



UNIVERSITY OF
LEICESTER

**Contemporary Representations of the Third Crusade in British and
American Texts**

Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Leicester

by

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University of Leicester

2017

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Abstract

This thesis examines six contemporary British and American historical works of the Third Crusade. These works consist of four novels, a play and a film. They are Tariq Ali's *The Book of Saladin* (1998), Stewart Binns's *Lionheart* (2013), Richard Warren Field's *The Swords of Faith* (2010), Kamran Pasha's *Shadow of the Swords* (2010), David Eldridge's *Holy Warriors: A Fantasia on the Third Crusade and History of Violent Struggle in the Holy Lands* (2014) and Ridley Scott's *Kingdom of Heaven* (2005). The aim of this thesis is to explore depictions of the current relationships between Islam and the West, particularly with regard to contemporary Western political and military interventionism in Muslim-majority countries and the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian issue. Making use of postcolonial approaches, it investigates the influence of Samuel Huntington's thesis of the "Clash of Civilizations" (1993) and Western media representations of Muslims on contemporary historical fiction, drama and film. The thesis also interrogates the extent to which these works promote or discourage Western military action as a solution to defeat terrorism. It, in addition, explores these works' engagement with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in light of the ongoing debates about the one-state and two-state settlements. The thesis consists of an introduction, three chapters and a conclusion. Chapter One examines two biographical novels of the Third Crusade *The Book of Saladin* by the Pakistani-British author Tariq Ali and *Lionheart* by the British author Stewart Binns. Chapter Two examines two post-9/11 historical novels of the Third Crusade *The Swords of Faith* by the American author Richard Warren Field and *Shadow of the Swords* by the Pakistani-American author Kamran Pasha. Chapter Three investigates representations of the Third Crusade in drama and film. It examines *Holy Warriors: A Fantasia on the Third Crusade and History of Violent Struggle in the Holy Lands* by the British playwright David Eldridge and *Kingdom of Heaven* by the British film director and producer Ridley Scott.

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Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to my two supervisors Dr. Corinne Fowler and Dr. Alberto Fernandez Carbajal for their insightful guidance, encouragement and patience throughout the period of writing my thesis. Their well-informed scholarship, clear vision and thoughtful discussions enabled me to produce this project in its current shape. Also, I am grateful to the administration of Middle East University/ Jordan for funding this project by granting me a generous scholarship to pursue my studies in the UK.

I am deeply grateful to my family for their interest, love and encouragement. Special and warm thanks go to my father and mother for believing in me and for providing me with love and care. I am also grateful to my friends, Ali and Sarah for treating me like family since I arrived in the UK. Many thanks also to all my friends for their support.

I am thankful to the University of Leicester for the friendly academic atmosphere it created for us and for the excellent academic services provided at the David Wilson Library. I want to express my thanks to the Shakespeare's Globe, London for allowing me to use their archive material for my research. Also I want to thank the Islamic Foundation, Leicestershire for providing me with an access to their library sources.

I am appreciative to playwright David Eldridge who teaches at Birkbeck, University of London for kindly agreeing to an interview about his play *Holy Warriors: A Fantasia on the Third Crusade and History of Violent Struggle in the Holy Lands* (2014), which has been examined in this thesis.

Finally, I want to add that a shorter version of Chapter Two on Richard Warren Field's *The Swords of Faith* (2010), was published in *International Journal of Arts and Sciences* in 2015 as: Yousef, Nisreen. "Richard Warren Field's *The Swords of Faith*: A Historical Analogy Between the Third Crusade and 9/11". *International Journal of Arts and Sciences*. 8.8 (2015): 273-281. Print.

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Thesis Introduction

“The invention of the crusades began in 1095: it has not ended yet” (Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* 126).

This thesis explores representations of the Third Crusade in contemporary British and American historical fiction, drama and film. It aims to examine the current relationships between Islam and the West. For my study I have chosen four novels, one play and one film. They are *The Book of Saladin* (1998) by the Pakistani-British author Tariq Ali, *Lionheart* (2013) by the British author Stewart Binns, *The Swords of Faith* (2010) by the American author Richard Warren Field, *Shadow of the Swords* (2010) by the Pakistani-American author Kamran Pasha (2010), *Holy Warriors: A Fantasia on the Third Crusade and the History of Violent Struggle in the Holy Lands* (2014) by the British dramatist David Eldridge and *Kingdom of Heaven* (2005) by the British film director and producer, Ridley Scott. The primary works I have selected for my project have not received much scholarly critical examination and thereby are still in need of adequate study and further evaluation. By means of examining these texts and drawing upon postcolonial theoretical approaches, my thesis aims to fill a gap in this area of critical investigation and to contribute to the increasing debate on literary depictions of the affairs between the Islamic world and the West. In writing this thesis, I have researched a large archive of material, including books, articles, news reports, reviews and interviews.¹ I have also

¹ In this thesis, I have made use of medieval chronicles written by Arab and Muslim as well as non-Muslim historians. These are: Beha Ed-Din’s *The Life of Saladin*, Ibn Al-Athir’s *Al-Kamil Fil-tarikh* (2007), Imad al-Din’s *al-Barq al-Shami*, on the one hand, and William of Tyre’s *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea* (1976) and Richard Devize’s *The Chronicles of Richard Devizes of the Time of King Richard the First* (1963), on the other hand. In addition to the primary medieval sources that were written from the perspectives of people who witnessed episodes of the Crusades, I have relied on scholarly studies conducted by a number of contemporary academics and researchers, especially those which provided background material for the works selected for study in this thesis. These are Jonathan Phillips’ *Holy Warriors: A Modern History of the Crusades* (2010), Thomas Asbridge’s *The Crusades: The War for the Holy Land* (2010), James Reston’s *Warriors of God: Richard the Lionheart and Saladin in the Third Crusade* (2001), Amin Maalouf’s *The Crusades Through Arab Eyes* (1984), Sir Hamilton Gibb’s *The Life of Saladin* (1973), Terry Jones’ and Alan Ereira’s *Crusades* (1996) and Joshua Prawer’s *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (1972), *Crusader Institutions* (1980)

conducted an interview with the playwright, David Eldridge, whose play has been selected for this study (Please see Appendix A).

It is worth giving at the outset of this investigation a general definition and a brief survey of the Crusades as a way of introducing the discussion in the following chapters of this thesis. I will include two definitions of the term “Crusades” by recognized contemporary historians in an attempt to reflect the controversy of the concept. In his book *The Crusades, Christianity, and Islam* (2008), Jonathan Riley-Smith defines the “Crusades” as “penitential war pilgrimages, fought not only in the Levant and throughout the eastern Mediterranean region, but also along the Baltic shoreline, in North Africa, the Iberian Peninsula, Poland, Hungary and the Balkans, and even within Western Europe. They were proclaimed not only against Muslims, but also against Wends, Balts, and Lithuanians, shamanist Mongols, Orthodox Russians and Greeks, Cathar and Hussite heretics, and those Catholics whom the church deemed to be its enemies” (9). Nevertheless, Christopher Tyerman in *The Invention of the Crusades* (1998) provides a complex definition of the concept. For Tyerman, “Crusading was political and social, a military activity in which internal spirituality matched external ambition. It expressed communal as well as individual attitudes to fundamental practical and ideological issues: faith; self-esteem; religious and social control; honour; pride; material and spiritual greed; the self-image of civilization” (1). According to Tyerman, the Crusades did not have a fixed meaning or definition. The Crusades were “invented” to achieve religious, political, economic and social motivations in Europe (4-5).² Hence, while Riley-Smith’s definition connotes a religious meaning, Tyerman’s definition implies social, religious, political and economic dimensions. In this project, I examine the artists’ attempts to depict the controversy of the term “Crusade” and the ideological and political ends connected to such efforts. For instance, in Chapter Two, Field and Pasha endeavour to

and *The History of the Jews in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (1988). A number of other works have been also checked and consulted, especially with regard to the lives of Saladin and Richard. These works include Stanley Lan-Poole’s *Saladin and the Fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (1898), Geoffrey Regan’s *Lionhearts: Richard I, Saladin, and the Era of the Third Crusade* (1988) Geoffrey Hindley’s *Saladin: Hero of Islam* (1976) and Usama ibn Munqidh’s *The Book of Contemplation: Islam and the Crusades* (2008). It was essential to consult such references before and during writing the chapters.

² By economic he means the expansion of European territories and markets and by social he means: “The development of the cult of chivalry and a code of aristocratic self-esteem and honour” (Tyerman 5).

undermine views that the Crusades were religious wars fought to protect Christians and Christianity. Instead, they try to present them as imperialist campaigns that aim to achieve political and economic goals while religion is used as a cover to legitimize the use of force.

In his book *The Crusades: A Very Short Introduction* (2005), Tyerman points out that the number of the Crusades to the East is controversial; while some historians count five Crusades, other argue that there were eight. Nevertheless, he mentions five Crusades, starting in 1095. As he points out, the First Crusade was fought between 1095-1099. It was declared by Pope Urban II as a defensive war as well as a promotion for Christianity in the Eastern Mediterranean. As a consequence of this campaign, four Christian principalities were established. They were the principality of Antioch (1098-1268), the Kingdom of Jerusalem (1099-1291), the county of Edessa (1098-1144) and the County of Tripoli (1102-1289). These were referred to as the “Outremer”. In 1144, Muslims captured Edessa. In reaction, Pope Eugenius II ordered a new Crusade, which started in 1145 and ended in 1149 (16-26). In 1187, Saladin fought the Battle of Hattin, capturing Jerusalem from the Crusaders, which provoked a strong response from the West (26-30). King Philip of France (1180-1223) and King Richard of England (1157-99) decided to launch their Crusade (the Third Crusade) to the Holy Land (30-36). These three Crusades were followed by the Fourth (1198-1204) and the Fifth Crusades (1213-1229) (36-39). As Tyerman points out, there were also Crusades in the West against heretics and Christians in Spain and the Baltic (43-51).

According to Peter Lock, the term “Crusade” is not a medieval but rather a modern concept. It was used no earlier than 1638 (289). As Giles Constable points out, the word “Crusade” was not deployed to refer to what is known as “Crusaders”. They were referred to as pilgrims, Christians, penitents, athletes of God and later friends, followers and servants of God and Christ. Only by the end of the twelfth century did the cross become a distinctive sign for the Crusaders that set them apart from pilgrims (18). In my discussion of literary depictions and historical narratives of the Crusades, I also use two concepts as they have been deployed often in the literary as well as the historical works used in this thesis. These two terms are “Saracens” and “Franj”. For *Medieval*

Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia (2004), Saracen is a term that appeared in the late medieval period in European fiction to refer to the practitioners of Islam. The word is the modern equivalent to Mohammedan and fulfils a propagandist function as it categorises Muslims as the enemy of the Crusaders (243). In his book *The Crusades Through Arab Eyes* (1984), Amin Maalouf defines “Franj” as “a word which is used in colloquial Arabic even today to designate Westerners, and the French in particular” (“Foreword”).

Exploring uses of the metaphor of the “Crusade”, Brian Steed observes: “The idea of Europeans imposing their own will on the Middle East is consistently characterized as crusader like. The imagery and rhetoric used emphasized these ancient conflicts as a way of encouraging local inhabitants to recall the mythology and history of the suffering inflicted on Islam by the crusaders” (96). Osama bin Laden’s statement following the 9/11 attacks in 2001 is a case in point. In a declaration that was broadcast on Al-Jazeera satellite television channel on Saturday, November 3, 2001, entitled “Bin Laden rails against Crusaders and UN”, bin Laden provided his own justification of the 9/11 attacks. For him, what he describes as “a long series of Crusade wars against the Islamic world” and the Western presence in Arab and Islamic countries was what provoked the assaults. In addition, Goutham Kandru observes that since its emergence, the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) in 2014 has frequently deployed the rhetoric of the “Crusade” to refer to the West, including the politicians and the people, and to describe its actions.³ Thomas Asbridge notes in his book *The Crusades: The War for the Holy Land* (2010) that the Crusade analogy has been used to present the West as a colonial power as well as to reinforce the idea of ‘Crusader-Zionist’ alliance against Islam (676). By the same token, David Ohana argues that historical analogy between the Crusaders of the Middle Ages and contemporary “Zionist colonialism” has been encouraged by Arab scholars, writers and politicians “to prove that Israel is a Western colonialist entity in the Eastern Arab

³ Patrick Cockburn defines the Islamic state of Iraq and the Levant as follows: “Jihadi fighters combined religious fanaticism and military expertise to win spectacular and unexpected victories against Iraqi, Syrian, and Kurdish forces. ISIS came to dominate the Sunni opposition to the government in Iraq and Syria as it spread everywhere from Iraq’s border with Iran to Iraqi Kurdistan and the outskirts of Aleppo, the largest city in Syria” (ix). June 10, 2014, marked the rise of ISIS. It captured Mosul in Iraq (x). The new state declared that it established a caliphate, led by Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi (xi).

area”. He observes that the metaphor has also found resonance among Israeli scholars themselves. In his book *The Crusades, Christianity, and Islam* (2008), Jonathan Riley-Smith argues that the establishment of Israel has led to thorough scholarly works dealing with the Crusades. For him, while the Crusades and Zionism were unfavorably compared, they are being depicted in more positive light now (4). He provides Ronnie Ellenblum’s study as an example. Ellenblum argues that reviewing the Crusades has become part of the Holy Land’s history, and by extension, of Israeli history. He maintains that the study of the Crusades has shifted from focusing on the agonies of Jews to “a Zionist reading of the Crusades, focusing on seeing them as an inverse prefiguration of the future Zionism movement”. According to Ellenblum, the Zionist movement has to learn from the Crusading experience and avoid its flaws (60-61). Put another way, the metaphor of the Crusade has been deployed by Arabs and Muslims to describe the Western/ Zionist presence in Arab and Islamic countries. On the other hand, it has been used by Israeli intellectuals to create historical analogies between the medieval campaigns and contemporary Zionist movement so as to learn lessons from the past experience in the Middle East. Ultimately, the term expresses problematic relationships between Islam and the West.

The metaphor of the “Crusade” has also been used to refer to the West’s response to terrorism. In the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, American President, George W. Bush used the allegory of the “Crusade” in his remarks on September 16: “This crusade, this war on terrorism is going to take a while. And the American people must be patient. I’m going to be patient”. As Jonathan Phillips argues, Bush’s use of the “Crusade” metaphor was used by Osama bin Laden to create parallels between the medieval Crusades and Bush’s contemporary “War on Terror” (312). With the rise of the Islamic State of Syria and Iraq, the term “Crusade” has been deployed to describe the West’s reaction to the terrorist activities conducted by the network. For instance, in Andrew Sharp’s book: *The Rise of ISIS: The West’s New Crusade* (2014), the metaphor of the Crusade is deployed to describe the West’s military act against ISIS. Moreover, in a speech, Pope Francis, the current Pope of the Roman Catholic Church, has called for ending violence inflicted on the people of the Middle East by ISIS. Although the Pope has not mentioned the use of force as a means of defeating terrorism, his request for establishing peace was mistakenly

deemed in some media articles as a call for a new Crusade against Islam. An article entitled, “The Fifth Crusade? - Pope Francis Calls For Armed Christian Crusades Against Islam”, is an example of media misinterpretation of the Pope’s speech. Since the Crusades have been widely conceived as an historical analogy for current affairs between Islam and the West, literary use of the metaphor is worth exploring and careful scrutinizing.

It has been argued that although set in the past, one of historical literature’s objectives is to reflect critically on the present. Avrom Fleishman argues that historical novels are able to approach life’s challenges by revisiting an earlier historical epoch (15). Similarly, Jonathan Stubbs argues that: “Historical films represent the past, but they also represent the present in which they were produced”. For him, filmmakers address the past with contemporary beliefs (45). In other words, historical literature is not meant to dwell on the past as much as to cast light on the present. Discussing the qualities of historical fiction, Georg Lukács argues: “The purpose of revisiting of the past is to enable fictional characters to cast a new light on the complexities of modern life at a fictional and temporal remove from the present” (38). Praising Sir Walter Scott’s historical novel of the Third Crusade *The Talisman* (1825), Lukács writes that Scott: “discloses the actual conditions and crises of contemporary life by means of the historical crises he represents” (38). Moreover, highlighting the significance of history as a means of comprehending and developing the present, Scott writes: “Our eye is enabled to look back on the past to improve on our ancestors’ improvements and avoid their errors. This can only be done by studying history and comparing it with passing events” (qtd.in McMaster 130). Hence, historical fiction can provide explanations of present dilemmas in ways that make them easier to comprehend. Similarly, discussing the deployment of history in political theatre, Bertolt Brecht argues that while events appear in political theatre as if they are historical, they are meant to create a sense of awareness about the present in its viewers’ minds. Brecht points out that such events incite the spectators to think about a proper reaction if they were put in the same circumstances (7, 8). According to these critics, historical fiction, drama and film are often written with the objective of commenting on the present. Taking these critics’ arguments about the characteristics and advantages of historical

fiction, drama and film into account, I have chosen works of the past in order to discuss the current affairs between Islam and the West.

Based on my research of the historical archive of the Crusades, the Third Crusade (1189-1192) is never discussed in isolation from Saladin's capture of Jerusalem (1187). This is also clearly reflected in the literary works' depictions of this historical episode. All the literary works I have examined in this thesis present Saladin's retaking of Jerusalem and Richard's ensuing Crusade as interconnected events. Thus, by examining representations of the Third Crusade, I refer to Saladin's taking of Jerusalem as well as Richard's Crusade to the Holy Land. The reasons why literary portrayals of the Third Crusade and not any other Crusade is the chief focus of this thesis is that contemporary literary works on the Third Crusade are prolific compared to works on the other Crusades. Historically speaking, Reston observes that the Third Crusade was the most remarkable Crusade as it marked the largest military action during the Middle Ages (xiii). Furthermore, the Third Crusade seems appealing to me as it ends with a peace truce between Richard and Saladin. The general admiration that the two legendary heroes of the Third Crusade, Richard the Lionheart and Saladin have received also prompted me to frame my project within the Third Crusade rather than any other Crusade. In this thesis, I argue that the artists deploy historical fiction, drama, or film of the Third Crusade to reflect on the present. While examining representations of the Third Crusade in the selected works, I draw on the concept of "historical analogy". The thesis argues, in an attempt to reflect on the relationship between Islam and the West, Ali, Binns, Field, Pasha and Scott create historical analogies between the Third Crusade on one hand and the ongoing "War on Terror" and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict on the other hand. It maintains, for the same end, Eldridge establishes direct historical parallels between the Third Crusade, modern European Imperialism in the Middle East, the contemporary war against terrorism and the Israeli-Palestinian issue. In this regard, it becomes crucial to reflect on the term "historical analogy" both as a political and a literary device. As Lenore Bell points out, historical analogy is "a powerful political device and arguably a powerful literary device" (11). Commenting on the use of historical analogy in the political sphere, Richard Jackson argues that creating similarities between the past and the present events is a common practice among politicians. By establishing historical parallels, they try to

make “current events understandable” (40). For Michael Confino, writers do not use “historical analogy” as a rhetorical literary device to substantiate historical evidence. Rather, they use it as a means of “illustration and characterization” of perceived conclusions (262). Taking these views into account, representations of the Third Crusade are investigated with the objective of exploring the ideological and political ends of each artist and their stances on the ongoing “War on Terror” and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The thesis is not concerned with how faithful the artists are to the historical record. Rather, it investigates the way the authors, the dramatist and the director use history in order to put forward their views of the past and the present. One way of exploring the ultimate ideological implications of the artists is to examine how they use or manipulate the historical record. It is equally useful to interrogate the reasons why they draw on specific sources rather than the others.

Drawing upon an in-depth-study of historical fiction, Jerome de Groot argues that a main function of the historical novel is to “challenge history”. For him, “the historical novel fundamentally challenges subjectivities, offering multiple identities and historical story lines. Far from being a rigid, ordering structure, history seems to provide a set of potentialities and possibilities” (139). As De Groot points out, historical fiction can serve as a postcolonial tool as it aims “to concentrate on and respond to the cultural, political and social legacies and mechanism of empire and colony” (159). This particular function of historical fiction is manifested in the first half of Chapter One, in which Ali re-narrates the history of the colonized in an attempt to defy Eurocentric narratives inherited from the colonial past. Furthermore, while Muslim women are absent from the historical record, both Ali and Pasha construct an alternative fictional history of Arab and Muslim women in order to deconstruct colonial narratives of Islamic history and challenge contemporary media and the political discourse that women in Muslim-majority countries are in need of emancipation.

In his speech at the Labour Party Conference after the 9/11 attacks in October 2001, British Prime Minister Tony Blair indicated that the assaults were a “turning point” in history: “In retrospect, the Millennium marked only a moment in time. It was the events of September 11 that marked a turning point in history, where we confront the

dangers of the future and assess the choices facing humankind. It was a tragedy. An act of evil” (part one). Christiana Kock and Lisa Villadsen argue that Blair used the discourse of the “turning point” in order to justify his involvement in the Middle East. For them, he constructed the 9/11 attacks an “exceptional” threat that required an “exceptional” reaction (187). Rosemary Hollis contends that 9/11 actually marked a “turning point” in the British foreign policy in the Middle East. For Hollis, the Middle East was not a priority on Britain’s agenda. Nevertheless, following the 9/11 attacks and the ensuing “War on Terror”, it became one of Britain’s main focuses. She maintains, “Britain’s decision to take part in the “War on Terror” was “a bitter epilogue to Britain’s imperial moment in the Middle East” (1). In this regard, Martin Halliwell and Catherine Morley argue, Blair’s description of the 9/11 attacks as a “turning point in history” is reductive as it undermines the wider historical context in which these incidents took place. They maintain that the excessive media coverage of this episode “overlooked the broader historical patterns that inform and help to explain the contours of the early 21st century” (Introduction 3). In view of Halliwell and Morley’s argument, examining the current affairs between Islam and the West by means of revisiting the Third Crusade enables us to explore these relationships in light of similar historical patterns, going beyond views that the 9/11 attacks presented a break from distant as well as from more recent history. In addition, as I pointed out earlier, five out of the six primary works in my study were published in the context of the “War on Terror” following the 9/11 attacks and only Ali’s *The Book of Saladin* (1998) predated these incidents. One aim of choosing Ali’s novel is to avoid the artificial division between the 9/11 attacks and the wider historical context that preceded them.

In her study “The Crusades Project”, Leila Norako observes that the Crusades have often been dealt with in literary works since the medieval times.⁴ In a study of crusade-related literature of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Elizabeth Siberry observes that the Crusades were a source of imagery for nineteenth-century literature and points out that there was prolific literary production of the crusades during

⁴ In this study, Norako surveys literary works on the Crusades starting from the medieval times and ending with the twenty-first century.

this period. She mentions Sir Walter Scott as the most influential nineteenth-century author, who deployed the theme of the Crusades in literary productions (112). Scott's novels of the Crusades, including *Ivanhoe* (1820), *Betrothed* (1820) and *The Talisman* (1825), have become synonymous both with the Crusades as a literary motif and with the historical novel as a literary genre for they set the scene for following writers to draw upon them in writing their fictional works. Based on my reading of the novel, *The Talisman* presents an encounter between the East and the West during the Third Crusade. Scott's novel presents ambivalent depictions of Muslims that deviate from standard patterns of earlier centuries' representations. In contrast with previous depictions, Scott's novel attributes to Muslims some moral and spiritual qualities such as generosity, bravery and kindness to animals (Saracens) even though it sometimes portrays them as prone to violence. Scott portrays a sympathetic picture of Saladin's character. Saladin appears in Scott's novel as just, tolerant and wise. In so doing, Scott defies nineteenth-century associations of brutality and intolerance with the Islamic East and instead offers new images of it. Ultimately, Scott presents the relationship between the Islamic world and the West as a significant form of cultural interaction whereby the East and the West are seen not merely as two opposites but as two complementary sides. With the 9/11 attacks in 2001, there has been a burgeoning interest in reexamining the Crusades as a historical episode as well as an increasing production of literary works that deal with the Crusades. Jonathan Phillips observes that after the 9/11 attacks, the history of the Crusades has been brought to the centre stage (336). In the literary sphere, Norako observes that following the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, a number of literary productions of the Crusades were published. Nevertheless, based on my research, I contend that most of contemporary literary works of the Crusades have not received critical attention.⁵ Not much, for instance, has been written on the primary works selected for my research.

The treatment of the Crusades in literature has been studied in various ways and for different objectives. In a thesis entitled "Remembering the First Crusade: Latin Narrative Histories 1099-C. 1300" (2011), Barbara Packard explores the notions

⁵ To give some instances of these literary works, Margret Brazear's *The Crusader's Widow* (2014), Seth I. Friedman's *The Pilgrim* (2012), Sharon Penman's *Lionheart* (2011), Cecelia Holland's *The King's Witch* (2011), Angus Donald's *Holy Warrior* (2010) and Sarah Bryant's *Sand Daughter* (2006).

narratives of the Crusades meant to convey during the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. She also investigates the social, religious, intellectual and political circumstances that influenced these narratives and why contemporaries still rely on medieval accounts of the Crusades. In a chapter entitled “Remembering the First Crusade C. 1135-1200”, Packard examines the influence of the First Crusade on medieval literature. She argues, the Crusading movement had an impact on literary productions during the era. For her, the expressions that were used in the historical narratives of the First Crusade found resonance in literary works. Packard maintains, militant themes such as heroism, piety and martyrdom swept literary works of the period (92-93). Niall Christie’s thesis “Levantine Attitudes Towards the Franks During the early Crusades (490/1096-569/1169)” (1999), explores the changing attitudes of the Levantine towards the Crusaders between the First and the Second Crusades. Drawing upon historical, geographical and judicial texts from the area as well as local literary works, Christie argues that the First Crusade urged Muslims to know about the Franks. For him, this encounter between Muslims and the Crusaders resulted in fear and hostility against the Crusaders. Nevertheless, these attitudes towards the Crusaders became less intense as Muslims realized that the Crusaders did not have to be their internal enemy. Christie, however, maintains that themes of jihad to get rid of the Crusaders were never forsaken by Muslims (273-274). Another study entitled “*The English Novel Set in the Arab World: A Cultural Perspective*” (2002) by Mahmoud Alshetawi examines the way Sir Walter Scott’s *The Talisman* depicts the relationships between the Islamic Orient and Europe. In this article, Alshetawi argues that in *The Talisman*, Scott shows an acceptance of the “Other”. He maintains, despite the many anti-Islamic insights that appear in the novel, Scott brings to light the spiritual superiority of the Islamic East over its Western counterpart. Another study has been conducted by Edward Moss. In his PhD thesis, which is entitled “The Poetics of Alterity: Representations of the Orient in Insular and Related Literature 1066-1453” (2003), Moss deploys postcolonial approaches to investigate the influence of the Crusading project on late medieval literature. Drawing upon medieval literary works, he contends that colonial discourse was not established in the nineteenth century as Edward Said argues in *Orientalism* (1978). Rather, it was established in the medieval times, particularly with the Crusading project. (2). For Moss,

the Crusading Movement drew on the discourse of the “Other”; the discourse of “fear and unfamiliarity” was crucial to justifying the Crusading mission (115). In addition, in her book *Narrating the Crusades: Loss and Recovery in Medieval and Early Modern English Literature* (2014), Lee Manion investigates the impact of the crusading romance on medieval England. By using historians’ recent accounts of the different forms the Crusading mission can take and by investigating the different “political and cultural concerns about the crusading practices themselves over time”, she redefines the “crusading romance” genre (7). As Lee points out in order to redefine the genre, she identifies the main characteristics of the Crusade discourse (8).

My project expands on previous studies of the Crusades. However, it is different from earlier works as it examines representations of the Crusades with the objective of exploring depictions of the current state of affairs between the Islamic world and the West. Unlike earlier studies of the Crusades, my study is primarily focused on the Third Crusade and examines both British and American historical texts. In addition, my work includes a variety of different genres, fiction, drama and film, thus offering a somewhat comprehensive and a new treatment of the subject. This project is also distinct from previous studies as it partially examines literary representations of the role and the position of Arab and Muslim women in the wider context of the Third Crusade with the objective of interrogating these works’ attempts to reemphasise or challenge current political discourse that Arab and Muslim women are in need of emancipation. By examining authors’ different politics of location and the various ideological underpinnings of the work, my thesis will offer unusual complexity in the exploration of the relationships between Islam and the West evidenced in the disparate chosen portrayals of the Third Crusade.

In writing my thesis, I have drawn upon ongoing related political theories and debates and postcolonial critical approaches to provide a wider basis for the discussion. In an attempt to examine and reflect on the relations between Islam and the West, Samuel Huntington proposed his theory of “The Clash of Civilizations” in a lecture in 1992. The theory was subsequently published in 1993 in the form of an article entitled “The Clash of Civilizations?”. Later on, the article was developed into a book entitled *The Clash of*

Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order (1996). In the article, Huntington argues that following the Cold War, major conflicts will take place between nations and groups belonging to different cultures and religions. For him, “The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics. The fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future” (22). According to Huntington, the relationship between Islam and the West has been problematic since the Middle Ages: “Conflict along the fault line between Western and Islamic civilizations has been going on for 1,300 years. After the founding of Islam, the Arab and the Moorish surge west and north only ended at Tours in 732. From the eleventh to the thirteenth century the Crusaders attempted with temporary success to bring Christianity and Christian rule to the Holy Land” (31). In *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, Huntington maintains that the major conflict in the world following the Cold War will be between “the West and the rest” (183).

The expression, “The Clash of Civilization” was first used by Bernard Lewis in his article “The Roots of Muslim Rage” (1990). In this article, Lewis describes the relationship between Islam and the West as a kind of rivalry that stretches back to the medieval times. For him this long-lasting competition started in the seventh century taking the shape of Crusades and Islamic jihad and continued until the present day. Lewis attributes Muslims’ violence in our present times to a number of reasons: the loss of power of the Islamic world during the Cold War, the Western cultural and political presence on Muslims lands and the undermining of Muslim authority on its land (49). According to Lewis, Western secularism and modernism are the fundamentalists’ great enemy (59). He maintains that contemporary anti-American feelings stem mainly from the American support for Israel (52).

Following the 9/11 attacks, Edward Said published his article “The Clash of Ignorance” (2001). In this article, Said directs sharp criticism for Lewis’s and Huntington’s reductive views of Islamic and Western civilizations, which correspond to Orientalist discourse. In Said’s words:

Certainly neither Huntington nor Lewis has much time to spare for the internal dynamics and plurality of every civilization, or for the fact that

the major contest in most modern concerns the definition or interpretation of each culture, or for the unattractive possibility that a great deal of demagoguery and downright ignorance is involved in presuming to speak for the whole religion or civilization (350).

In Said's opinion, President Bush's discourse that followed the September 11 attacks has its roots in Huntington's thesis of the "Clash of Civilizations". The notions of good and evil, freedom and fear, and Bush's use of the term "Crusade" are a reflection of an artificial division that Huntington's thesis reestablishes between Islam and the West (4). According to Said, the terrorist attacks of 9/11 did not embody a civilizational clash between Islam and the West; they were carried out by a small group of people who do not represent Islam (2).

In response to Huntington's thesis following the 9/11 attacks, Ali published his book *The Clash of Fundamentalisms* (2002). In this book, Ali provides a complex assessment of Muslims' rage, going beyond Lewis's and Huntington's explanations and taking into account the wider political context in which this violence thrived. Ali's book argues that Muslim violence is provoked by unfair Western policies towards Muslim-majority countries. As Ali puts it, "the American Empire has constructed a new enemy: Islamic terrorism" (xiii). Reflecting on Huntington's thesis, Noam Chomsky contended in a seminar entitled "Clash of Civilizations?" (2011), Huntington's thesis of the "Clash of Civilizations" undermines the role of the economy in shaping international affairs. Chomsky provides the relationship between the United States and Saudi Arabia as an example of the theory's limitations. For him, although Saudi Arabia is the most fundamentalist Islamic country, it is on good terms with the United States. Chomsky contends, the United States' relationship with the country is determined by its economic interests in the region. According to him, such a relationship between "the leader of the western civilization" and the most fundamentalist Islamic country undermines Huntington's views of the "Clash of Civilizations (par4)". In view of these arguments, this thesis explores how the literary, dramatic and cinematic texts studied support, complicate or challenge Huntington's theory through their representations of the Third Crusade.

Ervand Abrahamian argues that the American media has framed the 9/11 attacks within Huntington's "Clash of Civilizations" (529). He goes on to argue that Huntington's thesis has triumphed: the mainstream newspapers and journals, which are read by the "attentive public" such as *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal* and *Washington Post*, *Time*, and *Newsweek* adopted Huntington's theory (530).⁶ Abrahamian also notes that this view was embraced intensely also by television and radio networks. He observes that after the 9/11 attacks, Huntington's book *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* became bestsellers (529). Similarly, Fazal Rizvi argues that although Huntington's thesis has been demolished in the academic sphere, it is still influential in popular media; the 9/11 attacks were viewed by many Americans as an embodiment of a cultural and a religious conflict between Islam and the West. He maintains that Huntington's frequently criticized thesis has nevertheless become "a successful political myth" (227-228). For Rizvi, this myth has become part of the "social imaginary" (229).⁷ Hence, the American media played a significant role in propagating Huntington's theory, trying to present the 9/11 attacks as a case of a civilizational clash between Islam and the West.

Discussing the impact of embracing Huntington's thesis, Douglas Kellner highlights the role of Huntington's discourse in shaping the relations between the United States and the Islamic and Arab countries. Kellner argues that following the 9/11 attacks, the mainstream media favoured Huntington's theory of the "Clash of Civilizations". For Kellner, the American media, and more specifically television, propagated military action as a solution for defeating terrorism. According to him, broadcast television preferred the most fanatic views on the attacks and used very dangerous and aggressive slogans such as "War on America" and "America's New War" to describe the American situation after the assaults. Nonetheless, Kellner argues that the role of radio was quite

⁶ Evidence suggests that this argument is true. Newspapers article such as Jim Hoagland "A Shadow War", Robert Kagan's "A Declaration of War", Barbara Crossett's "Feverish Protest Against the West" and Lamin Sanneh's "Faith and the Secular State" embrace the notion.

⁷As he illustrates, "a social imaginary is carried in myths, parables, stories, legends, and other narratives and most significantly, in the contemporary era, in the mass media." He goes on to explain that in order for a theory to become part of the social imaginary, it has to develop into an understanding that people communally share (229).

important in describing the nature of the attacks and even more dangerous than that of the television; radio talk shows provoked a sense of hatred towards Arabs and Muslims in general and called for attacking them (147-149). Viewing the matter from Kellner's perspective, it becomes clear that the American media's support for Huntington's thesis was dangerous as it encouraged Western military action against terrorism in the Arab and Islamic countries.

According to Peter Morey and Amina Yaqin, following the 9/11 attacks, the Western media endeavoured to reemphasise existing images about Muslims such as "the bearded Muslim fanatic, the oppressed veiled woman and the duplicitous terrorist" in order to stress a dichotomy between a civilised West and a backward Islam (1-2). They maintain that these images were not new; rather they were a continuation of established representations. For Morey and Yaqin, following the 9/11 attacks, these depictions were carefully constructed and shaped to serve specific agendas (19). The Western media endeavoured to present Muslims as the "Other", implying that they pose a threat to peace and stability (21). In this respect, Fauzia Ahmad observes that after the 9/11 attacks in 2001, there was a growing interest in Muslim women in the British media (245). For her, after the 7/7 bombing in 2005, images of Muslim women in black veils and hijabs were used to show Muslim women as a menace to Western values of liberalism and secularism. Ahmad argues that such images contributed towards media and political discourse that Muslim women are in need of liberation (259). Investigating the impact of media portrayals of Muslims, Sara Upstone argues that post- 9/11 American attitudes towards Islamic fundamentalism as a potential danger had a great impact on depictions of Muslims in popular literary fiction. She maintains, however, that such representations were not utterly new but rather intensified existing stereotypes of Muslims (39). Examining Western media portrayals of Muslims, Said argues in his book *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World* (1997) that Islam and Muslims have been often associated with violence, terrorism and war in Western media, particularly in the American media. Islam, he maintains, is shown as a religion of violence and as a threat to the West. For Said, these stereotypical images have encouraged people in the West to form negative opinions of Islam and Muslims even before being given the chance to know them (xi-xxii). Thus, Said's study indicates,

as argued by Morey and Yaqin, that violent images of Muslims in Western media were established earlier than the 9/11 attacks.

It is important to note that the reemergence of Huntington's thesis was preceded by the renewal of the "just war" notion, as Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri observes in their book *Empire* (2000). Hardt and Negri use the concept of "Empire" to refer to a newly emerging system of dominance. For them, the concept of "Empire" describes the "new global form of sovereignty" and marks a departure from Imperialism (xii). While boundaries were fundamental to European Imperialism, Empire "establishes no territorial center of power and does not rely on fixed boundaries or barriers" (xii). According to Hardt and Negri, the concept rests on the assumption that the nineteenth century was a European century whereas the twentieth century was American and that the United States, as a leading power, is repeating the European experience of Imperialism. Yet, the United States has been performing the role more efficiently than the European powers. Hardt and Negri point out, the concept characterizes itself as "a regime with no temporal boundaries" rather than a fixed historical regime. (xiv). Unlike Imperialism, Empire aims not only to dominate people but also to determine the nature of their social life and the kind of human interactions they conduct (xv). They contend that while the concept is remarkably associated with war and violence, it presents itself as a force of maintaining peace worldwide (xv). Hardt and Negri maintain this concept is dangerous as it celebrates violence as an ethical means of creating peace and achieving humanitarian objectives. They describe the restoration of the tradition as a "symptom" of the reemergence of the concept of Empire (12).

The American filmmaker Wheeler Dixon argues that the majority of the mainstream American cinema released after or which were in the process of production on the day of 9/11, 2001 promoted the notion of the "just war", suggesting that warfare is crucial and unavoidable (1). In view of the Western media's attempts to associate Muslims and Islam with violence and its role in promoting Huntington's theory as well as the "just war" tradition, this thesis investigates the ways salient representations of Muslims in American and British media influence their representations in American and British historical fiction, drama and film. In addition, it interrogates how Huntington's

thesis of the “Clash of Civilizations” shaped these texts and explores the extent to which these works promote or discourage Western military and political intervention in Muslim-majority countries.

As I pointed out earlier, one objective of this study is to explore depictions of the Third Crusade in light of the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian issue. While Chapter One and Chapter Two examine the Israeli-Palestinian issue in some instances, in Chapter Three the struggle is set at the centre. It is important to note that the Israeli-Palestinian issue is not treated in the thesis as a synonym for Islam’s relationship with the West. Rather, the thesis deals with the struggle as a main conflicting point of this relationship. The reason why the words “the Palestinians” and “the Israelis” are not used respectively as synonyms for Islam and the West is that viewing the two terms as equivalent to “Islam” and the “West” frames the struggle within Huntington’s thesis of the “Clash of Civilisations”. There have been conflicting debates about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. While it is viewed as a case of a civilisational clash, it is also perceived as a colonial and imperial heritage in the Middle East. In an interview by Gabriel Noah Braham, Benny Morris argues that the Israeli-Palestinian issue is a case of a clash of civilisations. For him, the Zionist movement embodies Western principles of modernity and democracy and Arabs viewed Jews coming to Palestine in the 1680s, 1890s, and 1990s as an extension to Western civilisation. Morris argues that, since Israel shares with the Muslim world geographic boundaries, it has been exposed to the danger of a civilisational clash with the Arab cultures. According to him, the struggle is not merely political but rather a religious struggle in which Islam plays a major role in provoking hatred against the Zionists. Thus, Morris does not view the Israeli-Palestinian struggle as an outcome of European colonialism in the East. His argument corresponds clearly to Huntington’s thesis of the “Clash of Civilizations”. It presents the Israeli-Palestinian conflict part of a longer history of civilisational clashes. It further creates an artificial dichotomy between Islamic and Western civilisations and constructs them as binary oppositions as argued by Said in *Orientalism*. On the other hand, Nur Masalha argues that the theories of Lewis and Huntington “contributed to the ‘Israelisation’ of American Middle East policy discourse”. For him, the Israeli-Palestinian issue is not a case of a clash of civilisations and that dealing with the conflict as an anti-colonial struggle is crucial to creating peace

in the Middle East (192-193). In similar ways, Robert Cettl argues that in order to avoid a “direct examination of political Zionism”, Israelis primarily try to depict terrorism practised by some Palestinians as a result of a clash of civilisations, with Israel being considered part of Western civilisation (208). Taking these debates into accounts, in Chapter Three, I examine how the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is portrayed in drama and film. The Chapter considers the artists’ attempts to present the Israeli-Palestinian issue as a clash of civilisations or to depict it as a legacy of European Imperialism in the Middle East. It also interrogates the political and ideological objectives connected to such portrayals.

There has been an ongoing debate about the limitations of the two-state solution in Israel and Palestine and a growing support for the one-state solution, a state where both Israelis and Palestinians enjoy equal civil and religious rights. Reflecting on the two-state solution, Virginia Tilley argues that this solution, which was the main aim of the Oslo process and the current “road map” has proved to be unsuccessful for decades (183). Tilley points out, the one-state secular, democratic settlement has been encouraged by Western democracies (133). Nevertheless, Benny Morris argues in his book *One State, Two States: Resolving the Israel/Palestine Conflict* (2009) that Arabs, like other Muslims, are incompatible with democratic values (170). For him, the most tenable solution is the two-state option: one for Jews and one for Palestinian Arabs (196). On the other hand, in his book *The End of the Peace Process: Oslo and After* (2000), Said argues that the two-state solution contributes towards the process of “Othering” and that creating one state in which all people are granted equal rights would serve as a just settlement (xii). In light of these arguments, in Chapter Three I explore the artists’ stances on the ongoing debates about the one-state and the two-state settlements and the political and ideological implications that are ultimately connected to these views.

This thesis consists of three chapters in addition to an introduction and a conclusion. Chapter One deals with two novels by two British authors: Tariq Ali’s *The Book of Saladin* and Stewart Binns’s *Lionheart*. Ali’s novel is a fictional biography of Saladin’s life whereas Binns’s novel is a fictional biography of Richard the Lionheart. In this chapter, I explore Ali’s and Binns’s use of historical analogy of the Third Crusade

as a way of complicating, reinforcing or challenging established images of the Islamic world and the West. In the first part of the chapter, I argue that by presenting a fictional biography of Saladin, Ali reexamines Islamic history during the Third Crusade with a view to vindicating the Arab and the Muslim cause against colonial history. In the second half of the chapter, I contend that by means of presenting a fictional biography of Richard, Binns establishes Britain as a moral and political mediator in a way that presents its participation in the “War on Terror” as a continuation of its consistent historical role as a force of goodness in the world.

Chapter Two examines depictions of the Third Crusade in two post-9/11 novels: *The Swords of Faith* by American author Richard Warren Field and *Shadow of the Swords* by Pakistani-American author Kamran Pasha. In this chapter, I argue that in different ways and by revisiting the Third Crusade, Field and Pasha try to complicate views that the Crusades and by extension the 9/11 attacks and the “War on Terror” are an embodiment of a “Clash of Civilizations”, as argued by Huntington. I contend that both authors challenge Western media representations of Islamicate communities as backward and barbaric and thereby undermine political discourse that Muslim-majority countries are in need of civilising. Moreover, by representing medieval collaboration between Islam and the West, both novels urge for more cultural interaction and mutual understanding between the two sides in our present time.

Chapter Three centers on two different genres: drama and film. It examines representations of the Third Crusade in *Holy Warriors: A Fantasia on the Third Crusade and the History of Violent Struggle in the Holy Lands* by the British dramatist David Eldridge and *Kingdom of Heaven* by the British film director and producer, Ridley Scott. The chapter examines the two works’ attempts to support or challenge ongoing debates about the one-state and the two-state solutions for the Israeli-Palestinian issue by deploying historical analogies of the Third Crusade. In this chapter, I argue, both Eldridge and Scott place the Israeli-Palestinian struggle at the centre of their works. Nevertheless, while Eldridge supports the two-state solution, Scott supports the establishment of a binational state in which both the Israelis and the Palestinians can peacefully coexist. In the first half of the chapter, I contend that Eldridge tries in some instances in the play to

present the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as an outcome of European colonialism in the Middle East and warns against further contemporary Western intervention in Muslim-majority countries. However, on other occasions, he depicts Islamic and European cultures as incompatible and provides essentialist views of Islamic civilization in ways that correspond with Huntington's thesis of the "Clash of Civilizations". In the second half of the chapter, I argue that Scott pictures the idea of a shared Jerusalem as applicable both in the past and the present. In addition, he goes against the reductive representation of Muslims. By providing such depictions, Scott undermines Huntington's thesis of the "Clash of Civilizations". Nevertheless, he establishes an artificial dichotomy between a civilized, secular West and a backward violent Islam, stressing Huntington's theory on many other occasions. Scott further presents the ongoing "War on Terror" as a continuation of earlier centuries' "civilizing mission" of the "less privileged" nations.

Briefly stated, the aim of this thesis is to demonstrate that the Third Crusade is used in contemporary historical fiction, drama and film in order to reflect on the current relations between the Islamic world and the West. Based on my analysis of the literary works I have examined, I argue that although Western media has long played a crucial role in associating Muslims with violence and in promoting Huntington's thesis of the "Clash of Civilizations" following the 9/11 attacks in 2001, contemporary British and American historical fiction, drama and film of the Third Crusade do not present a unified portrayal of the relations between Islam and the West. Binns, in *Lionheart*, and Scott, in *Kingdom of Heaven*, prove to be swayed by Western media representations of Muslims and by Huntington's theory. They both support Western military action in Muslim-majority country as a way of defeating terrorism. On the other hand, in *Holy Warriors*, Eldridge pulls against Huntington's theory. He depicts Muslims' violence as generated by Western military interventionism in Arab and Islamic countries. Similarly, although an American author writing in the context of the "War on Terror", Field shows an anti-interventionist stance in the Muslim-majority countries, expressing hopes for establishing better relationships between Islam and the West. As Muslim authors, Ali and Pasha endeavour to defy media representations of Muslims and to complicate Huntington's thesis. On the whole, they show greater concern than Field and Eldridge with discouraging Western military interventionism in Muslim-majority countries.

Chapter One

Investigating British Novelists' Use of Historical Analogies in Biographical Novels of the Third Crusade

Chapter Introduction

This chapter considers Tariq Ali's and Stewart Binns's deployments of the historical analogies of the Third Crusade as a means of complicating, refuting or reinforcing established present-day ideas about Islam and the West. It also explores the influence of Western media representations of Muslims on historical fiction. In the first part of the chapter, I argue that as a Pakistani-British novelist and writer concerned with the postcolonial world, Ali shows in *The Book of Saladin* (1998) a keen interest in reexamining and rewriting Arab/Islamic history with a view to vindicating Muslims and, in effect, the Arab cause against colonial history. By providing a fictional biography of Saladin, Ali presents images of the twelfth-century Islamic societies that challenge persistent stereotypes of Muslims as intolerant, lacking political culture and sexually orthodox. Moreover, through his fictional female characters, Ali grants a voice to Muslim women, who have been absent from the medieval historical canon, and provides a nuanced sense of the position of Muslim women within Islamic societies both in the past and the present. In the second part of the chapter, I argue that through historical analogy, Binns endeavours in *Lionheart* (2013) to construct Britain both in the past and the present as a moral and political mediator. By revisiting Richard the Lionheart's biography, Binns tries to present views about Britain as a force for goodness in the world as historically consistent: he depicts the deeds of the British Crusaders as part of Britain's moral "civilizing mission" towards less privileged nations. Thereby, he shows appreciation for Britain's contemporary different foreign policies in achieving peace and defeating terror, I maintain that Binns associates Muslims with violence and portrays them as incapable of managing their own political affairs, in ways that correspond to Western media depictions of them in ways that support political discourses that Muslim-majority countries are in need of civilising.

As both novels present a fictional biography of a historical figure, it is crucial to discuss the implications of biography in both works and the different ideological ends it serves in each part of the chapter. Muhammad al-Buti points out that for Muslims, writing Prophet Mohammad's biography was their starting point in keeping a record of Islamic history, which marked a departure from the art of narrating historical events. According to him, the Prophet's biography was the "fulcrum" around which the movement to document the history of Islam in the Arabian Peninsula revolved and then spread to the rest of the Islamic world. In al-Buti's view, Muslims were urged to write the biography of their Prophet so as to scientifically preserve the sacred Sunnah, which was their key to understanding the Quranic teachings (50-51). As Emran El-Badawi indicates, Muhammad bin Ishaq's *Sirah* (768) and Abu Mikhnaf's *Nusus* (774) were the starting point of documenting Prophet Muhammad's biography (41). Commenting on the significance of biography in documenting Islamic history, Michael Cooperson notes, "if poetry is the archive of the Arabs, biography is the archive of the Muslims" (xi). In light of these arguments, I suggest that by providing a fictional biography of Saladin, Ali reemphasizes the earliest scientific tradition of documenting the history of Islam and Muslims and thereby re-narrates the past in a way that challenges the Eurocentric narratives. I maintain, Binns's deployment of biography in which he juxtaposes fiction with reality, serves a political agenda. As Jean Flori asserts, Richard "was not English at all" (2). However, Richard is constructed in the novel as an English hero. Asked about this in an interview entitled "Inside Historical Fiction with Stewart Binns", Binns indicated that the writer of historical fiction can take liberties with the story and events and by mixing reality with fiction, the author can produce the best of both fiction and non-fiction. In his email conversation with me, Binns stated that though the novel is based on the real events of Richard's life, "there are major elements of fiction". Accordingly, I suggest that Binns deploys biography to construct Richard an English hero who represents English values and morality.

Tariq Ali's *The Book of Saladin* (1998)

“Your Majesty is talking about facts. I am talking about history” (Ali, *The Book of Saladin* 12).

In the first half of this chapter, I will demonstrate that *The Book of Saladin* establishes an historical analogy between Saladin's recapturing of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade and the contemporary tensions between Israelis and Palestinians. I argue that by means of revisiting a period in history in which Muslims and Jews collaborated under the rule of Saladin, the novel provides an inversion of the current situation in Israel and Palestine. I maintain that the use of the historical analogy provides a model of former collaboration, a functioning intercultural and inter-religious cooperation in a way that reverses the current axis of power and urges for better relationships between Jews and Muslims in general and Israelis and Palestinians in particular in our modern times. Writing his novel in the late 1990s when what was called Arab-Muslim terrorism was the subject of Western media, Ali, I contend, provides a rather complex portrayal of Islamic societies in the Middle Ages and, through historical analogy, in the contemporary period. Ali's representations of Muslims and life under Islam are meant to defy media and political discourse that Arabs and Muslims are violent and in need of civilising and ultimately to refute views about the necessity of Western political and military interventionism in Muslim-majority countries.

In an interview with Ali by Talat Ahmad in 2006, Ali states that his intention when writing the novel was to counteract the argument which claimed that “the Arabs are people without political culture”⁸. As Ali points out, these claims were made by some professors on TV during the first Gulf War in 1991. Ali adds, he wrote the novel to challenge the media and the political discourse's claims that “Islamic culture is backward and its politics are despotic” and that “Islam is a religion characterized by intolerance”. In his book *Covering Islam How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the*

⁸ Jo Freeman defines ‘political culture’ as: “The set of attitudes, beliefs and sentiments which give order and meaning to a political process and which provide the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behavior in the political system. It encompasses both the political ideals and operating norms of a polity. Political culture is thus the manifestation in aggregate form of the psychological and subjective dimensions of politics. A political culture is the product of both the collective history of a political system and the life histories of the members of the system and thus it is rooted equally in public events and private experience.” (327-328)

Rest of the World (1997), Edward Said demonstrates how Islam, Muslims and Arabs have been portrayed in the Western media, particularly the American media and how they are often associated with violence, terrorism, and war. Islam, he argues, is shown as a religion of violence and trouble, a menace and a threat to the West (xi-xxii). Andrew Goldsmith and Colleen Lewis observe that in the 1990s democratizing the Arab and the Islamic countries was seen as essential in the region. They add that the countries' political culture was viewed as weak and lacking harmony (313). It is also important to note that the release of Ali's novel followed the publication of Samuel Huntington's article "A Clash of Civilizations?" in 1993 and later his book *The Clash of Civilizations and The Remaking of World Order* in 1996, in which Huntington argues that Islamic cultures are incompatible with democracy (29). In reply to claims about Islam, Ali has tried to present a different image of Islam, Muslims and Islamic cultures. Thereby, the overall picture that we get of Islamic cultures as depicted in *The Book of Saladin* is one of social tolerance, ethnic plurality and political maturity. These features are reflected in the behaviours and lifestyle of Muslim characters, whether historical or fictional, and within the Islamic society as a whole as will be explained below.

Tariq Ali is a British-Pakistani writer, novelist and filmmaker. He is also active in the media, establishing a reputation as a left-wing activist and journalist. Ali is the author of several books, including *Can Pakistan Survive?: The Death of a State* (1991), *Conversations with Edward Said* (2005), *Bush in Babylon* (2003), and *Clash of Fundamentalisms: Crusades, Jihads and Modernity* (2002), *A Banker for All Seasons: Crooks and Cheats Inc.* (2007), *The Duel* (2008), and *The Islam Quintet* ("Tariq Ali: Biography"). Ali's *The Islam Quintet* series examines Islamic-Western encounters in different periods of history. The quintet consists of *Shadows of the Pomegranate Tree* (1992), set in fifteenth-century Moorish Spain, *The Book of Saladin* (1998), set in the twelfth century in Cairo, Damascus, and the Holy City of Jerusalem, *The Stone Woman* (2000), set in the declining period of the Ottoman Empire in Istanbul, *A Sultan in Palermo* (2005), set in the twelfth century in Palermo, and *Nights of the Golden Butterfly* (2010), set in the twenty-first century in Lahore, London, Paris and Beijing. Ali's novels have attracted little scholarly attention. Robyn Creswell argues, in order to challenge images about Muslims as regressive and fierce, Ali "evokes the most cosmopolitan eras in

history” in the series of novels (2). Similarly, Sajid Ali, Nafees Pervez and Waseem Hassan Malik argue that Ali’s *Islam Quintet* presents the Islamic civilisation and Christian Europe as two contrasting counterparts; unlike Europeans, Muslims appear as civilised, rational, secular and non-violent (68).

The Book of Saladin (1998) is the second novel of Ali’s series of historical novels. The novel is a fictional account of Saladin’s personal life and his role as a military leader for the Muslim army leading up to the Battle of Hattin (1187) and ultimately to the Third Crusade. The novel is narrated by the Jewish character, Ibn Yakub, whom Saladin has entrusted to write his biography. Though he is the chief narrator, Ibn Yakub does not produce much direct commentary himself, leaving space for the characters to speak for themselves and about Saladin’s life. The narrative constantly fluctuates between the present and the past, giving a detailed description of Saladin’s life as well as the Arab and Islamicate community during the Middle Ages. The fact that the novel is entitled *The Book of Saladin* already indicates that he is the most prominent character in the novel. Even the part that is devoted to the Third Crusade and which revolves around the two figures of Saladin and Richard gives greater prominence and a more important role to Saladin than to Richard. However, the author does not ignore Richard’s role as a fierce fighter or a heroic warrior, as the narrative dwells on his ability to recapture several of the coastal cities from Saladin such as Acre, Jaffa, and Ascalon and to pose a great threat to Jerusalem itself despite the relatively small amount of space given to him in the whole narrative. In a small part of the novel, Ibn Yakub provides the reader with a vivid picture of the Third Crusade and the encounters between Saladin and Richard’s armies. In this part, the novel deals with the confrontations between Christians and Muslims in the Third Crusade. It reflects a deliberate attempt to show how Muslims, Jews and some Eastern Christians are the victims of a fierce external invasion tantamount to colonialism. The real conflict in this novel is between Muslims and Jews on the one hand and Christians or the Franj on the other hand.

In this novel, Jews are given a conspicuous role that makes them key players in the whole narrative as well as in the political and military course of events. On many occasions, the Muslim-Jewish perspective becomes identical and the gap between Jews and Muslims is depleted almost altogether. Saladin’s motivation to recapture Jerusalem

springs not only from his childhood memories and religious upbringing but also from the deep impact that the atrocities of the First Crusade had left on him since he was a boy listening to some of the stories about the Muslim and Jewish massacres committed by the Western invaders (120). Saladin highlights that the city's massacred population included both Muslims and Jews: "Remind these frightened Christians of what Believers and Jews suffered ninety years ago" (317). In the words of Ibn Yakub: "Every Jew and Muslim had been killed. Congregations in mosque and synagogue had risen in horror as news of the atrocity spread through the land" (7). Ali's depictions of the atrocities that were inflicted by the Crusaders on both Jews and Muslims seem to be historically truthful.

According to historical records written from both Christian and Jewish perspectives, the First Crusade resulted in mass bloodshed of both Jews and Muslims. As James Reston notes, the Crusade started with the massacre of Jews that was followed by an extensive slaughtering of Muslims (xiii). Ali points out in his interview with Ahmad that "when Saladin took Jerusalem from the Crusaders, he issued a proclamation stipulating that the city had to remain open to people of all faiths, and state subsidies were provided to rebuild synagogues." In the novel, after recapturing Jerusalem, Saladin eventually transcends this tension and begins a reconciliatory approach that would consider the Holy City as the property of all Believers: Muslims, Christians and Jews (317). Saladin shows great concern and tolerance towards Jews: "With this army, Allah permitting, I can defeat anyone. Within a month, Ibn Yakub, your synagogue, in what you call Jerusalem, and our mosque, in what for us will always be al-Kuds, will be filled once again" (263). Saladin's words suggest that Jews are presented as enjoying the freedom of practising their religious rituals. Ali adds that his two novels, *Shadows of the Pomegranate Tree* and *The Book of Saladin*, "present a community that was characterized by cultural multiplicity".⁹ This stresses the notion that, in this novel, Ali is defying the assumption that Islam is incompatible with Judaism and Christianity. Instead,

⁹ However, this does not mean that Eastern societies depicted in the novel were free of tension and conflict. In Ali's words, "There were clashes between different groups, but they were not on the systematic scale that some commentators believe". Ali's point is manifested in the tension presented in the novel between Shiite Muslims and Sunni Muslims.

he intends to show how despite the differences in faith, Muslims, Jews and Christians can be on good terms and can live peacefully together.

Among several major Jewish figures, the novel includes Ibn Maymun, the famous Jewish theologian and physician. Ibn Maymun's distinguished status in the story enriches the truly significant role of Jews in the novel and in the Third Crusade.¹⁰ He is shown as a distinguished physician who enjoys great popularity among all people (42). In addition to Ibn Maymun, there is the fictional character of Ibn Yakub, the trusted Jewish scribe who spends about ten years (1181-1191) recording Saladin's past memories and his present endeavours. He rises to a trustee in the political and military leadership of Saladin. Both figures play pivotal roles not only in the narrative but also in the course and the outcome of events on the highest political, administrative and cultural levels. As clearly noticed in the novel, both characters become two of Saladin's best supporters and counsellors: just as Ibn Maymun is Saladin's trusted physician and counsellor, Ibn Yakub is a valued member of Saladin's war council and his trusted chronicler and adviser. As representatives of the Jewish community, the two men speak for Jews and their ethnic, cultural, and political interests. For instance, both Ibn Yakub's and Ibn Maymun's standpoint throughout the novel is that the Crusaders should not take the Holy City again.

As Ibn Yakub informs the reader, members of the Jewish community gather in the site of the old Temple to offer prayers of thanksgiving for the return of Jerusalem to Saladin (329). Jews, as we learn from Ibn Yakub, have suffered a great deal as a result of their participation in the war. As a reaction to Saladin's retaking of Jerusalem, there have been reprisals against Jews in Cairo, and the Franj knights burned Ibn Yakub's house (329). Ibn Yakub is worried that if Saladin's health deteriorates, the Franj might then retake Jerusalem and burn Jews the same way they have done in the First Crusade (347). As the narrator points out, Jews constitute a component of Saladin's army recruited to fight the Franj (250). Jews' important roles underscore the Jewish side of the narrative and bring to light much of the obscured Jewish role in the Crusades in general and the Third Crusade in particular. It is noted that the names of some places are given in Hebrew rather than in English or Arabic such as "Teveriya" (Tiberias) (265). There are frequent

¹⁰ "Moses ben Maimon (Maimonides, 1135-1204) "is a Jewish physician and rabbi, who was born in Cordoba." (Thomas Madden 125). Maimonides was Saladin's own physician (Hawary 70).

references to Jewish places and relics such as “the Gate of David” (319), the old temple (329) and John of Jerusalem, a Jew who pretended to be Christian to save his life (318). The mention of Jewish figures, places and fighters in Saladin’s army, I suggest, all point to the key role the Jews are given in this representation of Saladin’s capturing of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade where they are depicted as a central part of the history and life of the Middle East. Presenting Jews as a fundamental and influential component of the Islamicate community in the Holy Land in the twelfth century, I argue, is highly significant. It suggests that the Jewish minority was peaceably coexisting with the Muslim majority and that Muslims and Jews were on good terms, enjoying trusty and peaceful relationships.

The historical accuracy of this depiction has been contested. Ali shows that Saladin has allowed the constructing of synagogues. Nonetheless, historical sources from both Muslim and Jewish perspectives offer contrasting views. M.J. Akbar points out that after the destruction of Ascolan, Saladin provided Jews with homes in Jerusalem and endorsed building a synagogue (76). Similarly, Emil Offenbacher notes that during the twelfth century, Muslims recognized the right of Jews to build a synagogue on the Mount (134). In his book *The History of the Jews in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (1988), Joshua Prawer mentions that a synagogue known as “Kanisah ben al Yamani” was founded in Jerusalem after Saladin captured it from the Crusaders (74). However, according to E. Ashtor-Strauss, the Fatimids showed support for Christians and Jews; they allowed them to build new churches and synagogues and took part in their ceremonies. Yet, for him, when Saladin took over, all of this changed. Saladin provoked in Muslims a sense of superiority over Christians and Jews (306).¹¹ According to Ashtor-Strauss, Saladin was friendly to Jews but not tolerant: “He sowed the seeds which resulted in their persecution” (326). Hence, I suggest that Ali privileges versions of history that present the relation between Muslims and Jews as harmonious during the rule of Saladin.

¹¹ As he notes, Jews were allowed to practice their religious rituals (319), they were not isolated like the Jews of Europe (309). On the other hand, they were not allowed to ride on horses but rather on donkeys (307) and though Jewish and Christian physicians were honoured, there were concerns against their consultations and one physician denied Jewish and Christian students access to his lessons (313).

While Ali depicts Jews, as I pointed out earlier, as an integral part of Saladin's army, Mohammad Hawary points out that Jews did not serve in Ayyubids' army (69). Accordingly, I argue that Ali manipulates the historical record in an attempt to reinforce an alliance between Jews and Muslims. This notion echoes what Ali asserts in an interview with Ahmad in:

The Jewish narrator reflects the history of the time.... There were large numbers of Jews in all the Arab courts and according to one study, 70 percent of Saladin's advisers were Jewish. His own personal physician was a Jew. One reason for reviving this history is to show that there wasn't any basic hostility between Islam and Judaism at that time. The hostility only started in the 19th century with the influx of Jewish settlers into Palestine.

From Ali's viewpoint, the choice of the Jewish narrator and influential characters and representations of the relations between Jews and Muslims reflect on the contemporary socio-political situation at that time. For him, there was no hostility between Jews and Muslims at the time of the Third Crusade, and this is exactly what the choice of the Jewish chronicler and the inclusion of other Jewish characters are meant to achieve: to underscore the principles of diversity, plurality and cosmopolitanism that characterized Saladin's general outlook and worldview. To expand on the issue of narrative strategy, narrating in the voice of a Jewish scribe makes the whole message of shared Jewish-Muslim struggle more palatable for readers and enhances the text's sense of authenticity. As the narrative is a commentary on Islam narrated in the voice of a Jew, it seems more reliable and less partial to the reader. Ali mentions in his interview with Ahmad that *The Book of Saladin* was the only one of his own novels that was translated into Hebrew and published in Israel. This in particular reinforces the historical analogy that the novel sets up. Taking into account the harmonious, tolerant relation between Muslims and Jews against the Crusaders, Ali's novel, I contend, intentionally reinforces the Muslim-Jewish tradition on one hand and defies the Judeo-Christian alliance on the other.

The Judeo-Islamic alliance that Ali endeavours to construct as historically true is controversial. In his book *The Jews of Islam* (1984), Bernard Lewis examines the Judeo-Islamic tradition and argues that the term has not been deployed by either Muslims or

Jews as both sides do not perceive their relation in this way (x). Based on an in-depth study of the histories of the relationship between Muslims and Jews, Lewis argues that the tension between Jews and Muslims started as early as the emergence of Islam in the seventh century (10).¹² Similarly, Mark R. Cohen argues that, during the nineteenth century, it was believed that Jews of Islamic societies in the Middle Ages enjoyed an idealized life as they mingled freely in these communities and had access to political powers. This utopian picture included the whole Islamic world from Bagdad to Muslim Spain. Accordingly, Jews were believed to live in a “Golden Age”. For him, however, on the Jewish side, scholarly research has inverted this myth of the “Golden Age”: Muslims oppressed Jews as awfully as medieval Christians. Cohen maintains that the term was first coined by Jewish European historians who were dissatisfied with the social and political position of Jews within Christian communities. For him, they ascribed tolerance to Muslims as a way to scold their Christian neighbours for failing to achieve the standards of tolerance that Muslim communities supposedly fulfilled. According to Cohen, Arabs had deployed the “myth of interfaith utopia” as a weapon against Zionism (28-29). In light of these arguments, I contend that Ali privileges versions of history that support his depictions of harmonious relationships between Muslims and Jews in the Middle Ages. Reflecting on the use of historical analogy, Michael Confino argues that writers who use the historical analogy are not concerned with the authenticity and accuracy of the historical details. Rather they deploy it to present constructed conclusions (262). Thus, Ali deploys historical analogy as a means to put forward his political and ideological views on the present. Ultimately, his use of the historical analogy manifests his hopes for better relations between the Israelis and the Palestinians in today’s Holy Land.

¹² He provides the Jews of Khaybar as examples: they engaged in a month and a half of hostilities with Prophet Mohammad until both sides agreed on terms that guaranteed Jews the right to stay in the oasis of Khaybar, after it had been brought under Muslim rule, and cultivated (10). As he argues, Turkish sources of the late sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, proved that there was some discrimination against Jews: they were not permitted to sell wine, ride horses or own slaves and, therefore, he argues that the Turkish attitude towards Jews was not as tolerant as it is depicted in some sources (137). He provides other examples from the modern era. For instance, he argues that the Jews of Iran were persecuted (166-167).

While he endeavours to reemphasize the Judo-Islamic tradition, Ali tries to challenge the Judeo-Christian alliance. By showing a point in history where the relationships between Jews and Christians were characterized by religious as well as political tension, Ali defies the contemporary assumption that this tradition has its root in history. Reflecting on this tradition, Arthur Cohen argues that the Judeo-Christian alliance is a myth (ix).¹³ For him this relation is an artificial construct (xii). He maintains that “Jews and Christians have conspired together to promote a tradition of common experience and common beliefs, whereas in fact they have joined together to reinforce themselves in the face of a common disaster” (xix).¹⁴ Jacob Neusner argues that “Judaism and Christianity are completely different religions” and that the two religions do not have much in common (1, 5). In accordance with these contentious views, I argue that the novel endeavours through historical analogy to reinforce notions that the “New Crusade”, which resulted in the Israeli-Palestinian issue, is the primary source of Arabs’ and Muslims’ anti-Western sentiment and that the Western continuous support of Israel has been a chief generator of violence and tension.

Through his depictions of Saladin as a Muslim leader who respects Jews and wants religious and political harmony, Ali endeavours to defy the habitual appropriation of Saladin as a symbol of clash and tension between Arabs and Muslims against Israel. Stefan Heidemann, a historian of Middle Eastern civilisation in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, examines the emergence and the development of Saladin’s image as part of the collective memory, cultural identity and political consciousness in the Middle-East.¹⁵ As

¹³ Cohen explains that “the Judeo-Christian tradition consisted solely in the fact that Christianity was dependent in condescension upon the preduration of Israel, that the myth existed essentially for Christians, that Jews endured the myth, as they endure Christianity, as a boil which was impenetrable to the lance and would not dry up and blow away. Christianity was, in such a view, an unavoidable fact” (vii).

¹⁴ Cohen argues that these threats are the Tittle Revolution, the population expansion and the nuclear war (xix).

¹⁵ Accordingly, he argues that Saladin’s memory is indebted to the Western learning and popular culture starting in the eighteenth century and more specifically with the publication of Albert Schultens’s Latin translation of the Arabic account about Saladin written by the military judge, Ibn Shaddad (59). In the nineteenth century, numerous novels about the Crusades and Saladin helped to create his popular European image: in 1825 Sir Walter Scott (1771-1842) turned the enlightened Saladin into a literary monument in his novel *The Talisman* (1820). Between 1870 and 1881 the first statue of Saladin was afterwards combined as part of the Scott Monument in Edinburgh (59-60). In light of this, Heidemann notes that after the Third Crusade, Saladin was not deemed a memorable figure in the Arab and Islamic world: the distinguished figure in Arab history the Mamluk sultan Baybars (1223-1277) was more popular in Egypt and parts of

Heidemann indicates, “Saladin was employed as a political metaphor in the rhetoric of Arab resistance against imperialism and Zionist expansion” (63). He further points out that Saladin’s retaking of Jerusalem has become a political metaphor after the foundation of Israel in 1948 (64). For instance, President Jamal Abd al-Nasir (1918-70) was rhetorically associated with Saladin. This is clearly reflected in Youssef Chahine’s film *al-Nasir Salah al-Din* (1963), which projected Abd al-Nasir’s struggle for Palestine through the use of the Crusade metaphor (64). Similarly, Thomas Asbridge argues that Saladin has become in the twentieth century an icon for the victory of Islam. Asbridge indicates that this championing picture of Saladin aims to face the threat from the West (677). Nevertheless, I argue that though Ali is writing in the context of the twentieth century, he clearly establishes sincere hopes for better relations and mutual understanding rather than promoting a clash between the Islamic world and the West.

Contrary to the stereotypical picture of Arabs and Muslims as violent and lacking political culture, the novelist tries to represent Muslims and Arabs as people who are capable of dealing with themselves and with others in a civilised and humane manner. Though Saladin has promised to retake the Holy City by force, he actually appears as gracious, merciful, compassionate and able to keep his word. When he learns that Christian children are terrified and Christian women are weeping for their captive husbands and fear that they would never see their holy places again, Saladin assures them that he would not treat them the same way the Crusaders have treated Muslims and Jews: “I have quieted them and stilled their fears. I have told them that we are all the People of the Book, and this city belongs to all those who believe in the Book” (317). Furthermore, Saladin promises that Christian women will never be offended and that Christian sacred places will never be sullied (317). He also offers the Franj a generous deal. All the Christians would be permitted to leave provided they paid a ransom to the treasury. The Christian poor would be set free with money from the King’s treasure which has been

Syria. However, he notes that Saladin was not completely ignored; in the Mamluk period, Saladin and the Battle of Hattin was an essential part of the history of Jerusalem and Hebron that was written by Mujir al-Din, the chief qadi of Jerusalem (59). Later, the first monument glorifying Saladin in the Middle East was ordered by Sultan Abd al-Hamid in 1878 (60-61). Following this, the fame of Saladin increased a great deal in the East: a number of plays and novels focusing on his deeds were produced in different Oriental languages and the first biography of Saladin was written by Ahmad al-Biyali in 1920 in Cairo (Heidemann 63).

kept by the Hospitallers. (314). In addition to this, Bertrand of Toulouse, who is one of the order of the Knights Templar and a Christian defector, has come from Cairo asking for refuge; he has no doubt that Saladin will accommodate him, and we learn from the narrator that the Sultan welcomes him warmly (112-113). Saladin's non-violent perspective is constructed as being based on a deep religious conviction that upholds the unity of the three monotheistic faiths around the principle of peaceful coexistence between these related religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. In this regard, the narrator tells us: "The Sultan often asks himself whether his bad dream will ever end or is it our fate as the inhabitants of the area which gave birth to Moses, Jesus and Mohammad, to be always at war" (352). Commenting on Saladin's retaking of Jerusalem in the historical record, Akbar notes that this handover of authority was "the most peaceful in its history" (76). As he explains, Saladin took the city with no violence or demolition and did not allow any holy Christian place to be harmed (76). In light of my analysis of the novel so far, I contend that Ali's portrayals of Saladin as an adherent of tolerance and peace are meant to defy the Western media's association of Muslims with cruelty.

Discussing Saladin's life as a political leader in Ali's *The Book of Saladin*, Ahmad Gamal notes, in the political field Saladin denounces the hereditary principle as the main cause of political disasters in the Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphates and as foreign to the foundational bases set by the first Caliphs who were chosen by the Companions of the Prophet. He endorses instead the principle of selection through the establishment of an "advisory Council of the Wise" to determine succession and to be in control of decision making in the body politics (9). In the narrator's words: "The first Caliphs were not chosen on the hereditary principle, but by the Companionship of the Prophet. The dynasties established by the Umayyads and the Abbasids have led to disasters... I sometimes think we should have a Council of the Wise...to determine the succession" (130-131). As Gamal suggests, in saying this, Saladin is pointing to a basic principle of governance in the Islamic tradition, namely *shura*, which in Islamic political thought means consultation and can correspond to modern Western democracy. To expand on Gamal's argument, Saladin, as indicated in the novel, is a leader of a Kurdish origin,

which vindicates the position of nationless and persecuted ethnic groups.¹⁶ Thus, Ali tries to present an Islamicate community that is ethnically plural and uncharacterized by sectarian and racial divisions.

Saladin as the central character of the novel is shown as a man with a solid political culture. As a political and a military leader, he is presented as a shrewd planner and a subtle strategist who is concentrating all his energies and efforts on materializing clearly-envisioned objectives. This is clearly manifested in his determined endeavours to recapture Jerusalem. The novel charts the rise of Saladin as Sultan of Egypt and Syria and follows him as he arranges to retake Jerusalem and other occupied cities back from the Crusaders. Saladin appears as a smart strategist: his move towards Jerusalem came late in his war agenda because he believes that coastal towns should first be taken before conquering Jerusalem. He guarantees that his soldiers arrive at the Lake of Tiberias in order to prevent the Crusaders' army from having any access to the sources of water, which has made them weak (273). Saladin's strategies reflect mature political and military planning.

As noted in the novel, Saladin has varied diplomatic relations with the different leading figures. In addition to the two major Western historical figures King Richard of England and King Philip of France, several other Crusaders are introduced into the narrative, including Raymond of Tripoli, Bertrand of Toulouse, King Amalric of Jerusalem, Balian of Ibelin and King Guy of Jerusalem. Raymond is shown as being on good terms with Saladin, who sometimes considers him as an ally rather than as an opponent. Saladin is ready to save the face of Raymond by refraining from attacking Tripoli where Raymond rules because he does not want to insult his friend as he knows that any attack will result in either taking Raymond prisoner or in killing him: "I still feel close to him. Friendship is a sacred trust" (293). This reflects Saladin's sincerity as well as his ability to keep his word and maintain diplomatic relations with the leaders of the Crusades. By the same token, Saladin has a diplomatic relationship with Bertrand Toulouse, a member of the Knights Templar and a heretic who escaped from the Kingdom of Jerusalem ruled by King Amalric and has joined the Muslim camp and has

¹⁶ The narrator in Ali's *The Book of Saladin* points out that Saladin is of a Kurdish origin (243). This is historically accurate; Beha Ed-Din indicates that Saladin was a Kurd (xv).

been immediately “taken on trust” (113). Though Bertrand’s skeptical beliefs and blasphemous views extend to both Christianity and Islam, Saladin listens to him with an open mind and a genuine humanistic understanding (118). There is a mention of al-Farabi in the novel. The choice of al-Farabi,¹⁷ I suggest, is significant in this regard. As Charles Butterworth notes, al-Farabi, is introduced as having founded political philosophy within the Islamic cultural tradition and “the second teacher” of philosophy after Aristotle (ix). This demonstrates that Muslims in the medieval period were aware of the science of politics, had their own views and theories of it and had their own contributions to the field. Again, Ali tries to defy the persistent claims about Arab communities as lacking in political culture as pointed out by Gold Smith and Colleen Lewis.

Nevertheless, Saladin appears as a man with some political flaws: he is shown as being very cautious and at times indecisive, losing many opportunities to seize the moment and use it to his own advantage as revealed in his hesitation to capture Tyre after his nearly-decisive victory at the Battle of Hattin (345, 357). In the chapter entitled “The Spring Festival in Cairo” (55-69), Ali shows the diversity of views on Saladin as a political leader among Muslims: Saladin is severely mocked and criticized in the festival by Shiite Muslims in Cairo (54). In showing his imperfections as a political planner and showing the critical positions of his political stances from within Islam, Ali tries not to be partial in presenting his hero. Rather, he establishes a balanced and a more credible characterization of him.

Contrary to the mature Islamic political culture that is presented in the novel, the Franjs’ political culture is presented as undeveloped. It can be easily observed that most of the Franj in the novel do not keep their word and often betray their political allies for the sake of material gains. They appear as disunited, antagonistic and less intent on the political implications of their acts. In contrast to Saladin’s harmonious relations with his military and political consultants, Richard is often in disagreement with the French King. Though the rulers of England, France and Germany responded to a call from the Pope to “unite their armies and save the honour of the Worshippers of the Cross” (328), the two leaders, as indicated by the narrator, “did not agree on any single issue. Their hatred for

¹⁷ His full name is Abu Naser Ibn Azuwalagh al- Farabi (870-950) (Butterworth ix).

each other grew so fierce that it began to outweigh their desire to defeat us” (357).¹⁸ This shows the Crusaders as not having clear political strategy of their mission in the Holy Land.

Richard leaves his mission in the Holy Land unaccomplished and heads back to England without achieving his major objective as he wants to save the throne from his brother. Moreover, with their treatment of Saladin, the Crusaders appear unable to fulfil their promises. According to the narrator, “Richard broke his word on several occasions. The Franj leaders replied with the dishonesty that has marked them ever since they first came to these lands” (350-350). Later on, we learn from Ibn Yakub’s letter to Ibn Maymun that after Richard’s departure, Franj nobles start sending deputations to Saladin, “desperate to seek the protection of the Sultan against each other” (358). As he mentions in a letter to Saladin, none of the Franj leaders appears to have been impelled by a religious motive to achieve a holy mission. Instead, he describes their mission as imperialist. In the same letter, he describes Richard as a “selfish ruler” (328). Richard’s undiplomatic decisions are quite clear in his encounter with al-Adil, Saladin’s brother and his envoy to the peace talks with Richard. In that meeting, Richard asks for no less than the surrender of the whole of Palestine (352). Saladin also initially rejects a request from Richard to meet him and the two adversaries never aspire for a genuine and good-intentioned meeting (350). Thus, Ali establishes inverted images about political cultures in Islamic and European cultures as suggested by the Western media and dominant political discourse. By means of these depictions, Ali, I argue, attempts to refute claims that Islamicate communities are in need of democratization and ultimately shows a solid anti-interventionist stance.

Ali’s novel reclaims the historical figure of Saladin, championing him as a civilized and unifying figure. Ibn Yakub’s onerous task, the multiplicity of perspective and the tension between public and private personas render Saladin a complex and ultimately a much more balanced and believable character. In the novel, when questioned by Saladin about the heterogeneous nature of the narratives about the Sultan’s boyhood, the scribe replies: “Your Majesty is talking about facts. I am talking about history” (12).

¹⁸ The narrator indicates that this piece of information has been reported by Franj spies.

This reminds us of Avrom Fleishman's argument that the major resemblance between the historian and the historical novelist lies in their exercise of imagination (6). Examining how real events are transformed into a narrative, Hayden White problematizes the ability of historical accounts to truthfully represent real events. For him, history is a type of literature that differs from other types of literature in content rather in form, and thereby, the ability of history to represent historical events truthfully is problematic. History, just like literature, is a kind of narrative. As White notes, a narrative is a form of discourse that is determined by the end it serves (105). The term history is rather ambiguous as it combines both the objective and the subjective (107). Accordingly, the tasks of Ali as a historical-novel author and of Ibn Yakub as a historian have much in common. Both are free to exercise their imagination. In view of Fleishman's and White's arguments, I contend that Ali's fictional construction of Islamic history in his novel is connected with a postcolonial objective.

By focusing on the private life of Saladin, Ali's novel does not present Saladin only as a hero and an immaculate warrior and liberator but rather as the flawed protagonist of the novel, who has his own strengths and weaknesses, a man who loves and hates, who fails and succeeds and who engages in discreet love affairs. In addition to the story of a long-revered hero whose reputation earned him respect even among the Christian invaders, we have the image of a man who has his own merits and demerits and who is involved in the voices of dissent and skepticism associated with his own wives and his entourage. This juxtaposition of the historical and the fictional serves a revisionist purpose. Gamal argues that *The Book of Saladin* can be read as a postcolonial metafictional work as it aims to rewrite the discourse of colonial history (1). Drawing upon theories of metafiction,¹⁹ he notes that metafiction is a "postcolonial act of rewriting and hence recuperates the history of the colonized" (1). Gamal explains that the novel contests the dichotomy between what is historical and what is fictional (2). He notes, the term "Postcolonial Metafiction" was first used by Timothy Brennan to describe Salman

¹⁹ According to Patricia Waugh: "Metafiction is a term given to fictional writing which self-consciously and systematically draws its attention to its status as an artifact in order to pose questions about the relationship between fiction and reality. In providing a critique of their own methods of construction, such writings not only examine the fundamental structures of narrative fiction, they also explore the possible fictionality of the world outside the literary of fictional text" (2).

Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* (1981) (3). Gamal suggests that postcolonial metafiction can be defined as "self-conscious fiction that has dual agenda of contesting and deconstructing colonial textuality and stereotypes and simultaneously recapturing and reconstructing native agency of language" (5). Gamal indicates that postcolonial metafiction allows a space for the voice of the "subaltern" to be heard. He explains that postcolonial metafiction has been utilized to rewrite the history of the Middle East (3). In light of this, Gamal suggests, Ali's *The Book of Saladin* is "a metafictional postcolonial narrative that re-narrates the history of the Western modernity and contests the Eurocentric narrative" (4). My argument here expands on Gamal's work, particularly on the issue of Muslim women.

By presenting the fictionalised private life of Saladin, Ali brings to light the issue of Muslim women, which proves to be marginalized, if not absent from history. Thus, Ali not only manipulates the historical record but also imagines an alternative historical narratives of medieval Muslim women. Ali's fictional construct of medieval Muslim women's history serves an ideological end. This takes us back to de Groot's argument about the functions of historical fiction. De Groot contends, the historical novel can challenge the subjectivity of history by providing multiple possibilities and narratives (139). Moreover, it functions as a postcolonial tool as it rewrites Eurocentric versions of history (159). By presenting them as following their own intellectual curiosity and as sexually nonconformist, Ali grants Muslim women a voice. He also deconstructs some consistent representations of Muslims both in the past and the present. Ali defies the oversimplified persistent stereotypes about Muslim women as sexually compliant and undermines assumptions about Islam as ultimately a patriarchal religion. Ali finds a voice for them and gives an important postcolonial revisionist impetus to the task of writing historical fiction. As a matter of fact, Muslim women of the medieval period have been lost in the historical archive. As Ali writes in the Explanatory Note, "Women are a subject on which medieval history is usually silent. Salah al-Din, we are told, had sixteen sons, but nothing has been written about their sisters or mothers" (xiv). It is also easily observed that all the women depicted in the novel are actually fictional, as opposed to the men, who are a mixture of historical and fictional figures. This indicates that there is little historical evidence of women's affairs during Saladin's age. Amira Sonbol argues

that women's status in Islamic societies is still not comprehensive and that thorough research is still required to know the realities of Muslim women's histories. This lack of knowledge about women of the Islamic world has resulted in exotic stereotypes of them. She points out that histories of women emphasize primarily Western women and present their lives as a model to which the lives of other women are compared, which results in generating exotic images of Muslim women as the "Other". Sonbol maintains that exoticising Muslim women leads to excluding them from the world history as they are not added to the field (xvii-xviii). Denise Spelleberg argues that medieval Islamic sources about gender are problematic: they are a male-construct and are viewed in our modern time as the reality of Islam. Therefore, they influence Muslim as well non-Muslim perceptions of women's roles in the Islamic world (3).

Though little is provided about the status of Muslim women in the medieval period in history books, the literary and theological heritage of Islamic and Arab communities informs this issue. Drawing upon an in-depth study of Western medieval literary works, Mohja Kahf points out that representations of Muslim women as veiled, oppressed and silenced are completely absent from Western medieval literary texts (11). Kahf is critical of historians' tendency to claim that images of the harem and the veiled women have been always associated with Islam since Islam and Christianity first met in the seventh century (6).²⁰ She goes on to argue that in accordance with the changes of the geopolitical interests of the West, the discourse used to describe Muslims changed: in the eighteenth the nineteenth centuries when the Orientalist project started, as Edward Said points out in *Orientalism* (1978), images of oppressed women within Islam arose (8).²¹

²⁰ The word 'seraglio' emerged in English language in 1581 and the word "harem" emerged in 1634 (Kahf 5).

²¹ In eighteenth-century literature, the Muslim woman became the harem slave and in the nineteenth-century, the Romantic hero of the nineteenth century was there to save her (Kahf 8). As Britain and France commenced their imperialistic project in the East, images of subjugated, oppressed women were pervasive in nineteenth-century literary texts (6). However, Kahf clarifies that this transition was gradual: Renaissance literary texts included variable images of Muslim women, fluctuating between "wanton" queens to helpless women. In Renaissance texts Muslim women were presented to share with their counterpart European women the same social constraints (5). For Kahf, contrary to images of Muslim women in nineteenth-century Western literature, Medieval Muslim women appear as "a queen or noblewoman wielding power of harem or successor over the hero, reflecting in this the earthly might of Islamic civilization" (4). As Kahf notes, the plot of medieval literary texts goes as follows: a noblewoman who finds herself attracted to a Christian captive, imprisoned by her father or husband, and provides him with the support in a battle that takes place between Christians and Muslims. By the end of the battle, the

Gavin Hambly provides instances of real pivotal Muslim women characters in the medieval period that had great influence on public life in Islamicate communities, including queens, poets, and patrons. In addition, he offers instances of significant characters in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish literature and in artistic sources.²² For him, the West has misrepresented medieval Muslim women by associating them instantaneously with the veil and the harem. He explains that nineteenth and twentieth centuries' European travellers made a significant contribution towards viewing Muslim women as submissive. Hambly maintains that these explorers had contact only with servant and slave women and thereby, drew generalized pictures of oppressed Muslim women (4). As concluded from these works, some Muslim women in the medieval period were not submissive but rather took part in public life and had influential roles to play. Through representations of his two fictional female characters, Jamila and Halima, Ali presents a complex reality about living in "harems" and royal courts. They are often portrayed in the novel as enjoying a social life of their own that is highly developed on both the intellectual and cultural levels. For example, Jamila, one of Saladin's wives, is a free, open-minded and secular-oriented woman. She is a skeptic who is intelligent enough to understand the philosophical ideas and concepts of the famous Islamic Philosopher Ibn

lady converts to Christianity and "embraces a more passive femininity" (5). Kahf provides *Orderic Historia* (1130-1135) as an instance of this.

²² Hambly provides examples of Medieval Muslim women who implicitly exercised power. There had been queen-mothers who intervened with the state affairs such as Subh, a wife of the Spanish Umayyad al- Hakeem II (961-976) and mother of Hisham II (976-1009 and 110-13) (10). Moreover, he gives some instances of women that elite women exercised authority such as the wives of Ozbek, Khan of the Golden Horde, during the absence of the Khan (11). On the other hand, the book provides examples of women who exercised explicit public power for instance, in the book chapter entitled "Sayyied Hurra", Farhad Daftary presents Sayyied Hurra, the queen of Yemen (1047-1138) as an example of such a woman. In another chapter entitled "The Bold and the Beautiful" Remke Kruk draws our attention the Muslim women who appear in *The Thousand and One Nights* as forceful, manipulative, and smart while their male counterparts have less merits than her (100). She also draws attention to the fact that in some pre-Islamic Arab literature women appear as knightly warriors such in the Arabian Epics (100-101). In the chapter entitled "Zynab Bint Ali", David Pinault demonstrates that Shiite devotional literature, medieval and modern, a number of women members of the Prophet Mohammad's family and the in Shiite Imams were associated with major sacred historical incidents of the history of Muslim Shiite. To give some instances, Fatima Kubar and Sukaina Bint Husayn and Zainab bint Ali suffered a great deal in the incident of Karbala (75, 82). In her chapter "Three Queens, Two Wives, and a Goddess" Jenny Rose indicates that the various sources of arts such as rock reliefs, coins, mud and silverware from the Islamic Medieval period have figures of goddesses, queens, and noble women (31).

Rushd,²³ who favoured reason above mysteries, and to teach her ideology to other women (152, 184). Jamila also believes in al-Farabi's view that "human reason is superior to all religious faiths" (221-222).²⁴

As the novel is a fictionalized version of a possible past reality, Jamila's interest in al-Farabi and Ibn Rushd suggests that Muslim women of the harem in the medieval period were sophisticated enough to understand such complicated philosophies: they were philosophically dissident and opposed to the religious mainstream. However, Muslim women of the harem in the novel are shown as influential, free and strong-willed only behind the scenes. Although Jamila is aware of the existing theories of politics, she is unable to take part in the public political affairs. In this regard, Ibn Yakub is critical of the fact that Jamila, who is an intelligent, well-educated woman, is prevented from participating in the public sphere, particularly in commerce and state affairs (189). Jamila's interest in Ibn Rushd's philosophies is highly significant. Ali's mention of Ibn Rushd's philosophies is meant to suggest that there was a keen interest in gender perspectives in the twelfth century. This proves that, against the clear signs of gender biases in Islamicate communities manifested in the exclusion of women from the public sphere, there was also a philosophical probing of such gender inequalities. Ibn Rushd argues that women are equal to men in terms of intellectual capacity and that if women were granted the same education and the same opportunities to get exposed to public sphere, they would perform their roles as skillfully as men. For him, excluding women from the public domain is what makes them inferior to men (58-59). The philosophical views of Ibn Rushd at the time indicate that there were signs of gender inequality after the rule of Prophet Mohammad and the Rashidun Caliphs (632-661). According to Averroes, the reign of Arabs under the rule of Prophet Mohammad and the Rashidun Caliphs, his immediate successors, was an imitation of Plato's republic and that the start of the Umayyad Dynasty marked the end of it (121).

²³ Abu-al-Walid ibn Rushd, better known to the West as Averroes is a twelfth century philosopher and a physician who lived in Muslim Spain (Sonneborn 6).

²⁴ As Jacob Lassner notes "... al-Farabi had little interest in and showed little appreciation for the opinion of Islamic theologians. He believed that human reason was superior to simple religious faith...." (273)

Ali reinforces a more gender-balanced approach to women in the Islamic past through Saladin's explanation that women in Islam are allowed to learn, work and even fight: "There are some who argued this during the time of the Caliph Omar. They told him that our Prophet's first wife, Khadija, was a trader in her own right and she hired the Prophet to work for her, sometime before she wed him. After the Prophet departed, his wife Aisha took up arms and fought, and this was accepted at the time" (127). As can be noted, women here play a significant role in public life and nothing in Islam stops them from being an integral part of the social, economic and military domains. Ibn Rushd's standpoint on gender inequality, which dates back to the twelfth century, still has resonance in contemporary Islamicate communities. Mehrunisha Suleman and Afaaf Rajjee note that women played a major role in sustaining and developing the Islamic learning since the emergence of Islam in the seventh century. They indicate that women were jurists, trusty narrators of *hadith* and teachers of *hadith*, philosophy, logic and calligraphy. In light of this, they explicate that the teaching of Islam is not what leads to the subjugation of Muslim women in Islamicate societies. They argue that some Muslim men's tendency to "overprotect" Muslim women and eliminate them from public life leads to the Islamicate communities losing part of their quality. Ali's revisionist task of the history of Islam aims to serve an ideological end. He provides a multifaceted image about women in the harem and defies assumptions that Islam as a religion is backward and deprives women of the right to take part in public sphere. He implies that the teaching of Islam itself allows women to participate in public life and blames communities dominated by patriarchal ideologies and values for disqualifying women from taking part in public life, both in the past and the present. Ultimately, I argue that Ali suggests that Islamicate communities can be more just to women in ways similar to those used to be during the rule of Prophet Mohammad and the Rashidun Caliphs and tries to undermine political discourse that Western interventionism is essential to enable women to be part of public domain.

As part of his revisionist task as a postcolonial writer concerned with bringing the issue of women to light and defying images inherited from the colonial past, Ali presents intricate images about women's sexual life under Islam, images that undermine oversimplified conceptions about Muslims as sexually conformist. He depicts Muslims

as sexually unorthodox behind the scenes and thereby undermines contemporary Western discourse that Muslim women are victims of sexual repression and are in need of saving. David Machacek and Melissa Wilcox argue that in an attempt to justify its colonial acts, European colonialism claimed that a “civilising mission” is needed in the less civilized parts of the world. Thereby, European colonisers reported Muslim women as sexually repressed. They maintain that Western literature and art played a role in presenting Muslim women as “victims of sexual repression” (282). Kahf explains that the sexuality of Muslim women in Western medieval literary texts is not presented as a “state of objectification for male pleasure”; rather it is “an indication of her outrageous liberty” and the “orgiastic morality” of Islam, as the Church perceived it at the time. For medieval literary texts, this was a call to subdue the Muslim woman rather than liberate her (36). Ali’s representations of Muslim women, I suggest, correspond to their depictions in the Western literary canon of medieval literature as argued by Kahf. A Muslim female character that is involved in a secret sexual affair is a recurrent image in Ali’s *Islam Quintet*.²⁵ Though the novels cover a long period of history starting with the Middle Ages and ending in the twenty-first century, Ali’s representations prove to be consistent throughout the series. As we notice in these novels, several female characters develop secret heterosexual and homosexual relations. Ali implies in the *Islam Quintet* that though Islam imposes restrictions on sexual life for both men and women and confines it within marriage only, Muslim women are unorthodox behind the scenes in a way that empowers them beyond the restrictions of patriarchal domestic spaces.

In *The Book of Saladin*, besides Saladin’s concubines, we learn that Halima secretly seduces Amjad the eunuch (257), which is an exaggerated image about her extreme sexuality. We also learn that Jamila and Halima develop a secret homosexual

²⁵ To give some instances, in *The Stone Woman* several female characters confess their secret to the Stone Woman, indicating that they their secret affairs are dangerous to reveal ... “and the Stone Woman enabled all the women in this house to disgorge their secrets and thus live healthy inner life themselves.” (4) Niofer, the narrator of the novel, revealed to the Stone Woman her secret sexual relation with Selim (65). Furthermore, she exposes to the Stone Woman the secret that Islander Pasha, who is believed to be her father, is not her father and that her mother decided to marry him while she was impregnated by another man (8). In *The Shadows of the Pomegranate Tree*, we learn that Zahra and Ibn Zaydun are also involved in a secret sexual relationship (59). Hind also seduces Ibn Daud (166). In *Nights of the Golden Butterfly*, Zainab, who pretends to be a strict Muslim in public, develops an intimate relationship with a man (141).

relationship: in Jamila's words, "for fear of offending your delicate sensitivities, I will not describe our nights together" (180). Jamila's and Halima's different views on their relationship are significant. For instance, while Jamila is confident enough to expose to Ibn Yakub the secret of her affair with Halima, we learn from Jamila that Halima feels at some point guilty about her relationship with Jamila: "Three nights ago she told me that everything we had done together was evil, sinful and repulsive. She said that Allah would punish us..." (181). This indicates that at different stages of her life, Halima develops different views on sexuality. This again goes against essentializing Muslims as being sexually conformist and shows them as having mixed feelings about their sexual lives. Ali's attempts to bring Muslim women to the forefront and to grant them a voice complicate stereotypes of Muslim women as submissive and segregated. Ali tries to present images of Muslim women that undermine the Western discourse of liberating Muslim women. In this regard, Peter Morey and Amina Yaqin argue that protecting women was used as a pretext for the use of force in the Gulf War in 1991 (10). Accordingly, I argue that Ali's manipulation of the historical archive is meant to serve a political objective. Ali's novel aims to provide the Western reader with complex realities about Islamic cultures that refute the Western political discourse that Muslim women are passive and submissive and thereby military involvement is crucial to save them.

Ali's views about Muslims' sexuality also seem to have come as a direct response to a popular view in the West that Muslims are victims of severe restrictions imposed upon them by their religion and that their sexual repression leads to their acts of violence. In an interview entitled "A Mass Expression of Outrage against Injustice" (2011), Bernard Lewis argues that sexual repression in Islamic societies is a source of terror: "Another thing is the sexual aspect of it. One has to remember that in the Muslim world, casual sex, Western-style, doesn't exist... On the one hand, it can lead to the suicidal bomber, who is attracted by the virgins of paradise - the only ones available to him. On the other hand, sheer frustration." Lewis' argument echoes his previous views in his 1990 article, "The Roots of Muslim Rage": "... And yet, in moments of upheaval and disruption, when the deeper passions are stirred, this dignity and courtesy towards others

can give way to an explosive mixture of rage and hatred...” (59).²⁶ While Lewis considers sexual repression in Islamic societies as a main source of terror, Ali represents the sexuality of Muslim women and men as unorthodox, which attempts to challenge speculations about any potential effect of repressed sexual drives among Muslims eventually leading to terrorist acts. In this regard, Sajid Ali, Pervez and Malik argue that in Ali’s *Islam Quintet*, there are secular aspects about life under Islam that are manifested in the lives of the different characters in the novel. As we see in the novel, Ali does not present Saladin as a very religious person. Saladin appears in some instances as a secular person who indulges in satisfying his lust as a boy and as a mature man and in drinking wine in taverns. Also, he saves Halima’s life by deciding not to apply strict Islamic punishment regarding adultery (65). By presenting Saladin as a religious leader who shows a magnanimous and open-minded understanding of the faith, Ali, I argue, gives a balanced version of Islam and Muslims.

In the novel, Muslim violence is depicted as a retaliation to the Franjs’ cruel actions. Richard proffers inconsiderate, revengeful reactions that generate tension. Ibn Yakub narrates: “On Friday, a holy day for the followers of the Prophet Mohammed, Richard ordered the public execution of three thousand prisoners and his knights kicked their heads into the dust.... Salah al-Din swore revenge and ordered henceforth no Franj to be taken alive” (350-351). As seen from the narrator’s perspective, Richard shows ruthless treatment towards the Muslim prisoners whose execution has prompted Saladin’s deep anger and frustration.²⁷ Saladin is so aggrieved that he decides to take a stronger response by insisting on revenge instead of his attested magnanimity. Thus, the novel suggests that it is Richard’s cruelty that generates violence on the Muslim part. Summarizing his own opinion of Richard’s action Ibn Yakub writes: “He may have taken pleasure in executing helpless prisoners, but his Crusade failed and therein lies our

²⁶ The theory was revived after 9/11 by the anthropologist Lionel Tiger in his article “Osama Bin Laden’s Man Trouble” (2001), which appeared in *Slate*. Then it was reinforced by critics such Jamie Glazov in his article “The Sexual Rage behind Islamic Terror” (2001), and Ian Buruma in his article “Extremism: The Loser’s Revenge” (2006), which was published in *The Guardian* newspaper.

²⁷ Describing the Massacre of Acre, Beha Ed-Din writes: “The Franks rushed upon them all at once and slaughtered them in cold blood with sword and lance.... As soon as the Moslem saw what they were doing to the prisoners, they rushed down on the Franks, and a certain number were killed and wounded on both sides” (273).

victory” (358). On another occasion in the novel, Saladin receives a letter from Cairo through which he learns about a raid against Jews that has taken place there. In response, Saladin acts violently in order to protect the victims of this assault (329). Ali’s representations suggest that Saladin and his soldiers resort to non-peaceful actions only when they are antagonized beyond endurance. This situation, which shows a parallel condition in our contemporary world, is meant to suggest that Muslim violent actions are provoked by hostility practised against them.

Taking into account the historical analogies that the novel sets up, Richard’s harsh treatment of the Muslim prisoners has contemporary implications. By means of historical analogy of the Third Crusade, Ali reflects critically on the current inhumane treatment of the Palestinian prisoners. Drawing upon a thorough study of essays written by Palestinian prisoners and ex-prisoners, Human Rights defenders, lawyers and academic researchers, Abeer Baker and Anat Matar examine how Palestinian prisoners have been harshly treated in Israeli prisons. They argue that “security prisoner” is a code that is used to describe Palestinian prisoners in general. These detainees are considered a “security threat” and treated according to the group category. Ironically, this group consists of Palestinians of all ages, including children. Without exception, these prisoners face harsh treatment including brutal arrest, prohibition from meeting lawyers, and illegal interrogation methods and arrest without trial (viii). Hence, by deploying historical analogies, Ali tries to dissociate Muslims from violence both in the past and in the present. He attempts to show Muslims as victims of unfair violence practised against them, and hence their violence constitutes a response to such treatment.

Ali’s assessment of Muslims’ violence in the novel is akin to his views about this subject in *The Clash of Fundamentalisms* (2002). Ali’s book argues that the Islam-West clash, more particularly the 9/11 attacks, stems from the violence that has been practised by the Western countries, especially the United States, in the different Arab and Islamic countries such as Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Palestine and Chechnya. For Ali, such hostile actions carried out against Arabs and Muslims led to the rise of Islamic fundamentalism. The causes of contemporary violence practised by Muslims against the Western world have been widely investigated but have remained controversial. David Frum and Richard Perle argue that “the roots of Muslim rage are to

be found in Islam itself” (40). For them, Muslim terrorist attacks were motivated by the intention of destroying Western civilisation and imposing Islamic rules worldwide (35). Therefore, they explicitly urge the United States to launch an immediate war against terror and the countries that harbour it including Syria, Libya and Saudi Arabia (83). For them, military action is essential for uprooting terror. On the other hand, some political analysts see the problem to lie not in the Muslim faith and Muslim radicalism but rather in the unfair foreign policies towards the Islamic world. In an in-depth study that draws on the first complete accumulated database of suicide attacks worldwide from 1980-2003, which are 315 assaults altogether, Robert Pape argues that the association between suicide terrorism and Islamic fundamentalism is misleading (3). According to the data, Pape maintains, the terrorists’ objective is to force military presences to withdraw from what they perceive as their homeland. As he argues, only in rare cases is religion the main cause of terror. However, religion is often employed as a pretext to justify aims and to recruit people (38). As he points out, the suicide terrorist attacks did not come from the most Islamic fundamentalist populations but rather from Muslim countries with a heavy military presence (242). In light of this, I contend that in his novel, Ali challenges the Western media’s association of Muslims with violence and presents complex causes of violence practised by some Muslims, taking into account the wider historical context that generates cruelty. Thereby, I argue, Ali urges Western countries to avoid using force and to resort to fair policies towards the Muslim-majority countries as a way of reducing violence.

Stewart Binns's *Lionheart* (2013)

If the time is not yet here when we can achieve our objective by changing men's minds, let us do it with the power of our swords" (Binns, *Lionheart* 346).

In his novel *Lionheart*, Binns, I argue, establishes an historical analogy between the Third Crusade and Britain's present role in defeating terror worldwide. In his fictional biography of Lionheart, Binns presents Richard, his English hero, as highly concerned with stability in the Holy Land. Thereby, through historical analogy, Binns shows appreciation for Britain's different contemporary foreign policies in achieving world peace, more particularly, its efforts in respect to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the military interventionism in Iraq in 2003. In the novel, Richard makes thorough attempts to establish peace between Muslims and Christians in the Holy Land. Although Muslims throughout the novel show great solidarity and devotion to their mission of protecting the Holy Land, they eventually appear unable to manage their own political affairs and therefore ask for Richard's interference to sort the dilemma out. Ultimately, I argue that Binns endorses Britain's current military action and political interventionism in the Middle East.

To give a short biography of the author, Binns is a contemporary British author and an award-winning documentary producer and media consultant. He started his professional life as an academic and recently became a specialist in historical documentaries. Binns is self-educated in many subjects including American history, modern Japanese history, cinema, and military history. He joined the army for a period of time. He also worked as a researcher in the Political Research Department at the BBC. Currently, he is a chief executive and co-founder of the independent production and distribution company Big Ape Media International. Binns is presently working on the Great War Series and his first two books of the series, *The Shadow of War* and *The Darkness of the Thunder: 1915* were published in 2014 and 2015 respectively. He is the author of *Britain at War in Colour* (2010), *The British Empire in Colour* (2002), *America at War in Colour* (2001) and *The Greatest* (1996) ("Stewart Binns: About").

Lionheart (2013) is the last novel of Binns's The Making of England Quartet. The series consists of four historical novels revolving around the history of medieval England. The first novel in the series is *Conquest* (2011), set in eleventh-century England and explores the Norman conquest of England. The novel tackles primarily the life and the heroic achievements of Hereward of Bourne.²⁸ The second novel is *Crusade* (2012) set in the twelfth century in England and in the Holy Land. The novel focuses on the Norman rule of England as well as the First Crusade to the Holy Land. The third novel is *Anarchy* (2013), set in twelfth century England and examines the first civil war in England and Normandy. The novel centres on the life and the noble deeds of Earl Harold of Hereford,²⁹ who later became King. The last novel is *Lionheart* (2013), set in twelfth-century England and the Holy Land and traces the life and the accomplishments of Richard, the Lionheart in both places. The four novels are linked by the story of the Talisman of Truth.³⁰ Throughout the series, the amulet keeps transferring from one guardian to another, searching for its rightful recipient. In *Conquest* and *Crusade*, the Talisman of Truth is passed to Hereward.³¹ Later on, in *Anarchy*, it is passed to his grandson, Harold, where he becomes its guardian. Eventually, it is revealed in *Lionheart* that Richard is the right receiver of the Talisman of Truth and the King who is worthy of wearing it around his neck and thus it is eventually handed to him.

Narrated from the viewpoint of Sir Ranulf, Richard's trusted military advisor, the novel traces the tumultuous life of King Richard from his early youth to his downfall and tells the events of the Third Crusade. While he is still nineteen, Richard is able to lead an

²⁸ The legendary Fenland hero who is known as Hereward the Wake. He revolted against Duke William of Normandy [after the Norman conquest of England] (Geoff Boxell).

²⁹ King Harold Godwineson, the last Anglo-Saxon king. His reign of England, which lasted for only nine months, was the shortest reign in the history of England. He played a crucial role in the events of 1066 where England was witnessing excessive raids from the Vikings (Walker xxi).

³⁰ As defined in *Lionheart*, the Talisman of Truth, which is also called the Devil's Amulet, is "a primeval piece of amber. It contains the image of the Devil and his familiars..." (48).

³¹ In *Conquest*, Hereward has been banished from England and becomes an outlaw (52-53), he meets with the Old Man of the Wildwood (60). The man tells Hereward to find his daughter, Torfida and to ask her to give him the Talisman of Truth (65). Hereward meets Torfida and she hands him the Talisman of Truth (101). We learn later that it was given to Torfida's father by Queen Emma (212). Torfida entrusts carrying the Talisman of Truth and finding the right leader to wear it to Hereward (102).

army and he has been already called “Lionheart”. Early in his life and political career, Richard will be sent on pilgrimage to redeem him of his sins. After his father’s death in 1189, Richard inherits a large empire that provides him with enough resources to lead the Third Crusade. Richard’s physical presence, his domineering personality, his remarkable military prowess, his skillfulness in hand-to-hand skills and his struggle against Saladin in the Holy Land have made him a legend. Eventually, Richard concludes a truce with Saladin through which he guarantees Christians the freedom of Pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Richard then returns to England. Knowing that Richard is travelling through the Alps, Leopold, Duke of Austria issues orders for the King’s arrest and Richard is caught while in his bed sick and tired. Although the Pope excommunicates Leopold for his action, he puts Richard on trial during which he most eloquently and effectively defends himself against the accusations of Leopold’s men. Ultimately, Richard is wounded fatally by a boy in France.

In order to understand Binns’s representations of Richard in *Lionheart*, it is essential to understand the significance of the Talisman of Truth, as well as to refer to depictions of the First Crusade in his previous novel *Crusade*.³² The amulet is highly suggestive. In *Lionheart*, Richard turns out to be the descendant of Hereward of Bourne and Earl Harold. We realise later that Harold is Richard’s grandfather and Hereward his great-great-grandfather, both legendary Anglo-Saxon heroes. Thereby, Richard is constructed as having English blood, far more than he is aware of.³³ He shows great

³² Narrated from the perspective of Edgar, an English knight, *Crusade* tells the story of a group of English knights: Etheldreda of Estrith, Edwin, Sweyen, and Adela, who decide to leave England after it has been conquered by the Normans to search for a better life. Unlike the other European Crusaders who have taken part in the First Crusade, the English Knights develop a peaceful attitude towards Muslims and show profound concern with establishing peace between Muslims and Christians in the Holy Land. When The First Crusade is launched, the English knights decide to accompany the Crusaders to the Holy Land. As the narrator indicates, the vast majority of the Crusaders were Normans or Franks (376). The English knights accompany the rest of the Crusaders but refuse to fight against Muslims of the Holy Land. Contrary to their tolerant and peaceful attitude, as the narrator indicates, Raymond of Toulouse has used the request of the Byzantium Emperor, Alexius I, to the Pope asking for help against the Turks to develop anti-Islamic sentiment among the Christians and to provoke them against Muslims (308).

³³ Before his death, Father Alun exposes the secret of the Talisman of Truth to Ranulf, the narrator. We learn from Father Alun that Empress Matilda, Richard’s grandmother, and Earl Harold were lovers and that her children including Richard’s father, were the sons of Earl Harold rather than her husband, Geoffrey. This story has been written on a manuscript that was kept in the secret vaults of the Vatican Library in Rome. The Talisman of Truth is the tool that gives access to retrieve these documents. Father Alun entrusts the mission of carrying the story for Richard and for England to Ranulf (288-296). On retrieving the accounts, the narrator, who is proud of his Englishness, becomes more intensely proud of it when he listens

interest in creating peace and defying violence in the Holy Land, an attitude that he shares with the English Crusaders in Binns's previous novel, *Crusade*. Thereby and through historical analogy, Binns endorses Britain's present contemporary effort in defeating terrorism as a continuation of its historical role as a moral mediator.

Views about Britain's role in achieving peace in the world have gained wide currency. For instance, Niall Ferguson argues that Britain's colonial heritage formed today's modern world. For him, British colonisation has introduced the parliamentary democracy to the colonies and has forced the rule of law. Moreover, according to Ferguson, the British Empire created unparalleled peace in the world (358-59). Through his fictional works, Binns reinforces the notion that Britain has contributed towards creating stability in the world. Here, it is essential to reflect on Binns's choice of the narrator. As we learn, the narrator, Sir Ranulf is Richard's English trusted military advisor and therefore he is in a position to reflect critically on the military actions and to assess Richard's chivalry.³⁴ Moreover, he has been chosen by Earl Harold, the legendary Anglo-Saxon hero. According to Binns, as discussed earlier, Englishness is associated with morality and peacefulness, qualities that his English narrator is expected to have. Therefore, Binns's selection of an English Knight as his narrator implies that the heroic image of Richard that he provides in the novel is narrated from an English perspective, a perspective that venerates chivalry and morality. Thus, Binns tries to show that Richard's actions in the Holy Land have been endorsed by an English knight. He implies that according to the unparalleled English values and morals, Richard is perceived as an envoy of peace.

In *Lionheart*, Binns is keen to emphasise Richard's distinguished position on the future of the Holy Land. Richard, the British leader, shows great concern with the relationship between Muslims and Christians in Holy Land and consequently decides to launch his Crusade. While in *The Book of Saladin*, Ali shows Saladin's attempt to recapture Jerusalem to be motivated mainly by the atrocities caused by the Franj against Muslims and Jews in the First Crusade, in Binns's *Lionheart*, the Third Crusade starts as

to the content of the documents as they narrate some historical details about the heroes of England and Richard's origin (377-378).

³⁴ Indicating that he is English Ranulf says: "I had done well, especially for an Englishman" (3).

an immediate reaction to Saladin's call for jihad. Moreover, according to the version of the narrative from Father Alun, Richard's trusted spiritual consultant, Saladin has attacked the Christian territories and has practised different types of violence against its civilian inhabitants including women (187). He goes on to describe Saladin's violent actions of killing, beheading, mass execution, setting fire, and defiling the True Cross (188). On hearing of the takeover of Jerusalem by Saladin and the outrages that have been committed against Christians in the Hattin Battle, Richard decides to "take the Cross" and lead the Crusade (186). Accordingly, I argue that Binns's representations of the causes of the Third Crusade imply that Richard's mission is triggered by a moral obligation towards Christians in the Holy Land, those who have been suffering the fierceness of Saladin's army. When arriving in the Holy Land, Richard resorts to different policies in order to end violence in the region. He deploys both diplomatic and military methods to resolve the conflict. However, contrary to Richard, the other European leaders of the Third Crusade appear as unconcerned with and disloyal to their mission. This is clearly manifested in King Philip of France's and Leopold Duke of Austria's decision to depart to Europe leaving Richard's forces to defend the Christian cause unaided (229-300), which reflects Richard's unique position among the other leaders of the Crusades.

Reading the novel in its contemporary context, I argue that Binns creates an historical analogy between Richard's medieval Crusade and Britain's, particularly British Prime Minister Tony Blair, contemporary efforts to establish peace and defeat terrorism. Toby Greene argues that in the wake of 9/11, Blair's approach to responding to terrorism was different from that of American President, George W. Bush. For Greene, Blair was active towards the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and promoted the notion that resolving the issue was the core point in defeating terrorism. On the other hand, the United States' views were to strike back using military action against terror. This view, which was referred to as the "Bush Doctrine", was central to Bush's mission. Though Bush was aware that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was a major issue for Arabs, he centred his efforts primarily on launching his "War on Terror" as the US administration's response to previous terrorist assaults by Islamists were deemed insufficient. As argued by Greene, the peace process in the Middle East was central to Blair's approach. Blair requested Palestinians to stop violence and called upon Israelis to end their settlement

activities. He attempted strenuously to persuade Bush to focus on the peace process and not only on the military action. However, Bush's stand on linking the peace process and the "War on Terror" was frustrating to Blair and his team. Despite Blair's efforts to persuade Bush, the U.S. had only limited engagement in the peace process (106-109). Hence, I argue that Binns's depictions of Richard's unique stance and his devotion to his mission of establishing peace in the Holy Land are equivalent to Blair's efforts in defeating violence in the world by seeking to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian issue. Moreover, by presenting the other leaders of the Crusade as being undedicated to their mission, Binns alludes to Blair's disappointment with Bush's indifferent attitude towards the Israeli-Palestinian issue. According to Greene, Blair and New Labour inherited the perception of Britain as a "force for good in the world" (56). In other words, notions of the distinctive role of Britain as an agent of goodness throughout history still influences contemporary political discourse.

In view of Greene's observations, I suggest that Binns's contemporary representations of Richard's Crusade aim to present Britain's role in world peace as historically consistent. In an attempt to resolve the conflict taking place in the Holy Land, Richard prioritizes diplomatic methods for settling the issue. He suggests marrying off his sister, Joanna to Saladin's brother, Saphadin (al-Adil) and making them joint rulers of Jerusalem. As Richard explains, this will bring peace between Muslims and Christians for generations (336). However, Saphadin rejects Richard's suggestion. He describes Richard's proposal as irrational and disapproves it on the basis that for a Muslim man to marry a Christian woman is an insult to both Islam and Christianity (341). However, according to the historical record written from both Muslim and Western perspectives, it was Richard's sister who refused the marriage proposal. William Stubbs mentions that Joanna refused Saphadin's proposal as he was a Muslim. For her, in order to accept the marriage proposal, Saphadin had to convert to Christianity (361-362). Similarly according to Saladin's chronicler Beha Ed-Din,³⁵ Richard's sister did not consent to the

³⁵ Beha Ed-Din was born in Mosul, Iraq. He accompanied Saladin to his later campaigns (XIII). Talking about what urged him to compose this biographical work, Ibn Shaddad says: "overwhelmed by the favour of Salah ed-Din, honored by his friendship and attached to his service, I felt obliged, both by gratitude and duty, to relate to the world all I knew and all that I had learnt of his noble character and his heroic actions. But I have thought it right to confine myself to those things which I have seen with my own eyes, and to

marriage proposal as she would not give herself to a Muslim (312). Accordingly, I suggest that Binns manipulates the historical record in order to present Muslims as unready to create peace and to coexist peacefully with Christians in the Holy Land.

Through his depictions of the Massacre of Acre, Binns reinforces the same notion. The Massacre of Acre is significant and is represented from two opposing perspectives in Ali's *The Book of Saladin* and Binns's *Lionheart*. While Ali shows that Richard's cruelty is what has generated violence on the Muslim part, Binns's representations of the massacre imply that Saladin's delays in fulfilling Richard's conditions of releasing the captives and his lack of diplomacy have resulted in Richard acting cruelly against the Muslim captives (266-268). Richard's proposal of freeing both the Christian and the Muslim prisoners is confronted with Saladin's postponements. Binns, I suggest, creates an historical analogy between the Acre Massacre and the "Gilad Shalit prisoner exchange". Yossi Mekelbergs describes the swap as "one of the most prolonged and complex prisoner exchanges in the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict". Jack Khoury points out that Shalit had been held a prisoner by Hamas for five years and the Red Cross was denied access to his prison. He states that the international Quartet of the Middle East cautioned that delays in releasing Shalit would hinder the peace process between Israelis and Palestinians. Khoury pointed out that Shalit's parents called Blair to request Hamas to release their son unconditionally.

In his newspaper article "Israel Cabinet approves Shalit Deal" (2011), Uriel Heilman describes the public solidarity demanding Shalit's release as a "Crusade". According to the article: "the crusade included vigils, marchers, meetings, statements by world leaders, celebrity endorsement, bumper stickers, congressional resolutions, songs and a protest encampment opposite the prime minister's official residence in Jerusalem." Similarly, in an article entitled "Israeli Sergeant Gilad Shalit Became National Rallying Point" (2011), Curry Colleen referred to the public request to release the soldier as a "Crusade". Thus, the term "Crusade" was used by some media sources to describe a humanitarian call for setting the Israeli soldier free. In this regard, Christopher Haynes argues, Israel turned the Israeli-Palestinian issue into "a moral crusade of good against

such information from others as appeared to be of indisputable authority" (2-3). His book has been translated into English by C.W. Wilson in 1897.

evil” (4). He maintains, the Israeli media played a significant role in presenting Shalit as a moral soldier who tried to defend himself against the violence practised against him (13). Taking Haynes views into account, I suggest that Binns tries to present the Massacre of Acre and, by means of historical analogy, the Shalit’s swap, as a struggle against the forces of evil. He constructs the Crusade in his novel as an ethical mission that is connected with the objective of defying forces of evil and mediating goodness in the world. Accordingly, I contend that Binns establishes historical similarities between Richard’s historical efforts to release the captive Crusaders and Blair’s contemporary contribution towards the request of releasing Shalit. By deploying historical analogy, both Richard’s medieval Crusade to the Holy Land and Blair’s contemporary mission in Israel and Palestine are constructed as humanitarian missions. Such an attempt is meant to show that Blair’s role is connected with the objective of supporting forces of goodness against forces of evil, which aims to reemphasize Britain’s moral role in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and ultimately at a global scale.

In the novel, due to Saladin’s delays in fulfilling Richard’s demands, the latter decides to execute the Muslim prisoners. Binns implies that Hamas’ delays in releasing Shalit would affect the peace process negatively. Hence, from such a perspective, Hamas is to be blamed for generating future tension between the two sides. Binns, I suggest, tries to create similarity between Richard’s humanitarian obligation towards the prisoners and that of Blair, which again stresses what is viewed as Britain’s consistent humanitarian role towards world peace. However, in this particular situation, Richard shows bias towards and cruelty against Muslims and therefore, both Father Alun, his trusted spiritual consultant, and Sir Ranulf, the narrator, criticise his harsh decision. As the latter states: “I am only sorry our king does not possess the same nobility” (270). When Richard shows uncontrolled fierceness on one occasion, Ranulf not only criticises him but also refuses to fulfil his orders of carrying an execution. Binns, I suggest, includes such details and creates such characters to show that he is not partial towards Richard and that the novel’s moral agents can also criticise his behaviours whenever needed. Binns’s deployment of Father Alun’s character as Richard’s spiritual trusted consultant reinforces views of Britain as a force of spreading humanitarian values. Father Alun’s main function is to provide Richard with advice regarding ethical and spiritual matters, which again implies

that Richard's actions are assessed in accordance with English perceptions and values. Binns attempts to show that Richard's deeds in the Holy Land have honourable goals. In light of this, I contend that Binns's narrative is ideologically drawn to Blair's and constitutes his actions as a continuation of Britain's ethical function towards the world. Binns's representations of Richard as biased and cruel in the Massacre of Acre and the objection he receives from his men are meant to create analogies between Richard and Blair's support for Israel. Greene states that Blair adopted a pro-Israeli stand and his party criticised him for having a pro-Israeli attitude. However, Blair justified his position by stating that for him the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is a struggle between "reactionary Islam and the values of tolerance, freedom, and respect" (192). It is clearly noted in the novel that Richard shows a favourable attitude towards Jews. Richard's traditional animosity to Jews which is much talked about in Ali's *The Book of Saladin* is here subdued and even presented in a different way. As we notice in the novel, Richard is ready to come to the rescue of the Jews when rioters ruthlessly slaughtered many of them, accusing them of being allies of Muslims in their conquest of Jerusalem. Contrary to his aggressive attitude towards Jews that we notice in Ali's account of him, Richard in *Lionheart* immediately punishes severely all perpetrators of the riots and takes precautionary measures to guarantee the safety of the Jews (203-204).

Ruth Schuster argues that Richard's coronation in 1189 was "bad news for Jews of England". Despite their friendly attitude to Richard, he tortured them. She argues further that after he became king Jews, who were referred to as "infidels," were murdered and burned and some of them were forced to convert. As Richard of Devizes indicates, Jews in London were brutally treated and burned (3-4). Nevertheless, John Gillingham argues that this brutality towards Jews made Richard furious, not because he was tolerant but as Jews were for him "a source of revenue" (130). Consequently, I suggest that in representing the massacre of Jews at Richard's coronation in 1189, Binns manipulates historical sources in order to present Richard as sympathetic towards Jews, a depiction that is historically inaccurate. I argue that Binns manipulation of the historical archive, particularly with regard to Richard's treatment of Jews, serves an ideological objective. This magnanimous approach on Richard's part that appears in the novel further reinforces the parallel between Blair's contemporary ideological stance and Richard's historical

position. Richard shows a tolerant and a peaceful attitude toward Jews. In parallel ways, Blair demonstrates a pro-Jewish stand.

Richard's suggestion of sharing the Holy Land and the Muslims' refusal of his efforts of building harmonious relationships between them and Christians mirror Blair's support of the two-state settlement for the Israeli-Palestinian issue. As Patrick Wintour and Ian Black point out, Blair tried to persuade Bush to focus more on the Israeli-Palestinian issue in order to guarantee a two-state solution. When Richard's plans are faced with Muslim rejection, the King finds himself obliged to resort to violence. Let us turn to the quotation used as this chapter's epigraph: "If the time is not yet here when we can achieve our objective by changing men's mind, let us do it with the power of our swords. If I must fight for the city, then that's what I'll do" (346). As implied by his words, Richard seeks non-violent resolution to sort the conflict of the Holy Land out. However, as Muslims appear unable to foster attitudes of tolerance and diplomatic coexistence, Richard is left with no option but the use of force. Richard's change in attitude, I suggest, parallels the change in Blair's foreign policy and his decision to take a military action against terrorism.

As Greene observes, in March, 2002, the Palestinian Intifada's suicide bombing, which was carried out in a hotel in Natanya and resulted in killing 30 Israeli civilians, was a turning point in Blair's views of the peace process in the Middle East. Blair saw that the issue of Iraq and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict were interconnected. For Blair, leaving Saddam Hussein in power would have hindered any progress on the peace process in the region (116-118). As Greene points out, Blair stated that defeating the ideology of terror was how it could be ended and therefore the military action was essential to defeat violence (166). Describing his views on Richard's decision to use the sword against Muslims, the narrator says that Richard "had responded with military solution as elegant and sound as any great general of the past could have devised" (361). As we can see, the narrator endorses Richard's military action and believes that any of the past English heroes who, according to Binns, possessed moral attitudes towards other nations, would have made the same decision. This again shows Binns's attempts to present Richard's mission in the Holy Land as a moral mission undertaken for the good of other nations. Since Binns shows Richard's attitude to be a continuation of that of his

English predecessors, Binns creates an historical analogy between Richard and Blair, suggesting that Blair's standpoint on the "War on Terror" is similarly an extension of Britain's moral obligation towards the rest of the world.

In this regard, it is essential to discuss the "just war" tradition and how war can be viewed as a moral obligation. Jean Elshtain traces the emergence of the "just war" concept. She points out that it was established by St. Augustine in his fourth-century work *The City of God*. For her, America's "War on Terror" can be understood and examined within the context of this tradition. Elshtain argues that according to the concept of "just war", war can be used as means of establishing justice and restoring order (50). While some Christians argue that early Christianity teachings were peaceful and anti-war, she counter-argues that theologians such as St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, and St. Thomas Aquinas supported the "just war" tradition. For her, they did not deviate from the mainstream Christianity but rather developed their views from the early teachings of Christianity. Elshtain supports their views that war can be deployed to protect innocent people from evil and slaughter. According to her, war can be justified as long as it serves as a way of creating justice, which peace cannot always fulfil (51). Accordingly, Elshtain argues that America's military response to 9/11 becomes crucial as it is a way of fulfilling its responsibility towards civilians by preventing any further harm (59). For her, America's war in Afghanistan has been a good example of the "just war" tradition as it managed to better off the lives of the people there: she provides the reopening of schools as an example (60-61). However, in a counter argument that is based on an in-depth historical study, Michael Walzer argues that there has never been a "humanitarian intervention". He maintains, there have not been cases where the humanitarian drive is only one of the motives of war (101). Thus, Binns seems to be persuaded about the function of war as a medium for bringing justice to the world.

Drawing upon a considerable number of Blair's speeches, interviews, press conferences as well as evidence from the Iraq Inquiry, Peter Lee reflects critically on the supposedly "just war" on terror. For Lee, Blair used language more efficiently than any other contemporary politician to create a moral discourse in order to justify Britain's involvement in the war in Iraq in 2003 (xi). Lee argues that Blair "presented himself as ethical" by showing support for Bush, "a friend in need", as well as through his effort to

defend the weak by defying Saddam in Iraq. According to him, some of the notions that Blair used have been taken out of context and are not historically valid any longer (8). He maintains that the “civilizing mission” in Iraq provoked accusations of new imperialism against the United States and Britain (150). Lee’s argument reflects that notions about Britain’s “civilisation mission” are outdated and would be viewed as a contemporary imperial project in the Middle East. By the same token, Steven Kettell argues that Blair’s decision to support the US in its war against terror in Iraq was motivated by the desire of enhancing Britain’s dominance in determining world affairs (12-13). Moreover, Greg Muttitt argues that control over Iraq’s oil was a major factor in the US and Britain’s war in the country in 2003 (xxviii). As he argues, for both Bush and Blair, Iraq was merely a starting point for much wider economic action. For him, the main objective of the military action was restructuring the oil industry in the entire region of the Middle East (xxix).³⁶ Although there has been a debate that Britain’s decision to take part in the war against terror aimed to achieve economic ends, Binns seems to be persuaded by notions that Britain’s actions always serve humanitarian ends, an idea that is demonstrated clearly in his book *The British Empire in Colour* (2002). By providing a number of pictures in this book, Binns presents the British Empire as an agent of incomparable humane objectives. The whole premise of the book revolves around the civilising legacy that the British Empire left in the less civilised parts of the world. To give some instances, he shows pictures of boarding schools, sports teams, airplanes, and engineering projects in different parts of Africa in the 1950s (120-123). These pictures suggest that Britain contributed towards the task of civilising Africans. Binns’s representations of British foreign policy remind us of Paul Gilroy’s argument in his book *Postcolonial Melancholia* (2005). Gilroy argues that it is worrying that sometimes the colonial past and memory stimulate “imperialist nostalgia” in ways that lead ultimately to endorsing contemporary colonial economic and military activities (3). In light of Gilroy’s views Binns, I suggest, is nostalgically aggrandising Britain’s global role at a time when it no longer has an Empire.

³⁶ Muttitt states that in shaping his argument he drew upon a number of unreleased British and American government documents and talked to a few politicians in the country, as well as attended the anti-privatisation conference in Basra and the meeting in Amman (xxvii).

Binns's appreciative portrayals of Richard's stance on war, I maintain, indicate that he is swayed by views on war as means of achieving moral objectives that cannot be fulfilled through peaceful methods. Thus, the military action does not contradict Britain's humanitarian function; rather, it becomes in some circumstances crucial for achieving stability, a notion that by means of historical analogy is reinforced in the novel. Commenting on the London bombings of 7/7 2005, in his book *Rough Music* (2005), Ali argues that the events were the outcomes of Britain's military intervention in Iraq (6). Ali observes that the British media had a unified perspective on the war in Iraq: it was supportive of war.³⁷ He maintains that contrary to the stand of media on the military action, the majority of British population was against the war (26).³⁸ For him, after the events took place, the media endeavoured to subvert the linkage between the London bombing and the wars in the Middle East (49). As Ali demonstrates, there was a wide gap between British media's positions on the "War on Terror" and that of average Britons. In accordance with Ali's argument, I contend that Binns's novel functions as a medium of bridging this gap. For this end, Binns presents Muslims as violent and furthermore constructs Britain as a moral agent.

Binns's narrator indicates that Saladin's army is united despite its diversity. It consists of Muslims descending from different origins including Seljuks, Armenians, Mamluks, Nubians, Sudanese, Bedouin and Egyptians (304), which reflects a sense of faithfulness and fraternity on the part of Muslims. Moreover, as observed in the novel, Saladin's army is being provided with huge supplies: for instance, we learn that a massive Mamluk army along with enormous supplies has approached the Holy Land from Egypt (346). Although Muslims appear united and devoted to their mission, they seem to be unable to manage their own affairs and therefore ultimately beg for Richard's intervention to solve the issue. Hence, Binns promotes Huntington's notions that appear in "The Clash of Civilizations?". In this article, Huntington argues that after the Gulf War, Arabs were offended by the Western military presence in the Arab world and by

³⁷ Ali mentions: *The Times*, *Sun*, *Sunday Times*, *News of the World*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Sunday Telegraph*, *Daily and Sunday Express*, the *London Standard*, *Daily Mail* and *Mail on the Sunday* (25).

³⁸ Ali points out that the BBC was "searching hard" in the streets to find pro-war people (27).

the realization that they are unable to determine their own destiny (32). By means of historical analogies, Binns, I argue, endeavours to present Britain's presence in the Middle East as crucial and thereby tries to justify it.

Binns reinforces traditional representations of Muslims in Western media as violent. On his arrival in the Holy Land the narrator says: "The air was cooling rapidly; it had become a characteristically beautiful Mediterranean evening... Suddenly, the harsh reality of the cruel world we had arrived in breached the peace" (257). As noted, the narrator sets Muslims in a sharp contrast with the Mediterranean climate, which he describes as peaceful. For the narrator, that Muslims are violent is a reality and is the main cause of instability in the region. Moreover, through his narrator, Binns tries to associate Muslims with brutality. Commenting on the atrocities that have been caused by the Muslim army the narrator says: "As I moved south, I could see little other than the devastation of war. What were once villages were now ruins, some still smouldering; barns had been ravaged, crops burned, wells poisoned and every edible creature had either been eaten or killed" (300). We notice that through the accounts of his narrator, Binns tries to present Muslims' military manners in dealing with land, water, humans and fortresses as barbaric. He attributes savagery to them by presenting them as cannibals. Furthermore, Binns produces pejorative images of Muslims. Describing the Muslim army's reactions on seeing the glimmer of Richard's sword, Binns's narrator notes "... and they began to run like horses in a stampede. Some threw down their weapons; a few even fell to their knees and began to pray" (362). The narrator's words aim to show the irony that, although the Muslim army is large in number, as well as possessing great supplies drawn from the different Muslim countries and has supposedly shown great military strength in the Battle of Hattin, it responds in a cowardly way to the glint of Richard's sword. Moreover, the narrator describes the Assassins who have attacked Richard on his arrival to the Holy Land as "shadows" (258). He also uses the words "fiend", "coward" and "serpent" to describe the Assassin that will presumably carry out future assaults on Richard (259-260). Binns presents the so-called Islamic civilisation as condoning violence, superstitious and herd-like, consisting of unthinking masses. In accordance with this, I argue that Binns is highly swayed by Western media representations of Muslims and Huntington's thesis of the "Clash of Civilizations".

Thereby, he promotes Britain's military interventionism as a way of defeating terrorism in the Muslim-majority countries.

Contrary to Ali's consistent depictions of the Crusaders, Binns provides variable representations and characterizations of them. While on the one hand Richard exerts much military and diplomatic efforts to fulfil his mission in Jerusalem, Conrad of Montferrat, Marquis of Tyre, and Guy of Lusignan, on the other hand, fight over the throne of Jerusalem instead of defending the Christian cause (329). These representations reinforce views of superiority of the English campaign over those of the other European nations taking part in the Crusade, a notion that Binns tries to show as historically persistent. For instance, Shaunnagh Dorsett and Ian Hunter mention that in the global colonies that Great Britain possessed between 1796-1815, English criminal justice was "chauvinistically" declared more humane than that of France, Spain and Holland (80). In the same way, Rosaura Sanchez mentions that British colonialism presumed itself as more civilized than Spanish or Mexican colonialism (171). Furthermore, such views appeared in literary works tackling the issue of British Imperialism. For example, Chinua Achebe argues that in *Heart of Darkness* (1889) Joseph Conrad represents Marlow as holding all the English civilised views and is therefore shocked by all the atrocities caused by the Belgian colonisation of the Congo (5). Thus, the English colonisers are presented as kinder than their European counterparts. In addition, Helen Bauer argues that Rudyard Kipling's "The Man Who Would Be King" reflects Kipling's views of Western imperialism, particularly, English imperialism, which celebrates the good the English can achieve towards "primitive nations", nations that are believed to be in need of "rationality and efficiency" (41). I argue that in similar ways, Binns tries to present the English as having more peaceable attitudes than those of their European counterparts in both *Crusade* and *Lionheart*.

Richard's actions towards his nation and his Crusaders are presented as humane and he is presented as being always concerned about the stability of his and other nations. He is shown as very kind to his men. After the end of the battle in which he took a leading and active role, Richard goes to the infirmary to visit the wounded soldiers; and there, he shows them much care and kindness, asking them about their families, wives and wishing them quick recovery (318). Moreover, Richard orders those who behave in an uncivilised

manner in the Holy Land to be severely punished (217). On his return home, Richard forgives not only his brother John for trying to usurp the English throne when he was on his mission to the Holy Land, but also the French boy who has shot him with an arrow and wounded him fatally, which reflects Richard's kindness. Richard's military plans in the Holy Land are depicted as civilised, productive and beneficial. In the meantime, Saladin starts a destructive policy of demolishing all lands and building in the course of Richard's advancing army. The destruction of Ascalon's buildings and the poisoning of its water wells have been part of Saladin's strategy to hinder the advance of Richard's army southward. Commenting on the two leaders' contrasting plans, the narrator states: "Saladin was still destroying Christian fortresses and eradicating anything of any value from the countryside. For him, Saladin would destroy anything useful to the Crusaders on the path to Jerusalem.³⁹ In return, our sappers were rebuilding as fast as they could—especially Jaffa and Arsuf" (322). As indicated by the narrator's accounts of the plans of the two leaders, Saladin's strategy is presented as destructive whereas Richard's policy as constructive.

On the other hand, Richard's policy is to fortify existing citadels and build new ones; in the narrator's own words: "We spent the rest of the winter rebuilding Ascolan" (327). Furthermore, Richard gives orders for every man of his army to take part in the fortification of Ascolan. These orders include Knights, Lords and Dukes (327). According to the historical records written from a Muslim perspective, it is true that Saladin's plan was to demolish Ascolan before it fell in the hands of the Franks. However, Beha Ed-Din quotes Saladin as saying: "I take God witness I would rather lose all my children than cast down a single stone from the walls, but God wills it; it is necessary for the Moslem cause, therefore, I am obliged to carry it through" (296). Accordingly, I suggest that Binns makes use of the historical records in ways that support his political and ideological views of the current relationships between Islam and the West. Binns presents Saladin's policy as inhumane and harmful and show Muslims as being in need of civilising. Thereby, he implies the necessity for Richard's campaign to bring

³⁹ After taking Ascolan which has been already demolished by Saladin's soliders, Richard's army approach towards Jerusalem and reached Beit Nuba, only twelve miles from Jerusalem (323). Hindered by bad weather conditions and fear of being trapped by Saladin's forces, Richard's army do not attack, preferring to retreat to the greater safety of the coast.

civilisation to Arabs and Muslims. Reinforcing the notion that Saladin's strategy is harmful, the narrator indicates that the Muslims' attacks on Jaffa are fierce and damaging: they use siege engines and assault troops that the fortresses cannot stand the harshness of the assaults (355). He goes on to point out that Muslims have burned and looted the city, causing the death of many civilians (356). In so doing, I argue, Binns promotes Britain's moral "civilizing mission" towards the less privileged nations.

Binns's appreciative images of Richard's deeds in the Holy Land, I suggest, are influenced by the assumed moral duty of the historical British Empire towards what is viewed as "the uncivilised nations". The virtuous and humane dimension of Richard's campaign is reflected in the responses of the Christians of Jaffa to his Crusade. Describing Richard's reception by the inhabitants of the city, the narrator says: "Some fell at the Lionheart's feet, and women rushed to kiss his hands. Children were held up high to see Richard, 'Coeur de Lion', who had rushed from Acre to save them" (359). The narrator's description of the situation implies that Richard's mission in the Holy Land is ethical as his goal is to protect the weak such as children and women against Muslims' violence and to secure their lives. Binns, I contend, attempts to reinforce notions that Britain has been throughout history a force of goodness in the world, views that have been contested. As Robert Young argues, the British Empire drew mainly on the concept of "civilizing mission" to justify its colonial actions (22). He further argues that all forms of colonisation lead to the same disruptive outcomes and that the desires for expanding the land and economy underscored the project (24).

Despite his military and economic achievements for the whole of Christendom, Richard is labelled a villain, a faithless traitor rather than a heroic crusader by his rival European monarchs (369). Richard ends up his mission as a wanted man across Europe and therefore has to travel back home in the guise of a devout Knight Templar with meagre resources at hand (371). Knowing that Richard is travelling through the Alps, Leopold, Duke of Austria, orders the King's arrest and Richard is caught while in his bed, sick and tired (379). Though the Pope excommunicates Leopold for his action, he puts Richard on unfair trial during which he most eloquently and effectively defends himself against the accusations of Leopold's men (394-401). In this trial, Richard indicates that he has achieved the most significant aim of the Crusade, which is

concluding a peace truce with Saladin that guarantees Christians the freedom of pilgrimage to the Holy Land. By stating this, Richard's mission is shown as having a moral agenda, particularly ending violence against the weak in the Holy Land. For Richard, who has been accused of surrendering the Holy Land to Saladin, the possession of the land itself is not his main goal. Nevertheless, drawing upon an in-depth historical analysis of Richard's actions in the Third Crusade, Michael Markowski points out that the main goal of the Third Crusade, as stated by the Pope, was to establish peace for Christians in the region (353). However, he argues that Richard, who is still perceived from a European perspective as an icon of chivalry and courage, was a self-centered leader and his adventures distracted him from his primary objective and led to the failure of his Crusade (355). Hence, Binns's endeavours to establish Britain as a moral mediator have their own ideological biases, as there has been ongoing debates about the objectives of Western interventionist policy.

Richard's determination to carry on with his mission in the Holy Land and his belief in the necessity of ending tension between Muslims and Christians are used as a parallel to Blair's persistence to pursue his mission as an envoy of peace in the Middle-East. In their newspaper article, "From No 10 to the Middle East: Blair gets a new Job" (2007), Wintour and Black indicate that Tony Blair was announced the international Middle East peace envoy, particularly, to deal with Israeli-Palestinian issue. As Wintour and Black observe, Blair explained to the Pope in Rome that his role would be primarily the reconciliation between Islam and Christianity. However, just like Richard, Blair has been criticised for not achieving the chief aim of his mission. Orlando Crowscoft argues that Blair left much chaos and blood in the region. He further argues that Blair "has been largely absent over the issues of Syria and Iraq and in Israel and Palestine and that he has achieved nothing in that region". Yet, Binns's representations of Richard's actions in the Holy Land reflect a belief in the goodness that Britain has achieved in the world through Blair's efforts to settle the Israeli-Palestinian issue.

Chapter Conclusion

As I have argued in the two parts of this chapter, Ali and Binns deploy the historical analogy of the Third Crusade as a means for reflecting critically on contemporary Islam-West relations. I maintain that Ali, as a Pakistani-British author, rewrites this medieval history from a postcolonial perspective, allowing the voice of the colonised to be heard. He presents nuanced depictions about life under Islam. Ali presents Muslims as enjoying a sophisticated political culture in ways that defy media images as well as Huntington's views of Muslims as lacking political culture. Moreover, he depicts Muslims as tolerant and sexually nonconformist with the objective of refuting media representations of Muslims as violent and to undermine views that sexual repression is a source of Muslim rage. Rather, Ali attempts to present the violent actions of some Arabs and Muslims as retaliation against the violent and unfair Western foreign policies practised against them in the different parts of Muslim-majority countries. By means of creating Muslim female characters who are intellectually sophisticated and sexually unconventional, Ali does a revisionist task of colonial history and complicates ongoing Western discourse that Muslim women are passive and are victims of sexual repression and thereby are in need of emancipation. On the other hand, I argue that Binns's deployment of the historical analogy of the Third Crusade aims to reinforce notions about Britain as a moral and political mediator in the world. By structuring Richard as English hero, who always acts out of moral considerations, Binns endeavours to present this image of Britain as historically true and consistent. Moreover, he reemphasises media and Huntington's views of Muslims and Arabs as being incapable of managing their own political affairs. Binns is swayed by media representations of Muslims. He presents them as unable to develop attitudes of tolerance and cultural understanding and associates them with violence, notions that he tries to construct as historically persistent.

As I have demonstrated, both Ali and Binns manipulate the historical archive in order to present their own ideological and political views of Western intervention in Muslim-majority countries and the Israeli-Palestinian issue. I contend, nevertheless that Ali and Binns provide contrasting visions of the relationships between Islam and the West. Ali's novel is a call for better relations between Islam and the West in general and

Palestinians and Israelis in particular. The novel also urges for just Western foreign policies and mutual cultural and political harmony between Islam and the West as means of reducing violence in the world. In contrast to Ali's standpoint on the current world affairs, Binns's stance promotes Huntington's thesis of the "Clash of Civilizations". Binns's novel presents the military action as a continuation of Britain's historical moral obligation towards the world as it aims to defy terrorism across the globe. According to Binns's representations, the British interventionist policy with regard to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the military action in Iraq is essential to achieve justice in the world. Accordingly, I contend that Binns deploys fiction as a means of influencing his readers' opinions on the question of the justifications for using force in other countries.

Both Ali and Binns, through historical analogy, approach the Israeli-Palestinian issue. However, each author presents the struggle for a different objective. In *The Book of Saladin*, Ali seems to be concerned with the relations between Israel and Palestine in particular, and therefore, is keen to revisit a particular period of time when Muslims and Jews had peaceful relations and Jews were an integral part of the Islamic community. Therefore, he tries to challenge the idea that the Judeo-Christian alliance is historically persistent and endeavours to reinforce the Judo-Islamic tradition. Furthermore, Ali shows great solidarity between Muslims and Jews against the Crusaders. Through such images, Ali reflects critically on the present situation in Israel and Palestine and presents the conflict as a colonial question rather than a religious struggle between Muslims and Jews. By means of such representations, I contend that Ali urges both Jews and Muslims to establish more peaceful relationships in our present time. Ali's representations ultimately imply his hope for more peaceful relations between Israelis and Palestinians. I maintain that on the other hand, Binns's allusion to the Israel-Palestinian issue in *Lionheart* serves a contemporary political agenda as it promotes British contemporary foreign policies by constructing Britain as an agent of peace and stability throughout the world both in the past and in the present.

Chapter Two

Examining Representations of the Relationships between Islam and the West in Post-9/11 American Historical Novels of the Third Crusade

Chapter Introduction

“It saddens me that so much death is administered in the name of God” (Pasha, *Shadow of the Swords* 126).

This chapter examines two distinctive contemporary representations of Islam’s relationship with the West in two historical novels intended for Western-majority audience: Richard Warren Field’s *The Swords of Faith* (2010) and Kamran Pasha’s *Shadow of the Swords* (2010). Both authors articulate their understanding of this relationship by means of revisiting the Third Crusade following the 9/11 attacks. I argue that though Field and Pasha apparently frame the relationship between Islam and the West in terms of Samuel Huntington’s thesis of the “Clash of Civilizations”, they actually provide a more complex assessment of the relations, and direct sharp criticism towards actions and ideas that have created the conditions in which this tension has thrived. Both novels refute the assumption that the Crusades were fought mainly for religious purposes and, in consequence, they modify Huntington’s argument about the causes of this clash by suggesting that the economic and political interests and the desires for expansion were dominant factors driving the Crusades. I maintain that by presenting the Third Crusade and, by means of historical analogy, the ongoing “War on Terror” as an Imperialist project, both Field and Pasha support Edward Said’s views in his book *Orientalism* (1978). For Said, the relationship between the East and the West is one of dominance (5). In different ways and through historical analogy, Field and Pasha suggest that Islam, like Christianity, has been exploited in our present times to legitimise violent actions connected with implied political and economic objectives.

Though differently, both Field and Pasha deploy the historical analogy of the Third Crusade to reflect critically on the present “War on Terror”. By presenting the vicious and destructive outcomes of the Crusades on people, the land, cultural heritage

and human relations, Field's *The Swords of Faith* and Pasha's *Shadow of the Swords*, I contend, denounce the consequences of using military force and call for resorting to diplomacy and finding common ground between Islam and the West. Pasha, as a Muslim author, seems to have more profound concern about the negative consequences of military action, particularly with regard to women. His novel provides more instances that promote such views than Field's novel. While both authors seem to oppose the military action, Pasha's novel reflects more a solid anti-war stance and more optimistic views on future Islam-West relationships than Field's.

I maintain that by means of revisiting Saladin's retaking of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade, Field and Pasha challenge contemporary assumptions that the concept of Islamic jihad is equivalent to modern terrorism or an attempt to compel non-Muslims to convert to Islam. Both novelists make reference to Sufism and try to associate Saladin with this tradition. In *The Swords of Faith* as in *Shadow of the Swords*, Saladin appears inclined to the Sufi reading of jihad, which focuses on the spiritual rather than the physical jihad. As we see in both novels, he endeavours to establish peace and to avoid bloodshed. However, as a Sufi Muslim, Pasha seems to be keener than Field to suggest this notion. Pasha proves in some instances to manipulate the historical record in an attempt to stress this view. Ultimately, and with clear variations, Field's *The Swords of Faith* and Pasha's *Shadow of the Swords* urge for better future relationships between Islam and the West by rejecting violence and extremism by both sides. Both Field and Pasha portray Islamic cultures as enlightened and civilised while European cultures are shown as violent and backward. By means of such depictions, Field and Pasha present converted images about these cultures as suggested by European medieval discourse as well as contemporary Western media, which ultimately undermines claims that Islamicate communities are in need of saving from barbarity. Moreover, both novels' representations suggest that Islamic civilisation has contributed towards establishing the European Renaissance. Thus, Field and Pasha avoid reducing the relationships between Islam and the West to tension and violence as argued by Huntington. Ultimately both authors call for drawing lessons from the past when Islamic and European cultures fruitfully cooperated in the different fields including science, trade as well as in terms of

human relationships. However, as a Muslim author, Pasha seems to be more interested in presenting historical incidents that support this idea than Field.

Field and Pasha are two contemporary American authors. Field was born in New York and graduated with a Bachelor of Arts in Music and Political Science in 1976. He is a musician and a writer. His novel *The Swords of Faith* won a Bronze Medal at the 2011 Independent Publisher Book Awards in the Historical Novel/ Military category.⁴⁰ He has also written three other novels. The first one is, *The Election* (1997), which tackles political issues in the United States including the Electoral College system in the United States, the war on drugs, and the free market system. The second novel is *Dying to Heal* (2011), which Field coauthored with Dr. Alan Fluger D.C.⁴¹ The third is his recently published novel *The Sultan and Khan* (2015), which is the sequel to *The Swords of Faith*. The novel narrates the story of the Mongol invasion of Baghdad in 1258, following the Crusades to the East (“About-Short Bio”). Pasha is a Muslim Pakistani American writer and producer. He is currently a Hollywood screenwriter. Pasha is the author of *Mother of the Believers* (2009) and *Shadow of the Swords* (2010). He is also the writer of the 2005 ShowTime network series *Sleeper Cell* (2005), a Showtime’s television series which is about a Muslim FBI agent defying a group of terrorists, as well as the remake of the NBC’s series *The Bionic Woman* (2007). In addition, he wrote and produced the television series *Kings* (2009). Pasha wrote a film entitled *Taj Mahal* (2003) and currently is writing *The Voyage of Ibn Battuta*, which is about the adventures of the fourteenth-century Arab traveller to China. He worked in New York City as a journalist for three years. While he was working as a reporter, Pasha interviewed political figures including Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres, Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori and Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto (“About Kamran Pasha”). His short film *Miriam* (2007), won the Gaia Award at the Moondance Film Festival in 2008 (“Moondance Announces Winners”).

Set in the twelfth century, Field’s *The Swords of Faith* narrates Saladin’s taking of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade. The novel is set partially in France, Sicily, Cyprus

⁴⁰ This was announced on the Independent Publisher Website: “2011 Independent Published Book Awards Result Announcement.”

⁴¹ The novel deals with the health care system in the United States.

and primarily in the Holy Land. Besides narrating Saladin's conquest of Jerusalem, the novel tells the story of Rashid, a Muslim merchant from Jaffa, whose family has been banished from the city by the Crusaders and the story of Pierre Pierre, a Crusader who is captivated by Rashid. As a reaction to Saladin's conquest of Jerusalem, Richard the Lionheart and King Philip of France announce a Third Crusade to the Holy Land. While the novel presents a major encounter between the Crusaders and the Muslim army, it depicts yet other clashes: we see a conflicting relationship between Sunni and Shiite Muslims as well as frequent Muslim assaults on Christian civilians. Despite the ongoing severe tension and bloody conflict between Saladin's and Richard's armies, a solid friendship grows between Rashid and Pierre. The two characters play a crucial role in the peace negotiations between Richard and Saladin. This alliance between Rashid and Pierre is repeatedly attacked by both Muslim and Christian characters. Although both characters are keen to establish peaceful relations between the opposing sides, their efforts are in vain. Eventually, Pierre is killed by a Crusader who claims to oppose his relationship with a Muslim. Dawoud, Pierre's son, grows up among Muslims in the Holy Land and never feels secure until he willingly converts to Islam. The novel ends at a point where Muslims and Western Christians are incapable of achieving ultimate peace.

Pasha's *Shadow of the Swords* focuses mainly on Saladin's capture of Jerusalem as well as the Third Crusade and is set in Cairo, Europe and the Holy Land. The novel begins with the omniscient third-person narrator recalling the story of Miriam, a Jewish little girl, who together with her mother have been abused cruelly by the Crusaders. After her mother is raped and murdered, Miriam escapes to the desert and later is picked up by a Bedouin who takes her to Maimonides, her uncle and Saladin's own physician and political consultant. Despite his father's disapproval and with the Pope's support, Richard decides to launch his Crusade to the Holy Land, claiming that this is the only means to defend the Christian cause against Muslims. A love story between Saladin and Miriam develops and Miriam becomes Saladin's concubine. During his stay in the Holy Land, Richard is afflicted by a fever and Saladin agrees to send his personal physician, Maimonides to cure him. Miriam accompanies him to Richard's camp where she meets with Richard for the first time and decides to spy on Richard, exposing his military plans to Saladin. Following his treatment of Richard, Maimonides decides to take Rebecca, his

wife and Miriam and to leave for Cairo. On their way, Miriam is captured by the Crusaders and taken to the Crusaders' camp where Richard falls in love with her. Mistaken for Richard, Sir William is captured by Saladin's men. Saladin establishes a solid friendship with Sir William who spends more than a year in the Muslims' camp. During his stay, Sir William gets exposed to Islamic cultures and develops admiration and respect for them. Although Sir William exerts much effort to establish peace between Christians and Muslims, Richard insists on holding the city by force. In spite of their solid friendship, Saladin and Sir William meet in the battlefield and find themselves obliged to fight fiercely against each other. Saladin eventually kills Sir William and sheds tears for the death of his friend. However, the novel ends on an optimistic note where Richard and Saladin manage to end the conflict in the Holy Land by agreeing to a peace truce.

Both Field and Pasha state that the 9/11 attacks provoked them to revisit the Third Crusade. Field indicates that the 9/11 attacks were a crucial context for his novel: "I fully admit that the events of September 11, 2001 inspired me to write this novel. The story of Richard and Saladin fascinated me for a long time, and in the back of my mind, I considered writing about it. Nine-Eleven brought the idea front-and-center" ("What *The Swords of Faith* Say about our Times"). Similarly, in a conversation, Pasha asserts that the 9/11 attacks triggered him to write his novel. For Pasha these assaults were also a reminder of the medieval clash between Islam and the West. As Pasha states, the Third Crusade was the most similar historical analogy to present the relationship between Islam and the West (*Shadow of the Swords*, "A Conversation with Kamran Pasha"). Both *The Swords of Faith* and *Shadow of the Swords* are narrated from third-person perspectives. However, while Field deploys a multiple third-person narrator, Pasha uses an omniscient third-person narrator. In an interview, Field indicates that he uses "multiple third person points-of view", told from the perspectives of the main characters: Richard, Saladin, Pierre and Rashid. Field points out that deploying a first-person narrator "would shrink the story's scope" ("Interview with Richard Warren Field"). As Pasha indicates, his choice of the third-person narrator is essential to show the inner thoughts of the characters and to demonstrate how one incident can be interpreted differently by people from different background (*Shadow of the Swords*, "A Conversation with Kamran Pasha"). To

expand on both authors' views, in *The Swords of Faith*, through this narrative technique, some characters provide us with frank commentaries on the incidents as the reader knows their real attitudes towards and views of the fundamental moments and actions. In Pasha's *Shadow of the Swords*, this narrative technique is pivotal as the novel on several occasions deploys dreams as means of introducing the reader to the characters' inner struggle. In addition, it is essential as the novel's premise is to expose the paradox between the inner thoughts and the outward actions of several characters, with special regard to their misuse of religion.

The Crusades: An Imperialist Project?

Discussing the relationship between Islam and the West, Huntington argues in his book *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (1996) that since religion is the chief defining feature of a civilisation, "fault line wars are almost always between peoples of different religions" (253). Huntington also argues that neither the medieval nor the ongoing conflict between Islam and Christianity has its origins in contemporary situation. Rather, the tension stems "from the nature of the two religions and the civilizations based on them" (210).⁴² The theory of the "Clash of Civilizations" frames the relationships between Islam and the West both in the medieval period and in our contemporary times primarily within cultural and religious conflicts. Nevertheless, Jonathan Riley-Smith argues in his book *The Crusades* (2005) that the neo-imperialistic interpretations of the Crusades gained wide currency among the Crusades historians in the 1950s with some Israeli historians' primarily Joshua Prawer's, imperialistic interpretations of the Crusades, which became appealing to the public. He maintains that Muslim historians also supported such notions (304). In his book *Crusader Institutions*

⁴² Huntington argues that Islam and Christianity are different in the sense that while Christianity separates between religion and politics, Islam is believed to unite them. He argues further that the similarities between the two religions are also a source of tension. For him, "both are monotheistic religions, which, unlike polytheistic ones, cannot easily assimilate additional deities, and which see the world in dualistic, us-and-them terms. Both are universalistic, claiming to be the one true faith to which all humans can adhere. Both are missionary religions believing that their adherents have an obligation to convert nonbelievers to that one true faith" (210-211).

(1980), Praver describes the Crusades as “colonisation” as the territorial expansion was a main feature of them (102).

Examining the nature of the relationship between Islam and Christianity in the Middle Ages, Thomas Asbridge argues, “There is little or no evidence to suggest that these two world religions were somehow locked in an inevitable and perpetual ‘clash of civilisations’” (26-27). As suggested by views mentioned earlier, the Crusades did not present a case of a civilisational clash. In both novels, Field and Pasha present the Crusades as colonial projects connected with implied materialistic objectives of territorial expansion, political dominance and fame while religion is rendered a pretext for legitimising the campaigns. Such representations complicate Huntington’s views on what he describes as a civilisational clash between Islam and the West.

That Field’s novel is entitled *The Swords of Faith* is very suggestive. Combining the words “sword”, which evokes violence, and “faith”, which is associated with religion, the novel appears to frame the conflict between Islam and the West within Huntington’s theory. Supporting this impression is the novel’s front cover, which depicts a Muslim warrior and a Crusader holding their swords in readiness for battle; supposedly the novel’s cover images represent its two warrior protagonists Saladin and Richard. Despite these tacit allusions to the civilisational clash between Islam and the West, I argue that the novel actually provides a more nuanced and a more complex assessment of these conflicts as well as about violence itself. Richard initially seems to be fighting for the Cross: his discourse is replete with religious terminology as he calls his mission a “pilgrimage” (189) and “God’s battle” (190).⁴³ Ironically, the alleged religious duty mission does not prevail: there is an obvious political competition for land, power, and fame among the leaders of the Crusades. When Richard encourages Philip, King of France to accompany him in the Third Crusade, he makes no secret of his purpose to safeguard his own political interests and territorial rights back home (194), which

⁴³ As Giles Constable points out, the word “Crusade” was not used to refer to what is known as “Crusaders”. They were referred to as pilgrims, Christians, penitents, athletes of God and later friends, followers and servants of God and Christ. They connoted religious engagement. Only by the end of the twelfth century did the cross become a distinctive sign for the Crusaders that set them apart from pilgrims. (18). According to *The Routledge Companion to the Crusades* by Peter Lock, the term “Crusade” is not a medieval concept; rather, it is a modern one; it was used no earlier than 1638 (289).

underscores Richard's political agendas. Criticizing Richard's strong desire for materialistic gains rather than focusing on the primary supposed religious goal, which is recapturing Jerusalem, a French noble says: "We aren't here to go on military adventures dreamed up by the English! We aren't here to expand the empires of ambitious sovereigns! We're here to conquer Jerusalem and go home!" (371). The French noble's statement indicates that Richard is not committed to his supposedly religious mission. Rather, he has been exploiting his Crusade to expand the English dominance in the East, which reflects a desire for enhancing his political and economic supremacy.

Richard appears to be profoundly concerned about his reputation as the chief leader of the Crusade. He orders his troops to take the Austrian banner down when he is informed that it has been placed beside the English and the French banners (287). Disappointed by Richard's deeds, the priest prays for Richard as he seems to him to be using the Crusade for enhancing his own political and materialistic goals at the expense of the religious purpose: "Forgive our talented but flawed king as he uses Your causes to encourage his own worldly status and position" (195). This again reinforces the notion that Richard has been using religious discourse to serve his own materialistic objectives.

In Field's *The Swords of Faith* the relationship between Western and Syrian Christians is pictured as problematic despite the Crusaders' assumed objectives of protecting Christians of the Holy Land. As a result of the harsh treatment of the Crusaders, Orthodox Christian characters show support for Muslims against them. For instance, in a conversation with Saladin, Joseph Batit, an Orthodox Christian, who has suffered from the Western Christians, proclaims: "We are as much oppressed as Muslims by these western European Christians, and we are anxious to help you" (90). Though Eastern and Western Christians belong to the same faith, their relationships are presented in the novel as problematic: Western Christians do not seem to be mindful of other Christians as they treat them as other "heathens". Historically speaking, Valerie Hansen and Kenneth R. Curtis argue that the Crusaders dealt with Orthodox Christians of the Holy Land the same way they did with their Muslim enemy (376). In addition, in his book *The History of the Jews in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (1988), Joshua Praver argues that with rare exceptions, the Oriental Christians "were not over fond of the

Crusaders” and did not feel loyal to them (65). Field’s representations suggest that defending the Christian cause in the Holy Land is only used as a cover for the Crusading project. Moreover, the novel portrays the relationship between Western Christians as unhealthy as it is determined by personal, materialistic interests. After Pierre is in possession of Rashid’s estate in Jaffa, he indulges with Armande, a Crusader, in conversation in which they discuss Pierre’s relationship with Rashid. Armande demands that Pierre provide him with a position, but Pierre is unable to do so as the former lacks social skills (495). Consequently, Armande kills Pierre, utilizing religious discourse to justify his murder (511). He claims that Pierre’s tolerant attitude towards Muslims is a kind of blasphemy and the Pope would not respect Pierre’s “more than one path idea” (511). I argue that through these depictions, Field presents a contradiction between the Crusaders’ assumed objectives and their actual actions.

Rashid, one of the novel’s fictional Muslim protagonists, perceives the conflict over the Holy Land as an imperialist one. Rashid has a brief discussion with Saladin in which he indicates that the Crusades are the real cause of tension between Muslims and Western Christians (56). As we learn, Rashid’s hatred towards the Crusaders and his ill treatment of Pierre, the helpless captive, does not stem from his religious fanaticism, but rather from the fact that he and his family have been forced by the Crusaders to leave their home in Jaffa. For him, the dispute is not a religious matter; rather, it is a conflict about land ownership: “We wish to repossess what was taken from us...” (56). Until the end of the novel, for Rashid, the whole war is not a matter of a clash between two different faiths and cultures; it is rather an issue of economic conflict that results in either maintaining or losing property in Jaffa; depending on which side wins the battle. As agreed between the two friends, Rashid’s estate will be passed on to Pierre, which will save Rashid paying a huge amount of taxes to the Franks (330-331). Thus, Rashid’s property in Jaffa keeps changing hands between him and Pierre as determined by the outcome of every battle fought to control the city. Accordingly, I suggest that Rashid’s and Pierre’s story demonstrates how the materialistic interests of these two characters are intricately linked to the changing situations of political dominance and suggest that the clash taking place in the Holy Land is not actually civilisational.

Deploying different techniques from those of Field, Pasha endeavours to present the Crusades as imperialist campaigns that are linked with political dominance, economic interests, and the acquisition of fame. In addition to providing incidents, Pasha deploys the third-person omniscient narrator as well as dreams to support this notion. At an early stage of the *Shadow of the Swords*, Pasha's omniscient narrator describes the Crusaders' struggle with the climate of the Holy Land, implying that the Crusaders are outsiders as they are unable to cope with the local weather conditions (19). The narrator also informs us that despite their supposedly united cause, the leaders of the Crusades are always having conflict over supremacy in the Holy Land (22). As opposed to their apparently religious mission of liberating Jerusalem, they have been dreaming of conquering Egypt (314), which reflects the imperialist nature of their mission. Through the deeds and the inner thoughts of the main leaders of the Crusades, Pasha suggests that the Crusade does not serve religious ends. In the Massacre of Acre, Richard proves to be highly interested in materialistic gains. In order to release the Muslim prisoners, he requests a huge sum of gold as a ransom (226).⁴⁴ When Saladin is unable to send the whole amount, Richard states that hopes for settlement between him and Muslims have vanished (234), which reflects his materialistic nature. Moreover, in the battlefield, Richard allows his soldiers to loot whatever they can carry from the dead Muslim soldiers (264). Such deeds and attitudes highlight the acquisitive dimension of Richard's mission and ultimately defy his claims that his Crusade is a religious campaign. Ironically, Richard leaves the Holy Land without making pilgrimage (508), which makes us question the holiness of his mission.

Initially, Richard deploys religious discourse to justify his Crusade: "In the name of God, and on behalf of my beloved father, I proclaim that I will lead the next Crusade!" (57). Although he attempts to justify his campaign by calling it a "Holy War", Richard is aware deep inside that this Crusade is crucial for guaranteeing his succession to the throne of England (78). Richard appears, as always, concerned about his fame and about establishing himself as a recognised leader in history (137). He wants his name to be

⁴⁴ In this regard, Beha Ed-Din writes: "They had therefore concluded a treaty of peace, by which the city with all that it contained – its engines of war, stores and ships - was to be surrendered to the Franks, who were to receive, in addition, two hundred prisoners not of rank, together with one hundred of the principal captives to be named by the Franks; the besieged had also promised to give up the cross of crucifixion" (266).

associated with prominent figures in history including Alexander of Macedon, Julius Caesar and Charles Martel (186). Though Philip, King of France, has been an ally to him in his Crusade, Richard does not want Philip to share with him the title of “Conqueror of Jerusalem” (233). As a result of this inner conflict and the effect of the camp fever, Richard develops nightmares caused by his feverish fantasies. In these bad dreams, Richard is pictured attempting to justify his war to Christ, the Virgin Mary and his father King Henry, who all oppose his deeds (187-190). These nightmares, I suggest seek to reflect the inner subconscious turmoil inside Richard’s mind and to expose his repressed guilt for the destructive actions he has been carrying out in the name of Christianity.⁴⁵

In Pasha’s *Shadow of the Swords*, King Guy’s views of the Crusades are also highly significant. He appears critical of the war fought in the name of faith. Commenting on King Guy’s inner thoughts of war, the narrator says: “How ironic it seemed to him that the archbishop was goading men on to war from the very spot where the Lord had called on Christians to turn the other cheek in the face of aggression” (29). According to the narrator’s words, Guy is aware that the vicious actions of the Crusaders set a sharp contrast to the peaceful teachings of Christianity. He appears to be critical of the archbishop. For him, the archbishop, who is supposed to embody the humane and tolerant principles of Christianity, has condoned the atrocities caused by the Crusaders and overlooked the laws of God regarding the way to rule the land. Yet, the narrator points out that though the contradictions between the laws of Christianity and the way the war is conducted on the ground are clear, some of the soldiers are misguided by the religious discourse deployed by the mission’s leaders (30). This ultimately indicates that the Crusaders themselves are ignorant of the reality of their mission. Sir William Chinon, a true Christian and a knight, provides us with frank explanations of how Christianity has been manipulated in order to legitimise the war against Muslims. For him, this war is by no means religious; rather, it is a war of wealth and dominance (201). As the narrator informs us, Sir William feels deep inside that his mission as a Crusader contradicts the

⁴⁵ Richard tries to explain to his father that his war is fought for the sake of Christ. However, his father replies: “You cannot fight for Him, my son. He has already won” (189). Suddenly, Christ responds to Richard: “It is I who die for you” (189). Then, he sees Mary, The Holy Virgin, weeping and sees the figure of Saladin, whom he never has met, appearing on the cross (189).

laws of God (105). He has been wishing to visit the Holy Land as a pilgrim not as a warrior (156). It is significant that Sir William has read the Bible and that he is not following the doctrine of the Church blindly. Therefore, he wishes that all his fellow Crusaders would do the same in order to realize that the presumed holiness of their mission is a mere fallacy. Sir William points out that the Church has an interest in maintaining people's ignorance of the ongoing conflicts: this is how it can keep its power. As he points out, "love was the antidote to power" (107), which clearly suggests that the peaceful teachings of Christianity have been largely exploited for the purpose of preserving political dominance. By means of presenting the Crusades as imperialist project, both Field and Pasha endeavour to show that the clash between Islam and the West is not a case of a clash of civilisations. In both novels, religion is used as a cover to legitimise the use of violence.

Following my analysis of the two novels so far, I argue that through historical analogy, Field and Pasha seem to be drawing historical similarities between King Richard's Crusade and President George W. Bush's contemporary "War on Terror". Though the economic and political factors prevail in their mission, both leaders do not state the real intentions of their military interventionism. On September 16, 2001, Bush made an announcement that was entitled "Remarks by the President upon Arrival", in which he announced his "Crusade" on terror as a response to the 9/11 attacks. Bush's war against the perpetrators of 9/11 evoked a previous era of conflict. Graham Maddox draws a parallel between the Crusade that was sanctioned by the first Roman emperor in the Middle Ages and Bush's contemporary Crusade. For him, both campaigns are connected with imperialist goals (401-402). He further argues that Bush realised quickly that this metaphoric use of the term "Crusade" would affect his political and economic interests and therefore decided to withdraw it.⁴⁶ Maddox explains that due to the fact that a huge number of the American public are Muslims and the fact that the United States has oil alliances with some Islamic countries, Bush realised that his use of the "Crusade"

⁴⁶ In an address entitled "President Bush Addresses the Nation", Bush clarified that the enemy of the United States is terrorism rather than Islam itself: "The enemy of America is not our many Muslim friends. It is not our many Arab friends. Our enemy is a radical network of terrorists and every government that supports them."

metaphor was politically counterproductive and therefore he explained that the war was against terrorists not against Muslims (402). According to Maddox, though Bush forsook the use of the term “Crusade”, “it faithfully reflected his inner mental process” (401). In this regard, Noam Chomsky argues in a seminar entitled “Clash of Civilizations?” (2001) that economy is the main factor that shapes the world’s relations (3). Moreover, by providing statistical charts, Richard Brody demonstrates that Bush’s rates of approval in the United States were facing deterioration due to the economic recession the United States was facing during his term (4-5). Brody indicates that as a response to Bush’s announcement of war, his approval rating noticeably increased (6), which suggests that his decision to wage the “War on Terror” had political and personal dimension. Thus, we can see a clear parallel between Richard’s medieval Crusade and Bush’s contemporary “War on Terror”. Richard’s dismissal of the priest in Field’s *The Swords of Faith* reminds us of the destiny of those who opposed Bush’s “War on Terror”.

As Michael Chossudovsky indicates, a number of academics and high school students were dismissed and hundreds of people were detained in the United States as they had anti-war opinions following the 9/11 attacks (9). In view of these arguments, I contend that by means of depicting the Crusades as European colonial activities in the East that are connected with political supremacy and economic exploitation, Field and Pasha suggest through historical analogy that the ongoing “War on Terror” is an imperialist project. In this regard, it is essential to discuss Said’s views about the relationship between the Orient and the Occident in his book *Orientalism*, which preceded Huntington’s theory by almost two decades. In this book Said argues:

Taking the late eighteenth century as a very roughly defined starting point, Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient – dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it: in short, Orientalism is a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient (3).

For Said, Western systematized knowledge of the Orient, which started towards the end of the eighteenth century, has been transformed into a discourse of power. Western

attempt to create an artificial dichotomy between the East and the West and to construct them as binary oppositions served as a crucial colonial discourse to sustain modern Imperialism. According to Said, a massive number of writers accepted and further contributed towards creating an “ontological and an epistemological” division between the Orient and the Occident (2). Describing this relationship between the Orient and the Occident Said maintains: “the relationship between Occident and Orient is a relationship of power, of dominance, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony...” (5). For him, the West’s “structured archive” about the East was built up as early as the Middle Ages. He mentions the Crusades as one of the West’s early sources of knowledge about the East.⁴⁷ As Said points out, Islam was associated with “terror, devastation, the demonic, hordes of hated barbarians”. This built record of representations constructed the Orient as a “great complementary opposite” to the Occident and served as a means of controlling it (58-59). Hence, Said’s views of the relationship between the East and the West undermine those of Huntington, which correspond to the discourse of Orientalism. Taking Said’s argument into consideration, I argue that both Field and Pasha try to present the Crusade and, by means of historical analogy, the ongoing “War on Terror” as imperialist projects in similar ways to Said’s views while challenging Huntington’s theory of the “Clash of Civilizations”. I maintain that they ultimately complicate Huntington’s thesis of the “Clash of Civilizations”, which argues that conflict between Islam and the West in the Middle Ages as well as in our present time is primarily cultural and religious.

Islam and the “Clash of Civilizations” Discourse Following 9/11

Both Field and Pasha, through historical analogy, promote the idea that Islam, just like Christianity, has been manipulated to serve political and personal ends in our modern times. This argument applies in particular to the period following 9/11 and the kind of discourse that ensued thereafter. In Osama bin Laden’s speeches and statements, religious discourse clearly prevails. In a declaration entitled “Bin Laden Rails Against

⁴⁷ Said mentions other sources including the Bible, travelers such as Marco Polo, Lodovico di Varthema and Pietro della Valle and Mandeville, the Easer conquering movement and militant pilgrims

Crusaders and UN”, bin Laden linked the 9/11 attacks to what he described as “a long series of Crusades wars against the Islamic world” including Chechenia, Bosnia, Kashmir, East Timor, Somalia, Iraq and Palestine. For him, this foreign presence corrupts and threatens the Islamic world. According to bin Laden, the 9/11 attacks were carried out to avenge Muslims who have been suffering because of the West. The “barbaric” invasion of Afghanistan, preceded by many “Crusades wars” against Muslims, is the real terrorism. He adds that the war Bush declared is not against terrorism, rather, “it is a question of faith”, that is, a conflict between two opposing faiths. By the same token, bin Laden states: “We should also renounce the atheists and infidels. It suffices me to seek God’s help against them”. He further condemns any alliance with Bush’s campaign against terrorism: “Anyone who lines up behind Bush in his campaign has committed one of the 10 actions that sully one’s Islam”. In bin Laden’s speech, religious discourse prevails. However, it has been widely argued that the religious element is utilised as a pretext to achieve political aims. For Robert Pape, an American political scientist, al-Qaeda’s main objective is primarily political: it aims to compel Western forces to leave the Persian Gulf and to reduce the political influence in the locale in order to guarantee political self-determination (4). Similarly, Olivier Roy argues that the discourse of the “Clash of Civilizations” is not only shared by Orientalists, politicians, the media, and social scientists in the West to achieve political ends but also by fundamentalists and conservative Muslims (9). Taking into account these views, I argue that in both novels, violence has little to do with Islam and has much more to do with political, economic and personal objectives.

In Field’s *The Swords of Faith*, a village of Christian Syrians and Westerners is attacked by Muslim bandits and the Muslim emir in charge of the village orders the destruction of the towers there. The story seems to be loosely structured upon 9/11 attacks, which resulted in the destruction of the Twin Towers of the World Trade Centre in Manhattan, New York in 2001.⁴⁸ The novel provides multifaceted assessment of

⁴⁸ As mentioned earlier in the introduction to this chapter, the author states that the 9/11 attacks in 2001 motivated him to revisit the Third Crusade. Moreover, the author’s use of anachronisms such as “we set up observation posts with a system of warnings” (235) implies that the author’s intention is to comment on the contemporary situation in the world, which is a main function of a historical novel. Additionally, he uses a number of expressions that connote a reference to the September 11 attacks: “but we have a

Muslims' fanaticism. For some characters such as Asim, Qaseem and Samman, violence is not primarily motivated by religious reasons but rather by personal and economic objectives. Notably, these three characters often deploy religious discourse to justify their brutal actions. Asim, a Shiite Muslim who works as a guard at Rashid's estate, has been on good terms with his Sunni master Rashid until the latter consents to Pierre's marriage to Atiya, the young woman whom Asim intends to marry. Only on this occasion does Asim vow revenge on Sunni Muslims as well as on the Crusaders. He utilises religious discourse to vindicate his vicious plans of harming Rashid (147). Consequently, Asim decides to join Sinan, the leader of the Assassins, only to seek revenge on Rashid and Pierre (172). Qaseem, an Arab and Muslim merchant from Damascus, exploits Islam to fulfil materialistic and personal goals. Though Saladin strictly prohibits harming civilians, Qaseem exploits a Christian woman and her child to enslave them and gain money in return (103). Moreover, he endeavours to incite other Muslims against him (242).⁴⁹ We later realise that Qaseem's attack on Pierre and the Christian villagers has not been motivated by religious commitment but rather by feelings of social injustice. He has a deep grudge against Rashid on economic and financial grounds: "To destroy your prosperity the way you destroyed mine!", he tells Rashid (242). Eventually, Rashid himself realizes that the destruction of his property and wealth has been the real target of Qaseem's sabotage attack (242). Thus the novel, I contend, tries to show how Islam, like Christianity, has been utilised to serve personal and materialistic interests.

Unlike Samman, Qaseem and Asim, Saladin does not condone any actions that lead to the death of innocent citizens; he condemns any brutality against unarmed Christians. Invoking his firm religious beliefs, Saladin asserts: "We do not slaughter

dangerous enemy" (237), "we would appreciate all you can do us to discourage these terrors from being inflicted on our peaceful village" (235) and "Stop attacking innocent people" (228). Such expressions remind us of the discourse that Bush used in his speech on September 20, 2001 ("President Bush Addresses the Nation"). Phrases such as "take the towers down" (237) indicate that the towers in the novel are used to make a clear allusion to the Twin Towers that were attacked on 9/11 2001. The symbolic and iterative allusions in the bandits' assaults on the village and their destruction of the towers in the village highlight the clear linkage between two historical events that seem to be closely tied together despite the wide temporal and spatial gaps separating them.

⁴⁹ Pierre and his family are attacked by the Syrian Christians in the village. In order to provide Pierre with help, Rashid decides to offer the Syrian Christians in the village some jobs. These jobs will be offered to them through the help of Pierre. Rashid suggests that this will help better off the villagers' attitude towards Pierre and his family.

innocent people! It is against God's will, and the teaching of the Prophet!" (442). Saladin's words are highly significant: they urge for peace rather than violence. Killing civilian people as Saladin indicates is prohibited in Islam. In addition, commenting on the Muslim attacks on the Christian village, Rashid says: "We do not condone thievery, do we? We respect honest, hard-working People of the Book in our communities, don't we? I know our Sultan would condemn the actions of these thieves" (228). After the Battle of Arsuf, Jaffa is brought under Saladin's control. Despite Saladin's warnings against harming civilian Christians or their properties, some Muslims start looting the city, inflicting harm on the unarmed inhabitants. Saladin opposes such vicious deeds: "Get them under control! And all the stolen goods will be returned" (441). As the novel was published after the 9/11 attacks, I argue that Saladin's thoughts and actions are used in the novel to support the idea that Islam prohibits harming civilians.

In a conversation on how Christianity has been exploited by the Crusaders in the medieval period, Pasha argues that this situation is inverted in our contemporary times: "The Third Crusade represents in my view the closest analogy to the events of today, with one crucial difference— the 'heroes' and the 'villains' are reversed." Pasha adds that in order for Europe to reclaim its dominance in the Middle Ages, it resorted to violent and barbaric actions, in which Christianity had been misused to serve political purposes. Pasha argues that in the same way and motivated by political objectives al-Qaeda has violated the teachings of Islam (*Shadow of the Swords*, "A Conversation with Kamran Pasha"). Pasha indicates that this historical analogy serves as a commentary on present-day misuse of Islam. As mentioned earlier, Pasha is the scriptwriter of the television series, *Sleeper Cell* (2005). In this series, Pasha presents this notion explicitly. The series revolves around a group of Muslim youths who plan to carry out an assault on Los Angeles and refer to themselves as "Holy Warriors". It shows that Islam has been exploited in modern times for fulfilling personal and political gains. In the series, we see variable images of Muslims: whilst some characters condone harming civilians in the name of faith, other characters are aware that such actions are against the teachings of Islam. Darwyn, who is the protagonist, is a Muslim FBI agent. Although in reality he is leaking secret information about the group, Darwyn pretends to be supporting the group and joins their planning and training. He believes that the planned attack will be not only

an action of terror but also an assault on Islam as it misrepresents its peaceful teachings. The whole premise of the series is that Islam is against the killing of civilians no matter what the justification might be (*Sleeper Cell*).

Although there are some minority groups and organizations among Muslims that incite violence and call for reprisals against the West,⁵⁰ several *fatwas* condemning and forbidding terrorist acts have been issued in different parts of the Arab-Muslim world particularly after the 9/11 attacks. S. Abdullah Schleifer reports that in 2005 more than 170 Sunni and Shiite religious scholars and Muslim intellectuals from forty countries gathered in Jordan to take an uncompromising stand against extremist interpretations of Islam and the doctrine of *takfir* (*apostasy*). This national conference was entitled “The Amman Initiative: A Theologian Counter-attack Against Terrorism”. The scholars signed a document in which they rejected the misuse of *fatwas* to legitimise the killing of civilians. Furthermore, the document indicated that only trained and authoritative Muslim scholars can issue *fatwas*. They also condemned those acts of terrorism being committed on a daily basis in the name of Islam, targeting unarmed individuals. Moreover, in a book entitled *Fatwa on Terrorism and Suicide Bombing* (2011), the Muslim scholar Muhammad Tahir-ul-Qadri, an acknowledged scholarly authority on Islamic law, published an Islamic decree in which he stated that based on the Qur’an and the Sunnah, suicide bombing and terrorism are prohibited by Islamic laws (25-33). Moreover, Jon Ponder states that according to one of the Gallup Organization’s polls that was conducted in 2008 in more than 35 Muslim-majority countries and included more than 50,000 people, 93% of Muslims who took part in this poll denounced the 9/11 attacks. He points out that the 7% who condoned the attacks did not give religious reasons, but rather political ones. They feared the American occupation of or dominance in their countries. The outcomes of the poll are significant as they show that the vast majority of the Muslim public are against terrorism and those who condone it have political concerns rather than religious commitments. I contend that by creating Muslim

⁵⁰ Larbi Sadiki argues that there was no single Muslim view on the 9/11 attacks. He points out that, Sheik Hammoud bin Oqla Shu’aibi believes that those who support the United States are “infidels” and it is a duty to launch jihad against whoever supports the war in Afghanistan. On the other hand, Salih bin Mummad al-Lahidan, the Chair of the Supreme Judicial Council in the Saudi Kingdom, believes that such acts are considered a serious crime and that Muslim scholars do not condone these barbaric acts (51).

characters that oppose the killing of civilians and promote values of tolerance and peace, both Field and Pasha try to underscore that Islam prohibits attacking civilians and call for finding solid common ground and interfaith dialogue between Muslims and Christians, particularly in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks.

Representations of the Assassins in both novels are significant: they bring to the forefront the themes of modern terrorism and help make historical analogies between medieval Assassins' violent actions and contemporary terrorism that is promoted in the name of faith.⁵¹ Rashid al-Din Sinan, the group's master, is an early historical example of how religion can be misused to provoke violence and ultimately serve political ends.⁵² As Pape points out, the Assassins had the objective of forcing Sunni leaders to establish their own dominant rule and gaining territorial control (34). James Reston indicates that Sinan planned two attempts to kill Saladin. For Sinan, Saladin destroyed the Shiite Fatimid Caliphate to impose Sunni rule (254). In *The Swords of Faith*, as can be noted, religious discourse is essential for Sinan to recruit attackers who carry out the assaults. We learn that Asim is working for Sinan and vows to kill Pierre, his wife and his son (430). To reach their personal goals, Sinan and his fighters draw mainly on religious discourse. They hand Rashid a piece of paper in which it is written: "infidels, and those who harbor or enrich them, who ignore or sanction their crimes and heresies, will suffer the fate of God's justice" (422). Ironically, we learn that Sinan frequently deals with the Crusaders (430), an act that reflects the contradiction between his publicly stated religious discourse and his actual deeds.

In Pasha's *Shadow of the Swords*, Sinan exploits Islam to reach his goals of dominance. He states to Maimonides that he recruits warriors and makes them believe

⁵¹ As Pape points out, the Ismaili Assassins, "A Shi'ite Muslim sect based in northwestern Iran in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, created an effective organization for the planned, systematic, and long-term use of political murder that relied on suicide missions for success" (12).

⁵² Rashid al-Din Sinan is an Iraqi who had come to Syria and settled in the mountains of northern Syria. He was surrounded by sixty thousand followers. Those young men were totally loyal to him and were called *fidai*. Sinan used a potion mixed with cannabis, which were called "hashish". Under the spell of these mysterious liquids; *fidai* would be carried to a marvelous garden. Then, when he wakes up, he assumes that he is in Paradise. Believing that he is immortal, the *fidai* would grab his dagger and follow the orders of Sinan, attacking specific targets. Conrad of Montferrat was among those who were assassinated by the Assassins (Reston 252-253).

that he is Divine. He orders them to kidnap young men and bring them to his cave where they are surrounded by the best kinds of fruits and the most beautiful women. Sinan persuades them that they are dead and that they are in Paradise. Consequently, they will do anything he asks for as they think that they are immortal. Sinan uses this technique to plan assaults on his opponents including Conrad and Saladin, as he explicitly proclaims (334). Pasha, I argue, creates an historical analogy between Sinan's medieval strategies in recruiting Muslim youths and those of al-Qaeda in our modern times. Rohan Gunaratna and Khuram Iqbal argue that al-Qaeda persuaded its recruits to achieve immortality through martyrdom. Thus, they become determined to end their mortal life on earth to acquire eternal life in Paradise (16).

Historical Representations of Sunni and Shiite Muslims and Contemporary Implications

It can be easily noted that the main source of brutality in Field's *The Swords of Faith* is Shiite rather than Sunni Muslims. I argue that the author proves in this instance to be presenting biased representations of Shiite Muslims. Shiite Muslims appear as fanatic attackers and dangerous extremist groups. Field's narrator refers to Sinan's attacker as Shiite rather than Assassins. Moreover, it is significant that in one incident in the novel, Pierre is attacked by a Shiite attacker and shoots the attacker's turban, which makes Rashid's father wonder "what was the purpose of shooting the man's turban off?" (433). As Anna Akasoy points out, green and black turbans are distinctive Shiite symbols. Since the novel is concerned with reflecting on the present, I suggest that the novel is making indirect reference to the Iranian government as an anti-Western Islamic country, and the most dangerous threat to the West. A news report entitled "White House offers talks to Tehran" indicated, Bush "blamed Iran for supplying some of the explosives that Iraq's insurgents are using against coalition forces". Moreover, in an online article entitled "The Threat from Iran", it is stated that "Iran is one of the foremost, self-proclaimed enemies of the West and one of the most serious threats to stability in the Middle East". The article explains that this danger stems from the government's extremist interpretations of Islam, its anti-Western feeling, its role in backing terror in the world, and last and most serious,

its possession of nuclear energy. Reading the novel within its contemporary context, Sinan's character constitutes parallels with Iran's contemporary political position. As Ely Karmon argues, the ongoing sectarian conflict in Iraq is the outcome of a rivalry in the region rather than the result of the latest developments in the country (274). For him, Iran is leading the rising conflict between Shiite and Sunni Muslims as well as supporting terrorist groups (291). Similarly, according to Kayhan Barzegar, the post-Saddam Hussein era was a historic opportunity for the Islamic republic of Iran to "redefine its regional position" (49). I suggest that Field establishes an historical analogy between Sinan's policies and those of Iran in our contemporary context in order to promote and ultimately denounce the notion that Iran has a role intensifying the ongoing conflict between Sunni and Shiite Muslims in Iraq, which aims to enhance its political influence in the region. In this particular aspect of his representations of Islam, Field sounds pro-American and clearly influenced by Western media and political discourse about Iran. I argue that in his depictions of Shiite Muslims, Field implies that military action is needed to defy the danger coming from Iran and to defeat the sectarian conflict between Sunni and Shiite Muslims. Nevertheless, I maintain that unlike Field, Pasha does not produce biased images of Shiite Muslims. Pasha is keen not to present Muslims, regardless of their being Sunni or Shiite, as violent. Moreover, aware of the role of sectarian conflict between Shiite and Sunni Muslims in promoting Western interventionism, Pasha avoids stressing factional tension between his Muslim characters.

Pasha is keenly interested in defying representations of Muslims as violent or intolerant. In an interview by Luqman Karuvarakundu entitled "Muslim Writer on U.S. TV Program" at The Center for Islamic Pluralism, Pasha expresses his rejection of any Islamic extremism or fundamentalism. He adds that Islam is about gentleness and tolerance and that fundamentalists have ruined the true image of Islam by giving the impression that Islam is about arrogance and violence. For him, extremist fundamentalists' goals are imperial and their methods are inhumane. Pasha indicates that his historical fiction's objective is not only to entertain, but also to inform young readers about influential figures in their history. Although Pasha has great respect for left-wing intellectuals, he believes that such intellectuals have no real influence on American policy and their views are ignored by Western media and remain unknown to average

Americans. Pasha believes that films, television shows and historical fiction have massive influence on people's perceptions and consequently on the public acceptance of American foreign policy. Pasha emphasises that representations of Muslims in Hollywood have had a rather an enormous impact on how people in the United States and all over the world perceive Muslims. Drawing on an in-depth study of representations of Muslims in Hollywood films, Jack Shaheen argues that Muslims and Arabs often appear in Hollywood productions as violent and are associated with terrorism (9). Pasha believes that his mission as a Muslim screenwriter is to replace these images with more realistic ones. Pasha's objective is to show people that Islam is about love and tolerance. He is keen to defy images about Muslims as "a bunch of crazy fanatics". Nevertheless, Pasha declares that he does not present Muslims as perfect people. Rather, he tries to show that they are like any other people; they have their own flaws and weaknesses.

Despite his eagerness to present peaceful images of Saladin, Pasha does not try to idealize Saladin's character. Instead, he tries in some instances to show his flaws as a leader and as a man. Maimonides' character is significant in this regard as he serves as a commentator on Saladin's deeds. As mentioned earlier, Maimonides is presented as an impartial figure. Although Maimonides appears as an admirer of Saladin's character, on few occasions, he proves to be critical of Saladin. Saladin acts violently when dealing with the Muslim rioters after the Massacre of Acre (242). Maimonides denounces Saladin's decision to demolish Ascalon although he is aware that it is the only way to defend the Muslim cause (292-293). In addition, Saladin's intimate life is presented in the novel to have some flaws. Saladin orders the execution of Sultana Yasmeena, his wife, as she has tried to poison Miriam after she has become Saladin's concubine as well as for her homosexual relationship with one of the ladies at the court (260). Though Pasha endeavours to present Saladin as peaceful and tolerant in an attempt to defy media representations of Muslims as violent, he tries to avoid idealising Saladin's image, which eventually renders Saladin's character more realistic.

Humanity, Land, Culture, Women and War

Both novelists provide several images of the Crusades' destructive outcomes, with Pasha putting more emphasis than Field on their impact on women. In Field's *The Swords of Faith*, Richard acknowledges to himself that the war had vicious outcomes on both sides: "But these weeks have been a difficult teacher. Broken tents, spoiled food, rusted armor, rotted clothes rendered worthless against the cold. Dead and dying animals, roads turned to muddy trenches, knee-deep for our soldiers and horses" (370). As Richard confesses, this military action has resulted in terrible consequences not only for Muslims but also for the Crusaders themselves, as well as on the land, the animals and the properties. It is significant that the results of the war are pointed out by Richard himself, who eventually becomes critical of his own acts. Irritated by the presence of the Crusaders' forces in the Holy Land, Rashid points out that the Holy Land used to be more peaceful during the Muslim reign: Muslims, Christians, and Jews peacefully have coexisted and had the freedom of practising their religious rituals (56). Furthermore, he discloses how cruel the Crusaders have been as they burned libraries and slaughtered Jews, Christians and Muslims (115). Similarly, Saladin directs sharp criticism towards the Crusaders: he denounces the enormous harm the Crusaders have inflicted on Jews, Christians and Muslims (80).

Pasha deploys different techniques to those of Field to show the devastating impact of war. These techniques include dreams and the narrator's as well as the characters' commentary. Pasha uses Richard's dreams as effective means to reflect the enormous impact of the war not only on the people of the Holy Land but also on the Crusaders themselves. Under the influence of the severe fever Richard has caught, he starts to have nightmares. In his first nightmare, Richard explains to his father that his presence in the Holy Land is intended to protect it. Nonetheless, Henry's remark shows the irony in Richard's claims: "By destroying it?" (187). Henry's response points out that the war is not a defensive but rather a destructive action as it leads to great damage and death. In the dream, Richard sees a shocking, comprehensive image of war. As the narrator says: "He glided over the bodies that lined the devastated courtyard of the Dome, passing through them as if splashing through a thin puddle. . . . It was blood of women and

children, of innocents whose cries for mercy had been ignored by the frenzy of battle” (188). Such depictions are meant to show the fierceness and irrationality of war. Moreover, the narrator describes the cruel, destructive methods the Crusaders used to attack the Holy Land: “BOOM. The walls rattled as the battering ram struck the iron gates. BOOM, again and again... the ancient doors buckled. Crumpled like a parchment in the hands of a frustrated scribe” (126), which reflects the destructive effect of using force. Commenting on the deeds of the Crusaders, Maimonides says: “They have ransacked and pillaged their way through Europe. Entire villages have been laid to waste. They have all the markings of the uncouth barbarians that descended like a plague on the Holy Land a hundred years ago” (153). Maimonides provides us with an impartial commentary on the cruel deeds of the Crusaders and the vast destruction they have inflicted on other humans and the land. Thus, with clear emphasis on the Crusaders’ methods of attacking the Holy Land, Pasha presents the Crusades as a vicious military project.

By presenting the Crusaders’ invasion of the Holy Land as primarily an act of destructive colonial pillage, I argue that *Swords of Faith* and *Shadow of the Swords* promote connections between the medieval Crusades and contemporary Euro-American intervention in the Middle East. Both novels suggest that the contemporary acts of invasion for which the novels provide parallels in the historical past, only helped destroy the cultural heritage of some countries such as Iraq and led to terrible loss of human life on both sides. According to news report broadcast on the BBC News Website in December 2011, in 2003 the US-led invasion of Iraq with the coalition of the UK and other nations was called “Operation Iraqi Freedom.” Eventually, the operation proved to be very costly in both human loss and economic expenses. The number of US soldiers sent to Iraq was around 100-150,000, but later, Bush ordered sending 30,000 additional troops to bolster security in the country, especially in Baghdad. Between March 2003 and July 2010, 4,421 US soldiers had been killed and the UK lost 179 service men and women. On the Iraqi part, there have been between 97,461 and 106,348 deaths of Iraqi civilians (“Iraq Wars in Figures”).

As Patrick Martin states, “The looting of Iraq’s museums and National Library, with the destruction of much of Iraq’s cultural heritage, is a historic crime for which the

Bush administration is responsible”. Martin argues, a large number of the antiquities in the National Museum of Antiquities in Baghdad were stolen or damaged after the military invasion of Baghdad. He maintains, such actions aim at “destroying their national identity”. For him, the ultimate goal of this invasion was to take control of the oil sources in the country and to fulfil materialistic goals. Similarly, in his book *Bush in Babylon* (2003), Tariq Ali argues that the occupation of Iraq has led to destructive ends. He maintains that the war broke up the Iraqi army, caused destruction of law and order and inflicted torture on the people (222). He provides a number of pictures to show how Western media was selective about the war images. He includes a photo of an Iraqi boy kissing Tony Blair (15). Nonetheless, Ali offers several other pictures that reflect a more comprehensive reality about military actions. For instance, he includes a picture of an Iraqi woman mourning the death of her child (209). In addition, he provides a photo displaying a heap of dead Iraqis at Abu Ghraib prison (223), which reflects the catastrophic outcomes of war on human beings.

Both Field and Pasha highlight the horrible consequences of the Crusades on women. Nevertheless, Pasha seems to be far more interested in focusing on this issue than Field. While Field presents it as a minor issue mentioned in passing by the characters, Pasha establishes the notion as a crucial matter that provides the opening episode of the novel. In Field’s *The Swords of Faith*, we learn through a conversation between the characters that a young girl from the Holy Land has been raped by the Crusaders (347). On the other hand, in Pasha’s *Shadow of the Swords*, the narrative begins with the story of Miriam. The third-person narrator informs us that Miriam and her mother have been both raped by the Crusaders and that her mother has been also killed (3-5). Moreover, Miriam is later captured by Richard’s army on her way to Cairo (278). Historically speaking, Hansen and Curtis argue that the Crusaders did rape thousands of women (376). Fictional though the story is, Pasha tries to show the devastating effect of war on women both in the past and in our present time.

A discourse of saving women was used by some to legitimize the “War on Terror”. As Sadia Abbas argues, the emancipation of Muslim women in Islamic cultures has been used as a pretext for the ongoing “War on Terror” (44). Peter Morey and Amina Yaqin observe that wives of prominent politicians in the West including Laura Bush and

Cherie Blair used the discourse of protecting Muslim women in Afghanistan to justify the moral objectives of the “War on Terror” (178). In a radio address, Laura Bush, for instance, argued that women and children in Afghanistan had been treated inhumanely by al-Qaeda. She maintained that women had been denied education and had not been allowed to work or leave home on their own. For her, all the countries in the world, regardless of their faith or culture, had an ethical obligation towards women and children in Afghanistan. Mrs. Bush argued that the military action that had been carried out helped Afghani women regain some of their rights such as education. However, as Sonali Kolhatkar argues, American military action had negative results on both women and children causing them various problems including hunger, homelessness, displacement and death (20). Kristen McNutt’s paper “Sexualized Violence Against Iraqi Women By US Occupying Forces”, which was presented to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights 2005 Session in Geneva, reported incidents of rape and sexual violence by US military personnel. In a letter smuggled from inside the Abu Ghraib Prison in Iraq by an Iraqi woman in December 2003, it was reported that women detainees were raped by American guards in the prison. She further noted that President Bush had insisted that these actions cannot be said to be the outcome of military action and were carried out only by a few of the recruits (3). Accordingly, I argue that both Field and Pasha deploy historical analogy to reinforce notions that the “War on Terror” has left a negative impact on women in Muslim-majority countries, although the objective of protecting Arab and Muslim women was among the supposed objectives of the mission. Nevertheless, in Pasha’s novel, the impact of the war on women is presented on a grander scale than that shown in Field’s novel. As can be noted, Pasha has gone a step further than Field in presenting the horrible influence of the Crusades on women. With variable degrees, both authors call for a rejection of war and warn against its destructive effects.

By creating the fictional character of Miriam, Pasha grants women living in Islamic cultures a voice. Although Miriam is a Jew, she is represented as an integral part of Islamicate communities. Pasha assigns Miriam a vital role in the novel. While imprisoned in the Crusaders’ camp, Miriam communicates Richard’s secret military plans to Saladin and thereby indirectly determines the movement of the Muslims’ army (288). Having discovered during her captivity that Richard’s immediate plan of action

was not to invade Jerusalem but to go straight to Ascalon and then to Sinai and Egypt, she passes a message through her uncle Maimonides when he comes to demand her release. This invaluable intelligence enables Saladin to act in time to thwart Richard's attack by poisoning all water wells in the Ascalon area. This ultimately undermines the whole Crusaders' plan of first invading Egypt as a preliminary step to securing Jerusalem, and radically turns the course of events. Thus, unlike Field, Pasha shows great interest in granting women a significant role in the Third Crusade. Moreover, as we see, Miriam buys an Arabic text of Plato's *Republic* (81), which implies that Miriam is a sophisticated woman, who is able to comprehend Plato's philosophies. Through historical analogy, I argue, Pasha challenges media representations of Arab and Muslim women as oppressed and passive and defies political discourse that Arab and Muslim women are in need of rescue.

Saladin and Sufi Perceptions of Jihad

Field and Pasha try to complicate medieval and, by means of historical analogy, contemporary association of Islam with violence. As Norman Daniel notes, the hostile medieval misrepresentations of Islam were recurrent themes in major writers' works; these writers emphasised false representations without making reference to the sources that were available at the time. Even writers who read these references were influenced by images passed to them by their predecessors. Daniel notes that such actions perpetuated hostile images of Islam in the consciousness of the West (307). Similarly, Ibrahim Kalin argues that the medieval perceptions of Islam as a threat and as a religion that was spread by the sword had their roots in the medieval period. As he indicates, the Crusades did not bring renewable images about Islam but rather reemphasized such misrepresentations about it (5). He further argues that 9/11 revived and crystalised these misconceptions (2). For Kalin, following the 9/11 attacks, many academics and policy makers depicted Islam as a religion that condones terrorism and ignored the political circumstances that generated such actions (26). Joe L. Kincheloe and Shirley Steinberg argue that barbaric images of Muslims were crucial to justifying the Crusades (20). In this regard, it is essential to reflect on representations of the Islamic concept of jihad in

both novels. As Brendon Tagg argues, “Westerners misunderstand jihad” (319). He maintains that Western media falsely equates jihad with terrorism (320). In addition, Sarah Ahmad argues that jihad is perceived from a Western perspective as an Islamic practice whose objective is to launch a “holy war” in order to compel non-believers to convert to Islam.

Drawing upon an in-depth study of the use of the term “jihad”, Peter Mandaville differentiates between the “Greater Jihad” and the “Lesser Jihad”. He points out that the Greater Jihad “refers to one’s spiritual or inner struggle to overcome the self in the course of submitting fully to the path of God” (249) while the Lesser Jihad “refers to the outward struggle to defend Islam” (250). As Mandaville observes, Sufis have the tendency to focus more on the spiritual jihad (250).⁵³ Similarly, Douglas Streusand points out that Sufism, which became the most dominant and influential type of Islamic spirituality by the eleventh century, adopted the doctrine of Greater jihad. Maimul Ahsan Khan argues that jihad according to Sufis has peaceful implications: “The *jihad* against one’s own instinctual unrestrained gratification has been regarded as the core message of the Islamic spirit.” Khan maintains that to sort conflicts out, a Sufi draws primarily on love and peace rather than on political or violent methods (136). Significantly, historians are confident that Saladin was influenced by the Sufi tradition. As Beha al-Din points out, Saladin had a passion for learning about Sufism (39-41). Similarly, Titus Burckhardt indicates that Saladin was “connected to Sufism” (4). Both Field and Pasha make reference to Sufism in their novels. Nevertheless, Pasha, as a Sufi Muslim,⁵⁴ seems to be more concerned than Field with emphasising Sufi perceptions of jihad. He proves in some instances to be manipulating the historical record in order to support this notion. In Field’s *The Swords of Faith*, Saladin makes a direct reference to his connections with Sufis (42). In Pasha’s

⁵³ While Sufis focused on spiritual jihad, the historical archive indicates that there are instances where they practised the Lesser Jihad. For instance, Elizabeth Sirriyeh points out, there have been examples of Sufis participation in outward jihad. She points out that Sufi Muslims’ involvement in military jihad came as a response to the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries European Imperialism (42-43). Nonetheless, many Sufis did not take part in these resistance movements (43). Nikki R. Keddie provides Abdel Qadir in Algeria as an example of Sufi leaders who led a resistance movement against French Imperialism (xvii). Thus, as indicated by the historical archive, Sufis were involved in Lesser Jihad as an act of defence rather than of violation.

⁵⁴ In an interview entitled “Muslim Writer on U.S TV Program”, Pasha states that he is a Sufi Muslim.

Shadow of the Swords, the narrator alludes to Sufi traditions. As Henry says: “The Prophet of the Saracens was alleged to have said that the greatest battle in life, the greatest *jihad*, was against oneself” (52).

In Field’s *The Swords of Faith*, Saladin endeavours to retake the city by peaceful methods although the Crusaders insist on possessing the city by force. In response to Saladin’s pacific proposal, the Frankish herald says: “Sometimes a holy cause must be bathed in the blood of the enemies to be considered successful” (80). However, Saladin is presented as merciful even in the midst of battle. In most of his dealings and transactions with his Christian adversaries, Saladin tries as much as possible to save lives and to avoid harming women or children. For instance, when Raymond is asked whether he is worried or not about his wife after Tiberius was besieged by Muslims, he replies: “I know this man Saladin. My wife faces no danger” (19). This indicates that Saladin is renowned among his enemies for his honour and peaceful approaches. It is also interesting to note that when Balian’s wife is in the possession of Muslims, Saladin is advised by Imad al-Din to exploit the situation and put pressure on the Crusaders. Nonetheless, Saladin refuses, saying: “We do not operate that way.... No matter how foolishly and dishonorably they behave, we will not use a man’s wife and children in that way” (81). Saladin goes on to say that such good deeds show Christians that Islam is a faith of mercy and tolerance (81). Saladin’s words reflect his tendency to focus on nonviolent and compassionate methods in dealing with matters. Such representations are meant to connect Saladin with spiritual jihad.

Ahead of the Battle of Hattin, Saladin gives a speech to his army in which he states:⁵⁵

We are not at war with all Christians; we are at war with their leaders. By treating Christians with compassion, they will be more willing to accept terms and avoid bloodshed. We might even convince a few to adopt the True Faith. We must uphold our principles, even when faced with the barbarity and cruelty of Christian leaders. Am I clear?. (78)

⁵⁵ Reston indicates that on March 1187, Saladin announced the call to Holy War (34).

Saladin's statement above provides a brief but comprehensive explanation of his perception of jihad. Converting Christians to Islam by the use of force is not the goal of jihad. Rather, Saladin is hopeful that by showing tolerance to Christians, some of them might consider joining Islam. More importantly, Saladin states that Christian civilians should not be harmed; rather, they must be treated kindly. Field's depictions of Saladin, I argue, complicate modern perceptions of jihad as a modern equivalent for terrorism or an attempt to force Christians to convert to Islam.

The very title of Pasha's novel, *Shadow of the Swords* is associated with jihad in Islam. In the novel, preparing his forces for the Battle of Hattin, Saladin reminds his men of Prophet Mohammad's words regarding war: "O men! Do not seek an encounter with the enemy. Pray to God for security. But when you must fight, exercise patience. And know that Paradise is under the shadow of the swords!" (27). Though the Crusaders have been fierce, Saladin decides to remain merciful and tolerant if he wins. "I promised Allah that I will show the Franks mercy if He grants us victory today" (15). Despite the ongoing conflict, Saladin treats Sir William humanely and respectfully after he has been captured (301). Saladin is presented in many stances as diplomatic and peaceful: for instance, he does not hesitate to send his personal physician to cure Richard (172). Moreover, Saladin offers Richard his personal horse al-Qudsiyyah as a gift (366).⁵⁶ It is noticeable that Pasha is keen on emphasising such instances of Saladin's magnanimity in order to highlight the importance of establishing brotherly and friendly relations between Muslims and Christians.

In this respect, depictions of the Massacre of Acre are highly significant. Following Richard's decision to carry out the Massacre of Acre, Muslim civilians react brutally against Richard's inhumane deeds. Nevertheless, Saladin fights severely against the Muslim rioters in order to avoid further bloodshed (242). In an attempt to save the peaceful ties between Muslims and Christians in the Holy Land, Saladin pays the Patriarch a visit to make sure that he has not been harmed. Saladin does not condone

⁵⁶ Saladin sent his personal doctor to treat Richard and when Richard's horse was wounded in the battle, Saladin sent him two horses as a replacement (Stanton *et al.* 97). According to Reston, on seeing Richard on foot, Saladin said: "Go, take these two Arabian horses and lead them to him. Tell him that I send them to him, and that a man so great as he is should not be in parts such as these, on foot, with his men" (292).

violence practised by Muslims (241). Rather, he exerts great efforts in protecting Christian civilians; in Saladin's own words: "I declare all the Christians of Jerusalem my brothers. Any man who harms a Christian shall be treated as having attacked the Sultan himself" (241). Saladin believes that civilians should not be the victims of wars: "I know that you grieve for our brothers at Acre. As do I. But these men are not responsible" (242). Maimonides, who is Saladin's trusted consultant in the affairs of the state, tries to persuade him that "blood demands blood". However, Saladin warns that "blood never rests" (242). Saladin's response underscores his adherence to peaceful approaches.

Pasha's representations of Saladin's reactions to the Massacre of Acre reflect a great departure from the historical record. Historically speaking, Saladin's reaction was not as calm and peaceful as we have been told in Pasha's tale. According to both Muslim historians Beha Ed-Din and Ibn Al-Athir,⁵⁷ Saladin reacted violently to the Massacre of Acre. For Beha Ed-Din, Saladin ordered the captive Frankish soldiers to be beheaded to avenge the death of the Muslim prisoners (278). By the same token, Ibn Al-Athir writes: "... Saladin had sworn that everyone that fell into the hands should be killed in revenge for the men at Acre who had been put to death" (390).⁵⁸ I suggest that Pasha's historical inaccuracy on this occasion seeks to contribute towards his larger aim of associating Saladin with Sufism. In his novel *Mother of the Believers* (2009), Pasha's depictions of the Prophet Mohammad suggest that he hates bloodshed and favours peace to cruelty and hopes that dilemmas could be better sorted out through peaceful means. Pasha also shows that Prophet Mohammad is worried that violence breeds further brutality (173-179). In light of this, I suggest, Pasha endeavours to associate his historical protagonists with the spiritual ("Greater Jihad") rather than the outward ("Lesser Jihad").

⁵⁷ As indicated in the introduction to the translated version of the chronicle, Ibn Al-Athir is a Muslim hthe Islamic goistorian. He was born in 1160 in Mosul (1). The chronicle has been translated into English by D.S. Richards. The translated version of the chronicle is part of the *Crusade Texts in Translation* series. Ibn Al-Athir "fails to specify his sources" and relies on oral anonymous sources (2).

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Stephan Schwartz argues that Sufism has attracted Western admiration from different religions including Jews and Christians (12). He maintains that Sufism “offers the clearest Muslim option for reconciliation between Judeo-Christian and Islamic worlds, as well as fulfilment of the promise that Islam shall be, as is so often repeated, a religion of peace” (13). For him “Sufis provided great service to Muslim rulers as agents of good will between Islam and power and the religions of the ruled” (15). In light of Schwartz’s argument, I contend that by associating Saladin with the Sufi perception of jihad, both Field and Pasha try to call for a reconciliation between the three faiths: Judaism, Christianity and Islam, particularly following the 9/11 attacks. Moreover, connecting Saladin with the Sufi views of jihad in the two novels depicts a leader prone to peace and dialogue rather than to violence and military force in sorting out conflicts. Thus, Field and Pasha urge leaders around the world to deploy more diplomatic and peaceful foreign policies in order to have better relationships among the peoples.

The Islamic Golden Age and the European Renaissance

Both *The Swords of Faith* and *Shadow of the Swords* challenge the Western media’s attempts to create an artificial division between a “backwards” Islamic world and a “civilized” West following the 9/11 attacks. As Morey and Yaqin argue, this supposed dichotomy was essential to promote military action after the 9/11 attacks (1). Field and Pasha provide an inverted image to that suggested by the Western media: they present Islamic cultures as more advanced in the different scientific fields, trade and militarily. Furthermore, they do not reduce relations between Islam and the West in the Middle Ages merely to conflict and tension. Rather, they try to highlight the intercultural cooperation between the two worlds. They emphasize the contributions of Islamic culture towards the European Renaissance in the different scientific fields as well as trade. Moreover, they present alliances between real historical as well as fictional characters. Through such representations, both authors defy the idea behind Huntington’s thesis, which frames the relationships between Islam and the West within a bloody civilizational clash.

According to Huntington, Islamic-Western relations have been problematic since the emergence of Islam: “Conflict along the fault line between Western and Islamic civilizations has been going on for 1,300 years. After the founding of Islam, the Arab and the Moorish surge west and north only at Tours in 732. From the eleventh to the thirteenth century the Crusaders attempted with temporary success to bring Christianity and Christian rule to the Holy Land” (31). In addition, in his book *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, Huntington argues that the relationships between groups from different civilisations will be usually aggressive (207). He maintains that the relations between Islam and Christianity have been often hostile, despite the fact that there have been times of peaceful coexistence (209). However, in his article “The Clash of Ignorance” (2001), Edward Said counter-argues that Huntington succeeds in creating a binary opposition between Islam and the West, but fails to confess the fact that the West is indebted to medieval Islamic civilisation in the different disciplines of knowledge, human culture, science, philosophy, sociology, and historiography. As Jim Al-Khalili points out, in the Middle Ages, the Islamic world was at its peak in terms of scientific advancement and the period was referred to as the Golden Age of Islamic history. Europe, as he clarifies, was indebted to the Islamic advances in medicine. For instance, al Razi’s *al-Hawi* (925) and Avicenna’s *Canon of Medicine* (1025) were translated into Latin and were drawn upon in the medical field in Europe during the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries (197).

In his article “Demonizing Islam is Both Wrong and Foolish” (2009), Field argues that Westerners should not demonize Islam; rather, they should appreciate the input of Islamic civilisations. Field’s views are manifested in his novel *The Swords of Faith*. In a conversation between Rashid and Pierre, Rashid indicates that Islamic cultures have excelled over European cultures in terms of scientific achievements:

Islam has preserved the great intellectual advances of the Greeks before Jesus. Muslims have improved on the study of stars, of numbers, of the character of light. They have pioneered new methods of healing people with plants and medicines and in special buildings to treat the sick that I

believe are called ‘hospitals’ in your language. Muslims everywhere are taught to read because reading the Koran is part of our religion. (115)

The above quotation indicates that Islamic cultures built on the advancement of the Hellenistic Age and further contributed to the different sciences, particularly medicine, mathematics, physics and astronomy. Moreover, it points out that learning is a basic requirement in Islam. While the quotation ascribes enlightenment and knowledge in the Middle Ages to Islamic civilization, it views Western cultures at the time as backward and less informed. In addition to what the quotation suggests, Pierre indicates that the Arabic numeral system is used in Europe. Moreover, in his recently published novel *The Sultan and the Khan* (2015), Field highlights that in the Middle Ages, Baghdad was a centre for knowledge and prosperity where scholars of all faiths met and reached great scientific achievements (96). In this way, Field, I argue, defies associations between Islam and backwardness and complicates oversimplified views that the interactions between the West and the Islamic world have been solely tensional throughout history. Through these representations, Field calls for drawing lessons from history when Islam and the West were able to cooperate in the various fields of knowledge as well as in the political and the cultural domains to achieve advancement and to challenge violence.

As a Muslim-American author concerned about representations of the Islamic world in Western media, Pasha is keener than Field to present Islamic cultures as sophisticated and enlightened. On several occasions in the novel, he presents Islamic communities as developed and as not in need of rectification. In *Shadow of the Swords*, Pasha endeavours to highlight the fact that Islamic civilisation and cultures were far more advanced than their European counterparts. For instance, when Richard is afflicted with a severe fever, the Crusaders are unable to provide a doctor that can cure Richard’s illness.⁵⁹ As one of the Frankish soldiers states: “Our doctors have no cure for this disease” (164). Consequently, the Crusaders refer to Saladin on this matter as Muslims have more advanced medical skills than Europeans. Saladin sends Maimonides who,

⁵⁹ As Reston indicates, Richard had fever and chills and collapsed from fatigue after the Battle of Jaffa (294).

despite being a Jew is under Muslim patronage and is represented as an integral part of Islamicate community (170). In addition, the narrator points out that the Franks learned from Muslims how to transfer letters from ship to seashore (132). As indicated by the narrator, Miriam buys an Arabic text of Plato's *Republic* (81), which reflects Arabs' interest in translating and preserving classical knowledge. Additionally Henry, Richard's father, is critical of Richard's labeling the Muslims as barbarians. For him "a day in the school of Cordova would shame the greatest scholars of the Christian courts" (56). Such a statement associates Islamic cultures with knowledge and enlightenment. Moreover, after staying at the Muslims' camp and getting exposed to Islamic civilisation, Sir William shows appreciation for Muslims' codes of chivalry and honor (356), and he points out that the Muslim army possesses more advanced military arms compared to its European counterpart (106). According to the narrator: "The soldiers knew that victory today meant triumph over the forces of barbarism and ignorance that threatened to plunge the civilized world back into the illiterate darkness that still covered Europe" (16). Pasha, I suggest, tries through his narrator to set Europe and the Islamic world in sharp contrast.

Furthermore, both authors highlight the fact that Islam and the West collaborated in the past in terms of trade. As Ahmad Essa indicates, when the Crusaders first arrived in Syria, they focused a great deal on trade. They also benefited from goods that were in high demand in Europe such as sugar. He notes further that the Crusaders bought from Muslims artistic icons and lapidaries that were used in churches (57). For Essa, trading with Muslims drew Europe's attention to the need for conducting trade activities beyond the continent as Europe had nothing to export back then (58). In Field's *The Swords of Faith*, Rashid establishes a trading business with Pisan merchants (311). In *Shadow of the Swords*, the narrator points out that in the markets of Jerusalem, Italian jewelry and French pots are available for purchase. Furthermore, the narrator indicates that the Franks are conducting trade with their homelands (80-81). According to Miriam, this intercultural trade marked "the beginnings of cultural awareness among the infidels" (81). Such an observation by Miriam alludes to the input of Islamic cultures towards the rise of the European Renaissance in latter centuries as discussed earlier by Essa.

Field and Pasha try to present images of harmonious relationships between their Christian and Muslim characters. Field's *The Swords of Faith* depicts a solid relationship growing between Rashid and Pierre, a Muslim and a Christian respectively. They both support integration rather than division or segregation. In this respect Pierre says: "We need peace", "We need these fighters for God to settle their differences. We need Richard to go home. We need these armies to stop chewing each other up and destroying cities and farms in the process" (409). The story of Pierre and Rashid provides the writer with a springboard for discussing interfaith relationships. The two characters engage in a long debate about their faiths and the issue of accepting other people's religions. Rashid and Pierre are represented as a good example of interfaith and intercultural cooperation. They have a solid friendship even though they owe their loyalties to two opposing leaders. Both Rashid and Pierre have direct access and great allegiance to their respective leaders, Saladin and Richard. The two friends have learned and benefited a great deal from each other (331) and the two plan to go together on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem (493). Rashid and Pierre's story suggests the possibility of multiculturalism and open-mindedness. Pierre plays an important role in bringing peace to the area by suggesting a peace truce between Muslims and Christians (342). Similarly, in *The Sultan and the Khan*, Field presents a period of history when Muslims led by Sultan Qutuz and Christians have collaborated in order to defeat the savage Mongol invasion of Baghdad: "The Mongols were coming after all of us of us...we would like the honor of fighting side by side as we take on this evil foe" (339). This intercultural cooperation ends fruitfully by defeating Hulegu Khan, the Mongol ruler (377).

Saladin's and Sir William's friendship in Pasha's *Shadow of the Swords* represents intercultural relationships between Islam and the West (159). As Pasha states, Sir William's character is based on the real historical figure Sir William Marshal (*Shadow of the Swords*, "A Conversation with Kamran Pasha").⁶⁰ John Gillingham observes, William Marshal was among Richard the Lionheart's trusted lieutenants (17). His outstanding chivalry was celebrated in songs and verse (126). This fictionalized

⁶⁰ According to David Crouch: "William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, was born at sometime around 1147 in Wiltshire, or perhaps Berkshire, in the reign of King Stephen." Crouch points out that *The Histoire de Guillaume le Mareschal* is a French poem celebrating the remarkable character of William Marshal (1).

relationship between Saladin and Sir William suggests that Muslims and Christians are able to coexist peacefully and to create healthy human relations. Sir William's stance on Muslims is a call for finding common ground between Islam and the West in modern times. Rashid, Pierre, Saladin and Sir William endeavour to forge friendships despite the ongoing tension are meant to reflect on the present, which reflects a major characteristics of historical novels.

Avrom Fleishman argues that the perceived universality of the historical novel is of great significance: "In the course of reading, we find that the protagonists of such novels confront not only the forces of history in their own time, but its impact on life in any time" (15). Thus, both novels, I argue, become a call for an end to war as it is detrimental to human cooperation and understanding in our modern times, particularly following the 9/11 attacks and the ensuing "War on Terror". Significantly, Rashid's and Pierre's relationship is repeatedly threatened throughout the novel and as a result Pierre dies a victim of claimed religious commitment. Sir William's and Saladin's relationship is endangered due to the ongoing conflict in the Holy Land. Sir William confesses to Saladin that, despite their solid friendship, he would slaughter him if they meet at war (355). Eventually, they do meet in the battlefield and regrettably Saladin slaughters Sir William (362-363). The death of Pierre and Sir William, I suggest, implies that within the context of war, the possibility of cultural and religious understanding and mutual harmony is seriously hindered.

The Islamic-Jewish Alliance

Representations of the relationship between Muslims and Jews in Pasha's *Shadow of the Swords* and Field's *The Swords of Faith* suggest that Muslims and Jews had harmonious relationships in the Middle Ages. In Field's *The Swords of Faith*, we find few references supporting such views. As mentioned earlier, Saladin and Rashid denounce the Crusaders' slaughter of Muslims and Jews. Nevertheless, through his narrator as well as his historical and fictional characters, Pasha tries to challenge the contemporary Judeo-Christian alliance as well as to reinforce the Islamic-Jewish alliance in ways similar to Ali's attempt in Chapter One. As Pasha explains in an interview, among his objectives of writing *Shadow of the Swords* is to show that during the period of the Third Crusade,

Muslims and Jews had harmonious relationships and fundamental theological and ritual similarities (*Shadow of the Swords*, “Interview with Karman Pasha”). As has been broadly discussed in Chapter One, Jews and Muslims enjoyed peaceful and harmonious relationships during the Middle Ages even though this view is sometimes contested and even refuted.

In *Shadow of the Swords*, the narrator sheds light on some common beliefs between Islam and Judaism. The narrator mentions that for both Muslim and Jewish women wearing the veil is compulsory: “She was too young herself to hide away her own dark locks, as the scarf would become obligatory only after her cycles began. In that, the Jews and Muslims of Egypt were of a common opinion” (3). In addition, the narrator suggests that Muslim legends of the Buraq are similar to the winged Sephardim who guarded the Ark of the Covenant in Judaism (100).⁶¹ Underscoring the influence of Islam on Judaism in his book *The Jews of Islam* (1984), Bernard Lewis argues that there is a considerable influence of Islam on Judaism in terms of theology, philosophy and arts (80-81). As we see in the novel, Jewish Maimonides is Saladin’s physician and influential advisor (12). In addition, the narrator points out that the Jews of the Holy Land perceive Saladin as a saviour (61) and that he has been able to establish brotherhood with them and ultimately Jews and Muslims have been able to create a harmonious community that is based on love and justice (103). The romantic relationship that grows between Saladin and Miriam is highly significant (211-212). Pasha, I suggest, creates the fictional character of the Jewish Miriam so as to bring her and Saladin together in an intimate, romantic relationship with the aim of highlighting the similarities between their faiths and social communities.

⁶¹As Randall Prince points out, the Ark bore the tablets of the Covenant, which showed the Israelis’ unique relationship with God as God’s people. Also, it showed God’s promise to accompany the Israelis in their journey to the Promised Land (13). The winged cherubim “appear in the Scripture as immensely powerful beings that attend the visible presence of God” (20). As Brenda Rosen points out in her book *The Mythical Creatures Bible: The Definitive Guide to Legendary Being*, “the Buraq is a mysterious mount that carried Mohammad on a miraculous journey that is traditionally said to have been accompanied in a single night. The Buraq is described as white and long, larger than a donkey and smaller than a mule. It has the face of a woman, the wings of an eagle, and the tail feathers of a peacock” (104).

In this regard, representation of Conrad's death is significant. According to the historical archive, Conrad's death was controversial.⁶² Pasha, I suggest, utilizes the issue of Conrad's assassination to present his own fictional version of the incident so as to suggest through it some basic issues relevant to our modern times. Seeking to avenge the fictional death of his sister which he assumes Conrad has carried out, Maimonides pays a visit to Sinan in his cave and asks him to plan an assault on Conrad (336). Miriam's and Maimonides's retaliations against the Crusaders' brutality and inhumane deeds and their support for Saladin, I contend, aim to critique theories of the Judeo-Christian alliance on one hand and to reinforce the Judeo-Islamic alliance on the other hand. I maintain that by presenting a story of romantic love and intimate friendship between Jews and Muslims, Pasha suggests that the ongoing cycle of hatred, fear and violence can be overcome by human empathy and a greater understanding of the other.

Aaron J. Hahn Tapper argues that in September 2000, there was a dramatic increase in tension between American Jewish and American Muslim students on university campuses in the United States as a result of the intense struggle between Israelis and Palestinians in that period (72). As Rabbi Amy Eilberg points out, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has a role in shaping the relationship between American Jews and American Muslims in the United States. She calls for building strong relationships between Muslims and Jews through stressing the similarities of beliefs and practices and respectfully exploring the differences between the two faiths (34). Similarly, Rabbi Brad Hirschfield argues that Jews and Muslims in the United States have common grounds and urges both sides to establish peace, understanding and respect (19). In view of this, I argue that Pasha revisits the past to draw useful lessons for the present. He suggests that Muslims and Jews can be reminded of the times when the two sides were on good terms

⁶²According to Ibn Al-Athir, it was Saladin who encouraged Sinan to assassinate Conrad (396). Nevertheless, as Asbridge indicates, there was a possibility that Sinan acted independently as he viewed Conrad's presence as a political threat in the Levant (496). Beha Ed-din indicates, however, that the two attackers stated that that assassination was incited by Richard (333). Similarly, according to Imad Ad-Din, the two Assassins who killed Conrad were sent by Richard as Richard's goal was to bring Tyre under his control (239). Yet, Reston indicates that Conrad attacked a ship with precious cargo that belonged to the Assassins when it blew into the harbor of Tyre in a storm. When Sinan demanded the crew and the cargo of the ship, Conrad mocked his request; a year later, Sinan issued a *fatwa* to kill Conrad (256).

with one another and thereby encourages them to explore the commonalities between them as a way of bringing greater mutual understanding.

Views of the Future Relationships between Islam and the West

Unlike Pasha, who seems to be optimistic about resolving the conflict between Islam and the West, Field seems to be less optimistic on their future relationships. *The Swords of Faith* ends on a regretful and somewhat despairing note in which Pierre's prayers that the coming generations will be able to tolerate differences in faith and to coexist peacefully are in vain (515). Until the very end of the novel, Field's Muslim and Western Christian characters fail to create harmonious and tolerant relations. Unfortunately, the peace truce signed by Saladin and Richard, as well as Rashid's and Pierre's sincere efforts and prayers for better Islamic-Christian relations seem to have been wasted after all. Dawoud, Pierre's son grows up in the Holy Land and is treated suspiciously by Muslims as he is the son of a former Crusader (513-514). This ending marks deep insights into the nature and the vicissitudes of the tension between Islam and the West, insights that still reverberate in our present days. The novel suggests that the Crusading campaigns created an environment that was hostile to good intercultural communication and was divisive then, as now. Economic and military concerns generate an atmosphere of distrust and religious sentiments act as a catalyst for the violence that ensues.

Pasha's *Shadow of the Swords* on the other hand, ends on an optimistic note where Saladin and Richard are able to end the conflict. As the narrator concludes: "Salah al-Din ibn Ayyub and Richard the Lionheart signed the treaty, bringing the Crusade to an end" (379).⁶³ Following Sir William's stay in Saladin's camps, Richard asks him about Muslims: "Are they like us?" (357). Sir William replies: "They are us" (357). Richard's question implies that Islam and the West need far more mutual and comprehensive understanding as their knowledge about each other is still insufficient. Sir William's response, I argue, reflects Pasha's views on the necessity of more tolerant and

⁶³ Beha El-Din mentions, peace was concluded between Muslims and the Franks (384).

harmonious relationships between Muslims and the West and the need for stressing the common ground between the two sides. Following Sir William's death, Richard and Saladin decide to avoid repeating the same catastrophe again. They switch from a discourse of war and conflict to a discourse of brotherhood (374). After witnessing the atrocities of the war, Richard regrets his decision of launching the Crusade (365). Richard's ultimate remorseful stance on war, I maintain, is meant to urge the West to learn lessons from history and to reject war as a means of settling conflicts. Furthermore, al-Adil and Joanna appear at the end of the novel standing beside each other in the ceremony held for celebrating the signing of peace treaty (378). Rumours about their marriage have spread but we are not sure whether they are married or not.⁶⁴ While historians are confident that Joanna refused al-Adil's marriage proposal, Pasha implicitly manipulates the historical chronicles in an attempt to manifest his hopes for better relationship between Islam and the West.

⁶⁴ According to the historical account written from both Muslim and Western perspectives, Richard's sister refused the marriage proposal. As Edward Gibbon points out, the marriage proposal was "defeated by the difference of faith" (70). In addition, Stubbs mentions that Joanna refused Saphadin's proposal as he was a Muslim. For her, in order to accept the marriage proposal Saphadin must convert to Christianity (361-362). In the same way, according to Beha Ed-Din, Richard's sister did not consent to the marriage proposal as she would not give herself to a Muslim (312).

Chapter Conclusion

As I have demonstrated in this chapter, by revisiting the Third Crusade in a retrospective manner *The Swords of Faith* and *Shadow of the Swords* create an historical analogy between Saladin's taking of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade and contemporary relations between Islam and the West. I argue that Field's and Pasha's representations of the Third Crusade suggest that it is inaccurate to describe the Third Crusade, and by extension the 9/11 attacks and the ensuing "War on Terror", as a clash of civilisation. The two novels contest Samuel Huntington's thesis of the "Clash of Civilizations". The Crusades in the two novels are shown to have been largely launched to fulfil European desires for expansion, dominance and military reputation under the guise of religion. Through such depictions, both Field and Pasha at least in part support Said's argument in his book *Orientalism*. For Said, the relationship between the East/Islam and the West/ Christianity is a relationship of dominance. Moreover, both novels suggest that Islam, like Christianity, has been exploited both in the past and in the present in order to promote violence and ultimately to achieve political and economic objectives.

Besides depicting the Crusades as an imperialist activity, *The Swords of Faith* and *Shadow of the Swords* present the campaigns as destructive actions that have inflicted severe harm on people, land, cultural heritage and human relationships. I contend that by means of historical analogy, both novels condemn the ongoing "War on Terror" and call for the rejection of violence and urge for resorting to diplomacy instead. However, in his representations of Shiite Muslims, Field promotes the use of force. While Field provides variable images of Sunni Muslims, fluctuating between characters who reject violence to characters who harbour it in the name of faith, he presents biased depictions of Shiite Muslims. Shiite characters appear in the novel as bandits and dangerous attackers. Reading the novel within its contemporary context, Field might be seen to be influenced by Western media views as well as Western political discourse that Iran is the greatest threat to global stability. Furthermore, Field's depictions of Shiite Muslims seem to condemn the controversial role of Iran in the ongoing conflict between Sunni and Shiite Muslims in Iraq as a way of expanding its political dominance in the region. His representations of Shiite Muslims, I argue, imply that military action is essential to defy

the danger coming from Iran and defeat sectarian tension between Sunni and Shiite Muslims. On the other hand, apart from Sinan, Pasha avoids presenting Muslim characters, whether Shiite or Sunni, as violent. Rather, he endeavours to produce peaceful and tolerant images of Muslims with the objective of challenging their representations in Western media.

While Field's *The Swords of Faith* presents the impact of the military action on women as a minor issue, Pasha's *Shadow of the Swords* constructs it as a central matter. Pasha creates the fictional protagonist Miriam, making her endure the cruelty of the Crusaders against her and her mother throughout the novel in order to underline the harmful consequences of war on women. In addition, by creating the fictional character of Miriam, Pasha grants Arab and Muslim women a voice. Despite being a Jew, Miriam is introduced as an integral part of the Islamic communities and thereby represents women in her society. She appears as intellectually sophisticated and as influential in the political and military sphere in ways that defy the Western political discourse that women in Arab and Islamic countries are in need of saving. On the whole, Pasha shows a more profound concern about Arab and Muslim women than Field, trying to depict them as mentally sophisticated and as enjoying influential roles in public life. Moreover, Pasha clearly manifests a more solid anti-war stance than Field.

I maintain that Field and Pasha introduce Sufi perceptions of jihad in an attempt to complicate Western views about Islamic jihad as a modern equal of terrorism or as a way of forcing non-Muslims to convert to Islam. In that way, they challenge Western media associations between Islam/Muslims and violence. Moreover, by means of stressing Sufi views of jihad, which focus on peace and love instead of cruelty, both authors call for better relationships between Islam and the West in our present time. However, Pasha as a Muslim author and Hollywood scriptwriter, shows greater concern than Field in emphasizing these notions. He manipulates the historical archive in an attempt to connect Saladin with Sufi views of jihad.

Both Field and Pasha provide altered images about Islamic and European civilisations than those presented by the Western media following the 9/11 attacks. As opposed to media attempts to create a presumed dichotomy between "backward" Islamic civilisation and "advanced" Western civilisation, Field and Pasha present Islamic

cultures as more advanced in the different scientific fields. Ultimately, both Field and Pasha attempt to undermine ongoing Western political discourse that Muslim-majority countries are in need of rescuing from ignorance and barbarity. Nevertheless, as a Muslim author, Pasha seems to be keener than Field to present this notion as he includes more historical incidents and instances that shows Islamic cultures as sophisticated and progressive. Moreover, both Field and Pasha highlight the historical fact that Europe and the Islamic world had fruitful scientific and cultural interactions in the past when Europe drew upon the advancement of Islamic civilisation in various domains of knowledge and culture. Moreover, both authors present characters who are interested in building intercultural relations and mutual understanding. By presenting these interactions between Islam and the West, Field and Pasha go beyond Huntington's thesis, which frames Islam-West relations primarily within civilisational clashes. Furthermore, they call Islamic and European communities and individuals to learn lessons from the past when the two cultures communicated harmoniously in the different aspects of life. Nevertheless, both authors suggest that war hinders efforts of alliance and cooperation between Islam and the West, implying that contemporary military action has a negative impact on human and intercultural relationships.

Chapter Three

Exploring Depictions of the Third Crusade in Contemporary Historical Drama and Film

Chapter Introduction

This chapter investigates representations of the Third Crusade in contemporary drama and film. It examines two works consumed primarily by Western audiences: David Eldridge's play *Holy Warriors: A Fantasia on the Third Crusade and History of Violent Struggle in the Holy Lands* (2014) and Ridley Scott's film *Kingdom of Heaven* (2005). The chapter examines how both Eldridge and Scott represent this controversial historical period in light of the contemporary war against terror and the ongoing debate about the one-state and two-state solutions for the Israeli-Palestinian issue. As will be demonstrated, the Israeli-Palestinian issue is placed at the centre of this chapter. It is crucial to note that the chapter deals with the Israeli-Palestinian issue as a major point of conflict in the relationship between Islam and the West not as synonym for Islam and the West. In this chapter, I argue that both Eldridge, a British dramatist, and Scott, a British film director and producer, address the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, suggesting that finding a settlement for the struggle in Israel and Palestine is an essential step towards creating peace in the Middle East and reducing terrorism in the world. I maintain that Eldridge and Scott seem to have contrasting views on ways of resolving the conflict. Eldridge seems supportive of the two-settlement whereas Scott seems supportive of the one-state solution. While Eldridge tries on some occasions in *Holy Warriors* to depict the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as a colonial and anti-colonial act, he proves to be influenced by some of the ideas which motivate Huntington's thesis of the "Clash of Civilizations". Eldridge presents the struggle between the Israelis and the Palestinians as an embodiment of a civilizational clash between Islam and the West. He suggests, Western and Islamic cultures are incompatible, particularly with regard to values of secular democracy and therefore, he supports creating two independent states, one for the Israelis and one for the Palestinians. Moreover, Eldridge seems to share Huntington's

essentialist views of Islamic civilisation and Muslims. As we see in the play, Muslim characters appear fanatical and inclined to joining terrorist groups. Ultimately, Eldridge shows concern about the Israeli-Palestinian issue and warns against Western military action in the Muslim-majority country in some instances in the play. Nevertheless, he frames the relationship between Islam and the West within Huntington's theory of the "Clash of Civilizations" and thereby supports the war option on many other occasions.

In the second half of the chapter, I argue that Scott, like Eldridge, shows complex depictions of the relationships between Islam and the West, particularly with regard to the Israeli-Palestinian issue and the ongoing "War on Terror". In *Kingdom of Heaven*, Scott proves to be swayed by the myth of religious violence as well as the notion of the "just war". The film pictures secular violence as rational and sometimes necessary to defy religious violence. Through historical analogy, Scott suggests that Western military interventionism is an incarnation of the European earlier centuries' "civilising mission" towards the "less privileged nations". However, he provides complex representations of Muslims in ways that undermine Huntington's theory of the "Clash of Civilizations. He tends not to essentialize Muslims. While some Muslim characters appear as superstitious, other characters appear as being capable of rational thinking. Moreover, while he depicts the relationship between Islam and the West on some occasions as a "Clash of Civilisations", Scott pictures the coexistence between Israelis and Palestinians in a binational state as possible. Such depictions attempt to defy assumptions that the Israeli-Palestinian issue is an embodiment of a civilizational clash between Islam and the West. On the whole, while Scott's representations of Muslims and Islamic civilisation challenge Huntington's thesis on some occasions in the film, I argue that he acknowledges the need for the ongoing "War on Terror".

David Eldridge's *Holy Warriors: A Fantasia on the Third Crusade and History of Violent Struggle in the Holy Lands* (2014)

“Watch King, the west is in the Holy Land! King, does the west act wisely in these lands?” (Eldridge, *Holy Warriors* 4. 1. 52).

In the first section of this chapter, I argue that in *Holy Warriors*, Eldridge juxtaposes and mixes the twelfth, the twentieth and the twenty-first centuries in order to reflect on the present Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the contemporary “War on Terror”.⁶⁵ In the first half of the chapter, I argue that Eldridge’s *Holy Warriors* presents a complex stance on the Israeli-Palestinian issue and the ongoing “War on Terror”. Eldridge tries in some instances to present the Israeli-Palestinian as a legacy of European Imperialism in the Middle East and warns against contemporary Western involvement in the region. However, on other occasions, he suggests that Islamic cultures are incompatible with Western values of secular democracy and therefore the two-state solution is more applicable a solution than the one-state settlement. Thus, Eldridge establishes an artificial civilisational dichotomy between Islamic and Western civilisations. Moreover, Eldridge provides a consistent representation of Muslim characters. Throughout the play, Muslim characters, whether historical or fictional, appear as cruel and as inclined towards conducting violent activities against the West. In addition, Saladin is represented as a fanatical, violent leader and no alternative to his fanaticism is provided. I contend, by creating a division between Islam and the West and by presenting a reductive image of Muslims and Islamic civilisation, Eldridge reemphasizes Orientalist discourse, as described by Edward Said in *Orientalism*. This ultimately pulls against his endeavours to present the Israeli-Palestinian issue as a heritage of European Imperialism in the East. I maintain, he shares some of the ideas behind Huntington’s theory of the “Clash of Civilizations” and ultimately supports Western military action in Muslim-majority countries.

⁶⁵ In a news report that was published on March 25, 2009 in *The Guardian* Newspaper, Oliver Burkeman reports that American President Barak Obama replaced the term “War on Terror” with the term “Overseas Contingency Operations”.

At the outset, it is worth giving a short account of the biography and the literary productions of the playwright. David Eldridge is a contemporary English playwright. He worked as the Pearson Television playwright at the Royal National Theatre. His play *Under the Blue Sky* received its American first theatrical performance at the Theatre Festival in Massachusetts in June 2002 as well as in the Geffen Playhouse in Los Angeles in September 2002. His television play *Killers* was broadcast on the BBC Choice in 2000 and his play *Michael and Me* was broadcast on BBC Radio 4 in 2001. In 1996, his play *Serving It Up* was performed at the Bush Theater and in that year the theatre was awarded a Time Out Live award for its London Fragments Season, which included Eldridge's play as one of its main performances (Eldridge, *M.A.D.*). He is the author of a number of other plays.⁶⁶ Eldridge is currently a lecturer in Creative Writing at Birkbeck, University of London. His play *Holy Warriors* was performed at the Globe Theatre in London in 2014.⁶⁷ The play revolves around the conflict over the Holy Land beginning in medieval times and extending to the twenty-first century. It brings historical events together and blends them in an obvious attempt to link the past with the present and to create

⁶⁶ *Festen* (2004), was performed at the Almeida and Lyric Theatre. His other plays include *In Basildon* (2012), which was performed at the Royal Court; *Incomplete and Random Acts of Kindness* (2005), which was performed at Royal Court Theatre; *The Knot of the Heart* (2011). *M.A.D.* (2004), which was performed at the Bush Theatre; *Market Boy* (2006) performed at the National Theatre; *Serving it Up* (1996), which was performed at the Bush Theatre; *The Stock Da'wa* (2012); *Summer Begins* (2005), which was performed at NT Studios and the Donmar Warehouse in 1997. In addition, Eldridge contributed *A Thousand Stars Explode in the Sky* (2010), co-written with Robert Holman and Simon Stephens; which was performed at the Royal Exchange Theatre 2010, *Under the Blue Sky*, which was performed at Lyric Hammersmith in 2002 and which was awarded Best New Play in the West End in 2001; *A Week with Tony* (1997), which was performed at the Finborough Theatre in 1996 ("Playwrights and Practitioners: David Eldridge"). He has other theatre credits including: *Babylone* (2009), which was performed at the Belgrade Coventry, and *Fighting for Breath* (1995), which was performed on the Finborough Theatre, *Thanks Mum* (1998), which was performed at Red Room theatre, *Dirty* (1996), which was performed on the Theatre Royal Stratford East, *Cabbage for Tea, Tea, Tea*, (1995), which was performed at Platform 4 Exeter University. He also has television credits including *Killers*, (2000) *Our Hidden Lives* (BBC), and *The Scandalous Lady W* (BBC). In addition, Eldridge has a short film credit: *The Nugget Run* (2002). He also has a number of radio credits: *Michael and Me: Stratford, Ilford, Romoford and all Stations to Shenfield*, *The Picture Man* (2008), *Like Minded People* (2001), and *The Secret Grief* (2001), which was shown on the BBC ("David Eldridge: Film, Theater and Television Credits").

⁶⁷ According to Shakespeare's Globe's brochure of 2014, entitled "2014 Theatre Season", Eldridge's *Holy Warriors* was performed in the 2014 season on August 19, 20, 22, 23, and 24 as well as on August 2, 3, 10, 16, 17, 23, 24. The programme for that season included William Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Julius Caesar* and *King Lear* as well as Simon Armitage's *The Last Days of Troy* (2014), Richard Bean's *Pitcairn* (2014) and Howard Brenton's *Doctor Scroggy's War* (2014).

similarities between them. In an interview by James Dacre, asked about his choice of the Globe to perform his play, Eldridge states that the Globe is “an open and democratic space” where fixed political views about the Middle East can be directly conveyed (4).⁶⁸ While both the published and the performed versions of the play are almost identical, there are significant additions to the performed version where Eldridge makes his characters elaborate on major issues explicitly.⁶⁹

The play starts with Saladin preparing for the conquest of Jerusalem, wishing to expand his political authority and to establish a recognized name in the annals of history. In Act One, Saladin has sworn a formal oath to retake Jerusalem by the sword and to avenge the atrocities that followed the Christian capture of the city a century earlier. In Act Two, the defeat of the Crusaders at the Battle of Hattin, the seizing of the True Cross and the surrender of Jerusalem send great alarm through the West. Responding to Pope Gregory VIII’s call to take the Cross, King Richard of England and King Philip of France arrange for a Crusade to the Holy Land in order to retake Jerusalem. Act Three is set in France, eight years later. Richard is seen inspecting a castle and dies by an arrow fired by a little boy. As penance for his failure to enter Jerusalem, Richard lies in purgatory awaiting purification where he is joined by his mother, Eleanor of Aquitaine, who is shown as the mother who sacrifices herself for the greater good her son will bring, and who stands by his side in his hour of need.

In Act Four, Scene One, Richard is resurrected and bursts out of his tomb. He wonders if he has failed his Crusade. The Troubadours narrate to Richard a brief account about the history of all the consecutive Crusades to the East, implying that all of them and all the peace treaties they have engendered have been failures. The play takes us in the following scene to the twentieth-century Holy Land, where figures including Lawrence of Arabia, Chaim Weizmann, David Ben-Gurion, Menachem Begin and Golda

⁶⁸ According to Show Reports at the Shakespeare’s Globe’s Archive, the precise number of audience who saw the performance was 12,306; an average of 1025 per play. The busiest show was attended by 1380 people and the least busy was attended by 828 (“Show Reports”).

⁶⁹ The performed version of the play can be consulted in “Prompt books for Holy Warriors” at the Shakespeare’s Globe’s archive.

Meir discuss the establishment of a national home for the Jews in it.⁷⁰ Unexpectedly, the play then shifts to the twenty-first century where George W. Bush and Tony Blair discuss the War in Iraq. The Act concludes with Eleanor of Aquitaine, Richard's mother, showing Richard an account of the future of the Holy Land in the coming eight hundred years. He is given another opportunity to decide whether to carry out his Crusade or not. Richard reappears to start his Third Crusade all over again but this time in modern garb and equipment, looking like serving troops in Iraq. In Act Five, the play shifts backward in time to the Middle Ages. Richard and Philip negotiate the division of the Holy Land between England and France. In addition to the conflict taking place between Richard's and Saladin's army, we are shown a complex dispute over political supremacy in Jerusalem where Richard and Saladin discuss peace, suggesting to divide Palestine between Muslims and Christians. Eventually, Richard realises that his attempts to conquer the Holy Land are a mistake that every king, a thousand years from hence, will commit. The play ends with Bush announcing his "Crusade" on terror.

The play's subtitle, *A Fantasia on the Third Crusade and History of Violent Struggle in the Holy Lands* is significant as it reflects the dramatist's technique of juxtaposing and mixing the different historical periods in a fantastic way. I will analyse the subtitle in light of Ken Nielsen's critical analysis of Tony Kushner's play *Angels in America: A Gay Fantasia on National Themes* (1993) as both works, despite the vast difference in the subject matter, refer to themselves as "fantasia". Nielsen starts by defining the term "Fantasia": "Fantasia as a musical form has roots in improvisation and is a piece of music not adhering to any practical mode of form. It is centred in the composer's fancy or imagination." For him, in this play, Kushner applies these characteristics in theatrical rather than musical terms. He removes the boundaries

⁷⁰ Thomas Edward Lawrence (T. E. Lawrence) remains a controversial figure in the twentieth century as historians have debating views about his role as an Oxford scholar in the Arab Revolt (1916-18) (Anderson 2). Chaim Weizmann (1874-1952) was a Zionist leader, who was responsible for the Balfour Declaration in 1917. Weizmann served as the first President of Israeli's provisional Council of State in 1948 (Rose 187, 1). He became the head of the Zionist Commission in 1918. The commission had two chief functions: to establish a linkage between the British authorities and the Jewish people and to create good relationships with Arabs and non-Jewish communities (Wasserstein 24-25). David Ben Gurion (1886-1973) became the first Prime Minister of Israel in 1948 and served for thirteen years in this position (Avi-hai 36). Menachem Begin (1913-1992) was the sixth Prime Minister of Israel and served from 1977-1983 (Hurwitz 267). Golda Meir (1898-1978) became the prime minister of Israel in 1969 (Meir 10).

between the different genres such as comedy, tragedy and tragicomedy and mixes what is real and what is imagined (55). According to Nielsen, *Angels in America* is close to a historical play in which Kushner is influenced by Bertolt Brecht's vision of political theatre, a vision that is based on the necessity of theatre to provoke the audience to think critically of their present. For Nielsen, Kushner uses historical events in the play in order to reflect on the present whilst he is conscious that the events should appear as historical. For Brecht, this distance between the audience and the text prevents the spectators' passive identification with the situation. It rather incites them to think how they would react if they were in a similar situation and thereby creates in them an awareness about the present. In order to remind the audience about the fictionality of the work, Brecht applies what he calls the theory of the "Verfremdung", according to which, the dramatist deploys some breaks such as songs, a breakdown from the fantastic or monologue (53-55).

In view of Nielsen's reading of Kushner's play. I suggest that Eldridge is trying to produce a fantasia about the Third Crusade in ways that are similar to what Kushner does in *Angels in America*. In this sense, Eldridge tries to distance his audience from the present moment by establishing the play's events as historical. This is what Dacre, the play's director, refers to in his interview with Eldridge. He observes that theatrical performances such as *Holy Warriors* would provoke the audience to think about solutions for historical complexities (5). As we see in the play, after showing Richard the atrocities caused by European interventionism in the Middle East, Eleanor asks him: "Then King what will you do this time" (4, 2, 61). Although Eleanor is addressing Richard in this quotation, I suggest that the question is meant incite the audience to think about a rational solution for the situation, which is similar to their present. Eldridge deploys Richard's resurrection and transition from one century to another as a reminder of the fact that the play is a work of fiction. In addition to this, as I will demonstrate in this half of the chapter, Eldridge uses this fictional transition to create similarities between medieval and modern times.

Eldridge's *Holy Warriors* places the Israeli-Palestinian conflict at the centre stage. As the play was published and performed in 2014, it is important to consider the political situation then. Alon Ben Meir argues that during the summer of 2014 after

attempts to create peace between Hamas and Israel, a growing tension was taking place and was hindering any possible peace efforts. He maintains that the attention of diplomatic efforts and public opinion was directed towards Syria and the Islamic State in Syria and Iraq (ISIS) and diverted from the Israeli-Palestinian issue.⁷¹ Moreover, as Dinesh Sharman and Uwe Gielen point out, following the second election of American President Barak Obama in (2012), Palestinians expressed their hopes that Obama would show more involvement in the conflict and push it into a fair settlement. These hopes followed Palestinian disappointment with Obama's role in the peace process following his first election in 2008 (221). In addition, as discussed in Chapter One, there have been views that British Prime Minister, Tony Blair's role as envoy of peace in the Middle-East in 2007 was fruitless. Accordingly, I suggest that Eldridge is critical of the fact that the Israeli-Palestinian issue is marginalised. In the performed version of the play, Eleanor says in a monologue: "Who will give a voice to the suffering of Palestine?" (4. 2. 69). This reflects Eldridge's concern with the struggle. Eleanor mentions the death of three Israeli and one Palestinian teenagers (4. 2. 69). As Jodi Rudoren and Kershiner point out in a news report, three Israeli youths were found dead and buried in the West Bank on June 30, 2014. Peter Beaumont indicates in a news report that in July of the same year, a Palestinian teenager was killed as a revenge for the murder of the three Israeli teenagers. Through stressing recent sad outcomes of the Israeli Palestinian issue, Eldridge urges for far more international political and moral attention to be devoted to the Israeli-Palestinian issue in order to reduce bloodshed in the Middle East and to contribute to world peace in general.

Eldridge, I argue, tries on some occasions to present the Israeli-Palestinian struggle as a legacy of European colonialism in the Middle East. By means of bringing the twelfth and the twentieth centuries together, he creates similarities between Richard and Philip's medieval invasion of the Holy Land and that of Britain and France in the

⁷¹ As Patrick Cockburn defines the Islamic state of Iraq and the Levant: "Jihadi fighters combined religious fanaticism and military expertise to win spectacular and unexpected victories against Iraqi, Syrian, and Kurdish forces. ISIS came to dominate the Sunni opposition to the government in Iraq and Syria as it spread everywhere from Iraq's border with Iran to Iraqi Kurdistan and the outskirts of Aleppo, the largest city in Syria" (ix). June 10, 2014, marked the rise of ISIS: it captured Mosul in Iraq" (x). The new state declared that it established a caliphate, led by Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi (xi).

twentieth century. In the play, Richard draws lines on the Holy Land's map in order to divide it between Britain and France. The stage directions tell us: "Philip produces a map and lays it in front of Richard. With a few swift strokes of a pen he carves up the Holy Lands between the English and the French" (5. 2. 68). Richard and King Philip of France quarrel over their due portions of the gained territories. Richard believes that Britain deserves to be granted a larger area than that of France (5. 2. 68). According to Jonathan Schneer, Britain and France agreed that it was time to discuss a future plan about the presence of the Ottoman Empire in the locale (77). However, they could not agree on a precise plan (78). Together, Mark Sykes and Francois Picot, representatives of Britain and France, redrew the Middle Eastern map (79). The agreement stressed the British influence in the region (319). Taking Schneer's observations into account, I contend, by means of mixing the twelfth and the twentieth centuries together, Eldridge depicts Britain's and France's twentieth-century presence in the Middle East as an imperialist act that is connected with desires for territorial and political expansion.

In a conversation with Philip, Richard states: "We can free them from persecution. A most humanitarian of gestures. And we can draw the lines on the map and divide the Holy Lands..." (5. 1. 65). Antione Capet argues that as opposed to the Ottoman Empire, the British Empire was associated with modernity, technological advancement and civilisation. For him, the fact that Palestine went to Britain after the defeat of the Ottoman Empire was in the interest of the lands' people (91). Hence, according to Capet, European imperialism in the East was beneficent. Contrary to this view, Schneer traces the historical origins of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by revisiting the history of Britain's involvement in the Middle East. He argues that Foreign Secretary Sir Edward Grey and others shared views of the "white man's burden", doubting the Arabs' ability for self-governing. For him, both Britain and France had imperialist interests in the region. Sykes had a desire to expand the British Empire. Britain's primary concern was protecting Egypt and securing its interest in the Suez Canal while France was mainly interested in the region of Syria, extending from Anatolia to the Egyptian borders, including Palestine (76). As Simon Montefiore puts it, "the British behaved as if Palestine were a real imperial province" (530). Accordingly, I contend that by juxtaposing the medieval and the modern times, Eldridge pictures Britain and France's presence in the

Holy Land as part of an acclaimed imperialist project of civilising the less privileged nations, which ultimately led to the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Eldridge, I maintain, suggests further that the West's, particularly the United States', support for Israel after its creation in 1948 and its role in the consequent peace efforts did not aim mainly to protect Jews from persecution in the different parts of the world but rather to maintain imperialist interests in the Middle East. In the play, American President Jimmy Carter spends much effort to support the Egypt-Israel peace treaty (4. 2. 59-60). However, Israeli-Prime Minister Begin argues that Carter's efforts are merely because of the Soviet Union and oil: "Why are they in these lands? For Christianity? For us? For the Arabs? No, because of the Soviet Union and oil." (4. 2. 56). In his book *Palestine Peace not Apartheid* (2006), Carter emphasises his efforts for creating peace between Israel and Egypt: "I hoped to achieve a permanent peace between the two countries based on full diplomatic recognition as would be confirmed by a bilateral peace treaty" (45). Discussing Carter's peace efforts, Shibley Telhami argues that the United States aimed to achieve strategic advantages of the peace agreement between Egypt and Israel. He maintains that this agreement would decrease the influence of the Soviet Union worldwide and reduce the possibility of wars between Arabs and Israelis (5). Similarly, Eve Spangler argues that America's interest in maintaining good relations with Israel aimed to maintain an access to Arab oil. She goes on to argue that the United States was impressed by the military performance of the Israeli army in the War of Independence in 1948 and was optimistic that Israel would join the Western alliance to protect the West's interests in the Middle East (116). Thus, Eldridge tries to suggest that the creation of Israel and the West's continuous support for it are ultimately connected with political and economic objectives in the region. Based on my analysis of the play, I argue that in some instances Eldridge presents the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as the outcome of a Western imperialist project in the Middle East.

As I argued earlier, Eldridge presents Britain's and France's twentieth-century involvement in the Middle East as a gloomy episode in European imperial history. He depicts the Balfour Declaration as a main source of tension in the region. Furthermore, the play suggests that Britain's involvement in Palestine had negative outcomes as it eventually threatened its safety. In a monologue, Eleanor informs Richard about the

upcoming events in the Holy Land.⁷² As she indicates, Britain's invasion of the Holy Land led by General Allenby, the Sykes-Picot agreement and the Balfour Declaration paved the way for a long-lasting severe conflict in the region. In this regard, Schneer argues that though it has been almost a century since the Balfour Declaration, its negative impact on the region is still seen (xxix). The play also suggests that the Balfour Declaration resulted in a bloody tension between the British officials and the Jews. By mixing the twelfth and the twentieth centuries, *Holy Warriors* creates explicit resemblances between the medieval dispute over governing Jerusalem and that of Jews and Britain in the twentieth century. Richard's attempt to control the political affairs of Jerusalem and the complexities it caused parallels Britain's twentieth-century intervention in the Jewish affairs in Palestine (5. 10. 82-84).⁷³ We see a dispute between Richard on the one hand and Sibylla, Queen of Jerusalem, and Guy on the other hand. We are also shown a similar conflict between Jews and Britain over political supremacy in Palestine. On stage, we see Richard grabbing Guy by the neck, claiming his right for political supremacy in Jerusalem and the right to intervene with its political affairs. Similarly, Begin denounces Britain's interference in favour of Arabs and its inability to

⁷² The speech touches upon the Palestinian refugee problem. As Tanya Reinhart argues, following the war of 1948, which is referred to by the Israelis as the War of Independence and by the Palestinians *Nakba*, meaning catastrophe, around 1,380,000 Palestinians were expelled from their own homeland by the Israeli forces. For her, Israel claimed officially that most of these people escaped and were not banished. Yet, Israel did not consent to their return (7). Ahron Bregman argues that following the Six-Day War of 1967, an estimated number of 250,000 Palestinians fled the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (8). Eleanor also makes also reference to major wars and massacres that were the result of the creation of the state of Israel including: the Six-Day War and the Yom Kippur War. The Six-Day War took place between Israel on the one hand and Egypt, Syria and Jordan on the other hand. As a result of the war, the Gaza Strip and Sinai were captured from Egypt, the Golan Heights from Syria and the West Bank from Jordan (Bregman 8). As a result of the Yom Kippur war in 1973, Arabs lost around 15,600 men and around 35,000 were wounded. Israel lost 2,569 men and 7,251 were injured (Bregman 142). In her speech, Eleanor mentions Intifada as a consequence of such a struggle. As F. Robert Hunter observes the Palestinian Intifada or uprising in the West Bank and Gaza, which started in 1987 resulted in the death of thousands of Israelis and Palestinians (1). Eleanor moreover points out that the establishment of Israel has led to wars in Lebanon. The War of Lebanon in 1982 was one of the outcomes of its establishment. Bregman points out that the war was a traumatic experience for both the army and the civilians (143). As a result of this war, hundreds of Palestinians and more than 700 Israelis died (175- 76). The Second Lebanon War in 2006 between Hezbollah guerrillas and the Israeli forces led to the death of more than 1,000 Lebanese and 154 Israelis (291).

⁷³ While Richard believes that he has the right to dominate Jerusalem, Conrad and Sibylla believe that they are the legitimate rulers of Palestine (82-84).

keep its agreement with the Jews. Therefore, he prepares the blowing up of King David Hotel (4. 2. 56).

Historically speaking, according to David Charter, in 1917, Arthur Balfour, the British foreign secretary, declared Britain's commitment to the establishment of a national home for Jews in Palestine (13).⁷⁴ However, Britain's failure to establish a policy acceptable to the Jews resulted in provoking extremism on the Jewish part (41).⁷⁵ In both the medieval and the modern situations in the play, Britain's involvement in the Holy Land caused it much trouble, resulting in threatening the safety of the Britons themselves. Commenting on this historical event, Elizabeth Monroe argues the Balfour Declaration was "one of the greatest mistakes in our imperial history" as it caused Britain many ills (43). In my interview with him, Eldridge responded to my question about the importance of exploring the relationships between Islam and the West by stating that, for him, the psychological dimension and the fear of terror are highly significant (See Appendix A). Eldridge's remark reflects his concerns about contemporary Western intervention in Arab and Islamic countries and its impact on the security of Western countries. In light of this, I contend that Eldridge tries to warn against further contemporary Western involvement in the Middle East.

⁷⁴ As Charter points out, on September 26 1947, Britain had to withdraw from Palestine due to its economic crisis and its inability to reconcile Arabs and Jews in Palestine. The mandate had generated violence in the region in 1920 (13). Arabs' fears due to the increasing Jewish immigration, particularly after the Nazis took hold of power in Germany, manifested itself in violence (14). As a way of sorting the conflict out, in 1937, Britain issued a commission separating Jews and Arabs. While Jews accepted the partition, Arabs rejected the notion and responded with further violent rebellions (15). As he indicates, ever since Britain supported establishing a national home for Jews in Palestine, Jews cooperated with the British government. However, Britain's proclamation of the White Paper policy in 1939, was a turning point in the relationships between Jews and the British government as they felt that they had been betrayed (24-25). The White Paper, which was issued by Malcom MacDonald in March 1939, proposed restricting Jewish immigration to Palestine to 15,000 people yearly for a span of five years. As a response to Britain's policies towards Jews, Ben-Gurion organized with his Haganah soldiers an attack against the British. The Irgun also carried out an explosion outside the Jaffa Gate, causing the death of nine Arabs. The general view was that this violence between Jews and Arabs will continue for the upcoming fifty years (Montefiore 545). After the proclamation of the White Paper, Jews were persuaded that violence was the only means to compel Britain to grant Jews the promised homeland (Montefiore 551).

⁷⁵ The Jews created three insurgent organizations: Haganah, Irgun Zvai Leumi and the Lochmei Heruth (43). In June 1946, the insurgents carried out major assaults against the British government (57). As a response to the Jewish offensive, the British security forces attacked the headquarters of the Jewish Agency and arrested its members; the Jewish Irgun organization responded by blowing up King David Hotel on July 22 of the same year (58).

Richard's movement back and forth between the Middle Ages and the modern times in the play, I argue, is meant to create direct historical parallels between Richard's medieval foreign policies and those of the West in our present time. Informed about the future conflicts that would take place in the Holy Land in the upcoming thousands of years as a result of the successive Western military campaigns, Richard is granted a second chance to reconsider his decision to launch a Crusade to the Holy Land. Yet, he insists on invading the Holy Land and establishing a recognised name in history. Richard's failure to draw useful lessons from his invasion of the Holy Land, despite being shown the atrocities such actions would cause, parallels modern Western acts of military intervention in Muslim-majority countries. Eldridge tries to present military involvement in the Middle East as a mistake that the West keeps committing throughout history, being unable to learn from its past experience in the region. This takes us back to the three quotations that appear in the introduction to Eldridge's *Holy Warriors*. The first quotation is by Georg Hegel: "What history and experience teach is this - that people and governments, never have learned anything from history, or acted on principles deduced from it" (Hegel 19). The second quotation is said by Adlai Stevenson to John F Kennedy: "The judgements of history seldom coincide with the tempers of the moment" (Sherwin). The third quotation is said by George Santayana: "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it" (Santayana 172). The three quotations stress the notion that neither governments nor people are able to learn from history, committing the same mistakes in the Middle East. As Fiona Mountford argues in a review of the play, the ending suggests that both politics and people have changed only slightly throughout the centuries. As we see towards the end of the play, Richard realises that his very same mistake will be repeated by the forthcoming rulers: "Is my failure the failure of every king a thousand years from hence?" (6. 11. 92). As Saladin regretfully states: "What a tragedy it is for our people when you or I cannot imagine a different future, even as we weigh the triumph and failure of our times" (6. 11. 93), implying that politicians do not make use of the wisdom that can be concluded from the past.

As Dacre points out in his interview with Eldridge, a few weeks prior to the performance, there was an ongoing debate by politicians and media about the failure of Euro-American invasions of Iraq and the destructive influences it has left. To give some

instances, Priyanka Boghani indicates that James Jeffery, a former senior American Diplomat, stated that the war in Iraq was a “historic, dramatic failure for both Bush and Obama”. According to Ben Farmer, Britain’s wars in Iraq and Afghanistan “were both strategic failures” as they caused the death of a huge number of casualties, created a refugee problem and enhanced terrorism. In addition, Daniel Rafael argues that the United States’ military act in Iraq created a great mess. For him, America’s invasion of Iraq to get rid of the dictatorship of Saddam Hussein led to a chaotic situation that is far worse than it used to be during Hussein’s government. For instance, many Iraqi children are malnourished and do not have access to clean drinking water. For him, the money could have been spent on education, health care and infrastructure.

A year before the publication of *Holy Warriors*, there was a debate about Britain’s possible military involvement in Syria. According to an article published on the BBC website in August 2013, entitled “Syria crises: Cameron loses Commons vote on Syria action”, British prime minister David Cameron’s call for a military action in Syria was a response to “a suspected chemical weapons attack” on the city of Damascus, which caused the death of hundreds of civilians. Nevertheless, the British parliament rejected military action. According to the article, Labour leader Ed Miliband said: “People are deeply concerned about the chemical weapons attacks in Syria, but they want us to learn the lessons of the war in Iraq. They don’t want a rush to war. They want things done in the right way, working with the international community”. Writing his play in such a context, Eldridge, I suggest, is concerned about Britain’s decision to use force in Syria. In view of my analysis of the play, the context in which the play was performed and Eldridge’s own remarks in the interview, I contend that Eldridge on this particular occasion, tries through *Holy Warriors* to influence his audience’s outlook on the current “War on Terror” by showing them the complexities military intervention can cause.

Despite his concern with the Israeli-Palestinian struggle and his attempt to depict it as an outcome of British and French Imperial history of the Middle East, Eldridge pictures the coexistence between the Israelis and the Palestinians as inapplicable in a way that is similar to Huntington’s thesis of the “Clash of Civilizations”. He suggests that the conflict between the Israelis and the Palestinians is a continuation of a longer history of a civilizational clash between Islam and the West. Eldridge presents the idea of creating

a binational state in which both the Israelis and the Palestinians coexist peacefully as historically fruitless. *Holy Warriors* takes us to the twentieth-century Holy Land. Until the end of the act, we realize that the two peoples are unable to achieve peaceful coexistence and the struggle continues. In the performed version, Eleanor makes reference to the series of complexities and major massacres that followed the Balfour Declaration (1917) and caused human losses on both sides such as the Deir Yassin and the Kfar Etzion Massacres (1917),⁷⁶ implying that Arabs and Jews are unable to achieve peaceful coexistence in Mandatory Palestine.⁷⁷ As Jamil Hilal points out, the idea of a binational state was considered by Zionist leaders and intellectuals and supported by the Palestinian national movement before 1948, promised to grant Jews in Mandate Palestine equal rights to other religious communities (20). In an interview I conducted with Eldridge,⁷⁸ he states that he strongly supports a two-state solution in Israel and Palestine. For him, both peoples have the right to have their own independent state (See Appendix A). Until the end of the play, Richard and Saladin are unable to create ultimate peace in the region. In the last act of the play, Saladin and Richard negotiate a solution in the Holy Land, Saladin proposes dividing the Holy Land between him and Richard: “Palestine may be divided. I believe you call them mandates” (5. 11. 89). Saladin’s suggestion reflects Eldridge’s belief that having two politically independent states is a way of finding a fair settlement that would lead eventually to reducing violence in the region. Accordingly, I suggest that *Holy Warriors* urges for devoting more political efforts towards the two-state solution and discarding the ongoing debate about the feasibility of creating a binational state.

⁷⁶ On November 9, 1917, the Balfour declaration was issued (Montefiore 497). The declaration was addressed to Lord Rothschild: “His Majesty’s Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people... it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities” (qtd. in Montefiore 497).

⁷⁷ In 1948, the Jewish fighters attacked the village of Deir Yasin in Palestine, killing around 100 to 254 people. In response, Arabs attacked Hadassah hospital. An estimated number of 77 Jews were killed and twenty wounded (Montefiore 567). The Kfar Etzion Massacre was committed by Arab forces one day before Israeli declared its independence on May 14, 1948 (Carol 197). As Benny Morris indicates in his book *The Road to Jerusalem: Glubb Pasha, Palestine and the Jews*, in Kfar Etzion, 127 Jews were massacred (139).

⁷⁸ For full interview, please see “Appendix A.”

Discussing the two-state solution, Virginia Tilley argues that this idea, which was the main aim of the Oslo process and the current “road map” “evaporated years and perhaps decades ago” (183). She maintains that this settlement resulted in creating war and increasing terrorism (186). Tilley observes that the “Fence Wall” generates violent reactions from Palestinians (183). For her, though the two territories have been ideologically and culturally divided for a century, they are linked by a shared landscape, a fact that makes a division between the two states make no sense (183). As Tilley indicates, a number of Israeli intellectuals and peace activists have shifted to support the one-state solution, a state that is shared by both the Israelis and the Palestinians (184). Nonetheless, in his book *One State, Two States: Resolving the Israel/Palestine conflict* (2009), Benny Morris argues that the majority of Israelis support the two-state solution (165). He maintains that though most Palestinians support the two-state solution as well, they deny the legitimacy of Israel, which again undermines the two-state settlement (166). For him, Palestinian Arabs, just like the other Muslim Arabs, are profoundly religious and do not respect democratic values (170). Israeli Jewish communities differ from Palestinian Muslim communities in terms of the value of human life and the rule of law, and therefore, a binational state settlement is unrealistic, he argues (187). Accordingly, Morris contends that the notion of sharing Palestine either through a binational state or a two-state settlement is not valid for Arab Muslims’ mentality (188). Morris argues further that contrary to the myth utilised by Muslims about the fair treatment of Jews through Islamic history, minorities including Jews were severely persecuted in communities dominated by Muslims (191). Accordingly, he argues that the most tenable solution is the two-state option: one for Jews and one for Palestinian Arabs (196).

Eldridge’s support for the two-state solution despite the ongoing debate about its limitations, I suggest, stems from his belief that Islamicate communities are incompatible with Western principles of democracy, in ways that are similar to Morris’s views. In the play, *Holy Warrior*, a Muslim character, says: “The west will no longer draw our borders and impose its will. Democracy has no meaning for us. Kings, sultans and dictators have failed us. There is no peace. I will make Holy War on the enemies of our land and its people” (4. 2. 61). Discussing the consequences of the supposedly Western secularist

perspective of Islamicate communities, Elizabeth Hurd argues that the separation between religion and politics in Muslim-majority countries would be always seen as “unnatural, ill fitted attempts”. Hurd states her skepticism about the success of “oppositional politics” in such communities (124). Marin Kramer argues: “In a profound sense, Islam has always been political, and it is invoked and manipulated for political purposes by nearly all regimes and their opponents” (36). For both Hurd and Kramer, separating Islam from politics in the Muslim-majority countries is difficult. In light of these arguments, I contend that Eldridge seems doubtful about the possibility of achieving peaceful coexistence between the Israelis and the Palestinians in today’s Holy Land. Accordingly, I argue that by presenting Islamic and Western cultures as incompatible, Eldridge shares the ideas of Huntington’s the “Clash of Civilizations”, namely the notion of “the west and the rest”. Nevertheless, Said argues in his book *Orientalism* that this artificial dichotomy between Islam/East and Christianity/West, which has been clearly reprised in contemporary context by Huntington, served as an essential colonial discourse in earlier centuries. Thus, despite his attempts to depict the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as a heritage of European Imperialism on some occasions, Eldridge reemphasizes Orientalist discourse of earlier centuries.

Muslims, moreover, appear as being persuaded that their cultures are more civilised than those of the West, a notion that is emphasised by Muslim characters in the play. In a conversation with his son, Saladin says: “The Muslims are superior in every respect to the Franks... It is they who are uncivilised” (1. 4. 22). The same view is stressed by Saladin following the Crusaders’ defeat at the Battle of Hattin: “It is the Franks who are uncivilised” (1. 5. 25). As can be noted, Saladin views Islamic cultures as superior to Western cultures. In his book, Huntington argues; “the fundamental problem for the West is not Islamic fundamentalism. It is Islam, a different civilization whose people are convinced of the superiority of their culture and are obsessed with the inferiority of their power” (217). By presenting Muslims as being convinced that their cultures are superior to Western cultures, Eldridge proves to share Huntington’s theory of the “Clash of Civilizations”. He, moreover, essentializes Muslim characters in the play, showing them as being inclined to joining terrorist groups and as being convinced that they are engaged in a civilizational clash against the West. Holy Warrior, a Muslim

character from the West, decides to take part in jihad: “Tomorrow I travel east from England to join my brothers in our jihad against the Crusader-Puppet states. I can no longer look on at the suffering of my brothers in Palestine, Syria and Iraq” (4. 2. 61). Holy Warrior seems to be influenced by the discourse that the Israeli-Palestinian issue is a mere civilisational clash and that he has an obligation towards his fellow Muslims. Therefore, he is determined to travel from one part of the world to another in order to back his Muslim brothers in Muslim-majority countries. The quotation suggests that Muslims are prone to take part in violent activities against the West. A similar notion is presented in Eldridge’s previously published play *The Stock Da’wa* (2012). Paul, one of the play’s major characters who converts from Christianity to Islam, states that he feels obligated to take part in jihad against Western forces in Muslim-majority countries including Palestine, Kashmir, Iraq and Afghanistan (2. 396).

Characters such as Holy Warrior and Paul represent young Muslims in Western countries who are likely to join global jihadi networks. In this regard, Peter Mandaville argues that “radical Islamic discourses” are appealing to Western Muslims who experience confusion due to the duality in their identity; it gives them a clearer sense of identity (263). Nevertheless, in his book *Young British Muslim Voices* (2008), Anshuman Mondal observes that there have been conflicting views about British Muslims’ loyalties to Britain as they are viewed to be likely to suffer identity crisis and therefore apt to joining terrorist activities (66). Drawing upon conversations with young British Muslim men and women, Mondal argues that for these Muslim youth, turning to Islam or associating themselves with Western values serve the same function. In both cases, they attempt to fulfil a desire for “self-empowerment” (22). For him, that these Muslim youths relate themselves to a Muslim identity cannot be considered a departure from their Britishness but rather “an expression of it” as it is a way of stating their individuality (25). Mondal points out that all these young Muslims with no exception expressed an impressive attitude towards living in Britain and almost all of them favour Britain as a place of residence to Muslim countries (84). He goes on to argue that according to most of them, identity is not a fixed term but rather a dynamic process that involves similarities and differences. In their case, identity is a combination of being British as well as being Muslim (118). Mondal concludes that these factors in addition to ethical considerations

hold most British Muslim youth apart from violence (141).⁷⁹ In addition, in his article “Bad Faith” (2012), Mondal argues against essentialising Muslims in Britain through undermining the distinction between Muslim “Islamists, terrorist, extremists” on the one hand, and all Muslims on the other hand (46). He observes that the “contemporary Muslim scene in Britain” is more complex than it used to be in 1990s. Mondal indicates, for instance, that the Islamic Society of Britain has been working towards challenging older Islamist ideas in the contemporary century (47). According to Mondal’s views, essentializing Muslims’ views of the relationship between Islam and the West is inaccurate. Despite such views Eldridge, I contend, seems to embrace the idea that young Muslims living in contemporary West are prone to joining terrorism, believing that they are involved in a civilisational clash against the West. As we notice in the play, Eldridge does not show a variety in Muslims’ stances on Islamism. Holy Warrior is the only fictional Muslim character and appears to be representing Muslims living in the West.

Saladin, furthermore, is depicted as a fanatic, violent leader. He appears to be obsessed with his political supremacy in the Levant and the fact that he is a Sultan (1. 1. 5-6). His mission in the play is presented as imperialist: Saladin is worried about his nephew’s ambitions of expansion (1. 1. 6). Therefore, he divides the lands between his sons (1. 1. 8). He also wants to go down in history as the liberator of Jerusalem. As he tells his son, “What great purpose should Saladin serve beyond the glory of Saladin.... We will liberate Jerusalem” (1. 1.9). Moreover, Saladin makes of his captives a source of financial benefits: “All the nobles of Outremer that fall into our hands will be the currency with which we make plentiful trade in capitulation” (1. 3. 17), which suggests that Saladin’s mission of retaking Jerusalem has an economic dimension. In my interview with Eldridge, he states that the idea of writing a play on the Crusades struck his mind in the summer of 2010 as he was reading history books by Thomas Asbridge and Jonathan Phillips. Yet, he acknowledges that as *Holy Warriors* was performed on stage at the Globe Theatre in the summer of 2014, he tried to respond to the events that were taking place in the world at that time (see Appendix A). It is important to note that the year

⁷⁹ Mondal points out in the preface of the book: “This book is a record of many conversations with young British Muslims from a variety of ethnic, cultural and regional backgrounds. I spoke to more women than men (the split was probably 60:40) and to working class as well as professional Muslims. Two or three were barely into their adulthood, but a few, on the other hand, were on the threshold of their thirties” (xiv).

2014, in which the play was first performed on stage and published, marked the rise of ISIS, to which Eldridge makes direct allusions in the play. In the performed version of the play, Eleanor makes an explicit connection between the twentieth-century agreement of Sykes-Picot and the rise of ISIS: “A century of Sykes-Picot at an end declares the Caliphate!” (4. 2. 69).⁸⁰

Taking into consideration the context in which the play was written and performed as well as the playwright’s remarks, I argue that Eldridge’s representations of Saladin as an imperialist leader are meant to establish explicit historical similarities between him and Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, the leader of ISIS. Addressing Saladin, Imad says: “... you are emir of all the Muslims in the Levant... Sultan of Islam and the Muslims” (1, 1, 9). Saladin being declared Sultan reminds us of al-Baghdadi announced as the Emir of ISIS. According to a news report entitled “Sunni rebels declare new ‘Islamic Caliphate’”, ISIS proclaimed al-Baghdadi Caliphate of Muslims everywhere. In the play, Saladin insists on avenging the atrocities that were inflicted on Muslims in the Holy Land though a whole century has passed since then. As Balian points out to Saladin: “But that was many years ago” (1. 4. 20). Similarly, in July 2014, al-Baghdadi delivered a speech at a mosque in Mosul, Iraq in which he stated that the main goal of his movement is to erase the borders that were drawn by the Sykes-Picot agreement in the earlier century.⁸¹ Eldridge’s attempts to show Saladin as exploiting the presence of the Crusaders in the Holy Land and claiming to seek revenge on the Crusaders’ aim to create resemblances between Saladin’s and al Baghdadi’s political policies. Both of them, according to Eldridge’s depictions, use an act that had taken place a century ago as a pretext to launch a holy war, stating in public that it is an attempt to avenge the negative outcomes of Western intervention on Islamic countries.

As we learn in the play, in the Battle of Hattin, Muslims seize the True Cross. Following this capture, Footsoldier 1 and Footsoldier 2, who are Muslim fighters, spit on it in the presence of Saladin, who does not show any sign of disapproval of such an act

⁸⁰ While Eleanor makes a reference to ISIS in the performed version, there is no mention of it in the published one. Yet, clear analogies are made between Saladin and Abu-Bakr al-Baghdadi.

⁸¹ The video was posted on YouTube and was entitled: “Is Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi the Man in the Recent ISIS Video”.

(24. 1. 5). Saladin also describes Christians as mistaken in their faith (1. 5. 25). As indicated by the stage directions, the True Cross “has been hung upside down, and they gloat with it and insult it” (1. 2. 14). The truth about the True Cross and how it was treated after the Battle of Hattin remains disputable in the historical record. According to Phillips, Saladin sent the True Cross to the Caliph of Baghdad who buried it at the Bab-al-Nuri Mosque in order for his people to step on it, as a way of insulting it (133). Yet, Beha Ed-Din, points out that the Franks visited Saladin’s camp to ascertain if the True Cross was kept in Muslims’ camp or was sent to Baghdad. As he indicates, it was held in reserve in Saladin’s camp (270). Similarly, James Reston mentions no acts of abuse to the True Cross,⁸² and points out that Saladin allowed the Bishop of Salisbury, Hubert Walter, to view the True Cross and then escorted him to a banquet where the latter was treated hospitably (313). Hence, the historical record provides contradicting versions about the destiny of the True Cross following the Battle of Hattin. Eldridge, however, draws on Phillip’s book, which ultimately supports his depiction of Saladin as a fanatical leader who has bigoted attitudes towards Christians.

After the Battle of Hattin, we are informed by Saladin that he has violently avenged the Muslim blood off stage (1. 5. 25). According to the historical archive, accounts of Saladin’s capture of Jerusalem are rather complex. For Phillips, as opposed to his reputation for compassion, Saladin swore to treat Christians harshly in the same way the First Crusaders treated Muslims. Such vows provoked a merciless response from Balian (132-133). Nevertheless, Asbridge shows multifaceted versions of Saladin’s retaking of Jerusalem. He argues that this particular incident has a significant role in shaping Saladin’s reputation and perceptions in history and in the public imagination (357). He maintains that although Saladin promised in a letter to Balian to take the city by force, revenging the bloodshed that had been caused by the First Crusaders, in practice he showed much courtesy, generosity and mercy.⁸³ For him, Saladin’s behaviours were

⁸² Reston traces the seizure of the crusade until its return, there no mention of disrespectful acts to the True Cross (55, 93, 94, 180, 230-31, 261, 272-273, 313).

⁸³ Asbridge mentions instances of Saladin’s compassion. The Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem were granted a period of forty days to obtain their freedom: at a cost of ten dinars for a man, five for a woman and one for a child. Although according to the agreement those who could not pay the required amount of money would be taken captives, Saladin offered Balian a generous offer by allowing him to release seven

perceived as generous and were honoured (359). Asbridge concludes that “Saladin cannot be said to have acted with saintly clemency that autumn, but neither can he be accused of ruthless barbarism or duplicity” (361).⁸⁴ Again, I suggest that Eldridge draws upon historical sources that support his attempt to depict Saladin as a violent leader.

Contrary to his view of Muslims as civilised, Saladin treats prisoners inhumanely asking his men to make both King Guy and Reynald kneel (1. 2. 14.). On stage, Saladin treats Guy disrespectfully. After being offered a goblet of water, Guy passes the glass to Reynald. Saladin kicks the cup with his leg, a gesture of humiliation for both Guy and Reynald (1. 2. 14). In addition, Guy begs Saladin to spare his life and not to kill him (1. 3.16). Historically speaking, according to Philips, tired and thirsty, King Guy and Reynald knelt at Saladin’s feet (130). However, according to Asbridge, Guy was treated graciously by Saladin: he offered him a goblet filled with iced julep and was assured that he was not going to be slayed like Reynald.⁸⁵ Asbridge observes that Saladin’s slaughter of Reynald came as a retaliation to his treacherous deeds against Muslims, thereby violating the peace agreement between Saladin and King Baldwin (351-352).⁸⁶ While the historical record qualifies Reynald’s killing, the play decontextualises it and presents it as a result of Saladin’s cruelty and his attempts to compel Reynald to convert to Islam. According to the historical archive, Saladin offered Reynald a conversion to Islam as a way of sparing his life. For instance, Phillips mentions that Saladin offered him two

thousand Christians for 3,000 dinars. There was an attempt to issue a general amnesty for the poor. In addition, Patriarch Heraclius was allowed to leave the city with his treasure (358-360). Saladin also forgave Balian of Ibelin for not keeping his promise to stay in Jerusalem (360).

⁸⁴ My translation. For original text in Arabic, please see Appendix B. As indicated in the first chapter of the book, the original text, *al-Barq al-Shami*, was written by Imad ad-Din in seven volumes. Five of these volumes were lost and the only remaining volumes are: Volume 5 and Volume 7 (1). In this book, *Sanā Al-barq Al-shāmī*, Bundari has summarised Imad- ad-Din’s *al-Barq al-Shami*. Both books have not been translated into English and are only available in Arabic versions.

⁸⁵ As Beha Ed-Din points out, after being taken as a captive, King Guy was treated respectfully at Saladin’s camp and was immediately offered a glass of water to extinguish his thirst. Beha Ed-Din indicates that according to the Arabic traditions, offering a captive food or drink means granting him life (115).

⁸⁶ As Sir Hamilton Gibb indicates that in 1187, Reynald of Chatillon, Prince of Antioch, committed a fatal mistake. He attacked a Meccan trading caravan, violating the truce of Saladin and ignoring the calls of King Baldwin to stop that. In response, Saladin vowed to kill him mercilessly (62).

choices, converting to Islam or death. As Reynald refused Saladin's offer, the latter killed the former (131). In presenting this particular incident, Eldridge manipulates the historical record in order to show Saladin as trying to force Christians to embrace Islam. On the whole, I suggest that Eldridge draws mainly on Phillip's book as it consolidates his objective of creating similarities between medieval Saladin and contemporary al-Baghdadi. As he states in a note to his play, Eldridge believes that taking a subjective stance is the only adequate way of writing a play as in reality history is rather uncertain. In the acknowledgments page of his play Eldridge lists his historical sources, among which is Phillips's *Holy Warriors: A Modern History of the Crusades* (2010). Eldridge expresses his gratitude to Phillips for allowing him to use the very same title of his book as a title for the play, which can be taken as a statement that in his representations of Saladin's capture of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade, Eldridge depends chiefly on Phillips's book.

In the play, Richard proclaims that the main cause of his presence in the Holy Land is Saladin's oppression of Christians. He declares that his armies will not leave until the latter stops persecuting Christians (88). Historically speaking, there were conflicting reports about Saladin's treatment of the Western and the Orthodox Christians in Jerusalem following his victory at Hattin. According to Terry Jones and Alan Ereira, after retaking Jerusalem, Saladin ordered the Church of the Holy Sepulcher to be closed for three days only and then the holy places were open to Jews, Christians and Muslims (125-126). Asbridge observes there are accounts reporting that Syrian Christians were not oppressed, rather, they were allowed to keep their churches. Latin and Greek Christians did not face any complications entering Jerusalem for pilgrimage. Nevertheless, there are reports that Frankish and Byzantine pilgrims were denied entrance to the city (28). Despite the complexity of the historical record on Saladin's treatment of Christians, the play's Saladin persecutes Christians. In addition to the examples of Saladin's ill treatment of Western Christians, Richard points out: "When the Christians are not persecuted we will leave these lands" (5. 11. 88). We can conclude from Richard's words that Orthodox Christians are mistreated under Saladin's rule of Jerusalem. Saladin's and his army's cruelty towards both Western and Orthodox Christians, their humiliations of the Cross, their cruel treatment of Guy and Reynald and their attempt to force the latter to convert

to Islam in the play remind us of ISIS's acts towards Christians. For instance, as indicated in a report published by Human Rights Watch in July 2014 entitled "Iraq: ISIS Abducting, Killing, Expelling Minorities," ISIS was practising violence and discrimination against Christians in some Arab countries. According to the report, two nuns and three orphans were kidnapped. For Louisa Loveluck, Christians in Mosul, Iraq were threatened by ISIS to be killed if they did not pay a tax or convert to Islam.

It is important to note that Eldridge shows no alternative to Saladin's fanaticism in the play. His fictional as well as his historical Muslim characters are associated with violence. In light of this, I argue that by presenting consistently negative image of Muslims and Islamic civilization, Eldridge proves to be influenced by Huntington's thesis of the "Clash of Civilizations". In this regard, as Said argues in his book *Orientalism*, Western endeavours to stereotype the Orient, particularly Islamic civilization, is crucial to create a justifying discourse of power and thereby to sustain Empire (71). Accordingly, I argue that by essentializing Muslims and Islamic civilisation, Eldridge reemphasizes the Orientalist discourse of earlier centuries, which undermines his attempts to present the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as a legacy of European Imperialism in the Middle East. Thus, though perhaps unintentionally, he promotes the notion of a "clash" between Islam and Western Secularism.

Ridley Scott's *Kingdom of Heaven* (2005)

“What man is a man who does not make the world better?” (Scott, *Kingdom of Heaven*).

In this half of this chapter, I argue that in *Kingdom of Heaven*, Scott creates historical analogies between Saladin's taking of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade, on the one hand, and the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian issue and the contemporary “War on Terror”, on the other hand. I maintain, Scott's depictions of the relationship between Islam and the West in some instances in the film challenge the idea behind Huntington's theory of the “Clash of Civilizations”. He pictures the one-state solution in which both the Israelis and the Palestinians can coexist peacefully as a feasible settlement. By presenting the idea of a shared Jerusalem both in the past and, through historical analogy, in the present as possible, Scott challenges views that the Israeli-Palestinian struggle is an extension of a longer history of a civilizational clash between Islam and the West. Moreover, Scott goes beyond Huntingtonian essentialist views of Islamic civilization. He provides variable representations of Muslim characters, fluctuating between characters who are superstitious on the one hand and characters who are capable of rational thinking on the other hand. Nevertheless, I maintain, he seems to be highly convinced about the myth of religious violence, as suggested by William Cavanaugh, which contends that secular violence is rational and useful whereas religious violence is irrational and dangerous. Moreover, Scott proves to be swayed by the idea of the “just war” according to which the use of force can be legitimate. In *Kingdom of Heaven*, Scott pictures the ongoing “War on Terror” as an incarnation of earlier centuries' European “civilising mission” towards the “less-civilized” nations.

As regards the biographical contexts of the director under study, Ridley Scott is an English director and producer. He had an early interest in film while in college. Scott contributed towards creating the film department at the Royal College of Art in which he produced a project entitled *Boy and Bicycle*. Scott worked for the BBC as a trainee set designer and then he established his private film commercial production company, the Ridley Scott Associates. In 1995, Scott established Scott Free Productions and directed a number of commercial and television shows. Scott is the director of a number of

successful films including: *The Duellists* (1977), *Alien* (1979), *Blade Runner* (1982), *Thelma & Louise* (1991). For these three films, Scott was nominated for a directing Academy Award. He is also the director of *Gladiator* (2000), *Black Hawk Down* (2001), *Hannibal* (2001), *Matchstick Men* (2003), *American Gangster* (2007), *Robin Hood* (2010) *Prometheus* (2012) and *The Martian* (2015) (“Ridley Scott Biography”). In their book *The Cultures and Philosophy of Ridley Scott* (2013) Adam Barkman, Ashley Barkman and Nancy Kang provide a collection of scholarly essays in which Scott’s films are examined. As they indicate, Scott’s productions have been of interest to scholars in the different fields such as philosophy, media and film, popular culture, postcolonial studies and religion (3). In *The Ridley Scott Encyclopedia* (2009), Laurence Raw argues that Scott’s oeuvre says much about the world following the 9/11 attacks (X).

Kingdom of Heaven, directed and produced by Scott and written by William Manahan, is set in the twelfth century in France, Messina and the Holy Land, narrating Saladin’s taking of Jerusalem and the events that led to the Third Crusade.⁸⁷ The film centres on the life of Balian of Ibelin (Orlando Bloom), a French blacksmith. It starts with Baron Godfrey of Ibelin (Liam Nesson) searching France for his illegitimate son Balian, who is devastated by the recent death of his wife. Godfrey reveals to Balian that he is his father and invites him to accompany him to the Holy Land. The Priest of the town orders the beheading of Balian’s wife as she has committed suicide. Enraged by such an act, Balian kills the Priest (Michael Sheen) and decides to go along with his father to Jerusalem on a quest for redemption. On arriving in Jerusalem, Balian becomes acquainted with the locale and learns that King Baldwin IV (Edward Norton) and Saladin (Ghassan Massoud) have agreed on a peace truce. We see a solid relationship growing between Guy de Lusignan (Marton Csokas), who later becomes the King of Jerusalem, and Reynald de Chatillon, Prince of Antioch (Brendan Gleeson). They ally to conduct an attack on a Muslim Caravan on its way to Mecca, violating the peace agreement between Saladin and Baldwin.⁸⁸ This fictionalised alliance between Guy and Reynald, who appear

⁸⁷ I am making reference to the initial theatrical version of *Kingdom of Heaven* (2005), since this is the version that initially reached a wide global audience.

⁸⁸ According to the historical record, there is no mention that Guy joined Reynald’s attack against the Muslim caravan. As Sir Hamilton Gibb indicates, in 1187, Reynald of Chatillon, Prince of Antioch, committed a fatal mistake. He attacked a Meccan trading caravan, violating the truce of Saladin and

as villains, is meant to show them in sharp contrast with the other Crusaders' leaders including Baldwin, Balian and Tiberias (Jeremy Irons), who are constructed in the film as liberal and virtuous characters. In retaliation, Saladin prepares for an attack against Reynald's castle in Kerak. As ordered by the King, Balian takes part in protecting the civilians in the town against Saladin's assault and is captured by Muslims. However, his life is saved by Imad ad-Din (Alexander Siddig), Saladin's consultant. Saladin marches towards Jerusalem with a huge army. Baldwin proposes not engaging in a war and promises Saladin to punish Reynald for breaking the agreement.

A love story also develops between Balian and Sibylla (Eva Green), Baldwin's sister. Baldwin offers his sister in marriage to Balian. However Balian, who is constructed in the film as a virtuous character, refuses Baldwin's offer as this requires Guy's execution. Following Baldwin's death, Guy is announced King of Jerusalem and declares war on Saladin. Both armies engage in the Battle of Hattin and Saladin ultimately captures Jerusalem. Balian, who states that he has lost his religion, undertakes a mission of protecting the weak in the Holy Land against Muslims' violence. He vows to destroy the city before surrendering it to Saladin. However, Saladin promises to grant all Christians a safe passage out of Jerusalem in exchange for the city. Balian accepts Saladin's terms and decides to marry Sibylla and they both leave for France. On his way to the Holy Land, Richard the Lionheart encounters Balian. The former states that he is searching for Balian, the defender of Jerusalem. Balian introduces himself as the blacksmith, implying that he has given up fighting.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, Balian directs Richard

ignoring the calls of King Baldwin to stop that. As a reaction, Saladin assembled an army and conducted a punitive raid (62). Similarly, Asbridge mentions that Saladin did launch an assault against the Crusaders in retaliation to Reynald's attack on the Muslim caravan.

⁸⁹ It is important to consider that in *Kingdom of Heaven*, Scott approaches a large Western audience. The film was screened in the United States, United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Brazil, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Norway and Spain. Cinema attendance in the United States and the United Kingdom was higher than in other countries mentioned. Only at the opening weekend (May 8, 2005), the film was screened on 3, 216 screens in the United States, 447 screens in the United Kingdom, 104 in the Netherlands and 60 screens in the Philippines. *Kingdom of Heaven* was also shown on 68 days in different countries and in multiple cinemas within the same country. While the estimated film budget was (\$ 130,000,000), the gross profit of the film in each country mentioned at the opening weekend only was \$19, 635,996; £2,530, 445; €694,239; and PHP 29, 202, 966 in sequence ("Box office/ business for *Kingdom of Heaven*"). Please refer to "Box office/ business for *Kingdom of Heaven*." On IMDb Website for more details.

and his army to Jerusalem, a possible gesture of approval with Richard's decision to launch a new Crusade in the Holy Land.

In *Kingdom of Heaven*, Scott shows interest in the Israeli-Palestinian issue. His representations of the twelfth-century Jerusalem support the ongoing debate about the feasibility of creating a binational state for both Israelis and Palestinians as a way of settling the conflict. The film's epilogue is significant as it makes a direct allusion to the conflict: "The King, Richard the Lionheart, went on to the Holy Land and crusaded for three years. His struggle to regain Jerusalem ended in an uneasy truce with Saladin. Nearly a thousand years later, peace in the Kingdom of Heaven remains elusive". The film repeatedly suggests the notion of a shared Jerusalem where Muslims and Christians are able to achieve peaceful coexistence. In scene 8, Godfrey, Balian's father, describes the Holy Land as: "a better world than has ever been seen. A kingdom of conscience. A kingdom of heaven. There is peace between Christians and Muslims. We live together". Godfrey's remark, I suggest, reflects Scott's support for a shared Jerusalem in our present time. In scene 14, Muslims and Christians are present in the same locale, which reflects a religiously diverse Jerusalem. However, in a review entitled "Ridley Scott's *Kingdom of Heaven*", Thomas Madden argues that there are historical inaccuracies in *Kingdom of Heaven*. He points out that while in the film Jews, Christians and Muslims are presented as living harmoniously together, during the reign of King Baldwin IV, non-Christians were not allowed to live in Jerusalem.

In this respect, Bernard Hamilton argues that no Muslims and only few Jews were permitted to reside in Jerusalem during the rule of Baldwin IV. Jerusalem was an utterly Christian city (52), which indicates that the film's multiethnic and multi-faith portrayal of medieval Jerusalem is imprecise. Nevertheless, Laurence Raw and Defne Tutan argue that unlike professional historians, filmmakers, novelists and dramatists "are not so much concerned with veracity and accuracy; what matters to them is the desire to make sense of the past in terms of the present. They are more likely to create imaginative approaches involving the kind of speculation that might be dismissed as 'inaccurate' by the professional historian" (9). Raw and Tutan's argument indicates that historical films do not aim to present history as it happened, but to represent it in ways that correspond to the present. In light of this, I suggest that Scott makes use of the genre's characteristics

to depict Jerusalem under the rule of the Crusaders as a multi-faith city in which people of different faiths live in harmony and have equal rights. Accordingly, I argue that by means of historical analogy, Scott's depictions of the relationships between Muslims and the Crusaders support views that Israelis and Palestinians can also coexist peacefully in the contemporary Holy Land.

Reflecting on the binational solution for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Jamil Hilal contends that the settlement has been argued by the left in Israel and in the West (20). For him, the one secular state would resolve a number of issues including the refugee dilemma, the issue of the security fence and borders, democratic coexistence and equal rights for both Israelis and Palestinians and the dispute over Jerusalem (21). In his book *The End of the Peace Process: Oslo and After* (2000), Edward Said argues that "the only hope for the future is a decent and fair coexistence between the two peoples based upon equality and self-determination". For Said, the separation between the two peoples since 1948 has not led to successful outcomes. According to Said, treating a people inferiorly on the basis of religion or ethnicity is an exercise of "Othering" (xii). Scott's depiction of a shared Jerusalem in the past and, by means of historical analogy, in the present, undermines views that the Israeli-Palestinian struggle is part of a longer civilizational clash between Islam and the West. In view of this, I argue that in this instance in the film, Scott challenges the ideas which inform Huntington's thesis of the "Clash of Civilization".

In a review Laila Al-Qatami, the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee Communication Director, argues that *Kingdom of Heaven* presents Muslims in a positive light, showing multifaceted realities about Islam and Islamic cultures. ("ADC Praises Representations of Arabs, Muslims in 'Kingdom of Heaven'"). In addition, in an article entitled "Arab critics back Crusades movie", the Arab novelist Amin Maalouf argues that "the film goes against religious fanaticism very clearly". In the same article, the Egyptian film critic Tareq al-Shenawy argues that "the aim of this film is to heal wounds, not reopen them". In addition, in his chapter entitled "The Trans-Religious Ethics of *Kingdom of Heaven*", Michael Garcia argues that the film presents moral characters including Muslims and Christians, suggesting that ethical qualities, such as tolerance and compassion, can be shared by people belonging to different cultures and faiths. He

maintains that, in this way, *Kingdom of Heaven* challenges Islamophobia as its viewers are introduced to moral Muslim characters (70). Thus, according to these reviews, *Kingdom of Heaven* has been accredited with defying representations of Muslims and Arabs as violent. My argument expands on these views. I contend that Scott's film provides variable representations of Muslims. Muslims are represented as superstitious but Saladin is shown as able of rational thinking.

Saladin is shown as a man who believes in human reason and free choice in life. In scene 17, King Baldwin indicates that Muslims believe that his illness is a punishment from God for his conquest of Jerusalem. Baldwin thinks of Muslims as irrational as they attribute his sickness to the Crusaders' presence in the Holy Land. Such a remark associates Muslims with irrationality while connecting Baldwin with reason. In addition, in scene 12, following the death of Mummad al Fais, a Muslim cavalier, after his fencing combat with Balian over the rightful ownership of the horse, Imad comments: "It was the end of his time. All is as God wills it". Imad's words reflect a fatalistic rather than a rational view of the cause of the man's death, which shows him as superstitious and unable to think reasonably. In the conversation between the Mullah and Saladin in scene 26, the Mullah states his beliefs that it is only God that decides the outcomes of battles and that Muslims have lost some battles because they are sinful. Nevertheless, Saladin argues: "The results of battles are determined by God, but also by preparation, numbers, the absence of disease and the availability of water", a statement that reflects a more reasonable way of thinking than that of the Mullah. The dialogue between Saladin and the Mullah sets the two in sharp contrast. While the Mullah is shown as a man who believes that human destinies are controlled only by God, Saladin is able to offer a more rational explanation for the situation. By associating Saladin with rational thinking, Scott attempts to curb depictions of all Muslims as irrational and superstitious.

In a conversation with Robert Fisk, Ghassan Massoud, who played the role of Saladin in the film, expresses his political views about Bush's "War on Terror". He states his anti-war stance and argues that the situation in Iraq following the Euro-American invasion is far worse than that during the days of Saddam Hussein. He maintains that the message Scott wanted to convey through *Kingdom of Heaven* is that the war has not been a good solution. Nevertheless, in an interview with Lindesay Irvine, Scott denies any

intentional linkage between the film and the current situation in the Middle East. He points out that the al-Qaeda's assaults on September 11, 2001 and Bush's immediate statement about launching a Crusade had created a context for the film. He also points out that the idea predated the assaults and the film was established when he first met Monahan and found a shared passion for the Crusades. As he points out, when the attacks took place in 2001, the project about the Crusades had already been initiated. Scott states that studios were concerned about the timing of the production as there was much tension back then. However, I argue that though the film challenges the idea of the clash of civilization in some instances, it proves to tacitly support the "War on Terror" on many other occasions.

Although they are expected to be religious, the film presents a rather different construction of the Crusaders' leaders. In scene, 21, Tiberias, Count of Toulouse, provides a secular explanation for his opposition to the war against Saladin. He believes that the Crusaders will not defy Saladin's army as it is strong. As a consequence, Tiberias is accused of blasphemy by the Templar Master as he ignores the role of God in determining the outcomes of the battle of the "army of Jesus Christ" against the Muslims. In addition, in scene 14, the Hospitaller (David Thewlis), who is supposed to be deeply religious, states to Balian: "I put no stock in religion". For him spiritual faith is what really counts: "What God desires - is here ... (points to Balian's head) and here (points to Balian's heart)". I suggest, Scott seems to use the Hospitaller's remarks to construct the Crusade as a secular mission. Moreover, Balian's outlook on the Crusading mission in the Holy Land is secular rather than religious. In scene 14, he states to the Hospitaller that he has lost his religion. Reflecting on the struggle between Muslims and the Crusaders, Balian gives a speech in which he states: "What is Jerusalem? Your holy places lie over the Jewish temple that Romans pulled down. The Muslim places of worship lie over yours. Which is more holy? That wall? That mosque? The Sepulcher? Who has claim? No one has claim. All have claim!". Balian's remarks secularize the Crusading mission, setting the conflict between secular and religious opponents. In addition, we notice that after this process of secularising the Holy War, Balian indulges in a severe battle against the Muslims. When Muslim soldiers attempt to instill their flag

on the Crusaders' fortress, Balian removes it by all means, which symbolises an opposition to the kind of violence and dominance associated with the flag.

Given my argument that the film establishes an historical analogy between the Crusades and the ongoing "War on Terror", I contend that Balian's words and actions discussed serve a contemporary political function. Jonathan Stubbs argues: "Historical films represent the past, but they also represent the present in which they were produced, either intentionally in order to use the past as a means to comment on the present, or unintentionally because filmmakers approach the past with present-day belief" (45). Stubbs's argument points out that while presenting the past, historical films are influenced by perceptions of the present. Taking Stubbs's argument into account, Balian's speech creates a dichotomy between a secular West and a religious Islamic world in ways that correspond to Bernard Lewis's views expressed in his article "The Roots of Muslim Rage" (1990). In this article, Lewis argues that the ongoing conflict in our modern world is "no less than a clash of civilizations" between the Islamic world and the Judeo-Christian tradition and secularism (60). He maintains that secularism and modernity are the fundamentalists' main enemy: "The war against secularism is conscious and explicit, and there is by now a whole literature denouncing secularism as an evil neo-pagan force in the modern world and attributing it variously to the Jews, the West, and the United States" (59). Nevertheless, examining the reality of the division between what is religious and what is secular, Talal Asad argues that the secular is "neither continuous with the religious that supposedly preceded it nor a simple break from it". For Asad the religious and the secular are interconnected (25). According to Cavanaugh, this division between the secular and the religious and between what is rational and what is irrational as suggested by Lewis, has supported the binary distinction of "the West and the rest" as argued by Huntington's theory of the "Clash of Civilizations" (205). Cavanaugh maintains that creating a division between secular and religious violence is a myth that is used to promote the former, which, according to the myth, is rational and essential to defeating religious violence (208). In Cavanaugh's words: "the myth of religious violence reinforces a reassuring dichotomy between their violence — which is absolutist, divisive, and irrational — and our violence, which is modest, unitive, and rational" (183). In light of Cavanaugh's argument about religious

and secular violence, I contend that Scott's *Kingdom of Heaven* encourages media promotion for Huntington's thesis of the "Clash of Civilizations" following the 9/11 attacks and thereby supports the "War on Terror".

The American filmmaker Wheeler Dixon argues that the majority of the mainstream American cinema released after or were in the process of production on the day of 9/11 promoted the notion of "just war", suggesting that warfare is crucial and unavoidable. (1). Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri argue that this concept of the "just war", which has its roots in the biblical tradition, has been recently fundamental for political discussions.⁹⁰ For them, modern secularism endeavoured to remove it from the medieval tradition. They describe the renewal of the notion of "just war" as a "symptom" of the reemergence of the concept of "Empire" (12). According to Hardt and Negri, this concept is problematic as it allows for violence if exercised for allegedly ethical reasons. Similarly, Carey Watt argues that the notion of a "civilising mission" remains very relevant in the twenty-first century. He maintains that scholars have continued reflecting on the relationship between imperialism and its "civilising mission" in the context of the war in Iraq and Afghanistan in our contemporary times (12). Similarly, Ebrahim Mossa argues that the American practice of imperialism has been turned into a "civilising mission" in Iraq and Afghanistan. He maintains that contemporary American discourse of protecting women and building nations in the Middle East is similar to earlier centuries' colonial discourse (108). Writing his film in the context of the "War on Terror" following the 9/11 attacks, I suggest, Scott is persuaded by the idea of the "just war".

In the film, the idea of protecting the weak is repeatedly stressed. In scene 10, advising Balian, Godfrey says: "Protect the people", "Safeguard the helpless". Similarly, in scene 17, Baldwin says: "Protect the helpless". In scene 14, moreover, the Hospitaler reveals his beliefs to Balian saying: "Holiness is in right action and courage on behalf of those who cannot defend themselves". As can be concluded from such a remark, the notion of defending the weak is emphasised by Baldwin, Godfrey and the Hospitaler, who all appear in the film as morally good characters. In addition, in scene 37, Balian

⁹⁰ According Hardt and Negri: "Traditionally the concept rests primarily on the idea that when a state finds itself confronted with a threat of aggression that can endanger its territorial integrity or political independence, it has a *jus ad bellum* (right to make war)" (12).

associates his mission in the Holy Land with the goal of saving the people and their freedom: “We fight for the people... their safety and freedom”. Scott constructs the Crusade as a mission of saving the weak and thereby he promotes the notion of a “just war”.⁹¹ Given my argument that the film establishes an analogy between the twelfth-century Crusades and the contemporary “War on Terror”, Scott, I suggest, is swayed by discourse that Euro-American “War on Terror” in the Middle East is justifiable. Examining Scott’s previously released film *Black Hawk Down* (2001), David Zietsma argues that by producing heroic images of American soldiers in this film, Scott celebrates American militarism. According to him, in the film, American soldiers’ heroism is immortalised whereas the dead bodies of Somali soldiers are left nameless (92). Zietsma’s argument suggests that in *Black Hawk Down*, Scott shows a pro-war stance.

Matthew Schlimm argues that although *Kingdom of Heaven* calls for religious tolerance, the film promotes Western military involvement in the Middle East. This work has contributed to the media’s larger discourse of emphasising America’s role as a supporter for global humanitarianism. According to Schlimm, the film succeeds in depicting the use of force in a positive light (134). He contends that the film presents Balian’s violence as an attempt to protect the weak, which ultimately seeks to show that Western violence in the Middle East is ethical and justified (137). In scene 18, we see Balian concerned about the fact that Jerusalem lacks a source of water and therefore starts a mission of finding a water supply. Analysing this scene from a postcolonial perspective, Schlimm argues that this scene serves colonial discourse as it shows Balian, a blacksmith from France, teaching Arabs how to develop their lands (141). Focusing his argument on the portrayal of Balian, Schlimm maintains that the film promotes the notion of the “White Man’s Burden” and creates parallels between the success Balian has achieved in Jerusalem with that Bush claimed to have fulfilled in Iraq (142). To expand on Schlimm’s argument, in *Kingdom of Heaven*, Balian is shown in scene 18 looking at the city around him and observes that the city lacks a source of water. Through visual representation, Jerusalem is depicted as a virgin land that is in need of cultivation, a flagrant departure

⁹¹ Baldwin appears as a moral character who endeavours to maintain peace between Muslims and Christians by all means. As discussed earlier, Balian and Tiberias are also shown as virtuous characters who set sharp contrasts with Guy and Reynald.

from reality as Jerusalem at that time was known to be an inhabited and fertile land. In this regard, Peter Hammond argues that the portrayal of the geography of Jerusalem in *Kingdom of Heaven* is problematic. While it is known that 1099 Jerusalem was not located in the Sahara Desert, it appears in the film as a sterile landscape, surrounded by sand dunes and empty of grass, bushes, olive trees and flowers. Similarly, in a review entitled “Ridley Scott’s *Kingdom of Heaven*”, Madden argues that watching the film, one would assume that Jerusalem was “a recently discovered virgin wilderness just waiting for colonization”. He adds that in the film, the city is referred to as “new world” while it was actually one of the planet’s oldest cities.

In light of both arguments, I suggest that by presenting Jerusalem in a condition contrary to its actual situation, Scott tries to depict the city as a deserted territory that is in need of European modernity. As we see in this scene, Arab and Muslim children appear very excited at seeing the water coming out of the ground and start making paper boats. Though the scene reflects the cultural diversity of Jerusalem and the intercultural cooperation between Muslims and the West, it is Balian who supervises the project and issues his orders of digging a well. However, Western attempts to bring civilisation to the East as depicted in the film are historically inaccurate. As Ahmet Seyhun argues, during the Middle Ages Muslim cultures were more advanced in terms of science and technology than European cultures (70). Accordingly, I argue that Scott manipulates some historical facts of the Crusades in order to suggest that European imperialism in the East was beneficial as it brought civilisation to this part of the world. In this regard, the film’s ending is significant. Balian gives up his war efforts against Saladin and concludes a peace truce with him. He implicitly refuses to join Richard the Lionheart’s Crusade. Nevertheless, in scene 45, one of Richard’s knights explains to Balian that they are on a mission to recover Jerusalem. Balian shows no disapproval of this and directs them to the road saying: “You go to where the men speak Italian... and then continue until they speak something else”. Hence, the film’s moral hero seems to imply that proceeding with the intended military mission in the Holy Land is crucial. Balian’s stand on Richard’s Crusade reflects, in my opinion, Scott’s views on Western military interventionism in Muslim-majority countries. In light of my analysis of the film, I argue that Scott’s *Kingdom of Heaven* can be said to condone the “War on Terror”.

Chapter Conclusion

As I have demonstrated in this chapter, both Eldridge and Scott show an interest in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Using different genres and different techniques, both authors suggest that finding a fair settlement for the struggle would contribute towards reducing tension and bloodshed in the Middle East. I contend that Eldridge and Scott have different views of the ongoing debates about the one-state and the two-state settlements. In *Holy Warriors*, Eldridge suggests that the two-state solution is more possible and would serve as a possible solution for the dilemma. On the other hand, in *Kingdom of Heaven*, Scott shows support for the one-state solution and suggests that creating a binational state would contribute towards resolving the conflict.

I argue that while Eldridge tries to depict the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as an outcome of European Imperialism in the Middle East and warns against further military intervention in Muslim-majority countries, he frames the relationship between Islam and the West within the notion of a civilizational clash. For Eldridge, Islamicate communities are incapable of getting along with Western democracy, as they are unable to separate religion from politics as the West supposedly has. Moreover, Eldridge presents a consistent image of his Muslim characters, associating them with violence and fanaticism. I maintain, Eldridge's attempts to create an artificial division between Islamic and Western cultures and to essentialize Muslim characters as well as Islamic civilization reemphasize Orientalist discourse as suggested by Said in his book *Orientalism* and contributes towards promoting Huntington's notion of the "Clash of Civilizations.

I contend, in *Kingdom of Heaven*, Scott's depictions of the relationships between Islam and the West is rather complex. Scott pictures the coexistence between the Israelis and the Palestinians in the Holy Land as possible and suggests that the idea of a shared Jerusalem may have been historically possible and therefore he supports the one-state solution. Such representations undermine views that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is an extension of a civilizational clash between Islam and the West and ultimately challenge the ideas that inform Huntington's thesis. Unlike Eldridge, Scott does not present consistent images of Muslims and Islamic civilization in *Kingdom of Heaven*. Although some Muslim characters are shown as superstitious, other characters appear as able of

rational thinking. On this occasion, Scott goes beyond Huntington's essentialist views of Islamic civilization. I maintain, nevertheless, while there is an attempt not to essentialize Muslims in the film, Scott seems to be highly swayed by the dominant political discourse of the necessity of the "War on Terror". I argue that in *Kingdom of Heaven*, Scott promotes the notion of the "just war". He pictures contemporary Western military interventionism as a renewal of earlier centuries' European "civilising mission" towards the "less civilized" nations. I maintain, Scott is swayed by what Cavanaugh refers to as the myth of religious violence, which views secular violence as sometimes essential. In this way, I contend that in many instances in the film, Scott supports the artificial division between "the West and the rest" and thereby supports military action following the 9/11 attacks.

Thesis Conclusion

In this thesis, I have demonstrated that representations of the Third Crusade in contemporary British and American historical fiction, drama and film aim to reflect on the current relationships between Islam and the West. I have examined these depictions in four novels, a play and one film. They are Tariq Ali's *The Book of Saladin* (1998), Stewart Binns's *Lionheart* (2013), Richard Warren Field's *The Swords of Faith* (2010), Kamran Pasha's *Shadow of the Swords* (2010), David Eldridge's *Holy Warriors: A Fantasia on the Third Crusade and History of Violent Struggle in the Holy Lands* (2014) and Ridley Scott's *Kingdom of Heaven* (2005). As I have shown in this thesis, except for Eldridge, who juxtaposes and mixes the medieval and the modern times to create direct similarities between the past and the present, all the artists deploy the historical analogy of the Third Crusade as a means of assessing contemporary state of affairs between the Islamic world and the West, particularly with regard to Western military intervention in Muslim-majority countries and the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian issue.

My thesis consists of three chapters, an introduction and a conclusion. Each chapter has examined two works of the Third Crusade. In Chapter One, with the objective of exploring depictions of the relations between Islam and the West from a Muslim as well as a non-Muslim perspective, I have combined two biographical novels. They are Ali's *The Book of Saladin* and Binns's *Lionheart*. While Ali's novel focuses on Saladin's biography and is narrated from an Arab Jewish perspective, Binns's novel centres on Richard's biography and is narrated from a British viewpoint. In Chapter Two, aiming to examine representations of the relationship between Islam and the West from Muslim and non-Muslim viewpoints following the 9/11 attacks, I have brought two post-9/11 novels together: Field's *The Swords of Faith* and Pasha's *Shadow of the Swords*. As I have pointed out earlier in this thesis, both Field and Pasha state that they wrote their novels in response to the 9/11 attacks. In addition, both novels create historical analogies between the Third Crusade on the one hand and the 9/11 attacks and the "War on Terror" on the other hand. In Chapter Three, I have put together Eldridge's play, *Holy Warriors: A Fantasia on the Third Crusade and History of Violent Struggle in the Holy Lands* and Scott's *Kingdom of Heaven*. By means of this pairing, I have investigated representations

of the Third Crusade in historical film and drama, going beyond historical fiction. These two works depict the affairs between Islam and the West with clear emphasis on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, trying to open up debates about the one-state and the two-state solutions.

In this piece of research, I have examined the influence of Samuel Huntington's thesis of the "Clash of Civilizations" (1993) on contemporary British and American historical fiction, drama and film. The works selected for discussion were published after the release of Huntington's thesis. Moreover, apart from Ali's novel, these works were written or produced following the 9/11 attacks in 2001, a period that witnessed excessive media efforts to frame the relations between Islam and the West within Huntington's thesis, in an attempt to promote military action as an indispensable solution for defeating terrorism in Arab and Islamic countries. In his book *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World* (1997), Edward Said argues that Western media, particularly the American media endeavours to connect Muslims and Islam to war and terrorism (xi-xxii). Discussing images of Muslims in Western media, Peter Morey and Amina Yaqin argue in their book *Framing Muslims: Stereotyping and Representation after 9/11* (2011) that following the 9/11 attacks, the Western media endeavoured to stress existing images about Islam and Muslims such as "the bearded Muslim fanatic, the oppressed veiled woman and the duplicitous terrorist" in order to stress an artificial dichotomy between a civilised West and a backwards Islam (1-2).

In light of my analysis of the literary works selected for this study and taking into consideration Said's as well as Morey's and Yaqin's arguments about Western media depictions of Muslims, I argue that Binns in *Lionheart* and Eldridge in *Holy Warriors* prove to be swayed by Western media's representations of Muslims as fundamentally violent. Furthermore, through their depictions of the Third Crusade, they create a presumed civilisational division between Islam and the West in ways that correspond to Huntington's division of "the West and the rest" (183), as stated in his book, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (1996). Binns produces not only violent but also pejorative images of Muslims, presenting them as cannibals and

unthinking masses that are unable to manage their own political affairs without the assistance of the civilised West, particularly the British. In similar ways, Eldridge presents reductive views of Muslims and Islamic civilisation. He associates Muslim characters, whether historical or fictional, with violence and fanaticism. Eldridge's Muslim characters appear as being inclined to join terrorist activities, believing that they are involved in a civilisational clash against the West.

Unlike Binns and Eldridge, Scott does not provide an essentialist view of Islamic civilization in *Kingdom of Heaven*. While Muslims are presented as superstitious, Saladin is depicted as a leader that is capable of rational thinking in a way that undermines Huntington's thesis of the "Clash of Civilizations". On the whole, despite his attempt not to produce sweeping generalization about Muslims and Islamic civilisation, Scott seems to be unable to escape political ideology of the necessity of the "War on Terror". He proves to be persuaded by the myth of religious violence, as suggested by William Cavanaugh. Cavanaugh argues that the division between religious and secular violence is used to endorse the latter (208). In *Kingdom of Heaven*, Scott presents Western "rational" secular violence as an ethical way of defeating "irrational" religious violence. By means of such representations, Scott establishes a dichotomy between a rational West and violent, irrational Islam. Ultimately, I contend that to variable extents, Binns's *Lionheart*, Eldridge's *Holy Warriors* and Scott's *Kingdom of Heaven* contribute towards promoting media and political discourse of the legitimacy and the necessity of Western military intervention in Muslim-majority countries.

I maintain that Binns and Scott are influenced by the notion of "just war". For Binns, Britain's role in the "War on Terror" is a continuation of its historically consistent moral obligation to create peace and goodness across the globe. In addition, his admiration for Britain's contemporary military involvement in the Muslim-majority countries is evoked by, as Paul Gilroy describes it, an "imperialist nostalgia" to Britain's colonial past (3). Similarly, by means of historical analogy, Scott suggests that contemporary Western secular war against terror is a reincarnation of European earlier centuries' "civilising mission" towards "less civilised" nations as it is a way of defeating religious violence and developing "backward" countries. Binns and Scott's depictions of

the military action as an ethical means of creating peace and fulfilling humanitarian objectives is akin to Hardt's and Negri's argument in their book *Empire* (2000), in which they argue that the revival of the "just war" tradition is a "symptom of the re-emergence of the "Empire". Hardt and Negri point out that the concept is problematic as it encourages the use of force as a legitimate means of achieving moral ends (12).

Although a non-Muslim author writing his novel following the 9/11 attacks, Field is interested in complicating Huntington's theory and in challenging media attempts to promote war as a rational solution for reducing the tension between Islam and the West. In *The Swords of Faith*, he does a similar job to that of Pasha in *Shadow of the Swords*. By means of revising the Third Crusade, Field and Pasha try to refute views that the medieval Crusades, the 9/11 attacks and the ensuing "War on Terror" represent a cultural and religious clash between the Islamic world and the West, as suggested by Huntington's thesis. According to Huntington in his article: "The fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future" (22). He maintains: "It is far more meaningful now to group countries not in terms of their political or economic systems or in terms of their level of economic development but rather in terms of their culture and civilization" (23). Nevertheless, Said argues in his famous book *Orientalism* (1978) that this established division between the East/Islam and the West/Christianity, which was reemphasized by Huntington's theory in the post-Cold War era, was crucial to modern colonial and Imperial discourse starting roughly from the eighteenth century (2). Unlike Huntington, who perceives the relationship between Islam and the West as a civilisational clash between two conflicting cultures and religions, Said describes the relationship between the East and the West as a relationship of power and dominance that the West tries to maintain over the East (5). Accordingly, I argue that by picturing the Third Crusade and, through historical analogy, the "War on Terror" as an imperialist project that is connected with political supremacy, both Field and Pasha supports Said's views of the relationship between Islam and the West. Ultimately, they defy the ideas behind Huntington's thesis and thereby undermine the war option.

Field and Pasha's novels depict cultural and scientific interactions between Islam and the West in the Middle Ages and present the contributions of Islamic civilisation

towards the European Renaissance. Such an attempt, I argue, support Said's views in his article "The Clash of Ignorance" (2001). In this article, Said is critical of Huntington's thesis as it reduces the affairs between Islam and the West to tension, undermining the scientific and cultural collaboration they had (4). In his article "The Clash of Civilizations?", Huntington argues that the relationship between Islam and the West has been problematic since the Middle Ages (31). I contend that by means of underscoring a significant intercultural cooperation between Islam and the West in the Middle Ages, both authors try to complicate Huntington's views. I maintain that by evoking this period in history, both Field and Pasha call for resorting to diplomatic and peaceful policies instead of violence and urge a sense of brotherhood and mutual understanding between Islam and the West.

Both Field and Pasha depict the use of force as a destructive action that leads to human losses, destruction of cultural heritage, lands and animals. However, I argue that in some instances in the novel, Field promotes Western discourse on the "War on Terror". In his representations of Shiite Muslims, Field supports media and political discourse that Iran is a real threat to world peace and stability. He depicts Shiite characters as a main source of danger in the Holy Land: they appear in the novel as bandits and attackers. Field, moreover, tries to stress the conflict between Shiite and Sunni Muslims, implying that Western military action is needed to face this danger coming from Iran and to bring the factional conflict in Muslim-majority countries to an end. I maintain that, unlike Field, Pasha is aware that stressing sectarian tension can play a crucial role in promoting the "War on Terror" and therefore he avoids emphasising the Sunni-Shiite tension in his novel.

I argue that with variable degrees, Ali, Field and Pasha try to defy views that Islamicate communities are violent, backwards and in need of saving from barbarity. In *The Book of Saladin*, Ali attempts to confront established ideas about Islam and Muslims. He tries to refute accusations that Arabs and Muslims do not possess a political culture, are backward and sexually suppressed. Moreover, Although the publication of Ali's *The Book of Saladin* predated the release of his book *The Clash of Fundamentalisms*, Ali's representations of Muslims' cruelty in the novel, I argue, resemble his thoughts in the

book. As Ali puts it: “the American Empire has constructed a new enemy: Islamic terrorism” (xiii). In Ali’s novel, Muslims’ violence is presented as retaliation to Western violence practised against them. Field and Pasha present Islamic cultures and European cultures in an inverted way as suggested by contemporary Western media. Western cultures are shown as less improved and more violent than their Islamic counterparts. Moreover, Field and Pasha complicate views that Islamic jihad is the equivalent of modern terrorism. They introduce the Sufi perception of jihad, which focuses on spirituality, love and peace more than political violence. By stressing Sufi views of jihad, both Field and Pasha challenge Western media attempts to present Islam as a religion that harbours violence. Moreover, by stressing Sufi views of jihad, both authors call for resorting to diplomacy and dialogue instead of war. On the whole, Ali and Pasha, I contend, show more interest in defying media representations of Muslims and in undermining political discourse that Arab and Muslim countries are in need of civilising. Ultimately, they express more solid anti-war views than Field.

As I have shown, in different ways, Ali, Pasha, Eldridge and Scott address the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian issue, suggesting that it is a major cause of tension between Islam and the West. Eldridge and Scott prove to have different views on a possible settlement for the Israeli-Palestinian struggle. I argue that while on some occasions he tries to present the Israeli-Palestinian struggle as a legacy of modern European Imperialism in the Middle East, Eldridge presents the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as an extension of a longer history of a civilizational clash between Islam and the West in many other instances in the play. In *Holy Warriors*, the notion of a peaceful coexistence between the Israelis and the Palestinians is presented as historically unfruitful. For Eldridge, Arab and Muslim cultures are incompatible with Western secular democracy. Therefore, Eldridge suggests that the two-state solution is a more suitable solution than the one-state solution. Eldridge’s attempt to present Islam and the West as binary oppositions corresponds to Orientalist discourse of the eighteenth and the nineteenth century, as argued by Said in his book *Orientalism*. According to Said, creating an artificial division between the Orient and the Occident was essential for sustaining European Imperialism and colonialism in the Orient. (2) In light of this, I argue that Eldridge’s representations of the Israeli-Palestinian issue reemphasize Orientalist

discourse of earlier centuries as suggested by Said and contribute towards promoting Huntington's division of "the West and the rest", which followed the 9/11 attacks. Such depictions undermine his attempt to present the Israeli-Palestinian struggle as an outcome of European Imperialism in the Middle East and ultimately support the ongoing political and media discourse of the necessity of military action in Muslim-majority countries. On the other hand, Scott pictures the one-state settlement as a feasible solution for the struggle. I maintain that in *Kingdom of Heaven*, Scott supports the one-state settlement. His depiction of a shared Jerusalem in which both the Israelis and the Palestinians coexist peacefully challenges Huntington's thesis of the "Clash of Civilizations" and thereby undermines the war option on some occasion of the film.

Nevertheless, Ali and Pasha approach the Israeli-Palestinian conflict differently. I argue that both novelists, through different literary techniques, try to deconstruct the Judeo-Christian alliance while attempting to construct the Judeo-Islamic tradition. Both authors urge both Muslims and Jews to recall medieval times when both had coexisted peacefully and achieved social and political harmonious collaboration against an outside military and political interference. Thereby, both Ali and Pasha call Muslims and Jews to focus on the communalities and on a shared history. Through the historical analogy of the Third Crusade, Ali and Pasha manifest their hopes about the possibility of bettering the current relationships between Jews and Muslims in general and the Israelis and the Palestinians in particular.

Endeavouring to undermine discourse that military intervention is essential for protecting Arab and Muslim women and granting them their rights, Ali and Pasha, I argue, show great concern with presenting the situation of women in Islamicate communities during the period of the Third Crusade. As Sadia Abbas argues, the political discourse of saving Muslim women in Islamicate communities has been used by Western powers to legitimise the "War on Terror" (44). Moreover, Morey and Yaqin argue that protecting women served as a pretext for the use of force in the Gulf War in 1991 (10). While Muslim women are not only marginalised but also absent from the historical record, Ali's *The Book of Saladin* endows them a voice. By means of presenting Muslim women as enjoying a sophisticated educational as well as non-conformist sexual life, Ali

provides a rather balanced portrayal of women's life in Islamic societies. Hence, he challenges views that Western intervention is essential to save Muslim women. Moreover, Ali is critical of patriarchal communities where Muslim women's exposure to public life is limited. He provides examples of influential women from the period of the Prophet Mohammad so as to suggest that Islam as a religion does not restrict women's participation in the public domain. Thereby, he invites all Islamicate communities to recall this period in history in order to improve the status of Muslim women in our present times and to reject the idea of the West intervening under the pretext of saving women. In *Shadow of the Swords*, Pasha creates the fictional Jewish female character, Miriam who, despite being a Jew, represents women living in Arab and Islamicate communities and is shown as an integral part of them. Unlike Ali's fictional female characters, who have restricted engagement with public life, Pasha assigns his female character a vital and influential role in the novel. Miriam communicates the Crusaders' secret military and political plans to the Muslim army and thereby plays a significant role in determining their political plans and their military movement. In addition, through this character, Pasha brings women's suffering to the centre stage. Pasha's novel opens with narrating the agonies of the protagonist female character, Miriam and her mother, who have been suffering as a result of the Crusaders' cruelty against them, suggesting that war leaves horrible consequences on women. Nevertheless, in *The Swords of Faith*, Field demonstrates some concern about the impact of war on women. However, he shows far less engagement with the issue of Arab and Muslim women. Unlike Pasha, Field presents women's agonies in the context of war as a minor issue in his novel. In light of this, I argue that Ali and Pasha, as Muslim authors, are more concerned with and sympathetic towards Arab and Muslim women than Field.

While this project aims to contribute towards existing examinations of the relationship between Islam and the West in American and British historical fiction, drama and film, I propose that further investigation be conducted on contemporary fiction, drama and film of the Crusades in general and the Third Crusade in particular. There are a number of literary productions on the Crusades that have not received any scholarly attention. To give some examples of these works: Margret Brazear's *The Crusader's Widow* (2014), Seth I. Friedman's *The Pilgrim* (2012), Sharon Penman's *Lionheart*

(2011), Cecelia Holland's *The King's Witch* (2011), Angus Donald's *Holy Warrior* (2010), Sarah Bryant's *Sand Daughter* (2006) and Elizabeth Chadwick's *The Scarlet Lion* (2007). I think that it is worth exploring representations of the Crusades in these works. In addition, all these works except for Friedman's *The Pilgrim* and Donald's *Holy Warrior* are written by women authors. I believe that investigating women's literary writings on the Crusade, as well as their views of the relationships between Islam and the West, would be a crucial and worthwhile endeavour for future scholarship.

Appendix A

Interview with the playwright David Eldridge (September 20016)

1. *Holy Warriors* was performed on stage at the Globe Theatre in 2014, why do you think it was important to stage this play when you did?

That was out of my control really. I mean the Globe programmed the play when they felt it was ready. The Globe commissioned the play in autumn 2010 and if the play then is ready 18 months two years after the commission then may be the Globe would have programmed it in the 2013 season. If the Globe felt that the play was not ready when I gave it to them in 2013, then maybe it would have been programmed in 2015. So the timing of the production was something a little out of my control because it's the something of the management of Globe to decide what plays they put on and when they put them on. Obviously I understand that the context for the production of *Holy Warriors* in summer 2014 was particularly resonant time given what was going on at that time in Palestine and Israel. So I cannot sort of claim great claim for credit for that. That was just what was happening in the world at that time. And to a certain extent that was a coincidence. I would say I felt that that because of the subject matter of the play, that I might respond in terms of work that I did on the text I may respond to things were going on in the world at that time and certainly we did do that.

2. To what extent does the play reflect on contemporary international relationships?

I think it reflects of course in that moment of the summer. But I think what is much more important is going back to while I was writing the play. At the beginning of 2010, I read these two fantastic new histories of the Crusades that have been published. In my view anyway they were terrific. And the feeling I had in reading the work of Thomas Asbridge and Jonathan Phillips was one of such sadness and consternation and some anger really. What I was reading about, particularly around the history of the Third Crusade and how

it seemed to me that such intractable conflict was being played out to this very day in the Middle East and in particular in Palestine and Israel. And that really fight me to write the play and I would say again with reference to what was happening in the summer of 2014, that in a way was kind of an accident programming and I think that was not something I was pleased about, I would prefer that there was a peaceful situation in Palestine and Israel and in the Middle East. As a writer I did not want the play necessary to have any special relevance to contemporary events of that summer but what was happening on the ground of course did give the play a particular sharpness of focus. I think probably if the situation had been more optimistic in the Middle East in 2014, the play would have seemed a bit more optimistic actually.

3. What do you understand to be the political legacies of the Sykes-Picot agreement in the Middle East?

I suppose I sort of view it with a sense of sadness and amusement in a way that Western governments and politicians, no doubt with the best of intentions. I would not necessarily impugn their motives with complete cynicism. Of course there were the aspects of colonialisms. I think is more about the kind of nativity it seems to me with which those diplomats, politicians and leaders at that time just drew lines on the map. It seems to me to be an incredibly sort of naïve thing to have done. It is sort of naivety of utopianism in my view more than anything else. Of course the British and the French, etc. were looking after their interests but there is a kind of naivety to it as well, which obviously has had consequences rolling through the twentieth century and into the beginning of the twenty first century, in my view anyway.

4. You seem to be highly concerned about the Israeli-Palestinian issue, to what extent was the play a literary medium to express your concerns that global diplomatic and media attention was diverted from the Israeli-Palestinian issue and directed towards ISIS and Syria in 2014?

I do not feel kind of had specific political agenda to redirect attention back to Palestine and Israel and away from Syria. I just saw a kind of centuries-long legacy for the first Western intervention, if I can put it like that, with the beginning of the Crusades. And in terms of the Palestine-Israel situation, I am personally a very strong supporter for a two-state solution. I believe strongly in the right of both Palestine and Israel to exist as independent states and I view the situation in the Middle East with great sadness and frustration that these incredibly deep-seated political, religious territorial disputes are so difficult for the people of, I guess what we want to call the Holy Lands. I think part of what the play, I think, tries to do, which is to kind of leave an audience with a sense of the shared human folly on all sides really in the Middle East. Those actors from within the Middle East and those nations and forces from outside the Middle East. Obviously, the play particularly meditates on the intervention of the West. But I think I kind of had a bigger picture historically in mind rather than just trying to look at Israel and Palestine now. If I wanted to do that I would have written a very, very different play.

5. You mentioned in a previous interview by the play’s director, James Dacre, that you were interested in the issue of Muslims entering their holy sites in Palestine. What solutions are you trying to suggest through *Holy Warriors*?

I do not think that *Holy Warriors* is trying to suggest any solutions. I think that my role as a playwright is to tell a story as I see it and to ask questions and I think that sometimes plays give answers or imply morals. And I think that my play was asking a Western audience to think about “Why we were over there?” or “What good does it serve in the context of a sort of a thousand years of history really?” If I can put it this way,” But I think, as I said I previous answer, the play does ask an audience to reflect on the shared human folly of much of the intractable conflict in the Middle East. Other playwrights would give you different answers. Some playwrights believe very strongly that a play should have strong moral or a strong message or it should be always a kind of thesis. But in a way leave with the audience to decide what they think. I felt very, very moved and pleased that the play was cheered equally by audience members that were very pro-Palestine and audience members that were very pro-Israel and that felt to me to be

pleasing and a sign that maybe the play had succeeded on some level of being a kind of a complex, look at the situation. But I tend not to be a writer that is too interested in telling an audience exactly what to think. I think plays are much more about me sort of being interested in a subject. As I tell a story finding interesting questions to ask an audience along the way if I can.

- 6. In the play, Saladin and Imad mentions the date September 16, what is the significance of this date? And what is the significance of Saladin and Imad using the Christian rather than the Islamic calendar? (While it is known that the Islamic rather than the Christian calendar was used in the Islamic world back then).**

No particular significance at all. It was just something I read about and it seemed like an interesting thing to use in the play.

- 7. The play is primarily set in the period of the Third Crusade. Why did you choose this setting in particular?**

Partly it is because of the characters of Richard the Lionheart and Saladin, they were extraordinary men in their time. And so I was really interested just to write about them. But also in terms of what we were talking about before, in terms of me reading the history and being sort of filled with sadness about the kind of the echoes that I kind of felt coming down the centuries and resonate in horrific ways through the Middle East in 2014. I felt like there was an opportunity missed maybe by the end of the Third Crusade when Richard had decided not to go into Jerusalem for various reasons. Saladin had suffered great setbacks but he was not entirely beaten. That was kind of standstill, but there was an opportunity, seemed to me, for a kind of a more lasting peace. But that in itself may be naïve, actually it is a region of the world that has been ridden with striving conflicts for many sort of conflicts for historical and religious reasons. But it did seem to be there was maybe a moment of history there when a kind of a coexistence may have been forged. So that was I wanted focus on the Third Crusade. There is another reason, these terrific

history books I read at the beginning of 2010 really truck a call with and may be wanted to write this story, and wanted to write it specifically for the Globe.

8. Are their limits or disadvantages to using historical analogy?

I think there are but I think they are self-imposed limits really. You have to remember that I am speaking for myself and different playwrights may give different answers. I did of course fictionalize but for me I would not be writing in this area or this story if I was not really interested in the actual history. So, for me that is why I say, yes, there are limits but they are self-imposed. I think another playwright may have stuck closer to the real history than I did. Another playwright may would have made more stuff up, may be even more fantastical with further ways than the actual history as I read it. For me the history is more than just a starting point, it is actually what happened. That is partly fascinating and interesting. I wanted to find a way to share that with an audience theatrically.

9. What is the importance of exploring the relationship between Islam and the West?

Given the state in the Middle East as it is, current affairs, given how the recent history, and by recent history I mean the history of say, the last hundred and twenty years. Obviously it was all coming to a very, very sharp focus since September 11, 2001. If you look at the last hundred and twenty years of at best uneasy and horrible conflicted relations between Islam and the West. Of course it is massively important. It is part of our daily life. If you are a person, is any way, interested in watching the news or reading newspapers or reading current affairs online, as we increasingly do, or watching the news online. It is part of your experience every day, what is happening in the Middle East and how the impact of that is felt throughout the West in terms of occasional acts of terrorism. But, in my view far more important is the psychological impact of that and the fear of terrorism. I think it has become part of the daily narrative, really.

10. How do you see this work within the larger context of fictional representations such as novels and film? In other words, what aspect of this historical episode can be conveyed more by a play than by any other form of narrative?

It has a bit to do with the way I wanted to tell the story of this history. So I think what works well really with the context of the theatre is the way that you can tell the second part of the Third Crusade through a sort of fantastical, modern prism. When Richard the Lionheart has died and he is in purgatory and he gets another chance to see if he could do things differently. I think that is a very, very theatrical idea and I think it can work very well within the context of performance where you are relying a lot on the imagination of the audience. Also, in terms of the language that the actors play, I am really interested in the kind of rhetorical language, that dance of diplomacy. Also it is the real kind of pleasure. As an audience, I think you want the characters to speak a bit like that, it is part of the enjoyment of it. It is very, very theatrical, it is not the way people really speak. So, I guess I was interested in the rhetoric. Also, I was interested in the in the kind of slideshow of history that Richard witnesses with his mother. This is something very inherently theatrical and might feel a lot of things I thought about “naïf” on screen and a prose form is just so completely different It is a different thing, I would not write it as a novel because I am not a novelist. I enjoy novels but I do not really relish or have the talent for writing in prose. I am interested in writing drama. I think it was best to tell the story in a theatre rather than on screen or possible. This is the nature of how I want to tell the story.

Appendix B

This passage is taken from *Sanā Al-barq Al-shāmī* by Faṭḥ ibn ‘Alī Bundari in which he summarises Imad- ad-Din’s *al-Barq al-Shami*.

(I provided the English translation of this paragraph in the body of the text).

فأبى السلطان الا قتالهم و تدميرهم و استئصالهم و قال ما أخذ القدس منهم الا كم أخذوه من المسلمين منذ احدى و تسعين سنة فانهم استباحو القتل و لم يتركوا طرفا يستزير و امعنوا في رجالهم قتلا و نسايم سبيا. فقال باليان في الحضور مستأذنا مستأمنا و باح بما بان في فكر الكفر من الشر كامنا و قال للسلطان: قد رجوناك فلا تخينا (البنداري 311).

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