

Rule and identity in a diverse Mediterranean society:
aspects of the county of Tripoli during the twelfth century

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Thesis submitted for the degree of D.Phil.

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For my parents

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SHORT ABSTRACT

The county of Tripoli (Lebanon) was one of four “crusader states” established in the Levant after the First Crusade (1095-99). Compared to the other states, the county of Tripoli has suffered from a disproportionate level of historiographical neglect. What has been produced has taken an institutional and Eurocentric approach to the subject and its sources. The present thesis jettisons this in favour of a post-institutional methodology, approaching the county from the perspectives of geography and demographics, which together ensure that it is treated within its proper Syro-Lebanese context. Chapter one looks at the role of local geography in shaping the political frontiers of the county of Tripoli and its neighbours, arguing that topography was more important than the agency of the European settlers. Chapter two continues to challenge traditional assumptions regarding European influence, arguing that the specifically southern French origins of many of the county’s settlers were of little significance. Chapter three analyses the use of Arabic by the Frankish government of the county, informed by an awareness of diglossia. It argues that the Franks were more likely to know spoken Arabic than written, but remained reliant upon local intermediaries when ruling over Arabophones. Chapter four looks at popular religion, arguing that the cross-fertilisation of religious beliefs and practices was widespread but poorly understood by the contemporary intelligentsia, upon whose sources historians rely. As a whole, the thesis argues that the county’s inhabitants lacked a distinctive culture, identity, religion or language. The sole justification for viewing the county as an integrated unit is geographical.

LONG ABSTRACT

The Frankish county of Tripoli – one of the four “crusader states” established after the First Crusade (1095-99) – was not historically important in the twelfth century, at least in the traditional sense. Its counts won no particularly great military victories beyond the conquest of the county itself, its intelligentsia left no surviving literature, and its archaeological heritage is insufficiently explored. Yet the study of the county is important, in that it raises a number of hitherto unasked and unanswered questions regarding the development of the crusader states in relation to local geo-political circumstances, and also the interactions between the ruling European, Latin Christian or “Frankish” settlers and the region’s various indigenous population groups. Though small, the county’s history encapsulates the principal forces that shook and shaped the Latin East as a whole.

Compared to the other crusader states, the county of Tripoli has suffered from a disproportionate degree of historiographical neglect. Despite the great efflorescence of studies into aspects of the history and archaeology of the other regions of the Latin East, particularly the kingdom of Jerusalem, since the mid-twentieth century, few scholars have addressed the county of Tripoli. What scholarship there has been – both of the county of Tripoli specifically and the Latin East more generally – has focused upon institutional history, particularly those institutions imported by the Europeans to the conquered Levant following the First Crusade. Scholars have used traditional sources written in European languages, primarily Latin and French chronicles and charters, in order to reconstruct the “feudal” government transplanted onto the Latin East. In the case of the county of Tripoli, the relevant historiography is still guided by the theory originated by René Grousset and elaborated by his student Jean Richard in the 1930s and 1940s, that this small Lebanese territory was distinguished primarily by being the

only “Provençal” crusader state – thus distinct from the Lotharingian kingdom of Jerusalem and the Norman principality of Antioch. It derived this supposedly unique quality from having been established and ruled by the southern French crusader, Count Raymond IV of Toulouse and Saint-Gilles (d.1105), and his progeny. At its core, this theory is a neo-colonialist one, an elaboration of the nineteenth-century belief that the crusader states were French proto-colonies, precursors to the French Empire of the modern era.

The present thesis contests this traditional scholarship, by adopting a post-institutional methodology and by jettisoning the rather Eurocentric approach to source material and historiography, which has long dominated the study of the history of the crusades and the Latin East. The thesis challenges many of the types of evidence utilised by past historians, showing them to be unreliable at best. Institutions identified by earlier historians prove inconsistent, failing to conform to all available evidence. At the highest level, the very concept of the crusader states as independent and clearly demarcated polities seems doubtful, or at least subject to much greater constitutional change than previously thought. Social relations between the Latin Christians and their indigenous subjects rarely reflect what would be expected on the basis of their respective religious doctrines. It is not simply the technical and general conclusions of previous historians that are contested, but their methodological assumptions.

In order to move beyond the often Eurocentric and even colonialist history of the past, this thesis approaches the county of Tripoli from the perspectives of geography and demographics, which together ensure that the subject is treated within its proper Syro-Lebanese context. The thesis is comprised of four chapters. The first adopts a geo-historical methodology inspired by Fernand Braudel, but also Horden and Purcell, to assess the continuity of political territoriality in the region before and after the First

Crusade. Historians have long been aware of the importance of geography, but have used this only to explain the politico-military frontier between the Christian territories and the Muslim lands to the east. In the case of the county of Tripoli, the Homs Gap between Mount Lebanon and Jabal al-Nuṣayriyya has received the most attention. Historians have not used geography to explain why the crusader states developed as they did in relation to each other, preferring to assume that the famous quadripartite scheme outlined by William of Tyre was as relevant at the beginning of the twelfth century as it was at its end. At most, scholars such as Richard have stuck to the neo-colonialist and anthropocentric model of a Latin East divided only by the distinctive European origins of each crusader state's ruling dynasty.

In fact, the mountains were at least as important in determining the shape of the county and its independence from its Christian neighbours, as they were in protecting it from eastern invasions. This is demonstrated well by a substantial body of evidence, which suggests that the original intention of the crusader-settlers in the early twelfth century was to establish a bipartite Latin East. Informed by erstwhile Byzantine and Fāṭimid allies, the crusaders strove to follow the precedent of the Byzantine-Fāṭimid border of the mid-eleventh century. This had bisected the Levant just a generation before the First Crusade, and had been set at a river between Tripoli and Tortosa, probably the one known today as al-Nahr al-Kabīr al-Janūbī and used as the international border between the modern republics of Lebanon and Syria. The county of Tripoli, spanning the old border, was simply not intended to exist at this point. The county as it existed in the decade or two after the capitulation of the city of Tripoli in 1109 was a fief of Jerusalem, extending only as far north as al-Nahr al-Kabīr al-Janūbī, contiguous but not yet fully integrated with the discrete Antiochene fief to the north, acquired by Count Pons in 1112. Pons managed to transform the two dependent

lordships into one single domain, avoiding the fate of other lordships in the kingdom of Jerusalem, which were brought under the intensive power of the king. He was able to do this largely thanks to the narrow mountain pass between Lebanon and the Mediterranean, *Passus Canis*, which allowed authorities to control access to and from the county with ease. Thus, the county emerges as a Mediterranean “microecology” in a state of territorial flux, rather than as a pre-planned or well-defined polity with clear, definite borders.

The second chapter begins to explore the social composition of the county, dealing with the extent to which southern French or “Occitan” culture and political customs were imported to the county. It continues the first chapter’s implicit argument against the belief of historians like Richard, that the county’s history was shaped by its supposed status as the only “southern French” crusader state. It is argued that Occitan settlement was neither exclusive to the county nor ubiquitous within it. Very many Occitans settled beyond the county, attracted in particular to the Holy Land proper to the south, bringing their heritage and customs to the kingdom of Jerusalem as well as to Tripoli. At the same time, many non-Occitans settled within the county of Tripoli, including the Italians but also the “international” military orders. The Occitans who did settle within the county tended to do so in Tripoli itself, leaving outlying towns like Jubayl to the Genoese Embriaci and Batrūn to the Pisans. Occitan heritage became gradually diluted over time, even amongst families of Occitan origin. This can be seen in simple genealogy, as with the northern French and Armenian blood that had entered the comital line by the mid-twelfth century. Similarly, the main European language spoken throughout the county was probably not *langue d’oc*, at least not exclusively.

It should not be thought that Occitania gave nothing to the county’s inhabitants in terms of culture and language. In some ways, the county’s European residents

exhibited more of an Occitan identity than even Richard believes. For example, regular contact between the county and Occitania did not cease with Count Alfons Jordan of Toulouse's controversial death in 1148, but continued to occur throughout the twelfth century. The counts of Tripoli and contemporary observers – Arabic as well as Latin – retained the memory of the dynasty's descent from the counts of Toulouse and Saint-Gilles. Raymond III, the last of the *dynastie toulousaine* in Tripoli, employed the troubadour Peire Vidal and offered his county to his distant cousins in Toulouse. At the same time, however, this Occitan identity was largely restricted to certain families, particularly the ruling dynasty. The Italian Embriaci sought to become "Franks", evidently inspired by the pan-Frankish identity of settlers, and did not seek to become "Provençaux". Contemporary Arabic authors wrote of "Franks" (*ifranjī*) and "Genoese" (*janawīyūn*), but never of the "*Provinciales*" found in Latin chronicles.

Chapter three brings the neglected indigenous peoples to the fore, by focusing upon interactions between different linguistic groups, principally the Arabophone locals and the predominantly Romance-speaking Franks. The widespread use of Arabic in the county of Tripoli was certainly an obstacle between the Latin Christians and their indigenous subjects, uniting the latter against the former despite the religious division between local Muslims and local Christians. Arabic was the majority language, yet few Franks seem to have learnt it, preferring to speak Romance dialects. The concept of diglossia – the co-existence of sometimes divergent high and low registers within a single language – is an important but under-appreciated consideration. Arabic's marked diglossia ought to militate against any simplistic generalisations that the Franks either did or did not learn Arabic, as if this language did not vary across high and low registers. Just as they did elsewhere in the medieval Mediterranean, the Romance-speaking, Latin-writing conquerors of the county of Tripoli failed to learn formal

written Arabic to any appreciable degree. They did, however, learn informal spoken Arabic with rather more success.

In respect to both spoken and written Arabic, the Franks could not fail to recognise the importance of the language, when engaging in necessary communication with rivals and allies, merchants and neighbours. Therefore, they were obliged to employ intermediaries to compensate for their own linguistic shortcomings. These intermediaries were often but not exclusively local Christians, who spoke and wrote in Arabic on behalf of their Latin Christian employers, as was the case elsewhere in the medieval Mediterranean, where Latin-writing, Romance-speaking Europeans ruled over Arabophone populations. The surviving sources for the county of Tripoli cannot challenge the traditional view that trade and warfare surpassed intellectual curiosity as an imperative for the Latins of Syria to employ Arabic, directly or indirectly. Nevertheless, some Arabic vocabulary entered the local Frankish lexicon during this period, even leaving traces in the conservative, consciously classicising writings of Latin clergymen, suggesting that the barrier between the languages of conquerors and conquered was far from impermeable, even if the acquisition of foreign languages wholesale remained exceptional. The implicit assumption of previous historians, that the few surviving written sources – usually Latin – can be used to create a comprehensive history of society and institutions in the crusader states, must be discarded, since it was through informal, oral and vernacular channels – now lost or obscure – that the most substantial interactions between Latins and the indigenous took place. Most surviving written sources from the Latin East are misleading at best, and sometimes deliberately so.

The fourth and final chapter aims to shed further light on interactions between the European Latin Christians and the indigenous peoples of the county, moving from

language to religion. Relations between the various religious groups in the county of Tripoli must be viewed not as monolithic structures, but as internally complex communities, each divided roughly into the learned elite and the uneducated masses. They cannot be understood purely from the perspectives of normative doctrine – that is, what elites felt their co-religionists should have believed – or institutional history – how the elites went about organising themselves and their flocks on an administrative level. It is clear that most people at the time understood their own religion and the faiths of others according to non-written signs, such as special diets or clothing and the use of bells or muezzins, rather than the written dogma of the intellectuals. People of all religions interacted with one another and borrowed the beliefs and practices of other faiths, often according to highly localised customs.

This chapter returns to the local geography of the region, but transitions away from the politico-military significance of the first chapter, by analysing instead the various religious shrines that comprised the shared space of the county. It was in the county's unique network of pan-Abrahamic and Islamo-Christian shrines that many of the interactions between religious groups took place. That the Latin Christian *pullani* came to tolerate, maintain, encourage, revivify and participate in many of the holy sites and shared devotions that pre-dated their own arrival is testament to the durability of local traditions. By virtue of this region's long-standing confessional diversity, the county of Tripoli offers an ideal opportunity for a case study of the widespread cross-fertilisation of rituals and practices, with many inhabitants of the county and its surroundings mixing Christian and Islamic belief and custom on a regular basis. At the same time, many aspects of this syncretic popular religion were condemned by religious elites, Christian priests and Muslim '*ulamā*' alike. Ironically, many of these elites, who claimed the highest worldly authority to teach the "correct" religion, often

misunderstood what was happening at the local popular level, which led them to misjudge the relative demographic strength of religions. This makes the task of the historian seeking proof of such social phenomena as genuine religious conversion in the sources written by these intellectuals, all the more difficult.

The county of Tripoli was not “*la France du Levant*” or “*la Provence au Liban*”. It was not the Occitan crusader state. It was founded and settled by Europeans of diverse origin, predominantly but not exclusively Occitan, who always remained a comparative minority amidst a still more diverse range of indigenous peoples, speaking their own languages and praying after their own fashions. This diversity pervaded the county’s society at every level. It is possible to identify specific groups, such as Arabic speakers and Romance speakers, or Twelver Shī‘ite Muslims and Latin-rite Christians. Yet often these categories shift out of focus and their edges blur into one another, as crusaders sought to follow in Byzantine and Fāṭimid footsteps, as the descendants of crusaders learnt spoken Arabic to communicate better with their neighbours, and as Muslims took their children to be baptised by Latin priests for good luck. None of the demographic groups – European or indigenous – were unique to the county, but spread throughout the Latin East. Neither syncretism nor the interplay of the languages of conquerors and conquered were distinctive of the county. In short, the thesis makes the point that the diverse influences acting upon the county mean that there is no real unity to the county of Tripoli as a concept, for its inhabitants lacked a distinctive shared culture, corporate identity, religion or language. When the county is viewed through as wide a lens as possible, it is geography alone that remains as the sole justification for viewing the ephemeral county as an integrated, distinctive whole.

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TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Primary sources written in a range of languages are utilised throughout this thesis. European languages provide little difficulty, sharing as they do the Roman alphabet. European personal names and toponyms are generally given according to their orthography in modern Anglophone scholarship, for example “Raymond” rather than the manifold variants on Latin “*Raimundus*”, Old French “*Reimont*” or Occitan “*Raimon*”, and “Tripoli” in lieu of Latin “*Tripolis*”, Old French “*Triple*” or Occitan “*Tripol*”.

The transliteration of Arabic follows that adopted by the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, albeit with “j” replacing “dj” and “q” replacing “k”. Arabic toponyms and personal names have been transliterated fully, except where another spelling has entered common English usage: thus “Tripoli” not “*Ṭarābulus*” and “Saladin” not “*Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn*”. Furthermore, the transliteration of Arabic has followed orthography rather than pronunciation: for example, “*bi-al-sayf*” rather than “*bi-s-sayf*”. The *tā’ marbūṭa* has been transliterated as “-a” in most cases, except when forming the first part of an *iḍāfa* construct, where it has been transliterated as “-at”.

Words and extracts derived from non-western and non-Arabic sources have been transliterated in accordance with the prevailing usage employed in modern English translations and Anglophone scholarship. In the case of Greek, this means that one reads “Alexios Komnenos”, not Latinate “Alexius Comnenus”.

Unless otherwise stated, all translations given are my own.

DATING CONVENTIONS

The dating conventions adopted by contemporary authors vary wildly, across and within linguistic and religious groups. Dates in this thesis are generally given according to the Christian *Anno Domini* (AD) solar calendar, with each year judged to begin on 1 January, as per modern reckoning, unless otherwise stated. Frequently, it has seemed appropriate to employ the Muslim *Anno Hegirae* or *Hijrī* (AH) lunar calendar alongside this. Usually, the AH date has been indicated clearly and given in brackets, although sometimes style has dictated the use of the following format: 531/1137. In such exceptional cases, the first and invariably lower number represents the AH year and the second the AD year. On rare occasions, the source material has employed other calendars, particularly the Seleucid or “Greek” *Anno Graecorum* (AG) solar calendar. Years given in these calendars are labelled clearly, accompanied by the equivalent date in either or both of the Christian and Muslim calendars.

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Albert of Aachen, <i>Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the Journey to Jerusalem</i> , ed. and trans. by S. B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007)
AF	Abū al-Fidā', 'Imād al-Dīn Ismā'īl, <i>Kitāb al-mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar (al-Tārīkh)</i> , 4 vols (Cairo, 1907)
AF <i>Buldān</i>	<i>Géographie d'Aboulféda: Texte arabe/Kitāb taqwīm al-buldān</i> , ed. by J. T. Reinaud and W. M. de Slane (Paris, 1840)
AHR	<i>The American Historical Review</i>
AK	Anna Komnene, <i>The Alexiad</i> , trans. by E. R. A. Sewter, rev. by P. Frankopan (London, 2009)
<i>Al-Masāq</i>	<i>Al-Masāq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean</i>
AS	Abū Shāma, Shihāb al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Ismā'īl bin Ibrāhīm bin 'Uthmān al-Muqaddasī al-Dimashqī al-Shāfi'ī, <i>Kitāb al-rawḍatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn al-nūriyya wa-al-ṣalāḥiyya</i> , ed. by I. Shams al-Dīn, 4 vols in 2 (Beirut, 2002)
AS <i>Dhayl</i>	Abū Shāma, Shihāb al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Ismā'īl bin Ibrāhīm bin 'Uthmān al-Muqaddasī al-Dimashqī al-Shāfi'ī, <i>Tarājim rijāl al-qarnayn al-sādis wa-al-sābi', al-ma'rūf bi-al-dhayl 'alā al-rawḍatayn</i> , ed. by I. Shams al-Dīn (Beirut, 2002)
BD	Bahā' al-Dīn bin Shaddād, <i>Sīrat Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn: «al-sīra al-yūsufiyya»</i> , ed. by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl (Cairo, 1962)
BMB	<i>Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth</i>

BMS	‘Burchardi de Monte Sion Descriptio Terrae Sanctae’, in <i>Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quatuor</i> , ed. by J. C. M. Laurent, 2 nd edn (Leipzig, 1873), pp. 1-100
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London</i>
CCSSJ	Bresc-Bautier, G., ed., <i>Le Cartulaire du Chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem</i> (Paris, 1984)
CGOH	Delaville le Roulx, J., ed., <i>Cartulaire général de l’Ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem (1100-1310)</i> , 4 vols (Paris, 1894-1906)
CHR	<i>The Catholic Historical Review</i>
Chronos	<i>Chronos: Revue d’Histoire de l’Université de Balamand</i>
Comté	J. Richard, <i>Le comté de Tripoli sous la dynastie toulousaine (1102-1187)</i> , Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, 39 (Paris, 1945)
Comté multiculturel	<i>Le comté de Tripoli: État multiculturel et multiconfessionnel (1102-1289)</i> , ed. by G. Dédéyan and K. Rizk, <i>Préface de J. Richard</i> (Paris, 2010)
Cont. Morgan	Morgan, M. R., ed., <i>La continuation de Guillaume de Tyre (1184-1197)</i> , Documents relatifs à l’histoire des Croisades publiés par l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 14 (Paris, 1982)
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
DUKJ	Mayer, H. E., ed., <i>Die Urkunden der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem, Altfranzösische Texte Erstellt von Jean Richard</i> , 4

- vols, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Diplomata Regum Latinorum Hierosolymitanorum*, 1-4 (Hannover, 2010)
- EHR* *The English Historical Review*
- EI2* *The Encyclopaedia of Islam: New Edition*, 12 vols + index (Leiden, 1960-2009)
- EI3* *The Encyclopaedia of Islam: Three*, ed. by G. Krämer et al. (Leiden, 2007-)
- Eracles* ‘L’Estoire de Eracles empereur et la conquest de la terre d’Outremer: C’est la continuation de l’estoire de Guillaume archevesque de Sur’, *RHC Oc*, ii [1859], 1-481
- Ernoul* *Chronique d’Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. by M. L. de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1871)
- Estoires* Jubb, M. A., ed., *A Critical Edition of the Estoires d’Outremer et de la naissance Salehadin*, Westfield Publications in Medieval Studies, 4 (London, 1990)
- FC* Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana (1095-1127)*, ed. by H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913)
- GF* *Anonymi Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. by H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1890)
- IA* Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, ed. by C. J. Tornberg, rev. edn, 12 vols + index (Beirut, 1965-1967)
- IJ* Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, ed. by W. Wright and M. J. de Goeje (Leiden and London, 1907)

‘ID	‘Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, <i>Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Ṣalāḥ ed-dīn/Kitāb al-faṭḥ al-qussī fī al-faṭḥ al-quḍṣī</i> , ed. by C. de Landberg (Leiden, 1888)
IP Mayer	<i>Das Itinerarium peregrinorum: Eine zeitgenössische englische Chronik zum dritten Kreuzzug in ursprünglicher Gestalt</i> , ed. by H. E. Mayer (Stuttgart, 1962)
IP Stubbs	<i>Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi; Auctore, ut videtur, Ricardo, Canonico Sanctæ Trinitatis Londoniensis</i> , ed. by W. Stubbs, <i>Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I</i> , 1 (London, 1864)
IQ	Ibn al-Qalānīsī, Abū Ya‘lā Ḥamza, <i>History of Damascus, 363-555 a. h.</i> , by Ibn al-Qalānīsī from the Bodleian Ms. Hunt. 125, being a continuation of <i>Hilāl al-Sābi</i> , ed. by H. F. Amedroz (Leiden, 1908)
JESHO	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
JMH	<i>Journal of Medieval History</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland</i>
JV	James of Vitry, <i>Histoire orientale. Historia orientalis</i> , ed. and trans. by J. Donnadieu (Turnhout, 2008)
JV Lettres	James of Vitry, <i>Lettres de Jacques de Vitry (1160/1170-1240), évêque de Saint-Jean-d’Acre</i> , ed. by R. B. C. Huygens (Leiden, 1960)
KD	Kamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim ‘Amr bin Aḥmad bin Hibat Allāh Ibn al-‘Adīm, <i>Zubdat al-ḥalab min tārikh ḥalab</i> , ed. by Sāmī al-Dahhān, 3 vols (Damascus, 1951-1968)

<i>Lignages</i>	<i>Lignages d’Outremer</i> , ed. by Marie-Adélaïde Nielen, Documents relatifs à l’histoire des croisades publiés par l’Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 18 (Paris, 2003)
<i>MGH SS</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores</i> , 39 vols (Hannover, 1826-)
<i>MW</i>	<i>The Muslim World</i>
<i>NK</i>	<i>Nāṣer-e Khosraw’s Book of Travels (Safarnāma)</i> , trans. by W. M. Thackston, Jr., Persian Heritage Series, 36 (Albany, NY, 1986)
<i>P&P</i>	<i>Past and Present</i>
<i>PT</i>	Petrus Tudebodus, <i>Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere</i> , ed. by J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill, with P. Wolff and J. Richard, Documents relatifs à l’histoire des croisades publiés par l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 12 (Paris, 1977)
<i>RA</i>	Raymond of Aguilers, <i>Le « Liber » de Raymond d’Aguilers</i> , ed. by J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill, with P. Wolff, Documents relatifs à l’histoire des croisades publiés par l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 9 (Paris, 1969)
<i>RHC Ar</i>	<i>Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Documents Arméniens</i> , 2 vols (Paris, 1869-1906)
<i>RHC Oc</i>	<i>Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux</i> , 5 vols (Paris, 1844-1895)
<i>RHC Or</i>	<i>Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Orientaux</i> , 5 vols (Paris, 1872-1906)

<i>RHGF</i>	<i>Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France</i> , 24 vols (Paris, 1738-1904)
<i>ROL</i>	<i>Revue de l'Orient latin</i>
<i>RRH</i>	Röhricht, R., ed., <i>Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani (MXCVII-MCCXCI)</i> (Innsbrück, 1893)
<i>RRH Add.</i>	Röhricht, R., ed., <i>Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani (MXCVII-MCCXCI): Additamentum</i> (Innsbrück, 1904)
<i>SI</i>	<i>Studia Islamica</i>
<i>ŞY</i>	Şālih bin Yahyā, <i>Tārīḥ Bayrūt: Récits des anciens de la famille de Buḥtur b. 'Alī, émir du Gharb de Beyrouth</i> , ed. by F. Hours, K. S. Salibi et al. (Beirut, 1969)
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
<i>UM</i>	Usāma bin Munqidh, <i>Usāmah's Memoirs entitled Kitāb al-I'tibār</i> , ed. by P. K. Hitti (Princeton, NJ, 1930)
<i>WM</i>	William of Malmesbury, <i>Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings, Volume I</i> , ed. and trans. by R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 1998)
<i>WO</i>	'Wilbrand of Oldenburg's Journey to Syria, Lesser Armenia, Cyprus, and the Holy Land (1211-1212): A New Edition', ed. by D. Pringle, <i>Crusades</i> , 11 (2012), pp. 109-137
<i>WT</i>	William of Tyre, <i>Chronicon</i> , ed. by R. B. C. Huygens, 2 vols, <i>Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis</i> , 63, 63A (Turnhout, 1986)

Yāqūt

Shihāb al-Dīn Abī ‘Abd Allāh Yāqūt bin ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥamawī
al-Rūmī al-Baghdādī, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, 5 vols (Beirut, 1955-
1957)

INTRODUCTION

The Frankish county of Tripoli in the twelfth century was not historically important, at least in the traditional sense. Its counts won no particularly great military victories beyond the conquest of the county itself, its intelligentsia left no surviving literature, and its archaeological heritage remains insufficiently explored. Yet the study of the county is important, in that it raises a number of hitherto unasked and unanswered questions regarding the development of the crusader states in relation to local geopolitical circumstances, and also the interactions between the ruling Latin Christian or “Frankish” settlers – “*pullani*” in contemporary slang – and the region’s various indigenous population groups. Though small, the county’s history encapsulates the principal forces that shook and shaped the Latin East as a whole.

The present thesis adopts a post-institutional approach. Much previous scholarship has focused upon the institutions of the Latin East, drawing upon such texts as John of Ibelin’s *Livre des Assises*, William of Tyre’s *Historia Ierosolimitana* or various surviving pieces of cartulary evidence. Throughout this thesis, many of the traditional types of evidence for this sort of history-writing are challenged, shown to be unreliable at best. Institutions identified by earlier historians prove inconsistent, failing to conform to all available evidence. At the highest level, the very concept of the crusader states as independent and clearly demarcated polities seems doubtful, or at least subject to much greater constitutional change than previously thought. Social relations between the Latin Christians and their indigenous subjects rarely reflect what would be expected on the basis of their respective religious doctrines. Moving away from the often Eurocentric institutional history of the past, this thesis approaches the county of Tripoli from the perspectives of geography and demographics, which together

ensure that the subject is treated within its proper, Syro-Lebanese context. It is not simply the technical and general conclusions of previous historians that are contested, but the methodological assumptions underpinning them.

The thesis is comprised of four chapters. The first adopts a methodology inspired by Fernand Braudel, but also Horden and Purcell, to assess the continuity of political territoriality in the region before and after the First Crusade. It is argued that the crusaders intended to impose a system of political borders on the region in emulation of the military *status quo ante* of the Byzantine and Fāṭimid empires half a century before, but failed due to local geographical circumstances. This chapter demolishes the prevailing view that the cultural attitudes of the European ruling class were the main cause of Tripolitan independence in the twelfth century. The county emerges as a Mediterranean “microecology” in a state of territorial flux, rather than a pre-planned or well-defined polity with clear, definite borders.

The second chapter begins to look at the social composition of the county, dealing with the extent to which southern French culture and political customs were imported to the county. It continues the first chapter’s implicit argument against the belief of historians like Jean Richard, that the county’s history was shaped by being the only “Provençal” crusader state, as opposed to Lotharingian Jerusalem and Edessa, and Norman Antioch. As with other aspects of the county’s society, the southern French contribution should be viewed with greater nuance.

The third chapter develops the demographic analysis of the county further, by considering the relationship between the European rulers of the county and its indigenous inhabitants, from a linguistic perspective. The chapter demonstrates that any study of the acquisition of Arabic on the part of the Franks must take into account Arabic’s marked diglossia: the historical co-existence of sometimes divergent high and

low registers. Its conclusion is that the Franks were more likely to learn spoken than written Arabic, but remained dependent on local intermediaries in both cases.

The final chapter expands demographic analysis into the sphere of religious interaction. It takes a novel approach to the question of popular religion in the crusader states, arguing that modern religious categories, based on written doctrine, are insufficient lenses through which to view the medieval experience of faith and devotion. Furthermore, it argues that Latin reports of conversion from Islam to Christianity were often based on a misunderstanding of the syncretic nature of popular religion in the area.

As a whole, the thesis makes the point that the diverse influences acting upon the county of Tripoli mean that it lacks real unity as an analytical concept, for its inhabitants had no distinctive shared culture, corporate identity, religion or language. The only justification for viewing it as an integrated whole, defined from its neighbours by any semblance of recognised borders, is geographical.

I. Historical Overview

In 1105, Count Raymond IV of Saint-Gilles and Toulouse died whilst besieging the wealthy Islamic city of Tripoli, nestled amidst fertile fields fed by the rivers of Mount Lebanon. Raymond had come to the East as one of the leaders of the First Crusade, being one of the first to answer Pope Urban II's call for this extraordinary expedition. As early as 1103, Raymond had called himself "*comes [...] gratia Dei Tripolitanus*", even though the city was still held by the Shī'ite Islamic *qāḍī* (judge) Fakhr al-Mulk bin 'Ammār (r.492/1099-501/1108). Raymond's own power was effectively restricted to *Mons Peregrinorum*, a hill across from Tripoli's city gate, on which the count had built

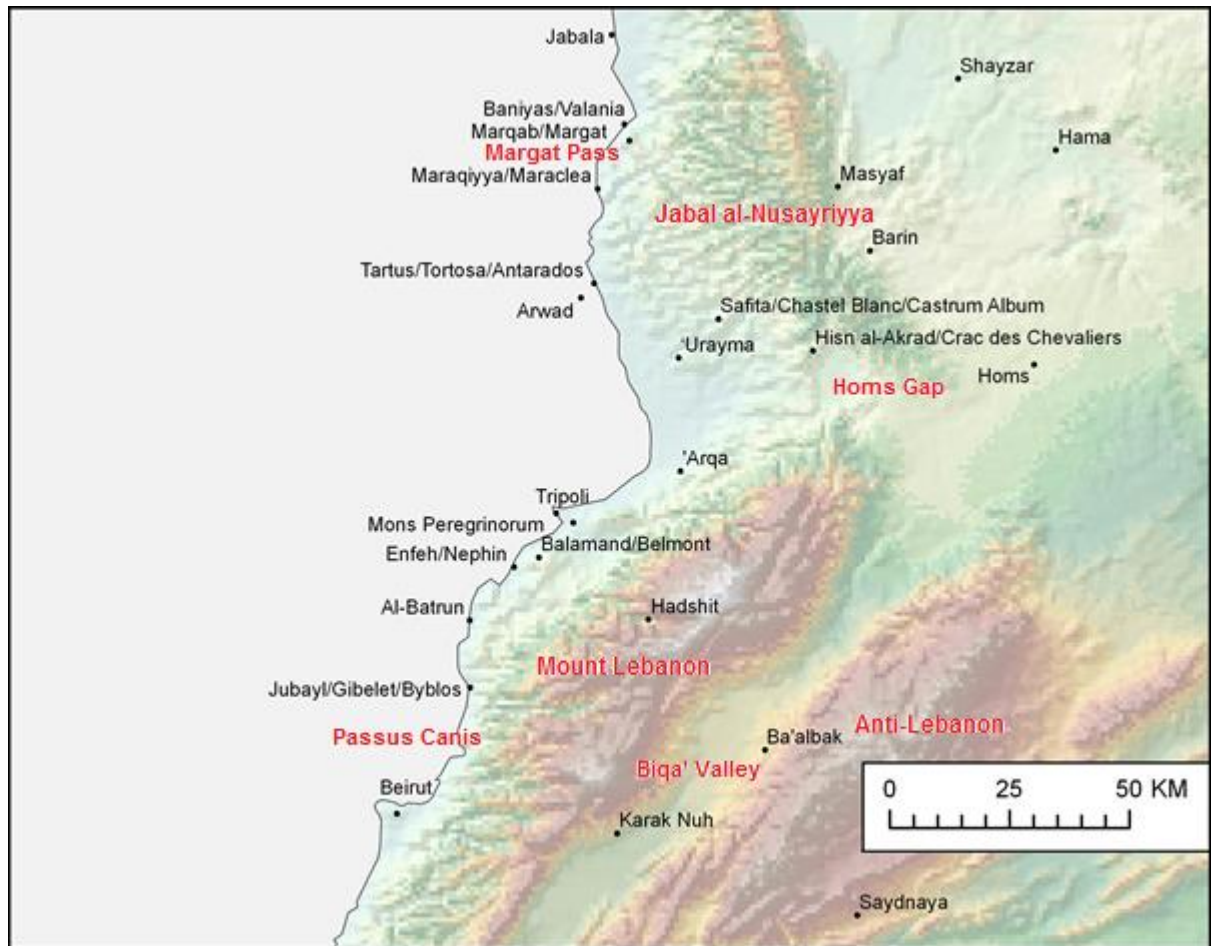
a fortress with Byzantine assistance, in order to besiege the town.¹ With the count dead, some of his followers took his infant son Alfons Jordan back to the West and it fell to one of Raymond's cousins, Count William Jordan of the tiny Pyrenean lordship of Cerdanya, to continue his siege. William Jordan went beyond his predecessor's achievements, conquering the important town of 'Arqa in 1108, which Raymond had consistently failed to take, and raided as far as Shayzar to the north-east and "*usque Damascum*" to the south-east.²

William Jordan did not enjoy his fledgling lordship for long. Shortly after the fall of 'Arqa, the late Raymond IV's eldest son Bertrand arrived in Syria and laid claim to his father's conquests there, contesting the *de facto* rule of William Jordan in the Lebanon region and also of Prince Tancred of Antioch further north. Neither William Jordan nor Tancred yielded to Bertrand's presumptuous demands and the two men, former rivals, agreed to a mutually beneficial alliance. In response, Bertrand aligned himself with King Baldwin I of Jerusalem. As the only Latin Christian king in the East, Baldwin viewed himself as having authority over Tripoli, if not the entirety of the territory conquered during and after the First Crusade. Calling a council at Tripoli in early summer 1109, when the city was still held by the Muslims, the king arbitrated between the two claimants to Raymond IV's eastern inheritance, with William Jordan claiming right of conquest and Bertrand claiming right of descent. It was decided that the disputed territory would be divided equally, with its northern half going to William Jordan and thus his advocate Tancred, and with the southern region going to Bertrand

¹ 'Le chartier de Sainte-Marie Latine et l'établissement de Raymond de Saint-Gilles à Mont-Pèlerin', ed. by J. Richard, in *Mélanges d'histoire du Moyen Âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen. Préface de Charles-Edmond Perrin* (Paris, 1951), pp. 607-608, 610; J. Richard, 'Les Saint-Gilles et le comté de Tripoli', *Cahiers de Fanjeaux*, 18: *Islam et chrétiens du Midi (XII^e-XIV^e s.)* (1983), p. 68; I. Augé, 'Les Comnènes et le comté de Tripoli: une collaboration efficace?', in *Comté multiculturel*, pp. 143-146.

² UM, pp. 50-51; AA, p. 774.

and thus his lord Baldwin. On 12 July 1109, a decade after the conquest of Jerusalem, Tripoli finally fell to the Christians who had amassed at the council. This army included a large contingent of Genoese sailors, who also captured the port town of Jubayl to the south around the same time.



Map 1. The county of Tripoli and its surroundings.

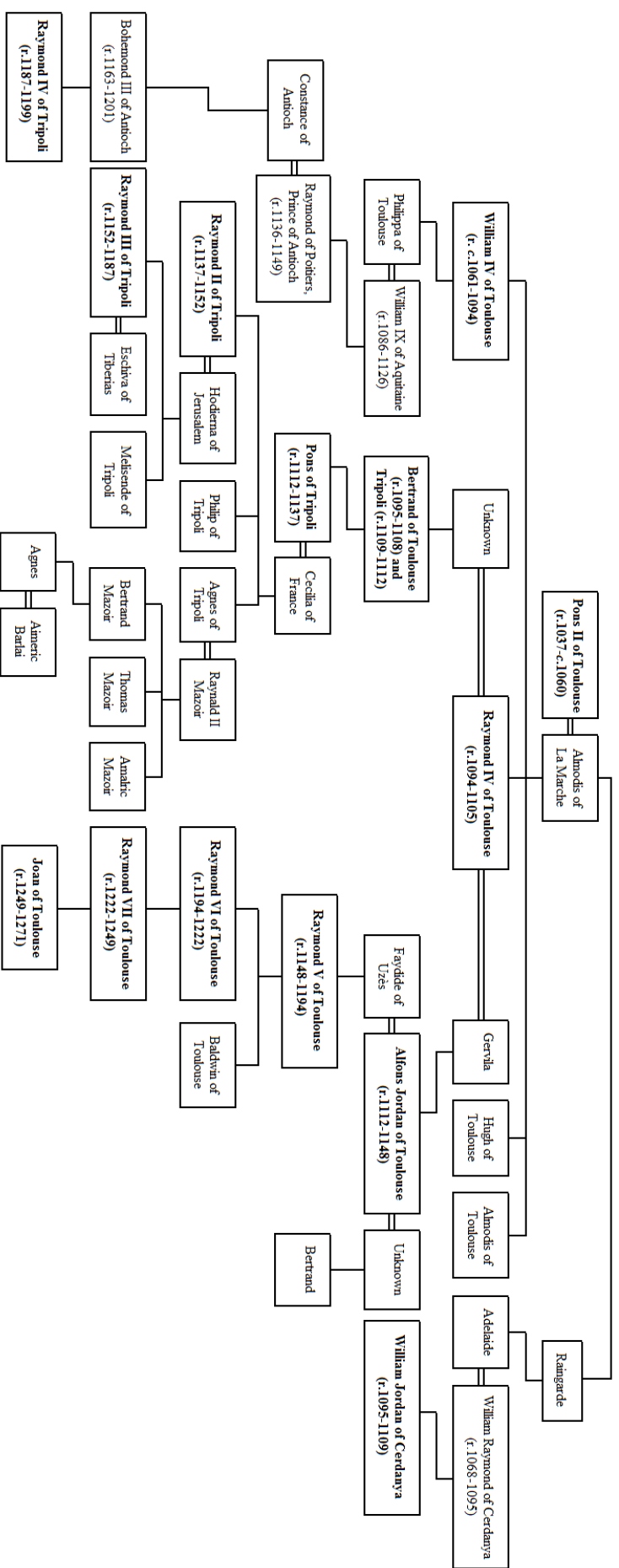


Fig. 1. Select genealogy of the counts of Toulouse and Tripoli.

William Jordan's suspiciously convenient death soon after the council, killed it would seem by a Latin Christian at 'Arqa, was insufficient to destroy Baldwin's planned division. Tancred stepped in to take most of William Jordan's lands directly, although Bertrand was able to seize 'Arqa. The bitterness between Tancred and Bertrand ended with the latter's death in early 1112, after which Bertrand's lords chose to enrol his underage son Pons as one of Tancred's knights. In return, Tancred agreed that Pons could again hold certain disputed territories once held by Raymond IV – principally the city of Tortosa, captured during the First Crusade – but only as a fief held by the grace of the prince of Antioch himself. Pons now ruled a compact domain, politically divided by ties of fealty to Jerusalem in the south and Antioch in the north, but given territorial coherence by virtue of being contiguous in the low-lying 'Akkār plain, and encircled by the Lebanon and Nuṣayrī or Alawite mountains. By the second half of the twelfth century, contemporaries believed that these two lordships had become one independent domain, the county of Tripoli, which was now grouped alongside Jerusalem, Antioch, and the county of Edessa as one of four discrete polities, dubbed the “crusader states” by modern historians.

The county reached the zenith of its power under Pons (1112-37), with the count rebelling against kings of Jerusalem twice, in 1122 and 1132. After the count's defeat at the hands of King Fulk in the latter rebellion, the county suffered a number of military disasters, culminating in Pons's death in a battle against the army of Muslim Damascus in 1137 and his son Raymond II's loss of the county's easternmost possessions, Rafaniyya and nearby Montferrand (Ba' rīn), later that same year. Henceforth, the county never again occupied the same extent of land and the counts ceased to be a serious threat to their Muslim neighbours. Raymond II became increasingly reliant upon the military religious orders for defence. In 1142/44, he granted Ḥiṣn al-Akrād to the

Hospitallers, who turned this into their primary fortification, the famous Crac des Chevaliers.³ He also granted a range of lesser forts in the north of the county to the Templars, including Şāfitā (*Chastel Blanc*) and much of the city of Tortosa by the 1150s.

Outsourcing the defence of the county in such a way did not prevent continued military disasters, in both conventional and unconventional warfare. Raymond was killed at the entrance to his city by the notorious Assassins in 1152. His son Raymond III inherited the county, although he followed in the footsteps of his mother, the princess Hodierna of Jerusalem, daughter of King Baldwin II (r.1118-31) and sister of the famous Queen Melisende (r.1131-52), by spending much of his life attempting to carve out a political career at the court of Jerusalem. Unfortunately for Raymond, he suffered the misfortune of spending a decade imprisoned in Aleppo (1164-c.1174) and his career in the kingdom was marred by various difficulties, not least his political opponents.⁴

It was in his paternal inheritance of Tripoli then, that Raymond III was to die a few months after his involvement in the disastrous battle of Ḥaṭṭīn of 4 July 1187, which had allowed the great Muslim general Saladin to sweep away much of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Raymond III left a shameful legacy. The majority of authors for

³ Röhricht and Delaville le Roulx dated Raymond II's donation of Crac des Chevaliers to the Hospital to 1142. *RRH*, no. 212; *CGOH*, i, no. 144. Richard initially followed this date in his monograph, but rapidly corrected it to 1144, for a number of reasons. *Comté, addenda et errata*. Riley-Smith shares Richard's opinion. J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus c.1050-1310* (London, 1967), p. 56 n. 1. More recently, Richard has expressed doubts as to whether his reattribution to 1144 was correct after all. J. Richard, 'Cum omni raisagio montanee... À propos de la cession du Crac aux Hospitaliers', in *Itinéraires d'Orient: Hommages à Claude Cahen*, ed. by R. Curiel and R. Gyselen, *Res Orientales*, 6 (Burs-sur-Yvette, 1994), p. 187. The problem seems insoluble.

⁴ The best overview of the kingdom's politics in this period, including Raymond's role is B. Hamilton, *The Leper King and his heirs: Baldwin IV and the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 2000).

the remainder of the Middle Ages routinely accused him of cowardice, treachery and even apostasy, a reputation he only shed – temporarily – in more recent times. This historiographical debate is beyond the scope of this present study. It is necessary only to note that Raymond's attempts to pass the county to his distant paternal cousins in the West – the counts of Toulouse, descended from Raymond IV's son Alfons Jordan – failed. Thus the county passed to Raymond's maternal cousins, the princes of Antioch, heralding the extinction in the East of what was dubbed by Richard, the "*dynastie toulousaine*".

The "*dynastie antiochéniennne*", like its predecessor, prevailed through assassinations and war, earthquakes and rebellions, until finally it too died out, first evicted from its principal metropolis of Antioch by the Mamlūks of Egypt in 1268, and then from Tripoli itself in 1288, this time by a communalist rebellion against Countess Lucia. Less than a year later, the Mamlūk sultan Qalawūn captured Tripoli, sweeping away the claims of commune and countess alike. Fearful that the European Christians would return, perhaps from their base of Cyprus, the Mamlūks destroyed old Tripoli. They relocated the city away from the site it had long occupied, ever since the Phoenicians first founded it in the first century BC as a triple colony of Arados (Arwād/Ruad), Sidon and Tyre, hence the very name *Tripolis*. To avoid Frankish naval assaults, the Mamlūks rebuilt the city further inland, around the fortress of *Mons Peregrinorum*, built by Raymond IV of Toulouse two centuries before, which had since grown to be an important settlement in its own right, the true centre of Latin Christian political and economic life in the county.⁵ Notwithstanding some minor outposts, such

⁵ See: M. Piana, 'From Montpèlerin to Ṭarābulus al-Mustajadda: The Frankish-Mamluk Succession in Old Tripoli', in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras, VI: Proceedings of the 14th and 15th International Colloquium organized at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in May 2005 and May 2006*, ed. by U. Vermeulen and K. D'Hulster, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 183 (Leuven, 2010), pp. 307-354.

as the Templar Knights' short-lived headquarters on the tiny island of Arwād, which fell to the Mamlūks in 1303, or the Franks of Jubayl, permitted to remain under Muslim rule until c.1302, the county was no more. The title of count of Tripoli became an anachronistic honorific granted by the kings of Cyprus, with the last titular count being John Tafures in the fifteenth century.⁶

Of course, the fate of the ruling dynasty of the county is only one element of this territory's history. Throughout the entire period, it must be remembered that the Europeans who followed and settled alongside Raymond IV and his successors only ever formed a minority of the area's residents. The region occupied by the county has been renowned for its demographic diversity throughout history and the medieval period was no exception. Upon the arrival of the crusaders, the region's main political power was the local Twelver Shī'ite dynasty of the 'Ammārid family. Tripoli's *qāḍī* had effectively seceded from the Sevenser Fāṭimid Shī'ite Caliphate of Egypt in the years preceding the First Crusade. In addition to the Twelver Shī'ites concentrated in the capital, there were various other religious communities in the area. In particular, Maronite, Jacobite and Nestorian Christians lived in Mount Lebanon and its foothills, the esoteric Shī'ite sect of the Druze on the far side of Lebanon, and Nuṣayrī or Alawite Shī'ites and the infamous Nizārī Shī'ite "Assassins" in Jabal al-Nuṣayriyya, on the county's northern border. Thanks to the marriage of Raymond II to the half-Armenian Hodierna of Jerusalem, Armenian Christianity assumed disproportionate prominence in the county's high society. Rarer sights included Sunnī Muslims, Ethiopian Christians, and Jews.

II. Historiography

⁶ J. Richard, 'Pairie d'Orient latin: les quatre baronnies des royaumes de Jérusalem et de Chypre', *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 4th series, 28 (1950), pp. 85, 86.

Specific historiographical debates will be discussed in each chapter, so only a few general observations are made here. The term “crusader state”, commonly encountered in modern Anglophone scholarship, is problematic. “Crusade”, together with its cognates in European languages, is not a contemporary term and it is doubtful whether the concept had any relevance until the thirteenth century.⁷ Like their co-religionists in the West, the permanent Latin Christian residents of these territories – the “*pullani*” – were not “crusaders” in the sense of being *crucesignati*, unless they happened to take the cross. Since the status of crusader was temporary and non-hereditary, “crusader state” can only refer to territories conquered by erstwhile crusaders, who subsequently lived and ruled there – as did their descendants – as non-crusaders. Meanwhile, some historians fear that the term “state” represents an anachronism when applied to the Middle Ages.⁸ Of course, anachronistic terminology is perhaps unavoidable and “crusader state” is certainly a convenient term, although the inaccuracies and misconceptions inherent to such modern labels ought to be borne in mind. Anachronism aside, “crusader state” has sometimes been applied broadly, to such polities as the kingdom of Cyprus, the Latin Empire of Constantinople and even the Christian kingdoms of Iberia. To avoid unnecessary confusion, the present thesis uses “crusader state” in the traditional sense, restricted to those lordships established on the Levantine mainland immediately following the First Crusade: the domains of Jerusalem, Antioch, Edessa and Tripoli. Collectively, these are referred to as the Latin East.

⁷ H. E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. by John Gillingham (Oxford, 1972), p. 15; C. Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (Basingstoke, 1998), pp. 8-29. But cf. J. Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?*, 4th edn. (Basingstoke, 2009), *passim*.

⁸ R. Davies, ‘The Medieval State: The Tyranny of a Concept?’, *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 16.2 (2003), pp. 280-300. But cf. S. Reynolds, ‘The Historiography of the Medieval State’, in *Companion to Historiography*, ed. by M. Bentley (London and New York, 1997), pp. 117-133.

Few historians have produced works that deal with the Latin East as a whole. A notable and recent exception is Malcolm Barber, who has produced an accomplished synthesis of existing literature on the crusader states.⁹ As far as the county of Tripoli is concerned, Barber introduces no new insights. Another example is Bernard Hamilton's study of one aspect of the entire Latin East, namely its ecclesiastical structure.¹⁰ Most historians have studied one crusader state to the exclusion of the others. This is true even of works that are ostensibly general studies, such as MacEvitt's *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East*, which in truth focuses on the county of Edessa and almost entirely omits the one Christian minority peculiar to the county of Tripoli, the Maronites of Lebanon.¹¹

Many scholars have focused their efforts upon the kingdom of Jerusalem, with varying results.¹² There are three main reasons for this overriding fascination with the kingdom: the greater abundance of sources for the kingdom compared to the other crusader states;¹³ the special fascination of contemporary narrators and modern historians with Jerusalem and the Holy Land, of which Tripoli was not truly part;¹⁴ and the considerable efforts made by scholars like Prawer and Kedar, working in the modern state of Israel, which lies entirely within the borders of the former kingdom. In

⁹ M. Barber, *The Crusader States* (London, 2012).

¹⁰ B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church* (London, 1980).

¹¹ C. MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East: Rough Tolerance* (Philadelphia, PA, 2008).

¹² For example: R. Röhrich, *Geschichte der Königreichs Jerusalem (1100-1291)* (Innsbrück, 1898); J. L. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1100 to 1291* (Cambridge, MA, 1932); J. Richard, *Le Royaume Latin de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1953); J. Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, 2 vols (Paris, 1969-70); J. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (London, 1972); J. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174-1277* (London, 1973); D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, 4 vols (Cambridge, 1993-2009); A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Dynastic History 1099-1125* (Oxford, 2000).

¹³ See below, p. 22.

¹⁴ For the contemporary definition of the Holy Land, see Chapter Two, pp. 153-155.

terms of the latter, some have seen the Israeli study of the crusades as having certain ulterior motives shaped by modern Zionist concerns.¹⁵ Recently, Ellenblum has disassociated the modern Israeli school from such accusations, simply viewing the kingdom of Jerusalem as part of “the history of our country”.¹⁶ Modern concerns notwithstanding, it is undeniable that the produce of the Israeli school of crusades historiography far outweighs that of the neighbouring modern states of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt and Turkey, all of which now occupy what was once the Latin East.

The principality of Antioch has been neglected when compared to Jerusalem, but has enjoyed some historiographical attention nonetheless, beginning with biographies of its earliest rulers.¹⁷ The first and most comprehensive study of the principality itself was Claude Cahen’s *La Syrie du Nord*, in which the author stressed the need to place the principality within its local Syrian context, challenging the prevailing tendency of historians to treat the Latin East as if merely an offshoot of contemporary French society.¹⁸ Although Cahen later rejected calls for his thesis to be republished because he had come to disagree with many of its arguments, it remains the uncontested authority on the principality of Antioch.¹⁹ It is still one of the most capable

¹⁵ Z. J. Asali, ‘Zionist Studies of the Crusade Movement’, *Arab Studies Quarterly*, 14.1 (1992), pp. 45-58; R. Ellenblum, *Crusader Castles and Modern Histories* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 57-59, 60. See also: D. Ohana, ‘Are Israelis the New Crusaders?’, *Palestine-Israel Journal of Politics, Economics and Culture*, 13 (2006), pp. 36-42; W. L. Ochsenwald, ‘The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem and Israel: An Historical Comparison’, *Middle East Journal*, 30.2 (1976), pp. 221-226.

¹⁶ Ellenblum, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 60-61.

¹⁷ B. Kugler, *Boemund und Tankred, Fürsten von Antiochien. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Normannen in Syrien* (Tübingen, 1862); R. B. Yewdale, *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch* (Amsterdam, 1924); R. L. Nicholson, *Tancred: A Study of his career and work in their relation to the First Crusade and the Establishment of the Latin States in Syria and Palestine* (Chicago, 1940).

¹⁸ C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l’époque des croisades et la principauté franque d’Antioche* (Paris, 1940).

¹⁹ Cahen produced a partial preface to a proposed republication, which goes a short way towards updating his original thesis. C. Cahen, ‘Préface à la réimpression de sa thèse’, *Arabica*, 43.1 (1996), pp. 85-88.

demonstrations of the use of Arabic alongside western languages in a crusades-related study. Only Köhler's study of diplomacy between Frankish and Muslim rulers equals *La Syrie du Nord* in this respect.²⁰

Many decades after Cahen's study, two further book-length studies emerged. The first, Hans Mayer's *Varia Antiochena*, is a collection of technical studies within the author's area of specialism, namely the products of chanceries in the Latin East, intended to complement Mayer's own work on Jerusalem, as well as Cahen's on Antioch.²¹ The second is Thomas Asbridge's study of the principality of Antioch from 1098 to 1130.²² Asbridge argues that the principality should be seen as an important force in the early decades of the Latin East, to rival the kingdom of Jerusalem, despite the historiographical imbalance in favour of the latter.²³ Like Cahen, Asbridge is also concerned with relating the principality's formation to local Byzantine and Islamic influences, although his apparent inability to read Greek and Arabic, and consequent reliance upon modern translations of variable quality, undermines this aspect of his work.²⁴ Additionally, various research articles have appeared on the subject of the principality, by the aforementioned authors and others, most notably in the published

²⁰ M. A. Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge zwischen fränkischen und islamischen Herrschern im Vorderen Orient. Eine Studie über das zwischenstaatliche Zusammenleben vom 12. bis ins 13. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1991). This has been translated into English: M. A. Köhler, *Alliances and Treaties between Frankish and Muslim Rulers in the Middle East: Cross-Cultural Diplomacy in the Period of the Crusades*, trans. by Peter M. Holt, ed. by K. Hirschler (Leiden, 2013).

²¹ H. E. Mayer, *Varia Antiochena. Studien zum Kreuzfahrerfürstentum Antiochia im 12. und frühen 13. Jahrhundert*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Studien und Texte, 6 (Hannover, 1993), p. 8 and *passim*.

²² T. Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch, 1098-1130* (Woodbridge, 2000).

²³ Asbridge, *Creation*, pp. 2-4, 216 and *passim*.

²⁴ Asbridge, *Creation*, p. 2.

proceedings of two recent conferences on Antioch spanning the Byzantine and “crusader” periods.²⁵

The county of Edessa, which fell after fewer than fifty years, has received a somewhat disproportionate amount of historiographical attention. The Armenian historian Ter-Gregorian Iskenderian produced a lengthy study as early as 1915, followed four decades later by Robert Nicholson’s biographical study of Count Joscelin I.²⁶ More recently, Monique Amouroux-Mourad produced a rather uninspired monograph on the county’s history and society, reliant upon the highly limited, directly relevant Latin evidence for the county, but also upon extrapolation from the better documented southern states.²⁷ MacEvitt’s study of interactions between Latin and eastern Christians has at its core an analysis of the foundation of the county of Edessa.²⁸ In addition, there exist a few studies of the region’s crusader-era archaeological heritage.²⁹

²⁵ *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean: Antioch from the Byzantine Reconquest until the End of the Crusader Principality*, ed. by K. Ciggaar et al., 2 vols, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 147, 199 (Leuven, 2006-2013). Other examples include: T. Asbridge, ‘The “Crusader” Community at Antioch: The Impact of Interaction with Byzantium and Islam’, *TRHS*, 6th series, 9 (1999), pp. 305-325; K.-P. Todt, ‘Antioch and Edessa in the so-called Treaty of Deabolis (September 1108)’, *ARAM*, 11-12 (1999-2000), pp. 485-501; P. W. Edbury, ‘The *Assises d’Antioche*: Law and Custom in the Principality of Antioch’, in *Norman Expansion: Connections, Continuities and Contrasts*, ed. by K. J. Stringer and A. Jotischky (Farnham, 2013), pp. 241-248.

²⁶ D. Ter-Gregorian Iskenderian, *Die Kreuzfahrer und ihre Beziehungen zu den armenischen Nachbarfürsten bis zum Untergange der Grafschaft Edessa* (Leipzig, 1915); R. L. Nicholson, *Joscelyn I, Prince of Edessa*, *Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences*, 34.4 (Urbana, IL, 1954).

²⁷ M. Amouroux-Mourad, *Le comté d’Edesse 1098-1150* (Paris, 1988).

²⁸ MacEvitt, *passim*.

²⁹ For example: H. Hellenkemper, *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit in der Grafschaft Edessa und im Königreich Kleinarmenien: Studien zur Historischen Siedlungsgeographie Südost-Kleinasien*, *Geographica Historica*, 1 (Bonn, 1976); R. Gardiner, ‘Crusader Turkey: The Fortifications of Edessa’, *Fortress: The Castles and Fortifications Quarterly*, 2 (1989), pp. 23-35.

The county of Tripoli has been the most neglected of the four original crusader states. Marshall Baldwin completed a doctoral thesis at Princeton University in 1934, intended to be a biographical study of Count Raymond III.³⁰ This work was divided into two parts, the first dealing with Raymond's political career in the kingdom of Jerusalem and the second being an overview of the economic, demographic and ecclesiastical context of the county. Baldwin promptly published the first half with minimal revisions as a book.³¹ Until the later years of the twentieth century, this was a major influence upon modern historians' views of the political crises that wracked the kingdom of Jerusalem prior to Saladin's conquests in the 1180s. Much of the second part of Baldwin's thesis was reworked as a separate research article.³² Baldwin's output is marked by a consistently naïve and uncritical use of sources, rendering his thesis and subsequent publications largely descriptive.

The only monograph dedicated solely to the county, rather than its most famous ruler, remains Richard's *Le comté de Tripoli sous la dynastie toulousaine* (1945).³³ As its title suggests, this compact survey deals predominantly with the county from the perspective of the western Europeans who conquered and settled the region, particularly the southern French Raymond IV of Saint-Gilles and his descendants, and explains many of its historical and social phenomena through this specific "*provençal*" lens.³⁴ Richard owes a personal and intellectual debt to René Grousset, who suggested the topic to Richard, and thus Richard's brief *Comté* is framed largely as a complement to

³⁰ M. W. Baldwin, *Raymond III of Tripoli (1140-87) and the fall of the kingdom of Jerusalem*, 2 vols (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis: Princeton University, 1934).

³¹ M. W. Baldwin, *Raymond III of Tripolis and the Fall of Jerusalem (1140-1187)* (Princeton, NJ, 1936).

³² M. W. Baldwin, 'Ecclesiastical Developments in the Twelfth Century Crusaders' State of Tripolis', *CHR*, 22.2 (1936), pp. 149-171.

³³ J. Richard, *Le comté de Tripoli sous la dynastie toulousaine (1102-1187)*, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, 39 (Paris, 1945).

³⁴ See Chapter Two, esp. pp. 139-140.

Grousset's expansive *Histoire des Croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem*.³⁵ Grousset's grand theory was that the Latin East was a microcosm of contemporary "France", with each state defined by the origins of its founders and early rulers: the kingdom of Jerusalem was dominated by Lotharingians under Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin I; the principality of Antioch was Norman, due to Bohemond of Taranto and Tancred of Lecce; the short-lived county of Edessa shared the kingdom of Jerusalem's initial Lotharingian identity; finally, the county of Tripoli was "Provençal", as derived from Raymond IV of Saint-Gilles and his progeny.³⁶ Richard strives to corroborate Grousset's neo-colonialist theory, using it to explain the county of Tripoli's independence from its Latin Christian neighbours, and stressing the distinctiveness of its "Provençal" identity.³⁷ Richard even equates the constitutional relationship between the counts of Tripoli and the kings of Jerusalem with the relationship between the rulers of the "*grands fiefs autonomes de la France*" – including the counts of Tripoli's cousins in Toulouse – and the Capetian kings of France.³⁸

Since 1945, the county has failed to attract much historical interest. Richard has continued to lead the way with irregular publications on the subject. Initially, these were annexes to his original monograph, such as his article on Raymond of Saint-Gilles's early attempts to establish his rule in North Syria, or his speculative localisation of toponyms mentioned in medieval sources, largely on the basis of modern Lebanese place-names.³⁹ In 1963, he contributed to a collection of articles on the historical relationship between the South of France and the Islamic world, providing a restatement

³⁵ Comté, pp. i, ii, vi.

³⁶ R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem*, 3 vols (Paris, 1934-1936), i, *passim*.

³⁷ Comté, *passim*.

³⁸ Comté, pp. 35, 43, 45, 47.

³⁹ J. Richard, 'Note sur l'archidiocèse d'Apamée et les conquêtes de Raymond de Saint-Gilles en Syrie du nord', *Syria*, 25.1-2 (1946-1948), pp. 103-108; J. Richard, 'Questions de topographie tripolitaine', *Journal Asiatique*, 236 (1948), pp. 53-59.

and abridgement of his previous work, as far as it concerned direct contact between the dynasties of Tripoli and Toulouse.⁴⁰ Some two decades later he returned to the county, going beyond the *dynastie toulousaine* to explain the baronial insurrections against the count-princes of the *dynastie antiochénienne* in the thirteenth century, blaming the revolts upon the latter's arbitrary power over the composition of the High Court.⁴¹

For some decades, Richard's research focused mainly on the Latin Christian barons, having devoted only a cursory section of his original monograph to "*les indigènes*".⁴² One of his studies attempted to address this shortcoming, by discussing the place of local Christians in the governance of the county.⁴³ More recently, he has provided an overview of those aspects of the county's history that can be termed "eastern", from local intermediaries to religious demographics, although it suffers from being descriptive rather than analytical.⁴⁴ Ironically, in a volume dedicated to the county of Tripoli as an "*état multiculturel et multiconfessionnel*", Richard has returned to the Frankish barons, providing a synthesis and elaboration of his long career studying this particular subject.⁴⁵

Alongside Richard, a number of other historians have dealt with aspects of the county's history. The collection of articles, *Le comté de Tripoli: État multiculturel et multiconfessionnel*, represents the published proceedings of a conference held in Beirut in 2002, being a collaboration between the Université Paul Valéry-Montpellier III and

⁴⁰ J. Richard, 'Les Saint-Gilles', pp. 65-75.

⁴¹ J. Richard, 'Les comtes de Tripoli et leurs vassaux sous la dynastie antiochénienne', in *Crusade and Settlement: Papers read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and presented to R. C. Smail*, ed. by P. W. Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), pp. 213-221.

⁴² *Comté*, pp. 85-88.

⁴³ Richard, 'Cum omni', pp. 187-192.

⁴⁴ J. Richard, 'Affrontement ou confrontation? Les contacts entre deux mondes au pays de Tripoli au temps des Croisades', *Chronos*, 2 (1999), pp. 7-25.

⁴⁵ J. Richard, 'Les familles féodales franques dans le comté de Tripoli', in *Comté multiculturel*, pp. 7-30.

the Université Saint-Esprit de Kaslik, Lebanon, but involving a number of participants from other institutions.⁴⁶ Although meagre compared to the huge output of the Israeli school, archaeological and historical research conducted by Lebanese scholars has been fairly continuous since the mid-twentieth century, as a perusal of locally published journals and locally organised conference proceedings demonstrates.⁴⁷ The contributors to the Montpellier-Kaslik volume make a few salient points, which have been used accordingly. Nevertheless, the volume focuses only on the Christian groups of the county, particularly the Armenians and the Maronites, to the exclusion of the Muslims, and some of the contributions seem shallow and redundant.⁴⁸ It is also doubtful whether the collection can be classified as truly independent of Richard, who provides a preface and to whose work – together with that of Grousset before him – one of the editors explicitly affiliates the volume.⁴⁹

Other studies relevant to the county include Marie-Bernadette Bruguière's comparison of the customs regarding inheritance in the counties of Toulouse and Tripoli.⁵⁰ As part of a broader exploration of the crusading movement's impact upon Provençal society, Damien Carraz discusses the county of Tripoli as "*un enracinement éphémère*" of Provençal settlement, although this is based largely on Richard's

⁴⁶ *Le comté de Tripoli: État multiculturel et multiconfessionnel (1102-1289)*, ed. by G. Dédéyan and K. Rizk, *Préface de Jean Richard* (Paris, 2010). Cf. K. J. Lewis, 'Le comté de Tripoli: État multiculturel et multiconfessionnel (1102-1289)', ed. Gérard Dédéyan and Karam Rizk', *Crusades*, 11 (2012), p. 249.

⁴⁷ *BMB*, 1-36 (1937-1986); *Chronos* (1998-present); *De Toulouse à Tripoli: Itinéraires de cultures croisées*, ed. by E. Weber et al. (Toulouse, 1997). See also: H. Salamé-Sarkis, *Contribution à l'histoire de Tripoli et de sa région à l'époque des croisades: problèmes d'histoire, d'architecture et de céramique*, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, 106 (Paris, 1980).

⁴⁸ K. J. Lewis, 'Le comté', p. 250. See Chapter Four, p. 269.

⁴⁹ J. Richard, 'Préface', in *Comté multiculturel*, pp. 1-2; K. Rizk, 'Avant-propos', in *Comté multiculturel*, p. 5.

⁵⁰ M.-B. Bruguière, 'Un précédent à la loi salique? L'exclusion des femmes dans la maison de Toulouse et de Tripoli', *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres de Toulouse*, 141 (1979), pp. 141-152.

conclusions.⁵¹ As part of his general study of the fortunes of the Porcelet family of Arles in Provence, Martin Aurell supplies a survey of those members of this family who settled in the county soon after the First Crusade, again heavily reliant upon Richard.⁵² More firmly independent works include brief papers by Jonathan Riley-Smith on the ecclesiastics in Raymond of Saint-Gilles's company at Tripoli, and by Asbridge on Raymond's failed attempts to destabilise Bohemond of Taranto's rule in North Syria during the First Crusade.⁵³ Irwin's brief discussion of the final decades of the county in the thirteenth century, as told in Arabic sources, should be read alongside Richard's simultaneously published paper on the *dynastie antiochénienne*, for it sheds additional light on baronial discontent in these final years, as well as Mamlūk grand strategy.⁵⁴ Mayer dedicates two chapters of his *Varia Antiochena* to subjects of direct relevance to the county, namely the succession to the county after the death of Raymond III in 1187 and Genoese forged documents from both Tripoli and Antioch in the early thirteenth century.⁵⁵ Wolfgang Antweiler's careful prosopography of Tripoli's ecclesiastics tends only to confirm the conclusions of previous scholarship relating to the operation of the Latin Church in the crusader states, although it is a helpful reference work.⁵⁶

⁵¹ D. Carraz, *L'Ordre du Temple dans la basse vallée du Rhône (1124-1312): Ordres militaires, croisades et sociétés méridionales*, Préface d'Alain Demurger, Collection d'histoire et d'archéologie médiévales, 17 (Lyon, 2005), pp. 79-81.

⁵² M. Aurell, *Une famille de la noblesse provençale au Moyen Âge: les Porcelet*. Préface de Noël Coulet (Avignon, 1986), pp. 147-152.

⁵³ J. Riley-Smith, 'Raymond IV of St Gilles, Achard of Arles and the conquest of Lebanon', in *The Crusades and their Sources: Essays presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. by J. France and W. G. Zajac (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 1-8; T. Asbridge, 'The principality of Antioch and the Jabal as-Summāq', in *The First Crusade: Origins and impact*, ed. by J. Phillips (Manchester and New York, 1997), pp. 142-151.

⁵⁴ R. Irwin, 'The Mamlūk Conquest of the County of Tripoli', in *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. by Edbury, pp. 246-249.

⁵⁵ Mayer, *Varia*, pp. 184-202, 203-217.

⁵⁶ W. Antweiler, *Das Bistum Tripolis im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert. Personengeschichtliche und strukturelle Probleme*, Studia humaniora, 20 (Düsseldorf, 1991).

III. Sources

Compared to historians of the contemporary Islamic world, the historian of the crusader states enjoys a disproportionate abundance and variety of source material, for what was a relatively small area of the Near East. The availability of documentation for the reign of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir (r.427/1036-487/1094), in the period immediately prior to the First Crusade, is notoriously poor, even “a historical wasteland”.⁵⁷ Yet if compared to historians working on some areas of the contemporary Latin West, the historian of the Latin East has only a meagre body of surviving sources, lacking both the extant state archives and the abundance of independent narrative sources found in the kingdoms of England and France, for example. Of course, this observation does not hold true for all areas of Europe. In the South of France, where the county’s ruling dynasty originated, lay archives have almost entirely disappeared, with few documents surviving even for great magnates like the counts of Toulouse.⁵⁸ Extant historical narratives are similarly sparse here, as compared to northern France, although there is some consolation to be found in the relatively extensive and early body of literature composed in the vernacular *langue d’oc*, principally the songs of troubadours.⁵⁹ To compensate for the relative paucity of evidence for the county of Tripoli, as well as for its Islamic neighbours and the western cousins of its ruling dynasty, this thesis draws

⁵⁷ P. E. Walker, *Exploring an Islamic Empire: Fatimid History and its Sources* (London and New York, 2002), p. 143.

⁵⁸ T. N. Bisson, ‘Some Characteristics of Mediterranean Territorial Power in the Twelfth Century’, in his *Medieval France and Her Pyrenean Neighbours: Studies in Early Institutional History* (London, 1989), p. 259; P. Bonnassie, ‘From the Rhône to Galicia: origins and modalities of the feudal order’, in his *From Slavery to Feudalism in South-Western Europe*, trans. by J. Birrell (Cambridge, 1991), p. 127. Cf. J.-P. Poly, *La Provence et la Société féodale (879-1166): Contribution à l’étude des structures dites féodales dans le Midi* (Paris, 1976), p. vii.

⁵⁹ T. N. Bisson, ‘Unheroed Past: History and Commemoration in South Frankland before the Albigensian Crusades’, *Speculum*, 65.2 (1990), pp. 281-282 and *passim*.

upon an extremely wide range of source material, primarily in Latin and Arabic, but also in Old French and *langue d'oc*, as well as modern translations of Greek, Persian, Syriac and Armenian sources. These sources, rarely concerned with the county directly, must be read closely in order to extract relevant data.

i. Latin Chronicles

Beginning with Latin historical narratives, the county of Tripoli produced none of its own. This renders it unlike the principality of Antioch with Ralph of Caen's *Gesta Tancredi* and Walter the Chancellor's *Bella Antiochena*, or the kingdom of Jerusalem with Fulcher of Chartres's *Historia Hierosolymitana* and William of Tyre's *Historia Ierosolimitana*. Therefore it is necessary to rely upon narratives that focus on other areas and themes, with only a secondary interest in the county.

A fairly large number of narratives describing the events of the First Crusade survive. Ostensibly the most relevant is Raymond of Aguilers's *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*.⁶⁰ Raymond was a canon of Le Puy, the cathedral of Bishop Adhémar, papal legate on the First Crusade, and addressed his narrative to the bishop of Viviers.⁶¹ Raymond became chaplain to Raymond of Saint-Gilles in the course of the First Crusade.⁶² As a chaplain to one of the leaders of the First Crusade, Raymond of Aguilers can be described as one of the many "house priests" who accompanied their

⁶⁰ Raymond of Aguilers, *Le « Liber » de Raymond d'Aguilers*, ed. by J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill, with P. Wolff, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 9 (Paris, 1969).

⁶¹ RA, p. 35.

⁶² Pryor has expressed doubt regarding this traditionally accepted claim. J. H. Pryor, 'The oaths of the leaders of the First Crusade to Emperor Alexius I Comnenus: fealty, homage – πίστις, δουλεία', *Parergon: Bulletin of the Australian and New Zealand Association for Medieval & Renaissance Studies*, new series, 2 (1984), p. 127. The present thesis follows tradition.

lords, and who were not renowned for their independence of mind.⁶³ Indeed, Raymond explicitly indicated that he wished to record only the deeds of Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Adhémar of Le Puy, “*dimissis aliis*”.⁶⁴ Raymond was not the sole author of his chronicle, which he claimed was co-authored with a Provençal knight, Pons of Balazun, who died at the siege of ‘Arqa in 1098.⁶⁵ Unfortunately, there is no way of knowing the extent of Pons’s contribution.

Raymond’s chronicle is not wholly original, but closely related to other contemporary accounts of the First Crusade, namely the *Gesta Francorum* and Peter Tudebode’s *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*.⁶⁶ For a long while, the *Gesta* was believed to have been written by an anonymous Norman knight, who first served Bohemond of Taranto, but later switched his allegiance to Raymond Pilet, in turn a follower of Raymond of Saint-Gilles.⁶⁷ France outlines the view that the first version of the *Gesta*, written c.1099-1100, was the original text, utilised first by Raymond of Aguilers c.1101, then followed closely by Fulcher of Chartres and finally by Peter Tudebode.⁶⁸ Krey famously argued that the *Gesta* as it survives today is a later

⁶³ J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the idea of crusading* (London, 1986), p. 80.

⁶⁴ RA, p. 36.

⁶⁵ RA, pp. 35, 107.

⁶⁶ *Anonymi Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. by H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1890); Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, ed. by J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill, with P. Wolff and J. Richard, Documents relatifs à l’histoire des croisades publiés par l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 12 (Paris, 1977). There is “no satisfactory edition of the *Gesta Francorum*”, although Marcus Bull is working on a new critical edition. J. H. Pryor and M. J. Jeffreys, ‘Alexios, Bohemond, and Byzantium’s Euphrates Frontier: A Tale of Two Cretans’, *Crusades*, 11 (2012), pp. 85-86.

⁶⁷ M. Balard, ‘*Gesta Dei per Francos*: L’usage du mot « Francs » dans les chroniques de la première Croisade’, in *Clovis: histoire & mémoire, II: Le baptême de Clovis, son écho à travers l’histoire*, ed. by M. Rouche (Paris, 1997), p. 474; R. Hiestand, ‘Boemondo I e la prima Crociata’, in *Il Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo e le Crociate: Atti delle quattordicesime giornate normanno-sveve, Bari, 17-10 ottobre 2000*, ed. by G. Musca (Bari, 2002), p. 67.

⁶⁸ J. France, ‘The Anonymous *Gesta Francorum* and the *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* of Raymond of Aguilers and the *Historia Hierosolymitano itinere*

recension of a lost ur-text, re-edited to include anti-Byzantine elements in support of Bohemond of Taranto's trip to France in 1105-06, seeking support for a military campaign against Byzantium.⁶⁹ Meanwhile, Peter Tudebode's work was dismissed as a poor copy, adding little if anything reliable to the *Gesta's* testimony.⁷⁰ More recently, historians have reignited the debate surrounding the composition and relative value of the *Gesta* and related texts, so none of the foregoing remains certain.⁷¹ As far as the present thesis is concerned, such debates need only be mentioned in passing. The *Gesta* and Peter Tudebode's *Historia* add little of relevance that cannot also be found in Raymond of Aguilers's *Historia*. Similarly, the monastic reworkings of the *Gesta* that emerged in France in the years after the First Crusade – the most popular being Robert the Monk's *Historia Hierosolymitana* – contain no useful additional information.⁷²

The major problem with all the related accounts, from the *Gesta* to Raymond's *Historia*, is their narrow chronological scope, all concluding with the battle of Ascalon, 13 August 1099. This means that none of these sources furnish information on the

of Peter Tudebode: An Analysis of the Textual Relationship between Primary Sources for the First Crusade', in *The Crusades and Their Sources*, ed. by France and Zajac (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 39-59.

⁶⁹ A. C. Krey, 'A neglected passage in the *Gesta* and its bearing on the literature of the First Crusade', in *The Crusades and other historical essays presented to D. C. Munro by his former students*, ed. by L. J. Paetow (New York, 1928), pp. 57-78.

⁷⁰ S. B. Edgington, 'The First Crusade: reviewing the evidence', in *The First Crusade*, ed. by Phillips, p. 56.

⁷¹ J. Rubenstein, 'What is the *Gesta Francorum*, and who was Peter Tudebode?', *Revue Mabillon: Revue internationale d'histoire et de littérature religieuses*, new series, 16.77 (2005), pp. 179-204; J. Flori, 'De l'Anonyme normand à Tudebode et aux *Gesta Francorum*: L'impact de la propagande de Bohémond sur la critique textuelle des sources de la première croisade', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 102.3-4 (2007), pp. 717-745; N. L. Paul, 'A Warlord's Wisdom: Literacy and Propaganda at the Time of the First Crusade', *Speculum*, 85.3 (2010), pp. 535-566; S. Niskanen, 'The origins of the *Gesta Francorum* and two related texts: their textual and literary character', *Sacris Erudiri: A Journal on the Inheritance of Late Antique and Medieval Christianity*, 51 (2012), pp. 287-316; M. Bull, 'The Relationship Between the *Gesta Francorum* and Peter Tudebode's *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*: The Evidence of a Hitherto Unexamined Manuscript (St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, 3)', *Crusades*, 11 (2012), pp. 1-17; Pryor and Jeffreys, pp. 48-56.

⁷² Riley-Smith, *First Crusade*, pp. 135-155.

county itself, although they do set the scene for its establishment. Other narratives must be used for events beyond Ascalon. Fulcher of Chartres accompanied Baldwin of Boulogne, later count of Edessa and then king of Jerusalem on the First Crusade. In the three decades after the expedition, Fulcher wrote his *Historia Hierosolymitana*.⁷³ Another “house priest” like Raymond of Aguilers, Fulcher wrote largely to eulogise his lord, which in the later sections led to an aggrandisement of the power of the crown of Jerusalem, something that proves relevant when interpreting the early constitutional status of the county of Tripoli.⁷⁴

Fulcher’s *Historia* epitomises the complex interrelationship of contemporary sources. It is tripartite in structure, with the first book clearly related to the aforementioned chronicles of the First Crusade, perhaps via a lost ur-text. The later books cover the reigns of the author’s lord, Baldwin I, and of his successor, Baldwin II, in Jerusalem. Fulcher probably began writing his chronicle as early as 1100, with pauses in early 1106-1109 and 1115-1118, and he finally finished in 1127, the year when the narrative breaks off abruptly.⁷⁵ In the later books, Fulcher made use of Walter the Chancellor’s *Bella Antiochena* and Ralph of Caen’s *Gesta Tancredi*, two sources in turn based on earlier versions of Fulcher’s *Historia*, making the textual relationship here cyclical.⁷⁶

Other sources moving beyond Ascalon include narratives separate from the *Gesta* tradition. Although Walter the Chancellor derived some details from Fulcher of Chartres, his history of the principality of Antioch from 1114 to 1122, the *Bella*

⁷³ Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana (1095-1127)*, ed. by H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913).

⁷⁴ Edgington, ‘First Crusade’, p. 57. See Chapter One, pp. 93-94, 104-105.

⁷⁵ Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127*, trans. by F. R. Ryan, ed. by H. S. Fink (Knoxville, 1969), pp. 18-24.

⁷⁶ FC, pp. 68, 74-75; Fulcher, trans. by Ryan, p. 46.

Antiochena, is essentially independent.⁷⁷ A lengthier chronicle is Albert of Aachen's *Historia Ierosolimitana*, which covers the First Crusade and its aftermath up to 1120.⁷⁸ Albert was a cleric who wrote in the Rhineland and never visited the East, starting his chronicle sometime between 1100 and 1119, and finishing between the 1120s and 1140s.⁷⁹ Albert's *Historia* was once valued less than the accounts of the so-called "eyewitnesses" – for example, Raymond of Aguilers and the anonymous author of the *Gesta* – in terms of reliability, but recent historiography has viewed Albert's account more favourably, as preserving accurate details and traditions, often derived from lost oral sources.⁸⁰ Another independent account of the First Crusade is the Norman Ralph of Caen's *Gesta Tancredi in expeditione Hierosolymitana*, a eulogy of Bohemond of Taranto and especially Tancred of Lecce, extending up to 1105.⁸¹ Like Albert, Ralph did not participate in the Crusade himself, but unlike Albert did head eastwards in 1107, learning much from veterans.⁸² His *Gesta Tancredi* was probably written between 1112 and 1118.⁸³

After the end of Fulcher's *Historia* in 1127, no substantial narratives were produced in the Latin East for a number of decades, until the famous Archbishop William II of Tyre began to write. William's *magnum opus* is his narrative history of the kingdom of Jerusalem, which spans the period 1095 to 1184, and "has long been

⁷⁷ Galterius Cancellarius, *Bella Antiochena*, ed. by H. Hagenmeyer (Innsbrück, 1896).

⁷⁸ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, ed. and trans. by S. B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007).

⁷⁹ Edgington, 'First Crusade', p. 61; P. Lock, *The Routledge Companion to the Crusades* (Oxford, 2006), p. 228.

⁸⁰ J. Flori, *Pierre l'Ermite et la première croisade* (Paris, 1999), pp. 51-66; Edgington, 'First Crusade', pp. 61-73.

⁸¹ *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen: A History of the Normans on the First Crusade*, trans. by B. S. Bachrach and D. S. Bachrach (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 10-13. The best Latin text remains the 1866 RHC edition: 'Gesta Tancredi in Expeditione Hierosolymitana auctore Radulfo Cadomensi ejus familiari', *RHC Oc*, iii, 587-716.

⁸² *Gesta Tancredi*, trans. by Bachrach and Bachrach, pp. 1-4.

⁸³ *Gesta Tancredi*, trans. by Bachrach and Bachrach, p. 4.

recognized as being of the utmost importance”.⁸⁴ The author’s intended title is unknown, with Edbury and Rowe labelling it *Historia Ierosolymitana*, to capture its scope and intention, and Huygens adopting the “neutral” *Chronicon*.⁸⁵ William wrote his work between c.1170 and 1184.⁸⁶ He drew upon a wide range of sources, not least personal experience, archival records in the kingdom of Jerusalem, of which he was sometime chancellor, and earlier chronicles by authors like Fulcher of Chartres and Albert of Aachen.⁸⁷ William’s *Historia* proved highly influential, largely by virtue of the popular Old French translation completed soon after his death.

The main problem with William’s account as far as the present thesis is concerned, is the author’s focus on the kingdom of Jerusalem. According to Davis, William wrote his *Historia* as a patriotic citizen of the kingdom, hoping to explain how his beloved homeland could be saved.⁸⁸ William rarely dealt with the other crusader states except when their history directly impacted upon that of the kingdom, and by the time he was writing, the county of Tripoli was no longer regarded as a true part of the realm.⁸⁹ Exacerbating this is the fact that his narration of events is fairly thin and frequently erroneous in the period between 1127, when Fulcher’s narrative cuts off, and 1165, when William had returned to the kingdom after his studies in Europe, so could recall events from personal memory. Murray observes that William makes only selective use of Fulcher’s *Historia* for the pre-1127 period, which would suggest that

⁸⁴ P. W. Edbury and J. G. Rowe, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 1.

⁸⁵ Edbury and Rowe, p. 1 n. 1; William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. by R. B. C. Huygens, 2 vols, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*, 63, 63A (Turnhout, 1986).

⁸⁶ Edbury and Rowe, p. 26.

⁸⁷ Edbury and Rowe, pp. 44-58.

⁸⁸ R. H. C. Davis, ‘William of Tyre’, in *Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages*, ed. by D. Baker (Edinburgh, 1973), pp. 74-75.

⁸⁹ See Chapter One.

William was no more comprehensive when recording events in the 1130s and 1140s.⁹⁰ These considerations explain why the reign of Count Raymond II of Tripoli (r.1137-52) in particular is so poorly attested.

William composed another narrative, an overview of Islamic history, entitled *Gesta Orientalium Principum*.⁹¹ Unfortunately this does not survive, but it may have influenced the works of later authors, including James of Vitry and the Dominican missionary William of Tripoli.⁹² James of Vitry excelled in his career as a churchman, reaching the rank of cardinal-bishop of Tusculum by the time of his death in 1240.⁹³ His early life and origins are fairly obscure, but he was probably born between 1160 and 1170 and studied at Paris, soon becoming a preacher of talent.⁹⁴ It was during his time as bishop of Acre that he wrote a handful of works dealing with the Latin East, particularly his *Historia Hierosolimitana* or *Historia Orientalis*, which is part history, part polemic and part geography.⁹⁵ James wrote this lengthy and popular piece between 1216 and c.1223/24, during his residence in the East, around the time of the Fifth Crusade (1213-21).⁹⁶ Supplementary to the *Historia* is a collection of letters written by James in Acre, often containing identical information.⁹⁷ A text posing as the unwritten

⁹⁰ A. V. Murray, “‘Mighty Against the Enemies of Christ’: The Relic of the True Cross in the Armies of the Kingdom of Jerusalem”, in *The Crusades and Their Sources*, ed. by France and Zajac, pp. 222-223.

⁹¹ Edbury and Rowe, p. 23.

⁹² Davis, ‘William’, p. 71; Edbury and Rowe, p. 24.

⁹³ J. F. Benton, ‘Qui étaient les parents de Jacques de Vitry?’, in his *Culture, Power and Personality in Medieval France*, ed. by T. N. Bisson (London, 1991), p. 89.

⁹⁴ Benton, ‘Qui’, pp. 89-91.

⁹⁵ James of Vitry, *Histoire orientale. Historia orientalis*, ed. and trans. by J. Donnadieu (Turnhout, 2008).

⁹⁶ JV, pp. 10-12.

⁹⁷ James of Vitry, *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry (1160/1170-1240), évêque de Saint-Jean-d’Acre*, ed. by R. B. C. Huygens (Leiden, 1960).

third book to James's *Historia* is in fact a compilation by other authors and copyists, although it is of some use.⁹⁸

ii. Latin Itineraries

Descriptions of the Holy Land, produced by and for Latin Christian pilgrims, prove useful as records of contemporary legends about the region, as well as geographic and demographic details. These itineraries regularly repeat the same information and stories about the region and its sites of interest, often verbatim. Scholars have thus assumed that the authors used at least one lost ur-text or “old compendium”, generally dated to some point in the eleventh century but potentially incorporating older material.⁹⁹ One of the earliest crusader-era itineraries is that of Rorgo Fretellus, a chaplain and archdeacon of the cathedral of Nazareth, who wrote his *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* in 1137.¹⁰⁰ A number of variants exist, but the most useful for the present thesis is a reworking by an anonymous author, written – or at least copied – c.1150 or c.1157.¹⁰¹ This includes intriguing information concerning the borders of the Latin East.¹⁰² Elements of

⁹⁸ ‘Historiæ Orientalis Liber Tertius’, in *Gesta Dei Per Francos Sive Orientalium Expeditionum Et Regni Francorum Hierosolimitani Historia A Variis, sed illius ævi Scriptoribus, litteris commendata*, ed. by J. Bongars, 2 vols (Hannover, 1611), i, 1125-1145; J. Bird, ‘The *Historia Orientalis* of Jacques de Vitry: Visual and Written Commentaries as Evidence of a Text’s Audience, Reception, and Utilization’, *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 20 (2003), p. 56.

⁹⁹ *Rorgo Fretellus de Nazareth et sa description de la Terre Sainte: Histoire et édition du texte*, ed. by P. C. Boeren (Amsterdam, 1980), p. xxxi; *Theoderich’s Description of the Holy Places. (Circa 1172 A.D.)*, trans. by A. Stewart, Palestine Pilgrims’ Text Society, 5 (London, 1896), pp. iii-iv; J. Wilkinson, with J. Hill and W. F. Ryan, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, 167 (London, 1988), p. 3.

¹⁰⁰ *Rorgo Fretellus*, pp. vii, viii-xiii.

¹⁰¹ ‘Descriptions de Jérusalem et de la Terre Sainte au Moyen Âge’, in M. de Vogüé, *Les Églises de la Terre Sainte* (Paris, 1860), pp. 408-433; *Rorgo Fretellus*, p. xxxi; Wilkinson, pp. 12, 14.

¹⁰² See Chapter One, pp. 95-97.

Fretellus's work are evident in a great number of subsequent itineraries.¹⁰³ John of Würzburg, who wrote about his journey to the Holy Land c.1170, used one of Fretellus's sources for the places he did not visit in person.¹⁰⁴ John wrote for a friend or acquaintance named Dietrich, who may be identical with Theoderic, the author of another similar itinerary, 1169-74.¹⁰⁵

Much of the content of these twelfth-century works found its way into sources outside the genre of itineraries, most notably James of Vitry's *Historia Orientalis*.¹⁰⁶ In turn, the pilgrim Burchard of Mount Sion used James's *Historia* when writing his *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, as he freely admitted.¹⁰⁷ Burchard was a German Dominican, who visited the Holy Land between 1274 and 1284, probably composing a first draft of his *Descriptio* between 1280 and 1283.¹⁰⁸ In addition to James of Vitry's *Historia*, his sources included Christian Scripture and the writings of Church Fathers like St Jerome, alongside various apocryphal Christian texts.¹⁰⁹ He also drew on local oral tradition, speaking with Christians and non-Christians alike.¹¹⁰ Many later crusade theorists, particularly the Venetian Marino Sanudo Torsello in his *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis* (c.1320), used Burchard's *Descriptio*.¹¹¹

¹⁰³ Wilkinson, p. 15.

¹⁰⁴ 'John of Würzburg', in *Peregrinationes Tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, ed. by R. B. C. Huygens (Turnhout, 1994), pp. 78-141; Wilkinson, p. 21.

¹⁰⁵ 'Theodericus', in *Peregrinationes Tres*, ed. by Huygens, pp. 142-197; Wilkinson, pp. 21, 22;

¹⁰⁶ JV, p. 28.

¹⁰⁷ 'Burchardi de Monte Sion Descriptio Terrae Sanctae', in *Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quatuor*, ed. by J. C. M. Laurent, 2nd edn (Leipzig, 1873), pp. 1-100 (p. 23).

¹⁰⁸ A. Grabois, 'Christian Pilgrims in the Thirteenth Century and the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: Burchard of Mount Sion', in *Outremer: Studies in the history of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem Presented to Joshua Prawer*, ed. by B. Z. Kedar, H. E. Mayer, and R. C. Smail (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 287-288.

¹⁰⁹ Grabois, p. 288.

¹¹⁰ For example: BMS, p. 20.

¹¹¹ Grabois, p. 287; Marino Sanudo, 'Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis. Qui Est Tam Pro Conseruatione Fidelium, Quam Pro Conuersione Et Consumptione Infidelium:

Other geographical treatises exist, independent of the “old compendium” tradition. Most notably, a canon of Hildesheim, Wilbrand of Oldenburg, left an account of his journey along the entire Levantine coast, the county of Tripoli included, in 1211-12.¹¹² In addition, there exists a short anonymous treatise describing the Holy Land, the *Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre ierosolimitane*.¹¹³ This was written by a western European visitor to the kingdom of Jerusalem at some point between 1168 and 1187.¹¹⁴

iii. Vernacular Romance Sources

Increasingly, historians have recognised that the divide between Latin “histories” and vernacular “literature” was not as stark as once thought. Latin authors used vernacular sources – oral and written – and *vice versa*, and authors from the two categories did not necessarily write with markedly different goals or audiences in mind.¹¹⁵ The most important French sources used in this thesis are the Chronicle of Ernoul and the Old French Continuations of William of Tyre, or *Eracles*, together comprising a complex textual tradition. The Chronicle of Ernoul was an independent narrative, written in part by a squire of Balian of Ibelin soon after 1187, which does not survive in its original form, but was reworked and extended by another author or authors in the 1220s and

quanquam etiam propter acquirendam & tenendam Terram Sanctam, & alias multas terras in bono statu pacifico & quieto’, in *Gesta Dei*, ed. by Bongars, ii, 1-281.

¹¹² ‘Wilbrand of Oldenburg’s Journey to Syria, Lesser Armenia, Cyprus, and the Holy Land (1211-1212): A New Edition’, ed. by D. Pringle, *Crusades*, 11 (2012), pp. 109-137.

¹¹³ ‘The *Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre ierosolimitane*’, ed. by B. Z. Kedar, in *The Crusades and Their Sources*, ed. by France and Zajac, pp. 111-133.

¹¹⁴ ‘*Tractatus*’, ed. by Kedar, pp. 111-113, 119-120.

¹¹⁵ For example: S. B. Edgington, ‘Albert of Aachen and the *Chansons de Geste*’, in *The Crusades and Their Sources*, ed. by France and Zajac, pp. 23-37.

1230s, producing a related family of surviving variants, dubbed “*Ernoul-Bernard*”.¹¹⁶ The narrative actually written by Ernoul the squire probably does not go beyond 1187.¹¹⁷

In the 1230s, someone grafted the post-1184 narrative of *Ernoul-Bernard* – henceforth simply Ernoul – onto the end of the Old French translation of William of Tyre’s Latin chronicle, which concluded in 1184, thus creating the Old French Continuation.¹¹⁸ In turn, these were reworked and extended further by others, leaving to posterity a range of variants, with one – the so-called Rothelin Continuation – continuing to 1261, and another – *Colbert-Fontainebleau* – to 1264.¹¹⁹ The variants are “broadly similar in tone and content”, sharing a range of narrative “fragments”, but each one contains unique information, of variable trustworthiness.¹²⁰ At present, the most comprehensive edition of the Old French Continuations remains that found in the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, although Edbury has criticised the editors for emphasising the late and unusual *Colbert-Fontainebleau* version.¹²¹

¹¹⁶ P. W. Edbury, ‘New Perspectives on the Old French Continuations of William of Tyre’, *Crusades*, 9 (2010), pp. 108-109.

¹¹⁷ *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation*, trans. by P. W. Edbury (Aldershot, 1998), p. 5. Cf. M. R. Morgan, *The Chronicle of Ernoul and the Continuations of William of Tyre* (London, 1973), pp. 80-81.

¹¹⁸ Edbury, ‘New Perspectives’, pp. 108, 109. Ernoul was edited by de Mas Latrie. *Chronique d’Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. M. L. de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1871).

¹¹⁹ Edbury, ‘New Perspectives’, pp. 110-113.

¹²⁰ P. W. Edbury, ‘The Lyon *Eracles* and the Old French Continuations of William of Tyre’, in *Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer*, ed. by B. Z. Kedar, J. Riley-Smith, and R. Hiestand (Aldershot, 1997), p. 140; M. R. Morgan, *Chronicle*, pp. 177-178.

¹²¹ ‘L’Etoile de Eracles empereur et la conquest de la terre d’Outremer: C’est la continuation de l’estoire de Guillaume archevesque de Sur’, *RHC Oc*, ii, 1-481; Edbury, ‘New Perspectives’, pp. 110-111. The Rothelin Continuation, which contains some useful additional information, was edited by Morgan: *La continuation de Guillaume de Tyre (1184-1197)*, ed. by M. R. Morgan, Documents relatifs à l’histoire des Croisades publiés par l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 14 (Paris, 1982), p. 45. A loosely related, condensed text is the *Estoires d’Outremer. A Critical Edition of the Estoires d’Outremer et de la naissance Salehadin*, ed. by M. A. Jubb, Westfield

A few works in *langue d'oc*, the Romance language of southern France, have been used in the present work. For example, the troubadour Peire Vidal dedicated a poem to Raymond III of Tripoli.¹²² A thirteenth-century biography or *vida* of Jaufré Rudel, which includes the claim that its subject fell in love with the countess of Tripoli and took ship to see her over half a century before, is also extant.¹²³

iv. Arabic Narratives

Whereas crusading inspired dedicated “crusades chronicles” in Latin Christendom, the crusaders’ main targets, the Muslims of Syria, produced no such works. Instead, information on these Christian wars was worked into various Arabic historical narratives. Broadly speaking, the works used here can be broken down into local chronicles, dynastic panegyrics and anthologies of extracts. The earliest surviving of the local chronicles to mention the Franks is Muḥammad bin ‘Alī al-‘Azīmī’s *Tārīkh ḥalab* (History of Aleppo).¹²⁴ Although available in a partial edition since 1938 and a modern French translation since 1991, crusade historians only became aware of the value of al-‘Azīmī’s *Tārīkh* when championed by Hillenbrand.¹²⁵

Publications in Medieval Studies, 4 (London, 1990). Edbury is working on a new critical edition of all the Continuations.

¹²² Peire Vidal, *Poésie: Edizione Critica e Commento*, ed. by D’A. S. Avallé, 2 vols, Documenti di Filologia, 4 (Milan and Naples, 1960), i, 33-43.

¹²³ *Biographies des troubadours: textes provençaux des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, 2nd edn, ed. by J. Boutière and A. H. Schutz (Paris, 1973), pp. 16-18.

¹²⁴ Muḥammad bin ‘Alī al-‘Azīmī al-Ḥalabī, *Tārīkh Ḥalab*, ed. by I. Za’rūr (Damascus, 1984).

¹²⁵ ‘La chronique abrégée d’al-‘Azīmī’, ed. by C. Cahen, *Journal Asiatique* (1938), pp. 353-448; ‘La chronique abrégée d’al-‘Azīmī: années 518-538/1124-1144’, trans. by F. Monot, *Revue des études islamiques*, 59 (1991), pp. 101-164; C. Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (Edinburgh, 1999), pp. 68-69; C. Hillenbrand, ‘The First Crusade: the Muslim perspective’, in *The First Crusade*, ed. by Phillips, p. 131.

Abū Ya‘lā Ḥamza bin al-Qalānisī’s *Dhayl tāriḫ dimashq* (Continuation of the History of Damascus) was for a long while thought lost, until a unique, albeit partial manuscript was rediscovered in Oxford.¹²⁶ Ibn al-Qalānisī held the important, seemingly hereditary office of *ra’īs* of Damascus and died in 1160 (AH 555).¹²⁷ His historical narrative as it survives begins in 973-4 (AH 363) and concludes in the year of the author’s death, with the later sections incorporating accounts of the Franks. The *Dhayl* is an important source, not least because it served as the basis for many later narratives and compilations, including those of Ibn al-Athīr and Abū Shāma.¹²⁸ Ibn al-Qalānisī’s focus on the city of Damascus means that his source is restricted in much the same way as William of Tyre’s Latin Jerusalemite chronicle, since he only records the activities of the Franks – mainly those of the nearby kingdom of Jerusalem – when they directly impacted upon Damascene history.¹²⁹

Another useful local Arabic chronicle, focusing on Aleppo, is Kamāl al-Dīn’s *Zubdat al-ḥalab min tāriḫ ḥalab* (Cream of Aleppo from the History of Aleppo).¹³⁰ Kamāl al-Dīn (586/1191-660/1262) was the *qāḍī* of Aleppo, a hereditary office, as in Damascus.¹³¹ His *Zubda* is a fairly late source, but he drew upon earlier local accounts, often now lost, so it has some use, not least for containing additional information relating to the Occitan participants in the Second Crusade.¹³² Gibb warned that it is

¹²⁶ Ibn al-Qalānisī, Abū Ya‘lā Ḥamza, *History of Damascus, 363-555 a. h., by Ibn al-Qalānisī from the Bodleian Ms. Hunt. 125, being a continuation of Hilāl al-Sābi*, ed. by H. F. Amedroz (Leiden, 1908).

¹²⁷ IQ, pp. 6-7; *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades: Extracted and Translated from the Chronicle of Ibn al-Qalānisī*, trans. by H. A. R. Gibb (London, 1932), p. 9.

¹²⁸ Ibn al-Qalānisī, trans. by Gibb, p. 10.

¹²⁹ Ibn al-Qalānisī, trans. by Gibb, pp. 10-11.

¹³⁰ Kamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim ‘Amr bin Aḥmad bin Hibat Allāh Ibn al-‘Adīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab min tāriḫ ḥalab*, ed. by Sāmī al-Dahhān, 3 vols (Damascus, 1951-1968).

¹³¹ ‘L’histoire d’Alep de Kamal-ad-Dîn’, trans. by E. Blochet, *ROL*, 3 (1895), pp. 509-510.

¹³² See Chapter Two, pp. 169-172.

impossible to judge the reliability of many of Kamāl al-Dīn's interpolations, so some caution is required when using his account.¹³³

Under Saladin, narratives began to be produced to glorify the personal achievements of rulers and conquerors, rather than to record the events that befell a particular city. Two men in Saladin's service, 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī and Bahā' al-Dīn bin Shaddād, produced biographies of their ruler, which incorporate some important material regarding the county of Tripoli, particularly during Saladin's invasion in 1188. 'Imād al-Dīn lived from 1125 (AH 519) until 1201 (AH 597) and served as Saladin's secretary right up until the sultan's death.¹³⁴ His *Al-faṭḥ al-qussī fī al-faṭḥ al-qudsī* (The Loosing of Bows in the Conquest of Jerusalem) is most useful, not least because he was an eyewitness to many of the key events of the late 1180s and early 1190s, having accompanied Saladin on most of his military excursions during this period.¹³⁵

Meanwhile, Bahā' al-Dīn was born in Mosul in 1145 (AH 539), studied and taught in Baghdad, and then entered Saladin's service as "judge of the army" (*qāḍī al-askar*) whilst the sultan was besieging Crac des Chevaliers in the county of Tripoli in 1188.¹³⁶ He continued to serve under Saladin's sons al-Afḍal in Damascus and al-Zāhir in Aleppo, although he fell out of favour with the latter's son, and died in 1234 (AH 632).¹³⁷ He is best known today for his biography of Saladin, *Al-nawādir al-sultāniyya wa-al-maḥāsin al-yūsufiyya* (the Extraordinary Things of the Sultan and the Meritorious

¹³³ H. A. R. Gibb, 'Notes on the Arabic Materials for the History of the Early Crusades', *BSOAS*, 7.4 (1935), p. 753.

¹³⁴ 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Saladin* (al-Faṭḥ al-qussī fī l-faṭḥ al-qudsī), trans. by H. Massé (Paris, 1972), pp. vii, ix.

¹³⁵ 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Ṣalāḥ ed-dīn/Kitāb al-faṭḥ al-qussī fī al-faṭḥ al-qudsī*, ed. by C. de Landberg (Leiden, 1888); *Conquête*, trans. by Massé, pp. x-xi.

¹³⁶ *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin or al-Nawādir al-Sultāniyya wa'l-Maḥāsin al-Yūsufiyya* by Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, trans. by D. S. Richards (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 1-2.

¹³⁷ Bahā' al-Dīn, trans. by Richards, pp. 2-3.

Qualities of Yūsuf).¹³⁸ This biography is based partly on that of his colleague ‘Imād al-Dīn, albeit more concise, less elaborate, and incorporating some independent information.¹³⁹ The text has been dated to between November 1198 and October 1216.¹⁴⁰

The early thirteenth century produced more than mere dynastic historiography. Ibn al-Athīr (555/1160-630/1233), born to a family associated with the Zankid dynasty, wrote a lengthy work of history, *Al-kāmil fī al-tārīkh* (Perfection in History), of which the later sections are invaluable to the historian of the crusades.¹⁴¹ His history is based largely upon the works of earlier and contemporary historians, especially Ibn al-Qalānisī and Ibn al-Jawzī, as well as Bahā’ al-Dīn and ‘Imād al-Dīn.¹⁴² Not all of the sources he used survive, so his history remains useful, not only for his reinterpretation of events but for his inclusion of information derived from lost Arabic accounts. That said, the distortions he introduced, not least in his retelling of the fall of Tripoli in 1109, mean that historians should always be alert when reading.¹⁴³

Abū Shāma’s *Kitāb al-rawḍatayn* (Book of Two Gardens) – a metaphor for the reigns of Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin – and its continuation (*Dhayl*), both composed in the mid-thirteenth century, constitute little more than a compilation of anthologies of

¹³⁸ The best edition is the most recent, using the most extensive surviving manuscript (626/1229). Bahā’ al-Dīn bin Shaddād, *Sīrat Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn: «al-sīra al-yūsufiyya»*, ed. by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl (Cairo, 1962); Bahā’ al-Dīn, trans. by Richards, pp. 7, 8. Occasionally, important alternate readings may be drawn from the 1884 *RHC* edition, probably compiled by de Slane using the earliest surviving manuscript (625/1228). Bahā’ al-Dīn bin Shaddād, ‘Anecdotes et Beaux Traits de la vie du Sultan Youssef (Salāḥ ed-Dīn)/*al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniyya wa-al-Maḥāsin al-Yūsufiyya*’, *RHC Or*, iii, 1-374; Bahā’ al-Dīn, trans. by Richards, p. 7.

¹³⁹ Bahā’ al-Dīn, trans. by Richards, pp. 5-6.

¹⁴⁰ Bahā’ al-Dīn, trans. by Richards, pp. 5, 6-7.

¹⁴¹ Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, ed. C. J. Tornberg, revised edn., 12 vols + index (Beirut, 1965-1967); Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from al-Kāmil fī l-tārīkh*, trans. by D. S. Richards, 3 vols (Aldershot, 2006-2008), i, 1-2.

¹⁴² Ibn al-Athīr, trans. by Richards, i, 4.

¹⁴³ Gibb, ‘Notes’, pp. 746-753.

extracts from earlier authorities, whom the author always cited.¹⁴⁴ Despite its derivative nature, the *Kitāb* is useful for preserving extracts from otherwise lost works, particularly additional writings by ‘Imād al-Dīn.

Two relevant works of local history dating from the fifteenth century, which preserve information relevant to the crusader period, are Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā’s *Tārīkh bayrūt* (History of Beirut) and Mujīr al-Dīn’s Palestinian history, *Kitāb al-uns al-jalīl bi-tārīkh al-quḍs wa-al-khalīl* (Book of Great People in the History of Jerusalem and Hebron).¹⁴⁵

v. Miscellaneous Arabic Sources

There exist a number of written sources in Arabic that prove difficult to classify, either for their genre or language. Usāma bin Munqidh was a scion of the ruling family of Shayzar. He was born in 1095 (AH 488), was expelled by his uncle from his ancestral home in 1138 (AH 532), became a diplomat and courtier in Syria and Egypt, fell out with his erstwhile employer Saladin in 1176 (AH 572), and died in 1188 (AH 584).¹⁴⁶ His most famous work is *Kitāb al-i’tibār* (Book of Learning by Example).¹⁴⁷ Irwin believes that this was written for his son, whilst Cobb believes Usāma wrote it for

¹⁴⁴ Abū Shāma, Shihāb al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān bin Ismā‘īl bin Ibrāhīm bin ‘Uthmān al-Muqaddasī al-Dimashqī al-Shāfi‘ī, *Kitāb al-rawḍatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn al-nūriyya wa-al-ṣalāhiyya*, ed. by I. Shams al-Dīn, 4 vols in 2 (Beirut, 2002); Abū Shāma, Shihāb al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān bin Ismā‘īl bin Ibrāhīm bin ‘Uthmān al-Muqaddasī al-Dimashqī al-Shāfi‘ī, *Tarājim rijāl al-qarnayn al-sādis wa-al-sābi‘, al-ma‘rūf bi-al-dhayl ‘alā al-rawḍatayn*, ed. by I. Shams al-Dīn (Beirut, 2002).

¹⁴⁵ Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, *Tārīḥ Bayrūt: Récits des anciens de la famille de Buḥtur b. ‘Alī, émir du Gharb de Beyrouth*, ed. by F. Hours, K. S. Salibi et al. (Beirut, 1969); Mujīr al-Dīn, *Kitāb al-uns al-jalīl bi-tārīkh al-quḍs wa-al-khalīl*, 2 vols (Cairo, 1866).

¹⁴⁶ R. Irwin, ‘Usamah ibn Munqidh: An Arab-Syrian Gentleman at the Time of the Crusades Reconsidered’, in *The Crusades and Their Sources*, ed. by France and Zajac, pp. 71-72, 77-82.

¹⁴⁷ Usāma bin Munqidh, *Usamah’s Memoirs entitled Kitāb al-I’tibār*, ed. by P. K. Hitti (Princeton, NJ, 1930).

Saladin.¹⁴⁸ It has been described as an autobiography, a rare genre within medieval Islamic writing.¹⁴⁹ However, Irwin has stressed that *Kitāb al-i‘tibār* is a piece of literature, guided by an exploration of likenesses and antitheses, with an undercurrent of fatalism before the inscrutable will of God.¹⁵⁰ Therefore, what he wrote should not be taken as an honest or accurate depiction of events. That said, Cobb is insistent that what Usāma described should not be discarded simply because of his literary and didactic intentions.¹⁵¹ Certainly *Kitāb al-i‘tibār* contains precious details regarding everyday life in medieval Syria.

Despite the proximity of Shayzar to the county, Usāma never stated that he himself visited Tripoli, although one of his slaves did.¹⁵² Usāma did accompany Zankī of Mosul during the latter’s siege of Rafaniyya, on the county’s easternmost frontier, in 1137 (AH 531).¹⁵³ Usāma’s writings nevertheless include a small handful of anecdotes relating to the county’s inhabitants, such as his famous description of a brutal Frankish physician at al-Munayṭira, between Tripoli and Ba‘albak.¹⁵⁴ Amongst other works, Usāma wrote *Kitāb al-‘aṣā* (Book of the Stick), an anthology of citations and reminiscences on the theme of the stick, including some details relevant to Frankish religiosity.¹⁵⁵

Biographical dictionaries are a major genre within medieval Arabic literature, although tend only to include Muslim figures, with “*biographies de princes francs [...]*

¹⁴⁸ Irwin, ‘Usamah’, p. 72; Usāma bin Munqidh, *The Book of Contemplation: Islam and the Crusades*, trans. by P. M. Cobb (London, 2008), p. xxx.

¹⁴⁹ *L’Orient au temps des croisades*, ed. by A.-M. Eddé and F. Micheau (Paris, 2002), p. 16; Usāma, trans. by Cobb, p. xvi.

¹⁵⁰ Irwin, ‘Usamah’, pp. 73-75.

¹⁵¹ P. M. Cobb, ‘Infidel Dogs: Hunting Crusaders with Usama ibn Munqidh’, *Crusades*, 6 (2007), p. 57.

¹⁵² UM, pp. 79-80.

¹⁵³ UM, p. 46.

¹⁵⁴ UM, pp. 132-133.

¹⁵⁵ Usāma bin Munqidh, *Kitāb al-‘aṣā*, ed. by Ḥ. ‘Abbās (Alexandria, 1978); Irwin, ‘Usamah’, pp. 85-86. See Chapter Four, p. 293.

exceptionnelles.”¹⁵⁶ These works do prove relevant sometimes, such as the biography of the Tripolitan Shī‘ite poet, Ibn Munīr, in the *Wafayāt al-a‘yān* of Ibn Khallikān (608/1211-681/1282).¹⁵⁷ Alongside biographical dictionaries are geographic encyclopaedias, which have not been utilised extensively by crusade historians but nonetheless incorporate valuable information regarding sites of religious and historical significance in the region. For example, Shams al-Dīn al-Muqaddasī (d.380/990-91) wrote *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī ma‘rifat al-aqālīm* (The Best Divisions for Understanding the Regions), an extensive survey of the geography, economy and demographics of Syria and Palestine in the late tenth century, a hundred years before the First Crusade.¹⁵⁸

More contemporaneously, Yāqūt al-Rūmī al-Ḥamawī composed his *Mu‘jam al-buldān* (Encyclopaedia of Lands) between 1218-19 (AH 615) and his death in 1229 (AH 626).¹⁵⁹ His work is particularly useful for shedding light on the local religious traditions of Syria, including accounts of shrines recognised and recorded by the Latin Christians. ‘Imād al-Dīn Ismā‘īl Abū al-Fidā’ (672/1273-732/1331), wrote a history of the region, *Kitāb al-mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar* (Book of the Summary of the News of Humans), and a geographical text, *Kitāb taqwīm al-buldān* (Book of the Almanac of the Lands).¹⁶⁰ A contemporary of Abū al-Fidā’, Shams al-Dīn al-Dimashqī (d.727/1327), wrote his *Nukhbat al-dahr fī ‘ajā‘ib al-barr wa-al-baḥr* (Selection of the Age in the Wonders of the Land and the Sea), a geography focusing on Syria c.1300

¹⁵⁶ *L’Orient*, ed. by Eddé and Micheau, p. 100.

¹⁵⁷ Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a‘yān*, ed. by I. ‘Abbās, 8 vols (Beirut, 1968-1972), i, 156-160.

¹⁵⁸ Al-Muqaddasī, Shams al-Dīn Abī ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad bin Aḥmad bin Abī Bakr, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī ma‘rifat al-aqālīm*, ed. by M. Amīn al-Dannāwī (Beirut, 2003).

¹⁵⁹ Shihāb al-Dīn Abī ‘Abd Allāh Yāqūt bin ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥamawī al-Rūmī al-Baghdādī, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, 5 vols (Beirut, 1955-1957); C. Gilliot, ‘Yāqūt al-Rūmī’, in *EI2*, xi, 265.

¹⁶⁰ Abū al-Fidā’, ‘Imād al-Dīn Ismā‘īl, *Kitāb al-mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar (al-Tārīkh)*, 4 vols (Cairo, 1907); *Géographie d’Aboulféda: Texte arabe/Kitāb taqwīm al-buldān*, ed. by J. T. Reinaud and W. M. de Slane (Paris, 1840).

(c.AH 700), shortly after the Mamlūks' ejection of the Franks from the region.¹⁶¹ Finally, a handful of Arabophone Muslim travellers left accounts of their voyages to the Latin East or the region it occupied. Most famous is Ibn Jubayr, an Andalusian Muslim who visited the kingdom of Jerusalem and various other locales in the Mediterranean between 1183 (AH 578) and 1185 (AH 581), during a pilgrimage to Mecca.¹⁶² His travelogue or *rihla* survives today.¹⁶³

vi. Charters, Seals and Coins

Charter evidence survives for the county, in Latin for much of the period but increasingly in French for the thirteenth century. The loss of the county's domestic archives means that such evidence is highly diffuse and subject to certain distortions. Most surviving charters pertain to the Hospitaller military order, giving the impression that this institution possessed a greater share of property in the county than it probably did. Occasionally, contemporary sources indicate the existence of many more documents, now lost. On 2 June 1271, the Hospitallers returned to Guy II of Jubayl forty-four charters (*privilegia*), originally deposited with the Order by Guy's father Henry, apparently for safekeeping.¹⁶⁴ Their fate is unknown. In the nineteenth century, Lord Lindsay reported a tantalising story that a "Frank" traveller had discovered "a bundle of old parchments" in the possession of the *shaykh* of the village of *Gausta* (Ghosta), Lebanon, and that these parchments were proof of the *shaykh*'s descent from

¹⁶¹ Al-Dimashqī, Shams al-Dīn Abī 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Abī Ṭālib al-Anṣārī, *Nukhbat al-dahr fī 'ajā'ib al-barr wa-al-baḥr*, ed. by A. F. Mehren (Jubayl, 2008).

¹⁶² Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, trans. by R. J. C. Broadhurst (London, 1952), pp. 15-18.

¹⁶³ Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, ed. by W. Wright and M. J. de Goeje (Leiden and London, 1907).

¹⁶⁴ *CGOH*, iii, no. 3422.

“one of the oldest crusading families in France”. The *shaykh* had set out for Paris, presumably with the documents, but had fallen ill at Alexandria and had returned home, where he still lived in the 1830s.¹⁶⁵ Whatever the veracity of this particular story, it is not inconceivable that local landowners held onto Frankish-era documents for centuries. Indeed, this is suggested by the incorporation of summaries of thirteenth-century Frankish Arabic documents, pertaining to local lords, into Ṣālīḥ bin Yahyā’s fifteenth-century *Tārīkh*.¹⁶⁶ Regrettably, these are amongst the very few documents issued in Arabic under Frankish rule that survive, and none are known for the county of Tripoli, although it is highly likely that Arabic document production was prevalent in the crusader states.¹⁶⁷

Modern registers and editions enable the identification of the charters that do survive. Foremost amongst the registers for its comprehensiveness is Reinhold Röhricht’s *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani* and supplementary *Additamentum*, although its age means that it does not include any discoveries or editions subsequent to 1904.¹⁶⁸ Amongst these later findings are a number of charters from the Latin East, including one from the county of Tripoli, edited by Delaville le Roulx in 1905-08.¹⁶⁹ Richard has edited and published a handful of previously unedited charters relevant to the county: one issued by Raymond of Saint-Gilles, two by Pons of Tripoli, and six relevant *acta*

¹⁶⁵ Lord Lindsay, *Letters on Egypt, Edom, and the Holy Land*, 5th edn (London, 1858), p. 346.

¹⁶⁶ ṢY, pp. 47-48, 73-74; C. Clermont-Ganneau, ‘Deux chartes des Croisés dans les archives arabes’, *Recueil d’Archéologie Orientale*, 6 (1903-5), pp. 4, 9-11. See also: W. M. de Slane, ‘Introduction’, *RHC Or*, i, xlvi.

¹⁶⁷ See Chapter Three, pp. 242-254.

¹⁶⁸ *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani (MXCVII-MCCXCI)*, ed. by R. Röhricht (Innsbrück, 1893); *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani (MXCVII-MCCXCI): Additamentum*, ed. by R. Röhricht (Innsbrück, 1904).

¹⁶⁹ ‘Chartes de Terre Sainte’, ed. by J. Delaville le Roulx, *ROL*, 11 (1905-1908), pp. 181-191.

from the archives of the Porcelet family of Arles.¹⁷⁰ In 1969, Riley-Smith edited an episcopal deed dated to 1157, which confirmed an earlier donation to the Templars of rights and property in the diocese of Tortosa, 1152.¹⁷¹

Mayer's *Die Urkunden der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem* is useful for its recent and thorough analysis of charters relating to the kings and queens of Jerusalem, but proves largely irrelevant to a study of the county of Tripoli.¹⁷² His discussion of Genoese forgeries in Tripoli and Antioch in his *Varia Antiochena* is of some use.¹⁷³ Delaville le Roulx's four-volume edition of Hospitaller documents from 1100 to 1310, primarily preserved in Marseille and Valletta, is extremely helpful.¹⁷⁴ The incorporation of some Templar documents into the Hospitaller archives of Malta led Delaville le Roulx to produce his *Documents concernant les Templiers*, which includes a few formerly unedited charters.¹⁷⁵ Aside from the military religious orders, the surviving recensions of the cartulary of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem contain a number of charters detailing property in the county, for which Bresc-Bautier's edition is the best.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁰ 'Le chartrier', ed. by Richard, pp. 605-612; 'Le comté de Tripoli dans les chartes du fonds des Porcellet', ed. by J. Richard, *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 130.2 (1972), pp. 339-382. The final document in the latter publication recorded an earlier transaction, so technically there are seven *acta* relevant to the county in the Porcelet archives. 'Le comté [...] Porcellet', ed. by Richard, no. 6. Cf. *CGOH*, iii, no. 3106.

¹⁷¹ 'The Templars and the Castle of Tortosa in Syria: An Unknown Document concerning the Acquisition of the Fortress', ed. by J. Riley-Smith, *EHR*, 84.331 (1969), pp. 278-288.

¹⁷² *Die Urkunden der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, ed. by H. E. Mayer, *Altfranzösische Texte Erstellt von Jean Richard*, 4 vols, Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Diplomata Regum Latinorum Hierosolymitanorum, 1-4 (Hannover, 2010).

¹⁷³ Mayer, *Varia*, pp. 203-217.

¹⁷⁴ *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem (1100-1310)*, ed. by J. Delaville le Roulx, 4 vols (Paris, 1894-1906).

¹⁷⁵ *Documents concernant les Templiers extraits des archives de Malte*, ed. by J. Delaville le Roulx (Paris, 1882).

¹⁷⁶ *Le Cartulaire du Chapitre du Saint-Sépulchre de Jérusalem*, ed. by G. Bresc-Bautier (Paris, 1984).

Auxiliary to charters and letters are the seals once attached to them. Few survive, especially for the twelfth century, and their disappearance through theft has continued into recent decades.¹⁷⁷ Seals are also highly stylised in their depictions of human figures and cities, and are conservatively “western” in their design, so contribute little to the present study.¹⁷⁸ Related to sigillography is the more useful field of numismatics. Again fairly formulaic in their designs, the coins that survive from the county of Tripoli are nonetheless crucial evidence of the continued use of Arabic as an administrative language, since the higher value gold coins imitated the style and language of Fāṭimid *dīnārs*.¹⁷⁹ Numismatists have produced a large number of studies of crusader coinage, from Schlumberger and Blancard in the nineteenth century, to Metcalf and Ehrenkreutz in the twentieth.¹⁸⁰ The utility of sigillography and numismatics is demonstrated well by Mayer’s argument that Raymond, son of Bohemond III of Antioch, did indeed rule Tripoli as “*Raimund IV. von Tripolis*”.¹⁸¹

vii. Sources in Other Languages

¹⁷⁷ *Actes de la famille Porcelet d’Arles (972-1320)*, ed. by M. Aurell, Collection de documents inédits sur l’histoire de France, série in-8°, 27 (Paris, 2001), p. 613.

¹⁷⁸ D. M. Metcalf, ‘Islamic, Byzantine, and Latin Influences in the Iconography of Crusader Coins and Seals’, in *East and West in the Crusader States: Context – Contacts – Confrontations*, ed. by K. Ciggaar, H. Teule et al., 3 vols, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 75, 92, 125 (Leuven, 1996-2003), ii, 171-173.

¹⁷⁹ See Chapter Three, pp. 246-250.

¹⁸⁰ For example: G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l’Orient latin* (Paris, 1878); L. Blancard, *Le besant d’or sarrazinas pendant les croisades: Étude comparée sur les monnaies d’or, arabes et d’imitation arabe, frappées en Égypte et en Syrie, aux XII^{me} et XIII^{me} siècles* (Marseille, 1880); D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford (London, 1983); A. S. Ehrenkreutz, ‘Arabic *Dīnārs* Struck by the Crusaders: A Case of Ignorance or of Economic Subversion’, *JESHO*, 7 (1964), pp. 167-182.

¹⁸¹ Mayer, *Varia*, pp. 184-202.

A range of sources written in languages other than Latin, French, Occitan and Arabic shed light on the county's history. A few contemporary Greek narratives include pertinent information. The most important is Anna Komnene's *Alexiad*.¹⁸² The author wrote primarily to eulogise her father, Emperor Alexios I Komnenos, and did so many years after the events she described, with the result that historians often doubt her reliability.¹⁸³ Amongst the most useful sources written in Syriac is a chronicle by an anonymous Edessan (fl.1187-1237), extending up to the year 1234 and available in a French translation for the later sections, relevant to the crusader period.¹⁸⁴ Armenian sources by authors like Matthew of Edessa can provide helpful additional information.¹⁸⁵ Finally, a Persian Shī'ite by the name of Nāṣir bin Khusraw visited the region that would become the county in 1047. His account, translated into English by Thackston, gives precious context, half a century before the First Crusade.¹⁸⁶

viii. Archaeology and Art

¹⁸² The modern English translation is Frankopan's revision of Sewter's 1969 translation, with Frankopan using the most recent edition of the text from the three oldest extant manuscripts. Anna Komnene, *The Alexiad*, trans. by E. R. A. Sewter, rev. by P. Frankopan (London, 2009); *Annae Komnenae Alexias*, ed. by D. R. Reinsch and A. Kambylis, 2 vols, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, 40.1-2 (Berlin, 2001).

¹⁸³ For example: P. Magdalino, 'The Pen of the Aunt: Echoes of the Mid-Twelfth Century in the *Alexiad*', in *Anna Komnene and Her Times*, ed. by T. Gouma-Peterson (New York and London, 2000), pp. 15-36; R.-J. Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States 1096-1204*, trans. by J. C. Morris and Jean E. Ridings (Oxford, 1993), p. 35; P. Stephenson, 'Anna Komnena's *Alexiad* as a source for the Second Crusade?', *JMH*, 29 (2003), pp. 41-54.

¹⁸⁴ *Anonymi Auctoris Chronicon ad A.C. 1234 pertinens*, trans. by J.-B. Chabot and A. Aboune, 2 vols, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 109, 354: Scriptores Syri, 56, 154 (Louvain, 1965-1974), ii, vii-viii.

¹⁸⁵ 'Extraits de la chronique de Matthieu d'Édesse', *RHC Ar*, i, 1-150.

¹⁸⁶ *Nāṣer-e Khosraw's Book of Travels (Safarnāma)*, trans. by W. M. Thackston, Jr., Persian Heritage Series, 36 (Albany, NY, 1986).

Archaeological evidence for the region of the former county is piecemeal, especially when compared to the extensively surveyed sites in the modern state of Israel. That said, research in Syria and Lebanon has continued to reveal tantalising clues as to the material environment of the county of Tripoli. Grabar described the city of Tripoli as “a Mamluk creation”, on account of the fact the old city was abandoned following its conquest in 1289 and rebuilt further inland.¹⁸⁷ In 1697, Henry Maundrell observed the impressive ruins of the old city, left to decay on the shore.¹⁸⁸ It is now buried by the modern district of al-Mīnā, “the Port”.¹⁸⁹ Nevertheless, Piana’s recent study has demonstrated how the Frankish *spolia* still visible in the “new” Mamlūk city’s structures speak volumes about settlement continuity here.¹⁹⁰ The fortress at the heart of the modern city is none other than that built by Raymond of Saint-Gilles with Byzantine assistance to besiege the city in 1103 and, although it incorporates earlier Islamic structures and was substantially rebuilt by later Muslim governments, it still bears Raymond’s name as the “Citadel of Saint-Gilles” (*qal‘at ṣanjīl*).¹⁹¹ On the other hand, the Frankish cathedral survives only as architectural *spolia* incorporated into the city’s main mosque.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁷ O. Grabar, ‘Art of the Mamluks: Some Questions of Methodology’, *Art Journal*, 41.4 (1981), p. 365.

¹⁸⁸ Henry Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem in 1697 with a new introduction* by David Howell (Beirut, 1963), p. 42.

¹⁸⁹ Piana, ‘From Montpèlerin’, p. 307.

¹⁹⁰ Piana, ‘From Montpèlerin’, pp. 307-334. See also: R. M. El Hasan, *The Use of ICT to Support Urban Heritage Appraisal: the Case of Medieval Tripoli, Lebanon* (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis: University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 2004), p. 224.

¹⁹¹ N. Jidejian, *Tripoli through the Ages* (Beirut, 1980), p. 59; El Hasan, p. 223 and fig. 6.7; P. Deschamps, ‘Jean Richard, *Le comté de Tripoli sous la dynastie toulousaine* (1102-1187)’, *Bibliothèque de l’école des chartes*, 106.2 (1946), p. 328.

¹⁹² T. S. R. Boase, ‘Ecclesiastical Art in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria: A. Architecture and Sculpture’, in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. by K. M. Setton, *Volume IV: The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, ed. by H. W. Hazard (Wisconsin, MI, 1977), p. 108.

Other settlements in the former county bear traces of the Frankish period, such as the cathedral – now a museum – at Tortosa and its counterpart at Jubayl.¹⁹³ Balázs Major has carried out an extensive survey of the above-ground remains – mainly the remnants of stone towers and churches – of minor rural settlements in what is now the modern Republic of Syria, that is to say the southern half of the principality of Antioch and the northern half of the county of Tripoli.¹⁹⁴ Major's work is an important complement to the earlier work carried out on monumental edifices by predominantly French scholars in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, particularly during the French League of Nations Mandate of Syria and Lebanon (1923-43). For example, the county's greatest archaeological monument, the former Hospitaller stronghold of Crac des Chevaliers, was surveyed most comprehensively by Deschamps in the 1930s, framing his study within the context of "colonisation".¹⁹⁵ Deschamps's impressive work was followed by two related volumes, one on *La défense du royaume de Jérusalem* and another on *La défense du comté de Tripoli et de la principauté d'Antioche*.¹⁹⁶ These books are accompanied by fairly shallow historical overviews, but their real value lies in their localisation of specific places in the Levant, as well as

¹⁹³ Boase, 'Ecclesiastical Art', pp. 107-110.

¹⁹⁴ B. Major, *Medieval Rural Settlements in the Syrian Coastal Region (12th and 13th centuries)*, 2 vols (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis: Cardiff University, 2008).

¹⁹⁵ P. Deschamps, *Les Châteaux des Croisés en Terre Sainte*. Vol. 1: *Le Crac des Chevaliers: Étude historique et archéologique précédée d'une introduction générale sur la Syrie Franque*. Texte. (Paris, 1934); P. Deschamps, *Les Châteaux des Croisés en Terre Sainte*. Vol. 1: *Le Crac des Chevaliers: Étude historique et archéologique précédée d'une introduction générale sur la Syrie Franque*. Album. (Paris, 1934).

¹⁹⁶ P. Deschamps, *Les Châteaux des Croisés en Terre Sainte*. Vol. 2: *La défense du royaume de Jérusalem: Étude historique, géographique et monumentale*. Texte. (Paris, 1939); P. Deschamps, *Les Châteaux des Croisés en Terre Sainte*. Vol. 2: *La défense du royaume de Jérusalem: Étude historique, géographique et monumentale*. Album. (Paris, 1939); P. Deschamps, *Les Châteaux des Croisés en Terre Sainte*. Vol. 3: *La défense du comté de Tripoli et de la principauté d'Antioche: Étude historique, géographique, toponymique et monumentale*. Texte. (Paris, 1973); P. Deschamps, *Les Châteaux des Croisés en Terre Sainte*. Vol. 3: *La défense du comté de Tripoli et de la principauté d'Antioche: Étude historique, géographique, toponymique et monumentale*. Album. (Paris, 1973).

Deschamps's extensive illustrations, photographs and surveys. In particular, *La défense du comté de Tripoli et de la principauté d'Antioche* covers the principal surviving edifices in the county, including the citadel of Tripoli, the citadel of Jubayl/Byblos, the castle of Şāfitā (*Chastel Blanc*), and numerous lesser, ruined or rebuilt sites.¹⁹⁷

The former chapel of Crac des Chevaliers is – or was, prior to damage sustained during the Syrian civil war (2011-present) – adorned with famous wall paintings, analysed by Jaroslav Folda as an example of “crusader art”, the uniquely Levantine fusion of Western, Byzantine, Syrian and Islamic art styles.¹⁹⁸ This chapel is not the only structure to bear medieval wall paintings, with many other decorated churches scattered throughout West Syria and Lebanon. Many of the paintings have not survived the centuries, with decay still occurring on a regular basis. Paintings have fallen foul of manifold scourges, including weather, earthquakes, deliberate iconoclasm, graffiti, bombs, amateur attempts at restoration, and ill-advised “modernisation” of church buildings.¹⁹⁹ Fortunately, art historians have worked to record and analyse many of the paintings prior to their destruction. The best modern works are by Erica Dodd and Mat Immerzeel.²⁰⁰ The foremost scholarly outlet for art historians working on medieval Lebanon is the journal *Chronos*, published by the University of Balamand, near the site

¹⁹⁷ Deschamps, *Châteaux*, iii [Texte], 203-215, 249-258, 287-292, 293-295, 297-301, 302-303, 305-306, 307-309, 311-312, 313-316, 317-319, 321-322, 323-326, 327-329, 331, 367-371. See also: R. Dussaud, P. Deschamps, and H. Seyrig, *La Syrie antique et médiévale illustrée* (Paris, 1931).

¹⁹⁸ J. Folda et al., ‘Crusader Frescoes at Crac des Chevaliers and Marqab Castle’, *DOP*, 36 (1982), pp. 178-196.

¹⁹⁹ Y. Sader, *Painted Churches and Rock-Cut Chapels of Lebanon*, trans. by Deirdre Baker (Beirut, 1997), pp. 54, 121, 135, 146, 149, 165, 168, 174-182, 208.

²⁰⁰ E. C. Dodd, *Medieval Painting in the Lebanon* (Wiesbaden, 2004); M. Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles: Medieval Christian Art in Syria and Lebanon* (Leuven, 2009). Also: M. Zibawi, *Images chrétiens du Levant: les décors peints des églises syro-libanaises au Moyen Âge* (Paris 2009).

of the county of Tripoli's principal and still-extant Cistercian abbey, Belmont, now an Orthodox monastery.²⁰¹

²⁰¹ *Chronos* (1998-present). For the medieval structure of Belmont itself: C. Enlart, 'L'Abbaye cistercienne de Belmont en Syrie', *Syria*, 4.1 (1923), pp. 1-22; C. Asmar, *L'Abbaye de Belmont dite Deir el Balamend*, BMB, 25 (Paris, 1972).

CHAPTER ONE

North and South: The formation of the county of Tripoli in the post-Byzantine and post-

Fāṭimid Levant

I. Introduction: Geography, Culture and Events

A commonplace in crusades historiography is that there were four “crusader states”, the kingdom of Jerusalem, the principality of Antioch, the county of Edessa, and the county of Tripoli. These are depicted as if they were western-style “feudal” polities, which sprang forth from the loam of the First Crusade, with their development seemingly inevitable and their ultimate borders barely discussed. This chapter seeks to explore the foundation of the county of Tripoli, the last of the four to be established, from a less teleological perspective, but also less anthropocentric. It adopts a methodology not far removed from the pioneering historian Braudel and the informal school of geographical historians he inspired.

Focusing on the Mediterranean, Braudel famously argued that the driving forces of history operate on three levels: slow-changing geographical factors as the deepest and most important, social and cultural factors such as language and religion above that, and transitory “*histoire événementielle*” – politics and other human actions – the most superficial of all.¹ Braudel’s focus on the function played by geography in human history has been developed and refined by subsequent historians. For example, Horden and Purcell have recently argued in defence of pre-modern Mediterranean regional

¹ F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II: Volume I*, trans. by S. Reynolds (London, 1972), pp. 20-21. Cf. D. Abulafia, *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean* (London, 2011), pp. xxx-xxxi.

history as a valid field of inquiry.² In some respects, the work of Horden and Purcell is closer to the current thesis than Braudel's, in that they pay more attention to the influence of geography upon human society and culture – the abundance of holy sites within shared space, or the development of long-distance religious pilgrimage, for example³ – than to Braudel's main sphere of interest, namely the structure of the world economy as shaped by certain geographical obstacles and conduits. Of particular relevance is their insistence that the Mediterranean's distinctive and continuous unity derives, paradoxically, from being composed of numerous "microecologies". These are identifiable territorial units within human society, which have been linked to one another by the conductive surface of the sea itself, where otherwise they would have been divided culturally, militarily, politically or economically. Geographical features have frequently shaped these microregions and the networks of communication binding them, but they have also emerged, shifted, metamorphosed and disappeared according to a multitude of other factors, including the ascendance of empires, the spread of religions, and environmental change.⁴

This chapter takes the view that the county of Tripoli aptly demonstrates the fluidity of microecologies in the Mediterranean, determined in large part by geographical factors, acting alongside long-term socio-political trends and often against the expectations and ambitions of human power-holders. It argues that the county's very existence was not a foregone conclusion of the First Crusade, but an unintended consequence. Its emergence owed more to the after-effects of the collapse of the Byzantine and Fāṭimid states in the mid- to late-eleventh century, and to local geographical factors, than to *histoire événementielle*, the intentions and agency of the

² P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford, 2000), *passim*.

³ Horden and Purcell, pp. 403-460.

⁴ Horden and Purcell, *passim*.

crusaders. In doing so, it argues against the prevailing neo-colonialist model of Grousset and Richard, since it implicitly rejects their belief that the socio-cultural customs of the crusader-settlers – Braudel’s second level of history – were responsible for the divisions between the Latin East, allegedly separated into Norman, Lotharingian and, in Tripoli’s case, “Provençal”.⁵

II. William of Tyre’s quadripartite model

The basic analytical framework for the crusader states, that there were four of them, is derived from a single passage in William of Tyre’s *Historia Ierosolymitana*. This passage describes the frontiers between the polities in clear, linear terms – using topographic features as points of reference – and is the first to state explicitly that the number of these “principalities” was four.

Orientalis enim Latinorum tota regio quattuor princip[at]ibus⁶ erat distincta. Prius enim ab austro erat regnum Ierosolimorum, initium habens a rivo qui est inter Biblium et Beritum, urbes maritimas provincie Phenicis, et finem in solitudine que est ultra Darum, que respicit Egyptum; secundus erat versus septentrionem comitatus Tripolitanus, a rivo supradicto habens initium, finem vero in rivo qui est inter Maracleam et Valeniam, urbes similiter maritimas; tercius erat principatus Antiochenus, qui ab eodem rivo habens initium usque in Tarsum Cilicie versus occidentem protendebatur, quartus erat comitatus Edessanus, qui ab ea silva, que dicitur Marrith, in orientem ultra Eufraten

The whole region of the Latins of the East was divided into four principalities. Truly the first from the south was the kingdom of Jerusalem, having its beginning at the stream which is between Byblos (Jubayl) and Beirut, maritime cities of the province of Phoenicia, and its end in the desert which is beyond Daron, and which goes towards Egypt. The second was the county of Tripoli towards the north, having its beginning at the aforesaid stream, and its end certainly at the stream which is between Maraclea (Maraqiyya) and Valania (Bāniyās), also maritime cities. The third was the principality of Antioch, which having its beginning from the same river extended right up to Tarsus of Cilicia towards the West. The fourth was the

⁵ See Introduction, pp. 16-17.

⁶ Different manuscripts give *principibus* and *principatibus* respectively.

protendebatur.⁷

county of Edessa, which from that forest, which is called *Marriith*, extended into the East beyond the Euphrates.

Marino Sanudo clarified that William's "*riv[us] qui est inter Biblium et Beritum*" was in fact the "*flumen Canis*", the "river of the dog" or Nahr al-Kalb in Arabic, and not any other river in the region: neither Nahr Ibrāhīm, the ancient Adonis, as Rey assumed, nor Nahr al-Mu'āmitayn, as Deschamps suggested.⁸ Marino Sanudo and his main source, Burchard of Mount Sion, clarified that the northern river, "*inter Maracleam et Valeniam*", was the "*fluvi[um] Ualaniae*" (Nahr Bāniyās), incorrectly identified by Marino with the river Albana.⁹

William's borders are primarily rivers, suggesting a linearity to his conception of borders that challenges some of the conclusions emanating from the historiographical debate on medieval frontiers, specifically that no such political or national boundaries existed between medieval "states".¹⁰ Brauer argues that medieval Islamic scholars did not conceive of boundaries or territoriality in terms of clear lines, but rather a sort of gradual progression from the "central core" of one "state", to its "peripheral zone", and then to the periphery and core of another.¹¹ In a crusades context, Ellenblum has made the similar argument that the kingdom of Jerusalem – and by extension Tripoli, Antioch, and Edessa – lacked linear frontiers in the Middle Ages, with "centres" more

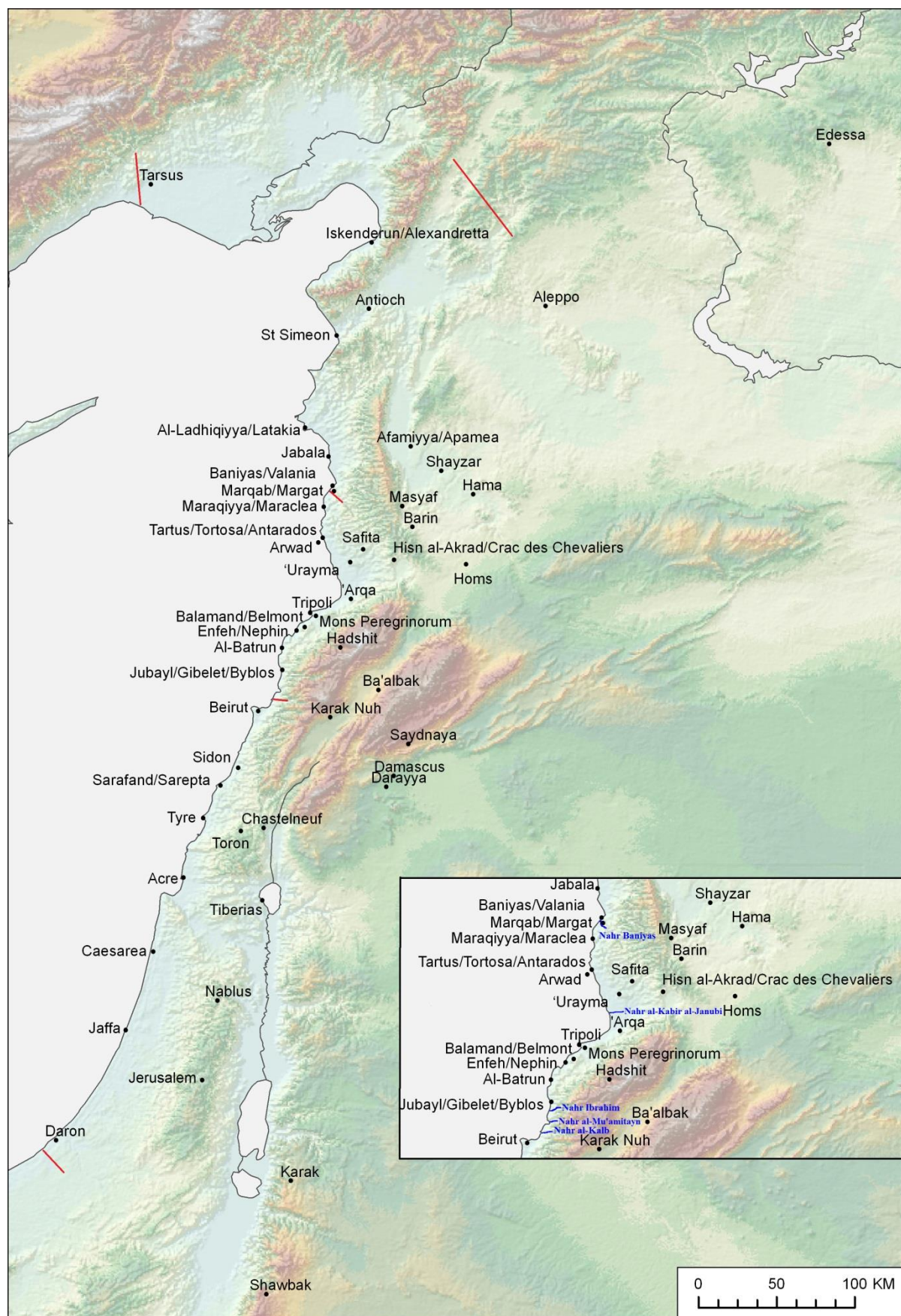
⁷ WT, ii, 756.

⁸ Marino Sanudo, p. 245. See also: BMS, p. 27. Cf. E. Rey, *Les colonies franques de Syrie aux XII^{me} et XIII^{me} siècles* (Paris, 1883), p. 357; Deschamps, *Châteaux*, i [Texte], 15; Deschamps, *Châteaux*, iii [Texte], 7.

⁹ BMS, p. 31; Marino Sanudo, p. 244; Deschamps, *Châteaux*, i [Texte], 15 n. 4. Deschamps later suggested that it was Nahr al-Bas, slightly to the south. Deschamps, *Châteaux*, iii [Texte], 7. For the identification of the Albana, see below, pp. 96-97.

¹⁰ N. Berend, 'Preface', in *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, ed. by D. Abulafia and N. Berend (Aldershot, 2002), p. xiv.

¹¹ R. W. Brauer, *Boundaries and Frontiers in Medieval Muslim Geography*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 85.6 (Philadelphia, PA, 1995), pp. 1-69.



Map 2. The Latin East with the borders described by William of Tyre (in red).

important than sharply defined borders, which were allegedly “irrelevant to William [of Tyre] as [...] to most medieval political entities”, and came to prominence only through the nationalist cartography of the nineteenth century.¹² As Pringle has recently argued, Ellenblum surely exaggerates the evidence.¹³ Bachrach notes that the absence of linear borders in one source does not mean that such borders did not exist in medieval thought.¹⁴ Clearly linear borders were relevant to William on some level, otherwise he would not have bothered to record them.

Ellenblum’s discussion focuses on the evidence for borders between the crusader states and their Muslim neighbours, not the borders between the crusader states themselves, which were William’s subject in the passage under discussion here.¹⁵ In fact, William omitted the eastern border with the Muslims entirely. Nevertheless, it is this eastern frontier with the Muslim territories that has attracted the most attention from historians, at least since Rey wrote in the latter half of the nineteenth century.¹⁶ Despite William’s reticence regarding the eastern border, other contemporaries made seemingly linear observations regarding it. In June 1184, one of Raymond III’s charters referred to the Orontes as a border between Christianity and Islam, distinguishing between possessions, “*que trans flumen sunt a parte civitatis [Homs]*” and, “*que citra flumen sunt a finibus Christianitatis*”.¹⁷ In January 1218, King Andrew II of Hungary

¹² R. Ellenblum, ‘Were there borders and borderlines in the Middle Ages? The example of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem’, in *Medieval Frontiers*, ed. by Abulafia and Berend, pp. 105-119. See also: Ellenblum, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 118-145.

¹³ D. Pringle, ‘Castles and Frontiers in the Latin East’, in *Norman Expansion*, ed. by Stringer and Jotischky, pp. 233-239.

¹⁴ B. S. Bachrach, ‘Review Article: Medieval Identity: People and Place’, *The International History Review*, 25 (2003), p. 870.

¹⁵ Cf. Ellenblum, *Crusader Castles*, p. 133.

¹⁶ E. G. Rey, *Étude sur les monuments de l’architecture militaire des croisés en Syrie et dans l’île de Chypre* (Paris, 1871), pp. 2-7; Ellenblum, ‘Were there borders’, pp. 105-119; Pringle, ‘Castles and Frontiers’, pp. 227-239.

¹⁷ *RRH*, no. 637; *CGOH*, i, no. 676. The donation was confirmed and amplified in 1186. *RRH Add.*, nos 651a, 651b; *CGOH*, i, nos 801, 804.

visited Crac des Chevaliers and was suitably impressed by it, describing it as “*terre clavem christiane*”.¹⁸ According to Ernoul, Lebanon divided “*le Païenime et le Crestiienté*” along the coast from Tyre to Tripoli.¹⁹ Burchard of Mount Sion claimed that the Franks shared a clearly delineated border with the Assassins to the north of the county, in the foothills of Jabal al-Nuṣayriyya, marked by boundary stones with crosses carved on the Christian side and daggers on the Assassin side.²⁰

Even in the supposedly border-averse Arabic tradition, al-Dimashqī in the late thirteenth century claimed that Crac des Chevaliers (Ḥiṣn al-Akrād) was “a high place distinguishing between the territory of Damascus and the coast” (*huwa manbaʿ fāriq mashraf bayna al-shām wa-al-sawāḥil*).²¹ This border had no precedent in Arabic writing so must have been influenced by politico-military realities under the Franks. In the twelfth century, Ibn Jubayr described Mount Lebanon as “a border between the land of the Muslims and the Franks” (*ḥadd bayna bilād al-muslimīn wa-al-ifranj*).²² It is very possible that Ibn Jubayr confused Lebanon with Jabal al-Nuṣayriyya to the north, since he described the mountain as he approached Hama from the direction of Aleppo, wrote that the Ismāʿīlīs – the Assassins – lived there, and claimed that Antioch and Latakia lay beyond.²³ Whether Lebanon or al-Nuṣayriyya, the term *ḥadd* is one of the strongest terms for a frontier in medieval Arabic scholarship, in that it can imply a sharp “edge” or “end”, although Brauer remains unconvinced.²⁴ In any case, Ibn Jubayr’s passage closely parallels the near-contemporary Ernoul’s description of Lebanon.

¹⁸ *CGOH*, ii, no. 1602. Andrew also donated to the upkeep of nearby Margat, which he described as “*in frontibus paganorum*”. *CGOH*, ii, no. 1603.

¹⁹ Ernoul, p. 62.

²⁰ BMS, p. 90.

²¹ Al-Dimashqī, p. 208.

²² *IJ*, p. 255. But cf. Ellenblum, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 137-140.

²³ *IJ*, p. 255.

²⁴ Brauer, pp. 12-14.

Setting aside his geographical confusion, Ibn Jubayr did have personal experience of crossing the border at Lebanon. Elsewhere in his travelogue, Ibn Jubayr noted the existence of the so-called “Tree of Balance” (*shajarat al-mīzān*), which he encountered on the road between Damascus and Acre, and which marked a clear “border” (*ḥadd*) between Islam and Christendom – “between safety and fear” (*bayna al-aman wa-al-khawf*). Interestingly, Frankish bandits respected this border, attacking travellers on the Muslim side but releasing those they found on the Christian side.²⁵ Brauer dismisses this on account of the “distinctly non-official character of the actors involved”, but this observation does not disprove the simple existence of linear borders – officially recognised or otherwise – in medieval thought.²⁶ In light of the evidence, it may be better to say that the contemporary conception of borders was not exclusively linear in the fashion of modern international state borders. Nevertheless, linearity was an important component of medieval territoriality, linked often to the “effective barriers” represented by natural boundaries such as forests and rivers, used by William of Tyre, as well as mountains, used by Ernoul and Ibn Jubayr.²⁷

Historians have traditionally demonstrated a firm faith in William of Tyre’s retrospective authority and no real attempt has been made to question *why* the Latin East was quadripartite in form, or if it was always so. Little if any room is left for a gradual process of state-building following the First Crusade, with narratives segueing almost immediately to the simple existence of the four states. It is Grousset’s vision of the Latin East as a microcosm of contemporary “France” – divided according to the origins of each crusader state’s founders and early rulers, with Tripoli the “Provençal”

²⁵ II, p. 300.

²⁶ Brauer, p. 35.

²⁷ D. Obolensky, ‘Byzantine Frontier Zones and Cultural Exchanges’, in *Actes du XIV^e congrès international des études byzantines, Bucarest 6-12 septembre, 1971*, ed. by M. Berza and E. Stănescu, 3 vols (Bucarest, 1974-1975), i, 305-307.

state – that has proved the most influential explanation of the factors underpinning the sub-division of the Latin East.²⁸ Later historians have confirmed and elaborated Grousset’s colonialist model.²⁹ However, this is essentially a retrospective scheme, beginning with William of Tyre’s quadripartite framework and working backwards to find some justification for it. Scholars have consistently failed to challenge William’s model, and by extension Grousset’s.

By trusting in William’s framework, historiography has become compartmentalised. Most studies have been of individual “crusader states”, principally the kingdom of Jerusalem, in almost complete isolation from one another.³⁰ Compartmentalisation and a bias towards Jerusalem mean that even historians who do acknowledge a gradual process of state formation, nevertheless work towards William’s quadripartite framework as a teleological endpoint. Tibble’s examination of the formative years of the kingdom of Jerusalem provides a pertinent case study. Tibble traces the attempts of the early kings of Jerusalem to intensify their authority over their vassals, or would-be vassals, bringing them steadily into the fold of an increasingly integrated realm. He restricts his analysis to areas like the principality of Galilee over which this royal policy was ultimately successful: the kingdom of Jerusalem as later conceived by William of Tyre. He considers royal successes, but not royal *failures* to integrate into the kingdom other regions, including the county of Tripoli.³¹ Nor is Tibble alone in adopting this *a posteriori* approach. Mayer’s various studies on the

²⁸ Grousset, i, *passim*.

²⁹ For example: H. E. Mayer, ‘The Latin East, 1098-1205’, in *The New Cambridge Medieval History. Volume IV: c. 1024-c. 1198. Part II*, ed. by D. Luscombe and J. Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 644, 647, 649; D. Jacoby, ‘La littérature française dans les états latins de la Méditerranée orientale à l’époque des croisades: diffusion et création’, in *Actes du IXe congrès internationale de la société Rencesvals pour l’étude des épopées romanes 1982* (Modena, 1984), p. 618.

³⁰ See Introduction, pp. 12-13.

³¹ S. Tibble, *Monarchy and Lordships in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1099-1291* (Oxford, 1989), *passim*.

early development of the kingdom's lesser lordships are predicated upon the knowledge that these lordships would one day become part of the realm.³² It could be said that Tibble and Mayer have studied an anachronistically conceived "kingdom of Jerusalem in waiting", in much the same way that Bull accuses historians of medieval France of having focused too often on "France in waiting", to the exclusion of sometime domains of the *rex Francorum* – such as Flanders and Catalonia – which were not later incorporated into modern France.³³

This same sort of anachronistic approach can be discerned in studies focusing on the county of Tripoli. La Monte saw Tripoli as "a fief of Jerusalem", occupying "a position, legally as geographically, midway between the practically independent Antioch in the north and the fiefs south of the Nahr-el-Kalb, which were directly dependent upon the king of Jerusalem, such as Galilee, Jaffa, and Montreal."³⁴ Richard explicitly rejects La Monte's implication that contemporaries regarded Tripoli as part of the kingdom in any real sense.³⁵ Instead, he sees the relationship between the king of Jerusalem and the count of Tripoli as one defined by "*vassalité limitée*", conceived more in personal than territorial terms.³⁶ A student of Grousset, Richard believes that it was the county's distinctively southern French identity that underpinned its independence from its Latin Christian neighbours.³⁷ This identity was apparently supported by demographics. For example, Richard identifies a large number of "*familles d'origine languedocienne et provençale*" in the witness lists of the county's

³² H. E. Mayer, 'Carving Up Crusaders: The Early Ibelins and Ramlas', in *Outremer*, ed. by Kedar, Mayer and Smail, pp. 101-118; H. E. Mayer, 'The Origins of the Lordships of Ramla and Lydda in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', *Speculum*, 60.3 (1985), pp. 537-552.

³³ M. Bull, 'Introduction', in *France in the Central Middle Ages 900-1200*, ed. by M. Bull (Oxford, 2002), pp. 5-6.

³⁴ La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy*, p. 188.

³⁵ *Comté*, p. 43.

³⁶ *Comté*, p. 35.

³⁷ *Comté*, *passim*. See Introduction, p. 17.

surviving documents, although he does not actually estimate the proportion of the county's barons who were southern French.³⁸ It was not simply that this identity was different from the supposedly Lotharingian kingdom of Jerusalem or the Norman principality of Antioch, but that the counts of Tripoli exhibited a distinctly southern French aversion to royal and feudal hierarchies, shared with their cousins in Toulouse, who rejected the authority of the Capetian kings of France at the same time.³⁹ This belief that southern French nobles in this period found hierarchical homage distasteful or humiliating has long been part of the scholarship of medieval society, although it has been subject to increasing criticism and refinement in recent decades.⁴⁰ Concerning Tripoli's independence, Fink takes a view directly opposite to Richard's, writing that "the county of Tripoli remained a fief of the southern kingdom", and thus fully part of its history.⁴¹ Despite their differences, common to these historians is the shared belief that the relationship between the county and the kingdom, whatever it might have been,

³⁸ Comté, pp. 73-78.

³⁹ Comté, p. 43 and *passim*.

⁴⁰ É. Magnou-Nortier, *La société laïque et l'Église dans la province ecclésiastique de Narbonne (zone cispyrénéenne) de la fin du VIII^e à la fin du XI^e siècle*, Publications de l'Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, *Série A*, 20 (Toulouse, 1974), pp. 647-648, 651; A. R. Lewis, *The Development of Southern French and Catalan Society, 718-1050* (Austin, TX, 1965), pp. xi, 382-392, 399-400, 401-404; P. Contamine, 'Conclusion générale', in *Structures féodales et féodalisme dans l'Occident méditerranéen (X^e-XIII^e siècles): Bilan et perspectives de recherches. Colloque international organisé par le Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique et l'École Française de Rome (Rome, 10-13 octobre 1978)*, Collection de l'École française de Rome, 44 (Rome, 1980), pp. 766-768; Poly, pp. 360-364; J.-P. Poly and E. Bournazel, *The Feudal Transformation: 900-1200*, trans. by C. Higgitt (New York, 1991), pp. 75-76; R. Boutruche, *Seigneurie et Féodalité*, 2 vols (Paris, 1968-1970), ii, 313 n. 1; E. M. Hallam and J. Everard, *Capetian France, 987-1328*, 2nd edn (Harlow, 2001), pp. 5, 68-71. Cf. L. M. Paterson, *The World of the Troubadours: Medieval Occitan society, c. 1100-c. 1300* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 10-16; T. N. Bisson, 'The Organized Peace in Southern France and Catalonia, ca. 1140 - ca. 1233', *AHR*, 82.2 (1977), pp. 290-311; Bonnassie, 'From the Rhône', pp. 117-121, 125-126, 127-131; H. Débax, *La féodalité languedocienne, XI^e-XII^e siècles: Serments, hommages et fiefs dans le Languedoc des Trencavel* (Toulouse, 2003), *passim*

⁴¹ H. S. Fink, 'The Foundation of the Latin States, 1099-1118', in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. by K. M. Setton, *Volume I: The First Hundred Years*, ed. by M. W. Baldwin (Madison, WI, 1969), p. 398.

was essentially unchanging from the Christian conquest of Tripoli in 1109 until Saladin's invasions in 1187-88, with the border set permanently at the location identified by William of Tyre, Nahr al-Kalb. Only Edbury has hinted at the possibility of constitutional change occurring at a relatively late point, observing briefly that Tripoli "had passed out of the king of Jerusalem's *mouvance* by the middle years of the twelfth century, and most people seem to have regarded it as totally independent."⁴²

III. Assessing William of Tyre

Serious concerns should be raised regarding the applicability of William of Tyre's description of the Frankish borders to the early twelfth century. The greatest danger is to neglect the broader narrative context in which William wrote this influential passage. William wrote his *Historia* decades after the earliest phase of Frankish settlement, between c.1170 and 1184.⁴³ Furthermore, William's aim in writing this specific passage was not to provide a definitive guide to the borders of the Latin East, which could be applied to the entire twelfth century, but to set the scene for one particular moment: intense competition between the great lords for the military support offered by the participants of the Second Crusade, arriving in 1148.⁴⁴ It is only at this point in the narrative that the full quadripartite division ever occurs. There is no explicit implication here that the borders of the Latin East had been set as such immediately after the First Crusade, or that they had remained immutable since. In fact, William used the imperfect tense (*erat*) when describing the political borders, in contradistinction to the present

⁴² P. W. Edbury, *John of Ibelin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Woodbridge, 1997), p. 166.

⁴³ Edbury and Rowe, p. 26.

⁴⁴ WT, ii, 756-757.

tense (*est*) when describing the natural features by which they were defined, implying an awareness that the territorial frontiers were somewhat mutable and temporary.⁴⁵

The process by which William's quadripartite model became decontextualised, thereby enabling its broad application to the early twelfth century, began at a very early stage in its transmission. The Old French translation was composed around the early 1230s, probably for a very different purpose and audience to those intended by William; his Latin ecclesiastical history was effectively rewritten as a vernacular "epic chronicle intended for a lay audience".⁴⁶ The lack of contemporary relevance in this passage would have been evident to these readers or listeners, not least because the conquests of Saladin in the 1180s had changed the map incontrovertibly. In derivative works like those of James of Vitry and Marino Sanudo, the quadripartite model appears entirely independent of its original narrative context.⁴⁷ As for modern historians, it is not surprising to find that none have considered the quadripartite outline's precise narrative context. Edbury and Rowe note that the sheer size of William's chronicle has encouraged scholars to use it as "a quarry for historical information", without qualifying such data according to the source as a whole, with all its strengths and weaknesses.⁴⁸

William of Tyre's framework finds corroboration in many sources, albeit in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The author of the twelfth-century *Tractatus de locis* stated that the prince of Antioch and count of Tripoli owed personal fidelity to the king of Jerusalem, even though their domains lay "*extra confinium regni*

⁴⁵ WT, ii, 756.

⁴⁶ J. H. Pryor, 'The *Eracles* and William of Tyre: An Interim Report', in *The Horns of Haṭṭīn*, ed. by B. Z. Kedar (Jerusalem and London, 1992), pp. 272-276.

⁴⁷ JV, pp. 182-190; Marino Sanudo, pp. 173-174.

⁴⁸ Edbury and Rowe, p. 1.

Jerosolimitani”.⁴⁹ Arguably the most persuasive, yet wholly neglected evidence is a letter sent by ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī to the *dīwān* of Baghdad, recording Saladin’s conquests in the late 1180s. ‘Imād al-Dīn described the frontiers of the “crusader states” – excluding long lost Edessa – in a way highly reminiscent of William’s description:

*alān [fa-]qad khal[l]aşa {la-nā} jamī‘ mamlakat al-quḍs, wa-ḥaddu-hā fī samt mişr min al-‘arīsh, wa-‘alā şawb al-ḥijāz min al-karak wa-al-shawbak, wa-tashtimal ‘alā al-bilād al-sāḥiliyya ilā muntahā a ‘māl bayrūt, wa-lam yabaq min hadhihi al-mamlaka illā şūr. wa-futiḥa ayḍan jamī‘ iqlīm anṭākiyya wa-mu‘āqil-hā allatī li-l-fīranj wa-al-arman, wa-ḥaddu-hu min aqşā bilād jabala wa-al-lādhiqiyya ilā bilād ibn lā‘ūn, wa-baqīt anṭākiyya bi-mufrad-hā, wa-al-quşīr min ḥuşūn-hā, wa-lam yabaq min al-bilād allatī lam-tuftaḥ a ‘māl-hā, wa-lam taḥull ‘amman kānat ‘alay-hi ḥāl-hā, siwan ṭarābulus, fa-inna-hā lam yuftaḥ min-hā illā madīnat jubayl.*⁵⁰

Now delivered to us was all of the kingdom of Jerusalem, demarcated towards Egypt by al-‘Arīsh and in the direction of the *Ḥijāz* (western Arabia) by Karak and Shawbak. It comprises the coastal land to the outermost districts of Beirut. Nothing remained of this kingdom except Tyre. Conquered also was all of the province of Antioch and all of its strongholds, which belonged to the Franks and Armenians, and it is demarcated from the remotest part of the land of Jabala and Latakia to the land of the son of Leon (Leon II of Cilician Armenia). There remained Antioch alone and a few of its fortresses. There remained no land, of which the districts were not conquered and which was generally not overwhelmed in terms of what had been its situation, except Tripoli, for nothing was conquered of it except the city of Jubayl.

The use of *bilād* throughout this passage in reference to the individual crusader states is noteworthy, implying a sense of stable and integral territoriality often lacking in Ayyūbid historiography.⁵¹ This extract alone confirms that the “crusader states” did exist as identifiable, conceptual units by the late twelfth century, recognised even by an author working in a very different linguistic and literary tradition.

⁴⁹ ‘*Tractatus*’, ed. by Kedar, p. 130.

⁵⁰ AS, iv, 34; Abū Shāma, ‘Le Livre des Deux Jardins. Histoire des Deux Règnes, celui de Nour ed-Dīn et celui de Salah ed-Dīn’, ed. by B. de Meynard, *RHC Or*, iv, 391-392. Text within square and curly brackets indicates alternate readings in the 2002 Beirut edition and 1898 *RHC* edition respectively.

⁵¹ Cf. R. S. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols: the Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193-1260* (Albany, NY, 1977), p. 414.

Ernoul stated unequivocally that, “*La tiere de Triple ne d’Antioce n’est mie dou roiaume*”.⁵² Richard uses this to deny that the county of Tripoli had ever been a true part of the kingdom of Jerusalem in the same way as fiefs like the principality of Galilee.⁵³ In arguing his case, Richard dismisses a piece of contradictory evidence, namely John of Ibelin’s assertion that the county had been one of the four great baronies of the kingdom in the twelfth century, partly on the basis that this was written late, probably c.1264/5-66.⁵⁴ It is certainly reasonable to dismiss John of Ibelin on the grounds of his late context, writing long after the events of 1187, when much of the kingdom had been conquered and the county integrated dynastically with the principality of Antioch. Edbury suggests that John of Ibelin only included the county as one of the baronies in order to denigrate his thirteenth-century rival, Philip of Montfort, lord of Transjordan, and to flatter his ally, Bohemond III of Tripoli (= VI of Antioch); the process by which John concluded that the county was one of the baronies involved an unfavourable comparison of the military strength of Transjordan to that of Tripoli.⁵⁵ Yet if John is to be dismissed for his late context, then so too should Ernoul. Although a small part was apparently written around the end of the 1180s, the Chronicle of Ernoul in its surviving form cannot date any earlier than 1227 or 1231.⁵⁶ John of Ibelin claimed to have relied upon the oral testimony of “those of a previous generation who are thought wise” (*ceaus c’on tenoit a sages qui devant nos ont esté*), in other words those of the same generation as the author or authors of the Chronicle of Ernoul.⁵⁷ With both these texts post-dating the foundation of the crusader states by roughly a century, and

⁵² Ernoul, p. 27. See also: *Estoires*, p. 92.

⁵³ *Comté*, pp. 32-33.

⁵⁴ *Comté*, p. 33; John of Ibelin, *Le Livre des Assises*, ed. by P. W. Edbury (Leiden, 2003), p. 600; Edbury, *John*, p. 193; M. Grandclaude, *Étude critique sur les Livres des Assises de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1923), p. 88. See also: Richard, ‘Pairie’, p. 73.

⁵⁵ John of Ibelin, p. 600; Edbury, *John*, pp. 166, 193.

⁵⁶ *Conquest*, trans. by Edbury, p. 4.

⁵⁷ John of Ibelin, p. 600; Edbury, *John*, p. 193.

post-dating even William of Tyre by a number of decades, both must be discarded as reliable indicators of the formative period of the early Latin East.

IV. “Adhémar’s decree”

William of Tyre’s chronicle may represent the most comprehensive outline of the political borders of the crusader states, but it is not the earliest. In fact, a handful of sources from the formative period of the Latin East do survive, offering a divergent picture of a bipartite territory, not a quadripartite one. Adhémar of Le Puy, papal legate on the First Crusade, purportedly enacted a division “*post captam antiochiam*” – between December 1097, when the Latins first captured the city, and June 1098, when their hold over it was confirmed by their victory over Kurbughā of Mosul – but before the legate’s death in August 1098. Hagenmeyer assumed that “*post captam antiochiam*” referred to one of three “*concilia*” held by the crusader princes and clergy at Antioch around this time, specifically the one on 3 July 1098.⁵⁸ The decree now exists only in one of the four surviving copies of the cartulary of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre, probably copied c.1230-39, during the Christian reoccupation of Jerusalem, from a lost twelfth-century version composed before Saladin’s conquest in 1187.⁵⁹

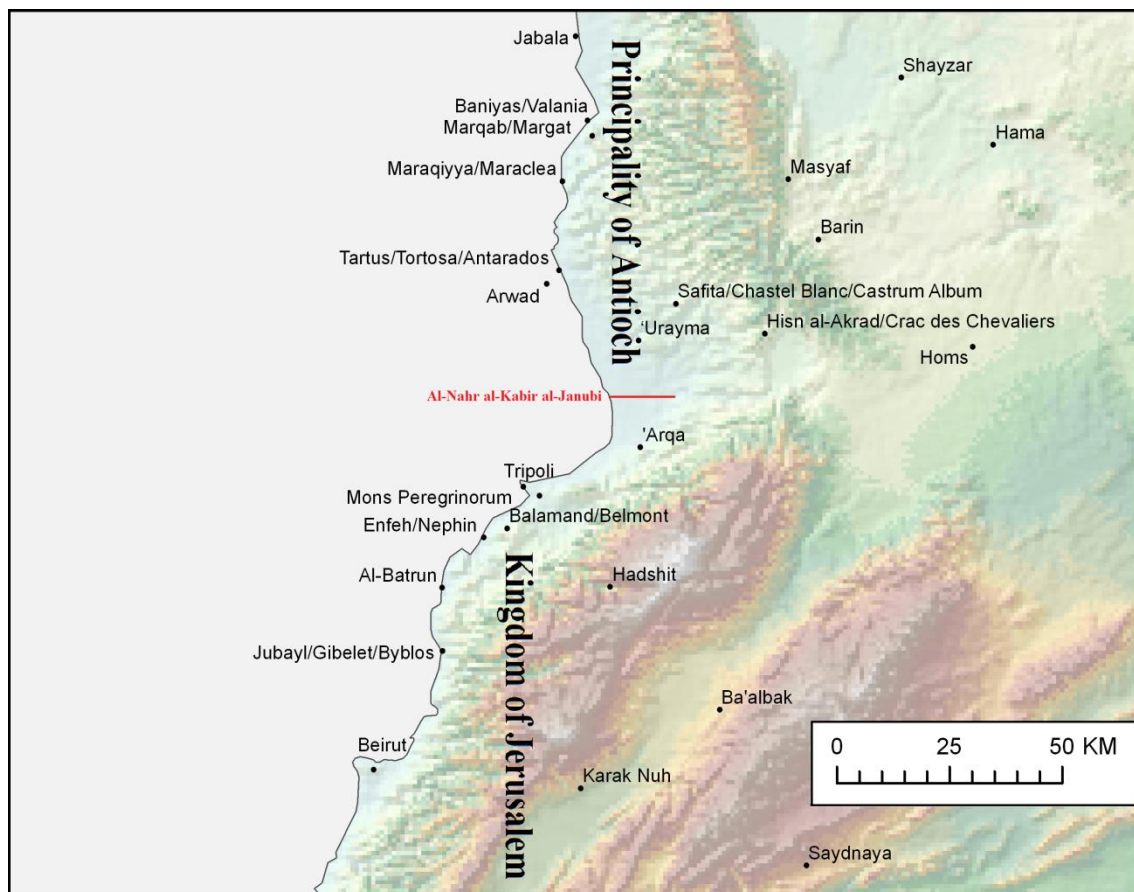
<i>Post captam antiochiam podiensis ep[is]c[opus] sedis ap[osto]lice legatus, prudenti optimatu[m] usus co[n]silio, ier[oso]limitano regno & antiocheno p[ri]ncipatui t[er]minu[m] posuit, fluuium [corr. fluuium] sc[i]l[icet] q[ui] t[ri]polim & tortosam int[er]fluit: decerne[n]s ut ier[usa]l[e]m om[n]em t[er]ra[m] a parte</i>	After the capture of Antioch, the bishop of Le Puy, legate of the Apostolic See, making use of the nobility in a wise council, set the limit for the kingdom of Jerusalem and the principality of Antioch at the river which is that which flows between Tripoli and Tortosa, decreeing that Jerusalem would possess by perpetual
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⁵⁸ FC, p. 741 n. 35.

⁵⁹ CCSSJ, p. 12; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Lat. 7241. Bresc-Bautier classifies this as Ms. Z.

*aust[ra]li usq[ue] ad eunde[m] fluuium iure p[er]henni posside[re]t. Et antiochia ex alt[er]a fluminis parte iacentem nich[il]ominus obtineret.*⁶⁰ right all the land from the southern part right up to the river, and Antioch would equally obtain that which lies on the other side of the river.

The river referred to in this text is probably al-Nahr al-Kabīr al-Janūbī (the Big Southern River), if not one of the smaller rivers to the south.⁶¹ Al-Nahr al-Kabīr al-Janūbī cuts across the ʿAkkār plain from the Homs gap to the sea, by far the largest river lying between the cities of Tortosa and Tripoli. Crucially, the county of Tripoli simply does not exist in this scheme, with its northern half in the principality of Antioch and its southern half, including the city of Tripoli itself, in the kingdom of Jerusalem.



Map 3. The Latin East according to (pseudo-)Adhémar

⁶⁰ Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Lat. 7241, f.3v. Cf. CCSSJ, no. 89.

⁶¹ Cf. Röhricht, *Geschichte*, p. 99 n. 1. See below, pp. 96-97.

Röhricht briefly mentioned this text, apparently accepting its veracity and offering no explanation for why the border between the crusader territories later shifted.⁶² Despite giving a possible date to “*post captam antiochiam*”, Hagenmeyer assumed that the decree as it survives must have been adapted, if not composed wholesale at a later date than the text implies, simply because it refers to the kingdom (*regnum*) of Jerusalem, which had yet to be established upon Adhémar’s death.⁶³ Cahen believed that the decree in its entirety was probably a later forgery, suggesting that it was written for use by Patriarch Bernard of Antioch, when justifying to Pope Paschal at the Council of Benevento, February 1113, the extension of the Antiochene patriarchate as far south as Tortosa, acquired by Prince Tancred in 1112.⁶⁴ Indeed, the original text is accompanied by the supposed record of a decree made by Paschal at Benevento:

Pascali [sic] papa ap[ud] b[e]n[e]uentu[m] [con]ciliu[m] celebrante, ab antiocheno pat[ri]archa & p[ri]ncipe nu[n]cii tr[an]smissi s[un]t, q[ui] in eodem co[n]cilio antiochene iura ecc[lesi]e s[ibi] restitui postulauer[un]t. Quib[us] hui[us]modi dedit responsu[m]. No[n] solem[us] de t[ra]ctatib[us] ecc[lesi]arum cito responde[re], S[ed] petit[i]o[n]i u[est]re q[ui]a de longe uenistis, & longa uia uos expectat reddit[ur]os: n[on] est differend[um] q[uod] habem[us] paratu[r]m responde[re]. S[an]c[t]e memorie uen[er]abil[is] Vrbanus p[ap]a, q[ui]a n[on]do [con]ciliu[m] pop[u]lossime [sic] [con]gregationi i[n] mo[n]te claro celebrauit, uiamq[ue] ier[oso]limitana[m] suscitauit: decreuisse memorat[ur] & scit[ur], q[uod] q[ui]cunq[ue] p[ri]ncipes p[ro]ui[n]cias [ue]l ciuitates sup[er] gentiles [con]q[ui]rrent, eliminatis gentiu[m] ritib[us], eo[rum] principatibus

Whilst Pope Paschal was celebrating a council at Benevento, envoys were sent across from the patriarch and prince of Antioch, who in the same council demanded that the rights of the church of Antioch be restored. To these he (Paschal) gave a response of this sort: “We are not accustomed to answer quickly regarding the management of churches, but to your petition, because of the length you have come and the long road by which you expect to return, we ought not to delay in being prepared to respond. Venerable Pope Urban, of holy memory, when he celebrated a council for a most crowded congregation in Clermont and encouraged the road to Jerusalem, is remembered and known to have decreed that whichever princes could conquer provinces or cities, with the rituals of the Gentiles being eliminated, the restored churches would extend to (the limits of) their rule.

⁶² Röhricht, *Geschichte*, pp. 99, 99 n. 1.

⁶³ FC, p. 741 n. 35.

⁶⁴ Cahen, *Syrie*, pp. 315-316.

*ecclesie restitute p[er]tinerent.*⁶⁵

No analyst has doubted the veracity of Paschal's decree at Benevento, not least as it laid the groundwork for the long-running and much-discussed dispute between the patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem over jurisdiction in the archdiocese of Tyre, an Antiochene see by tradition but half-Antiochene, half-Jerusalemite by the secular political circumstances of the Frankish period.⁶⁶ Thus, historians have been primarily concerned with how Paschal's plan was implemented: how the patriarchal borders came to match the northern border of the kingdom, as outlined by William of Tyre, with Sidon, Acre, Beirut and Tyre itself ending as Jerusalemite sees and Tripoli, Tortosa and Jubayl as Antiochene.⁶⁷ Most historians have ignored the section of the text attributed to Adhémar, which describes a border that does not match either the traditional or *de facto* borders of the patriarchates.

Unlike the Adhémar decree, the section of the text dealing with Benevento does have independent corroboration. In fact, Fulcher of Chartres referred obliquely both to Paschal's decision at Benevento and to the division supposedly drawn up by Pope Urban at Clermont, when justifying the acquisition of Tyre by the Jerusalemite church in 1124.⁶⁸ He then inserted into his narrative a letter from Paschal to Patriarch Gibelin of Jerusalem in June 1111, expressing much the same sentiment.⁶⁹ William of Tyre

⁶⁵ Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Lat. 7241, f.3v. Cf. *CCSSJ*, no. 89.

⁶⁶ *CCSSJ*, no. 89; *Cartulaire de l'Église du Saint Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, ed. by E. de Rozière (Paris, 1849), no. 9; F. Kühn, *Geschichte der ersten lateinischen Patriarchen von Jerusalem* (Leipzig, 1886), pp. 52, 52 n. 2; *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ab condita Ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII*, 2nd edn, ed. by P. Jaffé et al., 2 vols (Leipzig, 1885-1886), i, 749. J. G. Rowe, 'The Papacy and the Ecclesiastical Province of Tyre (1100-1187)', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 43 (1960-61), pp. 167-168; Hamilton, *Latin Church*, pp. 26-28, 66.

⁶⁷ Rowe, 'The Papacy', pp. 160-189; Hamilton, *Latin Church*, pp. 26-28, 66.

⁶⁸ FC, pp. 740-741.

⁶⁹ FC, pp. 742-745.

recorded this and four other letters sent by Paschal between June 1111 and March 1113 to various figures, namely King Baldwin I of Jerusalem and the patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch. The pope initially stated the same basic principle that the ecclesiastical limits of the East, disrupted by the Muslim conquests, should henceforth be contiguous with the limits of secular power after the crusader reconquest.⁷⁰ By the spring of 1113 he had changed his mind, writing that the king of Jerusalem could exercise his secular authority in a city traditionally belonging to the church of Antioch, without realigning that city's ecclesiastical loyalties – apparently a concession to the Antiochene delegation, ultimately ignored by Jerusalem.⁷¹ In none of these letters did the pope give any indication that he knew where the patriarchal borders of Antioch and Jerusalem actually were.

There also exists a lengthier record of the Council of Benevento, written sometime in the twelfth century, after Paschal's death in 1118, with the text referring to the pope as "*pię memorie*".⁷² This longer text includes an almost identical record of Paschal's supposed words, from "*N[on] soleo [sic]*" to "*restitute p[er]tin[er]ent.*"⁷³ It also clarifies that the prince of Antioch, who alongside Patriarch Bernard sent legates to argue the Antiochene case, was Tancred's successor, Roger.⁷⁴ Unfortunately, the text has many lacunae at the very point where it provides any indication of the intended territorial extent of the two patriarchates. All that can be said with certainty is that Paschal – or the author of this later record – knew that the king of Jerusalem had by

⁷⁰ WT, i, 537-540; *RRH*, nos 60, 61, 66; Rowe, 'The Papacy', pp. 166-168.

⁷¹ WT, i, 540-541; *RRH*, no. 73; Rowe, 'The Papacy', pp. 169-170.

⁷² Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Lat. 1345, f.214v; *Acta Pontificum Romanorum Inedita*, ed. by J. von Pflugk-Harttung, 2 vols (Stuttgart, 1880-1884), ii, no. 247.

⁷³ Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Lat. 1345, f.214v; *Acta Pontificum*, ii, no. 247.

⁷⁴ Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Lat. 1345, f.214v; *Acta Pontificum*, ii, no. 247.

then acquired Acre, Sidon and other illegible provinces – presumably Beirut at least and possibly the Tripolitan dioceses – which meant that they were now part of the kingdom of Jerusalem according to the precedent supposedly established by Pope Urban at Clermont.⁷⁵

If the Adhémar decree truly is a forgery to justify Tancred's acquisition of Tortosa in 1112, then it is curious that neither the short nor the long record of Benevento explicitly refers to this city. The record of Benevento does include a reference to something, presumably a river, which "flowed into the sea at Acre" (*Accon mare influit*).⁷⁶ However, this is a reference to the historic southern border of the patriarchate of Antioch, before the conquests of the "*gentiles*", and not the current northern border of the kingdom and patriarchate of Jerusalem, as is the case with the river in Adhémar's decree. Neither the record of Benevento nor Paschal's five letters mention any city in the county of Tripoli, and like Adhémar's decree, they all omit even the very existence of the county. The broader implication would be that Tripoli and the other settlements were viewed as part of either the patriarchate and kingdom of Jerusalem or the patriarchate and principality of Antioch, but not something separate.

To explain Cahen's belief that the (pseudo-)Adhémar decree could reflect political circumstances c.1112, it is necessary to consider what else is known about Tancred's acquisition of Tortosa, as found in other sources. The prince had taken this city in response to the aftermath of the "*consilio*" called by King Baldwin at the long-running Latin siege of Muslim-held Tripoli in 1109. The king's primary aim was to settle the dispute between the two rival claimants to the inheritance of Raymond of Saint-Gilles in the East: Raymond's successor as leader of his army, William Jordan,

⁷⁵ Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Lat. 1345, f.214v; *Acta Pontificum*, ii, no. 247.

⁷⁶ Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Lat. 1345, f.214v; *Acta Pontificum*, ii, no. 247.

and Raymond's heir in the West, his son Count Bertrand.⁷⁷ The precise details of the settlement reached are unclear. Albert of Aachen described how Bertrand was to receive those lands occupied by his father upon his death, namely the fortress of *Mons Peregrinorum* and by extension Tripoli itself.⁷⁸ Meanwhile, William Jordan was to receive those lands that he had conquered since Raymond's death, thus forming a lordship based around 'Arqa and extending eastwards towards Homs, Shayzar and Damascus.⁷⁹ Albert did not mention Tortosa or which claimant was to possess it, but his frequent assertions elsewhere that this city had formerly belonged to Raymond would imply that it was to go to Bertrand, in accordance with the agreement that Bertrand was to inherit the lands of his father.⁸⁰ However, William of Tyre specified that William Jordan was to receive Tortosa as well as 'Arqa, whilst Bertrand was to receive not only *Mons Peregrinorum* and Tripoli, but Jubayl as well, another city which Albert of Aachen did not mention explicitly.⁸¹ It is reasonable to regard William of Tyre's account as the more accurate, following Richard and Nicholson on this occasion, not least because of Albert of Aachen's failure to specify that Tortosa went to Bertrand.⁸²

According to William of Tyre, William Jordan and Bertrand were to receive their halves of the emergent county as vassals of Tancred and Baldwin respectively.⁸³ Bertrand's lordship of Tripoli was to be incorporated into the kingdom of Jerusalem, whilst William Jordan's lordship of 'Arqa-Tortosa was to form part of the principality of Antioch. The only apparent change to the plan, allegedly established by Adhémar of Le Puy, was that the border between the two "crusader states" would not have been al-

⁷⁷ AA, pp. 780-782; FC, pp. 528-530; WT, i, 507-508.

⁷⁸ AA, p. 782.

⁷⁹ AA, p. 782.

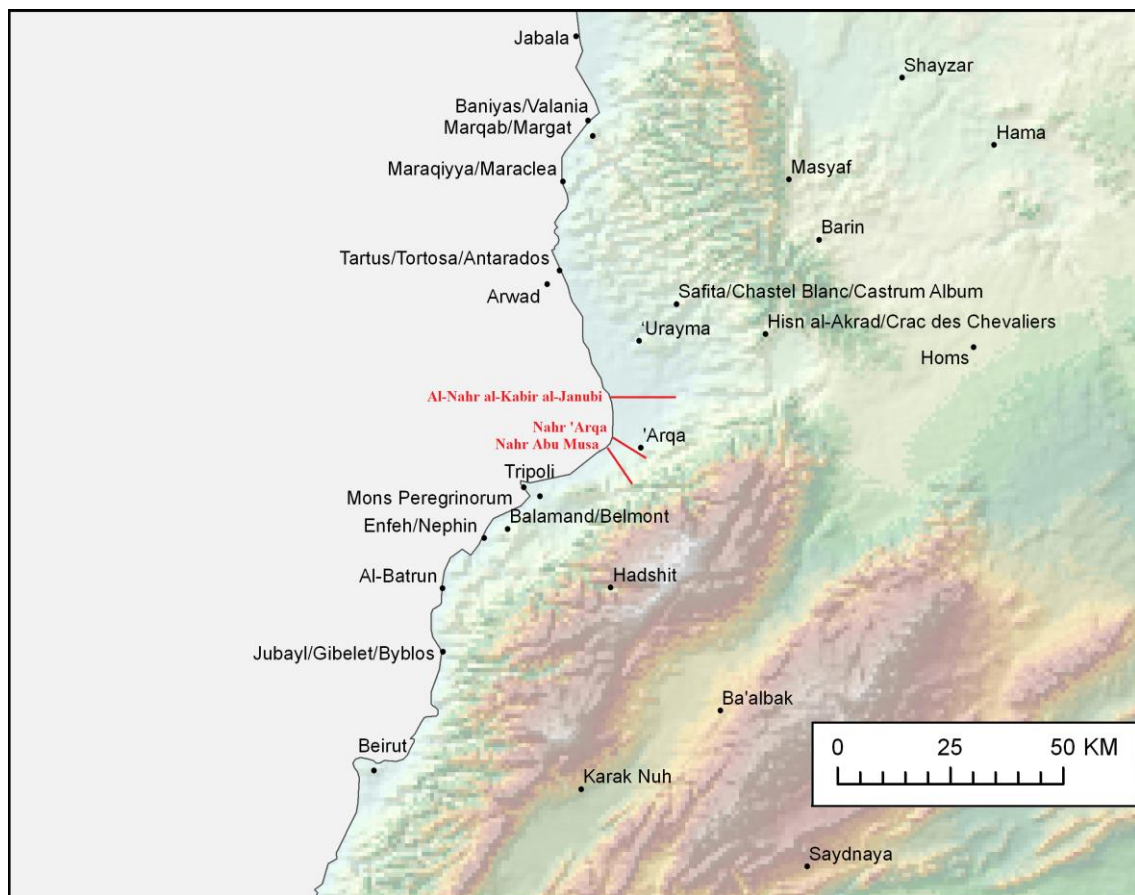
⁸⁰ AA, pp. 778, 782. For Raymond IV's original acquisition of Tortosa in 1098, see: AA, p. 376; GF, pp. 426-428. Cf. PT, p. 129.

⁸¹ WT, i, 508.

⁸² Comté, pp. 5, 31; R. L. Nicholson, *Tancred*, p. 185 n. 6.

⁸³ WT, i, 508.

Nahr al-Kabīr al-Janūbī, because William Jordan’s possession of ‘Arqa lay to the south of it. It may be speculated that the border was set at one of the small rivers just to the south of ‘Arqa, either Nahr Abū Mūsā or, more likely, Nahr al-‘Arqa.⁸⁴ If so, the 1109 settlement would not have contradicted the wording of Adhémar’s decree. The surviving iteration of the decree does not refer to the river by name, but simply to “*flu[u]ium [...] q[ui] t[ri]polim & tortosam int[er]fluit*”.⁸⁵ This description could in principle be applied to one of the southerly rivers, even if al-Nahr al-Kabīr al-Janūbī is the obvious choice on account of its size.



Map 4. Three rivers, “qui tripolim et tortosam interflu[unt]”.

⁸⁴ See below, pp. 96-97.

⁸⁵ Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Lat. 7241, f.3v. Cf. CCSSJ, no. 89.

Soon after the council, William Jordan died in suspicious circumstances. The sources do not agree on the culprit. Albert of Aachen and the Genoese chronicler Caffaro identified the guilty party as William's squire.⁸⁶ Fulcher of Chartres claimed that the murderer was unknown but that the death was welcomed by some unspecified Latins, whilst others grieved.⁸⁷ Ibn al-Qalānīsī blamed an anonymous Frank, whom William Jordan was inexplicably intending to attack in a field near 'Arqa.⁸⁸ Finally, William of Tyre felt bold enough to make the obvious connection to Bertrand, albeit with the prudent disclaimer that this was an unsubstantiated rumour.⁸⁹ Whoever the culprit was, Bertrand certainly benefited. It might have been expected that all of William Jordan's possessions would have reverted to his lord Tancred, but Albert of Aachen wrote that it was Bertrand who received 'Arqa and the rest of William's conquests.⁹⁰ On at least one occasion, Bertrand was too enthusiastic in securing William Jordan's former possessions, since he was later obliged to restore some property, which the count of Cerdanya had previously given to the canons of the Holy Sepulchre; Bertrand's restoration was done for the benefit of William Jordan's conveniently departed soul.⁹¹

Bertrand does not appear to have seized anything north of al-Nahr al-Kabīr al-Janūbī, primarily because Tancred moved quickly to occupy Tortosa immediately after William Jordan's death.⁹² Around the same time, Tancred forced the rulers of Shayzar to pay him tribute and seized Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, the future Crac des Chevaliers, again north

⁸⁶ AA, p. 786; 'Cafari De Liberatione Ciuitatum Orientis Liber', in *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori dal MXCIX al MCCXCIII*, ed. by L. T. Belgrano, 5 vols, *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia* pubblicate dall'Istituto Storico Italiano (Genoa, 1890-1929), i, 123.

⁸⁷ FC, pp. 531-532.

⁸⁸ IQ, p. 163.

⁸⁹ WT, i, 508.

⁹⁰ AA, p. 786.

⁹¹ CCSSJ, no. 86.

⁹² Comté, p. 31.

of al-Nahr al-Kabīr al-Janūbī.⁹³ According to Ibn al-Furāt – who based his account on that of the twelfth-century Damascene historian, Ibn ‘Asākir – Tancred moved in to occupy this region of Syria, even establishing a garrison at Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, at precisely the same time that Bertrand effectively abandoned it.⁹⁴ Through their opportunistic manoeuvring, Bertrand and Tancred had pushed the division of the Latin East back to al-Nahr al-Kabīr al-Janūbī, as is the most likely interpretation of Adhémar’s decree, hence Cahen’s belief that the aftermath of the council influenced the decree, not *vice versa*.⁹⁵

According to Ibn al-Qalānisī, Tancred “enfeoffed” (*aqṭa‘a*) Bertrand’s son Count Pons, following Bertrand’s death in 1112, with Antiochene possessions north of al-Nahr al-Kabīr al-Janūbī, namely Tortosa, Maraḳiyya (Maraclea), Ṣāfīthā (later the Templars’ *Chastel Blanc*), and Ḥiṣn al-Akrād.⁹⁶ Richard uses this to reach a similar conclusion to Cahen’s regarding the Adhémar decree, although he does not attribute the decree to Bernard of Antioch. Instead, he suggests that the text’s contents reflect Pope Paschal II’s simple ignorance in 1113 of Tancred’s enfeoffment of Pons, which in Richard’s opinion brought to a definitive end the county’s brief time as a “*fief hiérosolymitain*”.⁹⁷ Richard’s attribution of the text to Paschal stems from the fact that he consults it only indirectly, through Röhricht’s nineteenth-century abridgement, which conflated the Adhémar decree with the Council of Benevento.⁹⁸

Beguiling as Cahen’s sceptical theory is, questions remain. It is unclear why a forgery by the patriarch of Antioch for the benefit of the pope should have advocated a

⁹³ IQ, p. 167.

⁹⁴ F. Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades: Selected and translated from the Arabic sources*, trans. by E. J. Costello (London, 1969), pp. 316-317.

⁹⁵ Cahen, *Syrie*, pp. 315-316.

⁹⁶ IQ, p. 181.

⁹⁷ *Comté*, p. 45 n. 1. See also: *Comté*, map 5; J. Richard, *The Crusades, c. 1071-c. 1291*, trans. by J. Birrell (Cambridge, 1999), p. 112.

⁹⁸ *Comté*, p. 45 n. 1; *RRH*, no. 72.

reduction in the extent of the former's patriarchate, by pushing the border north of Tripoli. The patriarch of Antioch had already subordinated Bishop Albert of Tripoli to himself (c.1104). He or his successor would later appoint a suffragan bishop to southerly Jubayl between c.1128 and 1138, and their successors would continue to lay claim to the entirety of the traditional archdiocese of Tyre – including dioceses south of Nahr al-Kalb in the kingdom of Jerusalem proper – steadily into the 1130s and even as late as the 1190s.⁹⁹

Similarly, Cahen did not explain why a division that allegedly supported Antiochene claims and was in any case irrelevant – politically and ecclesiastically – after 1112/13, should have ended up in a thirteenth-century copy of the cartulary of the Holy Sepulchre, close associates of the patriarch of Jerusalem. The compiler and copyist of this later manuscript was seemingly working with a confused collection of scattered documents, lacking structure – chronological or otherwise – due to the disruption to the Holy Sepulchre's archives, caused by the Muslim occupation of Jerusalem, 1187-1229.¹⁰⁰ Therefore, it is worthwhile to consider the order by which the compiler chose to organise his copy, as this suggests an active attempt to group together documents concerning the patriarchal boundaries. Firstly, the Adhémar decree directly precedes Pope Paschal's ruling on the patriarchal boundaries at Benevento in 1113.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, the anonymous compiler placed the Adhémar decree immediately after a letter from Pope Lucius II to Patriarch William of Jerusalem, sometime between 1144 and September 1145. Lucius reconfirmed the original arrangement set by Urban II and Paschal II, that the Jerusalemite church – Antioch is not mentioned – would have authority over whichever cities and provinces – none are explicitly named – had been

⁹⁹ Rowe, 'The Papacy', pp. 160-189; Hamilton, *Latin Church*, pp. 25, 26-28, 36, 37, 39, 41-42, 66-67, 70-71, 215.

¹⁰⁰ CCSSJ, p. 12.

¹⁰¹ Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Lat. 7241, f. 3v.

conquered by the kings of Jerusalem in the past or would be in the future.¹⁰² Prior to this in the cartulary, and thus penultimate to the Adhémar decree, are three letters from Pope Innocent II on the same subject of patriarchal authority, unique to this one manuscript. In the first of these, dated 28 July 1138, the pope transferred the obedience of the archbishop of Tyre – his suffragans are not listed – from the patriarch of Antioch to the patriarch of Jerusalem.¹⁰³ The pope's second letter, dated 18 July 1137, instructed the bishops of Acre, Sidon and Beirut to obey the patriarch of Jerusalem.¹⁰⁴ In the third, dated 8 March 1138, the pontiff ordered the bishops of the entire archdiocese of Tyre – listed from north to south as Tortosa, Tripoli, Jubayl, Beirut, Sidon and Acre – to respect their rightful obedience to the patriarch of Jerusalem.¹⁰⁵

The sequence of documents in this manuscript is significant to observe, for it suggests that the copyist viewed the Adhémar decree as support for the *Jerusalemite* view of the patriarchal borders, not the Antiochene as envisaged by Cahen. At the same time, the Adhémar decree cannot be dismissed simply by accusing another patriarch of forgery. The late copyist's Jerusalem-focused editorial decisions are misleading, for he evidently chose to overlook the glaring problem that the Adhémar decree is only partially supportive of the Jerusalemite cause. Just as the decree does not depict the customary Antiochene view of the patriarchal boundaries, nor does it follow the Jerusalemite view, since it excludes the see of Tortosa, traditionally included as one of the sees under the archbishop of Tyre, who in turn had been made suffragan of the patriarch of Jerusalem during the Latin period. Indeed, the bishop of Tortosa is

¹⁰² Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Lat. 7241, ff.2v-3r. Cf. *CCSSJ*, no. 109.

¹⁰³ Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Lat. 7241, f.2r; *CCSSJ*, no. 106.

¹⁰⁴ Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Lat. 7241, f.2r; *CCSSJ*, no. 104.

¹⁰⁵ Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Lat. 7241, f.2v; *CCSSJ*, no. 105.

explicitly mentioned in Pope Innocent's 1138 bull, specifically penultimate to the Adhémar decree.¹⁰⁶ The Adhémar decree thus remains an intriguing anomaly.

A final concern with Cahen's theory is that it may explain why the decree recorded the border between the kingdom and principality, according to the *de facto* frontier established by Tancred's conquest of Tortosa and Bertrand's acquisition of Tripoli and 'Arqa, but not why the council of Tripoli, held prior to William Jordan's death and the subsequent opportunistic actions of Tancred and Bertrand, should have set the border in the region between Tortosa and Tripoli in the first place. As already seen, the legalistic argument of Albert of Aachen, that Bertrand simply inherited his father's former lands, does not make sense in light of William of Tyre's claim that Tortosa – once held by Raymond of Saint-Gilles – went to William Jordan. This conundrum can be solved if one assumes that the delegates at the council of Tripoli had in mind a pre-existing plan for the division of the Levantine territory conquered by the First Crusade. It may well be true that Adhémar's decree, with its anachronistic terminology and its close approximation of the political circumstances in the period 1109-12, was not actually written by Adhémar of Le Puy himself. However, this does not preclude the possibility that either the decisions of the council of Tripoli or the decree itself reflects an older precedent.

V. Byzantine-Fātimid precedent

(Pseudo-)Adhémar's decree does not simply reflect the border established after 1109, but also emulates the geo-political realities of the same region more than a generation earlier, in the mid-eleventh century, when the Levant was divided into a northern

¹⁰⁶ Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Lat. 7241, f.2v; *CCSSJ*, no. 105.

Byzantine sphere and a southern Fāṭimid sphere. It seems that the river al-Nahr al-Kabīr al-Janūbī served as the effective border between the Byzantine Empire and Fāṭimid Caliphate for roughly a century from the second half of the tenth century to the second half of the eleventh, a generation before the First Crusade. Indeed, this river has served as a border recurrently throughout history. The river's ancient name was the Eleutherus, which served as an acknowledged limit to Israelite military reach in the second century BC.¹⁰⁷ The same river currently serves as the international border between the modern republics of Lebanon and Syria.

Byzantinists have long been sensitive to the conceptualisation of borders, arguing that the Byzantine frontier in the century or two preceding the First Crusade was not so much a fixed line as a permeable and fluctuating zone, with no consistent military authority.¹⁰⁸ No contemporary Greek source seems to describe – in explicit and linear terms – the border between the Byzantine Empire and Fāṭimid Caliphate in the eleventh century, perhaps due to the lack of terminological formulae for “national” or “state” borders within the Greek historiographical tradition.¹⁰⁹ Despite this, one constant throughout the late tenth century and much of the eleventh was the fixing of the *de facto* military border between the Fāṭimid Caliphate and Byzantine Empire somewhere between Tripoli in the south and Tortosa in the north. A Byzantine military renaissance in the second half of the tenth century had pushed Islamic military occupation out of the coastal areas of North Syria, but had failed to take strategically

¹⁰⁷ 1 Maccabees 11:7; 12:30. For the Eleutherus, see below, pp. 96-97.

¹⁰⁸ C. Holmes, ‘Byzantium’s Eastern Frontier in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries’, in *Medieval Frontiers*, ed. by Abulafia and Berend, pp. 96, 100, 101, and *passim*; Obolensky, pp. 308-313.

¹⁰⁹ J.-P. Arrignon and J.-F. Duneau, ‘La frontière chez deux auteurs byzantins: Procope de Césarée et Constantin VII Porphyrogénète’, in *Geographica Byzantina*, ed. by H. Ahrweiler (Paris, 1981), p. 18.

important Tripoli, despite constant attempts throughout the period.¹¹⁰ The Fāṭimids too recognised Tripoli's strategic importance, and invested a great deal in the militarisation and fortification of the city as a bulwark against Byzantine invasion, a key component in the Caliphate's defensive "*réseau dense*".¹¹¹ Nāṣir bin Khusraw visited Tripoli in February 1047 and recorded its extensive defences – a moat, an iron gate, large stone walls, a battery of wall-mounted balistae, and a dedicated Fāṭimid garrison – placed there for the specific reason that the inhabitants "live in constant dread of naval attack by the Byzantines."¹¹² Deprived of Tripoli itself, the Byzantines focused their own defensive operations on Tortosa, the Empire's southernmost *theme* – a unit of military and territorial administration below the *doukate*, in this case Antioch – and the strategic lynchpin of the south-eastern frontier, attacked by Fāṭimid navies but kept safe through the emperors' refortification and reinforcement efforts.¹¹³ Both Cheynet and Treadgold observe that the stalemate at Tripoli – and Tortosa – came to mark the frontier between the Fāṭimid Caliphate and the Byzantine Empire.¹¹⁴ It might be assumed that al-Nahr al-Kabīr al-Janūbī would have made a sensible military border at this time. Certainly some Byzantinists have assumed this.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ W. Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society* (Stanford, CA, 1997), pp. 504, 507, 512, 521, 522, 537, 585; *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. by A. P. Kazhdan et al., 3 vols (Oxford, 1991), iii, 2120; M. Whittow, *The Making of Orthodox Byzantium, 600-1025* (Basingstoke, 1996), p. 327.

¹¹¹ J.-C. Cheynet, 'La conception militaire de la frontière orientale (IX^e-XIII^e siècle)', in *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium: Papers from the Thirty-third Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Warwick, Coventry, March 1999*, ed. by Antony Eastmond (Aldershot, 2001), p. 62. See also: W. W. Harris, *The Levant: a fractured mosaic* (Princeton, NJ, 2005), p. 62.

¹¹² NK, p. 13.

¹¹³ Treadgold, pp. 521, 536, 950; Cahen, *Syrie*, pp. 437-438. See also: E. Honigsmann, *Die Ostgrenze des Byzantinischen Reiches von 363 bis 1071 nach griechischen, arabischen, syrischen und armenischen Quellen*, *Corpus Bruxellense Historiae Byzantinae*, 3 (Brussels, 1935), p. 109.

¹¹⁴ Cheynet, 'La conception', p. 60; Treadgold, p. 507.

¹¹⁵ Treadgold, map 14, p. 531; Whittow, *The Making*, map xiv, pp. 312-313; P. Frankopan, *The First Crusade: The Call from the East* (London, 2012), p. xv.

Ahrweiler notes that military borders are only one type of frontier, alongside the “*frontières idéologiques*” of nationhood and culture, and the “*frontières politiques*” of administration and taxation.¹¹⁶ Obolensky asserts that the convergence of military and cultural frontiers was rare.¹¹⁷ The Tripoli-Tortosa border, however, does appear to be one such rare convergence. The Empire lacked a militarised provincial aristocracy in the East upon the eve of the Saljūq invasions, so it might be expected that Tortosa was no more than a military outpost, commanding little popular respect.¹¹⁸ Indeed, Cahen claimed that the indigenous Christian inhabitants of North Syria did not have any strong attachment to the Byzantine Empire, and little cause for animosity towards their new Muslim rulers in the Saljūq period.¹¹⁹ Nevertheless, Tortosa’s inhabitants exhibited some Christian sympathies during the First Crusade. Anna Komnene recorded how Tortosa’s inhabitants lied to the Saljūq *atābak* Ṭughtakīn of Damascus in order to save Raymond of Saint-Gilles, who was hiding in the town’s citadel, c.1101-02.¹²⁰ Furthermore, many of the inhabitants in and around the city were Melkite Christians, loyal to the patriarch of Constantinople.¹²¹ As for Tripoli, the city’s Islamic governor agreed to pay a tribute to the Byzantines in 995, but the people rebelled against him, suggesting genuine popular support for Fāṭimid rule and not simply an arbitrary military

¹¹⁶ H. Ahrweiler, ‘La frontière et les frontières de Byzance en Orient’, in *Actes du XIV^e congrès*, ed. by Berza and Stănescu, i, 209-222.

¹¹⁷ Obolensky, p. 305.

¹¹⁸ M. Whittow, ‘How the east was lost: the background to the Komnenian reconquista’, in *Alexios I Komnenos: Papers of the second Belfast Byzantine International Colloquium, 14-16 April 1989. I: Papers*, ed. by M. Mullett and D. Smythe (Belfast, 1996), p. 66.

¹¹⁹ C. Cahen, ‘The Turkish Invasion: The Selchūkids’, in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton, Volume I, ed. Baldwin, pp. 159-160; C. Cahen, ‘An Introduction to the First Crusade’, *P&P*, 6 (1954), pp. 6-13.

¹²⁰ AK, p. 317.

¹²¹ O. Olmo, ‘Les chrétiens orientaux dans le comté de Tripoli: localisation et positions sociales’, in *Comté multiculturel*, pp. 159-161.

occupation.¹²² Tripoli's people revolted in favour of the Fāṭimids again in 1108, during the Frankish siege, when it seemed that the city's *qāḍī* Fakhr al-Mulk bin 'Ammār was uncomfortably keen to seek military assistance from Sunnī sources.¹²³

A cultural frontier between a northern Byzantine sphere and a southern Fāṭimid one can also be discerned in the numismatic evidence of the Frankish era. The early "crusader" coinage minted at post-Byzantine Antioch and Edessa¹²⁴ imitated Byzantine designs, bearing Greek inscriptions, whereas the early gold coins struck at post-Fāṭimid Tripoli and in the kingdom of Jerusalem imitated Fāṭimid *dīnārs* with Arabic inscriptions.¹²⁵ Tellingly, there is no positive numismatic or textual evidence to suggest that the Fāṭimid-style *dīnārs* were ever minted at Antioch under the Franks.¹²⁶ The lower denomination copper and billon coinage minted in Tripoli and Jerusalem was of a western style, but the Fāṭimids never minted in alloys other than gold and silver, thus leaving no models to copy.¹²⁷ The crusaders' imitation of whatever coinage they found in the areas they conquered provides a numismatic fossil record of the cultural map of the Levant in the eleventh century, divided into Byzantine and Fāṭimid zones of influence and closely aligned with the military border.

The earliest crusader-settlers were surely aware of this Byzantine-Fāṭimid precedent. As early as 1065, the participants of the Great German Pilgrimage had

¹²² Treadgold, p. 521.

¹²³ IQ, p. 161; IA, x, 454.

¹²⁴ Like Antioch, Edessa had been a Byzantine *doukate* in the early eleventh century. Holmes, p. 88.

¹²⁵ Schlumberger, *Numismatique*, pp. 5, 7, 17, 43-50, 130-139; Cahen, *Syrie*, pp. 468-471; Metcalf, *Coinage*, pp. 8-9, 43-44; Metcalf, 'Islamic, Byzantine, and Latin', pp. 166-171. For further discussion of this coinage continuity, see Chapter Three, pp. 246-250.

¹²⁶ D. M. Metcalf, 'Six Unresolved Problems in the Monetary History of Antioch, 969-1268', in *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. by K. Ciggaar et al., i, 313-318.

¹²⁷ Schlumberger, *Numismatique*, pp. 6, 85, 100-107; Metcalf, *Coinage*, pp. 14-27, 44-49; Walker, *Exploring*, p. 95.

experienced the old frontier. These pilgrims were able to travel as far south as Byzantine Latakia without difficulty, this being prior to the Saljūq invasions of Byzantium. However, they met other pilgrims coming north who had been assaulted in the Fāṭimid South, and they themselves came under attack, although only when they entered the region of Tripoli, ruled by a “*dux [...] barbarus*”.¹²⁸ Thus, a generation before the First Crusade, Latin Christian pilgrims had become acquainted with the dangers of crossing from Byzantine Christian territory into Fāṭimid Islamic, specifically at Tripoli.

During the course of the First Crusade, the Latin Christian participants once again experienced traces of the bipartite Byzantine-Fāṭimid Levant, even though the years immediately preceding the expedition had witnessed the Saljūq Turks push the two empires out of the region militarily, effectively erasing the old border. Diplomacy with the Byzantines was the crusaders’ main source of information regarding the historic importance of the border at al-Nahr al-Kabīr al-Janūbī. As is well known, the participants in the First Crusade were obliged to swear an oath to Emperor Alexios, agreeing to restore to him all lands formerly pertaining to the Byzantine Empire if they proved able to recapture them. As heir to the Roman Empire, there were few limits to what the emperor could have meant by former Byzantine lands. Riley-Smith thinks it included Jerusalem, conquered by the Muslims in 637 (AH 16).¹²⁹ Erdmann thought that Jerusalem might have been envisaged at the time as a Byzantine territory to be reconquered, but he was uncertain.¹³⁰ It is more likely that Alexios had fairly limited goals in mind, specifically the eleventh-century Byzantine territories of North Syria,

¹²⁸ ‘*Annales Altahenses Maiores*’, ed. by W. von Giesebrecht and E. von Oefele, *MGH SS*, xx, 815.

¹²⁹ J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 18.

¹³⁰ C. Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. by M. W. Baldwin and W. Goffart (Princeton, NJ, 1977), p. 330. Cf. Cahen, *Syrie*, p. 438.

prior to the Saljūq invasions. Magdalino suggests that Jerusalem may have been a mere “afterthought” for the emperor, relevant only after the fact of the crusader conquest, whereas he believes that recently Byzantine Antioch – lost to the Saljūqs in 1085 – was part of Alexios’s plans for reconquest from the very beginning.¹³¹

During the course of the expedition, Byzantine strategy continued to influence the crusaders, as historians have increasingly recognised.¹³² Shepard argues that the relationship between Alexios and Bohemond revolved around the former supposedly offering the latter Antioch and its surroundings.¹³³ Pryor and Jeffreys have contested this, suggesting that Antioch itself was excluded from the emperor’s initial offer, which instead focused on a “marcher lordship” on the Empire’s former Euphrates frontier.¹³⁴ In both interpretations, a concern to re-establish the political and military *status quo ante* of the pre-Saljūq Levant seems to have underpinned Alexios’s expectations for the First Crusade. The actions of the Byzantines continued to evoke this old border, even after the conquest of Jerusalem. Byzantine emperors issued and reissued chrysobulls throughout the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, claiming to have lordship over Antioch and Latakia, but apparently not Tripoli.¹³⁵ Anna Komnene wrote that forts “as

¹³¹ P. Magdalino, *The Byzantine Background to the First Crusade* (Toronto, 1996), pp. 36-37.

¹³² For example: Frankopan, *passim*; B. S. Bachrach, ‘Papal War Aims in 1096: The Option Not Chosen’, in *In Laudem Hierosolymitani: Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar*, ed. by I. Shagrir, R. Ellenblum, and J. Riley-Smith (Aldershot, 2007), p. 319.

¹³³ J. Shepard, ‘When Greek meets Greek: Alexius Comnenus and Bohemond in 1097-98’, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 12 (1988), pp. 217-227 and *passim*. See also: Todt, pp. 490-501; J.-C. Cheynet, ‘The Duchy of Antioch during the Second Period of Byzantine Rule’, in *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. by Ciggaar et al., i, 15-16.

¹³⁴ Pryor and Jeffreys, pp. 31-79.

¹³⁵ *Urkunden zur Älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig mit Besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante vom Neunten bis zum Ausgang des Fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*, ed. by G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, 3 vols (Vienna, 1856-1857), i, nos 23, 51, 70, 85.

far as the borders of Tripolis” were “recovered” (ἐπανεσώθησαν) by the Empire in 1104, during Byzantine assaults against Norman-held Latakia and its environs.¹³⁶

Pope Urban, Adhémar and the other leaders of the Crusade would surely have been aware of the precise ambitions of the Byzantines, even though the detailed Latin-Greek negotiations at Piacenza in 1095, Constantinople in 1097, and throughout the campaign itself, go unreported in contemporary sources. Adhémar was arguably the strongest voice during the campaign calling for greater cooperation with the Byzantine authorities at all times, in accordance with the aims of both Alexios and Urban: “the bridge between east and west”.¹³⁷ As long as he remained alive, the crusaders adhered to the oaths that they had sworn to the emperor, restoring to him all lands captured.¹³⁸ It was only when he died soon after the siege of Antioch – following Alexios’s withdrawal back to Constantinople from Asia Minor and the departure from Antioch of the imperial commander Tatikios – that the crusaders began to abandon their pro-Byzantine policy, spurred on by Alexios’s former ally, Bohemond of Taranto.¹³⁹ Adhémar perhaps did not issue the “Adhémar decree” himself, but the basic territorial framework outlined by it reflects the Byzantine vision for the First Crusade, with which Adhémar and the other leaders of the expedition were no doubt familiar.

In addition to the Byzantines, the crusaders would have learnt of the old border from another source, namely the other interested party in the restoration of the pre-Saljūq *status quo*, the Fāṭimid Caliphate. One incident in particular stands out in this respect, namely a curious diplomatic exchange between the crusaders and Fāṭimid representatives. Raymond of Aguilers wrote the most extensive account of the arrival of

¹³⁶ AK, p. 327; *Alexias*, ed. by Reinsch and Kambylis, i, 354.

¹³⁷ Frankopan, p. 170.

¹³⁸ Richard, *The Crusades*, pp. 45-50; C. Tyerman, *God’s War: A New History of the Crusades* (London, 2006), pp. 118-122; Köhler, *Alliances*, pp. 25-26.

¹³⁹ Shepard, ‘Greek meets Greek’, pp. 262-276; Richard, *The Crusades*, pp. 55-62; Frankopan, pp. 159-162, 168-170; Tyerman, *God’s War*, pp. 147-148.

envoys from the Fāṭimid “*rex*” – apparently the vizier al-Afḍal rather than the caliph al-Musta‘lī – to negotiate with the crusaders during the siege of Antioch, offering to work with the Christians against the Turks.¹⁴⁰ This may have been in response to an earlier embassy sent to Egypt by the crusaders at Nicaea, as recommended by Alexios, although this is recorded only in the anonymous *Historia belli sacri* (c.1140).¹⁴¹ In any case, all was civil at Antioch. The envoys were supposedly impressed by what they saw and praised the miraculous victories won by the crusaders in the service of “*Ihesum Marie virginis filium*”.¹⁴² This in particular is credible, being a close approximation of the name given to Jesus in Islam, “Jesus son of Maryam” (‘Īsā bin Maryam). Not even the one textual difference, the inclusion of *virginis*, conflicts with the Islamic tradition regarding the conception of Jesus.¹⁴³

In response to these remarkably friendly Muslim ambassadors, the crusaders sent some of their own envoys to accompany these Islamic ambassadors back to Egypt, intending to settle a “*fēdus amiciciam*” with their leader.¹⁴⁴ Raymond of Aguilers later detailed the terms offered by the crusader envoys sent from Antioch:

*Si faceret nobis auxilium a Ierusalem, vel redderet nobis Iherusalem, cum pertinenciis suis, redderemus nos ei omnes civitates suas quas Turci ei abstulerant cum caperemus eas. Alias autem civitates Turcorum, quę de regno eius non fuerunt, si cum auxilio eius caperentur, inter nos partiremur.*¹⁴⁵

If he [al-Afḍal] gave us aid to Jerusalem, or returned to us Jerusalem, with its appurtenances, we would return to him all his cities, which the Turks had taken from him, when we captured them. Other cities of the Turks, which had not been part of his kingdom, we would share with him, if we captured them with his aid.

¹⁴⁰ RA, p. 58; Flori, *Pierre*, pp. 352-354.

¹⁴¹ Tudebodus Imitatus et Continuatus, ‘Historia Peregrinorum, Peregrinorum Euntium Ierusalymam ad Liberandum Sanctum Sepulcrum de Potestate Ethnicorum’, ed. by J. Mabillon, *RHC Oc*, iii, 181; Köhler, *Alliances*, p. 44.

¹⁴² RA, p. 58.

¹⁴³ Qurān 3:47; 19:20-22.

¹⁴⁴ RA, p. 58.

¹⁴⁵ RA, pp. 109-110.

Köhler believes Raymond's report to be a reliable account of serious diplomatic intent on the part of the crusaders and the Fāṭimids alike.¹⁴⁶ The content of this agreement suggests that the Latin crusaders offered the Fāṭimids terms that were remarkably similar to, perhaps even modelled upon the terms agreed between the crusaders and the Byzantine emperor some months previously.

In the event, the crusaders' negotiations with both the Byzantines and the Fāṭimids broke down. Significantly, however, the crusader envoys to the Fāṭimids were sent from Antioch to Cairo before the breakdown in Latin-Byzantine relations after the siege of Antioch, when the crusaders were still holding to their agreement with Alexios, to restore conquered cities to him. The character of the Fāṭimids' diplomatic relations with the crusaders became antagonistic a year after initial contact at Antioch, when the Franks reached 'Arqa. Raymond of Aguilers claimed that the crusaders' envoys, who had left Antioch as hopeful allies, were now being held hostage by the Fāṭimids, whose ruler was prevaricating, unable to decide whether to assist the Turks or the crusaders.¹⁴⁷

Raymond noted that it was only when the crusaders entered Fāṭimid territory (*terram suam*) that the Fāṭimids reinitiated diplomatic contact, after a long period of silence.¹⁴⁸ It is significant that the Fāṭimids' territory in this account was deemed to begin at 'Arqa. Köhler notes that the Fāṭimids resumed their diplomacy with the crusaders because their arrival at 'Arqa represented a penetration into the Fāṭimid "sphere of influence".¹⁴⁹ Köhler does not make it explicit, but 'Arqa lies just to the south of al-Nahr al-Kabīr al-Janūbī. According to Köhler and Flori, the Fāṭimids thought that the crusaders were simply Byzantine mercenaries, aiming to do no more than reconquer recently Byzantine Antioch, Edessa and their environs from the

¹⁴⁶ Köhler, *Alliances*, pp. 46-47, 51-53.

¹⁴⁷ RA, p. 109.

¹⁴⁸ RA, p. 110.

¹⁴⁹ Köhler, *Alliances*, p. 53.

Turks.¹⁵⁰ Certainly, contemporary Arabic-speaking Muslims viewed the Franks as Byzantine mercenaries, failing to distinguish semantically between the Latins and the Greeks, conflating them both as “Romans” (*rūm*), until they later adopted the discrete term “Franks” (*ifranj*).¹⁵¹ In other words, the penetration of the crusaders into the traditionally Fāṭimid South seems to have come as a surprise, suggesting that Fāṭimid as well as Byzantine policy during the First Crusade was determined by the old, pre-Saljūq border of the mid-eleventh century.

The real sticking point for negotiations between the Fāṭimids and the crusaders was control of Jerusalem. Since the initial exchange at Antioch, the Fāṭimids had taken Jerusalem back from the Saljūqs.¹⁵² Now with the crusaders at ‘Arqa, al-Afḍal was only willing to allow them to visit Jerusalem in controlled groups of no more than two or three hundred at a time, with the added condition that they would promptly exit his territories after performing their devotions.¹⁵³ However, the crusaders refused to yield their claim to Jerusalem, boldly telling the Fāṭimid envoys that they would take “Babylon” (Cairo) itself if they were not given the Holy City.¹⁵⁴ Flori believes that there was a clear difference between what the crusaders’ goal was – the conquest of Jerusalem – and what the Fāṭimids thought their goal was – the conquest of recently Byzantine North Syria and especially Antioch.¹⁵⁵ In contrast, Köhler suggests that al-Afḍal had learnt of the fullness of the crusaders’ ambitions from the earlier Frankish ambassadors, and may even have captured Jerusalem – in full view of the Frankish ambassadors who attended the siege, at least according to Ekkehard of Aura – precisely

¹⁵⁰ Flori, *Pierre*, pp. 354-355, 397-398; Köhler, *Alliances*, p. 47.

¹⁵¹ E. Sivan, *L’Islam et la Croisade: Idéologie et Propagande dans les Réactions Musulmanes aux Croisades* (Paris, 1968), pp. 25-26.

¹⁵² Köhler, *Alliances*, p. 48.

¹⁵³ RA, p. 110.

¹⁵⁴ RA, p. 110.

¹⁵⁵ Flori, *Pierre*, pp. 398-399.

in order to be in a stronger bargaining position for any future anti-Saljūq alliance with the Franks.¹⁵⁶ Nevertheless, Köhler believes that al-Afḍal did not think that the Franks – still regarded as Byzantine agents – had any interest in setting up a vast and permanent lordship across the southern Levant, as the kingdom of Jerusalem was to be, but rather thought them to be following earlier, narrower Byzantine precedent by negotiating Christian rights in the Holy City, before returning home.¹⁵⁷ Therefore, Flori and Köhler do not disagree on the essential point that the Fāṭimids viewed the First Crusade as restoring the pre-Saljūq *status quo ante*.¹⁵⁸ In any case, the most immediate conclusion to be drawn from these diplomatic exchanges is that they would likely have provided the crusaders with further information about the historic and current significance of the border at al-Nahr al-Kabīr al-Janūbī. The Fāṭimids were as much a source of information in this respect as the Byzantines.

VI. The early bipartite Latin East

Adhémar of Le Puy may not have authored the bipartite scheme attributed to him, but there is ample justification to believe that he and the other crusaders would have been aware of the bipartite precedent of the eleventh century. The (pseudo-)Adhémar decree is surely based upon this Byzantine-Fāṭimid framework, even if only indirectly, by recording the division enacted at the council of Tripoli in 1109. After all, this division was established by veterans of the First Crusade like King Baldwin and Tancred, who would have remembered discussion of the Levant's historic bisection during the

¹⁵⁶ Köhler, *Alliances*, pp. 49-50; *Ekkehardi Uraugiensis Abbatis Hierosolymita nach der Waitz'schen Recension mit Erläuterungen und einem Anhang*, ed. by H. Hagenmeyer (Tübingen, 1877), pp. 171-172.

¹⁵⁷ Köhler, *Alliances*, pp. 50-51.

¹⁵⁸ See also: Gibb, 'Notes', pp. 740-741.

campaign. The (pseudo-)Adhémar decree is proof that there was no immediate transition from the First Crusade to the existence of four “crusader states”, but it also indicates that the crusaders, informed by their erstwhile Byzantine and Fāṭimid allies, believed that the Levant was rightly divided into two spheres.

The (pseudo-)Adhémar decree is far from being the only evidence that the early settlers envisaged a bipartite Levant. The kings of Jerusalem were at the forefront of this, in that they claimed suzerainty over Tripoli. As early as 1100, “rex” Godfrey and Patriarch Daimbert promised the Venetians, or rather the Church of St Mark’s, half the spoils of Tripoli if they were able to capture it, which was more than the customary third granted in other port cities, although unfortunately the original agreement does not survive.¹⁵⁹ Favreau-Lilie believes that Godfrey was threatening to outmanoeuvre Raymond of Saint-Gilles, who had already made clear his desire to acquire Tripoli during his fitful southwards march to Jerusalem on the First Crusade, although in the event neither Godfrey nor the Venetians did capture Tripoli.¹⁶⁰ Godfrey’s promise to the Venetians suggests that the king of Jerusalem viewed himself as rightful lord of Tripoli long before Bertrand submitted personally to Baldwin I in 1109. Riley-Smith argues that the kingdom of Jerusalem inherited Fāṭimid-era administrative machinery and it is known that the Latins of Syria, as well as the comparable milieu of Sicily, called upon locals to identify the historic boundaries of the pre-conquest period.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ *DUKJ*, i, no. *9; ‘Monachi Anonymi Littorensis, Historia de Translatione Sanctorum Magni Nicolai Terra Marique Miraculis Gloriosi, Ejusdem Avunculi, Alterius Nicolai, Theodorique, Martyris Pretiosi, de Civitate Mirea in Monasterium S. Nicolai de Littore Venetiarum’, *RHC Oc*, v, 272; *RRH*, no. 31; M.-L. Favreau-Lilie, *Die Italiener im Heiligen Land vom ersten Kreuzzug bis zum Tode Heinrichs von Champagne (1098-1197)* (Amsterdam, 1989), pp. 78-79; E. Bellomo, ‘The First Crusade and the Latin east as seen from Venice: the account of the *Translatio sancti Nicolai*’, *Early Medieval Europe*, 17.4 (2009), p. 428.

¹⁶⁰ Favreau-Lilie, p. 78.

¹⁶¹ J. Riley-Smith, ‘Some lesser officials in Latin Syria’, *EHR*, 87.342 (1972), pp. 3, 8, 20, 23, 26; J. Riley-Smith, ‘The survival in Latin Palestine of Muslim administration’,

Godfrey's claim to Tripoli suggests that the kingdom also inherited the theoretical territorial limits of the Fāṭimid Caliphate, at least in Syria and Palestine.

The council of Tripoli in 1109 further suggests that the kings of Jerusalem claimed Tripoli as part of their realm. King Baldwin's ability to call this council at Tripoli poses a challenge to Richard's thesis, for he believes that the city was *always* regarded as beyond the kingdom proper, even before it fell to the Christians. He acknowledges this challenge and explains this incident as early proof of a "*vassalité limitée*", defining it as a prerogative stemming from the *personal* relationship between king and count, framed by Bertrand's earlier, personal request for Baldwin's assistance against William Jordan and Tancred.¹⁶² Richard equates this council with a later meeting of the High Court called at Tripoli by Baldwin III in 1152, depicting the two gatherings as expressions of essentially the same personal and constitutional phenomenon, despite the intervening decades.¹⁶³ This exemplifies Richard's assumption that the political divisions between the crusader states remained static throughout the twelfth century. Nor is Richard alone in this, for Mayer also groups the two courts together as an essentially identical assertion and reassertion by the two Baldwins of the ambiguously defined role of the king of Jerusalem as "arbiter of the whole Latin East".¹⁶⁴ A more convincing explanation is that Baldwin I possessed the authority to call a court at Tripoli in 1109, not because he was *primus inter pares* or because he had been invited to do so by Bertrand, but because he regarded the city as part of his own realm, in accordance with the anticipated territorial bisection of the Levant.

in *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades*, ed. by P. M. Holt (Warminster, 1977), pp. 9-17.

¹⁶² Comté, p. 35.

¹⁶³ Comté, p. 35.

¹⁶⁴ H. E. Mayer, 'Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem', *DOP*, 26 (1972), p. 172.

Ostensibly, Baldwin was motivated by the fear that outward signs of Christian disunity, in this case the dispute over Raymond IV's inheritance, would encourage Muslim aggression.¹⁶⁵ The fact that the Damascene chronicler Ibn al-Qalānīsī was well informed about the council suggests that knowledge of this disunity was diffused widely and thus a legitimate concern.¹⁶⁶ Yet it is likely that Baldwin also acted opportunistically, to establish his rule over Tripoli in more than the theoretical sense. At this time in western Europe, there was an increasing trend towards monarchs reviving their "[d]ubious or half-forgotten claims to suzerainty" over the "scattered pieces" of their theoretical kingdoms, enforcing such claims through military and legal pressure.¹⁶⁷ More specifically, Tibble has shown that the kings of Jerusalem in the early twelfth century had a distinct and identifiable policy of breaking down large lordships into small and more manageable ones, often by taking advantage of dynastic crises to redistribute their vassals' lands in their favour.¹⁶⁸ As previously noted, Tibble does not include Tripoli in his analysis. Had he not restricted himself to the "kingdom of Jerusalem in waiting", then he would have found the very same mechanisms of royal control being employed to incorporate the county of Tripoli more fully into the realm.

As elsewhere in the kingdom, Baldwin took the opportunity of a dynastic crisis – the rivalry between Bertrand and William Jordan – to impose his authority. Throughout the preceding decade, Raymond of Saint-Gilles and William Jordan had occupied *Mons Peregrinorum* and the surrounding region, and had stubbornly rejected the king of Jerusalem's claims to suzerainty over Tripoli and the Latin East more generally, as their retention of variants on the grandiose but somewhat disingenuous

¹⁶⁵ AA, p. 780.

¹⁶⁶ IQ, p. 163.

¹⁶⁷ J. R. Strayer, 'The Two Levels of Feudalism', in his *Medieval Statecraft and the Perspectives of History: Essays by Joseph R. Strayer, with a foreword by Gaines Post* (Princeton, NJ, 1971), pp. 83-84.

¹⁶⁸ Tibble, pp. 7-8, 20, and *passim*.

title “*princeps/ductor/dux milicie Christiane in Jerosolimitano itinere/in partibus Syrię*” subtly indicates.¹⁶⁹ Raymond of Saint-Gilles may even have minted coins at *Mons Peregrinorum*, despite this being a royal prerogative in the kingdom of Jerusalem, at least by the later twelfth century.¹⁷⁰ Thus the dynastic crisis in 1108-09 was Baldwin’s first real opportunity to assert his authority over Tripoli and he certainly seized it. Murray notes that the king accorded the matter great importance, sending to the concerned parties two of his most important followers, Paganus of Haifa and Eustachius Granarius.¹⁷¹ Baldwin divided Raymond’s inheritance between the two claimants.¹⁷² This follows closely Tibble’s “second phase” of royal policy towards fiefs, marked by the division of such “super-lordships” as Galilee, Transjordan and Jaffa, into smaller and more malleable parcels.¹⁷³ Had it not been for William Jordan’s death and Pons’s later acquisition of Antiochene fiefs north of al-Nahr al-Kabīr al-Janūbī, Baldwin’s goal of keeping his vassals weak, by intervening under the cover of a dynastic crisis, would have been achieved in relation to Tripoli.

Richard believes that the “feudal” arrangements between Count Bertrand and King Baldwin, established around the time of the council of Tripoli, became irrelevant once Bertrand’s son Pons acquired the fiefs of Tortosa, Maraḡiyya, Ṣāfīthā and Ḥiṣn al-Akrād from Tancred of Antioch in 1112.¹⁷⁴ However, the acquisition of these Antiochene fiefs by the count of Tripoli did not necessarily mean their full integration with his Jerusalemite fiefs as a new “crusader state”, wholly independent of either

¹⁶⁹ *Cartulaire de l’Abbaye de Saint-Victor de Marseille*, ed. by B. Guérard, 2 vols (Paris, 1857), ii, no. 802; CCSSJ, no. 79.

¹⁷⁰ C. J. Sabine, ‘The Billon and Copper Coinage of the Crusader County of Tripoli, c.1102-1268’, *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 7th series, 20 (1980), p. 75. Cf. Metcalf, *Coinage*, p. 24.

¹⁷¹ Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 218.

¹⁷² See above, pp. 69-70.

¹⁷³ Tibble, pp. 7-8 and *passim*.

¹⁷⁴ *Comté*, p. 45 n. 1.

Antioch or Jerusalem, as Richard assumes. Later, Raymond III of Tripoli would marry Eschiva of Tiberias, but his county of Tripoli and her principality of Galilee did not become one unit.¹⁷⁵ The one extant charter issued by Raymond at Tiberias in May 1179, was witnessed only by the barons of the principality, not the county, with the exception of Raymond's personal chancellor Matthew.¹⁷⁶ Later still, Bohemond VI of Antioch-Tripoli employed two separate chancellors, one for Antioch and the other for Tripoli, suggesting that the principality and the county had only been united in the dynastic sense.¹⁷⁷

Contemporary sources suggest that the kings of Jerusalem and their courtiers continued to view Tripoli as part of their realm for at least the following decade, regardless of Pons's new Antiochene fiefs. Bertrand played the loyal vassal and accompanied the king on a number of military expeditions during his short reign, namely the sieges of Beirut and Sidon in 1110, a close call with the Damascene army near Tiberias in 1111, and the relief of the principality of Antioch's eastern frontier in 1111.¹⁷⁸ It is notable that the two captured cities of Beirut and Sidon lay between Tripoli and the rest of the kingdom, and their capture can be seen as efforts to unite the county and the remainder of the realm. Like his father, Pons assisted his liege Baldwin I on numerous military expeditions. For example, Pons is closely associated with Baldwin in the related accounts of Albert of Aachen and William of Tyre, when describing the joint Latin-Damascene expedition against Bursuq of Mosul in 1115.¹⁷⁹ Walter the Chancellor reported that Pons did not head north on this occasion until

¹⁷⁵ Cf. *Comté*, p. 72.

¹⁷⁶ *RRH*, no. 583; *CGOH*, iv, no. 563*bis*.

¹⁷⁷ *CGOH*, iii, no. 3020.

¹⁷⁸ *FC*, pp. 534-536, 549-557; *AA*, pp. 786-788, 792, 804-808; *IQ*, pp. 167-168, 174; *WT*, i, 515-516, 520-521.

¹⁷⁹ *AA*, p. 854; *WT*, i, 530.

receiving explicit instruction from Baldwin to do so.¹⁸⁰ Fulcher of Chartres did not bother to mention the Tripolitans at all, dividing the army into only three distinct contingents: Jerusalem, Antioch, and Damascus.¹⁸¹ Following the expedition, Baldwin returned to Tripoli, suggesting that the king was comfortable using this city as his northern base of operations.¹⁸²

Baldwin's chaplain, Fulcher of Chartres, wrote an epitaph for the king after his death in 1118, nine years after the council of Tripoli, in which the king was said to have been personally responsible for capturing a number of important cities along the coast of Syria, including Tripoli:

<i>Accon, Caesaream, Berytum, necne Sidonem Abstulit infandis hostibus indigenis.</i> <i>Post terras Arabum vel quae tangunt mare Rubrum, Addidit imperio, subdidit obsequio.</i> <i>Et Tripolim cepit, sed et Arsuth non minus ursit, Pluraque praeterea fecit honore rata.</i>¹⁸³	Acre, Caesarea [Maritima], Beirut, also Sidon, He took by force from the atrocious native enemies. Next, the lands of the Arabs or rather those [lands] which touch the Red Sea, He brought under [his] authority, [and] subdued to obedience. And he captured Tripoli, but also oppressed Arsūf no less, And many more besides he rendered tributaries.
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No mention is made of Bertrand's role in capturing Tripoli and no indication is given that this city was in any way different from the other cities brought under the king's authority. All of Baldwin's conquests listed here lay south of the important boundary of al-Nahr al-Kabīr al-Janūbī.

Fulcher was chaplain to the king and obviously had a vested interest in depicting him as powerful.¹⁸⁴ Elsewhere, Fulcher described Baldwin II as the lord of all the land

¹⁸⁰ Galterius Cancellarius, pp. 67-68.

¹⁸¹ FC, p. 582.

¹⁸² FC, p. 584.

¹⁸³ FC, p. 614.

“*ab Aegypto [...] usque Mesopotamiam*”, therefore including the principality of Antioch, the county of Edessa, and the county of Tripoli, in addition to the kingdom of Jerusalem as traditionally conceived.¹⁸⁵ Edgington describes Fulcher’s partiality for Baldwin I as “a matter of slanted perspective rather than a basis for reliable reporting”, with a marked reluctance to report on “controversial matters” such as quarrels between Christian leaders.¹⁸⁶ Fulcher’s image of a fully united Latin East may owe something to his deliberate construction of a myth of Christian unity under royal suzerainty. That said, he was comparatively circumspect in his epitaph for Baldwin I, which does not include anywhere north of Tripoli, perhaps suggesting that its inclusion within the kingdom proper was uncontroversial.

There is evidence independent of the royal court of Jerusalem to confirm that Tripoli was regarded as part of the realm. Walter, chancellor of Antioch, described Count Pons fighting alongside King Baldwin II in the counter-attack following the military disaster of *Ager Sanguinis* in summer 1119. Pons is depicted as leading a “Provençal” contingent under the king’s command, rather than an autonomous “Tripolitan” army.¹⁸⁷ This integration of the “Provençal” division into the royal army as a whole appears to contradict Richard’s central argument that the “Provençal” nature of the county of Tripoli rendered it independent, *ipso facto*, from the kingdom of Jerusalem.¹⁸⁸

A deed issued in the name of Count Pons himself in February 1117, recording a comital donation of a house in Tripoli to the church of Blessed Mark of the Venetians, was dated unusually by the episcopate of the bishop of Tripoli and, most relevantly, the

¹⁸⁴ Fulcher, trans. by Ryan, p. 3.

¹⁸⁵ FC, p. 635.

¹⁸⁶ Edgington, ‘First Crusade’, p. 57.

¹⁸⁷ Galterius Cancellarius, p. 96.

¹⁸⁸ See above, pp. 58-59, and Introduction, p. 17.

reign of King Baldwin I (*regnante Balduino rege Jerusalem*).¹⁸⁹ This poses a problem for Richard, who resorts to an argument that the document was written in Venice by the recipients, who as “*étrangers au comté*”, did not know that the county was independent.¹⁹⁰ This judgement rests largely upon the tenuous observation that one of the witnesses’ names is spelt in a manner at odds with the orthography of *langue d’oc*, allegedly the dominant European language of the county.¹⁹¹ The fact that the authors may have been foreign is not sufficient cause to dismiss this evidence. At the very least it suggests that the county’s political status *vis-à-vis* the kingdom appeared ambiguous to contemporaries. It seems strange that the Venetians could have been so misinformed regarding the political situation of the county, since it is well known that they were in regular contact with the Latin East throughout this period and, as this very document indicates, had a permanent presence in Tripoli itself.

A striking observation is made if the chronology of these sources is compared. Fulcher likely composed his epitaph soon after Baldwin I’s death in the spring of 1118.¹⁹² The donation to the Venetians was issued in February 1117, whilst Walter the Chancellor’s narrative describes events little more than two years later in summer 1119. That all of these disparate individuals and corporations wrote texts depicting Tripoli as part of the kingdom of Jerusalem around the same time suggests that the prevailing view of the county as a separate political entity right from its establishment – or at least from its acquisition of Antiochene fiefs in 1112 – is wrong and anachronistic.

Arguably the most convincing, but also one of the latest pieces of evidence to demonstrate that the Latin East was initially bipartite and remained so for a while, can

¹⁸⁹ *Urkunden*, ed. by Tafel and Thomas, i, no. 36; *RRH*, no. 84.

¹⁹⁰ *Comté*, p. 36.

¹⁹¹ *Comté*, p. 36 n. 2. For the use of *langue d’oc* in the county of Tripoli, see Chapter Two, pp. 188-201.

¹⁹² Fulcher, trans. by Ryan, p. 23.

be found in one recension, c.1150 or c.1157, of the itinerary of Fretellus, written c.1137:¹⁹³

<i>Duodecimo miliario a Tripoli, contra Orientem Albana fluvius Archados, a quo modo incipit regnum Jerusalem.</i> ¹⁹⁴	Twelve miles from Tripoli, towards the East, is the <i>Albana</i> , the river of 'Arqa, from which limit begins the kingdom of Jerusalem.
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Röhricht believed that the river identified here was Nahr al-'Arqa, not al-Nahr al-Kabīr al-Janūbī.¹⁹⁵ If so, then this would correspond to the settlement reached at the council of Tripoli in 1109, whereby 'Arqa – south of al-Nahr al-Kabīr al-Janūbī but north of Nahr al-'Arqa – would go to William Jordan and thus the principality of Antioch. It would not represent the *de facto* situation following William Jordan's death and Bertrand's subsequent capture of 'Arqa. This is further evidence against the suggestion of Cahen and Richard that the Adhémar decree simply reflects the *de facto* arrangement of 1109-12/13.

A caveat to the foregoing is that contemporaries were clearly confused when identifying the rivers of the county. The identification here of the *fluvius Archados* with the *Albana*, one of the two rivers of Damascus in Christian Scripture, was widespread in medieval itineraries and geographical texts, by virtue of their complex interrelationships.¹⁹⁶ Meanwhile, al-Nahr al-Kabīr al-Janūbī is the ancient Eleutherus of

¹⁹³ 'Descriptions de Jérusalem', pp. 408-409. For the date of this recension, see above, p. 29.

¹⁹⁴ 'Descriptions de Jérusalem', p. 432.

¹⁹⁵ Röhricht, *Geschichte*, p. 99 n. 1.

¹⁹⁶ 2 Kings 5:12; 'John of Würzburg', p. 104; 'Theodericus', pp. 194-195; 'Innominatus VI (Incipit Beda de Descripcione Eiusdem Terre Sancte) (verso il 1148)', in *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum (saec. XII-XIII). Vol. III: Tempore recuperationis Terrae Sanctae (1187-1244)*, ed. by S. de Sandoli, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Collectio Maior, 24 (Jerusalem, 1983), p. 58; 'Historiae Orientalis Liber Tertius', p. 1127. Cf. Marino Sanudo, p. 244.

the Classical Greek geographer Strabo.¹⁹⁷ However, Strabo's geographical treatise was unknown to the medieval West, not appearing in Latin Europe until the Renaissance, and so no medieval author ever made this association.¹⁹⁸ These writers were aware of the existence of the river Eleutherus, since it is mentioned twice in the First Book of Maccabees, but this biblical source does not provide a precise geographical location.¹⁹⁹ Contemporaries instead identified the Eleutherus with the Leontes (Līṭānī) in the kingdom of Jerusalem.²⁰⁰

Whether pseudo-Fretellus intended al-Nahr al-Kabīr al-Janūbī or Nahr al-ʿArqa is a moot point. It is of little significance compared to the basic fact that his text is the only geographical guide to identify the area between Tortosa and Tripoli as the border between the kingdom of Jerusalem and the principality of Antioch. It conforms to no contemporary outline of the Latin East – secular or ecclesiastical – other than the (pseudo-)Adhémar decree. Wilkinson missed the significance of this, passing over it without comment.²⁰¹ Other, probably derivative authors like John of Würzburg and James of Vitry did not record this border, which can be explained by the fact that they were writing in the late twelfth century or later still, when the “Albana” could no longer be regarded as a political border. By then, the county of Tripoli had emerged in the form recognisable to William of Tyre. Interestingly, the dating of pseudo-Fretellus's curious text to the 1150s suggests that the political border at al-Nahr al-Kabīr al-Janūbī retained relevance *after* the quarrels of the Second Crusade, which served as the narrative context for William of Tyre's quadripartite outline.

¹⁹⁷ *The Geography of Strabo*, ed. and trans. by H. L. Jones, 8 vols (London and New York, 1912-1932), vii, 255-257, 259.

¹⁹⁸ *Geography of Strabo*, i, xxxix, xl.

¹⁹⁹ 1 Maccabees 11:7, 12:30.

²⁰⁰ BMS, pp. 25-26; Marino Sanudo, pp. 155, 245, 250.

²⁰¹ Wilkinson, pp. 71, 210.

The policies of the princes of Antioch towards the county are less well known than those of the kings of Jerusalem, but they too suggest an active attempt to enforce or maintain a bipartite division of the Latin East. For one thing, Cahen saw Tancred's actions after the council of Tripoli as the very cause of this bisection.²⁰² Asbridge, who seems unaware of the Adhémar decree, sees Tancred's military actions in and around the southern reaches of the principality of Antioch as an attempt to establish a "buffer zone against the county of Tripoli".²⁰³ This may be refined by arguing that Tancred wished to establish a buffer zone against the kingdom of Jerusalem. Tancred had first-hand experience of the aggressive state-building policy of Baldwin I, as the king had effectively forced him out of his first lordship, the principality of Galilee.²⁰⁴

Tancred's behaviour around 1109 was not the first indication that the princes of Antioch wished to stretch their borders south, as far as al-Nahr al-Kabīr al-Janūbī. Historically, the Byzantine *theme* of Tortosa – probably extending to this river – had been part of the *doukate* of Antioch.²⁰⁵ Faced with the problematic settlement of the Normans at Antioch after the First Crusade, the Byzantines were forced to redraw the administrative map to reflect current realities. Thus, the Treaty of Devol of 1108, as preserved in the *Alexiad*, noted that Alexios I had separated numerous military districts from the jurisdiction of the formerly Byzantine, now Norman-held *doukate* of Antioch. These districts included the southern district of Latakia and the *strategata* of Jabala, Valania, Maraqqiyya and "Antaras [the island of Arados/Arwād] with Antarados [Tortosa]"; the Empire was to administer these territories directly and the Normans at

²⁰² Cahen, *Syrie*, pp. 315-316.

²⁰³ Asbridge, *Creation*, p. 65.

²⁰⁴ H. E. Mayer, 'Études sur l'histoire de Baudouin 1^{er} roi de Jérusalem', in his *Mélanges sur l'histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1984), p. 11.

²⁰⁵ Todt, pp. 494, 495.

Antioch – or at least Bohemond personally – were sworn to respect this.²⁰⁶ Todt proposes that Alexios simply wished to limit Bohemond’s power.²⁰⁷ It is important to add that, by this point, these southerly regions were governed by Raymond of Saint-Gilles, who is strangely absent from Todt’s analysis, as part of what Richard labels a “*principauté byzantino-provençale*”.²⁰⁸ At the time, Raymond was playing the part of loyal imperial lieutenant, as demonstrated by the fact that he surrendered Latakia, Maraqqiyya and Valania to Byzantine officials when Alexios ordered him to do so in 1101/02.²⁰⁹ Thus, Alexios was not reducing the former *doukate* of Antioch *per se*, and he was certainly not implicitly permitting the emergence of an independent Latin state and forerunner to the county of Tripoli under Raymond of Saint-Gilles. Rather, Alexios viewed these southern sections of the *doukate* of Antioch as having already been restored to imperial control under his deputies, including Raymond, which removed the need to force Bohemond to respect imperial power there.

Bohemond’s successor Tancred did not respect Alexios’s decision, but clung to the pre-Devol conception of the *doukate* of Antioch. According to Shepard, Tancred never had the same respect for the emperor that his uncle Bohemond had possessed, consistently spurning Alexios and his designs for the First Crusade.²¹⁰ Indeed, one of the requirements of the Treaty of Devol was for Bohemond to “wage relentless war” against Tancred in order to tame his nephew’s aggression against the Empire.²¹¹ As it happened, Bohemond never did curtail his nephew after Devol, leaving Tancred free to pursue his anti-Byzantine policies, which in this case meant seizing the northern half of what would be the county of Tripoli, formerly the Antiochene *theme* of Tortosa, against

²⁰⁶ AK, pp. 392-393.

²⁰⁷ Todt, pp. 495-496.

²⁰⁸ *Comté*, pp. 10-12, 38-39.

²⁰⁹ AK, p. 317.

²¹⁰ Shepard, ‘Greek meets Greek’, *passim*.

²¹¹ AK, p. 389.

Alexios's wishes and through the added legal justification of the council of Tripoli in 1109.

Tancred's insistence on ruling a principality defined by the pre-Devol limits of the *doukate* of Antioch can be seen in a curious incident following the disastrous Anatolian crusade of 1101. According to Albert of Aachen, Tancred captured Raymond of Saint-Gilles and forced him to swear an oath that he would desist from attempting to conquer any land north of "Acre".²¹² This has perplexed some historians, since Raymond soon afterwards attacked Tripoli, which was north of Acre.²¹³ This problem disappears if one assumes that Albert of Aachen, geographically distant and reliant upon the oral testimony of returning pilgrims and crusaders, made the simple mistake of confusing Arabic *'Akkā* (Latin *Acra*) with *'Arqa* (*Archas*), north of Tripoli but south of the important border of al-Nahr al-Kabīr al-Janūbī. This interpretation would align Raymond's forced oath with the aim to establish the principality of Antioch according to the eleventh-century limits of the old Byzantine *doukate*.

VII. Independence

The separation of the county of Tripoli – that is, the southern half of it – from the kingdom of Jerusalem between the 1110s and the arrival of the Second Crusade in the 1140s was a long road, but one marked by distinct milestones. One such event, which drove the county towards *de facto* constitutional independence from the kingdom, was a specifically ecclesiastical incident in 1120. This year saw the council of Nablus, 23 January, which aimed to reform morals in the kingdom after a period of famine and

²¹² AA, p. 632.

²¹³ AA, p. 633 n. 72. Edgington's simultaneous reference to Tortosa is irrelevant, since Raymond had already acquired this northerly city.

war, and was attended by all the secular and ecclesiastical magnates of the kingdom.²¹⁴ Although Mayer has argued that the council ought to be regarded partly as a secular “*parlement*” or “*Reichsversammlung*” on account of lay participation, it was effectively a church synod, dealing primarily with ecclesiastical matters and presided over by the patriarch of Jerusalem.²¹⁵ In regard to the county of Tripoli, neither the count nor the bishops attended.

Attendance at the council was restricted to those who lived in the patriarchate of Jerusalem. According to the tradition devised under the Roman Empire, three of the four bishoprics that lay within the county of Tripoli – Tripoli, Byblos and Tortosa, but not Rafaniyya – were suffragans of the archbishop of Tyre, who in turn was a suffragan of the patriarch of Antioch.²¹⁶ This tradition was broken under the Latins, with the Tripolitan sees becoming direct suffragans of the patriarch of Antioch, captured as they were *before* the metropolitan see of Tyre in 1124.²¹⁷ Paschal’s decrees binding the ecclesiastical borders to the secular ones had aimed to solve the problem at an early stage, but the patriarch of Antioch had not accepted this, seeing it as a diminution of his patriarchate.²¹⁸ Raymond of Saint-Gilles had been responsible for appointing Albert, abbot of St Erard in Marseille, as the first Latin bishop of Tripoli, c.1104-1105.²¹⁹ However, the patriarch of Antioch, Bernard of Valence, had stepped in at some point after the city’s conquest to subordinate the bishop of Tripoli to himself, jealous of his rights.²²⁰

²¹⁴ WT, i, 563-564.

²¹⁵ H. E. Mayer, ‘The Concordat of Nablus’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 33.4 (1982), pp. 531-533.

²¹⁶ Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 27.

²¹⁷ Rowe, ‘The Papacy’, pp. 160-189.

²¹⁸ See above, pp. 66-69.

²¹⁹ Hamilton, *Latin Church*, pp. 25, 26-28.

²²⁰ Rowe, ‘The Papacy’, p. 163; Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 25.

The separation of the county's bishoprics from the archdiocese of Tyre, and thus the patriarchate and kingdom of Jerusalem, seems to provide an adequate explanation for Pons's absence from the council of Nablus. Yet there may be a crucial secular element to this dispute, which hitherto has not been acknowledged. As already noted, Fulcher of Chartres copied into his chronicle Pope Paschal's privilege, which was addressed to King Baldwin I and Patriarch Gibelin of Jerusalem in 1111, and granted to the patriarch all those cities and provinces conquered "*per gloriosi regis Balduini prudentiam ac exercituum eum sequentium*".²²¹ This is significant in light of Fulcher's epitaph for Baldwin, which had stated in no uncertain terms that the king had taken Tripoli (*Tripolim cepit*), with no acknowledgement of Bertrand or anyone else.²²² Following the logic of Paschal's privilege, then the bishop of Tripoli at least, even if not the bishops of Jubayl and Tortosa, ought to have been subject to the patriarch of Jerusalem. Indeed, Rowe suggested that Antioch's claim to Tripoli, seemingly secure since Patriarch Bernard had subordinated Bishop Albert c.1104, was thrown into doubt by Baldwin's command of the victorious forces at Tripoli in 1109.²²³ Therefore, the fact that neither Pons nor any churchman from Tripoli attended Nablus over a decade later, may represent a deliberate restatement of their loyalty to Antioch on this ecclesiastical matter, and a concomitant repudiation of the claims of both the patriarch and king of Jerusalem over Tripoli. Perhaps this is why Fulcher of Chartres did not mention the council of Nablus at all, as it signalled the failure of the king of Jerusalem to extend his power beyond a relatively narrow demarcation of territory.

By not attending the council of Nablus, Pons excluded himself from one of the most important formative moments in the history of the Latin East. The council was the

²²¹ FC, p. 745.

²²² FC, pp. 613-614.

²²³ Rowe, 'The Papacy', p. 167.

first point at which all of the nobles of the kingdom came together to agree on a set of common regulatory codes. After the council, its disciplinary regulations were sent out across the patriarchate of Jerusalem, where they were still found in church archives when William of Tyre was writing decades later.²²⁴ This entire process, both the symbolic gesture of gathering together and the real action of establishing common legislation, would have contributed to the development of a “Jerusalemite” identity and the consolidation of patriarchal, and therefore royal authority over what had previously been little more than a group of disparate lordships loosely associated by varying relationships with the king. The count of Tripoli, who had been regarded previously as a member of this loose confederation of royal vassals, was no longer a part of it.

If Mann’s sociological concepts regarding social power are applied to Nablus, then it can be said that this council saw the beginning of the transition from the king of Jerusalem as a wielder of “extensive” power – “the ability to organize large numbers of people over far-flung territories [...] in minimally stable cooperation” – to a wielder of “intensive” power – “the ability [...] to organize tightly and command a high level of mobilization or commitment from the participants”.²²⁵ Molyneaux has recently applied these concepts to the formation of England. He shows that Anglo-Saxon kings in the tenth century enjoyed extensive theoretical power over the entirety of the British mainland, but by the eleventh-century their government over the narrow territory of England had intensified to the point that their authority in Scotland and Wales had paled into relative insignificance, finally disappearing altogether as an irrelevant anachronism.²²⁶ Nablus was an early stage in a comparable process occurring in the

²²⁴ WT, i, 563-564.

²²⁵ M. Mann, *The Sources of Social Power. Volume 1: A History of Power from the Beginning to AD 1760*, new edn (Cambridge, 2012), p. 7 and *passim*.

²²⁶ G. Molyneaux, ‘Why were some tenth-century English kings presented as rulers of Britain?’, *TRHS*, 21 (2011), pp. 59-91.

Latin East. The king of Jerusalem's hegemony over the region that would later be defined by William of Tyre as the realm, intensified to the extent that those areas over which the king had previously enjoyed "extensive" power as a theoretical sovereign, including Tripoli, were simply left behind. The county did not become independent, so much as fail to be integrated under the king's authority.

Given the importance of Nablus, it is likely not a coincidence that, soon after the council, tension between the king of Jerusalem and the count of Tripoli flared up, almost to the point of bloodshed. Fulcher of Chartres recorded that, in 1122, "*comes, Pontius nomine [...] recusans ei [Baldwin II] obsequi, uti Bertrannus pater eius fecerat*".²²⁷ Intending to avenge the injury and contempt shown by Pons, Baldwin gathered his army at Acre and marched to Tripoli, carrying with him the True Cross.²²⁸ Open war was only avoided and peace established through the mediation of nobles on both sides.²²⁹ This event was of some significance, even warranting a passing mention from one later Arabic chronicler, Kamāl al-Dīn of Aleppo, who wrote simply that the king was engaged "in a litigation" (*fi ḥakūma*) with the count.²³⁰

One key difficulty in discerning Pons's motives here is Fulcher of Chartres's royalist bias in reporting the incident. According to Fulcher, it was Pons who was brought to reason (*comite rationi adsentiente*).²³¹ Evidently in Fulcher's opinion, royal suzerainty over Tripoli was right and proper, whereas Tripolitan independence was irrational. For Fulcher to provide any actual reason for Pons's rebellion would be to acknowledge a possible shortcoming in royal overlordship and to provide Pons's actions with some justification. Fulcher instead depicted the rebellion as baseless,

²²⁷ FC, p. 648.

²²⁸ FC, pp. 647-648.

²²⁹ FC, p. 648.

²³⁰ KD, ii, 204.

²³¹ FC, p. 648.

spontaneous and generally inexplicable. The similarly royalist William of Tyre later expanded upon the apparent spontaneity of the rebellion by blaming an anonymous adviser, influenced in turn by the devil.²³² William's intention may have been to remove the stain of anti-royalism from the grandfather of his friend, sometime patron, and two-time regent of the kingdom, Raymond III.

Compounding the royalist reticence of Fulcher and William, not to mention the probably insufficient knowledge of Kamāl al-Dīn or his source, is the fact that no contemporary specified the nature of Pons's refusal of obedience. It most probably constituted a refusal to support the king on one of his many military expeditions. Richard suggests that Pons rebelled because, although he had at first tolerated the king's frequent demands for military assistance, he had grown increasingly impatient and no longer saw the necessity of royal support, given that he was now tied to the prince of Antioch more than to the king of Jerusalem.²³³ Richard's theory may seem credible on first inspection, but Antioch was being governed in 1122 by none other than Baldwin II, who had held the position of regent since the death of Prince Roger of Antioch at *Ager Sanguinis* in 1119.²³⁴ Therefore, it is impossible to agree with Richard that Pons felt it safe to reject royal authority on the grounds that the prince of Antioch – a vacant position in 1122 – would provide necessary military support. Pons was politically isolated in the East at this time. Baldwin II was ruling both Jerusalem and Antioch, whilst the king's own former county of Edessa was being ruled by Joscelin, who was personally dependent on the king.

Given the political situation, Babcock and Krey suggested that Pons's rebellion in 1122 was in response to an active attempt by Baldwin "to extend his authority over

²³² WT, i, 566.

²³³ *Comté*, pp. 31-32.

²³⁴ WT, i, 562.

Tripoli”, the county being the only obstacle to the king becoming “real ruler of all the Latin states in Syria”, and thereby founding a “Latin empire”.²³⁵ It is worth noting that the context for Fulcher’s depiction of Baldwin II as lord “*ab Aegypto [...] usque Mesopotamiam*”, was indeed the king’s acquisition of the regency of Antioch following the death of Prince Roger in 1119.²³⁶ Certainly Fulcher’s account of Pons’s rebellion hints that royal supremacy over the Latin East was the main issue at stake here. The whole event was framed in these terms by Baldwin himself when he brought with his army the True Cross, the most potent political symbol available to the kings of Jerusalem, other than perhaps the Holy Sepulchre itself.²³⁷ The True Cross was an important relic for Christianity as a whole, but also served as a useful focal point for discipline and morale when on campaign, akin to the sacred battle standards employed elsewhere in contemporary Latin Christendom, such as the Carolingian *oriflamme*.²³⁸ The relic was deployed primarily in times of desperation, but also in offensive campaigns, aimed at “the acquisition of territory which would be incorporated into the kingdom”: a category into which Murray groups the Tripoli incident, albeit without any further elaboration.²³⁹ Gerish has argued that the True Cross was unlike the *oriflamme* in that it was not, and could not be used to enhance the specifically royal authority of the kings of Jerusalem, not least because of the relic’s universal appeal to all Christians.²⁴⁰ Gerish unequivocally states that “no court writer used the True Cross to legitimize royal power.”²⁴¹ Yet this is exactly what Baldwin’s use of it against Count

²³⁵ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. by E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey, 2 vols (New York, 1976), ii, 54 n. 14, 539 n. 55.

²³⁶ FC, p. 635.

²³⁷ FC, p. 648.

²³⁸ Murray, ‘Mighty’, pp. 218-219; D. Gerish, ‘The True Cross and the Kings of Jerusalem’, *The Haskins Society Journal*, 8 (1996), pp. 137-142.

²³⁹ Murray, ‘Mighty’, p. 223.

²⁴⁰ Gerish, ‘True Cross’, pp. 137-155.

²⁴¹ Gerish, ‘True Cross’, p. 149.

Pons implies, although it is the only recorded time that the relic was used against a Latin Christian.²⁴² The derivative Lisiard of Tours restructured Fulcher's narrative in order to imply that the presence of the True Cross at Tripoli was incidental to Pons's rebellion, perhaps because he felt uncomfortable concerning the use of this greatest of relics in such an overtly politicised, inter-Christian squabble.²⁴³ William of Tyre omitted the relic's presence altogether.²⁴⁴

Just three years earlier, following the battle of *Ager Sanguinis*, Fulcher of Chartres had associated Pons closely with the True Cross, describing him as one of the "*socii gloriosae crucis*".²⁴⁵ Such a stark reversal of Pons's position, from ally to enemy of Jerusalem's Cross, is perplexing. The answer may be revealed if the county of Tripoli is treated, not as an independent state, but as a constituent part of the kingdom, affected by the political rhythms of the realm in much the same way as other lordships. Specifically, it may be the case that Pons sided with other barons in the matter of the royal succession. The death of King Baldwin I in 1118 brought about a period of internal crisis for the kingdom of Jerusalem, with the succession disputed. The barons of the kingdom divided into two camps over who should succeed Baldwin I, with one group – the "legitimists" – backing Eustace III of Boulogne, Baldwin's intended heir, and the other – the "pragmatists" – supporting Baldwin of Bourcq, who was count of Edessa and therefore conveniently available in the East.²⁴⁶ Mayer writes that the "worst kind of civil strife in Jerusalem was avoided only because Eustace decided to turn

²⁴² Murray, 'Mighty', p. 234. Murray erroneously identifies the count as Bertrand.

²⁴³ Lisiard of Tours, 'Secunda Pars Historiæ Iherosolimitanæ', *RHC Oc*, iii, 579.

²⁴⁴ WT, i, 566.

²⁴⁵ FC, p. 630.

²⁴⁶ A. V. Murray, 'Baldwin II and His Nobles: Baronial Factionalism and Dissent in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1118-1134', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 38 (1994), pp. 61-65.

around and go home” rather than press his claims.²⁴⁷ Baldwin II’s rule was henceforth overshadowed by fundamental doubts over his legitimacy and by discontent amongst certain barons.²⁴⁸ Murray notes simply that the crisis over legitimacy was an opportune time for Pons’s rebellion.²⁴⁹ However, this view treats Pons as if already the ruler of an independent crusader state, rather than as one of the barons of the kingdom, over which royal power had not yet intensified fully. If seen as one of the loosely confederated barons of the early kingdom, Pons could be grouped amongst the legitimist supporters of Eustace III. This would explain why he apparently believed that his father’s oath to King Baldwin I had not transferred to the pretender Baldwin II. This may also be the reason why Pons chose not to attend the council of Nablus, an early demonstration of the realm’s ostensible unity under Baldwin II.

Although Fulcher implied that Pons’s rebellion came to naught, there is some indication that Pons’s surrender to Baldwin was not entirely unilateral. Fulcher wrote that peace was assured through the intervention of nobles present on *both* sides.²⁵⁰ Perhaps the questions over Baldwin’s legitimacy forced him to pay heed to his nobles, unable to attempt military action against Pons lest it spark a civil war across the entire kingdom, between legitimists and pragmatists. The outcome of this pacific approach was that Pons was apparently not forced to submit formally to royal authority. Had Pons been forced to reaffirm his subordination to the king of Jerusalem, Fulcher would surely have reported it, but the chaplain wrote simply that Baldwin and Pons “*amici facti sunt*”.²⁵¹ Only the derivative Lisiard of Tours elaborated the account to claim that

²⁴⁷ H. E. Mayer, ‘The Succession to Baldwin II of Jerusalem: English Impact on the East’, *DOP*, 39 (1985), p. 139.

²⁴⁸ Murray, ‘Baldwin’, pp. 60-85.

²⁴⁹ Murray, ‘Baldwin’, p. 67; Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 134.

²⁵⁰ FC, p. 648.

²⁵¹ FC, p. 648.

Pons swore a renewed oath formally, although this is unreliable testimony.²⁵² In short, Baldwin did not use violence to push the matter of fealty, probably because he viewed the loss of one lordship, Tripoli, as preferable to the potential loss of many more seditious legitimist domains.

After Nablus and especially Pons's rebellion, the county of Tripoli emerges in the sources as an increasingly independent and distinct polity, with relations between the count and the king of Jerusalem finally approximating Richard's "*vassalité limitée*".²⁵³ Pons and his successors continued to assist the king or his army in joint military expeditions throughout the twelfth century. It is after 1122 that Richard's judgement that the counts' participation in such campaigns was motivated more by a sense of "*solidarité chrétienne [...] entre Francs*" than strict vassalage, finally becomes valid.²⁵⁴ Matthew of Edessa recorded that Pons recognised Baldwin II's supremacy in 1126 upon the arrival of Bohemond II of Antioch in the East, but so did Bohemond himself as well as Joscelin of Edessa.²⁵⁵

After Pons's rebellion, the count of Tripoli and the Tripolitans more generally tended to be acknowledged as a discrete entity, not a part of the royal army. A prime example of this relates to the capture of Tyre on 29 June 1124. William of Tyre wrote that various banners were erected over the city as a sign of victory, with the king's standard over the city gate, the Venetian doge's banners over the so-called Green Tower, and the count of Tripoli's over the tower of "*Tanaria*".²⁵⁶ If William's late account can be trusted, then the fact that Pons erected his own banners, distinct from the royal banner, further suggests that the county of Tripoli now had its own distinct

²⁵² Lisiard, p. 579.

²⁵³ *Comté*, p. 35.

²⁵⁴ *Comté*, pp. 34-35, 37-38.

²⁵⁵ Matthew of Edessa, p. 147.

²⁵⁶ WT, i, 601.

political identity. Fulcher of Chartres limply described Pons as the kingdom's "*adiutor fidelissimus*" at Tyre, in contradistinction to the people of Antioch, who did not even bother to turn up.²⁵⁷ The king's "Latin Empire" in the East was over before it had even begun.

Pons rebelled once again some ten years after his first repudiation of royal authority, when he, together with William *de Sehunna* (Saone/Şahyūn in the principality of Antioch – now Qal'at Şalāḥ al-Dīn²⁵⁸) and Joscelin II of Edessa, lent his support to Princess Alice of Antioch, who was allegedly attempting to seize the principality of Antioch following the death of her father, King Baldwin II, and the succession of Fulk of Anjou.²⁵⁹ This dates the event to sometime after Baldwin's death on 21 August 1131, and very probably to summer 1132, although William of Tyre's account for the reign of King Fulk is notoriously imprecise.²⁶⁰ This date is corroborated by the fact that Ibn al-Qalānisī reported news of an unusually major and violent dispute between the Franks in Muḥarram AH 527 (11 November to 10 December 1132).²⁶¹ Mayer thinks that this is likely to be a reference to Pons's struggle against Fulk, rather than a reference to Hugh II of Jaffa's revolt against Fulk around the same time (1133/34).²⁶² Nevertheless, Hugh's revolt is worthy of note. Just as Pons's first rebellion in 1122 can be linked to discontent surrounding Baldwin II's legitimacy and his expansion of royal power in the north, so too should both Hugh's rebellion and the rebellion of Alice and her allies be seen as expressions of the same dissatisfaction over the autocratic and arbitrary rule of King Fulk. Fulk had made himself unpopular by disinheriting many of the established nobles of the kingdom of Jerusalem – and even

²⁵⁷ FC, p. 739.

²⁵⁸ H. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 84-85.

²⁵⁹ WT, ii, 636.

²⁶⁰ William of Tyre, trans. by Babcock and Krey, ii, 55 n. 15.

²⁶¹ IQ, p. 236.

²⁶² Mayer, 'Studies', p. 104.

some in the principality of Antioch, when ruling it as regent – so as to replace them with his own loyal posse of Angevins.²⁶³ Perhaps Pons's participation in Alice's rebellion was motivated partly by his concern that the same fate of disinheritance would befall him, especially since the incident in 1132 – like his 1122 rebellion – coincided with a time when the authority of the king of Jerusalem threatened to surround the county entirely, with Fulk both king of Jerusalem and regent of Antioch.²⁶⁴ This seems a more satisfactory explanation than William of Tyre's cynical claim that Alice, frequently a target of his unduly harsh criticism, simply bribed Pons and others into lending their support.²⁶⁵

Pons's first significant act during Alice's rebellion was to refuse Fulk and his army passage through the county of Tripoli when the king was travelling north to assist the Antiochene nobility against Alice. Denied the land route, Fulk was forced to take the sea route up to the port of Saint Symeon, where he was given command of the entire principality by the Antiochene nobles.²⁶⁶ Richard points out that kings of Jerusalem had traversed the county on their way to Antioch numerous times previously. He questions whether Fulk took the sea route on this occasion because the count had the legal right to deny access, perhaps according to "*la nature du contrat féodal*" agreed with Count Bertrand back in 1109, or because the king simply did not have the time to enforce the royal prerogative. Richard suggests the latter to be more likely, as Fulk did eventually force Pons into submission, albeit not in the county of Tripoli itself, but in the

²⁶³ H. E. Mayer, 'Angevins versus Normans: The New Men of King Fulk of Jerusalem', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 133 (1989), pp. 1-25; Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. by M. Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford, 1978), vi, 390-393.

²⁶⁴ William of Tyre, trans. by Babcock and Krey, ii, 54 n. 14; T. Asbridge, 'Alice of Antioch: a case study of female power in the twelfth century', in *The Experience of Crusading. Volume Two: Defining the Crusader Kingdom*, ed. by P. W. Edbury and J. Phillips (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 37-38.

²⁶⁵ WT, ii, 636.

²⁶⁶ WT, ii, 636.

principality.²⁶⁷ As Richard writes, there is no indication that Pons was required to reaffirm his former allegiance to the king for the county.²⁶⁸ Fulk's failure to restore royal rule over Tripoli at this time may suggest either that he was over-stretched enough as king of a fractious kingdom and regent of a disputed principality, or that the crown of Jerusalem now recognised tacitly the county of Tripoli's *de facto* independence. In William of Tyre's account of an incident just five years later, when Fulk had to rescue Pons's son and successor Raymond II near Rafaniyya, the chronicler referred to this as being "*in finibus Tripolitanis*" and "*in exteris regionibus*", implicitly distinct from the "*regnum*" from which Fulk levied his troops on this occasion.²⁶⁹

Thus, over a decade before the Second Crusade arrived, which in turn inspired William of Tyre decades later still to describe the Latin East as four separate "principalities", the Latin East was recognisably comprised of the four familiar crusader states. William emphasised the fault lines between these states as the participants of the Second Crusade reached Syria, not only through his composition of his quadripartite outline, but also in his account of how Patriarch Fulcher of Jerusalem was sent "*ad partes [...] Tripolitanas*" to ensure that King Louis VII of France did not stop there to help his cousin, Raymond II, but rather continued on his southwards journey to assist the kingdom.²⁷⁰ This suggests that contemporary awareness of the *de facto* divisions, which had emerged between the polities in the Latin East gradually throughout the first half of the twelfth century, only rose to the surface at extraordinary times of internal division, and that the particularly intense competition surrounding the Second Crusade did much to crystallise the borders, hitherto acknowledged only implicitly.

²⁶⁷ Comté, pp. 35-36.

²⁶⁸ Comté, p. 32.

²⁶⁹ WT, ii, 663-664, 667.

²⁷⁰ WT, ii, 756. Raymond's mother was Cecilia of France, Louis's aunt.

It is after the Second Crusade that more plentiful evidence for the division of the Latin East into four – three following the final loss of the county of Edessa in 1150 – can be found. In the last few months of 1162, Baldwin III spent some time at Tripoli, trying but ultimately failing to recover from an alleged poisoning. When the king sensed that the end was near, he commanded himself to be carried away from Tripoli. William of Tyre did not state what Baldwin’s aim was in giving this curious instruction, but the fact that he stopped as soon as he was in Beirut, south of the border, suggests that the king wished to die in his own realm, which he soon did, on 10 February 1163.²⁷¹ When King Baldwin IV made a truce with Saladin just after Easter 1180, it apparently did not apply to Tripoli, since Saladin invaded the county in the summer of that year.²⁷² Fiscal boundaries matched these “international boundaries”, as is indicated by the so-called Saladin tax, raised from everyone in the kingdom of Jerusalem capable of paying, in February 1183.²⁷³ The document instituting the tax specified that it was only to be collected in the cities between Jerusalem in the south and Beirut in the north.²⁷⁴ Although original, fully independent copies of this document do not survive, its style as it appears in William’s chronicle suggests that it was inserted verbatim, permitting its use here as a quasi-external, neutral control on William’s own quadripartite model.

VIII. Memories of bipartism

The original bipartite division of the Latin East retained some conceptual and practical relevance, long after the rebellious rule of Count Pons. Pseudo-Fretellus wrote in the

²⁷¹ WT, ii, 859-860; Mayer, *Varia*, p. 54.

²⁷² WT, ii, 1008.

²⁷³ WT, ii, 1043-1046.

²⁷⁴ WT, ii, 1045-1046.

1150s as if the “Albana” river remained the northern border of the kingdom of Jerusalem.²⁷⁵ In 1145, upon the eve of the Second Crusade, King Baldwin III of Jerusalem and his mother Queen Melisende, Prince Raymond of Antioch and his wife Constance, all gave their consent to Raymond II’s famous donation to the Hospital a year before, of large swathes of land on the county’s eastern frontier, including the future Crac des Chevaliers.²⁷⁶ Richard believes that the royal presence here is explained by the fact the donation included lands “*pour lesquelles un hommage théorique était dû au roi*”, whilst the Antiochene presence is explained by the fact that “*Le Crat resta un fief de la principauté d’Antioche*”: oblique references to the Adhémar decree, even though Richard otherwise denies this document’s significance.²⁷⁷

Bohemond III reconfirmed the same donation of Crac in 1170, during Raymond III of Tripoli’s captivity, although this act survives only indirectly in one of the poor summaries by Raybaud, the fifteenth-century archivist of the Hospitallers’ grand priory of Saint-Gilles.²⁷⁸ The only surviving document issued by King Amalric in the capacity of “*Tripolis comitatum procurans*”, which directly relates to the county of Tripoli, dealt with the rebuilding of ‘Arqa and Gibelacar, following the destructive earthquake of June 1170.²⁷⁹ Both of these settlements were to the south of al-Nahr al-Kabīr al-Janūbī, whereas Crac was to the north. Perhaps Bohemond administered the northern half of the county during Raymond’s captivity, whilst King Amalric only administered the southern region.

The very fact that later authors like Ernoul felt it necessary to clarify that the county of Tripoli was not part of the kingdom of Jerusalem, suggests that there

²⁷⁵ See above, pp. 95-97.

²⁷⁶ *RRH*, no. 236; *CGOH*, i, no. 160.

²⁷⁷ *Comté*, pp. 36, 40-41.

²⁷⁸ *RRH Add.*, no. 483a; *CGOH*, i, no. 414. Cf. *Comté*, p. 41 n. 1.

²⁷⁹ *RRH*, no. 477; *CGOH*, i, no. 411.

remained some confusion over this matter in the late twelfth century.²⁸⁰ Even John of Ibelin's late assertion that Tripoli had been one of the baronies of the kingdom of Jerusalem may be reconciled with the evidence. It is true that he was writing in the 1260s, but this was only thirty years after the Adhémar decree had been copied into the cartulary of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre.²⁸¹ Perhaps the thirteenth century saw a renewed awareness of the original bipartite division of the Latin East. The constitutional status of the county *vis-à-vis* the kingdom remained persistently ambiguous and disputed.

IX. Geography, Communication and Power

Having dealt with the question of *when*, it remains to provide an explanation for *why* the county of Tripoli was able to emerge as an independent polity, free from much of the intensive authority of either the king of Jerusalem or the prince of Antioch. Richard's emphasis on the cultural background of the ruling "*dynastie toulousaine*" – distinct from the Lotharingians and Normans, with the added Occitan aversion to feudal hierarchies – is insufficient. A "Provençal" identity apparently did not prevent the county forming part of the kingdom of Jerusalem in the first two decades after the First Crusade, despite this being when such an identity was probably at its strongest.²⁸² Furthermore, historians of western Europe are well aware that an aversion to "feudal" hierarchy was hardly unique to the counts of Toulouse at this time, but common to relations between the Capetian king and all the great princes of his theoretical realm, be

²⁸⁰ Ernoul, p. 27; *Estoires*, p. 92.

²⁸¹ *CCSSJ*, p. 12.

²⁸² See Chapter Two.

they Occitan, Norman, Angevin or Burgundian.²⁸³ There was nothing peculiarly southern French about ignoring one's monarch in the European *mentalités* of the eleventh century, imported to the Latin East of the twelfth century. Obviously the personal agency of Count Pons, demonstrated by his evident willingness to oppose the king of Jerusalem, is important, but cannot explain the situation alone, given that other rebellious lords in the kingdom – such as Tancred of Galilee and Hugh II of Jaffa – were not successful in seizing or preserving independence.

It is argued here that the single most convincing explanation for the county's autonomy lies not in imported Franco-Provençal culture or personal choice, but in local geographic context. Richard's anthropocentric, even colonialist interpretation thoroughly neglects this. One clue to the contemporary awareness of geography's importance lies in the fact that (pseudo-)Adhémar and William of Tyre both used topographic reference points – primarily rivers – to demarcate the internal borders of the Latin East.²⁸⁴ The simple fact of Tripoli's distance from the other centres of power is another important consideration, not least since other potentially rebellious lordships in the kingdom – Galilee and Jaffa foremost – were more easily accessible from Jerusalem. The ambitious state-builder Baldwin I of Jerusalem was well aware of the need to improve communication across this distance by removing whatever additional human obstacles lay between the centre and periphery of his realm. Further to this, he

²⁸³ K. F. Werner, 'Kingdom and principality in twelfth-century France', in *The Medieval Nobility: Studies on the ruling classes of France and Germany from the sixth to the twelfth century*, ed. and trans. by T. Reuter, Europe in the Middle Ages: Selected Studies, 14 (Amsterdam, 1979), pp. 244-246, 249-250 and *passim*; S. Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford, 1994), *passim*; S. Reynolds, 'Fiefs and Vassals in Twelfth-Century Jerusalem: a View from the West', *Crusades*, 1 (2002), pp. 31, 34-36.

²⁸⁴ WT, ii, 756; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Lat. 7241, f.3v; CCSSJ, no. 89.

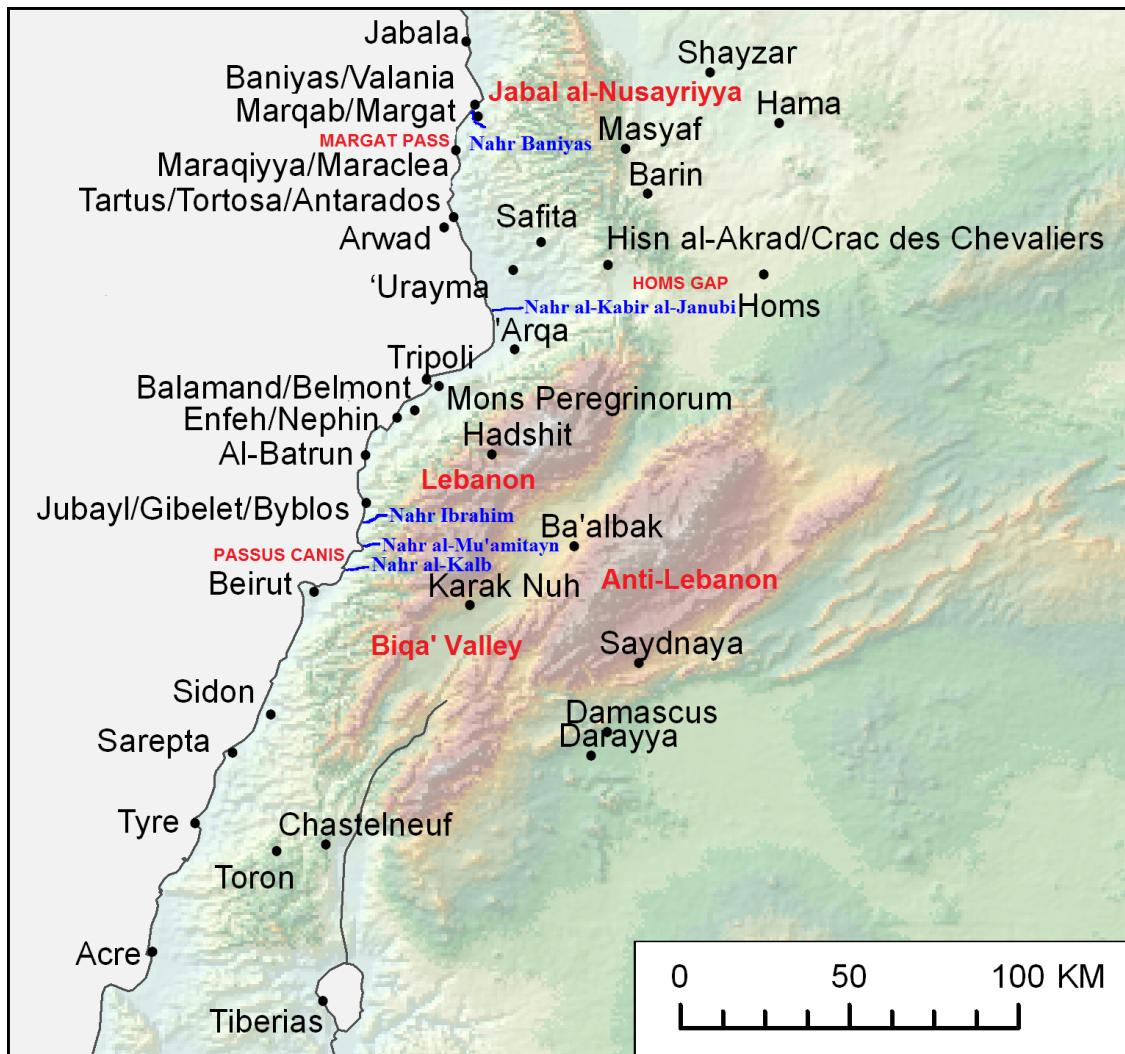
and Count Bertrand of Tripoli directed two military expeditions at cities lying between Tripoli and the rest of the kingdom of Jerusalem, namely Beirut and Sidon in 1110.²⁸⁵

Some obstacles could not be so easily removed, and communication was affected by more than simply the military and political dominance of territory. Previous scholars like Deschamps have focused on the role of geography in determining the crusader states' frontiers – defined primarily by the position of fortifications – with neighbouring Muslim polities.²⁸⁶ Richard is aware that the Syrian mountains of Lebanon and al-Nuṣayriyya were partly responsible for the shape of the county, although he focuses exclusively upon the eastern frontier with neighbouring Islamic territories, which was defined by the Gap of Homs, a trough where the two ranges failed to meet fully. Everything from traders to armies could pass into and out of the county with relative ease through this pass, which came to be controlled by the Hospitallers' fortress of Crac des Chevaliers and the Templars' castle of *Chastel Blanc* (Ṣāfīthā). Thus in Richard's opinion, the Homs Gap was "*Le fait essentiel qui a déterminé la formation du comté de Tripoli, au point de vue géographique*".²⁸⁷ This is a valid, but narrow assessment of the two mountains, since they also determined the borders between the crusader states themselves, to the north and south of the county.

²⁸⁵ FC, pp. 534-536; AA, pp. 786-788, 804-808; IQ, p. 174.

²⁸⁶ For example: Deschamps, *Châteaux*, i [Texte], 14-42; Deschamps, *Châteaux*, iii [Texte], 3-4, 7-8, 12-13, 14-34, 35-43.

²⁸⁷ *Comté*, p. 1.



Map 5. The county of Tripoli and the northern kingdom of Jerusalem.

Contemporaries were well aware that the Lebanon and al-Nuṣayriyya came down to meet the Mediterranean at the northern and southern borders of the county, in such a way as to leave only narrow passes between land and sea, which in turn hindered communication and transport between the county and its neighbours. The narrow pass on the county's southern border even had a special toponym, the "*Passus Canis*" or "*la Pas dou Chien*", in reference to the "*flumen canis*" (*Nahr al-Kalb*).²⁸⁸ This marked the southern boundary of the county in William of Tyre's classic quadripartite scheme and also the *de facto* border between the patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem. The

²⁸⁸ BMS, p. 27; Marino Sanudo, p. 245; *CGOH*, iii, no. 3396. See above, p. 52.

narrow width of *Passus Canis* in the south and what will be termed here the Margat Pass in the north, facilitated the restriction and control of communication between the county and its Latin Christian neighbours, enabling the region that lay between the two passes to become an integrated whole, distinct from both the kingdom of Jerusalem and the principality of Antioch.

Numerous contemporaries made special note of the extremely narrow width and mountainous terrain of these passes as they observed and used them. The anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* had the following to say in relation to the road between Tripoli and Jubayl:

<i>transivimus [...] per montem, in quo est via nimis angusta, et illic putavimus inimicos insidiantes nobis invenire.</i> ²⁸⁹	We crossed through the mountain, in which is an exceedingly narrow road, and in that place we thought that enemies lying in wait would find us.
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Similarly, Peter Tudebode reported the crusaders travelling “*per artam viam et arduam*” between Tripoli and Batrūn.²⁹⁰ It is in relation to navigating this treacherous, mountainous territory around Jubayl and Beirut, in and around *Passus Canis*, that contemporaries frequently made the claim that the crusaders were reliant upon the guidance of locals. Albert of Aachen recorded that Ibn ‘Ammār, *qāḍī* of Tripoli, provided the crusaders with a guide and safe passage through the mountains. The guide led them through the following:

<i>uia reflexa per angustas fauces montis tam arta semita [...] ut uix homo post hominem, animal post animal incederet.</i> ²⁹¹	a road twisted through the constricted straits of the mountain, so tight a path that only barely might one man after another, one animal after another, march.
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²⁸⁹ *GF*, pp. 440-441.

²⁹⁰ *PT*, p. 133.

²⁹¹ *AA*, p. 388.

Fulcher of Chartres claimed that the same Ibn ‘Ammār warned the southbound Baldwin I of Edessa in 1100 of various “Saracens” who were in a “*meatus artissimus* [...] *iuxta mare in via publica*”.²⁹² Fulcher added that only 100 or even 60 armed men would be able to block this winding pass against 100,000 knights.²⁹³ The anonymous *Historia et Gesta Ducis Gotfridi* contains an adapted version of Baldwin’s journey south, in which the count refused to travel along the “*trames angustissimus inter rupes et littora maris*” at night, and sent scouts ahead as soon as the light of dawn permitted.²⁹⁴

In the thirteenth century, Burchard of Mount Sion described the mountains around Tripoli and noted that, “*Interdum ita accedit ad mare, quod locus est immeabilis omnino*”.²⁹⁵ The derivative Marino Sanudo wrote that, “*interdum [...] ita accedit ad mare, vt nulla relinquitur via*”.²⁹⁶ In relation to *Passus Canis* specifically, Burchard stated the following:

<i>est locus immeabilis per terram, nisi de Sarracenorum uoluntate. Pauci enim ibi uiri prohiberent transitum de facili toti mundo.</i> ²⁹⁷	It is a place impassable by land, unless by the will of the Saracens. Indeed only a few men there might forbid passage without difficulty to the whole world.
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Marino added:

<i>inter montem enim præruptum & mare, est via nequaquā latior .I. torse; longitudo</i>	Between the steep mountain and the sea, is a road no wider than one <i>torse</i> ; in length
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²⁹² FC, pp. 356-357.

²⁹³ FC, p. 358.

²⁹⁴ ‘Anonymi Rhenani, *Historia et Gesta Ducis Gotfridi, seu Historia de Obsidione Terræ Sanctæ, Anno MXCVI*’, *RHC Oc*, v, 502.

²⁹⁵ BMS, p. 27.

²⁹⁶ Marino Sanudo, p. 155.

²⁹⁷ BMS, p. 27.

*verò eius quasi ad quartam partem vnius leucae extenditur.*²⁹⁸ it extends certainly for about a quarter of a league.

The recurrence of such narrative themes in relation to this region between Tripoli and Beirut, from the twelfth century onwards, demonstrates well the risks in travelling through it.

There were a number of recorded occasions on which the narrowness of *Passus Canis* actually permitted the restriction of travel, although it was more frequent for Christians to forbid access to other Christians, than for Muslims to do so, as contemporaries feared. Most relevant to the county of Tripoli's independence from Jerusalem is Pons's participation in Alice's rebellion of 1132. The first action taken by the count against King Fulk of Jerusalem was to refuse him and his army passage through the county as he travelled north to assist the Antiochene nobility against Alice; Fulk was thus forced to circumvent the count's domains by taking the sea route up the coast.²⁹⁹ It is not stated explicitly that the narrow *Passus Canis* facilitated the obstruction of the king, but it is likely, given the topography of the region and Fulk's decision to sail around, rather than seek an alternative land route.

In the dark days between Ḥaṭṭīn (1187) and the arrival of the French and English contingents of the Third Crusade (1189), the actions of certain individuals indicate a real awareness of the defensive benefits provided by the narrow southern approach to the county. After his ignominious retreat from Ḥaṭṭīn, Raymond III fled first to Tyre and then, when this city's security was threatened by Saladin's capture of Beirut to the north, sailed to Tripoli, believing it to be more secure.³⁰⁰ Imād al-Dīn added that

²⁹⁸ Marino Sanudo, p. 245.

²⁹⁹ WT, ii, 636.

³⁰⁰ Ernoul, pp. 170, 178; *Estoires*, pp. 197, 200; *Cont.* Morgan, p. 54; *Eracles*, pp. 65, 71; BD, p. 77; AS, iii, 189; IA, xi, 537-538, 543; *Magistri Tolosani Chronicon Faventinum* [AA. 20 av. C.-1236], ed. by G. Rossini, Raccolta degli Storici Italiani dal

Raymond's wife Eschiva later joined him at Tripoli, after surrendering her untenable position at Tiberias to Saladin.³⁰¹ Nor was it only the count and his wife who fled to Tripoli. Ernoul recorded how a large number of anonymous refugees fled Saladin's conquests and arrived at Tripoli, only to be denied access by the count and preyed upon by brigands.³⁰² Raymond III's cruelty towards the refugees in this story may be an interpolated fiction constructed by one of his many critics following his role in the disastrous events of 1187. However, there is no reason to doubt the basic context, that refugees did head north to Tripoli. Indeed, Balian of Ibelin requested and received permission from Saladin at Ascalon in 1187 to take his wife and children to Tripoli, perhaps deliberately following his friend Raymond III.³⁰³

The various refugees were justified in their decision to flee to Tripoli, secure beyond *Passus Canis*. Saladin's invasions in 1187 ultimately reached only as far as Beirut, the northernmost city in the kingdom of Jerusalem. Jubayl in the south of the county did pass under Saladin's nominal control at this time, but only because the city's Latin lord Hugh III Embriaco, who had been captured at Ḥaṭṭīn, traded it in return for his freedom.³⁰⁴ A small Kurdish garrison was established, but Bahā' al-Dīn and Ibn al-Athīr implied that the main army remained at Beirut.³⁰⁵ 'Imād al-Dīn suggested the same, stating poetically that, "the city of Jubayl was conquered; over it the conquest pulled its hemline" (*mulikat madīnat jubayl wa-jarrat 'alay-hā al-futūḥ al-dhayl*).³⁰⁶ The Chronicle of Ernoul and some variants of the *Eracles* claim that Saladin also

cinquecento al millecinecento ordinata da L. A. Muratori, Tomo XXVIII – Parte I. *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (Bologna, 1936-1947), p. 106.

³⁰¹ 'ID, p. 28; AS, iii, 185-186. For the claim that she went to meet her husband at Tyre first, see: *Estoires*, p. 198.

³⁰² Ernoul, p. 231.

³⁰³ Ernoul, pp. 186-187.

³⁰⁴ 'ID, p. 112; IA, xi, 543; AS, iii, 207-208. Cf. BD, p. 80; Ernoul, p. 178.

³⁰⁵ BD, p. 80; IA, xi, 543. For the surrender of the Kurdish garrison, see: Yāqūt, ii, 109; Ernoul, p. 305; AS, iv, 246; AS *Dhayl*, p. 4.

³⁰⁶ 'ID, p. 41.

captured Batrūn, with Richard suggesting that it was surrendered by its lord Plivain on similar terms to Jubayl, since he, like Hugh Embriaco, had been captured at Ḥaṭṭīn.³⁰⁷ It is again unlikely that the bulk of Saladin's army would have headed north for such a diplomatic surrender. Furthermore, Ernoul's account is uncorroborated. Indeed, 'Imād al-Dīn explicitly stated in a letter that Jubayl was the *only* place in the county captured by Saladin, whilst Batrūn does not appear in the extensive lists of places conquered by Saladin, which were inserted into the sultan's two Arabic biographies.³⁰⁸ When the sultan eventually did invade the county fully in 1188, he directed his attack via the broader Homs gap instead.³⁰⁹ Saladin never risked *Passus Canis* personally.

In May 1188, Guy of Lusignan was released from prison and made Tripoli into his temporary headquarters, his bitter rival Raymond having died there the previous summer.³¹⁰ Guy was joined in the county by his wife Sybil at Arwād, and by his brother Geoffrey and a disparate mix of European pilgrims, Sicilian sailors and *pullani* exiles at Tripoli itself.³¹¹ Patriarch Heraclius of Jerusalem joined Guy there also, probably having travelled with Queen Sybil.³¹² From here, Guy and his men launched numerous raids on the neighbouring Muslim-held areas.³¹³ In selecting Tripoli as his temporary base of operations, Guy had at least three motivations. Firstly, his latest rival, Conrad of Montferrat, had based himself at Tyre and was refusing Guy and his supporters entry

³⁰⁷ Ernoul, p. 178; *Estoires*, p. 200; *Eracles*, p. 71; Richard, *The Crusades*, p. 209; *Comté*, p. 23 n. 4. But cf. Richard, 'Les comtes', p. 213.

³⁰⁸ AS, iv, 34; 'ID, p. 111; BD, p. 248.

³⁰⁹ Ernoul, pp. 251-254; *Estoires*, pp. 205-206; *Cont. Morgan*, pp. 85-86; *Eracles*, pp. 119-122; 'ID, pp. 130-134; BD, pp. 86-88; IA, xii, 6-8; AS, iv, 5.

³¹⁰ *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi; Auctore, ut-videtur, Ricardo, Canonico Sanctæ Trinitatis Londoniensis*, ed. W. Stubbs, *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, 1 (London, 1864), pp. 25-26, 60; Ernoul, pp. 252-253, 256-257.

³¹¹ *IP* Stubbs, pp. 25-26; Ernoul, p. 257.

³¹² Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 83.

³¹³ *IP* Stubbs, p. 60.

into this last outpost of the kingdom.³¹⁴ Secondly, Guy seems to have acquired a positive relationship at this time with the dynasty of Antioch, inheritors of the county from the late Raymond III.³¹⁵ Thirdly, Tripoli was free of any effective secular rule in the years immediately after Raymond III's death, given that Prince Bohemond III was too preoccupied by his struggle with King Leon II of Cilician Armenia. An opportunity to unite Tripoli and Antioch only presented itself fully in 1219.³¹⁶ A fourth motive may be added. King Guy probably recognised the inherent defensibility of the county, as had his old rival Raymond III some months earlier.

The county of Tripoli, safe beyond *Passus Canis*, also served as a convenient and safe refuge during peacetime for those excluded from, or opposed to the mainstream political community in the kingdom of Jerusalem. Following his apparent participation in the failed revolt of Hugh II of Jaffa against King Fulk in 1133/34, Ralph of Fontanelli, a former vassal of both Baldwin I and Baldwin II, took refuge at the court of the anti-Angevin Alice of Antioch in Latakia, appearing there in 1134 and 1135.³¹⁷ Subsequently, he can be found at Tripoli, in the company of Raymond II, never appearing in the kingdom again.³¹⁸ It is possible that Ralph went to Tripoli during Pons's lifetime, given that Pons, like his ally Alice, was no friend of Fulk. Even the king of Jerusalem found himself excluded from the kingdom's governing classes and thus dependent upon the support offered by the "foreign" court of Tripoli. When overseeing the sale of what remained of the county of Edessa to the Byzantines in 1150, Baldwin III had relied upon the military assistance of Raymond II and his knights in

³¹⁴ *IP* Stubbs, p. 26; Ernoul, pp. 256-257; 'ID, p. 180.

³¹⁵ *IP* Stubbs, pp. 25-26.

³¹⁶ Mayer, 'Latin East', p. 663.

³¹⁷ Mayer, 'Angevins', pp. 16-17; *RRH*, nos 148, 150; *RRH Add.*, no. 151a.

³¹⁸ *RRH*, nos 212, 236.

“*partes [...] Tripolitanas*”, after a sizeable chunk of the realm’s nobility had refused his summons, aligning themselves with Baldwin’s mother and rival Queen Melisende.³¹⁹

Passus Canis not only restricted entry to the county, but also entry to the kingdom *from* the county, as attested by four recorded incidents in the twelfth century. Following the siege of Tripoli in 1109, Count Bertrand travelled from his recently captured city to aid King Baldwin in besieging Beirut, sailing to avoid the “*angusta fauce montium [...] et uix commeabili*”, beyond which Beirut was located:³²⁰ a fine example of the problems of land-based communication between the heartlands of the kingdom and the outlying county in the earliest days of Latin settlement. In 1160, Pope Alexander III sent the papal legate and cardinal priest John to the crusader states, seeking to gain the support of the eastern Latin patriarchates in the papal schism that had developed following the death of Hadrian IV in 1159. John landed at Jubayl but was prevented from travelling to Beirut in the kingdom of Jerusalem because the ecclesiastics of the Church of Jerusalem had yet to decide where their loyalties lay.³²¹ A similar incident can be seen in relation to the count of Tripoli himself in April 1182, when King Baldwin IV and some of his advisors, suspicious of Raymond III’s intentions, forbade him from entering the kingdom via *Passus Canis*, forcing him to turn back to Tripoli after reaching only as far as Jubayl.³²² Finally, Bahā’ al-Dīn reported that Frederick of Swabia during the Third Crusade had reached Tripoli by foot, but then had decided to take ship for Acre, specifically to avoid “the narrow defiles of the roads” (*maḍāyiq al-ṭuruq*).³²³ This must refer to the area around *Passus Canis*, no doubt exacerbated by the fact that Jubayl was in Muslim control at the time. Frederick’s

³¹⁹ WT, ii, 780.

³²⁰ AA, p. 786.

³²¹ WT, ii, 852-853.

³²² WT, ii, 1019.

³²³ BD, p. 139.

actions recall those of King Fulk half a century before and of Count Bertrand decades before that, sailing to avoid the restrictive land passage.

Beirut evidently had great strategic importance in the relations between the county of Tripoli and the kingdom of Jerusalem. As noted, Baldwin I and Bertrand made this city, together with Sidon, a vital target for military expeditions in 1110, presumably to facilitate communication between the county and the kingdom.³²⁴ According to Albert of Aachen, Bertrand was the one to recommend its capture to his new lord Baldwin.³²⁵ Many decades later, when relations between the count of Tripoli and the king of Jerusalem had reached a low ebb, control over Beirut and its surrounding regions was key. Riley-Smith argues that Baldwin IV hoped to create a buffer zone against Raymond III of Tripoli, by acquiring in October 1180 the fiefs of Toron and Chastelneuf through his half-sister Isabel's arranged betrothal to Humphrey IV of Toron.³²⁶ Baldwin's new acquisitions created a large crown-controlled territory stretching from Beirut and Sidon to Chastelneuf and Toron, which allowed communication to be cut between Raymond's two power-bases of Tripoli and Galilee, the latter acquired through his marriage to Eschiva of Tiberias.

The strategic importance of Beirut, where communication between the county of Tripoli and the kingdom of Jerusalem via *Passus Canis* could be controlled, is evident again in Raymond III's own fixation upon it. The Chronicle of Ernoul and the closely related *Eracles* texts record that one of the four conditions set upon Raymond's appointment as regent on behalf of Baldwin V in early 1185 was his acquisition of the fief of Beirut.³²⁷ Beirut was later seized by Raymond's rival Joscelin III of Edessa in

³²⁴ FC, pp. 534-536, 543-548; AA, pp. 786-788, 804-808; IQ, p. 174. See above, pp. 116-117.

³²⁵ AA, p. 786.

³²⁶ Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, p. 105.

³²⁷ Ernoul, p. 117; *Estoires*, p. 178; *Cont. Morgan*, p. 21; *Eracles*, p. 8.

1186, only for the infuriated Raymond to demand its return from King Guy, a request which was granted.³²⁸ Hamilton describes Raymond's acquisition of Beirut as the only condition upon his regency that was "in any way favourable" to him, since it provided him with economic compensation for his efforts.³²⁹ To this should be added a geographic, strategic consideration. Unlike Galilee, Beirut was contiguous with the county of Tripoli. Despite Richard's claim that "*Raymond III eut uni à son comté la principauté de Galilée*", it seems that these two polities always remained separate, with discrete social and administrative frameworks.³³⁰ Had Raymond been successful in holding Beirut in the long-term, then he may have been able to unite the lordships of Tripoli and Beirut, as his grandfather Pons had managed to do with the discrete but contiguous fiefs north and south of al-Nahr al-Kabīr al-Janūbī. More immediately, Beirut controlled the main thoroughfare between the county and the kingdom, a point that would not have been lost on Raymond, who had been prevented from entering the county at this very location in 1182.

The preceding discussion of Beirut reveals a shortcoming in the historiographical tendency to study the crusader states in complete isolation from one another. In his biography of Raymond III's career in the kingdom of Jerusalem, Marshall Baldwin declared that, "With a few exceptions, Raymond's activities in Tripolis had no bearing upon his career in the kingdom of Jerusalem. It has consequently seemed advisable largely to omit local Tripolitan affairs from this biography."³³¹ A decade later, Richard mirrored Baldwin's methodology, writing, "*Pour les mésaventures de Raymond III, candidat au trône de Jérusalem, nous nous*

³²⁸ Ernoul, pp. 130, 136-137, 142; *Estoires*, pp. 185, 190, 192; *Cont.* Morgan, pp. 31, 34-35, 36-37; *Eracles*, pp. 26, 35.

³²⁹ Hamilton, *Leper King*, p. 207.

³³⁰ *Comté*, p. 72. See above, p. 92.

³³¹ Baldwin, *Raymond* (1936), p. vii.

*sommes contenté de renvoyer à l'ouvrage de M. Baldwin, Raymond III of Tripolis.*³³²

In fact, it is only possible to appreciate fully the significance of the disputes over Beirut in the mid-1180s, if one considers Raymond's motives in light of both his Tripolitan career and his Jerusalemite one. He was after all one man, not two.

It is clear then that *Passus Canis* was a geographical feature of the utmost importance to the county, providing a natural frontier between two "crusader states" that had been envisaged initially as one integrated entity. The narrow width of *Passus Canis* consistently enabled the arbitrary restriction of communication between the county and the kingdom. Furthermore, it ensured the integrity of both the county of Tripoli and the kingdom of Jerusalem, defining and protecting each against the other. The route crossing the northern border of the county, shared with the principality of Antioch, served a similar function. This was defined again by a narrow pass – the Margat Pass – between the Mediterranean and the mountains, Jabāl al-Nuṣayriyya in this case. Admittedly, the Margat Pass is rather wider than *Passus Canis*, which perhaps explains the more frequent intertwining of people on either side of the border. For example, the Mazoir family of Margat, right on the border, married into the comital dynasty of Tripoli via Pons's daughter Agnes, and in the mid-twelfth century the Mazoirs were lords of Maraqiyya in the county, as well as of Valania and Margat itself in the principality.³³³ Nevertheless, there are indications that the northern pass played some part in delimiting the county and the principality. In 1307, Hayton of Gorgios wrote that the pass was difficult to traverse on account of its narrow width, and that any hostile forces could block access to travellers with ease.³³⁴ Over a century earlier, 'Imād

³³² *Comté*, p. ii.

³³³ J. Burgdorf, 'The Hospitaller Lordship of Margat', in *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. by Ciggaar et al., ii, 12, 14.

³³⁴ 'Hayton. La Flor des Estoires de la Terre d'Orient', *RHC Ar*, ii, 249; 'Haytonus. Flos Historiarum Terre Orientis', *RHC Ar*, ii, 360.

al-Dīn described the problems faced by Saladin in 1188 when he marched his army along the coastal road between the county of Tripoli and the principality of Antioch:

*kāna jawāz-nā ilā jabala ‘alā al-sāhil tahta ḥiṣn al-marqab, wa-huwa ma‘qil li-l-isbitāriyya ‘ālī [corr. ‘alā] al-mankib, sāmī al-marqī wa-al-marqab, ḍayyiq al-madhab, ‘asir al-maṭlab, fa-lam yakun budd min ‘ubūr dhalik al-madīq, wa-sulūk tilka al-ṭarīq.*³³⁵ Our journey to Jabala on the coast went under the castle of Marqab (Margat), which is a fortress of the Hospitallers on the highland, an elevated place and lofty watchtower, narrow of road, difficult to obtain, but it was unavoidable to traverse that strait and to follow that road.

A Sicilian fleet anchored just off the coast made the negotiation of this pass even more difficult, but Saladin devised a simple yet effective solution, erecting palisades along the road’s seaward side as protection against the barrage of Sicilian arrows.³³⁶ This account provided the basis for Ibn al-Athīr’s note that, “the road [under Margat] is a narrow defile, through which none pass except one after the other” (*al-ṭarīq maḍīq lā yasluku-hu illā al-wāḥid ba‘da al-wāḥid*).³³⁷ This is remarkably similar to Albert of Aachen’s description of men passing “*homo post hominem*” through *Passus Canis*.³³⁸

The counts of Tripoli encountered difficulty in extending their authority beyond the Margat Pass in a significant or permanent way, just as Raymond III had struggled to do in the kingdom of Jerusalem. Pons’s attempts to use his wife Cecilia’s dower fortresses of *Arcicanum* and *Rugia* – to the north of the Margat Pass – during Alice of Antioch’s rebellion against King Fulk in 1132 had been a source of particular resentment amongst the Antiochene nobles.³³⁹ This incident may suggest a jealous hardening of territorial conceptions along lines more closely resembling the quadripartite model. In other words, the Antiochene nobles were indignant at Pons’s use

³³⁵ ID, p. 134.

³³⁶ ID, p. 135; AS, iv, 11-12.

³³⁷ IA, xii, 7.

³³⁸ AA, p. 388.

³³⁹ WT, ii, 636-637.

of *Arcicanum* and *Rugia*, but presumably not his use of Tortosa, Maraqqiyya and Crac, three other theoretical Antiochene fiefs. Tancred had granted these to Pons in 1112, which meant that they had been acquired around the same time as *Arcicanum* and *Rugia*, received through his marriage to Tancred's widow Cecilia, c.1112-15.³⁴⁰ This incident thus prefigures the difficulties Raymond III had in acquiring land and prestige in the kingdom of Jerusalem, beyond *Passus Canis*. Both Riley-Smith and Hamilton believe that the barons of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and even Baldwin IV himself, were deeply suspicious and distrustful of Raymond III, and regularly strove to prevent his acquisition of power, influence, office, and land.³⁴¹ Therefore, the Margat Pass and *Passus Canis* influenced the geo-politics of the Latin East in a parallel fashion, defining and protecting the county of Tripoli against its neighbours and *vice versa*. Contemporary awareness of these geographical constraints suggests that there is something more to the concept of "natural frontiers" than Ellenblum's criticism of it as the product of nationalist and colonialist anachronism would allow.³⁴²

X. Continuity of Geography and Power

Any argument that gives primacy to geographical factors must take into account historical precedent, since it would follow that the durable configuration of the

³⁴⁰ William of Malmesbury and William of Tyre claimed that Tancred gave his wife Cecilia to Pons on his deathbed, that is in 1112. WM, p. 700; WT, i, 522. According to Albert of Aachen, Cecilia's marriage to Pons did not take place until summer 1115 and happened on the initiative of King Baldwin. AA, p. 854. The divide between the accounts may be bridged by suggesting that Pons and Cecilia were betrothed in 1112 on the advice of, or with the consent of Tancred, but that the marriage itself did not take place until 1115.

³⁴¹ Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, pp. 104-105; Hamilton, *Leper King*, esp. pp. 41, 88, 90, 93, 118, 194, 205-207. For a more sympathetic view of Raymond's career in the kingdom, see: Baldwin, *Raymond* (1936), *passim*.

³⁴² Ellenblum, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 127-129.

mountains would have a similar impact upon polity formation throughout history. The failure of the external powers of the kingdom of Jerusalem and the principality of Antioch to overcome geography and thus re-establish or maintain a bipartite Near East according to the precedent of the mid-eleventh century, nonetheless reflects a slightly later eleventh-century precedent, following the withdrawal of the centralised powers of Byzantine Constantinople and Fāṭimid Cairo in the decades immediately prior to the First Crusade. The Byzantine Empire's frontier was pushed back from Tortosa deep into Asia Minor by Saljūq aggression, particularly after the battle of Manzikert in 1071.³⁴³ Meanwhile, the viability of the Fāṭimid state was undermined by various ecological and human factors, not least the aggressive resurgence of Sunnī 'Abbāsīd power under the Saljūqs.³⁴⁴ The result of the withdrawal of the Byzantines and the Fāṭimids from Syria was a fragmentation of centralised imperial power and the rise of independent city-states – a “constellation of powers” in Köhler's terminology – from the 1060s onward.³⁴⁵ The Fāṭimids had long had difficulty controlling the Syrian extremities of their empire, as when Damascus and Tyre had rebelled during a caliphal succession crisis in 997 and Tripoli in 1031, but the specific circumstances of the 1060s had resulted in a wholesale and seemingly irreversible withdrawal of effective Fāṭimid authority.³⁴⁶ The *qāḍī* of Tripoli, Amīn al-Dawla Abū Ṭālib al-Ḥasan bin 'Ammār (d.464/1072), gained some measure of political and commercial independence for his city in 1070 (AH 462), negotiating with the Saljūqs as if lord of an autonomous polity, although perhaps retaining nominal spiritual allegiance to the Fāṭimid caliph.³⁴⁷

³⁴³ Cahen, 'Turkish Invasion', pp. 147-150.

³⁴⁴ Walker, *Exploring*, pp. 55, 62-64.

³⁴⁵ Köhler, *Alliances*, pp. 8-20.

³⁴⁶ Treadgold, pp. 521, 585; Harris, p. 64; Walker, *Exploring*, pp. 65-66.

³⁴⁷ H. A. R. Gibb, 'The Caliphate and the Arab States', in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. by Setton, *Volume I*, ed. by Baldwin, p. 94; Köhler, *Alliances*, p. 14; M. Brett, 'Abbasids, Fatimids and Seljuqs', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History. Volume*

The lack of a co-ordinated Muslim response to the First Crusade has long been recognised as the main reason for the success of the campaign.³⁴⁸ The crusaders – divided by their own internal power struggles – negotiated and fought their way to Jerusalem, not against a homogeneous Islamic power bloc, but through the fractured powers of the region, one city at a time.³⁴⁹ Certainly Jalāl al-Mulk bin ‘Ammār (r.464/1072-492/1099) negotiated with the crusaders as if an independent ruler, with little if any reference to his nominal Fāṭimid suzerain. This is suggested in Latin and Arabic accounts of this *qāḍī* striking bargains, giving gifts, providing strategic advice, and flying the banners of Raymond of Saint-Gilles over Tripoli.³⁵⁰ Later he offered to release Christian prisoners and to provide the crusaders with an open public market in the city, if they abandoned the siege of ‘Arqa.³⁵¹ The author of the *Gesta* and Peter Tudebode claimed that the *qāḍī* offered to become a Christian and hold his land from the Christians, if the crusaders helped him defeat the army of the Fāṭimid caliph and captured Jerusalem.³⁵² Jalāl al-Mulk’s brother and successor, Fakhr al-Mulk, provided Baldwin I of Edessa-Jerusalem with rest, victuals and strategic advice as the king-elect headed south to be crowned in July 1100.³⁵³ He made a truce with Raymond of Saint-Gilles when the latter was besieging Tripoli, permitting the count to hold the suburbs and surrounding regions of Tripoli, so long as he recognised Ibn ‘Ammār’s rule of the city itself.³⁵⁴ Echoes of this truce reached as far afield as Norman England, where

IV: *Part II*, ed. by Luscombe and Riley-Smith, p. 702; R. S. Humphreys, ‘Zengids, Ayyubids and Seljuqs’, in *The New Cambridge Medieval History. Volume IV: Part II*, ed. by Luscombe and Riley-Smith, p. 728; C. Cahen, ‘La première pénétration turque en Asie-Mineure’, *Byzantion*, 28 (1946-48), pp. 36, 53; *Comté*, p. 13.

³⁴⁸ Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, p. 47.

³⁴⁹ Köhler, *Alliances*, pp. 9, 20-57.

³⁵⁰ RA, pp. 106-107, 111; AA, pp. 388-390; IQ, p. 147.

³⁵¹ RA, p. 125.

³⁵² GF, pp. 438-439; PT, pp. 128, 132-133. See also Chapter Four, pp. 310-311.

³⁵³ FC, pp. 355-357.

³⁵⁴ IQ, p. 147.

William of Malmesbury described how an attempt on Raymond's life brought the intended seven-year treaty to a premature end.³⁵⁵ At the same time, Ibn al-Qalānīsī claimed that Ibn 'Ammār sought help against the crusaders from various sources in 1107-08 (AH 501), including the Fāṭimid caliph's arch-rival, the Sunnī 'Abbāsīd caliph in Baghdad, the Sunnī Saljūq sultan – also in Baghdad – and the temperamental Saljūq *atābak* of Damascus, Ṭughtakīn.³⁵⁶ Ibn 'Ammār's seemingly inconsistent diplomatic policy was in fact consistently self-serving, loyal to none but Tripoli itself. Indeed, Cahen described Tripoli under the Banū 'Ammār as “an autonomous non-Isma'īlite [Twelver] Shī'ite principality”, prospering as such for “a third of a century”.³⁵⁷ A popular revolt against Ibn 'Ammār – perhaps led by his own cousin – did restore Fāṭimid power to Tripoli a year before the fall of the city to the crusaders, although this was a short-lived anomaly during the highly anomalous context of the city's siege.³⁵⁸

The reach of Tripolitan authority under the Banū 'Ammār hints at the future shape of the Frankish county. A controversy that erupted between Damascus and Tripoli in 1101 concerned control over Jabala. Jalāl al-Mulk bin 'Ammār had annexed this city to his budding domain following the Byzantine withdrawal, only for the son of his deputy – the former Byzantine-era “headman” (*ra'īs*), whom Jalāl al-Mulk had left in office – to rebel against him and seek the protection of Ṭughtakīn of Damascus.³⁵⁹ Ultimately the brief but despotic rule of Ṭughtakīn's son Tāj al-Mulūk was enough for the people of Jabala to realign themselves with the 'Ammārid ruler of Tripoli, by then Fakhr al-Mulk.³⁶⁰ Other domains of the Banū 'Ammār prior to the crusader conquest included 'Arqa, over which there was another dispute with Damascus concerning

³⁵⁵ WM, p. 700.

³⁵⁶ IQ, pp. 160-161.

³⁵⁷ Cahen, 'Turkish Invasion', p. 165.

³⁵⁸ IQ, p. 161; IA, x, 454.

³⁵⁹ IA, x, 310-311.

³⁶⁰ IA, x, 312.

jurisdiction, and Tortosa.³⁶¹ What is interesting is that Raymond of Saint-Gilles and his immediate successors were fixated on seizing all of the lands once occupied by Ibn ‘Ammār, including those towns like Tortosa and ‘Arqa that later became part of the county, but also Jabala, over which the early counts of Tripoli struggled with the princes of Antioch.³⁶² The counts’ failure to claim Jabala, just as Ibn ‘Ammār had struggled to extend and maintain his authority over the city, suggests not only that the crusaders inherited the fledgling principality and territorial pretensions of the ‘Ammārid ruler, but that there was a distinct continuity in the problems faced by Tripoli-based states when controlling the space beyond the Margat Pass.

In short, the fragmentation of the bipartite Levant preceded the Latins’ arrival by a number of decades, and the quadripartite framework of polities established in the wake of the First Crusade should be seen as part of the trend towards the emergence of local polities from the ashes of eleventh-century empires. As Köhler has shown, the crusader states became just a handful of urban-centred powers amongst many within this patchwork of autonomous city-states, a system that prevailed until at least the second half of the twelfth century and the unifying efforts of Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin.³⁶³ To this should be added the twin observations that the trend of localisation was determined partly by geographical factors, and that this undermined the newly arrived crusaders’ vision of Syria according to its traditional bipartite political configuration.

XI. Conclusion

³⁶¹ IA, x, 467-468; Grousset, i, 350-351; Cahen, ‘La première pénétration’, p. 42.

³⁶² For Jabala: *Comté*, pp. 3 n. 1, 11, 12, 28, 41, 49

³⁶³ Köhler, *Alliances*, pp. 59-174 and *passim*.

The Latin state-building following the First Crusade was influenced by two discernible precedents, one conceptual and the other more pragmatic. Conceptually speaking, what the crusaders inherited was the powerful idea of a bipartite Near East, divided only a few decades previously between northern and southern spheres, Byzantine and Fāṭimid respectively. The First Crusade entered a world where this recent bipartite division was still remembered by the locals and actively pursued by the imperial powers based at Constantinople and Cairo. It was only natural that the crusaders initially followed this same plan, even after their aims for the First Crusade clashed irreconcilably with those of the Byzantines and Fāṭimids. Their minting of coins that reflected the old cultural division is just one example of this.

Nevertheless, geo-political shifts predating the Crusade – principally a trend away from supra-regional powers and towards decentralised local city-states – resurfaced relatively quickly, and so the unexpected polity of the county of Tripoli emerged in a space both between and in the kingdom of Jerusalem and the principality of Antioch. The county came to occupy a space demarcated and circumscribed to the north and south by restrictive terrain in the forms of the Margat Pass and *Passus Canis*. These facilitated the restriction of communication and invasion, both to and from the county, thus enabling the creation of an integrated and independent polity, protected from foreign invaders whilst limited in terms of its own expansion. The intensification of royal power in the kingdom of Jerusalem under Baldwin I and Baldwin II was possible only in those areas with which communication and travel could not be restricted by the exploitation of natural obstacles. This explains why the transition from extensive to intensive power was not ultimately successful in the county of Tripoli – linked to the kingdom of Jerusalem by one narrow coastal road – but was successful in the principality of Galilee, the lordship of Jaffa, and other lesser lordships that did not

enjoy such natural defences. Whereas Count Pons was able to rebel against Baldwin II and Fulk of Anjou with minimal repercussions, both Tancred, prince of Galilee, and Hugh II, lord of Jaffa, were effectively forced to flee their respective lordships.

Tripolitan independence, won principally in the 1120s and 1130s and confirmed by the 1140s and 1150s, had nothing to do with the cultural divisions between the crusader-settlers, as per the colonialist model of Grousset and his followers, especially Richard. The only valid comparison to be drawn between the county of Tripoli and the South of France, the point of origin for the county's ruling dynasty, is coincidental and geographical. As Bisson observes, the Pyrenees between Occitania and Catalonia were marked by numerous natural mountainous enclosures, which helped communities such as Cerdanya and upper Béarn to retain their autonomy against external political forces in the eleventh century and later.³⁶⁴ Of course, this is a question of mountains, not culture. The county's very existence did not lie in "Provençal" attitudes, but Syrian altitudes.

³⁶⁴ Bisson, 'Some Characteristics', p. 263.

CHAPTER TWO

From Toulouse to Tripoli? Occitan settlement, identity and language in the county of Tripoli

I. Introduction: “*la France du Levant*”

If the southern French heritage of the counts of Tripoli, descendants of Raymond IV of Toulouse and Saint-Gilles, had little impact in terms of the constitutional independence of their county, then it remains to consider what it actually did contribute. Grousset’s influential belief that the Latin East was defined by the precise “French” origins of each crusader state’s founders and early rulers is, at its core, a colonialist concept.¹ By acknowledging that variety existed amongst the Franks, Grousset’s theory was more complex than those of earlier French historians, such as Beugnot, who saw the Latin East as composed predominantly of non-variegated “*Français*”, shaped by a nineteenth-century French tendency to depict the crusades as a source of national pride.² Nevertheless, Grousset still imagined the crusader states as “French” colonies, or “*la France du Levant*”, alluding as much to the French Empire in which he lived, with its League of Nations Mandate over Syria and Lebanon, as to medieval *Outremer*.³

Grousset’s colonialist interpretation of the Latin East as a neat microcosm of contemporary *Francia* has echoes beyond the narrow historiography of the crusades. Bartlett theorises that European expansion in the High Middle Ages was characterised by an “aristocratic diaspora”. Normans, Lotharingians and other residents of former

¹ Grousset, i, *passim*.

² A. A. Beugnot, ‘Mémoire sur le régime des terres dans les principautés fondées en Syrie par les Francs à la suite des croisades’, *Bibliothèque de l’école des chartes*, 14 (1853), p. 531; C. Tyerman, *The Debate on the Crusades* (Manchester, 2011), pp. 141-147.

³ Tyerman, *Invention*, p. 122; Tyerman, *Debate*, pp. 149-150.

Carolingian *Francia* conquered and settled in Syria and Palestine, as well as other “unfamiliar and exotic countries”, such as England, Sicily and Cyprus.⁴ Bartlett believes that “common regional origin” granted cohesion to these diverse settlers and he explicitly states that the settlers in the county of Tripoli derived their shared identity from their southern French origins, whilst those in the principality of Antioch had a common Norman identity.⁵ Historians have been particularly keen to place the principality of Antioch within a Norman “world”, “empire”, “diaspora” or “edge”, sharing some distinctly “Norman” character with other Norman possessions, that is Normandy itself, England, Apulia and Sicily.⁶

There have been attempts to depict the county of Tripoli as an extension of the southern French and specifically “Toulousan” world, paralleling the “Norman diaspora”. In 1989, an exhibition of medieval artefacts was held in Toulouse to mark the 800th anniversary of the city’s autonomy as a municipality, granted by Count Raymond V of Toulouse in 1189, alongside celebrations of the similarly enfranchising

⁴ R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950-1350* (London, 1993), p. 24.

⁵ Bartlett, p. 55.

⁶ C. H. Haskins, *The Normans in European History* (New York, 1915), pp. 214-216; D. C. Douglas, *The Norman Achievement 1050-1100* (London, 1969), *passim*; D. C. Douglas, *The Norman Fate 1100-1154* (London, 1976), pp. 169-193; R. A. Brown, *The Normans* (Woodbridge, 1984), pp. 117-152; A. V. Murray, ‘How Norman was the Principality of Antioch? Prolegomena to a Study of the Origins of the Nobility of a Crusader State’, in *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics: The prosopography of Britain and France from the tenth to the twelfth Century*, ed. by K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 349-359; M. Chibnall, *The Normans* (Oxford, 2000), p. 97; T. Rowley, *The Normans*, new edn (Stroud, 2004), pp. 8, 14, 166-169; A. Jotischky and K. Stringer, ‘Introduction’, in *Norman Expansion*, ed. by Stringer and Jotischky, pp. 1-2, 5-6, 7; Edbury, ‘*Assises d’Antioche*’, pp. 241-248; E. A. Hanawalt, ‘Norman Views of Eastern Christendom’, in *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange between East and West during the Period of the Crusades*, ed. by V. P. Goss and C. V. Bornstein, *Studies in Medieval Culture*, 21 (Kalamazoo, MI, 1986), p. 120. Cf. R. H. C. Davis, *The Normans and their Myth* (London, 1976), p. 9; Asbridge, *Creation*, pp. 3-4, 163; L. N. Chlérigh, ‘*Gesta Normannorum*? Normans in the Latin Chronicles of the First Crusade’, in *Norman Expansion*, ed. by Stringer and Jotischky, pp. 207-226.

French Revolution of 1789.⁷ The exhibition's evocative title was "*De Toulouse à Tripoli: La puissance toulousaine au XII^e siècle (1080-1208)*", although it contained little of relevance to the county of Tripoli and the organisers admitted that it was unclear what the expansion of Toulousan power to Tripoli actually signified, other than the basic fact that it had happened.⁸ The *Analyses Monde Arabe et Méditerranée* (AMAM) of the University of Toulouse-le Mirail organised two conferences in Toulouse and Balamand (Lebanon), held in 1995 to mark another anniversary, the 900th of the Council of Clermont.⁹ The conferences and their published proceedings were brought together under the title, "*De Toulouse à Tripoli: itinéraires de cultures croisées*", although only a minority of the papers dealt with either of the counties of Toulouse and Tripoli specifically, as opposed to general relations between Christians and Muslims in the Middle Ages. Most recently, an amateur historian, François Giraud, has published *Entre Toulouse et Tripoli*, a cursory overview of both counties in parallel, drawing few connections beyond the purely dynastic.¹⁰

Grousset's theory regarding Tripoli's "Provençal" character has been elaborated the furthest by his student, Richard, who explicitly acknowledges his intellectual debt to Grousset.¹¹ For Richard, Raymond of Saint-Gilles established a "*dynastie toulousaine*".¹² Bruguière uses the term "*dynastie raymondine*", referring to the specific dynasty of Toulouse that traced its origins to Count Fredelo (d.852) in the ninth century.¹³ In Richard's view, Raymond's dynasty and its followers lent a distinctly

⁷ *De Toulouse à Tripoli: La puissance toulousaine au XII^e siècle (1080-1208)* (Toulouse, 1989), pp. 5, 13.

⁸ *De Toulouse à Tripoli: La puissance toulousaine*, p. 13 and *passim*.

⁹ *De Toulouse à Tripoli: Itinéraires*, ed. by Weber et al., pp. 7, 9.

¹⁰ F. Giraud, *Entre Toulouse et Tripoli: Les comtes de Toulouse, marquis de Provence et les comtes de Tripoli au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2010).

¹¹ *Comté*, pp. i, ii, vi.

¹² *Comté*, *passim*.

¹³ Bruguière, p. 142.

southern French character to the county of Tripoli, which allegedly explains a number of phenomena in its history, not least its supposed independence from the kingdom of Jerusalem, the principality of Antioch, and the Byzantine Empire.¹⁴ At least one reviewer was convinced that “Tripoli was essentially a Provençal colony”.¹⁵ Nor was it just the people who rendered the county “Provençal”, but the land itself obliged in becoming southern French. Grousset suggested, in a chapter entitled “*La Provence au Liban*”, that Raymond of Saint-Gilles was attracted to the region that was to become the county of Tripoli because it was “*une riviéra privilégiée qui devait lui rappeler les confins de son Midi natal.*”¹⁶ Scholars today continue to make the same association between the geography of Lebanon and the South of France.¹⁷

A sophisticated alternative to the colonialist model in twentieth-century Francophone scholarship was provided by Cahen. He acknowledged the precise cultural origins of the Frankish conquerors – Norman, Lotharingian or “Provençal” – but also emphasised that the Latins of the East had to adapt their own customs and institutions, adopt indigenous ones, and improvise entirely new ones in an unfamiliar, often hostile context.¹⁸ He stressed that the pre-existing differences between North Syria, where the principality of Antioch was founded, and Palestine, where the kingdom of Jerusalem was established, were much greater than any differences between either of these two places and the Lebanon, where the county of Tripoli emerged.¹⁹ Furthermore, he believed that the contrast between the Italo-Normans of Antioch and the Lotharingians

¹⁴ Comté, pp. i, 89-91, and *passim*.

¹⁵ J. L. La Monte, ‘Jean Richard, *Le Comté de Tripoli sous la Dynastie Toulousaine (1102-1187)*’, *Speculum*, 21.4 (1946), p. 529.

¹⁶ Grousset, i, 335.

¹⁷ Piana, ‘From Montpèlerin’, p. 308.

¹⁸ Cahen, *Syrie*, pp. 435-521, 527-543, 547-578; C. Cahen, ‘La féodalité et les institutions politiques de l’Orient Latin’, in *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei: Atti del XII Convegno “Volta”* (Rome, 1957), pp. 167-168, 172-177.

¹⁹ Cahen, *Syrie*, p. 436.

of Jerusalem and Edessa was greater than between either of these groups and the “*Provençaux*”.²⁰

Cahen’s work is also an important reminder that the European or “Frankish” population of the county was a minority compared to indigenous ethnic and religious groups, although these will receive special consideration in subsequent chapters.²¹ This chapter focuses on the European settlers, the “aristocratic diaspora” of the twelfth century, and the social customs and cultural identities that they brought to the county. Underpinning this chapter is scepticism, both of the colonialist interpretation of the Latin East as “*la France du Levant*” and of the generalising belief that any crusader state, not least the county of Tripoli, was defined by one European demographic group. Having already dismissed the importance of “Provençal” identity in relation to the county’s political status and independence, in favour of geographical considerations, this chapter argues for a more careful, less generalised – less “Provençal” – view of the county in terms of its social composition and the cultural identities of its inhabitants. It challenges two of Richard’s specific, seemingly contradictory conclusions: that “Provençal” identity dominated all others, at least amongst the European ruling class, and that the twelfth century saw a fairly steady decline in contact between the county of Tripoli and the South of France, especially after the Second Crusade.

II. Defining the “Provençals”

Many historians, not least Richard, use the term “Provençal” in reference to the dominant Latin Christian group of the county of Tripoli. Certainly the term

²⁰ Cahen, *Syrie*, p. 436, 542-543. Also: J.-M. Martin, ‘Les structures féodales normanno-souabes et la Terre Sainte’, in *Il Mezzogiorno*, ed. Musca, pp. 227-249.

²¹ See Chapters Three and Four.

“*provinciales*” and its cognates appear throughout the so-called “eyewitness” chronicles of the First Crusade, including the *Historia* of the “Provençal” Raymond of Aguilers, when describing the contingent of Raymond IV of Saint-Gilles.²² Nevertheless, this usage can be confusing. The modern definition of Provence is narrow, extending from Arles in the West to Nice in the East, but in a medieval context, the term *provinciales* was frequently applied to people living anywhere within the old Roman *Provincia*, which included the ecclesiastical province of Narbonne – “*la Narbonnaise*” – and thus Languedoc and Toulouse.²³ The “Provençal” Raymond of Aguilers recognised the potential for confusion, taking the time to inform his readers that “*omnes de Burgundia et Alvernia/Arvenia* [the Auvergne] *et Gasconiam* [corr. *Gasconia*] *et Gotti* [corr. *Gothia*, i.e. Languedoc] *Provinciales appellantur*”.²⁴

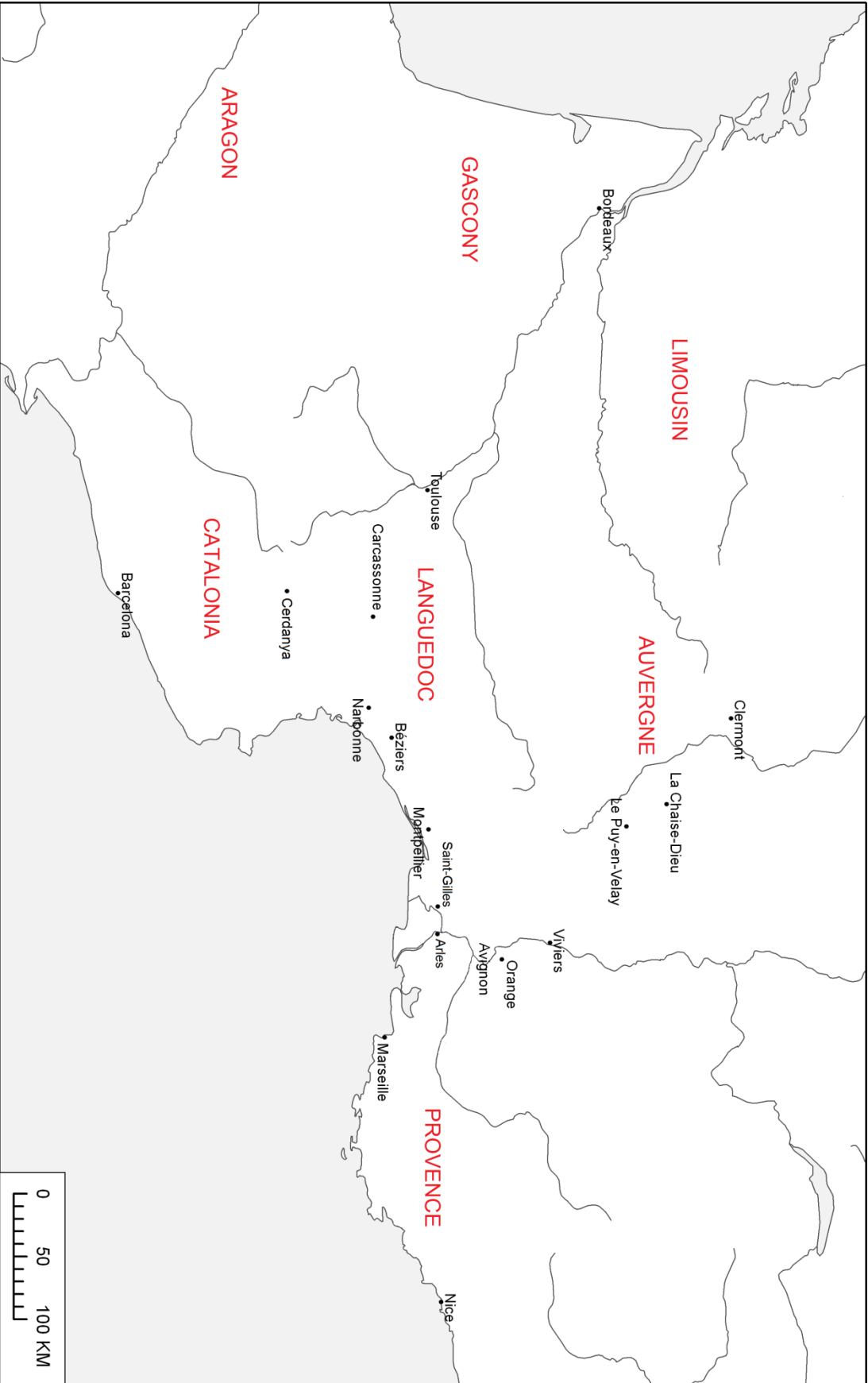
Raymond of Saint-Gilles was accompanied by numerous crusaders from beyond Provence, however defined. Albert of Aachen described two distinct ethno-linguistic groups who followed Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Adhémar of Le Puy: Provençaux (*Prouinciales*) and Gascons (*Wascones*).²⁵ These together represent the two latitudinal extremes of Raymond of Saint-Gilles’s main recruitment grounds and of Raymond of Aguilers’s definition of *Provinciales*. One derivative source referred to Provençaux (*Provincels*), Gascons (*Gascoinz*), men of Pierrefort in the Auvergne (*ces de Pierrefort*)

²² M. Bull, ‘Overlapping and Competing Identities in the Frankish First Crusade’, in *Le Concile de Clermont de 1095 et l’Appel à la Croisade: Actes du Colloque Universitaire International de Clermont-Ferrand (23-25 juin 1995) organisé et publié avec le concours du Conseil Régional d’Auvergne* (Rome, 1997), p. 210; A. V. Murray, ‘National identity, language and conflict in the crusades to the Holy Land, 1096-1192’, in *The Crusades and the Near East*, ed. by C. Kostick (London and New York, 2011), p. 117; Chlérigh, p. 213. Cf. RA, p. 52.

²³ É. Baratier, ‘Marquisat et comtés en Provence’, in *Histoire de la Provence*, ed. by É. Baratier (Toulouse, 1969), pp. 134-135; Magnou-Nortier, pp. 63-67; Poly, pp. v-vi; F. L. Cheyette, *Ermengard of Narbonne and the world of the Troubadours* (Ithaca, NY, 2001), pp. 42-43.

²⁴ RA, p. 52.

²⁵ AA, p. 200.



Map 6. Occitania.

and Aragonese (*Arragonçois*) in Raymond's company.²⁶ Some of Raymond's followers were named individually in the sources. For example, Bishop William of Orange, Provence, read the office of the dead for a deathly ill Raymond of Saint-Gilles in August 1097, before William himself died at Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, c.20 September 1099.²⁷ *Vicomte* Gaston IV of Béarn, a lordship on the frontier between Gascony, Languedoc and Aragon, brought his skill in siege warfare to Raymond's army.²⁸ Bernard Raymond, whose "native land was Béziers" (*patria Biterensis*), died in a battle on 29 December 1097.²⁹ Also to be considered are the chronicler Raymond of Aguilers or Aiguilles, in the far east of Provence, and his purported knightly co-author, Pons of Balazun, probably from Balazuc in the diocese of Viviers in central Provence, who died at the siege of 'Arqa.³⁰ Raymond Pilet and Raymond, viscount of Turenne in the Limousin, captured Tortosa on behalf of Count Raymond in 1098.³¹ Adhémar, papal legate on the First Crusade and Count Raymond's close associate, was the bishop of Le Puy-en-Velay, a city to the north of Raymond's actual domains.³²

Raymond's immediate successor in Tripoli was his cousin William Jordan of Cerdagne, or Cerdanya, a small Pyrenean county claimed by the counts of Toulouse throughout the eleventh-century, but often more closely aligned with the Catalan counts of Barcelona and enjoying considerable administrative autonomy well into the twelfth

²⁶ 'Li Estoire de Jerusalem et d'Antioche', *RHC Oc*, v, 627.

²⁷ RA, pp. 46, 152.

²⁸ RA, p. 145.

²⁹ RA, p. 51.

³⁰ RA, pp. 35, 107. Raymond addressed his and Pons's chronicle to Leger, bishop of Viviers. RA, p. 35.

³¹ *GF*, pp. 426-428; *PT*, p. 129. Cf. *AA*, p. 376.

³² J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill, 'Contemporary Accounts and the Later Reputation of Adhemar, Bishop of Puy', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 9 (1955), pp. 31, 32, 36; J. A. Brundage, 'Adhemar of Puy: The Bishop and his Critics', *Speculum*, 34.2 (1959), pp. 202-203, 206. Unfortunately, Adhémar's early life and ancestry are obscure, a matter for speculation. Hill and Hill, 'Contemporary Accounts', p. 30.

century.³³ It is not clear when William Jordan first arrived in the East. He does not appear in the *Gesta Francorum*, Raymond of Aguilers's *Historia* or Peter Tudebode's *Historia*. In those narrative sources that cover a longer chronological period, namely the *Historiae* of Fulcher of Chartres, Albert of Aachen and William of Tyre, William Jordan is not mentioned until 1105, when he took command of the siege of Tripoli following his cousin's death, and then only very briefly prior to his dispute with his cousin, Bertrand of Saint-Gilles.³⁴ William of Malmesbury mentioned William Jordan merely by giving his name erroneously in lieu of that of Raymond IV's son, Alfons Jordan.³⁵ Richard seems to think that William Jordan arrived only in 1105, in time to be granted command after Raymond's death, although he has no evidence for this date.³⁶

Riley-Smith includes William Jordan amongst his list of near-certain participants of the First Crusade, which he defines as extending from 1096 to 1103, thus incorporating minor and arguably discrete expeditions such as the Anatolian Crusade of 1101.³⁷ Riley-Smith brings forth two sources as evidence of William's presence on the First Crusade, although these are dubious. One is a plenary indulgence granted by Pope Urban II to a group of Pyrenean counts, including "*Ceritanensi[s] com[es]*", if they fought against the Muslims of "*Asia*".³⁸ This source does not indicate when the counts were expected to set out, or even whether the counts were to follow Urban's encouragement to fight in Asia or at nearby Tarragona. The other piece of evidence is the surviving fragment of the late twelfth-century Occitan epic of the First Crusade, the

³³ T. N. Bisson, 'The Rise of Catalonia: Identity, Power, and Ideology in a Twelfth-Century Society', in his *Medieval France and Her Pyrenean Neighbours*, pp. 127-130; T. N. Bisson, 'Feudalism in Twelfth-Century Catalonia', in his *Medieval France and Her Pyrenean Neighbours*, pp. 161-163; Débax, pp. 56, 65-67.

³⁴ FC, pp. 484-485; AA, pp. 710, 774, 778-782, 786; WT, i, 497.

³⁵ WM, p. 700.

³⁶ *Comté*, p. 5.

³⁷ Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 225.

³⁸ *Papsturkunden in Spanien, Vorarbeiten zur Hispania Pontificia, I. Katalanien, II. Urkunden und Regesten*, ed. by P. Kehr (Berlin, 1926), no. 23.

Canso d'Antiocha, which includes “*lo com de Sardana*” in the train of Adhémar of Le Puy at the siege of Antioch.³⁹ Sweetenham and Paterson believe the tradition here to be authentic, since it is corroborated by the aforementioned papal source, although this is hardly a firm buttress.⁴⁰

Against Riley-Smith, Sweetenham and Paterson, is a hitherto neglected charter in which Bertrand of Saint-Gilles confirmed the donations to St Sernin of Toulouse made by his cousin and political rival, Philippa, which suggests that the charter can be dated c.1100, soon after Bertrand had reclaimed Toulouse from the usurper Philippa and her husband William IX of Aquitaine.⁴¹ This document was witnessed by “*Willelmi Jordanis comitis Ceritaniae*”.⁴² This suggested to Devic and Vaissète that William Jordan had supported Bertrand, his later rival in Tripoli, in taking back Toulouse from Philippa and William.⁴³ More relevantly, it suggests that William Jordan remained in the West after the departure of Raymond of Saint-Gilles on crusade in 1096. If so, he would not have been alone. Carraz has identified a handful of Provençal lords – naturally, the Catalan William Jordan is not mentioned – who only departed for the East after 1100.⁴⁴ The Toulousan charter must be dated before 1105, by which point William was certainly in Tripoli, despite Mundy’s apparent belief that this charter, and thus the end of the “Poitevin” occupation of Toulouse, did not come until 1108.⁴⁵

³⁹ *The Canso d'Antiocha: An Occitan Epic Chronicle of the First Crusade*, ed. and trans. by C. Sweetenham and L. M. Paterson (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 198, 199.

⁴⁰ *Canso d'Antiocha*, ed. and trans. by Sweetenham and Paterson, p. 355.

⁴¹ C. Devic and J. Vaissète, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc avec des notes et les pièces justificatives*, 2nd edn, 16 vols (Toulouse, 1872-1904), v, no. 408.i (CCCXXX), col. 767. For the original privilege by Philippa and William: Devic and Vaissète, v, no. 400 (CCCXXII), cols 754-756. For the date of the expulsion of the usurpers: Bruguière, p. 145.

⁴² Devic and Vaissète, v, no. 408.i (CCCXXX), col. 767.

⁴³ Devic and Vaissète, iii, 543-544.

⁴⁴ Carraz, pp. 71, 71 n. 188.

⁴⁵ J. H. Mundy, *Liberty and Political Power in Toulouse 1050-1230* (New York, 1954), p. 16. One of Mundy’s sources, the nineteenth-century French historian Jacques Flach,

Richard does at times acknowledge the full geographic spread of Raymond's followers, originating from beyond Provence *per se*, but does not dispense with the misleading use of "Provençal".⁴⁶ In light of the evidence, it seems appropriate to jettison the term "Provençal" in favour of "Occitan". The latter term more accurately depicts the territorial breadth of Raymond's recruitment, from all over "Occitania", and also indicates this expansive region's main source of unity, namely the use of the Romance vernacular of *langue d'oc*, in contradistinction to the *langue d'oïl* spoken in northern France.⁴⁷ An alternative term, more common in Francophone scholarship but less evocative of the region's linguistic distinctiveness, is the Midi.

III. Occitan versus non-Occitan settlement in the county and beyond

Richard believes that southern Frenchmen formed the "*très grande majorité*" of the county's nobility during the twelfth century.⁴⁸ He does not give any indication of the exact proportion of Occitan to non-Occitan nobles, but he does provide an extensive list of knights who appear in the county's surviving documents, bearing toponymic by-names that betray their origins in a wide range of southern French locales.⁴⁹ To Richard's list should be added Peter of *Burgairolles* (viz. Brugairolles), Languedoc,

wrote that William had lost Toulouse *by* 1108, not *in* 1108. J. Flach, *Les origines de l'ancienne France*, 4 vols (Paris, 1886-1917), iv, 599.

⁴⁶ *Comté*, p. 89.

⁴⁷ Paterson, *World*, pp. 1-4; X. de Planhol and P. Claval, *An Historical Geography of France*, trans. by Janet Lloyd, Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography, 21 (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 123-129; J. Salvat, 'Provençal ou occitan?', *Annales du Midi*, 66.3 (1954), pp. 229-241. But cf. L. M. Paterson, 'Was there an Occitan Identity in the Middle Ages?', in her *Culture and Society in Medieval Occitania* (Farnham, 2011), §I, pp. 4-5.

⁴⁸ *Comté*, p. 78.

⁴⁹ *Comté*, pp. 73, 78. See also: Carraz, p. 71; Poly, pp. 321-322.

who donated a serf and some land in the county to the Hospital sometime before 1139.⁵⁰ More information is available regarding certain individuals, such as Raymond of Agout, a region in Languedoc, whom the *Lignages d'Outre-Mer* describes as the first lord of Batrūn and whom Richard erroneously describes as having been from a “*famille provençale*”.⁵¹ A family bearing the toponymic by-name Puylaurens (*de Podio Laurentii*), a town in Languedoc, held a number of *casalia* between Tripoli and Jabal ‘Akkār (Gibelacar) in the first half of the twelfth century.⁵² De Collenberg argued that the “Raynouard” family, lords of Nephin and Maraḳiyya, originated in Languedoc.⁵³

In addition to toponymic by-names, Richard has stressed simple family names. Foremost is the Porcelet family, members of which accompanied Raymond of Saint-Gilles on the First Crusade and became prominent citizens of the county of Tripoli, perhaps acquiring the fief of *Artusce* or Arḍ Arṭūsī, the ancient but dormant episcopal see of Orthosias, just north of Tripoli.⁵⁴ Other members of this family remained in their hometown of Arles in Provence, achieving independent prominence under the counts of Saint-Gilles and from 1113 the counts of Barcelona, as Aurell has shown.⁵⁵ Another individual, largely neglected by Richard, is Bertrand *de Rocca Maura*, who owned a

⁵⁰ *RRH Add.*, no. 183a; *CGOH*, i, no. 128.

⁵¹ *Lignages*, p. 119; *Comté*, p. 75; Richard, ‘Questions’, p. 55-56.

⁵² *Comté*, p. 76.

⁵³ W. H. R. de Collenberg, ‘Les « Raynouard », seigneurs de Nephin et de Maraḳlé en Terre sainte, et leur parenté en Languedoc’, *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 7.3 (1964), pp. 297-306.

⁵⁴ *Comté*, pp. 73, 77; ‘Le comté [...] Porcellet’, ed. by Richard, pp. 339-382; J. Riley-Smith, ‘The motives of the earliest crusaders and the settlement of Latin Palestine, 1095-1100’, *EHR*, 98.389 (1983), p. 732; Aurell, *Une famille*, pp. 36, 146-150; Carraz, p. 79; *RRH*, nos 44, 193, 198, 211, 212, 233, 236, 270, 477, 519, 520, 549, 642, 645, 662; *CGOH*, i, nos 144, 160, 199, 411, 458, 467, 519, 754.

⁵⁵ Aurell, *Une famille*, pp. 27-40 and *passim*. See also: Paterson, *World*, p. 108; Poly, p. 322.

house in Tripoli by February 1117.⁵⁶ He presumably originated from Roquemaure in Provence.

Clearly there were southerners in the county, but their presence alone is not sufficient proof that the county's institutions and history were shaped by a distinctly Occitan heritage. Even Richard acknowledges the shortcomings of his and Grousset's metanarrative at various points throughout his monograph. For example, he observes that the county did not exhibit as many "*Provençal*" characteristics as he was expecting, with the county instead resembling more closely the kingdom of Jerusalem and the principality of Antioch, as in the fact that the militaristic constable and marshal outranked the ministerial seneschal, which was opposite to the situation in the West.⁵⁷ His argument in all such cases is not that the Provençal heritage of the settlers was of minor importance, but that Provençal characteristics would have developed, had it not been for the constant threat of Muslim incursions.⁵⁸ In this he follows Cahen, who first suggested that the pressure of constant war forced adaptations upon the governments in the Latin East.⁵⁹

A more problematic issue with Richard's thesis is the extent to which Occitan settlement was concentrated in one area of the county, rather than being diffuse throughout. Richard does not consider pseudo-Fretellus's description, c.1137-50, of Tripoli as "*provincialium civitas*".⁶⁰ This might appear to support Richard's belief that the county had a strong Occitan identity, but pseudo-Fretellus's implication is that the

⁵⁶ *RRH*, no. 84; *Urkunden*, ed. by Tafel and Thomas, i, no. 36. Cf. *Comte*, p. 36 n. 2.

⁵⁷ *Comté*, p. 48.

⁵⁸ *Comté*, pp. 57, 80, 89-90.

⁵⁹ Cahen, *Syrie*, p. 452.

⁶⁰ 'Descriptions de Jérusalem', p. 432. MacPherson translated *provincialium civitas* as "the city of the provincials". *Fetellus (Circa 1130 A.D.)*, trans. by J. R. MacPherson, Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 5 (London, 1892), p. 52. Wilkinson translated it as "a city of people of the province". Wilkinson, p. 210. These translations are technically correct, but misleading and stylistically clunky.

Provençaux only dominated Tripoli the *city*, and there is no indication in his account that Occitan settlement was predominant or even present throughout the county as a whole – pseudo-Fretellus did not believe the county existed as an independent state at this point⁶¹ – or in its other settlements. In short, Occitan settlement in the county was not a general phenomenon, but concentrated in Tripoli itself, and thus did not render the county *per se* “Provençal”.

More difficult still for Richard is the fact that Occitan settlement in the Latin East was not unique to Tripoli, either the county or the city, undermining his suggestion that a distinctly “Provençal” character set Tripoli apart from its “French” neighbours. Pons *de Roca Maura* (Roquemaure) witnessed an agreement between Tancred and the Genoese in Antioch as early as 1-24 July 1101, although the document’s authenticity has been challenged.⁶² Three of Raymond of Saint-Gilles’s followers in the First Crusade, Count William of Montpellier, Galdemar Carpenel and Roman of Le Puy, chose to stay in the fledgling kingdom of Jerusalem with Godfrey of Bouillon when Raymond, smarting over Godfrey’s political triumph, headed northwards.⁶³ This challenges Murray’s belief that the Provençaux – or at least their clerics – were not favoured by the early kingdom’s rulers after Raymond’s spat with Godfrey.⁶⁴ A family of burgesses who appear in the kingdom of Jerusalem throughout the twelfth century

⁶¹ See Chapter One, pp. 95-97.

⁶² *RRH*, no. 35; *Codex Italiae Diplomaticus, Quo non solum Multifariae Investiturarum Literæ, ab Augustissimis Romanorum Imperatoribus Italiae Principibus & Proceribus concessæ atque traditæ; Verum etiam Alia insignia varii generis Diplomata, tam edita, quam multa anecdota, Ipsos concernentia continentur*, ed. by J. C. Lünig, 4 vols (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1725-1735), ii, §7, no. 2, cols 2079-2082 (col. 2082); H. Hagenmeyer, ‘Chronologie de l’histoire du royaume de Jérusalem: règne de Baudouin I (1101-1118)’, *ROL*, 9 (1902), pp. 445-446. Cf. Favreau-Lilie, pp. 342-364, 380; Mayer, *Varia*, p. 77.

⁶³ Riley-Smith, ‘The motives’, pp. 728-729, 731.

⁶⁴ A. V. Murray, ‘Norman Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099-1131’, *Archivio Normanno-Svevo: Testi e studi sul mondo euromediterraneo dei secoli XI-XIII del Centro Europeo di Studi Normanni*, 1 (2008), pp. 67-68.

went by the toponym *Tolosanus* or *de Tolosa*.⁶⁵ Peter of Périgueux (*de Pirregort/Petragoricensis*) in Aquitaine, north-western Occitania, was an important burgess in the kingdom of Jerusalem from c.1133 to c.1161.⁶⁶ Many of the burgesses of the settlement of Mahumeria, also in the kingdom, had distinctly Occitan names, such as the five burgesses with the name of Pons – including a “*Pontius Proventialis*” – who appeared in a list of those who pledged their fealty to the chapter of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem on 11 February 1156.⁶⁷ Acre had a “*rue de[s/z] Prouensaus*” by the thirteenth century.⁶⁸ These are just a few examples of Occitan settlement beyond the county.

One wonders if Occitan settlement throughout the Levant as a whole was truly as marginal – relative to the northern French and Normans – as Jacoby and Moller have assumed.⁶⁹ Many of the settlers listed here seem to be drawn from the burgess class. This corroborates Prawer’s belief that poorer Occitans found it easier to migrate to the Latin East than did their socio-economic counterparts in northern France, thanks to the former’s proximity to Mediterranean ports; these “*méridionaux*” formed the “principal element” of the burgess class in the kingdom of Jerusalem, in contrast to the

⁶⁵ *RRH*, nos 164, 293, 525, 624; *RRH Add.*, no. 104a.

⁶⁶ *RRH*, nos 146, 154, 158, 204, 205, 255, 259, 268, 273, 280, 295, 299, 300, 301, 302, 335, 343, 365; *DUKJ*, i, nos 178, 179, 233; ii, no. 282; *CCSSJ*, nos 35, 41, 46, 50, 70, 99, 102, 107, 110, 113, 114, 117, 124, 130, 131; *CGOH*, i, nos 138, 140; *Chartes de Terre Sainte provenant de l’abbaye de N.-D. de Josaphat*, ed. by H.-F. Delaborde, Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome, 19 (Paris, 1880), no. 32.

⁶⁷ *CCSSJ*, no. 117. The name Pons was particularly popular in the Languedoc. B. Cursente, ‘The French Midi Reflected in Personal Names’, in *Personal Names Studies of Medieval Europe: Social Identity and Familial Structures*, ed. by G. T. Beech, M. Bourin, and P. Chareille, Studies in Medieval Culture, 43 (Kalamazoo, MI, 2002), p. 90.

⁶⁸ *DUKJ*, iii, nos 799, 819.

⁶⁹ Jacoby, ‘La littérature’, p. 619; H. Moller, ‘The Social Causation of the Courtly Love Complex’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 1 (1959), p. 153.

preponderantly northern French nobility.⁷⁰ Richard also thinks that Occitans comprised the majority of the burgess class of Tripoli, although he is more willing to emphasise the Italians amongst these poorer inhabitants than amongst the nobility.⁷¹ If Occitan migration to the Latin East is often obscure today, it is perhaps because it was a phenomenon primarily found in lower and less extensively recorded echelons of society, rather than amongst the high barons, and not because Occitans were restricted or disproportionately attracted to the “Provençal” county of Tripoli.

Occitan settlement beyond the county raises the issue of the demographic ratio of Latin Christian to indigenous peoples in the county. It is well known that the crusader states suffered an endemic lack of manpower, which the rulers of the Latin East attempted to address by appealing regularly to western rulers.⁷² According to Riley-Smith, only a minority of the participants in the First Crusade remained in the Levant permanently, with most returning home as soon as they had visited Jerusalem.⁷³ Raymond of Saint-Gilles was an exception in that he supposedly vowed never to return to his homeland and kept to this promise.⁷⁴ Fulcher of Chartres wrote c.1118 that, “*non enim tunc habebamus plusquam CCC^{os} milites et tantum de peditibus*”, to guard the Holy Land against thousands of hostile Muslims.⁷⁵ However dubious population estimates for this period may be, the kingdom of Jerusalem’s total population in the late twelfth century has been set as high as c.620,000, of whom 120,000-140,000 (19-23%)

⁷⁰ J. Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 382-383. Cf. Cahen, *Syrie*, p. 547.

⁷¹ *Comté*, p. 82. Cf. *Comté*, p. 78.

⁷² J. Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land: Relations Between the Latin East and the West, 1119-1187* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 1, 8, 12 and *passim*.

⁷³ Riley-Smith, ‘The motives’, pp. 723-724.

⁷⁴ J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill, *Raymond IV: Count of Toulouse* (New York, 1962), p. 142; Riley-Smith, ‘The motives’, pp. 731-732.

⁷⁵ FC, p. 389.

were Latin Christians.⁷⁶ Hamilton thinks that the proportion of the Franks in the northern crusader states, where “there are not even any approximate statistics for the population”, would have been similar.⁷⁷ Yet this rests on the assumption that living in the county of Tripoli and the other northern crusader states was as desirable to contemporaries as living in the kingdom of Jerusalem. In fact, there is good reason to believe that contemporaries viewed the county as less holy and thus a less attractive place to settle than the kingdom, from which it would follow that the county had a lower proportion of Latin Christian settlers.

The county of Tripoli was not generally regarded as part of the Holy Land, which many contemporaries recognised to be a specific and narrowly defined geographical space. James of Vitry asserted that the river Dan and town of *Cesarea Philippi* (Bāniyās, not to be confused with Antiochene Bāniyās/Valania) marked the northern extent of the Promised Land.⁷⁸ This derived from the phrase “from Dan to Beersheba”, the most commonly recurring definition in the Old Testament of the northern and southern extent of the land of the Israelites.⁷⁹ In one of his letters, James bemoaned that, from where he lived in Acre, a city in the northern kingdom of Jerusalem, he could see the Holy Land but was not himself in it.⁸⁰ The same sentiment would surely apply to the county of Tripoli, still further north. In the 1280s, Burchard of Mount Sion implied that Tortosa was the northernmost part of the Holy Land, thereby

⁷⁶ M. Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1976), p. 18; Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, pp. 380, 380 n. 38; B. Hamilton, ‘The Impact of Crusader Jerusalem on Western Christendom’, *CHR*, 80.4 (1994), p. 705; Hamilton, *Leper King*, p. 47.

⁷⁷ Hamilton, ‘Impact’, p. 705; Hamilton, *Leper King*, p. 47.

⁷⁸ JV, pp. 190-192.

⁷⁹ Judges 20:1; 1 Samuel 3:20; 2 Samuel 3:10, 17:11, 24:2, 24:15; 1 Kings 4:25; 1 Chronicles 21:2; 2 Chronicles 30:5. Cf. Numbers 34:1-15, Ezekiel 47:13-20.

⁸⁰ JV *Lettres*, no. 2, pp. 89-90; Grabois, p. 293 n. 34.

incorporating the whole county of Tripoli.⁸¹ However, he contradicted himself elsewhere by asserting, like James of Vitry, that relatively southerly Acre “*nunquam fuit de terra sancta*”.⁸² Burchard also expanded upon the traditional and restrictive biblical outline of the Holy Land, elaborated further by Marino Sanudo a few decades later: stretching from the river Dan in the north to Beersheba in the south, and from the Mediterranean in the west 28 leagues inland towards the east.⁸³

The prevailing contemporary opinion that the county was not part of the Holy Land has important implications for any understanding of Frankish settlement there, since presumably fewer Franks wanted to live and die in a place that was little more sacred than the lands of western Europe. Grabois has argued that “[t]he absence of biblical and palaeo-Christian traditions in Acre alienated” Burchard of Mount Sion when he visited in the thirteenth century.⁸⁴ William of Tyre indicated the same sentiment that not all regions of the Latin East were equally holy in the twelfth century. He described how the Second Crusade, launched in response to the loss of Edessa in 1144, was quickly taken over by King Fulk of Jerusalem. None of the other lords of the Latin East, including the count of Edessa, but also the count of Tripoli and the prince of Antioch, could compete with the prestige offered by assisting Jerusalem; the arriving crusaders largely ignored their pleas and flocked to the Promised Land en masse “*ob reverentiam locorum venerabilium, quorum amor et devotio omnes trahebant amplius*”.⁸⁵ Occitans were certainly not immune to the Holy Land’s special appeal. Carraz has recently emphasised the specifically Provençal devotion to the Holy Land

⁸¹ Having described everything up to the river of Valania, north of Tortosa, Burchard declared that he did not intend to write of other lands, other than the Holy Land (*non propono de aliis terris scribere aliquid, nisi de terra sancta*). BMS, p. 31.

⁸² BMS, p. 23; Grabois, p. 293.

⁸³ BMS, pp. 20-21; Marino Sanudo, p. 246.

⁸⁴ Grabois, p. 293.

⁸⁵ WT, ii, 756-757.

and the Holy Sepulchre upon the eve of the First Crusade, which only became stronger after the capture of Jerusalem, as large volumes of pilgrims flowed through the Provençal ports of Saint-Gilles, Arles and later Marseille.⁸⁶ It is true that the county of Tripoli was not a complete geo-historical void, possessing one major shrine at Tortosa and a scattering of minor religious sites.⁸⁷ However, it could never compete with the prestige of the Holy Land and its much higher concentration of sites of paramount religious importance. This must partly explain the presence of so many Occitans living in the kingdom of Jerusalem.

The diffusion of Occitan settlement beyond the county begs the question as to what Walter the Chancellor meant when he described Count Pons of Tripoli in the aftermath of the disastrous battle of *Ager Sanguinis* in 1119. Pons is said to have accompanied King Baldwin II of Jerusalem with the *provinciales*, although not “Tripolitans” *per se* (*rex [...] comitemque cum Prouincialibus [...] imperavit*).⁸⁸ Such a statement implies that Occitan identity was no barrier to integration within the envisaged greater kingdom of Jerusalem. Perhaps also it indicates that Pons was seen as an ethnic or linguistic rather than territorial ruler, a “ruler of the Provençaux” in the Latin East as a whole, deputed to the king of Jerusalem. The very concept of kingship had originated in the West with the institution of “*reges*” over specific peoples – not territories – in Late Antiquity, each subordinate to the Roman Emperor.⁸⁹ Mayer notes that the king of Jerusalem from 1115 onwards styled himself “king of the Latins”, thereby constructing a kingdom exclusive to one particular religio-linguistic caste, a Latin Christian “*Staatsvolk*”, which implicitly excluded people of other groups,

⁸⁶ Carraz, pp. 62-67.

⁸⁷ See Chapter Four, pp. 295-303.

⁸⁸ Galterius Cancellarius, p. 96.

⁸⁹ G. Duby, *France in the Middle Ages 987-1460: From Hugh Capet to Joan of Arc*, trans. by J. Vale (Oxford, 1991), p. 15.

including Muslims but also Greek and Syrian Christians.⁹⁰ Was it the case that, around the same time that the king of Jerusalem became king of the Latins, so too did Count Pons become “count of the Provençaux”, ruling over a specifically Occitan *Staatsvolk*? After all, this was a time when the borders of the county were as yet unclear.⁹¹ In such a context, it would not be surprising if the settlers viewed themselves within a non-territorial framework.

In addition to the diffusion of Occitan settlement throughout the Latin East, many parts of the county were in turn settled by non-Occitans, who created their own enclaves distinct from the *civitas provincialium* of Tripoli itself. Various “international” religious orders owned property in the county, especially the Templars and Hospitallers.⁹² This property could be extensive and significant, particularly the Templars’ estates in the diocese of Tortosa, including the city of Tortosa itself and the fortress of Şāfīthā by the 1150s, and the Hospitallers’ estates in the defunct diocese of Rafaniyya by the 1140s, centred on the famous castle of Crac des Chevaliers. Historians, particularly Riley-Smith, have analysed the development and organisation of these ecclesiastical lordships in some depth, supported by archaeologists such as Deschamps and, most recently, Major and Piana.⁹³ With their diverse recruitment, the presence of these institutions in the county undermines the case for specifically Occitan settlers having played the most important roles in the county’s history.

⁹⁰ H. E. Mayer, ‘Latins, Muslims and Greeks in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem’, *History*, 63 (1978), pp. 175-176. See also: Ellenblum, *Crusader Castles*, p. 131.

⁹¹ See Chapter One.

⁹² Baldwin, ‘Ecclesiastical Developments’, pp. 158-170.

⁹³ Riley-Smith, *Knights*, pp. 24-26, 100-102 and *passim*; ‘Templars’, ed. by Riley-Smith, pp. 278-284; Deschamps, *Châteaux*, i [Texte], 105-305; Deschamps, *Châteaux*, iii [Texte], 249-258; Major, i, *passim*; M. Piana, ‘Die Templerburg Chastel Blanc (Burğ aş-Şāfītā)’, in *Burgen und Städte der Kreuzzugszeit*, ed. by M. Piana, Studien zur internationalen Architektur- und Kunstgeschichte, 65 (Petersberg, 2008), pp. 293-300.

The Italians were undoubtedly an important element of the county's Latin society, alongside the Occitans, although they have often been dismissed, both for their commitment to crusading and for their contribution to the Latin East. Richard presents a restricted depiction of the county's Italians, either as temporary merchants or as members of the county's burgess community, at least until they began to settle more permanently in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁹⁴ Hamilton echoes this, believing that the Italians only began to settle in the East permanently, as opposed to being mere temporary visitors on business, from the mid-twelfth century.⁹⁵ This view of Italian settlement as auxiliary to "Frankish" settlement requires revision. Contemporaries recognised that Italian settlement in the Latin East had been of utmost significance. James of Vitry recorded a contemporary belief that the naturalised Franks derived the often pejorative sobriquet *pullani* or *pollani* from the inordinate number of Apulian women who supposedly settled in the East after the First Crusade, thus becoming the mothers of this demographic group.⁹⁶

The two most important Italian groups in the county of Tripoli were the Genoese and the Pisans. Both supported the conquest of the county from an early stage. The Genoese took Jubayl for themselves in 1109.⁹⁷ The Pisans and the Genoese together proved instrumental in the capture of Tripoli that same year.⁹⁸ Substantial numbers of Genoese had sailed eastwards with Bertrand of Saint-Gilles in 1108 and Albert of Aachen recorded some eighty Genoese galleys, double the number of galleys from the Provençal port of Saint-Gilles.⁹⁹ As with Latin settlement more generally, it is

⁹⁴ *Comté*, pp. 78, 82, 83, 84, 88, 91.

⁹⁵ Hamilton, *Leper King*, p. 53.

⁹⁶ JV, p. 276. Cf. M. R. Morgan, 'The Meanings of Old French *Polain*, Latin *Pullanus*', *Medium Aevum*, 48 (1979), pp. 42-43.

⁹⁷ WT, i, 508-509. Cf. IA, x, 372.

⁹⁸ FC, p. 533; AA, p. 782; WM, p. 700; IQ, p. 163.

⁹⁹ AA, p. 776.

not known how many Genoese crusaders settled in the county. Merav Mack has gone the furthest in assessing how the Genoese were able to turn Jubayl into a quasi-independent colony of sorts, ruled by the prominent Embriaci family on behalf of Genoa. The Embriaci's initial indifference towards the count of Tripoli and their loyalty towards Genoa was soon reversed, rendering the Embriaci fully integrated members of the county's baronial class by the late twelfth century.¹⁰⁰ The Genoese were not restricted to Jubayl and a papal bull of 26 April 1179 reveals that they had land in 'Arqa as well.¹⁰¹ The case of the Genoese alone is enough to undermine Richard's claim that the Italians were latecomers, who lived somewhat on the margins of "Frankish" society, in "*quartiers particuliers*".¹⁰²

As for the Pisans, their early participation in the conquest did not translate immediately into a prominent position in the county. They made no serious inroads until the last decade of the reign of Raymond III, when they enjoyed comital favour, likely in return for money, and acquired property and rights in the county.¹⁰³ The most notorious Pisan in the county was a wealthy merchant by the name of Pleban or Plivain, whose experiences joining the resident social elite of the county may well be indicative of Pisan and Italian experiences more generally. According to the *Eracles*, Raymond III had promised Gerard of Ridefort – who was himself a new arrival in the East, described by Ernoul as a "*clerc de Flandres*" – the hand in marriage of the first available heiress in the county.¹⁰⁴ However, when one did become available – the heiress of William Dorel, lord of Batrūn, being his daughter by his unknown first wife – Raymond instead

¹⁰⁰ M. Mack, *The Merchant of Genoa: The Crusades, the Genoese and the Latin East, 1187-1220s* (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis: University of Cambridge, 2003), pp. 110-136.

¹⁰¹ *RRH*, no. 581; 'Due Bolle Pontificie', *Giornale Ligustico di Archeologia, Storia e Letteratura*, 10 (1883), no. 2, pp. 164-165.

¹⁰² *Comté*, p. 88.

¹⁰³ *Comté*, p. 78.

¹⁰⁴ Ernoul, p. 114; *Cont. Morgan*, p. 45; *Eracles*, pp. 50-51; *Estoires*, p. 175.

sold her to Plivain in return for gold.¹⁰⁵ Consequently Plivain became lord of Batrūn and Gerard stormed off to Jerusalem to become a celibate Templar, eventually reaching the rank of master.¹⁰⁶ Other Old French narratives corroborate that Raymond betrayed Gerard at Batrūn, although they do not explicitly mention Plivain and his gold.¹⁰⁷ As the story goes, the bad blood between Raymond and Gerard after this incident lingered, with Gerard claiming triumphantly at the contrived coronation in 1186 of Raymond's rival, Guy of Lusignan, that "*Ceste corone vaut bien le mariage dou Botron*".¹⁰⁸ More seriously still, the mutual hatred between the two men was blamed for no less than the downfall of the kingdom in 1187.¹⁰⁹

Much debate surrounds the veracity of this story. Neither Baldwin nor Richard questioned the account of the Old French sources, with Richard finding some corroborating evidence in the thirteenth-century *Lignages d'Outremer*.¹¹⁰ Morgan dismissed the story in the *Eracles* for its "*caractère folklorique*", although Hamilton believes that "this story may have been true", since Plivain was both a real person and lord of Batrūn from March 1181.¹¹¹ Barber has pointed to a charter from the county of Tripoli, in which Gerard appears as a witness, as proof that Gerard and Raymond were at least onetime associates.¹¹² The charter lacks a complete dating clause, but Delaville le Roulx dated it to c.1175, primarily on the basis of the witnesses.¹¹³ As for the Batrūn

¹⁰⁵ *Cont.* Morgan, pp. 45-46; *Eracles*, p. 51.

¹⁰⁶ *Cont.* Morgan, p. 46; *Eracles*, pp. 51-52.

¹⁰⁷ Ernoul, p. 114; *Estoires*, p. 175.

¹⁰⁸ *Cont.* Morgan, p. 33; *Eracles*, pp. 29, 52.

¹⁰⁹ Ernoul, pp. 114, 178.

¹¹⁰ Baldwin, *Raymond* (1936), p. 41; *Comté*, pp. 75, 80; *Lignages*, pp. 83, 119.

¹¹¹ *Cont.* Morgan, p. 46 n. 1; Hamilton, *Leper King*, pp. 146-147; *RRH*, no. 602.

¹¹² M. Barber, 'The Reputation of Gerard of Ridefort', in *The Military Orders. Volume 4: On Land and by Sea*, ed. by J. Upton-Ward (Aldershot, 2008), p. 114; 'Chartes', ed. by Delaville le Roulx, no. IV.

¹¹³ 'Chartes', ed. by Delaville le Roulx, no. IV, p. 189.

scandal itself, Baldwin gave a speculative date of late 1179.¹¹⁴ Hamilton dates the Batrūn incident to between the death of William Dorel of Batrūn, sometime before November 1179, and the first appearance of Plivain as “*dominus Botroni*” in March 1181.¹¹⁵ Barber believes that Plivain’s marriage to the heiress took place in 1180.¹¹⁶ Whatever the chronology of the affair, the incident shows that non-Occitan immigrants were penetrating the highest echelons of Frankish society in the county of Tripoli, be they the successful Plivain of Pisa or the unsuccessful Gerard of Ridefort of Flanders.

As Abulafia has observed, Venice was relatively late to crusading, the slowest of the three great cities alongside Pisa and Genoa, although their enthusiasm evidently grew in the years and decades after the success of the First Crusade.¹¹⁷ The Venetians were apparently promised half of the spoils of Tripoli by Godfrey of Bouillon and Patriarch Daimbert of Jerusalem, c.1100, if they assisted in the city’s conquest, at a time when the city was still expected to form part of the kingdom of Jerusalem.¹¹⁸ The city was not conquered at this point and the Venetians never came to have any major presence in the county. The Venetians make only minor appearances in the county’s surviving documentation for the twelfth century, owning a scattering of houses and property in Tripoli.¹¹⁹ The first record of the Venetians enjoying trade privileges at Jubayl does not come until 2 November 1217, which is after when Mack believes the

¹¹⁴ Baldwin, *Raymond* (1936), p. 41 n. 41.

¹¹⁵ Hamilton, *Leper King*, pp. 146-147, 147 n. 88.

¹¹⁶ Barber, ‘The Reputation’, pp. 114-115.

¹¹⁷ Abulafia, *Great Sea*, pp. 292-293.

¹¹⁸ *DUKJ*, i, no. *9; ‘Monachi Anonymi Littorensis’, p. 272; *RRH*, no. 31. Favreau-Lilie and Bellomo seem to accept this document’s authenticity. Favreau-Lilie, pp. 78-79; Bellomo, p. 428. See Chapter One, pp. 88-89.

¹¹⁹ *RRH*, nos 84, 402, 585; *Urkunden*, ed. by Tafel and Thomas, i, nos 36, 59; *Documenti sulle Relazioni delle Città Toscane coll’Oriente Cristiano e coi Turchi fino all’anno MDXXXI*, ed. by G. Müller (Florence, 1879), *parte prima*, no. 15; *Raccolta di Scelti Diplomi Pisani*, ed. by F. dal Borgo (Pisa, 1765), p. 95.

lords of Jubayl to have shed their economic and sentimental affiliation to Genoa.¹²⁰ Unlike the Genoese and the Pisans, the Venetians do not seem to have settled in large numbers. None seem to have attempted to enter the ranks of the local nobility, alongside the Embriaci and Plivain the Pisan, or at least none were successful.

The Genoese and the Pisans of the county are sufficient to highlight the importance of the Italians alongside the Occitans. Confronted with such evidence of Italian immigration, even Richard has to acknowledge that Occitan influence in the county had been diluted significantly by the thirteenth century.¹²¹ Richard suggests that this process began fairly late, in the reign of Raymond III.¹²² Although this chronology seems reasonable in relation to Pisan settlement, it does not explain adequately Pisan involvement in the conquest of the county, or the settlement of Genoese and – in much smaller numbers – Venetians, from the very beginning of the county's existence. The history of Frankish society in the county in the twelfth century cannot be seen simply as one of steady decline from "Provençal" origins to multi-ethnic diversity under Raymond III.

IV. Links with Occitania

Historians have sometimes suggested that contact between the Latin West and East declined as the twelfth century wore on. Mack argues that the Genoese Embriaci at Jubayl lost their cultural affinity to Genoa and adopted a Syro-Frankish one instead, particularly from the 1150s, during the second and third generation of settlers.¹²³ She

¹²⁰ *RRH*, no. 904; *Urkunden*, ed. by Tafel and Thomas, ii, no. 250; Mack, pp. 127-132.

¹²¹ *Comté*, p. 92.

¹²² *Comté*, pp. 75-77, 91.

¹²³ Mack, pp. 127-132. Cf. E. H. Byrne, 'The Genoese Colonies in Syria', in *The Crusades*, ed. by Paetow, pp. 145-154; Cahen, *Syrie*, pp. 498-499; *Comté*, p. 85;

also believes that the Embriaci family's gradual loss of their Genoese identity and loyalties reflects a general process, evident in other families originating from elsewhere in Europe.¹²⁴ Concerning the Occitans of the county, Grousset believed that baronial rebellions in the thirteenth century were caused by the resentment and fear felt by men of Provençal and Languedocian descent, witnessing the demise of their "*dynastie nationale*" after the death of Raymond III in 1187 and the birth of a potentially hostile "*dynastie normande et poitevine d'Antioche*" under Bohemond IV.¹²⁵ Although Richard acknowledges that the "*dynastie antiochéniennne*" led to some weakening of Occitan influence and prestige in the county, he believes that they had already begun to be challenged in the twelfth century, particularly after the Second Crusade and during the reign of Raymond III.¹²⁶ He believes that the county was "*Abandonné par la Provence*" after the Second Crusade, which forced Raymond to seek elsewhere for recruitment, hence the use of non-Occitans like Plivain the Pisan and the mysterious Astafortis to replace the county's Occitan seigneurial families, as some seemingly went extinct, such as the Puylaurens family of Gibelacar and the Agout family of Batrūn.¹²⁷ In this interpretation, the dilution of the county's Occitan heritage occurred before the advent of the *dynastie antiochéniennne*. Aurell and Carraz accept Richard's conclusions, whilst emphasising the *dynastie antiochéniennne*'s deleterious effect upon the Provençaux, in a way that is reminiscent of Grousset.¹²⁸ Carraz suggests that personal and institutional contact between ecclesiastics in the county of Tripoli and the marquisat of Provence

Favreau-Lilie, pp. 116-127, 171, 218-219, 226; R. L. Reynolds, 'In Search of a Business Class in Thirteenth-Century Genoa', *The Journal of Economic History*, 5, *Supplement: The Tasks of Economic History* (1945), p. 10.

¹²⁴ Mack, p. 142.

¹²⁵ Grousset, iii, 736 n. 3.

¹²⁶ *Comté*, pp. 91-92; Richard, 'Les comtes', pp. 213, 220; Richard, 'Les Saint-Gilles', p. 74.

¹²⁷ *Comté*, p. 91; Richard, 'Les comtes', p. 213. Cf. Richard, 'Les Saint-Gilles', pp. 70-71.

¹²⁸ Aurell, *Une famille*, p. 150; Carraz, pp. 80, 83-84.

was especially ephemeral, fading quickly after the First Crusade, with the exception of the ubiquitous military orders.¹²⁹

Certainly for the early years, Occitan clergy appear prominently in witness lists, with at least the first three bishops of Tripoli having been southern French, with personal connections to the “*toulousanischen Dynastie*”.¹³⁰ During the siege of Tripoli, various Occitan clergymen visited *Mons Peregrinorum*, including the bishops Aicard of Marseille, Peter of Glandèves, Ayminus of Toulon, Arnald of Béziers and Aicard of Arles; the abbot Albert of the Benedictine abbey of St Erard in Marseille; and a number of lesser *clerici*, monks and deacons, especially of Posquières.¹³¹ Occitan priests continued to visit the county after the conquest of Tripoli in 1109. In 1115, Bishop Berengar of Orange, acting as papal legate, advised Bishop Pons of Tripoli on the surrender of certain tithes to the Hospital.¹³² On 9 December 1125, Bishop Pons of Le Puy and Abbot Berengar of St Feliu (*Felix*) in Girona, north-eastern Catalonia, oversaw the settlement of a dispute over tithes between Philip, cantor of Tripoli, and the Hospitallers.¹³³ Berengar of St Feliu remained in the county for at least a few more months, appearing in a witness list on 14 March 1126.¹³⁴ After this, however, visiting Occitan clergy are no longer readily apparent in the county of Tripoli.

The best case study of the prominent role played by Occitan clergy in the early county is surely Tripoli's first Latin bishop, Abbot Albert of St Erard, who was

¹²⁹ Carraz, pp. 80-81.

¹³⁰ Antweiler, pp. 261-262.

¹³¹ *RRH*, nos 38, 44, 48, 58; *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint-Victor*, ed. by Guérard, ii, no. 802; Devic and Vaissète, v, no. 420 (CCCXL), col. 792; *CCSSJ*, nos 79, 86; Riley-Smith, 'Raymond', pp. 4-8.

¹³² *RRH*, no. 78; *Codice diplomatico del sacro militare ordine Gerosolimitano oggi di Malta*, ed. by S. Paoli, 2 vols (Lucca, 1733-1737), i, no. 2, pp. 269-270.

¹³³ *RRH*, no. 107; *CGOH*, i, no. 72.

¹³⁴ *RRH Add.*, no. 113b; *CGOH*, i, no. 75.

appointed by Raymond of Saint-Gilles sometime between 1103 and 1105.¹³⁵ He rose to the highest ecclesiastical office in the county and contributed personally to the regular contact between Occitania and Tripoli. He is recorded alongside various Occitan bishops at an ecclesiastical council concerning the Peace of God, held sometime between 1102 and 1112 at the cathedral of Mende in Lozère, Languedoc.¹³⁶ Antweiler dates it more narrowly to 1105-07.¹³⁷ The occasion also featured the miraculous discovery of the lower jawbone of St Privat.¹³⁸ Curiously, the source lists Albert of Tripoli amongst the “*archiepiscopi*”, which leads Richard to construct an imaginative theory that Raymond of Saint-Gilles had hoped to elevate Tripoli to the rank of an independent metropolitan archbishopric – rather than a suffragan of Tyre, then still in Muslim hands – and had sent Albert westwards, possibly to discuss the matter with the pope in Rome, who in the event rejected the proposal.¹³⁹ Rowe doubted Richard’s proposal, noting that the evidence hardly seems sufficient.¹⁴⁰ For one thing, the source only survives in a fourteenth-century version, albeit based on a lost text probably composed c.1170.¹⁴¹ Richard’s theory thus rests on the assumption that a sole copyist’s error at no point entered the text and accidentally grouped the *episcopus* of Tripoli with the *archiepiscopi* also in attendance. This is not to say that Albert did not attend the council of Mende, but that he did so as a mere *episcopus*.

¹³⁵ WM, p. 700; ‘De Miraculis S. Roberti, Auctore Bertrando monacho Casæ-Dei’, ed. by P. Labbe, in *Acta Sanctorum Aprilis*, ed. by G. Henschenius and D. Papebrochius, 3 vols (Antwerp, 1675), iii, 330; *Comté*, pp. 17, 59; Hamilton, *Latin Church*, pp. 25, 122; Antweiler, pp. 29-30.

¹³⁶ *Les Miracles de Saint Privat suivis des opuscules d’Aldebert III, évêque de Mende*, ed. by C. Brunel (Paris, 1912), pp. xix, 37.

¹³⁷ Antweiler, pp. 30-31.

¹³⁸ *Miracles de Saint Privat*, p. 37.

¹³⁹ *Comté*, p. 59. Cf. Antweiler, pp. 30-31.

¹⁴⁰ Rowe, ‘The Papacy’, p. 163.

¹⁴¹ *Miracles de Saint Privat*, pp. i-ii, xxxix; Antweiler, p. 30.

Other evidence that Albert maintained a personal connection with Occitania can be found. As is well known, Raymond of Saint-Gilles acquired an impressive stockpile of relics during the First Crusade, including the famous, but quickly discredited Holy Lance.¹⁴² Most relevantly, Raymond of Aguilers reported that one of Count Raymond's visionary priests, Peter Desiderius, guided the crusaders to the "*ecclesiam Beati Leontii*" at Tripoli – very possibly a lingering remnant of the great Late Antique shrine to this Roman soldier saint, martyred in Tripoli, AD 70-79¹⁴³ – from which a large collection of relics was taken, interpreted as a sign that the crusaders should delay no longer, but head south to Jerusalem.¹⁴⁴ According to a monk of the priory of La Chaise-Dieu, just north of Le Puy, Albert sent some or all of these relics to this priory, to embellish the tomb of St Robert there.¹⁴⁵ This supposedly happened after the death of Raymond of Saint-Gilles, who was said to have been a fervent devotee of St Robert and a patron of the priory.¹⁴⁶ Some caution is necessary. Not only is this source unsubstantiated, but the author also claimed that Albert had been a monk of La Chaise-Dieu and, upon his departure for the East, one of the first priors of the small affiliated house of Privezac, Rouergue.¹⁴⁷ This seems to contradict the more reliable evidence that Albert had been abbot of St Erard. This author had an evident desire to exaggerate the

¹⁴² The Lance was lost in Asia Minor in 1101. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 150.

¹⁴³ J. M. Fiey, 'Un grand sanctuaire perdu? Le Martyrion de Saint Léonce à Tripoli', *Le Muséon: Revue d'études orientales*, 95.1-2 (1982), pp. 77-98. Fiey believes that, by the time the crusaders captured Tripoli in 1101 (*sic*), Leontios had been forgotten, with the ancient local legends about him possibly conflated with other warrior saints, better known to medieval Christians. Fiey, p. 98. Raymond of Aguilers's account suggests otherwise. Interestingly, Raymond's account does include the story that Peter Desiderius was admonished by St George for planning to depart without his relics. RA, pp. 133-134. The inclusion of St George, but not his fellow warrior saint Leontios, perhaps confirms Fiey's suspicion that the cults had been conflated.

¹⁴⁴ RA, pp. 131-133.

¹⁴⁵ 'De Miraculis S. Roberti', p. 330.

¹⁴⁶ 'De Miraculis S. Roberti', p. 330.

¹⁴⁷ 'De Miraculis S. Roberti', p. 330; P.-R. Gaussin, *L'Abbaye de la Chaise-Dieu (1043-1518)* (Paris, 1962), pp. 142, 217.

role of his own abbey of La Chaise-Dieu in the First Crusade, writing that Raymond of Saint-Gilles's special devotion to St Robert led him to take the cross at his tomb.¹⁴⁸ This may be true, but it would be wise to treat the claims of this hagiographical text with more scepticism than some historians have done.¹⁴⁹ In any case, no other cleric from the county subsequent to Albert took such an active interest in Occitania.

The relatively early cessation of ecclesiastical links does not correspond to a general termination of contact between Tripoli and Occitania. The next great wave of Occitan crusaders to come to the East after the first generation came during the Second Crusade in 1148, in the great seaborne contingent of Count Alfons Jordan of Toulouse. For Richard, events in the course of this expedition led to the breakdown of relations between Occitania and Tripoli.¹⁵⁰ Before assessing his rationale, some background is necessary. Alfons's crusade was his third great pilgrimage and his most adventurous, following two earlier ones to Santiago de Compostela.¹⁵¹ Alfons had been born at *Mons Peregrinorum* c.1103 and had then been taken West following his father's death in 1105, so this was not his first trans-Mediterranean voyage, although it was almost certainly the first he could remember.¹⁵² William of Tyre recorded Alfons's arrival at Acre by sea around the same time as Conrad III of Germany in April 1148, but the count died soon afterwards at Caesarea Maritima, on his way to Jerusalem.¹⁵³ The near-simultaneous arrival of Conrad and Alfons perhaps explains Ibn al-Athīr's confused

¹⁴⁸ 'De Miraculis S. Roberti', p. 330.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Hill and Hill, *Raymond IV*, p. 3; Gaussin, pp. 131-132, 141-142, 217; Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 150. The contradictory evidence is discussed in detail by Antweiler, pp. 27-29.

¹⁵⁰ *Comté*, pp. 68, 91.

¹⁵¹ Devic and Vaissète, iii, 756.

¹⁵² WM, p. 700; WT, i, 486; *Comté*, pp. 7, 46.

¹⁵³ WT, ii, 756. Ibn al-Qalānisī placed Alfons's death at Acre, but this should be dismissed. IQ, p. 300.

claim that Alfons's son Bertrand (*walad alfunsh*) had travelled with "the king of the Germans" (*malik al-almān*).¹⁵⁴

Due to Alfons's death at such an early stage in the expedition, he has been neglected in favour of Conrad and Louis VII of France. It is clear that contemporaries expected Alfons to play an important part in the Second Crusade, alongside these other European rulers. William wrote that there was widespread disappointment after Alfons's death, as many had hoped he would embody the "*faustum et felix omen patris*".¹⁵⁵ The hope that Alfons would relive the glory of his father, the legendary Raymond of Saint-Gilles, coupled with the presence of a number of his family members in his entourage, supports Riley-Smith's argument that family traditions dating back to the First Crusade motivated many participants in the Second, although Riley-Smith curiously omits the Toulousan family.¹⁵⁶ Amongst Muslim authors too, the arrival of Alfons was seen as a significant moment, albeit for negative reasons. Richard observes that Muslim authors accorded the same level of importance to Alfons as to Louis VII.¹⁵⁷ The only three Frankish magnates specifically identified by Ibn al-Qalānisī were King Louis (*malik al-ifranj* = king of the Franks), Conrad of Germany (*almān* = German), and Alfons (*alfunsh*).¹⁵⁸ After all, the great reputation of Alfons's father, Raymond *Ṣanjīl*, was no less a part of the Muslim history of the First Crusade than of the Christian.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁴ IA, xi, 131.

¹⁵⁵ WT, ii, 756.

¹⁵⁶ J. Riley-Smith, 'Family Traditions and Participation in the Second Crusade', in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. by M. Gervers (New York, 1992), pp. 101-105.

¹⁵⁷ *Comté*, p. 6 n. 4.

¹⁵⁸ IQ, p. 297. Gibb decided to translate *Alfunsh* as "son of Alphonso" upon his arrival, thus identifying him with his son Bertrand. Ibn al-Qalānisī, trans. by Gibb, pp. 280, 280 n. 2. This is puzzling, as the Arabic is unambiguous in identifying "the German (Conrad) and Alfons" (*Almān wa-Alfunsh*), not Conrad and the "son of Alfons" (*ibn Alfunsh*).

¹⁵⁹ See below, pp. 182-184.

Little is known about Alfons's companions. Ibn al-Qalānisī merely stated that innumerable Frankish "chiefs" (*kibār*) had accompanied Louis, Conrad and Alfons.¹⁶⁰ Amongst the participants of the council of Acre, held after the arrival of the crusaders to determine the crusade's course, William of Tyre listed no Occitan nobles. This does not mean that none were present, but that none were important enough to warrant mention. William acknowledged his inability to list everybody, and restricted his list to only the most important "French" (*Franci*) followers of King Louis, the imperial "Germans" (*Theutonici*), and the followers of King Fulk "*de nostris [...] regionibus*".¹⁶¹ Whilst "*de nostris regionibus*" presumably excluded anyone not from the kingdom of Jerusalem as conceived by William of Tyre, "*Franci*" in this context probably excluded the "*Provinciales*".

Charters are the best sources for the departure of Provençal knights (*milites*) on the Second Crusade, including Raymond and William of Les Baumes.¹⁶² The names of a handful of other Occitan participants are also known, including Raymond-Trencavel, the viscount of Béziers and Agde, whose experiences on the expedition seem obscure, and perhaps the troubadour Jaufré Rudel, seeking the love of Countess Hodierna of Tripoli, as legend has it.¹⁶³ A thirteenth-century biography of Rudel claims that he sailed to Tripoli, dying in the countess's arms, which perhaps gave rise to Richard's uncited and otherwise unsubstantiated claim that "*la plupart des Croisés provençaux*" landed at Tripoli during the Second Crusade, whilst Alfons himself landed at southerly

¹⁶⁰ IQ, p. 297.

¹⁶¹ WT, ii, 760-761.

¹⁶² Carraz, p. 75.

¹⁶³ Devic and Vaissète, iii, 754; *Biographies*, ed. by Boutière and Schutz, pp. 16-17, 19 n. 4; M. Barrington, *Blaye, Roland, Rudel and The Lady of Tripoli: A study in the relations of poetry to life. A. D. 731-1950* (Salisbury, 1953), pp. 59-60; K. J. Lewis, 'Countess Hodierna of Tripoli: From Crusader Politician to "Princesse Lointaine"', *Assuming Gender*, 3.1 (2013), pp. 10-16. See below, pp. 201-204.

Acre.¹⁶⁴ One prominent participant was Hugh VII of Lusignan, count of La Marche, a lordship on the very frontier of Occitania and the home of Alfons's paternal grandmother Almodis.¹⁶⁵ A more firmly Occitan participant was Pons of Meynes, who made a donation to the Templars in November 1146 before departing in 1147.¹⁶⁶ The lords of Meynes in Languedoc had attended both Alfons and his brother Bertrand in the West throughout the past half-century.¹⁶⁷

Alfons's most important follower, at least as far as the history of the county of Tripoli is concerned, was his illegitimate son Bertrand. Kamāl al-Dīn reported his presence at the ill-fated siege of Damascus, making him the only confirmed Occitan participant in this particular event.¹⁶⁸ Bertrand next appeared at 'Urayma in the county of Tripoli, which he seized and held for a short period, with Arabic authors claiming that he intended to capture Tripoli itself from Count Raymond II, Bertrand's cousin.¹⁶⁹ Richard believes that Bertrand, but also his father before him, had intended to take the county from Raymond II on the curious basis of porphyrogeniture – a system of succession that favoured those sons born after their father's reign began, even at the expense of any elder sons born earlier.¹⁷⁰ It was only on this basis that Bertrand's father Alfons could be said to have the stronger claim to Tripoli, inherited from *his* father Raymond IV of Saint-Gilles. Alfons's half-brother Bertrand (I) – Raymond II of Tripoli's grandfather and Bertrand (II)'s uncle – was Alfons's elder and therefore the rightful heir to Raymond IV in terms of primogeniture. However, Bertrand had also

¹⁶⁴ *Biographies*, ed. by Boutière and Schutz, p. 17; *Comté*, p. 6.

¹⁶⁵ *Biographies*, ed. by Boutière and Schutz, p. 19 n. 4.

¹⁶⁶ Poly, p. 321 n. 25.

¹⁶⁷ Poly, p. 321.

¹⁶⁸ KD, ii, 292.

¹⁶⁹ KD, ii, 292; Ibn al-Athīr, 'Histoire des atabecs de Mosul par Ibn el-Athīr', *RHC Or*, ii.II, 162; IA, xi, 131. See: Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 70-71.

¹⁷⁰ *Comté*, pp. 7, 46. See also: Carraz, p. 112; Köhler, *Alliances*, pp. 160-161. But cf. Bruguière, p. 148.

been born long before his and Alfons's father had even departed on the First Crusade, let alone reigned in the East. Meanwhile, the younger Alfons had been born at *Mons Peregrinorum* c.1103 when their father had actually claimed to rule as *comes Tripolitanus*.¹⁷¹

According to Richard, Alfons wished to give the county of Tripoli to his illegitimate son Bertrand, whilst leaving the county of Toulouse to his legitimate heir, Raymond V.¹⁷² Richard then theorises that Raymond II was responsible for poisoning Alfons at Acre, lest his cousin succeed in his intended coup, thus giving Bertrand the added motive of vengeance for his father's death.¹⁷³ In the end, a desperate Count Raymond sought assistance from Nūr al-Dīn and Mu'īn al-Dīn, allowing them to take 'Urayma and to capture his cousin and his entourage, including "his mother" (*wālidat-hu/ummu-hu*), presumably Alfons's mistress.¹⁷⁴ It was Raymond II's double betrayal, first of Alfons and then of Bertrand, which Richard believes caused irrevocable damage to relations between the houses of Toulouse and Tripoli, and between Occitania and the county more generally. In his opinion, this is why there was an apparent lack of Occitan visitors to the county after 1148, why Raymond II's son and successor was forced to seek non-Occitans like Plivain of Pisa to supplement the older Occitan nobility of the county, and also why no member of the house of Toulouse came eastwards to claim

¹⁷¹ For Raymond IV's Tripolitan title in 1103, see: 'Le chartrier', ed. by Richard, pp. 607-608, 610.

¹⁷² *Comté*, p. 7.

¹⁷³ *Comté*, p. 7.

¹⁷⁴ KD, ii, 292; Ibn al-Athīr, 'Histoire des atabecs', pp. 162-163; IA, xi, 131-132. Cf. IQ, p. 300. It is interesting that Bertrand's mother, Alfons's mistress, apparently accompanied the expedition. Alfons's wife Faydide of Uzès probably did not come along. Devic and Vaissète, iii, 754. An anonymous Syriac chronicle records that Alfons came with his wife (*sic*) and his children. *Anonymi Auctoris Chronicon*, ii, 111.

Tripoli when the *dynastie toulousaine* died there with the childless Raymond III in 1187.¹⁷⁵

Certainly the incident raises a number of issues, not all of which are answered by Richard's neat interpretation. The sources alone prove highly problematic. Regarding the poisoning, Richard observes that William of Tyre, "*toujours prudent*", noted that no culprit was ever identified and chose not to speculate.¹⁷⁶ William made no mention of the capture of Bertrand at 'Urayma, although he noted elsewhere that "*Bertrandum, comitis Sancti Egidii naturalem filium*", had been released from Aleppo over a decade later in 1159, along with various other prisoners, following negotiations between Emperor Manuel Komnenos and Nūr al-Dīn.¹⁷⁷ Although Richard does not say so explicitly, it is likely that William had been embarrassed by the whole affair. William praised Christian alliances with the Muslims against other Muslims, but he did not approve of such alliances when the victim was a Christian. The best examples are his censuring of Alice of Antioch for attempting to secure an alliance with Zankī of Mosul in 1130, supposedly against the barons of the principality and her father Baldwin II, and his similar criticism of Hugh II of Jaffa for allying with the Muslims of Aleppo

¹⁷⁵ *Comté*, pp. 68, 91.

¹⁷⁶ WT, ii, 756; *Comté*, p. 6.

¹⁷⁷ WT, ii, 849; *Comté*, p. 7. See also: John Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, trans. by C. M. Brand (New York, 1976), p. 143; *Anonymi Auctoris Chronicon*, ii, 119. Ibn al-Qalānīsī noted that the release of the Frankish prisoners – none of whom he mentions by name – was secured through a huge amount of horses, jewels, and other gifts. IQ, p. 358. Runciman thought that Bertrand's health had "been broken by captivity", which prevented his reappearance from being "embarrassing". S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades, Volume II: The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Frankish East, 1100-1187* (Cambridge, 1957), p. 355. Neither of the sources used by Runciman – William of Tyre and John Kinnamos – provides any indication that Bertrand's health had been broken. Runciman's speculation is therefore baseless. Other individuals – including Raymond III not long afterwards – survived the depredations of Muslim prisons in order to pursue active political careers afterwards, and there is no reason that Bertrand should have been "broken".

against King Fulk in 1134.¹⁷⁸ It is noteworthy that William did not mention Raymond II's seemingly treacherous behaviour in similar circumstances, even if only to criticise it. Perhaps William wanted to avoid drawing attention to the controversial acts of a man who was father to William's sometime patron, Raymond III.

The earliest Muslim author to record the event, Ibn al-Qalānisī, also refrained from mentioning the involvement of Raymond II, depicting the raid on 'Urayma as if purely the initiative of Nūr al-Dīn.¹⁷⁹ Elisséeff suggested that the 'Urayma incident was an early example of Nūr al-Dīn's enthusiasm for the *jihād*, although Mallett has argued otherwise, suggesting that Nūr al-Dīn was concerned only with local strategic ambitions until he assumed the image of a *mujāhid* in the 1150s.¹⁸⁰ Be that as it may, Ibn al-Qalānisī's reticence when he was writing more or less contemporaneously with events, suggests a concern on his part to depict Nūr al-Dīn as a righteous Muslim ruler, acting only in opposition to, and never alongside the Franks. Presumably later authors, such as Kamāl al-Dīn and Ibn al-Athīr, incorporated the account that Raymond II had requested the assistance of Nūr al-Dīn, because the latter's reputation was no longer a current concern.

Those sources that do record the controversy fully – Kamāl al-Dīn and Ibn al-Athīr, but also the Latin accounts of the anonymous Premonstratensian continuator of Sigebert of Gembloux and the derivative William of Nangis¹⁸¹ – remain limited. Although Bertrand's intent to capture Tripoli is mentioned by the Arab sources, none explicitly confirm Richard's supposition that this was part of a plan devised by his

¹⁷⁸ WT, i, 623-624; ii, 653.

¹⁷⁹ IQ, pp. 300-301; AS, i, 210.

¹⁸⁰ N. Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-Dīn: un grand prince musulman de Syrie au temps des croisades (511-569 H./1118-1174)*, 3 vols (Damascus, 1967), ii, 424-426; A. Mallett, 'The battle of Inab', *JMH*, 39.1 (2013), pp. 51-60, esp. pp. 52-53.

¹⁸¹ See below, pp. 174-175.

father to recapture the county from his cousin and to give it to Bertrand.¹⁸² An anonymous thirteenth-century Syriac chronicle alleges that Raymond met Alfons at Acre, thinking that his cousin wished to claim rights in the county, but even this unsubstantiated source does not confirm that Alfons actually had this intention.¹⁸³ More questionable still is Richard's theory that Raymond II poisoned Alfons, and that this led to a definitive break in relations between the houses of Toulouse and Tripoli. The only contemporary source to blame Raymond explicitly for Alfons's poisoning is again the anonymous thirteenth-century Syriac chronicle, although Richard does not use this source at all, reaching the same conclusions by coincidence.¹⁸⁴

Alfons was probably not poisoned at all, but his death, like the deaths of many a medieval magnate, nevertheless led to rumours. These rumours certainly never reached Arab authors, who were otherwise well informed about the scandal at 'Urayma. Ibn al-Qalānisī knew that Alfons had died, but did not mention poison.¹⁸⁵ Medieval sea travel, on cramped ships with limited fresh water supplies, would hardly have been conducive to good health. Stumbling ashore, likely seasick and dehydrated, into the rising heat of a late Palestinian spring may well have brought on symptoms in Alfons easily mistaken for poisoning, not least death. If so, Alfons was not the only victim of the risks of travel during the Second Crusade. Ibn al-Qalānisī hinted at what was probably the true cause of Alfons's passing when he noted that a huge number of anonymous Franks, including "some of their kings" (*min mulūk-him*), died through disease and hunger, as well as in war.¹⁸⁶ A biography of one of Alfons's supposed followers, the troubadour Jaufré

¹⁸² *Comté*, p. 7.

¹⁸³ *Anonymi Auctoris Chronicon*, ii, 87, 111.

¹⁸⁴ *Anonymi Auctoris Chronicon*, ii, 87, 111, 119.

¹⁸⁵ IQ, p. 300.

¹⁸⁶ IQ, pp. 297-298.

Rudel, explicitly said that Rudel “took ill in the ship” (*pres lo malautia en la nau*) and died soon after landing at Tripoli.¹⁸⁷

No Latin author blamed Count Raymond, but accused another individual. The near-contemporary Premonstratensian continuator of the chronicle of Sigebert of Gembloux (c.1030-c.1112) blamed an anonymous “*regina*”.¹⁸⁸ Although Richard believes Raymond II to have been the culprit, he makes the suggestion that Sigebert’s continuator had in mind Eleanor of Aquitaine: the historiographically ubiquitous archetype of the scheming medieval woman and claimant to some rights in Alfons’s county of Toulouse, through her grandmother Philippa, Alfons’s first cousin.¹⁸⁹ Bruguière notes that Alfons had heirs, not least his son Raymond V, so Eleanor could not have hoped to inherit Toulouse even with Alfons dead.¹⁹⁰ Furthermore, Richard seems unaware that the largely derivative William of Nangis elaborated this account, identifying the queen as “*regina Jerosolymorum*”, that is to say Melisende.¹⁹¹

Mayer, who also seems unaware of William of Nangis’s testimony, nonetheless agrees that the original author, Sigebert’s continuator, intended the anonymous queen to be read as Melisende, of whom he was a fierce critic.¹⁹² Mayer also proposes that Melisende poisoned Alfons to protect her brother-in-law’s possessions, with her sister

¹⁸⁷ *Biographies*, ed. by Boutière and Schutz, p. 17.

¹⁸⁸ ‘*Continuatio Praemonstratensis*’, in ‘*Sigeberti Gemblacensis Chronographia*’, ed. by L. C. Bethmann, *MGH SS*, vi, 454. The *Continuatio Praemonstratensis* covers the period 1114-55, survives in a twelfth-century manuscript, and was perhaps based on a lost ur-text or “*Vorlage*” written in Prémontré, used also by the author of the *Chronicon Universale* of Laon, Vincent of Beauvais in his *Speculum Historiale*, and William of Nangis. K. Ciggaar, ‘The Abbey of Prémontré – Royal Contacts, Royal News: The Context of the So-Called *Continuatio Praemonstratensis*’, in *East and West in the Crusader States*, ed. by Ciggaar, Teule et al., iii, 21-22, 31-32.

¹⁸⁹ *Comté*, p. 6; Bruguière, p. 146. Cf. Richard, ‘Les Saint-Gilles’, p. 70.

¹⁹⁰ Bruguière, p. 147.

¹⁹¹ *Chronique latine de Guillaume de Nangis, de 1113 à 1300, avec les continuations de cette chronique, de 1300 à 1368*, ed. by H. Géraud, 2 vols (Paris, 1843), i, 43.

¹⁹² Mayer, ‘*Studies*’, pp. 160-161.

Hodierna married to Raymond II.¹⁹³ This is speculation, but there is direct evidence of Hodierna's role in this scandal, which has gone unnoticed. Sigebert's continuator and William of Nangis recorded the whole affair, from Alfons's death to Bertrand's capture, as follows:

<i>Hildefonsus comes {de} Sancti Egidii cum navali exercitu Palestin{-am}{-ae} applicuit, et cum magnum quid facturus speraretur, reginae [Jerosolymorum] ut aiunt dolo male potionatus, apud C[a]esaream Palæstinae moritur. [Tunc] filius ejus adolescens [sibi timens] quoddam castrum comitis Tripolitani {patrueilis}{avunculi} sui ingreditur, sed dolo ejusdem [reginae] cum sorore a Turcis captivatur.</i>¹⁹⁴	Count Alfons of Saint-Gilles, with a naval army, landed in Palestine, and since it was hoped he would perform a great act, by the treachery of the queen [of Jerusalem], so it is said, he was poisoned wickedly, and died at Caesarea of Palestine. [Then] his adolescent son [fearing for himself] entered a certain castle of his cousin/uncle (i.e. his <i>cousin</i> Raymond II of Tripoli), but by the treachery of the same [queen] with a sister was captured by the Turks.¹⁹⁵
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Previous historians, reading *cum sorore*, have assumed that it meant Bertrand's sister, listing her alongside Bertrand, his mother and the rest of his entourage, captured or killed at 'Urayma. Without any evidence, Devic and Vaissète claimed that Nūr al-Dīn made the sister his wife, whilst Richard claims that he entered her into his "harem".¹⁹⁶ Bruguière suggests – again with no proof – that the sister became Nūr al-Dīn's favourite wife, birthing his son and heir Ismā'īl al-Malik al-Šālih, hence why Raymond III would later seek to support him – his distant cousin in this fanciful

¹⁹³ Mayer, 'Studies', p. 161. Cf. Richard, 'Les Saint-Gilles', p. 70. See also: Ciggaar, 'Abbey of Prémontré', p. 28.

¹⁹⁴ 'Continuatio Praemonstratensis', p. 454; *Guillaume de Nangis*, i, 43. Alternate readings found in Sigebert's continuator and William of Nangis are in curly and square brackets respectively.

¹⁹⁵ Devic and Vaissète translated the final sentence as follows: "[Bertrand] fut fait prisonnier avec sa sœur par la trahison de ce comte". Devic and Vaissète, iii, 758. Although the Latin is admittedly ambiguous, the context suggests that "*dolo ejusdem*" refers to the *regina*, even before William of Nangis clarified it.

¹⁹⁶ Devic and Vaissète, iii, 758; *Comté*, p. 7 n. 1. See also: Ciggaar, 'Abbey of Prémontré', pp. 27 n. 24, 28.

interpretation – against Saladin in 1174.¹⁹⁷ In fact, the ambiguity of the original Latin means that *cum sorore* could be interpreted as the *regina Jerosolymorum*'s sister, that is Hodierna, who stood to lose so much from Bertrand's attempted coup. No historian has translated this passage as such previously, but it can be added to the emerging picture of Hodierna as an active politician, who participated in her sister's other schemes, most notably the irregular election of Melisende's personal chaplain, Amalric of Nesle, as patriarch of Jerusalem in 1157.¹⁹⁸ Coincidentally, William of Tyre referred to Hodierna's involvement in this latter event with the very words "*cum [...] sorore*".¹⁹⁹

It seems hard to accept Richard's belief that this controversy broke off relations between Toulouse and Tripoli, since no reliable contemporary source links Raymond II to the death of Alfons, and only indirectly through his wife to the capture of Bertrand. The lack of accusations directed at Raymond personally in Latin sources makes it doubtful that the house of Toulouse would have had any cause to blame the count of Tripoli. Moreover, links between Occitania and the county remained active in the decades following the Second Crusade. Occitania simply did not turn away from the crusades, as Richard believes.²⁰⁰ Troubadour enthusiasm for the Holy Land emerged around the time of the Second Crusade but continued long after, with many of these poets expressing deep concern over the lack and failure of crusading expeditions throughout the following century.²⁰¹ Carraz observes that individual trips made by Provençaux to the Holy Land never ceased, even if their participation in the great expeditions subsequent to the Second Crusade was slight.²⁰² Examples of such individuals include Guilhem Géraut in 1159, just a decade after the 'Urayma incident,

¹⁹⁷ Bruguière, p. 148 n. 12.

¹⁹⁸ K. J. Lewis, 'Countess Hodierna', pp. 17-19.

¹⁹⁹ WT, ii, 840.

²⁰⁰ *Comté*, p. 68.

²⁰¹ Carraz, pp. 487-490.

²⁰² Carraz, pp. 75, 76.

and Peire of Cadenet in 1185.²⁰³ It is not known how many of these pilgrims went to the county of Tripoli, as opposed to the Holy Land proper, but at least one, the troubadour Peire Vidal, actively sought the service of Raymond III of Tripoli.²⁰⁴ As Richard himself notes in one of his more recent works, the descendants of the counts of Toulouse claimed to be the legitimate heirs of the county of Tripoli as late as 1259.²⁰⁵

Conversely, contact between Tripoli and Occitania was restored soon after Alfons's death. Peter of Tripoli (*Tripul/Tripol*) was recorded in or near Douzens, between Provence and Catalonia, on 1 February 1167 and 25 February 1169.²⁰⁶ Another Peter of Tripoli (*Tripel*) appeared in Montlaurès near Narbonne in September 1195, perhaps a refugee from the Syrian turbulence of the 1180s, and a third – “*Pierre Tripoul*” – appeared numerous times in the 1250s.²⁰⁷ A John of Tripoli (*Triple*) appeared in Gascony in 1295.²⁰⁸ “*B. Tripol*” was a “*hom[es] mil[es]*” in Séranon, eastern Provence, 1 June 1233.²⁰⁹ Adding to the list of Peters, a “*Petrus*” or “*Peiro de Tripol[i]*” appeared from April 1178 to 1204 in Puylaurens in Languedoc.²¹⁰ Richard is aware of this individual and believes him to be a returning – perhaps disinherited – member of the family from Puylaurens, who were lords of Gibelacar in the county of Tripoli and appeared in eastern documents from 1117 to 1151.²¹¹ William “*de Sivra*”,

²⁰³ Carraz, pp. 170 n. 204, 416.

²⁰⁴ See below, pp. 204-209.

²⁰⁵ Richard, ‘Les Saint-Gilles’, p. 71.

²⁰⁶ *Cartulaires des Templiers de Douzens*, ed. by P. Gérard, É. Magnou, and P. Wolff (Paris, 1965), nos 104, 105.

²⁰⁷ *Le chartrier de l'Abbaye cistercienne de Fontfroide (894-1260)*, ed. by V. de Becdelièvre, 2 vols (Paris, 2009), ii, nos 804, 1685, 1687, 1695, 1727, 1728, 1758.

²⁰⁸ *Rôles Gascons*, ed. by F. Michel and C. Bémont, 3 vols + *supplément* (Paris, 1885-1906), iii, no. 4033.

²⁰⁹ *Enquêtes sur les droits et revenus de Charles I^{er} d'Anjou en Provence (1252 et 1278)*, ed. by É. Baratier (Paris, 1969), p. 297 (§304).

²¹⁰ *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, ed. by A. Teulet et al., 4 vols (Paris, 1863-1902), i, nos 287, 317, 323, 717.

²¹¹ *Comté*, p. 76 n. 3; *RRH*, nos 84, 107, 174, 118, 191, 192, 193, 198, 211, 212, 217, 218, 236, 270; *DUKJ*, i, no. 138; *CGOH*, i, nos 72, 82, 144, 160, 199; ii, no. VII;

who may be a member of Tripoli's *de Siura* family, appears in a donation to the Hospital made by the abbot of Saint-Gilles in 1157, less than a decade after the Second Crusade.²¹² The *de Siuras* were probably named after Şūrāt, a settlement some four miles to the east of Batrūn.²¹³ Richard believes that they were of fairly humble stock, who rose through the ranks of Tripolitan society to be knights by the end of the twelfth century.²¹⁴ The volume of Tripolitans in Occitania suggests that more were heading westwards than were travelling eastwards, perhaps to escape the worsening security of the county itself, although one must be wary of the distorting effect of poor source survival for the East. It is clear that contact between Occitania and the county, specifically Tripoli the *civitas provincialium*, was retained after the Second Crusade and even during the *dynastie antiochéniennne*. The other, smaller towns of the county do not seem to have produced as many emigrés, although a “*Petru[s] de Gibel* [Gibelet/Jubayl?], *filiu[s] qui fuisti Bernardi de Gibel*” appeared near Carcassonne on 28 June 1201.²¹⁵ Of course, Jubayl was settled mainly by Genoese, so it is hardly surprising that few emigrated from there to Occitania.

V. Occitan Identity and Heritage

It remains to assess the extent to which Occitan settlement in the county had any discernible influence on the county's culture, society and political development, beyond

CCSSJ, nos 34, 80, 81, 82, 83, 85; *Urkunden*, ed. by Tafel and Thomas, i, no. 36; ‘Le comté [...] Porcellet’, ed. by Richard, no. 1.

²¹² *CGOH*, i, no. 253.

²¹³ E. G. Rey, *Sommaire du supplément aux Familles d’Outremer* (Chartres, 1881), p. 11.

²¹⁴ *Comté*, p. 82; *RRH*, nos 191, 193, 198, 212, 217, 233, 236, 270, 527; *CCSSJ*, nos 81, 82, 83; *CGOH*, i, nos 144, 160, 199, 482; ii, p. 828 n. 1, no. VII; ‘Le comté [...] Porcellet’, ed. by Richard, no. 1; ‘Templars’, ed. by Riley-Smith, pp. 287-288.

²¹⁵ *Le chartrier [...] de Fontfroide*, ed. by de Becdelièvre, ii, no. 928.

fostering ties with Occitania itself. Modern theorists tend to favour subjective contemporary self-identification as the touchstone for the existence of historical national identity, based on Benedict Anderson's influential argument that nations are not objective realities but "imagined communities".²¹⁶ If there was a genuine Occitan identity in the county of Tripoli, one would expect to find self-identification with the wider Occitan community. As Bull and Murray observe, linguistic and cultural distinctions on the First Crusade often flared up into mutual hostility, sometimes violent, particularly between the northern and southern French.²¹⁷ This crusading hostility was used by Huizinga as an early example of conscious proto-nationalist sentiment in the Middle Ages.²¹⁸ The southern French Raymond of Aguilers complained that when the city of Ma'arrat al-Nu'man was captured on 11 December 1098, Bohemond's knights (*milites*) gloated over the fact that they had managed to seize more of the city's towers than had Count Raymond's men (*homines*), thereby leading to hard feelings between the two groups.²¹⁹ The Norman Ralph of Caen claimed that the "*Provinciales*" were as different from the Normans (*Franci*), "as much as a hen is to a duck" (*quantum anati gallina*): being less bellicose, plainer in their garb, and fonder of food.²²⁰ Raymond of Saint-Gilles, the leader of the Occitans, had a high opinion of himself as the principal leader of the Crusade, although often found himself

²¹⁶ B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn (London and New York, 2006), *passim*; L. Johnson, 'Imagining Communities: Medieval and Modern', in *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. by S. Forde, L. Johnson, and A. V. Murray (Leeds, 1995), p. 6 and *passim*.

²¹⁷ M. Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c.970-c.1130* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 6-7, 252; Bull, 'Overlapping', pp. 208-210; Murray, 'National identity', pp. 117-119.

²¹⁸ J. Huizinga, 'Patriotism and Nationalism in European History', in his *Men and Ideas: History, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance*, trans. by J. S. Holmes and H. van Marle (London, 1960), pp. 108-109.

²¹⁹ RA, pp. 98-99.

²²⁰ Ralph of Caen, p. 651.

“isolated” from the other leaders.²²¹ It is likely that his use of *langue d’oc*, as opposed to the dialects of *langue d’oïl* spoken by the other leaders, contributed to this isolation.²²²

Despite some evidence of an Occitan group identity, there is also evidence that this operated alongside, perhaps subordinate to a pan-Frankish identity. The First Crusade was partially conceived as a pan-Frankish expedition, a resurrection of Carolingian glory, in which all participants were able to become “Franks”, even if they were not Frankish in the strict ethnic, linguistic, historic or geographic senses.²²³ As a product of such an expedition, not to mention one settled by numerous non-Occitans, the county of Tripoli could never have been united under a specifically Occitan identity. Murray believes that the dominant identity of the crusader-settlers in the Latin East as a whole was the pan-Frankish identity, present during the First Crusade and reinforced as the settlers sought to define themselves in opposition to the various indigenous groups amongst whom they settled after the conquest; the concept of Frankishness alone united the ethnically and linguistically diverse crusaders, including those from beyond old *Francia* and even some natives of the Levant.²²⁴ Arguably the greatest proof of the strength of pan-Frankish identity was that Arab contemporaries came to refer to most crusaders and settlers as “Franks” (*ifranj*, sg. *franji*).²²⁵ Only rarely did Arab authors

²²¹ A. Jotischky, *Crusading and the Crusader States* (Harlow, 2004), p. 62.

²²² Bull, ‘Overlapping’, p. 209; Murray, ‘National identity’, pp. 117-118.

²²³ Flori, *Pierre*, pp. 168-170; Murray, ‘National identity’, pp. 116-117; Bull, ‘Overlapping’, pp. 195-211.

²²⁴ A. V. Murray, ‘Ethnic Identity in the Crusader States: The Frankish Race and the Settlement of Outremer’, in *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Forde, Johnson and Murray, pp. 61-66.

²²⁵ L. Kropáček, ‘Les *Ifrandj* dans les sources arabes’, in *Clovis: histoire & mémoire, II*, ed. by Rouche, p. 467; Hillenbrand, ‘The First Crusade’, p. 136; M. C. Lyons, ‘The Land of War: Europe in the Arab Hero Cycles’, in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. by A. E. Laiou and R. P. Mottahedeh (Washington, DC, 2001), p. 56.

indicate other sub-categories of “Frank” and never did they isolate the “Provençaux”.²²⁶ Indeed, the lead Occitan crusader, Raymond of Saint-Gilles, was explicitly called “Saint-Gilles the Frank” (*ṣanjīl al-franjī*).²²⁷

Mack believes that the Embriaci of Jubayl successfully shed their Genoese identity in favour of a *Frankish* one: a success exemplified when the German Wilbrand of Oldenburg described Lord Guy in 1211 as a “Frank” (*Francigena*).²²⁸ Crucially, the Embriaci did not become *Provinciales*. Ibn al-Qalānisī provided early Arabic corroboration of this observation, by distinguishing between “the Franks and the Genoese” (*al-ifranj wa-al-janawiyy[ūn]*) in his description of Bertrand of Saint-Gilles’s arrival in Syria and the subsequent siege of Tripoli in 1109.²²⁹ As is known from Albert of Aachen, Bertrand had also brought men from the Provençal port of Saint-Gilles, as well as “*Genuens[es]*”, but it is clear that Ibn al-Qalānisī, writing a few years later, saw no difference between Provençaux and Franks, only between Franks and Genoese.²³⁰ Occitan self-identification, if present at all, was not strong enough to impact upon contemporary Arabic accounts in the same way that Italo-Genoese identity did.

Although an Occitan identity was neither dominant nor universal amongst the Europeans of the county, the members of the ruling dynasty continued to identify themselves with Occitan heritage until at least the end of the twelfth century. Count Pons once identified himself as “*Pontius ex comitibus Sancti Egidii*”, appropriately enough in a charter of 1132, in which he surrendered his and his predecessor’s rights in the county of Velay, back in the West.²³¹ It is impossible to tell whether Pons thought

²²⁶ Ibn al-Athīr knew of “the Germans” (*al-almān*), not as a distinct category, but “a type of Frank” (*al-naw‘ min al-fīranj*). ‘Histoire des atabecs’, p. 159.

²²⁷ For example: IA, x, 343.

²²⁸ Mack, pp. 131-132; WO, p. 119.

²²⁹ IQ, p. 163.

²³⁰ AA, p. 776.

²³¹ *RRH*, no. 211; Devic and Vaissète, v, no. 551 (CCCCLIII), col. 1055.

he had inherited Saint-Gilles from his father Bertrand, against his uncle Alfons Jordan, or was simply evoking his pertinent western dynastic heritage for the sake of a western audience. Shagrir suggests that the retention of toponymic by-names evoking places of ancestral or personal origin reflects a strong and enduring attachment to Europe amongst the settlers in the East.²³² Pons's son Raymond II again stressed this western ancestry when he confirmed the same document ten years later as "*Raymundus, Pontii comitis Sancti Egidii filius*".²³³ Later still, William of Tyre made a special effort to emphasise Count Raymond III's direct patrilineal descent from his legendary great-great-grandfather Raymond of Saint-Gilles.²³⁴ As Dunbabin has shown, the French (*sic*) aristocracy of the twelfth century found justification for their particular dynastic identities in the genre of genealogy, incorporating heroic deeds by the crusaders alongside the Trojans, King Arthur and Charlemagne.²³⁵ William's genealogy of Raymond must be seen in this light.

Arabic authors also preserved the Tripolitan counts' Saint-Gilles title. From the beginning, Arabic authors called Raymond IV of Saint-Gilles simply "*Ṣanjīl*".²³⁶ Ibn al-Qalānisī once referred to Raymond as "the son of Saint-Gilles" (*ibn Ṣanjīl*).²³⁷ He and the derivative Ibn al-Athīr attempted to explain the relationship between Raymond and his immediate successor and cousin William Jordan by describing the latter erroneously

²³² I. Shagrir, 'The Medieval Evolution of By-naming: Notions from the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', in *In Laudem Hierosolymitani*, ed. by Shagrir, Ellenblum and Riley-Smith, p. 59.

²³³ *RRH*, no. 211; Devic and Vaissète, v, no. 551 (CCCCCLIII), col. 1054.

²³⁴ *WT*, ii, 966-977. William had a strong attachment to the principle of legitimate rule established through direct succession. Edbury and Rowe, pp. 63, 65 and *passim*.

²³⁵ J. Dunbabin, 'Discovering a Past for the French Aristocracy', in *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. by P. Magdalino (London, 1992), pp. 1-14.

²³⁶ For example: al-ʿAẓīmī, pp. 361, 362; *IQ*, pp. 143, 146, 147.

²³⁷ *IQ*, p. 140.

as “the son of the sister of (Raymond of) Saint-Gilles” (*ibn ukht ṣanjīl*).²³⁸ Generally, however, Arab authors knew William by his own western *honor* of Cerdanya, naming him “*al-Sardānī*”.²³⁹ Bertrand, Raymond’s biological son and William’s rival, did bear the Saint-Gilles name in Arabic chronicles, although Arab authors tended to confuse him more than any other, perhaps due to the brevity of his reign (1109-12). Ibn al-Qalānisī named him “Raymond, son of (Raymond of) Saint-Gilles” (*Raymund bin Ṣanjīl*).²⁴⁰ Once he identified him correctly as “*Badrān bin Ṣanjīl*”.²⁴¹ Elsewhere he was simply “*ibn Ṣanjīl*”.²⁴²

The confusion extended into the reign of Bertrand’s son Pons, although the emphasis on Saint-Gilles remained. Ibn al-Qalānisī referred to Pons erroneously as “*Badrān bin Ṣanjīl*”, or simply “*ibn Ṣanjīl*”.²⁴³ Ibn al-Qalānisī correctly identified Pons on one occasion as “Pons *Ṭalūlā*, son of Bertrand of Saint-Gilles” (*Bunḍ Ṭalūlā bin Badrān al-Ṣanjīlī*).²⁴⁴ This passage is especially significant. The use of *Bunḍ* here, with a second mention a few lines subsequent, represents the only reference to Pons’s personal name in Arabic literature. Traditionally, Arabic lacks the plosive consonant *p*, hence the use of the *bāʾ*, whilst the use of the letter *ḍād* (ض) is likely an orthographic error for the near-identical *ṣād* (ص).²⁴⁵ *Bunḍ* should therefore be read *Punṣ*. The use of the Arabic *nisba* adjective “*al-Ṣanjīlī*”, which theoretically could apply to Pons himself as much as to Bertrand, is a subtle indication that Ibn al-Qalānisī knew that Saint-Gilles

²³⁸ IQ, p. 163; IA, x, 400, 475. Ibn al-Athīr’s explanation of the relationship between the men may be more extensive, but it is confused and the text is possibly corrupt. Ibn al-Athīr, trans. by Richards, i, 148 n. 5.

²³⁹ IQ, p. 163; UM, p. 50; IA, x, 468, 475.

²⁴⁰ IQ, p. 163. See also: IA, x, 475.

²⁴¹ IQ, p. 181.

²⁴² IQ, pp. 167, 169, 174, 177.

²⁴³ IQ, pp. 185, 197.

²⁴⁴ IQ, p. 240.

²⁴⁵ Alternatively, the *ḍād* (ض) in *bunḍ* could be deliberate, emulating Latin Pont(ius) rather than French Pons.

was not simply the personal name of a Frank, but a toponymic or ethnic identifier, more properly translated as “the man of Saint-Gilles”.

Ibn al-Qalānisī’s use of the mysterious non-Arabic word *Ṭalūlā* in this passage, also repeated a few lines below, is most curious.²⁴⁶ Gibb offered no explanation.²⁴⁷ It is possibly a garbled form of Toulouse (Latin *Tolosa*). If so, this would represent a rare reference to Pons’s specifically Toulousan heritage, alongside his identification with Saint-Gilles. No western source suggests that the counts of Tripoli retained a claim to Toulouse beyond Bertrand’s death in 1112, with the anomalous exception to this being a highly dubious, sixteenth-century manuscript of the *Lignages d’Outremer*, which described Raymond II as “*Rymondo* [sic], *conte de Tripoli e de Tolosa*”.²⁴⁸ The continued presence of the Saint-Gilles title, and perhaps also the Toulouse by-name, in relation to Pons is arguably more significant than the use of the same in reference to his predecessors, since Pons and his successors were never themselves counts of Saint-Gilles or Toulouse, as were Raymond IV and Bertrand. The Saint-Gilles name did not disappear from Arabic texts even after Pons, although it did become less common. Ibn al-Athīr called Raymond III “Raymond (son of Raymond) the man of Saint-Gilles” (*Raymund [bin Raymund] al-Ṣanjīlī*), thus including both him and his father Raymond II under the label *Ṣanjīlī*.²⁴⁹

According to one recension of the *Lignages d’Outremer* (c.1312) Raymond III offered his county to any of “*les héritiers du comté de Toulouse*” who would be willing to travel east, since he himself lacked any heirs upon his death in 1187.²⁵⁰ This information is absent from sources closer to the event, and Mayer certainly seems

²⁴⁶ IQ, p. 240.

²⁴⁷ Ibn al-Qalānisī, trans. by Gibb, pp. 221, 222.

²⁴⁸ *Lignages*, p. 160. For the likely date of this manuscript, see: *Lignages*, pp. 49-50.

²⁴⁹ IA, xi, 419, 526.

²⁵⁰ *Lignages*, p. 145; *Comté*, pp. 8, 90-91; Richard, ‘Les Saint-Gilles’, pp. 70-71. For the date of the text, see: *Lignages*, pp. 50-51.

sceptical of the account of the Tripolitan succession in the *Lignages*, on account of its late composition.²⁵¹ Nevertheless, it is a credible claim. Raymond was not the only ruler of the Latin East to offer his domains to distant western cousins around this time. A few years earlier, the dying Baldwin IV had sent an embassy to the West, hoping in particular that his kinsman, King Henry II of England, would act as regent for the infant Baldwin V.²⁵² Just as Henry never went to the Holy Land, neither did any Toulousan ever take up Raymond's offer. Richard suggests that Alfons's successors Raymond V (r.1148-1194) and Raymond VI (r.1194-1222) were too preoccupied by their own affairs, not least Catharism and the threat posed by Angevin claims to Toulouse.²⁵³ Bruguière suggests that Raymond III did not put enough effort into contacting his western cousins, speculating that Raymond V's third son, Baldwin, would have relished the opportunity to escape a meagre inheritance by becoming count of Tripoli, an "*aventure orientale*".²⁵⁴ In any case, Raymond gave the county to his second choice, his namesake and godson Raymond, eldest son of his maternal cousin Bohemond III of Antioch.²⁵⁵ In the event, Bohemond gave the county to his second son, Bohemond IV, and the principality of Antioch to Raymond, although the latter's premature death in 1199 opened the way for the two lordships to be united henceforth under a single dynast.²⁵⁶

²⁵¹ Mayer, *Varia*, p. 185.

²⁵² Hamilton, *Leper King*, p. 209.

²⁵³ *Comté*, p. 91.

²⁵⁴ Bruguière, p. 149.

²⁵⁵ *Lignages*, pp. 66, 94, 97, 145; *Eracles*, p. 72; Ernoul, p. 178; *Estoires*, p. 200; *Comté*, p. 8; Bruguière, pp. 149-150. For a confused account in a late and frequently erroneous recension of the *Lignages*, see: *Lignages*, p. 173.

²⁵⁶ *Lignages*, pp. 94-95; *Eracles*, pp. 72-73; *Comté*, p. 8. Mayer believes that Raymond "IV" did rule Tripoli briefly, despite the *Lignages*'s implication that Bohemond I (= IV of Antioch) took over almost immediately. Mayer, *Varia*, pp. 184-202. Mayer's supporting evidence requires him to date Raymond IV's death to the beginning of 1197. Mayer, *Varia*, p. 201.

The counts' Occitan heritage was part of their dynastic and personal identities in the patrilineal sense only. It is true that the religion and thus legal status of the father alone was passed onto the son.²⁵⁷ It is also true that contemporaries strove to emphasise the patrilineal honour of the family. Thus formulae such as “*a prima die qua avus meus cepit*” were used recurrently in charters relating to *Mons Peregrinorum* in the second half of the 1120s.²⁵⁸ Nevertheless, the matrilineal descent of the counts should not be neglected. Raymond of Saint-Gilles was the son of Count Pons II of Toulouse, but also of Almodis of La Marche, on the northern limits of Occitania.²⁵⁹ Bertrand was the son of Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Raymond's unknown first wife, his first cousin, which had negative repercussions for Bertrand's later reputation as a bastard born of consanguinity.²⁶⁰ In these first two cases, the Occitan lineage remained undiluted. Bertrand's son Pons, however, was born to a non-Occitan: most probably Helen (*Hela*), daughter of Duke Odo I of Burgundy, although possibly an anonymous Lombard noblewoman, somehow related to Matilda of Tuscany.²⁶¹ Pons married Cecilia, daughter of King Philip I of France. They had three children, one of whom, Raymond II, married Hodierna, daughter of both King Baldwin II of Jerusalem – originally from the Ardennes – and Morphia of Melitene – an Armenian. By the time Tripoli's *dynastie toulousaine* died with Raymond III, the count was only fractionally Occitan and partially non-European, even if the strictly patrilineal bloodline was sometimes exaggerated over others.

The mothers, their cultural backgrounds and their bloodlines were also important to contemporaries, as has been demonstrated elsewhere in relation to the

²⁵⁷ Hamilton, *Leper King*, p. 58.

²⁵⁸ *CGOH*, i, nos 79, 82.

²⁵⁹ Hill and Hill, *Raymond IV*, p. 4.

²⁶⁰ Hill and Hill, *Raymond IV*, pp. 13-14.

²⁶¹ Orderic Vitalis, vi, 430-431, 431 n. 6. Cf. WM, pp. 696-698, 700.

influence of Countess Hodierna upon the political career of her son Raymond III in the kingdom of Jerusalem.²⁶² William of Tyre was at least as keen to emphasise Raymond III's royal descent from his maternal grandfather, King Baldwin II of Jerusalem, and his paternal grandmother Cecilia's father, King Philip of France, as he was to stress the distantly heroic Raymond of Saint-Gilles.²⁶³ After Raymond's death, the county passed to one of the sons of Bohemond III, his first cousin on his mother's side.

Onomastic data is useful for constructing a sense of dynastic identity. It is true that the first-born males of the comital family bore the proud Occitan names of the paternal line, Raymond and Pons.²⁶⁴ This observation applies even to tributary branches of the comital family, such as Bertrand Mazoir of Margat (*fl.*1165-1186), Count Bertrand of Saint-Gilles's great-grandson via his granddaughter Agnes and Raynald II Mazoir.²⁶⁵ However, all of the known younger brothers and sisters of the comital line bore matrilineal names. Pons's second son was named Philip after Cecilia's royal father Philip of France.²⁶⁶ Pons's daughter was named Agnes after Cecilia's grandmother Agnes of Kiev. Raymond II's daughter Melisende was presumably named after her

²⁶² K. J. Lewis, 'Countess Hodierna', pp. 6-7.

²⁶³ WT, ii, 966-967.

²⁶⁴ That Raymond III was named Raymond and not Pons is curious. Nielen shows that it was very unusual for the eldest son to be named after his father, with common practice being to name him after his grandfather. M.-A. Nielen, 'Families of Outremer: A Source of Traditional Naming Customs', in *Personal Names*, ed. by Beech, Bourin and Chareille, p. 136.

²⁶⁵ *RRH*, nos 521, 560, 568, 609, 612, 630, 647, 649, 652; *RRH Add.*, nos 419a, 535b, 611a, 611b, 626a, 644a, 650a; *CGOH*, i, nos 341, 457, 546, 613, 763, 783, 786, 809; iv, nos 595bis., 624bis.; *Documents concernant les Templiers*, ed. by Delaville le Roulx, no. 6; C. de Briailles, 'Lignages d'Outre-Mer: les seigneurs de Margat', *Syria*, 25.3-4 (1946), pp. 243-246. Agnes and Raynald had other sons, although largely obscure, namely Thomas (1160) and Amalric Mazoir (1165-1183). *RRH*, no. 347; *RRH Add.*, nos 419a, 535b, 626a; *CGOH*, i, no. 341; J. Delaville le Roulx, *Inventaire de pièces de Terre Sainte de l'ordre de l'Hôpital* (Paris, 1895), no. 123. Chandon de Briailles noted that Thomas was not explicitly identified as a Mazoir, so concluded that he was born of Agnes's earlier, entirely hypothetical first marriage. De Briailles, 'Lignages', pp. 237, 238.

²⁶⁶ *Comté*, p. 6.

mother Hodierna's famous sister, Queen Melisende of Jerusalem, who in turn was named for her grandmother. Again the tributary branches retained maternal naming patterns. Agnes of Tripoli had a granddaughter via her son Bertrand, who was named after her and who sought to move to Tripoli in 1239.²⁶⁷ Maternal heritage clearly remained relevant to the counts of Tripoli. Indeed, the influence of the matrilineal line in naming patterns – particularly the names of grandmothers or aunts – is attested in many other Frankish families.²⁶⁸

VI. *Langue d'Oc* in the Levant

Historians have been divided as to whether or not language was sufficient to create any nationalist or proto-nationalist sentiment in the Middle Ages. On the one hand, Kohn and Galbraith believed that the vernacular languages of medieval Europe were unable to challenge the “universal” language of Latin, and thus national sentiment was unable to compete with the universalising ideology of the Church.²⁶⁹ The basic principle that nationalism did not develop until after the Middle Ages is also promoted by Benedict Anderson, modern doyen of the study of nationalism.²⁷⁰ On the other hand, Bloch and Huizinga stressed that national communities and national sentiment in the Middle Ages were shaped largely by vernacular linguistic groups.²⁷¹

²⁶⁷ *RRH*, no. 896; *RRH Add.*, nos 1088a, 1093b; de Briailles, ‘Lignages’, pp. 246-248. See also: *Lignages*, p. 118.

²⁶⁸ Nielen, ‘Families’, pp. 138-139.

²⁶⁹ H. Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in its Origins and Background* (New York, 1944), pp. 93-96; V. H. Galbraith, ‘Language and Nationality’, in *Nationalism in the Middle Ages*, ed. by C. L. Tipton (New York, 1972), pp. 45-53.

²⁷⁰ Anderson, *passim*.

²⁷¹ M. Bloch, *Feudal Society*, trans. by L. A. Manyon, 2 vols (London, 1961), ii, 431-437; Huizinga, ‘Patriotism’, pp. 107-109, 110-111. But cf. Murray, ‘National identity’, pp. 112-113.

In the specific case of Occitania, historians lean towards Huizinga and Bloch, depicting Occitan as a valid “national” category during the Middle Ages. Archibald Lewis believed that an Occitan “consciousness” was already present by the late eleventh century, hence the apparent self-identification of the southern French participants in the First Crusade as “Provençals”.²⁷² Historians see language as the main element of Occitania’s supposed unity, as indicated by the very term “Occitania”, first used by contemporary authors.²⁷³ The area was divided politically, preventing the full development of an Occitan *natio*, but it derived unity from *langue d’oc*, “precocious” in its possession of a standardised literary language – a “koine” – of remarkable uniformity, as compared to other, more fragmented European vernaculars at the time.²⁷⁴ Bisson describes neighbouring Catalonia in similar terms as a “precocious community of language”, lacking genuine political coherence.²⁷⁵ Whatever coherence there was to Occitania and Catalonia at the time of the First Crusade was primarily, perhaps exclusively linguistic.

It follows therefore that, for the county of Tripoli to have been distinctly Occitan, *langue d’oc* must have been prevalent there. Historians have assumed that the Latin Christians of the crusader states spoke a form of contemporary French, specifically *langue d’oïl*.²⁷⁶ Arabic transliterations of the names of people and places sometimes provide clues. Abū al-Fidā’ reported that a church built on one of the small islands near Tripoli was dedicated to St Thomas, which he transliterated as “*sanṭumās*”,

²⁷² A. R. Lewis, p. xii. But cf. Paterson, ‘Was there an Occitan Identity?’, pp. 2-11.

²⁷³ Paterson, *World*, pp. 1-4; Cheyette, *Ermengard*, p. 41. But cf. Paterson, ‘Was there an Occitan Identity?’, pp. 4-5.

²⁷⁴ A. Roach, ‘Occitania Past and Present: Southern Consciousness in Medieval and Modern French Politics’, *History Workshop Journal*, 43 (1997), pp. 2-3, 4-5; N. B. Smith and T. G. Bergin, *An Old Provençal Primer* (New York and London, 1984), p. 4.

²⁷⁵ Bisson, ‘Rise of Catalonia’, p. 127 and *passim*. Cf. P. Bonnassie, ‘The formation of Catalan feudalism and its early expansion (to c. 1150)’, in his *From Slavery to Feudalism*, pp. 167-168.

²⁷⁶ Hamilton, *Leper King*, p. 59; Jacoby, ‘La littérature’, p. 619.

implying a Romance pronunciation.²⁷⁷ The same can be said for the name given by Arab authors to the counts, *Ṣanjīl*.²⁷⁸ Richard assumes that the main language spoken in the county was specifically a form of Occitan, due to the supposed preponderance of Occitan settlers there.²⁷⁹ Of course, such a speculative statement holds true for the numerous Occitans who settled elsewhere in the Latin East.

Given the diversity of Frankish settlement in the county, Occitan could not have been the only European language spoken there, even in the early twelfth century. Fulcher of Chartres stressed the diversity of the Latin Christian ethno-linguistic groups (*tribus*) represented on the First Crusade, listing many non-Occitan speakers and even non-Romance speakers.²⁸⁰ Multilingualism was probably necessary across the Latin East on a regular basis, if only to deal with the merchants and pilgrims who visited and travelled through the county's ports. This multilingualism may have declined in the course of Frankish rule in the Levant, as the multiplicity of crusader dialects gave way to one dominant *pullani* vernacular. Arab commentators in Syria regularly referred to the "Frankish language" (*lugha franjiyya*) of the Latin East, but never made a distinction between Latin and French, or between French and any other Romance dialect. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā recorded that one Arabic document issued by a Frankish lord included a seal inscribed with "writing in Frankish" (*kitāba bi-al-franjiyya*).²⁸¹ Bahā' al-Dīn praised a Byzantine envoy who could speak Arabic, Greek and "Frankish" (*al-franjiyya*).²⁸² The same homogenising of language is reported in Latin Christian sources. Fulcher of Chartres, who had noted the polyglot army of the First Crusade, could report in his final book, written before 1127, that "*lingua diversa iam communis*

²⁷⁷ AF, iv, 23.

²⁷⁸ See above, pp. 182-184.

²⁷⁹ *Comté*, p. 89. Cf. Jacoby, 'La littérature', p. 619.

²⁸⁰ FC, pp. 202-203.

²⁸¹ ṢY, p. 74; Clermont-Ganneau, p. 10.

²⁸² BD, p. 133.

facta".²⁸³ This could suggest the emergence of a "pidgin". Certainly Arabic provided loan-words to "Frankish".²⁸⁴

In a recent study based largely on a late thirteenth-century Arabic-French "phrase-book" written in Coptic characters, Aslanov has dismissed the possibility that a pidgin dialect emerged in the Latin East and later Cyprus. He argues that the dominant vernacular of the Europeans of the Latin East was a "Levantine French", being essentially a north-eastern French dialect, only "slightly coloured" by the other languages – *langue d'oc*, Italian, Arabic and Greek – with which it came into contact.²⁸⁵ Aslanov reduces the role of "Provençal" specifically to a few loan-words, mainly for fruit, vegetables and money.²⁸⁶ Of course, as is so often the case when studying the Latin East, the source evidence has a bias towards the kingdom of Jerusalem. Aslanov's main source is not only late, but was also probably written for Egyptian Copts travelling to the kingdom of Jerusalem, not as far north as the county of Tripoli.²⁸⁷ The use and survival of Occitan in the county of Tripoli remain unanswered – even unasked – questions in Aslanov's analysis.

Positive evidence that *langue d'oc* was widespread in the county is hard to find. The only surviving sources from the county issued in the vernacular are in *langue d'oïl*, although these are unreliable indicators of the vernacular of the twelfth century, since they date from the *dynastie antiochénienne*, by which point even Richard concedes that the county was no longer "*provençal*" and the language spoken there no longer *langue d'oc*.²⁸⁸ Richard has produced some piecemeal evidence for the twelfth century. He

²⁸³ FC, p. 748.

²⁸⁴ See Chapter Three, pp. 254-261.

²⁸⁵ C. Aslanov, 'Languages in Contact in the Latin East: Acre and Cyprus', *Crusades*, 1 (2002), pp. 155-181.

²⁸⁶ Aslanov, pp. 173-175.

²⁸⁷ Aslanov, p. 158.

²⁸⁸ *Comté*, p. 92.

observes that the “*langue vulgaire*” creeps into some Latin documents during this time, as with the seemingly Occitan orthography of the name Hugh “*Senzaver*” (not French *sans avoir*).²⁸⁹ Similarly, he suggests that the non-Occitan orthography of “*Rocca Maura*”, as opposed to “*Roca Maura*”, confirms his hypothesis that the document in question was not written in the county of Tripoli, but by its Venetian recipients.²⁹⁰ Aside from onomastics, Count Pons confirmed a donation made to St Mary of the Latins in 1116, given by the wife of *G. Arvei*, of “*tria jugera vel tres pariliatas terrarum cannamelarum*” near *Mons Peregrinorum*.²⁹¹ At the time he edited and published this charter, Richard merely assumed that a *pariliata* was a measurement reserved for Tripoli’s famous sugar plantations.²⁹² Later he observed that the term was used in “*autres documents du domaine linguistique provençal*” in the twelfth century.²⁹³ Prawer agreed that this local term, unique to the county, reflected its “Provençal dynasty”.²⁹⁴ Of course, the presence of one Occitan word does not necessarily prove the dominance of Occitan itself, as Aslanov’s discussion of Occitan loan-words in essentially *oil* Levantine French has shown. Indeed, the term *pariliata*, or rather “*paraillées*”, was used in two otherwise *langue d’oil* charters issued at *Mons Peregrinorum* in 1259 and 1264, under the Antiochene dynasty.²⁹⁵ By the thirteenth century at the latest, *langue d’oc*’s role in the county, as in the kingdom, seems to have been reduced to providing loan-words to dominant *langue d’oil*, quite literally the *lingua franca*.

²⁸⁹ *Comté*, p. 89 n. 1; *CGOH*, i, nos 160, 519; ii, 828 n. 1.

²⁹⁰ *Comté*, pp. 36, 36 n. 2. See Chapter One, pp. 94-95

²⁹¹ ‘Le chartrier’, ed. by Richard, no. 2, p. 612.

²⁹² ‘Le chartrier’, ed. by Richard, p. 612 n. 2.

²⁹³ ‘Le comté [...] Porcellet’, ed. by Richard, p. 363.

²⁹⁴ Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, pp. 158, 159.

²⁹⁵ *CGOH*, ii, no. 2915.

Richard argues that the counts of Tripoli in the twelfth century adopted the “*forme provençal*” of their title, “*coms*” rather than *oïl* “*conte*”.²⁹⁶ The western-style coinage of Raymond III exhibits ostensibly Occitan “*COMS*”, rather than Latin “*comes*” or French “*comte/conte*”, although it could be an abbreviation of the Latin.²⁹⁷ More tenuous is Richard’s suggestion that contemporary Arabic sources preserve this same Occitan usage, by transliterating the counts’ title as “*al-Koms, al coms, al qûms*”, that is to say “*coms*”, whilst transliterating the comital title of other counts as “*Kond*”, that is “*conte*”.²⁹⁸ It is true that Arabic authors used *kund* (pl. *kunūd*) to refer to a number of counts who would likely have spoken some variant on *langue d’oïl*, men like Philip of Flanders, Fulk of Anjou, and the counts of Champagne.²⁹⁹ Meanwhile, the counts of Tripoli from Pons onwards do indeed appear under the related titles *qûms, qumş* and *qûmş*, sometimes without any further elaboration on their identity.³⁰⁰

Nevertheless, Richard’s theory is extremely dubious. The absence of short vowels in the majority of Arabic orthography, including the sources upon which Richard relies, makes it difficult, if not impossible to conclude definitively whether a word such as *qûm.ş* (قومص) should be vocalised *qûmş, qûmaş, qûmiş* or *qûmuş*. *Qûmş* may be approximate to Occitan *coms*, but *qûmiş* is closer to Latin *comes*. Dozy in the nineteenth century pre-empted Richard in believing that *kund* was a transliteration of “*roman*” *conte/comte*, but Barbier de Meynard assumed that *qûmiş* – “*la plus*

²⁹⁶ *Comté*, p. 89 n. 1. Richard gives modern French “*comte*”, but Old French *conte* is more appropriate.

²⁹⁷ *Comté*, p. 89 n. 1; Schlumberger, *Numismatique*, pp. 102, 104.

²⁹⁸ *Comté*, p. 89 n. 1.

²⁹⁹ For example: IQ, pp. 199, 233, 259, 277; ‘ID, pp. 267, 279, 281, 306, 316, 387; BD, pp. 131, 133, 134, 149, 154, 215, 218-219, 234, 236.

³⁰⁰ For example: IQ, p. 258; ‘ID, pp. 16, 28, 108; BD, p. 77; AS, i, 362; ii, 229-230; iii, 18-19, 26, 175-176, 178, 179, 181-182, 186, 187, 189, 192, 202, 208.

fréquemment employée par les chroniqueurs musulmans” – was derived from Latin *comes*, as does Irwin.³⁰¹

Qūm.š was not used exclusively for the Occitan counts of Tripoli. Prince Bohemond VI of Antioch-Tripoli, a member of the non-Occitan *dynastie antiochénienne*, was described as a *qūmiš*.³⁰² The gold *dīnārs* of Tripoli in the Antiochene period were sometimes termed “comital” *dīnārs* (*dīnār qūmišiyya*).³⁰³ The earliest Syrian Arabic author to use *qūmiš* or its cognates in the Frankish period was the Aleppan al-‘Aẓīmī, whose usage seems to support Richard’s argument. He only ever used “*qūmiš*” to describe the count of Tripoli, in 1131-32 (AH 526) and 1132-33 (AH 527).³⁰⁴ By contrast, he used “*kund*” in reference to “King Fulk, son of the count” (*al-malik al-fulk bin al-kund*).³⁰⁵ That said, it is not clear if al-‘Aẓīmī understood *kund* to be the title “count”, as opposed to a curious Frankish personal name, since he also called Godfrey of Bouillon, “*kund frī*”.³⁰⁶

Ibn al-Qalānisī was the next Syrian Arab author to use *qūmiš* or its cognates, but he only referred to the count of Tripoli as *qūmus* (*sic*) once, preferring to identify the counts by their personal or family names – usually variants on “Saint-Gilles” (*Šanjīl*) – or merely as “lord” (*šāhib*) of Tripoli.³⁰⁷ By contrast, Count Baldwin I of Edessa was “*qumiš al-Ruhā*” (count of Edessa) and even “*qumiš bayt al-muqaddas*” (count of

³⁰¹ R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Leiden and Paris, 1927), ii, 492; Abū Shāma, ‘Livre des Deux Jardins’, ed. by B. de Meynard, pp. 263 n. 1, 271 n. 1; R. Irwin, ‘The supply of money and the direction of trade in thirteenth-century Syria’, in *Coinage in the Latin East: The Fourth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History*, ed. by P. W. Edbury and D. M. Metcalf, BAR International Series, 77 (Oxford, 1980), p. 92.

³⁰² Badr al-Dīn al-‘Aynī, ‘Extraits du livre intitulé Le Collier de Perles par Bedr-Eddyn Alaīny’, *RHC Or*, ii.I, 229.

³⁰³ Al-Qalqashandī, Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad, *Subḥ al-a‘shā*, ed. by M. ‘Abd al-Rasūl Ibrāhīm, 14 vols (Cairo, 1913-1919), xiv, 36; Irwin, ‘The supply’, p. 92.

³⁰⁴ Al-‘Aẓīmī, pp. 384, 385.

³⁰⁵ Al-‘Aẓīmī, p. 385.

³⁰⁶ Al-‘Aẓīmī, p. 360.

³⁰⁷ IQ, p. 258.

Jerusalem).³⁰⁸ Richard is aware that the counts of Edessa were known by “*qum.š*”, although this time transliterates it as “*qomis*”, claiming that the Franks of Edessa spoke Greek – an unlikely suggestion rejected by Chandon de Briailles – and that therefore Edessan *qumiš* was a transliteration of Greek *komes* (κόμης).³⁰⁹ The original Arabic gives no justification whatsoever to transliterate قمص as *qumš* in some instances and as *qumiš* in others.

Nor were the counts of Tripoli and Edessa the only Franks to be titled *qūm.š*. ‘Imād al-Dīn was the first to use the plural *qawāmiš*, which he used in reference to non-Tripolitan counts in an anonymous sense, when describing the general composition of Frankish armies and prisoners.³¹⁰ Ibn al-Athīr used a different plural form, *qamāmaša*, in reference to anonymous “counts” who accompanied the force led by King Fulk of Jerusalem against Zankī in AH 534 (corr. 531/1137).³¹¹ Richard does not consider this anonymous plural usage at all. He also does not mention Ibn al-Qalānisi’s description of King Fulk as both *qūmiš* and *kund*, “the new king-count, the count of Anjou” (*al-malik al-qūmiš al-jadīd al-kund ayyūr*).³¹² As an Angevin, Fulk was presumably a speaker of *langue d’oïl*, but also had never been count of “Greek” Edessa like his predecessor Baldwin, so Ibn al-Qalānisi’s use of *qūmiš* here casts doubt on Richard’s neat distinction between Occitan/Greek *qūm.š* and French *kund*.

The simultaneous appearance of both *qūmiš* and *kund* in this extract is significant for another reason, as it suggests that Arab authors were unaware that *qūmiš* and *kund* were synonyms. To the untrained Arab ear, the difference between Latin

³⁰⁸ IQ, p. 138, 140, 141.

³⁰⁹ *Comté*, p. 89 n. 1. Cf. C. de Briailles, ‘Jean Richard. – Le Comté de Tripoli sous la dynastie toulousaine (1102-1187)’, *Syria*, 25.1 (1946), p. 149.

³¹⁰ ID, pp. 27, 106, 267, 387.

³¹¹ Ibn al-Athīr, ‘Histoire des atabecs’, pp. 105, 108. An additional plural form, at least of *qūmiš* if not *qūmiš*, is *qawāmīs*. Dozy, ii, 428.

³¹² IQ, p. 233.

comes and Old French *conte* could have resulted in the emergence of the discrete terms *qūmiṣ* and *kund* respectively. Ibn al-Qalānīsī was not the only Arab author to use *qūmiṣ* and *kund* as if they were two distinct terms. Ibn al-Athīr wrote that King Fulk in AH 534 (corr. 531/1137) was accompanied by both *qamāmaṣa* and *kunūd*.³¹³ In a letter to the *dīwān* of Baghdad, ‘Imād al-Dīn referred to “*qawāmiṣ*[...] *wa-kunūd*” in the train of Frederick of Swabia during the Third Crusade.³¹⁴ ‘Imād al-Dīn also implied the existence of a hierarchy, with *kund* outranking *qūmiṣ*. In another letter to Baghdad, he wrote that a Frank named Sir Jacques (*Sīr Jāk*) was captured at the battle of Arsūf (7 September 1191) and executed; this “*kund*” had “under his authority a large number of the *qawāmiṣ* and the barons” (*taḥta ḥukm-hu ‘adda kathīra min al-qawāmiṣ wa-al-bārūniyya*), but apparently no other *kunūd*.³¹⁵

Kund/kunūd also carried a more pejorative connotation than *qūmiṣ*, paired on occasion with the coincidentally approximate sound of *kunūd* (“ingrate”, pl. *kanūd*).³¹⁶ *Qūmiṣ* could be used as an insult, but in a different sense. Following Baybars’s capture of Antioch in 1268, the sultan goaded Bohemond VI by addressing him sarcastically as “the exalted count” (*al-qūmiṣ al-jalīl*), mocking the fact that, after the loss of his princely seat of Antioch and the retention of Tripoli alone, Bohemond was reduced “from the dignity of prince to that of count” (*min al-brinsiyya ilā al-qūmiṣiyya*).³¹⁷ A surviving French (*oīl*) inscription from the mint at Tripoli, in which Bohemond styled

³¹³ Ibn al-Athīr, ‘Histoire des atabecs’, p. 105.

³¹⁴ ID, p. 267.

³¹⁵ ID, p. 387.

³¹⁶ ID, pp. 82, 320.

³¹⁷ Badr al-Dīn, p. 229; Muḥyī al-Dīn bin ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *Al-rawḍ al-zāhir fī sīrat al-malik al-zāhir*, ed. by ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Khuwayṭir (Riyadh, 1976), p. 309. See also: A. Troadec, ‘Une lettre de Baybars au comte Bohémond VI de Tripoli (mai 1271). Une arme dans l’arsenal idéologique des Mamelouks’, in *La correspondance entre souverains, princes et cités-États. Approches croisées entre l’Orient musulman, l’Occident latin et Byzance (XIII^e-début XVI^e siècle)*, ed. by D. Aigle and S. Péquignot, *Miroir de l’Orient musulman*, 2 (Turnhout, 2013), p. 118.

himself both “*PRINCE D’ANTIOCHE [et] CONTE DE TRIPLE*”, could represent “an effort [...] to soothe his ruffled pride” after Baybars’s insults.³¹⁸ Unfortunately the inscription is damaged and cannot be dated more precisely than 1266-1269, although Schlumberger believed that it was probably erected after the loss of Antioch.³¹⁹ In any case, *qūmiṣ* was never an inherently negative title like the “ingrate” *kund*, even if it did imply a lesser status than prince (*brins*) as well as *kund*.

It would appear then that the dichotomy between *qūmiṣ* and *kund* had nothing to do with whether the “Frank” in question was a speaker of Occitan or French. It is more likely that the distinction was influenced by whether the Frank was a permanent resident in the East, a *pullanus*, or a temporary visitor, a crusader or pilgrim. Richard cites no Arabic source where a *pullanus* bears the title *kund*, which would surely be expected if the Franks of all the crusader states, except Occitan-speaking Tripoli and perhaps Greek-speaking Edessa, spoke *langue d’oïl* as Richard imagines.³²⁰ Whenever ‘Imād al-Dīn applied *kund* to a clearly identifiable Frank or Franks, he only did so for visiting crusaders: the forces of Conrad of Montferrat and the Genoese at Acre (1187), Frederick of Swabia, Henry (*Hirrī*) of Champagne, Thibaut (*Tībāt*) of Champagne, anonymous crusaders at Acre (1190-91), the aforementioned Sir Jacques at Arsūf during the Third Crusade, and another unknown crusader near Ascalon (1192).³²¹ The “count-kings” of Jerusalem, the counts of Edessa and the counts of Tripoli all appeared at one time or another under the title *qūmiṣ*, but never under *kund*. The sole exception is the non-*pullanus* King Fulk, count of Anjou, who was tellingly both *kund* and *qūmiṣ*. Conversely, the term *qūmiṣ* was applied to *pullani* other than the counts of Tripoli and

³¹⁸ G. Schlumberger, ‘Une inscription de Bohémond VI à Tripoli de Syrie, relative à une tour de la monnaie’, *Comptes rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 72.1 (1928), pp. 103, 104; Jidejian, p. 67, fig. 66.

³¹⁹ Schlumberger, ‘Une inscription’, pp. 102, 103.

³²⁰ *Comté*, p. 89 n. 1.

³²¹ *ID*, pp. 82, 267, 279, 281, 304, 306, 316, 319, 346, 387, 423.

Edessa. Raymond III's wife Eschiva of Tiberias was referred to as the "countess" (*al-qūmiṣiyya*).³²² Ibn Wāṣil translated "Commander of the Ship", an officer in the military orders, as "*qūmiṣ min al-baḥriyya*", literally "count of the navy".³²³ Given that the brothers of the orders spent long periods in the East, they should be grouped with the *pullani*.

At most it is possible to find anonymous *kunūd* in the company of certain kings of Jerusalem. The "*kunūd*" recorded by 'Imād al-Dīn at Ḥaṭṭīn were depicted in the company of Guy of Lusignan, the most notorious foreign non-*pullanus*.³²⁴ Similarly, the *kunūd* in Ibn al-Athīr's narrative accompanied the Angevin King Fulk, who was infamous for expelling and disinheriting many of the old settler-barons of the kingdom in favour of his "new men".³²⁵ It is possible that this dichotomy between the *pullani* barons and the non-*pullani* entourages of non-*pullani* kings itself explains the contrast between *qamāmaṣa* and *kunūd* in such cases.

Why a *pullanus* should have been a *qūmiṣ* whilst a temporary visitor was a *kund* can be answered by a consideration of the respective etymologies of the two terms. If *qūmiṣ* derived directly from Latin *comes* and *kund* from Old French *conte*, it stands to reason that Arab authors were better acquainted with *pullani* through Latin and with temporary visitors through French. The Franks who settled in the East had grown accustomed to sending letters to Muslim rulers, seeking alliances, agreeing treaties, spreading misinformation, and sharing news. These letters were composed mainly by Syrian Christian scribes.³²⁶ It may well be that some of these documents were originally

³²² AS, iii, 19, 175, 179, 185.

³²³ Ibn Wāṣil, Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Sālim, *Mufarrij al-kurūb fī akhbār banī ayyūb*, ed. by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl et al., 5 vols (Cairo, 1953-1977), iii, 149; R. S. Humphreys, 'Dāwiyya and Isbitāriyya', in *EI2*, xii, 205.

³²⁴ ID, p. 25.

³²⁵ Ibn al-Athīr, 'Histoire des atabecs', p. 105; Mayer, 'Angevins', pp. 1-25.

³²⁶ See Chapter Three, pp. 242-254.

written in Latin by Frankish scribes and then translated, with the Syrian scribes transliterating any written Latin titles that they were unable to translate into an Arabic equivalent.

Regrettably, no surviving Arabic text from the Latin East provides definite proof that *comes* was transliterated into Arabic in such a fashion. Elsewhere in the Mediterranean, the Norman rulers of Sicily had already employed *qūmis* to transliterate their comital or “Latin feudal” title into Arabic by the time of the First Crusade, inscribing it on coins and writing it in documents.³²⁷ Earlier still, *comes* had entered Andalusian Arabic as *qūmis*, designating the officially authorised head of a Christian religious minority under Muslim rule in Iberia.³²⁸ Whether or not this Sicilian and Andalusian precedent directly influenced usage in Syria is unknown. The Andalusian Ibn Jubayr once referred to Raymond III of Tripoli as “*al-qūmis*”, but he probably learnt this from local Syrian Muslims, rather than imported it from Iberia, writing as he did after the term had entered the usage of Syrian authors like Ibn al-Qalānisī.³²⁹ *Qūmiş* and its variants probably developed in parallel, wherever and whenever Latin met Arabic.

Latin terms other than *comes* were transliterated in the few surviving Arabic documents issued by the Syrian Franks. For example, Šālih bin Yahyā abridged an Arabic document issued by the lord of Sidon and his “*kund iṣṭabl/iṣṭabl*” (*constabularius*) in 1255-56 (*Anno Graecorum* [AG] 1567).³³⁰ The only fully extant

³²⁷ J. Johns, ‘The Norman Kings of Sicily and the Fatimid Caliphate’, in *Proceedings of the XV Battle Conference and of the XI Colloquio Medievale of the Officina di Studi Medievali* 1992, ed. by M. Chibnall, Anglo-Norman Studies, 15 (Woodbridge, 1993), p. 135; J. Johns, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily: The Royal Dīwān* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 268.

³²⁸ W. M. Watt, *Muslim-Christian Encounters: Perceptions and Misperceptions* (London, 1991), p. 76.

³²⁹ II, p. 309.

³³⁰ ŠY, p. 48; Clermont-Ganneau, p. 4.

“crusader” Arabic document, written in Antioch in 1213 (Byzantine Era 6721), transliterated the Latin ecclesiastical rank of *prior* as *al-briyūr*.³³¹ It is conceivable that *comes* was also transliterated as *qūmis* in some lost communiqué between the Latin Christians and Muslims of Syria, and by this channel entered the surviving works of authors like Ibn al-Qalānīsī or ‘Imād al-Dīn.

Meanwhile, the temporary Frankish visitors to the East became known to Arabophone Muslims through spoken language, mainly oral negotiations in war. These were men like Henry of Champagne or Philip of Flanders, who had no need to employ Arabic scribes to produce Arabic documents, as did the *pullani*. The titles of these crusaders and pilgrims presumably passed into Arabic via the spoken language upon which they relied, that is to say French. It is significant that the first appearance of “*qūmiṣ*” in a Levantine Arabic source of the Frankish period comes in relation to the count of Tripoli in 1131-2 (AH 526), after the count and his chancery had been established in the Levant for some years.³³² Meanwhile, the very first crusaders were described by garbled forms of their personal names, such as Raymond of Saint-Gilles (*Ṣanjīl*) and Godfrey (*Kund Frī*) of Bouillon, no doubt heard – or rather misheard – orally.

The important concept of diglossia, the coexistence within a language of high and low registers, will be discussed in relation to Arabic in the next chapter.³³³ The preceding discussion suggests that the phenomenon of diglossia, in this case Latin and French, can be glimpsed in the two Arabic terms that developed for “*comes*” and “*conte*”. It was the dichotomy of written and spoken – not *langue d’oc* and *langue d’oïl*

³³¹ ‘An Original Arabic Document from Crusader Antioch (1213 AD)’, ed. by N. Jamil and J. Johns, in *Texts, Documents, and Artefacts: Islamic studies in honour of D.S. Richards*, ed. by C. F. Robinson (Leiden, 2003), pp. 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 181.

³³² Al-‘Azīmī, p. 384.

³³³ See Chapter Three.

– that explains the use of “*qūmiş*” for some counts and “*kund*” for others. Once again it is clear that the county of Tripoli cannot be reduced to being the “Provençal” crusader state, existing as it did within a richer context of competing identities, diverse languages and assimilation to local society.

VII. Troubadours and Tripoli?

Curiously, Richard never considers the most convincing evidence of *langue d’oc* having been used in the county, namely the presence there of troubadours. Troubadours were one of the quintessential features of Occitan language and culture more widely in this period, employed by noble families across Occitania, including the counts of Toulouse and Saint-Gilles.³³⁴ Some travelled to the Latin East, as listed by Paterson, although few if any seem to have settled permanently.³³⁵ Paterson’s aim throughout the article accompanied by this list, is to assess the supposedly more important “Antioch connection” in Occitan literature, with the result that the county of Tripoli appears only in an incidental role.³³⁶ Nevertheless, the county’s engagement with troubadour literature should not be neglected.

The most famous troubadour to set foot in the county was Jaufré Rudel, who may have accompanied Alfons Jordan on the Second Crusade.³³⁷ The evidence for this is admittedly dubious, being a biography or *vida* of Rudel, written over half a century after the Crusade:

³³⁴ F. L. Cheyette, ‘Women, Poets, and Politics in Occitania’, in *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France*, ed. by T. Evergates (Philadelphia, PA, 1999), p. 145.

³³⁵ L. M. Paterson, ‘Occitan Literature and the Holy Land’, in *The World of Eleanor of Aquitaine: Literature and Society in Southern France between the Eleventh and Thirteenth Centuries*, ed. by M. Bull and C. Léglu (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 91.

³³⁶ Paterson, ‘Occitan Literature’, p. 83.

³³⁷ *Biographies*, ed. by Boutière and Schutz, pp. 17, 19 n. 4; Barrington, pp. 59-60; K. J. Lewis, ‘Countess Hodierna’, pp. 10-17.

*Jaufres Rudels de Blaia si fo mout gentils
hom, princes de Blaia.*

Jaufré Rudel of Blaye was a very noble
man, the prince of Blaye.

*Et enamoret se de la comtessa de Tripol,
ses vezer, per lo [gran] ben [e per la gran
cortesia] qu'el n'auzi dire als pelerins que
venguen d'Antiocha.*

And he fell in love with the countess of
Tripoli, without seeing her, due to the
[very] good [and the very courteous]
things that he heard said about her by
pilgrims who were coming from Antioch.

*E fez de leis mains vers ab bons sons, ab
paubres motz.*

And he composed about her many songs
with good tunes, (albeit) with poor words.

*E per voluntat de leis vezer, et se croset e
se mes en mar [per anar lieis vezer], e
pres lo malautia en la nau, e fo condug a
Tripol, en un alberc, per mort.*

And because of the desire to see her, he
took the cross and set to sea [in order to
see her], and a sickness seized him in the
ship, and he was brought to Tripoli, into a
hospice, near death.

*E fo fait saber a la comtessa et ella venc
ad el, al son leit e pres lo antre sos bratz.*

And this was made known to the countess
and she came to him, to his bed, and took
him in her arms.

*E saup qu'ella era la comtessa, e
maintenent recobret l'auzir e-l flairar, e
lauzet Dieu, que l'avia la vida sostenguda
tro qu'el l'agues vista; et enaissi el mori
entre sos bratz {entre·ls braz de la
comtessa}.*

And he realised that she was the countess,
and immediately regained his senses (lit.
“sense of hearing and sense of smell”),
and praised God, that He had sustained his
life until he had seen her; and he then died
in her arms {in the arms of the countess}.

*Et ella lo fez a gran honor {honradamenz}
sepellir en la maison del Temple; e pois,
en aquel dia, ella se rendet morga, per la
dolor qu'ella n'ac de la mort de lui.*

And she had him buried with great honour
{honourably} in the house of the Temple;
and then, on the same day, she became a
nun, for the sorrow that she felt for his
death.

*[E aqui son escriutas de las soas
chanssos.]³³⁸*

[And here are written some of his songs.]

There is no consensus regarding the historical veracity of this account, in whole
or in part, as I have discussed elsewhere.³³⁹ Certainly the *vida*'s claim that Hodierna

³³⁸ *Biographies*, ed. by Boutière and Schutz, pp. 16-17. Two main versions of this text survive, with the shortest most likely the earliest. *Biographies*, ed. by Boutière and Schutz, p. 16. Where the longer text contains significant additions, these are provided above in square brackets, with notable variant readings in curly brackets.

took the habit in the 1140s or later is unsubstantiated, although it did give rise to the similarly unfounded and confused belief evident in some otherwise serious modern scholarship that Hodierna's daughter Melisende became a nun.³⁴⁰ To this analysis should be added Helen Nicholson's observation that Rudel's alleged burial in a Templar house links this *vida* to the emerging trope of the Templars as "hosts and undertakers for wandering knights" in Arthurian romance.³⁴¹

Nevertheless, the basic fact that Rudel travelled east is seemingly confirmed by another piece of evidence, a song by the prolific troubadour Marcabru:

*Lo vers e-l son voill enviar
a-n Jaufre Rudel oltramar,
e voill que l'aion li Frances
per lor coratges alegrar,
que Dieus lor o pot perdonar,
o sia peccaz o merces.*³⁴²

I want to send the song and the melody
to Sir Jaufre Rudel, in Outremer,
and I want the French (crusaders) to have it,
to cheer their hearts,
for God can pardon them,
whether it is a sin or a good deed.³⁴³

This song serves as the only contemporary corroboration of the later *vida*'s basic claim that Rudel travelled to the East.³⁴⁴ It has been dated c.1147-48, on the assumption that Rudel participated in the Second Crusade and because of the song's apparent reference to (northern) French crusaders.³⁴⁵ In addition, Boutière and Schutz believe that Rudel referred to some known crusaders in two of his extant *chansons*, namely Hugh VII of Lusignan, count of La Marche, and "*probablement*" Bertrand, the illegitimate son of

³³⁹ K. J. Lewis, 'Countess Hodierna', pp. 11-16.

³⁴⁰ K. J. Lewis, 'Countess Hodierna', pp. 13-14. Cf. William of Tyre, trans. by Babcock and Krey, ii, 292 n. 89.

³⁴¹ H. Nicholson, *Love, War and the Grail*, History of Warfare, 4 (Leiden, 2001), p. 54.

³⁴² *Marcabru: A Critical Edition*, ed. by S. Gaunt, R. Harvey and L. M. Paterson (Cambridge, 2000), p. 204.

³⁴³ Translation from: *Marcabru*, p. 205.

³⁴⁴ *Marcabru*, p. 201.

³⁴⁵ *Marcabru*, p. 201; *Biographies*, ed. by Boutière and Schutz, p. 19 n. 4.

Alfons Jordan, captured at 'Urayma; thus they suggest that Rudel accompanied one of them on the expedition.³⁴⁶

If there is any truth to Rudel's legend, then the most famous troubadour to visit the county is arguably a negligible case as far as the county's society itself is concerned. After all, a man who perhaps accompanied Bertrand, a pretender opposed to the ruling dynasty of Tripoli, and who may have died almost as soon as he set foot in the East, cannot reflect the county's prevailing culture well. Perhaps a better example is another troubadour, Peire Vidal, who travelled east in the late twelfth century as a pilgrim, not as an armed crusader, at least in Hoepffner's interpretation.³⁴⁷ Vidal sought and received the patronage of Raymond III of Tripoli, about whom he wrote the following praise in one of his *chansons*, which in Hoepffner's opinion is "*banal*" but nonetheless evidences Vidal's gratitude.³⁴⁸

*Mas a Tripol m'ado,
Que quan l'autre baro
Caço prez, et el lo rete
E no'l laissa partir de se.*³⁴⁹

But upon Tripoli I rely,
Because whereas the other barons
Chase away glory, he retains it
And does not let it depart from him.

Vidal was an adventurous troubadour, plying his trade not only in the unusual marketplace of the Latin East, but also in León, which otherwise "attracted few troubadours".³⁵⁰ Paterson discusses Vidal's employment with Raymond only briefly, observing that it is not clear if Vidal attended Raymond's court at Tripoli, Jerusalem "during one of [his] regencies", or his wife's lordship of Tiberias.³⁵¹ Paterson's

³⁴⁶ *Biographies*, ed. by Boutière and Schutz, p. 19 n. 4.

³⁴⁷ E. Hoepffner, *Le troubadour Peire Vidal, sa vie et son œuvre*, Publications de la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, 141 (Paris, 1961), pp. 52-54, 71.

³⁴⁸ Hoepffner, pp. 54-55.

³⁴⁹ Peire Vidal, i, 43.

³⁵⁰ Paterson, *World*, p. 94.

³⁵¹ Paterson, 'Occitan Literature', p. 95.

chronology is vague, but Hoepffner uses the dedication to Raymond to provide the song – and thus Vidal’s voyage eastwards – with two possible *termini post quem*: the death of Raymond III in the second half of 1187, or probably the earlier battle of Ḥaṭṭīn, 4 July 1187, of which Vidal makes no mention.³⁵² Certainly Vidal’s praise for Raymond’s retention of glory, whilst other barons chased it away, would be incongruous had the song been composed after this battle, given that it was Raymond who fled Ḥaṭṭīn, abandoning the other Frankish lords to captivity and death.

As for the *terminus ante quem*, Hoepffner believes that Vidal travelled to the East after a disagreement in 1185 with “*son seigneur naturel*”, Raymond III’s cousin, Raymond V of Toulouse, which had forced Vidal into exile from his lands and into the camp of Raymond V’s great rival, Alfonso II of Aragon, Barcelona and Provence.³⁵³ Hoepffner proposes that Vidal then travelled east in the spring passage of 1186, returning west probably in autumn.³⁵⁴ He had certainly returned by late 1187, when he was reconciled with Raymond V, after some two years in exile.³⁵⁵ Hoepffner’s precise chronology permits a refinement of Paterson’s summary. 1186 makes it more likely that Vidal attended Raymond in Jerusalem, during his regency for Baldwin V, or Tiberias during the scandal surrounding the coronation of Guy of Lusignan and Sybil of Jerusalem, rather than in Tripoli. It is possible that Vidal attended Raymond at Beirut, granted to the count in 1185 as one of the conditions of his holding the regency.³⁵⁶

Given that Vidal’s eulogy of Raymond makes a point about how only his patron retained glory whilst the other barons did not, it could be that Vidal wrote in response to the specific circumstance of Raymond being politically isolated after the coronation of

³⁵² Hoepffner, pp. 57, 69.

³⁵³ Hoepffner, pp. 50, 52, 69-71.

³⁵⁴ Hoepffner, p. 69.

³⁵⁵ Hoepffner, p. 69.

³⁵⁶ Ernoul, p. 117; *Estoires*, p. 178; *Cont. Morgan*, p. 21; *Eracles*, p. 8.

Guy and Sybil, sometime between 20 July and mid-September 1186.³⁵⁷ Subsequent to this, Raymond's former supporters decided to surrender and swear allegiance to the new king, with only Raymond himself choosing to remain stubbornly opposed, retreating from Jerusalem to Tiberias.³⁵⁸ The content of the song composed by Vidal at Raymond's court, "*une des œuvres les plus raffinées de Peire*", is most interesting in this respect.³⁵⁹ The main themes are the frustrated love that had supposedly forced him to travel east in the first place – concealing the true, political reason for his exile – and his concomitant homesickness for Provence:³⁶⁰

<i>Retornar et anar</i>	I wish to return and go,
<i>M'en vuelh ad espero</i>	To a place
<i>Entr'Arle e Tolo</i>	Between Arles and Toulon
<i>A tapi, quar aqui</i>	In secret, because there
<i>Am mais un pauc cambo,</i>	I would like better a small field,
<i>Qu'aver sai Lo Daro,</i>	Than to have here Daron,
<i>Ni aver Lo Toro</i>	Or to have Toron
<i>N'Ibeli...</i> ³⁶¹	Or Ibelin...

That the only eastern castles named by Vidal were Daron, Toron and Ibelin, all of which were located in the kingdom of Jerusalem, further suggests that he attended Raymond in the kingdom, rather than the county of Tripoli.³⁶² Taken with the song's dedication, the choice of castle could also be coded criticism of the "*autre baro*" who had "chased away glory" (*Caço prez*), by abandoning Raymond's cause in favour of making peace with the recently crowned Guy of Lusignan. Amongst these were the lords of Toron and Ibelin. Humphrey of Toron had been Raymond's choice to be crowned king of Jerusalem, as a direct rival to King Guy, but Humphrey had fled

³⁵⁷ Hamilton, *Leper King*, p. 221.

³⁵⁸ Hamilton, *Leper King*, pp. 221-224.

³⁵⁹ Hoepffner, p. 53.

³⁶⁰ Hoepffner, pp. 54, 55-56, 69; Paterson, 'Occitan Literature', p. 92.

³⁶¹ Peire Vidal, i, 41-42.

³⁶² Peire Vidal, i, 42.

Raymond's base at Nablus, rather than be party to such open rebellion, and had submitted to Guy.³⁶³ Baldwin of Ibelin had refused to do homage to Guy, and even went into permanent voluntary exile in Antioch to avoid doing so, but nonetheless placed his lands and heir under Guy's ultimate control.³⁶⁴ As for Daron, this was a royal fief in which the very incident that had led to Raymond's appointment as regent in 1184/85, namely Guy of Lusignan's scandalous attack upon crown-protected Bedouin, had taken place.³⁶⁵ Thus Vidal's inclusion of *Lo Daro*, as well as permitting a convenient rhyme with *Lo Toro*, recalled both Guy's greatest blunder to date, which had temporarily cost him his prestige in the kingdom, and the poisoned chalice that was Raymond's second regency. If the preceding interpretation is correct, then Vidal's song would have been composed at Tiberias in late summer 1186. This demonstrates once again that Occitan identity was at most characteristic of Tripoli's ruling dynasty, wherever it may be, rather than of the county *per se*.

It is worth noting the significance of Vidal, a temporarily disgruntled follower of Raymond V of Toulouse, having taken up service with his erstwhile lord's distant cousin, Raymond of Tripoli. This could be taken as proof of Richard's theory that relations between the houses of Tripoli and Toulouse had been soured by the events of the Second Crusade. However, Hoepffner makes the interesting observation that the poem composed under Raymond of Tripoli's patronage also represents a marked softening of Vidal's attitude towards Raymond of Toulouse. The troubadour's earlier poems contain angry outbursts of criticism directed at the count of Toulouse, but this one blames anonymous enemies for his exile and was perhaps composed out of a desire

³⁶³ Hamilton, *Leper King*, p. 221.

³⁶⁴ Hamilton, *Leper King*, p. 223.

³⁶⁵ Hamilton, *Leper King*, pp. 198, 204.

to be reconciled with his former lord.³⁶⁶ This hardly suggests that Tripoli and Toulouse remained bitterly opposed.

From Raymond III's perspective, the fact that a count of Tripoli as late as 1186 wished to get in touch with his Occitan roots, by becoming a minor patron of quintessentially Occitan troubadour literature, makes this the most convincing evidence that Occitan culture and language had some enduring appeal and relevance to the members of the Toulousan dynasty of Tripoli. The specific sense of nostalgia for Provence adds to the song's significance in this respect. This was one of the darkest hours for Raymond's political career in the kingdom of Jerusalem. Just as Vidal was exiled from his homeland, so too was Raymond exiled from Jerusalem, where he had spent so much time since childhood. Abandoned by his allies, perhaps he derived some comfort from the thought that he still had a great and powerful cousin in the West. Could this be the context for his offering the county of Tripoli to the house of Toulouse? Certainly the presence of Vidal, a man who intended to return to Occitania shortly, would have facilitated such communication. In another of his songs, Vidal wrote the following:

*Pero si n'a raubatz
Sain Felitz e Mornatz,*

*Mas Tripol, so sapchatz,
Fo gen d'el conquistatz.*³⁶⁷

Although he stole
Saint-Félix (Languedoc) and Mornas
(Provence),
Tripoli, know this,
Was nobly conquered by him.

Earlier scholars believed that this was a simple reference to the historical conquest of Tripoli by Raymond IV (*sic*) in 1109, but Crescini went further and suggested that Vidal intended this passage as criticism of Raymond V of Toulouse's failure to allow

³⁶⁶ Hoepffner, pp. 56-57.

³⁶⁷ Peire Vidal, ii, 236.

Tripoli – the patrimony of the house of Toulouse – to pass to the house of Antioch without challenge.³⁶⁸ Crescini was apparently unaware of the *Lignages d’Outremer* and its claim that Raymond III of Tripoli had actually offered Tripoli to his Toulousan cousin, implying instead that Raymond III had actively preferred to give the county to the dynasty of Antioch.³⁶⁹ Nevertheless, Crescini’s central theory and the testimony of the *Lignages* are complementary.

The fact that a troubadour attended Count Raymond should not be overestimated. Even if it was known that Vidal had sung for Raymond in Occitan at Tripoli, not Tiberias or elsewhere, this would not be proof that *langue d’oc* was dominant in the county. For one thing, it is no surprise that a troubadour from Occitania sang in *langue d’oc*, with the language of his patron something of a secondary concern. Moreover, the extent to which the counts of Tripoli, Raymond III included, patronised troubadours seems minor compared to another ruler of the Latin East, Raymond of Poitiers, prince of Antioch (1136-49) and son of Duke William IX of Aquitaine (1071-1126).

What is known of Raymond of Poitiers suggests that he exhibited more distinctly Occitan behaviour than the counts of Tripoli. William of Tyre wrote that Raymond, although “*illiteratus*” himself, was a “*litteratorum [...] cultor*”.³⁷⁰ Babcock and Krey assumed that the products of Raymond’s patronage had not survived.³⁷¹ However, others have believed that the *Chanson des Chétifs* – a component of the Old French Crusade Cycle – was composed, or perhaps translated loosely into French from a Greek or Armenian prototype, at Raymond’s court c.1149, even if what does survive

³⁶⁸ V. Crescini, ‘Canzone-sirventese di Peire Vidal’, in his *Románica Fragmenta, scritti scelti dall’autore* (Turin, 1932), pp. 479-480; Peire Vidal, ii, 231-232.

³⁶⁹ Crescini, p. 480. Cf. *Lignages*, p. 145.

³⁷⁰ WT, ii, 659.

³⁷¹ William of Tyre, trans. by Babcock and Krey, ii, 80 n. 53.

of this is a reworking produced half a century later.³⁷² Crucially, Paterson thinks that the original Romance version was composed not in *langue d'oïl* as usually assumed, but *langue d'oc*, the literary language of the Poitevin court that had been Raymond's childhood home.³⁷³ More generally, Paterson proposes that Raymond's court at Antioch was a place where such Romance and specifically Occitan literature flourished.³⁷⁴ After all, Raymond's father William IX of Aquitaine had been a keen patron of troubadours, sometimes dubbed the "first troubadour".³⁷⁵ It is significant that Raymond of Antioch's patronage of Occitan literature was worthy of mention by contemporaries, whereas Raymond III of Tripoli's engagement with his ancestral literary culture was completely ignored. As Paterson concludes, Antioch's literary output left "the court of the count of Tripoli, wherever this was, very much in second place."³⁷⁶ This should be seen alongside the observation that Occitan settlement more generally was not peculiar to the county of Tripoli.

VIII. Conclusion

Both the process of settlement and the cultural identity of Latin Christian Europeans in the county of Tripoli in the twelfth century were more complex than hitherto acknowledged. It is true that Occitan crusaders settled in the county after the First Crusade, but they were concentrated in the city of Tripoli. Enclaves of non-Occitan

³⁷² Cahen, *Syrie*, pp. 569-576; C. Cahen, 'Le premier cycle de la croisade (Antioche-Jérusalem-Chétifs)', *Le Moyen Âge*, 63 (1957), pp. 311-328; Mayer, *The Crusades*, pp. 90, 181; Jacoby, 'La littérature', p. 640; *Canso d'Antiocha*, ed. and trans. by Sweetenham and Paterson, p. 52; Paterson, 'Occitan Literature', pp. 85-87; *The Chanson d'Antioche: An Old French Account of the First Crusade*, trans. by S. B. Edgington and C. Sweetenham (Farnham, 2011), pp. 30-31.

³⁷³ Paterson, 'Occitan Literature', p. 87.

³⁷⁴ Paterson, 'Occitan Literature', pp. 85-89.

³⁷⁵ Paterson, 'Occitan Literature', p. 85; Paterson, *World*, p. 30.

³⁷⁶ Paterson, 'Occitan Literature', p. 96.

Europeans, particularly Italians, could be found in Tripoli itself and outlying settlements in the county, not just from the later twelfth century, when the county was supposedly “abandoned” by Occitania, but from the earliest days of settlement. As a result, the county’s minority of Europeans was not homogeneously Occitan, as befitted a county yet to form into a truly united whole. When any semblance of unified identity did emerge, it followed the precedent of the First Crusade in subsuming specific ancestral origins within pan-Frankish sentiment. This Frankish identity was not restricted to the county, but diffuse throughout the Latin East, as indeed was Occitan settlement, particularly amongst the poorer burgess class, attracted to the Holy Land proper in the kingdom of Jerusalem. The county was neither the only Occitan crusader settlement nor the only pan-Frankish, which prevented the development of a specifically “Tripolitan” identity or “nation”, distinct from a hypothetical Antiochene, Edessan or Jerusalemite identity. Not even *langue d’oc* itself, the source of unity in Occitania, was able to become the county’s unique and dominant language.

At the same time, individualised contact between Occitania and the county did not suffer any substantial decline in the mid-twelfth century, but continued long after the Second Crusade. Many southern Frenchmen continued to seek the Holy Land, but a handful sought Tripoli itself, or at least the itinerant court of its count. Peire Vidal is the greatest example of this, singing songs of Provence to assuage Raymond III after a great political failure. It is likely that this came at the very point when Raymond’s political career in Jerusalem, facilitated almost entirely by his maternal and non-Occitan connection to the kings of Jerusalem, had reached its lowest ebb. It was only when Raymond felt most alienated by his fellow Franks that he turned to his ancestral Occitans, even to the point of offering them the county of Tripoli itself. Of course, a lingering and semi-reciprocated dynastic attachment to Occitania, felt amongst the

ruling dynasty of Tripoli, did not necessarily have a discernible impact upon the political or social history of the county. At the very least, it was far from being the main factor. The county was much more than “*la Provence au Liban*” or even “*la France du Levant*”.

CHAPTER THREE

Medieval Diglossia: The use of written and spoken Arabic

I. Introduction: Arabophones and Foreigners

The first chapter of this thesis showed how the cultural backgrounds and agency of the European conquerors and settlers had little impact upon the formation of the county of Tripoli's political borders and its independent existence. It argued that these owed more to local geographical factors than to western institutional considerations. The second chapter continued this post-institutional focus, by beginning to look at the social composition of the county. It analysed the mixed identities of the Europeans who settled and ruled there, refining and diminishing the contribution of the southern French. Continuing this theme of demographics and identity, it is now necessary to direct attention towards the indigenous peoples, who comprised the majority of the population of the region occupied by the county.

Beginning with language, this was a major barrier between the Latins and the indigenous. The Franks of the crusader states spoke a European, principally Romance dialect or dialects, whether French, Occitan or some other language or pidgin. By far the most important language of all in the county, in terms of likely numbers of speakers, was Arabic. The linguistic gulf between the incoming crusader-settlers and the indigenous communities of the county may not have been as central in contemporary discourse as the religious, with which it was inextricably bound, but it was arguably more vital. Whereas the religious landscape was a heterogeneous mosaic, as a result of Islam's failure to penetrate fully throughout local society in the preceding centuries, the

linguistic map was much more homogeneous, with Arabic uniting many indigenous sects in contradistinction to the Romance-speaking Latin newcomers.¹

It has been suggested that many indigenous Christians felt more at ease with Muslim rulers as fellow Arabic speakers than with the Latin crusaders as co-religionists.² Jackson has recently noted that Turkish and Kurdish rulers at the time of the crusades would have spoken their own non-Arabic languages, so would have been as alien as the Europeans.³ Therefore, any linguistic fraternalism would have been between the Syrian Arab Muslim peasantry and their Syrian Arab Christian counterparts.⁴ As will be seen, the prevailing evidence for the county of Tripoli suggests that most Latins entered this Arabophone world only partially. They tended not to learn Arabic, at least not fluently, but nonetheless strove to overcome this barrier by employing intermediaries, who communicated with their indigenous subjects and neighbours on the Latins' behalf, through both the written and spoken language. It will be necessary in places to supplement the scant evidence for the county with findings drawn from elsewhere in the Latin East and the Mediterranean world more generally.

II. Variety and Diglossia

Arabic had not ousted all other languages in the region in the preceding centuries. A few pockets of Aramaic speakers lingered in villages around Damascus and Mosul into

¹ H. M. Attiya, 'Knowledge of Arabic in the Crusader States in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', *JMH*, 25 (1999), pp. 208-209.

² Hamilton, *Leper King*, p. 59.

³ D. E. P. Jackson, 'Some considerations relating to the history of the Muslims in the Crusader States', in *East and West in the Crusader States*, ed. by Ciggaar, Teule et al., i, 25.

⁴ D. E. P. Jackson, 'Some considerations', p. 25.

the modern period.⁵ Syriac could still be heard in the Qādīshā valley, Lebanon, in the late twentieth century.⁶ Meanwhile, recent immigrants other than the Franks were present in the Islamic world, all speaking their own languages, most notably Turkish and Kurdish.⁷ That the special office of interpreter (*mutarjim*), an individual dealing with those who remained ignorant of Arabic, existed within the Islamic judicial system is telling.⁸ Midway through the Frankish period, Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī provided a particularly apt description of the heterogeneity of indigenous languages, writing that:

<i>qīl inna fī hadhā al-jabal sab ‘īn lisānan lā ya ‘rif kull qawm lisān al-ākhirīn illā bi-tarjumān.</i>⁹	it is said that in this mountain [Lebanon] are seventy dialects and none of the people understand the dialect of the others except with an interpreter.
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This inspired Marshall Baldwin to describe medieval Lebanon in anachronistic terms, “as cosmopolitan as [...] New York”.¹⁰

Even where difference lingered, commonalities remain important for any analysis of indigenous attitudes towards the Franks. With the exception of certain minorities such as the Greek, Armenian and Ethiopian churches, the liturgical languages of the various faiths in the medieval county were far closer to the commonly spoken language of Middle Arabic than to “Frankish” languages, be it Syriac for many native Christians, Classical Arabic for Arab and non-Arab Muslims alike, and Hebrew for Jews. Syriac-speaking Palestinian monks used Arabic for Christian literature as

⁵ W. B. Fisher, ‘Unity and Diversity in the Middle East’, *Geographical Review*, 37 (1947), pp. 423-424.

⁶ Sader, p. 209.

⁷ Attiya, pp. 209-210.

⁸ E. Tyan, *Histoire de l’organisation judiciaire en pays d’Islam*, 2nd edn (Leiden, 1960), p. 258.

⁹ Yāqūt, v, 11.

¹⁰ Baldwin, ‘Ecclesiastical Developments’, p. 152.

early as the late eighth century.¹¹ The success of Arabic in earlier centuries has been attributed to these very linguistic commonalities, the pre-Islamic “Semitization” of the Levant.¹²

The close relationship between Semitic languages remained important in the Frankish period. The anonymous author of the *Tractatus de locis* noted that the Jacobites and Nestorians of the twelfth century used Syriac (*C[h]aldea*), whilst the Melkite Christians (*Suriani*) used Greek in their liturgy but Arabic (*lingua Saracenica*) in their temporal affairs.¹³ As for the Jewish communities, the writing of Arabic in the Hebrew script – Judaeo-Arabic – is commonly encountered in the contemporary Cairo Geniza, and Goitein identified one such document, relating possibly to the initial crusader assault on ‘Arqa in the future county of Tripoli in 1098, which alternates freely between Hebrew and Arabic.¹⁴ The potential for interchange between Semitic languages may be hinted at in the *Tractatus*’s unusual, if confused claim that the Shī‘ite Assassins, who lived on the county’s northern border, mixed Syriac and Hebrew.¹⁵

The linguistic obstacle was perhaps more manageable than the religious as far as the Latins were concerned, since learning another language would not have attracted the same critical response or have required the same sacrifices as did converting to another

¹¹ S. H. Griffith, ‘Arabic Christianity in the Monasteries of Ninth-Century Palestine’, *MW*, 78 (1988), pp. 1-28.

¹² M. Lombard, *The Golden Age of Islam*, trans. by J. Spencer (Princeton, NJ, 2004), pp. 3, 6-7, 27.

¹³ ‘*Tractatus*’, ed. by Kedar, pp. 124, 125. See also: JV, pp. 298, 310, 314; Marino Sanudo, pp. 182, 183.

¹⁴ S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 6 vols (Berkeley, CA, 1967-1993), i, 14-15; S. D. Goitein, ‘Tyre-Tripoli-‘Arqa: Geniza Documents from the Beginning of the Crusader Period’, *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, new series, 66 (1975), p. 84.

¹⁵ ‘*Tractatus*’, ed. by Kedar, p. 131. Another author claimed that the Assassins raised their children to be multilingual, in Latin, Greek, “Romance” (*Romano*) and Arabic (*Sarracenico*). ‘Burchardi Argentoratensis Itinerarium’, in *Mittelalterliche Handschriftenbruchstücke der Universitätsbibliothek und des Georgianum zu München*, ed. by P. Lehmann and O. Glauning, *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 72 (Leipzig, 1940), p. 68.

religion.¹⁶ Indeed, Hussein Attiya has posited that “many” of the Frankish settlers soon learnt to speak and read Arabic.¹⁷ However, Attiya’s evidence is piecemeal and his speculative argument not wholly convincing. Definite evidence for the Franks having learnt Arabic is not abundant and the prevailing impression remains close to what Praver suspected: that very few Latins, at least of the well-documented ruling classes, learnt the language to any appreciable degree.¹⁸

Of course, there is much more to be said on the subject. For one thing, neither Attiya nor Praver properly distinguished between the written and spoken varieties of Arabic, although it is vital that they be considered separately. This is due to the language’s marked “diglossia”: a linguistic concept devised by Charles Ferguson to explain the historic and contemporary coexistence of sometimes significantly divergent high and low registers within a single language.¹⁹ The relationship between high and low Arabic is comparable to that between Latin and Romance languages in the medieval West.²⁰ As with Latin and its offshoots, the high and low registers of Arabic do not correspond exactly to “written” and “spoken”, with written folk literature composed in *al-‘ammīya* (low) and oral sermons given in *al-fuṣḥā* (high). Nevertheless, the opposition of written and spoken seems more appropriate in light of the source material available for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

III. Spoken Arabic

¹⁶ See Chapter Four, pp. 289-292.

¹⁷ Attiya, pp. 203-213.

¹⁸ J. Praver, ‘The Roots of Medieval Colonialism’, in *The Meeting of Two Worlds*, ed. by Goss and Bornstein, pp. 32-33.

¹⁹ C. A. Ferguson, ‘Diglossia’, *Word: Journal of the Linguistic Circle of New York*, 15 (1959), pp. 325-340.

²⁰ Ferguson, p. 337.

James of Vitry was forced to hire a translator when he visited Tripoli in 1221 because the main language spoken there was Arabic (*lingua sarracena*), even though the city had been under Latin rule for over a century.²¹ Although James was a relatively recent arrival, it does not seem that fluency in Arabic was common even amongst the settlers. Forey believes that Arabic was rare amongst the brothers of the military orders, recruited from the West but serving for long periods in the East, who were thus dependent upon interpreters.²² Bahā' al-Dīn observed that the truly naturalised *pullanus* Raynald of Sidon “knew Arabic and spoke (n.b.) in it” (*ya 'rifu bi-l- 'arabiyya wa yatakallamu bi-hā*).²³ By drawing attention to Raynald's talents, it is implied that he was an exception and that most Franks in the East could not speak the language, at least not fluently.

In general then, it seems that Arab-Romance bilingualism was unusual amongst the Latin rulers. The county of Tripoli and the crusader states more generally were not unique in this respect. Historians believe that bilingualism was probably very rare in Norman England and rarer still in Norman Sicily, the latter being more directly comparable to Tripoli given the presence in both of Romance and Arabic.²⁴ The

²¹ JV *Lettres*, no. 2, p. 93.

²² A. Forey, ‘Literacy and Learning in the Military Orders during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries’, in *The Military Orders. Volume 2: Welfare and Warfare*, ed. by H. Nicholson (Aldershot 1998), p. 200; A. Forey, ‘The military orders and the conversion of Muslims in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries’, *JMH*, 28 (2002), p. 15.

²³ Bahā' al-Dīn, ‘Anecdotes’, p. 122. Al-Shayyāl's edition is briefer, noting only that Raynald “knew Arabic” (*ya 'rifu al- 'arabiyya*), not that he *spoke* in it specifically. BD, p. 97.

²⁴ I. Short, ‘On Bilingualism in Anglo-Norman England’, *Romance Philology*, 33 (1979-80), pp. 474-479; M. Chibnall, *Anglo-Norman England 1066-1166* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 212-214; Chibnall, *Normans*, p. 50; M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, 3rd edn (Oxford, 2013), pp. 200-202, 204-205, 207-208; R. M. Wilson, ‘English and French in England 1100-1300’, *History*, 28 (1943), pp. 42-60; Johns, *Arabic Administration*, p. 5; D. A. Agius, ‘Who Spoke Siculo Arabic?’, in *XII Incontro Italiano di Linguistica Camito-Semitica (Afroasiatica)*, ed. by M. Moriggi (Soveria Mannelli, 2007), pp. 27-28. Cf. A. Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians in*

evidence fits with what Bernard Lewis sees as a general rule, a commonly recurring power dynamic throughout history, especially in the Arabic-speaking world. He states that, “[t]he owner does not learn the language of the slave”.²⁵ Linguists do not adhere to Lewis’s uncompromisingly unilateral view, identifying instead two aspects of linguistic change: the effect of the “substratum”, when a foreign language enters a region by conquest and is adopted by the conquered community, and that of the “superstratum”, when the conquerors adopt the language of the conquered.²⁶ Lewis’s scheme ignores the superstratum, which can be seen ultimately triumphant in contemporary England, but it nevertheless remains appropriate for the Latin East, not to mention other areas of Romance-speaking Latin Christian dominance over Arabic-speaking Muslims. In both Sicily and Iberia, Romance languages eventually ousted Arabic, even amongst the lower social strata, with one Semitic language, the former Arabic dialect of Maltese, the sole exception.²⁷

As the evidence stands, most Latin settlers in the East were like the briefly resident James of Vitry in being largely dependent upon employing indigenous translators. Even the talented Raynald of Sidon employed a presumed Arabic speaker – Christian or Muslim – by the name of Yūsuf as a negotiator in 1192.²⁸ The need for such translators would have arisen very early, when various Syrian towns, including Tripoli, Homs and Maraqqiya, began to surrender during the First Crusade.²⁹ Tripoli’s ruler Jalāl al-Mulk bin ‘Ammār stood at the forefront of these negotiations, with the

Norman Sicily: Arabic speakers and the end of Islam (London and New York, 2003), p. 180.

²⁵ B. Lewis, ‘From Babel to Dragomans’, in his *From Babel to Dragomans: Interpreting the Middle East* (London, 2004), p. 22.

²⁶ P. Wolff, *Western Languages AD 100-1500*, trans. by F. Partridge (London, 1971), p. 15.

²⁷ Agius, p. 33; Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians*, p. 185.

²⁸ BD, pp. 206, 207-208.

²⁹ GF, pp. 422-424, 428, 436, 438-439; PT, pp. 128, 129, 132-133; RA, pp. 106-107. For a general survey, see: Köhler, *Alliances*, pp. 34-57.

principal Latin accounts of the First Crusade all recording how he sent “*intercessores*”, “*legati*” and “*nuntii*” to the crusader armies, bearing gifts and seeking desperate peace treaties.³⁰ As well as offering material wealth, Jalāl al-Mulk provided the crusaders with strategic support, including a “*vir senex*” to guide them through the difficult southern mountain road to Jubayl and beyond.³¹ Following the death of Godfrey of Bouillon in July 1100, his brother Baldwin I headed south from Edessa with his entourage, including the chronicler Fulcher of Chartres, to be crowned king of Jerusalem. Fakhr al-Mulk bin ‘Ammār allowed Baldwin to rest at Tripoli, providing the king-elect with victuals and crucial strategic advice relating to hostile Muslim forces in the area.³² One late and derivative source described Baldwin and Fakhr al-Mulk as “*amici*”.³³ Sometimes the ‘Ammārids’ regional authority was undermined or contested by other local Muslim lords in these negotiations for what would become the county of Tripoli. According to Ibn al-Athīr, Naṣr bin ‘Alī bin Muqallad, the Munqidhid ruler of Shayzar, negotiated a peace treaty with the crusaders concerning ‘Arqa in 1098, although Albert of Aachen recorded that Jalāl al-Mulk bin ‘Ammār claimed lordship over this town in the same year.³⁴ The crusaders were sometimes proactive, not waiting for the Muslim rulers to contact them. Hillenbrand shows that diplomatic missions were sent to Muslim rulers in advance of the First Crusade as early as 1095-96 (AH 489).³⁵ Raymond of Aguilers recorded an otherwise unknown Latin priest, Ebrard, having gone to Tripoli

³⁰ *GF*, pp. 423-424, 436, 438-439; *PT*, pp. 128, 132-133; *RA*, pp. 106-107, 125; *AA*, pp. 386-388.

³¹ *AA*, pp. 388-390. See Chapter One, pp. 118-121.

³² *FC*, pp. 355-357.

³³ ‘*Anonymi Rhenani*’, p. 502.

³⁴ *IA*, x, 278; *AA*, p. 388. Ibn al-Athīr later claimed that Ibn ‘Ammār *did* rule the town, at least until his representative there rebelled and sought the assistance of Ṭuġtakīn of Damascus in 1109. *IA*, x, 467-468.

³⁵ Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, pp. 44-45.

sometime before the siege of Antioch in late 1097.³⁶ It is not specified what the purpose of this visit was, although John and Laurita Hill proposed that he may have been sent on “a mission to arrange terms with the Tripolitans”.³⁷

Negotiations continued whilst the crusaders were besieging Tripoli, with frequent contact between the Latins and the city’s Muslim ruler. An early truce between Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Fakhr al-Mulk, temporarily averting a full siege, was established in 1101-02 (AH 495), involving a ransom payment of money and horses.³⁸ In 1105, a seven-year armistice was concluded between the two men, guaranteeing safe passage for travellers to and from Tripoli and establishing a land sharing agreement, although it was broken soon after by an attempt on Raymond’s life by a disgruntled Tripolitan carrying a poisoned dagger.³⁹ In 1109, William Jordan negotiated the surrender of the Muslim garrison at ‘Arqa.⁴⁰ Later that year, Count Bertrand of Tripoli and *Atābak* Ṭughtakīn of Damascus concluded a treaty by which the Franks would receive a third of the produce of the Biqā‘ valley and certain other benefits, an example of *condominium*.⁴¹ Other relevant instances of diplomatic contact and thus implicit linguistic intermediaries in military contexts occurred in 1137, upon King Fulk’s surrender of the Tripolitan towns of Rafaniyya and Montferrand to Zankī of Mosul; 1163, when a recently triumphant Christian army based at Crac des Chevaliers unsuccessfully sued for peace with a stubborn Nūr al-Dīn; and the winter of 1174-75,

³⁶ RA, p. 117.

³⁷ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem*, trans. by J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill (Philadelphia, PA, 1968), p. 97 n. 12.

³⁸ IA, x, 344.

³⁹ IQ, p. 147; WM, p. 700.

⁴⁰ IA, x, 468.

⁴¹ IQ, p. 165. See below, pp. 242-243.

when Raymond III was in contact with various Muslim rulers on the county's eastern frontier during one of Saladin's early power plays.⁴²

Some of the intermediaries employed in the initial period of the crusader conquest were identified by Ibn al-Athīr as local Christians (*al-naṣārā*), when the Muslim *qāḍī* of Jabala used them as negotiators with the Franks, although in this case the *qāḍī* only did so to trick the Franks.⁴³ This practice of negotiating through eastern Christians continued throughout the century, as when the governor of Damascus sent "a group of (local) Christians" (*jamā'a min al-naṣārā*) to negotiate with the Franks and prevent them from destroying the mosque of Darayyā in 1182-83 (AH 578).⁴⁴ At the same time, some translators were Muslim. Albert of Aachen identified the elderly Tripolitan guide provided to the crusaders by Jalāl al-Mulk bin 'Ammār as a "Sarracenus".⁴⁵ Upon the surrender of Jabala and Latakia in the principality of Antioch to Saladin in 1188, it was the Muslim *qāḍī* of Jabala, Maṣṣūr bin Nabīl, who negotiated with the Latin Christians.⁴⁶

Rural administration was one area in the Latin East where the use of Arabic was vital. As in Sicily, Muslim peasants were called upon to outline field boundaries.⁴⁷ Riley-Smith has pointed towards the presence in surviving Latin documents of "interpretes" or "dragomans", a corruption of the Arabic *tarjumān* (interpreter) and in

⁴² WT, ii, 669, 972-973; IA, xi, 296, 419; Ibn al-Athīr, 'Histoire des atabecs', pp. 109, 211; IQ, p. 259; KD, ii, 261-262; Hamilton, *Leper King*, pp. 99-100; Baldwin, *Raymond* (1936), p. 29.

⁴³ IA, x, 310-311.

⁴⁴ IA, xi, 484.

⁴⁵ AA, p. 390.

⁴⁶ ID, pp. 137, 140; BD, pp. 89, 89-90; IA, xii, 7, 8; AS, iv, 12.

⁴⁷ For example: CCSSJ, no. 121. Also: B. Z. Kedar, 'Some New Sources on Palestinian Muslims before and during the Crusades', in *Die Kreuzfahrerstaaten als multikulturelle Gesellschaft*, ed. by H. E. Mayer, Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, Kolloquien, 37 (Munich, 1997), p. 136; Johns, *Arabic Administration*, p. 42.

some cases a possible continuation of the synonymous Fāṭimid *mutarjim*.⁴⁸ No dragomans are recorded in the county of Tripoli, although a Martin “*Daragun*” appeared in the company of Raymond III in Acre, 1163, along with other seemingly indigenous individuals, namely a Radulf “*de Turcopolis*” (i.e. Turcoples, the famous indigenous light cavalry who served in Frankish armies), a Peter “*Baptizatus*” (a baptised convert to Latin Christianity?), and a “*Raiz*” Escandar.⁴⁹ This latter figure represents another class of intermediary between the Europeans and the indigenous, the “*raisii*” or “*reguli*” – Latin transliterations of Arabic *ruʿasāʾ* (sg. *rayyis/raʾīs*). These are found frequently in surviving documentation for the county, and in fact all four crusader states. They were “chiefs” or “headmen” who served as community representatives and middlemen between the rulers and the ruled, divided into the discrete categories of urban, who presided over the *cour des syriens* as counterparts to the *vicecomites* of the Frankish *cour des bourgeois*, and rural, a sort of village chieftain.⁵⁰

The general tendency to use Arabic loan-words to refer to the *ruʿasāʾ* increases the likelihood that these intermediaries were natives, rather than Franks who learnt Arabic and settled in the countryside. That the Frankish settlers of the county of Tripoli did not use an equivalent western term for such intermediaries, such as the “vicars” and “provosts” of the ruling dynasty’s Occitan homeland, is significant.⁵¹ Unfortunately it is not known if these *ruʿasāʾ* were bilingual, acting in some capacity as interpreters as

⁴⁸ Riley-Smith, ‘Some lesser officials’, pp. 15-19; Riley-Smith, ‘The survival’, p. 11; Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, pp. 53-55; Tyan, p. 258.

⁴⁹ *RRH*, no. 389; *CGOH*, ii, no. XIII.

⁵⁰ Riley-Smith, ‘Some lesser officials’, pp. 1-15; Riley-Smith, ‘The survival’, p. 10; Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, pp. 47-49, 90-91; J. Prawer, ‘Social Classes in the Crusader States: The “Minorities”’, in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. by K. M. Setton, Volume V: *The Impact of the Crusades on the Near East*, ed. by N. P. Zacour and H. W. Hazard (Madison, WI, 1985), pp. 102-105; Amouroux-Mourad, p. 116.

⁵¹ Paterson, *World*, pp. 137-138.

well as local representatives, but their essential role as indigenous spokesmen implies that translators must have been employed, even if the *ru'asā'* and *reguli* were too grand to do the interpreting themselves.

The *ru'asā'* demonstrate well the shortcomings of traditional institutional history. Historians' definitions of these individuals' duties and responsibilities perhaps give misleadingly precise impressions of the *ru'asā'* and their authority, and the evidence for the county does not fully support many definite conclusions. For example, no *cour des syriens* is recorded in the county, even if Richard assumed that there probably was one.⁵² The rural *ru'asā'* of the county, or rather of Mount Lebanon, may have had greater authority than their counterparts in Jerusalem and Antioch. Richard believes that the *ru'asā'* were the local petty nobility – the clan chiefs and village heads – whose authority was very close, if always theoretically subordinate to that of the Frankish lords, and whose responsibilities, at least in the case of the sub-group of *reguli* – “*une sorte de chevalier syrien*” – mentioned in 1174, included the raising of an indigenous feudal levy to support Frankish war efforts.⁵³ Richard views these, or at least one specific *ra'īs* by the name of David *Siri* mentioned in Raymond II's great donation to the Hospitallers in the 1140s, as mountain chieftains, early examples of the *muqaddams* who have been so instrumental in Lebanese history.⁵⁴ Prawer agreed and suspected that the inaccessibility of mountain regions, particularly in the Lebanon near Tripoli, rendered the *ru'asā'* here rather more powerful than their counterparts in the plains, with the uniquely Tripolitan term *regulus* taking a specially latinised form (“prince” or “petty king”) to reflect this specifically Lebanese tradition of powerful

⁵² *Comté*, p. 87.

⁵³ *Comté*, pp. 87-88; *RRH*, no. 519; *CGOH*, i, no. 467.

⁵⁴ Richard, ‘*Cum omni*’, pp. 188-192; *RRH*, no. 212; *CGOH*, i, no. 144.

local chieftains.⁵⁵ Indeed, Salibi pointed to the Arabic works of one late medieval Maronite, Ibn al-Qilā'ī (d.1516), who described three Maronite chieftains or “*muqaddamūn*” of the crusader period, who lived on the county’s southern periphery and behaved as confirmed vassals of the Franks, specifically the “king [sic] of Jubayl”.⁵⁶

As for the urban *ru'asā'*, these also seem to have been powerful, if constrained to some extent by the Latin counts. Although the position is only attested within Tripoli itself, not in the other cities, the *ra'īs* here was evidently a man of some importance. Raiz Escandar appears in a comital witness list of 1163, towards the end but immediately after the presumably important figure of the castellan of *Mons Peregrinorum*.⁵⁷ Usāma bin Munqidh provides a characteristically lively and human account of one Christian *ra'īs* of Tripoli, namely Yūnān, who assisted one of Usāma’s slaves in late summer 1131, during Zankī’s disruptive campaigns against Homs and Hama. Yūnān first hired out a mule to Usāma’s *mamlūk*, then escorted him part of the way from Tripoli to Shayzar, and finally ordered a large gang of robbers on the mountain road to leave the man alone.⁵⁸ That Yūnān’s authority extended far beyond the city limits of Tripoli and was respected even by mountain highwaymen is significant.

The *ra'īs* of Tripoli was perhaps comparable to the *ru'asā'* of contemporary Islamic city-states such as Damascus and Aleppo. The *ra'īs* of each of these cities had come to be one of the great men of state during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, appointed locally but sometimes receiving official sanction from the Fāṭimid and Saljūq

⁵⁵ Prawer, ‘Social Classes’, p. 103.

⁵⁶ K. S. Salibi, ‘The Maronites of Lebanon under Frankish and Mamluk Rule (1099-1516)’, *Arabica*, 4.3 (1957), pp. 292-293.

⁵⁷ *RRH*, no. 389; *CGOH*, ii, no. XIII

⁵⁸ *UM*, pp. 79-80.

central governments.⁵⁹ As under crusader rule, the Islamic *ra'īs* could serve as “intermediary between the populace and the local lord”, but *ra'īs* was certainly “not a menial title” – as it was to become in a post-Ottoman context – with the *ru'asā'* often enjoying a considerable measure of power as the agents of their lords' authority.⁶⁰ That said, the *ra'īs* of Frankish Tripoli remained very much subordinate to the count. A neglected passage in the early Aleppan chronicle of al-‘Azīmī records that “the count of Tripoli (Pons) killed the city's *ra'īs*” (*qatala qūmiṣ aṭrābulus ra'īs-hā*) between November 1132 and October 1133 (AH 527), although no motive for this act is provided.⁶¹ It was around this time that Count Pons suffered a serious military defeat at the hands of Turkmāns on the county's eastern frontier.⁶² Did Pons suspect the *ra'īs* of treachery? There was certainly an air of paranoia at this time regarding the loyalties of the indigenous. Pons's son Raymond II believed some local betrayal lay behind his father's death a few years later in 1137, which inspired the young count to lead a punitive sortie against the “*Surianes*” (Christians) of Lebanon.⁶³ Was the executed *ra'īs* the same *ra'īs* Yūnān who had helped Usāma's *mamlūk* just two years earlier?⁶⁴ Definite answers to such questions are lacking.

Usāma referred to Yūnān as a “*naṣrānī*”, a term generally reserved for native, non-Latin Christians.⁶⁵ It is not always as clear as this whether the *ru'asā'* were Muslim or Christian and there is some debate amongst historians on this subject. Richard

⁵⁹ A. Havemann, ‘The Vizier and the Ra'īs in Saljuq Syria: The Struggle for Urban Self-Representation’, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 21.2 (1989), pp. 233-240.

⁶⁰ Usāma, trans. by Cobb, pp. 266, 298.

⁶¹ Al-‘Azīmī, p. 385.

⁶² IQ, p. 240; WT, ii, 638.

⁶³ WT, ii, 661-662.

⁶⁴ Together with the anonymous and perhaps identical *ra'īs* executed by Pons, Yūnān is the only *ra'īs* not to appear in the list of twelfth-century *ru'asā'* compiled by Richard, whose use of Usāma is minimal. *Comté*, p. 87.

⁶⁵ UM, pp. 79-80.

implies that they were generally, if not exclusively members of the “Syrien” communities, that is the indigenous Christians.⁶⁶ Mayer denies the existence of specifically Islamic *ru’asā’*, at least in the sense of being recognised in any official capacity by the Latin authorities, as their Syrian Christian counterparts supposedly were, on the basis that the evidence is “elusive”.⁶⁷ However, it is the view of many more historians that Muslim and Jewish villages, as well as Christian, did possess officially recognised *ru’asā’*.⁶⁸

The use of prosopography may help to identify religious orientation, although it has limits and must be treated with caution. For one thing, the name “A. *Tripolis raisius*” (1145) is obviously insufficient.⁶⁹ It must also be borne in mind that some *ru’asā’* are known to have adopted European names, such as “Guillaume” (1259).⁷⁰ Simon, George, Jean and “Bolos” (Paul) were presumably local Christians.⁷¹ A *ra’īs* at Margat, just to the north of the county, bore the name “Abdelmessie”, that is ‘Abd al-Masīḥ, “Servant of the Messiah”, and perhaps therefore a Christian.⁷² As for Islamic *ru’asā’*, the name of the *regulus* “Mafe” could be a contraction of “Mafemet”, a common Latin corruption of Muḥammad, although Richard believes it to be a form of the Christian name Matthew.⁷³ Certainly Prawer’s opinion was that Mafe and his fellow *reguli*, Simon and George, were Christian, probably specifically Maronite mountain-

⁶⁶ Comté, pp. 87-88; Richard, ‘Cum omni’, p. 190.

⁶⁷ Mayer, ‘Latins, Muslims and Greeks’, p. 185.

⁶⁸ Cahen, *Syrie*, pp. 461-462; Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, p. 48; Prawer, ‘Social Classes’, p. 103; B. Z. Kedar, ‘The Subjected Muslims of the Frankish Levant’, in *Muslims under Latin Rule, 1100-1300*, ed. by J. M. Powell (Princeton, NJ, 1990), pp. 164, 170; Amouroux-Mourad, p. 116; Attiya, p. 208.

⁶⁹ *RRH*, no. 236 *CGOH*, i, no. 160.

⁷⁰ *RRH*, no. 1272; *CGOH*, ii, no. 2915; Riley-Smith, ‘Some lesser officials’, pp. 6, 11; Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, p. 271 n. 224.

⁷¹ *RRH*, nos 519, 1272; *RRH Add.*, no. 706a; *CGOH*, i, nos 467, 932; ii, no. 2915; Richard, ‘Cum omni’, p. 190.

⁷² *RRH*, no. 521; *CGOH*, i, no. 457. But see Chapter Four, p. 321.

⁷³ *RRH*, no. 519; *CGOH*, i, no. 467; Richard, ‘Cum omni’, p. 190.

chiefs.⁷⁴ A more definite case of Muslim identity is “*Hassenus Riserius*”, who appeared as the owner of a vineyard at Ṣāfīthā (*Castrum Album*) and had a name that is obviously a transliteration of “Ḥasan”, or perhaps “Ḥusayn”, two of the most popular names amongst both Sunni and especially Shī‘a Muslims, originally being the names of Muḥammad’s two grandsons by his daughter Fāṭima and son-in-law ‘Alī.⁷⁵ Other names are less useful, recalling only shared cultural and religious heritage. “*Escandar*” is a transliteration of the Arabic “Alexander” (Iskandar), a name popular amongst Muslims but of equal historical importance across the Mediterranean, regardless of religion.⁷⁶ The same ambiguity applies to “*Davidus Siri*”, a man who held a “*raisagium*” – thought by Richard to be a term meaning the fief of a *ra’īs* – and whose first name had broad Abrahamic appeal.⁷⁷ Of course, if Richard is correct in his assumption, then his by-name implies an eastern Christian of some imprecise sect: “*Siri[anus]*”.⁷⁸

The *ru’asā’* were not the only indigenous officials who enjoyed some more or less formal recognition from the Frankish authorities, and with whom the Franks presumably dealt, directly or via an interpreter. Islamic religious judges or *quḍā* (sg. *qāḍī*) were apparently allowed to operate under Frankish rule, for the benefit of the subjected Muslim communities. When Saladin was besieging Crac des Chevaliers in summer 1188, the *qāḍī* of Jabala, Maṣṣūr bin Nabīl, came to meet him and arranged the surrender of Jabala and Latakia to the Sultan, making use of his influence and personal

⁷⁴ Prawer, ‘Social Classes’, p. 103. See also: *Comté*, pp. 87-88; Richard, ‘*Cum omni*’, pp. 188-192.

⁷⁵ *RRH*, no. 270; *CGOH*, i, no. 199; A. Schimmel, *Islamic Names* (Edinburgh, 1989), p. 35. Major suggests that this man was a Nuṣayrī ‘Alawī Shī‘ite, to whom the consumption of wine – and thus the ownership of *Castrum Album*’s vineyard – was not prohibited. Major, i, 255.

⁷⁶ *RRH*, no. 389; *CGOH*, ii, no. XIII; Schimmel, p. 78.

⁷⁷ *RRH*, no. 212; *CGOH*, i, no. 144; *Comté*, pp. 77, 87; Richard, ‘*Cum omni*’, p. 188.

⁷⁸ *Comté*, p. 77; Richard, ‘*Cum omni*’, p. 188.

relationships with the Franks, built over the preceding years of service.⁷⁹ It is not known if this *qāḍī* was a direct successor of the semi-autonomous *qāḍī* recorded in late- and post-Byzantine, pre-Frankish Jabala in the late eleventh century.⁸⁰ Certainly Mayer and Asbridge contend that the Muslims of Jabala only received the later *qāḍī* on the eve of Saladin's conquest, when the balance of power in Syria had shifted in favour of the Muslims in the later twelfth century.⁸¹ By contrast, Kedar argues that continuity is possible, on the basis that absence of evidence is not necessarily evidence of absence.⁸² Similarly, Cahen thought it impossible to know for certain whether it was a direct inheritance or a late concession.⁸³ In the somewhat comparable context of Sicily, the Christian Norman king not only permitted, but appointed a *qāḍī* for his Muslim subjects and, although contemporary Islamic jurists were divided as to whether or not a non-Muslim ruler had the authority to do this, the office seems to have been tolerated by Muslims as an unavoidable necessity.⁸⁴ No *qāḍī* is definitely attested in the county of Tripoli, although it may be worth remembering that the title of "*ra'īs*" was assumed by some pre-crusade *quḍā* – effectively independent rulers of cities – in the eleventh century, including the *qāḍī* of nearby Jabala.⁸⁵ Cahen believed that Antioch's *ra'īs* and *iudex* – probably a Byzantine inheritance in the latter case – were synonyms, suggesting that *ra'īs* could have had a specifically judicial meaning, akin to *qāḍī*.⁸⁶ Therefore it is possible that some of the urban *raisii* of Frankish Tripoli, excepting the definitely

⁷⁹ IA, xii, 7-8; BD, pp. 89-90.

⁸⁰ See above, p. 222.

⁸¹ Mayer, 'Latins, Muslims and Greeks', p. 185; T. S. Asbridge, "'Crusader' Community", p. 324.

⁸² Kedar, 'Subjected Muslims', pp. 141-142.

⁸³ Cahen, *Syrie*, p. 462.

⁸⁴ Johns, *Arabic Administration*, pp. 294-296.

⁸⁵ Tyan, p. 417.

⁸⁶ Cahen, *Syrie*, pp. 455-456, 462.

Christian examples, were not simply heirs of an administrative office, but also Islamic religious judges.

The Franks used some locals in their armies. Historians have often noted that a great contribution in this respect was made by the Maronites, whose military prowess was praised by William of Tyre.⁸⁷ It should be added that this was not simply a Maronite or even a Christian phenomenon. Ibn al-Athīr reported a Muslim who lived at Ḥiṣn al-Akrād (Crac des Chevaliers), “who was one of the soldiers of its rulers who surrendered it to the Franks in former times” (*huwa min ajnād aṣḥāb-hi alladhī sallamū-hu ilā al-franj qadīman*). He had since cooperated with the Franks, joining them in raids against Islamic territories and even visiting Frankish and Greek lands, including Rome, to seek reinforcements, although he had apparently rescinded his working relationship with the Franks by 1193-94 (AH 590).⁸⁸ The mention here of “rulers who surrendered it to the Franks in former times” is perplexing, since Ḥiṣn al-Akrād had been taken by the Franks in 1109-10 (AH 503).⁸⁹ It is impossible that the same Muslim serving the Franks in the 1190s would have been able to serve as a soldier under the Muslim rulers before 1109. Perhaps whatever local dynasty had ruled Ḥiṣn al-Akrād at the time of the crusader conquest had continued to live under Latin rule, serving as client rulers over the local Muslim populace and employing Muslim soldiers such as the one described by Ibn al-Athīr to serve as auxiliaries to the Franks. Tancred of Antioch, who was responsible for capturing Ḥiṣn al-Akrād and who seems to have had a marked tendency to leave conquered Muslim communities intact, had also offered to allow Fakhr al-Mulk bin ‘Ammār, former Muslim ruler of Tripoli, to hold “Jubayl”

⁸⁷ Baldwin, ‘Ecclesiastical Developments’, p. 153; *Comté*, p. 88; WT, ii, 1018.

⁸⁸ IA, xii, 32-33.

⁸⁹ IQ, p. 167.

(*corr.* Jabala) as a “fief” (*al-iqtāʿ*) from him, although the *qāḍī* had refused and left.⁹⁰ Again, the Franks’ employment of local soldiery, Christian or Muslim, would have required the services of interpreters.

Trade was one area that provided both the stimulus and the opportunities for many in the county of Tripoli to learn the languages of others, without necessarily seeking interpreters. In fact, Murray believes that it would have been predominantly merchants and other itinerants who would have acquired languages additional to their respective native tongues in the Middle Ages, rather than socially isolated rulers or sedentary agriculturalists.⁹¹ Latin Christian merchants and other beneficiaries of commerce, such as the brothers of the military orders, visited bazaars and built hostelries (*fundacos*, from Arabic *fundūq/fanādiq*) in cities throughout the Near East, including non-Christian settlements such as Alexandria and Damascus.⁹² Tripoli was no exception. It was located in an extremely fertile area, which produced all manner of fruits, and Burchard of Mount Sion recorded that the city itself was particularly famous for its silk, a tradition that went back to the eleventh century.⁹³ Before the Frankish conquest it had been renowned in the Islamic world for paper production, although this is not definitely attested after 1109.⁹⁴ The likely death of this particular industry notwithstanding, al-Idrīsī described the constant flow of traders and merchandise to and

⁹⁰ IQ, p. 164. On Tancred’s policy towards Muslim society: Kedar, ‘Subjected Muslims’, p. 151. See also: Major, i, 250.

⁹¹ Murray, ‘National identity’, pp. 113-114.

⁹² A. S. Atiya, *Crusade, Commerce and Culture* (Bloomington, IN, 1962), pp. 181-182.

⁹³ BMS, p. 28; D. Jacoby, ‘Silk Economics and Cross-Cultural Artistic Interaction: Byzantium, the Muslim World, and the Christian West’, *DOP*, 58 (2004), p. 231.

⁹⁴ NK, p. 13. Cf. N. Elisséeff, ‘Les échanges culturels entre le monde musulman et les croisés à l’époque de Nūr ad-Dīn b. Zankī (m. 1174)’, in *The Meeting of Two Worlds*, ed. by Goss and Bornstein, p. 46.

from Tripoli – “a trading post of the trading posts of Syria” (*ma‘qil min ma‘āqil al-shām*) – in the mid-twelfth century.⁹⁵

As early as the First Crusade, Jalāl al-Mulk bin ‘Ammār had offered the crusaders an open public market in Tripoli in return for peace.⁹⁶ Markets continued to exist in Tripoli in the Frankish period. In 1182, Ugo Broerius sold to the Hospitallers for 113 “*bisanciis Sarracenis*” a shop (*stationem*), which was ideally located opposite Tripoli’s provisions market (*macellum*) and next to the barbican, where the “*via publica*” entered the city.⁹⁷ As for other port towns in the county, al-Idrīsī reported that Tortosa had “bustling markets and active commerce” (*aswāq ‘āmira wa-tijārāt dā’ira*) in the twelfth century.⁹⁸ Abū al-Fidā’ confirmed that Jubayl had a market (*jubayl la-hā [...] sūq*), at least by the thirteenth century.⁹⁹ In 1184, Ibn Jubayr reported that the Frankish city of Acre in the kingdom of Jerusalem possessed a customs office (*dīwān*), headed by a local official (*ṣāhib al-dīwān*) and staffed by indigenous Christian clerks (*kuttāb [...] min al-naṣārā*), who could both “write and speak in Arabic” (*yaktubūn bi-al-‘arabiyya wa-yatakallumūn bi-hā*) for the benefit of visiting merchants.¹⁰⁰ It may be safely assumed that such Arabophone officials and institutions could be found in other port towns, especially one as grand as Tripoli. Indeed, a Latin document issued by Bohemond VII in 1278 incorporated four non-Latin words, referring to revenue sources located in the city of Tripoli: “*Drina, Paudico, Buchaira, et Tintoria*”.¹⁰¹ Riley-Smith identifies the first two as garbled misreadings of “*duana*” and “*fundico*”, being Arabic

⁹⁵ Al-Idrīsī, *Opus Geographicum sive «Liber ad eorum delectationem qui terras peragrarare studeant»*, ed. by E. Cerulli et al. (Leiden, 1979), pp. 372-373.

⁹⁶ RA, p. 125.

⁹⁷ RRH, no. 620; CGOH, i, no. 620.

⁹⁸ Al-Idrīsī, p. 644.

⁹⁹ AF *Buldān*, p. 247.

¹⁰⁰ IJ, p. 302.

¹⁰¹ E. G. Rey, *Recherches géographiques et historiques sur la domination des Latins en Orient accompagnées de textes inédits ou peu connus du XII^e au XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1877), p. 51.

dīwān and *fundūq*.¹⁰² Adding to this, *tintoria* may be Italian for “dye”, whilst *buchaira* seems to be another Arabic loan word, either for “lake” (*buḥayra*) – perhaps a reference to fishing rights, known to exist in or around the city at this time¹⁰³ – or “cattle herd” (*baqara/baqīr*). Further corroboration of the importance of Arabic in the administration of the county’s economy, across the entire crusader period, can be glimpsed in the simple fact that so much of what is known today about trade through the county’s ports is derived from Arabic authors.

Unlike other arenas of interaction, such as diplomacy and shared religious rituals,¹⁰⁴ markets represented a politically and religiously neutral forum, often protected by local laws, which likely facilitated freer and less formalised communication. Indeed, Agius believes that a pidgin of Romance and Arabic languages developed most extensively in the mercantile ports of contemporary Sicily.¹⁰⁵ Kedar believes that the Arabic word *rizq* (pay, property) may have entered European languages as *risicum*, via the Italians who established trading outposts in North Africa and Syria, around the time of the crusades.¹⁰⁶ This raises the possibility, which must remain largely speculative, that the learning of spoken Arabic by Franks most likely occurred amongst the mercantile classes, who were immersed in the polyglot milieu of ports, and not amongst the elite.

IV. Written Arabic

¹⁰² Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, p. 276 n. 293.

¹⁰³ For example: *CGOH*, ii, no. 2801.

¹⁰⁴ For shared religious rituals, see Chapter Four.

¹⁰⁵ Agius, pp. 29-30. Aslanov argues that the French of the Levant was only “slightly coloured” by Arabic and should not be seen as a pidgin. Aslanov, pp. 168-170, 180.

¹⁰⁶ B. Z. Kedar, ‘Again: Arabic *rizq*, Medieval Latin *risicum*’, *Studi Medievali*, 10.3 (1969), p. 259.

The observations made in relation to Latin Christian engagement with spoken Arabic can also be traced in the written language. The main problem, that only a minority could speak the language and were consequently dependent upon local intermediaries, was more acute in relation to the written language, with a still smaller number of Latins able to read it, and fewer if any to write it, employing indigenous scribes on a regular basis. William of Tyre recorded that Count Raymond III spent his decade in an Aleppan prison (1164-c.1174) engaged in study, bolstering his “natural keenness of mind” (*naturali mentis vivacitate*), although he remained only “*litteratus modice*” – that is to say, literate in Latin – and it is not clear if his studies involved learning Arabic, as Runciman assumed.¹⁰⁷ Little can be said with certainty of this period in Raymond’s life, since the main source, William of Tyre, is ambiguous, describing on one hand Raymond’s opportunity to engage in learning freely, and on the other his ignominious and restrictive incarceration.¹⁰⁸ The accusations made against Raymond before and after the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn in 1187, alleging even that he had converted to Islam, may reflect some concern over his apparent “orientalisation”, but again this is no positive indication that he had acquired Arabic.¹⁰⁹

Historians have traditionally believed that William of Tyre himself had some Arabic, partly because he claimed to have used Arabic sources.¹¹⁰ Huygens doubts this, dismissing positive evidence of William’s Arabic as sparse, commonplace knowledge, rudimentary, sometimes erroneous, and generally unconvincing.¹¹¹ Möhring agrees,

¹⁰⁷ WT, ii, 967; Runciman, *History*, ii, 405. For the contemporary meaning of *litteratus*, see: Clanchy, pp. 233-236.

¹⁰⁸ WT, ii, 875; Baldwin, *Raymond* (1936), p. 11.

¹⁰⁹ Baldwin, *Raymond* (1936), p. 159. See Chapter Four, pp. 290-292.

¹¹⁰ William of Tyre, trans. by Babcock and Krey, i, 16, 63 n. 9; ii, 324 n. 46; Baldwin, *Raymond* (1936), p. 161; P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs from the earliest times to the present*, 10th edn (Basingstoke, 2002), p. 667; Edbury and Rowe, p. 23; Attiya, pp. 205-206, 211; WT, i, 99-100.

¹¹¹ WT, i, 2-3.

introducing an awareness of the problem of Arabic diglossia by arguing that William is unlikely to have known formal written Arabic, since he spent twenty years studying in the Latin schools of Europe, but may have known some spoken colloquial from his childhood in the East.¹¹²

Möhring's implicit awareness of Arabic diglossia is important. Even Raynald of Sidon, the exceptional Frankish lord who “spoke Arabic” (*yatakallamu bi-hā*), employed a Muslim “to read to him and make him understand” (*yaqra’u la-hu, wa-yafahhamu-hu*).¹¹³ The *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* includes a roughly correct translation of the name Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (*Salahadin*) into Latin as “*legis corrector*”, although the author made a minor but telling error in dividing the name into “*sala*” and “*hadin*” (*sala-hadin*, not *salah-adin*), suggesting an oral rather than written engagement with the language.¹¹⁴ This is not surprising, since the acquisition of a spoken vernacular tends to be easier than of a written language, with the former heard much more frequently in various, often domestic settings, and with the latter learnt primarily through the active study of a more complex set of grammatical rules, taught in formal educational settings, in which few if any Latin Franks would ever have found themselves.¹¹⁵ Although no explicit mention is made of diglossia, Ciggaar observes that many Franks may have acquired “practical” Arabic in such diverse contexts as imprisonment in a Muslim prison or marriage to a local – commercial interactions should be added to this – but that this did not necessarily mean they could read the language.¹¹⁶

¹¹² H. Möhring, ‘Zu der Geschichte der orientalischen Herrscher des Wilhelm von Tyrus: Die Frage der Quellenabhängigkeiten’, *Mittelalterinisches Jahrbuch*, 19 (1984), pp. 174, 174 n. 7.

¹¹³ BD, p. 97; Bahā’ al-Dīn, ‘Anecdotes’, p. 122.

¹¹⁴ *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum: Eine zeitgenössische englische Chronik zum dritten Kreuzzug in ursprünglicher Gestalt*, ed. by H. E. Mayer (Stuttgart, 1962), p. 250.

¹¹⁵ Ferguson, pp. 331, 333-334.

¹¹⁶ K. Ciggaar, ‘Manuscripts as intermediaries: The Crusader States and literary cross-fertilization’, in *East and West in the Crusader States*, ed. by Ciggaar, Teule et al., i,

According to Ferguson, notable or acute diglossia is dependent upon situations where “[l]iteracy in the community is limited to a small elite.”¹¹⁷ In other words, written Arabic would only have ever been known by an educated minority, the ‘*ulamā*’ (“learned ones”), even in the Islamic period. The impact of the crusades upon this literate minority was very great. Kedar believes that the arrival of the Latins resulted in “the disappearance of [the Islamic] intellectual elite” from the areas they conquered, leaving only a parochial “secondary elite”, of village *shaykhs* and *imāms*, to cater to the local Muslims’ spiritual needs.¹¹⁸ The county of Tripoli offers a particularly striking case study. Ibn al-Qalānisī recorded how, upon the capture of the city in 1109, the Franks acquired “the books of [Tripoli’s] House of Learning” (*dafātir dār ‘ilm-hā*)” and private libraries, with a later tradition claiming that they were destroyed.¹¹⁹ No Latin source records the theft or destruction of Tripoli’s books, but the suspicion and contempt reserved for Arabic texts is evident in Albert of Aachen’s vitriolic description of books at Antioch; the “*Codices [...] innumerabiles*” found after the rout of Kurbughā in 1098 were dismissed entirely and destroyed, as they supposedly contained “*sacrilegii ritus Sarracenorum, Turcorum, quarumque gentium inscripti erant, et nefanda carmina ariolum et aruspicum cum characteribus execrabilibus*”.¹²⁰ With the destruction of such centres of learning, it is difficult to see how Latin Christians could have learnt written Arabic in all its complexity, which even native speakers usually learn only in formal educational settings.

The crusader conquest had a specifically human impact upon Tripoli’s intellectual life, displacing most of the Arabic intellectual elite, who can be found

139-140.

¹¹⁷ Ferguson, p. 338.

¹¹⁸ Kedar, ‘Some New Sources’, p. 133.

¹¹⁹ IQ, p. 163. Cf. Baldwin, ‘Ecclesiastical Developments’, pp. 154-155; Sivan, *L’Islam*, p. 29.

¹²⁰ AA, p. 336.

subsequently as refugees in the service of neighbouring Muslim rulers. Ibn al-Khayyāt was a poet who had served the Muslim rulers of Tripoli and who went on to write some of the earliest and fiercest anti-Frankish, pro-*jihād* poetry in Damascus, perhaps drawing on his personal experiences of Frankish cruelty during Tripoli's long siege.¹²¹ Another famous poet was Ibn Munīr *al-Ṭarābulusī* (the Tripolitan), a Shī'ite who was born in Tripoli in 1080-81 (AH 473) and spent his early years there before achieving fame and infamy in Damascus and Aleppo, dying c.1152 (c.AH 547).¹²² The household of the Munqidh family at Shayzar employed two former Tripolitans, an esteemed grammarian by the name of Abū 'Abd Allāh *al-Ṭulayṭulī* (of Toledo?), formerly the director of the destroyed "House of Learning" (*dār al-'ilm*) at Tripoli, who tutored the famous Usāma bin Munqidh, and an accomplished copyist by the name of Yānis, who produced two complete copies of the Qurān for Usāma's father.¹²³ Fakhr al-Mulk bin 'Ammār, former Islamic ruler of Tripoli, had sought refuge and been warmly received in Shayzar for a brief time after his own forced departure from his home, although he soon headed to Damascus.¹²⁴ Perhaps al-Ṭulayṭulī and Yānis had followed Ibn 'Ammār, as he had undoubtedly patronised *'ulamā'* in the past, but upon their arrival at Shayzar had found the Munqidhid emir to be a suitably generous, not to mention more secure alternative to the exiled *qāḍī*. A further refugee was "an elderly man of the people of Tripoli" (*shaykh min ahl ṭarābulus*) who developed ingenious incendiary devices at the siege of Tyre in 1111, two years after the capture of his hometown.¹²⁵ A less well documented Tripolitan intellectual was a certain Abū, who appears in one of the Cairo

¹²¹ Hillenbrand, 'The First Crusade', p. 70.

¹²² Ibn Khallikān, i, 156-160.

¹²³ UM, pp. 208-209.

¹²⁴ IQ, pp. 164-165.

¹²⁵ IA, x, 488-489.

Genizah fragments as a “writer” associated with Tripoli (*Ṭarābulus al-Shām*).¹²⁶

Whether Abū escaped to a neighbouring region or continued to live and work in Tripoli under crusader rule, as a cadastral scribe or literary author, is unclear.

Some members of the Islamic intellectual elite did stay under crusader rule, even receiving patronage from the Latin rulers.¹²⁷ Despite William of Tyre’s distaste for the practice, many Latins employed indigenous doctors of various faiths – Greeks, Syrians, Jews, Samaritans, and Muslims – and one infamous example was Raymond III of Tripoli’s physician, “*Barac*”, who allegedly poisoned Baldwin III of Jerusalem in 1162/63.¹²⁸ Eastern physicians, Muslim and Christian alike, were also employed in Jubayl.¹²⁹ It was possible to study rhetoric and medicine in the “eastern” method at Tripoli in the thirteenth century, although the only known students seem to have been Syriac Christians and Weltecke hints that this may have been a late development, tied to the relative decline in security at the traditional intellectual centre of Antioch.¹³⁰

Most interestingly, an unknown Arab poet – Muslim or Christian – entered the service of Raymond of Saint-Gilles as early as 1099, composing a poem to commemorate the count’s exploits in the battle of Ascalon, against al-Afdal of Egypt. This poem survives today, incorporated into Mujīr al-Dīn’s history of Jerusalem and Hebron:

¹²⁶ Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Ms. Genizah T-S AS 156.357. *Fragment from a letter, mentions Abū ‘Alī, the son of the writer Abū [...], Ṭarābulus al-Šām (Tripoli in Lebanon) and 90 dinars.* <<http://www.dspace.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/233213>>, [accessed 8 September 2012].

¹²⁷ For example, the figure of Ḥamdān bin ‘Abd al-Raḥīm: Kedar, ‘Subjected Muslims’, pp. 137, 156-157; D. Talmon-Heller, ‘Arabic Sources on Muslim Villagers under Frankish Rule’, in *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies 1095-1500*, ed. by A. V. Murray (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 113-114.

¹²⁸ WT, ii, 859-860, 956-957; Edbury and Rowe, pp. 56-57.

¹²⁹ Kedar, ‘Subjected Muslims’, p. 160.

¹³⁰ D. Weltecke, ‘The Syriac Orthodox in the Principality during the Crusader Period’, in *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. by Ciggaar et al., i, 120-121, 122.

<i>naṣarta bi-sayf-ka dīn al-masīḥ</i>	You have rendered the religion of the Messiah victorious with your sword,
<i>fa-li-llāh darru-ka mann ṣanjilī</i> [sic]	For to God belongs your achievement, the blessing of Saint-Gilles.
<i>wa-mā sama ‘a al-nās fīmā ruwī</i>	And people have not heard of something narrated
<i>bi-aqbaḥ min kasrat al-aḡḡal</i> ¹³¹	As shamefully as the defeat of al-Aḡḡal.

This poet was described as a “*muntajī*” (refugee), suggesting that this poet’s employment brought protection – from whom, it is not clear – as well as more direct material rewards. It is an interesting, if neglected text, for it suggests that Raymond of Saint-Gilles was keen to promote himself in the Arabic language. Of course, Raymond’s poet and other such Arabophone intellectuals in the service of Latins were likely Kedar’s secondary elite, rather than the primary elite, who often enjoyed considerable political power and whose surviving works are more extensive.

The Latin East has sometimes been compared unfavourably to contemporary melting pots of Latin and Arabic learning, specifically Iberia and Sicily.¹³² Marshall Baldwin certainly tried, but failed to find convincing evidence for the continuity of eastern learning in post-conquest Tripoli.¹³³ Hitti believed that Islamic culture in Syria was already in a state of decadence by the time the crusaders arrived, blaming this, as much as the hostile attitudes of the Franks, for the comparative scarcity here of translations of Arabic learning into Latin.¹³⁴ As for the Latin intellectuals, Kedar suggests that most of the clerics who settled in the East represented a mere “fragment” of European clergy as a whole, specifically “a fragment characterized by lowbrow

¹³¹ Mujīr al-Dīn, i, 273. Cf. ‘Notes et Corrections’, *RHC Or*, i, 758.

¹³² C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, MA, 1927), p. 130; Cahen, *Syrie*, pp. 569, 577-578; Prawer, ‘Roots’, pp. 32-33; Elisséeff, ‘Les échanges’, p. 43; O. Grabar, ‘Patterns and Ways of Cultural Exchange’, in *The Meeting of Two Worlds*, ed. by Goss and Bornstein, p. 444.

¹³³ Baldwin, ‘Ecclesiastical Developments’, pp. 154-155.

¹³⁴ Hitti, *History*, p. 662.

religiosity”, harbouring an obsession with material relics and shrines, but lacking an appetite for intellectual activities, the study of Arabic included.¹³⁵ In other words, neither the Latins nor the Muslims of contemporary Syria were renowned for their intellectual curiosity and prowess, and thus their will and ability to learn from the “enemy” were minimal.

Despite the difficulties, there were some exceptional Latins who did engage with the Arabic written culture of the region. Against prevailing wisdom, Burnett has argued that Frankish Antioch was indeed a “conduit” for the translation of texts from Arabic and Greek into Latin, comparable to Iberia and especially Sicily, but is unable to identify many definite examples of such translators beyond a scant few.¹³⁶ It is clear that some Latins had an interest in eastern learning, but it seems difficult to view this as a widespread phenomenon. In elaborating Burnett’s ideas, Edgington stresses the continuity of eastern learning at Antioch, but in this case most of her examples are local Christians, not Latins.¹³⁷ This is an important distinction when considering the extent to which Latin Christians learnt Arabic.

Concerning Tripoli specifically, there were two noteworthy Latins in the thirteenth century who could read Arabic. First is Philip of Tripoli, an Italian “*magister* and curialist” who translated a pseudo-Aristotelian astrological treatise, the *Secretum Secretorum* (*Sirr al-asrār*), from Arabic into Latin, c.1230, having been encouraged to do so by Bishop Guido of Tripoli, after discovering it – and an earlier, partial Latin

¹³⁵ Kedar, ‘Subjected Muslims’, pp. 173-174.

¹³⁶ C. Burnett, ‘Antioch as a Link between Arabic and Latin Culture in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries’, in *Occident et Proche-Orient: contacts scientifiques au temps des croisades*, ed. by I. Draelants, A. Tihon and B. van den Abeele (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 1-19.

¹³⁷ S. B. Edgington, ‘Antioch: Medieval City of Culture’, in *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. by Ciggaar et al., i, 247-259.

translation – at Antioch.¹³⁸ William of Tripoli is the second exceptional figure, a man who entered the Dominican priory of Acre – possibly via the priory of his hometown of Tripoli – and became known throughout Latin Christendom as a skilled and diligent missionary to the Muslims, thanks in part to his upbringing in the multi-faith polyglot East, and demonstrated through the composition of his unusually sympathetic if staunchly proselytising works in the 1270s, *De Notitia de Machometo* and *De Statu Sarracenorum*, which drew upon Arabic sources.¹³⁹ As with William of Tyre, historians have disagreed on the extent to which William of Tripoli knew Arabic, with Engels suggesting that he possessed only the rudimentary ability to read the Qurān, Altaner and O'Meara arguing that he could at least speak and preach in Arabic, Attiya believing that his ability to read Arabic was excellent, and Daniel assuming that he accessed Arabic sources other than the Qurān, but with no certain indication as to whether he did so directly, or indirectly through a translator.¹⁴⁰ Whether Tripoli had any twelfth-century precedent to the Arabic literacy of Latins like Philip and William of Tripoli is unknown. At present, there is simply no evidence to suggest that most Latins were literate in written Arabic, or for that matter written European languages.

¹³⁸ Haskins, *Studies*, pp. 137-140; S. J. Williams, 'The Early Circulation of the Pseudo-Aristotelian Secret of Secrets in the West: the Papal and Imperial Courts', *Micrologus: Natura, scienze e società medievali*, 2: *La scienze alla corte di Federico II* (1994), pp. 127-144; S. J. Williams, 'Reflections on the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum Secretorum* as an Astrological Text', *Micrologus*, 12: *Il sole e la luna* (2004), p. 414; S. J. Williams, 'Esotericism, Marvels, and the Medieval Aristotle', *Micrologus*, 14: *Il Segreto* (2006), p. 178; Hitti, *History*, p. 663; Richard, 'Affrontement', pp. 22-23.

¹³⁹ William of Tripoli, *Notitia de Machometo; De statu Sarracenorum*, ed. by P. Engels (Würzburg, 1992); T. F. O'Meara, 'The Theology and Times of William of Tripoli, O.P.: A Different View of Islam', *Theological Studies*, 69 (2008), pp. 82-83, 85-87, 90-98; N. Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image*, rev. edn (Oxford, 1993), p. 264.

¹⁴⁰ William of Tripoli, p. 88; Berthold Altaner, *Die Dominikanermission des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Habelschwerdt, 1924), p. 236; O'Meara, p. 83; Attiya, p. 212; Daniel, *Islam*, p. 264.

The intelligentsia aside, the Latins made use of a less refined but functional written Arabic frequently, in war and trade. As with the spoken language, they tended to employ intermediaries rather than learn the language themselves, and these are indicated at an early stage. In the commercial sphere, the Arabophone clerks recorded by Ibn Jubayr in the *dīwān* of Acre “wrote” (*yaktubūn*) as well as spoke the language.¹⁴¹ Ibn al-Athīr described a Muslim who translated an Arabic message and composed a new one on behalf of Baldwin I of Jerusalem, after the Muslim in question and an anonymous Frank caught one of Ṭughtakīn of Damascus’s messenger pigeons during the first siege of Tyre in 1111.¹⁴² Diplomacy between the Franks and the Muslims throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries also required written documentation. Raymond II requested Nūr al-Dīn’s assistance against Bertrand, son of Alfons Jordan, in 1148, through the medium of a “letter” (*kitāb*).¹⁴³ Raymond III supposedly also sent such letters to his temporary ally Saladin in 1187.¹⁴⁴ As Köhler explains, much general Frankish-Muslim diplomacy was defined by the establishment of “*condominia*” (*munāṣafāt*), namely agreements to share the revenue from disputed border territories.¹⁴⁵ Ibn al-Qalānīsī recorded that one such agreement was made to divide the produce of the Biqā‘ valley between Ṭughtakīn of Damascus and Bertrand of Tripoli in 1109 (AH 503).¹⁴⁶ It is not known if such early instances were purely oral agreements, or were supplemented and recorded by written documents, although Holt believes that they later evolved into the formal and still extant written treaties drawn up between the Mamlūks and Franks of the late thirteenth century.¹⁴⁷ Such late written truces were

¹⁴¹ IJ, p. 302.

¹⁴² IA, x, 489.

¹⁴³ Ibn al-Athīr, ‘Histoire des atabecs’, p. 162.

¹⁴⁴ IA, xi, 531.

¹⁴⁵ Köhler, *Alliances*, pp. 312-319.

¹⁴⁶ IQ, p. 165.

¹⁴⁷ P. M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260-1290): Treaties of Baybars and*

established between Baybars and Prince Bohemond VI, count of Tripoli, in 1271 and 1275, and the latter was renewed by the two men's successors, Qalāwūn and Bohemond VII, whilst another truce was established in 1271 – renewed in 1282 – between Qalāwūn and the Templars of Tortosa.¹⁴⁸ Whoever had the task of translating such important treaties from Arabic into Latin or *vice versa* had an important intermediary role.

Land ownership was another practical matter that obliged the Latins to issue documents in Arabic. Šāliḥ bin Yaḥyā's fifteenth-century local chronicle of Beirut incorporates summaries of two Arabic charters, recording land transfers granted to local Muslims by Lord "Raynald" (*b.r.n.ā.ṭ.*) of Sidon and his Constable Sire John (*al-kund iṣṭabl/iṣṭabl sayr juwān*), in 1255-56 (AG 1567), and by Humphrey (*Hunfrī*) of Montfort, lord of Beirut, in 1280-81 (AG 1592).¹⁴⁹ There is some debate over the authenticity of these unusual documents. Irwin believes that they were "probably forged", partly because of the confused details, such as the fact that Raynald was no longer the lord, but rather his grandson Julian.¹⁵⁰ Irwin is in the minority. Clermont-Ganneau recognised that the documents as they survive in the chronicle are mere summaries, but whilst offering solutions to the problematic errors, argued that the lost originals were authentic, and that they had probably been issued bilingually in Arabic and Latin or French.¹⁵¹ Others who have accepted the documents as genuine, albeit

Qalāwūn with Christian Rulers (Leiden, 1995), pp. 8-9.

¹⁴⁸ Holt, *Early*, pp. 58-68.

¹⁴⁹ ŠY, pp. 47-48, 73-74; Clermont-Ganneau, pp. 4, 9-11. See also: de Slane, 'Introduction', p. xlvi.

¹⁵⁰ R. Irwin, 'Iqtā' and the end of the Crusader states', in *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades*, ed. by Holt, p. 69.

¹⁵¹ Clermont-Ganneau, pp. 2-15 and *passim*.

abridged, are Poliak, Jamil and Johns, and Salibi, one of Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā's modern editors.¹⁵²

Additional positive evidence for the Franks employing Arabic writers may be forthcoming. In the archive of the Hospitallers on Malta, survives a Latin document issued by Bohemond III of Antioch before September 1168, in which the prince renegotiated the payments owed to him by Guido Falsart, one of his liege men (*homini meo ligio*), after making a donation to the Temple and the Hospital, *inter alia*.¹⁵³ Delaville le Roulx noted elusively that there are “*Caractères arabes*” on the *verso*.¹⁵⁴ The Arabic in question is only partially legible, being extremely scant and faded.

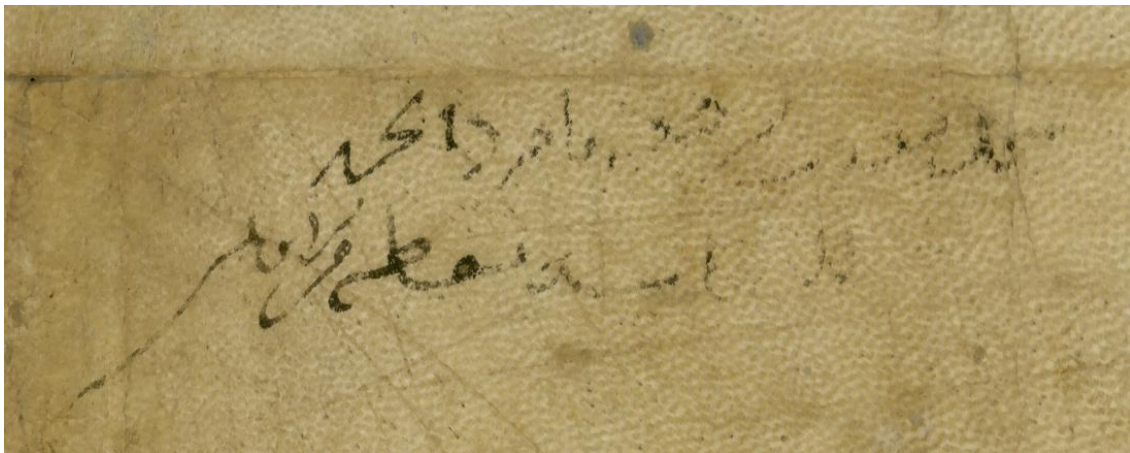


Fig. 2. Close-up of Malta, Ms. AOM 3 no. 51v. ©National Library of Malta

A possible reading is as follows:

sijill mu'arrab (?) [...] ...ām rābiḥ-ha A document translated into Arabic [...]

¹⁵² A. N. Poliak, ‘Some Notes on the Feudal System of the Mamlūks’, *JRAS*, 1 (1937), p. 98 n. 1; ‘Arabic Document’, ed. by Jamil and Johns, pp. 157-158; K. S. Salibi, *Maronite Historians of Mediæval Lebanon. With a preface by Bernard Lewis* (Beirut, 1959), pp. 213-214.

¹⁵³ Valletta, National Library of Malta, Ms. AOM 3 no. 51r; *CGOH*, i, no. 390.

¹⁵⁴ *CGOH*, i, no. 390. Delaville le Roulx listed the item incorrectly as Valletta, National Library of Malta, Ms. AOM 3 no. 54 (*corr.* 51).

*al-siyāsa tu ‘aṭā min s.rāw.y.m (?)*¹⁵⁵

...ām (?) its beneficiary
the administration is given from *s.rāw.y.m*
(?)

This note was written after the document was folded up for storage, suggesting that it was the work of a scribe in the Hospital, not Bohemond’s chancery. The text itself is enough to indicate the presence of Arabic scribes employed by the Hospital. This observation is corroborated further by the likely description of the document as having been “translated into Arabic” (*mu‘arrab*). Regrettably, the Arabic translation indicated by this curious note does not survive.

The only fully extant Arabic document issued under the Franks is a copy of one written in Antioch in March 1213 (*Anno Mundi* [AM] 6721), recording a trilateral agreement between the abbey of St Mary of Josaphat, a Latin deacon and a Greek Orthodox priest, regarding the lease of a property in the principality of Antioch.¹⁵⁶ The best and most recent critical edition of this exceptional document, the creation and survival of which is likely due to extraordinary circumstances, is by Jamil and Johns.¹⁵⁷ In the case of this particular text, Jamil and Johns believe that this surviving Arabic version was the original and not a translation of a lost Latin original, as Cahen believed.¹⁵⁸ It is explicitly recorded in the document that it was translated for the benefit of the interested Frankish parties, perhaps orally, and no written Latin or French version survives.¹⁵⁹ The document does also refer to a related but separate Latin document (*sijill lātīnī*), and would itself have originally included a few lines in Latin, a clear reminder

¹⁵⁵ Valletta, National Library of Malta, Ms. AOM 3 no. 51v. My thanks go to Professor Jeremy Johns and Mr Yousif Qasmiyeh for their suggestions on the reading and interpretation of this text.

¹⁵⁶ ‘Arabic Document’, ed. by Jamil and Johns, pp. 158-159, 160-162.

¹⁵⁷ ‘Arabic Document’, ed. by Jamil and Johns, pp. 157-190.

¹⁵⁸ ‘Arabic Document’, ed. by Jamil and Johns, p. 161. Cf. C. Cahen, ‘Un document concernant les Melkites et les Latins d’Antioche au temps des Croisades’, *Revue des études byzantines*, 29 (1971), p. 288.

¹⁵⁹ ‘Arabic Document’, ed. by Jamil and Johns, pp. 161, 162, 174, 178.

of the multilingualism of document production in the Latin East, whatever the vagaries of source survival.¹⁶⁰ The fact that the document was translated for the Franks is “remarkable” in itself, confirming that the Latin Christian parties involved did not know Arabic, despite living in the East.¹⁶¹ This corroborates the theory of the present chapter that most Franks did not understand Arabic, or at least did not know it well.

The very few surviving Arabic sources indicated here provide only the slightest, tantalising hint of the total number of Arabic language documents probably issued under crusader rule in the Levant. It is well known that the products of Arabic bureaucracies in the Middle Ages very rarely survive, even for the great chanceries of the Fāṭimids and ‘Abbāsids, due to a number of factors, including a traditional regional tendency for usurpers to destroy the records of the old regime, as happened with the Ayyūbid takeover of the Fāṭimid Caliphate.¹⁶² The records of crusader archives in the East, along with any Arabic language documents issued by their chanceries, would presumably have been destroyed deliberately as well, by the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk conquerors.¹⁶³ Many more documents – in Arabic and European languages – were probably issued in the Latin East, including in Tripoli, but simply do not survive. Even in Sicily, with its relatively sizeable body of Arabic documentation issued under the Normans, the surviving Arabic documents are far from reflecting the full extent of production at the time, outnumbered now by Latin and Greek documents.¹⁶⁴

One type of Arabic language “document” known to have been issued under crusader rule in Tripoli specifically, examples of which survive today in slightly greater quantity than manuscript evidence, was the gold coinage minted there in imitation of

¹⁶⁰ ‘Arabic Document’, ed. by Jamil and Johns, pp. 161, 171, 176, 180.

¹⁶¹ ‘Arabic Document’, ed. by Jamil and Johns, p. 162.

¹⁶² Walker, *Exploring*, p. 113.

¹⁶³ Kedar, ‘Subjected Muslims’, p. 137.

¹⁶⁴ Johns, *Arabic Administration*, pp. 144, 198-199.

Fāṭimid *dīnārs*. Metcalf and Gordus summarise four phases of gold coin types minted in Tripoli, with the first two “very scarce” phases dated to the first and second halves of the twelfth century respectively.¹⁶⁵ Metcalf proposes that these early coins were not scarce at the time but only appear so now because they were melted down and restruck as part of a general coinage reform around 1187.¹⁶⁶ Numismatists have tended to base their explanation of the rationale behind the crusaders’ decision to imitate Fāṭimid Islamic *dīnārs*, as opposed to Byzantine Christian *hyperpyri*, upon the relative gold purity of the available models.¹⁶⁷ However, the unusually poor quality of the coins imitated at Tripoli specifically, as noted by Metcalf, militates against this interpretation.¹⁶⁸ A simpler explanation, taking into account the existence of imitations at such an early stage, is continuity of mint practices in whichever mints were conquered. This seems to have been the view taken by Cahen.¹⁶⁹ Ibn Khallikān in the late thirteenth century stated specifically that the crusaders had continued to mint coins at Tyre bearing the caliph’s name following the city’s conquest in 1124.¹⁷⁰ Blancard believed that this direct continuity also occurred following the conquest of Tripoli fifteen years previously.¹⁷¹

The surviving gold coins minted in the kingdom of Jerusalem, probably at Acre and Tyre, imitated those of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Āmir (1101-1130) whereas those of Tripoli imitated those of al-Āmir’s predecessor but one, al-Muṣṭanṣir (1036-1094).¹⁷²

¹⁶⁵ A. G. Malloy et al., *Coins of the Crusader States, 1098-1291*, 2nd edn (Fairfield, 2004), p. 111.

¹⁶⁶ Metcalf, *Coinage*, p. 43.

¹⁶⁷ Ehrenkreutz, ‘Arabic *Dīnārs*’, pp. 168-176; Malloy et al., p. 91.

¹⁶⁸ D. M. Metcalf, ‘On the Character of Crusader Gold Bezants as the Currencies of Territorial States’, *Yarmouk Numismatics*, 6 (1994), p. 10.

¹⁶⁹ Cahen, *Syrie*, p. 469.

¹⁷⁰ Ibn Khallikān, v, 301.

¹⁷¹ Blancard, pp. 9, 20, 22, 34, 36.

¹⁷² Metcalf, *Coinage*, p. 9; Blancard, p. 34. Arabic chronicles consistently refer to the “gold/*dīnārs* of Tyre [*Ṣūr*]” (*dhahab Ṣūrī/danānīr Ṣūriyya*), but comparatively few

This poses a problem to the possibility of continuity, since Tripoli was not directly threatened by the Franks until 1099 and not conquered until 1109, some fifteen years after al-Muṣṭanṣir's death. It can be explained by the fact that the *qāḍī* of Tripoli had effectively seceded from the Fāṭimid Caliphate during al-Muṣṭanṣir's reign, *before* the arrival of the crusaders, whereas the cities and thus mints of Acre and Tyre remained loyal up until the Latin conquests of 1104 and 1124 respectively, during the reign of al-Āmir.¹⁷³ In other words, the mint of rebellious Tripoli had presumably ceased receiving current dies from Fāṭimid Egypt between 1081-82 (AH 474) and 1094 (AH 487) – the date range in which the specific prototypes for the later Frankish imitations were minted¹⁷⁴ – whilst the more loyal cities of Tyre and Acre continued to receive them until much later. Since Blancard doubted that there was immediate continuity of minting at Acre, Tripoli's mint was of huge importance to the early Frankish settlers, being the only operational gold mint in their hands between 1109 and 1124.¹⁷⁵ The decision to begin minting at Tyre may have added significance, given that the 1120s

surviving crusader *dīnārs* bear Tyre as the name of the mint. Metcalf assumes that the term was generic, with no relation to the actual relative productivity of crusader mints, and Irwin proposes that the term – possibly an Arabic corruption of French “*Syrie*” – indicated “Syrian” rather than “Tyrian” *dīnārs*, thus covering Acre and Tripoli as well as Tyre. Metcalf, *Coinage*, pp. 11-13; M. L. Bates and D. M. Metcalf, ‘Crusader Coinage with Arabic Inscriptions’, in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. by K. M. Setton, *Volume VI: The Impact of the Crusades on Europe*, ed. by H. W. Hazard and N. P. Zacour (Madison, WI, 1989), p. 429; Irwin, ‘The supply’, p. 91. Cf. Ehrenkreutz, ‘Arabic *Dīnārs*’, p. 179. Irwin is aware of only one Arabic reference to “dinars of Tripoli”, or more precisely “dinars of the count [of Tripoli]” (*dīnār qūmiṣiyya*), in 1267. Irwin, ‘The supply’, p. 92; al-Qalqashandī, xiv, 36.

¹⁷³ Cf. Blancard, p. 34 n. 1.

¹⁷⁴ Bates and Metcalf, p. 426. “The last recorded date for [genuine Fāṭimid coin production at] Acre and Tripoli is [AH] 495 (1101/2)”, although Ascalon seems to have begun minting coins in AH 503 (1109/10), around the time Tripoli was captured, perhaps indicating that Ascalon took up the lost city's minting rights and responsibilities. Bates and Metcalf, p. 429. In turn, this implies that Tripoli continued minting until the crusader conquest of 1109, whatever the numismatic record might suggest.

¹⁷⁵ Blancard, pp. 20, 36.

also saw the county of Tripoli achieve *de facto* independence from the kingdom of Jerusalem.¹⁷⁶

The most perplexing element of the Frankish imitation of Fāṭimid coinage at Tripoli, not only for the first few years, but also well into the thirteenth century, is that the coins even bore the Islamic creed or *shahāda*. This surprising practice was only prohibited under pain of excommunication by Pope Innocent IV in 1253.¹⁷⁷ Bates and Metcalf implied that the Franks minted these coins out of ignorance and it is true that the script can often be faulty or imperfect.¹⁷⁸ Yet there are three good reasons to doubt that ignorance was the sole factor. Firstly, not all of the crusader *dīnārs* are poor imitations and some are excellent, almost indistinguishable from their prototypes.¹⁷⁹ Secondly, the earliest crusaders destroyed countless books written in eastern languages because of hostile superstition and ignorance, as at the end of the siege of Antioch in June 1098.¹⁸⁰ Most relevantly, Tripoli's "House of Learning" was destroyed, or at least its books and faculty dispersed, upon the city's capture in July 1109.¹⁸¹ It is surprising therefore that the Franks continued minting coins that bore what they had elsewhere believed to be indecipherable diabolical curses, unless there was some other reason. Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, a minority of the Franks did know Arabic and, moreover, their Arabic Christian allies and servants could have corrected the inscriptions if necessary. Testament to this are two further considerations: that even Innocent IV's legate had been able to get a general idea of the meaning of the coins'

¹⁷⁶ See Chapter One, pp. 100-112.

¹⁷⁷ *Les Registres d'Innocent IV publiés ou analysés d'après les manuscrits originaux du Vatican et de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, ed. by É. Berger, 4 vols (1884-1919), no. 6336; Blancard, p. 28.

¹⁷⁸ Bates and Metcalf, p. 426; Blancard, p. 27.

¹⁷⁹ A. S. Ehrenkreutz, 'Crusader Imitation Dīnārs – Once Again', in *Itinéraires d'Orient*, ed. by Curiel and Gyselen, p. 114.

¹⁸⁰ AA, p. 336.

¹⁸¹ See above, pp. 236-237.

inscriptions when he visited briefly, and that the mint at Tripoli was able to compose or commission new Christianised inscriptions in correct Arabic subsequent to the papal injunction, preserving the basic eastern aesthetics of the coinage, whilst correcting the religious affiliation.¹⁸²

It seems more reasonable to agree with Schlumberger that the Franks had deliberately preserved the appearance of the coinage despite the obvious cultural and religious problems, because they were afraid that Islamic merchants would refuse to deal with overtly Christianised coins.¹⁸³ Indeed, hoard evidence and prevailing scholarly opinion suggest that, although the gold coinage of the Latin East was not an “international” currency, it was used in the immediately neighbouring Muslim regions of Syria and the Fertile Crescent.¹⁸⁴ Furthermore, the Latins returned to issuing Islamic-style coins soon after Innocent’s legate had departed, preferring to risk offending the pope before the merchants.¹⁸⁵

Put within a wider context, the continued official use of a pre-conquest written language by the conquerors was far from unique to the Latin East. The earliest Islamic coins had been imitations of the Byzantine and Sassanid coins found by the conquering Arab armies.¹⁸⁶ Arabic, together with Greek, continued to be used in the administration of Norman Sicily and Ifrīqiyyā, appearing in trilingual documents and on coinage,

¹⁸² Metcalf, *Coinage*, p. 10; Metcalf, ‘Islamic, Byzantine, and Latin’, p. 169.

¹⁸³ Schlumberger, *Numismatique*, p. 131. See also: P. Balog and J. Yvon, ‘Monnaies à legends arabes de l’Orient latin’, *Revue numismatique*, 6 (1958), pp. 137-138; Ehrenkreutz, ‘Arabic *Dīnārs*’, pp. 175-176; Blancard, p. 7; Metcalf, ‘Islamic, Byzantine, and Latin’, pp. 166-168.

¹⁸⁴ Metcalf, *Coinage*, p. 9; Bates and Metcalf, p. 440; Metcalf, ‘On the Character’, pp. 13-14; P. W. Edbury, ‘The baronial coinage of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem’, in *Coinage in the Latin East*, ed. by Edbury and Metcalf, p. 67. Cf. Ehrenkreutz, ‘Arabic *Dīnārs*’, pp. 167-182; Ehrenkreutz, ‘Crusader Imitation *Dīnārs*’, pp. 111-116.

¹⁸⁵ Metcalf, ‘Islamic, Byzantine, and Latin’, p. 169.

¹⁸⁶ M. L. Bates, *Islamic Coins* (New York, 1982), pp. 6-14.

together with the Latin of the outnumbered newcomers.¹⁸⁷ The Sicilian Normans, like the Latins of Syria, had initially avoided a “too abrupt Christianization” of their coins, lest they offend their Islamic subjects, with a Christian cross replacing the *shahāda* only in the 1130s, via a neutral Greek letter *tau*.¹⁸⁸ A document relating to the Hospitallers in Iberia was issued bilingually in Spanish and Arabic in 1312.¹⁸⁹ The coins of the Latin kings of Cyprus initially followed Byzantine precedent.¹⁹⁰ Written English was maintained in an administrative and legal context for a few years after the Norman Conquest of England, 1066.¹⁹¹ In 1187, Muḥammad bin Sām of Ghor established an Islamic state in India and began to mint unique Islamo-Hindu bilingual coins, suggesting, in the words of C. J. Brown, “a polity which was [...] planted by invasions [but] seeking to spread roots into the soil.”¹⁹² The same can surely be said of the contemporary county of Tripoli.

¹⁸⁷ H. Takayama, *The Administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Leiden, 1993), pp. 13-22, 31-39, 81-89, 133-142 and *passim*; Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians, passim*; Johns, *Arabic Administration*, pp. 4-8, 77, 268, 278, and *passim*; Johns, ‘Norman Kings’, p. 135; P. Grierson and L. Travaini, *Medieval European Coinage with a catalogue of the coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, vol. 14, *Italy (III) (South Italy, Sicily, Sardinia)* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 77-79, 81, 83-84, 87-88, 105-108, 111-113, 116, 119-124, 127, 132-133, 135-140; L. Travaini, *La monetazione nell’Italia normanna* (Rome, 1995), *passim*; L. Travaini, ‘The Normans between Byzantium and the Islamic World’, *DOP*, 55 (2001), p. 191; P. Grierson, ‘The Coinages of Norman Apulia and Sicily in their International Setting’, in *Proceedings of the XV Battle Conference and of the XI Colloquio Medievale of the Officina di Studi Medievali 1992*, ed. by M. Chibnall, *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 15 (Woodbridge, 1993), pp. 123-126, 128; D. Abulafia, ‘The Norman Kingdom of Africa and the Norman Expeditions to Majorca and the Muslim Mediterranean’, in *Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1984*, ed. by R. A. Brown, *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 7 (Woodbridge, 1985), p. 41; Metcalf, ‘Islamic, Byzantine, and Latin’, pp. 163-165.

¹⁸⁸ Grierson, pp. 123-124; Grierson and Travaini, pp. 88, 105-106.

¹⁸⁹ H. Derenbourg and L. Barrau-Dihigo, ‘Une charte hispano-arabe de l’année 1312’, *Revue Hispanique*, 15 (1906), p. 765, pl. 3-4.

¹⁹⁰ Metcalf, ‘Islamic, Byzantine, and Latin’, pp. 173-174.

¹⁹¹ Wilson, p. 41; Clanchy, pp. 24, 35-36, 54, 133, 150, 153, 207, 213-215, 223, 268; Chibnall, *Anglo-Norman England*, pp. 107, 211, 214; Chibnall, *Normans*, p. 50.

¹⁹² C. J. Brown, *The Coins of India* (Calcutta and London, 1922), p. 70; M. Athar Ali, ‘Encounter and Efflorescence: Genesis of the Medieval Civilization’, *Social Scientist*, 18 (1990), p. 19.

As in Sicily, the kingdom of Jerusalem and the principality of Antioch possessed eastern-style administrative and financial offices called *secretes*, based on the Byzantine *sekreta* or the Fāṭimid *dīwān*, with a central office and various subordinate regional branches.¹⁹³ Riley-Smith has identified a number of predominantly indigenous, Arabic-writing “*scribani*” and “*scribae*” in European-language sources for the Latin East, who worked in these *secretes*, with “*scriba*” being a direct translation of “*kātib*” (“writer”, pl. *kuttāb*), the title of the officials who worked in Muslim cadastral offices.¹⁹⁴ Ibn Jubayr’s report of the Arabophone “clerks” (*kuttāb*) in the “*dīwān*” of the port of Frankish Acre is the best Arabic account of these scribes, emphasising again the economic imperative behind the use of Arabic within Frankish administration.¹⁹⁵ “*Kātib*” was the title borne by Jurj bin Ya‘qūb, who wrote on behalf of the Frankish lord of Beirut, c.1281.¹⁹⁶ The existence of a *scriba* at Jubayl in March 1168 leads Riley-Smith to posit that the county of Tripoli had at least one *secrete/sekreta/dīwān*.¹⁹⁷ The fact that this scribe was named “*Willelmus*” poses no particular problem since Riley-Smith notes elsewhere that some indigenous servants of the Latins adopted Frankish names.¹⁹⁸ To Riley-Smith’s analysis can be added another *scriba* by the name of Nicholas, who owned a garden near *Mons Peregrinorum* in September 1181.¹⁹⁹ There is

¹⁹³ Cahen, *Syrie*, pp. 465-466.

¹⁹⁴ Riley-Smith, ‘Some lesser officials’, pp. 19-26; Riley-Smith, ‘The survival’, pp. 11-12, 15-16; Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, pp. 55-61.

¹⁹⁵ *IJ*, p. 302.

¹⁹⁶ *ŞY*, p. 74; Clermont-Ganneau, p. 10.

¹⁹⁷ *RRH*, no. 445; *Codice Diplomatico della Repubblica di Genova dal DCCCCLVIII al MCLXIII*, ed. by C. I. di Sant’Angelo, 3 vols, Fonti per la Storia d’Italia pubblicate dall’Istituto Storico Italiano (Rome, 1936-1942), ii, no. 30; Riley-Smith, ‘The survival’, p. 16.

¹⁹⁸ Riley-Smith, ‘Some lesser officials’, pp. 6, 11; Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, p. 271 n. 224. “*Raiz Guillaume*”, who lived near Tripoli, is one pertinent example. *RRH*, no. 1272; *CGOH*, ii, no. 2915.

¹⁹⁹ *RRH*, no. 605; *CGOH*, ii, no. XXI.

perhaps a risk in reading too much into the evidence, as Riley-Smith acknowledges.²⁰⁰

One *scriba* present in the county's records, "*Guarinus, scriba de Bethleem*," clearly wrote in Latin rather than Arabic, writing the very document in which he appears.²⁰¹

As with the translators of the spoken language, the Latins relied mainly upon intermediaries for the production of written documents. Again, these were often local Christians.²⁰² Poliak believed that the scribes who wrote the two Arabic documents on behalf of the lords of Sidon and Beirut in the thirteenth century were Syrian Christians.²⁰³ Presumably this conclusion was based on the fact that both documents are dated by the Seleucid or *Anno Graecorum* (AG) calendar, a religiously neutral solar calendar. This was used by contemporary Syrian Christians, including the chronicler Michael the Syrian, but also by Jews and by the presumably Latin author of the forged 1193 letter from the "Old Man of the Mountain", whilst being equally understood by Muslims, used in treaties between the Mamlūks and the Latins drawn up around the same time.²⁰⁴ One of the documents provides the distinctly Christian name of the scribe, Jurj bin Ya'qūb (George, son of Jacob).²⁰⁵ The Josaphat document of 1213, which involves an agreement with an Orthodox priest, also seems to have been written by a Christian, since it follows a unique and distinctly non-Islamic Christian format, not least by adopting the Byzantine *Anno Mundi* dating system.²⁰⁶ Corroboration of the use of

²⁰⁰ Riley-Smith, 'The survival', pp. 9-10.

²⁰¹ *RRH*, no. 191; *CGOH*, ii, no. VII.

²⁰² Kedar, 'Subjected Muslims', p. 158.

²⁰³ Poliak, 'Some Notes', p. 98.

²⁰⁴ *SY*, pp. 48, 74; Clermont-Ganneau, pp. 4, 5, 10, 11; S. H. Taqizadeh, 'Various Eras and Calendars used in the Countries of Islam', *BSOAS*, 9 (1939), p. 904; D. Weltecke, *Die « Beschreibung der Zeiten » von Mōr Michael dem Grossen (1126-1199): Eine Studie zu ihrem historischen und historiographiegeschichtlichen Kontext* (Leuven, 2003), pp. 129, 131, 132; *IP* Stubbs, p. 445; Holt, *Early*, p. 9. Incidentally, the use of the Seleucid calendar bolsters the case for the authenticity of these documents. Clermont-Ganneau, p. 15.

²⁰⁵ *SY*, p. 74; Clermont-Ganneau, pp. 10, 15.

²⁰⁶ 'Arabic Document', ed. by Jamil and Johns, pp. 163-164, 175, 178.

Christian scribes may be found in the anonymous *Tractatus* and James of Vitry's *Historia orientalis*, where it is written that the *suriani* used the Arabic language and script in their temporal contracts and business.²⁰⁷

Some Muslim writers were employed. Ibn al-Athīr described a Muslim who translated an Arabic message and composed a new one on behalf of Baldwin I of Jerusalem in 1111.²⁰⁸ Some of the *scribae* from the crusader period were described explicitly as “*escrivain[s] Sarrasineis/Sarrazineis*”.²⁰⁹ Kedar thus believes that Muslims did work as scribes under the Latins.²¹⁰ The Latin East was therefore perhaps similar to early Norman Sicily in that indigenous Christian officials – Arabic-speaking Syrians in Jerusalem and probably Tripoli, but Greeks in Antioch and Sicily – seem to have been favoured over Muslims, but Muslims were nonetheless indispensable in governing a population consisting of a large number of their co-religionists, through administrative bodies and means inherited from earlier Islamic governments.²¹¹

V. Loan-words and Latin bias

Riley-Smith observes the difficulty of extracting information about the use of the Arabic language and Islamic administration in the kingdom of Jerusalem – and by extension the other crusader states – due to the fact that source survival in general is extremely piecemeal and uneven.²¹² The overwhelming majority of surviving sources from the county of Tripoli are in European languages and concern individuals and

²⁰⁷ ‘*Tractatus*’, ed. by Kedar, p. 124; JV, p. 298.

²⁰⁸ IA, x, 489.

²⁰⁹ *CGOH*, iii, no. 3213; Kedar, ‘Subjected Muslims’, p. 158; Riley-Smith, ‘Some lesser officials’, pp. 20-21, 22-23.

²¹⁰ Kedar, ‘Subjected Muslims’, pp. 157-158, 157 n. 50.

²¹¹ Takayama, pp. 37, 163, 164, 166; Johns, *Arabic Administration*, pp. 4-5, 65-74.

²¹² Riley-Smith, ‘The survival’, p. 10.

corporations with a strong presence in the West, most notably the Hospitallers but also the Italian city-states, in whose western archives and civic chronicles such documents primarily survive. With so few surviving Arabic texts, Latin Christian engagement with spoken and written Arabic must be traced primarily through the presence of Arabic loan-words in the surviving western sources.²¹³

A major difficulty is identifying which words entered European languages in the specific time and place under study. Most Arabic loan-words in modern European languages are believed to have entered the lexicon via Iberia or Italy, with the comparatively short-lived Latin East rarely figuring in such estimations.²¹⁴ Nonetheless, the surviving written documents for the county of Tripoli do suggest that a few Arabic words entered the Frankish vocabulary there, in addition to titles such as the aforementioned *raʿīs/raisius*. Two terms for weights and measures employed in the county, “*jarra*” and “*rotula*”, trace their origins back to Arabic.²¹⁵ The latter was used in a donation charter issued by the Genoese Embriaci of Jubayl in 1135.²¹⁶ It seems to be a direct borrowing from the Arabic *raṭl*, a regionally variable measurement of weight, then used commonly for spices and oil throughout Syria and Egypt.²¹⁷ The *raṭl* was still used in Tripoli in the Mamlūk period.²¹⁸

As for *jarra* – used slightly more frequently in the surviving documents – this was originally the Arabic word for “jug”, which had entered Occitan and other

²¹³ Metcalfe warns that the loan-words found in Sicilian administrative documents are not necessarily accurate indicators of widespread usage. Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians*, pp. 183-184.

²¹⁴ K. Versteegh, ‘Linguistic Contacts between Arabic and Other Languages’, *Arabica*, 48 (2001), pp. 479-480. Cf. Hitti, *History*, p. 667; Kedar, ‘Again’, p. 259.

²¹⁵ *Jarra*: *RRH*, nos 118, 218, 642; *CCSSJ*, no. 85; *CGOH*, i, nos 82, 754; ii, no. 2280. *Rotula*: *RRH*, no. 161; *CCSSJ*, no. 84.

²¹⁶ *RRH*, no. 161; *CCSSJ*, no. 84.

²¹⁷ E. Ashtor, ‘Levantine Weights and Standard Parcels: A Contribution to the Metrology of the Later Middle Ages’, *BSOAS*, 45 (1982), pp. 472-474, 476-479.

²¹⁸ Ashtor, pp. 477-478.

Romance languages by the twelfth century.²¹⁹ Of course, this word could have entered Occitan before the First Crusade, borrowed from the nearby Muslims of Iberia, or perhaps those who had occupied Languedoc itself in the early eighth century, or even those who still lived in the region into the twelfth century as slaves and, most curiously, scholars at a “*colonie musulmane*” in Montpellier.²²⁰ Certainly, some scholars have suggested that the earliest troubadours, including William IX of Aquitaine, father of Raymond of Antioch, were inspired by the Arabic poets of al-Andalus and even incorporated Arabic phrases into their songs.²²¹

A particularly important loan-word that did enter the European lexicon in the Latin East was *naranj* (orange). Although this word was later to become common in European languages, it was only beginning to enter them at the time of the crusades and was still seen as an alien term used primarily by the locals. In the early thirteenth century, James of Vitry noted amongst the fruits of the Orient, “*poma citrina [...] que poma orenge ab indigenis nuncupantur*”.²²² Burchard of Mount Sion gave a closer approximation of the original Arabic, writing “*naranges*”.²²³ A similar and very early instance is recorded in Albert of Aachen’s account of the “*calamelli melliti*”, which the

²¹⁹ RRH, nos 118, 218, 642; CCSSJ, no. 85; E. Klein, *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the English Language: Dealing with the origin of words and their sense development thus illustrating the history of civilization and culture* (Amsterdam, 1971), p. 392.

²²⁰ E. de Salle, ‘Lettre à M. Cros-Mayrevieille, sur les débris de la Langue Arabe, existant dans les patois du Midi’, *Mémoires de la Société des arts et des sciences de Carcassonne*, 1 (1849), pp. 129-136; P. Wolff, ‘Guerre et paix entre pays de langue d’Oc et Occident musulman (essai)’, *Cahiers de Fanjeaux*, 18 (1983), pp. 29-36; P. Senac, ‘Présence musulmane en Languedoc: Réalités et vestiges’, *Cahiers de Fanjeaux*, 18 (1983), pp. 43-56; J. Jomier, ‘Note sur les stèles funéraires arabes de Montpellier’, *Cahiers de Fanjeaux*, 18 (1983), pp. 62-63; C. Verlinden, ‘Les esclaves musulmans du Midi de la France’, *Cahiers de Fanjeaux*, 18 (1983), pp. 215-232.

²²¹ G. T. Beech, ‘The Ventures of the Dukes of Aquitaine into Spain and the Crusader East in the Early Twelfth Century’, *The Haskins Society Journal: Studies in Medieval History*, 5 (1993), pp. 67-68.

²²² JV, p. 344.

²²³ BMS, p. 87.

crusaders tasted at Tripoli in 1099 and which the Arabic-speaking locals “*uocant zucra*”, that is Arabic *sukkar*, giving modern French *sucre* and English sugar.²²⁴ Hitti viewed such plants and spices as one of the most important instances of cultural contact and assimilation during the crusader period, and although he conceded that it is sometimes difficult to tell whether such plants and their names crossed over the “bridge” of Syria or Iberia, the two examples identified here surely suggest some Syrian “crusader” contribution, at least in parallel.²²⁵

Toponyms are also evidence of engagement with the local language. Richard notes that Crac des Chevaliers, known in the Latin sources as “*Crat[um]*”, certainly owed its name to the latter syllable of its Arabic toponym, *Ḥiṣn al-Akrād* (Fortress of the Kurds).²²⁶ A document issued by Raymond III in March 1181 refers to the plain of “*Bochea*” to the north-east of Tripoli, as do a handful of other documents from the twelfth century.²²⁷ This is clearly a direct transliteration of Arabic *Buqay‘a*. The strategically important fortress of *Gibelacar* was evidently a transliteration of *Jabāl ‘Akkār*, literally “the mountain of the ‘Akkār plain”.²²⁸ The first part of the toponym *Casaracel*, an otherwise unidentified *casal* somewhere in the vicinity of Tripoli, was surely a transliteration of *qaṣr*, “castle”.²²⁹ *Terra Galifa* was obviously *Tall Khalīfa*.²³⁰ It has been suggested that *Castrum Rubrum* is identical with *Qal‘at Yaḥmūr*, due to confusion between *Yaḥmūr* and *Aḥmar* (“red”), and also with the otherwise mysterious castle of *Wādī bin Aḥmar* (Valley of the Son of the Red One).²³¹ Such instances of toponymic translation imply a deeper engagement with Arabic than mere transliteration,

²²⁴ AA, p. 388.

²²⁵ Hitti, *History*, pp. 665, 667.

²²⁶ Richard, ‘*Cum omni*’, p. 187.

²²⁷ *RRH*, nos 118, 212, 602; *CGOH*, i, nos 82, 144, 596.

²²⁸ AF *Buldān*, p. 68.

²²⁹ *RRH Add.*, no. 657e; *CGOH*, i, no. 830.

²³⁰ Major, i, 265.

²³¹ Deschamps, *Châteaux*, iii [Texte], 317; *Comté*, pp. 20-21, 65 n. 2.

but are ironically much harder to identify in surviving sources, since the very act of translation disguises etymological origins.

In a “rather thorough study” of Arabic loan-words in Frankish sources, Prawer and his students concluded that such examples of linguistic borrowing were rare.²³² However, there is good reason to suspect that the authors of these sources often wrote with an inherently latinising bias, which casts doubt upon the utility of these findings. As noted above, those documents that survive were generally written for western audiences and archives, by members of the Latin clergy, who did not learn Arabic and were trained in a distinctly Latin tradition, often in European schools. Some clerics actively resisted the intrusion of Arabic vocabulary. According to the German traveller Wilbrand of Oldenburg in 1211-12, the bishop of “*Gibeleth*” (Jubayl) insisted on referring to his city as “*Biblionem*”, because this was how it appeared “*in [...] hebraico*” in the Old Testament.²³³ Either Wilbrand or the bishop made an error here since *Biblia* (Byblos) is actually a Greek toponym. It is *Gibeleth* – the common toponym presumably derived from the Arabic *Jubayl*, but rejected by the bishop – that is closer to Hebrew *Gebal*. Wilbrand did not name this consciously classicising bishop, but he was possibly Bishop Vassal, who helped establish the Cistercian abbey of St Sergius, dependent on the great French abbey of La Ferté, in his diocese in the early 1230s.²³⁴ The same man may also have been the bishop described by James of Vitry c.1221 as

²³² Prawer, ‘Roots’, pp. 32, 38 n. 31.

²³³ WO, p. 119. Mack has recently observed that the secular lords of Jubayl also began to adopt the toponym Byblos (*de Biblio*) from the 1140s, abandoning *Gibeleth*. She does not consider the bishop’s use of the title or the linguistic dynamic *per se*, but links its use to the dynasty’s cultivation of an identity distinct from their Genoese origins as the Embriaci family. Mack, pp. 128-129.

²³⁴ *RRH*, nos 1028, 1044; ‘Chartes de l’abbaye cistercienne de Saint-Serge de Giblet’, ed. by E. Petit, *Mémoires de la société nationale des antiquaires de France*, 5th series, 8 (1887), pp. 23-26; A. C. Breycha-Vauthier, ‘Deir Balamand: Témoin de Cîteaux en terre libanaise’, *BMB*, 20 (1967), pp. 9-10, 13 n. 2, pl. I.a. Perhaps Vassal, who is described as “*frater Vassalus*” in one document, was himself a Cistercian, possibly from La Ferté’s network of daughter-houses.

“*pauperrimus, sed liberalis et humilis*”.²³⁵ Vassal had died by 1243 at the latest, succeeded by a notoriously unsuitable man, whom Pope Innocent IV condemned on 8 August of that year as profoundly uneducated and effectively illiterate.²³⁶ Evidently not all of Jubayl’s bishops could be held to the same high, even pretentious intellectual standard.

The attitude of the bishop in Wilbrand’s account indicates a trend within the educated Latin clergy more generally, whereby their Classical education encouraged a consciously latinising – or in this case pseudo-hebraicising – approach to toponyms, with a deliberate avoidance of the Semitic toponyms in popular usage. The first author to acknowledge the dual, Classical-Semitic nature of toponyms in the county of Tripoli was William of Tyre, who noted on no fewer than five occasions that “Antarados is colloquially called Tortosa”, derived from Arabic *Ṭarṭūs*.²³⁷ Later authors, direct derivatives and otherwise, imitated and expanded William’s practice of providing binary toponyms, supplementing Antarados/Tortosa with other locales in the county, namely “*Biblium*” or “*Gibelet*” (Jubayl) and “*Botr[i]um*” or “*Botron/Betiron*” (Batrūn).²³⁸ Throughout his chronicle, William almost always used “*Antarados*” and “*Biblium*” over the vernacular “*Tortosa*” – used only twice – and “*Gibelet*” – never used.²³⁹ This is hardly surprising. William of Tyre’s Latin is very good for his time,

²³⁵ JV *Lettres*, no. 2, p. 93; Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 229 n. 4.

²³⁶ *Registres d’Innocent IV*, ed. by Berger, no. 57; Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 229.

²³⁷ For example: “*Antaradon, que vulgari appellatione Tortosa dicitur*”. WT, i, 361, 365, 467, 486; ii, 1009.

²³⁸ JV, pp. 152, 204, 206; WO, p. 121; Marino Sanudo, pp. 165, 244, 245; IP Mayer, p. 268; ‘*Historia Hierosolimitana Auctoris Incerti*’, in *Gesta Dei*, ed. by Bongars, i, 1155. William of Tyre claimed that Jubayl (*Biblium*) was known in ancient times as “*Evea*”, derived from Canaan’s son Eveus, supposed founder of the city. WT, i, 508. Cf. Marino Sanudo, p. 245. The origin of “*Evea*” is unclear, but it may represent a very garbled form of Hebrew גב, pronounced either “*Gebal*” or “*Geval*”, depending on an oft-omitted diacritic on the second consonant.

²³⁹ *Antarados/n*: WT, i, 362, 458, 588; ii, 646, 953, 1009. *Tortosa*: WT, i, 475, 508. *Biblium*: WT, i, 371, 459, 508, 509, 515, 576, 588, 592; ii, 646, 649, 756, 852, 975,

demonstrating the fine Classical education provided at the schools of Paris, Orleans, and Bologna, where he studied for two decades, c.1146-1165.²⁴⁰ Edbury and Rowe have pointed to his general descriptions of towns and cities as one area in particular where “he did indulge in some self-conscious erudition”.²⁴¹

Earlier and less educated Latin authors, including those whose works William read, only ever employed the popular, Semitic toponyms for the places of the county of Tripoli. For example, Fulcher of Chartres used “*Tort[u]osa*” and “*Gibellulum*”, but never “*Antarados*” or “*Byblos*”.²⁴² Albert of Aachen only ever referred to Tortosa as “*Tortosa*” and Jubayl as “*Gibilot[h]*” or “*Gybe[e]l*”.²⁴³ None of these early authors had anywhere near the same education enjoyed by William of Tyre.²⁴⁴ One notable exception to the general rule observed here of early ignorance, is pseudo-Fretellus in the 1150s, who not only knew that “*Gibeletum*” was “*Byblium*”, a decade or more before

1018, 1019.

²⁴⁰ WT, i, 39; R. B. C. Huygens, ‘Guillaume de Tyr étudiant. Un chapitre (XIX, 12) de son «Histoire» retrouvé’, *Latomus: Revue d’études latines*, 21 (1962), pp. 814-820; Edbury and Rowe, pp. 13, 15, 32-39.

²⁴¹ Edbury and Rowe, p. 35.

²⁴² *Tort[u]osa*: FC, pp. 342, 355, 433. *Gibellulum*: FC, pp. 271, 435.

²⁴³ *Tortosa*: AA, pp. 376, 378, 402, 484, 532, 632, 634, 670, 778, 780. *Gibiloth/Gybeel*: AA, pp. 388, 390, 474, 478, 538, 670, 778. There is ample confusion in both Latin and Arabic sources between Jubayl and Jabala, with both toponyms based on the same three Arabic consonants: *j.b.l.* AA, pp. 670-671 n. 55, 778-779 n. 12. Albert and Fulcher were aware of both the Classical and vernacular toponyms of better known cities in the kingdom of Jerusalem, such as *Ptolomaida/Acre* (‘*Akkā*’) and *Tyre/Sur* (‘*Šūr*’). AA, *passim*; FC, *passim*. Raymond of Aguilers’s shorter chronicle, also used by William of Tyre, mentions “*Tortosa*” once, but never “*Antarados*”, and neither “*Gibelet*” nor “*Byblos*”. RA, p. 108; Edbury and Rowe, pp. 45-46. The author of the *Gesta* and Peter Tudebode similarly neglected the Classical toponyms of both “*Tortosa*” and “*Zebari*” (corr. *Gebali*?) or “*Gibelon*”. GF, pp. 427, 440; PT, pp. 129, 133. The *Gesta* and Peter even omitted the Classical toponyms of Tyre (*Sur*) and Acre (*Acra*), whilst Raymond of Aguilers was apparently only aware of Tyre’s traditional name. GF, pp. 442-443; PT, p. 133; RA, pp. 129, 135.

²⁴⁴ Albert of Aachen may have been a canon, albeit a fairly obscure and lowly one. AA, p. xxiv. Raymond of Aguilers lacked a rigorous Classical education, judging by his tendency only to draw upon biblical and liturgical references. Raymond of Aguilers, trans. by Hill and Hill, p. 11. His biblical training helped him identify Tyre, but not Antarados – entirely absent from the Bible – or Byblos – mentioned only four times (Joshua 13:5; 1 Kings 5:18; Psalms 83:7; Ezekiel 27:9).

William of Tyre, but also that the Hebrew was “*Gobel*”.²⁴⁵ Vernacular French narratives, produced for a secular audience, never provide the Classical toponyms, but simply the colloquial Semitic (*Tortose*, *Tortoze*, *Tourtouse*; *Ghibelet*, *Gibeleth*; *Bo[u]tron*), even when similar, sometimes related Latin texts such as the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* do.²⁴⁶

In short, Classical toponyms were most likely to be used by students of high Latin linguistic culture, who were invariably clerics. There may be a proto-colonialist element to this. According to Metcalfe, the Normans of Sicily also attempted to latinise – translating rather than transliterating – common Arabic toponyms, as a colonial act to undermine Arabic and its speakers *vis-à-vis* Latin and its users.²⁴⁷ However, not all clerics possessed an adequate level of learning and thus the inclination or ability to employ the Classical toponyms for Syria. One clerical author erred in his attempts by writing, “...*Saietem* [Sidon], *quam veteres ab ipso initio Biblum dixerunt*”.²⁴⁸ The high clergy’s staunch defence of a Latin linguistic culture in the midst of indigenous Semitic Arabic usage was a largely futile preoccupation, with the secular majority having no such qualms and with many of the less educated clergy favouring the vernacular toponyms in the custom of vernacular texts, or making errors in their attempts to do otherwise. Despite Prawer’s scepticism, the fact that any Arabic loan-words – be they measurements, toponyms or fruit – can be located in such documents at all is a phenomenon made more, not less significant by the consciously latinising, de-arabicising nature of the sources in question.

²⁴⁵ ‘Descriptions de Jérusalem’, p. 432.

²⁴⁶ Ernoul, pp. 114, 178, 252, 253, 254, 305, 315, 317; *Cont.* Morgan, pp. 33, 45, 45-46, 54, 55, 58, 65, 73, 86-87, 98, 171. Cf. *IP* Mayer, p. 268.

²⁴⁷ A. Metcalfe, ‘*De saracenico in latinum transferri*: causes and effects of translation in the fiscal administration of Norman Sicily’, *Al-Masāq*, 13 (2001), pp. 73-75.

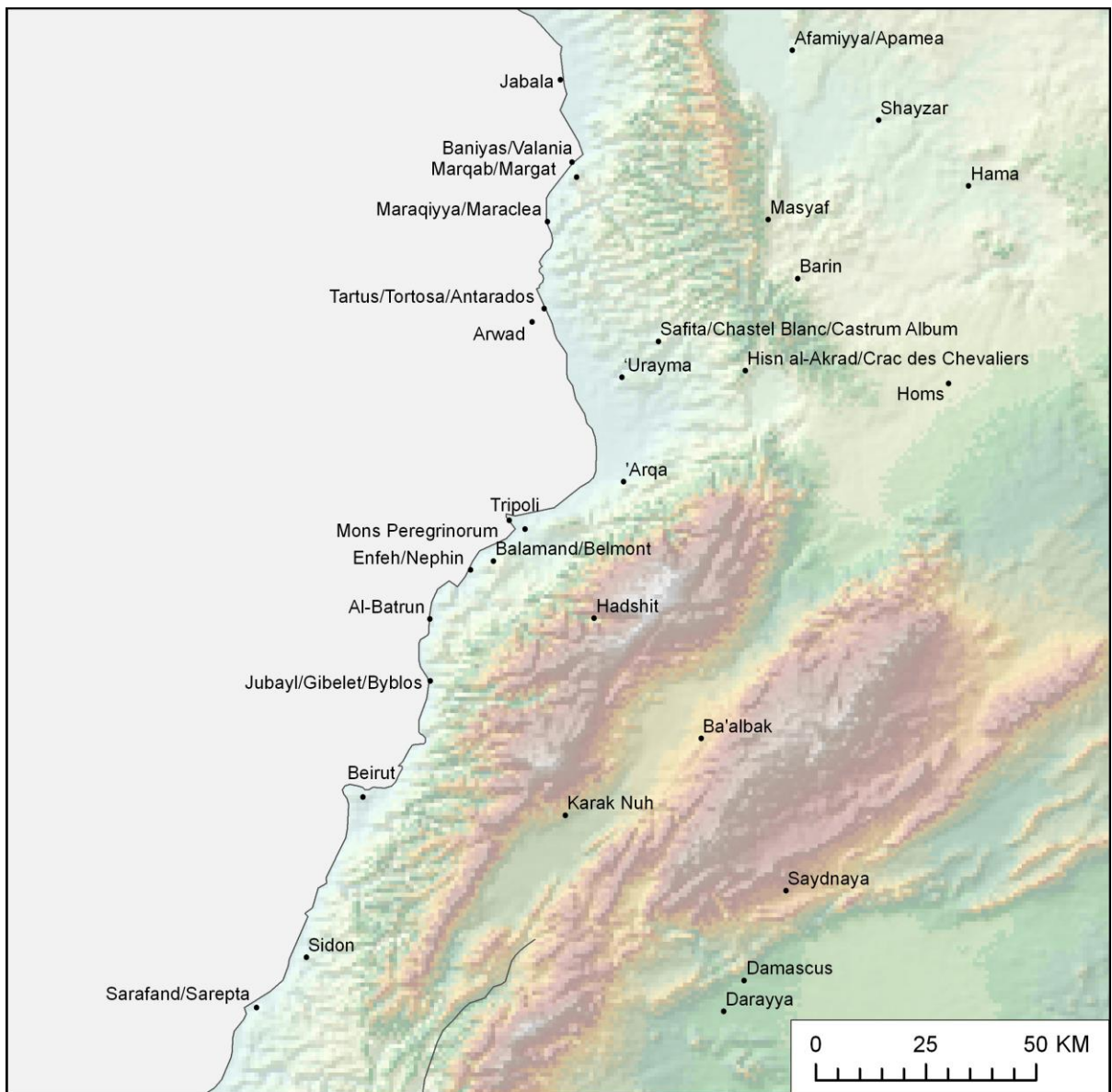
²⁴⁸ ‘Benedicti de Accoltis, Aretini, Historia Gotefridi’, *RHC Oc*, v, 598.

VI. Conclusion

The widespread use of Arabic in the county of Tripoli was certainly an obstacle between the Latins and their indigenous subjects, uniting the latter against the former despite divisive religious heterogeneity. Arabic was the majority language, yet few Franks seem to have learnt it, preferring to speak Romance dialects. The only possible exception was the pidgin dialects that probably emerged in port towns. Nevertheless, the Franks could not help but recognise the importance of Arabic and thus employed intermediaries, often but not exclusively local Christians, to speak and write the language on their behalf, as was the case elsewhere in the medieval Mediterranean. The surviving sources for the county of Tripoli cannot challenge the traditional view that trade and warfare surpassed intellectual curiosity as an imperative for the Latins of Syria to employ Arabic, directly or indirectly. Nevertheless, some Arabic vocabulary entered the local Frankish lexicon during this period, even leaving traces in the conservative, consciously classicising writings of Latin clergymen, suggesting that the barrier between the languages of conquerors and conquered was far from impermeable, even if the acquisition of foreign languages wholesale remained exceptional. The implicit assumption of previous historians, that the few surviving written sources – usually Latin – can be used to create a comprehensive history of society and institutions in the crusader states, must be discarded, since it was through informal, oral and vernacular channels – now lost or obscure – that the most substantial interactions between Latins and the indigenous took place. Most surviving written sources from the Latin East are misleading at best, and sometimes deliberately so.

CHAPTER FOUR

Elite and Popular Religion



Map 7. Places of religious and political significance around Tripoli.

I. Introduction: Sectarianism and Pluralism

A study of the social composition of any medieval polity must include an analysis of the nature of religious belief and practice within its territory. Nations may be unified under one religion, where social class and economic circumstance divide, or they may

be divided into a fractured mosaic of sects, where culture and language would otherwise unite. This chapter concentrates less on the interaction of discrete religious groups as such, and more upon the tension between elite and popular understanding of religious belief and practice across traditional faith boundaries. Following the post-institutional methodology of the thesis as a whole, this chapter looks beyond the religious institutions, formal doctrines and sanctioned holy wars of Christianity and Islam, to uncover the lived spirituality of their followers, as they together sought meaning to their quotidian existence and some measure of personal connection with the divine.

The county of Tripoli offers a uniquely complex case study of the disjuncture between normative, official or elite religion, and popular, “folkloric” modes of belief and practice. The county occupied one of the most religiously diverse areas in the medieval Mediterranean, certainly within Latin Christendom. Although ruled by the Latin Christian descendants of crusaders, who built new churches and converted mosques for their rite, the county’s mountains and plains were inhabited by a rich assortment of non-Latin and non-Christian communities. There were Twelver Shī‘ite Muslims concentrated in the capital; Jacobite, Nestorian and even Ethiopian Christians in the Lebanese foothills by the coast; Maronite Christians in deep Lebanon; Nizārī Ismā‘īlī Shī‘ite “Assassins” and Nuṣayrī Alawite Shī‘ites in the al-Nuṣayriyya mountains; and Jewish enclaves at Tripoli, ‘Arqa and Jubayl. Such diversity could lead to sectarian conflict, although incidents of violence between communities within the county occur only rarely in contemporary sources, outnumbered by instances of religious convergence and even syncretism, particularly at shared shrines throughout the region. It will be shown that this convergence was often the source of misunderstanding, as religious elites strove to criticise and “correct”, but failed to understand fully the popular religious practices of the region’s inhabitants.

II. Elite Doctrine and Popular Religion

The study of medieval religion was once dominated by a focus on hierarchical structure and normative doctrine, underpinned by the implicit assumption that all followers of a given religion understood fully what they believed. This traditional interpretation has come to be questioned in recent decades. Regarding medieval Latin Christendom, it is likely that the education of priests and the concomitant catechesis of ordinary people – baptised and thus “converted” soon after birth – would have been very poor.¹ Some historians have challenged the traditional view of pre-Reformation Europe as a unified, homogenous and thoroughly “Catholic” Christian civilisation, even suggesting that medieval Europe was “*un pays de mission*”, with most people only superficially Christian, holding to old pagan or folkloric customs, and with Christianity more an elite cult than a popular religion.² This revisionist view may exaggerate the situation and the extent to which religion was divided into two discrete spheres, elite and popular.³ It is hard to see how this model can be reconciled with examples of popular participation in Christian movements in the Middle Ages, not least the crusades. Nevertheless, the central two principles – that many contemporaries would have been unaware of the finer points of Christian belief and that there was a tension between the sometimes contradictory elite and popular forms of religion – are worth considering.

¹ J. Delumeau, *Le Catholicisme entre Luther et Voltaire* (Paris, 1971), p. 234.

² Delumeau, pp. 234-237 and *passim*; J. Le Goff, ‘Le christianisme médiéval en Occident, du concile de Nicée (325) à la Reforme (début du XVI^e siècle)’, in *Histoire des Religions, II: La formation des religions universelles et des religions de salut dans le monde méditerranéen et le Proche-Orient*, ed. by H.-C. Puech, Encyclopédie de la Pléiade (Paris, 1972), p. 856; D. Herlihy, *The Black Death and the Transformation of the West* (Cambridge, MA, 1997), pp. 73-79; J. van Engen, ‘The Christian Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem’, *AHR*, 91.3 (1986), pp. 519-522, 528-529.

³ Van Engen, pp. 530-532, 537-550, 551-552.

Increasingly, historians of medieval Islam have also emphasised the divide between elite and popular religion. Waardenburg was amongst the first to dedicate a study to the tensions between “official”, or “normative”, and “popular” forms of Islam, focusing particularly upon the condemnation of a great diversity of popular Islamic religious expression by the Damascene polemicist, Ibn Taymiyya (661/1263-728/1328).⁴ Shoshan sees the same division in medieval Islamic culture as a whole, indicating “several, interrelated strata”, from “high” to “popular”.⁵ Meri is careful not to make a sharp distinction between “popular” and “official”, or “canonical” Islam, but nonetheless states that there was always a “tension [...] between the customary practices of a given locality and the Sunna.”⁶ Meanwhile, local variation is key to Bulliet’s seminal work on conversion to Islam.⁷

Whether viewed as popular or local, the observation that Islamic belief and practice did not always adhere to the teachings of the educated elite implies that medieval Islam was not that dissimilar to pre-Reformation Christianity: an elite cult, the tenets of which were only roughly understood by the mass of those actively professing, or passively deemed to be its followers. Unifying the conclusions of these specialists of medieval Islam and contemporary European Christianity are the key themes that normative doctrine should not be treated as the sole indicator of the content of religious belief, and that customs and practices belonging to former religions – paganism in the case of Christian Europe and Christianity in the case of Islam – can linger in the newer religion for centuries after ostensible conversion. At the same time, elite doctrine itself

⁴ J. Waardenburg, ‘Official and Popular Religion in Islam’, *Social Compass*, 25.3-4 (1978), pp. 315-338.

⁵ B. Shoshan, ‘High Culture and Popular Culture in Medieval Islam’, *SI*, 73 (1991), pp. 67-107.

⁶ J. W. Meri, *The Cult of Saints among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 282-283.

⁷ R. W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History* (Cambridge, MA, 1979), *passim*.

is not unchanging through time or space, both absorbing what came before and adapting to new circumstances.

The dichotomy between elite and popular religion has yet to penetrate the work of historians of the crusades. Talmon-Heller and Mallett are rare exceptions who have acknowledged and sought to study the often obscure “popular” or “local” strata of religion under the Franks, as opposed to the more familiar “universal” or “elitist” dogma, although they have hitherto focused only on Islam.⁸ It therefore remains necessary to integrate parallel trends within modern studies of medieval Christianity and medieval Islam. By doing so, it will be shown how the tension between elite and popular religion coloured religious interaction in the crusader states, polities often seen as having been on the very frontier of the overly simplistic “Clash of Civilizations”, between supposedly monolithic Christianity and equally monolithic Islam. In particular, the potential for blurring at the edges of faith communities, in terms of belief and practice, seems to have been great, even though no previous historian of the crusades – wedded to the traditional assumption that religions were watertight structures of thought and identity – has acknowledged this. The extremely heterogeneous county of Tripoli provides an ideal opportunity for such a study.

III. Signs and expressions of difference

Historians of inter-faith relations in the crusader states generally view religions as discrete entities and seek to classify them, and to explain the behaviour of their followers, according to some fairly abstruse doctrines, mainly originating in Late

⁸ D. Talmon-Heller, ‘The Shaykh and the Community: Popular Hanbalite Islam in 12th-13th Century Jabal Nablus and Jabal Qasyūn’, *SI*, 79 (1994), pp. 103-104 and *passim*; A. Mallett, *Popular Muslim Reactions to the Franks in the Levant, 1097-1291* (Farnham, 2014), *passim*.

Antiquity.⁹ Many historians have chosen not to outline the differences between Islamic sects with as much detail as they have the Christian. Hamilton's study of the Latin Church in the crusader states devotes four chapters to the clergy's relations with eastern Christians – "Orthodox" and "Separated" – but not with the Muslims.¹⁰ The "Oriental Churches" and the Jews receive dedicated chapters in Prawer's *Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, whereas the Muslims do not.¹¹ Mayer has produced a study of Muslims in the Latin East, but suggests that little can be said about them due to a paucity of evidence, in both Latin and Arabic sources, although this has been challenged somewhat by Kedar.¹² Jackson has qualified this scholarship still further by noting that "Muslim" is a misleadingly broad term, which should be understood as divided into various sub-categories. Interestingly, he does not mention the doctrinal divisions, principally between Sunnī and Shī'a, but rather focuses upon socio-economic differences between such groups as sedentary Syrian Arab "agriculturalists", or "peasants", nomadic Bedouin, Turkic and Kurdish military rulers, and city dwellers.¹³

Most historians have chosen to exclude Muslims from their analyses entirely, as with MacEvitt's recent study of the ambiguous relations between Latin Franks and eastern Christians, primarily Armenians and Jacobites.¹⁴ As far as the county of Tripoli is concerned, Richard devotes only a brief paragraph of his cursory section on "*les indigènes*" to the Nuṣayrī Shī'ites living alongside the Assassins to the north and says nothing of any other Islamic sect, except in the sense of discussing neighbouring

⁹ For example: Hamilton, *Leper King*, pp. 18, 58, 159, 161-163, 187, 330-331; Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles*, pp. 20-24.

¹⁰ Hamilton, *Latin Church*, pp. 159-187, 188-211, 310-331, 332-360.

¹¹ Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, pp. 214-232, 233-251.

¹² Mayer, 'Latins, Muslims and Greeks', p. 175. Cf. Kedar, 'Some New Sources', pp. 129-140.

¹³ D. E. P. Jackson, 'Some considerations', pp. 21-29.

¹⁴ MacEvitt, *passim*.

Muslim lords as political and military rivals to the Franks throughout his monograph.¹⁵ A recent collection of articles dedicated to studying the county of Tripoli specifically as an “*état multiculturel et multiconfessionnel*” neglects the Muslim communities of the county, focusing on the Christians and especially the Maronites. Two articles provide somewhat shallow and redundantly similar overviews of all the indigenous groups, but demonstrate a disproportionate interest in the Maronites.¹⁶ A third article does much the same, but entirely ignores the Muslims.¹⁷ Two further pieces provide studies in the history of two specific Christian communities, the Armenians and Maronites.¹⁸ Not a single one is dedicated solely to Muslim communities. A rare exception to this prevalent neglect of the Muslim population is Gautron’s study of Shī‘ite sects in the county’s neighbourhood, published elsewhere.¹⁹

Historians have sought to reach general conclusions regarding the Franks’ relationship with the various indigenous groups and especially with the disproportionately over-represented sub-category of eastern Christians. Mayer supposes that the Latins granted no socio-political freedoms or powers to the Muslims and few to non-Latin Christians, a view corroborated to some extent by Kedar.²⁰ Cahen argued that, regardless of Pope Urban’s appeals to aid eastern Christians, the non-Greek eastern Christians actually viewed the crusaders as unwelcome intruders into a land of

¹⁵ *Comté*, p. 86.

¹⁶ É. Kattar, ‘Attitudes des groupes d’habitants envers le comté de Tripoli’, in *Comté multiculturel*, pp. 31-44; A. Hoteit, ‘Indigènes tripolitains et Croisés’, in *Comté multiculturel*, pp. 45-56.

¹⁷ Olmo, pp. 157-168.

¹⁸ G. Dédéyan, ‘Les Arméniens au Liban (X^e-XIII^e siècle)’, in *Comté multiculturel*, pp. 73-99; J. Charaf, ‘Les Maronites et le comté de Tripoli d’après Duwayhi: essai critique’, in *Comté multiculturel*, pp. 57-72.

¹⁹ Y. Gautron, ‘Assassins, Druzes et Nosayris d’après les sources occidentales médiévales’, in *Chrétiens et musulmans au temps des croisades: Entre l’affrontement et la rencontre*, ed. by L. Pouzet and L. Boisset (Beirut, 2007), pp. 31-62.

²⁰ Mayer, ‘Latins, Muslims and Greeks’, pp. 175-192; Kedar, ‘Subjected Muslims’, p. 159.

traditional Islamic tolerance towards monotheist religious minorities.²¹ Prawer thought that the Latins treated the eastern Christians not as allies but as social inferiors, similar to the “infidel” Muslims and Jews.²² More generally, Prawer believed that the Latins preferred not to settle in the countryside alongside any indigenous groups, but lived in a state of almost complete segregation behind the walls of cities and *ad hoc* castles, safe from the seditious locals.²³ Ben-Ami saw the failure of the Latins to integrate the local Christians fully into their society as having led to the ultimate downfall of the crusader states.²⁴

Against the segregationist view, Richard claims that the Maronites and to a lesser extent other indigenous Christians were generally allied with the Franks, integrated into their society, although relations between Franks and Muslims were mainly hostile.²⁵ Ellenblum argues against the view of Prawer and others – who were allegedly influenced by Zionist and modern post-colonial experience in Israel-Palestine – and seeks to show that the Franks in the kingdom of Jerusalem did settle in rural areas, amongst native Christians, although they deliberately avoided settling in historically nomadised, Muslim areas.²⁶ Kedar concurs with Ellenblum’s interpretation

²¹ Cahen, ‘Introduction’, pp. 6-8, 9-13.

²² Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, pp. 219-220, 232. See also: A. Hoteit, ‘Influence des Croisades sur les diverses Communautés religieuses libanaises’, in *Die Folgen der Kreuzzüge für die orientalische Religionsgemeinschaft: Internationales Kolloquium vom 16.-18.10.1996 in Halle/Saale*, ed. by Walter Beltz (Halle-Saale, 1996), p. 68.

²³ J. Prawer, ‘Colonization activities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem’, *Revue belge de philologie et d’histoire*, 29 (1951), pp. 1063-1118; Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, pp. 66-67.

²⁴ A. Ben-Ami, ‘Institutional Lag and Neofunctions (The case of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem)’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 7.4 (1965), pp. 416-417.

²⁵ Comté, pp. 86-88.

²⁶ R. Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 3-38, 277-287 and *passim*; Ellenblum, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 49-59.

by pointing to plentiful evidence of socio-political cooperation and bilateral cross-cultural influence between the Franks and the local Christians.²⁷

Major has recently argued that Prawer's segregationist model does in fact fit the archaeological evidence for Frankish settlement in the county of Tripoli and the principality of Antioch, whereas Ellenblum's model supposedly does not.²⁸ Hoteit also accepts the validity of Prawer's model for the area now occupied by the modern state of Lebanon, that is to say the southern half of the county and the northern section of the kingdom of Jerusalem.²⁹ Some reservations are necessary. Hoteit seems unaware of Ellenblum's work, relying heavily on Prawer, and his conclusions are largely not the product of independent research. Meanwhile, Major's study is restricted to the areas now occupied by the modern Republic of Syria, thus excluding the southern half of the county, where contemporary sources suggest the highest concentration of Christian communities. He also admits the difficulties in first discovering churches – the ideal proof of Christian settlement – in this region, then dating them or their use to the Frankish period, and finally distinguishing the contemporary rite, be it Latin or some form of indigenous Christian.³⁰ Further to this, Immerzeel has recently observed that the depiction of particular saints and the employment of certain styles and artists in the surviving examples of art from the county of Tripoli are not restricted to individual Christian denominations, but shared between them, making identification of rite all the more difficult.³¹ Thus, Major's findings should not necessarily be held to contradict those of Ellenblum.

²⁷ B. Z. Kedar, 'Latins and Oriental Christians in the Frankish Levant, 1099-1291', in *Sharing the Sacred: Religious Contacts and Conflicts in the Holy Land, First-Fifteenth Centuries CE*, ed. by A. Kofsky and G. G. Stroumsa (Jerusalem, 1998), pp. 209-221.

²⁸ Major, i, 22, 81, 243, 258-260, 261, 263.

²⁹ Hoteit, 'Influence', p. 67.

³⁰ Major, i, 29, 168-177, 181.

³¹ Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles*, pp. 143-145, 170-172.

More recently, historians have embraced ambiguity as the essence of Latin-indigenous relations, as in Dédéyan's conclusion that the eastern Christians and the Franks were generally ambivalent to one another.³² Weltecke criticises Cahen's suggestion that the Syriac Orthodox were content under Muslim rule, but also warns against taking the opposite view that they preferred Latin rule.³³ Jotischky has made the important observation that Latin Christians viewed the indigenous Christian communities not simply in religious terms, but also according to other overlapping categories of identity, including language, appearance and ethnicity.³⁴ He concludes that the Latins adopted a policy of "pragmatic tolerance" in their dealings with the local Christians, by turning a blind eye to doctrinal and customary differences, at least until the thirteenth century.³⁵ This is reminiscent of MacEvitt's theory of "rough tolerance", developed primarily in relation to Armenian-Latin interaction in the county of Edessa.³⁶

This ambiguity pervades many of the current assessments of inter-faith relations in the county of Tripoli too. For example, Richard's most recent – and most extensive – opinion on the subject of inter-communal relations in the county is that such relations could be friendly, but were pervaded by the constant threat of hostility.³⁷ Olmo views relations in the county through a spatial lens like Ellenblum, but with more nuance and a greater sensitivity to the variety of geographical circumstances peculiar to Lebanon. The Nestorian and Armenian mercantile and professional minorities, who lived in the city of Tripoli, and Melkite and Jacobite Christians, who lived in the lesser coastal

³² G. Dédéyan, 'Regard sur les communautés chrétiennes orientales', *Arabica*, 43.1 (1996), pp. 111-113.

³³ Weltecke, 'Syriac Orthodox', p. 109 and *passim*.

³⁴ A. Jotischky, 'Ethnographic Attitudes in the Crusader States: The Franks and the Indigenous Orthodox People', in *East and West in the Crusader States*, ed. by Ciggaar, Teule et al., iii, 2-15.

³⁵ Jotischky, 'Ethnographic', pp. 15-19.

³⁶ MacEvitt, *passim*.

³⁷ Richard, 'Affrontement', p. 25 and *passim*.

towns in the Lebanese foothills, were closely integrated with Frankish society, but the Maronites in their mountain redoubt were somewhat isolated from life in the towns of the littoral.³⁸

What most historians have not stressed adequately is the popular, non-intellectual elements of religion. It is clear that contemporaries, even intellectuals, were generally more concerned with differences expressed through various non-written means than through written doctrine, that is with heteropraxy rather than heterodoxy. These concerns were not simply superficial glosses on theoretically tolerant doctrine, as some historians seem to assume.³⁹ The expression of religious differences through visual signs and performative acts in a public sphere, was at least as important in this period as internalised beliefs and official doctrines. A good demonstration of this is Usāma bin Munqidh's account of how he prayed in the Templar headquarters of al-Aqṣā in Jerusalem, oriented towards the *qibla* of Mecca following Islamic custom, only to be interrupted by a Christian newcomer, who persistently tried to "correct" Usāma's direction of prayer towards the East, after the Christian fashion.⁴⁰ This newcomer was clearly more concerned with something as superficial, yet *external* as prayer direction, than with the profound but *internal* doctrinal differences between Islam and Christianity. The same striking contrast between Mecca-facing Muslims and eastward-facing Christians was also noted by Ibn Jubayr when he visited the shared shrine of 'Ayn al-Baqar at Acre.⁴¹

Some of these outward signs of difference were imposed upon communities by external powers, others adopted and deliberately fostered by members of the communities themselves. Islamic law had settled at an early date that non-Muslim

³⁸ Olmo, p. 168 and *passim*.

³⁹ Cf. Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 165.

⁴⁰ UM, p. 135.

⁴¹ IJ, p. 303.

“*dhimmīs*” should wear some kind of special clothing, usually a sort of belt (*zunnār*), to distinguish them from Muslims.⁴² Burchard of Mount Sion indicated that this *dhimmī* dress code was still customary in the Frankish period, when he noted that Syrian Christians “*in habitu concordant cum Sarracenis, nisi quod tantum per cingulum laneum discernuntur*”.⁴³ The earliest extant written laws of the Latin East, promulgated at Nablus in 1120, forbade Muslims from dressing like Franks, probably hoping to prevent “inadvertent Frankish-Muslim intimacy”.⁴⁴ Prawer stressed that the Franks remained conservatively western in their clothing, aside from occasional cases of climate-driven pragmatism.⁴⁵ Appearance was an important factor in the few recorded incidents of religious violence in the Latin East. When Raymond II of Tripoli was murdered by the Assassins in 1152, the Latins of Tripoli flew to arms and killed anyone in the city found to differ from the Latins in language or appearance, hoping to find the perpetrators by doing so, at least until Baldwin III of Jerusalem quickly and sensibly pacified the situation.⁴⁶ Divergent styles of clothing and facial hair have been used by Immerzeel to discern the identity – Latin or otherwise – of donors to ecclesiastical institutions, depicted in the surviving medieval Christian art of this region.⁴⁷

The payment of the *jizya* poll tax was a well-known burden placed on non-Muslim “People of the Book” under Islamic rule, a clear fiscal symbol of “dhimmitude”.⁴⁸ The Franks inverted this after the First Crusade, so that Muslims were

⁴² A. Fattal, *Le Statut Légal des non-Musulmans en pays d’Islam* (Beirut, 1958), pp. 96-110; A. S. Tritton, *The Caliphs and their Non-Muslim Subjects: A Critical Study of the Covenant of ‘Umar* (London, 1930), pp. 6, 7, 14, 115-119, 121, 123.

⁴³ BMS, p. 89.

⁴⁴ B. Z. Kedar, ‘On the Origins of the Earliest Laws of Frankish Jerusalem: The Canons of the Council of Nablus, 1120’, *Speculum*, 74.2 (1999), pp. 324, 334; Kedar, ‘Some New Sources’, p. 137.

⁴⁵ Prawer, ‘Roots’, pp. 31-32.

⁴⁶ WT, ii, 787.

⁴⁷ Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles*, pp. 163-169.

⁴⁸ Fattal, pp. 264-291; Tritton, pp. 14-15, 216-218, 223, 227-228.

obliged to pay the poll tax formerly owed by Christians.⁴⁹ William of Tyre reported that the native people of Tripoli – predominantly Shi‘ites according to the testimony of Nāṣir bin Khusraw half a century before – were allowed to stay in the city and to hold their homes and possessions, but only “*sub certa pensione, domino comiti annuatim persolvenda*”.⁵⁰ Ibn Jubayr noted with disdain how Muslims living near Tibnān in the kingdom of Jerusalem paid the poll tax, and he used the exact term “*jizya*”, no doubt to emphasise the humiliation of this reversal.⁵¹ In the kingdom of Sicily, the *jizya* was levied on Muslims and Jews, and was again referred to by its Arabic term, even in official documents produced by the Christian government.⁵²

Dietary restrictions have always been one of the main characteristics of religious faiths. Crusader rule in the county of Tripoli presumably lifted or eased some, if not all of the dietary restrictions enforced under Islam. Alcohol, forbidden in Islam, was evidently produced there in the form of wine, with numerous vineyards mentioned in the sources. There were vineyards during the *dynastie toulousaine* at ‘Arqa, Rafaniyya, Crat (later Crac des Chevaliers), and “*Kafaracha*” (*corr. Kasaracha* = Qaṣr ‘Akkār = Jabal ‘Akkār/Gibelacar?), as well as in the vicinity of *Chastel Blanc* (Ṣafīthā) and at *Mons Peregrinorum*, next to the cemetery of the church of St John.⁵³ Vineyards are recorded during the *dynastie antiochénienne* in the vicinity of “*Cornaon*” (Qarnūn) and “*Malefogasse*”⁵⁴ in the north of the county.⁵⁵ Wine was also one of the products owed to the Hospitallers at the *casalium* of “*Fauda*” and presumably produced in the vicinity,

⁴⁹ Riley-Smith, ‘The survival’, p. 13; Kedar, ‘Subjected Muslims’, pp. 168-170.

⁵⁰ WT, i, 510; NK, p. 13. Cf. FC, p. 532.

⁵¹ IJ, p. 301.

⁵² Johns, *Arabic Administration*, pp. 34-38; Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians*, pp. 34-36.

⁵³ CGOH, i, nos 79, 82, 199.

⁵⁴ The exact location of this place is unknown. The toponym suggests a borrowing from Mallefougasse, Provence.

⁵⁵ CGOH, i, no. 1045.

although there is no explicit mention of a vineyard in this case.⁵⁶ Winepresses and even a shipwreck off Marāḳiyya, full of amphorae, provide likely archaeological evidence of wine manufacture and consumption in this region during the crusader period.⁵⁷

The encouragement of viticulture was not purely a Frankish initiative. Indeed, Wilbrand of Oldenburg stated that the “*suriani*” of Nephin produced excellent wine on behalf of their Frankish lords.⁵⁸ Fulcher of Chartres claimed that none other than Ibn ‘Ammār, the Shī‘ite *qāḏī* of Tripoli, gave wine to Baldwin I in 1100.⁵⁹ This would appear to be in direct contravention of Islamic law and also the edicts of the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ḥākim almost a century before, which had outlawed alcoholic drinks and restricted access to fermentables, even for non-Muslims.⁶⁰ Not all Muslims were as lax as Ibn ‘Ammār. In the late thirteenth century, Burchard of Mount Sion bemoaned the fact that the Muslims had destroyed many vineyards out of religious compunction, but noted that excellent grapes were still grown along the Lebanese coast, particularly in Frankish Tortosa.⁶¹

The consumption of forbidden (*ḥarām*) meats in the Latin East is attested occasionally. James of Vitry noted that followers of a religious cult “*in partibus Tripolitanis*”, most likely the Druze, ate pork despite the dietary restrictions of “*Machometi lex*”, since it was permitted by their “*lex alia occulta*”.⁶² William of Tyre included the eating of pork, as well as the drinking of wine, as a sign that the Assassins

⁵⁶ CGOH, i, no. 754.

⁵⁷ Major, i, 238-239.

⁵⁸ WO, p. 120.

⁵⁹ FC, pp. 355-356.

⁶⁰ H. Halm, ‘Der Treuhänder Gottes: Die Edikte des Kalifen al-Ḥākim’, *Der Islam*, 63 (1986), pp. 24-26; P. E. Walker, ‘The Ismaili Da‘wa in the Reign of the Fatimid Caliph Al-Ḥākim’, *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 30 (1993), p. 171.

⁶¹ BMS, p. 88.

⁶² JV, p. 150. See also: JV *Lettres*, no. 2, p. 95.

wished to convert to Christianity.⁶³ The Templar of Tyre alleged that Prince Bohemond VI of Antioch-Tripoli and other Franks, who had entered Damascus as part of a Mongol-Armenian-Frankish coalition in March 1260, sprayed wine over the walls of the city's mosques, “où Sarazins aouroient”, and adorned them with slices of pork.⁶⁴ Although the historicity of this account has been doubted, the very fact that the author included it at all suggests that Latin Christians were very much aware that the dietary regulations of Islam could not only be lifted, but exploited for the purpose of triumphalist insults in captured territories.⁶⁵ Curiously, some Franks chose to perpetuate the Islamic ban on pork, out of confusion, fashion or personal taste. One early settler in Antioch, with whom a friend of Usāma bin Munqidh once dined, only ate non-Frankish food prepared by an Egyptian woman, and refused to allow pork to enter his home.⁶⁶ Others simply saw profit in the Islamic regulation of this meat. Riley-Smith writes that a particular “absurdity” prevailed in Tyre, if nowhere else, namely the Latin Christian

⁶³ WT, ii, 954.

⁶⁴ ‘Chronique du Templier de Tyr’, in *Les gestes des Chiprois: Recueil de chroniques françaises écrites en Orient aux XIII^e & XIV^e siècles* (Philippe de Navarre & Gérard de Monréal), ed. by G. Raynaud (Geneva, 1887), p. 162.

⁶⁵ A number of Mongol and Mamlūk specialists reject the historicity of the Franks’ triumphalist behaviour in Damascus, believing it to be a late embellishment of the account. P. Jackson, ‘The Crisis in the Holy Land in 1260’, *EHR*, 95.376 (1980), p. 486; R. Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Īlkhānīd War, 1260-1281* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 31. Thorau accepted that the local Christians revelled and insulted the Muslims, but was sceptical regarding the presence of the Franks. P. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century*, trans. by P. M. Holt (London and New York, 1992), pp. 68-69. Most crusade historians, as well as a handful of Mongol specialists, accept its validity. Prawer, *Histoire*, ii, 426; Richard, *Royaume*, p. 305; Richard, *The Crusades*, p. 410; D. Morgan, *The Mongols*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 2007), p. 135; J. J. Saunders, *The History of the Mongol Conquests* (London, 1971), p. 113; J. Folda, ‘The Figural Arts in Crusader Syria and Palestine, 1187-1291: Some New Realities’, *DOP*, 58 (2004), pp. 323-329. Mayer is the most sceptical of crusade historians. Mayer, *The Crusades*, p. 276.

⁶⁶ UM, p. 140.

continuation of a Fāṭimid tax of four *dīnārs* levied on the butchers of pigs, named the “*tuazo*”, corrupted from Arabic *tawadduʿ* (ritual ablutions).⁶⁷

Another possible but under-appreciated case of Islamic dietary restrictions being lifted or eased is that of eels. These were theoretically forbidden to the large Shīʿa Muslim community of the county on account of an exegetical tradition unique to their sect, which held that eels were metamorphosised Sabbath-breaking Jews and that therefore eating them was equivalent to cannibalism.⁶⁸ Almost a century before the First Crusade, Caliph al-Ḥākim had prohibited the eating of fish without scales and thus eels, amongst his many policies aimed at bringing society in line with Shīʿite norms.⁶⁹ The eel was also theoretically forbidden to the county’s Jewish minority for the same reason that it is a fish without scales.⁷⁰ Eel fishing is not recorded in the county but eels were fished in large quantities in the principality of Antioch in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, proving highly profitable.⁷¹ Perhaps this reflects the principality’s pre-crusade history, since it had not been under any prolonged occupation by the Shīʿa Fāṭimid Caliphate during the eleventh century, as had both the county of Tripoli – where the capital was still predominantly Shīʿite – and the kingdom of Jerusalem. In neither of these southern states is eel fishing recorded.

Certainly fish of some sort were caught in the lake of Homs, where the counts of Tripoli and later the Hospitallers enjoyed non-specific fishing rights, and where Abū al-

⁶⁷ Riley-Smith, ‘The survival’, p. 13.

⁶⁸ M. Cook, *The Koran: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 106-108. Cf. Qurān 7:163-166; E. Francesca, ‘Dietary Law’, in *EI3*, 2012.1, p. 124; B. M. Wheeler, ‘Animals, in Law’, in *EI3*, 2008.1, p. 145. The consumption of eels was and is generally permitted to Sunnī Muslims. Francesca, p. 124; Wheeler, p. 145.

⁶⁹ Halm, p. 28; Walker, ‘Ismaili Daʿwa’, p. 171.

⁷⁰ Leviticus 11:10-12; Deuteronomy 14:10.

⁷¹ *RRH*, nos 76, 629, 714, 888, 1284; *RRH Add.*, no. 605a; *CGOH*, ii, nos XXIII, 2917; Mayer, *Varia*, pp. 164-167; J. Burgdorf, ‘The Military Orders in the Crusader Principality of Antioch’, in *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. by Ciggaar et al., i, 228, 244.

Fidā' made special note of the fishing that took place there.⁷² Abū al-Fidā' also observed that one of the nearby lakes of Afāmiyyā was known as “the lake of the Christians” (*buhayrat al-naṣārā*), due to the preponderance of Christian fishermen there.⁷³ Most relevantly, al-Dimashqī clarified that these Christians were very fond of one fish in particular, the serpentine “*ankalīs*”.⁷⁴ This term for “eel” is possibly a transliteration of Latin *anguilla*, the term used in Frankish documents.⁷⁵ Major argues that these Muslim authors adopted the specifically Frankish term, rather than Arabic's own terms (*samak jarri/al-jarrīth/thu'bān*), precisely because of the increased popularity of the eel under the Latin Christians, who required large quantities of fish due to the Christian obligation to abstain from meat on numerous days throughout the calendar.⁷⁶ Major's discussion of this positive duty to eat fish is important, but he does not consider the negative Shī'ite prohibitions on eating eels, noting only its permissibility in Sunnī Islam.⁷⁷ Nor does he consider the fact that *ankalīs* could equally, if not more likely be derived from Greek *enchelys* (ἐγχελύς), which would suggest an older, pre-crusader linguistic import, albeit still of probable Christian origin. Nevertheless, the presence of anti-eel legislation in Shī'ite Islam and its likely abrogation under the Franks certainly supports Major's basic theory that eel consumption increased after the crusader conquest.

Aural signs were of equivalent importance to the visual, fiscal and dietary. The restoration of Muslim rule over Jubayl on 4 August 1187 (27 Jumādā I AH 583) was accompanied by widespread rejoicing amongst the Muslim populace, not least because

⁷² *RRH*, no. 212; *CGOH*, i, no. 144; *AF Buldān*, p. 40.

⁷³ *AF Buldān*, p. 41.

⁷⁴ *Al-Dimashqī*, p. 205. Whatever the dietary laws of the Muslims, al-Dimashqī himself apparently knew what eel tasted like. The Muslim government had no qualms over extracting an annual revenue of 30,000 dirhams from these Christian fishermen.

⁷⁵ *Major*, i, 110, 234-235.

⁷⁶ *Major*, i, 233, 234-235.

⁷⁷ *Major*, i, 234.

of the reversal witnessed in terms of the public profession of religion. ‘Imād al-Dīn juxtaposed the return of Islamic rectitude with the expulsion of Christian corruption through a series of rhyming pairs:

*kāna mu‘ẓam ahl ṣaydā’ wa-bayrūt wa-jubayl muslimīn masākīn, li-musākanat al-faranj mustaslimīn, fa-dhāqū al-‘izza ba‘da al-dhillā, wa-fāqū al-kathra ba‘da al-qilla, wa-ṣadaqat al-bashā’ir, wa-ṣadaḥat al-manābir, wa-ṭuhhira ‘ayb al-biya’, wa-shuhira jam‘ al-juma’, wa-quri’a al-qurān, wa-istashāṭa al-shayṭān, wa-kharisat al-nawāqīs, wa-baṭalat al-nawāmīs, wa-rafa’a al-muslimūn ru’ūs-hum, wa-‘arafū nufūs-hum.*⁷⁸

Most of the people of Sidon, Beirut and Jubayl were earnest Muslims, surrendered to habitation with the Franks, but then they experienced honour after humiliation and surpassed abundance after scarcity; the good news proved true and the pulpits sang; the shame of the churches was purified and the assembly of Fridays was proclaimed publicly; the Qurān was recited and Satan was enraged; the (church) bells fell silent and the (Christian) laws became void; the Muslims elevated their leaders and discovered their souls.

The right to pray openly and loudly figures prominently here. The case of Jubayl demonstrates that the Franks prohibited Islamic public prayer in this particular town, although Kedar does not believe such suppression of Islam was a universal policy.⁷⁹ In fact, it was not until the Council of Vienne (1311-12) that the Church formally forbade the *adhān*, the Muslim call to prayer, in Christian territories.⁸⁰ The particular mention of bells is an under-appreciated dynamic of Christian rule over Muslims during the crusader period. Ever since the so-called Covenant of ‘Umar, Islamic authorities had prohibited the loud and public use of bells and *semantra* by Christian *dhimmīs*, lest they

⁷⁸ ‘ID, p. 42; AS, iii, 208. An Islamic jurist (*faqīh*) seems to have been entrusted with some share of the government of the city, no doubt aiding the public celebration of Islam’s triumph, although he would find himself blamed for the later Frankish reoccupation. AS *Dhayl*, p. 4.

⁷⁹ Kedar, ‘Subjected Muslims’, pp. 139-140, 160-162.

⁸⁰ B. Z. Kedar, ‘*De Iudeis et Sarracenis*: On the categorization of Muslims in medieval canon law’, in *Studia in honorem eminentissimi cardinalis Alphonsi M. Stickler*, ed. by R. I. Castillo Lara, Pontificia Studiorum Universitas Salesiana, Facultas iuris canonici, *Studia et textus historiae iuris canonici*, 7 (Rome, 1992), p. 211.

drown out the *adhān*, sending the unambiguous message that Islam was to be the dominant religion.⁸¹ James of Vitry made special note of the use of the Maronites' use of percussive wooden *semantra* in lieu of bells, which were presumably quieter and less intolerable to Muslims.⁸² The incident at Jubayl shows that Muslims were aggrieved at what bells represented: an inversion of the traditional Islamic socio-religious hierarchy, an aural accompaniment to the inverted *jizya*.

Jubayl was not the only town at this time where bells or their absence were a key expression of the supremacy of one religion over another. Archaeological evidence attests to the fact that the Franks introduced bells elsewhere. Copper carillon bells from the Frankish period were discovered in 1906 at Bethlehem, together with organ pipes.⁸³ Part of the bell-tower of the cathedral of Tripoli survives, incorporated into the Tripolitan Grand Mosque's minaret, whilst the former Cistercian monastery of Belmont has the only fully surviving Frankish bell-tower in the former Latin East, dated to the second half of the twelfth century or the mid-thirteenth.⁸⁴ It is very likely from their architecture that other extant churches, such as that of Enfeh (Nephtin), possessed bell-towers in the Frankish period.⁸⁵ Written sources record the re-imposition of the Islamic prohibition on bells in places other than Jubayl, sometimes in a non-religious context. When Conrad of Montferrat approached the recently conquered port of Acre in 1187, he first became aware that something was amiss when he saw the strange clothes that people were wearing and failed to hear the customary "beating of bells" (*ḍarb al-ajrās*)

⁸¹ Fattal, pp. 203-207, 210; Tritton, pp. 5, 7, 11, 14, 100, 102, 104.

⁸² JV, p. 318. See also: BMS, p. 92.

⁸³ A. J. Boas, 'The Frankish Period: A Unique Medieval Society Emerges', *Near Eastern Archaeology*, 61.3 (1998), pp. 165, 166.

⁸⁴ Enlart, 'L'Abbaye cistercienne', p. 10; P. Coupel, 'Trois petites églises du comté de Tripoli', *BMB*, 5 (Paris, 1941), pp. 44, 44 n. 1; Breycha-Vauthier, p. 15; Jidejian, pp. 60, 61, 75-76, figs 89, 105; Asmar, p. 29.

⁸⁵ Coupel, pp. 44, 45 fig. 9.

to announce the arrival of a ship.⁸⁶ Ibn Jubayr mourned the fact that, after the Frankish occupation of Acre in 1104, “its mosques became churches, its minarets bell-towers” (*‘ādat masājid-hā kanā ‘is-hā, wa-ṣawāmi‘-hā maḍārib al-nawāqis [sic]*).⁸⁷ Assuming that the Templar of Tyre’s testimony can be accepted, bells were sounded to accompany a Latin Mass sung in a mosque – formerly a Byzantine church – in Damascus following its capture in March 1260, a liturgical and aural accompaniment to the liberal use of wine and pork, all proclaiming Christianity’s triumph over Islam through the most insulting contrivances possible.⁸⁸ The Franks were just as aware as the Muslims of the symbolism of using bells to signal a Christian victory.

Of course, the presence of the Franks and their loud religion did not irritate all locals, but gave local Christians the confidence to proclaim their faith publicly. Frankish rule lifted the traditional Islamic prohibition on the construction of new churches and served as the “catalyst” to a “well-documented resurgence in Christian chapel construction and painting programmes” in this region, the so-called “Syrian Renaissance”.⁸⁹ The early modern Maronite Patriarch al-Duwayhī (1630-1704) claimed that the Christians of Mount Lebanon had been confident enough under crusader rule, to replace their wooden *semantra* with “bells of copper” (*ajrās min nuḥās*) as early as 1112.⁹⁰ Of course, it is doubtful that the patriarch’s account can be trusted. Al-Duwayhī wrote in the seventeenth century and, like other Maronite clerics at the time, was at pains to argue that the Maronites had always been faithful and orthodox allies of the

⁸⁶ IA, xi, 544.

⁸⁷ IJ, p. 303.

⁸⁸ ‘Templier de Tyr’, pp. 161-162.

⁸⁹ Major, i, 169; Dodd, pp. 5-8; M. Immerzeel, ‘Medieval Wall Paintings in Lebanon: Donors and Artists’, *Chronos*, 10 (2004), pp. 13-15; Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles*, pp. 25-26, 175.

⁹⁰ Iṣṭifān al-Duwayhī, *Tārīkh al-azmina*, ed. by Buṭrus Fahd, 3rd edn (Beirut, 198-), p. 104.

Roman Church.⁹¹ Moreover, James of Vitry had noted the *semantra* as one of the regrettable signs that the Maronites had not abandoned certain superficial eastern practices and were thus not wholly united with the Roman Church.⁹² James was writing a century after the Maronites had supposedly adopted bells in al-Duwayhī's much later account. It was in al-Duwayhī's interests to deny the continued use of *semantra* as opposed to Latin-style metal bells, as much as it was to wipe Maronite history clean of the stain of heresy in its more intellectual form.⁹³ This proves further the importance of non-written signs alongside written doctrine. Political and religious elites manipulated these various signs and modes of expression for the sake of expressing their own power much more than they ever sought to change official doctrine.

IV. Conversion and social integration

By conceiving of religions as carefully demarcated and clearly understood intellectual structures, historians have been led to argue that formal conversion from one faith to another was a fairly rare, eccentric occurrence. Hamilton believes that mass conversions to Latin Christianity were unusual and that the Latin clergy were uninterested in proselytising.⁹⁴ Kedar draws on a number of examples to prove that conversion was "not rare at all" and that "the dividing line between Islam and Christendom [and Judaism] was crossed on numerous occasions", but he nevertheless agrees that the

⁹¹ Salibi, *Maronite Historians*, pp. 15-16, 26-27, 32-35, 45-46, 94-97, 104, 137-143 and *passim*; R. W. Crawford, 'William of Tyre and the Maronites', *Speculum*, 30.2 (1955), p. 223; Charaf, pp. 69-70; M. Nader and M. Nader, 'Orientalism Now: Lebanese History, Identity and Alterity', *Altre Modernità/Otras Modernidades/Autres Modernités/Other Modernities*, 8 (2012), p. 19.

⁹² JV, p. 318. See also: BMS, p. 92.

⁹³ For the Maronites and monothelitism: Crawford, pp. 223-228.

⁹⁴ Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 367. Cf. B. Hamilton, 'Knowing the Enemy: Western Understanding of Islam at the Time of the Crusades', *JRAS*, 3rd series, 7.3 (1997), p. 381.

conversion of Muslims “was not a mass phenomenon” in the kingdom of Jerusalem, as it may have been in Sicily, but rather one of individual choice.⁹⁵

Conversions are certainly hard to identify in contemporary sources. Often conversions are recorded only in an anonymous sense. William of Tripoli claimed at the end of his treatise, *De Statu Sarracenorum*, that he had “baptised more than a thousand [Muslims] already” (*plus quam mille iam baptizavit*), a bold claim that O’Meara accepts.⁹⁶ A similar story is provided by Geoffrey of Donjon, Grand Master of the Hospital, who described a young “Sarracenus” in the East who had converted to Christianity and had taken to preaching to his former co-religionists, allegedly inducing two thousand of them to be baptised and to regret their practice of circumcision, c.1201.⁹⁷ “*Petrus baptizatus*”, who appeared amongst a list “*de turcopolis*” in a document issued by Raymond III of Tripoli at Acre in 1163, was presumably a convert.⁹⁸

The historiographical consensus is that those who did convert did so for social gain, to achieve legal equilibrium with the privileged class of ethnic “Franks”.⁹⁹ Even then, the most oppressed prospective convert would have been reluctant to convert for the sake of attaining the legal freedom of a Latin Christian because it would often

⁹⁵ B. Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton, NJ, 1984), pp. 74-83; B. Z. Kedar, ‘Multidirectional Conversion in the Frankish Levant’, in *Varieties of Religious Conversion in the Middle Ages*, ed. by J. Muldoon (Gainesville, FL, 1997), pp. 190-196; B. Z. Kedar, ‘Muslim conversion in canon law’, in *Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference of Medieval Canon Law, Berkeley 1980*, ed. by S. Kuttner and K. Pennington (Vatican City, 1985), pp. 326, 330; Kedar, ‘Subjected Muslims’, pp. 162-163.

⁹⁶ William of Tripoli, p. 370; O’Meara, p. 96.

⁹⁷ *RRH*, no. 787; *CGOH*, ii, no. 1131.

⁹⁸ *RRH*, no. 389; *CGOH*, ii, no. XIII.

⁹⁹ Hamilton, *Leper King*, p. 58; Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, pp. 76-78; Kedar, ‘Subjected Muslims’, pp. 154, 163; Kedar, ‘Multidirectional Conversion’, pp. 191-192; Riley-Smith, ‘Some lesser officials’, pp. 6, 11, 18; Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, pp. 10-11.

necessitate a break with their family, cultural traditions and language.¹⁰⁰ Conversion from Islam was especially undesirable, since the consensus of Islamic jurists at the time was that apostasy was punishable by death.¹⁰¹ Although no Latin Christian authority would have enforced this, the local community and any Muslim ruler who was able to recapture the territory in which the offender lived might have been inclined to do so, as indeed Saladin did.¹⁰²

The Franks' failure to convert the indigenous populace was not unusual at the time. The contemporary Christianisation of Sicily was achieved principally through large-scale Christian immigration, segregation of the island's various population groups, forced deportations of seditious Muslims, and voluntary exile on the part of Muslims unwilling to remain under Christian rule against the edicts of Islamic legalists.¹⁰³ Religious conversion was not the sole factor, perhaps not even the most important. Only on the somewhat exceptional Maltese archipelago was Christianisation more the result of conversion than of immigration and exile, hence the survival of an Arabic vernacular (Maltese) in modern Malta, but not in Sicily.¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, serious Christianisation in both Sicily and Malta did not take place until the thirteenth century. Greater long-term success here was thus facilitated by the permanence of Christian rule. The fact that these places were islands, territorially circumscribed, no doubt increased the extent to which the population could be controlled and manipulated. By contrast, it is hardly surprising that such mass conversions and population exchanges were not seen

¹⁰⁰ Hamilton, *Leper King*, p. 58.

¹⁰¹ F. Griffel, 'Apostasy', in *EI3*, 2007.1, pp. 131-133.

¹⁰² Kedar, 'Multidirectional Conversion', p. 191.

¹⁰³ C. Dalli, 'From Islam to Christianity: the Case of Sicily', in *Religion, ritual and mythology: aspects of identity formation in Europe*, ed. by J. Carvalho (Pisa, 2006), pp. 151-152, 155-156, 160-161; Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians*, pp. 30-34, 48-53, 174-187 and *passim*; D. Abulafia, 'The End of Muslim Sicily', in *Muslims under Latin Rule*, ed. by Powell, pp. 103-112.

¹⁰⁴ A. Luttrell, 'The Christianization of Malta', *The Malta Year Book* (1977), pp. 415, 418; Dalli, 'From Islam', pp. 159, 160; Abulafia, 'End of Muslim Sicily', pp. 114-117.

in the Latin East, with its unstable political borders, extensive territorial losses by the thirteenth century, contiguous geographical proximity to *dār al-Islām*, and well-known shortage of immigrants from the West.

Where “conversion” was most significant in the Latin East was in the potential mass conversion of discrete demographic or confessional groups. One incident that has attracted much attention from historians is the offer allegedly made to King Amalric of Jerusalem in the early 1170s by the so-called “Old Man of the Mountain”, leader of the Nizārī Ismā‘īlī “Assassins” in Syria, to convert himself and his entire sect to Christianity through the reception of baptism, on the condition that the king free them from their obligation to pay tribute to the Templars in the north of the county of Tripoli, of which Amalric was then regent.¹⁰⁵ Hamilton dates the Assassin envoy to Amalric to 1173-74.¹⁰⁶ Indeed, William of Tyre described the incident as having taken place around the same time that Count Raymond III was released from prison, by early 1174 at the latest, whilst the prominence of Amalric and the complete absence of Raymond in the negotiations suggests a time just before Raymond’s release, when the king was still regent of Tripoli.¹⁰⁷ The mooted conversion of the Nizārīs never came to fruition, despite Amalric’s initially enthusiastic acceptance of the offer, probably more for political and military reasons than religious.¹⁰⁸ William of Tyre blamed the failure on a shocking incident, when the Templars attacked and killed the Assassin envoy as he returned to the sect’s Syrian stronghold in the Jabal al-Nuṣayriyya, to finalise the arrangement, supposedly because the jealous warrior-monks did not wish to lose the tribute paid to them at Tortosa by the Assassins.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ WT, ii, 953-954.

¹⁰⁶ Hamilton, *Leper King*, p. 73.

¹⁰⁷ WT, ii, 952-953.

¹⁰⁸ WT, ii, 954; Hamilton, *Leper King*, pp. 70, 74.

¹⁰⁹ WT, ii, 954.

Smarandache has been keen to emphasise that William of Tyre was not entirely ignorant of contemporary Nizārī doctrine and practice, at least in comparison to many of his contemporaries.¹¹⁰ Nevertheless, he was surely the victim of some misunderstanding and historians have generally doubted that the Assassins ever intended to convert.¹¹¹ The earliest to express some measure of doubt was Walter Map, writing roughly a decade after William died, who qualified his short account twice with “so they say” (*ut aiunt*) and implied that the Assassins were characteristically perfidious.¹¹² Lundgreen was the first modern historian to question the credibility of William’s often contradictory account, and he suggested that the Assassins were inspired to make their offer of conversion in the hope of gaining freedom from the tribute to the Templars, not because of any genuine zeal for Christianity.¹¹³ Hauziński argues that William misinterpreted two recent developments in the sect’s religious practices and governance as a move towards Christianity: 1) the Nizārīs’ recent break from certain Muslim customs; 2) the Assassins’ desire for a temporary military alliance against the staunchly orthodox Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin, who wished to persecute the Assassins for their perceived heterodoxy.¹¹⁴ On the latter point, the most recent assessment of Frankish-Nizārī relations has shown that the Nizārīs as a political unit by no means favoured alliances with the Franks over similar arrangements with other groups, despite what hopeful Latin contemporaries thought and what anti-Ismā‘īlī Arab

¹¹⁰ B. Smarandache, ‘The Franks and the Nizārī Ismā‘īlīs in the Early Crusade Period’, *Al-Masāq*, 24.3 (2012), pp. 235-236.

¹¹¹ F. Daftary, *The Assassin Legends: Myths of the Isma‘ilis* (London and New York, 1994), p. 68; F. Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs: Their History and Doctrines*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 2007), p. 369.

¹¹² Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium: Courtiers’ Trifles*, ed. and trans. by M. R. James, C. N. L. Brooke and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1983), p. 66.

¹¹³ F. Lundgreen, *Wilhelm von Tyrus und der Templerorden, mit sechs Abbildungen, fünf Stammtafeln und einer Tafel der nachweisbaren Templermeister bis 1182* (Berlin, 1911), p. 113.

¹¹⁴ J. Hauziński, ‘On Alleged Attempts at Converting the Assassins to Christianity in the Light of William of Tyre’s Account’, *Folia Orientalia*, 15 (1974), pp. 240-245.

writers feared.¹¹⁵ A linguistic consideration can be added to earlier historiographical opinion. If it is true that William of Tyre had a rudimentary knowledge of Islam and Arabic, most likely in its spoken rather than written form,¹¹⁶ then it is possible that he was also misled by the fact that the sect followed Nizārī Ismāʿīlism and lived in close proximity to the Alawites, followers of the branch of Shīʿism known as al-Nuṣayriyya, in the Syrian mountain range bearing this name.¹¹⁷ Both al-Nizāriyya and al-Nuṣayriyya are coincidentally close in pronunciation – and orthography in the case of al-Nuṣayriyya – to the Arabic for “Christians”: *al-naṣārā*, that is “the Nazarenes”, recalling Jesus’s homeland. In short, the diplomacy between Amalric and the Assassins, and the more general prospect of a wholesale conversion to Christianity, certainly stemmed from mutual misunderstanding, rather than genuine religious conviction on the part of the Nizārīs. Latin contemporaries nevertheless continued to misread proactive attempts by the Assassins to seek western assistance as signs that they were potential allies and converts until at least the late thirteenth century.¹¹⁸

Outside of wishful thinking, some group conversions of a sort were achieved by unifying certain Christian groups to the Church of Rome, namely the Maronites and the Armenians. In these cases, modern French imperialist historiography and the Francophile, anti-Ottoman and later anti-Arab historiography of modern Maronites have

¹¹⁵ Smarandache, pp. 222-223, 238-239.

¹¹⁶ See Chapter Three, pp. 234-235.

¹¹⁷ At least one medieval Arab geographer referred to this mountainous area as “*jabal al-nuṣayriyya*”. AF *Buldān*, p. 232 n. 3. Very little is known of the Nuṣayrī ‘Alawīs in the Frankish period. The fullest assessments of the limited historical and archaeological evidence are by Gautron and Major, who identify them with the mysterious “*Uannini*” mentioned by Burchard of Mount Sion near ‘Arqa and Crac des Chevaliers. Gautron, ‘Assassins, Druzes et Nosayris’, pp. 51-55; Major, i, 254-256; BMS, pp. 29, 90. See also: Marino Sanudo, p. 245.

¹¹⁸ A. Knobler, ‘Pseudo-Conversions and Patchwork Pedigrees: The Christianization of Muslim Princes and the Diplomacy of Holy War’, *Journal of World History*, 7 (1996), pp. 182-183.

arguably exaggerated the importance and speed of these group conversions.¹¹⁹ Furthermore, certain divides remained in place, in culture, liturgy and general ecclesiastical organisation. William of Tyre stressed the Maronites' institutional continuity when he stated that "they returned to the Catholic Church together with their patriarch and several [n.b. not all] bishops" (*ad ecclesiam [...] redierunt catholicam una cum patriarcha suo et episcopis nonnullis*).¹²⁰ James of Vitry praised the Maronites' entry into the Roman Church and consequent adoption of certain Latin customs and rites, but made certain to enumerate their past doctrinal differences and persistent "eastern" practices, such as the continued use of *semantra* in lieu of bells, but also a Syriac liturgy, an Arabic vernacular, and a marked reluctance to use such Latin paraphernalia as pontifical rings and croziers.¹²¹

Conversion away from the ruling faith of Latin Christianity is sometimes implied in the sources. For example, Ernoul recorded that a knight by the name of Raoul of Benibrac turned to the Saracens.¹²² Bahā' al-Dīn observed his lord Saladin suggest to Raynald of Sidon that he convert to Islam, "relating to him highlights of its attractions and urging him to it" (*dhakara la-hu ṭurafan min maḥāsin-hu, wa-ḥaththa-hu 'alay-hi*).¹²³ This passage implies that a good Islamic ruler was expected to proselytise the Franks personally, as well as to defeat them in battle. Raynald apparently had some genuine interest in Islam, at least in an academic sense. Bahā' al-

¹¹⁹ Historians have paid much attention to Franco-Maronite cooperation during the crusader period, as well as the modern uses of this formative and oft-mythologised shared identity. See: Salibi, 'Maronites', pp. 288-297, 302-303; Salibi, *Maronite Historians*, *passim*; Nader and Nader, pp. 16-17, 20-21; Charaf, pp. 57-72; R. van Leeuwen, 'The Crusades and Maronite historiography', in *East and West in the Crusader States*, ed. by Ciggaar, Teule et al., i, 51-62.

¹²⁰ WT, ii, 1018-1019.

¹²¹ JV, pp. 316-318. The Fourth Lateran Council addressed many of these concerns, for example instructing the Maronites to use bells instead of *semantra*. Hamilton, *Latin Church*, pp. 332-333.

¹²² Ernoul, p. 60.

¹²³ BD, p. 31.

Dīn claimed that Raynald knew a bit about *ḥadīth* and Islamic history, employed a Muslim to read and explain such things to him, and enjoyed debating points of religion with the Muslims of Saladin's entourage.¹²⁴

The fear expressed by some Latins that their co-religionists would convert, or had converted to the faith of their enemies suggests that such apostasy was conceivable, if not necessarily a regular occurrence. Raymond III of Tripoli's political enemies – during and after his lifetime – accused him of being overly sympathetic to Muslim powers, particularly after he allowed Saladin to pass freely through his principality of Galilee to attack his fellow Latins in 1187, which was widely seen as an act of treachery and easily raised suspicions of apostasy.¹²⁵ This strongly critical response is hardly surprising. As a general rule, the Latin Christians in the East viewed alliances with Muslims as acceptable and even advisable so long as they were formed against Muslims, but alliances with Muslims against Christians were consistently condemned. Most relevantly, Raymond III's father had allied with Nūr al-Dīn and Mu'īn al-Dīn against his cousin Bertrand in September 1148, allowing and encouraging the Muslims to capture him and his entourage at 'Urayma.¹²⁶ As Richard notes, most Latin sources, including William of Tyre, are silent regarding this incident, probably due to embarrassment.¹²⁷ Marshall Baldwin believed that it was precisely this precedent set by his father that inspired Raymond III to ally with Saladin.¹²⁸ Although early accounts were happy to settle with accusing Raymond of mere treachery, later sources claimed that he had actually converted to Islam, even alleging that a post-mortem examination

¹²⁴ BD, pp. 97-98.

¹²⁵ Hamilton, *Leper King*, p. 224.

¹²⁶ See Chapter Two, pp. 169-176.

¹²⁷ *Comté*, p. 7.

¹²⁸ Baldwin, *Raymond* (1936), pp. 8-9.

of his body revealed him to have been circumcised recently.¹²⁹ This is surely nonsense, although the focus on such a visual symbol of Islam – and one long loathed by Christians since their primordial rejection of this and other Jewish customs – is noteworthy in light of the preceding discussion on outward signs of religious identity.

Islamic accounts record that Raymond's fellow Franks accused him of “becoming Muslim” (*aslamta*), with ‘Imad al-Dīn even claiming that “had it not been for fear of the people of his religion, [Raymond] would have become Muslim” (*kāna lawlā khawf ahl millat-hi yuslim*).¹³⁰ Baldwin rightly observed that it is highly unlikely that Raymond did convert, since none of these Muslim accounts went so far as to claim that he actually did, even though such an incident would surely have been a noteworthy coup for Islam, and since the Christian sources claiming that he truly converted were composed later than those that did not.¹³¹ It should also be remembered that Raymond III ultimately did fight alongside his fellow Christians at Ḥaṭṭīn on 4 July 1187, against and not with Saladin. French and Arabic sources alike claimed that he “died of sorrow or hurt” (*fu mors de duel/māta ghabnan*) at Tripoli shortly after the defeat, deeply depressed by the disasters for which he bore some responsibility.¹³² If truly a Muslim,

¹²⁹ Sources claiming mere treachery: Ernoul, p. 141, 161-162, 167-169; *Estoires*, p. 195; *Cont.* Morgan, p. 46; *Eracles*, pp. 52-53; ‘Benedicti de Accoltis’, pp. 619-620. Alberic of Trois-Fontaines claimed that Raymond and Saladin drank each other's blood to cement their alliance. ‘Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium, a Monacho Novi Monasterii Hoiensis Interpolata’, ed. by P. Scheffer-Boichorst, *MGH SS*, xxiii, 860. Sources claiming conversion, as symbolised by circumcision: ‘Roberti Canonici S. Mariani Autissiodorensis Chronicon’, ed. by O. Holder-Egger, *MGH SS*, xxvi, 251; *Guillaume de Nangis*, i, 87; ‘Ex Joannis Iperii Chronico Sythiensi Sancti-Bertini’, *RHGF*, xviii, 595; Marino Sanudo, p. 194.

¹³⁰ AS, iii, 176; IA xi, 532; Al-Faḥḥ bin ‘Alī al-Bundārī, *Ikhtisār min kitāb al-barq al-shāmī li-l-‘Imād, al-kātib al-‘Isfahānī*, ed. by Faṭḥiyya al-Nabarāwī (Cairo, 1979), p. 289. Al-Bundārī's work is an abridgement of ‘Imād al-Dīn's. Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, p. 155.

¹³¹ Baldwin, *Raymond* (1936), pp. 84 n. 35, 159.

¹³² Ernoul, p. 178; *Estoires*, p. 200; *Eracles*, pp. 72-73; AF, iii, 71; IA, xi, 538. See also: *Anonymi Auctoris Chronicon*, ii, 149. Less romantically, Bahā' al-Dīn claimed that he died of pleurisy (*dhāt al-junab*). BD, p. 77. Baldwin preferred the dolorous explanation.

Raymond would have had no cause for sorrow. Moreover, Muslim authors called him “Satan” (*al-shayṭān*), as when Ibn al-Athir said that “he was the Satan of the Franks, and the unyieldingly harshest of them against the Muslims” (*kāna shayṭān al-franj, wa-ashadd-hum shakīma ‘alā al-muslimīn*), or when Conrad of Montferrat’s succession of him at Tyre was described by ‘Imād al-Dīn – cited in *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn* – as “like one substituting Satan with a devil” (*kamā yata‘awwaḍu ‘an al-shayṭān bi-iblis*).¹³³ The comparatively restrained Baha’ al-Dīn regarded his death as fortuitous for Islam.¹³⁴ Some Muslims even placed Raymond on a par with the notorious Raynald of Châtillon. One of Saladin’s courtiers recommended that Saladin, were he to capture the two men, ought to “seek God’s favour by the shedding of their blood” (*tataqarrab ilā Allāh bi-irāqat dam-himā*).¹³⁵ None of this suggests that Raymond was anything other than a loyal Christian, even if his actions and policies of appeasement often came across as self-serving to the point of cowardice and treachery. Nevertheless, the fact that he was accused of apostasy suggests a real fear of the possibility.

V. Syncretism and the blurred boundaries of popular religion

Despite the infrequency of genuine formal conversions and the ostensibly definite doctrines underpinning the different faiths, there was much blurring at the edges of religious categories in the county of Tripoli. It is well known that the Latin settlers in the East came under increasing criticism from their western cousins for their unsettling tendency to go native. One did not even need to be one of these native *pullani*. In

Baldwin, *Raymond* (1936), pp. 138, 138 n. 17. Richard avoids any definitive judgement. *Comté*, pp. 7-8.

¹³³ IA, xi, 303; AS, iii, 208. Ibn al-Athir condemned Raymond as a “devil” (*shayṭān*) a further two times in his chronicle. IA, xi, 419, 531.

¹³⁴ BD, p. 77.

¹³⁵ AS, iii, 187.

Usāma bin Munqidh's famous story of being allowed to pray by the Templars in their headquarters of al-Aqṣā, these same Templar brothers – his “friends” (*aṣḍiqā*) – protected him against an over-zealous new arrival from Europe.¹³⁶ This shows most vividly how even brothers of the military orders, generally recruited from the West but stationed for years in the East, could grow acclimatised.¹³⁷ Unsurprisingly, what impressed Usāma shocked western Europeans. At the time of the infamous Templar Trial, the brothers were accused of adopting elements of Islam: albeit according to highly inaccurate, prejudiced and stereotyped fantasies, as when accused of worshipping an idol of “*Baphomet*” (Muḥammad).¹³⁸

Usāma himself had an evident admiration for Christian monks and was particularly impressed by the strenuous devotions of elderly Christian holy men at the shrine of St John the Baptist at Sebaste, to the extent that he was aggrieved by the lack of such piety in Islam, at least until he encountered Ṣūfīs in Damascus some time later.¹³⁹ Interestingly, Usāma was not alone amongst Muslims. Burchard of Mount Sion claimed that the piety of eastern Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land “moved many to tears, even Saracens” (*in lacrimas prouocant plerosque eciam Sarracenos*).¹⁴⁰ In addition to these somewhat individualised inter-faith encounters, a number of shrines throughout the Latin East attracted followers of numerous religions, across Christian denominations and more broadly across all Abrahamic faiths. Ibn Jubayr famously described visiting two such shrines in Acre: the tomb of the ancient Arabian prophet

¹³⁶ UM, pp. 134-135. Cobb believes the Templars probably permitted “any Muslim guest of a certain status” to pray in their headquarters. P. M. Cobb, *Usama ibn Munqidh: Warrior-Poet of the Age of Crusades* (Oxford, 2005), p. 78.

¹³⁷ Cobb, *Usama*, pp. 29-30; S. Menache, ‘When Jesus met Mohammed in the Holy Land: Attitudes toward the “Other” in the Crusader Kingdom’, *Medieval Encounters*, 15 (2009), pp. 78-79.

¹³⁸ Forey, ‘The military orders’, pp. 13-14.

¹³⁹ Usāma, *Kitāb al-‘aṣā*, pp. 326-327.

¹⁴⁰ BMS, p. 20.

Şālīḥ, which was preserved for the benefit of Muslim visitors in a small mosque within the city's Frankish cathedral, itself converted from a mosque at the time of the crusader conquest; and the shrine of 'Ayn al-Baqar (the Spring of the Cattle), which was venerated by both Muslims and Christians as the place where God first created cattle, with the Franks preserving even the Islamic *miḥrāb* there.¹⁴¹

Kedar has noted the curious lack of interest in such incidents and shared holy places shown by historians of the crusades.¹⁴² Further to amending this lacuna, Kedar has divided such “convergences” of pilgrims from different religious backgrounds into three sub-types: 1) the “merely spatial”, that is when the various pilgrims visited a site of shared importance, but had little to do with the followers of other religions or their rituals;¹⁴³ 2) the “inegalitarian convergence”, when followers of one or more religion attended a ceremony led by members of another faith community, but as passive observers, not active or equal participants;¹⁴⁴ 3) the rarest of all, the “egalitarian convergence”, when followers of multiple religions participated in a shared ceremony on an equal footing with one another.¹⁴⁵

Kedar's focus on the kingdom of Jerusalem should be supplemented with the plentiful evidence that religious sites were also shared across religious divides in the county of Tripoli. Prior to the sectarian conflicts of the early modern period, the various indigenous communities of Mount Lebanon appear to have had few qualms over sharing shrines, monasteries, cave hermitages, churches, and general areas of habitation, despite their doctrinal differences. At least one such site, Dayr al-Şalīb (the

¹⁴¹ IJ, p. 303.

¹⁴² B. Z. Kedar, 'Convergences of Oriental Christian, Muslim and Frankish worshippers: The Case of Saydnaya and the Knights Templar', in *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, ed. by Z. Hunyadi and J. Laszlovszky (Budapest, 2001), p. 89.

¹⁴³ Kedar, 'Convergences', p. 89.

¹⁴⁴ Kedar, 'Convergences', p. 90.

¹⁴⁵ Kedar, 'Convergences', pp. 90-91.

Monastery of the Cross) in Ḥadshīt, exhibits “Crusader” artistic features.¹⁴⁶ A handful of surviving churches in the area, including Sayyīdat al-Kharā’ib near Batrūn, have double-naved structures, an arrangement which Dodd and Nordiguian suggest may indicate the coexistence of multiple rites – Latin and various eastern Christian – in the same building, as proposed by Pringle for the similarly arranged church of Fahma in the kingdom of Jerusalem and more commonly found on the multi-confessional island of Cyprus.¹⁴⁷ The main mosque of Homs was shared between the Muslims and the Christians until at least the late tenth century, being the town’s former Byzantine church.¹⁴⁸ To the south, particularly in and around Beirut, St George (often associated with the figure al-Khaḍr) was a figure of joint significance to Christians and Muslims as a symbol of monotheism triumphing over the shared enemy of paganism.¹⁴⁹

The landscape of the county of Tripoli was dotted with shrines. This region was particularly renowned for its sites relating to the Patriarch Noah, partly due to frequent localised flooding in the Middle Ages.¹⁵⁰ Many of these sites were not merely of interest to Latins, but had pan-Abrahamic importance and were visited accordingly by

¹⁴⁶ H. Charaf and A. Chaaya, ‘Syriac Cult Places in Wadi Qadisha in Lebanon’, in *Ideologies as Intercultural Phenomena: Proceedings of the Third Annual Symposium of the Assyrian and Babylonian Intellectual Heritage Project, Held in Chicago, USA, October 27-31, 2000* (Milan, 2002), pp. 45-52.

¹⁴⁷ Dodd, pp. 26-28; L. Nordiguian, ‘La chapelle de Saydet Al-Kharayeb à Kfâr Heldâ (Caza de Batrûn)’, in *Comté multiculturel*, pp. 105-107, fig. 2; Pringle, *Corpus*, i, 206. Hamilton feels such arrangements were rare, mainly because of the supposed absence of Latin Christians settling in rural areas, at least in large numbers. Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 87. However, there were other double-naved churches in the county of Tripoli, for example the two at Qusba in the Qadīsha valley. Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles*, p. 93.

¹⁴⁸ Al-Muqaddasī, p. 139.

¹⁴⁹ Nader and Nader, p. 18. Confusingly, Elijah was also believed to be al-Khaḍir, venerated by Jews as well as Muslims and Christians. Meri, p. 224; Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles*, pp. 55-56. Could this confusion explain the presence of a fresco of St George in the twelfth-century church of St Elijah at Blāt, just east of Jubayl? Sader, p. 59 (pl. 19).

¹⁵⁰ Horden and Purcell, p. 56; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale* (Paris, 1927), p. 402.

Muslims, Jews and Christians alike. Wilbrand of Oldenburg claimed that somewhere above Tripoli in Mount Lebanon were the tombs of Noah and his sons, and that the Ark was built in the same area.¹⁵¹ This was presumably Karak Nūḥ, technically located just beyond the county of Tripoli in the Biqā' valley. This was described as the burial site of Noah/Nūḥ by contemporary Muslim authors and by at least one anonymous Jewish pilgrimage guide.¹⁵² It is therefore likely that Muslims and Jews ventured to see this tomb alongside Christians. That said, Latin Christians were probably a rare sight at this shrine. No Latin is known to have visited it. Wilbrand only knew that Noah and his sons were “said to rest” (*dicuntur requiescere*) there and he presumably heard this indirectly from pilgrims, Latin or otherwise.¹⁵³ The Russian Abbot Daniel stated that it was too dangerous for Christians to approach Lebanon from this direction due to the “many infidels”, probably Druze in this particular case.¹⁵⁴ A similar site to Karak Nūḥ, more accessible to Latin pilgrims, was a cave recorded by Burchard of Mount Sion some two leagues from Tripoli at the foot of the so-called “*mons leopardorum*”, mentioned in Christian Scripture.¹⁵⁵ In this cave was a tomb allegedly venerated by Muslims at the time as the tomb of Joshua, although Burchard claimed that it was probably the tomb of Noah’s grandson Canaan.¹⁵⁶ In fact, the tomb of Joshua (Yūsha' bin Nūn) can still be visited in al-Menyeh, Tripoli, today. Again it seems that these shrines were primarily sites of mere spatial convergence.

¹⁵¹ WO, p. 120.

¹⁵² ‘Alī bin Abī Bakr al-Harawī, *A Lonely Wayfarer’s Guide to Pilgrimage: ‘Alī ibn Abī Bakr al-Harawī’s Kitāb al-Ishārāt ilā Ma‘rifat al-Ziyārāt*, ed. and trans. by J. W. Meri, *Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam*, 19 (Princeton, NJ, 2004), p. 21; IJ, p. 281; Al-Dimashqī, p. 199; Yāqūt, iv, 453; Meri, pp. 245, 246.

¹⁵³ WO, p. 120.

¹⁵⁴ *The Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel in the Holy Land. 1106-1107 A.D.*, trans. by C. W. Wilson, *Palestine Pilgrims’ Text Society*, 4 (London, 1895), p. 30.

¹⁵⁵ Canticles 4:8.

¹⁵⁶ BMS, p. 28.

It is not always appropriate to view textual mentions of historical sites as proof of commemoration, inter-faith or otherwise. Ernoul, like many other contemporary authors, recorded that Noah's Ark had been built in what was now the current county of Tripoli, but the author placed the construction site at 'Arqa, making an obvious, if unique and erroneous etymological pun.¹⁵⁷ It is doubtful that there was any commemoration, inter-faith or otherwise, of this fact in 'Arqa. Similarly, it seems unlikely that many shared Burchard of Mount Sion's belief that some marvellously huge, colonnaded edifices a league south of Tortosa – most probably the Phoenician remains still visible today at 'Amrīt – were the tombs and monuments of Canaan's sons, Sidon, Aracheus, Sineus and Aradius.¹⁵⁸ Such concerns are raised when assessing the writings of Arabic geographers, for example those who claimed that Noah/Nūḥ lived in Saḥr, a village near Homs in the mountains, whence the Deluge supposedly began to pour forth.¹⁵⁹ Like their western Christian counterparts, many medieval Muslims believed that Noah's Ark had set forth from Mount Lebanon.¹⁶⁰ Such legends did not necessarily attract religious commemoration. Nevertheless, the interplay of Christian and Muslim traditions – noted by locals and foreigners alike – remains noteworthy.

A Jewish presence is not definitely attested at all shared shrines in and around the county. For this reason, the Jewish community of the county generally does not feature in the present study. Furthermore, it may be more appropriate to refer to many of the shrines in the county as “Islam-Christian” than as pan-Abrahamic, following Bulliet's terminology.¹⁶¹ The commonalities between Christianity and Islam are

¹⁵⁷ Ernoul, p. 62.

¹⁵⁸ BMS, p. 30.

¹⁵⁹ Yāqūt, ii, 158. Cf. Al-Harawī, p. 25; IJ, p. 212.

¹⁶⁰ Ibn Khurdādhba, *Kitāb al-masālik al-mamālik*, ed. by M. J. de Goeje, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, 6 (Leiden, 1889), p. 76. Cf. IJ, p. 212.

¹⁶¹ Bulliet's contention is that Christianity and Islam are occasionally fractious “siblings”, not irreconcilably opposed rivals. R. W. Bulliet, *The Case for Islamo-*

arguably more numerous than between Christianity and Judaism, thanks to the shared significance of New Testament figures across the younger religions. Indeed, the most important such shrine in the county was Tortosa, a “great church” (*kanīsa ‘aẓīma*) said by both Latin Christian and Arabic Muslim authors to have been the first church founded in honour of the Virgin Mary, by St Peter.¹⁶²

Concerning the true antiquity of this shrine, very little is known with certainty. It is possible that this shrine had been operational prior to the First Crusade. Enlart noted a tradition attesting to its existence as early as AD 387.¹⁶³ Baldwin believed that the apostolic legend attributed to Tortosa was the result of medieval Christian pilgrims misidentifying some pre-existing holy site, at some point prior to the twelfth century.¹⁶⁴ It seems unlikely that the incoming Latins would have misidentified it *ex novo* had a Byzantine Orthodox establishment been active upon their arrival, since the Latins are known to have taken over pre-existing Byzantine shrines elsewhere in the Latin East wholesale, most notably the Holy Sepulchre.¹⁶⁵ The shrine at Tortosa was perhaps preserved or reinvigorated by the Byzantine occupation of Tortosa from the second half of the tenth century up until the Saljūq invasions of the late eleventh, when the city represented the Empire’s southernmost outpost along the border with the Fāṭimids.¹⁶⁶ It may even have been under recent Byzantine rule that the shrine was created. It has been argued that the nearby Marian shrine of Ṣaydnāyā was founded not under the rule of

Christian Civilization (New York, 2004), *passim*. For the overlapping Syrian pilgrimage traditions of Jews and Muslims, which could be termed the “Judaео-Islamic”, see: Meri, *passim*.

¹⁶² Al-Dimashqī, pp. 207-208.

¹⁶³ C. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés dans le Royaume de Jérusalem*, 2 vols (Paris, 1925-1928), ii, 403.

¹⁶⁴ Baldwin, ‘Ecclesiastical Developments’, p. 158.

¹⁶⁵ Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 161.

¹⁶⁶ See Chapter One, p. 78.

Justinian, as tradition would have it, but rather more recently, in 1059.¹⁶⁷ The Chronicle of Amadi reported that there was a sacred icon at Tortosa, which had been taken to Cyprus by 1308, presumably to escape the Mamluks.¹⁶⁸ This icon may have had Byzantine origins, as did the more famous one at Şaydnāyā.

James of Vitry recorded that the church was held in greater honour than all other churches dedicated to the Virgin, and was frequented by many people – both Christian and Muslim – expecting miracles and favours, “*usque hodie [...] ab infantia primitive Ecclesie*”.¹⁶⁹ There is external proof that Tortosa’s shrine was recognised and venerated by at least one eastern Christian communion, the Armenians.¹⁷⁰ Concerning the shrine’s relevance to Muslims, St Peter, the shrine’s supposed founder, was recognised by contemporary Muslims as a holy man, a companion of Jesus (‘Īsā). An envoy sent by Louis IX of France to the Assassins at Maşyāf, just north of the county, saw a copy of a book containing Christ’s sayings to St Peter, held in the library of the sect’s leader, Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān, who professed to love St Peter greatly, believing him to be the reincarnation in turn of Abel, Noah and Abraham.¹⁷¹ Rāshid al-Dīn’s dubious and

¹⁶⁷ P. Devos, ‘Les premières versions occidentales de la légende de Saïdnaia’, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 65 (1947), pp. 271-272; B. Hamilton, ‘Our Lady of Saidnaiya: an Orthodox Shrine Revered by Muslims and Knights Templar at the Time of the Crusades’, in *The Holy Land, Holy Lands, and Christian History: Papers read at the 1998 Summer Meeting and the 1999 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. by R. N. Swanson, Studies in Church History, 36 (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 208-209.

¹⁶⁸ *Chroniques d’Amadi et de Strambaldi*, ed. by R. de Mas Latrie, 2 vols, Collection de documents inédits sur l’histoire de France (Paris, 1891-1893), i, 292. See also: E. Rey, *Les colonies*, pp. 286-287; M. van Berchem and E. Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, 2 vols (Cairo, 1914-1915), i, 328, 330.

¹⁶⁹ JV, p. 206.

¹⁷⁰ Grigor IV Tlay, ‘Élégie du Patriarche Grégoire Dgh’a, Catholicos d’Arménie, neveu (fils du frère) du seigneur Nersès, notre [précédent] Catholicos, sur la prise de Jérusalem [par Saladin]’, *RHC Ar*, i, 302.

¹⁷¹ John of Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis, Credo et lettre à Louis X*, ed. by N. de Wailly, 2nd edn (Paris, 1874), p. 252. Hamilton believes the Petrine book was somehow related to an obscure text known as the “*Kerygmata Petrou*”. Hamilton, ‘Knowing’, p. 377 n. 18. According to Nowell and Hamilton, the envoy’s report that the Assassins

evidently heterodox beliefs regarding St Peter do not represent the full extent of contemporary Muslim interest in this traditionally Christian figure. The twelve Apostles of Christ are indicated vaguely in the Qurān, as devout Muslim followers of Jesus.¹⁷² Some Muslims would have known the names of the Apostles, as many used the Christian Gospels as a source for the life of the Prophet Jesus/‘Īsā. The contemporary geographer Yāqūt openly acknowledged his use of the Gospel when recounting events surrounding Jesus’s birth at Bethlehem.¹⁷³ William of Tyre claimed that the “Old Man of the Mountain” owned Christian books, specifically the Gospels and a “*codex apostolicus*”.¹⁷⁴ This corroborates the later account of Rāshid al-Dīn’s Christian books, which contributed to the twelfth-century Frankish hope that the Assassins were on the brink of conversion.¹⁷⁵

Tortosa’s Petrine associations would have been of some interest to Muslims, although they were no doubt eclipsed by the site’s more prominent Marian significance. The Virgin Mary, or Maryam the mother of ‘Īsā, is a figure of great significance in Islam.¹⁷⁶ James of Vitry noted that the Muslims “*Ecclesias etiam beate Marie Virginis*

believed in the transmigration of souls was “a garbled and inaccurate, but recognizable summary of a cardinal point in the Ismailite doctrine”, namely “the spiritual continuity between the seven ‘speaking prophets of God.’” C. E. Nowell, ‘The Old Man of the Mountain’, *Speculum*, 22.4 (1947), p. 514; Hamilton, ‘Knowing’, p. 377. See also: N. A. Mirza, *Syrian Ismailism: The Ever Living Line of the Imamate, AD 1100-1260* (Richmond, 1997), pp. 52, 76-78. More recently, Daftary has pointed to evidence in the Nizārīs’ own writings that suggest the Syrian branch actually did come to believe in the transmigration of souls, probably borrowed from their fellow radical Shī‘ite neighbours, the Nuṣayrīs. Daftary, *Ismā‘īlīs*, pp. 371-372.

¹⁷² Qurān 3:52-53; 5:114-118; 61:14.

¹⁷³ Yāqūt, v, 251.

¹⁷⁴ WT, ii, 953.

¹⁷⁵ Smarandache, p. 235.

¹⁷⁶ M. O’Carroll, ‘Islam’, in his *Theotokos: A Theological Encyclopedia of the Blessed Virgin Mary* (Wilmington, DE, 1982), pp. 192-193; D. Albera, ‘Combining Practices and Beliefs: Muslim Pilgrims at Marian Shrines’, in *Sharing the Sacra: The Politics and Pragmatics of Inter-Communal Relations around Holy Places*, ed. by G. Bowman (New York and Oxford, 2012), pp. 11-12; J. I. Smith and Y. Y. Haddad, ‘The Virgin Mary in Islamic Tradition and Commentary’, *MW*, 79.3-4 (1989), pp. 162-184, 186-187; A.

in multis locis honorent”, and Burchard added “*sed precipue istam [Bethlehem]*”.¹⁷⁷ The Virgin Mary is one of eighteen “important religious figures”, including Jesus and other biblo-qurānic and purely Islamic figures, whose death days are traditionally commemorated by Twelver Shī‘ites, who had once dominated Tripoli.¹⁷⁸ Other shared shrines in the region and beyond, in the medieval and modern periods, attest to the extent of Muslim, as well as Druze and very occasionally Jewish respect for and devotion to Maryam.¹⁷⁹ Latin and French accounts from Burchard of Strasbourg (1175) onwards regularly repeated the popular story of a more famous Marian shrine near Damascus, namely Ṣaydnāyā. Here there was a miraculous image of the Virgin, supposedly made in Constantinople and at some point translated to Jerusalem by an unknown patriarch of Jerusalem, before being acquired by a former abbess of Ṣaydnāyā. The icon was said to emit an oil so fragrant that it overcame the famous scent of the nearby cedars of Lebanon, and had powerful curative properties. Again it was claimed that all of the Muslims of the region came to the church to pray and to participate in ceremonies “*cum maxima devocione*” twice a year at the Marian feasts of the Nativity of the Virgin – commemorated in the Qurān¹⁸⁰ – and the Assumption of the Virgin.¹⁸¹

Returning to Tortosa, James of Vitry alleged that the Muslims led their children to be baptised there, because they believed that this ritual conferred longer lives and

Cuffel, “‘Henceforward all generations will call me blessed’: Medieval Christian Tales of Non-Christian Marian Veneration’, *Mediterranean Studies: The Journal of the Mediterranean Studies Association*, 12 (2003), p. 38.

¹⁷⁷ JV, p. 126; BMS, p. 79.

¹⁷⁸ F. I. Khuri, ‘The Ulama: A Comparative Study of Sunni and Shi‘a Religious Officials’, *Middle Eastern Studies*, 23.3 (1987), p. 304.

¹⁷⁹ Albera, pp. 11-21; Smith and Haddad, pp. 184-186; Cuffel, ‘Henceforward’, p. 38; Daniel, *Islam*, pp. 228-229.

¹⁸⁰ Qurān 3:35-36.

¹⁸¹ ‘Burchardi Argentoratensis Itinerarium’, pp. 67-68; ‘Historiæ Orientalis Liber Tertius’, p. 1126; ‘Le miracle de Sardenai’, ed. by G. Raynaud, *Romania*, 11 (1882), p. 523; Devos, pp. 247-278.

cures to illnesses.¹⁸² This hope in the curative power of the shrine resembles contemporary Latin beliefs, with Bishop Conrad of Halberstadt visiting shortly after the débâcle of the Fourth Crusade, hoping to be cured of a severe fever.¹⁸³ The participation of Muslims in Christian rituals and the remarkable concordance between Muslim and Christian expectations of visits to the shrine, mean that Tortosa was a site of “inegalitarian convergence”, Kedar’s second sub-type and less superficial than the “merely spatial”. Hamilton suggests that “the closest parallel to Saidnaiya was the Church of the Holy Nativity at Bethlehem”, which Muslim pilgrims also visited in the Frankish period, although Tortosa – ignored here by Hamilton – is a more apt comparison, with both Şaydnāyā and Tortosa deriving their sanctity partly or wholly from sacred icons, rather than from being the site of a sacred historical event, as in the case of Bethlehem.¹⁸⁴ More importantly, both Tortosa and Şaydnāyā seem to have been sites where Muslims and Christians alike participated in the same, albeit Christian-led ceremonies, and thus correspond to Kedar’s “inegalitarian convergence”, rather than the more superficial spatial convergence seen at Bethlehem.¹⁸⁵ Although Tortosa is neglected by Kedar as well as by Hamilton, it may be that Tortosa saw a stronger form of religious convergence than Şaydnāyā. A series of related Latin accounts from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries suggest that Islamic and Christian devotional practices at Şaydnāyā took different forms from one another, with the Muslims practising their own faith-specific devotions and ceremonies when visiting.¹⁸⁶ This would imply that Şaydnāyā’s inegalitarian convergence was diluted somewhat by those who converged

¹⁸² JV, p. 206. See also: JV *Lettres*, no. 2, p. 94; WO, p. 121; Marino Sanudo, p. 245.

¹⁸³ ‘Gesta Episcoporum Halberstadensium’, ed. by L. Weiland, *MGH SS*, xxiii, 119.

¹⁸⁴ Hamilton, ‘Our Lady’, p. 210.

¹⁸⁵ Kedar, ‘Convergences’, pp. 92-97.

¹⁸⁶ “*Sarraceni [...] sua [n.b.] cerimonialia illic offerunt*”. Burchardi Argentoratensis *Itinerarium*, p. 68. “*Sarraceni [...] orant beatam Mariam secundum legem suam [n.b.]*”. ‘Le miracle’, ed. by Raynaud, p. 523. “*Sarraceni [...] suas [n.b.] ceremonias & oblationes offerunt*”. *Historiæ Orientalis Liber Tertius*, p. 1126.

on the merely spatial level, whereas the evidence for Tortosa records nothing less than the seemingly egalitarian ritual of baptism.

VI. Baptism and doctrinal ignorance

The involvement of Muslims in baptism specifically is significant in view of the relationship between elite and popular understanding of religion. Officially speaking, Christian baptism was – and is – understood to be a Sacrament, a unique and unrepeatable act that renders the recipient a full member of the Church. This does not seem to have been the view taken by the Muslims who were baptised at Tortosa. James of Vitry did not imply in his description of Tortosa that the Muslims who offered their children up for baptism there viewed this as a rite inducting them as Christians, but simply did so for purported health benefits.¹⁸⁷ The reception of baptism by Muslims, apparently motivated by superstition rather than a desire to convert, was not limited to Tortosa, but widespread throughout the Near East. Baptism and other ostensibly Christian practices persisted in populations converted to Islam throughout history, both in the religion's formative centuries and in its expansion in the Middle Ages and later.¹⁸⁸ Islamic polemicists like the thirteenth-century Ibn Taymiyya, contemporary with Frankish rule, condemned the tendency for Muslims, especially “ignorant women” (*jūhhāl al-nisā*), to take part in bathing and ablutions, particularly upon Christian

¹⁸⁷ JV, p. 206.

¹⁸⁸ F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1929), i, 31-34; S. Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA, 1971), pp. 371-372; J. B. V. Tannous, *Syria Between Byzantium and Islam: Making Incommensurables Speak. Volume 1* (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis: Princeton University, 2010), pp. 453-454 and *passim*.

festivals such as Epiphany, the so-called “Festival of Baptism” (*ʿīd al-ghīṭās*).¹⁸⁹ It may be this sort of non-sacramental bathing, rather than baptism *per se*, that the Russian Abbot Daniel recorded, c.1106-07, when he described how multitudes of people were accustomed to be “baptized in the waters of Jordan at midnight, like Christ”, upon Epiphany.¹⁹⁰ Daniel does not specify whether these people were Christian or Muslim or both, but they were clearly adults, which suggests that this was not a case of Christian infants entering the Church as per the orthodox understanding of the Sacrament, but something quite different.

Islamic reception of baptism is corroborated by local Christian sources. One Miaphysite Jacobite priest in the mid-twelfth century, Bishop John of Marde in Mesopotamia, recognised that the intention behind such Muslim baptism – it is not known if he was aware of such activities at Tortosa itself – was problematic, and he was very concerned that a Sacrament was being abused in such a superstitious way.¹⁹¹ Interestingly, John did not suggest the outright prohibition of the practice, but rather hoped to regulate it by introducing a new form of baptism for Muslims entitled the “baptism of St John”, which did not confer entry to the Church and would be liturgically distinct from the Christian Sacrament, thereby sparing the latter from abuse.¹⁹² It is not known if Christian priests widely adopted the baptism of St John, although a recent analyst believes that the custom of non-Christians seeking baptism,

¹⁸⁹ Ibn Taymiyya, *Iqtidāʾ al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm mukhālafat aṣḥāb al-jaḥīm*, ed. by M. Ḥāmid al-Fiḳī (Cairo, 1950), p. 227 and *passim*; A. Cuffel, ‘From practice to polemic: shared saints and festivals as ‘women’s religion’ in the medieval Mediterranean’, *BSOAS*, 68.3 (2005), p. 410.

¹⁹⁰ Abbot Daniel, p. 30.

¹⁹¹ *The Synodicon in the West Syrian Tradition II* (CSCO 375-376; SS 163-164), ed. and trans. by A. Vööbus (Louvain, 1976), pp. 246, 259, cited in Tannous, pp. 473-474.

¹⁹² *The Synodicon*, pp. 246, 259, cited in Tannous, p. 474.

with no intent to convert, must have been “very widespread” to garner such a response.¹⁹³

It is unclear if Latin Christian clergy were as aware as Bishop John that Muslims were receiving baptism for reasons at odds with the official interpretation. Norman Daniel thought that “Vitry knew what was happening” at Tortosa and did not mistake this practice as symbolic of genuine conversion, as some of his co-religionists in the West did when reading about similar syncretic acts.¹⁹⁴ However, it is curious that in his letters to the masters of Paris and to the Cistercian Lutgarde of Aywières, James omitted all mention of superstitious intentions and even claimed to have personally baptised two Muslims at Tortosa after Mass.¹⁹⁵ Perhaps James was not aware, at least not at the time of writing his letter, that the local Muslim custom of receiving baptism did not always prove their intent to convert. Alternatively, he did know, or became aware of the truth after performing the act but before writing the letter, and simply chose not to diminish or undermine what would have seemed to his addressees a vindication of Christian missionary efforts, not least his own.

Whether or not he was fully aware that baptism meant something different to local Muslims than it did in Roman Christian canon law, James was certainly concerned about the general phenomenon of syncretism in the Latin East and linked it to poor catechesis. In particular, he recorded how he had felt it necessary to preach the rectitude of Christianity and the errors of Islam “to the Christians in the Saracen city” of Sarepta in the kingdom of Jerusalem, who were “very impure” in their religious practices, with “some hesitant, wavering as if between the law of the Christians and that of the

¹⁹³ Tannous, p. 474.

¹⁹⁴ Daniel, *Islam*, p. 229.

¹⁹⁵ *JV Lettres*, no. 2, p. 94.

Saracens”.¹⁹⁶ James’s implication is that the Christians – probably Latins rather than local *suriani* – needed education to know what they should believe and do, and that such instruction had hitherto been sorely lacking. Interestingly, this parallels Ibn Taymiyya’s condemnation of Muslims who participated in the ritual of baptism as “ignorant” (*juhḥāl*).¹⁹⁷ Indeed, Cuffel has recently noted that ignorance was a common accusation made by both Christian and Muslim religious elites, seeking to condemn participation in syncretic cults of the Virgin specifically.¹⁹⁸

These elites were making a polemical point and it may be kinder to view such shared practices as “popular”, as does Shoshan, rather than ignorant and erroneous.¹⁹⁹ Nonetheless, the contemporary identification of ignorance, or rather inadequate religious education, as a cause of syncretism may be valid. Given Kedar’s belief that the Latin clergy who settled in the East represented a non-intellectual “fragment”, it is likely that the catechism of the Latin Christian laity was poor.²⁰⁰ This would explain the unusually well-educated French bishop James of Vitry’s shock at the state of religion amongst the Christians in Sarepta. Kedar’s complementary theory that the Islamic primary elite fled the areas conquered by the crusaders – a theory that holds true for the county of Tripoli – is also relevant to the issue of religion.²⁰¹ Possessing only a secondary and parochial elite, the Muslims in the Latin East may well have been deprived of a religious education, as were the Latin Christians. In fact, the Frankish conquest only exacerbated a prevailing problem amongst the Muslims of the Levant.

¹⁹⁶ “*christianis [...] ipsi enim in civitate Sarracenorum valde erant corrupti [...] quidam eorum quasi inter legem christianorum et Sarracenorum hesitantes claudicabant*”. JV Lettres, no. 2, pp. 91-92.

¹⁹⁷ Ibn Taymiyya, p. 227.

¹⁹⁸ Cuffel, ‘Henceforward’, p. 37 and *passim*.

¹⁹⁹ Shoshan, p. 86.

²⁰⁰ Kedar, ‘Subjected Muslims’, pp. 173-174.

²⁰¹ Kedar, ‘Subjected Muslims’, p. 150; Kedar, ‘Some New Sources’, p. 133. See Chapter Three, pp. 236-239.

Over a century before the coming of the crusades, al-Muqaddasī noted disdainfully that Syrian Muslims were not renowned for their learning or religious zeal.²⁰² Without regular contact with intellectuals and their polemics, local Muslims may have been more susceptible to Christian practices or, like the Christians of Sarepta, unaware of what constituted proper Christian belief and what Muslim. Indeed, it has been suggested that the Dominican William of Tripoli's alleged success in converting Muslims in the thirteenth century was the result of Islam lacking "social and religious stability" in "occupied areas".²⁰³ The Latin East thus conforms to what Bulliet would dub the Islamic "edge", that is to say a socially peripheral context, where "orthodox" religious authority was weak and where localised contact was common between Muslims – sometimes recently converted – and non-Muslims, leading to sometimes surprising changes in religious demographics and practice.²⁰⁴ Widespread syncretism in the Latin East is surely a good example of such religious innovation on the "edge" in action.

VII. The illusion of conversion

It is clear then that syncretism and the blurring of boundaries in the sphere of popular religion in the county of Tripoli and the surrounding Lebanon region was not "occasional", as Kedar argues for the kingdom of Jerusalem.²⁰⁵ Instead, it was a frequently encountered part of religious life, although it was not viewed as desirable by most religious elites of the time, who regarded it as a consequence of inadequate education. An important question remains whether or not syncretism ever led to

²⁰² Al-Muqaddasī, pp. 136, 145, 155.

²⁰³ O'Meara, p. 96.

²⁰⁴ R. W. Bulliet, *Islam: The View from the Edge* (New York, 1994), pp. 8-12, 37-43 and *passim*.

²⁰⁵ Kedar, 'Convergences', p. 89.

genuine conversion, given that so many Muslims apparently undertook Christian baptism – the principal act of conversion – without any intention of becoming Christian. Actual conversion is understood here as a conscious awareness on the part of an individual that performing a certain act symbolised the setting aside of any former religious identity and the assumption of another, as opposed to the mere borrowing of religious practices from a different faith without shedding one’s self-identification as Muslim or Christian, for example.

How syncretism, particularly as exhibited at shared or “mixed” shrines, relates to the issues of conversion and religious tolerance has become the subject of debate amongst historians and anthropologists in recent years. On the one hand, Burns held that medieval Latin Christians believed – or hoped – that Muslim veneration of the Virgin was a precursor to their conversion.²⁰⁶ William of Tripoli dedicated no fewer than eleven sections of his proselytising treatise *De Statu Sarracenorum* to the Islamic view of Mary, hoping to lead Muslims to Christianity via their respect for the Virgin.²⁰⁷ Ciggaar sees this as part of a broader Dominican concern with promoting their own Marian devotion amongst Arabic-speaking easterners, including Muslims, even to the point of commissioning Arabic translations of Marian literature.²⁰⁸ On the other hand, Fowden points to Muslim proselytisers who tolerated and appropriated Christian traditions, sometimes stressing commonalities in belief and custom between Islam and Christianity, in order “to ease Christians into Islam”.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁶ R. I. Burns, ‘Christian-Islamic Confrontation in the West: The Thirteenth-Century Dream of Conversion’, *AHR*, 76.5 (1971), pp. 1414, 1421, 1424, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1431.

²⁰⁷ William of Tripoli, pp. 342-350; O’Meara, pp. 94-95, 98.

²⁰⁸ Ciggaar, ‘Manuscripts’, pp. 143-146.

²⁰⁹ E. K. Fowden, ‘Sharing Holy Places’, *Common Knowledge*, 8.1 (2002), pp. 135, 137.

Anthropologists view the sharing of shrines in more static terms, at least as far as conversion is concerned. Against various political theorists who have viewed shared shrines as an inevitable cause for sectarian conflict, Albera has argued that the sharing of shrines – particularly medieval and modern Marian shrines – did and does not necessarily culminate in conflict or the religious realignment of the site in question.²¹⁰ Bowman also does not think that conflict is inevitable, but nor does he believe that mere shared reverence for a holy site, without shared devotions, is enough to generate Victor Turner's *communitas* of “solidarity and communion” between different religious groups.²¹¹

Anthropologists' static view of interactions at mixed shrines would imply that such convergences rarely led to actual conversions, since the pilgrims were not truly engaging with the beliefs or practices of other religions present at the shrine in question, but remained insulated within their own imported beliefs. This would suggest the “merely spatial” form of religious convergence, the shallowest of Kedar's three sub-types.²¹² The conclusions reached by the historian Cuffel regarding syncretism and conversion parallel those of the anthropologists. She believes that Latin Christian pilgrims and authors did not depict cross-religious devotions to Mary as a sign that the

²¹⁰ Albera, pp. 10-22. Cf. B. Lewis, ‘The Roots of Muslim Rage’, *The Atlantic Monthly*, 266.3 (September 1990), pp. 47-60; S. P. Huntington, ‘The Clash of Civilizations?’, *Foreign Affairs*, 72.3 (1993), pp. 22-49; R. E. Hassner, *War on Sacred Grounds* (Ithaca, NY, and London, 2009), pp. 2-4, 43, 65-67 and *passim*; R. E. Hassner, ‘The pessimist's guide to religious coexistence’, in *Holy Places in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Confrontation and co-existence*, ed. by M. J. Breger, Y. Reiter, and L. Hammer (London and New York, 2010), pp. 146-149; R. M. Hayden et al., ‘Antagonistic Tolerance: Competitive Sharing of Religious Sites in South Asia and the Balkans’, *Current Anthropology*, 43.2 (2002), pp. 205-229; E. W. Said, *Orientalism* (London, 2003), p. 74; Nader and Nader, pp. 17-18.

²¹¹ G. Bowman, “‘In Dubious Battle on the Plains of Heav'n’: The Politics of Possession in Jerusalem's Holy Sepulchre”, *History and Anthropology*, 22.3 (2011), pp. 376-377 and *passim*. Cf. V. W. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (London, 1969), pp. 94-165; V. W. Turner, ‘Pilgrimage and Communitas’, *Studia missionalia*, 23 (1974), pp. 305-326.

²¹² Kedar, ‘Convergences’, p. 89.

Muslims in question would soon convert to Christianity, even if they did use such phenomena to prove the superiority of Christianity.²¹³ Cuffel focuses on late medieval texts, but it is telling that James of Vitry did not explicitly state that the Muslim children who were baptised actually became Christians. Syncretism at mixed shrines was not necessarily a precursor to conversion, or even regarded as such.

The foregoing does not mean that syncretic acts were never mistaken for genuine conversions, especially if it is remembered that contemporaries focused greatly on outward demonstrations of devotion, such as clothing and diet, rather than internal beliefs. Regarding baptism, many Latin chroniclers of the First Crusade claimed that Muslims rejected Islam and accepted baptism as Christians. Raymond of Aguilers claimed that, “*Baptizabantur etiam aliqui Sarracenorum timore et zelo nostrę legis, anatematizantes Mahummet et progeniem eius omnem*”.²¹⁴ Similarly, the author of the *Gesta Francorum* and Peter Tudebode recorded a treaty allegedly agreed with Ibn ‘Ammār, “rex” of Tripoli, in which he promised to become a Christian and a vassal of the crusade leaders if they fought the Fāṭimids on his behalf.²¹⁵ Modern historians have doubted the veracity of these accounts. John France sets the tone by writing that, “[w]e need not take the offer of conversion [at Tripoli] too seriously; if it was ever made it was probably no more than a gesture of goodwill.”²¹⁶ The obvious presence of fear in these accounts raises doubts as to the sincerity of the converts, not to mention the

²¹³ Cuffel, ‘Henceforward’, pp. 37, 43-46, 53-54, 59-60. See also: Hamilton, ‘Knowing’, pp. 377-378. Cf. Burns, pp. 1386-1434; K. Ciggaar, ‘Glimpses of Life in Outremer in *Exempla* and *Miracula*’, in *East and West in the Crusader States*, ed. by Ciggaar, Teule et al., ii, 146-149, 151-152.

²¹⁴ RA, p. 112.

²¹⁵ GF, pp. 438-439; PT, pp. 128, 132-133.

²¹⁶ J. France, ‘The First Crusade and Islam’, *MW*, 67.4 (1977), p. 254. See also: A. Hoteit, ‘Les différentes communautés de Tripoli et leur attitude envers les croisés’, in *De Toulouse à Tripoli: Itinéraires*, ed. by Weber et al., pp. 45-46.

canonical validity of coerced baptisms.²¹⁷ Furthermore, the idea that “pagans” were always on the very brink of conversion was a long-established *topos* in medieval Latin literature by this point, which casts doubt on the veracity of any report of conversion, proposed or actual, voluntary or under duress.²¹⁸ Such works aimed to reassure their Islamophobic audience, at times of polemic-fuelled tension or crisis between the Christian and Muslim worlds, that there were converts and “secret believers” within the latter, who were ever on the brink of revealing themselves as allies of Christendom in the much-anticipated final overthrow of Islam.²¹⁹

In light of the identifiable practice of non-Christian pseudo-baptism, historians should not be so quick to dismiss the historical fact of Muslim rulers receiving – or offering to receive – baptism, but should instead view it from a refined perspective. If many Muslims were already regularly requesting and receiving baptism at the time of the crusades, seeing it as a repeatable, superstitious ritual that simply prolonged life or brought health, rather than as a unique and eternally permanent act of entering the Christian Church, then the promises made by numerous Muslim rulers to accept baptism in the face of crusader armies no longer seem so significant or concomitantly incredible. The same can be said for William of Tyre’s claim that the Assassins offered to flock together “*ad fidem Christi et baptismum*”.²²⁰ Likewise, William of Tripoli’s claim to have baptised over a thousand Muslims, and Geoffrey of Donjon’s report of a young “Saracen” convert inducing two thousand “pagans” to be baptised may not be as significant a pair of incidents as they first appear, if the Muslims in question viewed the baptism received as non-sacramental, essentially the “baptism of St John”.²²¹ Of all the

²¹⁷ Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, pp. 62-64, 68-70, 72-74.

²¹⁸ Knobler, ‘Pseudo-Conversions’, p. 182 and *passim*.

²¹⁹ Knobler, ‘Pseudo-Conversions’, p. 197.

²²⁰ WT, ii, 954.

²²¹ William of Tripoli, p. 370; *RRH*, no. 787; *CGOH*, ii, no. 1131.

Sacraments, baptism required the least preparation, especially prior to the more stringent rules of post-Reformation Christianity. It is easy to imagine Christian priests allowing large numbers of Muslims to receive baptism, simply assuming that they were consciously converting, without stopping to ensure that they had been adequately catechised.

A number of Christian lords were censured by intellectual co-religionists in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries for their reluctance to allow Muslim slaves to convert – an act symbolised primarily by baptism – and thus be manumitted.²²² Given the evident disjuncture between what the intellectual Christian elite and the popular masses of Muslims believed about baptism and its ritual significance, the lords in the East perhaps grasped the truth of such “conversions” more than did the lawyers and theologians in the distant West. Mallett, who omits syncretism from his analysis entirely, notes that even the papacy had to acknowledge that many “converted” and thus liberated Muslims returned to their Islamic beliefs soon after baptism.²²³ In light of the phenomenon of superstitious baptism, one might wonder if they ever abandoned their Islamic beliefs – such as they understood them – at all.

Kedar argues that the act of baptism, often forced, became an increasingly key part of Latin attitudes and policy towards the Muslims in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, alongside the growing interest in conversion more generally.²²⁴ Popular syncretism in the religious practices of Syrian Muslims during the crusades made this emphasis on the ritual of baptism a culturally naïve and fatally flawed policy. It also

²²² Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, p. 78; Kedar, ‘Muslim conversion’, pp. 326-327; B. Z. Kedar, ‘Ecclesiastical Legislation in the Kingdom of Jerusalem: The Statutes of Jaffa (1253) and Acre (1254)’, in *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. by Edbury, p. 226; Kedar, ‘Subjected Muslims’, pp. 154, 163; Kedar, ‘Multidirectional Conversion’, pp. 191-192.

²²³ Mallett, *Popular*, p. 113.

²²⁴ Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, pp. 68-70, 73. Cf. Köhler, *Alliances*, pp. 34-36, 39-40, 42-43.

clouds historians' judgement of the frequency of religious conversion, specifically from Islam to Christianity. Hamilton writes that "[t]hrough baptism a Muslim would become a Christian and share parity with his fellow believers in this world and the next."²²⁵ It is now necessary to add the qualifier that the Muslim in question might not have agreed that this was what baptism actually entailed. Indeed, Jotischky has recently stressed that Muslims and Christians did not necessarily share the exact same interpretation of a given religious site or ritual, just because they shared the basic belief that it was important, often for local folkloric reasons as much as religious *per se*.²²⁶ In the most recent analysis of religious conversion under the Franks, Mallett explicitly perpetuates the traditional historiographical assumption of historians like Kedar and Hamilton that baptism was understood by all contemporaries – Muslim as well as Christian – to signify true conversion to Christianity, and he uses this as his "clear criterion for establishing conversion to Christianity".²²⁷ Mallett makes no acknowledgement of the superstitious baptisms that clearly occurred, even to the point of glossing over James of Vitry's account of the baptisms at Tortosa.²²⁸ Clearly, however, baptism is far from being unassailable evidence of conversions to Christianity.

Inter-faith rituals then, with their diverse participation and meanings, can be deceptive when attempting to assess instances of religious conversion. The preceding discussion may help to solve an apparent demographic conundrum in Tripoli itself. As Kedar notes, establishing religious demographics in the Latin East is difficult if not impossible, because the primary sources are often irreconcilably "at odds with each

²²⁵ Hamilton, 'Knowing', p. 380.

²²⁶ A. Jotischky, 'Pilgrimage, Procession and Ritual Encounters between Christians and Muslims in the Crusader States', in *Cultural Encounters during the Crusades*, ed. by K. V. Jensen, K. Salonen and H. Vogt (Odense, 2013), pp. 253, 256-258.

²²⁷ Mallett, *Popular*, pp. 106-107.

²²⁸ Mallett, *Popular*, p. 109.

other”.²²⁹ Tripoli exemplifies this problem. According to Nāṣir bin Khusraw, Shī‘ite Muslims made up the entire population of the city of Tripoli in 1047 and were enthusiastic mosque builders.²³⁰ By 1212, Wilbrand of Oldenburg indicated that the city “had very many inhabitants, Christian, Jewish and Saracen” (*plurimos habens inhabitatores, Christianos, Iudeos et Sarracenos*), attracted there by the city’s wealth.²³¹ Just nine years later, in 1221, James of Vitry wrote:

<i>Videns autem quod ad dominum universaliter converterentur, in eadem civitate moram per mensem feci, et quia communis lingua civitatis erat lingua sarracena, per interpretes frequenter predicabam et confessiones audiebam.</i>²³²	Seeing that they (the inhabitants of Tripoli) had been universally converted to the Lord, I delayed in the same city for a month, and because the common language was Arabic, I frequently preached and heard confessions through interpreters.
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How the historian ought to deal with such contradictory evidence is hard to say. It seems likely that the inhabitants of Tripoli had not been massacred *en masse* by the crusaders upon the city’s conquest in 1109. Such an infamously cruel policy is known to have been implemented at other cities captured around this time, especially Jerusalem.²³³ Indeed, at least one of the cities in the county of Tripoli apparently fell victim to this policy, namely Tortosa, where the Muslims were systematically slaughtered.²³⁴ Although Mayer thinks that Tripoli’s population was slaughtered, there is no reliable evidence to support this.²³⁵ Albert of Aachen, Fulcher of Chartres and

²²⁹ Kedar, ‘Subjected Muslims’, pp. 148-149.

²³⁰ NK, p. 13.

²³¹ WO, p. 120.

²³² JV *Lettres*, no. 2, p. 93. The precise interpretation of the subjunctive “*converterentur*” in this sentence is ambiguous, potentially indicating the hope that “they might be converted”. However, James’s emphasis on confession and preaching, not baptism, suggests that he thought the Arabophones of Tripoli were already Christian.

²³³ Kedar, ‘Subjected Muslims’, pp. 143-144.

²³⁴ IA, x, 344.

²³⁵ Mayer, ‘Latins, Muslims and Greeks’, p. 180.

William of Tyre reported that the beleaguered inhabitants of Tripoli eventually surrendered the city peacefully after an intermittent decade-long siege, fearful of the coalescence of disparate factions at the royal council of Tripoli and especially of the bloodthirsty Pisans and Genoese.²³⁶ The Christian army subsequently entered and garrisoned the city, but no massacres were reported. The only exceptions are Fulcher of Chartres's report of the unruly "*minores Ianuensium*" getting out of hand and instigating a small-scale slaughter against the wishes of the commanders, and Albert of Aachen's account of Fāṭimid reinforcements – that is, foreign military personnel, not natives of the city – being caught hiding by King Baldwin in an underground shelter and executed.²³⁷ It seems unlikely that Fulcher's accidental Genoese-led slaughter was on the same scale witnessed wherever the policy was deliberately implemented.²³⁸ Meanwhile, Albert's strange story was probably no more than a garbled retelling of the arrival of the Fāṭimid fleet eight days too late to save the city.²³⁹

Not even hostile Muslim contemporaries reported a massacre at Tripoli, although they did claim that the city and its people were captured and enslaved "by the sword" (*bi-al-sayf*).²⁴⁰ Ibn al-Athīr did report a systematic massacre of the rural population in the vicinity of Tripoli, albeit not one conducted by the invading Franks, but by the besieged *qāḍī* Fakhr al-Mulk bin 'Ammār, who hoped to depopulate the countryside and thus starve out the besieging crusaders.²⁴¹ Finally, Abū al-Fidā' and Sibṭ bin al-Jawzī claimed that the crusaders did kill (*qatalū*) as well as enslave the residents upon the city's capture, as did Matthew of Edessa within three decades of the event and an anonymous Syriac chronicler over a century afterwards, but these

²³⁶ AA, p. 782; FC, pp. 532-533; WT, i, 509-510.

²³⁷ FC, p. 533; AA, pp. 784-786.

²³⁸ Cf. Kedar, 'Subjected Muslims', pp. 145-146.

²³⁹ FC, p. 533; AA, pp. 784-786. For the fleet, see: IQ, p. 164; IA, x, 475-477.

²⁴⁰ IQ, p. 163; IA, x, 476.

²⁴¹ IA, x, 365-366.

generally late sources are often derivative, laced with obvious embellishments, internal contradictions and factual inaccuracies.²⁴² The comparatively peaceful takeover makes it likely that the population of Tripoli was largely unaffected by the crusader conquest. Supposedly some of the poorer residents (*al-fuqarā*) of Tripoli left the city during the siege, but the richer ones remained and even the poor could have returned after the surrender.²⁴³ The obligation for the Muslim Tripolitans to pay the *jizya* to their new Latin lords is further proof of this demographic continuity.²⁴⁴ Indeed, James of Vitry provided evidence for ethno-linguistic stability, if not religious, by noting that the main language spoken at Tripoli remained Arabic over a century after the conquest.²⁴⁵ Tripoli also had an unusually well-attested and continuous line of indigenous *ru'asā'* throughout the twelfth century.²⁴⁶

One obvious explanation to reconcile demographic continuity with implied religious change would be to suggest that Tripoli was wholly or partially converted to Christianity. This would accord with Riley-Smith's belief that "a comparatively large number of [urban-based natives] converted to Latin Christianity" throughout the Latin East.²⁴⁷ Certainly the gradual change in demographics over the century and a half between Nāṣir bin Khusraw and Wilbrand of Oldenburg is not particularly remarkable, if it is accepted that some large-scale conversion took place. However, the apparently sudden evangelisation of the citizens in the handful of years between Wilbrand and James of Vitry is much more difficult to explain. There must be some problems with the

²⁴² AF, ii, 224; Sibṭ bin al-Jawzī, 'Extraits du Mirāt ez-Zèman', *RHC Or*, iii, 527; Matthew of Edessa, p. 90; *Anonymi Auctoris Chronicon*, ii, 45.

²⁴³ IA, x, 412.

²⁴⁴ See above, pp. 274-275.

²⁴⁵ JV *Lettres*, no. 2, p. 93.

²⁴⁶ Riley-Smith, 'Some lesser officials', p. 5.

²⁴⁷ Riley-Smith, 'Some lesser officials', p. 4.

nature and content of the contemporary reports upon which historians are forced to depend.

It could be argued that contemporary authors exaggerated the presence of certain religious sects over others, distorting the demographic data. Nāṣir bin Khusraw was a committed Shī'ite convert himself, who had probably faced exile from his homeland of Khorasan for his religious beliefs, and sought to take a rather circuitous, "eccentric" route on his Ḥajj to Mecca, deliberately going via Ismā'īlī-controlled settlements like Tripoli.²⁴⁸ That a man with such convictions chose to emphasise the demographic strength, devotions and activity of Shī'ites at Tripoli is not surprising. Similarly, it was in James of Vitry's interests as an enthusiastic Christian evangelist, writing for support from western dignitaries, to claim that missionary efforts were meeting with great success, and this is certainly a strong theme in his works in general.

Both men were also in Tripoli for only a short time. Nāṣir arrived on 3 February 1047 (5 Sha'bān AH 438) and had left to be in Jubayl/Byblos by 24 February (5 Esfandārmadh, old reckoning, in the year 415 of the Persian calendar).²⁴⁹ This short space of time would not have been adequate for him to gain an accurate impression of demographics in this large city. Meanwhile, James was only in Tripoli for a month, longer than Nāṣir had been there, but still not enough time to survey accurately all of the people who lived there.²⁵⁰ Nāṣir himself alleged that the total number of inhabitants was as high as 20,000.²⁵¹ Russell estimated the population of Tripoli c.1200 at 8,000, making it the sixth largest city in Greater Syria, on the basis of a multiplication of land

²⁴⁸ NK, pp. ix-xii.

²⁴⁹ NK, pp. 12-13. 5 Esfandārmadh AP 415 corresponds to 24 February 1037 but Nāṣir must have erred and the year should be corrected to AP 425 (1047).

²⁵⁰ JV *Lettres*, no. 2, p. 93.

²⁵¹ NK, p. 13.

area and speculative population density.²⁵² This is a highly problematic estimation, not only for its naïve positivism, but for certain historical errors, such as Russell's belief that the Franks had relocated the city entirely from the "old" site to the "new", namely *Mons Peregrinorum*, when in fact the former was not abandoned until the Mamlūk period.²⁵³ The only certainty is that Tripoli's population was large, and thus it is doubtful that either Nāṣir or James would have been able to assess the religious allegiances of all of the city's inhabitants.

Perhaps James thought the conversion of Tripoli to be complete because he only had time to meet members of a local Christian minority. It is also possible that he judged the conversion primarily by the conversion of mosques into churches, rather than the conversion of actual people. Such conversions of buildings were common throughout the Latin East.²⁵⁴ Tripoli was no exception. As happened elsewhere following crusader conquests, the city's Friday mosque was presumably converted into a Latin cathedral, dedicated to the Virgin Mary.²⁵⁵ It might have once been the suitably impressive-sounding "king's mosque" (*regis bafumaria*) mentioned in a document dated 26 June 1109, a matter of days after the Frankish conquest.²⁵⁶ It is unlikely that the cathedral still resembled a mosque when James of Vitry visited, since it seems to have been rebuilt in a Romanesque style, typical of the twelfth century. This structure does not survive, but much of its material was reused as *spolia* in the thirteenth-century

²⁵² J. C. Russell, *Medieval Regions and their Cities* (Newton Abbot, 1972), p. 201; J. C. Russell, 'The Population of the Crusader States', in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. by Setton, Volume V, ed. by Zacour and Hazard, pp. 305-306.

²⁵³ Russell, *Medieval Regions*, pp. 201, 204; Russell, 'Population', p. 306. Cf. Piana, 'From Montpèlerin', pp. 307-318.

²⁵⁴ Kedar, 'Subjected Muslims', pp. 161-162.

²⁵⁵ For the cathedral's dedication, see: *Gli Annales Pisani di Bernardo Maragone*, ed. by M. L. Gentile, Raccolta degli Storici Italiani dal cinquecento al millecinquecento ordinata da L. A. Muratori, Tomo VI – Parte II. *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (Bologna, 1936-1944), p. 49; *RRH*, no. 275; *CGOH*, i, no. 210.

²⁵⁶ *RRH*, no. 55; *Codice Diplomatico*, ed. by di Sant'Angelo, i, no. 24.

mosque built by the Mamlūk Sultan Khalīl (r.1290-93).²⁵⁷ The cathedral was not the only Islamic religious edifice converted into Christian use and James of Vitry had ample opportunity to see other Christianised Islamic structures. Salamé-Sarkis argued that Raymond of Saint-Gilles was buried in a former Shīʿite tomb or *mashhad* – Deschamps believed this to be a purpose-built Frankish structure – just outside Tripoli at the site of *Mons Peregrinorum*, which was converted into part of the chapel of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre and survives today.²⁵⁸ This was presumably the structure described in polemical language in a donation to the canons in 1105:

*...domum quandam in Monte Peregrino, quę domus antiquo tempore immundis paganorum supersticionibus dedita fuerat, quatinus, omni gentilitatis nefario ritu inde profugato, jam nunc Deo dignum fieret perpetuum habitaculum.*²⁵⁹

...a certain house on *Mons Peregrinus*, which in olden times was dedicated to the foul superstitions of the pagans (Muslims), whereas already now it has become a worthy and everlasting dwelling place for God, all heinous ceremony of heathenism having thenceforth been driven off.

Bahā' al-Dīn reported that Saladin's first act after reconquering Jerusalem in 1187 was to remove the huge cross placed on the Dome of the Rock when the city was conquered by the Christians in 1099.²⁶⁰ Assuming Tripoli's mosques were Christianised in a similarly ostensible fashion, it is easy to understand how fleeting visitors like James of Vitry could have been led to believe that this formerly Islamic city had been converted wholesale.

²⁵⁷ Jidejian, pp. 60, 75-76, 77, figs 99-100, 102, 105; Coupel, p. 44 n. 1.

²⁵⁸ H. Salamé-Sarkis, 'Chronique archéologique du Liban-Nord II: 1973-1974', *BMB*, 26 (1973), p. 94, pl. 1 (fig. 3); Salamé-Sarkis, *Contribution*, pp. 64-83; Jidejian, pp. 59-60, fig. 77. Cf. P. Deschamps, 'Raymond de Saint-Gilles et sa sépulture au château de Tripoli (Liban)', in *Études de civilisation médiévale (IX^e-XII^e siècles). Mélanges offerts à Edmond-René Labande à l'occasion de son départ à la retraite et du XX^e anniversaire du C.É.S.C.M. par ses amis, ses collègues, ses élèves* (Poitiers, 1974), pp. 212-216.

²⁵⁹ *CCSSJ*, no. 79.

²⁶⁰ BD, p. 82; Hamilton, 'Impact', pp. 711-712.

This being said, it is unlikely that the problems associated with the reports of Nāṣir and James can be brushed aside entirely. Nāṣir's demographic assessment seems supported by the distinct "*context šī'ite*" of the eleventh-century cemetery discovered by Salamé-Sarkis at the site of the future *Mons Peregrinorum* in Tripoli, with Kufic Arabic inscriptions uncovered there suggesting not only a distinctly Shī'ite identity, but a distinctly Twelver one.²⁶¹ Furthermore, one of Islamic Tripoli's most famous, if roguish – some said damned – sons was Ibn Munīr (473/1080-c.547/1152), whom medieval Sunnīs called a *rāfiḍī*, "heretic" or "apostate": a term often used in pre-modern times for Shī'ites and especially Twelvers.²⁶² As for James of Vitry, it is true that it was in his interest to exaggerate missionary activities, but he certainly did not shy away from noting the large presence of non-Christians – and bad Christians – elsewhere in his writings.

The widespread popular confusion over doctrine and the propriety of certain practices and rituals may explain why James of Vitry was led to believe that the entire city of Tripoli had converted. Perhaps many Muslims actually did confess their sins to him, since they, living by then under Latin Christian rule for over a century and lacking the external authority of the Fāṭimid Caliph since Saladin's abolition of the office in 1171, were simply unaware that confessing their sins to a Latin priest like James was an entirely pointless act judged by the "pure" doctrine of their own nominal faith. After all, if one Christian Sacrament – baptism – conferred quasi-magical benefits on Muslims throughout Syria, including at Tortosa, then why not another? Some Muslims may have deliberately participated in Christian rituals so as to conceal their true beliefs from Frankish overlords. Ibn Jubayr alleged that many such crypto-Muslims could be found

²⁶¹ H. Salamé-Sarkis, 'Inscriptions coufiques du Château de Tripoli', *BMB*, 24 (1971), pp. 65, 78-82.

²⁶² Ibn Khallikān, i, 156; D. J. Stewart, 'Popular Shiism in Medieval Egypt: Vestiges of Islamic Sectarian Polemics in Egyptian Arabic', *SI*, 84 (1996), pp. 39-40.

on Sicily.²⁶³ One of these, a civil servant named ‘Abd al-Masīḥ, intimated that it was necessary for him to practise Islam in private, lest he lose his job or life.²⁶⁴ At the very least this casts doubt on the presumed Christianity of one individual in the Latin East bearing the same name, ‘Abd al-Masīḥ (*Abdelmessie*), *ra’īs* of Margat.²⁶⁵

Metcalf notes that Sicilian crypto-Muslims possibly availed themselves of legalistic qurānic exegesis that permitted *taqiyya*, “the dissimulation of one’s faith under duress”.²⁶⁶ In other words, Islamic theory itself allowed Muslims to pretend to be followers of another religion under certain circumstances, in lieu of true apostasy. Evidence that *taqiyya* of a kind was already practised in Syria a century before the arrival of the crusades may be glimpsed in al-Muqaddasī’s claim that most of the people of Syria were Sunnī, but that “most (religious) practice follows the teachings of the (governing) Fāṭimids” (*akthar al-‘amal ‘alā madhāhib al-fāṭimī*).²⁶⁷ It is conceivable that Nāṣir bin Khusraw’s belief that Tripoli was wholly Shī‘ite was at least partly shaped by the official, public practice of religion and not by the genuine convictions of the people, much as James of Vitry may have misread prominent Christian symbols and acts as proof of Christianity. The historian is thus left with an insoluble problem: that contemporary source evidence simply cannot be used to ascertain the relative demographic strength of religions, or to prove how many of the converts and baptised Muslims attested in the Latin East truly converted at heart.

VIII. Conclusion

²⁶³ II, pp. 325-327; Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians*, pp. 46-50.

²⁶⁴ II, p. 326.

²⁶⁵ *RRH*, no. 521; *CGOH*, i, no. 457. See Chapter Three, p. 227. Masīḥ was a legitimate option within Islamic naming conventions. Schimmel, p. 29.

²⁶⁶ Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians*, pp. 50-51, 179-180. See also: Mallett, *Popular*, pp. 114, 118.

²⁶⁷ Al-Muqaddasī, p. 153.

The various religious groups in the county of Tripoli must be viewed not as monolithic structures, but as internally complex communities, each divided roughly into the learned elite and the uneducated masses. They cannot be understood purely from the perspectives of normative doctrine – that is, what elites felt their co-religionists should have believed – or institutional history – how the elites went about organising themselves and their flocks on an administrative level. Religious interactions were shaped at least as much by outward signs of difference, the presence or absence of religious authorities, and the nature and availability of education and catechesis, as they were by official dogma. People of all religions interacted with one another, often according to highly localised customs. These were shaped by the extremely diverse religious demographics of the county, long characteristic of this region, by the network of pan-Abrahamic and Islamo-Christian shrines particular to the area, and by the widespread practice of inter-faith rituals. Ironically, many of the elites, who claimed the authority to teach the “correct” religion, often misunderstood what was happening at the local popular level, which led them to misjudge the relative demographic strength of the faiths. That the Latin Christian *pullani* came to tolerate, maintain, encourage, revivify and participate in the syncretic cults that pre-dated their own arrival is testament to the durability of local traditions.

CONCLUSION

This thesis set out to place the county of Tripoli within its local Syro-Lebanese context by adopting a post-institutional methodology, focusing upon such phenomena as geography and informal linguistic and religious interactions. These lay beyond the control of political powers and often beyond the interest or understanding of intellectual observers, upon whose writings the modern historian relies. The aim has been to contest previous scholarship on the subject, which has depicted the county as a proto-colonial transplant of contemporary “French” and more specifically Occitan society and institutions, defined as the lone “Provençal” crusader state amidst Norman and Lotharingian neighbours. This traditional view has overplayed the Occitan dynamic, leading to a disproportionate neglect of the contribution made to the county by its non-French and especially non-European residents, together with their social customs, administrative practices and political history.

Geography is the most significant and yet neglected factor in the constitution of the Latin East. Drawing inspiration from the classic work of Braudel, the first chapter sought to redress this. It was argued that geographical obstacles were more important in the determining of the borders of the crusader states, than were comparatively “shallow” cultural and anthropogenic factors. Historians have long been aware of the importance of geography, but have used this only to explain the politico-military frontier between the Christian territories and the Muslim lands to the east. In the case of the county of Tripoli, the Homs Gap between Mount Lebanon and Jabal al-Nuṣayriyya has received the most attention. Historians have not used geography to explain why the crusader states developed as they did in relation to each other, preferring to assume that the famous quadripartite scheme outlined by William of Tyre was as relevant at the

beginning of the twelfth century as it was at its end. At most, scholars such as Richard have stuck to the neo-colonialist and anthropocentric model of a Latin East divided only by the distinctive European origins of each crusader state's ruling dynasty.

In fact, the mountains were at least as important in determining the shape of the county and its independence from its Christian neighbours, as they were in protecting it from eastern invasions. This is demonstrated well by a substantial body of evidence, which suggests that the original intention of the crusader-settlers in the early twelfth century was to establish a bipartite Latin East. Informed by erstwhile Byzantine and Fāṭimid allies, the crusaders strove to follow the precedent of the Byzantine-Fāṭimid border, which bisected the Levant just a generation before the First Crusade, having been set at al-Nahr al-Kabīr al-Janūbī. The county of Tripoli, spanning the old border, was simply not intended to exist at this point. The county as it existed in the decade or two after the capitulation of Tripoli in 1109 was a fief of Jerusalem, extending only as far north as al-Nahr al-Kabīr al-Janūbī, contiguous but not yet fully integrated with the discrete Antiochene fief acquired by Count Pons in 1112. Pons managed to transform the two dependent lordships into one single domain, avoiding the fate of other lordships in the kingdom of Jerusalem, which were brought under the intensive power of the king. He was able to do this largely thanks to the narrow mountain pass between Lebanon and the Mediterranean, *Passus Canis*, which allowed authorities to control access to and from Tripoli with ease. Thus, the county demonstrates well that political formations, or “microecologies”, were by no means static territorial concepts.

In the second chapter, it was demonstrated that Occitan settlement was neither exclusive to the county nor ubiquitous within it. Very many Occitans settled beyond the county, attracted in particular to the Holy Land proper to the south, bringing their heritage and customs to the kingdom of Jerusalem as well as to Tripoli. At the same

time, many non-Occitans settled within the county, including the Italians but also the “international” military orders. The Occitans who did settle within the county tended to do so in Tripoli itself, leaving towns like Jubayl to the Genoese Embriaci and Batrūn to the Pisans. Occitan heritage became gradually diluted over time, even amongst families of Occitan origin. This can be seen in simple genealogy, as with the northern French and Armenian blood that had entered the comital line by the mid-twelfth century. Similarly, the main European language spoken throughout the county was probably not *langue d’oc*, at least not exclusively.

It should not be thought that Occitania gave nothing to the county’s inhabitants in terms of culture and language. In some ways, the county’s European residents exhibited more of an Occitan identity than Richard believes. For example, regular contact between the county and Occitania did not cease with Count Alfons Jordan of Toulouse’s controversial death in 1148, but continued to occur throughout the twelfth century. The counts of Tripoli and contemporary observers – Arabic as well as Latin – retained the memory of the dynasty’s descent from the counts of Toulouse and Saint-Gilles. Raymond III, the last of the *dynastie toulousaine* in Tripoli, employed the troubadour Peire Vidal and offered his county to his distant cousins in Toulouse. At the same time, this Occitan identity was largely restricted to certain families, particularly the ruling dynasty. The Italian Embriaci sought to become “Franks”, evidently inspired by the pan-Frankish identity of other settlers, and did not seek to become “Provençaux”. Contemporary Arabic authors wrote of “Franks” (*ifranj*) and “Genoese” (*janawīyūn*), but never of the “*Provinciales*” found in Latin chronicles.

Chapter three brought the neglected indigenous peoples to the fore, by focusing upon interactions between different linguistic groups, principally the Arabophone locals and the Romance-speaking Franks. The concept of diglossia is an important but under-

appreciated consideration, militating against any simplistic generalisations that the Franks either did or did not learn Arabic, as if this language did not vary across high and low registers. Just as they did elsewhere in the medieval Mediterranean, the Romance-speaking, Latin-writing conquerors of the county of Tripoli failed to learn formal written Arabic to any appreciable degree. They did, however, learn informal spoken Arabic with rather more success, and employed intermediaries to compensate for their linguistic shortcomings when engaging in necessary communication with rivals and allies, merchants and neighbours.

The fourth and final chapter aimed to shed further light on interactions between the European Latin Christians and the indigenous peoples of the county, moving from language to religion. It returned to the local geography of the region, but transitioned away from the politico-military significance of the first chapter, by analysing instead the various religious shrines that comprised the shared space of the county. It is clear that most people at the time understood their own religion and the faiths of others according to non-written signs, such as special diets or clothing and the use of bells or muezzins, rather than the written dogma of the intellectuals. Yet contemporaries were also frequently willing to engage in syncretic acts, which formed an important part of popular religion, even though they were condemned by elite authorities, priests and ‘*ulamā*’ alike. A lack of understanding in regard to the nature of syncretism led a number of observers, especially European Christian clergy, to believe wrongly that Muslims had converted, which naturally makes the task of the historian seeking proof of genuine conversion all the more difficult.

The county of Tripoli was not “*la France du Levant*” or “*la Provence au Liban*”. It was not the Occitan crusader state. It was founded and settled by Europeans of diverse origin, predominantly but not exclusively Occitan, who always remained a

comparative minority amidst a still more diverse range of indigenous peoples, speaking their own languages and praying after their own fashions. This diversity pervaded the county's society at every level. It is possible to identify specific groups, such as Arabic speakers and Romance speakers, or Twelver Shī'ite Muslims and Latin-rite Christians. Yet often these categories shift out of focus and their edges blur into one another, as crusaders sought to follow in Byzantine and Fāṭimid footsteps, as the descendants of crusaders learnt spoken Arabic to communicate better with their neighbours, and as Muslims took their children to be baptised by Latin priests for good luck. None of the demographic groups – European or indigenous – were unique to the county, but spread throughout the Latin East. Neither syncretism nor the interplay of the languages of conquerors and conquered were distinctive of the county of Tripoli. When the county is viewed through as wide a lens as possible, taking into account religion, language and cultural custom, it is geography alone that remains as the foundation for this region's distinctive, independent and ephemeral unity.

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