Unearthing the Echoes of the Crusades: Identifying the Christian Crusades in Greece, Anatolia and the Levant through Burial Practice Analysis of the Middle Byzantine Period: 10th century-1204 AD.

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Unearthing the Echoes of the Crusades

Identifying the Christian Crusades in Greece, Anatolia and the Levant through Burial Practice Analysis of the Middle Byzantine Period: 10th century-1204 AD.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This thesis will look at medieval burial practices and graves from the 11th to the 13th century AD in the Levant, Anatolia and Greece in order to identify traces of the First Crusade (1095-1099 AD) and Fourth Crusade (1198-1205 AD). These traces will help to decide whether it is possible to identify the routes of travel and violence associated with these crusades in the archaeological record. The ways via which the crusaders journeyed have already been proven through historical sources and published by many crusader historians, like Steven Runciman, Christoper Tyerman and Jonathan Riley-Smith. These journeys shall hence forth be referenced to in this thesis as the 'historically known routes'.
Reconstructing the routes the crusaders travelled during these crusades by using archaeological remains in a mortuary context, has not been done before. This thesis will aim to provide new insights into these routes.

The crusades were religious and military campaigns sanctioned by the Latin Church in the medieval period (Tyerman, 2019, p. 1). These campaigns were launched primarily against Muslims and Jews, but also targeted other groups like heretics and pagans (Tyerman, 2019, p. 3). Although they had varying motivations, the main goal was always to either recover the holy city of Jerusalem and/or conquer and eradicate pagan and heretical populations. Most of the larger crusades took place between the 11th and 13th centuries AD, but the act of 'crusading' only ended 500 years later in the 16th century (Tyerman, 2019, p. 433). The crusades had a profound and far-reaching effects on both Western and Eastern societies and led to cultural exchange, trade and transfer of knowledge between Europe and the Middle East. However, the crusades also left a legacy of religious tension between Christian and Muslim communities, which is still present today to some extent (Tyerman, 2019, p. 463).

The decision to focus on the First and Fourth Crusade and exclude the Second and Third was primarily based on preference and interest. The First Crusade took place at the end of the 11th century AD and reshaped the medieval European world. It was an event of unforeseen scale; the largest army of men history had ever seen moved across the Mediterranean, dwarfing the armies of William the Conqueror with which he had invaded England only thirty years prior (France, 1995, p. 2). Never before had the Latin Church mustered such a force of believers, men and women and children alike. This was not merely a conquest by soldiers, it was a religious march of penance by believers and sinners (Tyerman, 2019, p. 3). The crusaders created Crusader States in the Middle East following the successful capture of Jerusalem, thus further expanding the Christian world and Rome's power (Tyerman, 2019, p. 106).

The Second, Third and Fourth Crusades were the military reactions of the Latin Church to the losses of the Crusader States and growth of Muslim power in the eastern Mediterranean in the following centuries. These crusades were much more militarily and politically motivated. They were no longer religious pilgrimages to absolve one of sin, but rather full-blown military campaigns consisting of soldiers led by kings and nobles. Other than the motivations behind them they were very similar to the First Crusade, as they all held large military campaigns in Anatolia and the Levant. The Third Crusade is probably the most famous for its great names like king Richard the Lionheart and Saladin. But the First Crusade was by far the most successful, as it was the only one to fulfil every goal it set out to accomplish.

The Fourth Crusade (1198-1205), on the other hand, is most intriguing because it was such a fundamental failure. In contrast to its predecessors, the bulk of the crusader army of the Fourth Crusade did not only fail to even reach the Holy Land, but it also ended up plundering and conquering the largest Christian city of its time (Tyerman, 2019, p. 237). The sack of Constantinople in 1204 is called by historians 'the greatest crime against humanity' and 'a singular moment of human folly' (Philips, 2004, p. xiv). The crusaders held the city for the following 60 years and caused the Byzantine Empire to fall into rapid decline (Angold, 2014, p. 5).

1.2 Research questions and objectives

The crusades are truly a fascinating piece of history, as they left an incredible mark on humanity and even on our current day-to-day experiences. They still captivate our imagination as great human feats of perseverance and capability. The part of the crusade's story that this thesis aims to research, is captured in the following main research question:

> *To what extent can the First and Fourth Crusades be identified or followed through the graves they left behind in Greece, Anatolia and the Levant in the Middle Byzantine Period?*

This thesis focusses on burial sites in Anatolia, Greece and the Levant from the Middle Byzantine Period, which extends from the 10th century to 1204 AD, because these are the time period and geographical locations in which the First and Fourth Crusades took place (Poulou-Papadimitriou et al., 2012, p. 407). The following three questions aim to provide aid in answering this main query:

1. *With a focus on current archaeological methods and remains in a mortuary context, is a reconstruction of the known routes of travel and violence of the two crusades at all possible?*
2. *Are there potentially any discernible variations in burial practices between the two different crusades in the regions of study?*
3. *Did the burial practices of the crusaders get affected by the burial practices of the local communities living in the areas of study?*

1.3 Hypotheses

The first sub question concerning whether a reconstructing is at all possible with the current presence of archaeological remains in a mortuary context, will probably give us a good overview of the current state of research and excavations in the area. The number of archaeological examples is expected to be high. As there were so many battles, there are most likely a number of burial sites with mass graves containing the bodies of fallen soldiers. The probability of the presence of weapons and armour is not so high, as they were far too valuable to be buried with the dead. Identifying the dead as being soldiers will most likely come down to the presence of battle wounds. The dating of such mass graves can be difficult and relies on the presence of material items like pottery sherds or coins, which can actually be dated. Individual graves that have been given a 'proper' burial, will probably provide us with more grave goods that can be used to date the grave to the crusader period and hopefully to a single crusade specifically.

Regarding the second sub question, the possibility of the presence of any differences between burials from the different crusades is probably not that high. Although they take place in different centuries with decades between them, it is not likely that the Christian practices of burying the dead had changed in such a short time. One difference that could be present in the graves might be the grave goods or clothes that are buried with the deceased, as material items are more prone to change with time than religious customs.

For the answer to the third sub question, the likelihood of the burial practices of crusaders to be influenced by the local communities is probably rather low. The Europeans conquered Jerusalem and other major cities and ports in the Middle East and even created their own administrative states. They aimed to stay and implemented their own rules and religion. Furthermore, the crusaders who just arrived in the east and died there, shall most likely be buried in the customs of their place of origin. Perhaps only a slight and very gradual intertwining of burial practices could take place, but this would be in a later period of time.

And thus, substantiated by the hypotheses of the three sub questions, the hypothesis posed by this thesis regarding the main research question is that the crusades can probably be retraced rather well via the archaeological record in a mortuary context. There will presumably be an abundance of research done on the archaeological material and the crusader graves and burials with which to work with. The routes via which the crusaders travelled will most likely not be reconstructed to the smallest detail, known in the historical record, but to a large degree by following the major battles of the crusades and their respective burial sites.

1.4 Methods and approach

The aim of this thesis is to combine historically known information with the present archaeological data to see to what degree the routes of the crusades can be reconstructed in the archaeological record. In order to do this an extensive literature research must be conducted.

First the historical data must be consulted to determine the background and course of the First and Fourth Crusades. *'The World of the Crusades'* by Christopher Tyerman (2019) forms the framework for this, as this is one of the most recent and more extensive works regarding the crusades as a whole. Tyerman is also a well-respected and widely published historian, and a professor for the history of the crusades at the University of Cambridge (U.K.). With Tyerman's work as the foundation, more literature will be added to this research to create a complete and accurate outline of the First and Fourth Crusade.

Following that, the archaeological record will be discussed. Firstly, a general overview of the local burial practices will be given, as to permit a comparison between crusader burials and non-crusader burials and to determine whether the burial practices in the areas of study got affected by the crusades. The publications of Eric Ivison (1993, 2017) and Natalia Poulou-Papadimitriou et al. (2012) provide the backbone for this.

Data on the crusader graves will be gathered through more literature research. This will provide a number of relevant burial sites, cemeteries and individual graves, which will later be used to determine to what extent the routes of travel can be followed. The details of the graves regarding their positions, physical features and make-up, as well as the details regarding the bodies of the deceased, will be discussed in order to produce an adequate picture of what a crusader grave entails. The material found in these graves will be mentioned and visualized in tables, but not further analysed as this is not the purpose of this thesis.

1.5 Thesis outline

After this introduction the following chapters will discuss the different topics in the same order as mentioned in the 'Methods and Approach' section. The information given will be used to answer the sub and main research questions in the final chapter.

Chapter 2 will give the historical background of the First and Fourth Crusade. This will be the backbone of the main research question in order to reconstruct the routes of the crusades. First the prelude and course of the First Crusade will be discussed and then the prelude and course of the Fourth Crusade. The chapter will end with a summary.

Chapter 3 provides the archaeological data regarding the crusader graves and general burial practices in Greece and Anatolia. The burial practices of the Levant will be excluded for reasons mentioned in the chapter. The crusader burials will further aid in reconstructing the routes of the crusades. In this chapter the details and attributes of the burials will also be discussed. This will also be summarized at the end of the chapter.

Chapter 4 will combine the historical and archaeological data in a discussion to create a complete analysis of the crusader burials and practices and fully answer each sub question individually.

Chapter 5 concludes this thesis and answers the main research question by combining the answers to the sub questions. This final chapter will summarize the results and provide recommendations for future research.

2. Historical Background

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will be discussing the historical background and the general course of the First and Fourth Crusades, as well as the routes along which they travelled. These routes will be of importance in later chapters as they will help answer the first research question whether we can follow the known routes of travel and violence. There were many reasons why the ecclesiastical and temporal powers of Europe decided to call the crusades into being. Additionally, there were many reasons why the crusades took place at their appointed time and age, and why they were either successful, or ended in failure. This will all be covered, however not to the greatest extend as the purpose of this thesis lies elsewhere.

2.2 First Crusade: 1095-1099 AD

2.2.1 Prelude

In the 10th and 11th century the Mediterranean region was going through a time of turmoil and unrest, aptly called 'The Mediterranean Crisis' (Tyerman, 2019, p. 31). This unrest had also reached the capital of the once so great Byzantine Empire – the Seljuk Turks had conquered the majority of Asia Minor and were threatening supply lines to Constantinople (France, 1994, p. 110; Tyerman, 2019, p. 46). Thus, Emperor Alexius I (1081-1118) summoned for the aid of Europe in 1095 (Tyerman, 2019, p. 54). Pope Urban II (1088-1099) pledged to provide this military aid in early March 1095. He devised a plan to relieve Byzantium and move on to Syria and Palestine to liberate Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre from the Fatimid caliphate (Tyerman, 2019, p. 65). This pledge was most likely motivated by multiple aspects, both religious and secular. The plea probably came with a large financial inducement (Tyerman, 2019, p. 65), which abled Urban to fund the following extensive system of preaching and recruiting. The inclusion of freeing the Holy Sepulchre catered to the current belief that the Apocalypse was on the approach, which led to more enthusiasm towards the crusade. Additionally standing at the head of this gathering of Christian might would not only strengthen the global position of the Catholic Church, but also further Urban's power as pope towards his opponent the antipope Clement III (Tyerman, 2019, p. 65), and in his claim over leadership in the Christian world during Investiture Contest (France, 1994, p. 1).

By the time Urban preached his idea in November 1095 during a council in Clermont (Tyerman, 2019, p. 69), he had already acquired the backing of several nobles (France, 1994, p. 5). After the council, Urban embarked on an impressive tour through Europe to promote the endeavour. It became evident that the crusade proved to be an opportunity for Urban to preach his personal policies of granting

spiritual rewards for religious loyalty (Tyerman, 2019, p. 66). During his preaching Urban promised those who would participate in the crusade something new; the indulgence of remission of penance (Tyerman, 2019, p. 70). The crusade itself would serve as a pilgrimage of penance to any and all who would partake (Riley-Smith, 2003, p. 27; Madden, 2013, p. 149). Furthermore, Urban introduced the crusader's vow, upon which completion the indulgences and spiritual rewards would be given (Riley-Smith, 2003, p. 22).

The success of Urban's preaching tour was visible in the quick mobilization in 1096. It is said that some 150.000 believers had promised to sign up for the crusade and take the crusader's vow (Blockmans & Hoppenbrouwers, 2016, p. 304). Although the exact number is unknown, historians state that eventually some 50.000 to 60.000 – including non-combatants – actually marched out of Europe and into Asia Minor, though it could even be as high as 70.000 to 80.000 (France, 1994, p. 128; Tyerman, 2019, p.75).

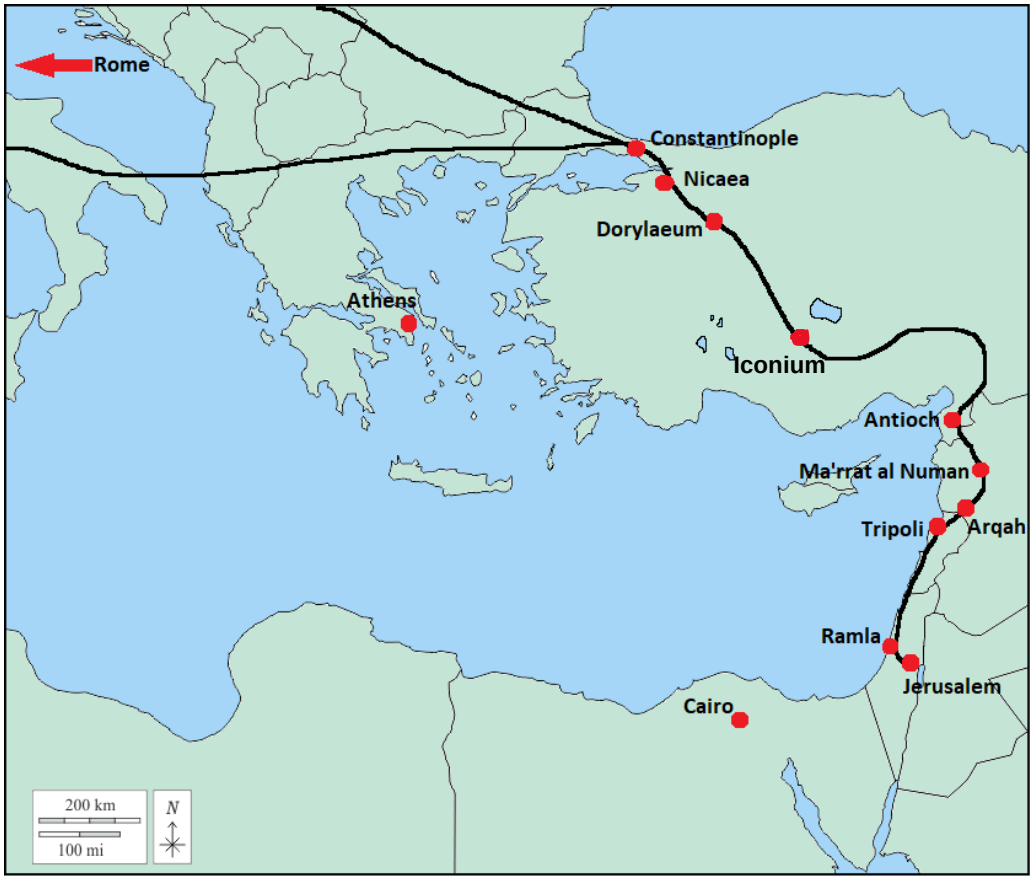

Figure 1. Route of the First Crusade (Figure by Bas de Kuyper)

2.2.2 Course

Urban II's forces departed on the fixed date of 15 August 1096 and captured Jerusalem on 15 July 1099. The journey took them some three years marching over land, taking heavy casualties along the way. And whilst it would have taken them mere months over sea, there were no shipping institutes with the naval capacity to carry very large armies, nor was it likely that the crusader commanders had enough money ready to pay for such a voyage. Furthermore, as Urban had promised to Alexius I to aid Byzantium first, this was their primary goal. So, a direct sea voyage to Jerusalem would have been out of the question regardless (Tyerman, 2019, p. 71). The crusade was divided into four stages; the first was the march to and gathering at Constantinople from the summer of 1096 to spring of 1097, the second the six month long relieve of Asia Minor in aid of Byzantium, the third was the long siege of Antioch in Syria in 1098, and the fourth and final stage the march to Jerusalem in January and eventual siege in June and July 1099 (Tyerman, 2019, p. 77). For the entire duration of the crusade – but mostly after the crusaders entered Asia Minor – there was a constant shortage of supplies (France, 1994, p. 3). Although at points provision stockpiles were replenished, these depleted quickly. When the crusaders reached Antioch in October 1097 there was a general lack of food (Riley-Smith, 2003, p. 65), and during the siege of Jerusalem a severe shortage of water (Riley-Smith, 2003, p. 67). So, supplies had to be constantly replenished, this was done by the victories and conquest along the way, but also by plundering the surrounding areas (Tyerman, 2019, 76; France, 1994, p. 90).

First Stage

For the march to Constantinople two main routes were used. The first from the Rhineland south-east through the Balkan. This was used by forces that had to cross Germany of originated here (Tyerman, 2019, p. 77). The second route led east from the ports in southern Italy to the Albanian coast and the old Via Egnatia across the Balkan to the Byzantium capital (Koytcheva, 2006, p. 54; Tyerman, 2019, p. 78). Along these routes the armies continued to mass recruit, leading to the unintentional massacre of Jew communities in the Rhineland (France, 1994, p. 90; Tyerman, 2019, p. 79). Additional to the intolerant ideology of the crusaders, another motivation for this violence was the Jewish' wealth and goods they plundered for the road (Tyerman, 2019, p. 81). Apart from this, the crusaders reached Constantinople without much further violence or trouble along the way. The crusader forces arrived in the Byzantine capital between April and May 1097, and upon arrival the commanders had to swear fealty to Alexius by a personal oath of loyalty (Tyerman, 2019, p. 79), a common practice in the west (France, 1994, p. 116). Now the crusaders were hired mercenaries and vassals of the Byzantium throne, and the second stage of the crusade had begun.

Second Stage

The crusaders executed strategic battles all over Asia Minor in name of Alexius I, serving with intense cooperation between the two parties, with Antioch as end target (Tyerman, 2019, p. 84). The initial goal was the recapture of Nicaea, some hundred kilometres south of Constantinople, which had been under Seljuk control since 1081 (Tyerman, 2019, p. 79). It was an important strategic location and vital for any further advances into Asia Minor (Madden, 2013, p. 23). The siege of Nicaea started in May 1097, and after a month of bitter fighting the city was captured. After this defeat the Turks had a difficult time defending their other cities. The crusaders won south of Nicaea over the Turks at the battle of Dorylaeum (Tyerman, 2019, p. 84), Iconium was not even defended and at Hereclea the Turks fled after a failed ambush attempt (France, 1994, p. 159). This did not mean however that the crusaders had an easy time crossing Anatolia. The march was slow (perhaps between 8 and 17 kilometres a day for up to 1300 kilometres) and gruesome in harsh summer conditions (Tyerman, 2019, p. 84). Many had lost their precious horses and rode oxen, donkeys or mules. Goat, sheep and even dogs were used as pack animals (Riley-Smith, 2003, p. 64). After Nicaea they had ventured far beyond any supply points, so food had become scarce (France, 1994, p. 122). Casualties from famine, heat and disease were high by the time they arrived at Antioch in October 1097 (Tyerman, 2019, p. 84).

Third Stage

The penultimate stage of the First Crusade began with the siege of Antioch. A brutal siege of nine months spanning the winter. Besides the fighting, disease and hunger led to heavy losses (Riley-Smith, 2003, p. 64; Tyerman, 2019, p. 86).

The siege started on 21 October 1097 (Tyerman, 2019, p. 85), but the crusaders had been unable to fully surround the city and cut of the supply lines. They defeated relief armies from Aleppo in December 1097 and from Damascus in February 1098. Despite these victories and the construction of siege weapons, the city ultimately fell to treachery from within on the night of 2/3 June 1098 by a dissident local commander who led a small force of crusaders over the walls. However, the inner citadel of the city refused to surrender and firmly kept on the defence, posing a problem for the westerners (France, 1994, p. 236; Tyerman, 2019, p. 86).

Another bigger problem arose as merely hours after the entire crusader army had found safety behind the city walls, a third relief army came from Mosul (Tyerman, 2019, p. 87). A secondary siege began with the crusaders on the receiving end. The soldiers and knights had reached their limit, and some had even deserted already when they got news of the approaching Mosul army.

And thus, trapped in the city which they had just captured, moral had dangerously corroded among the crusaders. But the commanders held their troops on their feet and launched a counteroffensive against the Mosul besiegers (Riley-Smith, 2003, p. 95; Tyerman, 2019, p. 88).

After the unlikely victory against the Mosul army on 28 June 1098, the inner citadel of Antioch ultimately surrendered as well, and the siege of Antioch was over. The following six months the crusaders held a hiatus and many western nobles started creating a foothold of their own in the area and forged a first western government (Tyerman, 2019, p. 89).

Fourth Stage

After the months of relative peace, the crusaders marched on Jerusalem. Starting on 13 January 1099 they took a route from Antioch to Ma'rrat al Numan, to Arqah, to Tripoli, following the coast down to Ramla and finally arriving at Jerusalem in June 1099 (Tyerman, 2019, p. 91), having travelled approximately 700 kilometres in six months. With many cities along the way they forged treaties and some even offered no resistance (France, 1994, p. 329). Thus, the crusaders reached Jerusalem on the 7 June 1099, unscathed. News of an approaching relief army had reached the city and the crusaders. Making haste they launched the siege the same day. The idea of the approaching army had sent the crusader army into a frenzy and the siege had an entirely different look than the one at Antioch. It was more of an assault instead of a blockade of the city, thus leading to more bloodshed. A month later on 15 July the city fell to the westerners after oddly passive tactics from the Fatimid garrison, who had obviously been counting on the relief (Tyerman, 2019, p. 92).

The Egyptian army eventually reached the city on 12 August but was also defeated by the much smaller crusader army but now consisting solely of battle-hardened veterans (Tyerman, 219, p. 93). This final victory marked the end of the First Crusade.

2.3 Fourth Crusade: 1198-1205 AD

2.3.1 Prelude

At the end of the 12th century, the effects of the First Crusade on the Christian world were still very visible. Europe was still a dominant presence in the Eastern Mediterranean, with having launched four major crusades already, and the role of Egypt grew as an important and dangerous player to be reckoned with (Tyerman, 2019, p. 234). Christian feelings towards the rest of the Islamic world had not changed if only worsened. Salah al-Din, commonly known as Saladin of the Ayyubid dynasty, had secured for himself in 1160/1170 precisely what the Christian Church had set its eyes on; wealth and gold from Egypt, and had captured Jerusalem in 1187 (Phillips, 2004, p. 1; Tyerman, 2019, p. 235).

It was because of this that Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) saw that Europe, belatedly, needed to act. He wanted to free the Holy Land from infidel possession and resuming papal leadership over a holy war would strengthen his position, as he was one of the youngest popes ever elected (Phillips, 2004, p. 3; Queller & Madden, 1997, p. 1). But because of a standing truce made after a previous crusade in 1198, violence in Syria and Palestine was not allowed, and thus was Jerusalem out of reach. This made Egypt the logical target (Tyerman, 2019, p. 225, 237). But when Innocent wrote to the rulers of Europe in 1198 his appeal was not met with great enthusiasm, as Egypt was not Jerusalem (Phillips, 2004, p. 6; Tyerman, 2019, p. 235). Without political reason or backing from the nobles Innocent was forced to find a different approach. He found rhetorical and spiritual analogies in the Exodus supporting his attack, and motivated the crusade so that it would make up for the failures of the Third Crusade of 1189-1192 and the German Crusade of 1195-1198 (Angold, 2003, p. 75; Tyerman, 2019, p. 224, 237).

In 1199 the recruitment for his crusade began, when suddenly a host of French nobles decided to take up the cross after a tournament at Écry in Champagne, France (Phillips, 2004, p. 46; Angold, 2003, p. 3). Soon nobles throughout the rest of Europe swore to join the crusade (Queller & Madden, 1997, p. 5). Recruitment for this crusade had an entirely different look about it. Instead of a pilgrimage of penance, it was now a full-blown military campaign with political gains as motivation. Europe was being torn by internal squabble between nations, and Innocent used the crusaders vows as reconciliation between former enemies (Tyerman, 2019, p. 237). Furthermore, he enhanced the spiritual rewards for participation in the crusade from remission of penance to full remission of sin, absolving all guilt and making it the most generous relief the Christian world had ever seen (Tyerman, 2019, p. 3, 238). With these policies Innocent intended to end the wars in Europe and unite the powers in the common fight against the infidel (Queller & Madden, 1997, p. 2).

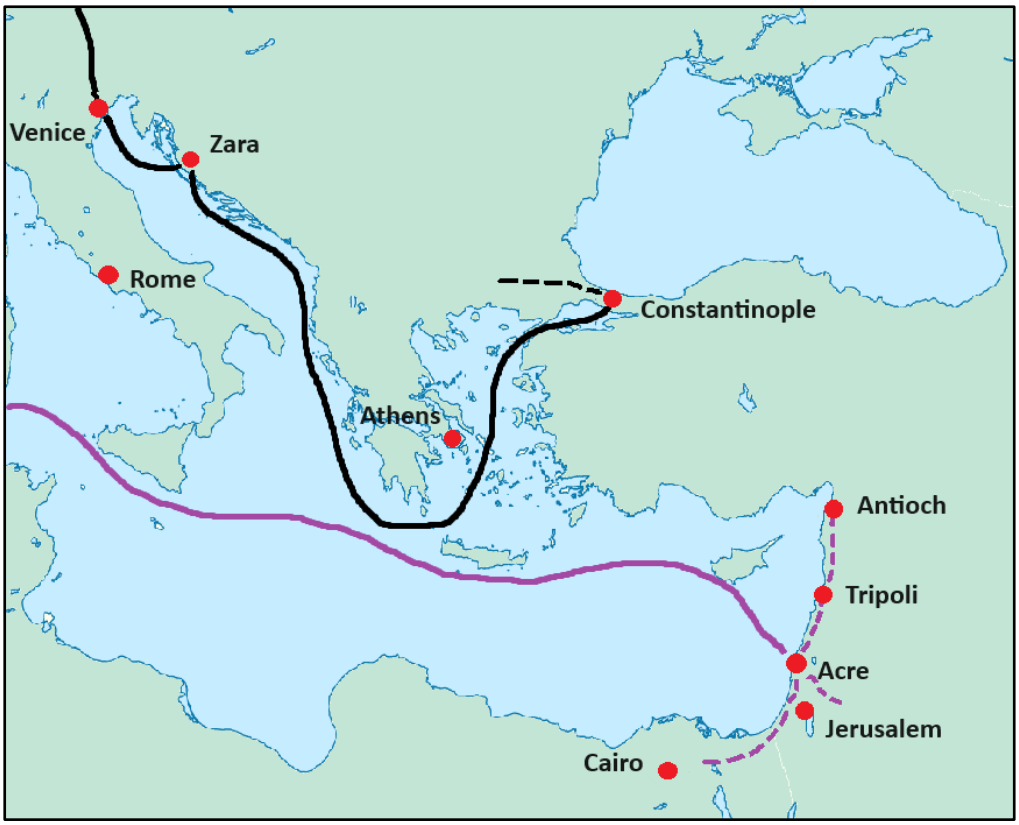

Figure 2. Route of the Fourth Crusade. Black route = Venice army. Purple route = Flanders/France army. (Figure by Bas de Kuyper)

2.3.2 Course

Treaty of Venice

In the summer of 1200, the sea route east was established (see Figure 2) and envoys sent to various possible shipping contractors. There were no French ports big enough to house the number of ships required and emperor Alexius III of Byzantium had refused to aid the westerners (Queller & Madden, 1997, p. 7; Tyerman, 2019, p. 237), due to deteriorating relations between Rome and Constantinople (Phillips, 2004, p. 54; Tyerman, 2019, p. 225). The Italian harbours of Genoa and Pisa showed no interest, so Venice was elected in 1201 to provide an armada to transport the armies (Tyerman, 2019, p. 240). The Treaty of Venice covered the shipping of 4.500 knights with horses, 9.000 squires and 20.000 infantry, along with provisions for a year, all for the great sum of 85.000 marks (Phillips, 2004, p. 73, 66; Tyerman, 2019, p. 240). Additionally, the Venetians contributed fifty galleys crewed with 30.000 men, all at their own expense (Tyerman, 2019, p. 240). The construction of this fleet would take a little over a year and would depart on 29 June 1202 (Queller & Madden, 1997, p. 11). The destination of the treaty was, in fact, Egypt (Tyerman, 2019, p. 240). But due to the still undiminished unpopularity of this being the goal of the crusade, the crusader commanders kept it a secret (Queller & Madden, 1997, p. 16). The brass motivated this choice further by determining that from Egypt,

Jerusalem would be easier to capture (Phillips, 2004, p. 67; Queller & Madden, 1997, p. 14). As Egypt was in disarray, forcing the Sultan to surrender Jerusalem would be a logical strategy (Phillips, 2004, p. 67; Queller & Madden, 1997, p. 15, 16).

Conquest of Zara

The crusader forces began to arrive at Venice in the summer of 1202 (Phillips, 2004, p. 102). However, the number of troops was substantially smaller than the contract had anticipated. By autumn 1202, perhaps between 12.000 and 15.000 crusaders were waiting to board the armada (Phillips, 2004, p. 106; Tyerman, 2019, p. 241). Reasons for this lack of capita were, firstly, that due to the fact that the crusaders had to pay for the voyage out of their own pocket, many might have sought passage elsewhere for a better price (Queller & Madden, 1997, p. 46). Secondly, it was a long journey through Europe to Venice, so part of the army had already set sail from Flanders and Marseille (see Figure 2) (Phillips, 2004, p. 103).

With the issue of not being able to pay for the voyage, as the brass that had arrived only mustered 40 per cent of the agreed sum, a sizeable portion of the crusade faced abandoning the quest entirely and wasting an expensive and well-equipped army (Tyerman, 2019, p. 241). The Venetians stepped up to the occasion and offered to turn the sum into a dept to be repaid by future endeavours, beginning with the capture of the city of Zara, modern day Zadar, on the Dalmatian coast. This struck the crusaders at their core and was acknowledged as deeply inappropriate, for Zara was a Catholic city (Phillips, 2004, p. 110, 112). When the papal legate informed Innocent III of this necessity, the pope replied with resent and threats of excommunication (Tyerman, 2019, p. 242). Dissidence within the leaders' ranks caused great unease, being unwilling to participate in acts against fellow Christians (Phillips, 2004, p. 113). But the crusader high command understood that without the Venetian fleet, the westerners would not have any chance against the Ayyubid powers. So, the goal of Egypt remained, but was postponed. The conquest of Zara was inevitable, but to avoid further unrest, was kept secret from the rest of the army, even when the fleet set sail from Venice in October 1202 (Tyerman, 2019, p. 242).

Upon arrival at Zara, the city immediately offered to surrender to the Venetians, but the crusaders, together with the Venetian troops, attacked nonetheless, facing shame in not fulfilling their contract with Venice (Angold, 2003, p. 89). The siege of Zara began on 13 November 1202 in a style similar to the First Crusade (Phillips, 2004, p. 118; Tyerman, 2019, p. 242). The city was plundered mercilessly and more desertion from the crusader ranks occurred: some 2.000 crusaders abandoned the cause (Angold, 2003, p. 89).

Sack of Constantinople

Having caught wind of the predicament the crusaders had found themselves in, Alexius Angelus offered to join the crusaders after the capture of Zara in December 1202. He would assist the crusade with 10.000 Greek soldiers and 20.000 marks, if the crusaders would place him on the Byzantine throne, as he was the son of the deposed emperor Isaac II Angelus (Tyerman, 2019, p. 242). The offer was accepted and the fleet set sail to Constantinople on 25 April 1203 (Angold, 2003, p. 91). Some months later, and with a couple stops along the way but without any effective resistance, the Venetian-crusader fleet reached Constantinople on 24 June 1203 (Tyerman. 2019, p. 247). The crusaders had assumed, that with Alexius Angelus being the 'rightful heir', the city would open its gate in gratitude and welcome the crusaders. But they were met with heavy resistance from Alexius III and the crusaders launched their assault on 5 July 1203 (Angold, 2003, p. 93; Phillips. 2004, p. 166; Tyerman, 2019, p. 249).

Alexius III fled the city in the night of 17 July 1203 (Angold, 2003, p. 93) and Alexius Angelus, now Alexius IV, ascended the throne. He promised the crusaders more help for their campaign if they assisted him in forging his rule over the Empire. In order to provide this aid for the crusaders Alexius IV stripped Constantinople of its riches, resulting in great dissidence towards him throughout Greece as winter closed in.

In a confusing series of events in the following months the crusader camp and Venetian fleet were attacked by Greek forces and in February 1204 Alexius IV was killed and replaced by Alexius V. This new emperor was strongly anti-west and pledged to destroy the crusaders (Tyerman, 2019, p. 249). This left the crusaders without many options. They had relied completely on the promised aid of Alexius IV and were now in hostile land, thousands of miles from home (Phillips, 2004, p. 235). They had no money, no more seaworthy ships and no way of escape, except through Constantinople (Tyerman, 2019, p. 249). On 9 April they launched their attack on the city, but where deflected (Angold, 2003, p. 100) Three days later, on 12 April they attacked again, followed by the capture and sack of the city on 15 Aprill 1204 (Tyerman. 2019, p. 249).

The crusaders crowned their own emperor, Baldwin of Flanders, who was committed to continue the crusade. They marched across Greece but were prevented from sacking and ravaging the entire Empire, as they were defeated in 1205 by Greek and Bulgarian forces (Angold, 2003, p. 44; Tyerman, 2019, p. 250). The papal legate saw no other option than to absolve the crusaders of their crusader vows, and thus ending their mission (Phillips, 2004, p, 301; Tyerman, 2019, p. 250).

Second front of the Fourth Crusade

The failure to reach the Holy Land and the following sack of Constantinople did not, however, end the entire crusade. Large parts of the crusader force had set sail from Flanders and France directly to the Holy Land and landed in Israel at Acre in early 1203 (Queller, Compton & Campbell, 1974, p. 456; Tyerman, 2019, p. 250). The German Truce of 1198 was still intact and prevented the crusaders from advancing to Jerusalem. After considering to break the truce and proceed with violence anyway, the commanders concluded that their numbers were insufficient and that they should wait for the fleet from Venice to arrive (Kedar, 2019, p. 97). Some crusaders did not agree with this decision and took off on their own to aid local rulers in their struggles at Tripoli and Antioch (Queller, Compton & Campbell, 1974, p. 456). The truce was eventually broken in November 1203 (Queller, Compton & Campbell, 1974, p. 456), when the king of Jerusalem had seized supply ships from an Egyptian emir. Soon following the treachery, Aimery led a raid with crusaders in the vanguard into Saracen territory (Kedar, 2019, p. 99). Many of the crusaders who had gone off on their own, now returned to join the fighting (Queller, Compton & Campbell, 1974, p. 456). They plundered villages in Jordan and launched naval attacks in Egypt on the towns of Fuwa and Damietta (see Figure 2) (Kedar, 2019, p. 99, 100).

After the crusaders had captured Constantinople and put Alexius IV on the throne, Alexius sent news of the fall of Constantinople and the approaching Christian forces to the Egyptian sultan (Kedar, 2019, p. 101). With this in mind and the wish to prevent an all-out attack by the full crusader force, the sultan signed a six-year truce with the crusaders in September 1204 (Kedar, 2019, p. 101). The truce was acknowledged by pope Innocent III in 1205 (Kedar, 2019, p. 102), and this marked the ultimate end of the Fourth Crusade.

2.4 Summary

The table in the Appendix provides a clear overview and comparison of the events and details of the First and Fourth Crusades. Below follows the same, but in more detail.

The First Crusade of the 11th century AD began as a pledge of military aid by pope Urban II to the Byzantine emperor Alexius I. Constantinople was under pressure by the Seljuk Turks who had conquered the majority of Asia Minor in 1095. This was an opportunity for Urban to further his might as pope of the Christian world, so he added the relief of the holy city Jerusalem to the endeavour. To recruit for this crusade, it would serve as a pilgrimage of penance to any and all who would partake. Eventually tens of thousands marched out of Europe towards Constantinople. The crusade was divided into four stages: first the march to the Byzantine capital, then the relief of Asia Minor in cooperation with the Byzantine forces, thirdly the long siege of the city of Antioch and finally the march to and conquer of Jerusalem. The crusade ended in success in 1099 and the crusaders implemented their own rule in the lands they had conquered. These Crusader States would become the centre stage for the future crusaders to come.

Nearly a century later the Crusader States had suffered heavy losses as Jerusalem was conquered by the Muslim leader Saladin in 1187. As a reaction to this pope Innocent III launched preparations for the Fourth Crusade in 1198. But due to a truce made after a previous crusade, violence was not allowed in Syria and Palestine. Innocent devised a plan to strike at the heart of Muslim power and move on Egypt. But acquiring armies and funding for a crusade to attack Egypt would prove difficult. Recruiting went slow but in 1202 his armies were ready to depart from Venice. The fleet needed for the crossing would cost a heavy sum, but upon arrival the crusaders' numbers were insufficient to pay for the contract. In order to cover the remaining debt, the crusaders had to conquer the city of Zara. After the plunder of Zara, the crusader army was offered help by Alexius Angelus, nephew of the Byzantine emperor. On his behalf the crusader attacked Constantinople and put Alexius on the throne. The new emperor's dividing rule eventually led to the crusaders being attacked by Byzantine forces. The crusaders besieged Constantinople once more in 1204, this time capturing it. They moved to further conquer the Empire but were defeated by Greek and Bulgarian forces. This was not the end of the crusade, as other parts of the army had sailed directly to Israel. Here they plundered and sacked towns and eventually signed a truce with the Egyptian sultan, ultimately ending the Fourth Crusade in 1205.

3. Archaeological Data

3.1 Introduction

In order to answer the research questions of this thesis, this chapter will be presenting the information and data found in the archaeological literature regarding burial practices and crusader burials in the areas of study. First the general burial practices in Greece and Anatolia will be discussed. The burial practices of the Levant will be left out, due to the region's turmoiled history and the fact that Islamic funerary practices are not part of this thesis. The second part of the chapter will analyse crusader burial practices and crusader burials and cemeteries in the time period and all the geographic areas of study. For the sake of comparison, the time period of research will extend multiple centuries from the 10th to the 13th century AD.

Sadly, there are not many works that provide a complete and comprehensive conspectus of the funerary practices of the Byzantine regions. Though the literature that is used in this thesis derives from well published academia and archaeologists. The work of Natalia Poulou-Papadimitriou, Elli Tzavella and Jeremy Ott provides the data regarding Byzantine Greece. The material regarding Anatolia comes from the works of Eric A. Ivison and Sophie V. Moore. The data will mostly be comprised of the presence and amount of burial goods, the orientation of the graves, the type of burial and the positioning of the human remains. All data will be presented in text form and some of it will be additionally visualized in tables (see Table 1 and Table 2).

3.2 Burial practices

3.2.1 Greece

The Middle Byzantine Period in Greece started in the 10th century and ended with the Sack of Constantinople in 1204 by the Christian crusaders. This age is archaeologically characterized by a lack of visibility of its burial habits, because the graves from this period render a minimal number of burial objects. This makes it very difficult to date the graves to any time period (Poulou-Papadimitriou et al., 2012, p. 377). Through the occasional discovery of burial goods, evidence suggests that funerary practices of the previous and so-called "Dark Age" continue (Poulou-Papadimitriou et al., 2012, p. 407). In the Dark Age period (7th-9th century) the cemeteries transitioned from extramural, as they had been during its predecessor the Early Byzantine Period (4th- 7th century) to intramural and mainly around churches and in abandoned urban areas (Poulou-Papadimitriou, 2012, p. 379, 388). This is also the case for burials of the Middle Byzantine Period (Poulou-Papadimitriou et al., 2012, p. 377). The dead were mostly buried in small rectangular coffins made of stone slabs, called cists. Some pit graves also exist, which is basically a shallow hole dug into the earth. The graves have predominantly an east-

west orientation, with the head in the west facing east (Poulou-Papadimitriou et al., 2012, p. 407). Furthermore, the bodies are positioned extended and face up, called the supine position, with the hands usually crossed over the abdomen or pelvis. This positioning has been the norm from the 6th century onwards. (Poulou-Papadimitriou et al., 2012, p. 379). In some of the graves bronze nails and traces of wood were found, hinting to the use of wooden coffins (Poulou-Papadimitriou et al., 2012, p. 407). The burial goods from this period consist mainly of ceramic vessels or sherds, and in smaller quantities jewellery and coins. Sherds with the inscription 'IC XP NI KA' with a cross incised in their surface are found near the hands and mouth of the deceased (see Figure 3). This is the first time this is practised and continues on well into the Late Byzantine Period (Poulou-Papadimitriou et al., 2012, p. 407). The inscription means 'Jesus Christ Conquers' and dates back as late as the 5th century AD (Walter, 1997, p. 193, 194). The types of jewellery found in the graves are pendant crosses and finger- and earrings. The rings are made of bronze, silver or gold and are either decorated or plain (Poulou-Papadimitriou et al., 2012, p. 408).

Figure 3. IC XC NI KA inscription found on ceramic sherds in Byzantine Greece.
https://nl.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bestand:ICXC_NIKA.svg

Frankish Corinth

The Medieval culture of Northern Europe is said to have been introduced to Greece by the Franks in 1204 AD, and in the 13th century, the city of Corinth was ruled by the Franks. They used two rooms of a 12th century monastic complex as a graveyard for their dead. It appears that this small burial chapel was the only Frankish burial ground in the city (Williams, 2003, p. 423-424). After excavating chapel 200 individuals were unearthed. The majority of the graves are simple pit graves, and some have stone tiles covering the head and upper body of the deceased. In some of these cases the tiles are pitched to form a tentlike protection. More than half of the individuals were found articulated and in supine position, but due to the extensive use of the limited room 80 individuals had been disarticulated and placed in piles at the feet of the graves that took their place. The majority of the graves had the familiar east-west orientation, with the head in the west and feet in the east. The burial finds from the graves are scarce and consist solely of jewellery, namely one earring with a pendant cross, two silver buttons and one bronze finger ring (Williams et al., 1998, p. 226-242).

3.2.2 Anatolia

In contrast to the lack of knowledge of the funerary culture of the Middle Byzantine Period in Greece, a lot more is known about the burial practices of the 10th and 11th century in Anatolia. Besides the extensive details of burials of higher status, like priests and other clergy, the way the common people were buried is also visible (Ivison, 2017, p. 171). These cemeteries were created around churches and outside monastic compounds. The most common and continual burial type was the cist grave, which is a pit cut in the bedrock or earth and possibly covered with a stone slab (Ivison, 2017, p. 165). Inscribed gravestones above the head of the deceased seem to have been reserved for the elite (Ivison, 2017, p. 174). The use of wooden coffins only occurs in cemeteries after circa 1200 (Ivison, 1993, p. 85).

The east-west orientation of the graves, with the head of the deceased in the west, had been the norm since the Early Byzantine Period (Ivison, 2017, p. 163). This orientation is, however, not exclusive and can be influenced by many factors. All burials are laid in a supine position with the arms extended and hands usually crossed over the abdomen or pelvis (Ivison, 1993, p. 7, 8).

Notable is the considerable absence of burial objects. Finds consist of beads, bracelets and finger- and earrings, with the jewellery being the most regular find (Ivison, 1993, p. 173, 182). Crosses and pendant crosses are to be expected as a statement of the Christian faith, yet their occurrence as burial find is surprisingly low (Ivison, 1993, p. 201). Weapons are even more rare, and certainly not customary. They have been found in the graves of soldiers, but they were probably not buried with the body. It is more likely that the weapons were already embedded in the corpses due to the violence that presumably led to their death (Ivison, 1993, p. 197).

Amorium

Amorium is a large urban settlement located in central Anatolia that has been occupied since the Roman period. Its cemeteries contain Medieval burials belonging to the 10th and 11th century. Around 130 tombs have been discovered around a church inside the city and excavated, of which only nine are published (Moore, 2013, p. 59-60). The published burials all have the familiar east-west orientation with the head in the west. Evidence suggest that the cemetery was used intensely as most of the burials contain multiple individuals. The uppermost individual is generally articulated and laid in the supine position, whilst the lower individuals are scattered and disarticulated (Ivison, 2005, p. 244-249). Inside the some of the tombs iron nails and other fittings were found, suggesting the use of wooden coffins. Besides a single iron bracelet, no other pieces of jewellery or other religious artefacts were discovered (Ivison, 2005, p. 252).

3.3 Crusader burials

The excavated crusader burials in Anatolia and the Levant range from yielding much archaeological data to providing little to no answers. Nor are they very numerous, at least not for the time period of this study. Archaeologists have stated that the problem remains that there is simply too little work done in the area (Boas, 1999, p. 65; Thompson, 2013, p. 48). Another possible reason for the lack of data is that pilgrims who died along the way to the east were often buried besides the road in unmarked graves or in smaller Latin or Greek churches (Ciggaar, 1996, p. 43). As crusaders were essentially pilgrims and saw themselves as such, it is entirely probable that they were treated in the same manner. Furthermore, the fact that there are next to no examples of weapons or armour being buried with the dead (see Table 2) makes it very difficult to identify a deceased individual from the Crusader period in the eastern Mediterranean (ca 1091-1300 AD) as an actual crusading soldier. Therefore, the data in this piece of this chapter will be supported by some historical literature. Together with the historical data and archaeological burials, a fairly consistent image can be created. This image will be presented through a number of cemeteries and other mass graves.

Graves and burial customs

From what is excavated, archaeologists have created a baseline for crusader burial customs. Generally speaking, their graves are shallow as there was no need for depth due to a general absence of grave goods. The body of the deceased was laid in supine position, in an east-west orientation with the head in the west. They most commonly placed an earthen pillow or stone under the head as headrest. Gravestones above the head are rarer. The arms were laid across the chest, abdomen or pelvis. On the battlefield the dead where often buried in large trenches serving as mass graves (Boas, 1999, p. 226). The graves and cemeteries presented here are selected for their geographical location (see Figure 4) and/or the exemplary information they provide.

Figure 4. Location of the crusader burials and cemeteries. (Figure by Bas de Kuyper)

Jerusalem

Historical literature states that crusaders who fell during the Siege of Jerusalem in 1099 were buried within the city in a charnel pit just outside the eastern wall of the famous and sacred Temple Mount, near the Golden Gate (Riley-Smith, 2008, p. 167), yet no archaeological evidence of this grave remains (Boas, 1999, p. 228). Another cemetery of which there is evidence is the Akeldama cemetery. In the mid-12th century, the Christian Knightly Order of the Hospitallers housed the largest hospital in Jerusalem and buried their dead in the Akeldama cemetery (Riley-Smith, 2008, p, 171). Chances are that wounded crusaders were treated here, similar to other pilgrims, and buried in Akeldama (Riley-Smith, 2008, p. 172). Sadly, due to political and religious sensitivity of this cemetery, only a handful of small archaeological excavations have been allowed (Encyclopedia, 2023).

Acre

In Acre, which became the capital of the Latin Empire after the crusaders had lost Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187, the pilgrim quarter called Montmusard held the most cemeteries (Jacoby, 1989, p. 210). Here the Order of the Carmelites and the Hospitallers of the Order of St. Thomas both buried their dead (Dichter, 1979, p. 92, 110). Other cemeteries are shown on maps drawn by the 13th century historian Matthew of Paris, but these all are no longer visible in the archaeological record (Boas, 1999, p. 227; Dichter, 1979, p. 121; Parisiensis et al., 1993, p. 185).

Antioch

Archaeological evidence suggests that by the time the first crusaders arrived at Antioch in the end of the 11th century, the cemeteries used by the city had been abandoned and were not used again during the time of crusader rule. In fact, the only signs in the entire archaeology of Antioch that the crusaders even occupied the city, are two churches they build (De Giorgi & Eger, 2021, p. 369). When the city's cemeteries were actively used, the cist type burial was most common (Ivison, 1993, p. 48, 82).

Tripoli

The city of Tripoli is situated on the north coast of Lebanon. The crusaders built here a citadel in the beginning of the 12th century (Lewis, 2017, p. 22). Inside this castle archaeologists found fifty burials. The graves had no single consistent orientation, due the fact that they were aligned with the internal structure of the castle walls. The cist graves were made of sandstone blocks and covered by sandstone slabs. The majority of the graves were single burials but the skeletal remains inside the tombs were in very poor condition, probably because of rodent activity. Some graves contained nails, suggesting the use of wooden coffins. (Salame-Sarkis, 1980, p. 91).

Outside the castle in the necropolis of St. John on Mount Pilgrim, in a cemetery that is currently still in use, thirty additional crusader burials were identified. They were located both in the exterior and the interior of the church. These graves were also of the cist type and mostly single burials and were positioned in an east-west orientation. The majority of the skeletal remains here were in perfect state of preservation and the majority laid in supine position. The only grave good that was found also helped to date these graves to the crusader period; a single coin dating to the beginning of the 12th century (Salame-Sarkis, 1980, p. 110-112).

Nicaea

After the capture of Constantinople, Nicaea became the capital of the Byzantine Empire between 1204 and 1261 (Ivison, 1993, p. 4). In a church and nearby theatre, a number of burials and some mass graves were found. The cemetery was in use from ca 1220-1331 and the graves of the earlier phase were primarily single burials in simple cist graves (Ivison, 1993, p. 51). In the later phase, as the cemetery began to grow, mass burials occurred. The underground chambers of the theatre were used to bury the bodies in rows and stacks. In some trenches the layer of decay was as deep as 3 metres (Ivison, 1993, p. 52). The majority of the deceased was male and of military age. Some of the bodies showed traumas caused by weapons and even some fragments of weapons were embedded in the bodies (Ivison, 1993, p. 55, 197). Other grave goods found were nails, belt buckles, bronze and iron finger rings, and some beads (Ivison, 1993, p. 85, 177, 183, 184).

Sidon

This harbour town, located on the south coast of Lebanon, became a key strategic port under Crusader rule. North of the castle in the old town district were two large deposits of human remains found in trenches belonging to the medieval fortifications of the city (Mikulski et al., 2021, p. 2). The grave pit and its surface fill containing dense concentration of human skeletal remains were excavated and a minimum of twenty-five male individuals were identified (see Figure 5). No females or children were found (Mikulski et al., 2021, p. 6). Analyses of the remains suggests that both deposits likely derive from the same event. The artefacts from within the graves consist of pottery sherds, glass fragments, metal buckles and fittings, iron nails, a silver coin from the 13th century, a silver finger-ring and a single arrowhead. The coin provided the date the event could have happened at the earliest, namely 1245 AD. The metal arrowhead was the only weapon-like artefact found in or around the graves (Mikulski et al., 2021, p. 4). The fracture analysis of the bones indicates trauma by interpersonal violence with bladed, pointed and blunt weapons ((Mikulski et al., 2021, p. 10).

Figure 5. Crusader mass grave at Sidon. https://www.archaeology.org/issues/451-2201/features/10192-lebanon-crusader-mass-grave

Constantinople

Before the crusaders sacked and captured the ancient city in 1204, the relations between the Westerners and Constantinople allowed the crusaders to bury their dead in specific Latin churches in the city. But their exact locations are unknown (Ivison, 1993, p. 32). Historical evidence suggests that after 1204, the crusaders placed their sick and wounded in the already existing hospital of St. Sampson in the city (Stathakopoulos, 2006, p. 257). It is very probable that the dead crusaders were thus buried in the cemeteries linked to the hospital.

Atlit

The cemetery outside Atlit castle, built by the Templar Knights in the early 13th century on the northern coast of Israel 40km south of Acre, is the largest example of crusader burials known to this day (Lawler, 2018, p. 33). The cemetery was used for a short period of just eighty years (1218-1291 AD) but holds the remains of thousands of individuals (Lawler, 2018, p. 35). The exact number is not even known (Gleize & Dorso, 2019). Overlapping burials and the number of dead in relation to the time period of usage, suggest intense use of the burials ground. To such a degree that archaeologists surmise the presence of people buried here who did not originate in this area, but where they came from is also unknown (Lawler, 2018, p. 35; Gleize & Dorso, 2019).

All excavated graves were buried in a pit type burial with a wooden cover, the deceased laid in the supine position, with the majority of the graves positioned with the head towards the castle and feet in the north-east. Only a single stone cist type burial was identified. The presence of metal nails in one of the graves suggests the use of a wooden coffin, although that seems unlikely due to the singularity of the find (Gleize & Dorso, 2019; Lawler, 2018, p. 35; Thompson, 2013, p. 183).

The burial goods found in the graves consist for the large majority of ceramic sherds, but belt buckles, buttons, clothing pins and finger-and earrings were also found, as well as twenty-four coins, four beads and four crosses. The sherds and coins determined the dating of the cemetery to the early 13th century, coinciding with the castle (Boas, 1999, p. 227; Gleize & Dorso, 2019; Thompson, 2013, p. 182-183).

Caesarea

The city of Caesarea, located on the coast of Israel, was a major port in the 12th and 13th century in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Cemeteries belonging to the Crusader period were located both inside the city around churches, near the cathedral and outside the city walls near the sea. The graves were identified as crusader graves due to their east-west orientation, with the head in the west resting on a stone, and the positioning of the arms across the chest. The majority of the graves were of the cist type, with some containing wooden coffins. The burials goods consisted of coins, crosses and pottery sherds (Mitchell, 2006, p. 493-495). Although the expectations to find injuries sustained by interhuman violence in the paleopathology were high, the patterns of trauma suggest that not one lesion was inflicted by weapons of any kind. They are all related to medieval lifestyles and manual labour (Mitchell, 2006, p. 494, 501).

3.4 Summary

This chapter discussed the general burial practices in Anatolia and Greece in the 10th to 13th centuries, as well as crusader burial practices and some respective cemeteries and graves.

Anatolia and Greece follow largely the same pattern in burial practices, as the deceased were buried in a cist grave near monastic structures and the body was laid in a supine position with the head in the west and feet in the east. In Anatolia the burial goods were quite scarce, consisting mainly of simple jewellery, whereas in Greece goods like ceramics where more numerous. On some sherds the inscription IC XP NI KA with a cross can be found here, as well as more abundant and decorated jewellery. In both regions weapons and armour as burial goods are very rare.

The crusader burial practice is quite similar: burial goods are rare, graves are of the cist type, the bodies were laid in the supine position with the head in the west (see Table 1 and Table 2). Several locations containing crusader burials have been discussed, deriving from either historical or archaeological sources. They have been selected for their location and/or the information they provide. The locations are Jerusalem, Acre, Antioch, Tripoli, Sidon, Nicaea, Constantinople, Caesarea and Atlit. The burials at Nicaea and Sidon are mass graves resulting from an event of violence, the rest are cemeteries.

Table 1. Data overview of the crusader burials.

Location	Date of use	Main burial type	Secondary burial type	Orientation	Skeletal positioning
Jerusalem	1099 >	unknown	mass grave	unknown	unknown
Constantinople	ca 11th-13th c.	unknown	-	unknown	unknown
Acre	ca 12th-13th c.	unknown	-	unknown	unknown
Antioch	< 1099	cist grave	-	unknown	unknown
Tripoli	ca 1100	cist grave	-	east-west[1]	supine
Nicaea	1204-1261	mass grave	cist grave	n/a	disarticulated
Sidon	ca 1245	mass grave	-	n/a	disarticulated
Atlit	1218-1291	pit grave	cist grave	west-east	supine
Caesarea	12th-13th c.	cist grave	-	east-west	supine[2]

Notes: 1 The graves inside the castle were aligned with the walls and did not have the e-w orientation. 2 Not mentioned specifically, but implied.

Table 2. Presence of burial finds in the crusader burials.

Burial finds	Tripoli	Nicaea	Sidon	Atlit	Caesarea
Coins	x		x	x	x
Ceramic sherds			x	x	x
Rings (finger/ear)		x	x	x	
Beads		x		x	
Crosses (pendant)				x	x
Belt buckles		x	x	x	
Nails	x	x	x	x	
Weapons (fragments)		x	x		
Armor					

4. Results and Discission

4.1 Introduction

The presented archaeological data will be further analysed in this chapter to answer the three sub questions. In order to do this, some of the data will be combined with the historical data presented in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3. Each part of this chapter will discuss a separate question. The aim is to create a clear overview of all the data with which the main research question can be answered in the concluding chapter.

4.2 Following the routes

This part of the chapter will discuss the answer to the first sub question 'With a focus on archaeological methods and remains in a mortuary context, is a reconstruction of the known routes of travel and violence of the crusades at all possible?' The question will be applied to both the First Crusade and the Fourth Crusade separately.

4.2.1 First Crusade

Because the First Crusade was carried out on foot, the crusaders passed a lot of settlements. Through historical recourses a precise reconstruction can be made of where and when the crusaders marched through Europe, across Anatolia, down the eastern Mediterranean coast and to Jerusalem. The question remains whether this can be seen in the archaeological record.

The westerners gathered at Constantinople in 1097 after which they held a long military campaign in Asia Minor. Hereafter they captured Antioch in 1098, marched further south following the coast and eventually reached Jerusalem in 1099. Along this route a number of archaeological sites containing cemeteries have been excavated (See Figure 1 and Figure 4), but none of them date back exactly to the First Crusade (See Table 1). The graves found in Sidon have been dated to the middle of the 13th century, the cemetery of Atlit near Acre was in use from 1218 to 1291, the burials in Caesarea originated from the 12th and 13th century, and those in Nicaea from 1220 to 1331. These all are situated perfectly along the route of the First Crusade but bare none of its traces.

Other locations could possibly contain some of the fallen first crusaders. The burials inside and outside the fortress in Tripoli have been dated to the beginning of the 12th century, so it dates close enough. Furthermore, Tripoli became the capital of one of the Crusader States created after the success of the First Crusade, so the odds of these burials belonging to first crusaders are considerably higher (Tyerman, 2019, p. 115). Another location where the presence of First Crusade burials would be expected is Antioch. Despite of the crusaders having captured Antioch, the archaeological record shows that the city's cemeteries were largely abandoned after the 11th century. No traces of any burials dating to that period, crusader or other, are found thereafter.

From historical sources it is known that fallen soldiers from the battle of Jerusalem in 1099 were buried inside the city. Sadly, of this particular cemetery remain no visible or archaeological traces. Another cemetery in Jerusalem, called Akeldama, was used by the crusader order of the Hospitallers in the 12th century. But due to political, cultural and religious sensitivity this cemetery has never been thoroughly excavated. Furthermore, crusaders who may have died along the way to Constantinople or had fallen during the first battles in Anatolia near Constantinople, could have been buried in Latin churches in the city, but the locations of these churches are unknown.

To summarize; a good number of cemeteries and gravesites have been excavated along the route of the First Crusade, but none of them date back to events of this crusade. Historical sources give examples of cemeteries with the possibility of containing first crusaders, but those are mostly no longer possible to find and/or excavate. Other locations where battles have been fought seem to not even have any traces of graves or burials. And thus, the answer to the first sub question is, that it is very difficult to reconstruct the First Crusade through the archaeological remains from that time period.

4.2.2 Fourth Crusade

The main way of travel of the Fourth Crusade was over sea, which means that the crusaders effectively came across less locations. The historically known route is that the bulk of the crusader army set sail from Venice in 1202, moved on the city of Zara and eventually captured Constantinople in 1204. Smaller contingencies of the army had set sail from Flanders and France and landed directly at Acre in 1203. Here they aided the lords of Antioch and Tripoli in their local struggles and eventually plundered some towns and villages in Jordan and Egypt until a truce was made in 1205 with the Egyptian sultan to cease all violence.

This crusade left substantially less archaeological sites in its wake for us to research. The lack of crusader graves at Zara and Constantinople is most notable. However, historical evidence suggests that after the capture of Constantinople in 1204, the crusaders would have placed their sick and wounded in the existing hospitals in the city. The dead would have been buried in the cemeteries belonging to these hospitals, but sadly both the locations of the hospitals and the cemeteries have been lost. Furthermore, the crusader mass grave at Nicaea dates very close to the events of the Fourth Crusade, but we know that the crusaders did not reach this place so the graves here cannot belong to them.

The secondary route of the Fourth Crusade led directly to the Holy Land. Here, historical sources provide information on how there were multiple cemeteries inside the city of Acre that the crusaders used in the 13th century, but these are all no longer visible in the archaeological record. The cemeteries at Antioch and Tripoli lie directly on the route, but do not date to the time period of the Fourth Crusade, as the ones at Antioch were no longer in use after the 11th century and those at Tripoli date to the beginning of the 12th century. The 12th -13th century Caesarea graves date very near to the events of the Fourth Crusade, but these burials do not show evidence of containing fallen soldiers. The cemetery of Atlit, near Acre, is the most promising as the archaeological data suggests that it was in use from 1218 to 1291 AD. This dates close enough to the Fourth Crusade that it is very likely that this burial site contains some graves belonging to crusaders from the Fourth Crusade.

While the details of the two different routes of the Fourth Crusade are known through historical evidence, archaeologically there are few to no traces to be found in the graves and cemeteries along the way. Historical sources provide us with information regarding other places where the crusaders could have been buried, but these all are either lost or untraceable. And along these lines, the answer to the first sub question regarding the Fourth Crusade is that here too the route is very difficult to reconstruct via the crusader's graves and burials.

4.3 Differences in crusader burials

Here the second question 'Are there potentially any discernible variations in burial practices between the two different crusades in the regions of study?' will be discussed. This part of the chapter will analyse the presence or absence of differences between the crusader burials and graves that have been presented in this thesis.

The obvious answer to this question is that there are few to no differences between the burials and respective practices that have been discussed. Based on the contents of the graves, their orientation or location, none of them can be directly linked to either of the two crusades. Other than the dating of the burial finds, there are no indicating signs of a single grave belonging to the First or Fourth Crusade. Therefor the only comparison that can be made, is that they are all very similar.

All of the graves are, where possible, positioned in the familiar east-west orientation, with the head in the west facing east. The burials inside the fort at Tripoli did not follow this orientation, because they had to be aligned with the walls of the castle. The only other burial sites where the east-west orientation is definitely not applied, are Nicaea and Sidon, as these are mass graves as the result of a battle. The single exception where the graves are seemingly purposefully placed in a different

orientation, is the Atlit cemetery. Additionally, the mass graves are also the only burials where the deceased are not placed in the supine position.

As for material burial finds, all the graves yielded similar results. The most common finds are coins, rings and nails, which were presumably used for wooden coffins. Most burial places contain multiple types of grave goods. Atlit certainly spans the crown here, rendering all of the common finds. The burials excavated at Tripoli yielded only a coin and some nails. As Tripoli dates the closest to the First Crusade and the other cemeteries closer to the Fourth Crusade, a possible difference between graves from the two crusades could be noted here: burials belonging to the First Crusade contain fewer burial goods than those belonging to later crusades. But because Tripoli is the only example that could be linked to the First Crusade, the difference lacks support and can thus not be stated as a fact.

One other thing that is noteworthy are the apparent deviations of the Atlit cemetery. This cemetery has been called the finest example of crusaders burials in existence (Boas, 1999, p. 227; Thompson, 2013, p. 198), and although it is true that it houses the largest number of crusaders graves and provides a plethora of grave goods, it diverts from the standard European burial practises. The graves are not near a church or chapel, the cemetery is placed far away from the castle and the graves are not in an east-west orientation, but with the head towards the castle and feet in the north-east (Lawler, 2018, p. 35). Furthermore, the main burial type appears to be the pit type grave, and not the cist type which is so common in the other crusader burials. A possible explanation for the uniqueness of the Atlit cemetery has yet to be discovered.

4.4 Changes in crusader graves

This part of the chapter will answer the third sub question 'Did the burial practices of the crusaders get affected by the burial practices of the local communities living in the areas of study?'. This question shall be applied to Anatolia and Greece, and to a smaller degree the Levant as well.

In the 10th to the 13th century in Greece, burials mainly involved small stone coffins (cists) or in smaller numbers, shallow pit graves. The graves were oriented east-west with bodies in a supine position, hands often crossed over the abdomen. Some graves hinted at the use of wooden coffins through bronze nails and traces of wood. Burial items primarily included ceramic vessels, occasional jewellery (pendant crosses, finger- and earrings), and coins.

In 10th and 11th century Anatolia cemeteries were situated around churches and outside monastic compounds, primarily employing cist graves. Burials were typically in a supine position with arms extended and hands crossed over the abdomen, with and east-west orientation of the graves, with

the head in the west. Burial objects were notably scarce, primarily comprising beads, bracelets, and other jewellery. Crosses and symbols of faith were infrequent as burial items. Weapons were rare and not customary.

To answer the question: in Anatolia and Greece the crusader burial practices and local burial practices are very similar; as both methods follow largely the same pattern – burials positioned in an east-west orientation, laid in the supine position and with similar grave goods, buried in cist graves – it is difficult to say whether there is any influence of one side on the other. J.A. Thompson seems to have come to a similar conclusion in her research (2013, p. 194-195).
Anatolia and Greece where during this time part of the Byzantine Empire, under the Christian religion. And as the crusaders where also of the Christian faith, it seems logical that their burial practices are similar to those in these regions. This could be, however, an explanation towards why the amount of crusader burials found in the Levant is so much higher than in Anatolia and Greece. The only discovered archaeological mortuary remains of the crusaders in Anatolia are the 13th century mass graves at Nicaea (see Figure 4). Because the crusader burial practices are so similar to the Byzantine mortuary methods, and the crusader burials contain no additional signs of belonging to one crusade or the other, there might still be a lot of unidentified crusader burials in these regions. In the Levant it is very plausible that the crusader burials stand out more, as they do not differ from the baseline for crusader graves and are probably very recognizable from Islamic burials.

4.5 Summary

Regarding the reconstruction of routes of the two crusades via the archaeological record, along the route of the First Crusade are a situated lot of well documented archaeological crusader cemeteries and sites. But none of them date precisely to the events of the First Crusade. The route of the Fourth Crusade was travelled for the large majority over sea, and at the places where they went ashore and battle took place, little to no archaeological traces are left behind. We have more historic evidence of where and when crusaders of the two crusades might have been buried, but archaeologically these locations are either untraceable or unreachable. The answer to the first sub question is that it is very difficult to reconstruct the route of the two crusades via the crusader's graves and burials.

When answering the second sub question, whether there are any differences between graves belonging to one of the crusades, evidence shows that all crusader graves follow the same standard and are very similar. Other than finding out when the person was buried through the dating of the burial finds, it is remarkably difficult to even link one grave to one particular crusade.

The answer to the third sub question regarding the possible influence the local burial practices had on those of the crusaders, is that this is not evident. The crusaders' burial methods closely resemble those

observed in regions like Anatolia and Greece, which were part of the Byzantine Empire and adhered to Christian beliefs. Given the shared Christian faith between the crusaders and these regions, similarities in burial practices seem reasonable. In the Levant the crusaders hold firmly onto these practices as well.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, the main research question posed in the 'Introduction' chapter will be answered using the sub questions. The answers to the three sub questions will provide all the necessary information on the background and routes of the First and Fourth, the burial practices in the areas of study as well as the burial practices and cemeteries of the crusaders. Additionally, this thesis aimed to shed light on the current state of research in this area. As a result, an attempt has been made to create a survey of the mortuary archaeology of the First and Fourth Crusade of the 11th and 13th century. Further research might expand this field with new discoveries of crusader cemeteries and burials.

First, the historical background, general course and outcome of the two crusades have been discussed in detail. After that the archaeological burial practices of the 10th to 13th century of Anatolia and Greece were discussed in order to provide a baseline for later comparison with crusader burial practices. Then the crusader burials located in the areas of study and along the routes of the two crusades were analysed and discussed. Finally, all the discussed historical and archaeological data has been put together to answer the three sub questions.

The first question regarding the possibility of recreating the routes of the two crusades through the mortuary archaeological remains, aimed to provide an overview of the current presence or lack of archaeological evidence in the areas of study by combining the archaeological data with the historical resources.

The second question hoped to identify the differences between graves belonging to one or the other crusade, should there be any. This was of importance when trying to link burials to their respective crusade and thus recreate the different historical routes through the archaeological record.

And the third question further analysed whether the crusader burial practices got influenced by the mortuary methods that were practiced in the regions they conquered. This provided a better insight in the continuity and perseverance of the crusader burials.

So, with all this acquired knowledge, to what extent can we follow the First and Fourth Crusades through the graves they left behind in Greece, Anatolia and the Levant in the Middle Byzantine Period?

At first glance the 11th century First Crusade seems a perfect subject for this research. Its participants marched for three whole years across Asia Minor and the Levant, leaving many battle grounds and conquered cities in their wake. The 13th century Fourth Crusade could prove to be more difficult as it was mainly travelled by sea, and the bulk of the army did not even reach the Levant, but it still saw a number of great battles and conquests. However, the amount of mortuary archaeology we have now obtained deriving from either crusade is surprisingly low. From historical sources we know what routes

the crusaders took and where the battles took place, and generally speaking, from an archaeological standpoint there is a lot of crusader material along both the crusade's routes. From Constantinople to Antioch, down the coast to Jerusalem there is an abundance of crusader archaeology. This thesis presented a total of eight locations containing crusader burials, obtained through either archaeological literature or historical sources. The problem, however, proved to be that of the five archaeological crusader burials sites that have been discussed, only three dated near the events of the First and Fourth Crusade: the graves in Tripoli for to the First Crusade, and the Nicaea mass graves and cemetery at Caesarea for the Fourth Crusade. But the graves at Tripoli date to just after the First Crusade, the Fourth Crusade never reached Nicaea and the burials at Caesarea do not contain people who died of acts of violence. Historical sources provide us with additional locations where the crusaders might have been buried, like Jerusalem, Constantinople and Acre, but these burials grounds are currently either lost or inaccessible. There is simply not enough data to reconstruct the route of either crusade through a mortuary context.

Additionally, all the presented crusader burials and graves follow the same standard burial practice. The deceased were buried in a cist grave, with the head in the west and feet in the east, facing upwards with the arms extended. This is called the supine position. Burial goods are scarce and consist mostly of ceramics and jewellery. Finds like weapons or fragments of weapons are extremely rare and most likely unintentionally buried. There is not a single case of the deceased being buried with armour equipped. Besides the dating of the burial goods to pinpoint a grave in a moment in time, there are no indications whether the buried individual was a soldier or what crusade they belonged to, making it nearly impossible to link a grave to a crusade.

And lastly, the local burial practices in Greece and Anatolia during the time of the crusades are very similar to the crusader mortuary practices, making it difficult to follow the crusades here through a mortuary context. This could be the reason why there are so few crusader burials discovered in Anatolia. Even though the Frist Crusade marched for six months through the peninsula, the only burial site discovered in this region are the Nicaea mass graves. On the other hand, in the Middle East it is very likely that the crusader burial practices did not get effected by the local methods, as the crusader burials uphold the same familiar Frankish standard, making the crusader burials easier to identify and to follow.

Therefore, it is undeniable that the multiple crusades left their marks and traces in the archaeology of the Middle East and Asia Minor. This makes identifying the crusades on a larger scale almost simple, but when trying to zoom in on a single crusade and attempt to follow its route through a mortuary context, these three key points make it very difficult: there is not enough archaeological data in the

regions of study; the crusader burials practices are very similar to the Byzantine methods, which makes it hard to identify and separate them; and there is no distinction between graves from different crusades, making it very difficult to assign graves to their respective crusade. The lack of archaeological data could partially be due the fact that many crusader burials might still be hidden, and, hopefully, this thesis could function as a stepping stone to further research on identifying crusader burials in Anatolia and the Levant. There is enough historical data on the crusades to expand our archaeological research in the area. It is a shared notion that there is currently not enough research conducted on the archaeology of the crusades in the Middle East.

Personally, I have always been fascinated by the crusades. As a child I read the book 'Kruistocht in Spijkerbroek' (Crusade in Jeans) written by the Dutch author Thea Beckman. It is a story about a 21st century boy who travels through time and ends up joining the Child's Crusade of 1212 AD. It really sparked my imagination of Medieval times and the harshness and heroics of partaking in a crusade. Being able to write my Bachelor thesis on the crusades has truly been wondrous. I did not expect the field to be so challenging, and to be honest I was a little bit disappointed in the lack of archaeological data. This will certainly keep me busy for the foreseeable future.

Abstract

The First and Fourth Crusades of the 11th and 13th centuries were major historical events, with great influence on the geopolitics of their time. This study aimed to explore if following these crusades specifically through their mortuary archaeology is possible, aiming to trace their routes and identify the burials they left behind in Anatolia, Greece, and the Levant. The research encompassed a detailed analysis of historical background, the course of the crusades, and their outcomes. Furthermore, burial practices in Anatolia and Greece during the 10th to 13th centuries were examined as a baseline for comparison with crusader burial customs. Despite the abundance of historical records pinpointing crusader routes and battle locations, the mortuary archaeological evidence remains surprisingly scarce. While a great number of crusader burials sites exist along the known routes, few can be directly linked to the First or Fourth Crusades. All identified crusader burials display noticeable similarities. This uniformity across burial practices complicates associating specific graves with a specific crusade. Additionally, the resemblance between crusader and local burial customs in Greece and Anatolia makes it difficult to identify graves as being crusader and results in a lack of evidence in these regions. In contrast, crusader burials in the Levant demonstrate a firmer adherence to the Frankish standard, aiding in identifying the crusader burials here. In conclusion, while the crusades made an undeniable mark on the Middle East and Asia Minor's archaeology, isolating specific crusader burials to follow their respective routes proves challenging. Nevertheless, this study serves as a starting point, highlighting the need for further research to uncover hidden crusader burials and expand our understanding of crusader archaeology in Anatolia and the Levant. The available historical data presents ample opportunities for further archaeological research in these regions, offering prospects for greater insights into the crusades' archaeology.

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Appendix

	First Crusade	Fourth Crusade
When	Issued by Pope Urban II in 1095 AD and ended in 1099	Issued by Pope Innocent III in 1198 AD and ended in 1205
Goal	To relief the Byzantine Empire from invaders and move on to capture Jerusalem.	To attack Egypt and strike at the heart of the growing Muslim power in the Middle East.
Motivation	— The Byzantine emperor had asked Urban for help; — Capturing Jerusalem would improve Urban's power as pope in Europe.	— Innocent wanted to regain Jerusalem. This would strengthen his regard as pope; — But Jerusalem was off limits due to a truce made in 1198, so the goal became to move on Egypt.
Participants	— People of all classes of society marched with the crusade; — The exact number of participants lies somewhere between 50.000 to 80.000.	— The crusader armies consisted mainly of knights and soldiers; — Probably a bit more than 40.000 people partook in the crusade.
Duration	— Preaching and recruiting started in 1095 and departure was in 1096; — The main mode of transport was by foot, so it took the crusaders 3 years to reach Jerusalem.	— The Fourth Crusade was preached in 1198, but the crusaders only set sail in 1202; — Although they did travel by ship, the crusade lasted 3 years, due to complications along the way.
General course	The crusade was divided in four stages: 1. The march to Constantinople; 2. The relief of Anatolia; 3. The siege of Antioch; 4. The capture of Jerusalem.	— The bulk of the army would depart from Venice and sail to Egypt; — But as the crusaders were not able to pay for the contract, they had to conquer the city of Zara; — After this the crusaders were forced to attack and conquer Constantinople; — Smaller contingencies of the army had set sail from Flanders and France and plundered some villages in Jordan and Egypt;
Aftermath	The First Crusade ended in a major success. After the capture or Jerusalem, the crusaders instated their own European rule in multiple city states, called the Crusader States. Here they ruled for the following 200 years.	The Fourth Crusade ended in failure before it had even begun. The crusaders not only failed to reach their goals, they also conquered the largest Christian city of the world. The crusaders held Constantinople for 60 years and subsequently caused the Byzantine Empire to fall into decline.

Summary and comparison of First and Fourth Crusades.