

Thoughts on Zionism in the Context of German–Middle Eastern Relations

NINA BERMAN

I.

The Zionist positions that Theodor Herzl and Martin Buber formulated around 1900 express fundamentally different attitudes toward the Middle East. Herzl's path-breaking vision of a Jewish state and his early lobbying efforts appealed to ideas about European and Christian sovereignty over the Holy Land. Even though Argentina was originally considered as an alternative, he argued in 1896:

If his Majesty the Sultan were to give us Palestine, we could undertake the responsibility of putting the finances of Turkey completely in order. To Europe we would represent a part of the barrier against Asia; we would serve as the outpost of civilization against barbarism. As a neutral state we would remain allied to all of Europe, which in turn would have to guarantee our existence.¹

Only two years later, lobbying to gain the support of the German emperor, he wrote:

The return of even the semi-Asiatic Jews under the leadership of thoroughly modern persons must undoubtedly mean the restoration to health of this neglected corner of the Orient. Civilization and order would be brought there. Thus the migration of the Jews would eventually be an effective protection of the Christians in the Orient.²

Buber, on the other hand, saw Jews as belonging to the realm of Oriental cultures. In speeches made between 1909 and 1914, he formulated his idea of "the Jew as Oriental." In a somewhat stunning essentialization of Occidental and Oriental cultural spheres_lumping together ancient Greeks, Romans, and contemporary Europeans, on the one hand, and Chinese, Arabs, and Indians, on the other_he argued:

All I have said about the Oriental is especially true of the Jew. ... It can be seen that of all the Orientals the Jew is the most obvious antithesis of the Greek. The Greek wants to master the world, the Jew, to perfect it. For the Greek the world exists, for the Jew, it becomes. The Greek confronts it; the Jew is involved

with it.³

Buber's understanding of Jewish identity emphasized Jewish historical ties to the Orient and Jewish religious and cultural traditions. Herzl, by contrast, foregrounded the history of political and economic persecution. Whereas Herzl wanted to bring European culture to a "barbaric" region of the world, Buber hoped that Jews would again embrace their roots in the Middle East. Herzl took a colonialist approach toward the Arab population of the area, unlike Buber, who was keenly aware of the pitfalls inherent in such an attitude and argued, instead, for collaboration with Arabs, a position from which he did not depart throughout his life.⁴ Herzl engaged European powers and presented the Zionist project as one concordant with European and Christian interests. Buber, on the other hand, pursued a politics of difference; in fact, his stance can be considered one of the first examples of deliberate ethnic identity politics.⁵

The positions articulated by Buber and Herzl are chosen here to highlight contrasting poles in a larger discussion among Zionist and non-Zionist Jews before World War I. Some contemporaries ridiculed Buber for his romantic views of the East;⁶ for others, however, his ideas were inspirational and provided guidance.⁷ Herzl was also attacked, for example, by Karl Kraus, who likened Zionism to antisemitism; nevertheless, he succeeded in gathering a much larger following than Buber.⁸

The range of positions put forth in this debate was much greater and the discussion more complex than this brief overview suggests. In seeking to understand the intellectual roots and circumstances that brought about these distinct positions, scholarship has explained them in the context of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century developments and also in light of the history of Jews in Europe. Herzl's views have been identified as being reflective of Jewish assimilation, secularization, modernization, and European nationalism.⁹ The similarities and differences between Herzl's ideas and ideologies promoting settler colonialism have been ex-

plored.¹⁰ Some scholars have interpreted Herzl's appeal to even antisemitic sentiments as pragmatism.¹¹ This view of Herzl's lobbying strategies is supported by the fact that he temporarily embraced the idea of a Jewish state in East Africa, among other locations; scholars argue, however, that, regardless of the tactical turn to other geographical locations, Herzl never abandoned the idea of establishing a Jewish state in Palestine.¹² Buber's position, on the other hand, has been discussed as a manifestation of Jewish revivalism, an antidote to assimilation, and an attempt by emancipated *Western* Jewry to formulate its own position of difference within Christian Europe and in light of a possible homeland in the Middle East.¹³

Scholarship has thus analyzed both positions at length and mostly sought to explain them as they fit within their immediate historical context. I suggest, however, that we can benefit from understanding Herzl's and Buber's positions in the framework of long-term developments, in particular German–Middle Eastern interaction that goes back to the Middle Ages. (Whereas the terms *Germany* and *Middle East* appear to signal historical continuity, they in fact refer to various empires, states, and societies in territories with shifting boundaries. For the purpose of highlighting long-term historical trends this terminology is nevertheless useful.) Turning to the longer history of German–Middle Eastern relations allows us to see aspects of *both* political and cultural Zionism as variations of traditions that expressed different political, religious, and cultural attitudes toward the Middle East, attitudes that are integral to German society to this day. Thus this essay does not seek to explore Zionism in light of its origins in Jewish culture and religion, but rather attempts to delineate different aspects of Zionism in the context of German–Middle Eastern relations. The longer history of German–Middle Eastern relations contains factors that ultimately explain the success of political Zionism, that is, of Herzl's vision.

Finally, my discussion will demonstrate that Edward Said's assertion that the German conception of the Orient was "almost exclusively a scholarly" one is untenable. In *Orientalism*, Said states: "There was nothing in Germany to correspond to the Anglo-French presence in India, the Levant, North Africa. Moreover, the German Orient was almost exclusively a scholarly, or at least a classical, Orient: it was made the subject of lyrics, fantasies, and even novels, but it was never actual the way Egypt and Syria were actual for Chateaubriand, Lane, Lamartine, Burton, Disraeli, or Nerval."¹⁴ In fact, however, German cultural commentary on the Middle East is grounded in material history; it reveals a rich history of social contact, political conflict, religious preoccupation, economic aspirations, and cultural ex-

change. My analysis shows that Said's omission of key factors—such as the role played by the Christian church, German religious and political claims to sovereignty over the Holy Land, and the impact of the Ottoman invasion—renders his study *Orientalism* inadequate to understanding the longer history of Germany's and, for some of the same reasons, Europe's relationship to the Middle East.

II.

The historical relationship of Germany and the Middle East can be divided into different phases during which the interaction between the two spheres was determined by distinct ideological factors, namely, ideas about religion, culture, race, humanism, nation, and modernity. Although these belief systems evolved successively, the ideology of one period did not entirely disappear in the succeeding period.¹⁵ Rather, what emerged were layers of belief systems, in which earlier ideologies remained present and, more important, were accessed when necessary.

Although the belief systems that existed during these individual periods were distinct from one another, we can detect three general positions that extend from the Middle Ages to this day. These three basic perspectives were articulated in writings and other cultural representations and, in one way or another, documented and participated in shaping actual political, economic, and social events. One view claimed sovereignty (both political and religious) over the Middle East and generally depicted Middle Eastern inhabitants in negative terms. Another took a sympathetic view of the Middle East, attempting to emulate the East and revering it as a model of inspiration and guidance for Germany. A third view can be detected in cultural material that took neither position but, instead, used Middle Eastern topoi to talk about matters that reflected primarily internal concerns or to comment on the Middle East in largely descriptive ways. In all instances the significance of the cultural material becomes evident when it is related to data concerning the reality of cultural, political, and economic exchange between the two spheres.

The first two views are most relevant to my discussion. In order to place Herzl's and Buber's positions into the framework of long-term developments, I will elaborate on historical events and their ideological presentation in a range of writings during the Middle Ages. Cultural material will serve to highlight the scope of the German preoccupation with the Middle East. This allows me to lay out the ideological horizon relevant to both Zionist positions in greater detail. I will then sketch, more briefly, the developments of later periods, to highlight both the persistence of basic views that

emerged in the Middle Ages and additional factors that came into play over the course of many centuries.

III.

In 1064 Bishop Gunther of Bamberg led a group of more than seven thousand pilgrims (by some accounts, even twelve thousand) on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.¹⁶ Significantly fewer returned the following year; the chronicle *Vita Almanni* (ca. 1130) reported the stress of the long journey and the substantial loss of life, due to disease and also skirmishes with Muslims.¹⁷ According to available records, this group was the largest single group of German pilgrims to travel to the place that was central to every Christian living in Germany at the time: Jerusalem.¹⁸ But it was by no means the only group of pilgrims; during that period a steady flow of German (and other European) pilgrims moved back and forth between Europe and the Holy Land. Since the third century, the pilgrimage to Jerusalem had been central in the lives of Europeans. The Christianization of the Roman Empire under Constantine the Great had turned Palestine into a Christian area and fostered the establishment of pilgrimage rituals. Over time the pilgrimage to Jerusalem was sustained by an elaborate infrastructure that facilitated this early form of mass tourism. Special guides provided the pilgrims with relevant information: routes, inns, restaurants, and visa conditions were discussed in detail.¹⁹ German pilgrims relied on a network of hospices, inns, and restaurants all the way to the Holy Land.²⁰

For medieval Germans the Holy Land was a place more significant and more real than it is for today's Germans, in spite of the easier access made possible through modern travel and media coverage. At the time the spiritual center of the world was Jerusalem, and biblical history was understood as world history. The Bible was read as a historical text, and believers understood their lives to be along a time line that began with the creation of the world and would end with the apocalypse, as laid out, for example, in the last chapter of the New Testament, the Revelation of Saint John the Divine. Relevant to the medieval view of history were the teachings of Augustine (354–430). His theory of *aetates mundi* (Ages of the World) divides history into different ages, from Adam to the flood, from Noah to Abraham, from Abraham to David, from David to the Babylonian exile, and from the Babylonian exile to the birth of Jesus Christ. According to this model, the duration of the sixth age, which began with the birth of Christ, is not known; this age would be followed by the seventh age, the Sabbath, which would then be succeeded by the age of God.²¹ Speculation about the actual date of the end of the world was popular during the Middle Ages. Interpretations of the Book of Daniel, for example, led

Christians to believe in the impending end of the world; the second chapter of that book describes four kingdoms, which are followed by the heavenly kingdom. Medieval (and later) commentary on this passage equated the kingdoms with the reigns of Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans and concluded that the end of the world was near. Even if interpretations of biblical history did not result in apocalyptic visions, medieval Germans viewed time as sacred and history as the actualization of the divine message.

Medieval maps illustrated the Christian geographical interpretation of the world: the so-called T-map and other world maps, such as the *Ebstorfer Weltkarte* from the middle of the thirteenth century, placed Jerusalem at the center of the world. The physical reality of the Holy Land was proof of the veracity of the Christian faith, and pilgrimages to the Holy Land allowed believers to experience for themselves the actuality of biblical places. In all religions pilgrimages are viewed as a way to achieve holiness in one's lifetime.²² Traveling across space is seen as a religious act bringing the traveler closer to God.²³ Pilgrimages were undertaken as imposed or self-imposed penance or as an act of pure devotion. Medieval Christians went on local, regional, and long-distance pilgrimages, but the journey to the Holy Land was the dream of every pious Christian.

Whereas the steady flow of pilgrims to the Holy Land tied Germany to the Middle East in an intimate way, the connection to the area was also expressed in political terms when Germans founded a new empire in 962, with Otto I as the first emperor. This political structure signaled a twofold claim to sovereignty over the Holy Land. By 983, German emperors were addressed as Roman emperors, and in 1034, the phrase *Romanum Imperium* became officially part of the empire's title. By invoking the Roman Empire, Germans asserted the Holy Land as an integral part of the new empire's political structure. The title *Sacrum Imperium* was added in 1157 and emphasized the religious dimension of this twofold claim to sovereignty. Palestine, to use the Roman-coined term for the larger area, had been controlled by Greek and Roman rulers for many centuries: in 301 BCE the area was occupied by the Ptolemies, and a century later Hellenistic rule was continued under the Seleucids. After close to a century of Jewish autonomy under the Hasmonean dynasty, the Romans captured Jerusalem in 63 BCE. While the Hellenistic era was one of multicultural coexistence, Roman rule and increasing Christian influence destroyed the Jewish sovereignty over the area. After the partition of the Roman Empire in 395, East Roman rule continued until the Persian invasion of 614, followed by the Muslim conquest of Palestine beginning in 634. When Arab Muslim armies occupied the area, a period of more than eight hundred

years under the rule of Europe-based empires came to an end.

German emperors of the Holy Roman Empire, who aspired to carry on the legacy of the Romans, thus also laid claim to Palestine. This twofold claim to legitimate rule over the Holy Land, through Roman and Christian legacies, was actualized by way of the pilgrimages. A contingent of Germans was always present in the Holy Land, and through the pilgrimages news traveled back to Germany, relating details about the journey, the stay in Palestine, and the current living conditions in the area. Germany's relationship to the Holy Land was therefore by no means imaginary; through pilgrimages and the belief in the actuality of the Christian message, the lands of the Bible occupied a special presence in the minds of German and other European Christians.

Germans were also connected to the Middle East by way of another point of contact: the Muslim presence in Spain. After invading Spain in 711, Muslims had extended their rule to southern France. The onslaught came to a halt when Karl Martell fought the invading armies at Tours and Poitiers in 732. The following centuries saw the gradual recovery of Spanish territory by Christian armies (*reconquista*), ending with the expulsion of Muslims and Jews in 1492. News about these confrontations between Muslims and Christians traveled north, and Germans followed the events closely. Hroswith von Gandersheim's poem *Pelagius* reveals German awareness of the conflict in Spain. This text, written in around 959 in Latin hexameters, was based not on an older legend (as were most of Hroswith's comparable poems) but on an eyewitness account.²⁴ The historical event on which the story was based—the martyrdom of a young Spaniard named Pelagius, who is venerated in Spain to this day—had occurred thirty years earlier. Hroswith's text tells the story of the young man, who was claimed by the Muslim ruler Abderraham as a lover but rejected his suitor and was tortured to death. The sexualization of the conflict is Hroswith's addition; historical sources give Pelagius's refusal to convert to Islam as the reason for his cruel death.²⁵ Hroswith's *Pelagius* also shows that news traveled through personal contacts. Pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela—which, next to Jerusalem and Rome, was one of the most popular destinations for medieval pilgrims—also ensured the exchange of information between northern and southern Europe. In addition, long-distance trade brought news about Muslim areas.²⁶

The extent of this exchange of information and of pilgrims' travel is important to show that the Crusades represented not a radical break with a prior state of affairs but, rather, an intensification of it that had been developing for decades. As mentioned before, the num-

ber of pilgrims increased steadily over the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries, which has led scholars to express the shift from pilgrimage to crusade with the phrase "armed pilgrimages."²⁷ That is, the Crusades fit into a continuum of previously existing pilgrimage conventions and the German Empire's claim to sovereignty over the Holy Land. When Pope Urban II called for a crusade in 1095, the atmosphere for engaging in a military conflict abroad was ideal. European countries struggled with a series of problems. The steady increase in population until the end of the thirteenth century was leading to a population density that, after the decline beginning in the middle of the fourteenth century, was not reached again in some areas until the nineteenth century.²⁸ The eleventh century, in particular, was marked by famine and agricultural crises. Gradually, changes in the inheritance law increased the land available for agriculture, which was revolutionized by new inventions. New and larger settlements, an increase in trade volume, the growing importance of money, the development of an advanced economic infrastructure, and other factors mark the large-scale changes of the period. While the situation stabilized for the general population in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the crises of the eleventh century were significant, and a holy war provided a welcome escape from overall predicaments.²⁹ In addition, absolution from sins through participation in the Crusades was a factor that appealed to medieval Germans in fundamental ways and mobilized large numbers of them to participate in the holy wars.³⁰

In the first place, however, the church presented the call for holy war as a response to the Seljuk invasion, in which the Byzantine Empire had suffered significant defeats and which made travel to, and within, Palestine by European pilgrims more difficult. But Christian propaganda exaggerated the effects of the Seljuk presence. Sources from the period suggest that the steadily increasing number of pilgrims itself posed logistical problems in the Holy Land.³¹

The Crusades were part of a larger set of expanding movements. In the West the Spanish continued to regain territory from Muslim conquerors. Germans set out to Christianize and colonize areas in Eastern Europe. The Mediterranean Sea was the stage for continual battles between Europeans and Arabs, including Arab pirates. The Crusades brought these expansive ambitions farther south. While the Crusades were certainly a European undertaking and were not led by one specific nation, the German case demonstrates that over time individual states, as well as secular rulers and their subjects, were pursuing different courses. The First Crusade, though announced in France and led mainly by French aristo-

crats, was enthusiastically supported by German rulers and subjects alike. Accounts tell of fanaticized German masses under the leadership of charismatic popular preachers; some of these German troops never made it to Jerusalem but turned their wrath on the Jewish populations of Worms, Speier, Mainz, Trier, and other cities, murdering and plundering in the name of Christ.

How did Germans from the period articulate their ideas about the events related to, and later occurring in, the Holy Land, from the first call for a crusade in 1095 until the reign of the crusader states ended with the fall of Acre in 1291? Texts declaring the Christian claim to sovereignty over the Holy Land had been written even before 1095, such as the *Ludwigslied* (881–2). Once the Crusades began, religious propaganda literature, often composed in Latin, supported the call to arms and presented the benefits of participation in the religious wars to believers. (We should not forget that Latin is key to the connection between the Middle Ages and Rome; by using this language, Germans declared their commitment to Christian Rome and the Roman Empire.) Sermons, admonitions, and hymns called upon believers to take up arms to defend the holy sites of Christianity. The famous collection *Carmina Burana*, for example, contains a number of songs that articulate the need for unity among Christians and advertise the prospects of eternal salvation for those who join the struggle. Unfortunately, because the oral culture of the period is lost to us we will never know how preachers and other clergy related their messages to the common people. Reports about fanatical masses, however, indicate that preachers were successful at gaining recruits from among the desperate.³²

The Crusades were also promoted in epics and poems. The *Rolandslied*, an epic composed by Pfaffe Konrad around 1170, revisits the confrontation between Muslims and Christians in eighth-century Spain in order to mobilize Christian forces. In this adaptation of a French source, the *Chanson de Roland* (ca. 1100), the German emperor is called upon by God to fight the heathen, emphasizing the claim of worldly powers to lead the fight against the Muslims. *Kreuzlieder*, poems written by, for example, Friedrich von Hausen, Albrecht von Johansdorf, Heinrich von Rugge, Hartmann von Aue, and Ulrich von Lichtenstein, articulate the struggle of reconciling ideals of courtly knighthood with those of religious service. Poems by Walther von der Vogelweide continued to promote the legitimacy of the Crusades at a moment when, as we will see in the next section, the German emperor was pursuing a different course. Walther, however, criticized specific crimes committed by crusading armies, such as the sacking of Constantinople in 1203–4. He also asserted secular over religious leadership, bemoaned certain practices of the

church, and argued that the Crusades should be led by the emperor. Yet the legitimacy of the idea of a holy war remained unscathed.³³ The writing of poetry calling for a holy war against the Muslims did not subside even with the fall of the last Christian bastion in 1291; in fact, the practice resumed with renewed vigor during the confrontations with the Ottoman Empire.

The German claim to biblical lands was also formulated in texts that focused on the life of Alexander the Great, whose empire united European, North African, Middle Eastern, and Asian territories. The figure of Alexander inspired reworkings in diverse cultures and historical periods, and in a range of literary genres. Indeed, texts about Alexander played a central role in Greek, Roman, Islamic, Christian-Syrian, Ethiopian, Medieval French, Latin, German, and other literature. In each case the material was adapted to the specific context: Alexander was conceived, for instance, as a hero of Islam and as a hero of Christianity. Medieval Latin versions of Greek and Latin Alexandrian romances influenced Middle High German renditions of the story, which modernized and adapted the topic according to the ideas prevalent at the time. The various German interpretations presented Alexander as a model embodying qualities of an exemplary ruler and as the preeminent knight of medieval Europe's courtly culture. But in some narratives his hubris also served as a warning to medieval audiences. The earliest among the significant German versions of the material dates from around 1150, when the *Alexanderlied* was composed by Pfaffe Lamprecht, who renders Alexander as an impressive hero. Later adaptations of this text reflect the emerging courtly culture and emphasize the knightly qualities of the emperor. The *Alexander* by Rudolf von Ems (ca. 1230–40) renders Alexander as having been sent by God in order to punish mankind for its sins. The *Alexander* by Ulrich von Etzenbach (ca. 1280) presents Alexander as a model ruler. A late-fourteenth-century version, the *Wernigerode Alexander* (and *Großer Alexander*, which appeared at the end of the fourteenth century), depicts Alexander as both a model ruler/hero and a memento mori. In this work his adventures in the East lead him to ever more grandiose schemes, for which he is finally punished.

While the renditions of Alexander's life articulate the encounter between Europe and the Orient, the omnipresence of the material documents the cultural ties between Europe and the Middle East, including North Africa. Some of the material about Alexander's adventures was taken from the Sindbad cycle and other seafaring tales of Arab and Persian provenance that celebrate marvels of the East. Alexander was only one of several themes of antiquity that were picked up by German authors. Whereas the *Aeneid* received less at-

tion, the Trojan War and the story of King Appollo-nius of Tyre were popular themes.³⁴ This material demonstrates that long before the Renaissance, Germans saw themselves as successors to Greek and Roman heritage. These epics and legends thus play a key role in the transmission of cultural heritage from antiquity to medieval Europe.

Through the legend of Alexander the Great and other stories drawing on Greek and Roman material, medieval Germans fantasized about ruling Oriental territories. Other epics brought warring Germans into Middle Eastern areas, but in these texts the heroes returned home after their adventures, often bringing an Oriental princess with them. *König Rother* (after 1152), *Herzog Ernst* (1180), *Salman and Morolf* (1190), *Orendel* (after 1190), *König St. Oswald* (ca. 1170), and Rudolf von Ems's *Der gute Gerhart* (after 1215) document the reality of historical events in more than one way: they discuss the tension between newly arriving crusading knights and local Christians, conflicts between kings and their vassals, the question of marriage between Christians and Muslims, the role played by the Byzantine emperor, and aspects of material culture.

Chronicles also strengthened the Christian and German claim to territories in the East. These texts narrate world history from the point of view of Christian eschatology but place different emphases on sacred and secular history. Otto von Freising's universal history (*Historia de duabus civitatibus*, 1132–46), for example, chronicles (in Latin) world history from the beginning of creation to the Roman Empire, then turns to the succession of popes and emperors who carried on the tradition of the Roman Empire. Similarly, Jans Enikel's *Weltchronik* (ca. 1272–84) begins with the creation of the world and reviews historical events until the contemporary period, in this case the death of Emperor Frederick II in 1250.

Not every world history, however, began with the creation of the world. The *Kaiserchronik* (1135–55) foregrounded political genealogy from the Roman Empire to contemporary German times. Generally, the Crusades were included when the participation of specific German rulers was being recounted. Rudolf von Ems's unfinished *World Chronicle* (1250–4), one of the mostly widely read books of the Middle Ages, was commissioned by King Konrad IV, who had inherited the crown of Jerusalem through his mother, Isabella of Brienne, the daughter of King Johann of Jerusalem. Interesting in the context of this overview is the fact that Rudolf von Ems made this genealogical connection central to his work by reviewing Jewish kings and praising Konrad as king of Jerusalem. Foregrounding sovereignty over Jerusalem was a strategic move, intended to establish the

legitimacy of Konrad's embattled rule.

Most important in our context is how the Christian conception of history as salvation history ties Germans to the Holy Land. The twofold claim to sovereignty was affirmed through the connection to both biblical history and the Roman Empire and, more generally, to European presence in the area during antiquity. German Holy Roman rulers laid claim to the area from which the biblical message had emerged. It is to this line of thought that Theodor Herzl appealed when he lobbied for support to create a Jewish state in Palestine. As Europeans moved into the Holy Land and established the crusader states, Germans became increasingly critical of these developments. Their criticisms, including expressions of sympathy and admiration for Muslim culture, mark the beginning of a tradition in German culture that is compatible with Martin Buber's approach to the Middle East.

Critics voiced a number of arguments against the Crusades. Even though the main impetus for these wars had emerged in France with the First Crusade in 1096–9, German kings, noblemen, and their armies (including impoverished and poorly equipped mobs) had enthusiastically supported them. By the Second Crusade (1145–9) the German role was becoming less certain. Initially, Bernhard de Clairvaux followed the pope's plan to exclude the Germans, but ultimately he was unable to bypass the already fanaticized German masses. German preachers had succeeded in stirring spiritual unrest among ordinary people, and many impoverished and desperate Germans were ready to leave for the Holy Land. The German king Konrad III, however, was much more reserved regarding the mission. In addition, Saxon noblemen were more interested in a crusade against the Slavs, which they ultimately carried out after negotiations with the pope, thereby further advancing the German colonization and Christianization of Eastern Europe.³⁵ When the German king finally decided to lead an army of crusaders, the enterprise ended in chaos: actions of German soldiers created tensions with the Byzantine emperor, Manuel Komnenos, and the German army was defeated in its first battle with the enemy. King Konrad III fell ill by the end of 1147 and had to return to Constantinople. Finally arriving in Jerusalem in 1148, Konrad supported what Mayer calls the "unbelievably stupid decision to attempt the conquest of Damascus," an endeavor that failed thoroughly.³⁶

The next instance of German participation in the Crusades ended even more disastrously: Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa led one of the largest armies in the Third Crusade (1187–92), which, according to contemporary estimates, consisted of up to 100,000 men. But the ambitious plans came to an abrupt end when Bar-

barossa, impatiently crossing a river, drowned in Anatolia in 1190, and the German crusade fell apart. The death of the charismatic emperor was traumatic for Germans, and, together with steady defeats of the crusading armies, rising interest in colonizing Eastern Europe, and internal power struggles, disillusionment with Christian warfare rose among German secular leaders.

This opposition grew especially strong under Frederick II. Even though he had taken the oath to go on a crusade in 1215, his actual participation was delayed for a number of reasons. Frederick II was based in multicultural and multireligious Sicily, and he employed a large number of Muslim scientists in his court. It is thus not surprising that Frederick II was less than eager to join the warring armies in Palestine. In 1227 he finally left for the Middle East but then became ill and returned to Sicily. As a result, Pope Gregor IX banned the emperor. Defiantly, Frederick II decided to embark on the Fifth Crusade in 1228. To the surprise of the pope and other leaders, he fought the crusade with political means: he negotiated a peaceful handover of Jerusalem with Sultan al-Kamil. Arab historians documented the extent of the intercultural encounter. One anecdote relates that the sultan ordered the muezzins of Jerusalem to cancel the call for prayer during the Christian ruler's stay in the city. According to the historian, Frederick II complained the next morning that the muezzins had not called for prayer. The *qadi* Shams al-Din replied: "It is I who prevented them from doing so, out of respect for Your Majesty." "You should not have acted thus," the emperor said, "for if I spent this night in Jerusalem, it was above all to hear the muezzin's call in the night."³⁷

This political background and the growing realization by Germans that Muslim culture was in fact superior to European culture at the time explains why criticism of the Crusades was articulated more and more frequently.³⁸ Critical voices in Germany found articulation beginning toward the end of the twelfth century. An early example of a text in which positive Oriental figures appear is *Graf Rudolf von Arras* (ca. 1170). Here the Christian protagonist forms an alliance with Girabobe, one of the heathen leaders who reveals himself to be more noble than the Christian king. The Christian king is criticized for his abominable treatment of the civilian population, in particular his scorched-earth strategy, according to which "women and children were slaughtered like cattle."³⁹ Girabobe wins a strategic standoff and then offers peace, which the king and his knights accept after Graf Rudolf's pleading. The intercultural collaboration exemplified by Rudolf and Girabobe finds further expression in episodes that introduce additional heathen characters who are either educated in courtly culture or desired in marriage. Rudolf succeeds in win-

ning the heart of a Syrian princess, who converts to Christianity. The couple, however, faces many adverse situations; toward the end of the fragmented manuscript the words "Alas! Why was I born in such terrible times!" powerfully express the frustration of the crusading experience.⁴⁰

The most well-known critique of Christian endeavors in the Middle East is articulated in epics by Wolfram von Eschenbach. In *Parzival* (1200–10) the connection to the Crusades is implied in the adventurous voyage of Parzival's father, Gahmuret. This journey is Wolfram's addition to the French main source text. In Africa Gahmuret serves and falls in love with the black queen Belakane and fathers a child. He leaves Belakane before the child is born, supposedly because she is not baptized. The narrative, however, clearly states that Gahmuret uses this reason as an excuse to move on; after all, the story needs to continue. Years later the offspring from this relationship, a black-and-white checkered knight called Feirefiz, meets his half-brother Parzival in a joust and emerges as the better knight, in terms of both physical strength and ethical conduct. He ends up converting to Christianity, but the scene reveals that his ultimate goal is to marry Parzival's aunt Repanse. Feirefiz promises to do whatever is necessary and declares: "Brother, I believe in the God of your aunt and in her!"⁴¹ This conversion borders on heresy and proves quite clearly that Wolfram wanted his readers to consider the idea of what constitutes a noble human being: in his version it is ethical and spiritual conduct, rather than nominal heritage or formal membership in a religion, that determines the true nobility of a human being.

This message was also put forth in *Willehalm* (ca. 1215), an epic that directly addressed the question of the Crusades. Wolfram used a historical source, a *chanson de geste*, describing an encounter between Muslim and Christian armies that occurred in the south of France in the early eighth century. But, as he did in *Parzival*, he changed the message drastically: the epic is a lament of the unfortunate loss of life on both sides. The central character is Gyburc, an Arab princess whose original name was Arabel, who had fallen in love with the French knight Willehalm, left her family and her country, and converted to Christianity. The war was instigated by her Muslim family in an attempt to bring her home. In his epic Wolfram not only acknowledged the nobility of heroes on both sides, but he allowed Gyburc to utter the central message of the text: that all human beings, having been born before being baptized, were heathen at some point and are thus equal to one another. She refers to characters of the Old Testament to make the point that central figures venerated by Christians were not baptized (a point that also addresses the anti-Judaism of the Middle Ages), and, in the name of a

humanist perspective that was directly at odds with the official teachings of the church, she encourages both sides to stop fighting.⁴²

Wolfram's criticism goes farther than that of any other text transmitted to us from the period, and questions remain regarding his references to Arabic place names and his intimate knowledge of Arab culture.⁴³ Wolfram may well have had contact with some learned Muslim or Jewish scholar; although we have no documentation of such an exchange, in light of the significant traffic between north and south, it is realistic to suppose that personal contacts were at the core of Wolfram's knowledge and his unorthodox views of the Islamic world.

Next to Wolfram, other critics of the Crusades pale not only in terms of aesthetic achievement but also with regard to the extent of their critiques. Nevertheless, these texts are significant in that they indicate that Germans debated both the theory and practice of crusading. One such example is Reinmar der Alte's poetry. These poems, composed at the end of the twelfth century, differ from earlier examples of *Kreuzlieder* in that they express an ambivalent attitude toward the Crusades. Reinmar questioned the collective experience and highlighted the conflict between worldly pleasures and the joy of fighting for spiritual reward. Unlike other poets, such as Hartmann von Aue, Reinmar contested the compatibility of these different goals and clearly favored the pursuit of worldly pleasures.⁴⁴ Otto von Botenlauben expressed similar views in his poetry, written in about 1200.⁴⁵

Increasingly, the reality of the crusading experience created a gap between new recruits coming from Europe and settlers in the crusader states. We should not forget that the seven or eight Crusades were only the largest military expeditions; in the midst of these larger campaigns a steady flow of crusaders moved south. In the course of the twelfth century a rhythm was established: departing from Italian port cities, "seasonal crusaders" left for Palestine twice a year and supplied the crusader states with new troops. Because of their ignorance regarding local conditions, these regular arrivals of new crusaders and pilgrims, whose numbers increased during the thirteenth century, were a mixed blessing for the region. As documented in Muslim accounts from the period, Christians and Muslims managed to live peacefully with one another, which unsettled European Muslim and Christian travelers alike.⁴⁶ Christian settlers began to view the new arrivals from Europe with concern.

Poems by Neidhart von Reuenthal written in the first third of the thirteenth century, for example, addressed some of these topics. While the poet did not attack the

enterprise of the Crusades directly, he lamented the harsh reality of warfare and strenuous journeys, openly expressed his desire to return home to Germany, and ultimately questioned the benefits of Christian warfare.⁴⁷ Tannhäuser, in a poem from 1228–9, likewise complained about the adverse conditions of the journey—the harsh winds, high waves, unsavory meat, and molding wine—but nevertheless embraced the religious significance of the undertaking.⁴⁸ Freidank's *Akkon-Sprüche* from 1228–9 added another dimension to the reality of the crusaders' woes: he lamented not only disease, death, and the greediness of the crusaders but also the conflict between the crusading armies coming from Europe and the local Christian settlers. In Freidank's view the local settlers took advantage of the soldiers coming from overseas. He also bemoaned the way that Christians and heathen stuck together in Acre, united by the fact that they spoke the same language, namely Arabic.⁴⁹

A late medieval example of this group of texts critical of the Crusades is the epic *Reinfried von Braunschweig* (ca. 1300). Here an attempt to revive ethics of courtly culture was articulated by discussing the Crusades as having been led for the wrong reasons and fought by knights who did not display exemplary behavior; once more, the policy of scorched earth was questioned.⁵⁰ Whereas the text seems at first to have been designed to propagate the proper values necessary to lead crusades, it gradually presents possibilities of intercultural collaboration on the basis of a shared code of ethics. A Persian nobleman, for example, is not forced to convert and ends up becoming Reinfried's companion. The two friends then embark on a series of adventures in the East. In this environment of shifting perspectives the Muslim sultan is portrayed as a model preferable to the unreasonable and debauched Christian knights.⁵¹

The figure of the noble heathen, as it appeared in German literature at the end of the twelfth century, is not the result of romanticizing visions of the Middle East. Rather, it is an image that documents the political and military failures of the Crusades: the tremendous loss of life (according to some estimates, twenty-two million people died in the course of the two centuries), the growing knowledge about the superior Arab and Muslim culture, and also the fact that European settlers living in Palestine began to coexist peacefully with their Arab neighbors.⁵² Even though clerical leaders continued to call upon Christians to participate in the holy wars throughout the thirteenth century, the enthusiasm of the early phase had been lost.

IV.

By the end of the thirteenth century the situation in the Middle East had changed drastically. The crusader

states were lost, and the last Christian stronghold fell in 1291. The claim to political and religious sovereignty over Palestine, however, continued to determine the relationship between German-speaking countries and the Middle East in significant ways. Although Germans did not participate in political action in the Holy Land until the middle of the nineteenth century, the centrality of the holy sites was kept alive through pilgrimage and cultural representations, including highly popular travel reports by pilgrims and other visitors to the area.

For the next few centuries Germany's main concern regarding the Middle East was the onslaught of the Ottoman Empire. In the fourteenth century the Ottoman Empire began to advance steadily north- and northwestward into European territory, laying siege to Vienna in 1529 and 1683. The fall of Constantinople in 1453 coincided with the invention of the printing press, and some of the earliest printed materials articulate fears of the invading army. The so-called *Türkenkalender*, which admonished Christians to fight the Turks, was printed in Mainz in 1454 in the workshop of Johannes Gutenberg. Today it is considered the oldest completely preserved printed book.⁵³ The period of German-Ottoman confrontations was characterized by the continued struggle between religious and political leadership. Martin Luther's writings, such as "Vom Krieg wider die Türken" and "Heerpredigt wider den Türken" (both of which appeared in 1529), are significant here because in them he argued that the war against the Ottomans should not be led by the church but, rather, by the state. Nevertheless, the defense against the encroaching Ottoman Empire, from the late fourteenth century until the beginning of eighteenth century, was for the most part fought as a religious war. Textual material from the period, from newspapers and songs to plays by Andreas Gryphius and Daniel Casper von Lohenstein, emphasizes the religious dimension of the conflict.⁵⁴ The actual threat represented by the Ottoman Empire during this period explains the general absence of positive images; contemporary representations need to be understood in the context of direct military confrontation and the violence being experienced by the civilian population.⁵⁵

For several centuries Germans faced the Muslim enemy on their own territory and were involved in a conflict that left little room for romantic views of the East. The tradition that foregrounded cross-cultural collaboration and acceptance did not reemerge until the Enlightenment period. Only when the Ottomans were sufficiently defeated did positive attitudes toward the Orient reappear in literature, the arts, and science but also in material culture. In conjunction with the universalism and humanism of the Enlightenment movement and the call for social change in Europe, multiple chal-

lenges to established power structures, including the Christian church, affected the German image of the Middle East. The *turquerie*, or *turcomania*—an interest in Turkish food, clothing, carpets, and other products that had first begun in France—reached Prussia and Austria in the late 1760s; an interest in Persian and Arab culture emerged at about the same time. Plays, poetry, and essays by Lessing and Goethe, for example, exemplify these new trends.⁵⁶ These political, economic, and cultural developments created a new climate that facilitated the beginning of Prussian-Ottoman and Habsburg-Ottoman cooperation.

Although German powers did not militarily occupy the Middle East in the nineteenth century, they made economic and political incursions into Ottoman territory in the areas of military consultation, weapons trade, building of railways, and finance.⁵⁷ The ideological stance propelling this intervention into Middle Eastern countries was expressed in cultural material. While a range of positive and negative views appeared in the material of the period, the common theme of these representations was an underlying conviction of the superiority of German society. This notion of superiority was built upon existing ideas about Christianity and culture but also drew on new theories of presumed racial differences as well as notions of modernization and progress. It is also noteworthy that German Jews were now identified as the internal Oriental other—that is, difference was defined also along racial and no longer predominantly along religious lines.⁵⁸

An alternative view of the Middle East became visible once more around 1900. Along with a fascination with India, as pursued, for example, by the followers of theosophy and anthroposophy (and later in the writings of Hermann Hesse), a renewed interest in Middle Eastern culture emerged. Especially at the time when Martin Buber formulated his idea of the Jew as Oriental, which amounted to an appropriation and redefinition of anti-semitic prejudice, Germans and other Europeans were enthralled again with artifacts and representations of Middle Eastern cultures, in dance, fashion, poetry, film, and architecture.⁵⁹

Whether positive or negative, these images of Middle Eastern cultures and peoples need to be seen in relation to the political, religious, and economic intervention in the region. Germans actively participated in the European invasion of the Holy Land. In 1840 Austrians and Prussians supported a joint Ottoman/European military undertaking that ended the Egyptian occupation of Palestine (the French, who were initially opposed, ultimately acceded to the plan of action).⁶⁰ A fleet consisting of seventeen British, three Austrian, and one Turkish ships seized Beirut, Sidon, and Acre. Acre was

bombarded heavily and then occupied by British and Austrian troops.⁶¹ In the aftermath Germans came to Palestine in increasing numbers, as pilgrims, missionaries, and developers.⁶² They built roads, hospices, hospitals, and factories; the most reliable postal service in Palestine in the second half of the nineteenth century was provided by the Austrians.⁶³ King Frederick Wilhelm IV of Prussia quickly took action to assert a Christian-Prussian presence in the area: in 1841 the Ottomans granted him permission to establish a Protestant diocese in Jerusalem. Christian activity in the area rose in the following years. In 1847, and for the first time since the Crusades, the Catholic Church appointed a patriarch to Jerusalem. Missionaries flooded into Palestine, supported by substantial financial support from Christian countries. Pilgrimages to the Holy Land became popular again; according to some estimates, between ten thousand and twenty thousand pilgrims visited the Holy Land annually after the 1840s, including a high number of Western Europeans. Pilgrimages from German-speaking areas grew into mass events, involving up to five hundred pilgrims in specifically designed *Volkswallfahrten* (people's pilgrimages).

Of significant impact were also the activities of the Templers from Württemberg. A fundamentalist Christian sect, "their importance in the history of Palestine was enormous in spite of their limited numbers."⁶⁴ Based in Haifa, they developed trade, agriculture, and transportation.⁶⁵ In 1905 a contemporary traveler described this German presence: "Haifa is practically a German town as far as its trade, agriculture and property are concerned. Even the Russian, American and till lately, the English consuls are Germans. ... The hotels, shops and banks are German. The Roman Catholic hospital and hospice are in the hands of a German sisterhood; the sanatorium on Mount Carmel with its luxurious accommodation and extensive grounds, rendezvous of English missionaries, is conducted by Germans."⁶⁶

German ambitions in the area were also affirmed through imperial visits. Emperor Franz Joseph, who claimed the title "king of Jerusalem," a title that Habsburg emperors held until the end of their rule in 1918, visited in 1869. Emperor Wilhelm II followed in 1898, landing in Haifa "on a specially prepared landing-stage run out from the German colony there. He was thus able to announce that he had landed 'on German soil.'"⁶⁷ This renewed interest in Palestine immediately preceded and then coincided with the rise of anti-semitism and the emergence of Zionism in German countries.

V.

Thus were Theodor Herzl and Martin Buber, in their

conception of Zionism, able to draw on a thousand years of German images about and direct confrontations with Middle Eastern empires and cultures. In lobbying for a Jewish state, which included appeals to antisemitic circles, Herzl invoked a tradition that was informed by Christian religious and political claims to sovereignty, the Greek and Roman legacy, and notions of European religious, cultural, and modern superiority. The assertion that Jews had a right to return to their ancestral homeland was of course articulated but does not account for the support granted to or withheld from political Zionism. Although Herzl initially won the support of Wilhelm II, the emperor abandoned Herzl when the Ottoman sultan Abdulhamid refused to endorse the idea.⁶⁸ In light of the ambitions of other European powers and the claims of the Ottoman Empire, realpolitik won out over religious commitment and racist prejudice. This case of failed lobbying for German support of a Jewish state in Palestine highlights the importance of not only the Ottoman Empire (and later Turkey) but also the inter-European power play in understanding German attitudes toward the Middle East in the modern period. As we know, British and gradually other Christian European governments ultimately supported the goals of political Zionism. Buber, who invoked the alternative tradition, from von Eschenbach to Lessing, Goethe, Novalis, Steiner, and Hesse, could not have possibly succeeded in rallying support for his vision of Arab-Jewish collaboration, neither among gentiles nor among the acculturated European Jewry.

In closing, I would like to turn to the significance of my discussion to Edward Said's model of Orientalism. As we have seen, the Christian church and the Ottoman Empire were central in determining long-term German relations with the Middle East. Said does not deal with either of these influential forces, which are especially significant when it comes to the question of Palestine. My overview has highlighted the material reality of German involvement in the Middle East. In *Orientalism*, however, Said explicitly denies this "actual" aspect of German-Middle Eastern relations.⁶⁹ My discussion demonstrates that Germans were deeply involved in the Middle East on political, military, economic, religious, and cultural levels. This is not the place to speculate about the reasons for Said's reluctance to consider these factors, but it is time to abandon a model that does not help us to understand the persistence of cross-cultural conflict. In addition, the German example demonstrates that dominant cultural discourses and political or military action do not necessarily overlap; German rulers, such as Frederick II or Wilhelm II, repeatedly clashed with mainstream public opinion. Historical developments are complex; we should strive to grasp this complexity.

NOTES

¹Theodor Herzl, *The Jews' State*, trans. Henk Overberg (Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson, 1997), 148–9.

²Quoted in Isaiah Friedman, ed., *The Rise of Israel: Herzl's Political Activity, 1897–1904* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1987), 65.

³Martin Buber, “The Spirit of the Orient and Judaism,” in *On Judaism*, ed. Nahum N. Glatzer (New York: Schocken Books, 1972), 64–6.

⁴See Paul R. Mendes-Flohr, ed., *A Land of Two Peoples: Martin Buber on Jews and Arabs* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983).

⁵I pursue early identity politics in my discussion of Else Lasker-Schüler's literary, artistic, and performative work in the context of Oriental (German) Jewish identity. “Else Lasker-Schüler: Die Nächte Tino von Bagdads, Der Prinz von Theben,” in *Orientalismus, Kolonialismus und Moderne: Zum Bild des Orients in der deutschsprachigen Kultur um 1900* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1997), 260–345.

⁶See, for example, Gary Smith, “‘Das Jüdische versteht sich von selbst’: Walter Benjamins frühe Auseinandersetzung mit dem Judentum,” *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift* 65:2 (1991): 328.

⁷These included several contributors to the anthology *Vom Judentum: Ein Sammelbuch*, ed. Verein jüdischer Hochschüler Bar Kochba (Leipzig: Wolff, 1913), such as Hans Kohn, Jakob Wassermann, and Gustav Landauer.

⁸See Karl Kraus's 1898 essay “Eine Krone für Zion,” in *Frühe Schriften*, ed. Johannes J. Braakenburg, vol. 2 (Munich: Kösel, 1979), 293–314.

⁹Jacques Kornberg, *Theodor Herzl: From Assimilation to Zionism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993).

¹⁰See, for example, Derek J. Penslar, *Zionism and Technocracy: The Engineering of Jewish Settlement in Palestine, 1870–1918* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991).

¹¹See Alan Levenson, “Gentile Reception of Herzlian Zionism: A Reconsideration,” *Jewish History* 16 (2002): 187–211; Francis R. Nicosia, “Zionism in Anti-Semitic Thought in Imperial Germany,” *History of European Ideas* 16:4–6 (1993): 807–14.

¹²See Isaiah Friedman, “Herzl and the Uganda Controversy,” in *Theodor Herzl and the Origins of Zionism*, ed. Ritchie Robertson and Edward Timms (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 39–53.

¹³See Maurice Friedman, *Martin Buber's Life and Work*, 3 vols. (New York: Dutton, 1981–83); Paul Mendes-Flohr, *Divided Passions: Jewish Intellectuals and the Experience of Modernity* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991).

¹⁴Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 19.

¹⁵I am presently working on a book-length study that reviews these successive phases, tentatively entitled “Germany and the Middle East: A Cultural History, 900–2000.”

¹⁶Roswitha Wisniewski cites the higher number. See *Kreuzzugsdichtung: Idealität in der Wirklichkeit* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984), 51.

¹⁷Wisniewski, *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, 50–1.

¹⁸For an account of the history of Jerusalem, see F. E. Peters, *Jerusalem* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985).

¹⁹See, for example, Louis Carlen, *Wallfahrt und Recht im Abendland* (Freiburg, Switz.: Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz, 1987).

²⁰Ludwig Schmutge, “Zu den Anfängen des organisierten Pilgerverkehrs und zur Unterbringung und Verpflegung von Pilgern im Mittelalter,” in *Gastfreundschaft, Taverne und Gasthaus im Mittelalter*, ed. Hans Conrad Peyer (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1983), 37–60.

²¹Augustine develops this theory in his *City of God*, book 22, ch. 30.

²²For basic concepts regarding travel in Islam, see Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori, eds., *Muslim Travelers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination* (London: Routledge, 1990).

²³A. J. Gurevich, *Categories of Medieval Culture*, trans. G. L. Campbell (London: Routledge, 1985), 74.

²⁴“Pelagius,” *Kindlers Literaturlexikon*, vol. 5 (Zurich: Kindler, 1965), 1631.

²⁵Angel Fábrega-Grau, “Pelagius,” *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (Freiburg: Herder, 1999), vol. 8, 9–10.

²⁶David Abulafia, “The Role of Trade in Muslim-Christian Contact during the Middle Ages,” in *The Arab Influence in Medieval Europe*, ed. Dionisius A. Agius and Richard Hitchcock (Reading: Ithaca Press, 1994), 1–24.

²⁷The term goes back to Carl Erdmann's discussion of the Crusades in *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1935), 306.

²⁸Dieter Kartschoke, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im frühen Mittelalter* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1990), 202.

²⁹For a summary of economic and political factors, see Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1980), 29–30.

³⁰Medieval theologians made a difference between “the sinner's guilt before God (*culpa*) and the punishment due for the sin (*pena*). The former was addressed by contrition and confession, followed by absolution, the latter by the performance of penance. Indulgences remitted penance either in terms of time or of a certain proportion of the total due.” The difference between *culpa* and *pena*, even though defined more clearly after the Second Crusade, was often not clear to ordinary people. Diana Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1999), 15.

³¹Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 20.

³²Popular figures were, for instance, Peter the Hermit, a preacher called Gottschalk, and a figure known as Volkmar. Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 48–9.

³³Wisniewski, *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, 107–26; Walther von der Vogelweide, selected poems in Müller, *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, 83–9.

³⁴See Elisabeth Lienert, *Deutsche Antikenromane des Mittelalters* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2001).

³⁵For an overview of German expansion into Eastern

Europe, see Wolfgang Wippermann, *Der deutsche Drang nach Osten: Ideologie und Wirklichkeit eines politischen Schlagwortes* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1981).

³⁶Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 106. My translation.

³⁷Amin Maalouf, *The Crusades through Arab Eyes*, trans. Jon Rothschild (New York: Schocken Books, 1984), 229.

³⁸See also Elizabeth Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

³⁹Peter F. Ganz, ed., *Graf Rudolf* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1964), 31. My translation from Middle High German.

⁴⁰Ganz, *Graf Rudolf*, 72. My translation.

⁴¹Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1981), vol. 2, 656. My translation from Middle High German.

⁴²See Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Willehalm*, trans. and ed. Dieter Kartschoke (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1968), 168–71.

⁴³See, for example, Paul Kunitzsch, “Die Arabica im *Parzival* Wolfram von Eschenbachs,” in *Wolfram Studien II*, ed. Werner Schröder (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1974), 9–35.

⁴⁴See William E. Jackson, “Das Kreuzzugmotiv in Reinmars Lyrik,” *Germanisch-Romanische Monatschrift* 43:2 (1993): 144–66.

⁴⁵Ulrich Müller, ed., *Kreuzzugsdichtung* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1979), 60. See also Peter Weidisch, ed., *Otto von Botenlauben: Minnesänger, Kreuzfahrer, Klostergründer* (Würzburg: Schoeningh, 1994).

⁴⁶Ibn Jubayr, a Muslim pilgrim from Andalusia who traveled through Palestine in 1184–5, expressed his amazement at observing peaceful Christian-Muslim coexistence. R. J. C. Broadhurst, ed., *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr* (London: J. Cape, 1952), 313–25.

⁴⁷Neidhart von Reuenthal, “Ez gruonet wol diu heide” and “Komen sint uns die lichten tage lange,” in Müller, *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, 96–100.

⁴⁸Tannhäuser, “Wol ime, der nu beizen sol,” in Müller, *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, 100–2.

⁴⁹Freidank, “Akkon-Sprüche,” in Müller, *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, 102–9.

⁵⁰“Reinfried von Braunschweig,” in Müller, *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, 122.

⁵¹This material was drawn upon repeatedly over the next three centuries. For references regarding adaptations, see Karin Cieslik, “Orientabenteuerepik,” in *Dichtung des europäischen Mittelalters: Ein Führer durch die erzählende Literatur*, ed. Rolf Bräuer (Munich: Beck, 1990), 310.

⁵²Hans Wollschläger, *Die bewaffneten Wallfahrten gen Jerusalem: Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Zurich: Diognes, 1973), 224.

⁵³The original print is kept at the Bavarian State Library. For a facsimile edition, see Ferdinand Geldner, ed., *Der Türkenkalender: “eyn manung der cristenbeit widder die durken,” Mainz 1454* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1975).

⁵⁴See broadsheets and newspapers in Carl Göllner, *Turcica: Die europäischen Türkendrucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1961–8); Senol Özyurt, *Die Türkenlieder und das Türkenbild in der deutschen Volksüberlieferung vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Fink, 1972).

⁵⁵The expeditions of the Ottoman army were usually pre-

ceded by unsalaried soldiers who lived by plundering and selling captives into slavery. The images expressing fear of the invading army, as documented in newspapers and popular literature from the era, were based to a large degree on the encounters with these troops. Bertrand Michael Buchmann, *Österreich und das Osmanische Reich: Eine bilaterale Geschichte* (Vienna: WUV-Universitätsverlag, 1999), 82–6.

⁵⁶W. Daniel Wilson discusses the shift in attitudes toward the Muslim world in *Humanität und Kreuzzugsideologie um 1780. Die “Türkenoper” im 18. Jahrhundert und das Rettungsmotiv in Wielands “Oberon,” Lessings “Nathan” und Goethes “Iphigenie”* (New York: Peter Lang, 1984).

⁵⁷See, for example, Lothar Rathmann, *Berlin-Bagdad: Die imperialistische Nahostpolitik des kaiserlichen Deutschlands* (Berlin: Dietz, 1962); Armin Kössler, *Aktionsfeld Osmanisches Reich: Die Wirtschaftsinteressen des Deutschen Kaiserreiches in der Türkei 1871–1908* (New York: Arno, 1981).

⁵⁸Jonathan M. Hess traces these changes back to the Enlightenment. See *Germans, Jews, and the Claims of Modernity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

⁵⁹See my discussion of cultural trends that romanticized the East in the period before World War I, in *Orientalismus, Kolonialismus und Moderne*, especially 187–92, 277–9, 337–9.

⁶⁰Buchmann, *Österreich und das Osmanische Reich*, 201–2.

⁶¹Bernhard A. Böhler, ed., *Mit Szepter und Pilgerstab* (Vienna: Österreichischer Wirtschaftsverlag, 2000), 16.

⁶²On the works of missionaries, development of infrastructure, and scholars and travelers in the area, see contributions in Böhler, *Mit Szepter und Pilgerstab*.

⁶³Andreas Patera, “Die österreichischen Postämer im Heiligen Land,” in Böhler, *Mit Szepter und Pilgerstab*, 245–66.

⁶⁴Nathan Schur, *Twenty Centuries of Christian Pilgrimage to the Holy Land* (Tel Aviv: Dvir Publishing House, 1992), 192.

⁶⁵For a detailed study, see Alex Carmel, *Die Siedlungen der württembergischen Templer in Palästina 1868–1918*, trans. Perez Leshem (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1973). Whereas the study is informative and comprehensive in its account of the Templars, it does not question the legitimacy of their colonialist activities but rather celebrates these efforts.

⁶⁶A. Goodrich-Freer, *In a Syrian Saddle* (London, 1905), 247–9. Quoted in Schur, *Twenty Centuries of Christian Pilgrimage to the Holy Land*, 193.

⁶⁷Estelle Blyth, daughter of the Anglican bishop in Jerusalem, *When We Lived in Jerusalem* (London, 1927), 115–22. Quoted in Schur, *Twenty Centuries of Christian Pilgrimage to the Holy Land*, 197.

⁶⁸John C. G. Röhl, “Herzl and Kaiser Wilhelm II: A German Protectorate in Palestine?” in Robertson and Timms, *Theodor Herzl and the Origins of Zionism*, 27–38. For a comprehensive account, see Isaiah Friedman, *Germany, Turkey, and Zionism, 1897–1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977).

⁶⁹Said, *Orientalism*, 19.