. He will serve the town as a defender as long as he will live."

The citizens of Gubbio asked Francis to talk privately with them, to help them understand his suggestion. The Mayor guaranteed no one would hurt the wolf while they conferred.

The people of Gubbio talked with each other for hours. Relatives of the dead were the hardest to convince. They harbored a hard place in their hearts for the wolf. Francis wept with them and touched them in a way that softened their hearts. Finally, after many tears, they found compassion for the wolf. At Francis' suggestion, they addressed him as Brother Wolf.

Francis asked the Mayor and Brother Wolf to declare a pact. The people would be safe from the wolf. The wolf would be safe from them. Everyone expressed joy that the shadow of fear had been lifted from their town.

The wife of the shepherd, the man who was the first to fall, brought out food to feed Brother Wolf. She was crying in relief to have the burden of hate lifted from her spirit. Brother Wolf was humbled when he found his apology accepted. More food was brought out and soon everyone was eating together.

Word spread to other towns. Soon the people of Gubbio were proclaiming proudly that they had a special wolf, Brother Wolf. He lived another two years like that until he died, cared for by the generous and forgiving town of Gubbio."

Source: "Saint Francis & the Wolf | TTW Institute for Franciscan Peacemaking." Taming the Wolf Institute. <http://tamingthewolf.com/saint-francis-and-the-wolf/>.



NEW HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE CRUSADES VIDEO LESSONS



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New Historical Perspectives on the Crusades Video Lessons

<https://www.sultanandthesaintfilm.com/historical-perspectives-crusades/>

Discussion Questions for “New Historical Perspectives on the Crusades” video:

- What demographic and cultural factors made Europeans begin to look outward?
- What role did the call to crusade play for young, western European men?
- How was religious motivation used to encourage men to risk life and security and go on a Crusade?
- What group was portrayed as pagans to potential recruits for the Crusade?
- What was the relationship between pilgrimage and war in calls to the Crusades?

Lesson Overview:

This set of materials provides basic historical background on the Crusades, and lays out recent scholarship on the period. A timeline, maps and excerpts from recent historians are given. A summary explains the importance of the city of Jerusalem for the three Abrahamic traditions. A set of three pieces gives examples of major exchanges through trade, technology, influences in the arts, agriculture and cooking, and military innovations.

A comparative lesson on “holy war” and “jihad” gives classical interpretations of just war theory according to St. Augustine and classical Islamic jurisprudence.

Objectives:

Students will:

- Locate the Crusades in time and place, and describe the movement and its causes.
- Explain the significance of Jerusalem in the Abrahamic tradition’s Jewish, Christian and Islamic branches.
- Describe some military innovations of the Crusades period and explain the importance of each.
- List and describe the impact of artistic, commercial and cultural exchanges that took place as an outcome of the Crusades.
- Analyze the significance of military conflict vs. human encounters of various types as part of the complex legacies of the Crusades.

Lesson Procedure:

1. View the short video as a review of the film, and use it to generate questions about the Crusades and their impact on relations between European Christians and Muslims.
2. Read the handout “Historical Overview and Legacy of the Crusades” and have each student make a K-W-L chart on a tri-folded piece of paper. Discuss the questions and learning from the narrative and the film. How did it change what students thought they knew about this historical movement, its causes and outcomes?
3. Review the timeline and maps. How long, and how much territory in western Asia and Europe did the Crusades cover? What else was going on in other regions of the world during those centuries? Why do historians now think of the Crusades as a movement much broader than the Middle East and Western Europe?

4. Read “Military Innovations of the Crusades Period” and identify what you think are the most significant technologies that transferred to Europe? Why?
5. “Artwork and Cultural Exchanges of the Crusades Period”: Print out enough copies of the handout to cut up by section and divide among pairs of students. For each one, have the students become experts on the what, who, when, where, how of each type of transfer, and be able to discuss its significance. Alternatively, students in pairs can become “interviewers” of the objects and have them “tell” the story of how they became known during the Crusades, why they were found to be attractive enough to adopt. With pride, each object will explain how they were made, of what materials, craftsmanship, and how they influenced people who saw and admired them in faraway places. The section on the Basilica might involve more than two students.
6. Work through the lesson “What is Holy War and What is Jihad.” Lesson instructions are included separately with the handouts.

Handouts in this section

- Historical Overview and Legacy of the Crusades
- Timeline and Maps of Major Events of the Crusades Period
- Modern Historians on the Crusades
- Jerusalem in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam
- Military Innovations of the Crusades Period
- Artwork and Cultural Exchanges of the Crusades Period
- What is Holy War and What Is Jihad?

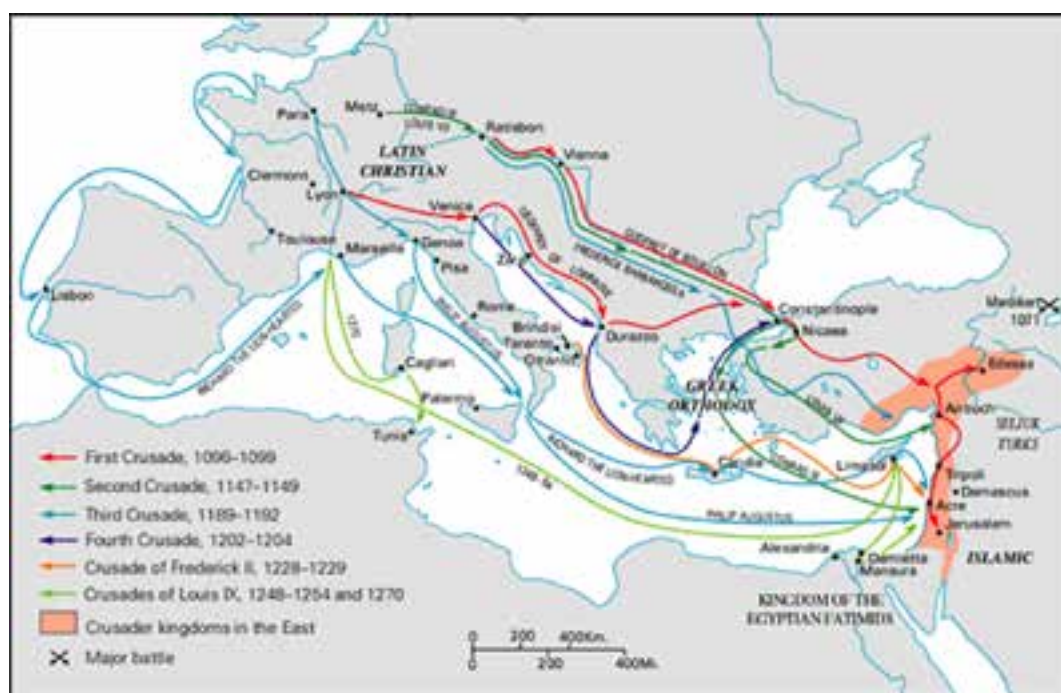
The Crusades – A Historical Overview and Legacy

The word Crusade has come to mean an organized campaign concerning a social, political, or religious issue, whose leaders and followers pursue it with a spirit of self-sacrifice, a sense of righteous energy justified by principles. Its original meaning was related to taking part in a series of medieval military expeditions to take over the Holy Land from Muslim who ruled it from the 11th to the 13th centuries. The word comes from the sign of the cross, which was a symbol of Christ’s death and resurrection that was attached to the clothing and equipment of crusaders during that time and after. The legacy of the Crusades in world history has lasted until the present day, and has deeply affected relations between Europeans and Muslims, often thought of in terms of the West and the East, or Occident and Orient. The Crusades’ effects include military, political, religious and social facets that have become interwoven with language and culture.

The Call to Take Up the Cross

The Crusades were a military movement endorsed by the pope, head of the Catholic Church, for the purpose of gaining territory for Christianity and for its participants, to gain spiritual benefit and the promise of salvation. The Crusades began with the speech by Pope Urban II (reigned 1088–1099) calling upon Christians under his authority to come to the aid of Christians in the East by destroying the Muslims who ruled the Holy Land and take Jerusalem from them. This call is reflected in the words of his speech, which accused the Turks and Arabs of being pagans (Idol-worshippers). Pope Urban’s speech took place in 1095, and the first of several expeditions got underway in 1096, and conquered the city of Jerusalem in 1099.

They set up several Latin states under crusader rule in the Levant. The call to warfare in the name of Christianity claimed to be a response to the call for help by Byzantine Emperor Alexius I Komnenos (reigned 1081 to 1118), whose territory was under attack by Turkic warriors in Asia Minor. He accused them in the speech of having “killed and captured many, and have destroyed the churches and devastated the empire. If you permit them to continue thus for awhile with impunity, the faithful of God will be much more widely attacked by them. On this account I, or rather the Lord, beseech you as Christ’s heralds to publish this everywhere and to persuade all people of whatever rank, foot soldiers and knights, poor and rich, to carry aid promptly to those Christians and to destroy that vile race from the lands of our friends. I say this to those who are present, it is meant also for those who are absent. Moreover, Christ commands it.” The call was answered by a variety of forces from children to peasants to knights and kings. Some of the campaigns ended in tragedy or targeted a different enemy. The successful expedition known as the First Crusade was launched toward the Levant in 1096, and succeeded in establishing small territories known as the Latin states along the eastern Mediterranean coast. It ended with the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099. The conquest was marked by a terrible massacre of its Muslim, Jewish and eastern Christian inhabitants by the crusader soldiers. Later Crusades, shown on the map, responded to events in Europe and the Levant, especially to the efforts of Muslim rulers and military leaders to take back the cities, expel the crusaders from the region. Later crusades responded to the loss of Jerusalem to Salahuddin (Saladin) in 1187.



The Crusades are most closely associated with Christian invasion and occupation of the eastern Mediterranean, but the crusading idea became much broader after the middle of the 12th century. It came to be attached by the Church to fighting against Muslim rule in the Iberian Peninsula and the taking of territory there, which ended with the conquest of the last Muslim outpost, Granada, in 1492. It also included the spread of Christianity into northern Europe, the taking of Mediterranean islands such as Sicily and Cyprus, and battles in North Africa. The Fourth Crusade, 1202–1204 involved the sack of Constantinople, the Byzantine Empire, whose call for help began the Crusades in 1095.

The Crusades in the Levant—the effort to control the Holy Land—ended in 1291 with the fall of the city of Acre to the Mamluk forces of Egypt. Between 1095 and 1291, expeditions and epic battles between famous leaders such as Richard the Lionheart and Salahuddin, Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II, and Louis IX of France (St. Louis), whose seventh crusade against Egypt ended in 1270.

Egypt and the Crusades

In light of the story in *The Saint and the Sultan* of the crusaders' invasions of Egypt, the role of that ancient land and strategic geographic location needs some explanation. For both Muslim leaders and European crusaders, Egypt was a keystone in the region. First, it was a powerful seat of the Fatimid Dynasty (909–1171) until Salahuddin (1138–1193) displaced the last Fatimid ruler. For the Muslims, Egypt held the key to success against the crusaders, because of its wealth from agriculture, population, and trade, and its location at the gates of the Levant. Following Salahuddin's example, the crusaders came to understand Egypt's key role as a base for conquering Jerusalem, and so the Fifth and Sixth Crusades sought to take its port city of Damietta in hopes of taking over the rich Nile Delta and the capital, Cairo. They did not succeed; both Crusades fell to the Nile flood and the superior numbers of its defenders fighting on home territory.

A Broader Idea of the Crusades in European and World History

The expansion of Christianity and the power of the Catholic Church in northern and eastern Europe was also considered as a Crusade. In what is now Denmark, Sweden, and the Baltic Sea region, taking territory from non-Christians viewed as pagans was seen as meritorious by the Church. Internally, battles against forms and beliefs not sanctioned by the Church justified warfare against heretics in France and elsewhere. After 1492, the expansion of the Iberian powers of Spain and Portugal into the Americas and the Indian Ocean carried on the same spirit of gaining territory and souls for Christianity. The Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494 divided the world, under papal decree, between the Portuguese and the Spanish.

The Legacy of the Crusades

Just as the Crusades took place on a regional and later global stage over centuries, the struggle to control the Holy Land had broad effects over a much longer period of time. It is not enough to say that the Crusades failed because they didn't achieve lasting control of territory. For European powers—both the Church and the kings and lords who took part in them—the Crusades marked the emergence of Europeans after a period of inward-turning after the fall of Rome. Some historians say that the call to protect pilgrims going to the Holy Land took place not because European pilgrims were prevented from going to the Holy Land, but because more European Christians had begun to imagine the journey far from home, and their rulers saw the advantages of its control.

When the crusaders arrived, they met with unfamiliar and fascinating ways of life. They encountered different crops and foods such as sugar and rice, cities with markets full of exotic goods such as silks and spices. In fighting their foes, they learned of military innovations, and in healing war wounds, they learned medical techniques. To support the crusader armies and territories, Europeans expanded trade relationships to take advantage of the wealth. While the Crusades in the Levant were not a major source of scientific knowledge from Islamic and Arabic sources, warfare and peaceful exchange in the Iberian Peninsula and Sicily were definitely an arena where access to books and translation work took place. Some exchanges about mathematics, such as the correspondence between al-Kamil and Frederick II, did take place. Exposure of European crusaders to Muslim literature, art, architecture and material culture was a direct result of the movement that brought increased curiosity about the world, trade, expansion of cities, and a rise in living

standards in Europe over time. These changes ushered in the period of cultural awakening later called the Renaissance, and also stimulated Europeans' desire for territorial expansion, the growth of trade, and conquest beyond the bounds of their peninsula on the edge of the Eurasian continent.

The modern legacy of the Crusades began in the 19th century. On one hand, it grew out of a romantic impulse, as shown in this 1835 painting *The Last Crusader* by Karl Friedrich Lessing. The image of the crusader became a figure in poetry and stories, which also romanticized Muslim leader Salahuddin and Richard the Lionhearted, his adversary. On the other hand, during the 19th century, European historians investigated the Crusades in detail, using documents, artifacts, and archaeology. The fact that this took place during an intense period of European imperialism in the Middle East added both critical and triumphal ideas to the intellectual climate. On the other side, Arab and other nationalist, anti-colonial movements invoked the Crusades as a way of understanding western aggression toward the region, as well as misunderstanding of its religions (both Eastern varieties of Christianity and Islam) and culture. This complex legacy continues to cloud the relationship and understanding between members of the Abrahamic tradition.

In recent decades, historians have looked at the period and various movements of the Crusades in the Levant, in the Iberian Peninsula in more nuanced ways, beyond the military contest. They highlight documents that show, for example, how Muslims accommodated People of the Book, or Christians and Jews into societies they ruled, and explore the people-to-people cultural exchanges that took place as a result; Christian rulers in conquered territories in east and west also found legal and other ways to accommodate religious diversity because it was a practical way to govern and to preserve commerce and stability. These efforts have brought out the role of individuals in creating understanding and keeping the peace to the benefit of all. The story of St. Francis and al-Kamil is a part of that growing legacy of possibilities for greater understanding.

Discussion Questions for this reading:

1. What brought about the crusading spirit in Europe?
2. Why was Egypt seen as critical for winning and holding territory in the Holy Land?
3. How did the Crusades period change both Europe and the Levant—not just Muslims but all of those who lived there?
4. How has thinking about the outcome of the Crusades changed?
5. Do you think there is any relationship between conflicts in the region called the Middle East today and the Crusades of long ago? Compare and contrast.

Timeline of Major Events of the Crusades, 1085 to 1291

See maps on pages following timeline for locations of places important to the Crusades.

Adapted from <http://www.umich.edu/~marcons/Crusades/timeline/detailedtimeline.html>. To see a list of events that happened before 1095, click here.

1040 – 1055	Turks migrate from central Asia to southwest Asia, conquer Persia, and invade Armenia and Iraq, finally capturing Baghdad, the Abbasid capital city
1067 – 1070	Turks invade Byzantine territory in Asia Minor (today's Turkey); Turkic forces take Jerusalem from the Fatimid dynasty of North Africa
1071	Turkic forces defeat Byzantine forces at the Battle of Manzikert and found the Sultanate of Rum in Asia Minor
1054	Schism (split) of the Christian Church into the Roman Catholic centered in the Papacy in Rome, and Greek Orthodox centered in the Byzantine capital of Constantinople
1061 – 1091	Christian forces under the Normans invade and defeat Muslim ruled Sicily, but retain Muslim cultural influence under Norman rule.
1085	Antioch in northern Syria conquered by Turks; in Spain, the Muslim city of Toledo is captured by Christian forces under Alfonso VI
1096	Start of the First Crusade
March 1095	Byzantine Empire requests Pope Urban II's help against Turkic warrior tribes who have migrated into Asia Minor
November 27, 1095	Pope Urban II preaches the First Crusade
1096	Fatimids retake Jerusalem from Seljuk Turks
Spring, Summer 1096	Crusaders massacre Jews in Europe
Spring 1096	People's Crusade leaves for Holy Land but most end the march near Hungary by August 1096
August 15, 1096	Official beginning of First Crusade set by Pope Urban II
October 6, 1096	Crusader armies under Peter and Walter destroyed at Nicaea by Kilij Arslan
Fall 1096	Crusaders of official First Crusade reach Constantinople; Alexius I Comnenus accepts their oaths of loyalty and pledges to return lands under Byzantine control
April 1097	Crusaders cross the Bosphorus into Asia
Early June 1097	Crusaders arrive at Nicaea while Kilij Arslan is away fighting his opponent Danishmend
June 19, 1097	Nicaea surrenders to Byzantine forces
June 26–28, 1097	Crusaders invade Asia Minor

July 1, 1097	Turks under Kilij Arslan fail to defeat Crusaders at Dorlyaeum
October 21, 1097	Crusaders reach Antioch, ruled by Turkic leader Yaghi-Suyan
Early February 1098	Muslim relief force under the Turkish leadership moves toward Antioch
February 6, 1098	Baldwin reaches Edessa (al-Ruha in Arabic)
March 9, 1098	Edessa's ruler is killed in a riot
March 10, 1098	Edessa established as the first Latin settlement in the East under Crusade leader Baldwin after its Turkic leader flees
June 5, 1098	Muslim army relief force arrives and besieges Crusaders in Antioch
Mid-November 1098	Armies of Raymond of St. Gilles and Robert of Flanders arrive at Ma'arat en Nu'man, spurred on by ordinary soldiers
December 11-2, 1098	Ma'arat en Nu'man falls to the Crusaders
January/March 1099	Crusader armies force their leader Raymond to continue to Jerusalem
February/May 1099	Crusaders besiege 'Arqah but abandon siege and go on to Jerusalem
June 6, 1099	Crusader leader Tancred seizes Bethlehem
June 7, 1099	Main body of Crusaders arrives at Jerusalem
July 15, 1099	Crusaders seize and sack the city of Jerusalem and massacre Muslims, Eastern Christians, and Jews; Godfrey elected ruler of the city
July 19–22, 1099	Pope Urban II dies, never hearing news of capture of Jerusalem
August 11–12, 1099	Crusaders defeat Egyptian army at Ashdod
1099	Al-Harawi of Damascus leads group of refugees to Baghdad to plead for help (see poem)
1100	Baldwin chosen first Crusader king of Jerusalem
Summer 1100	Turkic leader Danishmend captures Crusader leader Bohemund
November 15, 1100	Pope Paschal II preaches new crusade, threatening excommunication for failure to fulfill their vows
1101	New wave of Crusaders defeated in Asia Minor
1104	Crusader leader Baldwin takes port city of Acre
1104	Muslims defeat Franks at Harran, preventing them from moving further east into Muslim territory
1109	Tripoli falls to the Crusader armies after a brutal siege of 2000 days
1110	Crusaders seize cities of Beirut and Saida

1111	Aleppo's chief judge Ibn al-Khashab organizes riot in Baghdad to force the government to send military help against the Franks
1112	Muslim forces keep Franks from seizing Tyre
1113	Hospitallers, knightly Order of St. John is founded as Crusader force
Spring 1115	Alliance of Muslims and Franks in Syria fight Seljuk Sultan Muhammad ibn Malikshah
1119	Ilghazi of Aleppo defeats Franks at Sarmada
1120	Order of the Knights Templar is founded as Crusader force
July 1124	Franks seize Tyre, giving them entire coastline up to Ascalon
1125	Beirut peasants revolt
1127	Zangi becomes the ruler of Mosul and leader of resistance to the Franks
1128	Franks fail to seize Damascus
1128	Zangi takes the city of Aleppo
1135	Zangi fails to take Damascus
1137	Zangi captures King Fulk of Jerusalem but releases him
1139	Zangi unsuccessfully besieges Damascus
1144	Zangi seizes Edessa, defeating the first crusader state
1146	Zangi dies, and his son Nur al-Din inherits Aleppo
1147-1149	The Second Crusade begins, which includes Crusades in parts of Muslim-ruled Spain, Eastern Germany and the East (Outremer in French)
1147	Spanish Crusaders take Lisbon from Muslim rule
1148	Crusader armies under Conrad of Germany and Louis VII of France besiege Damascus, but are turned back by Nur al-Din's forces
1154	Nur al-Din takes Damascus, unifying Muslim territories in Syria
1163 – 1169	Nur al-Din's general Shirkuh fights to deliver Egypt to Nur al-Din
1169	Shirkuh rules Egypt as vizier, but soon dies; Saladin, his nephew, becomes ruler of Egypt
1170	Nur al-Din's brother dies, giving him control of Mosul
1171	Saladin ends Fatimid rule in Egypt and establishes Ayyubid dynasty; Competition between Nur al-Din and Saladin ensues
1174	Nur al-Din dies; Saladin seizes control of Damascus
1183 – 1185	Saladin takes control of Aleppo, uniting Egypt and Syria under his rule, then takes control of Mosul
1185	Saladin officially controls Egypt and Damascus, Aleppo and Mosul
July 4, 1187	Saladin defeats Frankish Crusaders at the Battle of Hattin

October 2, 1187	Saladin retakes Jerusalem and lands under Frankish control; Franks retain only cities of Tyre, Tripoli, and Antioch
1189 – 1192	Third Crusade brings famous Crusader leaders Richard I of England, Philip II of France, and Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I
June 1190	Frederick I dies en route to the Holy Land
Summer 1191	Kings Richard and Philip take the city of Acre and name Jerusalem's ruler; Philip leaves for home, while Richard takes Arsuf and Jaffa and fortifies Ascalon
September 2, 1192	Richard and Saladin end their fighting with a treaty, and Richard leaves for home in England
1193	Saladin dies, and after his succession is contested, Saladin's brother al-Adil rules.
Spring 1197	Frederick I's son Henry VI departs to join the Crusade, but dies in the same year.
July 1, 1198	Henry VI's supporters negotiate a treaty with Muslim rulers and return home
1198	Crusader Order of Teutonic Knights is founded with Acre as its base.
1202 – 1204	Fourth Crusade begins
July 17, 1203	Crusaders invade and sack Byzantine capital of Constantinople, naming Alexius IV as ruler
April 12, 1204	Crusaders take Constantinople and make Byzantine lands into a Latin Empire
1209-1229	Albigensian Crusade turns against heretics at home in southern France
1212	Children's Crusade begins and ends in tragedy
1213 – 1216	Pope Innocent III begins planning the Fifth Crusade; he dies, and Pope Honorius III continues his plan
1217 – 1221	Fifth Crusade begins; Invasion of Egypt under the rule of al-Malik al-Kamil is led by Cardinal Pelagius; Crusaders besiege Damietta and try to take Cairo; Al-Kamil's forces and rising Nile isolates and defeats Crusader army; Al-Kamil provides bread and supplies to save Crusader army from starvation
1219	Sultan al-Kamil receives Francis of Assisi at his court for interreligious discussion and allows Francis to preach; Francis's stay at court influences his views of Islam and faith practice
1228 – 1229	Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II crusades in Egypt without papal support; al-Kamil negotiates treaty with Frederick II over control of Jerusalem.
1235	Byzantines retake Asia Minor
1236 – 1238	In Spain, Ferdinand III of Castile attacks the city of Cordova, the Christian army of Aragon takes the city of Valencia from Muslim rule
1244	Franks lose Jerusalem for the final time
1245	Pope Innocent IV sends missionaries to Mongols to attempt alliance against Muslims in Asia and Near East

1247	Louis IX plans a Crusade, but contact with Frederick divulges his plans to al-Kamil's son, Ayyub
1248 – 1254	Sixth Crusade
1248-1250	Louis IX of France invades Egypt; he seizes Damietta, but is defeated and captured at the city of Mansurah; released for ransom and return of Damietta
1248 – 1250	Ayyubid dynasty in Egypt ends, Mamluk rule begins
February 1258	Mongols under Genghis Khan's grandson Hülegü invade and destroy Baghdad, massacre inhabitants and kill the last 'Abbasid caliph
January 1260	Mongols under Hülegü take Aleppo and Damascus; Mongol ruler dies and Hulegu returns to Asia, relieving invasion threat to Europe
September 3, 1260	Mamluk armies defeat Mongols at the Battle of 'Ayn Jalut (Goliath Spring), and take city of Damascus; Baybars becomes ruler of Egypt
July 25, 1261	Byzantines recapture Constantinople, ending the Latin Empire in the East
May 18, 1268	Baybars seizes Antioch and Jaffa
1270	Seventh Crusade begins with Louis IX forces attacking Tunis; death of Louis IX
April 26 or 27, 1289	Mamluk sultans Qalawun and son Khalil retake Tripoli and Acre from Franks
1291	Effective end of the Great Crusades; remaining Crusaders retreat to the island of Cyprus

Maps of Locations Important to the Crusades



Map Sources: "MedEurope Tutorial 2: Map of Medieval Europe." *MedEurope Tutorial 2* (blog). <http://medeuropetut2.blogspot.com/p/map-of-medieval-europe.html>; "Map of the First Crusade 1095-1099." http://www.emersonkent.com/map_archive/first_crusade.htm; "The Battle of Al Mansourah and the Seventh Crusade, 1251." <http://warfarehistorynetwork.com/daily/military-history/the-battle-of-al-mansourah-and-the-seventh-crusade-1251-2/>; <http://Www.Mmdtkw.Org/CRUS-Unit8Images.Html>. <http://www.mmdtkw.org/CRUS-Unit8Images.html>.

Modern Historians on the Crusades

Introduction

Modern historiography on the Crusades period began during the nineteenth century, and largely concerned itself with European perspectives and sources in European languages. History was rapidly taking shape as a discipline based on analyzing documents, and therefore considered itself scientific and objective. The interpretation of these documents was certainly influenced by events in Europe at a time of rising imperialism and renewed dreams of conquering the Middle East. The Eastern Question of the time referred to what would happen to the Holy Land and other territories in the region when the Ottoman Empire was broken up. During the nineteenth century, the academic disciplines of Oriental studies also arose, also based on the analysis of texts being discovered in libraries in the region along with the study of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish by Western scholars. Archaeology was coming into its own, but interest was strongest in discovering the ancient and classical past.

It was only toward the middle of the twentieth century that historians of Islamic history began to seriously look at Muslim perspectives on the Crusades. More recently, heightened interest in the concepts of jihad and holy war have led historians to reevaluate the ideas that motivated both sides. First, the term “holy war” is not an interchangeable concept across Christianity and Islam. Second, “jihad” as an Islamic term, is poorly understood, and the historians whose short excerpts follow question the idea that the Christian crusaders met a Muslim force called out to jihad and prepared to fight. Third, they note that the concept of holy war was an innovation in Christianity as well, especially as it became tied to pilgrimage.

Read the following excerpts and discuss the questions that follow each excerpt.

Modern Historians on Holy War and Jihad during the Crusades

(Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*. Edinburgh University Press, 1999, p. 103.)

“Writing in the latter half of the tenth century, the Arab geographer Ibn Hawqal, whose Spanish origins no doubt sharpened his concerns, deplors the fact that jihad has ceased . . . the even more famous Arab writer al-Muqaddasi, . . . speaking about the province of Syria, complains that: ‘The inhabitants have no enthusiasm for jihad and no energy in the struggle against the enemy.’ When the Crusaders approached the Holy Land in 1099, the disunited and strife-ridden Muslim world had, it seems, buried the idea of jihad deep into the recesses of its mind. Indeed, it was the Crusaders who possessed the ideological edge over the Muslims [in religious motivation to fight].” Hillenbrand and other scholars state that the early crusaders did not meet a set of Muslim warriors immersed in jihad consciousness. The petty rulers who reigned in the region of Syria were not even authorized to make jihad—the caliph in Baghdad would have had the authority, but did not do so. Only gradually were rulers only called to respond with consciousness of religious motivation. Under the terror of what happened to their territories and people, and at the urging of the scholars, rulers begin to incorporate the ideas and symbols of jihad into their struggles.

Question: What factors prevented a unified defensive reaction to the First Crusade on the Muslim side?

(Paul M. Cobb, *The Race for Paradise: An Islamic History of the Crusades*, Oxford University Press, 2014, p. 274.) “Modern readers might derive other lessons from an Islamic history of the Crusades. Perhaps the most important is that there was no single, shared Muslim experience of the Crusades. It follows then, that there was no such thing as the ‘counter-crusade,’ in the sense of a coherent movement against the Franks that shared the same motivations and goals. What we find instead are specific Muslim leaders who, at specific times in their careers, employed the language of jihad against the Franks to mobilize support for their own endeavors, claiming (with varying degrees of success) to be acting for the benefit of all (Sunni) Muslims. The optical illusion of a ‘counter-crusade’ results from the fact that the most successful . . . of these leaders (Zangi, Nur al-Din and Saladin) happened to succeed one another [in time]. But . . . their resort to jihad against the Franks was calculated and intermittent. Their predecessors and successors tried just as hard. A concerted counter-crusade remained . . . only an ideal to be invoked.”

Question: How does the typical modern view of the crusaders and the reaction they invoked among Muslim leaders differ from reality? How does the spirit of jihad seem to have evolved, or was it read into history after the fact?

(Jonathan Riley-Smith, ed. *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, Oxford University Press, 1995, p. 77.) “Making a pilgrimage is a penitential [seeking God’s forgiveness], devotional act, requiring a frame of mind which is traditionally . . . opposite . . . that of a warrior. The intentions of eleventh century pilgrims from the [military] classes . . . had been generally peaceful. The crusaders, on the other hand, intended war to be part of their penitential exercise. It was officially described as an expression of love for their Christian brothers and sisters and for their God, and commitment to it was considered to be . . . a sacrificial surrender of self. . . . Crusading was as much a devotional as a military activity, and . . . a form of war-service which can be compared to saying a prayer. In preaching the First Crusade, therefore, Pope Urban had made a revolutionary appeal. The notion that making war could be penitential seems to have evolved.”

Question: Why was the call to Christians to crusade such a novel idea at the time of Urban II’s speech and after it?

Jerusalem in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam

Jerusalem dates to 4000 years BCE, and is one of the oldest living cities in the world. Its location near the eastern coast of the Mediterranean called the Levant is territory is sacred to Judaism, Christianity and Islam—the three monotheistic faiths that are connected to Abraham, the Friend of God and ancestor to the “Abrahamic” line of prophets. Jerusalem is a sacred city because of the sites that mark important events in sacred history. According to the holy books of the three traditions, prophets walked there, prayed to the One God, and established ways of life and worship through their acts. As these three Abrahamic traditions unfolded, their belief systems grew around different stories, or narratives about the city, the prophets, and ways of worship. New revealed scriptures came to be, and Judaism, Christianity, and Islam diverged as three related faith traditions that shared, but also differed about, the stories and events in their scriptures and histories. In the course of centuries, conflicts arose over religious teachings; over the rights of each to visit, worship, and build sacred sites there; and ultimately, over control of the city and its surrounding territories and other sacred places in the Holy Land. Various empires and invasions affected the city and sometimes wreaked destruction in it. The following sections give each tradition’s perspective on Jerusalem as a holy city.

Judaism

Jerusalem is the holiest of Jewish cities and lies at the center of Judaism's history. In 1000 BCE, during the period of its historic domination in the region now called the Holy Land, King David declared Jerusalem the center of Jewish spiritual life and rituals, and capital of the Hebrew kingdom. During the next thousand years, Jerusalem became more important because of worldly and moral lessons incorporated in the sacred history of the Jews, which contributed to a religious narrative later shared by Christians and Muslims.

In 588 BCE, Babylonian armies invaded the city and exiled the Jewish people from Jerusalem for more than a millennium. During their exile, Jews preserved their sacred connection with Jerusalem in memory and passed it on in their teachings with the longing to return it as "the land of Zion." The experience of exile has remained a strong theme in Judaism, expressed in prayer, rabbinic writings, oral tradition, and rituals. Jews pray in the direction of Jerusalem, asking God to return them to the city, and the city to them. Synagogues are built facing Jerusalem. Jews pledge to remain loyal to the city as their spiritual and eternal home, as the link between heaven and earth, center of the universe, and symbol of their reunification as a people. Jerusalem is the site of prophecies about great events in human history, the coming of the Messiah, and the final gathering at the end of the world. According to Jewish teachings, the Mount of Olives will be the stage for the gathering of humanity at the resurrection.

Christianity

Because the events of the Old Testament include the sacred narratives of Judaism, Jerusalem is considered sacred. With the coming of Jesus and the events of his life, Jerusalem took on enormous significance in Christian teachings and practice. Jerusalem symbolizes God's presence on earth, according to the Christian belief in Jesus Christ as the Messiah, as God's son, and as a member of the Trinity. Events in Jesus's life took place in Jerusalem that underlined his teachings. Events around his death and resurrection were momentous in Christian sacred history. Jerusalem was under Roman rule in 30 CE, when Roman governor Pontius Pilate, serving under Roman Emperor Tiberius, put Jesus to death by crucifixion for breaking Roman law. His trial, the trauma among his followers, his suffering and death took place in the city, and the sites of these events were preserved in memory and in architecture. According to Christian beliefs, three days after Jesus died and was buried in a sepulcher, he rose from the dead, and then ascended to Heaven. In time, Christian beliefs came to center around Jesus's death as the son of God incarnate (in the flesh), who suffered and died to redeem (save) humanity from sin through belief in him. Christians view these events between the earthly and sacred realm as proof of God's salvation, mercy, defeat of Satan, and redemption of humanity's original sin. Jerusalem was a pure and holy place where believers could seek communion with God. The events around Jesus's life and death became associated with sought-after relics: the Holy Lance that pierced Christ's body, the Holy Cross on which he died, and the places where he walked, prayed and taught. These sites and relics, and the whole of Jerusalem, were sought after as a goal of the crusaders.

Islam

Jerusalem is significant in Islamic teachings and is also a city of commemoration and spiritual experience. Islamic teachings acknowledge and embrace the Abrahamic line of prophets and sacred history beginning with Adam. For this reason, Jerusalem is important to Muslims as the site of earlier prophetic lives and events in the history in the Holy Land. Jerusalem was the first *qibla*, or direction toward which Muhammad taught his earliest followers to face in prayer. According to the Qur'an, during a time when Muhammad's followers were under severe oppression, a miracle took place. The Qur'an states that Muhammad was miraculously carried to Jerusalem on a Night Journey. A hadith, or narrative by Prophet Muhammad, tells

that during the Isra'a and Mi'raj (Night Journey and Ascension), Muhammad prayed with the earlier prophets and ascended to an encounter with God through the heavens from the place of the Sacred Rock. During this Night Journey, the five daily prayers were enjoined upon Muslims. Jerusalem is also the site of the third holiest mosque (Al-Aqsa, or the Farthest Mosque), and the Sacred Rock is now in the Dome of the Rock. Both of these sites are on the Temple Mount, a platform that Jews believe was the site of their original Temple. Jerusalem is considered the third holiest site to Muslims. Jerusalem remained the direction of Muslim prayer until after the migration (hijra) of Prophet Muhammad and his followers to the Arabian city of Medina in 622. Shortly after the migration, the direction of Islamic prayer was changed by Qur'anic revelation to face the sacred Ka'aba in Makkah (Qur'an, 2:144).

In the century after Muhammad's death, Jerusalem came under Muslim rule, and important architectural monuments were built to commemorate the Night Journey. The Dome of the Rock was built over the sacred rock believed to be the site of Muhammad's ascension, the same rock believed by Jews and Christians to be the site where Abraham prepared to sacrifice his son Isaac (according to Islamic teachings, the drama of the redemption by the sacred ram took place near Makkah, and the first son was Ishmael). These two significant buildings in Jerusalem are located in the *Haram al-Sharif*, or "Noble Sanctuary."

Conclusions

Jerusalem's sacred meaning and differing beliefs around it by the three Abrahamic faiths have given the city shared importance, but have also made it a site of intense contests in teachings, in control of its territory and monuments throughout its history. Empires have fought over it, from the Romans, Byzantines and Persians in the classical era, to the Muslim conquests and the Christian Crusades in the medieval era, through the conflicts among the Ottomans and European imperial powers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and its aftermath in the modern Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In the cultural, religious, and archaeological realm, disputes over the location of historic events and structures, rights of access to them, and arrangements for adherents of the three faiths to carry out their rites of worship have underlined the continuity of their attachment to Jerusalem and its sacred history.

Discussion questions:

1. Describe the most important ways in which Jerusalem is sacred to each of the Abrahamic traditions.
2. Can you identify at least one element of the sanctity of Jerusalem that is shared by all three traditions?
3. What could be the basis for sharing the city of Jerusalem as a site of worship and spiritual renewal for all who hold it sacred?
4. Did the events of the Crusades as a whole make sharing the city among the three more, or less, feasible?
5. Compare the events of the past century in terms of its access to all three Abrahamic traditions.

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Military Innovations of the Crusades Period

The Crusades were a series of expeditions conducted by European armies with the goal of acquiring access to or direct possession of the Holy Land on the eastern Mediterranean coast, especially the holy city of Jerusalem. From the First Crusade (1095) to the Fall of the city of Acre in 1291, military action resulted in significant exchanges in technology. Many of these technological innovations learned in the East were brought to Europe in some form. Among the most important changes were the construction and features of fortifications, armor and weapons used by knights, and the use of cavalry over foot soldiers. Military technology transfers with little resistance, because the defeated forces learn from the victors. Soldiers respect military prowess in their adversaries. These innovations affected tactics and armaments, and defensive structures.

Cavalry

Many of the crusaders arrived in the Holy Land on foot, as keeping a horse was beyond the reach of many knights. The armies that the crusaders confronted, however, were largely cavalry trained in the legacy of Turkic horsemen. While the early victories of the crusaders who set up the Latin states called Outremer were based on the element of surprise and lack of unity, over time, the opposing Muslim forces and the environment in the eastern Mediterranean required significant adaptations that in turn affected warfare in Europe as well.

Armor

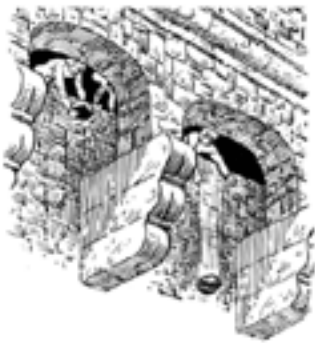
A crusader soldier of the First Crusade typically wore heavier armor consisting of a coat with metal scales attached, over a leather or cloth tunic. They carried heavy broadswords and lances suited to hand-to-hand combat or mounted heavy cavalry. This was poorly suited to the hot climate and movement through the desert. An early adaptation was the use of chain mail or ring mail, a shirt with long sleeves, hand protection, and a collar, with a padded tunic similar to that worn by soldiers in Muslim armies. A Crusader knight wore a helmet that was cone-shaped and mainly protected the face and head, attached by leather straps, and sometimes had a plate to cover the nose.



This basic helmet evolved into variations such as an iron cap with a brim, which would protect against falling objects, arrows, and the blinding sun. It was paired with a chain mail hood and cotton quilted cap. In contrast, a heavier helmet called the Great Helmet became typical of the Crusader cavalry. It had a flat (later rounded or peaked) top with eye slits and a perforated face visor, and might be decorated to distinguish its wearer and show off his wealth. Both types are shown in this image⁵.

Shields also changed from a large rectangular or kite-shaped one made of leather or wood reinforced with iron, which was suitable for broadsword combat on foot. Its successor, modeled on the Turkic horsemen's shields, was lighter, round or triangular, covering the upper body. Some examples are also seen in the image above.

Fortifications & Castles



Fortified cities were the norm in medieval times, and they were an important part of Crusader defenses. This was especially true for the Latin Crusader states, which were short on manpower, but could rely on labor from the surrounding area, or prisoners to construct walls. In the eastern Mediterranean, wood was scarce, but stone plentiful. Water scarcity made moats, which were common in Europe, impossible as protection, but trenches often surrounded them, or the walls were angled so as to prevent them from being scaled vertically. Curtain walls were an innovation as strong, steep walls that surrounded the inner structures of the city or castle. These were first seen in northern Syria and were widely imitated in Europe throughout the period.

Atop the curtain walls were machicolations, protected structures that jutted out from the walls that allowed defenders to drop objects or liquids onto the besieging troops⁶. Concealed or indirect entrances to the walls allowed troops to defend the entrances and also foray out to attack by surprise. These innovations in the eastern Mediterranean reflected the fact that cities were more numerous in the East than in medieval Europe at that time, and were in need of sophisticated defensive walls. They were widely copied. Other innovations, such as the arrow loop, are shown in the following illustrations as well as siege weapons and techniques used to Ernie Bradford, *The Sword and the Scimitar: The Saga of the Crusades* (Milan: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1974), 102–3. required a lot of manpower⁷.

⁵ You can sample al-Razi's essays in *Beyond A Thousand and One Nights: A Sampler of Literature from Muslim Civilization* (Council on Islamic Education, 1999).

⁶ Archives of Pearson Scott Foresman, donated to the Wikimedia Foundation. An illustration showing an object being dropped from a machicolation that is supported by stone corbels: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Machicolation#/media/File:Machicolations_\(PSF\).png](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Machicolation#/media/File:Machicolations_(PSF).png).

⁷ Will Wyeth, Eis T n Polin (blog), March 29, 2010, <http://eistenpolin.blogspot.com/2010/03/what-technological-advances-in-warfare.html?view=magazine>.



Arrow slits in castle walls were another important innovation during the Crusades period. Outside, an arrow slit presented a very small target on the thick castle walls. Inside, the slit was wider, and curved or angled to allow the archer to aim his bow and arrow in an arc of up to 120 degrees, while protected from enemy fire. This arrow slit on Kolossi Castle in Cyprus was in the crenellated upper walls (meaning notched with battlements). Most arrow slits were embedded in the solid, lower walls like the picture from Ajlun Castle in Jordan.

Image credits: This photo of Kolossi Castle is courtesy of TripAdvisor at <https://media-cdn.tripadvisor.com/media/photo-s/03/f1/56/b1/kolossi-castle.jpg>; Ajlun Castle, Jordan. <http://hadhramouts.blogspot.com/2013/02/inside-ajloun-castle.html>.

Grenades or fire-pots were based on a Byzantine development called Greek fire, which was used from the 8th century on. Like gunpowder, it's difficult to trace the path of this military technology across Asia and the Mediterranean. Its historical formula is not agreed upon, either, but it makes use of at least one type of incendiary (fire-causing) substance. Naphtha, a substance derived from naturally occurring hydrocarbons such as peat and crude petroleum, was one ingredient in Greek fire. Other ingredients were burning pitch, sulfur, resin, quicklime and bitumen (a tar-like substance). Earthenware pots from the Crusades period that were filled with incendiary material have been found in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria with traces of the material inside. They could be launched by hand, by catapult, or by rockets. Smaller ones could be launched by arrow.



Image credit: Shipping and Maritime Blog, svmblogger. "Greek Fire – a Secret Weapon," November 19, 2012. <https://svmshippingblog.wordpress.com/2012/11/19/585/> ; "Stronghold Heaven: The History of Greek Fire." <http://stronghold.heavengames.com/sc/history/greekfire>.

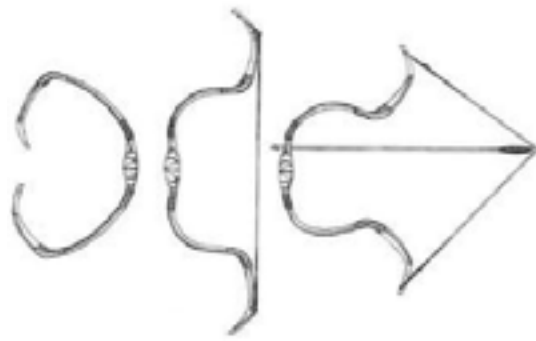
Gunpowder is another substance of mysterious origins. It works on the idea of rapid oxidation, that is, combustion of carbon to create an explosion that can take place in a closed chamber. The ingredients of gunpowder are ground charcoal, sulfur, and saltpeter. Saltpeter, or potassium nitrate, is the oxidizer. It is a white, crystalline, organic chemical—a byproduct of animal dung. It can be mined in ancient bat caves or bird dung piles as the substance called guano. It can be produced by composting animal dung for about a year. Saltpeter + Carbon + Sulfur = Gunpowder. Gunpowder explodes because the nitrates in saltpeter release oxygen when they are heated, even by a small flame like a match, or by a spark made when metal strikes flint (a stone used to make fire). Oxygen from potassium nitrate causes the carbon and sulfur to burn in a quick chemical reaction—an explosion. Most important for weapons, gunpowder burns in a closed place like a rocket tube or the barrel of a cannon. Gunpowder may have originated in China, or may have been developed independently in the Middle East, but it was certainly present in the eastern and southern Mediterranean region by the time of the later Crusades. Handheld cannons (guns) were shown in the famous 13th century book on warfare by *Hassan al-Rammah, Kitab al-furusiyya wa al-manasib al-harbiyya* [Book of Military Horsemanship and Ingenious War Devices] (1280), edited by Ahmad Yusuf al-Hassan, University of Aleppo Publications, 1998.



Rocket technology was another use for gunpowder. The left image shows a rocket model like a torpedo from the Crusades period that is featured in the Smithsonian Air & Space Museum collection in Washington, DC. The concept was to place a combustible substance in a formula similar to gunpowder in a closed brass vessel shaped for propulsion through water. It could be used to attack ships below the water line. This design was also featured in *Hassan al-Rammah, Kitab al-furusiyya wa al-manasib al-harbiyya* [Book of Military Horsemanship and Ingenious War Devices] (1280), edited by Ahmad Yusuf Al-Hassan, University of Aleppo Publications, 1998.

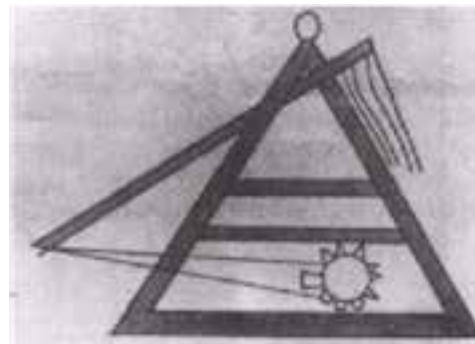
Image credit: “Muslim Rocket Technology | Muslim Heritage.” Accessed December 17, 2017. <http://www.muslimheritage.com/article/muslim-rocket-technology>.

The **Turkish composite recurve bow** was made of wood and horn that was laminated, or glued together. Its string was animal sinew. The bow got its power from the fact that when it was strung, the “C” shape was reversed as shown here, storing a great deal of energy to release into the arrow. It was light but more powerful than the much larger longbow made only of wood. A Turkish innovation, it was exactly suited to rapid advance cavalry. Together with the stirrup, a mounted archer could ride hands-free and shoot a succession of arrows. A large group of mounted cavalry could unleash a hail of arrows on their opponent.



A modification of the composite recurve bow was to add a *majra*, an arrow-guide of wood that would allow it to shoot compact darts rather than arrows. The wooden channel was looped onto the archer's hand and the dart was placed in it. Only the dart was released—faster than an arrow and often invisible as it went through the air, making it a lethal weapon. A soldier could carry twice as many darts as arrows with the *majra*. The *majra* allowed mounted cavalry to use a light bow like a heavy crossbow, and fire rapidly from horseback. It also worked during sieges from within and outside the fortified walls.

Image credit: "Defence and Freedom: Exotic Ancient Weapons: (I) *Majra*." Defence and Freedom, April 8, 2011. <http://defense-and-freedom.blogspot.com/2011/04/exotic-ancient-weapons-i-majra.html>.



Siege engines were used to hurl explosives or bombard fortifications. In Roman times, catapults were known that used lever technology to throw heavy weights. In the seventh century, various forms of missile throwers using traction, counterweights and bearings became known to Muslim military engineers, probably from China via Central Asia. The image from the *Chronicle of Petrus de Eboli* (ca.1180) shows soldiers using recurve bows and crossbows, and also shows a traction trebuchet being used. The mechanism used a single post supported by braces to the ground. On the top is an axle on the pole which would allow the trebuchet to rotate to aim in different directions. The soldier holding the sling in which the missile was placed also helped determine its trajectory by bending the beam and giving it more power. These innovations are described in Arab writings such as the diagram of a traction trebuchet in *Hasan al-Rammah* (ca. 1285), which may illustrate an incendiary bomb of clay containing Greek fire.

Image credit: "Historic Traction Trebuchet Illustrations Pt 1." <http://members.iinet.net.au/~rmine/htt/htt01.html>.

Cross-Cultural Trade and Cultural Exchange during the Crusades



Trade in much of Europe declined after the fall of Rome, and towns and cities declined in size, roads were not safe, and feudal manors were an important and self-sufficient unit. Urban life remained active in the east, where cities grew especially with the rise of Islam, when Muslim societies—though not unified in a single empire—spread from the borders of China to the Iberian Peninsula in Europe on the Atlantic and Mediterranean.

The Crusades did not mark the beginning of trade between Muslim and Christian lands in Europe. Italian merchants traded across the Mediterranean with Constantinople, Syria and Egypt, and Spanish Muslims and Christians traded actively and produced fine goods for sale. Sicily, under Muslim rule and then under Norman rule, was a source of contact and production of goods. Among the most precious articles of trade were metal wares, silk textiles, and glass, as well as some food stuffs, dyes and perfumes.

The contribution of the Crusades was that trade increased as Europeans traveled and became more familiar with exotic goods. Increased contact and trade was part of the reason for the rise of towns and cities in western Europe, starting in Italy. Despite warfare during the long period of the Crusades, Italian merchant cities like Amalfi, Genoa, Venice and Florence strengthened trade ties with ports in the Levant (eastern Mediterranean coast), where they allied with crusader states to gain access to ports such as Latakia, Tripoli, Acre, Alexandria, and Damietta. As trade increased with demand and production in northern Europe, trade routes on the Atlantic and the North Sea joined with Mediterranean routes, and carried trade goods in to Europe by river trade and across the Alps.

Trade and travel meant people saw, heard, tasted and touched new things, and influences in the arts and lifestyles moved with them, bringing new styles of building, decoration, clothing, cooking and music—for those wealthy enough to afford the new things. In the following sections, read about some objects of fine living that entered Europe in part as an outcome of the exchanges during the Crusades.



Map source: http://academic.udayton.edu/williamschuerman/Trade_Routes.jpg

Spanish Muslim Traveler Ibn Jubayr Speaks about Armies and Caravans in the 12th Century:

From Muhammad ibn Ahmad Ibn Jubayr, (Roland Broadhurst, translator), *Travels of Ibn Jubayr: Being the Chronicles of a Medieval Spanish Moor Concerning His Journey to the Egypt of Saladin, the Holy Cities of Arabia, Baghdad the City of the Caliphs, the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and the Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (London: Cape, 1952), pp. 300–301.

Introduction:

Ibn Jubayr (b. 1145) was a resident of al-Andalus, or Muslim Spain, during the 12th century. His journey was the result of an unfortunate incident at the court of his ruler. It seems that the ruler forced the pious scholar Ibn Jubayr to taste an alcoholic beverage in jest. Ibn Jubayr was so disturbed that it caused the ruler to regret his actions. To make up for the outrage, he is said to have given Ibn Jubayr a quantity of gold. To atone for his sin of weakness, Ibn Jubayr vowed to use the money for a Hajj, or pilgrimage journey to Makkah. He did so, and made a tour of several other places around the Mediterranean. Historically, his travel account is especially interesting since he traveled during the Crusades, at the time of Salah al-Din (Saladin). He was an excellent observer of his time.

From Ibn Jubayr's Travels in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria:

"One of the astonishing things that is talked of is that though the fires of discord burn between the two parties, Muslim and Christian, two armies of them may meet and dispose themselves in battle array, and yet Muslim and Christian travelers will come and go between them without interference. In this connection we saw at this time, that is the month of Jumada al-Ula [in the Islamic calendar], the departure of Saladin with all the Muslims troops to lay siege to the fortress of Kerak, one of the greatest of the Christian strongholds lying astride the Hejaz road [the pilgrimage route to Makkah] and hindering the overland passage of the Muslims. Between it and Jerusalem lies a day's journey or a little more. It occupies the choicest part of the land of Palestine, and has a very wide dominion with continuous settlements, it being said that the number of villages reaches four hundred. This Sultan invested it, and put it to sore straits, and long the siege lasted, but still the caravans passed successively from Egypt to Damascus, going through the lands of the Franks without impediment from them. In the same way the Muslims continuously journeyed from Damascus to Acre (through Frankish territory), and likewise not one of the Christian merchants was stopped or hindered (in Muslim territories).

The Christians impose a tax on the Muslims in their land which gives them full security; and likewise the Christian merchants pay a tax upon their goods in Muslim lands. Agreement exists between them, and there is equal treatment in all cases. The soldiers engage themselves in their war, while the people are at peace and the world goes to him who conquers." (Ibn Jubayr, born 1145) (CITATION: pages 300–301)

Metalwork

Ayyubid Canteen with Christian and Islamic Motifs



The Freer Canteen is one of the finest examples of Islamic metalwork from the eastern Mediterranean. It is made of brass inlaid with silver and a black substance called niello to highlight the design. It is large, about 37 cm (1 foot) in diameter. The design is based on units of three bands, circles, and scenes. At the center on the domed top is the Madonna and Christ Child enthroned with angels holding up the throne above and below, attended by two men praying, one with a turban and the other a halo. Three looped circles contain animals, fish, and birds, and between them are scenes from Jesus' life: his birth or nativity scene, presenting him in the temple, and Christ's entry into Jerusalem.



On the shoulder of the canteen are bands with an inscription in Arabic, with a blessing wishing the owner glory, security, prosperity and good fortune, as well as victory and enduring power, *"everlasting favor and perfect honor."* The middle band is an animated inscription formed by a procession of real and fantastic creatures, human horsemen and camels whose bodies make up the strokes of the Arabic letters. This extremely intricate inscription reads: *"Eternal glory and perfect prosperity, increasing good luck, the chief, the commander, the most illustrious, the honest, the sublime, the pious, the leader, the soldier, the warrior of the frontiers."* (Atil, p. 124) The lowest band is a series of 30 roundels with a hawk attacking a bird, and seated figures of musicians and figures drinking, and bowls of fruit. The bottom of the canteen has twenty-five standing figures divided by pillars. They represent saints in robes with books, censers and others show soldiers with weapons. One set may show Mary and the Angel Gabriel. The central ring on the bottom shows a scene of knights in a tournament. Even the neck of the canteen has intricate inlaid inscriptions and designs.



The patron who commissioned this remarkable piece from a Syrian or Iraqi artisan was a Christian familiar with knightly endeavors—perhaps a Crusader. The canteen is one of the most spectacular examples of this kind of Islamic metalwork.

Image credit: CANTEEN, Ayyubid period, mid-13th century, Mosul School, http://www.asia.si.edu/collections/edan/object.php?q=fsg_F1941.10.

Brass, silver inlay, DIMENSION(S) H x W (overall): 45.2 x 36.7 cm (17 13/16 x 14 7/16 in), Syria or Northern Iraq, Purchase — Charles Lang Freer Endowment, Freer Gallery of Art, ACCESSION NUMBER F1941.10.

Source for text: Esin Atil, W. T. Chase, Paul Jett, *Islamic Metalwork in the Freer Gallery of Art* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Freer Gallery of Art, 1985), pp. 125–33 (canteen); pp. 137–43 (Basin).

Ayyubid Basin with Christian and Islamic Motifs



This example of inlaid brass and silver Islamic metalwork was created during the reign of Sultan al-Malik al-Salih Najmuddin Ayyub. He was the son of al-Malik al-Kamil and the last Ayyubid ruler, who reigned from 1240–1249. It was commissioned for the Sultan, according to inscriptions on the interior and exterior of the basin. The basin is decorated with both Islamic and Christian themes, and so it might have been commissioned either by a wealthy Muslim or Christian patron, to demonstrate religious tolerance in Ayyubid Syria during that time, continuing the legacy of the Sultan's father, al-Kamil.

On the outside of the large basin (50 cm/20 inches in diameter) are scenes from Jesus' life: the Annunciation, the Virgin and Child enthroned, the miracle of raising Lazarus from the dead, Christ's entry into Jerusalem, and a scene that might represent Christ's Last Supper with his disciples. Other designs on the outside of the basin show a polo game and a procession of realistic and imaginary animals. Between them are seated musicians in round medallions. Inside the basin, a row of thirty-nine standing figures separated by pillars and arches represent saints or other important persons. The inscription around the inside rim celebrates the ruler Najm al-Din Ayyub as "*Our master, the illustrious, the learned, the efficient, the defender, the warrior, the supported, the conqueror, the victor, lord of Islam and the Muslims... may his victory be glorious.*" Whether commissioned by a Muslim or Christian patron for the Sultan, the combination implies religious tolerance in thirteenth-century Ayyubid Syria. Najm al-Din lost his life in Egypt in 1249 while fighting against the Crusade of St. Louis.

Image Credit: Basin, Ayyubid period, Reign of Sultan Najmal-Din Ayyub, 1247–1249, http://www.asia.si.edu/collections/edan/object.php?q=fsg_F1955.10.

Brass, inlaid with silver, DIMENSION(S) H x W x D: 22.5 x 50 x 50 cm (8 7/8 x 19 11/16 x 19 11/16 in), Syria, Probably Damascus, Freer Gallery of Art, ACCESSION NUMBER F1955.10 Purchase — Charles Lang Freer Endowment.

Source for text: Esin Atil, W. T. Chase, Paul Jett, *Islamic Metalwork in the Freer Gallery of Art* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Freer Gallery of Art, 1985), pp. 125–33 (canteen); pp. 137–43 (Basin).

Silk Textiles

The secrets of silk cultivation and weaving complex patterns called brocades belonged first to China. Silk weaving spread along the Silk Roads to Byzantine and Sassanian Persian royal workshops before the rise of Islam, and was adopted by the Muslim Abbasid caliphs, who established their own caliphal workshops. Such royal fabrics were possessed only by the most elite of rulers and courtiers. Their designs reflected symbols of the ruler in the shape of mythic animals, and Muslim caliphs often wove Arabic inscriptions of blessings and of their names. They were given as gifts of robes of honor to show royal favor. It was the ultimate in “power dressing” to be able to wear such a garment.

The technology of silk cultivation, dyeing, and complicated brocade looms spread across the Mediterranean with Islam, carried to Egypt and across North Africa, Spain, and Sicily. Brocade workshops expanded beyond the courtly production and began to produce fine textiles for export. Medieval churches and nobles imported brocades from Spain, Sicily, and Fatimid Egypt for wall hangings, church decoration and vestments (priestly garments worn while celebrating mass). When Sicily fell to the Normans, they inherited silk production centers. As other centers in Italy began to produce silk brocades, they copied the techniques and patterns so well that it is difficult to tell their origin, but imports also continued from the East.

We know what uses these brocades served from paintings made after the thirteenth century in Italy, and later in Spain. Giotto's *Lives of St. Francis* in the basilica at Assisi were the earliest Italian paintings showing imported Islamic silk brocades. The image here shows *Saint Francis Appears to Pope Gregory IX in a Dream*, painted between 1296 and 1305, in the Basilica of St. Francis at Assisi, Italy. A wall hanging behind the pope has intricate geometric designs in bright silk, and a band that imitates Arabic script, which in the original would have had a blessing or other repeated phrase for the owner. Another hanging is a canopy over the bed, and these rich cloths cover the bed and a bench in front of it. The fabrics are probably Spanish imports. In Syria and Egypt, animal patterns were common, which were often copied in early Italian brocade workshops. Even sacred paintings of the Madonna and Child showed the Virgin Mary clothed in fabrics with Islamic designs and Arabic script.

This illustrates that the beauty and luxury of the fabrics was more important than any religious references. These fabrics are also an important sign of trade across the Mediterranean, which only increased as more products from the East became known in Europe.

Image credit: Giotto di Bondone (d. 1337), *Dream of Pope Gregory IX*, from the fresco series of the Legend of St. Francis in the Upper Church, Basilica of San Francesco, Assisi; Date: before 1337, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Saint_Francis_cycle_in_the_Upper_Church_of_San_Francesco_at_Assisi.

Source for text: Rosemond Mack, *From Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300–1600* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 27–22; Alavi and Douglass, *Emergence of Renaissance: Cultural Interactions between Europeans and Muslims* (Fountain Valley, CA: Council on Islamic Education, 1999), pp. 263–74.



Madonna and Child

This painting of the Madonna and Child shows the Virgin Mary against a gold background with a halo, in gilt. Italian artist Giotto (ca. 1266 – 1337), has clothed her in a silken veil and robe with bands of embroidery called *tiraz*, with Arabic lettering. Such fine veils which covered most of the body were typical for wealthy Muslim women of the courts. The Christ child is also wrapped in a fine fabric with embroidered bands. The painter has created an image of the most central figures in Christianity for a setting where worship took place, using a typical Islamic luxury fabric and style of dress for Muslim women. The embroidery bands in Giotto's painting are not legible, but such *tiraz* bands had blessings in Arabic from the Qur'an, alternating with geometric designs. The fabric was used to create an image of great beauty using the most rare and expensive fabrics of the time, which were imported from North Africa or the Levant.



This painting is only one of many examples of Madonna and Child paintings, some of which show halos modeled on fine Islamic metalwork, with Arabic script engraved around the circles. In this example, the halos contain geometric designs in gold, but the archway around the painting shows faint imitations of Arabic lettering. The ports and cities that exported these goods from the East were contested between Christian and Muslim armies, but the fabrics and other luxury items were not controversial even in sacred art, but precious and desirable.

Image source: Giotto, Italian (ca. 1266 – 1337), *Madonna and Child*, painted ca. 1320/1330, tempera on pane Dimensions: 85.5 x 62 cm (33 11/16 x 24 7/16 in.) framed: 128.3 x 72.1 x 5.1 cm (50 1/2 x 28 3/8 x 2 in.), National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, Samuel H. Kress Collection, Accession No.1939.1.256, https://images.nga.gov/?service=asset&action=show_zoom_window_popup&language=en&asset=20008&location=grid&asset_list=20008&basket_item_id=undefined. (expand image to show detail online)

- What does this image say about relations between East and West, Christendom and Islam at the time of the Crusades?



Glassware

This beaker was made as part of a set made in Syria during the Crusader period, about 1260. There are two important features of the beaker. First, its glass is almost colorless, which required the addition of certain chemicals. Second, it features colored and gold enamel designs that were applied and then heated again to fuse them to the glass. Both techniques were adopted by Venetian glassmakers on the famous island of Murano where glass artisans and their secrets were kept. Another feature of this beaker is that Islamic imagery and Arabic script were combined with an important Christian decorative theme—an image of Jesus entering Jerusalem riding on a grey donkey.

Image source: Syria, ca. 1260 (Crusade, glass with gilding and enamel), Walters Art Museum, Accession Number 47.18, <http://art.thewalters.org/detail/30828/beaker-2/>.

The Crusades and Glassmaking Technology

In their book *Islamic Technology*, Donald Hill and Ahmed al-Hassan cite the text of a treaty between Bohemond VII, prince of the Syrian city of Antioch, and the Doge (ruler) of the Italian city-state of Venice: “a treaty for the transfer of technology was drawn up in June A.D. 1277. . . . It was through this treaty that the secrets of Syrian glassmaking were brought to Venice, everything necessary being imported directly from Syria—raw materials as well as the expertise of Syrian-Arab craftsmen. Once it had learnt them, Venice guarded the secrets of technology with great care, monopolizing European glass manufacture until the techniques became known in seventeenth century France.”

Text Source: Ahmed al-Hassan and Donald Hill, *Islamic Technology* (New York: Cambridge University Press/ UNESCO, 1987), p. 153.

Rosamond Mack, in her book *From Bazaar to Piazza*, describes the Venetian island of Murano where glass-making was isolated both for its fire hazard, but also to protect its secrets. Mack acknowledges the influence on Venetian glass of Islamic and Byzantine techniques and decorative styles. Before the Crusades, Venetian artisans made glass. During the Crusades, their industry benefitted from trade relations and transfers of material. They imported alkali, an essential ingredient, “through its merchant colonies in the crusader states. A treaty of 1277 between Doge Giacomo Contarini and Bohemond VII, prince of Antioch, mentions duties on broken glass loaded at Tripoli that served as raw material in Venice. Production and markets were varied by the end of the Crusades; “water bottles and scent flasks and other such graceful objects of glass” were proudly borne in the inaugural procession for Doge Lorenzo Tiepolo in 1268, the Polo brothers opened the Oriental market for Venetian glass beyond the Alps.”

Text Source: Rosamond Mack, *From Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300–1600* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002], p. 113.)

For more on Islamic glass technology and its history, see “Glass” at <http://islamicspain.tv/Arts-and-Science/The-Culture-of-Al-Andalus/index.html>.



Islamic Artistic Influences in the Basilica of San Francesco

St. Francis's visit to the court of al-Malik al-Kamil during the Fifth Crusade at Damietta, on the Mediterranean coast of Egypt has meant different things in different eras. Chroniclers of the Crusades, Church biographers of Francis after he was made a saint ranged from his desire to convert the Sultan, to seek martyrdom, to prove that Christianity was the True Religion, and the simple desire in emulation of Jesus, to end warfare and bring peace. In the 21st century, the Crusades have come to represent a seemingly unbridgeable divide between East and West, Islam and Christianity, even though historians have discovered a parallel history of peaceful exchange during the same period, and after.

After St. Francis's death, the simple man whose life was a symbol of richness of spirit and material poverty very quickly became a canonized saint. On 16 July 1228, Francis was canonized by Pope Gregory IX in Assisi, and he laid the foundation stone of the new church the following day. The pope arranged to build a worthy tomb and basilica, site of pilgrimage, and a convent as home for the Friars Minor, the Order of the Franciscans. It was designed by Maestro Jacopo Tedesco, the most famous architect of his time in Italy, and supervised by Brother Elias, one of St. Francis's first followers. It was built between 1230 and 1253, with a Lower Church and an Upper Church, and a crypt in which St. Francis is buried. It became a UNESCO world heritage site in 2000.



Rev. Michael Calabria, scholar of Islamic art, and a Franciscan himself, has studied the Basilica's architectures and decorations. The Basilica of St. Francis shows many signs of artistic influences from Muslim world that are seldom noticed by historians of Italian early Renaissance art, and may have been conscious or unconscious influences. The Basilica is known as the first Italian Gothic building, and its Romanesque and Byzantine elements are also noticed, especially in the burial crypt. It is actually most similar to buildings called Italo-Islamic, which are found in southern Italy in places influenced

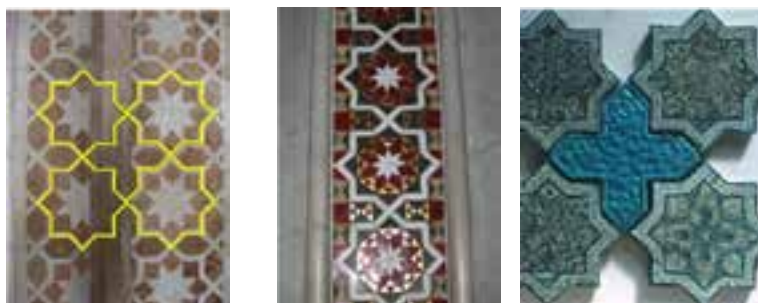
by Sicily's Islamic past and the Norman-Islamic forms that followed. These influences in Italy were the result of trade networks between maritime Italian city-states such as Venice, Amalfi, and Genoa. Inland Assisi was not part of these networks, but it was located 70 miles from the port city of Ancona, so the merchants and nobles of Assisi were exposed to those networks and the goods and ideas that came through them.

The first sign of Islamic influence is the use of pointed arches, which are a signature of European gothic architecture. Pointed arches allow wider arches in walls, making room for windows—especially stained glass windows as seen in the image of the interior of the upper church. Pointed arches are found in many Islamic buildings, appearing first at 9th century Samara in Iraq, according to Michael Calabria. Crusaders and travelers would have seen many of these buildings in Palermo, Sicily, in Spain, in the Levant, and in Egypt, such as the Mosque of Ibn Tulun in Cairo, which dates to the 9th century.



The next element of Islamic influence is found throughout the Basilica and its frescoes and ornamental features. It is the eight-pointed star. The 8-pointed star originated in the ancient Near East, in textiles. In Coptic tradition, the number 8 represents renewal & rebirth, the story of Noah's 8 people surviving the flood, and Christ rising on the eighth, not the 7th day. In Islamic tradition, the throne of God is supported by 8 pillars, with 8 angels carrying the throne of God, and eight gates to 8 Paradises after the Judgment Day. In the Qur'an, the word "Kun!" or "Be!" is mentioned 8 times—the Word used by God to bring creation into being—how Adam and Jesus were created.

The eight-pointed star appears in many places in the Basilica: on the entrance to the Lower Church, decorating the arches, and as mosaics on the floors. In the nave, 8-pointed stars, with internal 8-point star, and connected by rectangular & triangular forms with interlaced lines. A variation of the pattern that appears in the basilica is modeled on another Islamic geometric design—the tessellated star and cross pattern—as in these turquoise ceramic tiles from Kashan.



The star and cross design appears also in the textiles and architectural features depicted in the frescoes of St. Francis's life, the lives of other holy figures. The most spectacular image featuring the star and cross motif is in the painting of Francis over the altar, showing Francis enthroned in heaven with gold brocade clothing and seated on an Islamic textile woven in gold brocade.



The Meanings of Islamic Influence in the Basilica

Michael Calabria finds that Francis's humble encounter with al-Kamil had a deep impact on the expression of his faith. Francis returned from Egypt and wrote a letter to the rulers, saying that there should be a sound used to call worshippers to prayer—such bells come from the Franciscan tradition. He was impressed with the participation of all in the five daily Islamic prayers, and with the names of God. He wrote a prayer of supplication to God, unlike any other in the tradition of Christian sacred literature at that time. The last gesture of Francis's life was that he asked to be laid on the bare ground, perhaps a gesture of submission to God. These are very reminiscent of aspects of Islamic worship he would have witnessed during his time in al-Kamil's presence.

As for the Basilica, the magnificent structure contradicts Francis' message of poverty, but it is not so ironic that the Basilica has unconsciously perhaps, drawn elements from the Islamic society he visited into the realm of western Christendom. This arose, says Calabria, "not by trouncing or triumphing, or confronting or coercing, but in a seamless blending of styles arising simply from a mutual appreciation and sharing what is beautiful. In this way the Basilica can be said to be a fitting reflection of what occurred in Francis' own personal encounter with Islam, inspiring his own faith and prayer." What was created, he said, is a common visual language across cultural and religious boundaries. This common vision and language of beauty is too often forgotten a world that in more recent centuries has accepted rigid dichotomies of east and west, European and African, European and Asian, Christian and Muslim, to the exclusion of a deeper and more integral unity."

Text and image sources: Calabria, Michael D. "Seeing Stars: Islamic Decorative Motifs in the Basilica of St. Francis." Select Proceedings from the First International Conference on Franciscan Studies: The World of St. Francis of Assisi, Siena, Italy, July 16-20, 2015. Pp. 63-72; also, lecture at Georgetown University by Fr. Michael Calabria, "The Confluence of Cultures: Italo-Islamic Art and the Basilica of St. Francis in Assisi" (View video lecture at the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies at Georgetown University, August 2014, at <http://vimeo.com/226482289>).

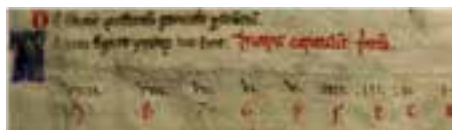
Other images of the Basilica of St. Francis of Assisi at

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Basilica_di_San_Francesco_\(Assisi\)](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Basilica_di_San_Francesco_(Assisi)), Roberto Ferrari from Campogalliano (Modena), Italy under Wikimedia commons; upper & lower churches: Basilica of St. Francis by Berthold Werner (Own work) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons.

Mathematical and Scientific Exchanges

Mathematics is part of trade for at least three reasons: (1) It is needed in navigation on the seas, along with astronomy. (2) Merchants need to keep records of goods and money, especially when their routes cover many lands, and when they finance their journeys with other people's money—such as families, trade agreements, or lenders. For that, they need accounting, or bookkeeping. (3) Another important use of mathematics is in building and engineering. When trade grows, people want to build roads, walls to defend their cities, and fine buildings to show off their wealth. Mathematics was also a source of intellectual pride, as rulers and scholars matched wits to solve mathematical problems, out of curiosity or the desire to discover new truths. During the period of the Crusades and after—especially during the 12th century and beyond, mathematical knowledge from Islamic lands entered Europe through translations, along with many other kinds of scientific and technical knowledge. As you may know, one of those innovations was the use of Hindi-Arabic numerals. Read about mathematician Fibonacci who helped introduce those numerals for all of the purposes above.

Fibonacci in North Africa and His Book Liber Abaci



Europeans did not gain access to the mathematical knowledge found in Spain and North Africa until the 12th and 13th centuries. It entered Europe both through a translation of Persian mathematician al-Khwarizmi's book on Algebra done in Spain in the 12th century, and through Italy's North African connections and trade.

Leonardo of Pisa, who died in 1250, is better known as Fibonacci. Leonardo's father took him as a child to Algeria where he did business in the Italian merchant community. He studied mathematics with a "marvelous" Muslim tutor, as he remembered. In 1202 he shared what he had learned of the mathematics used in Muslim lands with his book *Liber Abaci* - The Book of the Abacus. *Liber Abaci* introduced Hindi-Arabic numerals to Europeans. It became popular and enormously simplified business accounting and trade when they replaced Roman numerals. He, and the translator of al-Khwarizmi also introduced the concept of zero - the place holder that allows writing any possible number using only nine digits and zero. He explained how to calculate using the numerals, how to write fractions and He goes to great lengths to describe how to do arithmetic with these numerals, and how to use fractions and ratios. Leonardo of Pisa became famous, and introduced him to Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II - the same person with whom al-Kamil negotiated the treaty on Jerusalem. Frederick II, who also corresponded with al-Kamil about mathematics, supported Fibonacci later in his life, and helped publish many books on mathematical ideas. was renowned for his thirst for knowledge. In the 15th century, the printing press spread Hindu–Arabic number system throughout Europe and beyond.

Image credits: "Roots: Legacy of Fibonacci," 1228 edition of *Liber Abaci* and image of Fibonacci at Emma Bell, Chalkdust: a *Magazine for the Mathematically Curious*, <http://chalkdustmagazine.com/features/roots-legacy-of-fibonacci/> .

To learn about many other contributions in mathematics, science, technology and the arts, visit <http://islamicspain.tv/Arts-and-Science/The-Culture-of-Al-Andalus/index.html>.

Culinary and Agricultural Exchanges from the Crusades

Sugar

Like all plants, the sugar cane plant is a grass that manufactures sugar from sunlight and water. The juice in the stalk is very sweet. People liked its taste and started growing it thousands of years ago in Southeast Asia. Over the centuries, people brought the knowledge of how to grow sugarcane to India, then to Persia and across medieval Muslim lands to Spain. Muslim traders and migrating farmers brought sugar to the Mediterranean lands, including the Iberian Peninsula, around 1000. Europeans became aware of the sweet treat through visits to Muslim Spain, and through the luxury trade across the Mediterranean, carried on mainly by Italian merchants. Sugar was a rare luxury accessible only to the rich.

Crusaders who conquered what became the Latin Crusader States found sugar already being cultivated and refined. They learned these techniques from the Arabs and continued its cultivation, with the main center of the industry in Tyre in Lebanon. They also learned to use it in pastries made with fine wheat flour, fruit preservation, and candies, the name coming from the Arabic word qandi. The sugar that Europeans enjoyed during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries came from the Crusader lands in the East.

Spices

Other items that Europeans learned of during the Crusades, and then began to import in greater amounts were spices and herbs. The most important was balm (*Melissa officinalis*), used in church services. Others were cinnamon, pepper, cloves, cardamom, cumin and various Mediterranean herbs such as oregano and sage, which were used in cooking. A merchant's guide from Florence of 1310–1340 lists 288 "Spices," which included "seasonings, perfumes, dyestuffs and medicinal of Oriental and African origin." Among the long list are chemicals used in coloring cloth and preserving food, such as alum, wax, gallnuts, and indigo, dyes for making blue, red, yellow, and black fish glue, gum Arabic, soda ash, and many other things. Among the spices we think of as seasonings, they imported citron, fennel, pepper, poppies, sumac, cloves, cinnamon, caraway, cardamom, ginger, mace (nutmeg) cumin, myrrh, frankincense, sandalwood, and rose water, to name just a few.

Rice was first grown in tropical Southeast Asia, where it spread to China and beyond in the east, and India and Persia, and Iraq before reaching Mediterranean lands with irrigation systems that would allow it to grow. Rice was not at all common in Europe's cold climate, but was a rare import. It was listed in the same merchant's guide, as a "spice" which seems to have meant something rare and tasty.

Source of text: Wright, Clifford A. *A Mediterranean Feast: <> Story of the Birth of the Celebrated Cuisines of the Mediterranean, from the Merchants of Venice to the Barbary Corsair*, (Morrow, 1999), http://www.cliffordawright.com/caw/food/entries/display.php/topic_id/23/id/99/; Robert S. Lopez and Irving W. Raymond, translators, *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World: Illustrative Documents* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), pp. 108-114. Excerpts from book on medieval trade documents (List of 88 "spices").

Macaroni and Pasta

It may be hard to imagine Italian cooking without pasta, but the most common form of pasta dough entered Italy around the time of the Crusades. Durum wheat, or semolina, is a type of wheat that is low in moisture, and can be stored for a long time for export. It has very high in gluten protein, which means that when made into dough, it is very stretchy—perfect for rolling into thin pasta sheets or made into many pasta shapes.

The history of pasta is very old, and was made from many types of grain. When the thin dough was dried, it was easy to store, light to pack for travels, and ready to eat after boiling in water a short time. It could be combined with any meat, sauce, or vegetable. It could even be eaten sweet, cooked with milk and honey. There is a popular legend that Marco Polo learned of pasta in China, but it was there before he ever went, even though he surely learned about new types on his 13th century travels to China. Durum wheat—semolina—was introduced to Europe through Muslim Spain, and the Crusaders were also exposed to it from the 11th century in Syria. Durum wheat itself probably originated in Central Asia, in today's Afghanistan, and spread across Muslim lands, like many other foods.



Source: <http://www.katjaorlova.com/PastaClass.html>. Image from the *The Tacuinum Sanitatis*, a medieval handbook of health, a translation and compilation from the *Taqw m as-Sihhah* (Maintenance of Health), an eleventh-century Arab medical treatise by Ibn Butlan of Baghdad. This is from a Vienna edition, showing pasta being rolled, cut and dried on a rack.

WHAT IS HOLY WAR AND WHAT IS JIHAD?



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What Is Holy War and What Is Jihad?

Part 1: Analyzing Historical Documents from the Crusades Period

Overview

The lesson provides several documents from the crusaders and the Muslim side. For the first, the documents are the pope's statements calling out the First and Fifth Crusades. For the second, a poem and narrative in response to the loss of Jerusalem in the First Crusade, and Muslim religious leaders' call for jihad as a response to the crusaders' advance and sustained presence in the Latin States, as well as an early Ayyubid expression of the ruler as defender of Islam through an inscription. Finally, three passages give historians' views of the development of the ideas of holy war and jihad in contrast to practical or secular reasons for war.

Objectives

Students will:

- Identify language in the documents that calls for war and gives justifications for war.
- Identify language that characterizes or describes the enemy and their actions as part of the justification for war.
- Identify language that gives ordinary civilians and the military on each side reasons to risk their lives. In other words, what are the promised "rewards of fighting."
- Identify language in the documents that gives authority to call for war, and identifies who is to answer the call.
- Identify language in the documents that gives nonreligious reasons to go to war on both sides.
- Analyze what role you think religion actually played in the motivation and conduct of war during the Crusades on both sides.

Lesson Procedure

1. Assign pairs or groups to read one document each (may also be longer-term assignment for reading outside class, so all gain exposure to the documents) and assign one or more items from the lesson objectives above to be located in the documents.
2. Alternatively, create a graphic organizer on the floor, bulletin board, or flip charts where students can use scissors or copy and paste text electronically to locate passages that correspond to those categories in the objectives.
3. Share out results and discuss.

Handout: Christian and Muslim Calls for War—Document Study

The Speech of **Urban II at the Council of Clermont**, 1095, Fulcher of Chartres: In 1094 or 1095, Alexius, the Greek emperor, sent to the pope, Urban II, and asked for aid from the West against the Turks, who had taken nearly all of Asia Minor from him. At the council of Clermont, Urban addressed a great crowd, and urged all to go to the aid of the Greeks and to recover Palestine from the rule of the Mohammedans. The acts of the council have not been preserved, but we have four accounts of the speech of Urban that were written by men who were present and heard him. We give the two most important of these accounts.

“Most beloved brethren: Urged by necessity, I, Urban, by the permission of God chief bishop and prelate over the whole world, have come into these parts as an ambassador with a divine admonition to you, the servants of God. I hoped to find you as faithful and as zealous in the service of God as I had supposed you to be. But if there is in you any deformity or crookedness contrary to God’s law, with divine help I will do my best to remove it. For God has put you as stewards over his family to minister to it. Happy indeed will you be if He finds you faithful in your stewardship. You are called shepherds; see that you do not act as hirelings. But be true shepherds, with your crooks always in your hands. Do not go to sleep, but guard on all sides the flock committed to you. For if through your carelessness or negligence a wolf carries away one of your sheep, you will surely lose the reward laid up for you with God. And after you have been bitterly scourged with remorse for your faults, you will be fiercely overwhelmed in hell, the abode of death. For according to the Gospel you are the salt of the earth [Matt. 5:13]. But if you fall short in your duty, how, it may be asked, can it be salted? O how great the need of salting! It is indeed necessary for you to correct with the salt of wisdom this foolish people which is so devoted to the pleasures of this world, lest the Lord, when He may wish to speak to them, find them putrefied by their sins, unsalted and stinking. For if He shall find worms, that is, sins, in them, because you have been negligent in your duty, He will command them as worthless to be thrown into the abyss of unclean things. And because you cannot restore to Him His great loss, He will surely condemn you and drive you from His loving presence. But the man who applies this salt should be prudent, provident, modest, learned, peaceable, watchful, pious, just, equitable, and pure. For how can the ignorant teach others? How can the licentious make others modest? And how can the impure make others pure? If anyone hates peace, how can he make others peaceable? Or if anyone has soiled his hands with baseness, how can he cleanse the impurities of another? We read also that if the blind lead the blind, both will fall into the ditch [Matt. 15:14]. But first correct yourselves, in order that, free from blame, you may be able to correct those who are subject to you. If you wish to be the friends of God, gladly do the things which you know will please Him. You must especially let all matters that pertain to the church be controlled by the law of the church. And be careful that simony does not take root among you, lest both those who buy and those who sell [church offices] be beaten with the scourges of the Lord through narrow streets and driven into the place of destruction and confusion. Keep the church and the clergy in all its grades entirely free from the secular power. See that the tithes that belong to God are faithfully paid from all the produce of the land; let them not be sold or withheld. If anyone seizes a bishop let him be treated as an outlaw. If anyone seizes or robs monks, or clergymen, or nuns, or their servants, or pilgrims, or merchants, let him be anathema [that is, cursed]. Let robbers and incendiaries and all their accomplices be expelled from the church and anathematized. If a man who does not give a part of his goods as alms is punished with the damnation of hell, how should he be punished who robs another of his goods? For thus it happened to the rich man in the gospel [Luke 16:19]; for he was not punished because he had stolen the goods of another, but because he had not used well the things which were his.

“You have seen for a long time the great disorder in the world caused by these crimes. It is so bad in some of your provinces, I am told, and you are so weak in the administration of justice, that one can hardly go along the road by day or night without being attacked by robbers; and whether at home or abroad, one is in danger of being despoiled either by force or fraud. Therefore it is necessary to reenact the truce, as it is commonly called, which was proclaimed a long time ago by our holy fathers. I exhort and demand that you, each, try hard to have the truce kept in your diocese. And if anyone shall be led by his cupidity or arrogance to break this truce, by the authority of God and with the sanction of this council he shall be anathematized.” After these and various other matters had been attended to, all who were present, clergy and people, gave thanks to God and agreed to the pope’s proposition. They all faithfully promised to keep the decrees. Then the pope said that in another part of the world Christianity was suffering from a state of affairs that was worse than the one just mentioned. He continued:

“Although, O sons of God, you have promised more firmly than ever to keep the peace among yourselves and to preserve the rights of the church, there remains still an important work for you to do. Freshly quickened by the divine correction, you must apply the strength of your righteousness to another matter which concerns you as well as God. For your brethren who live in the east are in urgent need of your help, and you must hasten to give them the aid which has often been promised them. For, as the most of you have heard, the Turks and Arabs have attacked them and have conquered the territory of Romania [the Greek Empire] as far west as the shore of the Mediterranean and the Hellespont, which is called the Arm of St. George. They have occupied more and more of the lands of those Christians, and have overcome them in seven battles. They have killed and captured many, and have destroyed the churches and devastated the empire. If you permit them to continue thus for awhile with impunity, the faithful of God will be much more widely attacked by them. On this account I, or rather the Lord, beseech you as Christ’s heralds to publish this everywhere and to persuade all people of whatever rank, foot-soldiers and knights, poor and rich, to carry aid promptly to those Christians and to destroy that vile race from the lands of our friends. I say this to those who are present, it is meant also for those who are absent. Moreover, Christ commands it.

“All who die by the way, whether by land or by sea, or in battle against the pagans, shall have immediate remission of sins. This I grant them through the power of God with which I am invested. O what a disgrace if such a despised and base race, which worships demons, should conquer a people which has the faith of omnipotent God and is made glorious with the name of Christ! With what reproaches will the Lord overwhelm us if you do not aid those who, with us, profess the Christian religion! Let those who have been accustomed unjustly to wage private warfare against the faithful now go against the infidels and end with victory this war which should have been begun long ago. Let those who, for a long time, have been robbers, now become knights. Let those who have been fighting against their brothers and relatives now fight in a proper way against the barbarians. Let those who have been serving as mercenaries for small pay now obtain the eternal reward. Let those who have been wearing themselves out in both body and soul now work for a double honor. Behold! on this side will be the sorrowful and poor, on that, the rich; on this side, the enemies of the Lord, on that, his friends. Let those who go not put off the journey, but rent their lands and collect money for their expenses; and as soon as winter is over and spring comes, let them eagerly set out on the way with God as their guide.”

(**Source:** Oliver J. Thatcher and Edgar Holmes McNeal, *A Source Book for Medieval History* [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905; Project Gutenberg, 2013], pp. 514–18, citing Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, I, pp. 382 f, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/42707/42707-h/42707-h.htm#mh279>; also Dana C. Munro, “Urban and the Crusaders,” *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History*, vol. 1, no. 2 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1895), pp. 5–8. This source notes that the speech was not preserved in the original: <https://sites.dartmouth.edu/crusadememory/2016/04/21/crusader-motives-and-motivation/>)

Innocent III Called for the Fifth Crusade in a Papal Proclamation Called Quia Maior
<https://genius.com/Pope-innocent-iii-quia-maior-annotated>

Pope Innocent III proclaims the Fifth Crusade, 19–29 April 1213:

“Because at this time there is a more compelling urgency than there has ever been before to help the Holy Land in her great need and because we hope that the aid sent to her and will be greater than that which has ever reached her before, listen when, again taking up the old cry, we cry to you. We cry on behalf of him who when dying cried with a loud voice on the cross, becoming obedient to God the father unto the death of the cross, crying out so that he might snatch us from the crucifixion of eternal death. He also cries out with his own voice and says, ‘If any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me,’ as if to say, to put it more plainly, ‘If anyone wishes to follow me to the crown, let him also follow me to the battle, which is now proposed as a test for all men.’ . . .

“In just such a way will the King of Kings, the Lord Jesus Christ, who bestowed on you body and soul and all the other good things you have, condemn you for the vice of ingratitude and the crime of infidelity if you fail to come to his aid when he has been, as it were, thrown out of his kingdom, which he purchased with the price of his blood. So you must know that anyone who fails to serve his Redeemer in this hour of need is blameworthy severe and severely to be blamed.

“For how can a man be said to love his neighbor as himself, in obedience to God’s command, when, knowing that his brothers, who are Christians in faith and in name, are held in the hands of the perfidious Saracens in dire imprisonment and are weighed down by the yoke of most heavy slavery, he does not do something effective to liberate them, thereby transgressing the command of that natural law which the Lord gave in the gospel, “Whatsoever you would that men should do to you, do you also to them?” Or perhaps you do not know that many thousands of Christians are being held in slavery and imprisonment in their hands, tortured by countless torments?

“The Christian peoples, in fact, held almost all the Saracen provinces up to the time of Blessed Gregory; but since then a son of perdition has arisen, the false prophet Muhammad, who has seduced many men from the truth by worldly enticements and the pleasures of the flesh. Although his treachery has prevailed up to the present day, we nevertheless put our trust in the Lord who has already given us a sign that good is to come, that the end of this beast is approaching, whose ‘number,’ according to the Revelation of St. John, will end in 666 years, of which already nearly 600 have passed. . .

“So rouse yourselves, most beloved sons, transforming your quarrels and rivalries, brother against brother, into associations of peace and affection; gird yourselves for the service of the Crucified One, not hesitating to risk your possessions and your persons for him who laid down his life and shed his blood for you, equally certain and sure that if you are truly penitent you will achieve eternal rest as a profit from this temporal labour. For we, trusting in the mercy of almighty God and the authority of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, by that power of binding and loosing that God has conferred on us, although unworthy, grant to all those submitting to this labour personally or at their own expense full forgiveness of their sins, of which they make truthful oral confession with contrite hearts, and as the reward of the just we promise them a greater share of eternal salvation. . . .

“But so that the aid to the Holy Land may be given more easily if it is shared by many, we beg each and every one of you through the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, the one only true, the one eternal God and we speak as Vicar of Christ for an adequate number of fighting men with expenses for three years, to be provided by archbishops and bishops, abbots and priors and chapters, whether of cathedrals or other conventual churches, and all clergy, and also cities, villages and castles, according to their own means. And if there are not enough fighting men for this in any particular company, several groups must be joined together. For we certainly hope that manpower will not be insufficient if the means are not lacking. We ask the same thing from those kings and princes, counts, barons and other magnates, who themselves perhaps are not going personally to the service of the Crucified one. We also demand naval help from maritime cities.

“And so that we should not seem to be laying on others ‘heavy and insupportable burdens’ which we are not willing to ‘move with a finger of our own,’ we declare truthfully before God that we ourselves will do with a willing heart what we have demanded others to do.

“We give special license to the clergy for their needs in this business; for this matter and without any contradiction they may pledge the returns of their benefices for up to three years.

“Because in fact it would mean that aid to the Holy Land would be much impeded or delayed if before taking the cross each person had to be examined to see whether he was personally fit and able to fulfill a vow of this kind, we concede that anyone who wishes, except persons bound by religious profession, may take the cross in such a way that this vow maybe be commuted, redeemed or deferred by apostolic mandate when urgent need or evident expediency demands it. . . .

“We are sure that, since we ought to put much more trust in divine mercy than in human power, we ought to fight in such a conflict not so much with physical arms as with spiritual ones. And so we decree and command that once a month there must be a general procession of men separately and, where it can be done, of women separately, praying with minds and bodies humbly disposed and with devout and fervent prayer, that merciful God will relive us of this shameful disgrace by liberating from the hands of the pagans that land in which he accomplished the universal sacrament of our redemption and by restoring it to the Christian people to the praise and glory of his holy name; with this wise proviso that during that procession the preaching of the cross which brings salvation should always be offered to the people in a way that is assiduous and encouraging. Fasting and almsgiving should be joined to prayer, so that with these as wings the prayer itself may fly more easily and quickly to the most loving ears of God, who will mercifully listen to us at the appointed time. And every day during the celebration of mass, when the moment has come after the Kiss of Peace when the saving sacrifice is to be offered for the sins of the world or is about to be consumed, everyone, men and women alike, must humbly prostrate themselves on the ground and the psalm “Oh God, the heathens are come into thy inheritance” should be sung loudly by the clergy. When this has been ended reverently with this verse, “Let God Arise, and let his enemies be scattered: and let them that hate him flee from before his face, the priest who is celebrating must chant this prayer over the altar:

“God, who disposes all things with marvelous providence, we humbly beseech thee to snatch from the hands of the enemies of the cross the land which thine only-begotten son consecrated with his own blood and to restore it to Christian worship by mercifully directing in the way of eternal salvation the vows of the faithful here present, made for its liberation, though the same Our Lord.”

Muslim Calls for Jihad against the Crusaders - Documents

Abiwarda's Poem

Ibn al-Athir (1160–1233) was a historian who was an eyewitness to the Third Crusade. He quoted a poem by 11th century poet Abu al-Musaffar al-Abiwardi, bemoaning the losses to the Crusaders:

*We have mingled blood with flowing tears, and there is no room
left for pity.*

*To shed tears is a man's worst weapon when the swords stir
up the embers of war.*

*Sons of Islam, behind you are battles in which heads rolled
at your feet.*

*Dare you slumber in the blessed shade of safety, where life is
soft as an orchard flower?*

*How can the eye sleep between the lids at a time of disasters
that would awaken any sleeper?*

*While your Syrian brothers can only sleep on the backs of their
chargers or in vultures' bellies!*

*Must the foreigners feed on our ignominy, while you trail behind
the train of a pleasant life, like men whose world is at peace?*

*When blood has been spilt, when sweet girls must for shame hide
their lovely faces in their hands!*

*When the white swords' points are red with blood, and the iron
of the brown lances is stained with gore!*

*At the sound of sword hammering on lance young children's hair
turns white.*

*This is war, and the infidel's sword is naked in his hand, ready
to be sheathed in men's necks and skulls.*

*This is war, and he who lies in the tomb at Medina seems
to raise his voice and cry: "O sons of Hashim!*

I see my people slow to raise the lance against the enemy:

I see the Faith resting on feeble pillars.

*For fear of death the Muslims are evading the fire of battle,
refusing to believe that death will surely strike them."*

*Must the Arab champions then suffer with resignation,
while the gallant Persians shut their eyes to their dishonour?*

(Source: Francesco Gabrieli, Arab Historians of the Crusades [New York: Dorset Press, 1957], p. 10.)

Ali ibn Tahir al-Sulami (d. 1106), a scholar and jurist of Damascus whose work *The Book of Jihad* is only fragmentary today, responded to the First Crusade by writing about the disunity of Muslim rulers: "A group [of Franks] pounced on the Island of Sicily in a moment of discord and mutual rivalry and they conquered. . . . The interruption [in jihad] and the negligence of the Muslims towards the prescribed regulations [of Islam] has inevitably meant that God has made Muslims rise up one against the other, has placed violent hostility and hatred amongst them and has incited their enemies to seize their territories . . . examining the country of Syria . . . their relationships rested on secret desires for vengeance. Their [the Franks'] greed was thereby reinforced, encouraging them. . . Even now they are continuing the effort to enlarge their territory; their greed is constantly growing as they see the cowardice of their enemies. . . Moreover, they hope now to make themselves masters of the whole country and to take its inhabitants captive. Would to God that, in His goodness, He would frustrate them in their aspirations by re-establishing the unity of the [Muslim] community." (Source: Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* [Edinburgh University Press, 1999], p. 32; 72–73.)

Ibn Nubata al-Fariqi (died ca. 984), a well-known preacher from Mayyafariqin, near today's Aleppo, Syria. "Do you think that He will forsake you whilst you are assisting Him or do you imagine that He will desert you whilst you are steadfast in His path? Certainly not! Indeed, no tyranny is left unpunished by Him and no trivial offence escapes Him. . . . Do put on - may God have mercy on you - for the jihad the coat of mail of the faithful and equip yourselves with the armour of those who trust in God." (Source: Hillenbrand, p. 102)

Discussion Questions for Excerpts from Christian and Muslim Calls for War over the Holy Land

- Who are the figures cited in each section that are calling for war, and on what authority do they base this call for war?
- How does each invoke sacred ideas in support of war?
- What elements does each call for war have in common?
- What elements differ in the Muslim and Christian calls for war?
- How does each side portray its own internal problems, and relate it to the success or loss of territory?
- How does each side frame the call for war in defensive terms?

Part 2: Comparing Principles of War in Christian and Islamic Teachings

Overview

The lesson discusses the classical principles of war in Christian and Islamic teachings, characterized by the writing of St. Augustine in *The City of God* and by the Islamic sources of Qur'an and Sunnah as interpreted by classical and modern jurists.

Objectives

Students will be able to:

- Define just war theory and explain why it is a part of religious thought?
- Differentiate the two main principles of just war theory: justification for going to war when necessary, and the just conduct of war by its leaders and soldiers.
- Describe St. Augustine's conditions for entering war.
- Describe St. Augustine's conditions for the just conduct of war.
- Analyze St. Augustine's view of the human condition of war and peace.
- List and explain the types of jihad identified by Muslim jurists based on Islamic sources.
- Describe legitimate conduct of war according to Islamic law.
- Define jihad in its literal and applied meanings, as a principle and as an institution.
- Analyze Islamic ideas about the human condition of war and peace.
- Compare ideas in Christianity and Islam about humanity's tendency to go to war, and duty to strive for peace.
- Describe how Islamic teachings differentiate jihad from terrorism, and state why terrorism does not fit within the concept of jihad.
- Identify how Muslim jurists characterize acts of terrorism, and explain why they reject terrorism and classify it as a punishable criminal act dissociated from jihad.
- Assess the concept of "Holy War" as used in the media as it does or does not apply to the teachings described in this lesson, and analyze how this concept came to be applied to the Crusades period and today.
- Compare theory and practice in the cause and conduct of war during the Crusades period, on both the Christian and Muslim sides.
- **Extension:** Compare the teachings described here with the Geneva Conventions signed by many nations after World War II (See text and descriptions at International Committee of the Red Cross, <https://www.icrc.org/eng/war-and-law/treaties-customary-law/geneva-conventions/overview-geneva-conventions.htm>).

Lesson Procedure

1. Assign half the class to read the Christian teachings, and half to read the Islamic teachings.
2. Students will work in groups or pairs to gain comprehension of the principles laid out in these teachings according to the lesson objectives for each, Christian and Islamic teachings on just war causes and just conduct of war. You may use discussion questions to guide reading. (see Handout 3.)
3. As a conclusion to the study of each set of teachings, discuss why war is ever necessary, and the significance of peacemaking in each tradition.
4. As a class, debrief by summarizing what each half of the class learned about the classical teachings on just war in Christianity and Islam. Compare and clarify any outstanding comprehension issues.
5. In light of the contemporary situation around the use of Jihad and Islamophobia, have the class read the section on the difference between jihad and terrorism and discuss how terrorism compares to classical teachings on jihad and permitted warfare. Read the summary of Muslim jurist Dr. Tahir al-Qadri giving his judgment on the two concepts.
6. **EXTENSION:** Compare the Christian and Islamic teachings described in this lesson's readings with the Geneva Conventions signed by many nations after World War II (See text and descriptions at International Committee of the Red Cross, <https://www.icrc.org/eng/war-and-law/treaties-customary-law/geneva-conventions/overview-geneva-conventions.htm>).

Handout: *What Is Just War Theory in Christian Teachings?*

St. Augustine (354-430) was the Catholic bishop of Hippo in northern Africa. He wrote more than 110 works, and is considered the first Christian philosopher who wrote before the fall of the Roman Empire. Augustine's thought remained influential during the medieval period, and remains so today. His writings have even influenced modern discussions of human rights and warfare in the 20th century.

St. Augustine saw war as the fate of humanity and a test to be endured by submission to God's will. He quoted a Psalm about the promise of ultimate peace on earth not yet realized: "This not yet see we fulfilled: yet are there wars, wars among nations for sovereignty; among sects, among Jews, Pagans, Christians, heretics, are wars, frequent wars, some for the truth, some for falsehood contending. Not yet then is this fulfilled, 'He maketh wars to cease unto the end of the earth;' but haply it shall be fulfilled."

Just Causes of War, and Just Conduct of War

Augustine described the necessary and sufficient conditions for justifying war. He called this in Latin *jus ad bellum*, and declared that wars can be initiated justly only under these conditions.

1. It must be based on a just cause:
 - to defend the state against external invasion;
 - to defend the safety or honor of the state, with the realization that their simultaneous defense might be impossible;
 - to avenge injuries; to punish a nation for failure to take corrective action for wrongs (legal or moral) committed by its citizens;
 - to come to the defense of allies;
 - to gain the return of something that was wrongfully taken;
 - or to obey a divine command to go to war (which, in practice, issues from the political head of state acting as God's lieutenant on earth); and
 - the just cause must be at least more just than the cause of one's enemies.
2. War must be undertaken with a rightly intended will, whose prime objective is the restoration of peace, which does not delight in the wickedness of potential enemies, views waging war as a stern necessity, does not undertake actions to provoke a war, and does not seek to conquer others for the sake of conquest or to gain territory.
3. It must be declared by a competent authority, and except in the most unusual of circumstances, in a public manner, and only as a last resort.

Just Conduct of War

Augustine called this in Latin *jus in bello*. He wrote that once a war has begun, it must be conducted within limits.

1. Any military response must be proportional to the wrong to be avenged, with violence only within the limits of military necessity.
2. Military action must discriminate between combatants and noncombatants, such as women, children, the elderly, the clergy, and so forth.
3. Leaders and soldiers must keep good faith in dealing with the enemy, carefully observing treaties and not acting with treachery (bad faith).

Augustine's Conception of Peace

According to St. Augustine, God designed all humans to live together in the "bond of peace." However, human beings are flawed and some live according to the will of God while others do not. Augustine followed the biblical teaching of "fallen man," going back to the original sin of Adam. Humans are shortsighted and sinful.

Augustine described three kinds of peace:

- The ultimate and perfect peace which exists exclusively in the City of God, and the interior peace enjoyed by the pilgrim citizens of the City of God as they live on earth. Augustine is clear that perfect peace cannot be attained on earth, but is reserved for the Afterlife.
- There will always be hostile attacks to defend against, but it is still in the interest of everyone to work toward peace here and now;
- Establishing and maintaining peace is as basic a responsibility of rulers as protecting the citizens in times of war.

The Church must strive for peace as well: Augustine wrote, "It seems to me that no limit can be set to the number of persecutions which the Church is bound to suffer for her training" even though it will suffer trials until the second coming of Christ (meaning until nearly the end of time).

While men do not agree on which kind of peace to seek, all agree that peace in some form is the end they desire to achieve. Even in war, all parties involved desire - and fight to obtain - some kind of peace.

Augustine stated that war among men and nations cannot be avoided altogether. However, people can obey divine guidance given in their holy books and use their powers of reason to seek virtue both as individuals and societies to achieve peace with each other.

(Source: J. Mark Mattox, "Augustine: Political and Social Philosophy," *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, <http://www.iep.utm.edu/aug-poso/#SH3c>.)

Handout: What is Jihad in Islamic Teachings?

Defining Jihad

Jihad has two general aspects of its definition: as principle, and as an institution of the state or government.

Jihad as a principle means a struggle or effort that requires a kind of self-sacrifice in order to seek God-given purposes. The principle of jihad is not about armed struggle at all. For example:

- An individual may struggle to protect the weak in society, to work against injustice and oppression. Such efforts may include writing and speaking against tyranny - often in the face of opposition.
- A person may donate money, time and effort to serve the poor or weak.
- Scholars sacrifice time, energy, and comfort to gain and spread knowledge.
- At the most personal level, jihad as a principle means the struggle against human weakness and temptation to sin, or the effort to overcome personal obstacles to attain worthwhile goals.
- Jihad means making the effort to seek what is good and virtuous for oneself or others. It means “to do the right thing,” to be part of the solution rather than part of the problem; it means to put aside ambition in favor of the greater good, to right wrongs where they are found.

Jihad as an institution means to establish institutions or organizations to meet human needs and work toward solving common concerns. For persons in power, it means using this position and authority to promote the common good, in the public interest for society.

Jihad as an institution means to establish what is necessary to defend against oppression, tyranny, invasion, or aggression from within or from outside powers. It includes both readiness for physical defense with military measures, and maintaining diplomatic institutions to seek peace if at all possible by negotiating to avoid violence.

If fighting cannot be avoided, defense on the battlefield is necessary and permitted. It is also a duty in that case.

Warfare, however, is only legitimate if it is conducted under proper conditions and limits:

- There must be no harming noncombatants, no destruction of water supplies, crops and animals, the natural environment, or public property needed for life.
- There must be no atrocities committed against prisoners, civilians, or the dead.
- Warfare must end as soon as possible. The Qur'an states that if the enemy sincerely seeks peace, fighting must end and negotiations begin as soon as possible.

(Source: “Making Sense of Jihad and Terrorism” [lesson], The Islam Project, http://islamproject.org/education/D05_Hirabah.htm.)

Jihad and Terrorism

(Source: Pakistani scholar Dr. Tahir al-Qadri, who gave his view, or fatwa, on jihad and terrorism in a lecture; video link to his talk at Georgetown University at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5mJPY9j8aAs>)

There are 5 kinds of legitimate jihad (nafs=soul, ilm=knowledge, ‘amal=deeds, mal=wealth, qital=fighting), each under correct conditions and within limits:

1. Jihad as struggle against temptation of the soul (nafs);
2. Jihad as the effort to acquire knowledge and teach (ilm);
3. Jihad as public service = to do good deeds for others (‘amal);
4. Jihad as effort to use one’s property to benefit people; and
5. Jihad as defense against oppression, tyranny or aggression, but only under proper conditions (no harming non-combatants, no destruction of environment or public goods, no atrocities, seek peace as soon as possible - Compare with UN conditions for legitimate warfare).

What is the definition of Terrorism, and why is it not a form of jihad?

Terrorism is publicly directed violence. It is not jihad, but a crime. Long ago, Muslim scholars, based on their studies of the Qur’an and the example of Prophet Muhammad, identified the crime of groups acting against society by threats or destruction of people and property and gave it a name. They defined such crimes as **hirabah**, or individuals or groups who carry out attacks on the public that create mayhem (instability), that spread fear by endangering people without warning, preventing them from seeking safety from physical or property damage. **Hirabah was classified as a capital crime, one punished by death.** Highway robbers, gangs, and organized bands of marauders fit this early definition of hirabah, which is similar to terrorism today, because it makes society unsafe for everyone. (Interestingly, Pope Urban condemned unrest caused by highway robbers in the Church’s own territory of Europe, and called upon Christians to turn away from harming each other and instead dedicate themselves to the purpose of Crusading in the Holy Land.) (Find that passage in the speech above.)

Terrorists today often seem like rebels who seek political change through violence. Unlike rebels with legitimate public support and grievances, however, they act like outlaws, and the public are their victims or their collateral damage. Their means are wrong and harmful, while they claim their goals are to seek justice.

Jurists left no door open for publicly directed violence, or **hirabah**. Terrorism, which modern Muslim jurists have classified under *hirabah*, is an instance in which an individual or group takes violent action in the public space.

Terrorism, or *hirabah*, was defined in Islamic law as:

- individuals or groups carrying out violence directed against the public, against civilians.
- an action that has the effect of spreading fear by preventing people from taking any safekeeping measures against physical or property damage.
- such violence may be overt or stealthy, and may include serial murders, burnings, bombings, or property destruction, not just political acts of violence.
- by arousing general fear and lack of safety, public life is endangered and civic life becomes completely disrupted and unpredictable.

Dr. Tahir al-Qadri and many other modern Muslim jurists [see the Amman Message, Letter to al-Baghdadi, and Letter to Muslim Youth: This is Not the Path to Paradise⁸] have condemned terrorist acts and accused terrorist groups of a double crime against God. They say that both speech calling for terrorism, and acts of terrorism, puts their actors outside the boundaries of Islam:

1. For killing innocent and unknown victims and destroying property.
2. For declaring a forbidden act as allowed or rewarded—declaring what is forbidden by God to be allowed. This is a lie against Islamic norms, against the teachings of the Prophet and the Qur'an.

See video clip of speech on the fatwa by Dr. Tahir ul-Qadri on terrorism [minutes 5:13-8:30] <http://www.minhaj.org/english/tid/12902/Shaykh-ul-Islam-Dr-Tahir-ul-Qadri-speaks-at-Georgetown-University-in-Washington-DC.html>.

Discussion Questions for Holy War and Jihad Readings

- What is “just war theory”?” Why is a theory of war part of religious thought?
- What are the two parts of just war theory? Why is each part necessary?
- What conditions did St. Augustine set for entering a state of war, if it was to be a legitimate war?
- How did St. Augustine describe just behavior in conducting war?
- How did St. Augustine explain humanity’s tendency to make war?
- What is the literal definition of jihad in the Arabic language?
- What categories or types of jihad did Muslim jurists (scholars of Islamic law) identify? What sources of authority did they use to make these judgments?
- How should Muslims conduct themselves during war or conflict, according to Islamic law?
- Compare ideas in Christianity and Islam about humanity’s tendency to go to war, and duty to strive for peace.
- What is terrorism according to Muslim jurists, and why is it outside the concept of jihad?
- How do Muslim jurists characterize acts of terrorism and the people who commit such acts?

⁸ The Amman Message can be found at <http://ammanmessage.com/>; the Letter to al-Baghdadi (of ISIS/ISIL) can be found at <https://georgetown.box.com/s/eibyjdforpqansp2w5p19gqozdl9uru>; the Letter to Muslim Youth: This is Not the Path to Paradise can be found at <https://georgetown.box.com/s/vyfte1f3a3usubgr77jv96x2uxrrubpb>.

Terrorism Equation (optional video)

An eleven-minute video that illustrates the premises behind media coverage and extremist positions on terrorism, and countering arguments that the most fundamental principles of Islam negate any attempts to justify and equate terrorist acts with justified forms of warfare or resistance. (<https://vimeo.com/11385557>).

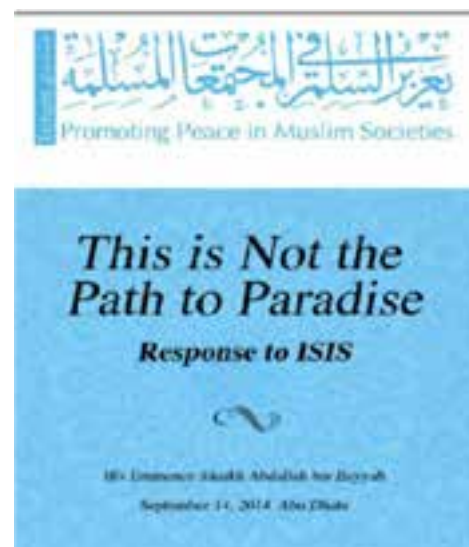
Handout: Against Violent Extremism: Bin Bayyah's "This is Not the Path to Paradise"

In the Name of God, the All-Merciful, the Giver of Mercy

This is Not the Path to Paradise **Response to ISIS** **INTRODUCTION Counsel for the Youth**

All praise belongs to the Lord of the worlds. May peace and blessings be upon our Master Muhammad, the Prophet of Mercy and Messenger of Wisdom, his benevolent family, and his noble companions, perpetually until the end of time.

This is addressed to the young men who bear arms against their own nations and destroy both country and countrymen. You have abandoned all values and made enemies of the world. We call on you to pause, reflect, and heed this counsel for the sake of all who want good for our community.



As an introduction to the statement, we present these four quotations for serious consideration.

1. A verse from the Qur'an follows:

"When he is empowered, he sets out to do violence in the land, destroying crops and livestock. But God does not love violence" (Qur'an, 2:205).

Have not crops and livestock, as well as the elderly and women and children, been destroyed? Is this not violence and corruption in the land, which God abhors?

2. A statement from the Prophet, God's peace and blessings upon him, from his last sermon given on the Farewell Pilgrimage follows:

"Beware (or Woe unto you)! Listen! Do not revert back to disbelief after I have gone— [that is by] some of you killing others."

Note the use of the phrase "beware" or "woe unto you" that signifies a stern warning. The Prophet, God's peace and blessings upon him, rarely used such phrases. Furthermore, the scholars of Islam say that this hadith indicates that some will excommunicate others in order to justify killing them. Is this not the excommunication and killing that the Prophet, God's peace and blessings upon him, forbade?

3. A statement of the Caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, may God be pleased with him, from his last sermon follows:

"Whoever pledges allegiance to someone not appointed by the consultative process of the believers, neither he nor the one to whom he pledged allegiance are to be followed, out of fear of foolishly exposing themselves to being killed with them."

Has the one who claims to be the caliph of the Muslims consulted the Muslim world, or is he placing himself and those who pledge allegiance to him at risk of being killed? Is this not the disregard of the people which the Caliph 'Umar warned of?

4. A statement from the great Sunni Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal, may God have mercy on him, made to the people of Baghdad [during his time] follows:

“Do not shed your own blood nor the blood of other Muslims along with you. Consider the eventual effects of your actions.”

He spoke these words to those who wanted to overthrow the Abbasid Caliph al-Wathiq after he proclaimed [the heresy] that the Qur’an was created. Is this not just like the bloodshed that Imam Ahmad warned the people of Baghdad against?

We ask you, out of concern, to reflect on these enlightening statements and to re-evaluate your positions, for turning to truth is better than persisting in falsehood.

We are not ignorant of the injustices that exist, and we earnestly call for them to cease; yet we believe that the chances for justice are better when there is peace, not war. Everywhere the widespread wars must stop, and the mindless civil strife must halt so that we may gain life and not lose both this world and the hereafter. We ask God, most high, to guide everyone. Amen.

This is Not the Path to Paradise
A Statement to the Muslim World and its Leaders
Remember and Consider the Question Why?

In March 2014, more than 250 Islamic scholars and thinkers from around the world attended the *Forum for Promoting Peace in Muslim Societies in Abu Dhabi*. One of the goals of the Forum was for these leaders to establish a unified position in response to the gravest threats facing the Muslim world today during this critical phase of its history.

The gravity of the situation is manifested in the following ways:

- The uncommon nature of the threat is evidenced by unprecedented levels of violence utilizing every type of warfare. This even includes weapons of mass destruction, which citizens of the same country are using against one another.
- This violence has a broader reach, as evidenced by the expanding geography that covers a large region of the Muslim and Arab nations. Conflicts are on the verge of spreading to other regions as well.
- This conflict is different in its duration. Perpetual conflicts, with no end in sight, are becoming the norm.
- The ideas and psychology associated with this violence are distinct. This dimension augments the three dimensions above since these conflicts have produced the most extreme ideas, the most bizarre fatwas (legal edicts), and the most fanatical and inciting opinions. The discourse has been filled with appalling fatwas rendering judgments on excommunication, deviance, immorality, and heresy. These fatwas have justified bloodshed while disregarding Islamic law’s mandates of civil obedience, respect for life, and to refrain from divisiveness, irrespective of how morally degraded a society becomes. Instead, there are inappropriate claims of engaging in jihad and addressing the ills of society without fulfilling the conditions of doing so, which has led to even more suffering.

- This conflict has international implications and tarnishes the image of Islam worldwide. Some might even describe our faith as “a religion of terrorism” and work to try Islam and its adherents under Chapter 7 of the UN Charter.

Some of the recommendations that came out of the *Forum for Promoting Peace* included the urgent and dire need to reorder the house of the Muslims and to restore its constituents on the individual, societal, and institutional levels. It also reinforced the pressing need to strengthen the “immune system” of the Muslim world against the extremism and violence that exists within it, regardless of where the violence is directed or how it began. The time is now for Muslim societies - individuals and political entities - to work together towards what is right and good and to place the higher interests of humanity and the world above personal interests. They must adopt dialogue and cooperation as the sole strategy to address their concerns.

In recent weeks and months, the incidences of violence have only accelerated and become more indiscriminate and destructive in nature, leaving no segment of society or religious community unaffected. These trends were predicted and forewarned about at the *Forum*, and we must quickly work to implement the suggestions and recommendations found in the papers and presentations of the participants.

Thus, for all who are troubled about the state of the Muslim world and long for its reformation, the *Forum for Promoting Peace* would like to remind you of and alert you to the following:

1. The responsibility of the scholars and religious authorities at this time in particular is to protect life. No sane person can remain indifferent to the loss of life and suffering in the Muslim world. What then of those who have pledged to God that they will do their part to set the world right? The reality is that much of what is happening today relies on religious justification as a pretext. The perpetrators use excommunication, allegations of treason, or claim to implement Islamic law in wartime. It appears as though these people have not heard of the tradition of Bishr bin Artah and other well-known traditions on this subject. They also accuse monotheists of polytheism, and they claim they are responding to injustices. Although the allegation of injustices is true, nevertheless their response is wrong, as it is being used for falsehood - for dressing up error in the clothing of truth. Because some of these “leaders” claim to be religious figures, they are causing even greater confusion. At the same time, the media spares no effort to further muddy the waters, and so people’s judgment is skewed, and they falter. For these reasons, there is no excuse for the scholars and leaders to not fulfill their obligation to clarify matters and advise the Muslim world in order to extinguish the fires of conflict and to stop the bloodshed by uniting in truth and cooperating in what is right and good: “*Help one another to do what is right and good; do not help one another towards sin and hostility. Be mindful of God, for His punishment is severe*” (Qur’an, 5:2).

2. Much of what is happening in the Muslim world now can be traced back to misunderstandings about aspects of Islamic law that are not problematic for open-minded and peaceful societies. Some examples include applying Islamic penal laws, exercising jihad, establishment of the caliphate, practicing obedience to political leaders, and the moral duty to enjoin good and prevent evil. When properly understood, these concepts safeguard peace and protect the sanctity of life. They exemplify the divine mercy that Islam brought on the tongue of the Prophet of Mercy, Muhammad, may God's peace and blessings be upon him. When these concepts are misunderstood and adulterated in both form and meaning, they morph into a contradiction of their original purpose, goal, and aim, and so the mercy is replaced by punishment for the community, suffered by the criminal and innocent alike, spreading to both the learned and the ignorant equally.

Some of the reasons for these misconceptions are as follows:

- a. There is a disconnect between the Islamic dictates and their stipulations: The five rulings of Islamic law (obligation, recommendation, permissibility, discouragement, and prohibition) are regulated by the legal stipulations, which are legal causes, preconditions, and preventatives. It is only from combining both the dictates and their stipulations that a proper understanding develops; if we separate the commands and prohibitions from fulfilling the preconditions, establishing the presence of legal causes, and ensuring the lack of preventatives, then the rulings contravene and contradict Islamic law. To state it more simply, the relationship between applying the rulings and the implications of both time and place and the positive and negative consequences has been severed.
 - b. The relationship between means and end has been distorted: Any disconnection between the ends and goals as well as the means and tools leads to violating Islamic law. That is because the means to evil ends are also evil, and noble ends can be reached only by noble means. So one cannot use genocide, murder, oppression, or vengeance to establish truth and justice.
 - c. The four values upon which Islamic law is built - wisdom, justice, mercy, and the common good - have been degraded.
3. Jihad is not synonymous with fighting. Hence, not all jihad is fighting, and not all fighting is jihad. A deeper reading of the primary sources of Islam makes clear that jihad includes all devotions. Filial piety is a form of jihad, as the Prophet, God's peace and blessings upon him, said, "Make your jihad serving them [your parents]." Obeying God is also a form of jihad, as the hadith states, "*The real jihad is to strive against the ego in order to obey God.*" For this reason, we call on you to embark on a jihad that will undoubtedly get you into paradise and far away from hell: invoke God often, build mosques, be kind to people, and promote civilization. The great scholar Ibn Taymiyyah said that jihad includes all devotions and righteous acts, even those relating to commerce and manufacturing, as is noted in the *Ikhtiyarat of al-Ba'li*.

Your community needs your hard work, intellects, and energies to be organized in pursuit of the common good where it intersects with communal development.

As for the jihad when it relates to fighting, that is in defense of the freedom to practice one's faith, as is stated in the verse: *"Those who have been driven unjustly from their homes only for saying, 'Our Lord is God'"* (Qur'an, 22:40).

As a rule, the state of relations between Muslims and people of other faiths and persuasions is one of peace. Jihad, in the intent behind its original legislation, is a search for "perpetual peace."

That is why all believers are ordered to enter into peace: *"O you who believe, enter wholeheartedly into peace, and do not follow in Satan's footsteps, for he is your sworn enemy"* (Qur'an, 2:208).

Believers are also ordered to accept any attempts at peace: *"But if they incline towards peace, you [Prophet] must also incline towards it, and put your trust in God"* (Qur'an, 8:61). It is also very well known that the Prophet, God's peace and blessings upon him, compromised greatly at the Armistice of Hudaibiyyah for the sake of making peace.

As for military jihad, that was prescribed for times when there were no global treaties or pacts leaving no means to convey the message of Islam other than with military support, and there were no borders that were acknowledged, unless they were maintained by force, or vast distances separated regions. Also, there were no weapons of mass destruction at this time. All of these premises are no longer the case. How can any Muslim who understands the texts and aims of Islamic law call for war against all other nations? One who does so is foolish, ignorant of the true nature of Islam as well as the realities of today, and seeks to sow corruption in the land.

4. There are many rulings in Islamic law that are not duties meant to be fulfilled by the individual; instead, they are the domain of the political authority or its representative. Among such rulings are military actions and the moral duty to enjoin good and forbid evil. Forbidding evil can sometimes have uncertain consequences, requiring serious deliberation that cannot be done by just anyone. Sometimes it can lead to an even greater evil, and in such a case, forbidding evil would be prohibited for individuals. The same applies to military action such that the government is the only one ordained to attack enemy states abroad, assemble troops, or suppress insurrection. This is mentioned in al-Qarafi's *Distinctions*, where he discusses the engagement by the government; he notes that individuals cannot take on such engagement and that it must be carried out by the government only. The wisdom behind this is that some of these groups that we see today working to redress wrongs by force actually cause civil strife and widespread corruption.

5. "The Islamic caliphate" was a phrase the companions of the Prophet, may God be pleased with them, accepted in order to denote the unification of the Muslims and their affairs under an administration that would uphold Islamic law and protect their lives, dignity, and wealth. But the caliphate is not a matter of theology; rather, it is a matter of law subject to legal stipulations, and it is one possible means among others that could be replaced today by other means in order to achieve unity between nations so that they may cooperate and complement one another. Actually, for many centuries, some Muslim lands were independent of the caliphate and were still able to uphold the religion, safeguard the law and sacred sites, and ensure peace and security. This is still the case. Our religion teaches us that our understandings stem from meanings, not words and forms. Consequently, there is no religious duty to pursue the establishment of a caliphate by force - even if we assume it is possible to do so. What then of those who spread corruption in the land, kill the innocent, terrorize the weak, destroy mosques and houses of worship, and disinter tombs? As Ibn Qayyim records, the Prophet Muhammad, God's peace and blessings upon him, and the four Rightly-Guided Caliphs never destroyed a church, synagogue, or temple!
6. All forms of oppression and aggression against religious minorities are in direct contradiction to the values of our religion. In fact, Islam calls us to do well by religious minorities, to place them under our protection, and threatens those who harm them with punishment in the afterlife. This is evidenced by the track record of the Muslim world, which has no peer in history when it pertains to people living harmoniously with religious minorities, beyond what basic humanity demands of equal rights and responsibilities. Hence, any aggression of any kind or coercion to convert is unacceptable. Coerced conversion is invalid in Islamic law. Islam has nothing to do with this, as the Qur'an states, "*There is no compulsion in religion*" (Qur'an, 2:256).
7. Fighting and conflict for reasons other than self-defense and repelling aggression are not Islamic values despite the attempts of some to dress it up as righteousness. These are values foreign to the Islamic ethos; in the Islamic tradition, destruction has never been seen as a foundation for advancement; rather, it is seen as a result of ignorance and fanaticism, the effect of suppression and feelings of frustration and vengeance. Our values are intended to instill confidence and love in the hearts, to repel falsehood with truth without any enmity, and to respond to wrongs with patience, pardon, and forgiveness: "*Fight in God's cause against those who who overstep the limits*" (Qur'an, 2:190). "*Repel evil with good*" (Qur'an, 23:96). "*They repel evil with good*" (Qur'an, 28:54).
8. Muslim societies need to inculcate peace as a goal and a priority. This should be done by means of clearly stated values, both Islamic and those common to broader humanity, and by means of elucidating the legal aspects of peace and reconciliation, its terms, principles, universals, and particulars. In this way, harmony can be restored, distorted perceptions can be corrected, and love and harmony will spread, pulling in the reins of excommunication, defamation, and conflict so that the culture of reason and understanding may again rise. People will then strive to promote the common good and ward off societal harms, following the path of wisdom so that a Muslim will practice his or her religion without feeling estranged or being prone to anxiety or despair.

For these reasons, we call yet again upon religious scholars, philosophers, writers, pioneers, the media, bloggers, and social media activists to take on the task to carry this message, assert its importance in creating harmony in society, and develop a roadmap towards promoting a culture of peace in Muslim societies. We call for an ideological review of curricula and other programming and a detailed analysis of the age in which we live: its needs, demands, ideas, and tools. Studies in the religious sciences need to be furthered in degree and level of understanding, augmented by consideration, reflection, interpretation, legal reasoning, and an understanding of the circumstances surrounding revelatory events. In this manner, the primary texts - both their statements and understandings - can be reexamined, and particulars can be taken back to the universals, restoring the regard the legal schools (*madh-habs*) had for differences of opinion.

This is not a call to change or replace our scripture; rather it is to go back to its essence and original intended implications using all available methods of research. Only then will we realize just how expansive the *shariah* is, how merciful, inclusive, and full of wisdom it is. The solutions will be borne out of the *shariah*, its spirit, and goals. This is an urgent need. The religious scholars and clerics must face it courageously in order to save our community from endless war. And the politicians and representatives must work to remove oppression. Also, world organizations should be more just and sensitive to the events that take place in our region.

9. Lastly, a warning to the youth of the Muslim world in particular, lest they become fuel for the fires of strife and corruption in this world and become fuel for the fire of hell on the Day of Reckoning. We call on them to remain steadfast in the face of the empty claims and promises made before them and to live the Islamic law properly so that they will not be confused and duped into confusing falsehood with truth. This applies, in particular, to those who do not have a command of Arabic and do not understand the language of the Qur'an.

No Muslim is to be excommunicated unless he or she says or does something that is absolutely unambiguous and not open to alternative interpretations. The Prophet, God's peace and blessings upon him, declared that simply cursing a Muslim is deviance and killing him is disbelief. God has declared the human soul as sacred: *"Do not take life, which God has made sacred, except by right"* (Qur'an, 17:33). God has also made killing one soul equal to killing all of humanity: *"If anyone kills a person—unless in retribution for murder or spreading corruption in the land—it is as if he kills all humankind, while if any saves a life, it is as if he saves the lives of all humankind"* (Qur'an, 5:32). Also, a tradition of the Prophet, God's peace and blessings upon him, states: *"Abeliever will still have some leeway regarding his religious duties, as long as he has not spilled blood unjustly."*

May God's sublime peace and blessings be upon our master Muhammad, his kin, and his companions.

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Abu Dhabi