HTAV

BEST OF AGORA

YEARS 7 & 8

Articles addressing Australian Curriculum: History

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Cover images:

FRONT: (main): Parthenon, view from the south-east. Photograph by Joanbanjo; (inset): Buddha statue, Kamakura, Japan. Photograph by Rohan Bramley; *Piazza San Marco with the Basilica*, by Giovanni Antonio Canaletto, 1730; Tympanum, Banteay Srei temple relief. Photograph by Anandajoti.

BACK: (inset): Cangjie, inventor of the Chinese writing system; Six maoi on Easter Island. Image courtesy Rivi; *Columbus Before the Queen*, by Emanuel Leutze, 1843; Church at Deir Abu Metta. Photograph by Colin A. Hope; Genghis Khan.

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Foreword

It has been a number of years since the HTAV published a *Best of Agora* compilation.

Now, with a new national curriculum upon us and an additional seven years' worth of *Agora* articles to draw from, now is the perfect time to bring teachers a new *Best of Agora* series.

Best of Agora: Years 7 & 8 and its partner title, *Best of Agora: Years 9 & 10,* have been carefully compiled with the realities of teaching to a new curriculum firmly in mind. With no History syllabus left unchanged, these volumes offer articles that will familiarise teachers with the content of each year's overviews and depth studies, as well as articles that will bring practical learning into (and outside of) the classroom. Those already familiar with our journal will recognise the *Thema* and *Praktikos* tabs in the top corner of each page as an indication of the article's intended purpose, whether it be to give perspectives on a theme (*Thema*) or ideas for the classroom (*Praktikos*). **See pages 5 and 55 for where each item fits into the Australian Curriculum: History**.

This compilation includes articles dating back to 2007, before the Australian Curriculum was announced, whose authors seem to have predicted facets of the new curriculum with eerie accuracy; as well as more recent contributions whose authors have used the curriculum drafts and, eventually, the final document, to inform their pieces.

I thank all the contributors to *Agora* over the past seven years, and in particular those who have graciously allowed their work to be republished in this new volume. Without their efforts and the efforts of those still to come, *Agora* would not be able to offer HTAV members the quality and quantity of content that we have become accustomed to producing.

I hope that you find *Best of Agora: Years 7 & 8* both useful and enjoyable.

Lucy Singer
Series Editor

YEAR 7

Teaching Tutankhamun

What can the life of Tutankhamun reveal to students about ancient Egypt?

Pam Cupper, Hopetoun Secondary College

Introduction

At my school Year 7 History is taught over one semester, with three 45-minute periods per week. As we have received a significant Asia Foundation grant to support Asian studies, we knew some of that time would focus on Asia. By studying Tutankhamun[1] in Term 1 and Ancient China in Term 2, students will have a solid grounding in ancient societies and be able to make some comparisons between Egyptian and Chinese societies.

The ten-week program for Tutankhamun has several core themes not unfamiliar to traditional Year 7 History:

- Introduction: what is history?
- Overview of geography and history of Ancient Egypt
- Archaeology: investigating Howard Carter's discovery and excavation of Tutankhamun's tomb in 1922
- What was Egypt like in Tutankhamun's time?

There were many alternative paths I could have followed, such as:

- Murder mystery: how did Tutankhamun die?
- Tutankhamun, son of Akhenaton, heretic
- How did the Egyptians preserve bodies?
- Should ancient artefacts be returned to their original sites?

In the end I opted for a focus on Tutankhamun and archaeology. Spending ten weeks on one major theme will mean students are immersed in the subject. At the same time, there is enough variety to sustain Year 7 engagement.

Students examine Tutankhamun against the backdrop of history skills. They are immediately introduced to historical documents, written and visual, and taught how to interpret these using simplified annotated graphic exercises. To begin skills development with my class I modified early news items on Carter's discovery into an article (*Illustrated London News*, see below) and got students to do a three-level inquiry on it – a simple technique for helping them interpret written material which I learnt years ago at an HTAV conference. Almost any type of document is suitable and I have used the method successfully with all secondary year-levels.

Students enjoy visual material relating to any topic they study. If teachers provide a framework to develop their visual interpretative skills, images are a great way to teach history. Years ago, Darren Kruse demonstrated a simple activity: he placed large images around the walls of the room and provided descriptions of each image. We had to match each image with its description. I've used and adapted this activity probably a hundred times.

For our study of Tutankhamun I found twelve good images and scanned and printed them onto A4-sized cards. Working in groups, students match descriptions and images and do further research on each image. This could involve brainstorming within their group (e.g. what does each element of the image represent or tell us about life in Tutankhamun's Egypt?) or researching the questions in books and on the internet. If you want to provide a stimulating but basic overview of Tutankhamun, the brainstorm approach works well. If you want students to gain in-depth understanding, have them carry out the research. But be warned: there are generally no easy answers on the net. This activity works because students have to think.

The latter half of my Year 7 History course in Term 1 looks pretty traditional. Students undertake some research activities to develop their understanding of Egypt at the time of Tutankhamun and then they put it all together as a travel article. I provide them with examples from newspapers and magazines. The earlier emphasis on interpreting images is helpful when they come to write their articles.

In April 2011 Melbourne Museum opened its 'winter masterpiece,' *Tutankhamun and the Golden Age of the Pharaohs*, an exhibition from National Geographic. That year the exhibition became a useful focus for my Year 7 Tutankhamunin unit for Term 1.

To view the exhibition, my students and I spent a long day travelling to and from Melbourne from Hopetoun. Despite the effort involved it was definitely rewarding.

PREVIOUS PAGE: Serpent goddess. This winged serpent with a human head may represent the goddess Meret-Seger, or more likely, Weret-Hekau, 'The One Great of Magic.' Her outspread wings suggest a shielding function, and she aided the deceased king in his heavenly ascent.

All images courtesy National Geographic.

1 Older references tend to use the spelling *Tutankhamen* or *Tutankhamon*, whereas more recent references say *Tutankhamun*.

Unit Plan Year 7 History: Tutankhamun

Week	Topics and themes	Key terms	Teaching methods	Resources
1	(i) What is history? (ii) Terminology	*history* *ancient* *archaeology* *primary sources* *secondary sources* *evidence*	History mysteries – students investigate and analyse primary sources to develop a theory. Find primary and secondary sources; students investigate this *evidence* and draw conclusions. Discuss meaning of 'history'; write brief definitions. Introduce historical words through mix-and-match exercise or competition, e.g. the first team to find definitions and act them out for the class wins.	Many textbooks have hands-on activities, such as: *Humanities Alive 1*, Jacaranda (Ch. 2); *Nelson History 1* (Ch. 1); *Heinemann Outcomes, History* (Ch. 1); *Heinemann History Links: Ancient & Medieval* (Ch. 1).

Table continues ...

Week	Topics and themes	Key terms	Teaching methods	Resources
2	Ancient Egypt overview. Consider: • Prior student knowledge • Location of Egypt • The Nile River • Ancient Egypt in chronological context • Measurement of time.	*chronological* *era* *BCE/CE* *cataract* *continent* *irrigation* *gift of …* *delta* *lower/upper Egypt*	Find Egypt on map, note position in relation to Australia, calculate distances (e.g. length of Nile) and compare with Victorian landmarks. Look at surrounding countries: any interaction with them? Place ancient Egypt in timeline of civilisations and events.	Atlas, world globe, blank maps. Above textbooks have overviews. Documentary: *Nile* (ep. 1): 'Crocodiles and Kings,' 49 minutes (shown on ABC in 2005). Investigates importance of Nile on development of Egyptian civilisation.
3	Time travel: Carter excavates Tutankhamun's tomb.	*sarcophagus* *canopic jars* *mummification* *tomb* *afterlife*	Three-level inquiry: *Illustrated London News* report of Carnarvon and Carter's opening of tomb. Match images with descriptions and complete three-level inquiry task.	Copies of Source 1: *Illustrated London News* article (p. 29) and Level 1, 2 and 3 statements that follow. Images of exhibits and accompanying descriptions (see suggested images on p. 31).
4	Interpreting Carter's find. Students draw upon their three-level inquiry, images and their growing research to: • Describe the photographs of objects *in situ* and Carter's first view of the tomb • Draw initial conclusions from evidence • State what the finds tell us about the society that buried this person • Discuss the role of the ruler, the afterlife, wealth, slavery/forced labour, precious metals/stones, transport in ancient Egypt.	*interpretation* *representation*	Students write an initial response. This could be in the form of a letter, e.g. 'Imagine you are a member of the archaeological team. Write home describing the find and what it means.'	*The Great Egyptians* (ep. 2): 'Tutankhamun,' 52 mins (1997). or *Great Mysteries and Myths of the Twentieth Century: The Tutankhamon Mystery*, 24 mins (shown on ABC in 1998).

Table continues …

Week	Topics and themes	Key terms	Teaching methods	Resources
5–7	Time travel: Egypt under Tutankhamun. Students examine: • The Nile and irrigation • The structure of society (hierarchy, classes) • Government and rulers • Religion • Daily life for men, women, rulers, slaves, farmers, scholars • The writing system.	*hierarchy* *government* *Rosetta Stone* *pharaohs* *religion*	Conduct research on Egyptian society and present an oral presentation, poster or report.	Resources above and internet research.
8–9	Travel advice for Tutankhamun's Egypt. Imaginative and informative exercise.	*deben* *senui* *kit* *gold/silver* *drachma, hemidrachma etc.* *fish, grapes, figs, bread* *scribe* *tablet*	Students imagine they are travel writers in 1336 BCE; they should write advice suited to, say, a Greek newcomer. It should have an introduction, a facts and figures section and advice for getting around.	Copies of travel articles from newspapers, magazines, *Lonely Planet*.
10	Using materials from the National Geographic Tutankhamun exhibition.	*curator* *museum* *collection* *artefact* *representation* *source* *selection* *authentication*	[My students attended the exhibition but the following can be done online.] Answer the following questions: • Where did the exhibits come from? • How do we know they're real? • What has been included and excluded and why? • Which items are the most interesting and why? • What do curators and museum staff do?	National Geographic and Melbourne Museum websites: *http://ngm.nationalgeographic.com/ngm/tut/* *http://museumvictoria.com.au/melbournemuseum/whatson/exhibition-archive/tutankhamun/*.




ABOVE (left to right):

Mirror case. This wooden case for a mirror, formed in the shape of an *ankh*, the Egyptian symbol for life, is covered in gold and inlaid with semi-precious stones and coloured glass. The jewelled inlay displays the hieroglyphs spelling out the king's throne name, and the lotus blossom below associates it with rebirth.

Viscera coffin. Tutankhamun possessed four miniature coffins fashioned of gold and inlaid with coloured glass and semi-precious stones, and each stood in a separate compartment in an alabaster chest.

Mannequin. Carved of wood and then covered in gesso and painted, this bust of Tutankhamun portrays the young king much more as a youthful figure than a divine being.

Royal canopic bust. This calcite bust of the king depicts Tutankhamun wearing the nemes headdress. Red and black paint are used to highlight features of the face as well as the two protective vulture and cobra deities projecting from his brow.

Activities

Three-level inquiry on news report

See Source 1: *Illustrated London News* below.

This simple inquiry helps Year 7 students to interpret a written document and develops their higher level thinking skills.

Aims:

- Students will read and understand a document relating to the discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb;
- They will be introduced to 'levels of thinking' and begin to see that comprehension is just the first step in the thinking process;
- They will see that history doesn't always contain neat answers, that there can be disagreement about interpretation;
- The exercise will provide a model for analysing historical documents of almost any kind. The method can be used from Year 7 to Year 12: the more they practise it the better they will be at History!

To prepare:

1 Give students brief background on Tutankhamun, e.g. ancient Egypt, discovery of Tutankhamun's mummified body in Egypt.

2 Make enough copies of Source 1: *Illustrated London News* for groups of 3–4 students.

3 Make copies of the three-level inquiry tasks below.

In the classroom:

1 Explain that students will shortly read and interpret a history document. If they follow through the process, they will (a) understand the document and (b) develop some higher order thinking skills.

2 Divide class into groups of 3–4.

3 Distribute news report and point out its date.

4 Read article aloud, explaining the meaning of 'chamber,' 'gilt,' 'venison' and 'bitumenised.'

5 Distribute Level 1, 2 and 3 statements. (See following pages.) Explain that Level 1 is straightforward, Level 2 requires analysis and that Level 3 involves inferring something from evidence.

6 Students work in groups to determine the veracity of a number of statements. Teacher assists groups.

7 'Correct' student responses by having someone from each group read out their decisions. Generally there will be little argument about Level 1 statements as they are straightforward. Level 2 statements will also be widely agreed upon but, if there is disagreement, ask groups to explain their reasoning. Responses to Level 3 are likely to vary – discuss these in detail.

Source 1: *Illustrated London News*

GREAT FIND IN THE VALLEY OF THE KINGS

16 December 1922

Two weeks ago, Lord Carnarvon and Mr Howard Carter revealed what has been described as promising 'the most sensational Egyptological discovery of the century' – the finding of the complete funeral paraphernalia of King Tutankhamen, of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and other objects of priceless value and the utmost importance. The achievement is the result of nearly sixteen years of patient labour on the part of Lord Carnarvon and his brilliant assistant, Mr Howard Carter.

The opening of the tomb, or funeral chambers, of King Tutankhamen, took place on November 29. Lord Carnarvon has given us a thrilling account of the great discovery and their first entrance into the chambers. 'We again reached a sealed door, or wall. ... I asked Mr Carter to take a few stones and have a look in. After a few minutes this was done. He pushed his head partly into the opening. With the help of a candle, he could dimly see what was inside.

'A long silence followed, until I said, "Well, what is it?" His reply was, "There are some marvellous objects here." I went to the hole and I could with difficulty restrain my excitement. ... We enlarged the hole and Mr Carter managed to scramble in. As he moved around with a candle, we knew he had found something absolutely unique and unprecedented.

'In the dim candle light, a wonderful sight was exposed to our excited eyes. The first thing that one noticed against the wall facing the door were three gigantic carved gilt wood beds, the ends of the beds having carved heads. Beneath the central couch were heaped 20 or 30 white wooden boxes containing mummified legs of mutton, ducks, geese, venison, and the like. ... Beneath another bed was the throne of the King. ... We found four chariot bodies of gilt wood inlaid with semi-precious stones. The wheels are in a heap on one side, while the poles are stacked against the wall.'

At the northern end are two life-sized portrait statues of the King in bitumenised wood. On his brow is the crown of Egypt; around his neck is the gilt collar, emblem of royalty; he is clad in the 'shenti,' a sort of stiff kilt. In one hand he holds a long gilt stick; in the other a gilt mace.

In front of the couches are some long boxes. One, opened by Lord Carnarvon, was full of roses, beautiful but very fragile after their 3000 years' burial.[2]

Level 1: Comprehension

After reading Source 1, discuss the following statements in your group and decide whether they are True (T), False (F) or Unclear from this source (U). Circle your response.

Lord Carnarvon and Howard Carter opened Tutankhamun's tomb in late November 1922.

T F U

Carnarvon kept the discovery to himself and did not share it with the media.

T F U

Carnarvon and Carter had worked for years to find Tutankhamun's tomb.

T F U

Carnarvon and Carter were disappointed by what they found when they saw inside the tomb.

T F U

The first room opened by Carter contained only a few items from Tutankhamun's time.

T F U

Many of the objects found in the tomb were made of wood.

T F U

Tutankhamun was buried approximately 3000 years ago.

T F U

Tutankhamun was buried with many precious objects around him.

T F U

Level 2: Analysis/synthesis

After reading Source 1, discuss the following statements in your group and decide whether they are True (T), False (F) or Unclear from this source (U). Circle your response.

Lord Carnarvon and Howard Carter were very secretive about their search for Tutankhamun's tomb and let no one else near their dig.

T F U

In 1922 it was quite hard to take photos in low light and get these reproduced in newspapers.

T F U

From the very time of the tomb's discovery its great archaeological importance was understood.

T F U

Egypt in Tutankhamun's time did not have wheeled vehicles.

T F U

In Tutankhamun's time, Egyptians believed their king should take food and daily needs with him after death.

T F U

Tutankhamun was buried in c. 3000 BCE.

T F U

In 1922 English people were not interested in archaeological finds of long-dead Egyptian rulers.

T F U

The ancient Egyptians were not good artists or sculptors.

T F U

2 Adapted from a piece appearing in Edward Bacon's *The Great Archaeologists*, 1976.

Level 3: Inference

After reading Source 1, discuss the following statements in your group and decide whether they are True (T), False (F) or Unclear from this source (U). Circle your response.

Lord Carnarvon and Howard Carter were thorough archaeologists and researched the Valley of the Kings burials long before 1922.

T F U

As archaeologists, Carnarvon and Carter were careful to ensure the long-term preservation of their finds.

T F U

The ancient Egyptians believed a king must be well-prepared for life after death.

T F U

The ancient Egyptians had a very equal social structure, where all people could expect to be buried as Tutankhamun was.

T F U

Today, we still use some of the same symbols for royalty as the ancient Egyptians used.

T F U

Attempts to rob Tutankhamun's tomb had been made before Carter and Carnarvon found it.

T F U

Our custom of placing flowers on graves comes from the ancient Egyptians.

T F U

The discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb was an important development in understanding past civilisations.

T F U

Suggested images

Many of the pictures I used in the activity on matching images with descriptions (see Week 3 outline) can be found in the textbooks listed in the unit plan. The rest can be found at the following websites (or you might find your own):

www.iconicguides.com/shop/the-tomb-of-tutankhamun-kv-62/

www.funzug.com/index.php/informative-zone/king-tut-and-his-treasures.html

www.funzug.com/index.php/informative-zone/king-tut-and-his-treasures.html

www.funzug.com/index.php/informative-zone/king-tut-and-his-treasures.html

www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/gif-files/Ross_photo_0034.jpg

www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/gif-files/Ross_photo_0050.jpg

www.touregypt.net/museum/cowbedpage.htm

www.superstock.com/stock-photos-images/1890-81355

www.siloam.net/NewYorkWTC/

www.egyptholiday.com/tutankhamun/tut_tomb_antechamber.htm

www.corbisimages.com/images/BE064225.jpg?size=67&uid=24afdc80-e81e-4ac8-8310-9c167048cf69&uniqID=f5803770-035a-4337-b158-ab3384194ff2

http://2.bp.blogspot.com/_UNpL6gDn2rY/TOHt6ywFykI/AAAAAAAAAN4/qumxXbZeokU/s1600/Howard+Carter+-+finder+of+King+Tut%2527s+tomb+-+1.jpg

http://education.ezinemark.com/exhibition-of-pharaoh-tutankhamuns-tomb-and-treasures-77366bc0581d.html

www.touregypt.net/featurestories/chariots.htm

See also 'Teaching Asian Depth Studies' on p. 49

YEAR 8

The Crusades: Experience, Memory and History

What does current research reveal about the history of the Crusades?

Dr Megan Cassidy-Welch, The University of Melbourne

Since the events of 11 September 2001, there has been renewed interest in the deep historical roots of conflicts in the Middle East. In particular, the era of the Crusades has experienced something of a revival of both scholarship and political commentary, as some – erroneously, it should be noted – have sought to identify a medieval 'clash of civilisations,' in the playing out of those unique holy wars.[1] In the tertiary classroom, too, rising numbers of students enrol in a subject on the crusades that I teach: when I ask them about their reasons for taking the subject, responses invariably include a desire to understand current conflict. The student demographic in this subject is unusually diverse for a medieval history subject; it is a demographic incorporating those with strongly-held, personal religious convictions. Vociferous debates between Muslim, Jewish and Christian students are frequent and, whilst respectfully conducted, do mask deeper feelings about the historical issues of land, religious violence and political conflict which are at the heart of the medieval crusading movement and which resonate with increasing urgency in the modern world.

The period of the Crusades is conventionally dated from 1095, when Pope Urban II called for the First Crusade, to 1291, when the port city of Acre fell to Muslim armies. Of course, armed forays to the Middle East and beyond which were identified by contemporaries as crusades continued after the thirteenth century. It is between the late eleventh and late thirteenth centuries, however, that we see the development of the idea of the crusade, the formation of crusading ideologies, the most widespread participation in the Crusades, and the widening of operation to include locations other than the Holy Land and people other than Muslims.[2]

Modern historiography on the Crusades might be dated to 1935, with the appearance of Carl Erdmann's influential book, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens* (translated into English as *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*). This was a book which, for its time, took an unusually contextual approach to the history of crusading; Erdmann saw the Crusades as an historical product of both the eleventh-century reform with its emphasis on individual and collective penance, and the concomitant trends towards the legitimation of religious violence and the militarisation of society. Erdmann's thesis has been challenged and refined by many scholars.[3] Nonetheless, Erdmann articulated a foundational idea in crusade studies; that broader social and cultural issues needed to be understood

if the mentality of crusading and the crusaders themselves were to become comprehensible to historians and others.

Post-war scholars of the Crusades continued to take what has been described as an historicist approach. For some time, one of the key areas of debate around the Crusades concerned the question of definition: what was a crusade? Various schools of thought developed to answer this deceptively simple question.[4] The group known as 'generalists,' to which Erdmann belonged, emphasised the origin and the nature of crusading in the general development of Christian holy war and ecclesiastical acceptance of violence in late eleventh century. For this group, 'holy war' and 'crusade' were essentially the same thing.[5] The second group, the 'popularists,' emphasised the emergence of crusading as a response to or an expression of popular piety, a peculiar manifestation of religious fervour which swept across western Europe during the eleventh century.[6] 'Traditionalists' emphasised the centrality of Jerusalem and the Holy Land. Hans Eberhard Mayer, for instance, argued that Jerusalem was the defined aim of a crusade and an expedition directed towards a different geographical aim was not a crusade.[7] Finally, the so-called 'pluralists' took a broader view. For this group, many of the expeditions organised against heretics, pagans or for political reasons were also crusades because they were authorised by the Pope on God's behalf. Jonathan Riley-Smith is the key proponent of this view.[8] He emphasises motive and papal authority as being central to any crusade. This pluralist view accommodates both 'top-down' theology and the experience of the individual, and has come to be accepted as the standard view: a crusade was a manifestation of 'a holy war, fought against those perceived to be the external or internal foes of Christendom for the recovery of Christian property or in defence of the Church or Christian people.'[9]

In recent years the question of definition has waned as the central concern of crusading scholarship. Indeed, historians now tend to warn against getting bogged down in taxonomies which too rigidly classify what was a highly fluid and changeable idea. Norman Housley simply states that 'if it looks like an elephant, talks like an elephant and walks like an elephant, it is an elephant.' Christopher Tyerman is content to see crusading as

> a prominent feature of the High Middle Ages and beyond, its operation not autonomous but contingent on external circumstances and participants. ... It reflected the ambition of popes; the devotions of the laity; chivalry; the economic and political expansion of parts of Latin Europe; the initiatives of religious reformers. Crusading was their creation, not vice versa.[10]

Such views have meant that crusade scholarship and research is now at a much more exciting place, as historians increasingly widen the scope of crusading studies. A new academic journal, *Crusades*, provides a specific outlet for new research in this area, while a plethora of online resources, most notably the *Crusades Encyclopedia*, provides translations of primary material, brief biographies of crusade participants and modern historians, bibliographies, scholarly articles and links to other websites.[11]

One key area of research concerns the memory and use of the Crusades in later contexts. From the time of the crusaders' unexpected victory at Jerusalem in 1099, texts were produced to commemorate and narrate the First Crusade. These included histories, poems, letters, sermons, and papal decrees which invoked the memory of victorious ancestors to motivate subsequent migrants and armies to come to the Holy Land.[12] Scholars have become increasingly interested in the construction of particular ways of remembering and justifying sometimes very controversial aspects of the crusading past in such texts. In the context of the First Crusade, the massacre of the Jewish communities in the Rhineland and the massacre at Jerusalem in 1099 have been focal points for scholarship, and the texts which report these atrocities have come under renewed scrutiny.[13] Likewise, the Fourth Crusade, a joint French–Venetian enterprise which was diverted first to Zara in modern-day Croatia and then to Constantinople in 1204, has generated a fresh historiography in recent times as historians focus on textual attempts to explain the sack of Constantinople, a Christian city, by crusaders whose original brief for this crusade had not involved the Byzantine Empire at all.[14]

1 See S.P. Huntingdon's *The Clash of Civilizations and Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996)and Tariq Ali's *The Clash of Fundamentalisms* (London: Verso, 2002).
2 See J. Riley-Smith's *The Crusades: A Short History* (London: Athlone Press, 1987).
3 Carl Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977).
4 See G. Constable's 'The Historiography of the Crusades' in Laiou and Mottahedeh, eds., *The Crusades* (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 2001), 1–22.
5 Erdmann, *Origin*.
6 See Alphandéry, *La Chrétienté et l'idée de croisade*, 2 vols. (Paris: A. Michel, 1954–9).
7 H. Mayer, *The Crusades* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972).
8 Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?* Third edition (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).
9 Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History*, xxviii.
10 Norman Housely, *Contesting the Crusades* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 1.
11 See Benjamin Kedar and Riley-Smith, eds., *Crusades* (Ashgate Publishing) and *www.crusades-encyclopedia.com/index.html*.
12 See Jay Rubinstein's 'Putting History to Use,' *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 35 (2004): 131–68.
13 Jeremy Cohen, *Sanctifying the Name of God* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University, 2006).
14 See Jonathan Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople* (London: Viking, 2004) and T. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997).

'Crusade scholarship is now at a much more exciting place, as historians increasingly widen the scope of crusading studies.'

At a recent conference at Fordham University in New York, entitled 'Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image and Identity,' Thomas Madden noted the polarities in the textual and visual records of the Fourth Crusade. From the very time that that crusade was conducted until as late as the nineteenth century, ongoing tension between French and Venetian contingents meant that even centuries later, Tintoretto found it appropriate to paint his grandiose scheme of the capture of Constantinople entirely devoid of Frenchmen, while Eugene Delacroix painted the same event with not a Venetian in sight.[15] And a French context, the Albigensian Crusade against Cathar heretics in the south of the country, has been recently studied for how it has been remembered by French nationalists and constructed as a pivotal moment in the so-called 'loss of Occitania."[16]

Two further issues arise from the current interest in memory. The first concerns the often-traumatic nature of the Crusades. This is clearly manifested in the innate violence of warfare, but may also be found in the sheer longevity of memories. For instance, during the Albigensian Crusade of the early thirteenth century, serious population displacement occurred as the crusaders moved through the region. The impact of loss of family, dispossession, loss of livelihood and forced movement from home was recorded by those who instigated it, and by those who suffered through the experience. The troubadour poets of the mid- to late-thirteenth century wrote lyrics of loss about the decimation of southern culture: these lyrics (and other sources) spoke of the trauma of war, but also of the political ambitions of the men who purported to be 'liberating' the south from heresy. Such protests continued, and even today the landscape of the Languedoc is known to locals as *le pays cathare* (Cathar country), while those long-gone thirteenth-century heretics are commemorated as southern freedom fighters against the encroachment of the (northern French) Capetian royal house. Historians researching this moment in French history are bringing to light the political agenda of much of the early historiography, whilst reminding new audiences that the Albigensian Crusade occupies a foundational place in modern, regional consciousness and identity.[17]

The second issue to emerge from studies on medieval and modern memories of the Crusades complicates the dichotomy suggested by the politicised memories of events like the Albigensian Crusade. This is the growing body of scholarship which explores interactions between (especially) Muslims and Christians in the Holy Land in times of non-violence. Historians such as Ronnie Ellenblum have found that divisions between Christians, Muslims and Jews in the Holy Land were nowhere near as clear and static as might be expected and that physical structures like the great crusader castles of the Levant might be read as evidence not of separation, but of co-operation.[18] Ellenblum's studies of the material culture of the Levant indicate that crusader castles were built more for economic and geographic reasons than for strategic, defensive or aggressive ones. Other historians have concentrated on lived experiences of toleration and non-aggression in the Holy Land at the time of the Crusades and found similar stories: the records of lived, daily contact between cultures simply do not support the notion that Muslims and Christians were always utterly separate and perpetually at loggerheads. This is not to undermine the episodes of hostility that punctuated life in the Levant. But scholarship increasingly suggests the idea of the crusade as a Manichean conflict between two polarised opposites must be complicated.

Finally, as with a range of other historical research, gender is another area which is becoming central to studies of crusading history. Work in this area initially focused on

15 Pope John Paul II issued a formal apology for the actions of the crusaders to the Greek Orthodox Church in May 2001.

16 Emily McCaffrey, 'Memory and Collective Identity in Occitanie,' *History & Memory* 13:1 (2001): 114–38; Andrew Roach, 'Occitania Past and Present,' *History Workshop Journal* 43 (Spring 1997): 1–37.

17 Malcolm Barber, 'The Albigensian Crusades: Wars like Any Other?' in Balard ed., *Dei gesta per Francos: Dei gesta per Francos: Crusade Studies in honour of Jean Richard* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 45-55; Elaine Graham-Leigh, *The Southern French Nobility and the Albigensian Crusade* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2005).

18 Ronnie Ellenblum, *Crusader Castles and Modern Histories* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

19 See Bernard Hamilton, 'Women in the Crusader States: The Queens of Jerusalem (1100–1190)' in Baker, ed., *Medieval Women* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978), 143–73; H. Mayer, 'Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem,' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 26 (1972), 93–189.

establishing that women were indeed present in the history of the Crusades, and concentrated particularly on the role of extraordinary women such as Queen Melisende of Jerusalem (1105–1160) or Blanche of Castile (1187–1251).[19] The participation of women as combatants, pilgrims and camp followers emerged from the scholarship of Riley-Smith and others, who were interested in individual and collective motivations for crusading.[20] More recently, research has drifted towards how crusading was played out by women and men in a range of different fora. Historians have begun to look at the work done by women on the homefront as important indications of how broadly we should now understand the definition of crusading (again, an outgrowth of the pluralist trend in modern scholarship). For women who participated in fundraising and praying for a crusade and who had taken the crusading vow themselves, a physical journey to Jerusalem or elsewhere was, by the thirteenth century, not necessary to earn their eternal reward of remission of sin.[21] Crusade chroniclers consciously reported the crusade as a masculine activity, yet it is clear from other sources that women were actively involved in the practice of crusading from the very beginning.[22]

As crusading scholarship moves away from the definition of a crusade to consider the experience of crusading in a variety of locations, English-language historians have become more interested in Muslim perspectives. The old myth that the Crusades had been forgotten in the Muslim world until the nineteenth century (with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire) is under revision, as Western historians begin to get to grips with the 'other side' of the crusading experience.[23] As I have already indicated, much work is being done on the interactions between Christians and Muslims in the Levant. Likewise, the Muslim perception of the crusaders and crusading is being brought to an English-language audience through the work of Carole Hillenbrand, Niall Christie and others, who have stressed the complex modes of resistance and uneasy toleration that existed between the groups throughout the crusading period.[24] One academic press has sought to make available English translations of various important narrative sources on the Crusades, including Arabic texts, and it is to be hoped that more work in the area will ensue.[25]

In this brief resumé of some of the research being conducted into the history of the Crusades, I have focused on the results of the post-definitional historiography. It is clear that historians are taking a more interdisciplinary approach to the study of the Crusades, whilst also widening their focus to accommodate and develop the pluralist definition of crusading. In considering the longer ramifications of crusading, medieval historians are also engaging with the deeper roots of modern national, political and religious tensions, and it is in this area that crusading historians now occupy an important role. Their nuanced and inclusive approach to the Crusades shows that there is little to be gained by constituting the past as a conflict between opposites (a clash of civilisations), and that crusading itself cannot profitably or accurately be described in those terms. Rather, current research into the history of the Crusades exposes the complex, shifting nature of past conflicts and the insufficiency of single ideologies to explain them. By considering instead the experience of crusading in its widest form, scholars now situate the Crusades within a range of histories, both medieval and modern, and remind new audiences that the legacy of conflict continues to stretch far beyond the battlefields of the Middle Ages.

20 C.T. Maier, 'The Roles of Women in the Crusade Movement,' *Journal of Medieval History* 30 (2004): 61-82.

21 S. Edgington and S. Lambert, eds., *Gendering the Crusades* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2001); Natasha Hodgson, *Women, Crusade and the Holy Land* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2007).

22 Maier, 'The Roles of Women.'

23 B. Kedar, 'The Subjected Muslims of the Frankish Levant' in J. Powell, ed., *Muslims Under Latin Rule, 1100–1300* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 135-74; Nikita Elisseeff, 'The Reaction of the Syrian Muslims after the Foundation of the First Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem' in M. Shatzmiller, ed., *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth Century Syria* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 162–72.

24 Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 2000); Niall Christie, 'Religious Campaign or War of Conquest?' in Christie and Yazigi, eds., *Noble Ideals and Bloody Realities: Warfare in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2006), 57-72.

25 See Ashgate Publishing's *Crusades Texts in Translation* series. Volume 7 is D.S. Richards, ed., *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).

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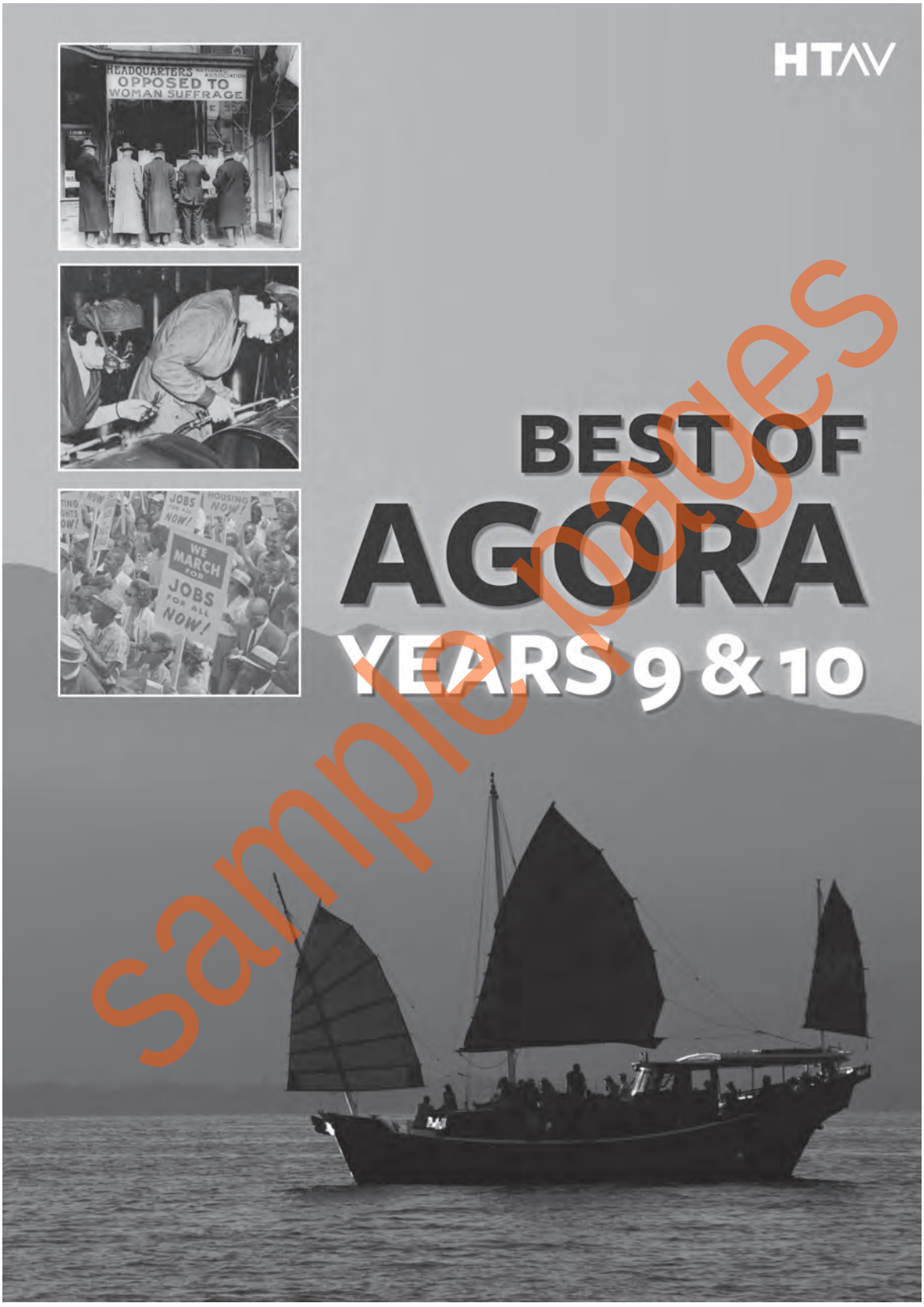

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