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CONTENTS

Articles and Statements

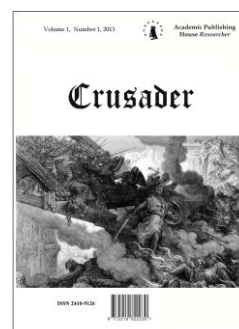
«The Romance of the Rose» as an Outstanding Example of a Philosophical-Allegoric Novel in a French Chivalric Literature O.F. Jilevich, R.B. Gagua	3
Crusades and Integration Processes in Europe in XI–XIII centuries S.L. Dudarev	13

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Articles and Statements

«The Romance of the Rose» as an Outstanding Example of a Philosophical-Allegoric Novel in a French Chivalric Literature

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Abstract

The present article is devoted to the research of the features of the philosophical and allegorical poem «The Romance of the Rose» as an outstanding example of French chivalric literature.

The philosophical and allegorical aspects of the medieval mentality determined many features of the era's allegorical works artistic world, such as the event scheme, the chronotope, the system and the characters peculiar qualities.

The allegory in «The Romance of the Rose» helps to discover a hidden philosophical meaning, abstract knowledge. In Guillaume de Lorris, the allegory served as a technical function, allowing the lyrical song to be translated into narrative discourse. For Jean de Meung, the allegory is important in itself, as a method of interpretation.

In the novel Jean de Meung allegorical images utter extensive speeches, they personify certain moral and philosophical positions. In the image of the main character, features characteristic of the characters appear in the future philosophical novel: he is asked by eternal questions and tries to find answers to them. The specificity of Jean de Meung's novel is the predominance of satire and didactics.

«The Romance of the Rose» refers to the stage of oral existence of literary monuments. It largely explains his narrative structure – the predominance of monologues of various allegorical characters over the actual narrative elements.

Keywords: Romance of the Rose, philosophical-allegoric novel, chivalric literature, medieval period, allegorism, Guillaume de Lorris, Jean de Meung, courtly love.

1. Introduction

In medieval culture a knightly movement appears and develops along with the dominant religious ideal. The knightly movement was directed not only at the solution of military tasks, such as the protection of the signor, the war for faith, but also brought up the moral qualities of the knights – strength, courage, dedication, contempt for death, devotional service to a beautiful lady, nobility, a heightened sense of personal dignity, straightforwardness.

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Chivalric literature was a means of expressing the self-awareness of chivalry, its ideals, and was actively formed them. The most widespread was the secular lyrical poetry of troubadours in the popular language that appeared in the south of France. Poetry troubadours relied on the richest poetic tradition: folklore, folk ritual songs, «May» songs, wedding songs, oriental lyrics, and ancient love lyric poetry.

During this period, the genre of the knightly novel develops. The ideal «knightly» love, dangerous military exploits in the name of his own glory were obligatory for him. The novels also displayed the life of their time. The most popular stories were narrations about the Knights of the Round Table, the legendary King Arthur, the knight Lancelot, Tristan and Isolde.

In medieval culture, the theory of courtesy was embodied in the form of allegorical poems. Allegorism is a common form of displaying spiritual and moral instructions. Ancient collections of articles and information about animals and stones «Physiologist» (*Le Physiologos*) (Physiologos, 2005), translated, including, in French, also received an allegorical and instructive explanation. French poet-trouveur Richard de Fournival reinterpreted the morality of the physiologist in a «love» way. His allegorical essay «Bestiary of Love», (*Bestiaire d'Amour*, 1245) (Fournival, 1981) consisting of 57 exempla, is based on a series of emblems of a heraldic character, the sequence of descriptions of which is unfolded into first-person speech («I»), addressed to the silent «you».

The «Art of Love» (*L'Art d'aimer*) by Ovid was understood in the allegorical sense, translated by Chretien de Troyes and modified by Jacques from Amiens, entitled «*La Clef d'Amour*». The God of love embodies the patron saint of all lovers in this work. He lives in his castle, where he is represented by the personifications of courtly virtues. Two small poems are based on this presentation: «*Fabliau du dieu d'amour*» and «*Vénus la déesse d'amour*».

An allegorical image of courtly love is also presented in the book of André Le Chapelain, «About Love in Three Books» (1184-1186), also known as «On the Science of Courteous Love» (*Traité de l'Amour courtois*) (Chapelin, 1974). Compositional treatise is similar to the poem of Ovid, summing up the original result of the «Ovidian revival» of the 12th century. Courteous love, praised by A. Capellan, is an extramarital love, because the knightly ideals can appear in it.

The most favorite form of reflection of allegory in medieval literature is the form of dreams. This technique is applied by Raoul de Houdenc in two allegorically instructive works: «Dream of Hell» (*Le Songe d'Enfer*, 13th century) and «The Romance of the Wings» (*Roman des Ailes*, 1400-1600) (Houdenc, 1908). On bases of their narrative lies an allegory on the theme of chivalrous virtues.

All the works considered are the forerunners of the famous «The Romance of the Rose», as allegories of courtly love. The book consists of two separate parts written by different authors at different times and different in spirit. Of the 22,817 lines, the first 4028 were written around 1225-1230 by the poet Guillaume de Lorris. The rest were added around 1275 by the citizen Jean de Meung.

«The Romance of the Rose» as a monument of chivalric literature attracted and still attracts the attention of many foreign and domestic scientists. The study of A.P. Golubev (Golubev, 1995) is devoted to the analysis of the work in the context of medieval literature. In A. A. Golikova's dissertation the image of space in allegorical poems is explored in «The Psychomachia» (*La Psychomachia*) Prudentia and «The Romance of the Rose» by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Mena. In the scientific articles of G. Cohen, J. Fleming, R. Lejeune, R. Louis, L. Thuasne various problems are raised in the study of «The Romance of the Rose». Despite the considerable amount of scientific works devoted to various aspects of «The Romance of the Rose» research, there is a need to once again turn to the identification of the specific features of this work.

The aim of the article is to explore the features of the philosophical and allegorical poem «The Romance of the Rose» as an outstanding example of French chivalric literature.

2. The methods of research

The methodological basis of this study includes:

- system-structural method of investigating in literary text;
- a comparatively historical method and, in particular, a provision on the general cultural conditioning of the literary process and the interaction of the arts;
- the concept of dialogic artistic thinking;
- methods of synchronic and diachronic analysis.

3. The main part

It is known that alongside with the real content, the aspect of the embodiment of the abstract, allegorical, romantic-divine, spiritual and moral moment of each poetic saying, which is the product of the artistic thinking of poets and philosophers, must be taken into account. The doctoral dissertation of M.K. Popova has been devoted to the theories of allegorical forms (allegories/metaphors/symbols) and their numerous varieties (Popova, 1993).

In a dictionary of literary concepts allegory (Greek «allegory») is defined as one of the types of tropes, as a symbolic implication of an abstract concept or as a phenomenon of reality portrayed in a specific real-life image. The features and attributes of this image that correspond to the basic vital features of the allegorically depicted concept or phenomenon evoke the exact idea of it writer wanted to create. Such concrete life images were used by preachers in the means of opening «other» meaning of biblical texts to the listeners.

S.S. Averintsev gives the following definition of an allegory: «a conditional form of utterance, in which the descriptive image means something «different» than it should, its content remains external and is unequivocally assigned to it by a cultural tradition» (Averintsev, 2001: 28).

In the Middle Ages the notion of allegory had broad and important meaning. At that time people read the world as a book full of symbolic signs, distinguishing behind physical, visible image its hidden supreme meaning. This made possible also the reverse course of thought. If every object of earthly reality has a correspondence in the world of higher truths, it is only natural to assume that every abstract idea is capable of acquiring a material shell.

The philosophical and allegorical perception of the world found a various expression in the era's literature. Aspiring to convey their feeling and understanding of the world, medieval authors often resorted to allegory trope in their works or appealed to an allegorical interpretation, trying to explain the other writers texts, and frequently such an interpretation transformed into an independent allegorical work, where again allegory as a trope was widely used. Thereby, all kinds of allegory – tropes, text interpreting techniques and ways to reflect reality – interacted closely and intertwined in the medieval literature.

The philosophical and allegorical aspects of the medieval mentality determined many features of the era's allegorical works artistic world, such as the event scheme, the chronotope, the system and the characters peculiar qualities. We will consider them using as example one of the most famous allegorical memorial of the French medieval literature – «The Romance of the Rose».

«The Romance of the Rose» begins with an introduction that seems to prepare the existence of a «different reality» in the canvas of the work. The writer, placing the main action of the work in the sphere of dreams, makes an effect on the character of the space depicted. It acquires a certain degree of conventionality:

*Quiconques cuide ne qui die
Que soit folor ou musardie
De croire que songes aviengne,
Qui ce voldra, pour fol m'en tiengne;
Car endroit moi ai-je fiance
Que songe soit senefiance
Des biens as gens et des anuiz,
Car li plusors songent de nuitz
Maintes choses couvertement
Que l'en voit puis apertement* (Le Roman de la Rose, 1974: 77).

(Whoever thinks or says that to believe in a dream's coming true is folly and stupidity may, if he wishes, think me a fool; but, for my part, I am convinced that a dream signifies the good and evil that come to men, for most men at night dream many things in a hidden way which may afterward be seen openly) (The Romance of the Rose, 1971: 67)

The movements of the main character lose the motivation, but they retain their orderliness.

In «The Romance of the Rose», is said to that dreams are not a continuation of another fantastic life but reflect the bygones. Therefore, a young man on a spring night, naturally, dreams about love:

*Où vintiesme an de mon aage,
Où point qu'Amors prend le paage
Des jones gens, couchiez estoie*

*Une nuit, si cum je souloie,
Et me dormoie moult forment,
Si vi ung songe en mon dormant,
Qui moult fut biax, et moult me plot.
Mès onques riens où songe n'ot
Qui avenu trestout ne soit,
Si cum li songes recontoit.
Or veil cel songe rimaier,
Por vos cuers plus fere esgaier,
Qu'Amors le me prie et commande;
Et se nus ne nule demande (Le Roman de la Rose, 1974: 79).*

(In the twentieth year of my life, at the time when Love exacts his tribute from young people, I lay down one night, as usual, and slept very soundly. During my sleep I saw a very beautiful and pleasing dream; but in this dream was nothing which did not happen almost as the dream told it) (The Romance of the Rose, 1971: 67).

In the novel, dreams have an instructive-edifying character and prophetic features. They represent a detailed allegory of spiritual and life experience. The protagonist, a handsome young man, who had fallen asleep in a May's night, saw in a dream all that had tormented his soul and something that would be accomplished. Love-giving is embodied in the scarlet Rose, which was found in a wonderful garden:

*Or doint Diez qu'en gré le reçoeve
Cele por qui ge l'ai empris.
C'est cele qui tant a de pris,
Et tant est digne d'estre amée,
Qu'el doit estre Rose clamée. (Le Roman de la Rose, 1974: 78)*

(Its matter is good and new, rrd Godlil't thatihe6r whom I have undertaken it may receive it with grace. It is she who is so precious and so worthy to be loved that she should be called Rose) (The Romance of the Rose, 1971: 67)

There are two stages in the character's life which are connected with dreams: awakening and purification. Awakening is the emergence of the subject's awareness of the divine reality. The character experiences a triple awakening: the beginning of a new day, the coming of spring and a false awakening in a dream. The stage of purification of the character is his connection with water: the character is washed after waking up and further, when he comes to the river:

*Vers une riviere m'adresce
Que j'oi près d'ilecques bruire,
Car ne me soi aillors déduire
Plus bel que sus cele riviere.
D'ung tertre qui près d'iluec iere
Descendoit l'iave grant et roide,
Clere, bruiant, et aussi froide
Comme puiz, ou comme fontaine,
Et estoit poi mendre de Saine,
Més qu'ele iere plus espanduë. (Le Roman de la Rose, 1974: 80)*

(I turned toward a river that I heard murmuring nearby, for I knew no place more beautiful to enjoy myself than by that river, whose water gushed deep and swift from a nearby hill. It rras as clear and cold as that from a well or fountain, and it was but little smaller than the Seine, but was spread out wider.) (The Romance of the Rose, 1971: 67)

At the same time, looking at the river, he sees only pebbles on the bottom in it, which implies his insufficient readiness to perceive higher Reality.

Dreams in the novel are also resonated with the spirit of the reverse, very popular in courtesy literature, which describes the spring awakening nature:

*Puis je partis emmi la plaine
Écouter les douces chansons
Des oiselets dans les buissons
Qui fêtaient la saison nouvelle (Le Roman de la Rose, 1974: 80)*

(*I had a desire to go out of the town to hear the sound of birds who, in that new season, were singing among the trees*) ([The Romance of the Rose, 1971: 67](#))

May, the blooming nature, the «new dress» of the earth, the birds' song contest are mentioned in these lines. Specificity of the narration is the function of «framework» of nature and its fusion with the spiritual principle.

The reverse is closely intertwined with a love theme in the novel, which conveys the inner state, its desire to comprehend love.

The main image of the Rose is an allegory, in which a number of meanings and secrets are laid down. The Rose is reflected as a love passion and mystery in the novel. The way to the Rose symbolizes the path to love in the novel and at the same time to self-knowledge and harmony: the character comprehends human nature in numerous discussions with allegorical characters.

The interpretation of love is ambiguous in the novel. From Guillaume de Lorris to Jean de Menu, it develops as a movement from sophisticated courtesy (Cupid) to sensuality personified in the image of Venus, who provides him with a victory in the ending of the novel.

Satisfying the finale of the novel with deliberately rude metaphors, Jean de Men departs from the courtly utopia, returning the character to the laws of Nature, where love is a continuation of the human race.

In the novel both Amur and Venus perform different functions. Cupid appears to the boy for the first time in the wonderful garden of the Fun, in a courtly atmosphere. He chases after the character in the garden and overtakes him above the source of Narcissus, wounding him with his arrows:

Comment Narcisus se mira

A la fontaine, et souspira

Par amour, tant qu'il fist partir

S'âme du corps, sans départir. ([Le Roman de la Rose, 1974: 125](#))

(*When the inscription had made clear to me that this was indeed the true fountain of the fair Narcissus, I drew back a little, since I dared not look within*) ([The Romance of the Rose, 1971: 87](#)).

Each Cupid's arrow personifies certain virtues that conquer the soul of the lover, and the order of the arrows that are released corresponds to their value scale: Beauty, Simplicity, Sincerity, Friendship, Charisma. Thus, an ideal lover should combine physical and moral perfection. The charm that crowns everything, hits the character almost to death, finally turning him into a submissive Amur's servant.

Cupid's speech-instruction is the essence of the courtly code of love, prescribing the lover full obedience, admiration of the lady, the fulfillment of all her desires, up to self-sacrifice:

Li Diex d'Amors qui, l'arc tendu,

Avoit toute jor atendu

A moi porsivre et espier,

S'iert arrestez lez ung figuier;

Et quant il ot apercéu

Que j'avoie ainsinc esléu

Ce bouton qui plus me plesoit

Que nus des autres ne fesoit,

Il a tantost pris une floiche,

Et quant la corde fu en coiche,

Il entesa jusqu'à l'oreille

L'arc qui estoit fort à merveille,

Et trait à moi par tel devise,

Que parmi l'oel m'a où cuer mise

La sajete par grant roidor:

Adonc me prist une froidor,

Dont ge dessous chaut pelïçon

Oi puis sentu mainte friçon ([Le Roman de la Rose, 1974: 132](#)).

(*The God of Love, who had maintained his constant watch over me and had followed me with drawn bow, stopped near a fig tree, and when he saw that I had singled out the bud that pleased me more than did any of the others, he immediately took an arrow and, when the string*

was in the nock, drew the bow-a wondrously strong one-up to his ear and shot at me in such a way that with great force he sent the point through the eye and into my heart) ([The Romance of the Rose, 1971: 67](#)).

Venus embodies the fleshly passion of the novel. She is the person to whom Amur, powerless to conquer the fortress of love, turns to her for help, and she sends her burning torch, destroying the walls erected by the guardians of love:

*Sema ici d'Amors la graine
Qui toute a çainte la fontaine;
Et fist ses las environ tendre,
Et ses engins i mist por prendre
Damoiseles et Damoisiaus,
Qu'Amors ne velt autres oisiaus* ([Le Roman de la Rose, 1974: 129](#)).

(Had I not feared to be attacked or roughly treated, I would have cut at least one, that I might hold it in my hand to smell the perfume; but I was afraid that I might repent such an action, which might easily provoke the wrath of the lord of the garden) ([The Romance of the Rose, 1971: 88](#)).

It should be noted that Venus is appreciated by Nature, seeing in it a means of its own power. The allegorical motif of the love of submission of lifeless statues is associated with the image of Venus, which is repeated twice at the end of the novel - first in the poetic history of Pygmalion, then, with parodic intonations, in describing the character's sexual "act of bravery", a kind of courage test that gives him the right to pluck the beautiful Rose.

In the novel, the garden of the Fun is allegorical, which is an allegorical adornment of the ideal courtly love. The garden is protected from the outside world by a wall with allegorical figures, symbolizing the vices and sufferings of human existence. There are Hate, Treachery, Envy, Greed, Cupidity, Poverty. Entering the Garden, the character leaves all these images of the real world and falls into the ideal space embodying the inner man's world. It should be noted that Idleness admits him in the garden, which opens a carefree self-contemplation:

*Quant j'oi ung poi avant alé,
Si vi ung vergié grant et lé,
Tot clos d'ung haut mur bataillié,
Portrait defors et entaillié
A maintes riches escritures,
Les ymages et les peintures
Ai moult volentiers remiré:..* ([Le Roman de la Rose, 1974: 154](#))

(When I had gone ahead thus for a little, I saw a large and roomy garden, entirely enclosed by a high crenelated wall, sculptured outside and laid out with many fine inscriptions) ([The Romance of the Rose, 1971: 68](#)).

In the beautiful Garden, the character learns the code of love and love service. The author builds all allegorical figures in accordance with the value scale of the love feelings: Courtesy, Fun, Joy:

*Li tens qui s'en va nuit et jor,
Sans repos prendre et sans sejour,
Et qui de nous se part et emble
Si celéement, qu'il nous semble
Qu'il s'arreste adès en ung point,
Et il ne s'i arreste point,
Ains ne fine de trespasser,
Que nus ne puet néis penser
Quex tens ce est qui est présens;
Sel' demandés as Clers lisans,
Ainçois que l'en l'eüst pensé,
Seroit-il jà trois tens passé* ([Le Roman de la Rose, 1974: 89](#)).

(Time, who goes away night and day, without rest and without interruption, who parts from us and steals away so quickly seems to us to be always stopped at one place, but he never stops there at all. He never ceases passing a/ray) so that no man, even if you ask learned clerks,

can tell you what time it is that is present, for before he had thought, three moments would already have passed) ([The Romance of the Rose, 1971: 71](#)).

In the novel, Rosa's love service in the courtly garden passes in several stages: from the obscure languor of the character to the discovery of a feeling of love. The discovery of love is allegorically presented in the episode when the character looks in the source of Narcissus. The source with its two crystals, reflecting the whole beautiful garden – is an allegory of a glance. The character, immersed in the eyes of a young girl, becomes a prisoner of love:

*Soudain le Dieu d'Amours appelle
Tous bas Doux-Regard son ami,
Car il n'a plus besoin de lui,
Mais de son arc; sans plus attendre
Il lui commande de le tendre.
Doux-Regard céans obéit,
Tend l'arc, en même temps choisit
Cinq des flèches et lui présente 1359
La plus rapide et plus puissante.
Le Dieu d'Amours tantôt de loin*

Me prend à suivre l'arc au poing ([Le Roman de la Rose, 1974: 120](#)).

(Immediately the God of Love called Sweet Looks. Now he no longer cared to have him keep his golden bow: without waiting further he commanded him to string the bow, and Sweet Looks did not delay in doing so. Immediately he strung the bow and gave it to him along with five arrows, strong and shining, ready to shoot. Straightway the God of Love began to follow me, bow in hand, from a distance) ([The Romance of the Rose, 1971: 84](#)).

The whole garden in «The Romance of the Rose» is an allegorical embodiment of the girl's way of life, who is protected from the temptations of allegory Shyness and Fearfulness. The character tries to overcome these obstacles and find the way into this space.

Allegory of the fountain of Narcissus is an universal allegory of the character's first love, beginning with his glance at the future favored one.

The kiss of Rose is also allegorical as it personifies his first love which became a crime and he is banished from Paradise Garden. The separation from the beloved causes the torments of love which are described in the speech of Cupid:

*Lors a de s'aumoniere traite
Une petite clef bien faite,
Qui fu de fin or esmeré;
O ceste, dit-il, fermeré
Ton cuer, n'en quier autre apoiau,
Sous ceste clef sunt mi joiau.
Mendre est que li tiens doiz, par m'ame,
Mès ele est de mon ecrin dame,
Et si a moult grant poesté* ([Le Roman de la Rose, 1974: 251](#)).

'First of all, said Love, I wish and command that, if you do not want to commit a wrong against me, you must abandon villainy forever. I curse and excommunicate all those who love villainy. Since villainy makes them base, it is not right that I love it. A villain is cruel and pitiless; he does not understand the idea of service or friendship. Next, guard well against repeating anything about other people which should be kept quiet. slandering is not a good characteristic. Take, for example, the seneschal Kay: in former days, he was hated on account of his jeers, and he had a bad reputation ([The Romance of the Rose, 1971: 95](#)).

The author allegorically names for the lady Courtesy, her son's Favor, as well as Beauty, Bounty, Sincerity, Pity, Mercy as Helpers of Love. In Guillaume de Lorris opinion the Opponents of love are certain psychological allegories – Shyness and Fearfulness embodying the purity and innocence of the first feeling. Jealousy is an allegorical personification of the hostility to the love. Jealousy means unwillingness to share the beauty of the love with another person. On the pages of the novel it erects a fortress and convenes an army to prevent the entry some immodest views.

After suffering the first failure in his love service, the protagonist of the novel continues his journey, described already by Jean de Meung. It should be noted that Jean de Men extends the allegorical imagery of the novel. However, in his work the psychological isolation is lost.

The allegorical characters are furnished with long speeches. They personify the definite moral and philosophical positions. The hero has a new function typical for the characters of the future philosophical novel: he asks and makes a choice. The lyrical beginning back down before satire and didactics, the figure of the main character loses its primacy.

In this part of the novel Mind and Nature appear. They are opposed to each other and embody the two concepts of man and being. In their speeches there are many similar. The main character rejects the preaching speeches of Reason and accepts the instructions of Nature in the finale of the novel.

In «The Romance of the Rose» the allegory of Reason is interpreted through the ancient philosophy. The Reason is the spiritual principle that opposes the global reality with its passions and vices. According to the author, Mind tries to return the protagonist to the concepts of goods and justice. In the speech of Reason the symbol of the life is the goddess Fortuna who tempts people and leads them to defeat. The world of Fortune is all human passions including the love of the protagonist. In the kingdom of Reason only friendship lives which is self-denial. Wisdom for the Reason consists in tranquility, in the ability to keep one's soulful integrity. The main character does not accept the promises of Mind and pushes it away. When Reason leaves the protagonist remains alone with his love madness, which allegorically embodies the choice between the intellect and passion.

The author shows the main character in the power of allegorical images – Friend and Old Woman. The writer demonstrates in their speeches two points of view on love: in the speech of the Friend – a man's one, in the confession of the Old Woman – a woman's one. In contrast to the courtly ideal of the woman in the first part of the novel, Jean de Meung gives a deliberately mundane, crude treatment of female nature. The novel narrative turns into a paradoxical situation: a character who dreams of a beautiful Rose, listens to endless examples of female cowardice, treachery, venality – everything that is opposed to true love.

The author also creates one of the most important allegorical images – Pretense. The speech of Pretense contains an anticlerical satire. The problem of Pretense sounds already in the speech of Friend, when he advises a naive lover to learn cunning and hypocrisy in order to achieve success in love:

*Ta requeste riens ne me griève,
Si ne te voil pas escondire:
Saches ge n'ai vers toi point d'ire.
Se tu aimes, à moi qu'en chaut?
Ce ne me fait ne froit, ne chaut:
Adès aime, mès que tu soies
Loing de mes Roses toutesvoies,
Jà ne te porterai menaie,
Se tu jamès passes la haie.* (Le Roman de la Rose, 1974: 307)

(‘Friends’ he said, (I assure you that here is my body, here are my possessions, to which you have as much right as I. Take them without asking leave. flow much! If you don't know, take everything, if your need is that great, for in comparison with a friend, the gifts of Fortune are not worth a prune to a friend. We have searched each other until we know each other well; we have joined our hearts together, have tried each other and found ourselves true friends) ([The Romance of the Rose, 1971: 186](#)).

The author hyperbolizes Pretense: Cupid, indignant at the ignobility of Pretense, nevertheless takes him into his courtly army, thereby entering into a compromise with the laws of the real world.

In the final of the novel the allegorical image of Nature, opposed to Reason is the most significant. The concept of Nature in «The Romance of the Rose» reflects the features of the medieval world outlook. Nature is just the subject of material things and sphere of the spirit belongs to Divine therefore Nature does not have complete power over man. Nature only fulfills Divine's will. Its main concern is the preservation of the universal life, the reproduction of generations so that the existence does not disappear. In the reasoning of the author the beginning of functioning of universal «eternal questions» as a basis of modern philosophical novels is traced.

Reflecting on the nature of man, Jean de Meung expresses ideas that anticipate the Renaissance. The author defends the idea of the natural equality of people. He considers hereditary

privileges as a kind of theft of another's property. An important question for Jean de Meung is the question of free will:

*A quoi bon? Toute créature
Veut retourner à sa nature
Et toujours y retournera;
Nul habit ne la chassera,
Bon gré, mal gré, son influence
Brave jusqu'à la violence.
Ce doit moult Vénus excuser
Quand voulait de franchise user,
Et toutes dames qui se jouent,
A l'hymen combien que se vouent.
Nature seule en est l'auteur*

Qui pousse à franchise leur coeur, Sire, fis-ge, sachiés de voir (Le Roman de la Rose, 1974: 389).

(Then, full of great anguish, she strode and rent her heart and fell to the ground dead, in front of them. But first she begged them to work to avenge her death. She wanted to establish this example in order to assure women that any man who took them by force would have to die. As a result, the king and his son were sent into exile and died there. After that disturbance, the Romans never wanted to make anyone king) (The Romance of the Rose, 1971: 194).

Consequently the main arguments and terms of the theological and philosophical discussions of the 13th century are reproduced in the speech of Nature. In contrast to the idea of the Aurelius Augustine's grace, which interprets the destiny of man as an expression of divine predestination, new ethical concepts begin to develop in the 13th century, the question of free will is at the center of it. Medieval Catholic philosophers Albert the Great (1206-1280) and Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) regarded a substance as a passive beginning. But in their opinion, there is an immortal beginning in every human being – a soul that enters into an alliance with the body. And it's the soul that becomes the basis of moral choice. Questions of practical morality occupied a significant place in the theological writings of the Middle Ages. So, for Pierre Abelard, a sin is the intention to act against the Law of the Lord, and therefore any evil-doing is the action of free will. The same opinion was shared by Jean de Men. He repeatedly stresses that God, preserving omniscience, doesn't interfere in every act of man in the speech of Nature, but gives him freedom of choice between good and evil. Jean de Men's arguments are also from the sphere of practical morality: if there was no such freedom, then there would be no concept of sin.

The sinful state of mankind is consistently contrasted with the utopia of natural life in the novel, when people on Earth fulfilled their natural destiny, without knowing inequality, violence, wars, evil desires and passions. The idyll of the golden age is the constant mythologeme of «The Romance of the Rose». Sense and Nature return us to it. Sphere of the spirit, beyond Nature's control, embodies the Genius in the novel as a kind of mediator between material and spiritual substances. In the Genius speech, the courtly allegories of the first part of the novel acquire new, mystical, symbols:

*Bref, encor que vous conterais?
Nul soleil n'y lance ses rais,
Car plus de resplendeur abonde
Que nul soleil qui soit au monde
L'escarboucle aux rais flamboyants.
C'est le soleil qui huit léans,
Qui la nuit en exil envoie
Et fait le jour qui ne dévoie,
Et qui dure éternellement,
Sans fin et sans commencement,
Et se tient en la même ligne
Sans passer ni degré, ni signe,
Ni minuit, sans un mouvement
Dont on fasse une heure, un moment* (Le Roman de la Rose, 1974: 365).

(But O! fair sweet God, fair celestial king, what can I do with the rascals who thus shame me and oppose me! If I happen to threaten them, how seriously will they take my threat! If I go to fighting with them, they can kill me or beat me straightway, so cruel and unprincipled, so eager to do all sorts of wickedness, so young and handsome, wild and headstrong are they) (The Romance of the Rose, 1971: 202).

The Garden of the Coming Bliss of the few initiates will be led by lambs – the allegorical messengers of Christ. The paradise of the love of Guillaume de Lorris by Jean de Meung turns into a biblical Eden, where the path is open only to the righteous people. The fountain of Narcissus, a typically pagan allegory, is transformed into a mystical fountain of the Divine Trinity in the finale.

The introduction of religious allegories creates a paradoxical situation in the end of the novel. Genius, drawing a picture of the coming paradise of bliss, inspires the courteous army to storm the fortress, erected by Jealousy, and the protagonist to the sexual «act of bravery». In the final of the novel, the character thanks everyone who contributed to his love victory, renouncing only the allegory of Sense. The path, which had predetermined to him, did not coincide with the covenants of Nature that he fulfilled.

4. Conclusion

Consequently, the allegory in «The Romance of the Rose» helps to discover a hidden philosophical meaning, abstract knowledge. By Guillaume de Lorris, the allegory served as a technical function, allowing the lyrical song to be translated into narrative discourse. For Jean de Meung, the allegory is important in itself, as a method of interpretation. He is a scientist and thinker, a bourgeois and he is infinitely far from the «courtly love» of Guillaume de Lorris. In his vision the novel takes a new direction, more rooted in everyday life. For example, instead of Cupid, Venus, embodying cosmic power, is highlighted.

In the novel Jean de Meung allegorical images utter extensive speeches, they personify certain moral and philosophical positions. By the image of the main character, features traits of the characters appear in the future philosophical novel. He is asked by eternal questions and tries to find answers to them. The specificity of Jean de Meung's novel is the predominance of satire and didactics.

«The Romance of the Rose» refers to the stage of oral tradition of literary monuments. It largely explains his narrative structure – the predominance of monologues of various allegorical characters over the actual narrative elements. The text of the novel introduces appeals to the reader, deliberate repetitions, designed to consolidate in memory the spoken lessons and instructions (Cupid's speech), fragmentation, inconsistency, for which the characters sometimes apologize (Old Woman, Nature). Speeches are often interrupted by questions of the listener, turn into a discussion (the speech of the lady of Sense). All this creates a special oral-rhetorical element of the novel with a predominance of the style of speech communication in it.

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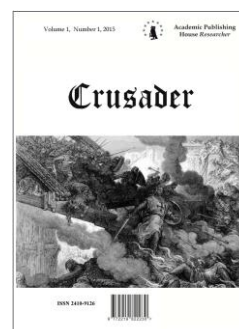
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Crusades and Integration Processes in Europe in XI–XIII centuries

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Abstract

The article examines the crusades and integration processes in Europe in the period of XI–XIII centuries on the basis of Russian and foreign historiography.

In conclusion, the author notes that the crusades, which initially were the “military-integrative expansion” of the Europeans, increasingly turned into a purely aggressive campaign, gradually losing the spiritual basis under the leadership of the papacy, which began the period of decline. Contemporaries of the crusades were skeptical about these military-religious expeditions. The Reformation of the XVI century put an end to the Christian republic of scientists, which Erasmus of Rotterdam dreamt of. There came a time when, along with the religious integration, purely political unions were also being formed, joined by the opponents who were difficult to be imagined together (for example Francis I and the head of the “true believers”, the Turkish sultan).

Keywords: crusades, integration processes, Europe, XI–XIII centuries, Erasmus of Rotterdam, the Reformation.

1. Introduction

Plenty of works is devoted to the Crusader epic and it would seem to be very thoroughly studied (Dudarev, 2016). Nevertheless, the phenomenon of military campaigns of Europeans to the East continues to attract the attention of specialists and the reading public and it is hardly a coincidence. Today, when West and East once again entered into complex and contradictory relations of the world integration processes, the study of the stages of interaction of these important historical and cultural areas acquires a special significance. What drove the Europeans to the eastern countries, what motives pushed them to travels full of dangers, whether only the bloodshed was a significant result of Christian and Muslim relationship, what were the long-term results of the interaction between the West and the East in the XI-XIII centuries – all these issues today are more important than ever before.

2. Discussion

There is no doubt that the topic of the Crusades has a huge number of interesting nuances that have been the subject of attention to both Russian and foreign historiography. Nevertheless, during the Soviet period some of those nuances were not covered in contemporary literature. Today this situation is undoubtedly changing (works of A.A. Domanin, E. Monusova, A.V. Granovsky, D.A. Batshev and others) (Dudarev, 2016). This partly explains the appearance of translations of Western researches in 1990-2000 which were previously inaccessible in Russia (even for the most

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competent scientists) and which were first published in 1950-1970. These are the works of U. Kessler, R. Pernoud, P. Viymar, A. Shamdor, S. Morison, M. Melville, K. Hillenbrand and others, which do not directly relate to our topic of interest, but contain very interesting data that covers the crusades' background (Pernoud, 2001; Viymar, 2003; Morison, 2003; Shamdor, 2004; Melville, 2004; Douglas, 2003; Hillenbrand, 2008).

This article's goal is to review some of the background events and circumstances of the processes that showed the integrative character of the crusades, noting how they pointed out the upcoming unification of Europe. At the same time, we would like to draw attention to the contradictions manifested in the integrative processes, which, like today, created difficulties in the formation of the European community and questioned the reality of its' existence as a whole. This research will be carried out, first of all, through the prism of approaches to the world history chronology, proposed by Professor V. B. Vinogradov and his students back in 1990–2000's (Vinogradov et al., 2010: 33-40).

3. Results

To begin with, we shall cite the statement that has become a textbook in Russian science: "In the last third of the XI century, the "threads" of European politics were increasingly drawn together in the Roman curia. It became a center of power that could unify the dispersed forces of the feudal West by itself" (Zaborov, 1980: 24). It certainly relied on the idea that came from the founders of the Marxist doctrine, that the church "was a real link between different countries", it became "a major international center of the feudal system" (Marx, Engels, T. 21: 495).

Nevertheless, it is well known that the Catholic Church and the papacy acquired this role only after emerging from a prolonged crisis that lasted from the end of IX to the middle of XI century (Lozinskiy, 1986: 80-87). It is also known that the papacy in their far-reaching plans relied on the South Italian Normans (Zaborov, 1980: 23). R. Y. Vipper emphasized the importance of papacy's alliance with the Normans in the context of their end of relationship with the Eastern Church, but especially in the emerging confrontation with the German Emperor (Vipper, 1996. 223). But perhaps only D. Douglas demonstrated the outstanding role of the Norman-papal alliance most clearly both in strengthening the position of the papal throne, and in practicing the idea of *a holy war* (Douglas, 2003: 89-90, 135-164 et al.), although he demonstrated the entire internal contradiction of the said union. At the same time, the author revealed the pan-European character of the Papal-Norman alliance. During the period of 1059 – 1085, the Popes built a kind of axis (which we would conditionally call "Rome-Rouen-London-Palermo"), which served as a powerful lever in the fight against the Empire. In our opinion, the Normans turned out to be a "rapid reaction force" for the papacy, especially during the critical moments of tension with their great and aggressive northern neighbor.

However, no matter how noticeable was the participation of the Normans in the preparation of the crusades at the very beginning, they, despite all their involvement and power, could not become its' core. If we bear in mind that the goal of Gregory VII was the creation of a theocratic Christian empire, where the reign over the lords and peoples was to be entrusted to the Pope (who had a power over the emperor as well), then the relationship with William the Conqueror was, if not ideal, at least acceptable to the newly created system, but it was quite the contrary with the king of France (Lozinskiy, 1986: 104; Douglas, 2003: 204-207). Nevertheless, when Urban II undertook the implementation of the "universalist" ideas of Gregory VII, who aspired, in particular, to the subordination of the Eastern Church, he was well aware that France should be the backbone of these projects (Gergey, 1996: 110). And it was not only due to the fact that the Pope himself was a Frenchman (born Odo of Châtillon).

In her analysis of the preparation of Urban II to the Council of Clermont, R. Pernoud revealed all the important aspects for the success of the first crusade, as well as the significant steps taken by the Pope. Historians noted that before the Council the Pope paid two major visits – to a prominent church figure, Bishop Adhemar de Monteil (who headed the clergy of Auvergne, Aquitaine and Languedoc at the Council), as well as to the powerful lord of Southern France, Raimund IV Count of Toulouse (Zaborov, 1980: 137).

We should take a broad view of the matter and note the integrating role of the Pope at a time when “his endless travels along the roads of the West made him closer to the whole Christian world” (Pernoud, 2001: 24)*. However, we should not forget that this integration was prepared by the well-known activity of the Cluniac movement. The Pope himself and his closest associates were Cluniacs. Just before arriving in Clermont, the pope in a solemn ceremony sanctified the main altar in the huge cathedral in Cluny (surpassing in size even St. Peter's Cathedral in Rome). Secondly, the very location of the cathedral was chosen very carefully. Clermont, with its 54 churches, was undoubtedly a major center of Catholicism in the South of France at the end of the XI century. Thirdly, we should carefully consider the European countries invited to the Council. There were representatives of the Northern France clergy, who were vassals of the French king, as well as the opposition clerics from the territory of the Empire, Anglo-Norman bishops (but not South Italians – Sic!), among which was the brother of William the Conqueror, prelates from Spain, personifying the idea of Reconquista (not even ten years passed since the capture of Toledo by Alfonso VI, which Marx called “the prelude to the first crusade”) (Zaborov, 1980: 22), and of course, numerous representatives of the Southern French clergy (Pernoud, 2001: 28).

This alignment, which best illustrates the basis of the project created by the Pope, underlines (contrary to the opinion of Régine Pernoud) that the excommunication of the King of France from the Church was likely to be carried out for political reasons (Pernoud, 2001: 29). William II of England and Henry IV of Germany were under the excommunication at the same time with the French king and it was not a simple coincidence (Vipper, 1996: 235). The papacy wanted to lead the crusade, thus showing the secular lords, and above all, the emperor, that it takes the leading role in European affairs. All the papal actions preceding the council, such as sanctioning the takeover of England and helping Reconquista, the approval of the struggle against Muslims in southern Italy and the excommunication of Henry IV and even the support of the Patarians (Neusykhin, 1974: 287-288; Gergey, 1996: 95) – all unambiguously pointed to this. Let us emphasize the significant statement of D. Douglas that Pope Gregory VII “believed that it was the right and duty of the Pope to ask the Christian military forces to help to establish Christian rights under the leadership of the Pope” (Douglas, 2003: 153). This makes the statement of R. Pernoud that the participants of the crusading movement were “volunteers from all the corners of Europe ... devoid of any central organization” sound strange (Pernoud, 2001: 5). It seems that the papacy and the Catholic Church were very effective in fulfilling the role of the mentioned organization.

But the integrating role of the papacy in the organization of the crusades and in European affairs in general would be impossible without a number of deep social and economic factors that created the human reserve and made the campaigns possible. They have long been well known to researchers: an increase in commodity-money relations, epidemics, famine, lean years, shortage of land, intensified feudal oppression, escalation of feudal civil strife, aspiration for enrichment, etc. (Zaborov, 1980: 12-16; Morison, 2003: 9). Some add demographic rise (Le Goff, 1992: 60; Morison, 2003: 9) and an increase in the mobility of the population (including the peasantry, feudal lords, merchants, clergy, pilgrims, etc.) to these factors (Darkevich, 2005: 13-34).

At the same time, the spiritual and mental components of the crusading movement are becoming clear: the phenomenon of pilgrimage, the pilgrimage associated with the idea of asceticism, soteriological motives, eschatological expectations, signs and miracles, peculiar signs that appeared on the eve of campaigns, prophecies and so on. The Europeans' lack of knowledge about the East was also important, as it led to complaints about the oppression of Christians by Muslims and contributed to the practical embodiment of the idea of a “just and holy war” against the “infidels”. Jerusalem was perceived (considered to be the Jerusalem of Heaven) as the “center of the world”† which was in the hands of the enemy, merging in the minds of the Crusaders with the ideas of feudal-vassal values and Christian ideology (Zaborov, 1980: 17-20, 30-31; Materials, 1980: 75-95, 94-109; Pernoud, 2001: 174, 209; Dudarev, Lesina, 2002: 8-10; Morison, 2003: 10-18, 143-145; et al.).

* The recently passed Roman pontiff John Paul II was similar to the Popes of the XI century, wasn't he? He also visited many countries, thus seeking to establish the unity of Catholics around the world.

† Jerusalem – Genesis (New testament, 1998).

At the same time, a number of scientists associate material and spiritual background. M.A. Zaborov referred to J. Miccoli, who described the “bond of religious and combative knights cooperating with a hope of enrichment ... as the binomial part in the crusaders’ religion” or, according to Zaborov, “crusaders’ ideology” (Zaborov, 1980: 42). Here is the opinion of R. Grousset: “The Latin East was founded through faith in the end of the XI century and it existed due to the profit from spice trade in XIII century” (Pernoud, 2001: 199). And these authors cannot be denied in the validity of this approach, as it is proved by the very taking of Jerusalem. Bursting in Jerusalem, the Crusaders first “scattered throughout the city, grabbing gold and silver, taking horses, robbing homes”. And only after that “rejoicing and weeping with immeasurable joy they came to bow to the sepulchre of Jesus the Savior” (Pernoud, 2001: 67). However, the sacrifice, which was massively demonstrated by the peasant crusaders (but was also common for the representatives of chivalry and the nobility), vividly indicated that “the Christians in their behavior followed Christ, crucified for his love for his neighbor” (Pernoud, 2001: 45).

That is why, the study of mentality, which for a long time was not among the priority assessments of the reasons for the crusades, calls for a deep reference to the spiritual life of the Europeans of the time.

Christianity slowly integrated with the popular beliefs and the adaptation of its ideas and pre-Christian views led to the important changes in the ideological development of the Europeans after 1000 A. D., as it was pointed out by the Western researchers (R. Manselli) (Materials, 1980: 55-56). For example, the mass pilgrimages of that time show that the XI century was a spiritual milestone of European consciousness (Douglas, 2003: 145). We should not forget about the amazing rise of church construction, which began in 1003, noted by R. Glaber (Le Goff, 1992: 58). All these facts allow the contemporary Russian medievalists to talk about the phenomenon of the “*internal Christianization of Europe*”, accompanied by the process of “evangelization” of the masses, when Christianity, having established the rituals, penetrated deeper into the system of moral values through the prism of the newly established feudal relations. *The third stage* of the genesis of Christianity in Europe began, and in our opinion it was a “third acquisition” of this religion (Dudarev, 2004: 24-25). Without going into details about the reasons for the emergence of a new style of religiosity, we shall point out that these spiritual processes were associated with the formation of the feudal socio-economic system and the European-Christian civilization itself (Dudarev, 2002: 21-24)*.

The Crusades were an action of the European Christian passionaries who, like the Muslim Arabs in their time, moved to expand their civilization. R. Pernoud gives an interesting statement by Lord Balian of Sidon who, in response to an attempt to usurp power in the Holy Land by Frederick II of Hohenstaufen said: “This land was conquered not by one lord, but by a whole people” (Pernoud, 2001: 34). This was already understood in the XII century, and the participant in the First Crusade, the chronicler Fulcher of Chartres made an even more vivid statement: “Although we spoke different languages, it seemed, however, that we are brothers and close relatives who are unanimous in the love of God”. “These statements reflected the emerging unified Western European identity that overcomes linguistic, ethnic and other differences” (History of Europe, 1992: 532). We should clarify that the basis of self-consciousness was Christian (so that we have to speak more about the common Christian identity). Thus, due to the “internal Christianization” in Western Europe (from Sicily to Scandinavia), a **Christian super-ethnos** emerged, whose representatives responded to Clermont’s “Deus lo volt!” (It is God’s will), “with a willingness which the Pope himself did not expect” (Pernoud, 2001: 33).

Within this phenomenon, religious attitudes (in the absence of nations) were dominant over local geographic and ethnic communities and connections. Even in the XIII century, when the movement to the East was on the decline, the head of the Order of Dominicans, Humbert of Romans taught that “a real knight must consider the country where the Savior lived, to be his true motherland, and for its’ sake, without hesitation, break up even with his own family, according to the Gospel” (Pernoud, 2001: 187). However, we would not be honest if we did not bring the opinion of Le Goff that the reason for the lack of attachment to the homeland was the conditional land ownership in XI-XIII century. That is why the Norman lords, the German knights, the Île-de-

* R. Manselli is talking about the appearance of the Christian civilization itself after 1000 A. D. (Materials, 1980).

France feudal lords, who opposed the Albigenses, “the Crusaders of all stripes” left their homeland so easily, “because it is unlikely that they have one” (Le Goff, 1992: 127).

This statement is in some way consonant with the observation of V. V. Emelyanov, who noted that: “the Franks have nothing but the desire for money, power and glory. But this is their strength. They venture to the unknown, seek new things and are ready not to go back, because the world behind them does not have a big price for them. Their journey is a great walk to otherness, maybe even to some threshold of the future paradise. This is the civilization of Western Christians. Driven by the adventurous spirit, they do not want to return home” (Emelyanov, 2004: 11)*.

We would like to emphasize particularly one more fact. The Crusades, the situation around them, and the situation in the Holy Land in the XI - XIII centuries, were “**reflecting**” the processes going on in Western Europe at that time. The socio-political situation in Europe at that time was characterized by feudal disunity and the decline of royal power. In the XI century France it was a fait accompli, confirmed by some scientists (J. F. Lemarigne) and accepted by others (J. Duby) (Duby, 2000: 112). Nevertheless, the French king was still a dangerous rival, whom the Pope sought to neutralize (see above), farsightedly trying to compete with William the Conqueror, who laid the foundations of a dual state, which became the prototype of the “Angevin Plantagenet empire”.

Taking over secular power, the Popes openly relied on the nobility, seeking to direct the passionary energy of those “who in the old days fought against brothers and kinsmen” outside Europe (Pernoud, 2001: 32-33). Paradoxically, *it was the factor of feudal fragmentation which contributed to the creation of a general Christian identity and a Christian super-ethnos (through the integrating principle of Catholicism, the church and the papacy)*, and had the highest effect on the Crusades regarding the mass participation of representatives of Western Europe. But, returning to the beginning of our article, let us recall that the French, or the “Franks”, became the support, the basis of the future Latin states in the East. The reason for this was the rapid flourishing of “classical feudalism” in France. The growth of the economic and human potential in France was well understood by the Popes of the XI century, primarily by Urban II. Therefore, it was France, and not South Italy that called to start the war in the East.

But the purely feudal character of the crusading movement and the Latin states in the East became, after all, the cause of their collapse. Hegel famously said “The Kingdom of Jerusalem was founded, and a new feudal system was introduced, which, of course, was the worst state system that could be introduced in the middle of the struggle with the Saracens” (Hegel, 2002: 306). Even when “the ground was burning under the feet of the Crusaders” and their days in the East were already numbered, they continued to fiercely fight each other (the war of St. Sava in 1256-1258 in Acre between the Genoese and the Venetians, with the Hospitallers, the Templars, and others intervening from different sides) (Morison, 2003: 94). The participation of kings in the second and third campaigns led only to an aggravation of the confrontation between the Crusaders (the most vivid example is the keen rivalry between Philip II Augustus and Richard the Lionheart) (Kessler, 1997: 131-239). The attempt of Frederick II to establish control over Beirut and to receive homage from the feudal lords of Antioch and Tripoli, failed, despite his takeover of Jerusalem as a result of a compromise with the Sultan Al-Kamil (Pernoud, 2001: 239-243). The time of the kings who centralized Europe has not come yet, and their offensive actions within their countries forced even the most ardent supporters of the Crusades to forget about the goals of the “holy war” in the East and stay at home[†].

* However, the monolithic nature of the Christian super-ethnos is hardly worth absolutizing. R. Pernoud writes that during the First Campaign in the camp of the peasant Crusaders, where the Lombards, Germans and the French constantly fought among themselves, “national differences quickly led to fights” (Pernoud, 2001: 42). Here is another striking fact, which indicates that the internal contradictions in the camp of the Catholics led, at times, to the actual denial of the Crusades themselves, and therefore cast doubt on the unity of the Christian world even in the culmination of the XI century. In 1096 the French Crusaders, who arrived in Rome, were shocked that almost the entire basilica of St. Peter was in the hands of supporters of the anti-papa, who threw out of the altar offerings of pilgrims and cast them out with stones (Douglas, 2003: 32).

† Jean de Juanville refused to go on a second Crusade with Louis IX, saying: “While I was overseas, the sergeants of the King of France and Navarre plundered and robbed my people. And if I do not stay to protect them, I will insult the Lord who has done everything, in order to save his people” (Pernoud, 2001: 188).

However, it is again important to mention the spiritual factor, which was always intertwined with the material principle. In the works of authoritative researchers of the Crusades, alas, no one paid any attention to the following reasoning of Hegel. We shall cite it briefly. "At this tomb (the Holy Sepulchre – Auth.) the Christian nations once again received the same answer that the apostles heard when they were looking for the body of Christ: "Why do you seek the living among the dead? He is not here: He is risen". You should look for the principle of your religion not in the spiritual, not in the grave of the dead, but in a living spirit, in yourself ... Christianity found an empty coffin, not a link between our world and the eternal, and therefore lost the Holy Land... Thus, the world comes to the understanding that a man must seek this spiritual principle, which is Divine by nature, in himself ... This was the absolute result of the Crusades, and thus begins the era of confidence in one's own forces and self-activity. At the sepulchre of the Lord, the West forever took leave of the East and understood its principle of subjective infinite freedom. Since then, the Christianity has never acted as a whole" (Hegel, 2002: 307). Largely due to the spiritual evolution that took place over two hundred years of the crusades in the minds of Europeans, they ceased to strive to the East for salvation through pilgrimage, sacrifice, the acquisition of miraculous relics, etc. and found God within themselves. Truly, finally, those who aspire to the holy lands, understood the meaning of the words: "Once, on being asked by the Pharisees when the kingdom of God would come, Jesus replied, "The coming of the kingdom of God is not something that can be observed, nor will people say, 'Here it is,' or 'There it is,' because the kingdom of God is in your midst" (Gospel of Luke, 17, 20, 21).

The fact that the crusading movement had been exhausted by the end of the XIII century was, by all means, due to material reasons. The economic and political realities in Western Europe changed greatly two centuries after the first campaigns. Europeans had enough business to deal with at home, both in the field of economics and in politics. The rapid progress of the production forces, the further development and growth of cities, commodity links between town and country, growing agriculture ("internal colonization", the liquidation of plowing of the land of the landowner) and the demographic rise led to the fact that at the end of the XIII and XV centuries, as some medieval researcher believed, Europe overtook Asia and the countries of Maghreb. In Europe, which embarked the path of the centralized monarchies and broke up the homogeneous in its mosaics feudal political field (Le Goff addressed this situation: "The monarchy has always remained a bit alien to the medieval world") (Le Goff, 1992: 288), the basis of pre-industrial society began to form.

4. Conclusion

The crusades, which initially were the "military-integrative expansion" of the Europeans (Dudarev, 2001: 12), increasingly turned into a purely aggressive enterprise, gradually losing the spiritual basis under the leadership of the papacy, which began the period of decline. Contemporaries of the crusades were skeptical about these military-religious expeditions. The Reformation of the XVI century put an end to the Christian republic of scientists, which Erasmus of Rotterdam dreamt of. There came a time when, along with the religious integration, purely political unions were also forming, joined by the opponents who previously were difficult to be imagined together (for example Francis I and the head of the "true believers", the Turkish sultan) (History of Europe, 1993: 401). However, the "sprouts" of such alliances arose in the XI–XII centuries. But this is a topic of another study.

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As we can see, in the mind of a prominent crusader of the XIII century, staying at home and defending his possessions and people is a deed more pleasing to God than an overseas voyage in defense of the faith.

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