

“For We Who Were Occidentals Have Become Orientals:” The Evolution of Intermediaries in
the Latin East, 1095-1291

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By
K. A. Tuley

The Ohio State University
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Project Adviser: Professor Sarah-Grace Heller, Department of French and Italian

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Introduction

The Mediterranean Basin in the medieval era was, itself, a cultural contact zone, where Jews, Muslims, and Christians of various sects and languages met, trading ideas, goods, and battles. The strip of Levantine coastal territory from Ascalon in the south to Antioch and Edessa in the north conquered by the armed pilgrimages now called the Crusades has come to be known the “Crusader States,” but I find the “Latin East” to be a more accurate title: Europeans who came to the Levant quickly lost the total-war ideology associated with Crusaders, and developed an identity based on being Latins in and of the East. As the generations passed, they integrated more completely into the politics and society of the region, while retaining a distinct, Latin identity.

Intermediaries were a vital component of this new society, one often almost entirely ignored by modern scholarship, which bypasses the interpreters and diplomats who moved between Latins and Muslims. The historical sources themselves rarely place much emphasis on these individuals, and later historians have followed their lead; no one scholar has written a cohesive study of them, no single work examines their role from the Latin arrival in Constantinople in 1097 to the final loss of Acre, the last Latin stronghold on the mainland, in 1291.

Through a close reading of sources available in translation, in particular those from the Arabic, Greek, Latin and French, I have addressed this gap in Crusade Studies scholarship, piecing together the isolated incidents mentioning interpreters, envoys and negotiators. By tracing the actions of these intermediaries, their relations with contemporaries, and their presentation in the sources, it is possible to chart the evolution of a Latin identity in the Levant

from newcomer to local. This identity was neither static nor directly correlated to time spent in the Levant; instead, changes in political realities directly affected the social dynamics of the region. Intermediaries' relationships with both Muslims and Latin Christians changed both with time and with the balance of power between indigenous Latins, local Muslims, and Crusaders from Europe, representing the constant adjustment of the Latin identity in the East.

Historical Background: The Pilgrimage that Became a Kingdom

Since I will be working with isolated incidents mentioned by contemporary writers throughout the history of the Latin East, a brief sketch this history is provided here as the framework for my analysis. Sir Steven Runciman's three volume *History of the Crusades* remains the foundational narrative of the Crusades and the Latin East, although substantial scholarship has added to this basis.

Threatened by the encroaching Seljuq Turks, Byzantine Emperor Alexius Comenus sent a call for help to the Franks of Europe, familiar with their martial prowess. The first response was from Pope Urban II, whose famous speech at Clermont in November 1095 changed Alexius' call for military support to an armed pilgrimage marching to rescue the Holy Land from her Saracen ravishers, making the pilgrim routes safe once more.¹

The army which ultimately marched to the Levant comprised of smaller units, self-organized by regional and linguistic affiliation: Duke Robert of Normandy, brother to the king of England, led troops from north-western France and England; Hugh of Vermandois, Philip I of France's brother, those from central France; Godfrey of Bouillon from Flanders, Lorraine, and the rest of north-western France; Raymond de Saint-Gilles, Count of Toulouse and Marquis of Provence from southern France, Provence, and Languedoc. Finally, despite years of war with the Byzantine empire, Bohemond of Taranto and his nephew Tancred led the Italo-Norman contingent. Adhémar de Monteil, Bishop of Le Puy, acted as the Pope's representative on the holy mission, and mediated between the various leaders.²

¹ Sir Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, V.1, (Cambridge, England, 1951), pp. 107-109.

² Joshua Prawer, *The World of the Crusaders*, (New York, 1972), pp. 21-22.

While Fulcher of Chartres, traveling with Godfrey's brother Baldwin of Boulogne, comments on the babble of languages within the army itself, he does not mention any of the leaders recruiting or retaining interpreters for the eventual meetings with Byzantians, Arabs and Turks, although the anonymous *Historia Peregrinorum Euntium Jerusalem* mentions Tancred's and his cousin Richard of the Principate's knowledge of Arabic.³

Once they entered the Byzantine Empire between November 1096 and April 1097, the Crusade hosts were probably able to rely on the sophisticated imperial bureaucracy, which included official interpreters as well as various individual polyglots.⁴ With their help, the Latin leaders negotiated with the emperor to determine their respective roles and expectations of support: Each swore to acknowledge Alexius as overlord for any lands taken in conquest, turning over to his officials any land that had previously been held by the Empire, and received monetary gifts.⁵ Alexius thus believed he had successfully obtained a quasi-mercenary force, who would reconquer his lost territories for him. In exchange, he provided both personnel and materiel support for the expedition.

“The Turks ruled, the Greeks obeyed, and the Armenians protected their liberty” in the mountains of southeastern Anatolia and Cilicia, as described by Ralph of Caen.⁶ “Armenian” in the Crusade texts referred to Armenian language speakers; some of these adhered to the

³ Fulcher of Chartres, *Gesta Francorum Jerusalem Expugnantium* [A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem], trans. Frances Rita Ryan, ed. Harold S. Fink (Knoxville, 1969), I.XIII.4, p. 88; Anonymous, *Historia Peregrinorum Euntium Jerusalem Ad Liberandum Sanctum Sepulchrum de Potestate Ethnicorum* [History of the Pilgrims Who Went to Jerusalem to Liberate the Holy Sepulchre from the Power of the Heathen], in *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux*, V.III, (Paris, 1866), p. 168.

⁴ Runciman, V.1, pp. 151-153; Kaldellis. Anna Comnena's comments both on official interpreters and unofficial polyglots will be discussed in more detail later.

⁵ Runciman. V.1 p. 152.

⁶ Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, Ch. 24, p. 58.

Byzantine rite, others to an offshoot Armenian church. They maintained their own polity in southeastern Anatolia, but Armenian leaders also held territories subsidiary to both Byzantines and Turks throughout the region, and groups could be found in major cities like Antioch and Edessa.⁷ While the Crusade hosts were able to come to understand the basic realities of the northern situation, where other Christians formed the majority, early writers demonstrate a shaky understanding of Muslim politics further south. At the time of their arrival, Antioch, Damascus, and Aleppo were all controlled by Seljuqs, the latter two by brothers Duqāq and Riḍwān, respectively. Tyre, Ascalon, Acre, and Jerusalem itself fell under the domination of the Egyptian Fāṭimids, who had conquered the rest of the Palestine region in 1098.⁸ Gradually, the Franks would learn to exploit the rivalry between Duqāq and Riḍwān on a local scale, and between the Sunni Seljuqs and Shī'ite Fāṭimids on a larger one, but this was part of their acclimation to the

⁷ See Philip K. Hitti, "The Impact of the Crusades on Eastern Christianity" in *Medieval and Middle Eastern Studies in Honor of Aziz Suryal Atiya*, ed. Sami A. Hanna, (Leiden, 1972), pp. 211-217; Andrew Jotischky, "Ethnographic Attitudes in the Crusader States: The Franks and the Indigenous Orthodox People," in *East and West in the Crusader States: Context-Contacts-Confrontations: Act of the Congress Held at Hernen Castle in September 2000*, ed. Krijnie Ciggaar and Herman Teule, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 125, (Leuven, Belgium, 2003), pp. 1-20; Benjamin Z. Kedar, "Latins and Oriental Christians in the Frankish Levant, 1099-1291," in *Franks, Muslims and Oriental Christians in the Latin Levant: Studies in Frontier Acculturation*, (Farnham, England, 2006). Christopher MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East: Rough Tolerance*, (Philadelphia, 2008); James D. Ryan, "Toleration Denied: Armenia Between East and West in the Era of the Crusades," in *Tolerance and Intolerance: Social Conflict in the Age of the Crusades*, Michael Gervers and James Powell (Syracuse, New York, 2001), pp. 52-64.

While early writers referred to Armenians, Greeks, and Syrians, it is not until Jacques de Vitry in the early thirteenth century, followed by Burchard of Mt. Sion in the 1260s, that ethnic terminology is explained. Interestingly, this terminology privileges language over religion, grouping Armenians and Syrians by their use of Armenian and Arabic, then commenting on the multiple rites followed by these speakers. (Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Hierosolymitana* [History of Jerusalem], trans. Aubrey Stewart, in *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, V. 11, (New York, 1895), pp. 1-119; Letter to the Parisian masters and to Ligarde of St Trond and the Convent of Aywières in *Letters from the East: Crusaders, Pilgrims and Settlers in the 12th-13th Centuries*, trans. Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate, *Crusade Texts in Translation*, V. 18, (Aldershot, England, 2010), pp. 98-108; Burchard of Mount Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* [Description of the Holy Land], trans. Aubrey Stewart, in *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, V. 12, (New York, 1896), pp. 1-111.)

⁸ Hadia Dajani-Shakeel, "Diplomatic Relations Between Muslim and Frankish Rulers, 1097-1153 A.D." in *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, ed. Maya Shatzmiller, *The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400-1453*, V.1, (Leiden, the Netherlands, 1993), pp.190-215. p. 191.

political realities of the East. At their arrival, nearly every Muslim was simply seen as a “Turk,” although sometimes “Saracen” is also used in the sources.

In 1097, after successfully making their first conquest of Nicaea, not far from Constantinople, and winning their first pitched battle against the Turks at Dorylaeum, the Crusader hosts experienced their first split.⁹ Ralph of Caen throughout his narrative emphasizes the Armenian view of the Normans as liberators from the Turkish yoke; while the truth of the matter is far muddier and the Armenian support of the main host sporadic, there is no doubt both Latin and Armenian Christians came to rely on each other, beginning in Edessa in early 1098.¹⁰ Thoros, old and heirless, holding the city in the northeast of Armenian territory with money rather than arms, turned to the Franks to find a suitable young supporter. One of his knights suggested Baldwin de Boulogne, a second son who liked the idea of being adopted as Thoros’ heir in exchange for taking on the defense of the city, and left the main host to pursue his own aims.¹¹ Soon after the adoption, however, the citizens of Edessa turned against Thoros, killing him and his wife and elevating Baldwin in their stead.¹² Baldwin thus established the first and largest polity in what would become the Latin East, becoming master of the County of Edessa.

The rest of the hosts continued towards Jerusalem, halting next at Antioch for a two-part conquest beginning in October 1097: First, a prolonged siege succeeded only when a renegade charged with defense of one of the towers--a discontented Armenian according to Ralph of Caen, a Turk motivated by dreams sent from God in Fulcher of Chartres’ narrative--made a deal with

⁹ Runciman, V.1, pp. 183, 187.

¹⁰ Ralph of Caen, Ch. 36, p. 60; Ch. 40, p. 65.

¹¹ Guibert de Nogent, Book 3, pp. 70-71.

¹² FC, I.XIV.13, p. 91.

Bohemond to allow the Franks into the citadel in June 1098.¹³ Soon after, the besiegers were themselves besieged when Kerbogha's army arrived; although morale flagged, Peter the Hermit's discovery of the Holy Lance, a relic of Christ, once more rallied the Franks, who defeated Kerbogha in the field in late June.¹⁴ Despite the oaths made in Constantinople previously, Bohemond refused to hand over Antioch to Alexius, pointing out how the Emperor had not provided aid when needed, and his representatives had left the Franks earlier rather than remaining to support them.¹⁵ Thus in 1098 Bohemond took command of what would become the Principality of Antioch, allowing the remainder of the hosts to continue to Jerusalem without him and most of his Norman army.

Other small sieges and battles followed, during which the Franks were assisted more and more by Armenian, then Syrian Christians, meaning Arabic-speaking Christians, usually of a Syriac rite, though some followed the Byzantine Church.¹⁶ It was not until 1099 that the Crusaders reached Jerusalem, laying siege from June 7 to July 15. The Christian population, probably largely Syrians and some Greeks, having been expelled by the Fāṭimids, the Franks cut through the city mercilessly, massacring the Muslim and Jewish population that remained.¹⁷

Conquests continued, securing Ascalon in the south later that year, and Jaffa, Acre, Tyre, and Tripoli as part of the development of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Although he refused the

¹³ Ralph of Caen, Ch. 63, p. 88; FC, LXVII.4-5, pp. 98-99. The portrayal of Firuz, Pyrrus, etc. will be discussed in more detail later.

¹⁴ Prawer, *The World of the Crusaders*, p. 25; Runciman, V.1, p. 242-243.

¹⁵ Runciman. V.1, p. 249.

¹⁶ See Philip K. Hitti, "The Impact of the Crusades on Eastern Christianity;" Andrew Jotischky, "Ethnographic Attitudes in the Crusader States: The Franks and the Indigenous Orthodox People;" Benjamin Z. Kedar, "Latins and Oriental Christians in the Frankish Levant, 1099-1291;" Christopher MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East: Rough Tolerance*.

¹⁷ Prawer, *The World of the Crusaders*, p. 27; Runciman, V.1, p. 286.

title of “king,” Godfrey of Bouillon accepted that of “Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre” after the conquest of the city.¹⁸ After his death in 1100, his younger brother Baldwin left the County of Edessa to become the first King of Jerusalem, succeeded as both Count, then King in 1118, by their cousin Baldwin de Bourcq.¹⁹

While still count of Edessa, Baldwin I married an Armenian lord’s daughter, which Runciman sees as establishing a precedent for the entire Kingdom of retaining Frankish dominion while giving roles in the state to the native Christians and Muslims.²⁰ His successor followed his example, marrying Morfia, daughter of the duke of Malatia, culturally and linguistically Armenian but following the Greek rite, who would give the Latin East three mixed-blood heiresses.²¹ William of Tyre refers to the insufficiency of the Latin population for settlement purposes, and describes Baldwin as inviting Christians living beyond the Jordan to people Jerusalem in 1115 as part of the integration of Latins into the local milieu.²² Marriages with Byzantine women were common among the ruling aristocracy, while Fulcher of Chartres comments on marriages with “Syrians or Armenians or even Saracens who have obtained the grace of baptism,” leading to a multilingual or possibly even creole language environment.²³

Even as they established symbiotic relationships with Eastern Christians, the Franks became politically involved with Muslim potentates. In 1106, Il-ghazi released Joscelin of

¹⁸ Runciman, V.1., p. 294.

¹⁹ Runciman, V.1, p. 325; V.2, p. 143.

²⁰ Runciman, V. 1, p. 209.

²¹ William of Tyre, *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum*, [A History of the Deeds done Beyond the Sea], trans. Emily Atwater Babcock and A. C. Krey, Vol. I, (New York, 1943), X.24,1, p. 450. Their daughters became Queen of Jerusalem, Princess of Antioch, and Countess of Tripoli.

²² WT, 11.28, V.1, p. 507.

²³ FC, III.XXXVII.2-7, p. 272.

Courtenay, an influential baron of the County of Edessa, from captivity for 20,000 besants and military aid, with Jawali releasing his overlord Baldwin de Bourcq on similar terms. In 1108 Baldwin, Joscelin and Jawali faced Tancred and Riḍwān at Menbij in a territorial dispute; this marks the true beginning of a “Latin East,” when first-generation Crusaders turned against each other, allied with Muslims.²⁴ While the phase of conquest was not over in the south, the northern Franks had already stopped thinking of themselves Westerners united on a grand expedition to liberate the Holy Land, and begun acting like members of the Levantine community.

Two main arguments have been put forward in the latter half of the twentieth century regarding this “Latin East” or “Crusader States,” and the Frankish involvement with indigenous Muslims and Christians. Joshua Prawer, along with R. C. Smail, championed the colonialist interpretation of Crusader States: All centers of population were fortified, whether castles or cities, or occasionally manors, with feudalism being adapted to urbanism in the cities.²⁵ The Crusaders “saw themselves as rulers, economically exploiting the local population,” and to do so they repressed and segregated the native population.²⁶

Recently, however, scholars such as Ronnie Ellenblum and Adrian J. Boas have explored physical evidence rather than the textual and legal on which Prawer’s arguments rely, much of which dates to the thirteenth rather than the twelfth century. Based on archaeological studies, Ellenblum argues that Frankish rural settlement was in fact extensive, but probably focused in areas that already had a substantial Christian majority. He suggests the possibility of a Franco-

²⁴ Runciman, V. 2, p. 115; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rīkh* [The Complete History], trans. D. S. Richards in *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from Al-Kāmil fī'l-Ta'rīkh, Part 1: The Years 491-541/1097-1146: The Coming of the Franks and the Muslim Response*, Crusade Texts in Translation, V. 13, (Aldershot, England, 2006), p. 141.

²⁵ Prawer, *The World of the Crusaders*, p. 75.

²⁶ Prawer, *The Crusaders' Kingdom*, p. 507.

Oriental Christian society, a “Christian under Frankish hegemony,” with a mixed hierarchy of Frankish and Syrians Christians.²⁷ Adrian J. Boas sees less Western influence in the cities, which he argues may be due to Muslim builders employed in towns, but Frankish settlers doing their own building in rural areas.²⁸ William of Tyre refers to “suburban places” where “numerous families established themselves” as well as “tillers of the field” which grew up around fortresses such as Ibelin and Blanchegard near Ascalon.²⁹ While they relied on the fortresses, as Prawer argues, it is not clear how closely tied these settlements were to their military bases.

There is insufficient documentary and material culture evidence to accurately determine just how culturally assimilated the Franks became; however, during the rise and fall of the polities of the Latin East, it is possible to see how they acclimated to their political and cultural environment. They maintained ties with the west, both dynastic and political, particularly through the marriage of heiresses, and it was on these ties that they relied when they felt threatened beyond their military strength, but even during these times of stress, the eastern identity was never truly lost.

As already discussed, the Frankish conquest was possible because of the political division between the various polities of the Levant, none of whom were willing to trust or cooperate with each other enough to drive out the foreign enemy. ‘Imād ad-Dīn Zengī, atabeg, or governor, of Mosul and Aleppo, however, was able to unite the Muslims of the region, resulting in the fall of Edessa in 1144, sparking the Second Crusade in 1148.³⁰ Led by Louis VII of France and Conrad

²⁷ Ronnie Ellenblum, “Settlement and Society Formation in Crusader Palestine,” p. 509; *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 283.

²⁸ Adrian J. Boas, *Domestic Settings*, p. 247. Franks also claimed the buildings already standing during conquests.

²⁹ WT, XV.25, 2, p. 132.

³⁰ Prawer, *The World of the Crusaders*, p. 35; Runciman, V.2, 235.

III of Germany, this expedition failed to take Edessa, instead attacking Damascus, at the time cooperating with the Latins, then wandering back to Europe.³¹

Zengī was murdered in 1146, but his son Nūr ad-Dīn continued his policy of Muslim cooperation, eventually inherited by Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb, better known to the West as Saladin. Jacques de Vitry cites Reynald de Châtillon's raid into the Arabian peninsula, dangerously close to the holy cities of Mecca and Medīna as Saladin's excuse for outright war, and the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* as well as all Arabic sources comments unfavorably on Reynald for consistently attacking caravans during truces.³² While Reynald may have been the excuse, or the spark, for the Muslim reconquest of the 1180s, the true cause is more likely a reversal of the political situation ninety years previous: The charismatic Saladin held a powerful, united Muslim force at a time when the Latins were divided, nominally led by a weak, western-born king who never developed a functional understanding of the Latin East. The backbone of the Latin army broke under Guy de Lusignan, king by virtue of his marriage to Amalric I's daughter Sibylla, and close to Reynald de Châtillon, at the Battle of Hattin in July 1187, leaving insufficient forces to protect the city of Jerusalem, and no king with Guy in captivity.³³ Balian d'Ibelin, from a prominent baronial family and related by marriage to the royal family as well, undertook the defense of the city, but ultimately had to surrender it in October that same year, with the terms that the Christians could ransom themselves, going to Antioch or escorted to

³¹ Runciman, p. 281.

³² Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, XCIV, p. 99; IP 1.5, p. 29.

³³ Runciman, V.2, pp. 458-459, Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rīkh*, Part 2, p. 321; 'Imād al-Dīn, p. 134.

Alexandria to take ship back to Europe.³⁴ Saladin advanced on Acre as the Latin East reeled, leaderless, until Conrad of Montferrat's arrival.

The Montferrat family had connections in both Byzantium and the Latin East; the second son Conrad fought for the emperors for several years until anti-Latin sentiment drove him to join his father William, Marquis of Montferrat, in the Latin East in 1187. Finding Acre taken by Saladin, he sailed to Tyre and undertook its defense; with King Guy in captivity, the energetic Conrad became the rallying point for the remnants of the Kingdom of Jerusalem's resistance.

The Latins managed to hold Tyre under Conrad's leadership, with Balian d'Ibelin and other local nobles congregating behind him, allowing him to act as a *de facto* king. With Guy's release from captivity in 1188, however, Latin factional politics flared, with parties splitting to support Guy's claim to Tyre as king, countered by Conrad's insistence that Guy had forfeited any royal rights with the debacle at Hattin and his subsequent captivity. Conrad would hold Tyre in trust until the European kings reached the Latin East to decide the matter, hoping his relatives Frederick Barbarossa, the Holy Roman Emperor, and Philip II of France would back him against Guy and his own liege-lord Richard I of England.³⁵ An awkward stalemate emerged in the Latin camp, and no major progress was made either by them or Saladin.

In 1190, however, Queen Sibylla's death along with her daughters' left Guy with a weakened claim to the crown. Conrad's party pounced on the resulting power vacuum; Sibylla's half-sister Isabella was hastily divorced from Humphrey IV of Toron on the grounds that she had

³⁴Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rīkh*, Part 2, p. 332 IP, 1.10, p. 39; 'Imād al-Dīn, pp. 157-158.

³⁵ Runciman, 3, pp. 20-21.

been underage at the time of the wedding, and married to Conrad, giving him a legal claim to the role he had already been performing.³⁶

The loss of Jerusalem struck Latin Christendom brutally; in 1191 the Third Crusade led by Frederick Barbarossa, Philip II and Richard I arrived in the east, although Barbarossa died in Anatolia.³⁷ Jerusalem was never recovered, but Richard managed to retake Acre, help settle the vicious struggle for the succession to the title of “King of Jerusalem,” and manage the peace negotiations with Saladin.³⁸

The treaty made by Richard and Saladin left the Latin East from Jaffa to Caesarea and from Acre to Tyre, including Tripoli and Antioch, but the kingdom was broken without Jerusalem, and the next hundred years were characterized by decline, loss by loss.³⁹ In 1201 a Fourth Crusade gathered in Venice, planning to attack Egypt as the heart of the Ayyūbid empire, but ended in the Latin sack of Constantinople in 1204.⁴⁰ 1217 saw another Egyptian Crusade; Praver suggests this is due to the fortifications Saladin had destroyed in the Levant, intentionally preventing another Crusade by the sea. Instead, the Fifth Crusade planned to take Egypt and demand the return of the lost cities, financing them with booty. They managed to take Damietta in 1218-1219, but were unable to take Cairo, and fled from Egypt.⁴¹

³⁶ Runciman, 3, pp. 30-31.

³⁷ Runciman, V.3, pp. 48-49.

³⁸ Ambroise, *Estoire de la guerre sainte*, lines 5,195-5,220; (Bahā' ad-Dīn ibn Shaddād, *al-Nawādir al-Sultāniyya*, p. 155-156); 'Imād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī, *al-Fath al-qussi fi l-fath al-qudsi*, p. 236.

³⁹ 'Imād al-Dīn, p. 236.

⁴⁰ Runciman, V.3, p. 123.

⁴¹ Praver, *The World of the Crusaders*, p. 45.

Frederick II of Sicily had promised to join the Fifth Crusade, and been anathemized for his delay by Gregory IX, but mounted his own crusade in 1228, incited by his marriage to Isabella II, heiress to the Kingdom of Jerusalem. In 1229 he managed to win back Jerusalem and Bethlehem, as well as a sea corridor to the port cities of Jaffa and Sidon, in negotiations with al-Malik al-Kamil.⁴²

The Latin East could not hold Jerusalem, however; the Khwarizmians, Central Asian nomads driven ahead of the Mongols, took the city in 1244.⁴³ Louis IX of France led the Seventh Crusade to Egypt, again taking and losing Damietta, with the king and his entire army captured and held for a crushing ransom in 1250 after the Battle of al-Manṣūra. Twenty years later Louis IX led another Crusade, this one to Tunis, where he died.⁴⁴ While the Latins made treaties with the Mongols against their shared enemy, the Mamluk dynasty which had taken control of Egypt, the Mongol Ilkhanids were defeated in 1260 by Baybars at ‘Ain Jālūt, about halfway between Jerusalem and Acre.⁴⁵ The Mamluks, now dominant from Egypt to Syria, surrounded the last few cities remaining to Latin control, until even Acre fell in 1291.⁴⁶

What began as a grand expedition to liberate the Holy City became a kingdom, held by men who had come as Frankish warriors and became Latin Eastern lords. By examining intermediaries, from the official interpreters lent to the First Crusade host by the Byzantines in 1097, to lords like Reynald de Sidon and Humphrey IV of Toron who negotiated with Saladin in

⁴² Praver, *The World of the Crusaders*, p. 46; Runciman, V.3, p. 187.

⁴³ Runciman, V.3, p. 225.

⁴⁴ Runciman, V.3, pp. 267, 332.

⁴⁵ Runciman, V.3, pp. 311-314.

⁴⁶ Runciman, V.3, p. 420.

Arabic themselves, it is possible to see how these conquerers from elsewhere became members of the tumultuous Levantine community.

Maps of the Crusade hosts routes and the Levant at various points in its history are available on page 84. An alphabetical index of key figures is available on page 89, since my research has focused on some of the lesser known players in the Latin East. An explanation of ethnic terms follows on page 98.

Methodology and Sources

Historical sources on the Crusades abound, yet not all may be deemed truly “primary” in the sense of being written by an eyewitness, or even a contemporary, of the events described--like the anonymous *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimatatorum*. Guibert de Nogent’s *Gesta Dei Per Francos*, for example, was written in France, probably during Bohemond of Taranto’s visit to the Continent, and is explicitly a re-telling of the *Gesta Francorum* in more cultured Latin.⁴⁷ Other sources, like the chronicles of ibn al-Qalānisī and William of Tyre, may be used as primary sources for the authors’ lifetimes, but as secondary, if historical, sources for events before their formative years.

Since I am interested not only in the actions of intermediaries, but also how they and their roles were perceived by their contemporaries, this difference between primary and historical secondary sources is relevant--William of Tyre, born in the Latin East in the 1130s, gives a different portrayal of events during the First Crusade than Fulcher of Chartres and Raymond d’Aguilers, both western-born participants in the Crusade. Each source must be viewed with its author, era, and purpose in mind in order to accurately understand its discussion of interpreters and envoys.

Intermediaries are rarely given serious attention in the sources; most references to them are tangential, mentioning their actions during a specific incident with little discussion of the individual involved. As such, I have collected these various episodes, and placed them within a historical framework in order to understand who acted as intermediaries between Latins and Muslims, and how these men were viewed by both sides.

⁴⁷ Guibert de Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos* [The Deeds of God through the Franks], trans. Robert Levine, (Woodbridge, England, 1997). pp. 24-25.

Since I have used a number of sources, some on the borders of the standard Crusade Studies canon, also included is brief discussion of those I use most extensively and their authors here, in rough chronological order.⁴⁸

Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, Greek. Eldest child of the Emperor of Byzantium during the First Crusade, Anna's history is strongly skewed in favor of Alexius, but provides an imperial Byzantine insider's view of the First Crusade's passage through Constantinople.

Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimatatorum* [The Deeds of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem] (*GF*), Latin. Translator and editor Rosalind Hill argues the author, probably a southern Italian vassal of Bohemond, wrote the first nine books of the *Gesta Francorum* before leaving Antioch in 1098, and the tenth book no later than early 1101, soon after the battle of Ascalon.⁴⁹ Accordingly, he is the best available source for the early northern conquests, particularly the siege of Antioch, but he discusses the later conquests more briskly, and with less detail than the earlier.

Fulcher of Chartres, *Gesta Francorum Jerusalem Expugnantium* [A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem] (*FC*), Latin. Probably writing piecemeal between 1100-1127, Fulcher of Chartres came to the Levant as Baldwin de Boulogne's chaplain, accompanying him on the venture that made him first count of Edessa, but living in Jerusalem itself from 1100 to at least

⁴⁸ Due to my lack of language proficiency, all of my sources are in translation, some of them with idiomatic titles.

⁴⁹ Rosalind Hill, "Introduction," *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimatatorum* [The Deeds of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem], trans. Rosalind Hill, (London, 1962), pp. ix, xi.

1127, where his work ends.⁵⁰ As such, Fulcher is best relied on for details of Baldwin's entourage and his coming to power in Edessa. He is also the only primary source of the First Crusade to continue writing through the foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem as well as its conquest, making him invaluable for understanding the Latins' initial integration into the region.

Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem* [History of Frankish Conquerors of Jerusalem], Latin. Editors and John Hugh and Laurita L. Hill believe while Raymond wrote his *Historia* after the conquest of Jerusalem, he also gathered material throughout the conquest period, accompanying Count Raymond of Toulouse as his chaplain.⁵¹ He includes less detail than either the author of the *Gesta Francorum* or Fulcher, but together the three writers represent the three major groups of the First Crusade: the northern French and Lotharingians under Godfrey de Boulogne, Provençals under Raymond of Toulouse, and the Italo-Normans under Bohemond.

Guibert de Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos* [The Deeds of God through the Franks] (GN), Latin. Guibert never left France, probably writing his *Gesta* in response to Bohemond's continental tour in search of support for a new Crusade, sometime around 1106-1109. He explicitly references Fulker (*sic*) of Chartres and discussions with eye-witnesses, which he compared to the narrative in the *Gesta Francorum*, his main source. Guibert varies little from the *Gesta Francorum*, generally re-writing it in more elevated language, with a more divine focus, but his distaste for Syrian and Armenian Christians is also notable in contrast to the opinions of Crusade participants.

⁵⁰ Frances Rita Ryan, "Introduction," *Gesta Francorum Jerusalem Expugnantium* [A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem], trans. Frances Rita Ryan, ed. Harold S. Fink (Knoxville, 1969), p. 3.

⁵¹ John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill, "Introduction," *Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem* [History of the Franks Who Captured Jerusalem], ed. and trans John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill, (Philadelphia, 1968). pp. 6-7.

Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi* [The Deeds of Tancred], Latin. During his visit to France, Bohemond also recruited Ralph of Caen to serve as his chaplain, arriving back in Antioch in 1107. Sometime between then and 1111, Ralph moved to Tancred's service; in his *Gesta*, he suggests that the work is based primarily on discussions with Bohemond, Tancred, and their followers. Bachrach and Bachrach argue this is probably a rhetorical strategy for legitimacy; however, Ralph would have had access to the principles involved, writing his *Gesta* as a canon of Jerusalem sometime between Tancred's death in 1112 and his patron Patriarch Arnulf's in 1118.⁵²

Matthew of Edessa, *Patmowt'awn* [Chronicle], Armenian. Dostourian places Matthew's writing at the turn of the twelfth century, and his death sometime soon after 1136, the end of his chronicle.⁵³ Writing near Edessa from various unnamed histories and people directly involved in the events described, Matthew is our only glimpse into the local Armenians' perceptions of the Franks on their entry to the region.

Usāmah ibn Munqidh, *Kitāb al-I'tibār* [The Book of Contemplation], Arabic. Usāmah, born into a ruling family of *amīrs* in Shaizar, northern Syria in 1095, died in 1188 in Damascus, after an adventurous life as a man of both letters and action, moving between various Muslim and Frankish courts. His *Kitāb al-I'tibār* is not an autobiography so much as a collection of memories and impressions, including many of the Franks with whom he dealt as friend, ransom broker, and diplomat. Usāmah's work is thus best used for for gaining a personal sense of

⁵² Bachrach and Bachrach, "Introduction," *Gesta Tancredi* [The Deeds of Tancred], trans. Bernard S. Bachrach and David S. Bachrach as *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen: A History of the Normans on the First Crusade*, Crusade Texts in Translation, V. 12, (Aldershot, England, 2005). pp. 2-4.

⁵³ Ara Edmond Dostourian, "Introduction," *Armenia and the Crusades: Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, trans. Ara Edmond Dostourian, Armenian Heritage Series (Lanham, Maryland, 1993). p. 1-2.

Frankish-Arab interaction on the ground, although it must be considered representative of Usāmah himself, not of all his kindred, as is sometimes seen in modern scholarship.

Benjamin of Tudela, *Masa'ot Binyamin* [The Travels of Benjamin], Hebrew. Benjamin passed through the Levant during his tour of the Mediterranean region from 1165 to 1173; while mainly interested in the conditions of Jews in cities like Tyre, he does give a brief description of the demographics of Jerusalem as well. Although a scanty source, he is worth including for not only a traveler's perspective, but a Jew's specifically.

Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Mudhayyal Ta'rīkh Dimashq* [The Continuation of the Damascus Chronicle], Arabic. Well-educated, ibn al-Qalānisī rose to become first *'amīd Dīwan ar-Rasā'il*, or head of the chancery of Damascus, to its *ra'īs*, translated as "mayor." His position thus gave him access to the written and oral reports used to write his work, which gives a Damascene's impressions of the Second Crusade, as well as a thorough discussion of the careers of Zangī and Nūr al-Dīn through the 1140s.

William of Tyre, *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum* [A History of the Deeds done Beyond the Sea] (WT), Latin. Born around 1130 in the Kingdom, perhaps city, of Jerusalem, William of Tyre served as the Archbishop of Tyre from 1175 to 1184, and Chancellor of Jerusalem until his death. Educated in Europe, he nonetheless acquired an easterner's knowledge of Arabic and Greek; his *Gesta Orientalium Principum* (Deeds of the Oriental Princes) is now lost, but had been commissioned by King Amalric, who also provided Arabic accounts for his research. Amalric also commissioned the *Historia*, for which translator Emily Atwater Babcock argues William used Arabic as well as Latin sources.⁵⁴ He is thus doubly

⁵⁴ Emily Atwater Babcock, "Introduction," *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum*, [A History of the Deeds done Beyond the Sea], trans. Emily Atwater Babcock and A. C. Krey, Vol. I, (New York, 1943), pp. 6-30.

useful as a source: From his return from Europe as an adult in 1163 to his death in 1184, his work gives an insider's knowledge and understanding of the royal court and its doings.

Throughout the work, however, he provides the only surviving prospective of someone born and raised in the Latin East on its history, from before the First Crusade to the political strife which weakened the Kingdom of Jerusalem directly before its fall.

Ibn Jubayr, *Ar-Rihla* [The Travels], Arabic. Like Usāmah, ibn Jubayr's *Ar-Rihla* does not chronicle history, but shows the impressions and reactions of an Andalusī Muslim traveling through the Levant on his way home from Mecca in 1185. As such, he provides both a traveler's attention to details, such as caravan demographics, and a Muslim's interest in his co-religionists under Frankish rule.

Niketas Choniātēs, *Historia* [History], Greek. Born in 1138, Choniātēs chronicles the highlights of the Byzantine empire from 1118-1204, when he fled from the sack of Constantinople. While understandably biased against Latins in general, his work is most helpful in its descriptions of Manuel Comnenus' visit to Antioch, and his relations with the Latins during his reign.

Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi [Itinerary of the Pilgrimage and Deeds of King Richard] (*IP*), Latin. Translator Helen J. Nicholson admits the source's origins to be difficult to pinpoint, but argues it to be a compilation by a crusader, possibly English, probably writing between August 1191 and September 1192, and later edited by Richard de Templo between 1217 and 1222.⁵⁵ As such, the source requires careful handling, mainly as a corroborating document for other Third Crusade narratives.

⁵⁵ Helen J. Nicholson, "Introduction," *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, [Itinerary of the Pilgrimage and Deeds of King Richard] trans. Helen J. Nicholson, Crusade Texts in Translation, V. 3, (Aldershot, England, 1997), pp. 10-11.

Ambroise, *Estoire de la guerre sainte* [History of the Holy War], French. Ambroise' history reads like a vernacular of the *Itinerarium et Peregrinorum*, in some places with nearly exact wording. Despite the similarities between the works, he is not, like Guibert, polishing an original source from the safety of France; Ambroise participated in events described, with the exception of the siege of Acre before Richard's arrival, and he includes some valuable details.

Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī 'l-ta' rīkh* [The Complete History], Arabic. While there is no evidence Mosul-born ibn al-Athīr was employed in the Ayyūbid bureaucracy like his brother, he refers to Imād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī, Saladin's secretary, and ibn-al-Qalānisī in his history. Writing between 1198 and 1231, his work is both helpful as a detailed record of events and as a source for an educated, worldly Muslim's understanding of the Franks from outside.

'Imād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī, *al-Fath al-qussi fī l-fath al-quḍsi* [Ciceronian Eloquence on the Conquest of the Holy City], Arabic. Unfortunately, no complete English translation exists of Saladin's secretary's work; as such, I have been limited to excerpts translated by Francesco Gabrieli. While 'Imād al-Dīn's prose is rather florid, he is a true primary source for Saladin's camp and court during the siege of Jerusalem and Third Crusade era, often sitting in on his employer's meetings, writing and sending his correspondence as well as the terms for the surrender of Jerusalem.

Bahā' ad-Dīn ibn Shaddād, *al-Nawādir al-Sultāniyya wa 'l-Maḥāsin al-Yūsufiyya* [The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin], Arabic. Bahā' ad-Dīn also worked as a secretary for Saladin, joining his entourage in 1188. He provides painstaking details on Saladin's interaction with the Franks, particularly peace talks with Richard and the fiasco of the siege of Acre.

Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Hierosolymitana* [History of Jerusalem], letters, Latin. Bishop of Acre from 1214 to 1225, Jacques participated in the Fifth Crusade, but most of his writing focuses on the Latin East rather than the Egyptian Crusade, and is best used as ethnography rather than history, highlighting the differences between eastern- and western-born Latins.

Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, [The History of St. Louis], French. Joinville's history is a richly detailed account by a chivalric participant close to Louis IX, who paid attention to both intermediaries and the languages used. While his account primarily discusses the king's Egyptian campaigns, it also includes his Levantine progress, as well as anecdotes of participants from the Latin East.

Gregory Abū'l Faraj, *Makhtbhanuth Zabhne* [Chronography], Syriac. Born in Melitene 1225, Gregory (more commonly referred to as Bar Hebraeus) moved with his family to Antioch in 1244, was in Aleppo in 1253 and consecrated as its bishop in the Syrian Church in 1264, after which he spent time both in the city and traveling throughout Cilicia and Iraq on church affairs until his death in 1286. While not a true primary source, I have included him as the only Syriac source available, with a unique perception of the Crusades, even if in hindsight.

Burchard of Mount Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* [Description of the Holy Land], Latin. Burchard's description, written roughly 1280-1290, gives an ethnographic discussion of the Latin East just before the final fall of Acre. He is most interested in the various Eastern Christians, their languages, rituals, and relations with Latins, much like Jacques de Vitry.

Chapter 1: Crusaders to Latin Easterners: From the First Crusade to the Aftermath of the Loss of Jerusalem (1097-1191)

In a little less than a century, eastern Latin culture began with the arrival of Crusaders from Europe, men who initially relied on friendly locals in order to interact with Muslims in the political arena of the Levant, but gradually integrated into the region on their own terms. Some among them married indigenous women and learned local languages, enabling them to act as mediators themselves and developing an identity based on being Latins in the east. During the political height of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, even nobles connected with the royal family learned Arabic and established connections with Muslims. With the loss of Jerusalem and the call for a Third Crusade from the west, however, the Latin identity swung back towards Europe, with relationships with Muslims becoming less accepted.

On entering Byzantine territories, the Frankish host relied on the Empire to provide interpreters, both official and unofficial. As discussed, these could include professional, bureaucratic interpreters, or polyglot mercenaries or former captives, such as Marianus, the Duke of the Fleet's son, noted for speaking to the Provençals "in their language." After the Crusades, "the Neapolitan Marianus," known to have experience of Latin ways, was also sent as an embassy to Bohemond along with Adralestus, again specifically noted as speaking the Frankish language.⁵⁶

Inside the Imperial circle itself, multiple Latin-Greek interpreters appear to have been available, as Anna mentions her father asking "one of the interpreters of the Latin tongue" to translate a specific Frank's comments during a large meeting.⁵⁷ From entering Byzantine

⁵⁶ Anna Comena, *Alexiad*, X.V, p. 250; X.VIII, p. 255; XIII.IX, p. 343

⁵⁷ Anna Comnena, X.X, p. 264.

territory in the Balkans to crossing the Bosphorus into Anatolia itself, the Crusaders thus would have been able to rely on the Empire's Latin-Greek interpreters and polyglots to facilitate relations with Alexius.

Polyglots accompanied the army that marched with the Crusade host into enemy territory as well; Taticius, sent by Alexius to lead the Byzantine troops and protect his interests on the March, was himself the son of a Turk captured by Alexius' father.⁵⁸ After the siege of Nicaea, officers Monastras, a Turkish speaking "semi-Barbarian" and Rhodomerus, "who had once been captured by the Turks and dwelt some time among them," were placed in charge of directing Turkish soldiers surrendering to the imperial forces.⁵⁹ Anna does not mention either of these officers again; they have no particular importance in and of themselves, but the Byzantine military made use of their language skills when necessary.

However, the Crusaders marched with their own interpreters as well. The *Historia Peregrinorum Euntium Jerusolomam*, written by an anonymous monk in Monte Cassino soon after 1130 and cited by Yewdale as well-informed on the doings of the Italo-Norman host, mentions Bohemond's cousins Tancred and Richard of the Principate as Arabic speakers, as I shall discuss in more detail.⁶⁰ Yewdale suggests others in their entourage would have spoken Arabic and Greek as well, and Attiya refers to interpreters who may have been Normans from Sicily, where Arab-Greek multilingualism had been par for the course for several centuries.⁶¹ Beginning with the Norman arrival, local Muslims had fought with the conquerers, and many

⁵⁸ Peter Frankopan, *The First Crusade*, p. 46, referencing the *Alexiad*; Anthony Kaldellis, personal communication.

⁵⁹ Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, XI.II, p. 274.

⁶⁰ Anonymous, *Historia Peregrinorum Euntium Jerusolomam Ad Liberandum Sanctum Sepulchrum de Potestate Ethnicorum* [History of the Pilgrims Who Went to Jerusalem to Liberate the Holy Sepulchre from the Power of the Heathen], in *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux*, V.III, (Paris, 1866), LXVII, p. 198.

⁶¹ Ralph Bailey Yewdale, *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch*, (Princeton, New Jersey, 1917), p. 38.

were in Roger I's army and government at the time of the First Crusade, providing a potential pool of polyglots for the Normans.⁶²

Nicaea's surrender was handled primarily by Butumites, another of Alexius' generals; true interaction between Levantines and Franks did not occur until the siege of Antioch, beginning in late 1097.⁶³ Here the Sicilian Normans took command, with Bohemond establishing a relationship with one of the city's tower commanders, who "discreetly made a plot with our men by which they should obtain the city," "persuaded" by Bohemond.⁶⁴ Ibn al-Qalānisī refers to him as an Armenian armourer named Nairūz; Ralph of Caen does not mention his name but also calls him Armenian; the author of the *Gesta Francorum* names him Firuz, but makes him a Turk, as do Fulcher and Bohemond himself.⁶⁵ None of the accounts entirely explain how Bohemond and Firuz established contact; the *Gesta*, whose author was probably in the Norman contingent and is thus the most reliable as well as detailed source, only writes of a "certain amir of Turkish race called Firuz, who had struck up a great friendship with Bohemond," continued by Bohemond's messengers during the siege.⁶⁶ The language of exchange between them was most likely Greek, suggested by Firuz's use of Greek to express concern for the small number of Franks who first climbed into his tower, and demand to know

⁶² Hussein M. Attiya, "Knowledge of Arabic in the Crusader States in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," p. 206; Hiroshi Takayama, *The Administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily*, p. 37; Alex Metcalfe, *The Muslims of Medieval Sicily*, p. 60.

⁶³ Runciman, 1, p. 180.

⁶⁴ FC, I.XVII.4-5, pp. 98-99; Bohemond, Bohemond, Count of St Gilles, Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine, Robert, Duke of Normandy, Robert, Count of Flanders, Eustace, Count of Boulogne, Letter to Pope Urban II in *Letters from the East: Crusaders, Pilgrims and Settlers in the 12th-13th Centuries*, trans. Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate, Crusade Texts in Translation, V. 18, (Aldershot, England, 2010), p. 31

⁶⁵ Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Mudhaysal Ta'rīkh Dimashq*, p.45; FC, I.XVII.4-5, pp. 98-99; Ralph of Caen, Ch. 63, p. 88; *GF*, VIII.xx, p. 44; Bohemond, Letter to Pope Urban, p. 31.

⁶⁶ *GF*, VIII.xx, p. 44.

Bohemond's whereabouts. Kaldellis suggests Bohemond may have spoken the language, still used commonly throughout the Mediterranean region as a *lingua franca*, as well as surviving in his home lands of Sicily and Apulia.⁶⁷

While Bohemond may have been able to negotiate Firuz's betrayal himself, he "sent an interpreter to the Saracen leaders to tell them that if they, with their wives and children and goods, would take refuge in a palace which lies above the gate he would save them from death."⁶⁸ This is the first recorded instance in which the Latins used an interpreter as messenger, apparently dispatching him to carry out his mission under his own direction, rather than sending an envoy accompanied by an interpreter.

One of the interpreters available in the hosts at the time was Herluin, sent with Peter the Hermit to negotiate with Kerbogha when the Turkish army laid siege to Antioch after its fall to the Franks. All three writers present during the First Crusade commented on the episode, but their individual interests are handled differently, and these differences deserve attention. While the *Gesta* author wrote only "it is reported that Herluin knew both languages, and that he acted as interpreter for Peter the Hermit," the name Herluin is found in records of the Norman nobility of the eleventh century, pointing to Duke Robert's or Bohemond's contingent.⁶⁹ The *Gesta* author is the only writer present on the Crusade to mention him; Fulcher of Chartres and Raymond d'Aguilers only discussed Peter the Hermit--interpreters were not sufficiently relevant to them to be worth mentioning. Later historians, William of Tyre, Robert the Monk and Guibert de Nogent

⁶⁷ *GF*, VIII.xx, p. 47; Kaldellis, personal communication; Takayama, *The Administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily*, p. 37.

⁶⁸ *GF*, X.xxxii, p. 79.

⁶⁹ Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimatatorum* [The Deeds of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem], trans. Rosalind Hill, (London, 1962) (*GF*), IX,xxviii, p. 67; Foundation for Medieval Genealogy, "Normandy, Nobility," Medieval Lands, <http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/index.htm>

also refer to Herluin by name, all of them using the *Gesta* as a source.⁷⁰ This further suggests Herluin may have been in Bohemond's train along with the *Gesta* author, and the fact that he is named, rather than simply referred to as an interpreter, also suggests noble rank or some other kind of importance.

Elaborating on the *Gesta*, Robert the Monk added an interesting addition to his version: Herluin accompanied Peter but is not the interpreter, who delivered Peter's first speech offering Kerbogha and his army peace in exchange for surrender and conversion. When Kerbogha responded by offering to give lands freely if the Franks would convert, making them all his mounted soldiers, however, then it was Herluin who righteously rejected the offer, enraging Kerbogha. While the incident is a dramatic tailoring of the *Gesta*, Robert's probable source, it is notable that Herluin, not the nameless interpreter, who made the important rejection, and while the text gives a clear impression that he had sufficient Turkish or Arabic for communication with Kerbogha directly, he did not act as the interpreter, who was given only the less important speeches.⁷¹

Why this contrast between the accounts? Robert the Monk wrote his *Historia* in a French abbey, sometime around 1106-07, soon after the flurry of interest in the East raised by Bohemond's visit to Europe, using the *Gesta*, written by a first-hand participant.⁷² I argue it to be a matter of pragmatism--interpreters were rarely named in the sources, if mentioned at all, and

⁷⁰ FC, I.XXI.1, p. 103; Raymond D'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem* [History of the Franks Who Captured Jerusalem], ed. and trans John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill, (Philadelphia, 1968), Ch. V, p. 46; WT, 6.15, 1, p. 282; Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana* [History of Jerusalem], in *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade*, ed. and trans. Carol Sweetenham, Crusade Texts in Translation, V.11, (Aldershot, England, 2006), VI.VII, p. 166; Guibert de Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos* [The Deeds of God through the Franks], trans. Robert Levine, (Woodbridge, England, 1997), Book 6, p. 107.

⁷¹ Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 166.

⁷² Sweetenham, "Introduction," *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade*, ed. and trans. Carol Sweetenham, Crusade Texts in Translation, V.11, (Aldershot, England, 2006), pp. 6, 17.

were handled much in the way of invisible servants: necessary, but uninteresting. Bilingual Herluin may be, but if he was named, he must not have belonged in this class of necessities, so Robert added an official interpreter to perform the tedious task for him. The *Gesta* author, however, was willing to have a man important enough to name act as a lowly interpreter, suggesting that the survivor of the multilingual Eastern campaign saw interpreters in more positive light, perhaps out of necessity.

Even in the *Gesta*, Herluin was a shadowy figure, only distinguished by his language skills, used exclusively for interpreting Peter's negotiations. In contrast, Tancred and Richard of the Principate, Bohemond's cousins and lieutenants, negotiated with Kerbogha themselves: "However Richard and Tancred, who both knew the Syrian language, consulted daily with the emir to get lord Bohemund to return the castle, and he [paid] him the greatest honor of gifts."⁷³ The differences in the sources' discussion of the three intermediaries are striking: Herluin, who had no major role in the military-political theatre of the Crusade or the later settlements, was mentioned only as an interpreter for Peter, then he disappeared once more into the background. Richard and Tancred, however, had more than simple Arabic skills. High-ranking and influential throughout the campaign and in the establishment of the Latin East, they used their language skills as negotiators directly from Bohemond to Kerbogha. Rather than interpreters for powerful

⁷³ Anonymous, *Historia Peregrinorum Euntium Jerusolmam Ad Liberandum Sanctum Sepulcrum de Potestate Ethnicorum*, LXVII, p. 198. Translation courtesy of Prof. Sarah-Grace Heller. The Latin here reads "*syriacum linguam*," but there is no reason to think it refers to Syriac. Tancred and Richard could have acquired Arabic in Sicily; Kerbogha would have been using it to negotiate with Arabs in the Levant for some time, but none of them had any reason to acquire Syriac, at this time used almost exclusively as a liturgical language for Syrian Christians. Latin writers frequently confused foreign ethnic terms; William of Tyre refers to Herluin's knowledge of "of the Persian idiom and was also skilled in the tongue of the Parthians;" other writers use "*sarrisonois*" or "the Saracen tongue" indiscriminately. I thus interpret the passage to mean Tancred and Richard to speak Arabic, the most logical language.

figures, they themselves were in a position of power and recognition. Because of this, they stand out among the early interpreters, a point to which I shall return.

After defeating Kerbogha's besieging army, the majority of the Franks continued the march to Jerusalem, with Bohemond remaining in Antioch. En route, the commanders began making their first peace agreements with local Muslim potentates, as well as establishing relationships with Oriental Christians: When the king of Shaizar, a strong local power in northern Syria who would develop a close relationship with the Latins lasting several generations, wanted to avoid being attacked by the host, he sent two messengers to help the Franks ford one of his rivers, and "lead them where they could find booty," coming out himself to form an agreement with Raymond of Toulouse.⁷⁴ The Muslims here made the first step of approaching the Crusaders, but even on their way to conquer Jerusalem, the Crusade leaders apparently had no qualms about beginning relationships.

William of Tyre, writing primarily during the 1140s-1180s, an era where cooperation with certain Muslim *amīrs* had become standard practice, includes more such incidents: The governor of Tripoli offered money, valuables and the return of captives should his provinces be spared, and sent provisions to prevent scavenging.⁷⁵ The governor of Acre also presented gifts, and "entered into an agreement" with the leaders of the Crusade to surrender the city of Ascalon peacefully if they could hold Jerusalem for twenty days or defeat the Egyptians.⁷⁶ Presented with a large force that had already managed several conquests, these governors ensured their cities' survival without making lasting promises to the Franks. For their own part, the Franks kept the local

⁷⁴ *GF*, X.xxxiii, pp. 81-82.

⁷⁵ *WT*, VII.21, 1, pp. 329-330.

⁷⁶ *WT*, VII.22, 1, p. 332.

leaders from interfering in their final goal of Jerusalem; making agreements with individual polities also prevented any united Muslim force from descending on the outnumbered Crusaders. The relationships were intended to be temporary, but were revised with the Franks' role in the local power dynamic became clear, and they became more comfortable establishing long-term alliances with Muslims, rather than short-term armistices. Intermediaries, probably interpreters, would have been necessary for these agreements, but were not mentioned by any of the sources; relationships with Muslims were memorable, but the individuals who mediated them were not yet important enough to be so as well..

The lord of the castle of Ezaz, or Azaz (Hasarth in William of Tyre), a small local fortress controlled by Aleppo, however, acted as if he expected the Crusaders to become long-term players in the Levantine arena even before the conquest of Jerusalem: In need of support against Riḍwān of Aleppo, he made overtures to Godfrey of Boulogne to “request an alliance of friendship,” offering gifts, his son as hostage, and his own devoted service.⁷⁷

Significantly, in his attempt to form a lasting relationship with the Franks, Azaz's ruler sent “one of his own people, a loyal Christian” to act as an intermediary.⁷⁸ The governor of Tripoli sent a delegation; the king of Shaizar, from a prominent Arab dynasty, sent two Turks; both of them simply wanted the Franks to pass their lands without ravaging them. The Lord of Azaz preferred to send a co-religionist to more actively mediate between himself and the invading Christians, relying on their common faith to encourage a relationship. Direct Muslim-Latin relations at this juncture were not strong enough to foster a true political alliance; such a bond required a Christian intermediary.

⁷⁷ WT, VII.3, 1, p. 301.

⁷⁸ WT, VII.3, 1, p. 301.

The Franks themselves began by using local Christians as well; Raymond d'Aguilers mentions questioning Syrians about the best route to Jerusalem.⁷⁹ On their first foray into territory dominated by a foreign religion, they felt most comfortable relying on other Christians, even those with different rites.

Despite this early reliance, after taking Jerusalem the Franks began to establish themselves as permanent residents with intermediaries retained in their own entourages. Soon after the fall of the city, on an expedition near Ascalon, Raymond of Toulouse elected to send a converted Turk named Bohemond to the *amīr* in command to make peace, and at the same time gauge his willingness to fight or flee. Whatever his origins, Raymond d'Aguilers describes Bohemond as “multilingual, clever and shrewd as well as loyal to us.” Since his namesake was present at his baptism, as Raymond wrote, this Bohemond probably joined the Crusade sometime before it left Antioch in the summer of 1098, time enough to have established his loyalty and polished, if not entirely acquired, his knowledge of western languages.⁸⁰

Bohemond the Turk introduces two of the subsidiary roles of the interpreter: envoy and spy. To be sent to carry out all these roles, rather than simply interpreting for someone else, Bohemond would have been deeply trusted by Raymond of Toulouse, both for direct loyalty to his cause and for his ability to carry out high-profile mission, and would have proven himself on previous occasions not discussed in the *Historia*. Thus, the early years of the Latin East find the Franks beginning to gather competent, loyal interpreters to their own service, rather than relying on the more independent Byzantines or Syrian Christians, establishing a long-term, Latin-controlled support base.

⁷⁹ Raymond d'Aguilers, Ch. XIII, p. 108.

⁸⁰ Raymond d'Aguilers, Ch. XV, p. 135.

Twenty years later, on Baldwin II's expedition against Anar, governor of Damascus, the Latins lacked an intermediary as trustworthy as Bohemond the Turk. Broken by thirst and badly outnumbered, they again sent an envoy for peace, but had only "a man of rather doubtful repute," who on a similar task previously, "had acted disloyally" to the Christians. Only his "familiarity with the language of the Turks" made him eligible to act as an envoy.⁸¹

William of Tyre writes nothing about the envoy's origins, or how he became acquainted with multiple languages, but his description of the episode provides important information about intermediaries. While William only mentions his earlier mission to disparage him, his repeated choice as envoy demonstrates that polyglots were at least becoming, if not become, an accepted class of intermediaries necessary to local politics, though not a large one, or another could have been chosen. Like Bohemond the Turk, he was sent because of his language skills, but as the sole envoy, not merely as an interpreter accompanying one. The role of interpreter thus began to blend into envoy, without taking on the power or autonomy of a negotiator or ambassador. With this increased role, the interpreter-envoy gained more prestige, meriting further discussion in the sources, although it must be noted that both men discussed are extraordinary: Bohemond a converted Turk, is worth mentioning because of the level of trust placed in a convert, and the envoy who is not entirely trusted. Latin leaders in the first years of the new kingdoms recognized the long-term need for interpreters in their own service, men who could travel with them and would remain loyal, but were still only able to recruit them from a small pool of polyglots.

⁸¹ WT, XVI.12. While William here uses "Christians," it does not imply that the man was not Christian himself; he frequently refers to the Latins this way.

As the Franks settled into the Levant in the first decades of the twelfth century, some began learning local languages as well. The disgraced envoy may have been one of these. In 1119, Baldwin II supported the Antiochenes against Il-ghazi near Sardanium (*Zardanā*), where a Turk noticed a knight's knowledge of "the Persian language," and harangued him in it.⁸² In this episode two details stand out: The polyglot here would have been using the "Persian" language somewhere within hearing of Il-ghazi's lines, probably in a casual context since the Turk felt free to harangue him. More importantly, he was of the chivalric class. Multilingualism had begun working up the Frankish hierarchy, but was still uncommon enough Fulcher of Chartres found it worth mentioning.

By the second half of the twelfth century, it had reached the nobility, who stepped into the role of envoy-interpreter and expanded it to representative-ambassador. The pattern set by Richard of the Principate and Tancred during the First Crusade was thus repeated--the two cousins, the second generation of noble-born Norman Sicilians, acquired Arabic as a matter of course, growing up in a multilingual milieu. Similarly, the generations born in the Latin East began acquiring Arabic, perhaps during their childhoods, and the noble-born of these put their language skills to use in the military-political arena. The second generation of Latins knew no way of life other than integration into the multi-cultural reality of the Levant.

In 1166, the Egyptian vizier Shawar and his Fāṭimid caliph rebelled against Nūr ad-Dīn; seeking to retake control of Egypt, they sent envoys to contract an agreement with King Amalric I in Jerusalem. Sometime in 1167, the Egyptians decided to "renew the old agreements and to establish a treaty of perpetual peace," but Amalric decided he needed the Caliph's "guarantee."

⁸² FC, III.IV.4, p. 229.

Thus he sent Hugh of Caesarea, “a young man of admirable wisdom and discretion far beyond his years,” along with a small entourage to Cairo to meet with the Caliph directly, where he insisted the young Muslim leader extend his bare hand to confirm the agreement according to Latin custom, despite the Egyptians’ horror at the thought.⁸³

Hugh’s diplomatic career was not over; along with Arnulf of Turbessel he was captured in battle by Shirkuh, sent by Nūr ad-Dīn to regain Egypt. When Shirkuh realized his situation in northern Egypt was becoming precarious after losing Alexandria in 1167, he summoned Hugh and asked him to act as an intermediary, both because of his high rank and influence among the Franks, and Shirkuh’s personal trust in him. ““Be the mediator of peace between us,”” Shirkuh requested, listing the terms he could offer Amalric. While Hugh believed the terms would be accepted, he refused the mission, “lest it might seem that he was more interested in obtaining his own liberty than concerned for the public welfare. He felt, therefore, that the first steps might be more honorably taken by someone else;” accordingly, Arnulf went to Amalric in his place. Once the basic points of the treaty had been decided by Arnulf, Hugh joined the discussion to “put the final touches to it and brought the matter to a satisfactory conclusion.” Just as specific polyglot envoys had become known for their abilities and repeated their roles as intermediaries earlier in the century, Hugh developed a reputation as a reliable negotiator between Latins and Muslims, largely because of his rank and trustworthiness. The combination of noble birth and ease moving between Latin and Muslim cultures was now a desired one in negotiators, a trait that had only become available since the second generation of Latins had come to maturity in the East.

⁸³ WT, XIX.18, V.2, 319-321.

In less than seventy-five years, the Franks settled into the Levantine political sphere, as we can see by their mediators: Allying with one Muslim power against another, in this instance they began to accept the Arab-Muslim mode of mediation, which selected people connected to figures of power to act as emissaries, rather than enforcing the traditional European method of making peace agreements between the highest ranking leaders. Yvonne Friedman argues the cultural gap between Latins and Muslims necessitated “the emergence of a class of diplomats,” including survivors of captivity such as Hugh and Arnulf, who developed a familiarity with enemy customs, as well as relationships with individuals, as Hugh and Shirkuh did.⁸⁴ This class could only evolve in a milieu which allowed high-ranking Latins to use their language and cultural skills, rather than relying on liminal figures like converts and Syrians, or even lower-ranking Franks. Such a milieu itself required confidence in the Levantine Latin identity, confidence that “easternizing”--mixing with Muslims, developing personal as well as political relationships and acquiring their languages--would not corrupt the Latin Christian identity.

During the last half of the twelfth century, tensions rose between the Kingdom of Jerusalem and Saladin, and with the rise in incidents between the two powers came more discussion of intermediaries in the sources. During the time leading up to the Ayyūbid capture of Jerusalem, several high-ranking men emerge in Friedman’s class of diplomats: Humphrey of Toron II, constable to Baldwin III sometime after 1151 or 1152 and Count Raymond III of Tripoli; Reynald de Sidon is not mentioned until after the city’s fall, but began his Arabic education beforehand, as did Humphrey II’s grandson, Humphrey IV. However, as Nūr ad-

⁸⁴ Yvonne Friedman, "Peacemaking: Perceptions and Practices in the Medieval Latin East," in *The Crusades and the Near East*, Conor Kostick, Abingdon, United Kingdom: Routledge, 2011, p. 239.

Dīn's, then Saladin's, power grew in the region, Latin Eastern society came to perceive of Latins involved in relationships with Muslims with more distrust.

Humphrey II of Toron accompanied Baldwin III to Edessa in 1150, when the Latins despaired of holding the citadel against the Turks and surrendered it to Byzantine protection. On the return journey Nūr ad-Dīn attacked; when Humphrey pursued the retreating Muslims on his own, he was approached by an enemy soldier, who "clasped his hands, first on one side, then on the other, in sign of reverence," demonstrating his peaceful intentions. His Turkish leader "was bound to the constable in a fraternal alliance and that very closely," who sent the man to inform Humphrey of conditions in his army.⁸⁵

Humphrey's relationship with a Turk may have been accepted and even advantageous in 1150, but the growing threat Nūr ad-Dīn, then Saladin, put pressure on the Latin identity. In 1175 Saladin took Homs, offering the free return of hostages in exchange for safe passage across Raymond III of Tripoli's lands. Humphrey mediated the negotiations, earning him the accusation of being "too closely associated in the bonds of friendship with Saladin. His action was decidedly detrimental to our interests, for thus this prince [...] won our good will, and he whose ever-increasing strength was to the disadvantage of the Christians dared to count upon us."⁸⁶ William of Tyre argued Saladin should have been resisted rather than permitted through the County of Tripoli, but Raymond was not blamed for making the agreement; it was on Humphrey, the intermediary with a history of developing relationships with Muslims, that the censure falls.

⁸⁵ WT, XVII.17, 2, 211-212. The date may be earlier, since Edessa fell to Turkish control in 1144; William of Tyre is sometimes unreliable for precise dating.

⁸⁶ WT, XXI.9, 2, p. 410.

As his relationship with King Guy and Queen Sibylla of Jerusalem worsened, Raymond III of Tripoli's with Saladin became closer, with Raymond personally discussing terms with the Sultan. Dajani-Shakeel, an Islamic Crusades scholar, believes Raymond to have been fluent in Arabic, and Friedman, interested in captivity and communication in the Latin East, argues he learned in captivity; perhaps his relationship with Saladin began during his 1166-1172 experience in Muslim hands.⁸⁷ Ibn al-Athīr and 'Imād ad-Dīn, Saladin's secretary at the time, wrote that sometime in 1186-1187 he "made contact with Saladin, allied himself to him for his support and asked him for help in attaining" kingship, which Saladin promised, releasing several of Raymond's knights from captivity as a gesture of good faith. In return, Raymond "gave open allegiance to Saladin," followed by several unnamed Franks.⁸⁸

Despite this beginning, Raymond did not provide the support promised in letters written to Saladin, and was soon pressured back into the Latin fold. Both religious and military figures "censured him for his alliance with Saladin, saying, 'There is no doubt that you have become a Muslim, otherwise you could not have endured what the Muslims did to the Franks recently,'" threatening to excommunicate him and declare his marriage invalid. At these threats, Raymond repented and rejoined the Latin force, but his loyalty remained suspect.⁸⁹ It is worth noting that it was Raymond's Latin Christian faith that was first questioned, when he was accused of converting to Islam, then threatened with excommunication. The other Latins' concern was the

⁸⁷ Yvonne Friedman, *Encounter Between Enemies: Captivity and Ransom in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Leiden, the Netherlands, 2002), p. 119; WT, XX.28, 1, p. 390; Dajani-Shakeel, "Diplomatic Relations," p. 211. Raymond was captured in battle against Nūr ad-Dīn, and imprisoned in Aleppo.

⁸⁸ Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rīkh*, 2, p. 316; D. S. Richards, trans. note *ibid.* 11, p. 316.

⁸⁹ Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rīkh*, 2, p. 320.

prominence of his eastern regional identity over his Latin religious identity, and how it would compromise his political loyalties.

In 1187, Saladin took Raymond's town of Tiberias; since his wife Eschiva still held the citadel, Reynald de Châtillon and his supporters demanded an immediate attack. Raymond argued that Saladin's army was too strong, but would not be able to remain in the city for long, making it safer to retake it later. Reynald responded with an accusation, "That is enough making us frightened of the Muslims! There is no doubt that you are on their side and favour them, otherwise you would not have spoken so." Raymond's resistance broke under this repeated onslaught of his religious identity; the Latins advanced, and their force was destroyed between the Horns of Hattin on the way to Tiberias.⁹⁰ His name would remain smirched into the years of the Third Crusade: Ambroise's vernacular *Estoire de la guerre sainte* blames "Count Raymond, false and fell" for the loss of Jerusalem since he coveted the kingdom and made an alliance with Saladin.⁹¹ In the fragile days of 1187, contact with Muslims was interpreted as entirely negative; the Kingdom of Jerusalem's Latin identity was no longer confident enough to tolerate such a threat.

Like Raymond, Reynald de Sidon began in a close relationship with Saladin, but distanced himself during the Third Crusade, pressured by censure by his coreligionists and their Latin identity, rapidly centering on the polarization between Christian and Muslim. Bahā' ad-Dīn, accompanying Saladin as his secretary at the time, describes Reynald as not only speaking Arabic, but also with some knowledge of Muslim history and religious works; "I heard that he

⁹⁰ Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rīkh*, 2, p. 321.

⁹¹ Ambroise, *Estoire de la guerre sainte* [History of the Holy War], trans. Merton Jerome Hubert and John L. La Monte, in *The Crusade of Richard Lion-Heart*, XXXIV Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies, (New York, 1941), lines 2,447-2,450.

kept a Muslim who read to him and explained things,” the secretary adds.⁹² His Arabic in particular was impressive, Bahā’ ad-Dīn found him “an excellent conversationalist and cultured in his talk” able to argue “with us about his religion while we argued for its falsity.” He appears to have had some kind of relationship with Saladin before May of 1189, when his castle of Shaqīf Arnūn, or Beaufort, was besieged and he realized “improving his relationship with the sultan” offered his best chance at survival. To this end he “came down in person” and ate with Saladin; privately, he offered his allegiance: “He would surrender the place to him without trouble, stipulating that he be given a place to live in Damascus, for he could not subsequently live among the Franks,” a fief to support him, and three months to gather his family and retainers from Tyre.⁹³ It was during this period Reynald demonstrated his proficiency as a conversationalist, but also raised Saladin’s suspicions by strengthening the castle’s defenses and stocking provisions. At the end of the three months he continued to hedge, inventing excuses not to surrender, until Saladin’s patience wore thin; finally on August 13th he went with the Sultan and a large train of emirs and troops to hand over the castle, a scene Bahā’ ad-Dīn describes in detail.

They came to ash-Shaqīf and he ordered his men to give up but they refused. He asked for a priest with whom, when he appeared, he conversed in his language. The priest went back in and after his return their resistance grew stronger. It was thought that he had strongly urged the priest to hold out.

Reynald’s double-dealing here takes on a unique linguistic turn: In Arabic, he orders the garrison’s surrender; in French, he appears to encourage its resistance. Saladin’s patience snapped at the garrison’s resistance; Reynald was sent to Banyās, where he was tortured, and not

⁹² Bahā’ ad-Dīn, pp. 90-91.

⁹³ Bahā’ ad-Dīn, pp. 90-91; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī l-ta’rīkh*, 2, p. 361.

released until April of 1190 when the garrison demanded his release in the terms of their surrender.⁹⁴ Such a political-linguistic incident had only become possible since knowledge of Arabic reached the major political leaders of the Latin East.

Reynald and Raymond represent the culmination of the eastern-born Latin--conversant in Arabic culture as well as language, these high-powered nobles conducted negotiations with Saladin directly on their own behalves, acting as Eastern princes themselves. But the common Latin Eastern identity, under the pressure of Saladin's conquests, could not support so much easternization; no shared cultural connection with Saladin was tolerable, and the Latin Christian faith was emphasized as the heart of their identity, rather than their eastern homeland.

The Franks entered the Levant relying primarily on outsiders to act as intermediaries between the Crusader hosts and the Muslim enemy: Byzantines and Syrians appear to have been the most common interpreters, mediators, and guides, although Bohemond's contingent brought their own Arabic and Greek speakers, most notably Richard of the Principate and Tancred, influential enough to act as negotiators as well. In the early years of the Latin Kingdom, leaders retained their own interpreters, some of them converts, who became known as translators and envoys, though still playing a restricted role. During the Kingdom's height, second-generation Eastern-born nobles such as Humphrey II, Raymond III and Reynald de Sidon themselves spoke Arabic, and polyglots shifted from carrying messages to handling negotiations, following the example of Sicilian-born Richard of the Principate and Tancred. All of these men were strongly connected to the royal court and family: Humphrey II of Toron was constable of Jerusalem and his grandson, an Arabic speaker who came to prominence during the Third Crusade, married

⁹⁴ Bahā' ad-Dīn, pp. 90-91, 108.

Princess Isabella; Raymond III served as regent for his second cousin Baldwin IV and retained enough power to be considered a threat to throne even after his regency ended; Reynald de Sidon married Agnes de Courtenay, Baldwin IV's mother. Knowledge of the Arabic language, and with it relationships with Muslims and a strong eastern identity, reached the highest echelons of Latin society by the last quarter of the twelfth century. The royal connections seen here also imply that more Latin barons could also have acquired such language skills--the Humphreys, Raymond, and Reynald were not notable for their Arabic knowledge, but for their rank; their contacts with Muslims were dangerous because of their political prominence and strategic lands. Other, less influential figures may well have had similar knowledge and experiences, without being considered important enough to mention by name; indeed Bahā' ad-Dīn refers to Reynald as only "one of the Frankish nobles and one of their wise heads who knew Arabic and had some familiarity with histories and *ḥadīth* collections."⁹⁵ In less than a century, the heirs of the Crusaders were able to become fully integrated players in the multilingual milieu of the Levant, acting on an identity based on being of the East. But with their survival threatened by Muslim reconquest, the Latin community responded by shifting away from their eastern self-perception towards their Latin Christian one, relying on their faith to define their identity more strongly than ever before, and treating intermediaries and relations with Muslims accordingly.

⁹⁵ Bahā' al-Dīn ibn Shaddād, *al-Nawādir al-Sultāniyya wa'l-Maḥāsin al-Yūsufiyya* [The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin], trans. D. S. Richards, Crusade Texts in Translation, V. 7, (Aldershot, England, 2001), pp. 90-91.

Chapter 2: Franks of the East and West: The Third Crusade (1191-1192)

The Latin East had been confident under Baldwin III (1130-1163), going so far as to send expeditions into Egypt during Amalric I's reign (1163-1174) and became nervous under his leprous son Baldwin IV (1174-1185), but after the the crippling defeat at Hattin and the devastating loss of Jerusalem under Sibylla and Guy de Lusignan in 1187, the remaining Latin polities were panicked. They had always turned to Europeans for marriage alliances and military recruits; now they depended on the west for their survival. With this shift in reliance came a responding shift in the perspective towards intermediaries with Muslims: During its ascendancy, the Kingdom of Jerusalem had become increasingly integrated into the Levantine arena with alliances among the surrounding Muslim polities, and the role of interpreter had expanded into that of ambassador or negotiator as multilingualism became tolerated in the reigning nobility. Under the looming threat of the Ayyūbid alliance under Saladin, association with the Muslim enemy become more suspect, and after the fall of Jerusalem, unaccepted. Polyglots like Raymond III's, Reynald de Sidon's and Humphrey IV of Toron's language skills were derided by their coreligionists unless turned against Saladin; during the Third Crusade (1191-1192), the only references to their language skills is in the service of western-born leaders who took over the defense of the Latin East. The presence of these western Franks, however, would highlight the differences between them and their cousins born in the east.

The sources for 1187-1192 are strongly polarized by camp. Ibn al-Athīr discussed Frankish-Ayyūbid relations from a distance, but Bahā' ad-Dīn ibn Shaddad and 'Imād ad-Dīn al-Isfāhanī wrote directly from Saladin's tent, working as his secretaries. The Latins are represented only by western writers: an anonymous crusader in Richard I of England's host

wrote the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardum* [The Itinerary of the Pilgrims and Deeds of King Richard], which was reworked by Ambroise, also a Crusader following Richard, as *Estoire de la guerre sainte* [History of the Holy War], a rhymed poem. The narratives of the Third Crusade are thus split between adherents of Saladin and Richard, two groups who both came into the Holy Land explicitly to reconquer it; no source represents the native-born Latins, struggling to keep their homes, relying on their western cousins for survival. The agendas of these writers, glorifying their leaders, must be kept in mind when reading them as historical sources.

Summer 1191 found the Latins laying siege to Acre, where relief finally reached them with the armies of Richard I of England and Philip II of France, who immediately joined in the siege. With the arrival of support from across the sea, a dichotomy also became evident between western- and eastern-born Latins, with the latter using their language skills under the leadership of the former.

The siege was long and miserable for both sides. Before the city capitulated out of starvation, Saladin managed to slip supplies into the city by equipping several ships with “Christian symbols” and sailors “imitating the Christians’ speech,” enabling them to blend in with the besiegers’ navy until they darted into the city, boosting the defenders’ resistance.⁹⁶

Frustrated, Richard sent an envoy to make terms, with the resulting interaction setting the pattern for the next two years: The envoy approached al’ Ādil (also called Saif ad-Dīn, transliterated into Latin as Saphadin), who saw him to his brother Saladin, to whom “the envoy

⁹⁶ IP 1.43, p. 97; see also Bahā’ ad-Dīn and Ibn al-Athīr

delivered his message, the gist of which was that the king of England sought a meeting with the Sultan.” Saladin, however, did not care for the suggestion, responding,

Kings do not meet unless an agreement has been reached. It is not good for them to fight after meeting and eating together. If he wants this, an agreement must be settled before it can happen. We must have an interpreter we can trust to act between us, who can make each of us understand what the other says. Let the envoy be our mutual interpreter. If we come to an agreement, the meeting can happen later, God willing.⁹⁷

Richard here tried to follow the standard Western model of peace-making between the leaders concerned, only to be met by Saladin’s polite insistence on the Eastern method of intermediaries. This particular instance, however, is representative of the Latin East itself in that the intermediary chosen was not the high-ranking quasi-hostage discussed by Friedman, but a polyglot interpreter who could move not only between camps but also between cultures. Richard began by trying to impose their traditional methods of peace and war as other Franks fresh to the Levant had earlier; Saladin, a major player in the Levant for decades, responded with the model familiar to the Latin East.

The Sultan himself was not present for city’s surrender in July, although he gave his permission for it; Acre’s leaders, Mestoc [Saif al-Dīn ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Mashtūb] and Caracois [Bahā’ ad-Dīn al-Asadī Qara-Qūsh], had approached the kings asking for safe passage for a messenger to get this permission, and were probably the “leaders” who “went out to our kings and offered through an interpreter to surrender Acre unconditionally,” along with the Holy Cross, captives, and a large sum of money.⁹⁸ Neither the author of the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* nor Ambroise, both westerners, show any interest in these interpreters; as in the early years of the First Crusade, they saw polyglots as necessary, but not in themselves important.

⁹⁷ Bahā’ ad-Dīn, p. 153.

⁹⁸ IP 3.15, p. 216-217, 3:17, p. 219; Ambroise, lines 5,195-5,220.

By November of 1191, Richard had adapted to Levantine diplomatic methods and sent “conscientious noblemen” as “messengers charged with ambassadorial duties” to negotiate with Saladin and al-‘Ādil. Saladin rejected their initial demands, but sent al-‘Ādil to discuss the matter with Richard directly and spin out the negotiations for as long as possible. “Saphadin [al-‘Ādil] entrapped the overly credulous king with his shrewdness [...] so that at last they seemed to develop a sort of mutual friendship,” cemented by gifts: “messengers kept running back and forth between them bearing little presents from Saphadin to King Richard,” although “his people felt that the king was open to considerable criticism for this, and it was said to be sinful to contact friendship with Gentiles.” Gradually Richard caught on to the ruse and began making more active demands, breaking off the contact.⁹⁹

He re-initiated it soon after near Jaffa, when “a series of envoys” came to al-‘Ādil, offering his sister Joanna in marriage as a peace proposal. Unsurprisingly, Joanna refused, but the offer was simply an opening move; Richard proceeded to spin out the resulting negotiations as a “skillful strategem” like the one recently used against him.¹⁰⁰

As time wore on, Richard became increasingly aware of the differences between war in the West and in the East; when the French insisted on attacking Jerusalem itself in 1192, Richard was not only concerned about logistical issues like its distance from their supply base and the size of their forces, but also the westerners’ knowledge of the region.

We and our people are foreigners and know absolutely nothing about this region, its thoroughfares or its passes [...] In my opinion it would be safer to act with the advice of the natives of the country [...] because they have better knowledge of the terrain. It seems to me that we ought to follow whatever course of action the Templars and the Hospitallers honestly judge and decide.

⁹⁹ IP 4.31, p. 272-274.

¹⁰⁰ Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rīkh*, 2, p. 392.

A council of five Templars, five Hospitallers, “five natives of the land of Syria and five French chiefs” was chosen, deciding to attack Egypt. Ignoring their decision, the French insistence on Jerusalem won the day, however; the Military Orders and local nobles did not hold enough influence over the western Crusaders to dissuade them.¹⁰¹

While in this episode Richard recognized that the indigenous Latins’ knowledge of the local territory was superior to the newcomers’, it was their familiarity of passes and terrain he found relevant, rather than their understanding of the political climate or behavior of the Muslim enemy. The Templars and Hospitallers, whose ranks were mostly composed of the western-born who had come to the east to fight as the Crusaders had, instead formed the bulk of the council, and the decision ultimately belongs to the French.

This dichotomy between Western and Eastern Latins is highlighted in an episode immediately following the council: While planning the siege, Bernard, the king’s spy responsible for reporting the enemy’s movements, arrived from Egypt with two others, all indistinguishable from Saracens, and speaking “the Saracen language better than anyone.” Acting on their information, the French moved to attack rich caravans coming from Egypt.¹⁰² The *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* and Ambroise both discuss a particular incident on this expedition: “Along came a spy” who informed them of the specific movements of the caravan, “However, since that spy was a native of that country, the king did not consider that trust could

¹⁰¹ IP 6.1-2, pp. 335-337.

¹⁰² IP 6.3, p. 338; Ambroise, lines 10,269-10,287.

be placed in his word alone,” sending a Bedouin and “two very prudent native Turcoples” dressed as Saracens to confirm his intelligence.¹⁰³

The author of the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* and Ambroise made the western view clear: Native-born nobles could be trusted to know their own territory, but their advice was esteemed for little else, and native-born spies could not be entirely trusted. Their century in the East had given the heirs of the first Crusaders their own identity, Latin though it might be, distinct from their western cousins; when the two groups met, tensions arose.

The Christians were not the only ones aware of the differences between eastern and western Latins. Usāmah ibn Munqidh derides the uncivilized Franks new to the East, particularly in comparison to those of their counterparts who “acclimatized,” and Saladin made use of the political division between Conrad of Montferrat, representing the remnants of the old Kingdom of Jerusalem, and Richard I, leading the western relief force.¹⁰⁴ Eastern-born interpreters found places on both sides of the divide, but no longer had the agency Raymond III and Reynald de Sidon enjoyed before the Europeans’ arrival; Arabic-speaking negotiators once again acted as intermediaries between two parties, rather than representing themselves and their own interests.

In late 1191, both Conrad and Richard, who had supported his Poitevin vassal Guy de Lusignan against Conrad, Philip II of France’s vassal, for the title of King of Jerusalem, were in contact with Saladin, who played the two leaders against each other. “Whenever the King of England heard the the Marquis’ [Conrad’s] ambassador was at the Sultan’s court he at once [...]

¹⁰³ IP 6.4, p. 339; Ambroise, lines 10,338-10,343. Turcoples, Turkish-style light cavalry, were probably converts and mixed-blood children of Latins and local women.

¹⁰⁴ Usāmah ibn Munqidh, *Kitāb al-I'tibār* [The Book of Contemplation], trans. Paul Hitti, (New York, 1929), p. 163; 170. These differences will also be discussed in more depth later.

resumed negotiations for peace, and it was possible to hope that light would dawn on his night of error.”¹⁰⁵ In early November, Conrad’s envoy reported “that he would make peace with Islam,” demanding Sidon and Beirut “in return for showing open hostility to the Franks, marching on Acre, besieging it and taking it from them.” Saladin agreed, stalling an envoy from Richard who had approached for peace talks once again.¹⁰⁶

November 5th, Reynald de Sidon reentered the scene, sending his men to Saladin’s camp to represent Conrad in a “series of talks [...] the upshot of which was that they cut off their support for the Franks and joined us against them.” On the 9th, Reynald “presented himself with several others” for a public reception and a private meeting with Saladin, arguing for his alliance with Conrad. The Ayyūbid condition for peace was “that he should show open hostility to the Franks from overseas [...] The sultan offered agreement on certain conditions by which he aimed to cause dissension amongst them and that some of them should suffer a reverse.”¹⁰⁷

Reynald’s reentry into Latin-Muslim relations here emphasizes the distinctive role of the high-ranking polyglot. The combination of rank and language skills was not necessary to deal with Saladin; his entourage included interpreters, and had since at least 1187, when ‘Imād al-Dīn, who was probably present, mentions him as speaking with Guy de Lusignan and Reynald de Châtillon through an interpreter.¹⁰⁸ The choice of Reynald over another noble accompanied by an anonymous Arabic-speaking interpreter suggests the combination of his rank and language

¹⁰⁵ ‘Imād ad-Dīn, p. 240.

¹⁰⁶ Bahā’ ad-Dīn, p. 182.

¹⁰⁷ Bahā’ ad-Dīn, p. 194.

¹⁰⁸ ‘Imād al-Dīn, p.134; Bahā’ ad-Dīn, who was also with the Sultan frequently, refers to his interpreters as well, (Bahā’ ad-Dīn, pp. 36-37, p. 37, 121-122, p. 148.) Ambroise also recounts Saladin speaking to the Bishop of Salisbury, leading one of the first groups of pilgrims to Jerusalem, “through interpreters,” lines 12,154-12,156.

knowledge was relevant. His familiarity with Arab-Muslim culture may also have been an important factor; Conrad, the outsider from northern Italy who had undertaken to lead the Latin Eastern nobles rather than reconquer their territory for them, apparently recognized the significance of a negotiator not only able to communicate with Muslims but also to converse with them intelligently, mediating between cultures as well as languages. Only an Eastern-born Latin noble could fulfill such a role.

Two days after Reynald's arrival, however, Saladin and his *amīrs* elected to offer peace to Richard rather than Conrad, feeling that "a sincere friendship of the [local] Franks towards the Muslims, such that they could mix together, was a remote possibility and an association not safe from treachery."¹⁰⁹ Perhaps Reynald, a local Frank who had mixed together with Muslims and had attempted to play both sides, was somehow representative of the conditions Saladin feared.

Despite this decision, no lasting peace was made at the time, and in April of 1192, Reynald's servant Yusūf began acting as an envoy in his master's place--the first time an intermediary with an Arabic name appears working for Latins, although there is no way to know if he was Muslim or Syrian Christian. Similar conditions were agreed upon, but the negotiations broke down with Conrad's death.¹¹⁰ That same month, two assassins who had hidden as Christians in Balian d'Ibelin's and Reynald's entourages cut him down in Tyre; Manaqib Rashīd ad-Dīn claims that Rashīd ad-Din Sinān, leader of the Assassins, intending to help Saladin by removing Conrad, had sent two men trained to speak "the Frankish language," giving them Frankish clothing and swords in order to infiltrate the camp.¹¹¹ Eight days later Isabella married

¹⁰⁹ Bahā' ad-Dīn, p. 195.

¹¹⁰ Bahā' ad-Dīn, p. 199.

¹¹¹ 'Imād ad-Dīn, p. 239.

once more, to Henry of Champagne, kin to both Richard and Philip II. The marriage avoided factional strife between the Capetian and Angevin Crusaders, and ended the worst of the political division between eastern and western Latins, bringing the Kingdom of Jerusalem under Richard's leadership, and Latin intermediaries under his control. The agency of the Latin East and its intermediaries was eclipsed by Richard's Crusading intentions.

In September of 1192, however, worn down by persistent illness and concerned with the state of his home territories, Richard reopened negotiations in earnest. Once again al-ʿĀdil was sent with Saladin's permission to negotiate freely, but this time Humphrey IV of Toron acted as Richard's interpreter.¹¹² Negotiations for peace continued for about a week, with Humphrey "discuss[ing] the matter;" apparently Richard, like Saladin, had stepped back and given his intermediary more power over the negotiations.¹¹³ These negotiations were the last; ʿImād ad-Dīn "helped draw up the treaty and wrote the text," granting the Latins coastal lands from Jaffa to Caesarea and Acre to Tyre, as well as pilgrimage privileges to Jerusalem.¹¹⁴

Like the First Crusaders a century earlier, the French and English who came to the East on the Third Crusade began by using local guides and intermediaries without trusting them completely, and polyglot interpreters without paying them much heed--it is only the Arabic sources that show interest in the names of the interpreters and intermediaries. While this may be due to ʿImād ad-Dīn and Bahā' ad-Dīn being privy to some of these negotiations themselves, in general, the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* author and Ambroise resemble the chroniclers of the First Crusade: caught up in the grand narrative of the expedition, a mission to free Jerusalem from the

¹¹² Bahā' ad-Dīn, p. 173.

¹¹³ Bahā' ad-Dīn, p. 179; Manaḳib Rashīd ad-Dīn, ["Virtues of our Lord Rashīd ad-Dīn"], trans. Francesco Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, trans. Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., (New York, 1989), pp. 242-243.

¹¹⁴ ʿImād ad-Dīn, p. 236.

infidel, a narrative in which native Latins play only a limited role, one not dissimilar to that of the Syrians and Armenians in First Crusade chronicles. The interpreters mentioned by the Arabic chronicles continue the pattern already in motion, with high-ranking Latins personally handling negotiations with Saladin or his brother al-‘Ādil, but in a curtailed role, just as their eastern identity was curbed by the overwhelming western presence of the Crusaders. Reynald de Sidon was no longer an independent lord dealing with Saladin on roughly equal social, though not political, footing; during the Third Crusade, his personal agency and interests were absorbed by Conrad of Montferrat’s leadership. Humphrey of Toron served Richard I in a similar way; although he was a powerful lord who might have been King of Jerusalem had he Conrad’s drive and political acumen, he, like the rest of the Latin East during the Crusade, fell under the control of westerners.

While the same class of men continued to act as intermediaries from the height of the Kingdom of Jerusalem to the Third Crusade, the political realities of the Levant during the early 1190s altered their role along with the identity of the Latin East. Over the course of the twelfth century, Latin nobles born in the Kingdom of Jerusalem and its dependencies had gradually become more personally involved and engaged in connections with the Muslims around them, developing a strong eastern identity based in their homeland. After the crippling loss of Jerusalem and the territories around it, these native-born nobles turned towards their Latin identity, relying on their connections with western cousins to survive. With the arrival of these cousins, particularly Richard I of England, but also Conrad of Montferrat, control of Latin-Muslim relations moved from individual local lords like Raymond III and Reynald de Sidon to the western leaders. Latins and Muslims alike were aware of a distinction between eastern- and

western-born “Franks,” with the newcomers not entirely trusting of the indigenous, whose views are not represented in the sources. Thus, though the Latin Eastern identity had shifted towards the Latin, it did not lose the Eastern, even during the most stressful era of its history.

Chapter 3: Intermediaries in the Kingdom of Jerusalem

For we who were Occidentals have now become Orientals. He who was a Roman or a Frank has in this land been made into a Galilean or a Palestinian. He who was of Rheims or Chartres has now become a citizen of Tyre or Antioch. We have already forgotten the places of our birth; already these are unknown to many of us or not mentioned any more [...] Some have taken wives not only of their own people but Syrians or Armenians or even Saracens who have obtained the grace of baptism [...] Out here there are grandchildren and great-grandchildren. [...] He who was born a stranger is now as one born here; he who was born an alien has become a native.¹¹⁵

Less than thirty years after the establishment of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, Fulcher of Chartres could see the development of a new identity of Latins, one based on starting over in the East among easterners.

In tracing the evolution of intermediaries, and through them, this new identity, from the arrival of the first Crusaders in 1097 to the last days of the Third Crusade in 1192, it is evident that the dynamics of Latin-Oriental Christian as well as Latin-Muslim relations were directly correlated with the “easternization” of Latin politics and, at least to some extent, culture. During the First Crusade, the first generation of Latins married into local families, including Armenians, Syrians, and converted Muslim women, relying on these social-political relationships to anchor them in their new homes. Intermarriage and cooperation continued through the zenith of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, but after the symbolic loss of Jerusalem and major territorial losses to Saladin, scarcely recouped during the disappointing Third Crusade, Syrian Christians in particular became viewed as a threat, both practical and ideological.

Despite this, Latins living in the east never lost the eastern aspect of their identity, which carried a Levantine flavor displayed in their relations with Muslims around the borders of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. This flavor comes from relations within those borders with Muslims and

¹¹⁵ FC, III.XXXVII.2-7, p.272.

eastern Christians, and culminated in the existence of a conscious difference between eastern and western Latin Christians, a difference felt by Latins and Muslims alike.

The majority of sources available, particularly in Latin and Old French, focus almost exclusively on the major Crusade expeditions themselves, with the exception of William of Tyre, whose *Historia* describes the history of the Latin East itself. He also gives some details from the 1120 Council of Nablus, in which many of the foundational laws of the Kingdom of Jerusalem were established; although he wrote roughly sixty years later, he had a Chancellor's legal knowledge and access to records. A few charters survive, particularly from the area around Acre, an important trade hub and the last Latin city to fall, many of them studied by foundational Crusade historian Jonathan Riley-Smith, though unavailable in translation. The Assizes of Jerusalem, a vast conglomeration of legal treatises, was collected in the thirteenth century, after the loss of the majority of Latin territory to Saladin, rendering it an unusable source for the Kingdom of Jerusalem at its zenith in the twelfth century.¹¹⁶ An inquiry thus requires incidental sources--travelogues such as Ibn Jubayr's, and the memoirs of Usāmah ibn Munqidh--rather than reliance on the historical chronicles I have used thus far, or the charters, tax rolls and law treatises of a documentary historical analysis. Almost none of these documents are available in translation; I have had to rely on the citations and discussions of other scholars such as Benjamin Z. Kedar and Jonathan Riley-Smith.

The historical sources show minimal interest in the role of Muslims within the Latin East itself. Ronnie Ellenblum, arguing for a new analysis based on physical evidence, believes this to be partially due to settlement patterns, arguing Latins preferred to settle in Eastern Christian-

¹¹⁶ My reticence in using the Assizes for the twelfth century as well as the thirteenth is not shared by other historians, such as Prawer. While some of the laws discussed in the Assizes may indeed date to the twelfth century, there is no way to know when specifically any were written.

dominated areas rather than Muslim regions.¹¹⁷ Even so, Latin sources show no real interest in these non-Latin Christians either. Despite this contemporary disinterest, I argue that relations with non-Latins, and, later, with non-easterners in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, shaped the Latin Eastern identity, and can be studied through their intermediaries. The following chapter is an exploration of the internal workings of the polities of the Latin East, and how intermediaries played a role in them.

I. *Relations Between Latins and Muslims*

En route to Jerusalem, the Crusade leaders began establishing relationships with local Muslims resembling the feudal bonds of vassal and lord in the west, and these relationships continued after the establishment of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. I have already discussed the alliance of Tancred and Riḍwān of Damascus against Baldwin I, Joscelin of Turbessel and Jawali at Menbij in 1108.¹¹⁸ Fulcher complained that five years later, “the Saracens subject to us deserted us as enemies hemmed us in every side” on a failed raid led by Baldwin I near Lake Tiberias; it appears that feudal bonds had not yet become particularly strong.¹¹⁹

Perhaps, though, this betrayal has less to do with the length of time the Latins spent in the east and more to do with the specific participants involved; “Saracens” abandoned Baldwin I’s forces, but a year earlier in 1112, a son of king Takash, himself son of Sultan Alp Arslān and brother of the Sultan Malik-Shāh the just, fled from his cousin, Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dunyā w-al-Dīn Muhammad. Feeling unsafe in Muslim-held Hims, Hamāh and Aleppo, he “made his way to

¹¹⁷ Ronnie Ellenblum, “Settlement and Society Formation in Crusader Palestine,” p. 509; *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 283.

¹¹⁸ Runciman, V. 2, p. 115; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rikh* [The Complete History], Part 1, p. 141.

¹¹⁹ FC, II.XLIX.11, p. 207.

Tancred, lord of Antioch, and besought his protection,” which Tancred “promised,” treating him honorably and generously, “so he remained with him and a company of Turks who were in Tancred’s service attached themselves to him.”¹²⁰ Soon after Bohemond II arrived in Antioch from Italy in 1126, he became involved in territorial disputes with Joscelin I of Turbessel, who “called to his aid bands of infidel Turks” in his service.¹²¹ Tancred and Joscelin, northern lords from regions which had been taken by collusion with locals rather than purely by conquest, seem to have been able to maintain stronger military relations with Muslims than their compatriots in the southern Kingdom of Jerusalem. Though they had mixed results, immediately on their arrival to the East, many Latins began integrating into the Levantine political arena by making alliances with surrounding Muslim potentates, some of them based on familiar western social structures.

Nor were these relationships one-sided; when the Damascenes felt threatened by the meteoric rise of Zangī in the 1140s, they turned to the Kingdom of Jerusalem for support against him, particularly in protecting the city of Banyas, which they preferred “should be restored to the Christians, whose favor they enjoyed, rather than see it held by an enemy whom they greatly feared and mistrusted.” Anar, the governor of Damascus, himself acted as an intermediary between the Latins and other Muslims, negotiating surrenders for them.¹²² Amalric I also allied with Shawar, the vizier of Egypt who rebelled against Nūr ad-Dīn in the 1160s, sending Hugh of

¹²⁰ Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Mudhayyal Ta'rīkh Dimashq*, p. 131

¹²¹ WT XIII.22, V.2, p. 34.

¹²² WT XV.9, V.2, pp. 106-107.

Caesarea to the Caliph of Egypt's court to formally ratify the agreement with him.¹²³ The Latin rulers maintained both alliances and feudal relationships with nearby Muslim leaders, becoming increasingly involved in regional politics as they became more acclimated.

Most sources refer to Latin mediators handling these interactions, but Muslims could also involve themselves in the Latin-dominated world. As mentioned, son of king Takash approached Tancred for assistance, Anar acted as an intermediary during Latin-Muslim campaigns, and during the truce between the Damascus and Jerusalem Usāmah ibn Munqidh “used to visit frequently,” when “the Franks used to bring before their captives so that I might buy them off.” He was able to make such visits “on account of the fact that King Baldwin [I], father of the queen [...] was under obligation to my father.” I believe this obligation to be related to Baldwin's captivity among the Muslims; in 1124, the king was passed to the ibn Munqidh clan “in Shaizar so that my father and my uncle [...] might act as an intermediary in determining the price of his ransom.”¹²⁴ At least during the 1140s, Latin-Muslim relations were such that a high-ranking Muslim prince and diplomat could travel throughout the Kingdom of Jerusalem with some freedom, both on political and personal business for Muslims.

Political relations with Muslims took place outside the borders of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, but interpersonal feudal bonds developed within as well. In 1122 records place Muisse Arrabi in the entourage of Hugh of Jaffa, with the families remaining connected for several generations. The records cited by Riley-Smith do not explain the Arrabi family's feudal

¹²³ WT XIX.18, V.2, pp. 319-320. Hugh would later be captured by Shirkuh, Nūr ad-Dīn's lieutenant sent to quell Shawar's rebellion, and involved in the peace negotiations with him. In the 1150s Mujīr al-Dīn also allied with the Franks against Nūr ad-Dīn. (Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Mudhayyal Ta'rīkh Dimashq* [The Continuation of the Damascus], pp. 294, 299).

¹²⁴ Usāmah ibn Munqidh, p. 110, p. 150.

roles, giving only their names; they provide no clear insight into Muslim-Latin vassal relationships other than their existence.¹²⁵

Other Latin-Muslim interaction was less structured and personal. While many Muslims and Jews left Latin-controlled territories during the initial phase of conquest, and were banned outright from the city of Jerusalem itself, others chose to remain both in cities in villages. When Sidon surrendered to Baldwin I in 1110, the mercenary garrison begged to be allowed to leave safely, “and if he pleased he might retain in the city the peasants because of their usefulness in cultivating the land;” Baldwin agreed, and “the rustics remained peacefully.”¹²⁶ Benjamin Z. Kedar cites chronicler Kamāl ad-Dīn that soon after the surrender of Sidon, Tancred went so far as to negotiate the return of Muslim workers’ wives to the nearby city of Athārib from Aleppo to keep their husbands in the city.¹²⁷

The Latins accepted the need for Muslims within their lands and cities, but exerted both social and legal pressure to prevent the creation of a mixed society. The 1120 Council of Nablus established the early laws of the Kingdom, including laws against sexual relations between Muslims and Christians, as well as Muslims wearing Frankish dress; such laws would not have been necessary without a significant Muslim presence threatening Frankish identity, as well as concerns about Muslim-Latin miscegenation.¹²⁸ No such law was necessary for the opposite, at least seventy years later; when Henry II of Troyes, made King of Jerusalem during the Third Crusade, contacted Saladin “to win his sympathy and his regard,” he requested a robe of honor, a

¹²⁵ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, (London, 1973), p. 10.

¹²⁶ FC II.XLIV.6-7, p. 200.

¹²⁷ Benjamin Z. Kedar, "The Subjected Muslims of the Frankish Levant," in *Muslims Under Latin Rule*, James M. Powell, (Princeton, New Jersey, 1990), p. 150. Kamāl ad-Dīn is unavailable in translation.

¹²⁸ Cited by Benjamin Z. Kedar, "The Subjected Muslims of the Frankish Levant," p. 166.

common gesture of respect and affiliation in the Arab-Muslim world. “He said, ‘you know that wearing a robe (*qabā’*) and a tall bonnet (*sharbūsh*) we hold to be shameful, but I shall wear them from you out of love for you.’” According to ibn al-Athīr, Henry did indeed wear the “splendid outfit” in Acre, but from the incident it is clear that by the 1190s the Latins placed social pressure on each other not to dress in Muslim styles, whereas in the 1120s Muslims had to be restrained from imitating them in dress by law.¹²⁹

Muslim-majority communities were common in rural areas controlled by Latins, as noted by Ibn Jubayr, a Muslim returning to Morocco from the *hajj* in 1184. “Our way [to Acre] lay through continuous farms and ordered settlements, whose inhabitants were all Muslims, living comfortably with the Franks,” left alone but for a cash poll-tax and half their crops. “All the coastal cities occupied by the Franks are managed in this fashion, their rural districts, the villages and farms, belonging to the Muslims.”¹³⁰

These Muslims, and those in the cities, relied on intermediaries to communicate with the ruling Latins for them. Villages without lords were run by councils of elders, headed by the *rays* (Latin) or *ra’īs* (Arabic, “head, leader”); the *ra’īs* also represented urban burgess populations, looking after their goods and taxes, leading the city militia, and “acting as a sort of mayor or provost of merchants.”¹³¹ Ibn Jubayr wrote of passing a farmstead near Acre whose “headman is a Muslim, appointed by the Franks to oversee the Muslim workers on it,” probably a *ra’īs*.¹³²

¹²⁹ Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī’l-ta’rīkh*, 2, p. 397.

¹³⁰ Ibn Jubayr, *Ar-Rihla*, [The Travels], trans. by R. J. C. Broadhurst, (London, 1952), p. 317.

¹³¹ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, (London, 1973), p. 47.

¹³² Ibn Jubayr, p. 317.

Another intermediary figure, notable for his structured role as a feudal office-holder, was the *dragoman* or *drugoman*, a corruption of the Arabic *tarjuman*, sometimes referred to by the Latin/French *interpret*. There is little information about these men, particularly in terms of their roles and actions, and scholars have interpreted the few details available differently. Joshua Praver, a proponent of the colonialist reading of Latin Eastern society, suggests that the *dragoman* probably began as an interpreter between natives and overlords, eventually becoming an official with an income and inherited post. He further argues that an official of Frankish origin was more likely to act as an administrator than an interpreter, retaining the title but not the original role, and if an interpreter was needed, a Syrian Christian who had acquired French would be more suited to the task.¹³³ Crusades historian Riley-Smith, whose research is referenced heavily by later scholars' including Praver, Kedar, and Ellenblum, suggests that the Islamic legal system of the Levant had used the *mutarjim* to assist the *qadī* ("judge") of the districts to deal with the variety of social groups under their jurisdiction, and the Latin lords simply inserted themselves into the ruling role of the existing system.¹³⁴ He agrees with Praver that the *dragoman* was concerned with the administration of justice, but argues that he also acted as "an intermediary between the lord and the *rayses* over a large area." I believe such a position would require enough ease with Muslims and their culture, as well as their language, to enter their villages and discuss their concerns, and mediate those concerns with Frankish lords. In 1254, the villagers of Kafr Kanna took oaths of fealty to the Master of the Hospitallers, with a *dragoman* acting as an interpreter, indicating some, if not all, were able to do so.¹³⁵ Many of the

¹³³ Joshua Praver, *The Crusaders' Kingdom: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages*, (New York, 1972) p. 369.

¹³⁴ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, (London, 1972), p. 53.

¹³⁵ Jonathan Riley-Smith, "Some Lesser Officials in Latin Syria," *The English Historical Review* 87, no. 342, (Oxford, 1972), p. 16-17

dragomans were also native-born, with Latin or Latinized names in the records, probably involved with matters of finance and taxes.¹³⁶

Interpreters were not restricted to oral translations or casual mediation, but also worked as formal scribes; Riley-Smith cites a treatise on laws in Acre which calls for a sentence of execution for either a Saracen or Frankish scribe convicted of cheating his lord. Not only were educated Saracens in service to lords, they were also equal in punishment to their Christian colleagues. Latins and Arabs both served in the Grand Secrete office of the King of Jerusalem; it is possible that some of these were responsible for translating royal correspondence with Muslim rulers, or handling written treaties mentioned in the sources.¹³⁷

Not all Muslims in Latin territories were free farmers or city-dwellers. Benjamin Kedar, the most prolific scholar on multi-religious relations within the Kingdom of Jerusalem, believes there to have been a significant number of Muslims in captivity and slavery, with “enslaved Muslim manpower” playing “a distinct role in the Frankish economy.”¹³⁸ Ibn Jubair mentions chained captives, both male and female, “put to painful labor like slaves,” and Jacques de Vitry laments how Latins refused baptism to their Saracen servants, since they would have to be freed upon conversion.¹³⁹ Such slavery had legal sanction; Kedar cites the 1120 Council of Nablus, which punished rape of one’s own female Saracen with castration, but rape of another’s with

¹³⁶ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility*, p. 56.

¹³⁷ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, 55; “Some Lesser Officials in Latin Syria,” p. 20. For references to correspondence, see Ibn al-Qalānīsī, *Mudhayyal Ta’rīkh Dimashq* [The Continuation of the Damascus], pp. 93, 106, 109, 147; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī’l-ta’rīkh* [The Complete History], Part 2, p. 22.; for treaties, Ibn al-Qalānīsī, pp. 92, 113 and IP 6.27, p. 371.

¹³⁸ Benjamin Z. Kedar, “Subjected Muslims,” p. 153.

¹³⁹ Ibn Jubayr, p. 322, James of Vitry, Bishop of Acre, to the Parisian Masters and to Ligarde of St Trond and the Convent of Aywières, near Liège, in *Serta Mediaevalia Textus varii saeculorum x-xiii in unum collecti*, (ed.) R.B.C. Huygens. Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis, 171, no. 2 (Turnhout, 2000), p. 103.

castration and exile.¹⁴⁰ Muslim slaves thus probably served in Latin households as well as tilling the fields.

The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, as well as the smaller principalities, developed cooperative political relationships with neighboring Muslim potentates until the rise of Saladin in the 1170s, settling into the Levantine region as just another set of players. Within the kingdom, they also continued existing bureaucratic roles or created new ones to mediate between Latins and Muslim inhabitants: the *rays* in village and city and the *dragoman* who translated according to internal administrative needs. As the Crusaders and their descendants became more at home in the East, they integrated into available local administrative structures, adjusting them to fit the needs of Latin society. The need for intermediaries suggests that Muslim and Latin cultures never comfortably syncretized into one, the gap between cultures necessitating specific individuals to go between the two groups. However, the existence of such go-betweens equally suggests that an environment of cooperation and coexistence was possible within set boundaries. Such an environment was possible only because the Latins who remained in the east came to be at ease with the presence of Muslims, if at a distance, incorporating this ease into their identity as locals.

II. *Relations Between Latins and Eastern Christians*

Latins identified more strongly with native Christians than with Muslims, but still recognized them as separate, eastern-originating entities. Their integration into the Levantine region is thus reflected in their relationships with these distinctly eastern peoples well.

¹⁴⁰ Benjamin Z. Kedar, "Subjected Muslims," p. 156.

The Latins interacted chiefly with three groups of Eastern Christians: Syrians, who tended to use Arabic in their daily speech and Syriac as a liturgical language, found both in the northern mountainous regions around Edessa and Antioch and the southern plains around Jerusalem and Tripoli and Armenians, most of whom used the Armenian language in both secular and sacred environments; and some Greek Christians who had remained in the area after the Byzantine defeat. Men dominated the Crusade movements, and many of the Latins who elected to remain in the East married women from these groups, marrying at the same time into the Eastern cultural and political world.

Situated on the edge of Armenian Cilicia, the County of Edessa and Principality of Antioch had a closer relationship with the Armenians in particular; Antioch had been an Armenian territory before the Turkish conquest, and Edessa remained one until Baldwin de Boulogne's succession to Thoros in 1098. Baldwin consolidated his rule in Edessa by marrying an unnamed daughter of Thoros of Marash, a prominent Armenian who provided a rich dowry.¹⁴¹ His cousin Baldwin de Bourcq, who followed him both as Count of Edessa and King of Jerusalem, also married an Armenian, Morfia, daughter of the duke Gabriel of Malatia who "was Armenian by birth, language, and habit, but Greek in faith."¹⁴²

These associations with Armenians began in the unstable early years of the conquest, but did not end there. Natasha Hodgeson, interested in women and marriage in the Latin East, argues that particularly in northern Syria, Latins continued to marry Armenians even after the

¹⁴¹ WT, X.2, V.1, p. 416.

¹⁴² WT, X.24, V.1, p. 450.

first phase of settlement.¹⁴³ Bound by these social-political bonds, the Latin newcomers relied on the Armenians to act as Christian intermediaries to the Muslim enemy as well, perhaps because of the existence of an Armenian polity. In 1103-1104, Bohemond I of Antioch was ransomed from captivity at the hands of Dānishmend “through the mediation and assistance of the great Armenian prince Kogh Vasil,” of Raban and Kesoun, who donated a tenth of the ransom himself and collected the rest, after which Bohemond became his adopted son.¹⁴⁴

Nor were the Armenians exclusively peaceful negotiators; several took an even more active role in 1123-1124, when Baldwin II and Joscelin of Turbessel were held captive by Balāk in Kharberd, perhaps because of Queen Morfia. The sources differ on details, but all accounts agree that a group of Armenians attacked the fortress to free the Latins. Fulcher of Chartres, who had been Baldwin I’s chaplain on the First Crusade and accompanied him to Edessa, describes Baldwin and Joscelin persuading the Armenians in the fortress to get help from their compatriots in Edessa; writing later, Armenian Matthew of Edessa and Syrian Christian Gregory Abū’l Faraj describe local Armenians attacking to free the Latins without prompting.¹⁴⁵

Inter-marriage was not restricted to aristocratic political unions. Fulcher of Chartres, writing in the early years of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, also refers to non-ruling Crusaders marrying indigenous women: “Some have taken wives not only of their own people but Syrians or Armenians or even Saracens who have obtained the grace of baptism.”¹⁴⁶ William of Tyre,

¹⁴³ Natasha Hodgeson, “Conflict and Cohabitation: Marriage and Diplomacy Between Latins and Cilician Armenians, c. 1097-1253), in *The Crusades and the Near East*, ed. Conor Kostick, (Abingdom, England, 2011), p. 87.

¹⁴⁴ Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia and the Crusades: Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, trans. Ara Edmond Dostourian, Armenian Heritage Series (Lanham, Maryland, 1993); Gregory Abū’l Faraj, *Makhtbhamuth Zabhnē* [Chronography], V. 1, trans. Ernest A. Wallis Budge, (London, 1932), III.14, p. 192.

¹⁴⁵ FC III.XXIII.2-3, p. 247; Matthew of Edessa, p. 251.

¹⁴⁶ FC, III.XXXIV.1-2, p. 266.

writing roughly sixty years later, was concerned about the effects of these marriages, since “our Eastern princes, through the influences of their women, scorn the medicines and practice of our Latin physicians and believe only in the Jews, Samaritans, Syrians and Saracens.”¹⁴⁷ The westerners’ integration into the East began with marriage to locals, with at least some of their habits adjusting to their new environment. Some of their mixed children probably joined the light cavalry units known as “Turcoples,” along with a number of Turkic converts; two of these could have been the Turcoples sent to accompany Richard I’s native-born spy during the Third Crusade.¹⁴⁸

While no Syrian Christian polity existed, individual Syrians also provided support for the Latins, serving as guides on the way to Jerusalem, and in 1100 providing Baldwin I with information about a band of unfriendly Saracens near Ascalon.¹⁴⁹ Suspected by the Fāṭimids of calling the Latins into the region, all Christians had been expelled from Jerusalem before its fall; soon after, Baldwin I invited those living in villages beyond the Jordan to repopulate the city, the Latins being too few to do so on their own.¹⁵⁰ Ibn Jubayr, a Muslim traveller returning to Morocco from Mecca via Acre in 1184, commented on how the “Christian clerks of the Customs” of the customs-house his caravan went through “write Arabic, which they also speak. Their chief is the Sahib al-Diwan [Chief of the Customs] [...] He is known as al-Sahib, a title

¹⁴⁷ WT, XVIII.34, V.2, p. 292; IP 6.4, p. 339; Ambroise, lines 10,338-10,343.

¹⁴⁸ Hubert Houdon, "Intercultural Communication: The Teutonic Knights in Palestine, Armenia and Cyprus," in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000-1500: Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication*, p. 142. Alan V. Murray, "Ethnic Identity in the Crusader States: The Frankish Race and the Settlement of Outremer," *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, Leeds Texts and Monographs New Series 14, eds. Simon Forde, Lesley Johnson and Alan V. Murray, (Leeds, England, 1995), p. 63. Murray points out that many Turcopole names included *baptizatus*, suggesting that they had been recently baptized.

¹⁴⁹ WT, VII.21, V.1, p. 330; Raymond d’Aguilers, Ch. XIII, p. 108; FC II.IV.3, pp. 144.

¹⁵⁰ WT, XI.28, V.1, p. 507.

bestowed on him by reason of his office, and which they apply to all respected persons, save the soldiery who hold office with them.”¹⁵¹ These Christians were probably Syrians, entrusted with a job that entailed using their Arabic language skills and mediating between Arabic-speaking travelers and merchants and Latin officials.

Latin chroniclers handle relations with Syrians and Armenians differently. Fulcher, of the first generation of Latins who settled in the East, and William of Tyre, of the second generation, spoke of the Syrians and Armenians with a generally positive tone, and Ralph of Caen, writing of the northern conquests twenty years later, discussed their support in mostly positive terms with occasional comments on their greed or relationships with the enemy. However, most western writers such as Guibert de Nogent and Robert the Monk, both writing in the first decade of the twelfth century in France, were more negative, portraying Eastern Christians as self-serving, unreliable allies. Western-born writers after the Third Crusade, such as Jacques de Vitry and Burchard of Mt. Sion, were invariably anti-Eastern Christian. Jotischky argues prejudices against them derived from fear of their ability to pass between Latin and Muslim territory, citing Maqrizi on Saladin’s enforcing the surrender of Jerusalem with the allegiance of a Melkite merchant with whom he had previously done business. He goes on to suggest that these polemics, only found after Saladin’s conquest, are in part due to the number of Oriental Christians who remained in Jerusalem and other cities when the Latins were expelled, making them appear particularly Muslim-friendly, and thus untrustworthy.¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ Ibn Jubayr, , p. 317.

¹⁵² Andrew Jotischky, ”Ethnographic Attitudes in the Crusader States: The Franks and the Indigenous Orthodox People,” in *East and West in the Crusader States: Context-Contacts-Confrontations: Act of the Congress Held at Hernen Castle in September 2000*, ed. Krijnie Ciggaar and Herman Teule, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 125, (Leuven, Belgium, 2003), pp. 13, 16-17. “Melkite” here probably refers to someone of the Byzantine rite.

The fear of betrayal is certainly a strong one in the polemics against Syrian Christians, but they are also concerned with identity, both Syrian and Latin Christian. The Syrians had been useful in the First Crusade because they had acted as intermediaries between the Latins, with whom they shared a religious connection, and the Arab-Turkish Muslims, with whom they shared a language and a homeland. After the Third Crusade, they became dangerous for the same reason. Neither wholly one nor the other, they could not be safely identified as either; more disturbing, they exerted influence on the Levantine-born Latins, compromising their identity as well. Even William of Tyre expressed concern over rulers' preference for eastern medicine, as prompted by "their women," perhaps meaning their eastern-born wives; later writers were more vitriolic.¹⁵³

Syrians receive the worst of Jacques de Vitry's vitriol. Bishop of Acre from 1214 to 1225, Jacques admits the multitude of Christian sects, including "Syrians, Greeks, Jacobites, Maronites, Nestorians, Armenians, and Georgians, who for both trade, agriculture, and other useful arts, [were] very necessary to the Holy Land, that they may sow the land, and plant vineyards," but the majority of the ethnographic section of his *Historia Hierosolymitana* is comprised of criticism of non-westerners, or at the least snide remarks. Jacques denigrated the Syrians in particular. While the other eastern Christians distinguished themselves positively in some fashion, usually military, the Syrians are "always tributaries," and "altogether unwarlike and helpless as women in battle." However, where the other Christians are distinct from the Arab and Turkish Muslims by language and custom as well as religion, Jacques found the Syrians far too similar to the enemy, and too ready to cooperate with them.

¹⁵³ WT, XVIII.34, V.2, p. 292.

For a small sum of money they become spies and tell the secrets of the Christians to the Saracens, among whom they are brought up, whose language they speak rather than any other, and whose crooked ways they for the most part imitate. They have mingled among the heathen, and learned their works [...] [They] use the Saracen language in their common speech, and they use the Saracen script in deeds and business and all other writing, except for the Holy Scriptures and other religious books, in which they use the Greek letters; wherefore in Divine service their laity, who only know the Saracenic tongue, do not understand them.¹⁵⁴

Jacques' main concern was the Syrians' closeness to Saracen culture, represented by their language use, which renders them a threat to Latin identity as well as political security.

Burchard of Mount Sion, writing in the 1260s, also found the Syrians too close to the Saracens for comfort; they "keep no faith with the Latins," but "dwell among the Saracens, and for the most part are their servants. In dress they are like the Saracens, except that they are distinguished from them by the woolen girdle."¹⁵⁵

Like William, Jacques also saw women as one of the conduits for corruption; the Latin women, jealously locked up by their husbands so they rarely visited church but were often at the baths, were "wondrously and beyond belief learned in witchcraft, and wickednesses innumerable, which they are taught by the Syrian women."¹⁵⁶ Like the Syrians as a group, Jacques criticized these women for being too eastern--they were kept in seclusion like eastern wives, and frequented the public baths, an entirely alien concept to westerners. Their relationship with the Syrians--themselves too like the Saracens--led to foreign witchcraft and

¹⁵⁴ Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Hierosolymitana* [History of Jerusalem], trans. Aubrey Stewart, in *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, V. 11, (New York, 1895), LXVIII p. 58; LXXIV, pp 67-69

¹⁵⁵ Burchard of Mount Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* [Description of the Holy Land], trans. Aubrey Stewart, in *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, V. 12, (New York, 1896), XIII, p. 104.

¹⁵⁶ Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, p. 64-65, LXXII

wickedness. Had they maintained a pure, western, identity, Jacques suggested, these evils would have been avoided.

The main theme of these writers' polemics was the closeness between Syrians and Saracens, in language, appearance and identity. However, their chief concern was the threat this closeness poses to the Latin community: Not only were the Syrians in a position to betray their fellow Christians to the enemy, but more importantly, their position as intermediaries between coreligionists and co-culturalists created a dangerous link between the Latin and Saracen identities--William of Tyre and to a much greater extent Jacques de Vitry in particular were concerned with the influence Syrians have over Latins in terms of culture.

While the first generation of Crusaders married into local Christian families as part of the settlement process, and intermarriage continued throughout much of the twelfth century, the loss of Jerusalem and the lands around it, these relationships came to be seen as a threat. Where William expresses mild concern for rulers' preferences for eastern medicine, Jacques evinces horror at the Syrians' similarities to Muslims, and the resulting potential for similarity among the eastern-born Christians. The difference between the writers is twofold; William wrote his *Historia* when the Kingdom of Jerusalem's instability was beginning, but its fall did not appear imminent; Jacques when the remaining scraps of the Latin East hung clung to survival. Perhaps more importantly, William was born in the East; Jacques, whose writings show him to be a fiery, if not zealous, religious figure, came to the Latin East in the hopes of saving it. William may have thus been comfortable with a certain amount of easternization in the Latin identity; Jacques could not tolerate any, as I will discuss in his polemic against the "*pullani*," as he refers to those born in the Latin East.

III. *Latins and Latins: Eastern and Western Franks*

Jacques de Vitry was not the first writer aware of a difference between Latins born or long-settled in the east and those from the west. As early as the 1120s, Fulcher of Chartres noticed the change in the first generation of Crusaders:

For we who were Occidentals have now become Orientals. He who was a Roman or a Frank has in this land been made into a Galilean or a Palestinian. He who was of Rheims or Chartres has now become a citizen of Tyre or Antioch. We have already forgotten the places of our birth; already these are unknown to many of us or not mentioned any more [...] He who was born a stranger is now as one born here; he who was born an alien has become a native.¹⁵⁷

Interestingly, Fulcher comments on the linguistic consequences of easternization, as well noting how “people use the eloquence and idioms of diverse languages in conversing back and forth. Words of different languages have become common property known to each nationality, and mutual faith unites those who are ignorant of their descent.”¹⁵⁸ Soon after their arrival, the first generation of Crusaders settled into their new home with indigenous wives and families, a localized identity, and potentially creole language. No evidence of strong Arabic influence is present in the written works from the Latin East; however, these are all formal, and do not represent the patois which would have been spoken in the streets; there is no way of knowing the details of the Latin East’s vernacular.

Even as the first generation adjusted to and raised children in the newly Latin East, more westerners continued to arrive, some in the large movements of the early 1100s and the Second Crusade in the 1140s, others individually or in small groups. Muslims interacting with Latins

¹⁵⁷ FC, III.XXXVII.2-7, p.272.

¹⁵⁸ FC, III.XXXVII.2-7, p.272.

socially and politically noticed differences between newcomers and those who had been in the East for a longer period of time.

Usāmah ibn Munqidh, who moved between various Muslim courts and the Kingdom of Jerusalem as an intermediary himself, commented on the two different kinds of Franks: “Everyone who is a fresh emigrant from the Frankish lands is ruder in character than those who have become acclimatized and have held long association with the Muslims.” In an often-cited anecdote, a Templar new to Jerusalem once physically attacked him upon finding him praying in a small mosque specifically evacuated for him, to the embarrassment of Usāmah’s “friends,” the older Templars, who hastily pulled the man off and apologized for him as a newcomer as yet unfamiliar with the East.¹⁵⁹ Usāmah repeats “among the Franks there are those who have become acclimatized and have associated long with the Muslims. These are much better than the recent comers from the Frankish lands. But they constitute the exception and not the rule.” He goes on to tell the story of dinner with another Latin friend who preferred eastern food to European, keeping an Egyptian cook and refusing to eat pork.¹⁶⁰ While the strongly acclimated--speaking Arabic and refusing pork--were probably few, since this one was worth discussing at length, there were differences between Latins born in the east and west perceptible to outsiders.

Usāmah’s writing is a collection of isolated incidents and anecdotes; he discusses individuals, not politics, and his experiences are that of an individual as well. According to the historically-minded chroniclers, Muslim potentates were also aware of the divide between Latins. In 1148, Mu’īn al-Dīn, ruler of Damascus, heard of German emperor Conrad III’s intention to attack, despite his peaceful relationship with the Kingdom of Jerusalem. He “wrote

¹⁵⁹ Usāmah ibn Munqidh, pp. 163-4.

¹⁶⁰ Usāmah ibn Munqidh, p. 163-4.

to the newly-arrived Franks” to warn them off, but also “sent to the Franks of Syria” to demand an explanation for their support of the Germans and threaten to surrender his city to a stronger Muslim ruler who would oppose the Kingdom as well as the Germans. “They agreed with him to withdraw cooperation with the German emperor” in exchange for the castle of Bānyās, a significant fort, and the “Levantine Franks” pressured Conrad until he withdrew from the city,” returning with his troops to Germany.¹⁶¹ As I have already discussed, Saladin intentionally played the factions of Conrad of Montferrat, representing the eastern Franks, and Richard I of England, representing the “Franks from across the seas,” against each other, making peace with neither one nor the other until it was clear who would be the stronger.¹⁶² Both of these situations arose during the Second and Third Crusades respectively, when the incoming Franks held significant amounts of manpower and political sway, particularly during the Third Crusade, when the Latin East was panicked and fractured between multiple leaders.

No Christian sources are available for the Second Crusade, but Latin and French writings about the Third demonstrate western awareness of the divide between Levant and Europe. In 1191 the “whole army” was wild to march on Jerusalem, held back by the “wiser people” who thought “the Templars and Hospitallers and also the Poulains, natives of that country, who could see more clearly what needed to be done for the future, advised King Richard not to go towards Jerusalem at that juncture,” arguing even if they took the city they would not be able to hold it, since the majority of the army would return home immediately.”¹⁶³ The situation arose again in 1192 with Philip II’s French contingent arguing for an attack on Jerusalem again, and Richard

¹⁶¹ Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rikh* [The Complete History], Part 2, p. 22.

¹⁶² ¹⁶² Bahā' ad-Dīn, pp. 194-195

¹⁶³ IP 4.35, pp. 279-280.

insisting on a decision made by a council of five Templars, five Hospitallers, five “natives of the land of Syria and five French chiefs,” since the local nobles would be able to make a decision based on their better knowledge of the terrain.¹⁶⁴ As I have already discussed, the “poulains,” a term M. R. Morgan takes to be pejorative since no eastern-born Latin ever uses it, were given little trust in these exchanges; their knowledge was necessary, but not particularly well-valued, and the Templars and Hospitallers were given far more importance.¹⁶⁵ At least by the 1190s, probably by the 1180s, when King Guy de Lusignan’s Poitevin entourage sang on his accession “*Maugré li Polein/ Avrons nous roi Poitevin*,” translated as “Despite the *polains*, we shall have a Poitevin king,” the awareness of a difference between eastern- and western-born Franks was not only present, but also the root of a rivalry and feeling of superiority on the part of the westerners.¹⁶⁶

Regional rivalry may be accounted common enough in the era, but no clear explanation for the sense of western superiority is found in the Third Crusade sources. Thirty years later, Jacques de Vitry provided his own opinion, laced with vitriol: First he explained how the term “*Pullani*” (the Latin rather than French form) referred to them either as “new-comers--as it were, pullets, as compared to the Syrians” or their mothers being Apulian, invited from southern Italy to compensate for the dearth of women after the First Crusade. Jacques censured the *Pullani* for their own cowardice; unlike the first Crusaders, “their children [...] were brought up in luxury, soft and effeminate, more used to baths than battles, addicted to unclean and riotous living, clad

¹⁶⁴ IP 6.1-2, pp. 335-337.

¹⁶⁵ M. R. Morgan, "The Meaning of Old French "Polain", Latin "Pullanus"." *Medium Aevum* 48 (1979), p. 52.

¹⁶⁶ *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr* [The Continuation of William of Tyre], trans. Peter W. Edbury, in *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation*, (Farnham, England, 1998), p. 46.

like women in soft robes, and ornamented.” The Saracens had no fear of them “unless they had some French or other westerners with them,” and their women were treated much like Muslim wives, closely restricted and associating with Syrian women who teach them witchcraft. Worst of all,

they make treaties with the Saracens, and are glad to be at peace with Christ’s enemies; they are quick to quarrel with one another, and skirmish and levy civil war against one another; they often call upon the enemies of the faith to help them against Christians, and are not ashamed to waste the forces and treasure which they ought to use against the infidels to God’s glory, in fighting one another to the injury of Christendom.¹⁶⁷

Just as he castigated the Syrian Christians for their similarity to Saracens, Jacques found the eastern-born Latins to be too easternized in appearance and action. Over a century in the Levant softened and weakened them, making them no better than the Saracens they prefer to their own kind.

William of Tyre comments little on the residents of the Latin East; however, born in the Latin East himself, his writing is informative of their views and opinions, and is thus even more valuable. His knowledge of Arabic was sufficient to write a history of Oriental Princes based on Arabic sources provided by Amalric I, and throughout the *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum*, he discusses the Arabic meanings and etymologies of various place names.¹⁶⁸ Not only is William capable of reading Arabic, he also displays this knowledge, showing off his ability to write a history of Muslim figures and add to his own *Historia* with his Arabic language skills--a Levantine-born *polain* writing in a *polain* environment before the

¹⁶⁷ Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, LXVIII, p. 58

¹⁶⁸ WT, Prologue, p. 65. For William’s comments on Arabic names, see XI.XXXI, V.2, p. 515; XV.XXV, V.2, p. 131, XVIII.XXI, V.2, p. 324.

Ayyūbid conquest of Jerusalem, it was to his credit, not his denigration, that he had acquired such skills and was able to use them.

William's knowledge of Arabic is not the only trait that distinguishes him as an eastern-born historian; his treatment of Muslims is also distinctive. Norman Daniel, writing on Arab-European interaction, cites him describing Nūr ad-Dīn with much of the same positive characteristics as he would a western king, focusing on his courage and magnanimity; Schwinger, specifically studying William, points out he did not refer to Muslims as *paganus*, only *infidelis*, and accorded them the same rights to land, retaliation and self-defense as he did to Latins.¹⁶⁹ I find this particularly clear in William's handling of political agreements; he treated alliances with Muslim potentates as a matter of course, but breaking them was not excusable simply because they were infidels. On the contrary, when Amalric I broke a treaty and attacked an ally in Egypt, he described the results as horrific, with innocents being slaughtered for booty rather than the enemy dying in a just war; ever-loyal to his patron, he presented Amalric as influenced by troublesome advisers, rather than responsible for such dishonorable actions.¹⁷⁰ William may have been educated in the west, but his view of Muslims was that of a man born in the east, separating him from other Latin writers on the Crusades.

Latins and Muslims alike realized the differences between Franks born in the east and the west; broadly speaking, easterners developed a tolerance, though rarely an interest or appreciation, in Arab culture, and a willingness to maintain political relationships with Muslim polities; newcomers, particularly when they came in purposeful groups like the Crusade hosts,

¹⁶⁹ Norman Daniel, *The Arabs and Medieval Europe*, Arab Background Series, (Beirut, 1975), p. 185; Rainer Christoph Schwinger, "William of Tyre, the Muslim Enemy, and the Problem of Tolerance," in *Tolerance and Intolerance: Social Conflict in the Age of the Crusades*, Michael Gervers and James Powell (Syracuse, New York, 2001), pp. 128-129.

¹⁷⁰ WT, XX.VI, V.2, p. 351.

deplored this acclimated identity and clung to their own pure western identity instead. The eastern-born self-conception, however, was also swayed by political realities--during the height of the Latin kingdoms, William of Tyre could proudly write a history of Muslim princes based on Arabic sources and castigate breaking truces with them, living in a strong Latin polity secure in its eastern identity. But like intermediaries like Reynald de Sidon's relationships with Muslims, during times of political weakness, this eastern academic identity became untenable, with Latins shifting back towards their western origins for security. In the early thirteenth century, after Jerusalem and its surrounding territory had been lost and the Third Crusade failed to regain them, similarities to or relationship with Muslims became more problematic, even threatening, a sign of weakness rather than involvement in the local sphere.

Concluding Remarks

This study traces the evolution of the Latin Eastern identity through its intermediaries, from the Crusaders' arrival in the Levant, when they went from relying on outsiders to marrying local women, through the height of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, when the *dragoman* was a feudal office and noble-born Latins spoke Arabic with Saladin during negotiations, to its twilight years in which relationships with Muslims became politically unstable and socially unacceptable. The social dynamics around intermediaries mirrored the political situation of the Kingdom itself, demonstrating how the eastern element of the Latin identity adjusted to the political dynamics of the region.

The first and greatest limitation of this study is linguistic: My research relies on close readings of translations, rather than the original Latin, Arabic, Greek and French texts. I was thus unable to deal directly with the terminology used by the writers, a particular problem with trying to understand use of ethnic terms and tone, as well as specific roles like “envoy” as opposed to “messenger” or “ambassador.”

As an undergraduate thesis, my study is also limited in scope, focusing on intermediaries between Latins and Muslims only. Further inquiry would include political and cultural relations with the Byzantine Empire and Cilician Armenia, the latter in particular being neglected in modern scholarship.

Continuing the topic of Latin-Muslim relations, espionage and deception in the Latin East have not been examined. Richard I had his own native-born spy, able to pass as an Arab himself, and the lord of Barziyya's wife, sister to Bohemond III of Antioch's second wife Sibylla, was also “in correspondence with Saladin” and “used to inform him of many significant matters;”

when her family was captured by Saladin's forces, the Sultan reunited and freed them.¹⁷¹ Both Latin and Arabic sources referred to ships or individuals able to pass through enemy lines because of linguistic knowledge.¹⁷² The role of language as part of identity, and the ways this could be manipulated for purposes of deception, as well as an investigation of those who chose to assist the enemy, is a research paper in itself.

To more fully understand the eastern as opposed to the western Latin concept of identity as well as the Levant, a more detailed comparison between the sources in their original languages is in order. I have briefly compared Robert the Monk's presentation of Herluin with Fulcher of Chartres, and mentioned the differences between his and Guibert de Nogent's handling of Eastern Christians and that of Fulcher, Ralph of Caen, and William of Tyre. Further comparison should be done by placing each source in a more specific regional and temporal context, and thus comparing Latin writers in early twelfth century Europe and the Levant. Such a study would treat these sources as literary as well as historical productions, examining how they reworked the *Gesta Francorum* and Fulcher and Raymond d'Aguiler's writings for their audiences.

While this research should also consider the French Crusade Cycle *chansons*, such as *Le Chanson de Jérusalem*, and *Le Chanson d'Antioche*, these western fictions have never been read next to either Byzantine historical epic, such as *Digenes Akrites*, which charts the adventures of the son of a Byzantine noble mother and a converted amīr father, or the later Arabic epics, such as *Sīrat Baybars*. Historically, a comparison of these tales is problematic, since they span the

¹⁷¹ IP 6.3, p. 338; Ambroise, lines 10,269-10,287; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rīkh*, Part 2, p. 352.

¹⁷² Manaḡib Rashid ad-Din, "Virtues of our Lord Rashid ad-Din" p. 242-243; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rīkh* [The Complete History], Part 1, p. 105; IP 1.43, p. 97.

eleventh to perhaps thirteenth of fourteenth centuries, but as long as their respective historical contexts is kept in mind, a literary investigation would be fascinating.

To return to the Latin East, one badly needed addition to Crusade Studies scholarship an in-depth comparison of the Latin polities themselves. I have studied “the Kingdom of Jerusalem,” broadly understood to include the County of Tripoli, Principality of Antioch and, until 1144, the County of Edessa, as a single region, but it was not a single entity, as it is sometimes represented. Edessa and Antioch had large native Christian populations but were more threatened by Turkish incursions from the east than their southern neighbors, and interacted differently with Byzantines, Armenians and Muslims. In contrast, Tripoli and Jerusalem had a greater Muslim population, and were more stable until the 1180s, lending different pressures and motives to their foreign policy in the region.

Entwined in political interests were trade interests, particularly those of the Italian city-states like Genoa, Pisa and Venice, who assisted in coastal conquests in exchange for control over substantial quarters of port cities, trade rights, and tax exemptions. When I began my research, I expected to find merchants involved in mediating between Latins and Muslims, since they had existing contacts before the Crusades as well as a vested interest in safe travel, but found no evidence in the sources I chose to use. Trade was virtually ignored by the sweeping narratives of the Crusades written by Latins, and scarcely mentioned by the more prosaic Arabic chronicles; the most detailed comments are by ibn Jubayr, who travelled with trade caravans. Researching the role of traders in the Crusader-era Levant requires evidence such as charters, tax rolls, and shipping contracts, documents in short supply for the Latin East, as well as further investigation into Jewish communities throughout the Mediterranean.

Trade and traders linked the entire Mediterranean Basin, which deserves study as a single region, rather than a place between continents. To this end, I am interested in moving my research out of the Levant, and comparing the cultural environments which developed after Latin conquest elsewhere in the region through a case study of particular cities. Specifically, I am interested in the differences between post-conquest societies in the Levant, where the call to liberate the Holy Land brought together Latins from across Europe together to conquer in the name of Christ; Sicily, where Norman adventurers rapidly adopted Muslim bureaucratic structure and, to some extent, culture; and Andalusia, the longest-surviving contact zone between Latin Christianity and Islam. Topics of further inquiry include cross-religious feudal relationships, the ramifications of the arrival of outside groups, such as the later Crusaders and the Almoravids and Almohads in Spain, the changes in trade patterns before and after conquest, particularly with regards to the religious and ethnic affiliations of merchants, and, if possible, the roles of spies, informers, and traitors.

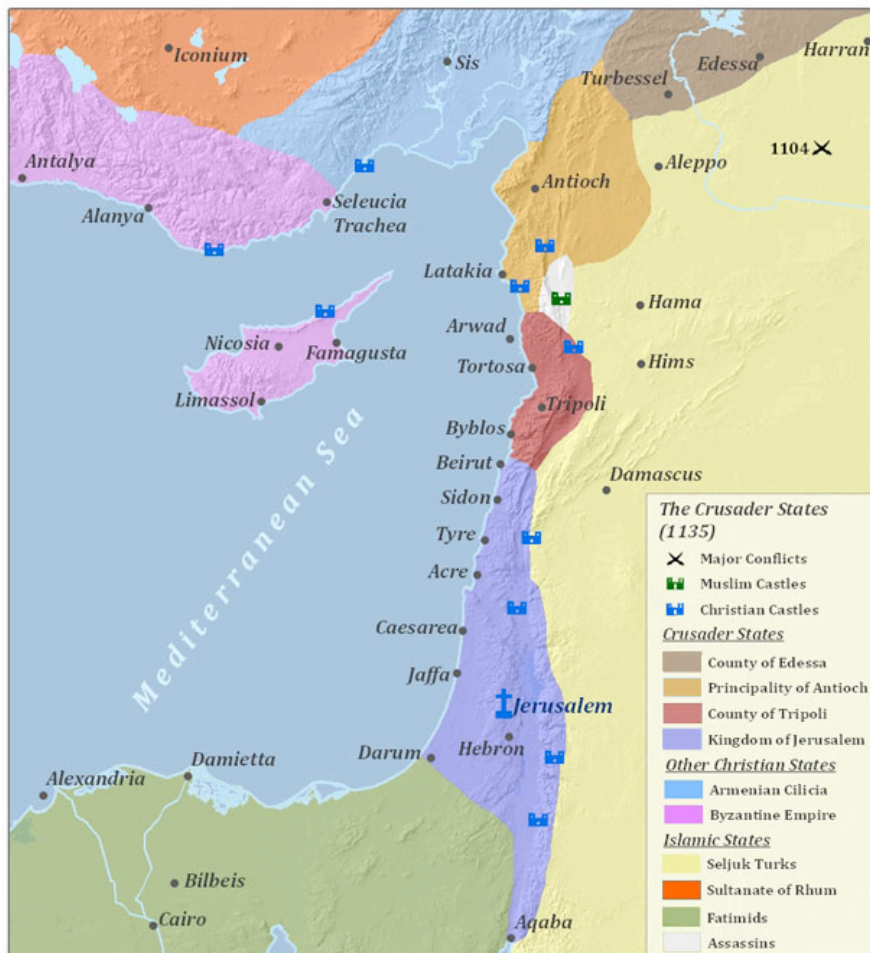
Appendix 1: Maps



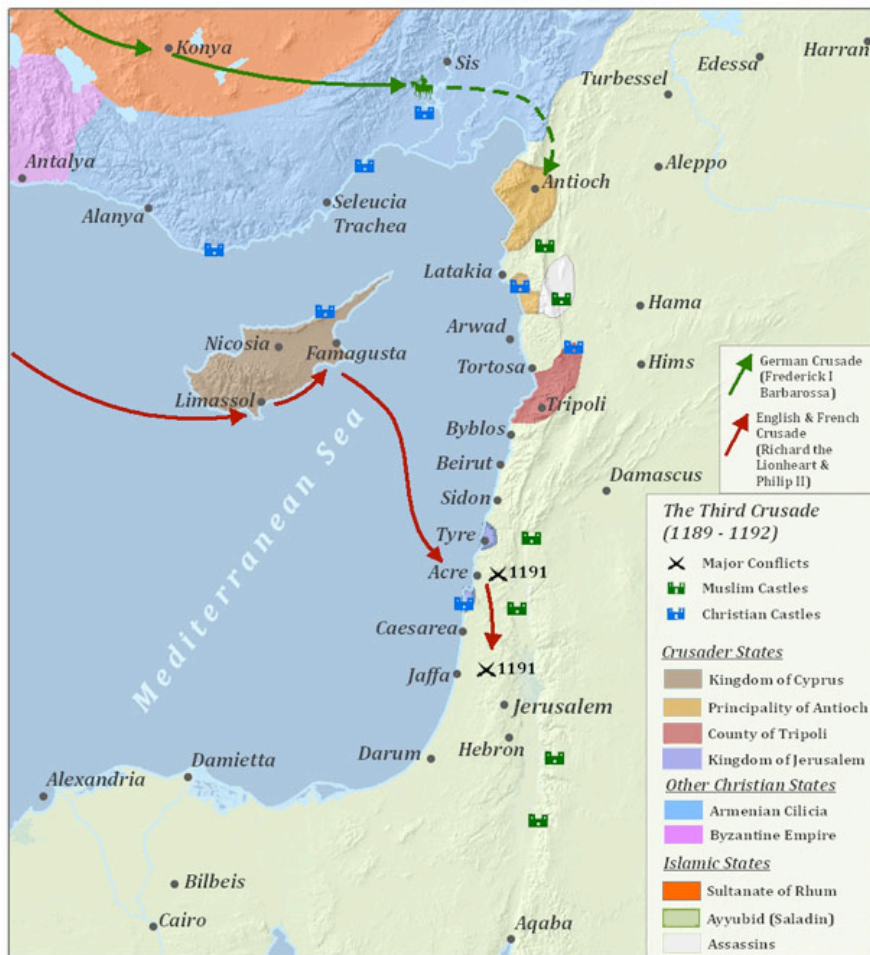
Four main groups left Europe and convened in Constantinople: The northern French and Lotharingians led by Godfrey de Boulogne, the French by Hugh I of Vermandois, the Provençals by Count Raymond of Toulouse, and the Italo-Normans by Bohemond.



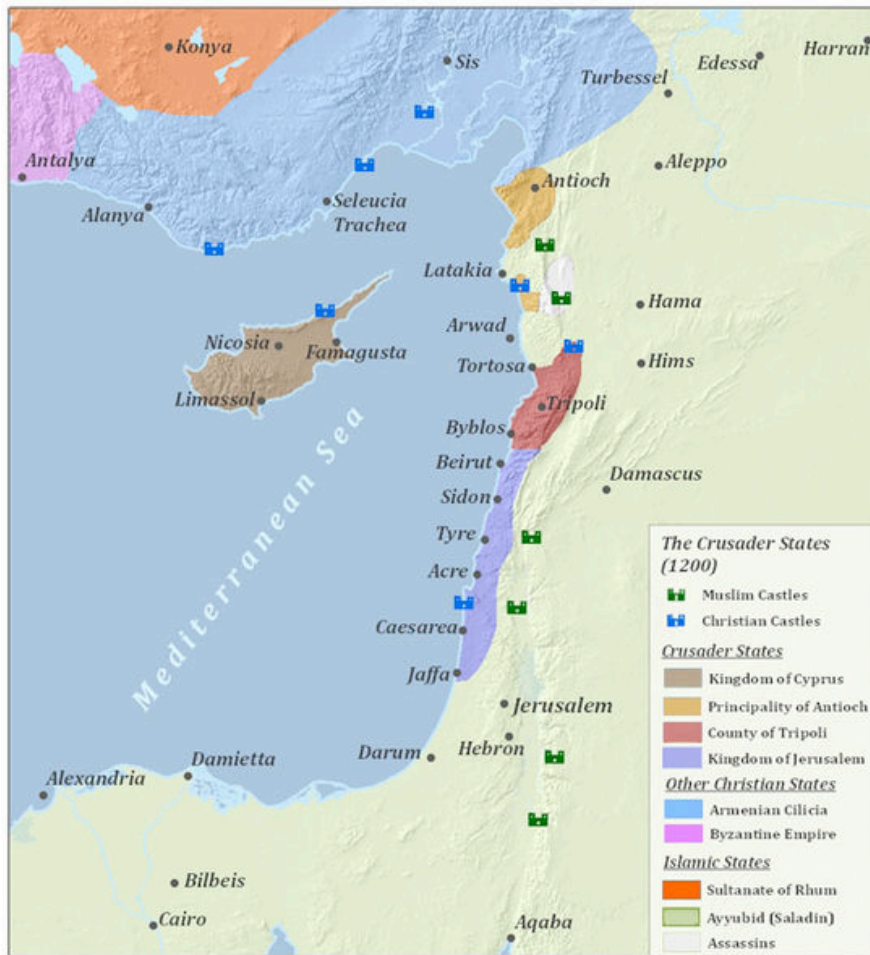
The conjoined First Crusade hosts left Constantinople in 1097, besieging Antioch late that year, and finally taking Jerusalem in the summer of 1099.



The Latin conquests continued into the early twelfth century. With the exception of the loss of Edessa in 1144, the borders shown here changed little until the 1180s.



Saladin's conquests left the Latins clinging to a few coastal towns and the stronghold of Antioch, isolated from each other by Muslim territories.



The Third Crusade and the resulting negotiations with Saladin won the Latins a slender strip of coastal lands.

Appendix 2: Key Figures of the Crusades and Levant

Alexius Comnenus, Alexius I, Emperor of Byzantium (1056-1118): Threatened by the rapid encroachment of the Seljūq Turks, Byzantine Emperor Alexius I called on the Franks to send an expeditionary force to retake the Holy Land, resulting in the First Crusade. In 1097, Alexius assisted the Crusade hosts across the Bosphorus into Anatolia, providing both materiel and men in support in exchange for oaths from the leaders that all land would be held in vassalage to him. Bohemond was the first to break the oath, refusing to hand over Antioch in 1098; the other leaders followed suit and relations with the Byzantine Empire remained tense throughout the history of the Latin East.

Amalric I of Jerusalem (1136-1174): Amalric's reign is perhaps the most stable era in the history of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. While Nūr ad-Dīn threatened the northern territories, Amalric was able to lead several expeditions into Egypt, supporting a rebellion against Nūr ad-Dīn's vizier there. His first wife, Agnes de Courtenay, bore him Baldwin IV and Sibylla; his second, Maria Comnena, his daughter Isabella. He also patronized William of Tyre, requesting a history of the Muslim princes as well as one of the Latin East.

Baldwin of Boulogne, Baldwin of Edessa, Baldwin I of Jerusalem (1058-1118): Baldwin joined the First Crusade with his brothers Eustace, who returned to Europe after the fall of Jerusalem, and Godfrey, who became the first "Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre," refusing the title "King of Jerusalem. In 1098 Baldwin was adopted by the Armenian Thoros of Edessa, inheriting the city

on his adoptive father's death soon after. Two years later, his brother Godfrey died and Baldwin became first King of Jerusalem.

Baldwin de Bourcq, Baldwin II of Jerusalem (d. 1131): A cousin of Baldwin I, Baldwin de Bourcq inherited first the County of Edessa, then the Kingdom of Jerusalem from his cousin. In 1123 he was captured by the Turk Balaq, escaping in 1124 with assistance from several Armenians, perhaps because his wife, Morphia of Melitene, was Armenian herself. His daughter Melisende inherited Jerusalem; her sisters Alice and Hodierna married the Prince of Antioch and Count of Tripoli, binding all of the Latin East together.

Baldwin III of Jerusalem (1130-1163): Baldwin III's reign is best known for the civil war between him, his mother Melisende and his brother Amalric.

Baldwin IV of Jerusalem (1161-1185): The "Leper King," Baldwin IV was unable to hold the factions of the Latin East together in the face of Muslim invasion: His second cousin, Raymond III of Tripoli turned against him and especially his full sister Sibylla and her husband Guy de Lusignan; after his death, factions again aligned behind Sibylla and his younger half-sister Isabelle.

Balian d'Ibelin (1140s-1193): The third son of a powerful baronial family and married to Maria Comnena, dowager queen of Amalric I and mother of Isabella I, Balian d'Ibelin survived the Battle of Hattin in 1187 and undertook the defense of the city of Jerusalem against Saladin the

same year. When it became clear the Latins could not hold the city, he negotiated its surrender with Saladin, assisting the poor of the city in ransoming themselves as best he could.

Bohemond of Taranto, Bohemond I of Antioch (1058-1111): Born in Calabria to the Norman adventurer Robert Guiscard, Bohemond led a contingent of southern Italo-Normans in the First Crusade. He was instrumental in taking Antioch in 1098, and claimed the city as his own, founding a dynasty of Princes of Antioch.

Conrad of Montferrat (1140s-1192): Conrad spent several years serving the Emperor in Byzantium, coming to the Latin East in 1187, where he immediately undertook the defense of Tyre against Saladin. He enacted the role of King of Jerusalem, finally claiming it officially with his marriage to Isabella I in 1190, on her succession to the throne. He died immediately after, but was credited with saving the Latin East in the absence of a king.

Firūz, Pyrrus (??-??): During the siege of Antioch in 1097-98, Bohemond established a relationship with the man in command of one of the city's towers; alternately referred to as Firūz and Pyrrus, he may have been an Armenian or Turk. Whatever his ethnicity or religion, he allowed the Normans into his tower, from which they took the city of Antioch.

Guy de Lusignan (1150-1194): Born to a prominent Poitievain family, Guy married Princess Sibylla in 1180, becoming her king consort in 1186. A year later he would be blamed for the disastrous Battle of Hattin, in which he and the bulk of the Kingdom of Jerusalem's forces were

captured, with the Knights Templar and Hospitaller being executed. He continued to claim the title of king even after Sibylla's death in 1190, contesting it with Conrad of Montferrat until Conrad's official election in 1192. His liege, Richard I of England, sold him Cyprus as a consolation, where his dynasty continued to rule until 1473.

Humphrey II of Toron (1117-1179): Constable of Jerusalem, Humphrey II had a personal relationship with a Turk in Nūr ad-Dīn's army, which provided him with information about the enemy's movements and intentions.

Humphrey IV of Toron (1166-1197?): Reynald de Châtillon's stepson, he married Isabella of Jerusalem at a young age, but was divorced in 1190, when she married Conrad of Montferrat. A noted Arabic scholar, he served as an interpreter for Richard I during the Third Crusade.

‘Imād ad-Dīn Zangī (1085-1146): Raised by Kerbogha in Mosul, Zangī became *atabeg*, governing both of Mosul and Aleppo under the Seljūq sultan, Zangī successfully took the County of Edessa in 1144, sparking the Second Crusade. He was killed by a Frankish slave two years later, but his son Nūr ad-Dīn was able to build on his early successes and become a stronger force in the Levant itself.

Isabella I of Jerusalem (1172-1205): Amalric I's daughter by Maria Comnena, her early marriage to Humphrey IV of Toron was ended at her sister Sibylla's death in 1190, and she was hastily married to Conrad of Montferrat to cement his role as King of Jerusalem. Conrad himself

died soon after, with Isabella marrying Henry of Champagne, since the marriage favored neither Richard I nor Philip II. Henry died in 1197, and Isabelle married Guy de Lusignan's brother Amalric, king of Cyprus and titular King of Jerusalem a year later.

Joscelin I de Courtenay, Joscelin of Turbessel (d. 1131): During the First Crusade, Joscelin claimed the area of Turbessel, east of Edessa, which was absorbed into the County of Edessa. In 1118 he took over the County itself when Baldwin II became King of Jerusalem; in 1123 he was captured and held prisoner by the king by Balak, escaping with the assistance of an Armenian contingent. His heirs would remain major players in the Latin East.

Kerbogha (??-??) *Atabeg* of Mosul, the Turkish Kerbogha marched to support Antioch against the Crusaders' siege in 1098, but arrived after they had already taken the city. Peter the Hermit and Herluin offered him terms, which he refused, and he was defeated in the field outside the walls in June of 1098.

Manuel Comnenus (1118-1180): Manuel became Emperor of Byzantium in 1143 and followed a pro-Latin policy, assisting the Second Crusade personally in the 1140s. He married Amalric I's cousin Maria of Antioch in 1161, with his grand-niece Maria marrying the King of Jerusalem two years later, and the two rulers making a formal alliance in 1168.

Nūr ad-Dīn (1118-1174): Nūr ad-Dīn inherited Aleppo from his father, 'Imād ad-Dīn Zangī, using the city as a power base to build a Muslim alliance against the Latins in the East.

Philip II of France (1165-1223): Philip II arrived for the Third Crusade in early 1191, participating in the siege of Acre and mitigating the succession crisis of Isabelle I. Severely ill, he returned home a few months later, although his army remained in the east.

Raymond IV of Toulouse, Raymond de St Gilles (1041-1105): Raymond was the first to join the Crusade after the Council of Clermont in 1095, and was its main leader, despite constant dissension between the various groups in the Host. He became Count of Tripoli, and founded a Provençal dynasty there.

Raymond III of Tripoli (1140-1187): Raymond served as regent for the Kingdom of Jerusalem during his cousin Baldwin IV's minority, and supported Isabella as Baldwin's heir over her sister Sibylla. He contracted an alliance with Saladin in 1186-1187, but did not actively support the Muslims against the Latins, and was soon pressured into fighting with his coreligionists instead.

Reynald de Châtillon (1125-1187) Reynald came to the Levant during the Second Crusade, and remained afterwards, marrying first Constance, Princess of Antioch, then Stephanie of Milly to become one of the most powerful men in the Latin East. From 1160-1177 he was held captive in Aleppo; after his release he became known for attacking Muslim caravans during times of peace, and leading a raid within a few miles of Medina. In 1186 he became close to Guy de Lusignan, also a westerner raised up by an advantageous marriage; the same year he broke a truce with Saladin by attacking a large caravan, an incident commonly cited as the excuse for Saladin's

subsequent retaliation. In 1187 he was captured during the Battle of Hattin, and executed by Saladin himself.

Reynald de Sidon (1130s-1202): Reynald de Sidon probably developed some kind of relationship with Saladin before 1187; in 1189 he promised an alliance and the surrender of his castle of Beaufort in exchange for a fief in Damascus, although this was apparently a ruse for time. During the Third Crusade he acted as an ambassador for Conrad of Montferrat, using his familiarity with Arabic literature as well as language.

Riḍwān (d. 1113): A Seljūq Turk, Riḍwān ruled Aleppo, and fought both with and against Tancred during his reign as Regent of Antioch, until Aleppo was reduced to a vassal state in 1110.

Richard I of England (1157-1199): Richard's mother, Eleanor of Aquitaine, participated in the Second Crusade, and his father, Henry II of England, died before he was able to fulfill his own vows to fight in the East. Richard himself arrived in 1191, and succeeded in taking Acre and brokering a peace agreement with Saladin as well as settling the succession crisis with Henry of Champagne's marriage to Isabelle I, though he was unable to retake Jerusalem before he was forced to return to Europe by illness and political pressures at home.

Richard of the Principate, Richard of Salerno (1060?-1114): Born in Sicily, Richard joined his Tancred in serving his cousin Bohemond on the First Crusade, on the battlefield and as an Arabic-speaking negotiator. He remained active in the politics of Edessa and Antioch until his death.

Saif ad-Dīn, Saphadin, al-‘Ādil (1145-1218): Saladin’s younger brother, al-‘Ādil supported him in both government and war. He was also responsible for the majority of negotiations with Richard I during the Third Crusade, developing a close relationship with him.

Saladin, Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb (1138-1193): The young Saladin followed his uncle Shirkuh in service to Nūr ad-Dīn, ultimately becoming Sultan of Egypt in 1174. Able to maintain an empire from Egypt to Iraq mostly by force of personality, Saladin destroyed the majority of the forces of the Latin East at the Battle of Hattin in 1187, taking the city of Jerusalem soon after. He fought against Richard I and Philip II in the Third Crusade, losing the city of Acre but little else, finally establishing a three year truce with Richard in 1192.

Shawar (d. 1169): Shawar became vizier of Egypt under the last Fāṭimid caliph, maintaining his power under Nūr ad-Dīn. He lost his position and life when he allied with Amalric I, and was ousted from power by Shirkuh in 1169.

Shirkuh (d. 1169): A Kurd in the service of Nūr ad-Dīn, he put down an uprising led by Shawar in Egypt in 1169, replacing the rebellious vizier who had allied with Amalric I. He died soon after, succeeded by his nephew Saladin.

Sibylla of Jerusalem (1160-1190): Sibylla inherited the fracturing Kingdom of Jerusalem from her brother Baldwin IV in 1186; like him, she was unable to unite the factions of the Latin East, and in 1187 lost the city of Jerusalem to Saladin.

Tancred (1075-1112): The son of Bohemond I's sister Emma, Tancred accompanied his uncle on Crusade, though he remained with the main host until the fall of Jerusalem. Made Prince of Galilee, he had more influence as Regent of Antioch during Bohemond's Turkish captivity from 1100-1103. Raised in polyglot Sicily, he spoke Arabic and acted as a negotiator for his uncle.

Taticius (d. After 1099): The son of a captured Turk, Alexius I sent his friend Taticius with the First Crusade host to act as a guide, and represent Byzantine interests. During the siege of Antioch he left the host due to anti-Byzantine sentiments in the army.

Appendix 3: Ethnic Terms

I have tried to use the same terminology for groups of people as my original sources, however, these are not always clear, necessitating a careful balance between historical terms and those commonly used in Crusade Studies.

“Crusade” itself is an anachronistic term; the men I have referred to as “Crusaders” were in fact called “pilgrims,” sometimes referred to by the sources as “Christians” or “Franks.” I use “Franks” in reference to the French, English, and Normans who came on Crusade, and I avoid the term “Christian” without qualifying it with “Latin” or “Eastern, Oriental.” By “Latin” I refer to someone who followed the Latin Rite of the Catholic Church, having faith in the Pope of Rome. For the most part, the Latins I discuss are Latin Christians residing in the Levant, the “Latin East.” The majority of these were speakers of varying sorts of French.

These Christians are distinct from the “Eastern” Christians, of whom there are several groups. Interestingly, the Latins seem to have identified these groups by their languages rather than their religious rites. The Byzantines were Greeks, but people who follow their Greek rite while speaking Armenian are referred to as Armenians, as are those who followed the separate Armenian language rite. Christians called Syrian spoke Arabic as a secular language, using Syriac in their liturgy. Other groups, such as the Maronites, were present, but I have not mentioned them. The Arabic sources refer to Eastern Christians simply as “Christian,” Latins are usually “Franks.”

The Latin and French sources frequently refer to Muslims as “pagans,” sometimes “infidels.” “Turk” is also used, as is “Saracen;” “Arab” is far more rare. Because of the original sources’ vagueness in terminology for what was simply an Other, it sometimes impossible to tell

if “Turk” means someone of the Turkic ethnic groups, or simply means Muslim. I have usually referred only to “Muslims” unless the source specifically mentions Turks or Arabs.

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