The Fourth Crusade: Event, Aftermath, and Perceptions

Papers from the Sixth Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Istanbul, Turkey, 25–29 August 2004

Edited by

Thomas F. Madden Saint Louis University, USA

ASHGATE

© 2008 by the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without the prior permission of the publisher.

Published by

Ashgate Publishing Limited

Ashgate Publishing Company

Gower House

Suite 420

Croft Road

101 Cherry Street

Aldershot

Burlington, VT 05401-4405

Hampshire GU11 3HR

USA

England

upsinte GOTT STIK

Ashgate website: http://ashgate.com

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East. Conference (6th: 2004: Istanbul, Turkey)

The Fourth Crusade: event, aftermath, and perceptions: papers from the Sixth Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Istanbul, Turkey, 25–29 August 2004. – (Crusades. Subsidia)

1. Crusades – Fourth, 1202–1204 – Congresses 2. Military history, Medieval – Congresses

I. Title II. Madden, Thomas F.

949.5'03.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data ...

Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East. Conference (6th: 2004: Istanbul, Turkey)

The Fourth crusade: event, aftermath, and perceptions: papers from the Sixth Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Istanbul, Turkey, 25–29 August 2004 / edited by Thomas F. Madden.

p. cm. – (Crusades subsidia)

Contributions in English, French, and Italian.

ISBN 978-0-7546-6319-5 (alk. paper)

- 1. Crusades Fourth, 1202–1204 Congresses. 2. Military history, Medieval Congresses.
- I. Madden, Thomas F. II. Title.

D164.S63 2004 949.5'03-dc22

2007016269

ISBN 978-0-7546-6319-5

Typeset by N²productions

Printed in Great Britain by MPG Books Ltd, Bodmin, Cornwall

Contents

| Introduction | vii |
|--|------|
| List of Contributors | xiii |
| Programme of the Conference | xv |
| Event | |
| Richard I and the Early Evolution of the Fourth Crusade Vincent Ryan | 3 |
| Venise et son arrière-pays au temps de la Quatrième Croisade Pierre Racine | 15 |
| The "Four Crusades" of 1204 Marco Meschini | 27 |
| Aftermath | |
| The Latin Empire of Constantinople's Fractured Foundation: The Rift between Boniface of Montferrat and Baldwin of Flanders <i>Thomas F. Madden</i> | 45 |
| The Greeks of Constantinople under Latin Rule 1204–1261 David Jacoby | 53 |
| The Effects of the Fourth Crusade on European Gold Coinage Robert D. Leonard Jr. | 75 |
| Perceptions | |
| The <i>Translatio Symonensis</i> and the Seven Thieves: A Venetian Fourth Crusade <i>Furta Sacra</i> Narrative and the Looting of Constantinople <i>David M. Perry</i> | 89 |
| Between Justification and Glory: The Venetian Chronicles' View of the Fourth Crusade Serban Marin | 113 |

CONTENTS

| Per Innocenzo III i Cristiani Latini "peggiori degli altri:" l'anno 1204. Un sintomo di nuova cultura <i>Giulio Cipollone</i> | 123 |
|---|-----|
| Aux sources de la chronique en prose française: entre déculturation et acculturation Cyril Aslanov | 143 |
| Arab Perspectives on the Fourth Crusade William J. Hamblin | 167 |
| Index | 179 |

Introduction'

It is an irony that of the major "numbered" crusades the First and the Fourth have attracted significantly more scholarly attention than any others. Interest in the First Crusade is natural enough. It was the beginning of a movement that endured for centuries and fundamentally shaped Europe and its place in the Mediterranean world. But the Fourth Crusade cannot make that claim. Instead, it was an enterprise launched during the maturity of the movement that proceeded to go terribly wrong. Organized to restore Jerusalem to Christian control, the Fourth Crusade conquered and looted the greatest Christian city in the world. The story of how that came to be is a tangled web of conflicting agendas, passions, imperatives, and desires. It is the extraordinary outcome of the Fourth Crusade, which even contemporaries believed could only be an act of God, that draws curious investigators to attempt to unlock its secrets. Indeed, in that respect it is very like the First Crusade.²

Western scholars may approach the Fourth Crusade as a fascinating puzzle or an intriguing historical event, yet for others it remains an open wound. Steven Runciman famously wrote that "there was never a greater crime against humanity than the Fourth Crusade" and this view is still current today in parts of the world. For example, when the Greek government invited Pope John Paul II to Athens in 2001, large numbers of Orthodox monks, nuns, and priests protested the arrival of what some of them called "the two-horned monster of Rome." When the pope landed on May 4, not a single member of the Orthodox clergy came to the airport to greet him. Thousands of them, however, took to the streets, wrapped in Greek flags, demanding that the 80-year-old pontiff be expelled. The pope then paid a "courtesy visit" to Archbishop Christodoulos of Athens. The archbishop cataloged a list of Orthodox grievances against Rome, including such things as the expansion of eastern Catholic churches and the Vatican's attitude toward Cyprus. Pride of place, however, was given not to current events, but to the Fourth Crusade and its aftermath. In his "welcome" address to the pope, the archbishop said:

Understandably a large part of the Church of Greece opposes your presence here... These reactions express not only explicit censure of the unacceptable acts of violence perpetrated against concerned Orthodox peoples, but also the demand of Orthodox conscience for a formal condemnation of injustices committed against them by the Christian West... The Orthodox Greek people, more than other Orthodox peoples, sense more intensely in its religious consciousness and national memory the traumatic experiences, that remain as

A.

¹ My thanks to David Parnell of Saint Louis University for his assistance with the editorial formatting of this volume.

² For discussions of recent Fourth Crusade historiography, see Norman Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Oxford, 2006), 64–68; Thomas F. Madden, "Outside and Inside the Fourth Crusade," *International History Review* 17 (1995): 726–43.

³ Steven Runciman, A History of the Crusades (Cambridge, 1953-57), 3: 123, 130.