THE CRUSADES IN THE MODERN WORLD

Engaging the Crusades, Volume Two

Edited by Mike Horswell and Akil N. Awan
The Crusades in the Modern World

*Engaging the Crusades* is a series of volumes which offer windows into a newly emerging field of historical study: the memory and legacy of the crusades. Together these volumes examine the reasons behind the enduring resonance of the crusades and present the memory of crusading in the modern period as a productive, exciting and much needed area of investigation.

*The Crusades in the Modern World* examines a broad range of contemporary uses of the crusades demonstrating how perceptions of the crusades are deployed in causes and conflicts today, and exploring the ways in which those perceptions are constructed and received. The use of crusading rhetoric and imagery to frame and justify violence presents an important recurring theme throughout the book, invoked by a range of diverse actors from Islamist terrorists like al-Qaeda and ISIS, to politicians in the post 9/11 world, and from populist movements in Europe reviving ‘Reconquista’ rhetoric, to a Mexican drug cartel. The use of the crusades for building national and religious identity repeatedly asserts its importance in the present, whilst chapters on academic engagement with the crusades and on the ways in which Wikipedia articles on the crusades are created highlight the ongoing challenges of constructing knowledge about crusading.

*The Crusades in the Modern World* is ideal for scholars of the crusades and medievalism as well as for military historians and historians of memory.

Mike Horswell completed his PhD at Royal Holloway, University of London, and his book – *The Rise and Fall of British Crusader Medievalism, c.1825–1945* – was published in 2018. He has taught at Royal Holloway, King’s College London, and the University of Oxford and is currently researching, teaching and writing on the memory and legacy of the crusades in the modern era, from historiography to popular culture.
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ENGAGING THE CRUSADES

THE MEMORY AND LEGACY OF THE CRUSADES

SERIES EDITORS
JONATHAN PHILLIPS AND MIKE HORSWELL
Engaging the Crusades
The Memory and Legacy of Crusading
Series Editors: Jonathan Phillips and Mike Horswell, Royal Holloway, University of London, UK.

Engaging the Crusades is a series of volumes which offer initial windows into the ways in which the crusades have been used in the past two centuries, demonstrating that the memory of the crusades is an important and emerging subject. Together, these studies suggest that the memory of the crusades, in the modern period, is a productive, exciting and much needed area of investigation.

In this series:

Perceptions of the Crusades from the Nineteenth to the Twenty-First Century
Engaging the Crusades, Volume One
Edited by Mike Horswell and Jonathan Phillips

The Crusades in the Modern World
Engaging the Crusades, Volume Two
Edited by Mike Horswell and Akil N. Awan

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The Crusades in the Modern World
Engaging the Crusades, Volume Two

Edited by Mike Horswell and Akil N. Awan
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The second volume in *Engaging the Crusades* under the remit of ‘what are the crusades today?’ has come together coherently to offer a strong continuation of the work begun in September 2015. This is in no small part to the contributors whose patience, willingness to engage with the editorial process, and insight has made this volume both possible and an important next step for the series. Mike would, as ever, like to thank Lauren for her forbearance, laughter and support.
Abbreviations

APF    Alliance for Peace and Freedom
CUP    Cambridge University Press
DN     Democracia Nacional
MUP    Manchester University Press
OUP    Oxford University Press
PNR    Partido Nacional Renovador
PP     Partido Popular

Frequently used references:


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4 The *Reconquista* revisited
Mobilising medieval Iberian history in Spain, Portugal and beyond

*Tiago João Queimada e Silva*

The concept of *Reconquista* refers to an interpretation of history according to which the expansion of the Northern Iberian Christian kingdoms at the expense of Southern Iberian Muslim lands from the eight until the late fifteenth century was a long, concerted project of ‘restoring’ the old Visigothic and Catholic Spain after the ‘illegitimate’ occupation of the Peninsula by the ‘Moors’. Al-Andalus is construed as an historical ‘abnormality’; a hiatus in the history of Iberia, a territory that is seen as quintessentially unified and Catholic, were it not for the Umayyad invasion in 711.¹

This teleological perspective was constructed and used during the Middle Ages, despite lacking the specific term ‘*Reconquista*’, whose generalisation relates to the emergence of Spanish nationalism in the nineteenth century.² The idea was first advanced in ninth-century Asturian chronicles to legitimate the new-born Kingdom of Asturias-Leon, which claimed the legitimacy of the deceased Visigothic kingdom.³ This myth would be a constant topic in Iberian historiography for centuries to come, especially in Castile-León. By the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, this perspective intertwined with the crusading ideal; the ideology of the crusade permeated Iberia and similarities were established between the anti-Islamic wars in Iberia and in the Near-East.⁴

This chapter deals with present-day uses of the medieval Iberian past for political purposes. I focus on the manipulation of the concept of *Reconquista* in far-right nationalist discourses. This inquiry draws on previous research by Martín Ríos Saloma and Alejandro García-Sanjuán. The former examined the origin and development of the concept of *Reconquista*,⁵ whilst García-Sanjuán has focused on the survival of this concept in contemporary Spanish historiography, as well as on interpretations of the Andalusian past in contemporary academic discourses.⁶
Though lacking an in-depth examination on the use of medieval Iberian history in political discourses – such an analysis would necessarily require a *longue durée* inquiry upon some of the topics approached in this chapter – this essay contributes to the ongoing debate on the identity-building and present-day political uses of history, pinpointing some connections between the contemporary political situation and historical interpretation. The present chapter thus may be included in recent trends of research that focus on the phenomenon of ‘political medievalism’, i.e., the utilisation of medieval tropes in contemporary political programmes and debates.7

The recent emergence of far-right nationalism in several European countries has often been associated with the resuscitation of ultra-conservative historical perspectives.8 The rise of nationalism and xenophobia usually goes hand in hand with manipulation of the past in accordance with these political programmes. One of the main objects of manipulation in these discourses is Islam, which is presented as the archenemy of Europe.9 The Iberian Peninsula is a *sui generis* case in this regard, since this region has a rich past of Islamic culture which Islamophobic nationalists have to deal with in their historical accounts.

**Spain**

The consolidation of the concept of *Reconquista* is connected with the emergence of Spanish National-Catholicism, an ideology that became hegemonic during Franco’s dictatorship. The exaltation of the *Reconquista* was one of the building blocks for the construction of a Spanish national identity and was usually complemented by the denigration of the Peninsula’s Islamic past. García-Sanjuán categorised the National-Catholic attitude towards al-Andalus as being of an exclusivist nature, since it excluded al-Andalus from the national history of Spain and denied it any positive role in the construction of Spanish national identity. Al-Andalus has merely a negative role in this process since, according to this view, Spanish identity is forged against al-Andalus.10

Even after the transition to liberal democracy in Spain in the late 1970s, there are professional historians who cling to the National-Catholic paradigm.11 These historians provide far-right political programmes based on xenophobia and especially islamophobia with a degree of ‘scientific authority’. Whilst García-Sanjuán dealt mostly with these tendencies in the academic world, I examine their persistence and adaptation in the political field. I first consider the use of the Iberian medieval past by Spanish nationalist movements.
The second of January, the date that marks the conquest of Granada in 1492, is a significant date for the utilisation of history to uphold Islamophobic discourses. Granada’s municipality continues to commemorate the conquest of the last Muslim enclave in the Peninsula by the Catholic Monarchs Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon. Every year, the event gathers supporters as well as opponents of the commemoration. Those in favour are mostly far-right nationalist groups that take the opportunity to spread a National-Catholic historical perspective.

The Spanish party Vox, for example, used the date to connect the conquest of Granada to the ‘greatness of Spain’. The party claims to be proud of Spanish history and ashamed of those who ‘reject’ it. This Manichean logic – that contrasts ‘true Spaniards’ against ‘false Spaniards’ – recurrently appears in far-right discourse from several organisations. The National Democracy party (Democracia Nacional, henceforth DN) also commemorates the conquest of Granada. The group defines the event as ‘one of the greatest undertakings of history’ and the Catholic Monarchs as ‘the two most important figures of our history’. DN’s historical perspective encompasses all the commonplaces of National-Catholic rhetoric: it delineates a continuity of Spain as a nation back to the Romans and Visigoths, a quintessential unity that was broke by the Muslim invasion and restored eight centuries later by the Catholic Monarchs. Al-Andalus, in turn, is described as a ‘true hell’ for Christians who remained in Islamic lands. It is a teleological perspective of history, constructed around two of the main elements of DN’s political discourse: hostility against Islam and cultural heterogeneity, on the one hand, and the safeguarding of Spain as a united nation, on the other. The Reconquista constitutes an argument not only against Islam and multiculturalism but also against those who defend regional autonomies and/or federalism within the Spanish state, as well as against peripheral nationalisms, such as the Catalan independence movement.

DN uses the Reconquista as an ideal for political mobilisation: calling for ‘a new Reconquista’, it explicitly establishes an analogy between the Umayyad invasion and present-day reality. According to the DN, ‘history is repeating itself’, since the enemy within is ‘opening the doors of Spain to the Muslim occupiers’. Just as the Jews and a sector of the Visigoth elite are blamed for the success of the Umayyad conquest, also nowadays ‘the elites of the country […] behave like authentic traitors’. An analogy is thus made between the Iberian Jews and Visigoth ‘traitors’ in 711, and the present-day sociopolitical agents who stand for a liberal and multicultural society. DN takes upon
itself an analogous historical role as that of the Visigoth rebels led by Pelayo, the founder of the Asturian Kingdom who, according to the myth of the *Reconquista*, rebelled in Asturias in the aftermath of the Muslim invasion, initiating a historical process that would only end in 1492 in Granada. They thus claim to be treading in the footsteps of the Visigoth rebels, triggering a similar heroic feat as that of the *Reconquista*.20

For DN, Isabella and Ferdinand are precursors of many of the nationalists’ policies: DN claims that ‘the work of the Catholic Monarchs also had a profound social character’, since Isabella allegedly ‘elevated the standard of living of the Spanish people in a way never before accomplished’ and persecuted bankers and usurers.21 The culmination of the enterprise of the *Reconquista* is also seen as a precondition for Spain’s imperial past, as it was after the conquest of Granada that ‘Spain became one of humanity’s greatest Empires, taking the light of justice, civilisation and hope to tens of peoples from all races and continents’.22 The grandeur of Spain is, according to DN, being destroyed by contemporary politicians, who foment disunion amongst Spaniards, allowing separatist groups to operate, promoting immigration into Spain, allowing the ‘Islamisation’ of the country and granting the possibility for Sephardi Jews to acquire Spanish nationality. All of this ‘with the clear intention of destroying the ethnic, cultural and religious homogeneity of the Spanish people’.23 This analysis of the current political context motivates once again the use of the *Reconquista* for purposes of political mobilisation, as ‘the time comes for a last crusade, of a new *Reconquista* to recover our future’.24 The *Reconquista* is articulated here with the crusading ideal, which is in no way a new feature in Spanish nationalism, since the Francoist faction used crusading rhetoric to justify the rebellion against the Spanish Republic in 1936–39.25

Representatives of the traditional right-wing parties also convey National-Catholic interpretations of the Iberian past. On 2 January 2017, a politician from the Conservative *Partido Popular* (PP), Esperanza Aguirre, wrote a tweet celebrating the conquest of Granada as the forerunner of female emancipation in Spain, transforming the Catholic Monarchs into some sort of ‘proto-feminists’.26 Former Prime Minister José Maria Aznar, also from PP, gave a lecture at the University of Georgetown in September 2004, stating that Spain’s conflict with al-Qaeda goes back to the ‘Moorish’ invasion in the eighth century.27 The National-Catholic notion of the origin of Spanish nationality was even elevated to the status of programmatic policy for PP, as the party’s sixteenth congress (June 2008)
approved an amendment that located the roots of the ‘Spanish nation’ in Roman and Visigothic heritage, as well as in the political unity re-established by the union of the Castilian, Aragonese and Navarran kingdoms in the sixteenth century. Al-Andalus was completely excluded from their concept of Spanish national history and identity.28

The Reconquista is often portrayed by these groups as a common European enterprise, not exclusively Iberian. The Falange Española de la JONS, one of the several small organisations claiming the heritage of Primo de Rivera’s Falange in the 1930s, defines Granada’s conquest as ‘the return of Spain to Europe’.29 DN also refers to the conquest of Granada as a landmark in the defence of Spanish and European identities, invoked against those who work ‘for the formation of multicultural societies that will end up turning us into a mere pile of unconnected people, without a common identity’.30 For DN, the importance of the date encompasses the whole of Christendom, alongside the Battle of Poitiers in 732, the sieges of Vienna in 1529 and 1683, and the Battle of Lepanto in 1571.31 Hostility towards Islam is presented by DN as a permanent feature of the history of Christianity, and the conquest of Granada is one of its most glorious episodes. Now, ‘hundreds of thousands of Muslims again cross the frontiers of Europe’, possibly bringing about ‘the suicide of our civilisation’, whose blame is to be put on multiculturalists.32

Another event that is laden with a heavy symbolic dimension is the Battle of Covadonga (722), the legendary victory of the Christians gathered around Pelayo in Asturias against the Umayyad invaders of the Peninsula. This event was first recorded in ninth-century Asturian chronicles and became a constant theme in medieval Iberian historiography.33 According to the National-Catholic perspective, this battle is the founding event of the Reconquista and, therefore, sacred for Spanish nationalists. Vox even chose the Covadonga Sanctuary, a monument to the mythical battle, as the venue for the opening events of the campaigns for the Spanish general elections in 2015 and 2019.34 The struggle against Islamic extremism was at the forefront of the event, together with restrictive measures against Muslim immigration into Europe.35 The party’s leader, Santiago Abascal, emphasised the ‘liberty’ of the Christian against the ‘submission’ of the Muslim, stressing in particular gender equality and the separation of Church and State, values that are presented as essentially Christian.36 The anachronistic attribution of present-day liberal or progressive values to medieval Christianity appears to be recurrent in historiographical discourses from these political formations.
In 2019, Abascal again referred to the divine protection of the Covadonga sanctuary, this time explicitly establishing a nexus of causality between the Battle of Covadonga, the *Reconquista* and modern Spanish national unity and liberty.\(^{37}\) *Vox* used the legend of Covadonga as a historical galvanizer for Spanish nationalism; a sentiment that the party attempted to mobilise and give political content, particularly in face of rising Catalan independentism. The Spanish 2019 general elections were a major success for *Vox*, as the party secured the entrance of 24 representatives into the Spanish Congress and raised its voting percentage from around 0.2 per cent (46,781 votes) in the 2016 general elections to 10.3 per cent (2,677,173 votes) in 2019.\(^{38}\)

Spanish nationalists’ views of the medieval Iberian past faithfully convey the National-Catholic narrative: Spain is viewed as an eternal – and, therefore, ahistorical – entity, whose Catholic essence was truncated by the Islamic invasion in 711. The fact that it was an invasion is stressed in order to delegitimise al-Andalus and portray the medieval Iberian Christian expansion in a teleological light; as Spain’s ‘manifest destiny’, so to speak, or the ‘return’ of Spain to its Catholic roots and the annihilation of al-Andalus as some sort of ‘historical anomaly’. This tradition has plenty of historiographical works to nourish it, since this discourse has recently been revived in several academic publications.\(^{39}\)

The history of al-Andalus is useful for these far-right groupings to establish analogies that reinforce their political message. The Umayyad invasion is often compared to current Muslim immigration and radical far-right movements are compared to the small group of Christian resisters in the mountains of Asturias who initiated the long process of Christian expansion towards the south; Muslim immigrants are seen as religious fanatics that aim to impose an oppressive politico-religious system upon Christians who have lived in liberty up until now. Just as the Jews and corrupted sectors of the Visigothic elite opened the doors for the Muslims in the past, now we have ‘traitors’ and ‘false Spaniards’, who create the conditions for Europe’s ‘Islamisation’ and the destruction of ‘Western civilisation’.

**Portugal**

The conquest of Granada is also remembered by Portuguese nationalists, who equally see it as a European enterprise. The National Renovator Party (*Partido Nacional Renovador*, henceforth PNR) commemorated the military enterprise as ‘the corollary of the great European and Iberian undertaking that was the Reconquista, large and long movement of resistance against the external enemy’.\(^{40}\) For PNR, this enterprise
not only gave rise to the Iberian nations, but its importance applies to all European nations, which, according to the party, are still under attack by foreign ‘imperialisms’. PNR claims that the remembrance of dates like these is increasingly relevant since ‘we are being again invaded and we have to defend our culture and civilisation’. As with Spanish nationalists, we encounter here a militant appropriation of the past, since history is used to draw analogies with the present which legitimise a given political programme. The remembrance of the past again serves as an element for political mobilisation.

When commemorating the conquest of Lisbon by the Portuguese King Afonso Henriques in 1147, PNR established comparisons between the present and the past: the ‘Heroes’ of the conquest of Lisbon were contraposed to current politicians and celebrities, examples of ‘cowardice’ and ‘corruption’. Whilst society at large choose the latter as their references, the nationalists preferred to revere the warriors of the medieval past, who were guided by values such as ‘Honour and Sacrifice in benefit of our Land and People’. PNR’s concern with historical accuracy is scarce, since the party bases its praise of the ‘heroes’ of the conquest of Lisbon on the legend of Martim Moniz, an episode with no support in sources contemporary to the event. Like their fellow Spaniards, Portuguese nationalists also make analogies between the medieval Muslim invasion of the Peninsula and present-day Muslim immigration.

Another event that is celebrated by Portuguese nationalists is the date of the Battle of Ourique (1139), where, according to tradition, the founder of the Portuguese kingdom, Afonso Henriques, defeated five Muslim kings and was acclaimed as monarch. Contrary to their use of the conquest of Lisbon, here PNR questioned the historicity of the battle, reaching the conclusion that, despite the narrative’s mythical elements, it was nonetheless one of the ‘founding myths of the Fatherland’ and it serves as a galvanising and exemplary event for current problems, i.e., the ‘menace’ of Islam to ‘Western civilisation’. Again, an analogy is made between medieval Christian-Islamic conflicts and present-day debates concerning Islam and immigration. PNR frames the Battle of Ourique in a universal conflict between Islam and ‘the West’. It is a perspective that resembles Huntington’s famous (and much criticised) theory of the ‘clash of civilisations’, but which has precedents in medieval Portuguese historiography. This locates PNR within contemporary currents of Islamophobic thought that postulate the existence of a global war between ‘the West’ and Islam, a war that goes back to the very foundation of Islam and which continues today.
PNR follows its Spanish counterparts in conveying a historical perspective built upon exaltation of the Reconquista and denigration of al-Andalus. However, not all of the Portuguese far-right shares PNR’s perspective: in the weekly newspaper O Diabo, connected with the Portuguese far-right, one notices that although some attention is given to the Battle of Ourique, the main focus lies on past conflicts between Portugal and Castile-León, the hegemonic Iberian kingdom throughout the Middle Ages. O Diabo’s preferred historical subject is the Portuguese expansion during the early modern age. The conquest of the North African city of Ceuta in 1415, which marks the beginning of the global European expansion of which Portugal and Spain were pioneers, takes a prominent position.

The exaltation of Portugal’s colonial past, instead of the Reconquista, points to a different sort of nationalism: contrary to the pan-European and racist tendencies of movements like PNR or DN, O Diabo appears to lean on a form of Portuguese nationalism based on the nostalgia for the colonial empire. This resembles more traditional forms of Portuguese nationalism that find their main politico-historical reference in Salazar’s Estado Novo (1933–74). These different historical perspectives stem from the fact that PNR represents a more recent expression of far-right nationalism, a more European-minded and racist viewpoint, whilst O Diabo draws from traditional Portuguese Salazarist nationalism based on the nostalgia of colonial possessions. Salazarist nationalism, although also ethnocentric and paternalistic towards colonised peoples, was imbued with universalist and multicultural notions of the Portuguese nation. Instead of focusing on the Reconquista as part of a universal conflict between ‘European’ or ‘Western civilisation’ and Islamic expansionism and religious oppression, its primary historical referents were the medieval struggles against Castilian hegemonic tendencies and Portuguese imperial expansion throughout the globe.

Occasionally, O Diabo’s attitude towards Islam contrasts with that of PNR, such as when, for example, one of the newspaper’s contributors, Pedro Soares Martinez, a law professor and a former minister of Salazar, appealed for the ‘understanding between Christians and Islamists’. The author mentions the incapacity of ‘the so-called Westerners’ to understand their ‘Islamic brothers and their suffering’, whilst pointing out Portugal’s privileged position to foster understanding between these two worlds; due precisely to the country’s Islamic past. Martinez implies that the conflicts between Iberian Christians and Muslims are disproportionately remembered, in contrast with periods of peaceful coexistence, besides
stressing the cultural and technical contributions that al-Andalus brought to the Peninsula. Martinez even proclaims that the Iberian culture is a product of Christian-Islamic confluence, asserting to be proud of that heritage. This is an atypical argument even for traditional Salazarist nationalism, since the latter’s discourse had in general a similar attitude towards the Muslim past as that of Spanish National-Catholicism.

**Europe**

The use of the term *Reconquista* is not confined to the Iberian Peninsula, since it has spread to far-right circles on a pan-European level. The term is often used in non-Iberian political forums with the specific historical phenomenon of the Christian expansion over Islam in medieval Iberia going unmentioned. The word *Reconquista* (untranslated to ‘reconquest’) has entered far-right terminology in Europe divorced from the particular historical phenomenon to which it initially referred.

The Alliance for Peace and Freedom (APF), a grouping of several European far-right parties, published in 2016 a book entitled *Winds of Change – Notes for the Reconquista*. In a congress of APF in Brno on 18 November 2017, Vice President Nick Griffin traced an apocalyptic scenario of present-day reality and delineated the following plan for the salvation of Europe: ‘With the help of millions of white Western refugees whose children will help you get over your own demographic crisis, these are the nations that will lead first the resistance and then the long Reconquista’. Griffin extrapolated the Iberian narrative of the *Reconquista* (‘fall’ of the Peninsula due to the Muslim conquest; long and gradual ‘reconquest’ of the territory) to contemporary Europe: the Afro-Islamic ‘invasion’ leads to the ‘fall’ of Europe, whose ‘reconquest’ is to be accomplished by the nationalists.

On 21–23 October 2016, Europa Terra Nostra, a foundation aligned with APF, organised an event in Germany under the title ‘Freedom Congress’ (*Freiheitlicher Kongress*). Its main theme was ‘Reconquista or Doom’, a formula that epitomises the contents of Griffin's speech in Brno. Mentions of the *Reconquista* appear in many texts from APF, especially in the ones undersigned by Griffin.

Lastly, one must also mention how the term *Reconquista* has entered the far-right discourse in Ukraine: there is, for example, a blog aligned with the party National Corps with the title *Reconquista*, and whose motto is ‘Today Ukraine, Tomorrow Rus’ and the whole Europe’.
The blog claims to represent ‘an international movement of the Great European Reconquest based in Kyiv’. Its political programme is based on the concept of *Intermarium*, a geopolitical project for a federation of states stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea. This project was first developed during the 1920s in Poland but has recently been appropriated and adapted by the Ukrainian far-right. This would be the first stage of a struggle which would culminate in the *Reconquista* of ‘Paneuropa’ from the clutches of ‘neo-Bolshevik Russia’ and ‘multicultural EU’. This demonstrates how the term *Reconquista* has ceased to be an ideological construction restricted to the Iberian Peninsula and has become a transcendental symbol for extremist nationalist movements all around Europe. It has become a mobilisational icon in the far-right’s quixotic struggle for the ‘reconquest’ of the essence of an idealised Europe.

**Conclusion**

Spanish and Portuguese far-right nationalists are prone to establish analogies between the Iberian medieval past and contemporary realities, with the aim of legitimating their programmes historically. These ideological currents use the Iberian medieval past as a pivotal element in discourses of political mobilisation. They generalise and universalise the significance of specific medieval Iberian history. In doing so, the *Reconquista* ceases to be a particularly Iberian phenomenon and becomes a symbol of pan-European significance; a symbol of the necessary ‘reconquest’ of an imagined quintessential Europe from the hands of Muslim immigrants and liberals.

Beyond the ‘Europeanisation’ of the relevance of the Iberian *Reconquista*, these currents tend to use a discourse based on the dichotomy ‘Us vs Them’; ‘Us’ being the nationalists, ‘true Europeans’, patriots etc.; and ‘Them’ being not only Muslims but also liberal and left-wing groups and individuals who reject the nationalists’ xenophobic worldview. For the Spanish nationalists in particular, the *Reconquista* constitutes a historical argument against the present-day ‘menaces’ of Islam and multiculturalism, against regional autonomies and/or federalism inside the Spanish state, as well as against peripheral nationalisms, such as Catalan or Andalusian independence movements. The anachronistic attribution of contemporary democratic or progressive values to medieval Iberian Christianity, as opposed to ‘Islamic oppression’, is one of the features of much Islamophobic discourse that manipulates the Iberian medieval past.
Notes


2 ‘Restoration’ (*Restauración*) was usually the term used to refer to this historical process before the nineteenth century. See Ríos Saloma, *Una Construcción Historiográfica*.


5 See note 1.


8 For an overview on the present-day European far-right, see Maik Fielitz and Laura Lotte Laloire, eds., *Trouble on the Far Right: Contemporary Right-Wing Strategies and Practices in Europe* (Bielefeld, 2016).


10 García-Sanjuán, ‘Al-Andalus en la historiografía’. García-Sanjuán’s research on nationalist interpretations of the Iberian medieval past, especially of al-Andalus, is restricted to Spain. We lack an analogous approach regarding Portuguese historiography.

11 García-Sanjuán, ‘La persistencia’.


15 Ibid.
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.
18 Ibid.

19 Ibid. On the myth of the Jewish betrayal to the Visigoths by facilitating or provoking the Islamic conquest of the Iberian Peninsula, see Fernando Bravo López, ‘La “traición de los judíos”. La pervivencia de un mito antijudio medieval en la historiografía española’, *Miscelânea de Estudos Árabes y Hebraicos* 63 (2014), pp. 27–56.

20 DN, ‘525 años’.
22 Ibid.
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid.


30 DN, ‘Manifiesto’.
31 Ibid.
Ibid.

See note 3.


Carvajal, ‘Éxtasis’.


E.g. Rafael Sánchez Saus, Al-Andalus y la cruz. La invasion musulmana de Hispania (Barcelona, 2016); Darío Fernández-Morera, The Myth of the Andalusian Paradise: Muslims, Christians and Jews under Islamic Rule in Medieval Spain (Wilmington, 2016). See García-Sanjuán’s critique of some of these works in ‘La persistencia’, where he focuses particularly on Sánchez Saus’ Al-Andalus y la cruz.


Ibid.

Ibid.


Ibid.

The legend of Martim Moniz – according to which this twelfth-century Portuguese warrior heroically sacrificed his own life to permit the entrance of the Portuguese army in Lisbon during the conquest of the city in 1147 – has been widely spread in Portugal since the early modern age, although there are no sources contemporary to the conquest of Lisbon on which to base the episode’s historicity. See Fernando Castelo-Branco, ‘O Feito de Martim Moniz’, Revista Municipal 84 (1960), pp. 5–18.


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52 For example, the Battle of Aljubarrota (1385): ‘630 anos da Batalha de Aljubarrota’, *O Diabo*, 10 August 2015, <https://jornaldiabo.com/nacional/630-anos-batalha-de-aljubarrota/>, [accessed 17 May 2018].


56 Caldeira defined traditional Salazarist nationalism as ‘a nationalism [...] that [...] realises itself in its colonial dimension’, ibid., p. 135.


58 Ibid.

59 Ibid.


67 ‘Reconquista Europe’, *Vkontakte*; Kott, ‘Hijack’.
Bibliography

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