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The Crusaders and their Enemies: The Latin Terminology of Group Identity in Chronicles of the First Crusade

The anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, Baldric of Dol's *Historia Jerosolimitana*, Raymond of Aguilers's *Historia Francorum*, Albert of Aachen's *Historia Hierosolimitana* and the *Chronicon* of Ekkehard of Aura.

A Dissertation for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2010

Léan Ní Chléirigh

Trinity College Dublin

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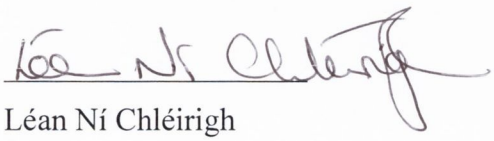

Léan Ní Chléirigh

Summary

This thesis examines the collective terminology of identity in a number of Latin chronicles of the First Crusade. It is concerned with the language used by the authors examined here to denote the Latin crusaders, the eastern Christians and the Muslim opponents of the crusade. Other groups such as western Christians who did not take part in the crusade, national groups within the Byzantine army and the Jews will be examined briefly. The works to be investigated in this thesis are the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, Baldric of Dol's *Historia Jerosolimitana*, Raymond of Aguilers's *Historia Francorum*, Albert of Aachen's *Historia Hierosolimitana* and the *Chronicon* of Ekkehard of Aura. The choice of sources was determined by two factors. Given the subject matter of the thesis, it was desirable to use authors with a wide range of backgrounds, in as far as this could be ascertained: the Anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum*, was most likely a southern Italian Norman; Raymond of Aguilers, a southern French priest; Albert of Aachen, probably a canon from Aachen in Lotharingia; Ekkehard of Aura, an abbot of Bavaria and Baldric of Dol, archbishop of Dol in Brittany and a native of northern France. It was also important to examine the works of authors who experienced the crusade in a variety of ways. The Anonymous and Raymond of Aguilers were eyewitness participants on the expedition. Baldric of Dol principally used the *Gesta Francorum* as his *fons formalis* while making numerous stylistic alterations, adding exegesis and analysis and introducing testimony from eyewitnesses and his own account of the Council of Clermont, at which he was present. Albert of Aachen composed his *Historia* from eyewitness accounts. Ekkehard of Aura took part in the ill-fated 1101 Crusade, however, his *Chronicon* includes an account of the 1096-9 expedition, much of which was gleaned from a letter from Daibert of Pisa and the Princes to Pope Paschal II in 1099. This letter, it has been suggested, may have been written by Raymond of Aguilers.

The principal aim of this investigation is to examine the use of terminology in the chronicles within the broader context of the entire work, the education and

erudition of the author and the sources used in the composition of the account. In order to do this effectively, each author is treated in a section of his own. It is clear that each of the authors fit their terminology into a broader *schema* and a thematic structure would lose sight of this. Previous scholarship has tended to examine the use of specific terms in the chronicles without detailed consideration of the context of the narrative and as a result the impression is given that the authors speak with one voice. It is also necessary to compare the frequency of use of particular types of terms by each author and the examination of individual authors accommodates this comparison. An examination of the use of collective terms such as *gens*, *genus* and *natio* was also undertaken in order to demonstrate the consciousness of group identities among the authors. The findings of this investigation are presented in Chapter 1.

The results of the individual findings are presented thematically in the conclusion in order to examine if the authors shared any common features in their discussion of the various groups. The frequency of use of national terms and theologically derived terms is compared and the narratives are placed within the wider context of Latin narrative sources in the early twelfth century to ascertain whether they reflect the broad trends visible in western historiography at this time or if the peculiar nature of the events which they describe necessitated a shift in emphasis. In this section I will also dispute a number of assertions made by modern scholarship regarding the crusade authors. The assertion that the chroniclers were anti-Byzantine and that this sentiment is the result of the influence of the *Gesta Francorum* cannot be sustained in light of the examination of the authors here. Neither can the description of this period as the 'Age of Ignorance' with regard to western views of Islam. It is also clear from the results of this study that recent discussions of the impact of the author's national identity on his account has been exaggerated.

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In the first instance I would like to thank Trinity College Dublin and the Irish Research Council for Humanities and Social Sciences for their generous funding which facilitated the completion of this research.

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This work is dedicated to my parents, Pádraig and Ricí.

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Abbreviations

Albert, *Historia* – Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*. ed. Susan B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007)

Baldric, *Historia* – Baldric of Dol, *Baldrici, episcopi Dolensis, Historia Jerosolimitana*, RHC Occ 4, 1-111

Bernold, *Chronicon – Die Chroniken Bertholds von Reichenau und Bernolds von Konstanz 1054-1100*, ed. I. S. Robinson, MGH *Scriptores Rerum Germanicorum nova series* 14 (Hannover, 2003)

CCCM – *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis*

CCCS – *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*

CSEL – *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*

Du Cange – C. Du Cange, *Glossarium medie et infimae Latinitatis*, 10 vols. (Niort, 1883-7)

Fulcher, *Historia* – Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913)

Gesta – Gesta Francorum, The Deeds of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem, ed. Rosalind Hill (Oxford, 1962, reprinted 2002). Hagenmeyer page references follow in square brackets.

Guibert, *Dei Gesta* – Guibert of Nogent, *Dei Gesta per Francos et cinq autres textes*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Turnhout, 1996) *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis* 127 A

Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et Chartae – Epistulae et Chartae: Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck, 1901)

Isidore, *Etymologiae* – Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX,* ed. W.M. Lindsey (Oxford, 1985)

Niermeyer – J. F. Niermeyer & C. Van de Kieft, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* 2 (Leiden, 2002)

P.L. – *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne (Turnhout, 1844-1855)

Tudebode, *Historia* – Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hiersolymitano itinere*, ed. John and Laurita Hill (Philadelphia, 1974)

Ralph, *Gesta Tancredi* – Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi in expeditione Hiersolymitana*, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux 3* (Paris, 1866), pp. 603-716.

Raymond, *Historia* – Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, ed. John France, *Critical Edition of the Historia Francorum of Raymond of Aguilers* unpublished Phd thesis, University of Nottingham (1967)

RHC, Occ – *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux*, 5 vols (Paris, 1844-95)

Robert, *Historia* – Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimatiana*, in *Recueil Des Historiens Des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux 3* (Paris 1866), pp. 719-882

William of Tyre, *Chronicon* – William of Tyre, *Willelmi Tyrensis archiepiscopi Chronicon*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, CCCM 58 and 58 A (Turnhout, 1986)

Introduction

In recent times, medieval historians have successfully refuted the assertions made by some of their modern colleagues that national sentiments are the product of the modern era.[1] Following a broadening definition of the term 'nation', to incorporate an imagined community with claims to common cultural, legal, linguistic and ethnic or biological traits, the 'nations' of the Middle Ages have been examined in an unprecedented manner. Such an examination has proved extremely fruitful and a large corpus of work now exists, which explores self-definition and the definition of others as belonging to a particular national group by medieval intellectuals, with concomitant implications regarding attitude, level of civilisation, personality traits etc. The clearest expressions of this growing sense of national identity are Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities* and Robert Bartlett's 'Medieval and Modern concepts of Race and Ethnicity'. Religion too has been recognised as an extremely important marker if not the defining marker of identity for some medieval authors. Recent scholarship has highlighted that when an author is faced with an 'other,' with whom to contrast himself and his group, there is a greater tendency to highlight particular national or religious traits: 'groups tend to define themselves no by reference to their own characteristics but by exclusion that is by comparison to "strangers".[2] The First Crusade was an expedition which brought an unprecedented number of Latins, with a common religion but disparate national identities, face to face with an equally conglomerate Islamic world, divided into two principal religious blocs, through the 'familiar yet strange' Byzantine Empire.

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[1] In particular, A. D. Smith, 'National Identities: Medieval and Modern?' in *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, eds. S. Forde, L. Johnson and A. V. Murray (Leeds, 1995), pp. 21-46; L. Johnson, 'Imagining Communities: Medieval and Modern,' in *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, eds. S. Forde, L. Johnson and A. V. Murray, pp. 1-20; R. Davies, 'Nations and National Identities in the Medieval World: An Apologia,' *Revue Belge d'Histoire Contemporaine* 34 (2004), 567-79; R. Bartlett, 'Medieval and Modern concepts of Race and Ethnicity,' *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31 (2001), 39-56; S. Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900-1300* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 250-331.

[2] R. Armstrong, *Nations before Nationalism* (Chapel Hill, 1982), p. 5.

It is, therefore, an excellent place to consider the language of national and religious terminology. It is also an area rich in primary sources, the authors of which originated in various parts of Latin Christendom.

Until now, no exhaustive examination of the chronicles of the First Crusade to assess the terminology and attitudes prompted by such a unique event has been undertaken. This thesis will examine the use of variously 'national' and 'theological' terminology to denote the Latin crusaders, the Eastern Christians and the Muslim opponents of the crusaders in an effort to examine how the literate community of early twelfth-century Christendom presented itself and its opponents in the wake of the success of the First Crusade. Due to the constraints of time and space, a necessarily limited group of authors was selected for detailed examination based on the, as far as can be ascertained, geographic origin of the authors.

Each of the principal areas which provided participants for the crusade is represented: the Anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum*, was most likely a southern Italian Norman; Raymond of Aguilers, a southern French priest; Albert of Aachen, probably a canon from Aachen in Lotharingia; Ekkehard of Aura, an abbot of Bavaria and Baldric, archbishop of Dol in Brittany who was a native of northern France. As well as geographic diversity, the above authors represent varied experiences of the crusade and consequently the sources which they used for their chronicles. The Anonymous and Raymond of Aguilers were both eyewitness participants on the expedition, although there is some evidence that Raymond made use of the *Gesta Francorum* in the composition of his *Historia Francorum*. Ekkehard of Aura took part in the 1101 crusade which was, in marked contrast to the 1096-99 expedition, a military failure. He also wrote a brief account of the First Crusade from an unidentified *libellus* which he saw in Jerusalem. Baldric of Dol was not a participant on the crusade but he received a copy of the *Gesta Francorum* in the early years of the twelfth century which he amended with his own experience of the speech of Urban II at the Council of Clermont in November 1095 and the reports of returned eyewitnesses. Albert of Aachen did not take part in the crusade either and composed his account on the basis of eyewitness reports. The erudition and education of each of the authors, in as far as can be ascertained, will also be taken into account.

A series of recent studies have shown that medieval Europeans were demonstrably as interested in national and ethnic identity as modern ones. In the

sixth century Isidore of Seville included a discussion of the names of the various *gentes* of the world with a focus on their descent from the sons of Noah in his *Etymologiae*.[3] From the sixth to the eighth centuries, a number of national histories survive, most famously those of Gregory of Tours, Jordanes, Paul the Deacon and Bede and Goffart has made an extensive study and comparative analysis of these works.[4] In medieval collections codices sometimes consisted of a number of 'national' histories gathered together.[5] As Susan Reynolds has shown, the interest in *origines gentium*, that is a tracing back of a particular *gens* to an ancient people or sometimes a single person, demonstrates a thirst among medieval writers to explain the historical origins of particular groups.[6] In the eleventh and twelfth centuries a number of authors wrote descriptive works treating of neighbouring peoples, in which a detailed ethnographic study of a people was presented. The most detailed examples of these are the works of Giraldus Cambrensis, Adam of Bremen and William of Poitiers. These authors discussed peoples who livedjust beyond their borders at this time and the common features of their presentation of the peculiar customs, religious practises and traits of their subjects has been examined by Robert Bartlett, demonstrating the common tropes to which medieval authors adhered in their discussion of the 'other'.[7] Elsewhere Bartlett has also examined the use of collective terminology in medieval sources.[8] This period also saw an increased sense of national traits in narrative works.[9]

To date a number of scholars have examined western attitudes towards Islam in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. These examinations often deal with extremely long periods, for example John Tolan's *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval Imagination*

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[3] Isidore, *Etymologiae*, Bk 9:2.
[4] For a discussion of these chroniclers, see W. Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History* (Princeton, 1988), pp. 3-19.
[5] Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History* , p. 4.
[6] S. Reynolds, 'The *origines gentium* and the Community of the Realm,' *History* 69 (1983), 375-90.
[7] See R. Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales, 1146-1223* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 157-210 for a discussion of Gerald's portrayal of the Irish and the similarities with the works of William and Adam in particular.
[8] Bartlett, 'Concepts of Race and Ethnicity.'
[9] F. Curta, '*Furor Teutonicus*: A note on ethnic stereotypes in Suger's *Deeds of Louis the Fat*,' *Haskins Society Journal* 16 (2006), 62-76; V. Epp, '*Importabiles Alemanni [...] Omnia Perturbant*, The Empire and the Germans as reflected in twelfth-century Latin Crusader's reports,' *Storia della Storiographia* 23 (1993), 3-23; G. A. Loud, 'The "Gens Normannorum"- Myth or Reality,' *Anglo-Norman Studies* 4 (1981), 104-116, 111; E. Johnson, 'Normandy and Norman identity in southern Italian chronicles,' *Anglo-Norman Studies* 27 (2004), 85-100; E. Weber, 'Of Stereotypes and the French,' *Journal of Contemporary History* 24 (1990), 169-203, p. 169.

and R. W. Southern's *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*.[10] In particular the portrayal of the Saracens in the vernacular *Chansons de Geste* has been examined with the most complete study to date being Norman Daniel's *Heroes and Saracens*.[11] Some examinations have been undertaken on the portrayal of Islam and Byzantium in the narratives of the First Crusade and Matthew Bennett has suggested a link between the two traditions asserting that the crusade chroniclers were influenced by the vernacular tradition.[12] These studies, however, have tended not to distinguish between the chroniclers to a great degree and give the impression that all of the narratives were in accord in their discussion of these groups. Nor was the portrayal of a particular group examined in the wider context of the collective terminology and education of the chroniclers.[13] There are even fewer discussions of national antipathy in the First Crusade chronicles. Verena Epp's analysis of anti-German sentiment in crusade chronicles treats the First Crusade briefly and looks in detail at the accounts of Guibert of Nogent and Albert of Aachen only.[14]

Other scholars have critically appraised the chronicles in order to assess relations with the Byzantines and among the crusaders themselves. For example, both Susan Edgington and Marc Carrier have asserted that the testimony of Albert of

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[10] J. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York, 2002); N. Daniel, *Islam and the West: The making of an Image* (Oxford, 1993); R.W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge MA, 1952).

[11] N. Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens: An interpretation of the Chansons de Geste* (Edinburgh, 1984), pp. 151-2; C. Meredith-Jones, 'The conventional Saracen in the Songs of Geste,' *Speculum* 17 (1942), 201-25.

[12] M. Bennett, 'First Crusaders' Images of Muslims: the Influence of Vernacular Poetry?' *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 22 (1986), 101-22; S. Loutchitskaja, 'L'image des Musulmans dans les Chroniques des Croisades,' *Le Moyen Age: Revue d'Histoire et de Philologie* 105 (1999), 717-36, p. 720; S. Loutchitskaja, '*Barbarae Nationes*: les Peuples Musulmans dans les Chroniques de la Première Croisade,' in *Autour de la Première Croisade,* ed. M. Balard (Paris, 1996), pp. 99-107; M. Carrier, 'Pour en finir avec les *Gesta Francorum*: une Réflexion historiographique sur l'etat des Rapports entre Grecs et Latins au début du XIIe siècle et sur l'apport nouveau d'Albert d'Aix,' *Crusades* 7 (2008), 13-34; S. Neocleous, 'Is the Contemporary Latin Historiography of the First Crusade and its Aftermath, "Anti-Byzantine," in *Sailing to Byzantium: Papers from the First and Second Postgraduate Forums in Byzantine Studies*, ed. S. Neocleous (Newcastle, 2009), pp. 27-52; L. Ni Chléirigh, 'The impact of the First Crusade on Western opinions towards the Byzantine Empire: The *Dei Gesta per Francos* of Guibert of Nogent and the *Historia Hieroslimitana* of Fulcher of Chartres.' in *The Crusades and the Near East: Cultural Histories*, ed. C. Kostick (London, 2010), pp. 161-88; L. Ní Chléirigh, 'Anti-Byzantine polemic in the *Dei Gesta per Francos* of Guibert, Abbot of Nogent-sous-Coucy,' in *Sailing to Byzantium: Papers from the First and Second Postgraduate Forums in Byzantine Studies* ed. S. Neocleous (Newcastle, 2009), pp. 53-76; M. Carrier, 'L'image d'Alexius Ier Comnène selon le chroniqueur Albert d'Aix,' *Byzantion* 78 (2008) 34-65.

[13] An exception to this is L. Ni Chléirigh 'The treatment of the Byzantines in the Anonymous *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*,' in *Within Reach: European Peripheries in the Middle Ages*, Supplement to International Medieval Bibliography *Bulletin of International Medieval Research* (forthcoming), which discusses the attitudes of the anonymous towards the Byzantines in the context of the portrayal of all groups in the crusade.

[14] Epp, '*Importabiles Alemanni.*

Aachen regarding the Byzantines and their emperor contradicts the impression given in many of the other chronicles that relations between them and the crusaders were consistently poor.[15] Alan Murray has demonstrated that, despite the efforts of the chroniclers to portray the crusaders as a unified group, in times of severe stress, divisions formed along national or linguistic lines.[16] Savvas Neocleous has recently examined the treatment of the Byzantines in the crusade chronicles and Dr Ebels-Hoving investigated the views of Byzantium in Latin chronicles between 1095 and 1204. Both of these works focus principally on the depiction of Alexius Comnenus and no attempt is made to place the description of the Byzantines in the broader context of the chronicle.[17] Some investigations into specific terminology used by crusade authors have been undertaken but there has been no single systematic investigation of the national and theological terms used by authors to denote the various groups within their chronicles.[18] The evolution of specific national terms has been the subject of some investigation, particularly Eckhard Müller-Mertens in reference to France and Germany. None of these works, however, has addressed the crusade chronicles specifically.[19]

To date, therefore, there has been no comprehensive investigation into the collective terminology applied to the crusaders in the crusade chronicles and it is this lacuna which this thesis explores. Each author will be assessed separately in the context of his own education, sources used, background – including place of origin – and experience of the crusade. This attention to the factors which may have influenced the authors' terminology will not result in a dismissal of the use of

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[15] S. B. Edgington, 'From Aachen: A new perspective on relations between the crusaders and Byzantium 1095-1120,' *Medieval History* 4 (1994), 156-69; Carrier, 'L'image d'Alexius Ier; Carrier, 'Pour en finir avec les *Gesta Francorum*.'

[16] A. V. Murray, 'Questions of Nationality on the First Crusade,' *Medieval History* 1 (1991), 61-74; A. V. Murray, 'National identity, regional identity and language in the crusades to the Holy Land,' in *The Crusades and the Near East: Cultural Histories*, ed. C. Kostick (London, 2010), pp. 107-30.

[17] S. Neocleous, *Imaging the Byzantines: Latin perceptions, Representations, and Memory, c. 1095-c. 1230* (unpublished PhD thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 2009), pp. 20-85; B. Ebels-Hoving, *Byzantium in Westerse Ogen:1095-1204* (Assen, 1971), pp. 49-55, 62-5, 69-72 & 81-9.

[18] For an examination of particular terms in the crusade chronicles see 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 Internationale de Clermont-Ferrand (23-23 Juin 1995)*, ed. A. Vauchez (Paris, 1997), pp 195-211; M. Balard, '*Gesta Dei per Francos*: L'usage du mot 'Francs' dans les chroniques de la première Croisade,' in *Clovis: Histoire et Memoire* ed. M. Rouche (Paris, 1997), pp. 473-84; M. Pellegrini, 'L'idea di *Christianitas* nei cronisti latini della prima Crociata,' *Rivista di Bizantinistica* 1 (1991), 69-99; J. Van Laarhoven, 'Chrétienté et Croisade: Une tentative terminologique,' *Christianesimo nella Storia* 6 (1985), 27-43; Loutchitskaja, '*Barbarae Nationes*.'

[19] E. Müller-Mertens, *Regnum Teutonicum: Aufkommen und Verbreitung der deutschen Reichs- und Konigsauffassung im früheren Mittelalter* (Vienna, 1970); C. Brühl, *Deutschland-Frankreich: Die Geburt Zweier Völker* (Vienna, 1995).

particular terms but will be used to understand the impulses behind their use. Although many of the crusade narratives relied on one or more *fontes formales* for their information, they often amended the collective terminology which they found there. An investigation into the extent to which they altered the terminology of their source(s) will provide valuable information as to their attitudes towards particular groups. In conjunction with their collective terminology a broader discussion of the representation of the major groups found in their narratives will be undertaken. As this is a study of the history of ideas, the accounts of eyewitnesses will not be privileged over other accounts, nor will particular attention be paid to the 'truth' behind the narratives. False representations of particular groups will be considered as valuable as more 'accurate' treatments. *Oratio recta* or direct speech will be considered too as a valuable source for the author's own ideas. The use of *oratio recta* to allow the author to provide his own discussion and moral judgement of the actions of persons was part of the historical tradition since the classical period and can be seen in particular in the works of Sallust, an important stylistic influence in twelfth-century Europe.[20] Many of the passages of direct speech contained conversations between Muslims and provide extremely valuable insight into the views of Islam among the chroniclers.

All examples of the use of collective terms have been taken into consideration and are referenced as far as possible. This is extremely important as it is clear that many of the authors purposely made use of layered meanings in principal terms, in particular in their use of *Christiani*. The terminology of the authors has been divided broadly into two groups, 'national' and 'theological'. National terminology is that which labels a group based on a common geographical origin and theological terminology refers to all terms which were prompted by religious considerations.

This thesis will consider a number research questions. As a case study of twelfth-century thought it will consider the various factors which contributed to the identity of a group or person, geographical origin, biological factors, inheritance, language and religion. As a study of the crusade in particular it will assess whether the peculiar nature of the enterprise impacted on the terminology found in the narratives. For example, did the presence of a religious foe in the Muslim powers of

[20] B. Smalley, 'Sallust in the Middle Ages,' in *Classical Influences on European Culture, A.D. 500-1500*, ed. R.R. Bolgar (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 165-76.

the east prompt fraternal feelings towards the eastern Christians with whom the westerners had had a recent doctrinal dispute? To answer this question, the author's stated view of the object of the crusade may also be taken into consideration. For some, the liberation of Jerusalem from the Muslims was the principal aim, for others it was the release of the eastern Christians from the oppression of the *infideles*. Was the growing trend towards national antipathy and national stereotypes in Western Europe similarly silenced in the crusade chronicles as a result of the cooperative nature of the expedition and the presence of the Muslim powers and – as a corollary to this question – did theological terminology come to prominence in such a religiously inspired endeavour? When so many of the authors are ascribed 'national' identities by modern scholarship, are these labels justified? For example, is the narrative of Baldric of Dol, who was 'French' affected by the reliance on the *Gesta Francorum* written by an 'Italian' or a 'Norman' or does his reworking of his source render it 'French' again? If the background of an author can be established sufficiently, what impact does this have on his discussion of the crusaders?

The use of collective terminology in the Chronicles

Any investigation of the terminology of group identity in the chronicles of the crusade must first establish that the authors used group or collective terms fully conscious of the connotations inherent in such terms. It is necessary, therefore, to examine the use of collective terms such as *gens*, *genus*, *generatio*, *natio*, and *populus* by the authors and to assess whether they indicate a consciousness of group identity based on cultural, religious, biological or linguistic traits. This is particularly important for the examination of terms whose meanings were extremely flexible in this period, in particular *gens* and *genus*. The clarification of the use of these terms to denote groups bound together by features peculiar to them will allow the investigation of the discussion of group identity by each of the authors to progress, assured that the exercise is not an optimistic anachronism.

Gens

The term *gens* occurred frequently in the chronicles with a variety of meanings, some overtly ethnic or national, some not, others ambiguous. The term could often mean simply mean 'people,' 'mob,' or 'crowd.' Often, however, the term was used to refer to an army or militarised group.[1] In the *Gesta Francorum* it appeared often as a synonym for *exercitus* or even *milites*.[2]

> *Et mox exercitus comitis Sancti Egidii appropinquavit Constantinopoli. Comes vero remansit ibi cum ipsa sua gente.*[3]

In the description of the battle lines formed when the crusade engaged Kerbogah of Mosul outside Antioch in June 1098 *gens* was one of a number of words used by the

[1] Niermeyer, 1, p. 610.
[2] *Gesta*, p. 13 [176] See also, *Gesta*, pp. 7, 16, 19, 30, 35, 40, 45, 49, 63 & 68 [152, 175-6, 190, 202, 249, 265-6, 280, 282, 299-300, 313-4, 355-6, 368-71 & 372]
[3] *Gesta*, p. 13 [176]

Anonymous to refer to the armies of each of the principal crusade leaders, probably to avoid repeated use of one single term.

> *Deinde stabilitae sunt sex acies ex eis, intra civitatem. In prima vero acie in primo videlicet capite fuit Hugo Magnus, cum Francigenis et Flandrensi comite. In secunda dux Godefridus cum suo exercitu. In tertia vero fuit Rotbertus Nortmannus cum suis militibus. In quarta fuit Podiensis episcopus, portans secum lanceam Salvatoris cum sua gente, et cum exercitu Raimundi comitis Sancti Egidii; qui remansit sursum custodire castellum pro timore Turcorum, ne descenderent in civitatem. In quinta acie fuit Tancredus, cum sua gente.*[4]

Even in its use with apparently national terms, which can be shown to have a broader collective meaning, the term *gens* is at times more likely to mean 'army.' For example, when Bohemond instructed the crusade army to give the appearance of leaving the walls of Antioch to return *per dextram montaneam* in secret, *gens Francorum* was used to mean the army of the crusade.[5]

Baldric of Dol adopted many of the uses of *gens* to mean 'army' from the *Gesta Francorum*, and on a number of occasions used the term in a context where the meaning 'army' would appear to be appropriate.[6] Independently of his *fons formalis*, Baldric also seems to have used the term in a military sense. [7] In his revision of the passage cited above, however, where the military definition of the term is most apparent, Baldric excised the term *gens* entirely.[8] It appears, therefore,

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[4] *Gesta*, p. 68 [368-371]

[5] *Gesta*, p. 45 [299-300]: *Misit quoque ei verba in hunc modum, ut in crastinum omnem Francorum gentem summoneri faciat, et quasi in Saracenorum terram depredari vadat dissimulet, ac deinde celeriter revertatur per dextram montaneam.* See also, *Gesta*, p. 68 [368-371].

[6] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 21; See also Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 24, 26, 55, 72 & 91.

Baldric, p. 21.	***Gesta Francorum*, p. 7 [147-51]**
Tantus igitur concursus militum ad eum subito factus est, quatinus comes Rogerius in obsidione (erant siquidem uterque in quadam obsidione) pene solus remaneret; dolensque se suam amisisse gentem, Siciliam cum paucis reversus est.	*Coepit tunc ad eum vehementer concurrere maxima pars militum qui erant in obsidione illa, adeo ut Rogerius comes pene solus remanserit, reversusque Siciliam dolebat et merebat quandoque gentem amittere suam.*

[7] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 63 & 106.

[8] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 75; *Gesta*, p. 68 [368-371]

that Baldric deliberately did not use the term as a synonym for *exercitus*, *acies* or *manus* and it cannot be directly translated as 'army'.[9]

During his descriptions of battles and the preparations for battles, Raymond of Aguilers' use of *gens* was undoubtedly intended to denote an army. As the crusaders faced Kerbogah in battle he also described each of their respective positions, using the term *gens* to denote each of the followings:

> *Constituerunt autem de bello sic; ut de gente comitis et episcopi fierent duo ordines duplices; ut pedites praeirent militibus, et pro imperio principum irent et starent; et milites sequerentur eos, atque a tergo custodirent. De gente Boamundi et Tancredi similiter; de gente comitis Normanniae, et Francigenis similiter; de gente ducis et Burgundionibus similiter.*[10]

In Albert of Aachen's *Historia* it is not always clear whether the term *gens* was used in the sense of people or army. In a number of cases, the term *gens* appears alongside *exercitus* or *comitatus*, implying that a non-military meaning was intended.[11]

Baldric, p. 75.
In acie *prima fuit Hugo Magnus cum Francigenis et comite Roberto Flandrensi; in secunda, dux Godefredus cum suo bellicoso exercitu; in tertia, Robertus, dux Normannorum; in quarta, Podiensis episcopus, secum portans lanceam, quam Christiani sibi praeferri desiderabant, et praesidium et tutamen ibi magnum credebant. Raimundus quoque comes Sancti Aegidii remansit, quatinus observaret ne Turci de castello descenderent, et in civitatem pede libero irruerent. Aciem quintam regebat Tancredus, princeps et miles strenuus. Aciei sextae praesedit Boamundus, ut omnes provideret, atque singulorum in necessitatibus totus adesset.*

***Gesta*, p. 68 [368-71]**
In prima vero acie *in primo uidelicet capite fuit Hugo Magnus, cum Francigenis et Flandrensi comite. In secunda dux Godefridus cum suo exercitu. In tertia vero fuit Rotbertus Nortmannus cum suis militibus. In quarta fuit Podiensis episcopus, portans secum lanceam Saluatoris cum sua gente, et cum exercitu Raimundi comitis Sancti Egidii; qui remansit sursum custodire castellum pro timore Turcorum, ne descenderent in civitatem. In quinta acie fuit Tancredus, cum sua gente. In sexta fuit Boamundus, cum sua militia.*

[9] See also Baldric, *Historia*, p. 71; *Gesta*, p. 68 [368-371] where the phrase *gens Turcorum* in the *Gesta* to describe the army of Kerbogah of Mosul was changed to *Turci* by Baldric.
[10] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 123. See also Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 123, 368, 334 & 362. On occasion, the term could mean more vaguely 'people,' however, 'army' would also fit the context. Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 22, 68 & 360.
[11] *gens et exercitus*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 12, p. 26; *Baldwinum et universum Christiane gentis comitatum*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 13, p. 80. See also, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 6, p. 254. For instances where the specific meaning of *gens* is unclear and may mean army or people, see Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i cap. 25, Bk. ii, caps. 3, 7 & 27, Bk. iv, cap. 2, Bk. v, caps. 16 & 31, pp. 48, 66, 70, 106, 250, 356 & 378.

Elsewhere, however, the translation of *gens* to mean 'army' or 'military retinue' appears to be more appropriate. In 1100 the following of Geldemar Carpenel was described as *milites et pedites* and immediately afterwards referred to as *eius gentem.*[12]

Ekkehard of Aura does not appear to have used the term *gens* in a military sense. The single occasion in which it appears as if he might have given *gens* a specifically military meaning is not conclusive. After the defeat of the followings of Gottschalk and Count Emicho by the Hungarians in 1096, Ekkehard contrasted their conduct with that of the other contingents, in particular the Lotharingians under Godfrey of Bouillon, who were the first to arrive in Constantinople. In this passage, the leaders of the crusade were labelled *principes gentium.*[13] Although this may appear to be a use of *gens* to denote 'army', Ekkehard's earlier use of *gens* to refer to the various separate contingents of the crusade can be seen to have had a national or ethnic meaning. In his discussion of the various contingents of the First Crusade and the 1101 Crusade Ekkehard appears to have assumed that the separate armies followed national lines.[14]

More pertinent to this discussion is the use of *gens* alongside national or theological terms. The Anonymous referred to the *gens Alamannorum, gens Grecorum, gens Francigena* and the *gens Aegyptica.*[15] The description of the various groups represented in the army of Kerbogah of Mosul lists the *innumeras gentes paganorum, videlicet Turcos, Arabas, Saracenos, Publicanos, Azimitas, Curtos, Persas, Agulanos, et alias multas gentes innumerabiles.*[16] Baldric of Dol also used *gens* in conjunction with national terms, albeit rarely when compared with his contemporaries. At the battle of Antioch, Firuz referred to the crusaders as *gens*

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[12] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 26, pp. 520-2. The army which Kilij Arslan brought to relieve the city of Nicaea from the crusade was an *innumerabilis gens*. Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 26, p. 104. See also Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 61, Bk. iii, cap. 62, Bk. iv, cap. 27, Bk. iv, cap. 46, Bk. vi, cap. 50, Bk. viii, caps. 9 & 31, Bk. ix, cap. 30, pp. 234, 236, 286, 464, 470, 598, 620 & 676

[13] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 148: *Paleis tamen ex area dominica huiusmodi ventilabro decussis vidimus grana triticea naturalis soliditatis gravitate perdurantia, Gotefridum scilicet caeterosque prenominatos vere dominicae militiae duces, cum suis singuli super omnem stellarum dispositionem speciosis castris ab universis quas pertransibant gentium principibus pacem ac favorem, humilitatis atque karitatis exemplo ut vere Christi discipuli consequentes, donec diversis itinerum difficultatibus Bulgaria permeata Constantinopolitanas attigerant arces.*

[14] See Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 138.

[15] *Gens Alamannorum, Gesta*, p. 2 [111]; *Grecorum autem gens, Gesta*, p. 10-11 [166]; *gens Francorum, Gesta*, pp. 21 & 45 [206 & 299]

[16] *Gesta*, p. 49 [311-315]

Francorum.[17] The *Graeci* were also a *gens*: when Bohemond and his army arrived at Rusa, the *Graecorum gens* was particularly keen to meet him.[18] Baldric also described the *Aethiopes* as a *gens*.[19]

Many of the national groups in Raymond's account were described as *gentes*, implying a national or ethnic connotation to the term. Most commonly, the *Franci* were a *gens*.[20] When the *rex* of Shaizar heard that his messengers had been captured by the *Franci* he allegedly recognised that they were a *gens* chosen and blessed (*benedicere*) by God.[21] When the *rex Babyloniorum* brought his forces to Ascalon in summer 1099 he reportedly threatened to destroy all of the areas of Christian veneration in Jerusalem so that the *gens Francorum* would have no reason to leave their homeland and come to Palestine in the future.[22] Other national groups in the *Historia Francorum* were also described as *gentes*. When Raymond of St Gilles asked Alexius Comnenus to join the crusade himself, the Byzantine emperor allegedly protested that he was too occupied with protecting his empire from *Alemanni et Ungari et Comani, aliique ferae gentes*.[23] During the siege of Antioch a rumour reached the crusade camp that the emperor was approaching with an army comprising *multae gentes*, including *Sclavi et Pincenati, et Comani et Turcopoli*.[24] The national groups among the Muslims were likewise *gentes*. After the easy victory over the forces of the People's Crusade, Raymond stated that the *Turci* sent Christian captives *ad nobiles suae gentis et Sarracenorum* and assured the *populi* that the *Franci* were of no value in battle.[25]

The use of *gens* in conjunction with national terms attests to the ethnic connotations which Albert of Aachen applied to it. There were *gens Bawarii et Suevi*, *gens Grecorum*, *gens Turcopoli*, *gens Francorum*, *gens Publicanorum*, *gens Sarraceni*, *gens Azoparth*, *gens Longobardorum*, *gens Turcorum*, *gens Anglorum*,

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[17] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 55.
[18] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 24.
[19] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 108. Unusually, Baldric does not mention the colour of the *Aethiopes* skin, which is a common feature of other crusade authors' accounts. He may have felt that his reader would be aware of this from the Bible (Jeremiah 13:23).
[20] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 123, 124 & 148 & 279.
[21] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 188.
[22] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 362.
[23] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 16.
[24] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 51.
[25] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 23 & 320.

gens Armenici and *gens Idumeorum.*[26] Most of Ekkehard's uses of the term *gens* in the crusading section of the *Chronicon* refer to national groups. His list of the various *gentes christianae* who took part in the expedition includes those *ex Aquitania scilicet atque Normannia, Anglia, Scotia et Hibernia, Britannia, Galicia, Wasconia, Gallia, Flandria, Lotharingia*, as well as others for whom he did not have the appropriate *vocabula*.[27] In the beginning of his description of the 1101 expedition Ekkehard explained that one of the reasons for its departure was the news of the overwhelming success of the *gentes occidentes* in its capture of Jerusalem.[28] In his emphasis on the unity of the expedition despite its composition of many different national groups, Ekkehard stressed that although the *membra Christi*, with different *linguae*, *tribus* and *nationes* were united in their love for Christ, nevertheless each *gens* had its own leader. Here *gens* appears to incorporate *linguae*, *tribus* and *nationes*.[29] The *Theutonici* were a *gens*, as were the *Armenii*.[30] In the introductory passages to this section of the *Chronicon*, Ekkehard described how there was discord between the *gentes* and the *regna*, just as had been presaged in the Gospels (Matthew 24:7, Luke 21:10, Mark 18:8). Following this statement he detailed the capture of Jerusalem by the *Saraceni* and the wars between the *Armenii* and the *Graeci*, implying that all three groups could be considered *gentes*.[31]

Alongside the clear use of *gens* with national terms, many of the authors ascribed particular traits to particular *gentes*. According to the *Gesta*, Kerbogah told Peter the Hermit that the Muslims had conquered the area around Antioch from

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[26] *Bawarii et Suevi gens*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 23, p. 44; *gens Grecorum*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 6, p. 254; *gens Turcopoli*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. v, cap. 3, p. 342; *gens Francorum*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. v, cap. 16, p. 356; *gens Publicanorum*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 41, p. 456. *gens Sarraceni*; Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 34, p. 536; *gens Azoparth*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 39, Bk. ix, cap. 4, pp. 542-4 & 640; *gens Longobardorum*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 1, p. 586; *gens Turcorum*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 59, Bk. ix, cap. 37, pp. 230 & 688; *gens Anglorum*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. x, cap. 1, p. 718; *gens Armenici*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. xi, cap. 20, p. 792; *gens Idumeorum*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. xii, cap. 31, p. 874.

[27] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 138.

[28] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 162.

[29] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 138: *Mira autem et inestimabili divinitatis dispensatione tot Christi membra linguis, tribubus et nationibus differentia subito in unum Christi caritate conglutinati coaluerunt corpus, uno omnes Christo rege, sed singulis singulae gentes procuratae ducibus, Gotefrido scilicet Lotharingiensi suisque fratribus Baldewino et Eustatio, Ruperto Flandrensi, item Ruperto Normannico, Regimundo comite de sancto Egidio, Hugone fratre Philippi regis Galliae caeterisque eiusdem industriae, nobilitatis atque fortitudinis bellatoribus.*

[30] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, pp. 132, 140 & 160.

[31] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 132: *Tempore Heinrici IIII. Romani et Alexii Constantinopolitani principis iuxta presagium evangelicum surrexit undique gens contra gentem et regnum adversus regnum*, cf. Matt. 24:7 Luke 21:10, Mark 18:8.

effeminatibus gentibus, presumably referring to the Byzantines.[32] The *Franci* were a *gens fortissima*.[33] Recording the dismay of the Turks of Nicaea when they realised that the crusade had blockaded the lake to the west of the city, cutting off their supplies, Baldric noted that the *cives* knew the *Franci* to be a *gens fera et bellicosa*.[34] At the battle of Antioch Firuz referred to the crusaders as *gens Francorum*.[35] The *Graeci* and the *Aethiopes* were also *gens*.[36] Upon the arrival of the crusade armies in Constantinople, Baldric noted that the emperor, worried about the security of the city, requested *hominium et fidelitatem* from each of the *heroas*. The decision to request this was taken after consultation with his men: *gens quippe Graecorum multum callet consiliis*.[37] According to Raymond, when Alexius Comnenus declined to join the crusade, he cited the presence of *feras gentes* threatening his empire, including the *Alemanni*, *Ungari* and *Comani*.[38] When they heard reports of cannibalism by the crusaders after the siege of Ma'arrat an Numan, the *Turci* and the *Sarraceni* allegedly called the crusaders a *gens, quae tam obstinata atque crudelis est*.[39] After the crusaders left the environs of Acre in May 1099, Raymond stated that a carrier pigeon was caught with a message from the *rex* of Acre to the *dux* of Caeserea in which he described the crusaders as a *generatio canina* and a *gens stulta atque contensiosa*.[40] This attribution of specific traits to the crusaders as a *gens* and the synonymous use of *gens* and *generatio*, a term with a more clearly ethnic sense, demonstrates a clear identification of specific traits to a particular group which formed a *gens*.

Albert of Aachen described the Turcopole soldiers of the Byzantine army as *gens impia et dicta Christiana nomina non opere*.[41] The *Azoparth* were criticised on a number of occasions, labelled *gens fedissima*, *impii* and *intolerabiles*.[42] After the third battle of Ramla in 1105, Baldwin I of Jerusalem proceeded to lay waste to the

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[32] *Gesta*, p. 67 [366] Albert of Aachen also reported Kilij Arslan dismissing the Byzantine army as as *imperatoris exercitus gens Grecorum mollis et effeminata, bellorum exercitiis raro vexata*. Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 6, p. 254.
[33] *Gesta*, p. 49 [311-313]
[34] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 29.
[35] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 55.
[36] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 24 & 108.
[37] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 25. Baldric's use of the term *gens* with national terms is, however, rare in comparison with his contemporaries and his ascription of particular traits to particular *gentes* is somewhat incidental.
[38] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 16.
[39] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 181.
[40] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 299.
[41] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. v, cap. 3, p. 342.
[42] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 39, Bk. ix, cap. 4, pp. 542-4 & 640.

land of the *Ascalonite* in response to their refusal to surrender the city to him. According to Albert, the king's intention was *ut vel hoc saltem incomputabili damno gens dura et indomabilis ad subdenda colla molliretur.*[43] On the journey of followers of Gottschalk through Hungary, some of the crusaders broke the terms of the peace which he had agreed with King Coloman. Among others, Albert reported the presence of *Bawarii* and *Suevi* whom he labelled *gens animosa.*[44]

Both Raymond of Aguilers and Albert of Aachen discussed biological traits of certain *gentes*. When the news arrived at Jerusalem that he was approaching to fight the crusaders, Raymond reported that the *rex Babyloniorum* intended to kill all *Franci* over twenty years of age and give the rest to the men and women of his *gens* in order that they could create *bellicosae familiae* of the *genus Francorum.*[45] In his discussion of the *Turcopoles*, he explained that they were *vel nutriti apud Turcos, vel de matre christiana patre Turco procreantur.*[46] In this instance, the *Turcopoli*, who were immediately described as a *gens*, gained their cohesion as such either through the circumstances of their upbringing or through mixed parentage. In his description of the *Turcopoli*, Albert also explained that they were *ex Turco patre et Greca matre procreati.*[47] Another, clearly ethnic, application of the term *gens* can be seen in Albert's discussion of the *Azoparth* who formed part of the Fatimid army which encountered the crusade at the battle of Ascalon in August 1099, *gens nigerrime cutis de terra Ethiopie dicta vulgariter Azoparth.*[48] Here the defining feature of the *Azoparth* was the colour of their skin.[49]

Albert and Raymond also attributed certain customs to particular *gentes*. When Baldwin of Boulogne was adopted as his heir by the 'Duke' Thoros of Edessa in early 1098, Albert described the ceremony performed *sicut mos regionis et gentis.*[50] After Baldwin's victory over a Damascene army at Homs in 1100, Albert commented that the local *Sarraceni* population were a threat to the defeated Turks as it was their custom – *Est enim mos Sarracene gentis* – to despise the recently defeated and to admire recent victors.[51] Following a description of a skirmish

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[43] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ix, cap. 51, p. 712.
[44] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 23, p. 44.
[45] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 361.
[46] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 51.
[47] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. v, cap. 3, p. 342.
[48] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 41, p. 456.
[49] See also, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ix, cap. 3, p. 640.
[50] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 21, p. 170.
[51] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, 34, p. 536.

between the crusaders and a group of *Turci et Arabes*, Raymond reported that the spoils left behind by the Muslims were particularly valuable, because it was the *mos* of these *gentes* to throw away their arms and valuables when they took flight.[52]

As well as a national marker, the term *gens* was associated with major religious groups such as *Christiani*, *pagani* and *Iudei*. The Anonymous often juxtaposed the *Christianorum gens* with the *gens paganorum*.[53] When the crusade arrived in the environs of Antioch, it was described as *Christianorum gens*.[54] The Muslim opponents of the crusade, even when divided into their constituent parts, were collectively *gens paganorum*.[55] Baldric considered the *Christiani* and the *gentiles* to be *gentes*.[56] When describing the treatment of the Christian Church in Jerusalem prior to the crusade, he reported that the *gens barbara* had reduced many of the churches to stables or worse (*ignominiosius*).[57] When the crusaders entered Antioch on the night of 2 June 1098, Baldric referred to the defeated defenders of the city as *gens illa circumcisa*.[58] Upon the arrival of Kerbogah at Antioch, Baldric, following the *Gesta*, related that Kerbogah had mustered a large army in response to the arrival of messengers from Antioch. This army apparently received *licentia* to kill the *Christiani* from the *Calipha* whom the *Gesta* described as *illorum apostolicus*, while Baldric stated that he was *gentis suae apostolicus*.[59] In the reported speech of various Muslim personalities, Islam is referred to as *gens nostra*.[60] During his rendition of Urban II's speech at Clermont, Baldric recorded the Pope describing the eastern Christians as *gens vestra*.[61]

Raymond of Aguilers reported a vision of Peter Bartholomew during the siege of 'Arqah, in which Christ appeared and asked Peter which *gens* he thought

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[52] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 320.
[53] For the juxtaposition between *gens paganorum* and *gens Christianorum*, see *Gesta*, pp. 7 & 53 [147-151 & 324-325] For *gens paganorum*, see *Gesta*, p. 49, 58, 78, 82, 83, 84, 89, 92 [314-315, 338, 404, 421, 425, 429-430, 459 & 476] For *gens Christianorum*, see *Gesta*, p. 30, 53, 55 & 96 [250-251, 324-325, 327, 128-129 & 497]
[54] Gesta, p. 30-1 [250-251]: *Audientes itaque isti Christianorum gentem conductam esse in illorum terram, illico preparaverunt se ad bellum contra Christianos; atque summo diluculo venerunt in locum ubi gens nostra erat in unum.*
[55] *Gesta* pp. 49 83 [314-315 & 425]
[56] For *gens Christiani*, see Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 27, 30 & 42; For *gens gentiles*, see Baldric, *Historia*, p. 30; Any instances of the use of *gens paganorum* can be traced to a direct borrowing from the *Gesta Francorum*, Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 66, 90 & 91.
[57] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 12.
[58] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 57.
[59] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 59; *Gesta*, pp. 49 & 52 [313 & 321]
[60] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 60, 61, 63 & 110.
[61] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 15.

that Jesus favoured. When Peter tentatively suggested the Jews, Christ allegedly replied that he held the *Iudei inferiores omnibus gentibus*.[62] During the siege of Antioch by Kerbogah, Stephen of Valence claimed to have had a vision of Christ and the Virgin in which Jesus asked him which *gens* had entered the city, to which Stephen replied *Christiani*.[63] Later, a priest called Ebrard had an encounter with a *Christianus Surianus*, who told him that it was written in the Gospel of St Peter – which the *Suriani* possessed – that a *gens Christianorum* was destined to capture Antioch.[64] In an apocryphal conversation between Kerbogah and the unidentified Mirdalin outside Antioch on the morning of 28 June 1098, Kerbogah, growing afraid of the assembled crusaders, asked Mirdalin if they could be held back a little. Mirdalin replied that, even if the entire *gens paganorum* moved against them, they would not be halted.[65] Albert of Aachen labelled the Turcopole soldiers of the Byzantine army *gens impia et dicta Christiana nomina non opere*.[66] In the opening passages of his crusade chronicle Ekkehard listed the various *gentes christianae* who took part in the expedition including, *ex Aquitania scilicet atque Normannia, Anglia, Scotia et Hibernia, Britannia, Galicia, Wasconia, Gallia, Flandria, Lotharingia*, as well as others for whom he did not have the appropriate *vocabula*.[67]

All of the authors, except Raymond of Aguilers, used the term *gentes* to mean non-Christians, echoing the use of the term in the Latin Vulgate. In the *Gesta*'s report of the apocryphal conversation between Kerbogah of Mosul and his mother she told him that she had foreseen the destruction of him and his army by the Christians, quoting Psalms 67:31 and 78:6.

> *... sicut ait ipse per os David prophetae:"Dissipa gentes quae bella volunt.*(Psalm 67:31)*" Et alibi: "Effunde iram tuam in gentes quae te non noverunt, et in regna quae nomen tuum non invocaverunt."* (Psalm 78:6)[68]

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[62] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 226.
[63] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 102. See also Raymond, *Historia*, p. 105.
[64] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 236.
[65] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 126.
[66] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. v, cap. 3, p. 342. See also *gens Christiani*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 13, Bk. iii, cap. 59, Bk. iv, caps. 2 & 3, Bk. v, caps. 7 & 31, pp. 80, 230, 248, 250, 346 & 378; *gens catholici*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 56, p. 564.
[67] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 138.
[68] *Gesta*, p. 54 [325]

When she reportedly told him that the god of the Christians, protected them against *ulla gente*, she may also have been using *gens* in this sense of gentile.[69] Baldric also appears to have used *gens* or *gentes* to mean 'non-Christians', although these uses do not occur in direct borrowings from the *Gesta*. In his version of the speech of Urban at Clermont, Baldric reported that the pope had invoked Psalm 78: *Deus, venerunt gentes in haereditatem tuam.*[70] During a sermon to the army outside Jerusalem in 1099, the clergy invoked the sense of duty of the crusaders towards the Christians of Jerusalem by likening them to their disenfranchised brothers and fathers quoting Isaiah 63:3: *Torcular calcavi solus, et de gentibus non est vir mecum.*[71] At Antioch, Kerbogah's army was described as *gentes innumeras, Turcos videlicet, Sarracenos, Arabes, Publicanos, Azimitas, Curtos, Persas, Agulanos, et alios.*[72] When the *Franci* were themselves besieged by this new force, Baldric reported that the strength of the *Ismahelitae* was such that the crusaders were forced to remain in the city: *pertimescentes impetuosas sustinere gentes.*[73] This synonymity between *Ismahelitae* and *gentes* implies that *gentes* on its own indicated non-Christians.

For the most part, Albert used the term *gentiles* to denote the opponents of the crusade.[74] There are, however, a number of occasions where the term *gens* was used, apparently in the sense of 'non-Christian.'[75] After the victory against Kerbogah's army at Antioch in June 1098, Albert described the booty seized by the crusaders from the Turkish camp including religious *codices*, which contained *sacrilegi ritus Sarracenorum, Turcorum, quarumque gentium inscripti erant.*[76] In an account of celestial phenomena after the victory at Antioch, Albert related that some interpreted the portents as signalling the forthcoming victory of the crusade in *terras et civitates*

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[69] *Gesta*, p. 54 [325]: *deus eorum pro ipsis cotidie pugnat, eosque die noctuque sua protectione defendit, et vigilat super eos sicut pastor vigilat super gregem suam; et non permittit eos laedi nec conturbari ab ulla gente.*

[70] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 14. In his description of the state of Jerusalem prior to the crusade, Baldric used the term *gentes* to describe the Muslims and described their oppression of the churches and the city. Baldric, *Historia*, p. 11: *Pollutum est nimirum sanctum Dei templum; et facta est aula Dei gentium convenarum irreverenter conventiculum; Domus orationis spelunca latronum facta est, et filiis suis mater Ecclesia in novercam alienata est.*

[71] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 101.

[72] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 59.

[73] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 64.

[74] See above, pp. 252-6.

[75] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, caps. 52 & 56, Bk. v, caps. 25 & 34, Bk. vi, cap. 47, pp. 330, 336, 368, 383 & 464. For a possible use of the term *gens* to mean 'non-Christian,' see Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 54, p. 474; There is a possibility that scribal error in the surviving manuscripts has rendered *gentilium* as *gentium* or *gentiles* as *gentes*. My thanks to Dr Susan Edgington, most recent editor of the *Historia*, for this information.

[76] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 56, p. 336.

iniuste a gentibus possessas.[77] For Ekkehard, the term *gentes* often meant non-Christians, whether in scriptural allusions or not. In a speech attributed to a certain *Arnoldus*, he praised the assembled crusaders for their sacrifices hitherto and reminded them that Christ in particular desired the liberation of Jerusalem, which had been held *post tam annos spurcissimae gentis vincula.*[78] Whether this is a reference to the Seljuks or the Fatimids is unclear. Ekkehard was certainly aware that Jerusalem was occupied by the *Turci* and then by the *Saraceni* but his reference to the length of time in which Jerusalem was held by the *gens* may indicate that this was an indiscriminate use of *gens* to mean 'Muslim'.[79] Later in his description of the failure of the miracle of the Easter Fire in 1101 Ekkehard again used *gens* apparently to mean 'non-Christian', when he mentioned that the *Christiani* had previously been accustomed to witness the miracle *in conspectu gentium.*[80] When the miracle of the fire did occur the next morning, Ekkehard attributed it to Christ's unwillingness to allow the *gentes* to mock His name.[81] This allusion to Romans 2:24, in which St Paul warned the Romans that by their own sins they allowed the *gentes* to blaspheme against God, demonstrates that Ekkehard felt that the failure of the holy fire was the result of the sins of the crusaders but that Christ had ensured its arrival lest the Muslims seize the opportunity to blaspheme against Him. The use of *gens* in these two cases is clearly a reference to non-Christians.

The term *gens* could often mean 'people' or 'crowd' without any connotations of collective or group identity. As the above investigation has shown, however, the authors considered here demonstrate a clear understanding of national, biological or cultural bonds between people. The use of *gens* in conjunction with religious labels as well as national ones also highlights an important feature of the language of group identity in the chronicles. While modern scholarship has focussed on the national terminology of the crusade chroniclers, it is clear that religion was a principal factor in determining identity.

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[77] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. v, cap. 26, p. 368.
[78] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 174.
[79] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 134.
[80] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 178. The Genoese chronicler Caffaro di Caschifelone may have referred obliquely to this when he reported the speech of a certain *Mauritius* who comforted the Christians by telling them that the miracle of the Holy Fire had been intended as a demonstration of God's might to the *infideles* and that its apparent failure was due to the conquest of the city by Christians, rendering its continued appearance unnecessary. Caffaro, *Annuales Ianuenses* MGH SS XVII pp. 12-3.
[81] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 178: *ne nos deserendo Christus nomini suo blasphemiam inter gentes prepararet.*

Genus

The term *genus* held an apparently innocuous meaning of 'sort' or 'type,' while also holding specifically ethnic connotations. At times *genus* was used to denote a large group with similar characteristics. For example, while the crusade armies went to fight the Fatimid army at Ascalon, Baldric of Dol reported that Peter the Hermit remained at Jerusalem leading the clergy and *genus imbelle mulierum* in prayer and processions.[82] All of the authors, with the exception of Ekkehard, used the term *genus* with clear ethnic implications. In the *Gesta Francorum*, Firuz, the captain who betrayed the city of Antioch to Bohemund, was *de genere Turcorum.*[83] After the victory of the crusaders against the Fatimids at Ascalon in August 1099, Raymond reported that the crusaders sent *Boamundum, quemdam Turcum genere* to conclude peace with the emir.[84] In the discussion, reported in the *Gesta Francorum,* between Shems-ed-Daula and Kerbogah on the latter's arrival at Antioch, the former told Kerbogah that the crusade's intention was to kill *me et te et omnes alios ex genere nostro.*[85] When the *rex* of Shaizar made a peace treaty with the crusaders in early 1099, Baldric reported that he did so on the condition that the crusaders would not attempt to disinherit him and that the *genus Francorum indomitum* would not despoil his *regnum.*[86] When the Turkish inhabitants of Azaz sent a message to Godfrey of Bouillon asking him to relieve the siege of the city by Ridwan of Aleppo, Raymond explained that they wanted a *dominus* of the *genus Francorum.*[87] Albert's use of *genus* in conjunction with a national term demonstrates its unmistakeable ethnic

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[82] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 107.

[83] *Gesta*, p. 44 [293] During the second siege of Antioch, Kerbogah allegedly wrote a letter to the 'Caliph and Sultan' in which he assured them of his impending victory over the crusade, he pledged to conquer lands up to Apulia and Bulgaria, *ad deorum honorem et vestrum, et omnium qui sunt ex genere Turcorum. Gesta*, p. 53 [322-323]

[84] This Turkish Bohemond had taken the name of the Norman leader because it was he who prompted him to be baptised. Raymond, *Historia*, p. 371-2. A Bohemund was mentioned at the siege of Antioch as being instrumental in the negotiations between Bohemond of Taranto and an unnamed *traditor* in the *Historia* of Albert of Aachen and it is likely that the same person is referred to here. See Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, caps. 61-2, Bk. iv, cap. 15, pp. 234-6 & 270-2.

[85] *Gesta*, p. 50 [321] Hill's edition contains another use of the term *genus pagana* [sic], which would appear to contradict the specifically ethnic use of the term. *Gesta*, p. 82 [421] This would appear, however, to be an error in the modern publication as the surviving manuscripts all contain the words *gens pagana* at this point. My thanks to Prof. M. Bull for his help in this regard.

[86] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 90. Following the *Gesta* Baldric referred to the local Muslim authorities in Syria and Palestine as *reges*. At times, *genus* was used alongside *gens* with the same intended meaning, sometimes in an apparent effort to avoid repetition. In a speech by Bohemond in the *Gesta Francorum* to rally his followers during the battle of Dorylaeum, he addressed them as both *gens* and *genus*: *o genus infractum, o gens invictissima*. Baldric, *Historia*, p. 34.

[87] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 148

quality. The *Longobardi*, *Theutonici*, *Normanni*, *Armenici*, *Turci*, *Syrii* and *Azoparth* were all *genera*.[88] That *genus* also held a specifically biological meaning for Raymond can be seen in his assertion that the *rex Babyloniorum* wanted to use *Franci* under twenty to procreate with *sua gens* so that they would create warlike *familiae*, *de genere Francorum*.[89]

Only Albert and Baldric used *genus* of religious groupings. In his *prologus*, Baldric warned his readers that, in order to establish the magnitude of the achievement of the crusaders in the liberation of Jerusalem, he would praise the strength of the *pagani*. He did so lest the *gens* of the *Christiani* be considered to have defeated an unwarlike *genus*.[90] In a reported conversation in Albert of Aachen's *Historia*, Yaghi-Siyan of Antioch referred to Kilij Arslan, Sultan of Nicaea, as *de genere nostro virum nobilissimum*.[91] It is possible here that *genus* referred to their common religion rather than their common ethnicity as elsewhere both Christians and Jews were described as *genera*.[92] In the description of the fall of Antioch to the crusade in June 1098, Albert reported the slaughter of the Muslim inhabitants of the city in which neither age nor sex prevented the slaughter of those *de genere gentilium*.[93]

Albert of Aachen and Raymond of Aguilers both used *genus* to denote kin groups. When Baldwin of Boulogne married the daughter of an Armenian noble Taphnuz, Albert reported that she was *de genere Armenio magnificus*.[94] In 1100 when Baldwin left Edessa to claim the throne of Jerusalem on Godfrey's death, he granted his principality to his cousin Baldwin of Bourcq, *vir nobilis generis sui*.[95] Albert's vocabulary of kinship can also be seen in his use of the term *alienigena*. The embassy from Jerusalem which urged Baldwin to claim his brother's position reminded him of his blood ties to Godfrey and asserted that they would not accept the rule of an *alienigena*: *firmaverunt se numquam pati alienigenam regnare aut*

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[88] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 35, Bk. iii, caps. 1, 15 & 61, Bk. iv, caps. 15, 17 & 38, Bk. v, caps. 7 & 23, Bk. viii, cap. 28, Bk. x, cap. 25, Bk. xii, caps. 18 & 20, pp. 120, 138, 162, 234, 270, 274, 306, 346, 366, 620, 742, 850 & 854.
[89] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 361.
[90] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 10: *Si enim gentilium robur plus justo attenuarem, Christianorum fortitudini et laboribus detraherem, dum tanquam adversus gentem imbellem genus nostrum hiatu temerario dimicasse declamarem*. (In Ms G, *genus nostram* reads *gentem nostram*.)
[91] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 3, p. 252. See Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 2, p. 248 for Yaghi Siyan addressing Kilij Arslan as *generis mei proximus*.
[92] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 38, Bk. viii, cap. 22, pp. 306 & 516
[93] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 23, p. 282.
[94] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 31, p. 188.
[95] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 31, p. 528. See also, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 2, p. 486, n. 1.

sedere in throno Ierusalem.[96] In this context, it is clear that *alienigena* denoted a person outside of Godfrey's kin group. In his discussion of the Islam Raymond used *genus* to denote familial lines. When relating that the *rex Babylonia* was unsure as to whether to ally with the crusaders or the Turks, Raymond reported that the Turks had promised to worship *Alim ... qui est de genere Mahumeth*, in return for Fatimid support.[97] This is a reference to the Shia belief that the caliphs ought to descend from Ali, cousin of the Prophet Mohammed. During the siege of 'Arqah, Raymond reported the rumour which reached the crusaders that the *Papa Turcorum* was marching to meet the crusaders in battle. This *Papa* was *de genere Mahumeth* and, as a result, was able to gather a following of *gentes sine numero.*[98] This presumably refers to the Abbasid caliph of Baghdad, al-Mustazhir. The Abbasid caliphs claimed their descent from Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet Mohammed. After the *rex* of Tripoli paid tribute to the crusaders, Raymond described how a group of *Sarraceni* were baptised, *anathemitazantes Mahumeth et progeniem eius omnem.*[99] This is almost certainly a reference back to the previous discussions of the Muslims and their attachment to persons from the family of the Prophet.

Raymond of Aguilers had the widest range of uses for *genus* of all the authors considered here. As well as using it to denote kin groups or lineages, he discussed the circumstances of the birth of an individual in terms of *genus*. In his treatment of Arnulf of Choques, towards whom he was extremely hostile, Raymond deemed the chaplain of the Duke of Normandy unfit to be patriarch of Jerusalem on a number of counts but particularly because *erat de genere sacerdotale.*[100] The reform papacy had attempted to prohibit the sons of priests from inheriting the position from their fathers and Raymond, in line with the papacy counted Arnulf's lineage as a barrier to his election as patriarch. The meaning of 'birth' attributed to *genus* may also appear in the description of Peter Bartholomew as *Provincialem genere* and Peter of Narbonne, *Narbonensem genere.*[101] On two occasions, Raymond used the phrase *genus hominum* to denote the human race. In his description of Antioch and its

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[96] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 30, p. 528: *conspiraverunt enim se non alium recipere nisi fratrem aut virum de sanguine illius, propter inestimabilem illius bonitatem, et nimiam largitatem, et propter iusiurandum quo firmaverunt se numquam pati alienigenam regnare aut sedere in throno Ierusalem.*
[97] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 209.
[98] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 212.
[99] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 218.
[100] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 358.
[101] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 89 & 158.

extensive defences, Raymond asserted that it would stand an assault by the whole *genus hominum*.[102] On their journey south from Antioch to Jerusalem the crusaders asked the local Syrian Christians to advise them on the best route. When describing the sea route, the Syrians warned that many of the passes on this route were so narrow that fifty to one hundred *Sarraceni* could defend them against *omne hominum genus*.[103]

Generatio

The term *generatio* could be applied to both religious and national groups. In the *Gesta Francorum*, the constituent parts of the Muslim forces at the battle of Dorylaeum in July 1097 were listed and then collectively referred to as *illa excommunicata generatione*.[104] Baldric of Dol used the term to describe the crusaders outside Antioch on 28 June 1098. Immediately prior to this battle Kerbogah was portrayed as being certain of victory over the crusade and indeed Baldric reported that the atabeg of Mosul was surprised that the Latins dared to venture to meet him in battle: *Tantae siquidem animositatis et stoliditatis erat, ut nullam generationem audere sibi venire obviam arbitraretur*.[105] Raymond only used the term *generatio* once in his *Historia*. When he related the contents of a letter from the *rex* of Acre to the *dux* of Shaizar, the *rex* called the crusaders a *generatio canina*.[106]

In the description of the military prowess of the Turkish archers and the terror which they instilled in national groups other than the *Franci*, the Anonymous claimed that the Turks identified themselves with the *Francorum generatio*. He acknowledged the truth of this claim and stated that only the *Turci* and the *Franci* were worthy of being knights. In this passage the term *generatio* has clear ethnic meaning, with implications of a common inheritance between people of the same *generatio*.[107] In his *Historia*, Baldric of Dol related the same story amending the use

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[102] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 32.
[103] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 280.
[104] *Gesta*, p. 19 [202]
[105] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 76.
[106] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 299. Immediately afterwards they were also labelled *gens stulta atque contensiosa*.
[107] *Gesta*, p. 21 [206- 207]: *Qui putabant terrere gentem Francorum minis suarum sagittarum, sicut terruerunt Arabes, Saracenos, et Hermeniios, Suranios et Grecos. Sed si Deo placet nunquam tantum valebunt, quantum nostri. Verumtamen dicunt se esse de Francorum generatione, et quia nullus homo*

of *generatio* to *genealogia*: *Jactitant tamen se de Francorum stirpe duxisse genealogiam, eorumque proavos a Christianitate descisse.*[108]

Natio

In the use of the term *natio*, there is little consensus among the authors. In the *Gesta Francorum*, which contains the term only twice, *natio* described the Muslims only.[109] Baldric's *Historia* contains a greater number of uses and a wider range of meanings than his *fons formalis*. The term was, however, principally employed to denote the Muslim opponents of the crusade. In the *prologus* to his *Historia*, Baldric emphasised the *divina inspiratio* for the crusade, arguing that only this could have roused so many to go and fight the *barbarae nationes*.[110] In his version of Pope Urban II's speech at Clermont in 1095 Baldric emphasised the desecration of the churches of Jerusalem, accusing the *barbarae nationes* of venerating images there.[111] The phrase *barbarae nationes* was used by Jerome in his letters to denote non-Christians and is found in a number of Latin chronicles of the First Crusade.[112] Given the popularity of the phrase and Baldric's extensive education, it is likely that he was familiar with it. Albert predominantly used the term *barbare nationes* to denote the Muslims.[113] The force which Kerbogah had assembled for the relief of Antioch from the siege by the crusade was described as *universe barbare nationes et legiones gentilium*.[114] In a vision reported at Antioch, Ambrose of Milan promised a certain cleric, a *Longobardus* that the crusade would succeed in its quest to wrest Jerusalem from the *barbare nationes*.[115] Elsewhere the Muslims were labelled *nationes*

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naturaliter debet esse miles nisi Franci et illi. For a discussion of this passage in the *Gesta Francorum*, see M. Bull, 'The Frankish First Crusade,' p. 206.

[108] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 35; *Gesta*, p. 21[206-7]

[109] For this reason, the use of the term *natio* is discussed in Chapter 2, p. 66.

[110] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 9.

[111] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 13. Later in the speech, Baldric recorded that Urban labelled the Muslims as *nationes* which the *acies Christiana* would oppose, likening the crusaders to the *Jacobitae* and decrying the Muslims as *nefandiores quam Jebuseos*. Baldric, *Historia*, p. 15.

[112] Jerome, *Epistula* 133, *Ad Ctesiphontem* 9, CSEL 56, p. 255. *Epistula* 146 *Ad Evangelum Presbyterum* 1, CSEL 56, p. 310. For a discussion of the use of the phrase *barbarae nationes* in the chronicles of the First Crusade with the suggestion that the phrase came from the classical dichotomy of latin-barbarian, see Jones, 'The image of the barbarian,' 377-80; Loutchitskaja, '*Barbarae Nationes*' *passim*; See also the letter of the clergy of Lucca to *omnes fideles*, Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, p. 167.

[113] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 15, Bk. iv, caps. 29 & 38, Bk. vi, caps. 35, 41, 53 & 56, Bk. viii, caps. 2 & 19, Bk. ix, cap. 43, pp. 160, 290, 308, 448, 456, 474, 480, 488, 610, 612 & 698.

[114] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 29, p. 290.

[115] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 39, p. 308.

gentilium. Kerbogah's army, first labelled *barbare nationes*, was later referred to as *tot nationes gentilium*.[116]

On occasion the term *natio* appears on its own, referring to the Muslims. Kerbogah's army was referred to as *universe nationes* by Albert as it left for Antioch.[117] The conglomerate Turkish force which faced Baldwin at Homs in 1100 was *congregati nationes*.[118] Baldric too used the term for the opponents of the crusade. In the vision of Stephen of Valence at Antioch in June 1098, Christ, flanked by the Virgin Mary and St Peter, allegedly rebuked the crusaders for their sins and told Stephen that he had averted his eyes from them. St Peter then implored Christ to intervene, citing the damage which the *gens pagana* had inflicted on the churches of Antioch and invoking Joel 11:17: *Parce, Domine, parce, populo tuo et ne des hereditatem tuam in perditionem, ut dominentur eis nationes*.[119] After the defeat of Kerbogah at Antioch, Raymond of Toulouse and his army moved towards Ma'arrat an Numan, arriving there in November 1098. According to the *Gesta* the city was defended by *maxima multitudo Saracenorum et Turcorum et Arabum aliorumque paganorum*, while Baldric replaced this with *multae Agarenorum nationes*.[120]

On one occasion, Baldric used the term *natio* in relation to the Byzantines. In a speech attributed to him during the siege of Antioch, Tatikios, the imperial representative on the crusade, offered to go and secure both reinforcements from the empire and food supplies, pointing to his high position in the emperor's administration and the empire: *Ego domesticus, ut nostis, sum imperatori; ego percognitus sum omni Graeci nationi*.[121] An insight into Baldric's use of *natio* can also be seen in his description of Tatikios as *natione Graecus*, that is, 'born a *Graecus*'.[122] Albert did not limit his use of the term *nationes* to denote the opponents of the crusade either. Gottschalk, a clerical leader of one of the contingents of the People's Crusade, was *Theutonicus natione* and his preaching had inspired *plurimorum corda ex diversis nationibus* to take the cross.[123] Bohemond of Taranto

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[116] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 54, p. 332. See also, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 40, Bk. v, cap. 34, Bk. vii, cap. 37, pp. 312, 383 & 542.
[117] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 10, p. 264. See also, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 44, p. 316.
[118] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 32, p. 532. See also, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 33, p. 532.
[119] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 66.
[120] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 84.
[121] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 45.
[122] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 44.
[123] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 23, p. 44.

was *natione Nortmannus*.[124] When the forces of the 1101 crusade arrived in Constantinople, Albert reported that Alexius Comnenus greatly feared the congregation of so many *nationes* near his capital.[125] *Natio* could also be applied to the inhabitants of cities, however, as the Pisans, Genoese, Venetians and Amalfitans who joined Baldwin in the Holy Land in 1107 were all labelled *copiis... ex diversis nationibus regni Italie*.[126] The non-Latin groups were also deemed *nationes*. The Turcopoli were counted among the *nationes* under Alexius Comnenus' rule.[127] A Christian of the Syrian *natio* advised the leaders of the crusade where they could find wood for their siege engines during the investment of Jerusalem in 1099.[128]

Ekkehard used the term *natio* only three times in the crusading section of his *Chronicon*, each time in the sense of a national group. In a discussion of the range of different groups within the crusade who were nevertheless united in their purpose and *caritas Christi*, this variety was expressed as differences in *linguis, tribubus et nationibus*. These different *membra Christi* were then referred to as *gentes*.[129] After suggesting that the *Franci occidentales* needed little encouragement to leave their *rura* as the country was riven by civil war and plague, Ekkehard then described the reasons cited for their departure by those from *reliquae nationes*.[130] In an explanatory passage, in which he interrupted his replication of the letter of the princes to Paschal II to detail the political developments between the Muslim powers in the east during the siege of Antioch, he referred to the impact of the crusade presence on the *orientes nationes*.[131] It is clear from his use of *natio* to denote both Christian and non-Christian groups, and the qualification inherent in the use of *orientes nationes*, that the term was not applied as a non-Christian term along the lines of the Vulgate but was analogous to *gens*.

In some cases, Baldric seems to denote a place rather than a specific group by the term *natio*. During the speech of Tatikios mentioned above, he sympathised with the crusaders whom he said, would die *in his exteris nationibus* without his aid.[132] On one occasion, the term *nationes* was used by Kerbogah of Mosul in relation to the

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[124] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 22, p. 94.
[125] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 4, pp. 588-90.
[126] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. x, cap. 46, p. 760.
[127] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 22, p. 44.
[128] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 2, p. 408.
[129] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 138.
[130] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 140.
[131] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 152.
[132] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 44.

crusaders. After his army arrived in the outskirts of Antioch, a number of crusaders were captured by his men and their weapons were brought to him. Upon seeing that these weapons were broken and rusted, Kerbogah reportedly laughed and urged his followers to expel the crusaders back to *nationes suas*.[133]

Cognatio

Albert of Aachen used the term *cognatio* to convey an ethnic or national grouping, often in the phrase *terra et cognatio*.[134] During the visit of Peter the Hermit to Jerusalem, a vision of Christ instructed him to return to *terra cognationis tue* and preach an expedition.[135] This allusion to both Acts of the Apostles 7:3 and Genesis 12:1 occurred again later in the *Historia*, when Godfrey of Bouillon and Robert of Normandy reproached a number of men for faltering while entering the city of Antioch secretly on the night of 2 June 1098: *Mementote in cuius nomine a terra et cognatione vestra existis*.[136] During the journey of Godfrey of Bouillon through Hungary Alexius sent messengers *de terra et de cognatione Francigenarum* as *legationes imperatoris* to negotiate the terms of his passage through Byzantine territory.[137] When news of the size and proximity of Kerbogah's army reached the crusaders at Antioch, Adhemar, bishop of Le Puy, reassured them, reminding them of the reason why they had left *patria, cognatio et omnia*.[138] Although *cognatio* can also mean 'blood relative' or 'kin' in this period, Albert used the shorter *cognatus* on a number of occasions to describe specific familial relationships and it is clear that *cognatio* had a wider application than blood relation alone.[139]

Populus

Ekkehard was the only author considered here to use the term *populus* in the clear sense of a national grouping. While many of his uses of the term denoted a large unspecific group and can be translated as simply 'people', there are a number of

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[133] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 62.
[134] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 4, Bk. ii, caps. 9 & 14, Bk. iii, cap. 62, Bk. iv, cap. 18, Bk. vii, cap. 4, pp. 4, 74, 82, 236, 274 & 492.
[135] Genesis 12:1, Acts 7:3; Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 4,
[136] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 18, Bk, vii, cap. 4, pp. 276 & 490.
[137] Rodolph Peeldau and Roger son of Dagobert, see Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 9, p. 74.
[138] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 62, p. 236.
[139] For example, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 1, p. 2: *quomodo reliquerint patriam, cognatos, uxores, filios filiasque, castella, urbes, agros, regna et omnem huius mundi dulcedinem, certa pro incertis, et in nomine Iesu exilia quesierint.*

instances in which the term held a specifically collective function based on national or religious grounds.[140] Once the speech of Urban II had been reported, Ekkehard described how the message of his preaching reached even the islands and the seas brimmed with *ignotos populos, cuius non dicam mores et habitus, sed ne loquelam quisquam huius litoris habitator vel de ipsis marinariis agnosceret.*[141] The *Theutonici* were a *populus* as were the *Longobardi* and the *Saraceni.*[142] When the legation from Cairo arrived at Antioch to negotiate with the crusaders against the Seljuks, Ekkehard reported that they were amazed at the *habitu et incessu omnique elegantia* of the *Franci*. He then explained that the *barbari* used the word *Franci* for all the *occidentales populos.*[143]

In this examination of the use of collective terms by the authors of the crusade chronicles, there is no doubt that each them considered particular groups to be united by linguistic, biological, religious and cultural features. Consequently it is possible to discuss the terminology of group identity in the chronicles having established the authors' consciousness of such identities. The terms discussed here, in particular *gens*, *genus* and *natio*, are all used by the authors in conjunction with national or religious labels and this demonstrates that religion, as well as geographical origin, was an important component in the construction of identity.

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[140] For *populus* to denote 'people' in a general sense, see Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, pp. 136, 142, 150, 156, 160, 162, 166, 172 & 174.
[141] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 138: *tam ignotos effudit oceanus populos.*
[142] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, pp. 140, 164 & 172.
[143] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 154: *habitu et incessu omnique elegantia attoniti barbari Francos – sic enim universos occidentales populos nominare solent – plus quam homines, id est deos, esse.*

The Anonymous *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*

The Anonymous *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolymitanorum* was one of the earliest written records to reach western Europe and, if the diversity and number of the contemporary authors who borrowed from it are an indication, the most influential.[1] The influence of the *Gesta Francorum* on later authors is only one factor which has prompted energetic modern historical effort. The uncertainty regarding the identity and status of its author – many scholars believe him to have been a literate knight rather than the more common cleric – as well as the style of the Latin of the text, have all ensured that the scholarship on the anonymous *Gesta* far outweighs that of any other Latin First Crusade chronicle.[2]

The influence of the *Gesta Francorum* on the historiography of the First Crusade is enormous. The *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere* of Peter Tudebode was almost an exact copy of it with details added from Raymond of Aguilers and the author's own experience.[3] Raymond of Aguilers and Fulcher of Chartres, despite

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[1] For the date of the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* and its use by later authors, see H. Hagenmeyer, 'Einleitung,' *Anonymi Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolymitanorum* (Heidelberg, 1890), pp. 49-92; J. France, 'The Anonymous *Gesta Francorum* and the *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* of Raymond of Aguilers and the *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere* of Peter Tudebode,' in *The Crusades and their Sources: Essays presented to Bernard Hamilton,* eds. J. France, and W. G. Zajac (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 39-69; J. France, 'The use of the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* in the early twelfth-century sources for the First Crusade,' in *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies, 1095-1500*, ed. A.V. Murray (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 29-42; J. Rubenstein, 'What was the *Gesta Francorum* and who was Peter Tudebode?' *Revue Mabillon* 16 (2005), 179-204.

[2] For the identity of the Anonymous see, Hagenmeyer, 'Einleitung,' pp. 1-10 ; Rubenstein, 'What was the *Gesta Francorum*?,' pp. 183-4; L. Brehier, 'Introduction,' *Histoire Anonyme de la première Croisade* (Paris, 1924), pp. v-viii; R. Hill, 'Introduction,' *The Deeds of the Franks and other Pilgrims to Jerusalem* (Oxford, 2002), pp. xi-xvi; C. Morris, 'The *Gesta Francorum* as narrative history,' *Reading Medieval Studies* 19 (1993), 55-71; C. Kostick, 'A further discussion on the authorship of the *Gesta Francorum*,' *Reading Medieval Studies* 35 (2009), 1-11.

[3] The debate regarding the primacy of the *Gesta Francorum* and Tudebode's *Historia* has been decided, for most scholars, in favour of the anonymous chronicle since Hagenmeyer's 1890 edition. A number of dissenting voices maintain that a source or 'ur-text' lay behind the two, however. For detailed treatment of the debate, see J. H. Hill & L. L. Hill, 'Introduction,' *Petrus Tudebodus Historia*

being eyewitnesses of the crusade, both used the anonymous chronicle to augment their own histories.[4] Of those crusade authors who were not participants on the expedition, three used the *Gesta* as the principal source. Guibert, abbot of Nogent-sous-Coucy, writing his *Dei Gesta per Francos* in 1109 used the Anonymous for the most part, augmenting it with eyewitness reports and possibly other written sources.[5] Robert the Monk, in his *Historia Iherosolymitana*, stated that his abbot had asked him to rewrite an earlier, incomplete, history of the crusade, the *Gesta Francorum*, and to improve its style.[6] Baldric, archbishop of Dol, wrote his *Historia Jerosolimitana* based on the Anonymous who, in Baldric's opinion, had defiled the material through his *inurbanus* style.[7] As a result of the number of authors who used the anonymous account, John France has described the *Gesta Francorum* as the 'normal account' of the First Crusade.[8]

The three abovementioned authors all made criticisms of the language, style and content of the *Gesta Francorum*.[9] Guibert of Nogent claimed that the language of the anonymous account was unfitting for such glorious deeds.[10] Baldric accused the author of concealing his name so as not to be associated with such a work.[11] Robert the monk claimed that his abbot had requested that he rewrite the *Historia* because it had displeased him, due to the poor style and the absence of an account of the Council of Clermont, which Robert was to add.[12] This allegedly poor style of the

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de Hierosolymitana itinere (Paris, 1977), pp. 8-16; Rubenstein, 'What was the *Gesta Francorum*?,' pp. 197-204; C. Thurot, 'Études Critiques sur les Historiens de la Première Croisade,' *Revue Historique* 1 (1976), 67-77.

[4] For Fulcher's use of the *Gesta*, see Hagenmeyer, 'Einleitung,' pp. 58-60; For Raymond's use of the *Gesta*, see Hagenmeyer, 'Einleitung,' pp. 49-58; France, 'The Anonymous *Gesta Francorum*.'

[5] R. H. C. Huygens, 'La date de la composition et de la mise en circulation des *Dei Gesta per Francos*,' in *Guibert of Nogent* Dei Gesta per Francos ed. R.H.C. Huygens (Turnhout, 1996), pp. 51-2; See also Hagenmeyer, 'Einleitung,' pp. 78-79.

[6] Robert, *Historia*, p. 91. See also Hagenmeyer, 'Einleitung,' pp. 79-80.

[7] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 10. See also Hagenmeyer, 'Einleitung,' pp. 76-78.

[8] France, 'The use of the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*,' p. 29.

[9] Robert, *Historia*, 9: *quidam etenim abbas nomine Bernardus, litterarum scientia et morum probitate præditus, ostendit mihi unam historiam secundum hanc materiam, sed ei admodum displicebat, partim quia initium suum, quod in Clari Montis concilio constituum fuit, non habebat, partim quia series tam pulchræ materiei inculta jacebat, et litteralium compositio dictionum inculta vacillabat. Præcepit igitur mihi ut, qui Clari Montis concilio interfui, acephalæ materiei caput præponerem et lecturis eam accuratiori stilo componerem*; Baldric, *Historia*, p. 10: *sed nescio quis compilator, nomine suppresso, libellum super hac re nimis rusticanum ediderat; veritatem tamen texuerat, sed propter inurbanitatem codicis, nobilis materia viluerat; et simpliciores etiam inculta et incompta lectio confestim a se avocabat*; Guibert, *Dei Gesta, praefatio*, lines 10-13, p. 79: *Erat siquidem eadem Historia, sed verbis contexta plus equo simplicibus et quae multotiens grammaticae naturas excederet lectoremque vapidi insipiditate sermonis sepius exanimare valeret.*

[10] Guibert, *Dei Gesta, praefatio*, lines 40-42, p. 80.

[11] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 10.

[12] Robert, *Historia*, p. 91.

Gesta Francorum was accepted by modern scholars until the works of Oehler and Morris, who both reasoned that the Latin of the *Gesta* had a complexity and style of a different tradition to that of his contemporary clerical critics. They further argued that the *Gesta* should not be measured alongside Cicero, but judged on its own merits.[13] Oehler pointed to the style of Latin reminiscent of the Gospels and poetic or literary devices such as alliteration, assonance and rhyme, to assert that the author of the *Gesta* was not only accomplished but experienced in literary composition, suggesting that the *Gesta* might not be the first work of its author.[14]

The division of the work into episodic sections which do not appear to be cross referenced, led Hagenmeyer to suggest that it was composed in short bursts on the journey, representing a diary or *Tagebuch* which was later written up into a single narrative.[15] This would not necessarily explain the lack of cross referencing in the *Gesta* as the author could have inserted cross references when assembling the work. Brehier argued that a second author took the eyewitness sketch and edited it, adding the characteristic doxologies and biblical citations and even adding the direct speech, but again without cross referencing or indeed harmonising the lengths of the books. This is not backed up by the text in which there is a striking continuity in themes as well as language and grammar.[16] Rubenstein suggested that the extant manuscripts of the *Gesta Francorum* represent a step removed from an 'original' which Tudebode, the author of the Monte Cassino Chronicle, Raymond of Aguilers and perhaps the three 'second wave' authors, had access to, and which consisted of a collection of 'sermons' written by a number of authors. This theory does not explain the uniformity of literary motifs, grammatical and linguistic continuities and themes, which permeate the *Gesta* and its derivatives, even to the highly altered works of the northern French Benedictine authors.[17] It would also necessitate the existence of at least six copies of this 'ur-Gesta,' none of which have survived, while only the revisions of this text survived. While the discrepancies between the 'Monte Cassino Chronicle,' Tudebode and the extant *Gesta* texts point towards a text 'behind' the

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[13] Morris, 'The *Gesta Francorum* as narrative history,' p. 60; H. Oehler, 'Studien zu den "Gesta Francorum," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 6 (1970), pp. 58-97.
[14] Oehler, 'Studien zu den "Gesta Francorum," pp. 58-97, 61-6, 69 & 72-3.
[15] Hagenmeyer, 'Einleitung,' p. 17.
[16] Brehier,'Introduction,' pp. v-viii; J. J. Gavigan, 'The syntax of the Gesta Francorum,' in *Language* 19 (1943) 10-102, p. 11, n. 17. In an examination of the syntax throughout the *Gesta Francorum*, Gavigan concluded that it was written by one author.
[17] Rubenstein, 'What was the *Gesta Francorum*?,' pp. 197-204.

Gesta, it is clear that this text would have been almost identical to the *Gesta* as it survives.[18]

A number of modern authors have drawn parallels between the *Gesta Francorum* and the emerging *Chanson de Geste* tradition of the twelfth century. In his introduction to the French translation of the *Gesta*, Brehier stated that the *morceaux romanesque* of the portrayal of Islamic personalities and reported conversations, were reminiscent of the *Chanson* tradition.[19] In a defence of the style of the *Gesta*, Morris placed the Anonymous firmly within the vernacular tradition, pointing to his repetition of key phrases, the inclusion of apocryphal conversations and a clear 'hero' in the person of Bohemond.[20] According to Morris, the *Gesta* was 'representative of a Latin culture which shared many of the features of the vernacular songs which already, we may safely assume, delighted the aristocracy.'[21] Bennett suggested that the vernacular poetry which preceded the written *Chansons* influenced many of the crusade chronicles, the *Gesta Francorum* in particular.[22] Other scholars are more cautious regarding the parallels between the *Gesta* and the *Chansons*. Daniel cautioned, 'It is nearly, but not quite, the same.'[23]

The differences between the *Gesta* and the vernacular *Chansons* are significant. Although the *Gesta* and the earliest manuscript of the *Chanson de Roland* are broadly contemporary, the *Chansons* are a feature of the mid to late twelfth century.[24] The *Gesta* was written in Latin and was a report of true events in the recent past. The prominence of biblical quotations and religious references in the *Gesta* contrasted with the *Chansons*, whose concerns were principally secular.[25] When the *Gesta* is viewed as a complete unit, it becomes clear that the inclusion of apocryphal conversations was not mere narrative embroidery: each conversation fulfilled a specific narrative function, providing a moral commentary on events and actions. The most potent example of this is the speech of Kerbogah's mother in which she expounded the theological background to the crusade, complete with

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[18] France, 'The use of the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*,' p. 34
[19] Brehier, 'Introduction,' pp. vi-vii.
[20] Morris, 'The *Gesta Francorum* as narrative history,' pp. 60-3.
[21] Morris, 'The *Gesta Francorum* as narrative history,' p. 63.
[22] Bennett, 'First crusaders' images of Muslims,' pp. 101-22.
[23] Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens*, p. 244.
[24] G.J. Brault, *The Song of Roland: An analytical Edition* (Philadelphia, 1978), p. 341.
[25] See Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens*, p. 243 on the lack of theological framework in the *Chansons*.

scriptural allusions.[26] The use of *oratio recta* to allow the author to provide his own discussion and moral judgement of the actions of persons was part of the historical tradition since the classical period and can be seen in the works of Sallust.[27]

As well as the historiographical discussion regarding the relative merits of the Anonymous's Latin and the prehistory of the extant text, there is considerable disagreement among scholars as to the occupation or status of the author of the *Gesta Francorum*. In 1841, von Sybel suggested that the Anonymous was a knight in the service of Bohemond of Taranto.[28] The argument that the Anonymous was a knight centred on the point of view indicated in the narrative, the apparent presence of the author among the fighters in the army and in particular his presence near Bohemond at key moments, his knowledge of military affairs, his preoccupation with the knights and their experience including his detailed account of the price of goods during scarcity as well as the simplicity of the narrative.[29] Although Morris was inclined to see the author as a priest, his demonstration of the resemblances between the *Gesta Francorum* and the vernacular *Chansons* tradition, added to the argument that he was a secular author.

The most convincing argument against the secular identity of the author is the *Gesta Francorum* itself. A Latin narrative written by an author who was demonstrably not a cleric was extremely rare in the early twelfth century. Some commentators have suggested that the Anonymous may have received a clerical education in his childhood which he abandoned in favour of the knighthood.[30] This was not unknown in the twelfth century and indeed Baldwin of Boulogne, later King Baldwin I of Jerusalem, was reputed to have received such an education; Albert of Aachen labelled him *vir litteris eruditus*.[31] Clanchy has warned against the translation of the term *litteratus* as 'literate' in this period; often it meant 'erudite'.

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[26] See Bennett for the opinion that these conversations were inspired by vernacular poetry. Bennett, 'First crusaders' images of Muslims,' p.111; See Morris for the assertion that the *Gesta* contained no moral judgements; Morris, 'The *Gesta Francorum* as narrative history,' p. 59.

[27] Smalley, 'Sallust in the Middle Ages,' pp. 168-71; For the acknowledgement in secondary sources that the direct speech attributed by an author to a historical figure represents the author's own views, see, C. Morris, 'Peter the Hermit and the Chroniclers,' in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, ed. J. Phillips, pp. 21-34, p. 26; Curta, '*Furor Teutonicus*,' p. 64.

[28] H. von Sybel, *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs* (Dusseldorf, 1841), p. 28; Hagenmeyer, 'Einleitung,' pp. 2-9.

[29] Hagenmeyer, 'Einleitung,' pp. 2-9; Brehier, 'Introduction,' pp. v-viii; Hill, 'Introduction,' pp. xi-xvi; Kostick, 'The authorship of the *Gesta Francorum*,' p. 5.

[30] B. Hamilton, *Religion in the Medieval West* (London, 1986), p. 108; See also Hill, Introduction, p. xiv; Kostick, 'The authorship of the *Gesta Francorum*,' pp. 3-4.

[31] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 61, p. 572.

He also demonstrated that an ability to read was not always accompanied by an ability to write.[32] Moreover the *Gesta Francorum* would represent the only extant evidence of written composition by one of these *viri litterati* and care must be taken not to exaggerate the significance of a term which, in its original context, may have been intended as a flattery of Baldwin.

As Oehler has demonstrated, the author's use of quotations from a range of books of the Bible and the apparent construction of phrases from a number of separate biblical passages suggests more than extreme secular piety but rather a clerical intimacy with the Vulgate.[33] Hill's suggestion that these mixed-reference phrases represent a 'good but not completely accurate memory' derives from an extremely modern concept of literacy and belies the complexity of such phrases.[34] The conventions of twelfth-century biblicity encouraged the use of composite biblical references and both Ekkehard of Aura and Guibert of Nogent, extremely erudite authors whose narratives included biblical exegesis, used composite references in their accounts.[35] Hill's notes also demonstrate the author's familiarity with more than the Gospels, the Psalms and the first two books of Moses, to which Oehler restricted his analysis. Both the knowledge of the Bible and its skilful use contradict the assertions that the author was unlearned or naïve.[36]

That the author wrote in the first person when describing battles and scenes where the clergy were unlikely to have been present does not immediately preclude his clerical status. While clerics were forbidden from bearing arms, Bishop Adhemar of Le Puy, papal legate to the crusade, was one of a number of clerics who appears to have interpreted this restriction loosely as he is repeatedly presented as a military leader in his own right.[37] Although the author of the *Gesta* often wrote in the first person, implying his own presence at events, and recorded direct speech, this does

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[32] See M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307* (London, 1979), pp. 12 & 115, for a corrective to the assumption that one who could read in the Middle Ages could also write, and pp. 231-240, on the understanding of the term *litteratus* as literate.
[33] Oehler, 'Studien zu den "Gesta Francorum," pp. 61-2.
[34] *Gesta*, pp. 53-54, n. 6; See Rubenstein, 'What was the *Gesta Francorum*?,' p. 187, for the opinion that the merging of two separate passages into one phrase is 'a feat arguably more impressive than quoting them correctly.'
[35] Guibert, *Dei Gesta,* Bk. i, lines 197-207, p. 92; Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 132.
[36] See, for example, Albu's assertion of the narrative as representing 'authenticity unobscured by layers of literary conceits.' E. Albu, *The Normans and their Histories: Propaganda, Myth and Subversion* (Woodbridge, 2001), p. 149.
[37] Cod. Theod. 16.2.2 (319). See J. Brundage, 'Crusades, clerics and violence: reflections on a canonical theme' in *The Experience of Crusading 1: Western Approaches*, eds M. Bull and N. Housely (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 147-156, esp. 148-9.

not necessarily mean that he was present. In a number of cases where he reported direct speech, he was demonstrably absent, for example during the discussions between Muslim personalities, during the argument between Baldwin of Boulogne and the emperor's soldiers at Constantinople, during the discussion between Baldwin and Tancred at Edessa and during the discussions between Emperor Alexius I and Count Stephen of Blois at Philomelium, including the lament of Guido, Bohemond's brother. Fulcher of Chartres identified himself as a priest and yet he used the first person plural in much of his narrative.[38] Similarly, Peter Tudebode, also a self-proclaimed priest, maintained the use of *nos/nostri* in his history. Perhaps most importantly, the author of the *Gesta* himself used the term *nos/nostri* to describe events from which he was clearly absent.[39]

Brehier asserted that the Anonymous was a 'true knight' as demonstrated by his concern with the knightly class and material considerations.[40] However, the monastic author, Guibert of Nogent also betrayed a great interest in the concerns of the nobility and contempt for the lower social orders: here his noble background rather than his monastic vocation was uppermost.[41] With regard to the Anonymous's concern for material considerations such as the supply of water and the price of goods, the supply of necessities was surely not only the concern of the knighthood but of the entire expedition who were all affected by the shortages. Tudebode, a cleric, expanded the list of goods and prices contained in the anonymous chronicle.[42]

The *Gesta Francorum* has suffered from anachronistic analysis which has separated various aspects of the narrative based on a modern reading of the chronicle and historiographical priorities. In attempts to find out the 'facts' of the crusade, passages which are not directly historical have been singled out as anomalous.[43] Criticisms from the *Gesta*'s contemporaries were left to stand unopposed until the defences presented by Oehler and Morris and even now the work is accused of a lack

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[38] Fulcher appears to have used the third person plural, for the most part, when he was absent from the place where the events described occurred, for example when describing the siege of Antioch, Fulcher was with Baldwin at Edessa and thus renders much of his narrative in the third person plural. Y. N. Harari, 'Eyewitnessing in Accounts of the First Crusade: The *Gesta Francorum* and Other Contemporary Narratives,' *Crusades* 3 (2004), 77-101, p. 81.

[39] See below, pp. 18-9.

[40] Brehier, 'Introduction,' pp. iv-v.

[41] C. Kostick, *The Social Structure of the First Crusade* (Leiden, 2008), p. 76.

[42] Rubenstein, 'What was the *Gesta Francorum*?' p. 192.

[43] The most extreme example of this practise is Brehier's discussion of the 4 separate elements of the *Gesta* and the assertion that the work was 'far from being uniform.' Brehier, 'Introduction,' pp. v-viii.

of 'internal referencing.'[44] This has led scholars to minimise the unity of the *Gesta* and consequently, with the exception of Oehler, to underestimate the skill of the author. The fractious nature of the narrative of the *Gesta* has been overstated. Despite the disparity in the lengths of the books of the *Gesta*, each ends at the culmination of dramatic events, which are recapitulated in the opening of the next book. Repetition of phrases such as *Turci, inimici Dei*, and conventional descriptions of landscape provided continuity. The inclusion of conversations between principal characters, almost all of which were certainly fictional, provided analysis and commentary on events as well as reiterating the principal themes of the chronicle, the righteousness of the crusaders, God's support for the enterprise and the perfidy of the Islamic opponents of the expedition. The biblical references amplified this theological purpose and would have impacted significantly in the mind of a medieval reader familiar with scripture.

Perhaps more immediate to this current discussion is the place of origin of the Anonymous, in which there is much more consensus. The *Gesta Francorum* was written from the point of view, for the first nine books at least, of someone in the southern Italian contingent of Bohemond of Taranto. There is considerably more detail in the description of the journey of the Normans to Constantinople and the names of many of the middle ranks of the southern Italian nobles are recorded.[45] The Council of Clermont, which features largely in many of the other chronicles of the crusade, was only implied by the Anonymous, who reported that Urban preached *ultra montanas partes*.[46] Instead, the *Gesta* contains an account of the manner in which Bohemond received news of the crusade, while besieging Amalfi with his uncle Roger of Sicily.[47] Throughout the *Gesta Francorum*, the point of view of the Norman contingent was consistently given.[48] It has also been asserted that a number of terms found in the *Gesta* betray its author as 'Italian'.[49]

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[44] Morris, 'The *Gesta Francorum* as narrative history,' p. 59.
[45] Hill,'Introduction,' xi-xii; *Gesta*, pp. 5, 7-8, 20 & 36 [133, 147-59, 202-3 & 270-1]
[46] *Gesta*, pp. 1-2 [102-105]
[47] *Gesta*, p. 7 [147-152]
[48] See Wolf for the opinion that the narrative of the *Gesta* was strained by the necessity to place Bohemond as the key personality in the expedition and that the course of later narratives was distorted in favour of Antioch and the Norman leader. K. B. Wolf, 'Crusade and Narrative: Bohemond and the *Gesta Francorum*' *Journal of Medieval History* 17 (1991), 207-216, pp. 213-5; Some scholarly discussion has focussed on the neologisms of the Anonymous' Latin and their Italian origin or otherwise. See Hagenmeyer, 'Einleitung' pp. 7-8; E. Jamison, 'Some notes on the *Anonymi Gesta Francorum*,' in *Studies in French Language and Medieval Literature presented to Mildred K. Pope*,

The fact that the author of the *Gesta Francorum* was, more than likely, a Norman, has led to some discussion of his place within the historiography of Norman Italy.[50] One of the enduring themes of the southern Italian histories was their discussion of the Normans as a group, in terms which were both negative and positive: 'This characterisation of the race, not the emphasis on the unity or scope of their conquests, was the dominant theme of Norman historiography.'[51] The author of the *Gesta Francorum* would appear to be unusual among his contemporaries in that he did not label the southern Italian Normans as *Normanni*. The only references to *Nortmanni* or *Nortmannia* in the *Gesta Francorum* were connected with Robert, duke of Normandy. The Anonymous was clearly more concerned with the crusade as a unified expedition in the service of the Lord, than in the position of the Italian Normans in the expedition.

Despite the number of unresolved issues surrounding the identity of the *Gesta's* author and the circumstances of its composition, the value of the anonymous chronicle as a source for the First Crusade is enormous. One of the earliest literary works arising from the crusade, it had a huge impact and influence on the later chronicles and consequently future generations' conceptions of the events of the First Crusade. As well as this historiographical impact, the *Gesta*, along with Raymond Aguiler's *Historia* represents an immediate reaction to the events of 1096-1099 from a participant in those events. Both of these chronicles represent the first process of assimilating the experience of the crusade into the intellectual consciousness of twelfth-century Europe. Whether the author of the *Gesta* was a cleric or a knight, his education was limited and his reaction to the crusade was unlikely to have been prefigured in his intellectual inheritance. This lack of a classical or patristic education should not lead to the conclusion that the author was unsophisticated. The inclusion of a number of apocryphal conversations which were designed to comment on events from which he was removed and – in the case of the speech of Kerbogah's mother – to justify the crusade as a divinely ordained enterprise, defies any description of the author as naïve. The coherent and emphatic assertions of the

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ed. M. K. Pope (Manchester, 1939), pp. 183-208, pp. 195-204; Thurot, 'Études Critiques,' pp. 67- 77 & 76.

[49] Jamison, 'Some notes on the *Anonymi Gesta Francorum*,' pp.184; Gavigan, 'The syntax of the *Gesta Francorum*,' pp. 10-102, 11.

[50] Albu, *The Normans and their Histories*, pp. 2 & 150.

[51] Loud, "Gens Normannorum," pp. 104-116 & 111; Johnson, 'Normandy and Norman identity,' pp. 85-100.

justice of the expedition, its divine support, the unity of the participants and the perfidy of its opponents, demonstrate a clear narrative structure of which the author was in control at all times.

In the study of the collective terms used by the author of the *Gesta Francorum* it will become clear that the crusaders were defined as united and righteous. The Anonymous employed a number of terms to denote the crusade as a whole. Many of these terms can be described as 'theological' and in their use at such an early stage, it is clear that the distinctive traits of the crusade were already acknowledged by its participants. In particular the use of terms *peregrini* and *militia Christi* to denote the crusaders demonstrates the author's adoption of these terms, which previously described unarmed persons specifically. The use of *Franci* as a collective term, despite the clear evidence that the Anonymous acknowledged the variety of national groups on the expedition, enhanced the impression of unity of purpose. The terms applied to the opponents of the crusade appear at first glance to perform a similar function to those used in the description of the crusaders. However it is clear that the didactic concerns of the author when describing the opponents of the crusade were different from those when describing the Latins. The unity of the predominantly Muslim opposition, although implied, was not necessary to the narrative of the *Gesta Francorum*. It was more important to present them as the enemy, not just of the Latins but of God. As a result the number of terms used to describe the Muslims as a group did not perform specific functions like those which denoted the crusaders. *Barbari*, *pagani*, *gentiles* and *nationes* are all used without fulfilling different rhetorical tasks. The Anonymous had little or no knowledge of Islam and was apparently satisfied, as many of his contemporaries were, to present Muslims as an antithesis to Christians, with diabolical allegiance and numerous gods. The use of terms which opposed those used to denote the Latins, for example *inimici Dei* and *inimici Christi*, in contrast with *milites Dei* and *milites Christi*, completed the juxtaposition of the two groups.

Collective terms to denote the crusaders

At first glance, the collective vocabulary of the Anonymous appears haphazard and inconsistent. Seemingly national terms were used to denote the whole crusade, while at times the nationality of an individual or group was specified. *Franci* was a term

which, despite its apparently obvious national meaning, often described the entire crusade, while also referring to a smaller group within the crusade as can be seen in its use in juxtaposition to *Alamanni, Lombardi* and *Longobardi*. There are a number of terms which the Anonymous employed to describe the crusade as a whole which had a religious or theological origin and the apparently innocuous *nostri* was used by the author both when he was present and when he was not. The use of these collective labels appears to have been a deliberate attempt to present the unity of the crusade at all times, a unity which at times, particularly after the defeat of Kerbogah outside Antioch, must have been aspirational.

Nostri

The term *nostri,* meaning 'our men' appears frequently in the *Gesta Francorum* to denote the crusaders as a whole, particularly in opposition to the Muslims.[52] The employment of this term to highlight the single purpose of the expedition can be seen particularly clearly in its application to groups of crusaders who were apart from the main army and whose actions were not witnessed by the author himself. One section of the failed initial expedition, led by Peter the Hermit and Walter Sanzavoir, known as the People's Crusade, was referred to as *nostri* in the description of the siege of the castle of Xerigordo in October 1096.[53] When the forces of Tancred and Baldwin of Boulogne departed from the main army in September 1097, their activities were recorded by the Anonymous, who had remained with the main army.[54] Here too the elements of the crusade which were removed from the author were described as *nostri*.[55] After Stephen of Blois left the crusade, when the crusaders were themselves

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[52] *Gesta*, pp. 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 21, 24, 26, 27, 27, 28, 29, 30, 30-1, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 37, 39, 40, 40, 41, 42, 43, 46, 60, 61, 62, 63, 69, 70, 73, 73-4, 79, 79-80, 80, 81, 82, 84-5, 87-8, 88-9, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96 & 97 [173, 177, 181-2, 192-4, 196, 200, 202, 208, 215, 218, 231, 235-6, 237-8, 243, 244-5, 245-6, 246-7, 249, 250-1, 252-3, 255, 256-8, 264-5, 270, 272, 275, 279, 28, 282, 282, 283, 286-7, 289-90, 302-3, 345, 349, 350, 353-4, 372-4, 374-6, 377-8, 388, 405, 407-8, 409-10, 415, 420-1, 428, 431-2, 435-7, 451-2, 454, 457-9, 460, 462, 466-7, 469, 472, 473-4, 475-6, 486, 490, 494, 496, 498-9 & 500-1]; Prior to the arrival of the contingent in which the Anonymous travelled to Constantinople, the term is used to denote the southern Italian Normans under the leadership of Bohemund of Taranto. *Gesta*, pp. 8, 9 & 10-11 [160, 162, 164 & 165-7]; Morris, 'The *Gesta Francorum* as narrative history,' Appendix, pp. 67-8 on use of nostri; Jamison, 'Some notes on the *Anonymi Gesta Francorum*,' p. 185.

[53] *Gesta*, pp. 3, 4 & 5 [119, 120 & 127-30]: For Walter Sanzavoir, see J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders 1095-1131* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 224.

[54] From the Anonymous' description of the journey from Coxon to Marash, it is clear that he did not take part in the excursion of Tancred and Baldwin. *Gesta*, p. 27 [234-5]: *Nos autem qui remansimus, exeuntes inde intravimus in diobolicam montanam, quae tam erat alta et angusta, ut nullus nostrorum auderet per semitam, quae in monte patebat, ante alium preire.*

[55] *Gesta*, p. 24 [215 &218]

besieged in Antioch by the forces of Kerbogah, Atabeg of Mosul, he met with Emperor Alexius I Comnenus at Philomelium and related the treacherous situation in which the crusaders were. The emperor had been leading a disparate group of Latins and his own forces to join the main expedition. Believing the crusade to have been wiped out, Alexius discontinued the journey to Antioch. The Anonymous lamented the departure of *nostri,* and reported that many of the *peregrini* died, unable to keep pace with the army.[56] The use of the adjective *nostri* with regard to *milites, peregrini, maiores, seniores, exercitus* etc. was frequent and served further to highlight the sense of cohesion among the army.[57]

National terms to denote the crusaders

The author of the *Gesta Francorum* used a variety of national terms for part or all of the crusade army, including *Franci, Francigenae, Galli, Alamanni, Lombardi* and *Longobardi.* This seemingly complex *schema* appears to indicate that the author paid particular attention to the differences between the Latin *gentes* on the expedition. Elsewhere, however, the use of *Franci* to describe the entire crusade as well as a particular contingent of the army gives the narrative an appearance of inconsistency. The appearance of the terms *Galli* and *Francigenae*, both possibly synonyms for *Franci*, further complicates the discussion. This use of a single national term for a large and conglomerate group seems to indicate that the Anonymous was not aware of the term's national connotations, yet the term *Franci*, even when used in a collective sense, was sometimes loaded with specific traits. In a number of

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[56] *Gesta*, pp. 65-6 [363-6]

[57] See *Gesta*, *nostri nuntiis*, *Gesta*, p. 10 [163-4], *nostrorum duces, comites, seu omnes maiores*, *Gesta*, p. 11 [169-70], *nostri maiores*, *Gesta*, pp. 12, 16, 30, 39, 40, 45, 59, 63, 65, 72, 75 & 87 [171, 188, 248, 276, 279, 298, 340, 353, 363, 384, 394 & 448], *nostri peregrini*, *Gesta*, pp. 12, 14, 29, 59, 91 [173, 177, 245, 343 & 471], *manus nostri*, *Gesta*, pp. 15, 23, 25 & 88 [182, 212, 229 & 452-3], *sanguis noster*, *Gesta*, p. 17 [193-4], *pauperes nostri*, *Gesta*, p. 18 [194-5], *feminae nostrae*, *Gesta*, p. 19 [200], *nostrae acies*, *Gesta*, p. 20 [202], *milites nostri*, *Gesta*, pp. 20, 21, 23, 27, 29, 40, 78, 79, 83, 86, 88 & 90 [203, 205, 212, 237, 246, 280, 404, 405, 426, 441, 454 & 465], *facies nostra*, *Gesta*, p. 23 [211], *equi nostri*, *Gesta*, p. 23 [212], *cursores nostri*, *Gesta*, pp. 23 & 28 [214 & 239], *inimici nostri*, *Gesta*, pp. 24, 28, 29, 33, 35, 37, 39, 41, 42, 43, 72, 93 & 97 [215, 243, 247, 256, 266, 273, 276, 277, 285, 288, 290, 381, 486 & 499], *nostrum adventum*, *Gesta*, p. 25 [229], *nostra essentia*, *Gesta*, p. 29 [245], *seniores nostri*, *Gesta*, pp. 29, 30, 72, 89 & 90 [246, 249, 383, 461 & 463], *gens nostra*, *Gesta*, pp. 31, 32 & 39 [251, 255 & 276], *nostris delictis*, *Gesta*, p. 34 [261], *inimici Dei et nostri*, *Gesta*, p. 40 [282], *tentoria nostra*, *Gesta*, p. 42 [287], *hostes nostri*, *Gesta*, p. 45 [297], *nostra custodia*, *Gesta*, p. 46 [302], *equos et asinos nostros*, *Gesta*, p. 57 [335], *exercitus noster*, *Gesta*, pp. 59 & 67 [341 & 367], *homines nostri*, *Gesta*, p. 60 [344], *nostri maiores et seniores*, *Gesta*, p. 66 [365], *Episcopi nostri et presbyteri et clerici ac monachi*, *Gesta*, p. 68 [371], *nostri Franci*, *Gesta*, p. 73 [387], *nostri pares*, *Gesta*, p. 76 [396], *naves nostrae*, *Gesta*, pp. 85 & 88 [434 & 455]

incidences, a layered use of two national terms appears to have been used for rhetorical effect.

Franci

Franci was most commonly used by the anonymous author to denote the whole Latin army, both in the narrative and in direct speech ascribed to Islamic personalities.[58] When describing the departure of the crusade contingents from western Europe, the Anonymous used the collective term *Franci* and divided the expedition into three, based on the route taken to Constantinople, each group being described as, *una pars Francorum, secunda uero pars* and *tertia autem pars* respectively.[59] This approach bundled together different groups who, in reality, travelled separately during this part of the journey, such as the followers of Godfrey of Bouillon and Peter the Hermit.[60] Despite the demonstration of his awareness of the various national groups within the crusade, the author ascribed particular traits to the *Francorum collegium* as a whole. The *Franci* of the whole crusade army were ascribed traditional martial qualities: *invictissimi Franci, gens fortissima Francorum, ingentem Francorum* and *gentem Francorum fortitudinem*.[61] When the prowess of the Turks was being praised by the author, he commented that the *Turci* and *Franci* were of the same *generatio* and that only these two peoples were fit to be knights.[62] The conglomerate nature of the crusade army did not prevent it from displaying the specific traits of the *Franci* and the author saw no incongruity in ascribing particular traits to an expedition consisting of a number of national groups.

When the Anonymous placed direct speech in the mouths of non-Latins, the crusade army was also referred to as the *Franci*. In September 1097 the inhabitants of Tarsus approached the crusaders to offer them the city after the Turkish rulers had

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[58] *Gesta*, pp. 7, 16, 17, 21, 22, 24, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 68, 70, 71, 73, 74, 77, 80, 81, 82, 87 & 89 [149-50, 190, 192, 206, 207, 221, 299, 300, 303, 308, 312, 315-6, 318-9, 321, 324, 329, 372, 379, 387, 389, 400, 408, 416, 418, 447 & 459]

[59] *Gesta*, pp. 2 &5 [106, 130 &132]

[60] *Gesta*, p. 2 [106]: *Una pars Francorum in Hungariae intravit regionem scilicet Petrus Heremita, et dux Godfredus, et Balduinus frater eius, et Balduinus comes de Monte*, This division also groups the southern Italian Normans with the northern French contingents of Robert of Flanders, Robert of Normandy and Stephen of Blois and Hugh of Vermandois, who in reality formed three distinct groups before Constantinople. *Gesta*, p. 5 [132-137]

[61] *Gesta*, pp. 24, 49, 68 & 89 [221, 312, 372 & 459]

[62] *Gesta*, p. 21 [206]: *Verumtamen dicunt se esse de Francorum generatione, et quia nullus homo naturaliter debet esse miles nisi Franci et illi.*

fled, calling them *Franci*.[63] During the siege of Antioch, Firuz, the captain who had agreed to betray the city to Bohemund, reportedly lamented the small numbers of Franks when they first began to arrive: *dixitque: 'Micró Francos echomé (hoc est: paucos Francos habemus).'*[64] In the instances where the Anonymous inserted direct speech or letters allegedly uttered or written by the Muslims, they too referred to the crusaders as *Franci*. During the siege of Antioch by the forces of Kerbogah, he was presented with some broken weapons, which had been confiscated from some crusaders, with the phrase, *Ecce arma quae attulerunt Franci obviam nobis ad pugnam*.[65]

The assigning of the term *Franci* to the crusade forces as a whole should not be interpreted to signify that the Anonymous was unaware of its meaning in a more specific sense. During his description of the People's Crusade of Peter the Hermit in Asia Minor, the expedition was described as consisting of *Lombardi, Longobardi, Alamanni* and *Franci*. The *Lombardi, Longobardi* and *Alamanni* separated from the *Franci* because of the intolerable pride (*superbia*) of the *Franci*.[66] It is not immediately clear who is indicated by the term *Franci* here. Hill's assertion that this use of *Franci* refers only to the 'subjects of Philip Capet' is presumably a reference to the followers of Walter Sansavoir, who was himself from the Ile de France.[67] The Anonymous appears, however, to have used the term *Francigenae* for the northern French and it is far from clear if those who separated from the expedition were only the followers of Walter. Nevertheless, it is evident that the author of the *Gesta Francorum* discerned national groups among the crusaders only when describing the actions of specific persons or groups within the crusade expedition.

In his description of the routes taken to Constantinople by each of the separate contingents of the crusade, the author of the *Gesta Francorum* described the route taken by Godfrey of Bouillon and Peter the Hermit as: *viam quam iamdudum Karolus Magnus mirificus rex Franciae aptari fecit usque Constantinopolim*.[68] It is

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[63] *Gesta*, p. 24 [221]: *Exierunt denique habitatores civitatis sub illa noctis obscuritate, clamantes excelsa voce: 'Currite invictissimi Franci, currite, quia Turci expergefacti uestro timore omnes pariter recedunt.'*
[64] *Gesta*, p. 46 [303]
[65] *Gesta*, p. 51 [319-20]
[66] *Gesta*, pp. 2-3 [109-116] Odo of Deuil, a chronicler of the Second Crusade, also referred to the *superbia* of the *Franci*. Odo of Deuil, *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, ed. V.G. Berry (New York, 1948) p. 44; Weber, 'Of Stereotypes and the French,' p. 169.
[67] *Gesta*, p. 3, n. 1. See Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, pp. 93 & 100.
[68] *Gesta*, p. 2 [109]

tempting to see the use of *Franci* here in the sense of the whole of the crusader army as an invocation of the Carolingian past which many of the crusaders shared.[69] However, this is the only mention of Charlemagne in the *Gesta Francorum* and the term *Franci*, in its broader sense of the whole of the crusade expedition would have included peoples who were outside the former Carolingian territories.[70]

Galli

Further confusion regarding the Anonymous's use of *Franci* is occasioned by his sporadic use of *Gallia* and *Galli*.[71] All but one of the uses of this term occur prior to the arrival of the crusade at Constantinople. That it was used as a synonym for *Franci* on at least one occasion is clear.

> *Fecerunt denique Galli tres partes. Una pars Francorum in Hungariae intravit regionem scilicet Petrus Heremita, et dux Godfredus, et Balduinus frater eius, et Balduinus comes de Monte.*[72]

Tyerman's assertion that *Franci* was used for the whole of the crusade expedition while *Galli/Gallia* referred to the 'geographic France,' is not supported by all the uses of *Galli/Gallia*. For example, the three groups into which the *Galli* divided themselves included the Lotharingians, the Normans of southern Italy and the Provençals.[73]

On the three occasions where *Galli/Gallia* was used, it was in the context of *Franci*.

> *Cumque iam hic sermo paulatim per universas regiones ac Galliarum patrias coepisset crebrescere, Franci audientes talia protinus in dextra crucem suere scapula, dicentes sese Christi unanimiter sequi vestigia, quibus de manu erant redempti tartarea.*[74]

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[69] See Bull, 'The Frankish First Crusade,' p. 205.
[70] Neither Baldric of Dol nor Guibert of Nogent repeat this mention of Charlemagne by the Anonymous. Robert, *Historia*, pp. 728 & 732; For Guibert's mention of Charlemagne in a different context, see, Guibert, *Dei Gesta*, Bk. ii, line 29, p. 108.
[71] *Gesta*, pp. 1, 2 & 33 [101, 104, 106 & 260-1]
[72] *Gesta*, p. 2 [106-9]
[73] See Hagenmeyer, *Anonymi Gesta Francorum*, p. 101, n. 3; C. *Tyerman*, God's War (London, 2006), p. 92.
[74] *Gesta*, p. 1 [101]

Fecerunt denique Galli tres partes. Una pars Francorum in Hungariae intravit regionem scilicet Petrus Heremita, et dux Godfredus, et Balduinus frater eius, et Balduinus comes de Monte.[75]

Quem alloquens Boamundus dixit, 'O infelix et infamia totius Franciae, dedecus et scelus Galliarum.'[76]

These uses of *Galli/Gallia* suggest that the term is used either as a synonym for *Franci* or as a geographical equivalent to the demographic *Franci/Francia* in the broader sense of the whole crusade. It is also possible that it had a rhetorical function to imply scale and emphasise the breadth of participation in the crusade as can be seen in the use of the phrase *universas Galliarum regiones* twice.[77] This rhetorical use of the term is supported by its single use after the expedition has left the West, when, on the attempted flight of Peter the Hermit from Antioch, Bohemund rebuked him, *O infelix et infamia totius Franciae, dedecus et scelus Galliarum.*[78]

Francigenae

The term *Francigenae* was used five times in the *Gesta Francorum.*[79] On two occasions it featured in reported speech of a Muslim commander. In a letter from Kerbogah to the Sultan it was used as a synonym for *Franci* possibly for rhetorical effect or to avoid the repetitive use of *Franci.*[80] When the emir of Cairo al-Afdal saw his army defeated by the Latins at Ascalon in 1099, the *Gesta* recorded his speech lamenting the fact that his army were fleeing before *gens Francigenae.*[81] The other three uses by the Anonymous of *Francigenae* comply with a more specific use of the

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[75] *Gesta*, p. 2 [106-7]
[76] *Gesta*, p. 33 [260-1]
[77] *Gesta*, p. 1 [101]: *facta est igitur motio valida per universas Galliarum regiones*; *Gesta*, p. 2, [104]: *Cumque iam hic sermo paulatim per universas regiones ac Galliarum patrias coepisset crebrescere.*
[78] *Gesta*, p. 33 [260-1]
[79] *Gesta*, pp 34, 52, 68, 91 & 96 [260, 321, 369, 470 & 498]; See Bull, 'The Frankish First Crusade,' p. 197, n. 6. for the opinion that the Anonymous used the term inconsistently.
[80] *Gesta*, p. 52 [321]: *Satis sint leti et gavisi iocunda concordia, et satifaciant ventribus, imperent et sermocinent per universam regionem illam, ut omnino dent sese ad petulantiam et luxuriam, multosque filios patrare congaudeant, qui contra Christianos fortiter pugnare prevaleant; et libenter suscipiant haec tria arma, quae olim abstulimus a Francorum turma, et discant modo quae arma attulerunt super nos gens Francigena.*
[81] *Gesta*, p. 96 [498]: *Huc conduxi ad conventionem ducenta milia militum, et video ipsos laxis frenis fugientes per viam Babylonicam, et non audent reverti adversus gentem Francigenam.*

term to denote the northern Franks.[82] The men of Hugh of Vermandois, brother of the king of France, were called *Francigenae.*[83] When Raymond of St Gilles saw the rest of the crusaders in the city of Jerusalem on the day of its capture, he urged his own men: *Quid tardatis? Ecce omnes Francigenae iam sunt in urbe.* This would suggest an intended contrast between the northern and southern French.[84] After the attempted escape of Peter the Hermit and William 'the Carpenter' from Antioch in January 1098, the *Francigenae* beseeched Bohemund for leniency: *Adunaverunt sese omnes fere Francigenae, rogaveruntque humiliter ne deterius ei facere permitteret.*[85] Again this is likely to refer to the northern Franks since as William was apparently connected to Hugh of Vermandois. Robert the Monk explained in his narrative that William was treated leniently out of deference to Hugh, *cuius consanguinus erat*, while Ralph of Caen stated that William was *interque palatinos regis Franciae non obscuris.*[86]

Lombardi and Longobardi

The anonymous author's use of the phrase *Lombardi et Longobardi* is unusual in that for the most part in medieval Latin *Longobardus* denoted an inhabitant of *Lombardia.*[87] The term *Lombardus* is rare in the *Patrologia Latina*, with two of the examples of its use deriving from a later author's use of the *Gesta* or its derivative.[88] The distinction between *Lombardi* and *Longobardi* can be found in a number of twelfth-century Italian texts. The author 'Pseudo-Falcandus' used the term *Lombardi* to refer to the northern Italians, and *Longobardi* for the southern Italians.[89] It is clear that this differentiation was rare and somewhat controversial in the Middle Ages. Two of the later manuscripts of the *Gesta Francorum* have omitted *Lombardi* and

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[82] Balard, '*Gesta Dei per Francos*,' p. 479.
[83] *Gesta*, p. 68 [369]
[84] *Gesta*, p. 91 [470] The same contrast can be found in Raymond of Aguilers's *Historia Francorum*, see below, p. 140. It is noteworthy, however that the author of the *Gesta Francorum* doesn't once use the term *provinciales* in his narrative.
[85] *Gesta*, p. 34, n. 3 [260]
[86] Robert, *Historia*, p. 782; Ralph, *Gesta Tancredi*, p. 650; Tyerman, *Gods War*, p. 107.
[87] *Gesta*, p. 2 [111]
[88] Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical* History, 5 ed. and trans. M. Chibnall (6 Volumes: Oxford, 1969), p. 32, note 3; Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 18, 55 & 56.
[89] Pseudo-Falcandus, *La Historia o Liber de Regno Sicilie e la Epistola a Petrum Panormitane Ecclesia Thesaurum de Ugo Falcando*, ed. G.B. Siragusa, *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia* 22 (Rome, 1897). *Lombardi*, pp. 70, 73, 86, 118, 155 & 156. *Longobardi*, pp. 24, 77, 93 & 133; Tyerman, *Gods War*, p. 92; Jamison, 'Some notes on the *Anonymi Gesta Francorum*,' p. 187.

just listed *Longobardi*.[90] Two of the *Gesta*'s derivatives excised the term too.[91] The use of both *Lombardi* and *Longobardi* further suggests that the Anonymous was from Italy as he was sensitive to the regional groups of the country.

Alamanni

The *Gesta Francorum* contains only four uses of the term *Alamanni*, all of which related to the same group within the same set of events, the Peoples' Crusade of 1096.[92] The author reported that Peter the Hermit arrived in Constantinople *et cum eo maxima gens Alamannorum*. This would imply that the inhabitants of the western Empire were considered *Alamanni*.[93] At Constantinople they joined *Lombardos et Longobardos et alios plures congregatos*.[94] When this expedition moved to Asia Minor the *Lombardi, Longobardi* and *Alamanni* separated from the *Franci*.[95] It is clear that the Anonymous used *Alamanni* as a pan-German term as he did not use any other terms which could denote specific parts of the German kingdom, such as *Lotharingi* or *Bawarii*.[96] Earlier, Peter and his followers were described as *una pars Francorum*, demonstrating that the *Alamanni* became subsumed into the larger term *Franci* when forming part of the crusade as a whole and were only described as *Alamanni* to distinguish them from other sections of the Latins.[97]

Nortmanni

Modern scholarship regarding the eleventh and twelfth-century historians of Norman southern Italy has stressed the importance of *Normannitas* in their historical

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[90] Hagenmeyer, *Anonymi Gesta Francorum*, pp. 111 & 115.
[91] Robert the Monk stated that Peter the Hermit came to Constantinople to find *copiosam Longobardorum gentem multosque alios ex diversis locorum* gathered there. Robert, *Historia*, p. 732. Guibert of Nogent omitted *Lombardi* and instead described *Italorum, Ligurum, Langobardorum cum Transalpinarum*. Guibert, *Dei Gesta*, Bk. ii, lines 439-40, p. 123; In one manuscript of the *Historia* of Peter Tudebode, the term *Lumbardi* was replaced by *Italici*. Tudebode, *Historia*, pp. 33-4.
[92] *Gesta*, pp. 2, 3 & 4 [111, 116 & 121]
[93] According to Albert of Aachen Peter's following included *Francigene, Suevi, Bawarii,* and *Lotharingii*, Albert, *Historia*, pp. 12-13.
[94] *Gesta*, p. 2 [111-2]
[95] *Gesta*, p. 3 [116]
[96] The term *Theutonici* often appeared as a pan-German term in this period but *Alamanni* was frequently used too. Hagenmeyer, *Anonymi Gesta Francorum*, p. 111, n. 15; In the mid-twelfth century, Otto of Freising complained that many still used *Alamanni* when they ought to use *Teutonici*. Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris*: *Quidam totam Teutonicam terram Alemanniam dictam putant omnesque Teutonicos Allemannos vocare solent*, MGH SS XX, p. 357; Suger of St Denis used *Alamanni* and *Theutonici* interchangeably, Suger, *Vita Ludovici Grossi regis*, ed. H. Waquet (Paris, 1964), pp. 222 & 230; Curta, '*Furor Teutonicus*,' p. 66.
[97] *Gesta*, p. 2 [106-7]

writing.[98] As well as the use of the term *Normanni* to describe themselves, southern Italian historians stressed particular traits common to *Normanni* such as their bravery and love of war.[99] The author of the *Gesta Francorum* is unusual among his compatriots in that he only used the term *Nortmannus* or *comes Nortmannia* when referring to Robert of Normandy.[100] The author's lack of identification of the southern Italians as *Normanni* appears to demonstrate that he thought of the Normans as the inhabitants of the duchy of Normandy only. Whether this implies that he did not recognise the southern Italians as Norman, or that he did not consider the *Normanni* to be a *gens*, is unclear. While the Anonymous strove at all times to present the crusade as a unified whole and only distinguished between the national groups when they acted distinctly, it is nonetheless striking that he never identified the southern Italian contingent as *Normanni*, especially given that the issue of the *Normannitas* of the southern Italian Normans was so current in the contemporary narratives of his compatriots.

Latini

The term *Latini* occurs only once in the *Gesta*. While the armies of the crusade went to Ascalon to battle the Fatimid forces under al-Afdal, Peter the Hermit remained in Jerusalem leading the non-combatants and the clergy, *Greci et Latini*, in prayer.[101] The use of the term *Latinis* in apposition to *Grecis* is likely to be a confessional distinction, given the care with which the author previously denoted the local Christian population as either Armenian *Hermenii* or Syrian *Surani*. This is the only occasion where the Anonymous acknowledged the differences between eastern and western Christians, the purpose of which may have been to emphasise Christian

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[98] K. B. Wolf, *Making History: The Normans and their historians in eleventh-century Italy* (Philadelphia, 1995), *passim*; Loud, "Gens Normannorum," p. 111; Albu, *The Normans in their Histories*, p. 2 & 150; Johnson, 'Normandy and Norman identity,' pp. 85-100.

[99] Loud, "Gens Normannorum," p. 111; Johnson, 'Normandy and Norman identity chronicles,' pp. 89-90 & 97-8.

[100] *Gesta*, pp 5, 15, 20, 59, 68, 69, 72, 76, 80, 95 & 97 [134, 184, 187, 197, 340, 370, 373, 382, 395, 414, 493, 494 & 498]; Albu, *The Normans in their Histories*, p. 154, suggests that the term *Longobardi* had become the accepted term for the southern Italian Normans by the time of the composition of the *Gesta Francorum*. In his article discussing the *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi* of William of Apulia and the *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et Roberti Guiscardi ducis fratris eius* of Geoffrey Malaterra, however, Johnson demonstrates how both authors presented the southern Italian Normans as Normans. Johnson, 'Normandy and Norman identity,' *passim*.

[101] *Gesta*, p. 94 [488-9]: *Petrus vero Heremita remansit Hierusalem, ordinando et precipiendo Grecis et Latinis atque clericis, ut fideliter Deo processionem celebrarent, et orationes elemosinasque facerent.*

fraternity or to demonstrate the support for the crusade among the local Christian population.

Theological terms to denote the crusaders

A number of collective terms used by the Anonymous author to denote the participants of the crusade can be described as 'theological'. Their use by the author of such an early account of the First Crusade, demonstrates that he understood the pious nature of the crusade from the outset. The *Gesta* contains frequent collective terms for the crusaders which are religiously derived such as *gens Christi*, *populus Christi*, *populus Dei* and *filii Christi*. Although all of these 'theological' terms fulfilled the principal function of identifying the crusade with divine will and pious intent, the use of *peregrini* and *miles/militia Christi* deserve particular investigation as they represent terms which had previously been applied to people who were forbidden to use violence. As such, they have received the most comment from historians wishing to examine the paradigm shift in Christian thought regarding violence which the crusades represented.

Peregrini

The repeated use of the term *peregrini* as a term for the whole, or a section, of the crusade, incorporating both the laity and the clergy, soldier and non-combatant, indicates that the author saw accepted the novel use of the term to denote an armed expedition.[102] The Anonymous acknowledged the apparent contradiction between traditionally unarmed pilgrims and the crusaders when the southern Italian contingent passed Kastoria, in the western territories of the Byzantine Empire in December of 1096. He remarked that the inhabitants would not sell provisions to the crusaders, whom they took for raiders rather than pilgrims: *non putantes nos esse peregrinos, sed velle populari terram et occidere illos.*[103] When Bohemund left his troops to travel to confer with Alexius at Constantinople in April of 1097, the author related how Tancred was left at the head of the *militia Christi,* who were then

[102] See *Gesta*, pp. 8, 11, 12, 14, 29, 51, 59, 72, 72, 81, 82 & 91 [159, 167, 173, 176-7, 245, 319, 343, 382, 386, 415, 417-8 & 471-2] For use of *peregrini* where the term has a more specific meaning or where its use is ambiguous, see pp. 59, 65, 81 & 86 [341, 361-2, 412 & 438] In only one instance does the term mean specifically 'pilgrim,' p. 91 [471]

[103] *Gesta*, p. 8 [159]

immediately referred to as *peregrini*.[104] In the description of the oath sworn by Alexius in response to those of the princes sworn to him at Constantinople, the emperor allegedly promised faith and security to *omnibus nostris* and to prevent depredations of *nostri peregrini*, here *nostri peregrini* is a clear synonym for the noun *nostri*.[105] The author of the *Gesta Francorum*, on two occasions, aligned the term *peregrini* with other theological terms to denote the crusaders: for example, *Populus vero Christi victores scilicet peregrini* or *Christi milites peregrini*.[106] During their journey from Antioch to Jerusalem, the crusaders made peace with the *rex* of Shaizar, under the terms of which he undertook to provide markets and guaranteed the *peregrini* undisturbed passage.[107] Immediately afterwards, the garrison of an unnamed castle surrendered to the count of Toulouse and promised no further harm to the *peregrini*.[108]

During the march to Nicaea from Constantinople in May of 1097 Godfrey of Bouillon caused a path to be widened to allow for the passage of *nostri peregrini*. There is no reason to assume that only the non-combatants needed a path widened to Nicaea and here it is apparent that *nostri peregrini* refers to the whole expedition.[109] During the siege of Antioch, there is no evidence that Turkish attacks on *nostri peregrini* applies to any one group in particular, but was again used as shorthand for the Christian forces.[110] When Turks in the service of Kerbogah, atabeg of Mosul, confiscated weapons from some Franks, they were described as *pauperes peregrini*, yet their bearing of arms denoted them as active members of the army.[111]

There are two examples where the use of *peregrini* may refer to specific groups within the crusade, perhaps the non-combatants. When Alexius Comnenus retreated from Philomelium with his army and a number of newly arrived crusaders, the description of the *peregrini* who died on the return journey to Constantinople,

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[104] *Gesta*, p. 11 [167]: *Tancredus remansit caput militiae Christi, videnque peregrinos cibos emere, ait intra se quod exiret extra viam, et hunc populum conduceret ubi feliciter viveret.*
[105] *Gesta*, p. 12 [173]
[106] *Gesta*, pp. 72 & 73 [382 & 386]
[107] *Gesta*, p. 81 [415]
[108] *Gesta*, p. 82 [418]
[109] *Gesta*, p. 14 [176-7]: *Videns vero dux quod nulla via pateret per quam posset conducere has gentes usque Nicenam civitatem, quoniam per illam viam per quam prius alii transierant non posset modo tanta gens transire, misit ante se tria milia hominum cum securibus et gladiis, qui incidissent et aperuissent hanc viam, quae patefacta fieret nostris peregrinis usque Nicenam urbem. Quae via fuit aperta per angustam et nimis immensam montanam, et faciebant retro per viam cruces ferreas ac ligneas, quas ponebant super stipites ut eas nostri peregrini cognoscerent.*
[110] *Gesta*, p. 29 [245]
[111] *Gesta*, p. 51 [319]

unable to keep pace with the army, may refer to non-combatants or the poor.[112] The visionary Peter the Hermit, was labelled *quidam peregrinus de nostro exercitu.*[113] A reference during the final assault on Jerusalem to the *portam ubi peregrini persolvere solebant tributa* represents the only use of the term *peregrini* to denote traditional pilgrims as opposed to crusaders.[114]

Scholars have disagreed about the use of the term *peregrinatio* in relation to the crusade. Those who see the crusade as a fusion of the separate ideas of holy war and pilgrimage make much of the use of the term *peregrinatio* in the charters of departing crusaders and in the letters of participants on the march.[115] Opponents of this argument point out the ambiguity about the use of the term *peregrinatio* and *peregrinari* in the late eleventh century, when it may have been used as a more general term for expedition or journey.[116] There is some evidence, however, that the author of the *Gesta Francorum* understood the term as pilgrim. The remarks which the Anonymous made about the Byzantines' fear of the crusaders because they thought them to be raiders rather than pilgrims acknowledged the apparent incongruity between pilgrims and armed men.[117] The reference to the pilgrims' gate in Jerusalem during the battle for the city as *portam ubi peregrini persolvere solebant tributa* was a clear reference to the practice of the payment of a tribute to the Muslim rulers of Jerusalem by pilgrims prior to the capture of the city by the Christians.[118]

The clear understanding of the term *peregrinus* as a pilgrim by the Anonymous and the application of this term to the crusade demonstrates that the theological definition of the crusade as an armed pilgrimage was one of which the first crusaders were conscious. The author was fully aware that the arms which the

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[112] *Gesta*, pp. 55 & 81 [361-2 & 412]: *Voluissent noluissent nostri reversi sunt retrorsum, dolentes amarissime usque ad mortem; fueruntque mortui multi ex peregrinis languentes nec valentes fortiter militiam sequi; remanebantque morientes in via.*

[113] *Gesta*, p. 59 [341]

[114] *Gesta*, p. 91 [471] See n. 29 for a discussion of the payment of tribute by pilgrims to the rulers of Jerusalem prior to the crusade.

[115] J. Riley-Smith, 'The Idea of Crusading in the Charters of Early Crusaders,' in *Le Concile de Clermont et l'Appel à la Première Croisade,* pp. 155-66, p. 157; J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading,* pp. 22-5; Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, pp. 67-9; M. Bull, *Knightly Piety and the lay response to the First Crusade* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 204-5.

[116] J. M. Jensen, '*Peregrinatio sive expeditio:* Why the First Crusade was not a pilgrimage,' *Al-Masaq: Islam in the Medieval Mediterranean* 15 (2003), 119-37, 126-8; Niermeyer, 2, p. 1026; A. Becker, *Papst Urban II (1088-1099)* MGH Schriften, 19 (Stuttgart, 1964-88) 2, pp. 396-8.

[117] *Gesta*, p. 8 [159]

[118] *Gesta*, p. 91 [471]

crusaders carried prompted others to assume that they were not pilgrims but invaders, yet he repeatedly invoked the term to describe the entire enterprise.

Milites Christi and militia Christi

The early adoption of the terms *milites Christi* and *militia Christi* to describe crusaders is attested by the Anonymous's use of these terms for expedition.[119] The crusaders were repeatedly described as knights of Christ (*milites Christi*) and the army as the knighthood of Christ (*militia Christi*), while the Muslims were defined as *inimici Christi*.[120] When Bohemond secured markets for the army at Nicaea, the *tota Christi militia* enjoyed an abundance of supplies.[121] When Adhemar of Le Puy died at Antioch in August 1098, there was great mourning throughout the *militia Christi*.[122] With regards to *milites Christi*, it is more difficult to judge if the term is used only for the armed knights or for the crusade as a whole. In the journey from Antioch to Jerusalem, between Tell-Mannas and Ma'arrat an Numan, a castle of *Saraceni* was taken by *Christi milites peregrini*, implying that *peregrini* and *milites* were synonymous.[123] There are a number of occasions in which it is not clear if the term refers to the crusaders as a group, combatants and non-combatants, or just the knights.[124] The use of the term *militia Christi* shows that the development of the idea of the crusaders as the 'knighthood of Christ' was not only established by an early stage, but that those on the expedition consciously used it to describe themselves.

The Anonymous also used the term *milites Dei* on two occasions. In a skirmish with the Turkish garrison of Heraclea, he referred to the crusaders as *Christi milites* and immediately afterwards as *Dei omnipotentis milites*. Likewise, in a battle against the Turks of Antioch outside the city in March 1098, the crusaders were

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[119] According to Erdmann, the use of *miles Christi* for a lay person who fought in the interests of the papacy originated with Gregory VII. C. Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (Princeton, 1977), pp. 202-3. See also, Riley-Smith, *Idea*, pp. 7, 17, 99 & 111.

[120] For *militi Christi* see *Gesta*, pp. 6, 11, 18-9, 19, 23-4, 24, 70, 73, 87-8, 88-9, 89 & 96 [144-5, 169, 199, 200-1, 214-5, 218-9, 378, 387, 451-2, 458, 459 & 496] For *militia Christi* see *Gesta*, pp. 11, 14, 16, 74, 81-2 & 86 [167, 178, 187, 390-1, 417 & 438-9] For a description of the Turks as *inimici Christi* see Gesta, p. 22 [208-9] and below, pp. 46.

[121] *Gesta*, p. 14 [178]

[122] *Gesta*, p. 74 [390]

[123] *Gesta*, p. 73 [387]

[124] *Gesta*, p. 23 [215]

again denoted *milites Dei*.[125] It is likely that the term *milites Dei* was intended as a synonym for *milites Christi*.[126]

The Crusaders in the *Gesta Francorum*

The overriding concern of the author of the *Gesta Francorum* when denoting the Latins, was to present them as a unified whole. To this end a number of terms were applied broadly to denote the expedition as a whole. These terms could be national (for example *Franci*) theological (for example *peregrini*), or apparently innocuous as with *nostri*. Although he was clearly aware of the various national groups within the crusade, *Franci* was used by the Anonymous as a general term for the crusade, as indeed it was by many of his contemporaries, both those derivative works and those composed independently. Theologically based terms such as *peregrini*, *militi Christi*, *populus Dei* and *filii Christi* emphasised both the unity and the piety of the expedition. More than any of these terms, *nostri*, used when the author was present and absent, was the term most clearly designed to emphasise the singularity of purpose of the expedition.

Collective terms to denote the Muslims

The Anonymous harnessed a rich vocabulary to describe the opponents of the crusade. A number of collective terms, such as *pagani*, *barbari*, *gentiles* and *nationes* were used and the author also made distinction between different national groups among the Muslim army. At first it appears that the Anonymous was aware of the complex components of the Muslim forces but on closer examination, it is clear that, while he was aware of a number of constituents of the Muslim armies, his labels did not always correspond to groups present.

National terms to denote the Muslims

Some of the national labels used by the Anonymous have their first appearance in the *Patrologia Latina* database either in the *Gesta* itself or in one of its derivatives. While some of the terms used were clearly accurate and reflective of the ethnic

[125] *Gesta*, pp. 23-4 & 40 [215 & 282]

[126] Bonizo of Sutri used the term *milites Dei* to describe the *Pataria* in Milan in the 1080s. Bonizo of Sutri *Liber ad amicum*, MGH *Libelli*, 1, pp. 597-9, 619.

groups in Asia Minor and Syria in the twelfth century, for example Kurds, Turks and Arabs, others appear to have a classical origin, such as *Persae*, while *Saraceni* was a term which had been used in the West to mean Muslims for centuries.[127] Some of the groups mentioned by the Anonymous as forming part of the forces of Kilij Arslan at Dorylaeum and Kerbogah at Antioch are difficult to identify including *Azimitae*, *Agulani/Angulani* and *Publicani*.

Turci

The term *Turci* was used by the author of the *Gesta* to denote the Seljuk Turks and as a collective term for large forces led by Turkish leaders. The Muslim forces which the crusaders encountered at Nicaea and Dorylaeum and those who devastated the People's Crusade were all correctly labelled as *Turci* by the Anonymous.[128] Slaves captured by the Turks were, according to the Anonymous, brought back to Corosan, Antioch and Aleppo, all areas connected with the Seljuk Turks.[129] Elsewhere the Anonymous reported that the Turks had brought ropes with them into battle with which to tie up the Latins, to send them as slaves to Corosan or Persia.[130]

On other occasions, the term *Turci* was used as a collective term for a number of distinct groups. At Dorylaeum, the forces of Kilij Arslan were divided into *multitudo Turcorum, et Arabum et Saracenorum et aliorum quos enumerare ignoro*.[131] During the course of this battle the Muslims were described as *Turci* collectively and later divided again into constituent parts, namely *Turcorum, Persarum, Publicanorum, Saracenorum, Angulanorum aliorumque paganorum CCCLX milia extra Arabes, quorum numerum nemo scit nisi solus Deus*.[132] This apparent use of *Turci* as a general term for the crusade's opponents is seen immediately after the battle when the defeated Muslims are described as *Turci, inimici Dei et Sanctae Christianitatis*.[133] At Antioch, the forces of Kerbogah, atabeg

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[127] See Isidore, *Etymologiae*, Bk. 9, 6 & 57. This list of national groups in the army of Kilij Arslan at Dorylaeum is problematic, given that the army of the Seljuk Turks of Rum would have consisted almost entirely of Turks. J. France, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 158-9.
[128] *Gesta*, pp. 4-5, 14-16 & 18-21 [118-30, 179-92 & 197-208]
[129] *Gesta*, pp. 4 & 5 [122 & 129]
[130] *Gesta*, p. 15 [181]
[131] *Gesta*, p. 19 [202]
[132] *Gesta*, pp. 19 & 20 [199 & 203-4]
[133] *Gesta*, p. 22 [208]

of Mosul, were again described in terms of their constituent parts, while being referred to collectively as Turks.[134]

The unexpected arrival of the forces of Kilij Arslan at Doryleum and the desperate situation in which the crusaders found themselves appears to have impacted on the Anonymous and he gave the event considerable attention in his narrative. In his discussion of the valour of the Turks it is clear that he viewed them as a distinctive group. When discussing their military skill, he commented on the number of *gentes* whom they had subdued, emphasising the significance of the victory of the crusaders: *terruerunt Arabes, Saracenos, et Hermenios, Suranios et Grecos.*[135] In an extremely informative passage, the Anonymous claimed that the Turks identified themselves with the *Francorum generatio*. He acknowledged the truth of this claim and stated that only the *Turci* and the *Franci* were worthy of being knights.[136]

It is clear therefore that the term *Turci* could be used to denote a distinct ethnic group, whose valour and skill in battle was to be admired and who had overawed other peoples with their *prudentia militiam* and *fortitudo*, while also being used as a collective term to describe a force, which the Anonymous considered to be conglomerate in nature yet led by a Turkish leader. In a speech by Kerbogah to Peter the Hermit and Herluin, the term *Turci* was apparently used as a synonym for 'Muslim.' When Peter the Hermit offered the Muslim army baptism, Kerbogah reportedly rejected this suggestion and instead demanded that the Christians become *Turci* or accept slavery.[137]

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[134] *Gesta*, pp. 49-71 *passim* [311-81]

[135] *Gesta*, p. 21 [206-7]: *Quis unquam tam sapiens aut doctus audebit describere prudentiam militiamque et fortitudinem Turcorum? Qui putabant terrere gentem Francorum minis suarum sagittarum, sicut terruerunt Arabes, Saracenos, et Hermeniios, Suranios et Grecos.*

[136] See above; *Gesta*, p, 21 [207]: *Verumtamen dicunt se esse de Francorum generatione, et quia nullus homo naturaliter debet esse miles nisi Franci et illi*; For a discussion of the origins of this assertion and the conclusion that it was the result of the Anonymous' regard for the martial skill of the crusaders rather than an allusion to common traditions of *origines gentis* in both peoples, see A. V. Murray, 'William of Tyre and the origin of the Turks,' in *Dei Gesta per Francos: Crusade Studies in honour of Jean Richard*, eds. M. Balard, B. Z. Kedar and J. Riley-Smith (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 217-230, pp. 223-4.

[137] *Gesta*, p. 67 [366-7]: *Revertimini ergo quantocius, et dicite vestris senioribus, quia si per omnia cupiunt effici Turci, et deum vestrum quem vos inclini colitis abnegare volunt et leges vestras spernere, nos illis hanc et satis plus dabimus de terra, et civitates et castella adhuc autem quod nemo vestrorum remanebit pedes, sed erunt omnes milites sicut et nos sumus; et habebimus semper eos in summa amicitia. Sin autem, sciant se per omnia capitalem subire sententiam, aut deducti in vinculis Corrozanam in captiuitate perpetua servient nobis nostrisque infantibus per sempiterna tempora.*

Despite the use of *Turci* as a synonym for Muslim in one instance, and its use as a collective term for different national groups on other occasions, the term was not used by the Anonymous for the same purpose as he used the term *Franci*. The unity of the Muslims was not necessary for the narrative, rather it was convenient to use a single term when describing complex events. This is demonstrated by the fading use of the term *Turci* after the departure of the crusade from Antioch when the crusade entered lands under the control of the Fatimid caliphate of Egypt. The *Gesta* reflected this different political landscape by using the term *Saraceni* much more frequently, with only intermittent references to *Turci*.[138]

Saraceni

The term *Saraceni* was used by eastern and western Christian authors to denote Islam since the early Middle Ages and the *Saracenus* was a figure representative of Islamic enemies of Christianity in many of the *Chansons de Geste*. In the *Gesta Francorum* the term seems to refer predominantly to the inhabitants of regions under the rule of the Fatimid Caliphate. While there are a number of references to *Saraceni* in the early books of the *Gesta Francorum*, including the descriptions of the armies of Kilij Arslan and Kerbogah, once the term *Turci* began to appear less frequently, the instances of *Saraceni* increased. This change in emphasis occurred as the crusade left the lands under Turkish rule and into areas recently conquered by the Fatimids.[139]

There are a number of references to *Saraceni* before the crusade entered into Fatimid territories. The alliance between Ridwan of Aleppo and the Egyptians in 1097 may explain the use of the term around the city of Antioch, land which was within his sphere of influence. When describing the siege of Ma'arrat an-Nu'man, the Anonymous placed both *Turci* and *Saraceni ab Aleph* in the city.[140] However the identification of *Saraceni* in the army of Kilij Arslan at Dorylaeum and references to *Saraceni* before Antioch demonstrates the difficulty in assessing the Anonymous's accuracy when naming Muslim groups. The repeated use of the phrase *Turcorum et Arabum et Saracenorum* suggests that the Anonymous may have been less careful when ascribing national labels than a modern scholar and more concerned with

[138] See *Gesta*, p. 88, note 3 for Hill's suggestion that the term *Turci* became shorthand for 'enemies' as it was 'unlikely' that the Fatimid army contained any Turks in 1099.
[139] For Ridwan of Aleppo's alliance with the Fatimids of Egypt, see France, *Victory in the East*, p. 198; For the Fatimid territories in Palestine at the time of the First Crusade, see, France, *Victory in the East*, p. 109.
[140] *Gesta*, p. 73 [388]

presenting the enemy as conglomerate and by inference, vast. Another impediment to understanding Fatimid when the Anonymous used the term *Sarraceni* is the isolated use of *gens Aegyptica* in the reported speech of al-Afdal at the battle of Ascalon.[141] Although only used once, this nevertheless precludes the possibility that *Saracenus* was a purely national term. Overall, the term *Saraceni* was applied more frequently after the fall of Antioch than before and it is likely that it referred to the new enemy, whom the Anonymous encountred in Syria, for whom the term *Turci* was unsatisfactory.

Arabes

The appearances of the term *Arabes* in the *Gesta Francorum* occur mostly in descriptions of a number of different groups within a composite force.[142] They also appear in the phrase *Turcorum et Arabum et Saracenorum* discussed above which may not necessarily be reliable. Several uses of this term which imply that the Anonymous was consciously using the term to denote a specific group. On the way to Ascalon, the crusade came across *Arabes, quae precursores erant belli.*[143] The night before the battle the Anonymous reported an attack by three hundred *Arabes* on the crusaders' camp. It is likely that the Egyptian force included Arab light cavalry and this is presumably to whom the Anonymous was referring.[144] The discussion of the conglomerate force of Kilij Arslan at Dorylaeum also indicates that the *Arabes* were distinctive in appearance. The *Gesta* estimated that the forces of the Seljuk Sultan numbered 360,000, *extra Arabes, quorum numerum nemo scit nisi solus Deus.*[145] When marvelling at the strength and prowess of the *Turci* and listing those peoples whom they had terrorised, the *Gesta* included the *Arabes.*[146]

A single reference to a large group of 10,000 *Arabes* who encountered Kilij Arslan after the battle of Dorylaeum is not supported by the other eyewitness chronicles and is likely to be apocryphal, allowing the Sultan direct speech in which he lamented his arrogance in assuming that he had defeated all the *Franci* (referring

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[141] *Gesta*, p. 96 [497]
[142] In particular in the army of Kilij Arslan at Dorylaeum, *Gesta*, pp. 19-20 [202-3], the army of Duqaq of Damascus near Antioch, *Gesta*, p. 30 [250] and Kerbogah's army at Antioch, *Gesta*, p. 49 [314]
[143] *Gesta*, p. 93 [486]
[144] For Arab cavalry in the Egyptian army, see France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 359, 360 & 364.
[145] *Gesta*, p. 20 [204]
[146] *Gesta*, p. 21[206]: *Qui putabant terrere gentem Francorum minis suarum sagittarum, sicut terruerunt Arabes, Saracenos, et Hermeniios, Suranios et Grecos.*

to the People's Crusade) and warned the Arabs against engaging the Latins.[147] As with the *Saraceni*, there is some evidence that the use of *Arabes* in the *Gesta* sometimes referred to a specific group while at other times it was used with rhetorical licence to demonstrate the range of foes defeated by the crusade.

Persae

The author of the *Gesta* used the term *Persae* five times in his narrative and *Persidem*, apparently referring to Persia, once.[148] The *Persae* were one of the groups listed in the description of Kerbogah's army before Antioch. During the battle between the Latins and Kerbogah in June 1099, the Anonymous reported that the *Persae et Turci* began to cry out when the crusaders pushed an advance.[149] It is not clear whether the *Persae* constituted a seperate group as identified by the *Gesta* author on the basis of distinguishing characteristics, whether ethnic or military. References to the *Soldani Persidis* or Berkyaruk, the Seljuk Sultan of Baghdad, and Kerbogah as *princeps militiae Soldani Persidis*, demonstrate that the *Persae* were associated with the Sultan.[150] This is supported by the use of the term primarily in connection with the forces of Kerbogah. When the Turks of Asia Minor defeated the Peoples' Crusade, the Anonymous reported that they captured the survivors to enslave them and sent them *alios in Corosanum, alios in Persidem*.[151] Here Persia, along with *Corosan*, was associated with the Turks. Both Robert the Monk and Fulcher of Chartres described the Turks as a Persian people.[152]

Publicani

According to the *Gesta Francorum*, one of the groups which formed part of Kerbogah's allied force was the *Publicani*. The term was also used to describe the inhabitants of a castle between Coxon and Antioch.[153] The second letter of Stephen of Blois to his wife Adela, written in the spring of 1099, lists *Publicani* among the enemies of the crusade before Antioch.[154] The term *Publicani* was identified by Du

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[147] *Gesta*, p. 22 [208-210]
[148] *Gesta*, pp. 5, 20, 49, 66 & 70 [129, 203, 311, 366 & 377]
[149] *Gesta*, pp. 49 & 70 [314 & 377]
[150] *Gesta*, pp. 49 & 66 [314 & 366]
[151] *Gesta*, p. 5 [129]
[152] Robert, *Historia*, p. 727: *gens regni Persarum*; Fulcher, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 3, p. 133: *gens Persica*.
[153] *Gesta*, p. 26 [232]
[154] H. Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, pp. 149-52 & p. 282, n. 35.

Cange as Paulicians, a heretical sect which originated in Armenia in the seventh century.[155] While the term *Publicani* seems somewhat removed from *Pauliciani*, the term appeared in a number of forms in twelfth-century sources to describe dualist heretics. A letter to Pope Alexander III of King Louis VII of France referred to dualist heretics, *qui vulgo Populican vocantur*.[156] Alberic of Trois-Fontaines's *Chronicum* described heretics known as *Popelicani* in the mid-twelfth century and again in 1200 he referred to a group of heretics in the city of Troyes as *Popelicani*.[157] In the late twelfth century Ralph of Coggeshall described *haeresis perniciosa Publicanorum*.[158]

Runciman suggested that the term came to the West by way of the *Gesta Francorum*, while Loos asserted that it was derived from the city of Philippopolis (Plovdiv) where the sect had a large population.[159] In the ninth century the Paulicians did enjoy moderate protection under Arab rule and were involved in military expeditions into Byzantine territories as part of the Arab forces.[160] Albert of Aachen mentioned the presence of *gens Publicanorum* among the forces of al-Afdal at Ascalon in 1099.[161] While the direct link between the *Publicani* in the *Gesta Francorum* and the Paulicians is not certain, the independent evidence of Stephen of Blois' letter to his wife from Antioch and the similarity between *Publicani* and the later uses of *Popelicani* and *Populicani* to denote dualist heretics in western sources, indicates that it was to these dualists that the *Gesta* was referring.[162]

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[155] Du Cange 4, p. 388.
[156] *Variorum Epistolae ad Alexandrum III*, P.L. 200, col. 1376.
[157] *Albrici Monachi Triumfontium Chronicum*, ed. P. Sceffer-Boichorst, in MGH SS, XXIII, pp. 631-950. *maxima heresis Popelicanorum* p. 739; *Apud civitatem Trecas Popelicani*, p. 878.
[158] *Radulphi de Coggeshale, Chronicon Anglicanum, Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi Scriptores.* (Rolls Series), lxvi, pp, 1-208, p. 18.
[159] S. Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee* (Cambridge, 1955), p. 46; Loos asserts that the term derives from the town of Plovdiv/Philippopolis, often rendered in western sources as *Phinepople*. M. Loos, *Dualist heresy in the Middle Ages* (Prague, 1974), pp. 118 & 126 n. 108.
[160] Loos, *Dualist Heresy*, p. 37-9. According to Loos there is no evidence that the *Publicani* in the *Gesta Francorum* were Paulicians, p. 126, n. 108. Rather he asserted that the 'heretics' mentioned in the *Gesta* in the area of Pephlagonia, were in fact Paulicians, p. 99.
[161] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 42, pp. 456-7 & n. 67.
[162] For the opinion that *Publicani* was used as an insulting term for the Muslims derived from the biblical *Publicani*, see Loutchitskaja, 'L'image des Musulmans,' p. 720; See also Loutchitskaja, '*Barbarae Nationes*,' pp. 105 & 106, for the suggestion that the term was used as an insult to Muslims in general, but that it was a derivative of Paulician.

Curti

The term *Curti* appears only once in the *Gesta Francorum*, in the description of the different groups within the forces of Kerbogah, atabeg of Mosul.[163] It is most likely that this term refers to Kurds.[164] The use of the term *Curti* by the Anonymous is the first instance of the use of the term in the *Patrologia Latina*; Du Cange recorded Tudebode as the earliest use of the term in his *Glossarium*.[165]

Azimiti

When listing the allies or components within Kerbogah's army, the Anonymous included the group *Azimitae*.[166] According to Hill, the term *Azimiti* referred to Armenians whom the Greeks called Azimites because of their use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist.[167] Gregoire suggested that *Azimiti* was a borrowing from the Arabic *al-ajam*.[168] Elsewhere in the *Gesta Francorum* the Anonymous used the term *Hermenii* to denote the Amenians and it is not clear why he would use the term *Azimiti* at this point. Earlier references to *Azymiti* in the *Patrologia Latina* demonstrated knowledge that this was a term used by the *Graeci* to refer to the Latins.[169] Guibert of Nogent in particular, whose invective against the Byzantines in his *Dei Gesta per Francos* focussed on the azyme controversy, did not comment on the use of the term nor did the other authors who used the *Gesta*. These authors would have been extremely sensitive to the term, which had come to their notice during the 'schism' of 1054. It is possible that the term was used by the Byzantine troops and interpreted by the Anonymous as a separate contingent of the approaching Seljuk army.

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[163] *Gesta*, p. 49 [314]: *Rex Damasci illuc venit, cum maxima gente. Idem vero Curbaram congregavit innumeras gentes paganorum, videlicet Turcos, Arabas, Saracenos, Publicanos, Azimitas, Curtos, Persas, Agulanos, et alias multas gentes innumerabiles.*

[164] For the use of Kurds in the Turkish armies, see France, *Victory in the East*, p. 145.

[165] Du Cange 2, p. 1448

[166] *Gesta*, pp. 45 & 49 [297, n. 19 & 315]

[167] *Gesta*, p. 45, n. 1 [297, n. 19]

[168] H. Gregoire, 'De Marsile à Anderns ou l'islam et Byzance lans l'épopée française,' in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* 5 (1946), pp. 431-63, p. 456; Loutchitskaja, '*Barbarae Nationes*,' p. 104.

[169] Peter Damian, *Opusculum* 55, P.L. 145, col. 806; *Fragmentum disputationis contra Graecos*, P.L. 143, col. 1215; Humbert of Silva Candida, *Incipit brevis et Succincta commemoration eorum*, P.L. 143, col. 1004; Leo IX *Ad Michaelem Constantinopolim patriarcham*, P.L. 143, col. 759.

Agulani

The term *Agulani* appears five times in the *Gesta Francorum*, each time denoting a specific group within a larger conglomerate Muslim force.[170] At Dorylaeum the *Agulani* were included in the *barbarae nationes* of the forces of Kilij Arslan.[171] The term *Agulani* was extremely rare in medieval Latin and appears in the *Patrologia Latina* database in the derivatives of the *Gesta* only.[172] It is not clear who was meant by the term, but Jamison has suggested that the term is a misrepresentation of *Hagareni* or *Agareni*, pointing to a list of peoples in a late twelfth-century charter from Jerusalem which contains the term *Agareni*.[173] It has also been suggested that the term derived from a rendering of the Arabic term *al-ghoulam*, either from the Arabic or through the Greek *ghoulamos*.[174]

The suggestion that the *Agulani* were a misdesignated *Hagareni* is not without its problems. Baldric of Dol used the term *Agulani* at Dorylaeum and at Antioch. He later referred, however, to the *Agarenorum nationibus* in the description of the city of Antioch, clearly referring to the forces of Kerbogah in their entirety.[175] It is clear therefore that Baldric did not recognise *Agulani* as being synonymous with *Agareni*. In a number of manuscripts of Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana* the terms *Angulanis* and *Agareni* appear side by side in a marginal note.[176] The term is also spelled a number of different ways in the manuscripts of Baldric, Robert and the *Gesta Francorum*, suggesting that it was not a term familiar to scribes.[177] Moreover the *Agulani* were given specific characteristics and a military function. They were described by the Anonymous as covered in armour, having armoured horses and using only a sword to fight with.[178] This detailed description implies that the

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[170] *Gesta*, pp. 20 & 45 [203, 297 & 314-5]
[171] *Gesta*, p. 20 [203]
[172] *Roberti Monachi S. Remigii in Diocesi Remensi Historia Hierosolymitana*, P.L. 155 col. 690; *Petri Tudebodi Sacerdotis Siuracensis Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, P.L. 155 col. 722; *Historia quae dicitur Gesta Dei per Francos Edita a ven. Cuiberto Abbate Monasterii Sanctae Mariae Novigenti*, P.L. 156 col. 754; *Hugonis de Sancta Maria Liber qui Modernorum Regum Francorum continent Actus*, P.L. 163 col. 907; *Baldrici Archiepiscopi Dolensis Hierosolimitanae Historiae Libri Quatuor*, P.L. 166 col. 1085; *Orderici Vitalis Angligenae Coenobii Uticensis monachi Historiae Ecclesiasticae Libris XIII in partes tres divisi*, P.L. 188 col. 668.
[173] Jamison, 'Some notes on the *Anonymi Gesta Francorum*,' pp. 185-6.
[174] Louchitskaja, '*Barbarae Nationes*,' pp. 104-5.
[175] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 84. The *Gesta Francorum* used the phrase *Turcis et aliis paganis* in the passage from which Baldric derived his description.
[176] Robert, *Historia*, pp. 762 & 778.
[177] Robert, *Historia*, pp. 762, 778 & 808, n. 11. Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 35, n. 5, 54, 59 & 60.
[178] *Gesta*, p. 49. [315]: *qui neque lanceas neque sagittas neque ulla arma timebant, quia omnes erant undique cooperti ferro et equi eorum, ipsique nolebant in bellum ferre arma nisi solummodo gladios.*

Anonymous was referring to an extremely distinctive and visible group within the forces of Kerbogah. According to John France, cavalry warriors with comparable equipment could have originated in Persia or Egypt.[179] It is not certain that the Anonymous's use of the term *Agulani* was entirely appropriate. If his information regarding the different groups within the Turkish armies came from oral sources, it is possible that he applied the term wrongly.

Lists

The *Gesta Francorum* contained two lists of national groups within Muslim forces, which deserve particular attention. At the battle of Dorylaeum, the Seljuk Sultan of Nicaea, Kilij Arslan, reportedly led a conglomerate force which consisted of *numerus Turcorum, Persarum, Publicanorum, Saracenorum, Agulanorum, aliorumque paganorum.*[180] Other sources for the battle of Dorylaeum do not, however, place so many separate groups in the sultan's forces. Albert of Aachen mentioned only *Turci* in his account of the battle, as did Raymond of Aguilers.[181] According to John France, the Sultanate of Nicaea did not contain the necessary administrative cohesion to control a composite army and therefore, 'in Anatolia the crusaders were confronted by forces which were entirely Turkish.'[182] All of these groups also appear in the Anonymous's description of the forces of Kerbogah at Antioch and it is possible that they were retrospectively placed at Dorylaeum in an attempt to add epic proportions to the battle.

At Antioch, the *Gesta* reported the presence of *Turcos, Arabas, Saracenos, Publicanos, Azimitas, Curtos, Persas, Agulanos, et alias multas gentes innumerabiles* in the forces of Kerbogah, atabeg of Mosul. It is not immediately clear who precisely is referred to by some of these terms, *Persas*, for example, appear to be most closely linked with the *Turci* and may have been distinguished for their military rather than ethnic characteristics, similarly the *Agulani* were defined by their armour. The term *Saraceni* was used in a collective sense to denote the Muslims as a group after the departure of the crusade from Antioch and probably represents the acknowledgement by the Anonymous of a move from lands influenced by the Seljuk

[179] France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 204 & 359-60; J. France, 'Warfare in the Mediterranean region in the Age of the Crusades 1095-1291: A clash of contrasts,' in *The Crusades and the Near East: Cultural Histories*, ed. C. Kostick (London, 2010), pp. 9-26, p.14.
[180] *Gesta*, p. 20 [203-4]
[181] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, caps. 39-43, pp. 131-7; Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 24-6.
[182] France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 158-9.

Turks to those under the suzerainty of Fatimid Egypt. It may also refer to the Fatimids but the use of the terms *Aegypti* at Ascalon complicates this interpretation. The presence of *Arabes* and *Curtos* at Antioch appears to be unproblematic, but *Azimitae* and *Agulani* are not. While *Azimiti* may be the result of oral transmission from the Byzantine troops at Antioch, the description of distinctive armour of the *Agulani* would appear to militate against it being a corruption of *Hagareni*. It is likely, however, that *Publicani* was used to denote Paulician heretics.

The breadth of the terms used in the *Gesta Francorum* to describe the Muslim opponents of the crusade reflects the large number of different national groups among the conglomerate armies which the crusaders faced. This does not mean that the Anonymous was accurate in the use of these terms or that each term referred to a distinct group. In the army of Kilij Arslan at Dorylaeum, for example, it is likely that the predominant national group was the Turks. If, as it appears, one or two of the terms represent the author's rationalisation of terms which he heard spoken, while others, such as *Persae* or *Saraceni*, would most likely have been known to him before he left the West, one group could have been denoted by two separate terms. Unlike the crusaders, the multiplicity of terms used to denote the Muslims was designed to demonstrate the large numbers of foes which the crusade encountered and this may explain the list of groups at Dorylaeum. While the various groups within the Latin armies were only distinguished when they acted individually, the recitation of the lists of groups within the Muslim armies served to emphasise the enormity of the achievement of the crusaders in their victories.

Theological terms to denote the Muslims

A number of non-national terms were employed to represent the Muslims in general. Their overriding purpose was to depict the opponents of the crusade as non-Christians. They were sometimes synonyms for each other. For example, at Dorylaeum the *barbarae nationes* were immediately afterwards labelled *pagani*.[183] At times these terms were interchangeable, employed perhaps for variety rather than

[183] See below, p. 44.

as an attempt to layer the identity of the Muslims, unlike the terms used to describe the crusaders which had a didactic purpose to express the function of the expedition, its piety and the rewards which the participants might expect.

Pagani

The *Gesta Francorum* used the term *pagani* to describe the Muslims as a whole on a number of occasions. In this context, the term served as a clear opposite to *Christiani*. When Bohemond first heard about the crusade, it was described as *innumerabilem gentem Christianorum*, who had arrived *paratam ad prelium contra gentem paganorum*.[184] When Kerbogah's mother assured her son of his own strength, she stated that no *gens Christianorum vel paganorum* could hope to oppose him.[185] At the siege of Ma'arrat, the clergy stood behind one of the siege towers praying to God to defend the crusaders and *Christianitatem exaltaret, ac paganismum deponeret*.[186] On his election to the position of Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre, Godfrey of Bouillon's duties were understood to be that *debellaret paganos et custodiret Christianos*.[187] According to Kerbogah's mother, the *Christiani* were fated to defeat the *pagani*, *gens Christiana super nos foret ventura, et nos ubique victura, ac super paganos regnatura*.[188] In the reported speech of the visions at Antioch *pagani* was used by St Peter and Christ. Jesus told Stephen of Valence that despite his help to the crusaders in the capture of the city, the crusaders were insulting him by now indulging in sin, in particular with *paganis mulieribus*.[189] In an effort to assuage Christ's anger, St Peter begged him to help the *Christiani* to remove the *paganorum gens* from his *domus*.[190]

Like *Christiani* the *pagani* were a *gens/gentes*.[191] In the battle of Dorylaeum, the various groups were all *pagani* and the forces of Kerbogah at Antioch consisted of *innumeras gentes paganorum*.[192] Twice a reference was made to *paganorum terra*,

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[184] *Gesta*, p. 7 [147-151]
[185] *Gesta*, p. 53 [324-5]
[186] *Gesta*, p. 78 [405]
[187] *Gesta*, pp. 92-3 [477-8]
[188] *Gesta*, p. 55 [327-8]
[189] *Gesta*, p. 58 [337]: *Ecce in auxilio oportuno, misi vos sanos et incolumes in civitatem, et ecce multam pravamque dilectionem operantes cum Christianis et pravis paganis mulieribus, unde immensus foetor ascendit in caelum.*
[190] *Gesta*, p. 58 [338]
[191] *Gesta*, pp. 7, 49, 53, 58, 78, 82, 83, 84, 89 & 92 [150, 314-5, 324-5, 338, 404, 419-21, 425, 429-30, 459 & 476]
[192] *Gesta*, pp. 20 & 49 [203-4 & 314-5]

perhaps in contrast to the *terra Christianorum* around Antioch which the crusaders claimed in their embassy to Kerbogah.[193] In the dichotomy of Christian and non-Christian, which pervaded the *Gesta Francorum*, the term *pagani* was extremely important, being the antithesis of *Christiani*. The pagans were not merely opponents of the crusade but of Christianity itself, as was testified by St Peter and Jesus. The defeat of the *pagani* by the crusade was not only desirable but, according to Kerbogah's mother, preordained.

Barbari

The term *barbari* was used sparingly to describe the opponents of the crusade by the Anonymous.[194] It was only used in descriptions of battle scenes but it does not appear to have been consciously differentiated from *pagani*. At Dorylaeum, the range of Muslim opponents was described as *barbarae nationes* and immediately afterwards as *pagani*.[195] In the approach to Antioch and the skirmishes with the local Islamic population the term *barbari* was used and the final appearance of the term occurs in the description of the battle at Ma'arat in November 1099, where it was applied to *Turci* and *Saraceni ab Aleph civitate*.[196] It was not ascribed to a particular group within the Muslim forces.

Nationes

The Anonymous used the term *nationes* only twice in the *Gesta Francorum*. In both cases this referred to the Muslims and was accompanied by a list of national groups which comprised their forces.[197] At the battle of Dorylaeum in 1097 the army of Kilij Arslan was described as *Turci et Arabes, et Saraceni et Agulani omnesque barbarae nationes*.[198] Immediately afterwards the list was expanded to *numerus Turcorum, Persarum, Publicanorum, Saracenorum, Agulanorum, aliorumque paganorum* as well as *Arabes*.[199] The term *nationes* to refer to non-Christian peoples was well

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[193] *Gesta*, pp. 72 & 97 [384 & 495-6]; For the embassy of Peter the Hermit and Herluin to Kerbogah to assert the position of the crusaders and to claim the lands which contained Antioch as *terram Christianorum*, see *Gesta*, p. 66 [364-5]; See Morris, 'Peter the Hermit and the chroniclers,' p. 27 for the crusader's apparent anxiety in claiming Antioch as Christian land.
[194] *Gesta*, pp. 20, 28, 29, 32 & 73 [203-4, 240, 247, 254 & 388]
[195] *Gesta*, p. 20 [203-4]
[196] *Gesta*, p. 73 [388]
[197] *Gesta*, p. 20 & 45 [203-4 & 297-298]
[198] *Gesta*, p. 20 [203]
[199] *Gesta*, p. 20 [203-204]

established in the early Christian period and Jerome used the term *bararae nationes* to refer to non-Christians in his letters 133 and 146.[200] The term *barbarae nationes* in reference to the opponents of the crusade appears in a number of First Crusade chronicles.[201]

The second reference to *nationes* occurred when the *Gesta* recounted the news of the approach of Kerbogah's army to Antioch. According to the anonymous account, Bohemond had suggested to the other leaders that whoever was able to engineer the downfall of the city should be given possession of it. Initially the other leaders refused, but when they heard of the approach of *hostium nostrorum, Turcorum, Publicanorum, Agulanorum, Azimitarum, et aliarum plurimarum nationum*, they agreed to his proposal.[202] Again, the term *nationes* is accompanied by a list of the various national groups within the Muslim forces. The phrase *plurimarum nationum* can be found in Deuteronomy 15:6 where the Israelites are promised that they shall rule over *plurime nationes*. The clear connection between *nationes* and the opponents of the crusade and the reference to a biblical use of the term to denote heathens demonstrates the Anonymous's use of the term specifically to portray the Muslims as non-Christians.[203]

Gentiles

The term *gentiles* was used by the author of the *Gesta Francorum* on three occasions. The *Arabes* who encountered Kilij Arslan on his retreat after the battle of Dorylaeum, addressed him as *O infelix et infelicior omnibus gentilibus*.[204] During the siege of Antioch, when the Turkish garrison in the citadel launched an attack on the crusaders in the city, the Anonymous described them as *gentiles*.[205] When Kerbogah's mother reportedly warned him against engaging the Latins in battle, she told him that a Christian victory had been foretold in *nostra pagina et gentilium voluminibus*.[206]

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[200] Jerome, *Epistula* 133, *Ad Ctesiphontem* 9, CSEL 56, p. 255. *Epistula* 146 *Ad Evangelum Presbyterum* 1, CSEL 56, p. 310.
[201] See also the letter of the clergy and *populus* of Lucca in Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, p.167; Loutchitskaja, 'L'image des Musulmans,' p. 723.
[202] *Gesta*, pp. 44-45 [296-298]
[203] Niermeyer, 2, p. 930.
[204] *Gesta*, p. 22 [209]
[205] *Gesta*, p. 60 [345]
[206] *Gesta*, p. 55 [328, n. 35] According to Hagenmeyer, this was a reference to non-Islamic texts.

Inimici

In the description of the departure of Tatikios, the Byzantine general sent by Alexius Comnenus to accompany the Latins, from the crusade during the siege of Antioch, the Greek envoy became an enemy: *fuit ille inimicus*.[207] The act of betraying the crusade gave Tatikios the label of an enemy. For the most part however, the term denoted the Islamic opponents of the Latins. The Muslim forces were not simply *inimici nostri*: on a number of occasions they were referred to as *inimici Dei* or *inimici Christi* in an apparent contrast with the crusaders themselves who are *milites Dei* or *milites Christi*.[208] During the battle of Ascalon in 1099 the *inimici Dei* were rendered impotent by the *Christi milites*.[209]

One of the principal themes of the *Gesta Francorum* was the role of God in the victory of the crusade. This is seen in the attribution of victory to divine will and the references to the crusaders as *milites Christi, milites Dei, filii Christi, populus Christi* and *populus Dei*. This assertion was also served by the reference to the Muslims as *inimici Dei* and *inimici Christi*. Where the Muslims are described as *inimici Dei et sanctae Christianitatis* or *inimici Dei et nostri*, the point is emphasised, the victory of the crusade was assured because the enemies of the Christians were also the enemies of God.[210] The author assured his reader that the strength of God was behind the crusade, *Sic superati sunt inimici nostri virtute Dei et Sancti Sepulchri*.[211] Kerbogah's mother warned her son against engaging the Christians in battle, not because of their superior military skill, but the strength of their God.[212]

Islam in the *Gesta Francorum*

The collective terms for the opponents of the crusade were used interchangeably and without great distinction by the Anonymous. While the use of collective terms to denote the Christians was a didactic attempt to unify the crusade effort and to impose

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[207] *Gesta*, p. 35 [263]

[208] For *milites Dei* and *milites Christi* see above, pp. 30-1.

[209] *Gesta*, p. 96 [496]: *Stabant autem inimici Dei excecati et stupefacti, ac videntes Christi milites apertis oculis nil videbant, et contra Christianos engere se non audebant, virtute Dei tremefacti.*

[210] *Gesta*, pp. 22 & 32 [208-9 & 254]: *Turci, inimici Dei et sanctae Chritianitatis*; *Gesta*, p. 40 [282]: *inimici Dei et nostri*; See the second letter of Stephen of Blois to his wife Adela for the term *inimici Dei et nostris* in Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, p. 150.

[211] *Gesta*, p. 41 [285]

[212] *Gesta*, p. 53 [325]: *deus eorum pro ipsis cotidie pugnat, eosque die noctuque sua protectione defendit, et vigilat super eos sicut pastor vigilat super gregem suam; et non permittit eos laedi nec conturbari ab ulla gente, et quicumque volunt eis obsistere, idem eorum deus conturbat illos.*

a theological framework to the enterprise, the Muslims were grouped together by definition as non-Christians. Most of the collective terms applied to the Muslims can be translated as 'non-Christian'. Like many of his contemporaries, the *pagani* of the *Gesta Francorum* author were defined by practices which rendered them the antithesis to Christianity. The Anonymous seemed to know little or nothing about Islamic practises, save the name of Muhammad and the title of Caliph, which he explained was *illorum apostolicus*.[213] Instead his attacks on the *pagani* distanced them from Christianity.

The most obvious example of this differentiation was the assertion that the Muslims had multiple gods, one of whom was Muhammad. In a description of the letter of Kerbogah to the Caliph and the Sultan to assure them that the crusade would be defeated quickly, Kerbogah swore *per Machomet et per omnia deorum nomina* that he would push the Latins out of Antioch and Syria as far as Apulia for the honour of the Caliph, the Sultan and the Gods.[214] As Kerbogah's mother attempted to warn him about his fated defeat, she pleaded with him *per omnium deorum nomina* not to engage the Christians.[215] When the Egyptian emir, al-Afdal, saw his troops defeated by the crusaders at Ascalon in 1099, he reportedly wept and invoked *Deorum spiritus* and immediately swore *per Machumet et per omnia deorum numina* that he would never lead another army.[216]

Alongside his assertions that the Muslims believed in many gods, the Anonymous also gave them diabolical connections. The noises they made were *diabolicum sonum*.[217] During a battle before Antioch a number of Muslims were drowned while attempting to flee across a bridge. The Anonymous commented that those who died would receive *sempiternum interitum cum diabolo et angelis eius*.[218] A mosque or *machumarian* where the Turks had buried their dead outside Antioch was referred to as a *diabolicum atrium*.[219] In late 1098 Raymond of Toulouse captured the city of al-Bara and established a bishop there to return the city to

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[213] For a reference to Muhammad, see, *Gesta*, p. 52 & 96 [322 & 498] For the Caliph likened to the Pope, see *Gesta*, pp. 49 & 52 [313 & 321]
[214] *Gesta*, p. 52 [322]
[215] *Gesta*, p. 53 [324]
[216] *Gesta*, p. 96 [498]
[217] *Gesta*, p. 18 [198]
[218] *Gesta*, p. 41 [282, n. i]
[219] *Gesta*, p. 42 [286]

Christianity and to convert the mosque or *domus diabolica* to a church, *templum Deo vivo et vero et oracula sanctorum.*[220]

As detailed above, the use of terms such as *inimici Dei* or *inimici Christi* directly contrasted with the terms *militia Christi* and *militia Dei* for the crusaders. Adjectives which were applied to the Muslims in the anonymous narrative also emphasised their rejection of Christianity. The Muslims were non-believers, *increduli* and heathens, *prophani.*[221] At the battle of Dorylaeum, the lands around the crusader army were completely covered by this *excommunicata generatio.*[222] Despite the skill and valour of the Muslims in battle, they were beaten because they did not accept Christianity. At Dorylaeum the Anonymous was in awe of the *prudentiam militiamque et fortitudinem Turcorum*, yet this came to nought because they would not accept Christianity.[223] When the crusaders sent Peter the Hermit as an envoy to Kerbogah during the second siege of Antioch, he reportedly asked them if they had come to accept Christianity.[224] To this Kerbogah replied *Deum vestrum et vestram christianitatem nec optamus nec volumus, vosque cum illis omnino respuimus.*[225] The Muslims therefore had not merely adopted paganism, but when presented with Christianity, had rejected it.

The diabolical nature of the Muslims was emphasised by their alien behaviour. When they fought, their tactics, voices and the sheer numbers were terrifying. At Dorylaeum this *excommunicata generatio* were so numerous that they covered *omnes montes et colles et valles et omnia plana loca.*[226] The Anonymous estimated that there were three hundred and sixty thousand of them, not counting the *Arabes*, whose numbers were too great to count.[227] Kerbogah's army at Antioch was similarly huge, *maxima gente, innumeras gentes paganorum.*[228] The tactics of the Muslims clearly affected the author greatly as he detailed their mobility and skill in

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[220] *Gesta*, p. 75 [392]
[221] *incredulos*, *Gesta*, pp. 20, 88 & 89 [203, 452 & 459]; *prophani*, *Gesta*, p. 62 [351]; *prophani collegium*, *Gesta*, p. 66 [365]
[222] *Gesta*, p. 19 [202]
[223] *Gesta*, p. 21 [206-8]: *Certe si in fide Christi et Christianitate sancta semper firmi fuissent, et unum Deum in trinitate confiteri voluissent Deique Filium natum de Virgine matre, passum, et resurrexisse a mortuis et in caelum ascendisse suis cernentibus discipulis, consolationemque Sancti Spiritus perfecte misisse; et eum in caelo et in terra regnantem recta mente et fide credidissent, ipsis potentiores vel fortiores vel bellorum ingeniosissimos nullus invenire potuisset. Et tamen gratia Dei victi sunt a nostris*
[224] *Gesta*, p. 66 [365]
[225] *Gesta*, pp. 66-7 [366]
[226] *Gesta*, p. 19 [203]
[227] *Gesta*, p. 20 [203-4]
[228] *Gesta*, p. 49 [314]

battle: *Turci undique iam erant circumcingentes nos, dimicando et iaculando, ac spiculando, et mirabiliter longe lateque sagittando.*[229] As well as their frenetic energy, the Anonymous reported the *demoniaca vox* of the Muslims, who made strange cries as they fought.

> *Continuo Turci coeperunt stridere et garrire ac clamare, excelsa voce dicentes diabolicum sonum nescio quomodo in sua lingua. Sapiens vir Boamundus videns innumerabiles Turcos procul, stridentes et clamantes demoniaca voce, protinus iussit omnes milites descendere, et tentoria celeriter extendere.*[230]

At Antioch the *Turci* also made alien noises: *coeperunt stridere et garrire ac clamare vehementissimo clamore.*[231] Following a crusade victory outside Antioch, the Anonymous commented that the courage which had prompted the inhabitants of the city to shout and chatter as they had, was depleted: *iam amplius non audebant clamitare, vel garrire, die neque nocte sicut ante solebant.*[232] Alongside the employment of terms which emphasised the non-Christian nature of the Muslims, the Anonymous attributed demonic and alien practices to the opponents of the crusade in order to emphasise the contrast between the *populus Dei* and the *inimici Dei*.

Much of our information regarding the Anonymous's attitudes towards Islam is contained in the apocryphal scenes between Muslim personalities. These scenes have often been neglected because of their apparent lack of historical worth: nevertheless their use in assessing the author's attitudes is enormous. The conversations and speeches of certain Muslims provide large amounts of information regarding his impressions of Islamic society and even his understanding of the theological basis for the crusade. When Kilij Arslan was fleeing after his defeat by the crusade at Dorylaeum, he met with some *Arabes* who asked him why he fled. He answered that he thought that he had defeated the crusade and had come equipped to lead them all into captivity but that instead they had overwhelmed him with their numbers and repulsed him.[233] Similarly, al-Afdal at Ascalon lamented that he had assumed an easy

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[229] *Gesta*, p. 19 [199-200] See also *Gesta*, p. 40 [280]
[230] *Gesta*, p. 18 [198]
[231] *Gesta*, p. 40 [280]
[232] *Gesta*, p. 41 [284-5]
[233] *Gesta*, p. 22 [209-10]

victory over the crusaders. Both these speeches are intended to provide a commentary on the arrogance of the Islamic leaders in their presumptions regarding the Latins. But while the Sultan of Nicaea was beaten by force of numbers, the speech of the emir of Cairo at Ascalon also served to highlight the humble and dishevelled nature of the crusade forces. Kilij Arslan marvelled at the numbers of the crusaders, *putaret quod omnes montes et colles vallesque et omnia plana loca plena est*, while al-Afdal was ashamed at having been beaten by so few, *tantilla gente Christianorum*.[234] The theological purpose of al-Afdal's speech is highlighted by his apparent scriptural allusions to the crusaders who had *nisi saccum et perram* (Luke 10:4).[235]

The reported conversation between Kerbogah and his mother, at first also appears to have little relevance to the narrative and has prompted comparisons between the *Gesta* and vernacular literature.[236] As Hodgson has pointed out, however, the representation of Kerbogah's mother has no apparent precedent in the portrayal of Saracen women either in the Latin chronicles of the crusades or in the later *Chansons*.[237] Like the other reported conversations in the *Gesta* the discussion between Kerbogah and his mother fulfilled an important function in the narrative. She was a learned woman who came to warn her son of the inevitable victory of the crusade and his own defeat and death. This premonition was based on astrological observations and the reading of ancient texts, but also on the scriptures which she quoted. This speech is the most eloquent exposition of the theological basis for the crusade in the whole of the *Gesta*. The crusaders were referred to as *Christiani* throughout as well as *filii Christi*, *filii adoptionis et promissionis* and *heredes Christi*.[238] The books of Psalms, Romans, Galatians, Exodus and either Deuteronomy or Joshua were all cited as support for her argument that God had willed that the *pagani* be subjected by the *Christiani*. The *Christiani* on their own had not sufficient force to defeat Kerbogah, but they were not fighting alone but with their God who

[234] *Gesta*, pp. 22 & 96 [210 & 497]
[235] *Gesta*, p. 96 [497]
[236] See N. Hodgson, 'The Role of Kerbogah's Mother in the *Gesta Francorum* and Selected Chronicles of the First Crusade', in S. B. Edgington, & S. Lambert, eds. *Gendering the Crusades* (Cardiff, 2001), pp. 163-76.
[237] Hodgson, 'The role of Kerbogah's mother,' p. 170.
[238] *Gesta*, pp. 53-6 [323-30]

pro ipsis cotidie pugnat, eosque die noctuque sua protectione defendit, et vigilat super eos sicut pastor vigilat super gregem suam.[239]

The representation of a Saracen woman who attempted to convince her son of the righteousness of the crusade does not have any parallels in the *Chanson* tradition. The story is reminiscent of Pilate's wife in the New Testament, who warned her husband against condemning Jesus (Matthew 27:19). Given the prominence of the Bible in the narrative of the *Gesta*, it is possible that a precedent can be found here or at least the tradition of an unlikely instrument extolling the word of God can be traced to the Scriptures. As with the other conversation reported in the *Gesta* this allowed the views and opinions of the author to be transmitted by means of *oratio recta*.

The presence of these fictional representations of conversations to which the author of the *Gesta Francorum* cannot have been privy, have drawn comment from historians, who disregarded their value as evidence for the events of the crusade.[240] Their a-historical nature has led to them being singled out as anomalous in the narrative, yet they correspond in style and language to the rest of the work.[241] Bennett remarked that their presence was understandable if the influence of vernacular poetry on the *Gesta* was accepted. This view accepts, however, their 'otherness' within the narrative.[242] In an analysis of the narrative purpose and principal theme of the *Gesta*, it is clear that these apocryphal scenes fulfil a substantial role in presenting the crusade as a struggle between the forces of God and his enemies. The very fact that they are used predominantly to describe events from which the Anonymous was absent, demonstrates their worth as a literary device to narrate these events.

The representation of Islam in the *Gesta Francorum* broadly shares some common features with the Saracens of the *Chansons*.[243] Both describe the Muslims as polytheists, although the idols and 'diabolical Trinity' common in the *Chansons*,

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[239] *Gesta*, pp. 53-4 [325]

[240] Brehier, 'Introduction,' pp. vi-vii, assumed that these '*hors d'oeuvre*' were by a writer other than the 'so precise and full of facts' Anonymous. Edgington, remarked that they are of considerable historiographical, rather than historical value. S.B. Edgington, 'Romance and reality in the sources for the sieges of Antioch, 1097-8,' in *Porphyrogenita: Essays in honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, eds. C. Dendrinos, J. Harris, E. Harvalia-Cook & J. Herrin (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 33-46, p. 37.

[241] Morris was of the opinion that the *Gesta* was the work of a single author, Morris, 'The *Gesta Francorum* as narrative history,' pp. 65-6.

[242] Bennett, 'First Crusaders' images of Muslims,' pp. 104-5.

[243] Meredith-Jones, 'The conventional Saracen' *passim*; Bennett, 'First Crusaders' images of Muslims,' pp. 104-5.

are missing from the *Gesta*.[244] A mosque outside Antioch was described as a *machomaria*, but there was no description of a lavishly decorated interior.[245] Muslims swore by Mohammed and other unnamed gods.[246] The Muslims were described as having demonic voices, but not the monstrous features often attributed to them in *Chansons*.[247] The social structure of the Muslim world was represented as a mirror of feudalism in the West, for example in the discussion between Shems ad-Daula and Kerbogah outside Antioch, feudal institutions were discussed.[248] The homeland of the *Turci* in the *Gesta* (and indeed in many of the crusade chroniclers) was *Corosanum/Corrozanae/Corrozanum* as it was in many of the vernacular *Chansons*.[249] As well as the assumption that Saracen society was arranged along lines identical to western Europe, the Anonymous's comment that the Turks would have made excellent knights had they accepted Christianity found echoes in the later *Chansons*.[250]

The author of the *Gesta Francorum* was clearly influenced by the same cultural inheritance which bore the *Chansons de Geste*. Many of the structural devices which he employed in his composition echo the structure of these vernacular poems, leading Morris to claim that 'in a real if limited sense, the *Gesta Francorum* is a *chanson de geste*.[251] Despite this, the Anonymous does not add the 'burlesque' details to the description of Muslim figures which the *Chansons* contain. Once the Muslims were defined as *pagani* and *inimici Dei* and beaten by the crusaders, the narrative purpose of the author was fulfilled. The *Chansons* represent a stage advanced from that of the *Gesta* in their treatment of Islam. The basic tenets of criticism are similar, but a large degree of detail had been added.

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[244] Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens*, pp. 151-2; Meredith-Jones, 'The conventional Saracen,' pp. 207-8 & 211.
[245] *Gesta*, p. 39 & 42 [276 & 286]; Meredith-Jones, 'The conventional Saracen,'p. 210, for the descriptions of the interiors of mosques in the *Chansons*.
[246] Bennett, 'The First Crusaders' image of Muslims, p. 109; Meredith-Jones, 'The conventional Saracen,' p. 206.
[247] *Gesta*, p. 18 [198]; Meredith-Jones, 'The conventional Saracen,' p. 205.
[248] Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens*, p. 46, see above; 'The Saracen world is modelled strictly on the feudal ideal.' Meredith-Jones, 'The conventional Saracen,' p. 221.
[249] See A.V. Murray, '*Coroscane*: Homeland of the Saracens in the *Chansons de Geste* and the Historiography of the Crusades,' in *Aspects de l'Epopée Romane: Mentalités, Idéologies, Intertextualités*, eds. H. Van Dijk & W. Noomen (Groeningen, 1995), pp. 177-84, for a discussion of the possible origins of the western use of this term.
[250] Meredith-Jones, 'The conventional Saracen,' p. 206; Bennett, 'The First Crusaders' image of Muslims,' pp. 114-6.
[251] Morris, 'The *Gesta Francorum* as narrative history,' p. 61.

In portraying the opponents of the crusade, the author of the *Gesta Francorum* demonstrated their apartness from Christianity in a number of ways, denoting them by terms which were reminiscent of non-Christians such as *pagani*, *barbari*, *nationes* and *gentiles*. Moreover in his discussion of their distinguishing features and places of worship he allied them with the devil, *demoniaca voce*, *domus diabolica* and *cum diabolo et angelis eius*. Like the *Chansons*, the Anonymous assumed that the society of the East was arranged along broadly feudal lines, yet the similarity with the *Chansons* was not as pronounced as it first appears. The apocryphal scenes in the *Gesta*, in particular those which report conversations between Islamic personages, added detail to this portrayal of Islam, allowing the author both to pass moral judgement on Islam and to expound the theological basis of the crusade through an unlikely agent. All aspects of the portrayal of Islam by the Anonymous add to the central theme of the work in which the crusade must overcome the enemies of God, the antithesis of Christianity.

Collective terms to denote the eastern Christians

Hermenii et Suriani/Surani

The terms *Hermenii* and *Suriani/Surani* appear in all but one instance together, denoting the Armenians and Syrians.[252] Both groups appear in the list of peoples whom the Anonymous described as terrified by the *Turci* in his discussion of the skill of the *Turci* at Dorylaeum.[253] During the siege of Antioch, the *Hermenii et Suriani* are seen as acting in the interests of the *Turci* at first and using their religious affinity with the crusaders to infiltrate the camp and report to the Turkish rulers of Antioch.[254] Although they supplied foodstuffs to the crusaders during the siege, they charged extremely high prices and many of the poor who could not afford to pay starved to death.[255] They were also supplying food to the *Turci*, yet when they saw them defeated in the 'Lake Battle', on the 9 February 1098, they laid ambushes and

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[252] *Gesta*, pp. 21, 29, 33, 37, 41, 43, 48 & 70 [206, 244-5, 256-8, 272, 284, 291, 310 & 378-8] For the single use of *Hermenii* without *Suriani* see *Gesta*, p. 26 [234]

[253] See above. p. 34.

[254] *Gesta*, p. 29 [244-5]: *Hermenii et Suriani qui erant intus in urbe exeuntes et ostendentes se fugere, cotidie erant nobiscum, sed eorum uxores in civitate. Illi vero ingeniose investigabant nostrum esse nostramque qualitatem, referebantque omnia his qui erant in urbe inclusi.*

[255] *Gesta*, p. 33 [256-8]

captured or killed many of those fleeing.[256] When the city fell to the crusaders, the governor Yaghi Siyan attempted to flee but he was captured and killed by the local population, *scilicet Suriani et Hermenii*.[257] Once the Latins' victory was assured the *Hermenii* and *Suriani* were portrayed as overjoyed and immediately began killing the fleeing Turks.[258] Despite this apparently fickle attitude of the local Christians during the siege of Antioch, the author of the *Gesta* was generous towards the *Hermenii et Suriani*, whom he claimed privately wished for a Latin victory but were forced to join the military efforts of the rulers of the city: *Hermenii et Suriani iussu maiorum Turcorum, inviti seu spontanei sagittas iaciebant foras ad nos*.[259]

Greci

The term *Greci* was used by the author of the *Gesta* only four times.[260] During the initial stages of the journey, the inhabitants of *Rusa* were described as *Greci* as were the citizens of Constantinople.[261] The *Greci* were also listed as one of the groups terrorised by the Turks in the Anonymous's discussion of their military prowess after the battle of Dorylaeum.[262] In these first three examples, *Greci* signified the Byzantines. When the crusaders went to Ascalon to meet the Egyptian forces in 1099, Peter the Hermit remained at Jerusalem leading the *Grecis et Latinis atque clericis* in processions, almsgiving and prayers.[263] This example may refer to the eastern Christians, as distinct from *Latini* referring to the western Christians. This is the only reference to *Latini* in the *Gesta Francorum* and it is most likely that this phrase *Grecis et Latinis* is a religious distinction, perhaps to emphasise the unity of the Christians at this stage.[264]

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[256] *Gesta*, pp. 37 & 43 [272 & 291]
[257] *Gesta*, p. 48 [310]
[258] *Gesta*, p. 70 [378-9]
[259] *Gesta*, p. 41 [284]: *Mulieres Christianae urbis veniebant ad muri fenestras, spectantes misera fata Turcorum, et occulte plaudebant manibus. Hermenii et Suriani iussu maiorum Turcorum, inviti seu spontanei sagittas iaciebant foras ad nos.*
[260] *Gesta*, pp. 3, 10-11, 21 & 94 [113-4, 166, 206-7 & 488-9] For *grecos ignes*, (Greek fire) see p. 78 [404]
[261] *Gesta*, pp. 3 & 10 n. 3 [114 & 166, n. 20]
[262] See above, p. 34.
[263] *Gesta*, p. 94 [488-9]
[264] The Hill edition of the *Gesta* contains a *descriptio* of the Holy Places, which accompanied the earliest manuscript of the *Gesta*. See Mynors's discussion of the manuscripts in Hill, pp. xxxviii-xlii. In this *descriptio* there is a reference to a *monasterium Latinum in honore sanctae Mariae*. While Mynors believes that the description would have been, 'probably associated with it from its first publication in this form,' it is not at all certain that the same author produced the *Gesta* and this *descriptio*.

There is one other possibly oblique reference to the Byzantines in the *Gesta*. When Peter the Hermit and Herluin were sent on an embassy to Kerbogah to claim Antioch for the crusaders Kerbogah reportedly replied that the Turks had captured those lands from *effeminatis gentibus*.[265] The Turks had indeed captured the city from a crumbling Byzantine administration in 1084. Such a recent event makes it likely that the Anonymous knew of the parties involved and was deliberately using the trope of the effeminate Greek.[266] On its own however, this does not make the author of the *Gesta Francorum* anti-Byzantine, in particular when taken with his repeated assertions of religious fraternity between the eastern and western Christians.

Despite his apparently friendly attitude towards the eastern Christians, the Anonymous was highly critical of the Byzantine emperor, Alexius I Comnenus.[267] In the interactions between the crusade leaders and the emperor, the Anonymous attributed malicious motives to the majority of the Alexius's actions and accused him of rejoicing over the misfortunes of the crusaders.[268] When the imperial armies attacked the southern Italian Norman following of Bohemond of Taranto, the Anonymous reported that they were acting on the orders of the emperor.[269] Actions by imperial representatives were similarly criticised.[270]

The animosity of the Anonymous towards Alexius Comnenus and his officials does not alter the fact that his attitude towards the eastern Christians as a whole was conciliatory. His discussion of *Greci* was almost entirely neutral and although he described the actions of the *Hermenii and Suriani* which were detrimental to the crusade he emphasised their support for the expedition. Further, on

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[265] *Gesta*, p. 67 [366] See, Hagenmeyer, p. 366, n. 23 for the opinion that this referred to the Byzantines.

[266] M. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025-1204* (London, 1997), p. 134; A number of the chroniclers of the First Crusade employed the image of the *Greci effeminati*. Neocleous, 'Is the Contemporary Latin Historiography of the First Crusade and Its Aftermath, "Anti-Byzantine," pp. 45-6.

[267] Ebels-Hoving, *Byzantium in Westerse Ogen*, pp. 51-6.

[268] *Gesta*, p. 5 [129-30] *Gesta*, p. 17 [190-2]:

[269] *Gesta*, p. 9 [162-3]: *Tandem invenerunt Turcopolos et Pinzinacos dimicantes cum nostris. Quos repente fortiter invaserunt, et prudenter eos superaverunt. Et apprehenderunt plures ex illis, et duxerunt illos ligatos ante domini Boamundi presentiam. Quibus ait ipse, 'Quare miseri occiditis gentem Christi et meam? Ego cum vestro imperatore nullam altercationem habeo.' Qui responderunt: 'Nos nequimus aliud agere. In roga imperatoris locati sumus, et quicquid nobis imperat nos oportet implere.' Quos Boamundus impunitos permisit abire*; At Constantinople, when the forces of Godfrey of Bouillon were attacked by imperial troops, the emperor was again accused of treachery, *Gesta*, p. 6 [141-2]: *iniquus imperator Alexius imperavit Turcopolis et Pinxinacis invadere illos et occidere*; *Gesta*, p. 6 [144-5]: *Sero autem facto, infelix imperator iussit suis exercitibus invadere ducem cum Christi gente*

[270] *Gesta*, p. 6 [138-40] *Gesta*, p. 34 & 35 [261 & 263] *Gesta*, p. 35 [263-4]

a number of occasions he inserted direct speech in which he asserted the unity of Christianity by highlighting the common religion of the Latins and the Byzantines.

Many commentators have held the *Gesta Francorum* responsible for the anti-Byzantine sentiments of later authors whose principal source was the *Gesta*.[271] In 1928 A.C. Krey examined a paragraph in the *Gesta Francorum* in which Alexius offered Bohemond a principality in the region of Antioch. Krey believed that this paragraph was a later interpolation into the *Gesta* pointing to its disjunctive placement in the narrative. He argued on the basis of this interpolation, and the presence of at least three copies of the *Gesta* in northern France in the early 1100s, that Bohemond had brought copies of the anonymous chronicle to France in 1106 to support his campaign against Alexius and that consequently that the anti-Byzantine sentiment in the narratives of Robert, Baldric and Guibert was a reflection of that found in their source.[272] John France disagreed that this passage was an interpolation, arguing that it may have formed part of the original *Gesta* but he has not disputed the extent to which the *Gesta* affected western opinion, describing it as the 'tainted stream,' from which anti-Byzantine feelings in the west flowed.[273] More recently, Carrier and Neocleous have both questioned the consensus that the Anonymous was hostile toward the Byzantines at all, with Carrier suggesting that Bohemond's activities in France in 1105-6 were responsible for the anti-Byzantine attitudes of Guibert, Baldric and Robert.[274] The above discussion of the Anonymous's discussion of the eastern Christians demonstrates that while he criticised, in some cases severely, the actions of the emperor and his officials, he considered the eastern and western Christians to be co-religionists.

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[271] For a detailed analysis of Guibert of Nogent's anti-Byzantine stance in his *Dei Gesta per Francos*, see Ní Chléirigh, 'Anti-Byzantine polemic,' *passim*.

[272] 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 Dana C. Munro by his Former Students,* ed. L.J. Paetow (New York, 1928), pp. 57-78.

[273] J. France, 'Byzantium in Western Chronicles before the First Crusade,' in *Knighthoods of Christ: Essays on the History of the Crusades and the Knights Templar, Presented to Malcolm Barber*, ed. N. Housley (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 3-16, pp. 5 & 7; France, 'The use of the Anonymous *Gesta Francorum*' p. 32.

[274] Carrier, 'Pour en finir avec les *Gesta Francorum*,' pp. 21 & 25; Neocleous, 'Contemporary Latin Historiography,' *passim*; For a discussion of the influence of Bohemond's rhetoric on Guibert of Nogent, see Ní Chléirigh, 'The impact of the First Crusade on Western opinions towards the Byzantine Empire,' pp. 172-4.

Terms used to denote all Christians

Christiani

The term *Christiani* was used in the *Gesta Francorum* to denote all Christians, eastern or western. It was often used as an opposite to *pagani*, and its use demonstrates the dichotomy at the core of the *Gesta* narrative. As discussed above the author of the *Gesta Francorum* stressed the non-Christian or anti-Christian aspects of the opponents of the crusade. Conversely, despite the liturgical differences between the eastern and western churches, all were *Christiani*.

A number of references to the local Christian populations highlight their support for the crusade. During a battle outside Antioch in March 1098, the Anonymous reported that the Christian women inside the city secretly rejoiced at the victory of the crusaders over the Muslims: *Mulieres Christianae urbis veniebant ad muri fenestras, spectantes misera fata Turcorum, et occulte plaudebant manibus.*[275] During the march through Asia Minor, the crusaders arrived at the city of Coxon, whose inhabitants, *Christiani alumni*, surrendered at once, accommodating the army for three days.[276]

This religious affinity was further highlighted in instances where the crusaders came into potential conflict with the eastern Christians. During the march of the southern Italians across the Byzantine Empire prior to their arrival at Constantinople, the Anonymous reported a speech by Bohemund in which he urged his followers not to pillage or harm the local population, which was Christian: *ne depredarentur terram istam quia Christianorum erat, et nemo acciperet nisi quod ei sufficeret ad edendum.*[277] When Count Raymond of St Gilles balked at the notion of swearing an oath of fealty to Alexius Comnenus and instead suggested that the crusade attack the Byzantine emperor, Godfrey of Bouillon and Robert of Flanders responded that the crusade could not attack Christians: *Sed dux Godefridus et Rotbertus comes Flandrensis aliique principes dixerunt ei, iniustum fore, contra Christianos pugnare.*[278] During their diversion into Armenia, while the crusade proper journeyed to Antioch, Baldwin and Tancred came into conflict over control of

[275] *Gesta*, p. 41 [284]
[276] *Gesta*, p. 26 [231]
[277] *Gesta*, p. 8 [156-8]
[278] *Gesta*, p. 13 [173-4]

the city of Tarsus. When Baldwin suggested that they sack the city and both share the spoils, Tancred replied: *Absit hoc a me. Ego namque Christianos nolo expoliare.*[279]

The term *Christiani* was used on a number of occasions to denote the crusade army as a whole, either on its own or in conjunction with another collective term, for example, *gentem Christianorum de Francis.*[280] A number of these specific uses occurred in the reported speech of the Muslim personalities.[281] In these cases, the term again highlighted the opposition between *Christiani* and *pagani*, as in the speech of Kerbogah's mother. This fictional conversation makes much of the term *Christiani* in order to highlight that the crusade was not a struggle between two armed forces but between the people of God and the *pagani.*[282] In this conversation *Christiani* was used in all except one case to denote the crusaders and Kerbogah's mother emphasised the divine aid which they received. The crusaders were not fighting alone, but with their God.[283]

Using quotations from the Psalms, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Romans and Galatians, Kerbogah's mother explained that the Muslims were about to fight against an enemy whose victory was assured before the battle had even begun.

> *Antequam vero preparati sint ad incipiendum bellum, eorum deus omnipotens et bellipotens simul cum sanctis suis omnes inimicos iam habet devictos...* [284]

God's wrath, she explained, would be all the greater towards Kerbogah, who was his enemy.[285] Kerbogah, typically pagan, did not understand the truth of the One God and asked naively if Bohemond and Tancred were the 'gods' of the Franks. His mother assured him that they were men, but that they were especially beloved by their God.[286]

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[279] *Gesta*, p. 25 [223] Here again the use of *oratio recta* fulfilled a didactic purpose in the narrative.
[280] *Gesta*, p. 7 [149-50]
[281] *Gesta*, pp. 51, 52, 53, 54 , 55, 81, 83 & 93 [319, 321, 325, 326, 327-9, 415, 423 & 486]
[282] *Gesta*, pp. 53, 54 & 55 [325, 326 & 327-9] This didactic purpose was also served by her citation of the Old Testament to demonstrate the divine will behind the crusade.
[283] *Gesta*, pp. 53-4 [325]: *deus eorum pro ipsis cotidie pugnat, eosque die noctuque sua protectione defendit, et vigilat super eos sicut pastor vigilat super gregem suam; et non permittit eos laedi nec conturbari ab ulla gente, et quicumque volunt eis obsistere, idem eorum deus conturbat illos...*
[284] *Gesta*, p. 54 [325-6]
[285] *Gesta*, p. 54 [325-6]: *... quanto magis modo faciet circa vos qui eius estis inimici, et qui preparastis vos eis obsistere tota virtute.*
[286] *Gesta*, p. 56 [329]

The Anonymous's use of the term *Christiani* as a collective term for both eastern and western Christians as well as its juxtaposition to *pagani* is pivotal to our understanding of the attitudes towards the eastern Christians. The consistent opposition of *pagani* and *Christiani*, discussed above, is central to the theme of the narrative, the victory of God and His people over His enemies. This theme took precedence over any confessional or ethnic differences between the Latins and the eastern Christians.

Other national groups in the *Gesta Francorum*

Turcopoli

The term *Turcopoli* appears three times in the *Gesta Francorum* and it is clearly used to denote the Turcopoles in the imperial army.[287] The *Turcopoli* and the *Pinzinaci* made up the imperial forces which attacked the southern Italian Normans on their journey through Byzantine territory and those who attacked Godfrey of Bouillon's men in Constantinople.[288] When the Byzantine emperor sent a number of ships to the crusade to complete the blockade of Nicaea, they were manned by *Turcopoli*.[289] The Anonymous did not mention that the *Turcopoli* were allegedly the offspring of a Turkish father and a Christian mother, a fact contained in a number of the crusade chronicles.[290]

Pinzinaci

The *Pinzinaci* referred to in the *Gesta* were certainly Petchenegs who formed part of the imperial armies which attacked the crusaders as they journeyed to Constantinople and on their arrival in the city itself.[291] Although Albert of Aachen did not mention

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[287] *Gesta*, pp. 6, 9 & 16 [142, 162 & 188]
[288] *Gesta*, pp. 6 & 9 [142 & 162]
[289] *Gesta*, p. 16 [188]
[290] According to Raymond Aguilers, *Turcopoli* were the offspring of a Christian mother and Turkish father. Raymond, *Historia*, p. 51; Albert of Aachen described them as a *gens impia* born of Turkish fathers and Greek mothers. Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 3, pp. 342-3; A. Savvides, 'Late Byzantine and Western historiographers on Turkish mercenaries in Greek and Latin armies: the Turcopoles/Tourkopouloi,' in *The Making of Byzantine History: Studies dedicated to Donald M. Nicol*, eds. R.M. Beaton, & C Roueché (Aldershot, 1993), pp. 122-36, pp. 123 & 128; S. Vryonis, 'Byzantine and Turkish Societies and their Sources of Manpower,' in *War, Technology and Society in the Middle East*, eds. V. J. Parry & M. E. Yapp (Oxford, 1975), pp.125-52, pp. 133-4; Y. N. Harari, 'The military role of the Frankish Turcopoles: A reassessment,' *Mediterranean Historical Review* 12 (1997), 75-116, pp. 76-7.
[291] *Gesta*, pp. 6 & 9 [142 & 162]

their presence at Constantinople, Raymond of Aguilers placed them in the imperial forces which attacked the Provençal army on its way to Constantinople as did Peter Tudebode.[292] Throughout the eleventh century, the Petchenegs and the Byzantine emperors enjoyed turbulent relations. In 1091 the Petchenegs were defeated at the battle of Levounion, and from here on they formed a considerable portion of the Byzantine armies, particularly in the western territories of the empire. As a result, they were a significant presence in the army of Alexius Comnenus when the crusaders arrived in Byzantine territory in 1097.[293]

Despite the antagonism between the crusade and the imperial forces, the Anonymous did not linger on his descriptions of the *Turcopoli* and *Pinzinaci*. It would appear that he felt them to be blameless for their actions, as demonstrated in the incident in which they attacked the southern Italian Normans on their journey to Constantinople. In relating this incident, the Anonymous stressed that they were imperial agents rather than personally opposed to the Latins. After their attack had been repulsed by the Normans, a number of *Turcopoli* and *Pinzinaci* were taken prisoner and brought before Bohemond who asked them why they had attacked his men. They protested that they were compelled to act as the emperor had ordered: *'In roga imperatoris locati sumus, et quicquid nobis imperat nos oportet implere.'*[294] Similarly, the attack on Godfrey of Bouillon's men in Constantinople was on the orders of the emperor: *iniquus imperator Alexius imperavit Turcopolis et Pinzinacis invadere illos et occidere*.[295] By emphasising the emperor's authority over the attacks on the crusade, the Anonymous minimised the role of the *Turcopoli* and *Pinzinaci* and consequently they are presented in a neutral light, not responsible for their actions.

The Anonymous *Gesta Francorum*: Conclusions

The *Gesta Francorum* is extremely valuable as a source for the attitudes of crusaders towards the various groups within and without the enterprise. As an eyewitness who wrote relatively close to the events which he described, there is immediacy to his impressions of the groups which he encountered. While other authors may have been

[292] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 11; Tudebode, *Historia*, p. 44.
[293] Angold, *The Byzantine Empire*, pp. 38-9 & 150.
[294] *Gesta*, p. 9 [162]
[295] *Gesta*, p. 6 [142]

influenced by later events, in particular the crusade of 1101, the *Gesta* along with Raymond of Aguilers represents instant impressions.[296] The proximity of the composition of the narrative to the events described allowed for relatively little hindsight on the part of the author regarding the Byzantines in particular, towards whom the attitudes of westerners appear to have altered considerably in the years following the capture of Jerusalem by the First Crusade.

The principal effect of the terminology employed by the Anonymous to describe the crusaders was to emphasise a common bond between all of the disparate groups on the expedition. Although the crusader armies were composed of a large number of national groups, the term *Franci* was used as a collective term, despite the clear inference that the Anonymous was aware of the various groups within the crusade and could differentiate between them when necessary. Theologically based terms such as *peregrini*, *milites Christi* and *populus Dei* implied a unity of purpose of the endeavour, but also highlighted the pious nature of the undertaking. The use of *peregrini* and *milites Christi* in particular demonstrates that the new theology of the crusade – where terms which previously would have been applied only to unarmed penitents or religious communities were now applied to an armed lay force – was clearly understood by its participants from an early date. The use of *populus Dei*, *filii Christi* and *gens Christi* also emphasised the divine labour which the Anonymous felt the crusade was engaged in.

The language used to discuss the Muslim opponents of the crusade was, unsurprisingly, extremely hostile. They were *pagani*, *barbari*, *gentiles* and *nationes* who had diabolical and demonic features and worshipped multiple gods. Their leaders were portrayed as arrogant and cruel, concerned only with temporal wealth. Although the term *Turci* was used to denote the Muslim groups as a whole, this was for convenience rather than didactic purpose as can be seen by the use of *Saraceni* after the siege of Antioch. The language used to describe the Muslims in the *Gesta* was focused on emphasising their lack of Christianity. Little of the information regarding the Muslim faith or society in the *Gesta* was accurate. The aim was not to portray them in a realistic way but to emphasise their apartness from Latin Christianity. As a result their mosque was described as a *domus diabolica*, they were

[296] This can be seen in his condemnation of Stephen of Blois for leaving the expedition when later authors tended to treat him more indulgently on the grounds that he had taken the cross in 1101 and died on the journey. *Gesta*, p. 63 [353-4] See Guibert of Nogent in particular, Guibert, *Dei Gesta*, Bk. v, lines 801-2, p. 228.

accused of polytheism and their social relationships were assumed to be based on feudal ties. This portrayal of Islam as the antithesis of Christianity served the principal assertion of the *Gesta Francorum*, that the crusade was a divinely inspired enterprise in which God's people conquered God's enemies in order to liberate the Holy Places. With the crusaders firmly established as *populus Dei* the Muslims were consigned to be *inimici Dei et nostrorum*.

The establishment of this dichotomy of Christian and non-Christian at the core of the narrative also appears to have influenced the treatment of the eastern Christians by the Anonymous. Despite his hostility towards Alexius Comnenus and his officials, the Anonymous emphasised the religious fraternity between the eastern and western Christians on a number of occasions, harnessing *oratio recta* to make the point. On three occasions, leaders of the crusade reportedly refused to attack the local Christian population on the basis of common religion. *Christiani*, while being used to denote the crusade on a number of occasions, was also used for the local Christian inhabitants of Asia Minor and Syria as well as the Greeks.

The *Gesta Francorum* was one of the most influential narratives of the First Crusade and as such appears to have been responsible for the introduction of certain terms into the vocabulary of crusade historiography, in particular those more obscure groups among Kilij Arslan's army at Dorylaeum and Kerbogah's forces at Antioch. There is also the distinct likelihood that the *Gesta* influenced the impressions of later authors, in particular those who were not themselves on the expedition. It is necessary therefore to pay close attention to the terminology of the Anonymous when discussing later authors whose works depended on his chronicle.

The *Historia Jerosolimitana* of Baldric, Archbishop of Dol

Baldric of Dol, born in Meung-sur-Loire in 1046, was better known both in the twelfth entury and the modern era for his poetry and hagiography than for his *Historia Jerosolimitana*.[1] A monk of the monastery of Bourgueil and its abbot from 1089, Baldric was educated at the cathedral school of Angers and was a typical if gifted result of this new education: 'Baldric is an example of the man of letters pure and simple, whom the schools were to produce in increasing numbers.'[2] He became archbishop of Dol in Brittany in 1107 through the efforts of his patroness Adela of Blois, daughter of William the Conqueror and wife of Stephen, count of Blois, one of the leaders of the First Crusade.

Baldric's *Historia Jerosolimitana* has long been judged to be a reworking of the *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanum* to which Baldric added an account of the speech of Urban II at Clermont, an account of a sermon outside Jerusalem in 1099 and a number of less substantial details.[3] In his *prologus* Baldric stated that he had read a *libellus super hac re nimis rusticanus*. Clearly displeased with this *libellus*, he had been drawn to the work in order to *successivæ placeat Christianitati*.[4] That the *Gesta* was this *libellus* is virtually certain but a number of minor parallels between Baldric's *Historia* and the chronicles of Tudebode and Raymond Aguilers subvert this interpretation.[5] Although suggestive of the use of

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[1] F.J.E. Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages* 2 (Oxford, 1997), I, pp. 337-8.
[2] Raby, *Secular Latin Poetry*, p. 341; See also F.J.E. Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry: From the Beginning to the Close of the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1927), p. 278.
[3] *The Crusades, an Encyclopedia* 4, ed. A.V. Murray, p. 1271; France, *Victory in the East*, p. 278; Riley-Smith, *Idea*, pp. 135-6.
[4] Baldric, *Historia*, p 10.
[5] On occasion Baldric's *Historia* contains detail found not in the *Gesta* but in Peter Tudebode's *Historia*, itself hugely derivative of the *Gesta* but with some additional material including perhaps material from Raymond of Aguilers *Historia Francorum*. For example, during his account of the siege of Arqa in 1099 Tudebode added the phrase *Sarraceni, Curti et Arabes* to the *Gesta*. Gesta, p. 83 [425], Tudebode, *Historia*, p. 129. This addition can also be found in Baldric's *Historia*. Baldric, *Historia*, p. 91. In its description of a knight named Hugh, the *Gesta* referred to him as *Insanus* while Baldric used the name *Forsennatus* and Tudebode used the French term *lo Forsenet*. Baldric,

other written sources by Baldric, the parts of both Raymond's and Tudebode's accounts which do *not* appear in the *Historia* narrative are far more substantial and the discrepancies between the *Gesta* and Baldric's *Historia* are small enough to be the result of a manuscript variation in the copy of the *Gesta* to which he had access.[6] The most convincing evidence that the *libellus rusticanus* used by Baldric in his *Historia* was the *Gesta* is Baldric's comment that that author of the *libellus* had hidden his name, *nomine suppresso*.[7] Baldric also stated in his *prologus* that he would use the testimony of those who were present on the expedition as well as the *codex praedictus*.[8] Thus it seems clear that Baldric used the *Gesta Francorum* as his principal source and augmented it with eyewitness testimony as well as his own experience at the papal council of Clermont.

Baldric's chronicle of the First Crusade has never been the subject of detailed scholarly research and is described in the *Encyclopaedia of the Crusades* in one line: 'Baldric of Dol's alterations to the *Gesta* were mostly stylistic.'[9] More recently however, the archbishop of Dol's work has been valued precisely for these alterations, with a number of authors demonstrating that there was more than mere

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Historia, p. 68; *Gesta*, p. 61 [346]; Tudebode, *Historia*, p.102. A story about Godfrey of Bouillon cutting a *Saracenus* in two in a battle at Antioch appears in Baldric, Guibert and Robert but only in one manuscript of Tudebode. Rubenstein, 'What is the *Gesta Francorum* and who is Peter Tudebode?,' pp. 188-9. Baldric's work also contains an anecdote about a shower of rain which fell as the crusaders marched out of Antioch to face Kerbogah of Mosul, a detail which is only found in Raymond of Aguilers' *Historia Francorum*. Baldric, *Historia*, p. 76; Raymond, *Historia*, p. 131.

[6] There is no description of the journey of Raymond of St Gilles and Adhemar of Le Puy to Constantinople which is found in both Tudebode's and Raymond's accounts. Baldric follows the *Gesta* in reporting that on arrival in the city, Raymond of St Gilles was angry with the emperor Alexius, but gives no explanation. The details of the skirmishes between the Provençals and the Byzantine army prior to Raymond's arrival in Constantinople, which would explain his subsequent displeasure, are in both Raymond and Tudebode's accounts and their absence in Baldric's *Historia* implies that his only source was the *Gesta*. Baldric, *Historia*, p. 25; *Gesta*, p. 13 [173]; Prior to the siege of Jerusalem, Tudebode reported a procession from the church of St Mary to the church of St Stephen the Protomartyr and a sermon given by a certain cleric *Arnulfus*. Baldric included a sermon given by the clergy, but made no mention of a procession. Tudebode, *Historia*, pp. 137-8; Baldric, *Historia*, p. 101; Tudebode's account of the martyrdom of Rainald le Porchet and the capture of a *Saracenus* spy who was put into a *funda* and dashed against the walls of Jerusalem do not appear in Baldric's account. Tudebode, *Historia*, pp. 80-1 & 139.

[7] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 10. Tudebode identified himself twice in his *Historia*. Tudebode, *Historia*, p. 138.

[8] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 10: *partim narrantium qui ibi affuerunt relatione fretus quae audivi interseram*.

[9] *The Crusades, an Encyclopedia*, 4 Vols, ed. A.V. Murray (Oxford, 2006) 4, p. 1271. See also Balard, '*Gesta Dei per Francos*,' p. 476, '(Baldric) se contente de truffer de réminiscences antique et d'un style qui se veut cicéronien le récit des *Gesta* auquel il ajoute quelques précisions receuillies auprès de témoins de la croisade.'

style involved.[10] Nor were these changes negligible: the *Historia* is almost twice the length of the *Gesta Francorum* and contains an account of the council of Clermont which is lacking in the *Gesta*. While the reported speech of Pope Urban II is not without its problems as a historical source, it is likely that Baldric was present at the council and his construction of the pope's speech is extremely valuable for the discussion of the author's attitudes towards the crusaders, the Muslims and the eastern Christians.[11] Aside from his account of the council of Clermont, Baldric added a *prologus* to his *Historia*, from which much information regarding his views on the crusade and its opponents in particular can be gleaned. Baldric also amended much of the *oratio recta* found in his source, the most striking example of this being the addition of a sermon which the clergy allegedly preached to the army prior to the siege of Jerusalem.

In his *prologus*, Baldric criticised the author of the *Gesta Francorum*, labelling him a *compilator* and denouncing his work as *nimis rusticanum*.[12] Like Guibert of Nogent, Baldric explained that the poor style of the anonymous work was an affront to the events which it described or worse, it discouraged people from reading about them.[13] Consequently Baldric made frequent augmentations to his source, often without material alteration. During the siege of Nicaea, for example, both Baldric and the *Gesta* reported that the army of Raymond of St Gilles spent the day undermining a tower in the city walls but that they could not press their advantage because it was night by the time they succeeded in toppling it. When the morning arrived, the crusaders saw that the defenders of the city had rebuilt the wall overnight. The description of this scene demonstrates the character of much of Baldric's reworking of his source.

Baldric, p. 27.	***Gesta Francorum*, p. 15.**
Sed quoniam nox erat, non potuerant nec voluerunt Christiani contra urbem	*Nocte vero illa surrexerunt festinanter Turci, et restauraverunt murum tam*

[10] See in particular C. Kostick, who judged that although Baldric's additions to his *fons formalis* may have been 'at a cost to historical precision,' for the historian of ideas these changes were invaluable. C. Kostick, *Social Structure*, p. 53.
[11] R. Somerville, 'The Council of Clermont (1095) and Latin Christian Society,' *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 12 (1994), 55-90, pp. 67, 75 & 77
[12] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 10.
[13] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 10: *nobilis materia viluerat; et simpliciores etiam inculta et incompta lectio confestim a se avocabat.*

praeliari, quod mane futuro se facturos disponebant. Nocte siquidem gentiles murum irrequieti reaedificaverunt; noctemque illam insomnem duxerunt, in nullo pigritantes, sed de civitatis suae tuitione se invicem cohortantes. Facto diluculo, Franci de inopina muri reaedificatione vehementer admirati sunt, et eorum irrequietudinem laudaverunt; et tamen, quia diutius ibi morari compulsi sunt, doluerunt.[14]

fortiter, ut veniente die nemo posset eos laedere ex illa parte.[15]

In the changes made by Baldric to his source, the influence of his classical education is demonstrated. In an examination of his social vocabulary, Kostick has demonstrated that some terms used by Baldric owe much to their presence in Cicero rather than to contemporary usage.[16] This education also contributed to the most substantial additions to the *Gesta*, the alteration or addition of passages of *oratio recta*. In the teaching of rhetoric in the twelfth-century schools, the speeches made by characters in classical works, in particular those of Sallust, were held up as models for historical writing and many speeches attributed to historical figures borrow heavily from antiquity.[17] Here again, literary elaboration is the historian of ideas' gain. Through these invented speeches, the attitudes of the author or at least his notion of what a particular person would or ought to have said can often be discerned. Thus the reported speech of Urban II at Clermont provides a clear idea of Baldric's views although it is impossible to determine whether they convey much of the views of the pope himself.[18]

The Bible was also a clear influence on Baldric. In his reports of the speech of Urban II and the sermon preached outside the walls of Jerusalem, he made a

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[14] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 27.
[15] *Gesta*, p. 15 [183-4]
[16] Kostick, *Social Structure*, p. 55.
[17] Smalley, 'Sallust in the Middle Ages,' pp. 168-71; For Baldric's use of Lucan see E. M. Sanford, 'Quotations from Lucan in medieval Latin authors,' *The American Journal of Philology* 55 (1934), 1-19, p. 6.
[18] Baldric's discussion of Antioch in particular is unique in the accounts of Urban's speech and may be queried as a retrospective addition. Baldric, *Historia*, p. 13.

number of scriptural analogies, lamenting the fall of the Holy City to the *gentiles*. The crusaders were compared to the Israelites and their Muslim opponents were likened to various opponents of *populus Dei*. Jerusalem's capture by Muslims was presented as a fulfilment of the 'prophecy' of Jesus in Luke 19:43-4. Although the Anonymous had made similar comparisons in the *Gesta*, Baldric added erudition through the frequency and variation of his allusions.

In his use of national or collective terminology Baldric's alterations to his *fons formalis* were not as substantial as might be expected from the above discussion. He rarely excised a term completely from the *Gesta* and his added terminology was infrequent. In fact in his use of the terms for smaller factions within the greater Christian or Muslim groups, he followed his source doggedly. It is rather in his analytical passages, such as the *oratio recta* or in explanatory sentences, that his attitudes towards certain groups may be discerned.

National terms to denote the crusaders

When referring to national groups which made up the crusading armies much of Baldric's information was derived directly from the *Gesta Francorum*. His use of *Franci*, *Galli* and *Francigenae* broadly corresponds with that of the *Gesta*. This dependence can be seen in particular regarding smaller groups such as *Normanni*, *Alamanni*, *Lombardi* and *Longobardi*. In a passage relating to the spread of the idea of the crusade throughout Europe Baldric listed all of the various national groups which joined the expedition, the majority of them not appearing again in his *Historia*.[19] The inclusion of a large group of participants is most likely a rhetorical device designed to emphasise the breadth of the crusade.

Franci

Baldric's use of the term *Franci* corresponded closely to that of the Anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum*, both where the *Historia* text closely parallels that of the *Gesta* and where Baldric expanded greatly on his *fons formalis*. During the description of the People's Crusade and its decimation in Asia Minor by the Seljuk Turks, Baldric followed the *Gesta* closely, adopting all its national terms, including

[19] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 18.

Franci.[20] In his considerably extended description of the siege of Nicaea, Baldric maintained *Franci* as a collective term for the crusade.[21] *Francia* was also applied collectively: in a speech before the 'Lake Battle' outside Antioch (February 1098), Bohemond of Taranto addressed the other leaders as *lux et flos victoriosae Franciae*.[22] In the description of the crusaders' unwillingness to swear an oath of loyalty to Alexius Comnenus at Constantinople, a description in which Baldric altered his source considerably, the crusaders are all referred to as *Franci*.[23] In a number of cases, Baldric replaced the term *nostri* in his source with *Franci*. This replacement, which occurred irrespective of the extent to which Baldric enhanced his principal source, further emphasises the use of *Franci* as a collective term for the crusade.[24]

For Baldric, the *Franci* were a *gens* and consequently exhibited particular characteristics, both negative and positive.[25] When admiring the martial skill of the *Turci*, Baldric followed the Gesta and noted that the *Turci* themselves claimed to be of the same *genealogia* of the *Franci*. To this Baldric interjected that, had the *Turci* embraced *Christianismum, tunc demum de Francorum prosapia exortos sese recte gloriarentur*.[26] The demand by Alexius Comnenus for an oath of security from the crusade leaders at Constantinople in 1097 was, according to Baldric, born of the knowledge that *Franci siquidem omnino perjurium vitant*.[27] While the Anonymous ascribed the separation of the various contingents of the People's Crusade in late 1096 to the *superbia* of the *Franci*, Baldric instead described them as *ferociores et intractabiliores*, attributes which led them to *omne malum*.[28]

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[20] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 18; *Gesta*, p. 2-3. While following the *Gesta* closely in these passages, Baldric omitted the *Gesta's* division of the various armies according to which route they took, see above. See also Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 35-6, 38, 43, 56, 61 & 86, *Gesta*, pp. 21, 22, 24, 33, 46, 51 & 80 [206, 207, 221, 260-1, 300, 315-6 & 408]

[21] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 27-9. See also, Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 21, 55, 61, 78, 81, 84 &90; *Gesta*, pp. 7, 45, 51, 70-1, 73-4, 77 & 82 [149, 221, 315-6, 372-9, 387-9, 400 & 418]

[22] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 46.

[23] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 25.

[24] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 68. During an episode where one Latin knight was reported to have defended himself for the whole day from Turkish attacks, Baldric's account replaced the Anonymous's use of *nos* and *milites ex nostri* with *Christiani* and *Franci*. *Gesta*, pp. 60-1. See also Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 34, 37, 41, 46, 47, 49, 52, 57, 64, 65, 69, 72, 76, 78, 79, 85, 91-2, 93, 98-9 & 107, *Gesta*, pp. 19, 23, 29, 36, 37-8, 39-40, 43, 47, 56, 57, 61-2, 65, 69, 70, 72, 79, 83, 84-5, 88-9 & 94, [202, 215, 245, 264-5, 270-82, 289-90, 304, 334, 337, 349-50, 363, 373, 375, 385, 407, 451-2, 457-9 & 494] See Baldric, *Historia*, p. 61, *Gesta*, p. 51[319] for the use of *Franci* by Baldric to replace *Christiani* in the *Gesta*.

[25] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 55, *Gesta*, p. 45[299]

[26] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 35, *Gesta*, p. 21[206]

[27] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 25, *Gesta*, p. 11[167]

[28] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 18, *Gesta*, p. 3 [115-6]

The majority of the attributes of the *Franci* were martial. When the inhabitants of Nicaea realised that the crusaders had blocked the lake to the west of the city with boats, they were apparently terrified, knowing that the *Franci* were *gens ferox et bellicosa*.[29] Elsewhere the *Franci* were labelled *audax* and reference was made to their *fortitudo* and *constantia*.[30] During the campaigns of Baldwin of Boulogne and Tancred in Armenia, Baldric related that the inhabitants of Tarsus called the *Franci*, *triumphatores orbis et dominatores*.[31] As well as being skilled on the battle field, Baldric reported that the *Franci* were militarily farsighted: *viri per omnia prudentissima*.[32] In the initial stages of the siege of Nicaea, Kilij Arslan, the Seljuk Sultan of Rum sent a force to break through the crusade ranks and relieve those besieged in the city. This force was intercepted by the *Franci*, *nihil negligentes*, who had been watching the roads.[33] On occasion these martial qualities were treated negatively. When the *rex* of Shaizar in Syria came to terms with the crusaders on their way to Jerusalem, he agreed to provide men and supplies to them provided the *Francorum genus indomitum* did not seek to usurp his position or pillage his lands.[34]

Baldric appears to have been particularly concerned with the reputation of the *Franci*. In addition to the above comments that the *Franci* were 'known' for their avoidance of perjury and their martial qualities, in a number of speeches attributed to Bohemond, Baldric reported that the Norman was preoccupied with the reputation and honour of the *Franci*. In a speech during the battle of Dorylaeum, Bohemond urged his followers to fight for the renown of both the *Franci* and the *Christiani*.[35] During the 'Lake Battle' outside Antioch in February 1098, the strength of the crusaders against the forces of Ridwan of Aleppo began to falter. Urging his standard bearer to advance through the ranks of the *Turci*, Bohemond reminded him of his

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[29] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 29. The attribution of *ferocitas* to the *Galli* and the *Franci* occurs in Isidore, *Etymologiae*, Bk, 9:2:101 & 105.
[30] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 37, 73 & 78.
[31] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 38. The *Gesta* used the term *invictissimi Franci*. *Gesta*, p. 24 [221]
[32] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 29.
[33] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 27: *Franci siquidem, nihil negligentes, vias omnes observabant*. Later in the same siege the *Franci*, *viri per omnia prudentissimi* realised that the only way to complete the investment of the city was to blockade the lake, by which the inhabitants had been receiving supplies. Baldric, *Historia*, p. 29.
[34] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 90.
[35] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 34: *Ne quaeso, deturpetur propter nostram negligentiam laus Francorum, non vilescat propter nostram segnitiem sanctum nomen Christianorum.*

duty to his kindred and the reputation (*titulum*) of the *Franci*.[36] After Alexius Comnenus decided not to join the crusaders at Antioch, Baldric consoled himself that at least the *triumphus* over the Turks would be attributed to the courage of the *Franci*, not the superior number of the *Graeci*.[37] Baldric also referred to the the glory and honour of *Francia*. Following the *Gesta*, Baldric reported that Bohemond rebuked William the Carpenter and Peter the Hermit for attempting to flee from Antioch, calling them *dedecus et totius improperium Franciae*.[38] Unlike Albert of Aachen therefore, Baldric's use of *Franci* seems to have corresponded to the men of *Francia*.

Francigenae

The term *Francigenae* appears only twice in Baldric's *Historia*. The armies of Stephen of Blois and Robert of Normandy were described as *Francigenae*, *Normanni* and *Britones*.[39] This tripartite division implies a northern French provenance for the *Francigenae* which was specific enough not to include the Normans or the Bretons. After the attempted flight of Peter the Hermit and William the Carpenter from Antioch the *Gesta Francorum* reported that the *Francigenae* pleaded with Bohemond for leniency for William.[40] William was lord of Melun and associated with Hugh of Vermandois, implying the use of *Francigenae* to denote the northern French. Baldric, however, changed this use of *Francigenae* to *Franci*.[41] Baldric's other use of *Francigenae* stemmed directly from the *Gesta Francorum*, which described the arrangement of the various armies as they faced Kerbogah outside Antioch (June 1098): the *Francigenae* this time were associated with Hugh of Vermandois.[42] It is likely therefore, in spite of his amendment in the case of William

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[36] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 47: *Memor esto, obsecro, parentum nostrorum; et ne lividaris in aliquo rutilantem titulum Francorum.*
[37] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 73: *Si enim Alexius imperator advenisset Turcosque superasset, triumphus gentis suae non exercitui Dei ascriberetur; et Graecorum multitudini deputaretur, non Francorum fortitudini.*
[38] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 43; In a speech before the 'Lake Battle' outside Antioch in February 1098, Bohemond of Taranto addressed the other leaders as *lux et flos victoriosae Franciae*. Baldric, *Historia*, p. 46; *Gesta*, p. 33 [260-1]
[39] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 27.
[40] *Gesta*, p. 34 [260]
[41] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 44.
[42] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 75.

the Carpenter, that Baldric used the term *Francigenae* in a narrow sense to denote a group among the northern French.[43]

Galli/Gallia

The terms *Galli* and *Gallia* appear rarely in Baldric's *Historia Jerosolimitana*. In his discussion of Pope Urban II's preaching of the crusade, Baldric mentioned that the *papa Romanus* travelled into *Gallia* to sow 'the word of God'.[44] Baldric immediately referred to the council at Piacenza and then described how Urban held a *generalis synodus* at Clermont *cum multis Galliarum episcopis et abbatibus*.[45] It is not clear from the text whether Piacenza (*Placentia*) was included in *Gallia* or not. The only other reference to *Gallia* in the *Historia* refers to meteorological phenomena seen *in Galliis*, making it impossible to establish Baldric's definition of the limits of *Gallia*.[46]

Baldric used *Galli*, however, to refer to the crusade as a whole. During the early stages of the siege of Nicaea, when only Godfrey of Bouillon and Bohemond of Taranto's contingents were at the city walls, Baldric described the fortitude of the *Galli* in the face of the vigorous defence of the city by its inhabitants.[47] After the relief force sent by Kilij Arslan had been rebuffed by the crusaders, Baldric paused to consider the crusader camp, inviting comparison with classical heroes such as Ulysses, Ajax and Achilles, and exhorted his readers to forget their deeds in favour of the *gloriosa militia* of the crusade. The *castra* of the crusade represented *super omnes regiones extollenda Gallia*.[48] During a battle outside Antioch in March 1098 the terms *Christiani*, *Franci* and *Galli* were all used to describe the crusade.[49] When Stephen of Blois left the crusade at Antioch and met with Alexius Comnenus at Philomelium in June 1098, Baldric reported that the emperor had many *Franci* with him: *quia utrinque populus Gallus et Graecus ad obsessorum adjutorium copiosus confluebat*.[50] Here again, *Galli* is a clear synonym for *Franci*. The only indication of

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[43] Balard, '*Gesta Dei per Francos*,' p. 479.
[44] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 12.
[45] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 12.
[46] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 16.
[47] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 26: *E regione Galli nihil intentatum relinquere, consertorum testudine scutorum se occultare, et sic jaculorum ingruentiam devitare, et sic persaepe fatiscentes obsessos lacessere.*
[48] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 28.
[49] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 51.
[50] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 72.

a specific trait attached to the *Galli* comes in Baldric's discussion of the decision to elect Godfrey of Bouillon as *rex* of Jerusalem. Godfrey's kinglike qualities were that he was *vir regii sanguinis, a proavis Christianae professionis, more gallico militiae peritus*.[51] Thus like the *Franci*, the *Galli* excelled in war.

Normanni

For the most part, Baldric's use of the term *Normanni* proceeds directly from the *Gesta Francorum*. These references appear mostly with regard to Robert II, duke of Normandy.[52] He appears in a list of the great magnates who joined the expedition after the preaching by Urban at Clermont.[53] The only use of the term *Normanni* to denote a group of people occurs when Baldric announced the arrival of the 'northern French' contingent at the siege of Nicaea in summer 1097, *cum multis proceribus et militibus et peditibus tam Francigenis quam Normannis atque Britonibus*.[54] It is clear from this passage that the *Normanni* were the Norman followers of the duke of Normandy. Baldric at no time used the term *Normanni* to refer to the followers of Bohemond of Taranto or Tancred.

Alamanni/Alamannia

All instances of the use of the term *Alamanni* in Baldric's *Historia* stem from his use of the *Gesta Francorum*.[55] His single use of the term *Alamannia* comes in a list of the great magnates who joined the crusade, in which he placed Godfrey of Bouillon, Eustace of Boulogne, Baldwin of Boulogne and Baldwin of Hainaut *in Alemanniae partibus*.[56] It would appear that Baldric was using the term to describe territories in the western Empire, in line with the *Gesta*, rather than to mean the Swabians or southern Germans only.[57]

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[51] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 104.
[52] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 75, 94, 97, 108 & 110; *Gesta*, p. 68, 85, 87, 95, 97 [340, 437, 449, 494 & 498]
[53] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 17, See also, Baldric, *Historia*, p. 107.
[54] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 27: *Ecce advenerat comes Robertus de Normannia, et Stephanus Blesiensis comes, cum multis proceribus et militibus et peditibus tam Francigenis quam Normannis atque Britonibus*. The *Gesta* announced the arrival of Stephen and Robert, *Gesta*, p. 15 [184]
[55] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 18. *Gesta*, pp. 2-3 [111-6]
[56] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 17: *In Alemanniae partibus dux Godefredus, cum fratre suo Balduino et Eustachio, sermonem hunc recepit, et iturum alius Balduinus comes de Monte*.
[57] See above, pp. 25-6.

Lombard and Longobardi

All but one of the references to *Lombardi* and *Longobardi* in Baldric's *Historia Jerosolimitana* stem from the *Gesta Francorum*.[58] In the one case where Baldric used the term *Longobardus* independently, the influence of his *fons formalis* is nevertheless clear. On the night of 2 June 1098, a soldier, named *Firuz* by the *Gesta*, arranged for the entry of a number of crusaders into Antioch. While the *Gesta* did not indicate who was the first man to climb the ladders into the city, Baldric stated that his name was *Paganus* and that he was *quidam Longobardus*.[59] While the *Gesta* does not contain this piece of information, it does relate that when Firuz lamented the small number of crusaders, *quidam serviens Longobardus* descended the ladder and went to find Bohemond, urging him to hurry.[60] Baldric adds to this statement, that this was *ille Longobardus per quam primum ascenderat scalam*.[61]

Other 'western' terms

At the beginning of the *Historia*, Baldric listed all the various national groups who were prompted to join the expedition which Urban had preached. The majority of these groups feature only in this passage and are not mentioned again in the *Historia*. It is likely, therefore, that this passage was included as hyperbole.

> *Neque siquidem ipsam Angliam, vel alias maritimas insulas, licet a nobis undisoni maris abysso ab orbe remotas, tonitruum illud laetere potuit; immo et Britones, et Gascones, et extremos hominum Gallicios, fama perniciter succrescens animavit et armavit.*[62]

Of these, only the *Britones*, certainly referring to the Bretons, reappear in Baldric's account when he described the arrival of Stephen of Blois and Robert of Normandy at the siege of Nicaea with *Francigenae*, *Normanni* and *Britones*.[63] Baldric also mentioned the participation of the cities of Venice, Pisa and Genoa, *Venecii quoque*

[58] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 18.
[59] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 55.
[60] *Gesta*, p. 46 [303]
[61] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 56.
[62] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 18.
[63] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 27.

et Pisani et Jenuani.[64] Although the presence of these naval powers during the crusade and particularly in its immediate aftermath is well attested in other sources for the First Crusade, aside from their arrival at Latakia in 1099, much of the Italian cities' involvement in the crusade occurred outside the period covered in Baldric's narrative. It is likely, therefore, that the rhetorical purpose of this passage was to emphasise the breadth of participation in the expedition. It is also clear that Baldric was aware of the part played by the Italian navies in the establishment of the Latin territories in the Levant by the time he composed his narrative.

Like in the *Gesta Francorum*, the use of national terms by Baldric to denote specific groups among the crusaders occurred rarely, often when denoting the actions of a specific group. Elsewhere, as in the case of the long list of participants, the rhetorical purpose of denoting separate groups within the whole was to emphasise the breadth of the participation. This urge to portray the breadth of the endeavour and to represent it as a unified effort can be seen in the identification of the crusade with the *occidens*. In his *prologus*, when assuring his reader of the divine will behind the crusade, Baldric stated that such large numbers of people would not have travelled *ab Occidentali in Orientalem plagam* without *divina inspiratio*.[65] In his praise of the crusade army outside Nicaea, Baldric noted how they had come *ab occidentali Europa* and established their canopies in *Asia*.[66] In his theologically based collective terms for the crusade, this unifying urge is even clearer.

Theological terms to denote the crusaders

Peregrini

Baldric displayed limited enthusiasm for the term *peregrini* to describe the crusaders. Nevertheless, on the occasions where he did use the term, he often did so independently of the *Gesta* and for the most part *peregrini* certainly referred to all members of the crusade army. During the account of the journey of the southern Italian Normans through Byzantine territory, the *Gesta* reported that Bohemond of Taranto warned his followers not to pillage the local lands *quia Christianorum erat.*

[64] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 18: *Venecii quoque et Pisani et Jenuani, et qui vel Oceani vel maris Mediterranei littus ineolebant, navibus onustis armis et hominibus, machinis et victualibus, mare sulcantes operuerunt; et qui terra ibant, universae terrae faciem, sictu locustae, occuluerunt.* (Judith 11:11)

[65] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 9.

[66] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 29.

Baldric characteristically replaced the indirect speech of his source with a section of *oratio recta* in which Bohemond told his followers that they were *peregrini pro Deo* and *Christi milites* and that consequently they ought to refrain from despoiling *Christiani*.[67] Following the description of the skirmish between the southern Italians and the imperial troops during the journey to Constantinople, Baldric hastened to assure the reader that the *peregrini* had fought the Byzantine forces only because they were provoked.[68] During the first and second sieges of Antioch the crusaders were labelled *peregrini*.[69] Part of the terms of the truce which the crusaders formed with the *rex* of Tripoli in May 1099 included the release of over 300 *peregrini*.[70] That this treaty was concluded after a battle between the emir of Tripoli and the crusade makes it likely that these *peregrini* were combatants.

Many of Baldric's uses of *peregrini* referred to more traditional unarmed pilgrims.[71] In the account of Urban II's speech the pope described abuses of *peregrini* by the *gentiles*.[72] When after the abortive siege of Ma'arrat an Numan, Raymond of St Gilles continued his march towards Jerusalem in January 1099, the *Gesta* reported that the count left the city barefoot.[73] These *pedes nudi* were, for Baldric, a sign of Raymond's status of a *peregrinus*.[74] When discussing Jerusalem, Baldric lamented that its *domini* and *peregrini* had long been exiled by the Muslims, *discolae et impuri*.[75] From these examples it is clear that Baldric was aware of the development in the use of the term *peregrini* to include the armed crusaders. At the same time, however, he clearly used the term to denote unarmed pilgrims, in particular in his reference to Raymond of St Gilles' adoption of bare feet to make reference to the more traditional pilgrimage. Consequently, rather than using the term broadly to denote 'traveller,' Baldric obviously consciously applied the term *peregrini*, which he understood to have meant 'pilgrim' to the crusaders,

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[67] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 22.
[68] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 24: *Nulli dubium quin illa die peregrini inviti pugnaverint, nisi quod se defendendi necessitas eis incubuit*. See *Gesta*, p. 9 [162-3]
[69] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 41 & 59.
[70] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 94, *Gesta*, p. 86 [438]
[71] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 23, 67, 72 & 102.
[72] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 12.
[73] *Gesta*, p. 81 [413-4]
[74] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 89: *Exivit igitur Marram idus Januarii, nudis pedibus, et coagulavit se spontaneus peregrinis hominibus: hoc enim signum susceptae peregrinationis humiliatus comes ostendit*.
[75] Baldric, *Historia*, p, 97.

demonstrating its acceptance and assimilation among Latin clerics from an early stage.[76]

Militia Christia/milites Christi

Baldric enthusiastically adopted the use of the term *milites Christi* to describe the crusaders. In the *prologus* to the *Historia* and in his account of the speech of Urban II, a section of the *Historia* which was entirely independent of the *Gesta*, Baldric used the term a number of times to denote the crusade. When introducing the expedition, Baldric commented that Christ had inspired the establishment of a *militia, ad eruendam Jerusalem.*[77] In his version of Urban's speech at Clermont, Baldric repeatedly labelled the crusaders *milites/militia Christi*. In a piece of word-play which St Bernard was to make half a century later, Urban allegedly upbraided his audience for its violence towards each other accusing the *militia Christi* of *malitia.*[78] Urban told his audience that in order to benefit its soul, it could either put aside its weapons, or become *militia Christi* and defend the eastern Church.[79] Even those who died on the journey would be still reap the rewards according to Baldric, because Christ would find them in his *militia.*[80] In the account of the crusade itself, Baldric followed the *Gesta* in its uses of *milites/militia Christi* on occasion, also adding his own.[81]

In an examination of the uses of *milites/militia Christi* which were Baldric's own, his enthusiasm for the term is clear. When Bohemond of Taranto warned his men not to plunder the area around Adrianople he told them that they were *milites Christi* and as such, ought not to pillage Christian lands.[82] In his praise of the crusade outside Nicaea, where he extolled the moral purity and egalitarian character of the army, Baldric drew a number of parallels with the early church (*primitiva ecclesia*)

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[76] For a discussion on whether the term *peregrinatio* meant 'pilgrimage' or more generally 'journey' in the twelfth century see, Riley-Smith, 'Charters of Early Crusaders,' p. 157; Riley-Smith, *Idea*, pp. 22-5; Jensen, '*Peregrinatio sive expeditio*,' *passim*.

[77] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 9.

[78] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 14: *Non est hæc militia Christi, quæ discerpit ovile Redemptoris Sancta Ecclesia ad suorum opitulationem sibi reservavit militiam, sed vos eam male depravatis in malitiam.* A. Grabois, '*Militia* and *Malitia*: The Bernardine vision of Chivalry,' in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. M. Gervers (New York, 1992), pp. 49-56.

[79] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 14: *Porro si vultis animabus vestris consuli, aut istiusmodi militiae cingulum quantocius deponite, aut Christi milites audacter procedite, et ad defendendam Orientalem Ecclesiam velocius concurrite.*

[80] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 15.

[81] Baldric, *Historia*, pp.26, 82 & 90 *Gesta*, pp. 14, 74 & 82 [178, 390 & 417]

[82] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 22.

and with the Israelites. In an exegesis of the Song of Solomon 1:4:14. Baldric likened the *militia* to the *ecclesia formosa.*[83] In *oratio recta* Baldric used the term *milites Christi* to refer to the crusade as a whole on a number of occasions.[84] In the 'Lake Battle' against the forces of Ridwan of Aleppo in February 1098, Bohemond allegedly called on Christ for aid: *Christe, tuos sustenta milites.*[85] During the siege of Akkar in spring 1099, Baldric reported the deaths of Anselm of Ribemont and William the Picard, whose *praeclara facinora* in that *Christi militia* were well known.[86] While the *Gesta Francorum* contained a number of references to *milites/militia Christi*, Baldric's use of the term in sections of his *Historia* which were not dependent on his *fons formalis* and the emphasis on the term in his account of the speech of Urban II at Clermont demonstrates a clear acceptance and assimilation of the term into his idea of the crusade.

As well as using the newly endorsed term *milites Christi* to denote the crusade, Baldric referred to the expedition in his *prologus* as *militia beata.*[87] He also used the term *milites Dei.* When the Byzantine emperor requested an oath of security from the leaders of the crusade, Baldric reported that they initially refused as they owed allegiance only to God, whose *milites* they were. This discussion of the oath by Baldric borrowed heavily from feudal terminology reporting that the leaders swore *vita et honor* to the emperor, apart from Raymond of St Gilles, who refused to perform *hominium.*[88] It is possible, therefore, that Baldric was asserting God as the ultimate feudal lord of the crusaders.[89] After his refusal to leave the area of Antioch and cede the city to Bohemond, Raymond of St Gilles was allegedly touched with remorse and, in the interests of *Dei milites* he decided to continue the journey to

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[83] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 28: *Ut breviter dicta, militia illa ecclesiae formosae instar erat et forma, ut de tali non temerarius Salomonem decantasse autumaverim: Ecce tu pulchra es amica mea, sicut tabernacula Cedar, sicut pelles Salomonis.* See Riley-Smith, *Idea*, p. 150-1 for the discussion of the comparison between the First Crusade and a monastic community in the works of Baldric, Guibert and Robert.

[84] In his rallying speech at Dorylaeum while under attack from the forces of the Seljuk Sultan of Rum, Kilij Arslan, Bohemond addressed his followers as *fortissimi Christi milites.* Baldric, *Historia*, p. 34; When the leaders discussed the need for a foraging expedition from the siege of Antioch in the winter of 1097, they referred to themselves as *milites Christi.* Baldric, *Historia*, p. 42.

[85] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 47.

[86] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 93

[87] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 10.

[88] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 25. According to Raymond Aguilers, this reason was offered by the Count of St Gilles only, while the *Gesta* reported only in broad terms, the resentment felt by all of the princes at the request.

[89] See J. Riley-Smith, 'Crusading as an act of Love,' *History* 65 (1980), 177-92, p. 180 for the discussion of the use of feudal imagery in a number of the crusade chronicles.

Jerusalem.[90] Upon his election as *rex* of Jerusalem, Godfrey was addressed as *miles Dei*.[91]

Populus Dei/populus Christi

Baldric used the term *populus Dei* a number of times to describe the crusade and in the majority of cases this use was not prompted by the *Gesta*.[92] At Clermont, Urban II was reported to have told those who would undertake the journey that they would have the prayers of the church behind them and that the *populus Dei* would have the crusaders as *pugnatores*.[93] After Godfrey of Bouillon was elected *rex* of Jerusalem, Baldric recorded that the clergy called for the election of a patriarch as necessary both for the king and the *populus Dei*.[94] In both of these examples, *populus Dei* appears to denote the body of the faithful.

Elsewhere, however, the term denoted the crusade, both non-combatant and combatant. When news reached the crusaders of the approach of Ridwan of Aleppo during the siege of Antioch in February 1098, Baldric reported a speech by Bohemond of Taranto in which the Norman prince asserted that the reputation of the *Christiani* was at stake and that they were already watching large numbers of *populus Dei* die.[95] During the vision of Stephen of Valence in June 1098, in which Christ admonished the crusaders for their sins, St Peter appeared beside Jesus and begged him to help his *populus* invoking Joel 11:17.[96] Christ eventually relented and instructed Stephen to order *populus meus* to root out sin, in particular fornication, and prescribed liturgical obligations on the crusade.[97] In the description of the speech of Guy, Bohemond's half-brother, following reports of the crusade's defeat at Antioch, Baldric reported that Guy demanded of God why he had judged his *populus* thus.[98] Baldric then reported that, *obrepsit etiam inaestimabilis moestitudo in populo*

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[90] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 89.
[91] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 105.
[92] During the vision of Stephen of Valence at Antioch, in which Christ appeared to berate the crusaders for their sins, both Baldric and the *Gesta* used the term *populus Dei*, however the accounts of the vision differ in some respects. See Baldric, *Historia*, p. 66, *Gesta*, p. 58 [339]
[93] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 15.
[94] Baldric, *Historia*, p.105.
[95] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 45.
[96] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 66: *Parce, Domine, parce, populo tuo et ne des hereditatem tuam in perditionem, ut dominentur eis nationes.*
[97] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 66-7.
[98] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 72. In this speech, Guy also allegedly referred to *gens Dei*, a phrase which does not appear anywhere else in the *Historia*.

Dei and that the clergy ceased to pray or praise God.[99] After the defeat of Kerbogah, atabeg of Mosul, outside Antioch in June 1098, the leaders took counsel about how to lead *populus Dei* to Jerusalem.[100] On the last leg of the journey to Jerusalem, Baldric commented on how tireless the *populus Dei* was in its effort to reach the city.[101] At Ascalon on 12 August 1099 the entire crusade army in Jerusalem, from which all the non-combatants had receded, was labelled *populus Dei.*[102]

Other theological terms

Baldric used a range of terms to denote the crusade. These terms on their own were not employed frequently, nor did many of them have particular resonance: their purpose was to reiterate the theme that the crusade was a divinely inspired expedition and that the crusaders were instruments of God. One of these terms which doubled as a scriptural reference and a reminder to the reader that the crusade was divinely ordained was *exercitus Dei*. A reference to 1 Kings 17:36, where it referred to the Israelites, the term was not employed frequently but it complemented Baldric's use of biblical allusions comparing the crusaders to the Israelites.[103] The term *fideles* was used only once by Baldric and may not have been a specific biblical allusion as it was in Albert of Aachen's chronicle.[104] The crusaders were described as *Jerosolimitani* twice by Baldric, a term which did not appear in his *fons formalis*. Following the account of the speech of Urban II at Clermont, Baldric gave a brief account of how the news of this new endeavour spread in which he labelled those who had taken the crusade vow as *Jerosolimitani.*[105] After the crusade had captured Antioch and defeated the relief force of Kerbogah of Mosul, Bohemond of Taranto and Raymond of St Gilles became embroiled in a dispute over Bohemond's claim to the city. Baldric complained that this dispute was impeding the progress of the *populus Jerosolimitanus.*[106] The use of *Jerosolimitanus populus* in this case may

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[99] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 73. This account follows the *Gesta* closely, however, the use of *populus Dei* is Baldric's own.
[100] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 80. See also Baldric, *Historia*, p. 89.
[101] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 97: *Illuxit dies, et montana quae instabant Dei populus indefessus conscendit; ibat ergo gaudenter, quoniam annuis laboribus ea finem fuerat collatura dies.*
[102] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 107 & 108.
[103] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 16 & 17. For *exercitus Christi*, see Baldric, *Historia*, p. 22.
[104] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 9.
[105] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 16. In the dedicatory *Epistola ad Petrum*, which preceded the *Historia*, Baldric addressed Peter of Maillezais as *viator Jerosolimitanus*. Baldric, *Historia*, p. 5.
[106] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 87.

have been in order to emphasise the true goal of the expedition and highlight his disapproval of those who sought self-aggrandisement on the journey.

The crusaders in the *Historia Jerosolimitana*

Much of the augmentation of the *Gesta Francorum* by Baldric related to his idea of the crusade and its participants. It is here, therefore, rather than in his terminology, which was clearly influenced by his source, that his attitudes towards the crusaders can be discerned. Like his source, and indeed many of his contemporaries, Baldric considered the crusade to be a pious expedition. In the speeches attributed to various leaders the crusaders were reminded of their special status and their obligations. The hand of God could be discerned in the initiation of the crusade, the various victories along the way and in the eventual capture of Jerusalem and the victory at Ascalon. Much of his discussion of the crusade in the *Historia* stems from this original theme. The divinely ordained and supported army was portrayed as one in which the crusaders lived according to the precepts laid down for Christians: they were likened to the Israelites, the Jacobites and the primitive church.[107] In their conquests of previously Christian lands in Asia Minor and Armenia in particular the crusaders were hailed as liberators.

From the outset, the crusade was defined as the result of *divina inspiratio* and the crusaders were constantly in receipt of divine aid. In the *prologus* to the *Historia* Baldric reported that Christ had incited his *fideles* to march to the liberation of Jerusalem.[108] When the expedition experienced its first period of severe want, during the early stages of the siege of Nicaea, God's benevolence was demonstrated in the procurement of plentiful supplies by Bohemond in conjunction with Alexius Comnenus: *Deo de suis procurante*.[109] In his speech at Dorylaeum, where Bohemond attempted to rally his followers against the unexpected forces of Kilij Arslan, he urged them not to fear, *quoniam revera nobiscum Deus est*.[110] Following a victory

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[107] See below

[108] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 9: *Ipse temporibus nostris Christianitatem suam, ubicumque terrarum erat, pene totam excitavit; et ut ad eruendam, in qua specialiter passus est, Jerusalem, de spurcorum manibus Turcorum, qui ei velut captivæ dominabantur, Christiana concurreret militia, fideles suos unanimiter incitavit.*

[109] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 26.

[110] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 34. The eventual victory of the crusaders in this battle was also divinely ordained. Baldric, *Historia*, p. 35: *Et nisi Deus in castris suorum tunc affuissset subsidiumque jam defessis praeparasset, ipsa dies totius expeditionis finem peperisset.*

over a group of Turks in the region of Antioch, Baldric reported rejoicing among the crusaders, who prayed; *Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam.*[111] Even in such a man-made circumstance, such as Firuz's betrayal of Antioch to Bohemond, God's influence was seen by Baldric. It was God who had inspired Firuz.[112] God's support for the crusade was even acknowledged in speeches attributed to Muslims. Kerbogah's mother warned her son that he was not fighting the *Christiani* alone at Antioch, but their God too.[113] After the defeat of al-Afdal at Ascalon in August 1099, the Fatimid leader was recorded as saying: *Aut illorum Deus omnipotens est, et pro eis pugnat; aut noster nobis iratus est, et nos nimis austero furore redarguit et castigat.*[114]

The crusade suffered setbacks as well as victories. These too were often represented as the result of divine intervention, to chastise the crusaders for their sins. The two defeats of the People's Crusade were represented as a necessary chastisement of the crusaders for their sins and a warning to the following Christian armies.[115] In his vision of Christi during the siege of Antioch, Stephen of Valence begged Jesus to come to the aid of *populus tuus*, to which Christ responded that he had turned his face from the crusaders on account of their sins, which included fornication and prostitution.[116]

Along with his contemporaries, Baldric was keen to emphasise the worthiness of the crusaders in their endeavour. This was done through repeated comparison between the crusaders and the Israelites, mostly in the form of biblical allusions. In Pope Urban II's speech at Clermont the crusaders were to be *better* than the Jacobites in fighting the *Turci* who were *nefandiores quam Jebuseos.*[117] In the same speech, Urban promised the crusaders that he would be as Moses, raising his hand while the Israelites fought the Amalechites.[118] According to Baldric, Urban

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[111] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 40. Psalm 113:9.
[112] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 53: *jam etenim Deus ei aspiraverat quid agere deberet.*
[113] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 63: *Praeterea Deus Francorum revera omnipotens est, quem nisi prius graviter offenderint, semper eos victoriosos protegit.*
[114] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 110.
[115] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 20: *Ecce modico temporum intervallo, parvo terrarum interstitio Christianitas his profligata est, bis multata, bis castigata: quod pro expiatione facinorum suorum illis contigisse non abigimus, et pro reprimenda minus cautorum stoliditate, et pro subsequentis exercitus necessaria castigatione.*
[116] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 66.
[117] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 15.
[118] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 15: *Nos extendemus cum Moyse manus indefessas, orantes in coelum; vos exerite et vibrate intrepidi praeliatores in Amalech gladium.*

explicitly likened the crusaders to the Israelites, telling his listeners that the *filii Israel* had prefigured them.[119]

In a description of the crusade camp outside Nicaea, Baldric claimed that the crusaders outdid the Israelites and even the heroes of Troy. Exclaiming in delight over the camp of the crusaders, Baldric told his readers that they ought to ignore the splendour of the Greek heroes.[120] While Ulysses had his *astutia*, Ajax his *audacia* and Achilles his *duritia*, none could compare to the moral rectititude of the crusaders.[121] Not content with outshining the Homeric heroes, Baldric claimed that the camp of the crusaders excelled the Israelites of the Old Testament. In a reference to Numbers 24, Baldric commented that Balaam, who was so impressed by the tents of the Israelites, would have valued those of the crusaders more. In addition, the later lapse into fornication and idolatry of the Israelites did not afflict the *exercitus Dei*.[122] For Baldric, the crusade was a model of the church and he compared the camp to the *sponsa* in the Song of Solomon.[123] The church which Baldric invoked in his comparisons with the crusaders' camp at Nicaea, was the model of the *primitiva ecclesia*. Social rank was ignored in the apportioning of tasks, the *duces* kept watch and it was impossible to distinguish between a *dux* and a *miles* by the functions which they performed.[124] In an allusion to the Acts of the Apostles, Baldric related that everything was held in common.[125] This discussion of the similarities between the crusader camp and the early Church has been interpreted by Riley-Smith as a

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[119] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 14: *Filii Israel ab Aegyptiis educti, qui, Rubri Mari transito, vos praefiguraverunt, terram illam armis suis, Jesu duce, sibi vindicaverunt Jebuseos et alios convenas inde expulerunt; et instar Jerusalem coelestis, Jerusalem terrenam incoluerunt.*

[120] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 28: *Cesset illa adulabilis fabula de Troja; vilescant illa Pelasgorum tentoria; obscurentur ulterius procerum illorum actus et nomina.*

[121] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 28: *Hic Christiani columbinam praetendebant simplicitatem, et in armis mundam et gloriosam exercebant militiam: mundi moribus, vegeti corporibus, animosi pectoribus militabant, quippe animabus suis praecavebant; carnisque voluntatibus et voluptatibus omnia illicita abdicabant; fulgebant in armis, maximeque in morum ornatu erant decentissimi.*

[122] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 28: *Fateor, et verum fateor, quoniam, si Balaam huic tam formosae speculationi adesse meruisset, tentoria ista tentoriis Israeliticis praeposuisset: in castris siquidem Christianis, nec Finees Madianitatem, quam pugione confodere debuisset, inveniret; nec serpens malignus, quem pro malignitate sua torreret, haberet.*

[123] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 28: *Ut breviter dicta, militia illa ecclesiae formosae instar erat et forma, ut de tali non temerarius Salomonem decantasse autumaverim: Ecce tu pulchra es amica mea, sicut tabernacula Cedar, sicut pelles Salomonis* (Solomon 1:4:14)

[124] Baldric, Historia, p. 28. *In ista siquidem expeditione duces ipsi militabant, ipsi duces excubabant: ut nescires quid dux a milite, quid miles differret a duce.*

[125] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 28: *Praeterea tanta erat ibi rerum omnium communitas, ut vix aliquis aliquid sibi diceret proprium; sed, sicut in primitiva ecclesia, ferme illis erant omnia communia.* (Acts 2:44-47 & 4:32-5)

likening by Baldric of the crusade to a 'monastery on the move.'[126] Certainly since Augustine and Cassianus, the links between the primitive church and the ideals of monastic life had been stressed by theologians. Baldric's discussion of the *ecclesia primitiva* seems, however, to form part of his discussion of the perfect morals under which the crusaders lived. Immediately after his reference to the commonality of holdings in the camp, Baldric stated that prostitution had been outlawed in the camp and that men and women lived together only *vel in conjugio vel in legali ministerio*.[127] Coupled with the claim that the camp was the model of an *ecclesia formosa*, it is likely that Baldric was comparing the crusade to perfect Christian society rather than to a monastic model specifically. There is elsewhere only one allusion in which Baldric may be drawing a parallel between monastic life and the crusade. In his reported speech at Clermont, Urban told his audience that it could either give up its military garb or join the crusade in order to provide for its soul.[128]

Despite the considerable augmentation of his source, to which he added both erudition and more sophisticated exegesis and theology, many of the aspects of the crusade which Baldric highlighted were similar to those of the *Gesta Francorum*. The crusaders were all *Christiani* despite their various backgrounds; in their actions they were the image of the Israelites; they were inspired by God and protected by Him on their journey. The principal area where Baldric exceeded his *fons formalis* was in his praise of the conduct of the army as it travelled to the East, the clearest expression of this being his enthusiastic description of the camp outside Nicaea and the impeccable morals practised therein.

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[126] Riley-Smith, *Idea*, pp. 149-51. Kostick has suggested that Baldric's account is an exaggeration of the claim in eyewitness reports that all personal property was returned to its rightful owner. However, Baldric's account seems to imply that all property was held in common, *vix aliquis aliquid sibi diceret proprium*, directly contradicting this. Kostick, *Social Structure*, p. 57.

[127] For a discussion of the *ecclesia primitiva forma* in western Christian thought see, G. Miccoli, 'Ecclesiae Primitivae Forma,' *Chiesa Gregoriana, Ricerche sulla Riforma del secoli* 11 (1966), 225-303.

[128] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 14: *Porro si vultis animabus vestris consuli, aut istiusmodi militiae cingulum quantocius deponite, aut Christi milites audacter procedite, et ad defendendam Orientalem Ecclesiam velocius concurrite.*

Collective terms to denote the Muslims

Although Baldric's terminology in describing the Muslims appears to follow the *Gesta* for the most part, in essence it is fundamentally different. Where the Anonymous attempted to distinguish between the Seljuk Turks and other Muslims through a separation between *Turci*, *Saraceni* and sometimes *Arabes*, Baldric used both terms collectively for the Muslims. His use of terms such as *Publicani*, *Persae*, *Agulani* etc., derived entirely from his *fons formalis*, although one group, the *Aethiopes* cannot be found in the *Gesta*. Elsewhere most of the terms he used to denote the Muslims were collective terms derived from the Bible, such as *Jebusitae*, *Amalechitae*, *Ismahelitae* and *Hagareni*. All of these terms were collective terms and it is clear that Baldric was less interested in depicting the Muslims as a conglomerate group than the *Gesta*, whose use of a large number of separate groups within the armies and whose broad distinction between the *Turci*, *Arabes* and *Saraceni* can be seen as an attempt to depict the range of national groups within the Islamic forces.

National terms to denote the Muslims

Turci

On first glance, Baldric's use of the term Turci appears to echo that of his fons *formalis*, the *Gesta Francorum*.[129] Like the *Gesta*, Baldric used the term *Turci* synonymously with more general terms for the Muslim opponents of the crusade. They were *barbari*, *pagani*, *gentiles* and unlike in the *Gesta*, they were also included in scripturally inspired terms such as *Jebusitae*, *Hagareni*, *Amalechitae* and *Ismahelitae*.[130] In a key area, however, Baldric's *Historia* strays from his source. The distinction which the Anonymous generally made between the *Turci* and the *Sarraceni* is not found to the same degree in the *Historia*. After the siege of Antioch the *Gesta Francorum* contained far fewer references to the *Turci* and more instances of the term *Sarraceni*, suggesting that the Anonymous was attempting to distinguish between the areas under Seljuk Turkish control and Egyptian Fatimid.[131] Baldric appears to have taken *Turci* as a collective term for the opponents of the crusade. In

[129] While Baldric used the term more frequently than the *Gesta*, some of his use of *Turci* stemmed simply from replacing the Anonymous's use of *illos* in his description of battle scenes in particular. See, for example, Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 41 & 50-1.
[130] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 14, 15, 35, 39, 43, 49, 61, 64, 77, 81, 84 & 85.
[131] See above, pp. 32-6.

the account of Urban II's speech at Clermont the pope related that Jerusalem was in the hands of *Turci*.[132] When the defenders of Antioch launched an attack on the crusaders as they besieged the city, Baldric used the terms *Turci* and *Sarraceni* interchangeably to describe the same group, indicating that he was unaware of the distinction between the two.[133] During the siege of Ma'arrat an Numan, the defenders of the city, whom the *Gesta* had labelled *pagani* and *Sarraceni*, were deemed *Turci* and immediately afterwards *Sarraceni* by Baldric.[134]

One of the most striking features of the *Gesta Francorum* was the respect which the Anonymous held for the martial prowess of the *Turci*. That this theme will appear in the *Historia* of Baldric is clear from the outset when, in the *prologus*, he warned his reader that his *Christianitas* would not prevent him from describing the *fortitas* and *audacitas* of the *Pagani*.[135] In most instances where the *Gesta* contained praise of the military character of the *Turci*, Baldric followed suit, at times adding comments. During the siege of Xerigordo, in which a portion of the People's Crusade was surrounded by the local Seljuks, Baldric polished the narrative provided by the *Gesta* emphasising the skill of the *Turci*.[136] When another section of this ill-fated expedition was pursued by the *Turci* to another castle at Civitos, Baldric again embellished the narrative which he found in the *Gesta*.[137] Kerbogah of Mosul was *vir quidem bellicosissimus*, while the army he led boasted of their *animositas*

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[132] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 13: *Nequam homines sanctas præoccupavere civitates:Turcis spurii et immundi nostris fratribus dominantur... Inde violenter abstrahunt Turci quas pro eleemosyna illuc multotiens intulistis oblationes; ibi nimirum multas et innumeras religioni nostrae ingerunt irrisiones.* See also Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 12 & 15.

[133] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 49. See also p. 43.

[134] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 85-6; *Gesta*, pp. 78-80 [403 & 406]

[135] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 10.

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Baldric, p. 19
Quo undique obsesso, aquam illis confestim abstulerunt. Fons etenim et puteus, quo castellum sustentabatur, extra erat; quem utrumque viriliter circumspectum Turcorum exercitus indesinenter observabat.

***Gesta Francorum*, p. 3 [118-9]**
Ante portam castri erat puteus, et ad pedem castri fons vivus, iuxta quem exiit Rainaldus insidiari Turcos. Alii fugerunt in castrum. Quod confestim Turci obsederunt eisque aquam abstulerunt.

[137] See also Baldric, *Historia*, p. 72.

Baldric, p. 20
Audientes iterum Turci quod Petrus Heremita et Galterius cognomento Sine habere, in alia civitate, qui nomen Civitot, prope Nicenam essent, persequi aggressi sunt illos, pro secundis successibus rabidiores; et more luporum debacchantium vel ferae tigridis, sanguini effundendo proclivius incumbentes.

***Gesta Francorum*, p. 4 [122-4]**
Audientes denique Turci quod Petrus Heremita et Guualterius Sinehabere fuissent in Cyvito, quae supra Nicenam urbem est, venerunt illuc cum magno gaudio ut occiderent illos et eos qui cum ipsis erant. Cumque venissent obviaverunt Guualterio cum suis, quos Turci mox occiderunt.

singularis.[138] When Alexius Comnenus decided to retreat after being told by Stephen of Blois that the crusade had been defeated by Kerbogah at Antioch, Baldric altered the speech attributed to him by the Anonymous and replaced it with a longer one, in which the emperor warned against engaging the *Turci* who were *prae sanguine effuso tigridibus efferatiores*.[139]

On two occasions, however, Baldric suggested that the *Turci* were not equal to the crusaders in strength in battle. Despite adopting to a great degree the passages of the *Gesta* in which the ancestry of the *Turci* and the *Franci* were said to be the same, Baldric added the comment that the *Turci* were unused to combat and consequently their performance in battle was impaired.[140] In the account of the conversation between Kerbogah of Mosul and his mother, which Baldric altered considerably, she allegedly told her son that their *natio* had not known war in this its old age: *quoniam admodum effloruit in pace senectus istius nationis*.[141] In this allusion to the theme, common in both the classical and medieval period, of the decaying of the world or at least the world order, Baldric implied the imminent demise of the *Turci* and perhaps the renewal of *Christianitas* in the region which he discussed later as the crusade passed through Syria.

Sarraceni

Unlike the author of the *Gesta*, who delineated between the *Saraceni* and the *Turci* for the most part, Baldric used the term *Sarraceni* from the outset as a general term to mean 'Muslim'. In the speech attributed to Urban II at Clermont, the pope allegedly rebuked his audience for the current violence among Christians, urging them to turn their violent hands towards the *Sarraceni*.[142] Urban had previously lamented the occupation of Jerusalem by the *Turci* and it is possible that Baldric considered the terms to be synonymous. At Nicaea, where the *Gesta* identified the Seljuk forces as *Turci*, Baldric used *Sarraceni*.[143] During an ambush of the crusaders led by Bohemond from the port of St Symeon to the crusade camp at Antioch, the

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[138] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 59.
[139] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 72.
[140] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 35.
[141] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 63: *Nostra tamen satis animosa est, sed manu minus efficax; inexperta et expers est multum hujusce laboris: quoniam admodum effloruit in pace senectus istius nationis.*
[142] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 15: *Horrendum est, fratres, horrendum est, vos in Christianos rapacem manum extendere: minus malum est in Sarracenos gladium vibrare; singulare bonum est: quia et caritas est, pro fratribus animas ponere.*
[143] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 26; *Gesta*, p. 15 [182]

Turci who feature in the *Gesta* are first *Turci* then *Sarraceni* in Baldric, indicating that he used the two terms synonymously.[144] During the battle outside Antioch against the forces of Kerbogah – whom the Anonymous labelled *Turci* – Baldric followed his source in reporting the vision of a heavenly army led by SS George, Mercurius and Demetrius. In an addition to the account of the *Gesta*, Baldric stated that the *Sarraceni* saw the vision too.[145]

Sarracenus was a term frequently used to describe Muslims in the Middle Ages. Isidore of Seville had, in his *Etymologiae*, stated that the terms *Ismahelitae*, *Agareni* and *Sarraceni* all denoted the same group.[146] It is probable, therefore, that Baldric did not view the term as strictly denoting one group among the Muslims but more as a general term to mean 'Muslim.' During the siege of Arqa in February 1099 the defenders of the city, who were labelled *Turci*, *Sarraceni*, *Arabes* and *Publicani* in the *Gesta*, were all *Sarraceni* according to Baldric.[147] Elsewhere the use of *Sarraceni* as a general term is clear. When describing how Bohemond's army attacked a castle of heretics near *Palagonia*, Baldric explained how the crusaders considered heretics to be *inimici Dei*, just as they considered the *Sarraceni* and *Judei*.[148] The use of *Sarraceni* in this triumvirate of *inimici Dei* is clear evidence that Baldric considered the term to encompass all Muslims. After the crusaders installed a bishop in Lydda on their journey to Jerusalem in 1099, Baldric explained that while *Christianitas* had previously been established in the area, the advent of the rule of the *Sarraceni* had led to the loss of the local hierarchy.[149]

Arabes, Azimitae, Publicani, Agulani, Curti, Persi, Babilonii,

Aside from *Turci* and *Sarraceni*, the vast majority of references in Baldric's *Historia* to particular 'national' groups among the Muslims are directly obtained from the *Gesta Francorum*. For example, the description of the large conglomerate group led by Kerbogah, atabeg of Mosul, collected for the relief of Antioch in summer 1098 was derived from the *Gesta*.[150] At times Baldric altered the Muslim groups which he

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[144] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 49; *Gesta*, pp. 32-3 [278-9]
[145] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 77.
[146] Isidore, *Etymologiae*, Bk 9:2:6.
[147] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 93; *Gesta*, p. 83 [425] See also, Baldric, *Historia*, p. 98.
[148] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 23.
[149] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 96.
[150] See also Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 35 & 59; *Gesta*, pp. 20 & 45 [203-4 & 297]

found in his *fons formalis*, either adding groups or removing them. At Arqa in 1099 the Anonymous reported that the town was defended by *Turci*, *Sarraceni*, *Arabes* and *Publicani*: Baldric reduced this to *Arabes* and *Publicani* only.[151] During the same siege fourteen knights were reported to have engaged sixty *Turci* and routed them. In the *Gesta* these *Turci* were leading 1,500 men and animals. Baldric added that these men were *Sarraceni*, *Curti* and *Arabes*.[152] The only mention of the term *Babilonicus* which is not directly derived from the *Gesta* occurs in the speech of Urban II at Clermont when the pope lamented that Jerusalem had been reduced to paying tribute to the *Babilonicus admirabilis*.[153] All Baldric's alterations to the *Gesta* in this regard were minor, however, and none deviate significantly from the principal narrative.

Aethiopes

Although only mentioned briefly by Baldric, the *Aethiopes* are one of the more ambiguous groups in his *Historia*. Although he was not unique in his reports of *Aethiopes* at the battle of Ascalon, his *fons formalis* the *Gesta Francorum* made no mention of them. In his *Historia*, Tudebode mentioned *Asupart*, a term which denoted Ethiopians.[154] While it is possible that Baldric recognised *Asuparti* as *Aethiopes* and altered the term, his account of this group bears little resemblance to Tudebode's. Neither does his description echo that of Albert of Aachen or Fulcher of Chartres. The one feature which Baldric described in common with his contemporaries was the peculiar battle stance of the *Aethiopes*, on bended knee. His assertion that this made them stationary and unable to retreat, however, is not

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Baldric, p. 59.
Corbarannus autem, tum ut stipendia promissa reciperet, tum maxime ut nomen suum dilataret, a Caliphas, gentis suae apostolico, accepta licentia saeviendi in Christianos,sibi gentes innumeras, Turcos videlicet, Sarracenos, Arabes, Publicanos, Azimitas, Curtos, Persas, Agulanos, et alios innumeros coagulaverat, et exercitum immensum conflaverat.

***Gesta*, p. 49 [314]**
Idem vero Curbaram congregavit innumeras gentes paganorum, videlicet Turcos, Arabas, Saracenos, Publicanos, Azimitas, Curtos, Persas, Agulanos, et alias multas gentes innumerabiles.

[151] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 91; *Gesta*, p. 83 [425]
[152] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 91; *Gesta*, p. 83 [426]. This amendment to the *Gesta Francorum* is identical to one made by Peter Tudebode in his *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*. See 'introduction' to Baldric above, pp. 86-7.
[153] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 11.
[154] See Appendix 2, p. 401.

corroborrated.[155] In keeping with one of his principal themes, Baldric commented that this battle stance which made them unable to retreat was born of their innate arrogance and certainty of victory.[156] The most surprising aspect of Baldric's account of the *Aethiopes* is omission of any mention of the colour of their skin, a defining feature of the group for many of his contemporaries.[157] Given the frequent appearances of *Ethiopes* in the Bible it is extremely unlikely that Baldric was unaware of their black skin and it is possible that he felt it an unnecessary detail which would surely be obvious to any of his readers.[158]

Theological terms to denote the Muslims

Barbari

Baldric only used the term *barbari* five times in his *Historia*, the same number of times as the Anonymous. None of these uses of *barbari* was derived directly from the *Gesta Francorum*, however. In his *prologus*, where he asserted the divine impetus behind the expedition, Baldric stated that only *divina inspiratio* could have prompted the crusaders to leave behind their homes and families to fight *contra barbaras nationes*.[159] The use of *barbarae nationes* to describe the Muslims is extremely common in the Latin chronicles of the crusade, both those which form part of the *Gesta* family and others, and it is likely that much of this usage was derived from Jerome's use of the phrase to denote non-Christians.[160] Baldric also reported that Urban II used the phrase at Clermont when he described a number of abuses of Christians in Jerusalem, including how the *barbarae nationes* had

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[155] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 108: *Hi genibus humi defixis, dextro tamen postposito, ancilibus corpora superiora tutantes, sagittis utebantur et gladiis: his imperatum fuerat, ne vel ad momentum recederent, vel locum occupatum saltem ad passum excederent.*

[156] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 108: *Confidebant siquidem et in multitudinibus suis innumeris, et in pectoribus gentium animosis, et in imperialibus ne unquam fugerent edictis.*

[157] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 41, p. 456.

[158] In particular Jeremiah 13:23: *si mutare potest Aethiops pellem suam.*

[159] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 9.

[160] Jerome, *Epistula* 133, *Ad Ctesiphontem* 9, CSEL 56, p. 255. *Epistula* 146 *Ad Evangelum Presbyterum* 1, CSEL 56, p. 310. For a discussion of the use of the phrase *barbarae nationes* in the chronicles of the First Crusade with the suggestion that the phrase came from the classical dichotomy of latin-barbarian, see W. R. Jones, 'The image of the barbarian in Medieval Europe,' *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 13 (1971), 376-407, pp. 377-80; Loutchitskaja, '*Barbarae Nationes*,' pp. 99-107; See also the letter of the clergy of Lucca to *omnes fideles*, Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, p. 167.

desecrated the Temple of Solomon, placing their *simulacra* there.[161] In the *prologus*, Baldric reported that other churches in Jerusalem had been reduced to stabling of mules or of other unnamed acts.[162] Immediately, therefore, the *barbari* were associated with idolatry and the desecration of churches.

It is clear from these references that *barbari* was a general term for the Muslim opponents of the crusade appearing among other collective terms such as *Turci*, *gentiles* and *pagani*. Later uses of the term correspond to this interpretation. At Nicaea, in the skirmish between the army of Raymond of Toulouse and a group of Seljuk Turks at the south gate of the city, the Seljuks were referred to as *Sarraceni* and *barbari* in the same sentence.[163] During the battle of Dorylaeum in July 1097 the forces of Kilij Arslan were described as *Sarraceni*, *Agulani*, *Persae* and *Arabes* after the *Gesta* and then both *Turci* and *barbari*.[164] Given the apparent synonymity between *barbari* and other collective terms for the Muslims, it is difficult to see any specific application of the term other than as a reminder to the reader of the opposition of the *barbari* to the *Christiani*, especially in the phrase *barbarae nationes*.

Pagani

Almost all of Baldric's uses of the term *pagani* can be seen to derive directly from his *fons formalis*, even where it can be seen that he altered the narrative somewhat. While Raymond of Toulouse was besieging 'Arqah in May 1099, and Godfrey of Bouillon and Robert of Flanders were likewise besieging Jabala, Raymond sent a message to the other princes, claiming that a large force of Muslims was advancing towards him and requesting their aid. Baldric altered the narrative of the *Gesta* only to include an account of the letter which the count of Toulouse had sent, yet he maintained the use of the term *pagani* to describe the threat.[165] Similarly, in the vision of Stephen of Valence where Christ rebuked the crusaders for their sins and St

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[161] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 13. Elsewhere in Baldric there is no indication that the Muslims had idols, unlike the works of some of his contemporaries. Tudebode, *Historia*, p. 137; Ralph, *Gesta Tancredi*, p. 144.

[162] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 12: *Ecclesiarum etiam alias in usus peculiares gens barbara reduxerant, aut in ipsis jumenta sua stabulantes, aut si quid est ignominiosius operantes in eis*

[163] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 26: *Comes itaque Sarracenis secure accurrentibus ex improviso armatus obviavit, et exercitus ejus totus in armis speciosus; et omnes signo sanctae crucis confisi, barbarum viriliter reppulerunt stoliditatem.*

[164] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 35.

[165] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 92; *Gesta*, p. 84 [429-30]

Peter pleaded with him for leniency, Baldric maintained the use of *pagani* to describe the Muslims.[166]

Nevertheless Baldric did use the term *pagani* in the independent sections of his narrative. In these examples it is clear that the term was used collectively for all of the opponents of the crusaders in direct contrast to *Christiani*. In his *prologus* Baldric identified himself as a *Christianus* who along with all of the *Christiana professio* despised *paganismus* as *a lege Dei extorris*.[167] This oppostition to Christianity of the *pagani* is reiterated in the report that the possessions of the church in Antioch had been usurped by the *tyrannis pagana*, who ought to have adopted *religio Christiana* rather than eliminate it.[168] Jerusalem itself was *sub spurcitiam paganorum redacta est*.[169] In all these cases *pagani* was a synonym for *gentiles*, Baldric's preferred term to describe the Muslims. In the single instance after Clermont in which Baldric used the term *pagani* independently of the *Gesta* the term replaced *Sarraceni* in his source, indicating that both terms were used by him as collective terms for the Muslims.[170]

Gentiles

Like Albert of Aachen, Baldric's preferred term to denote the Muslims was *gentiles*. During the *prologus* and Urban's speech at Clermont, the Muslims who held Antioch and Jerusalem were labelled *gentiles*.[171] When the People's Crusade arrived in the outskirts of Constaninople, Alexius Comnenus warned the crusaders against crossing into Asia Minor where they would not be able to oppose the *efferi gentiles* of the armies of the Seljuks of Rum.[172] During the siege of Nicaea the defenders of the city were labelled as *gentiles*, as Baldric detailed the attempts by the crusaders to undermine the walls and the efforts of the *gentiles* to rebuild them at night.[173] In the course of the siege of the city, the Muslims were referred to as *gentiles*, *nationes* and

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[166] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 66: *Dixitque beatus Petrus: Domine, per tot tempora tenuit paganorum gens domum meam, in qua multa et ineffabilia mala fecerunt. Gesta*, p. 58 [338] For other instances where Baldric maintained the use of *pagani* which he found in the *Gesta*, see Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 39, 90, 91, 93, 95-6 & 109;*Gesta*, pp. 26, 82, 83, 85, 87& 95. [234, 419-21, 425, 433, 447 & 494]
[167] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 10.
[168] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 13.
[169] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 13.
[170] When the Bishop of Martirano was captured by Muslims on a journey from Jerusalem to Godfrey of Bouillon at Ascalon. Baldric, *Historia*, p. 107; *Gesta*, p. 94 [486]
[171] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 10 & 11-4.
[172] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 18.
[173] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 26-7 & 30.

Turci respectively.[174] At Dorylaeum Kilij Arslan's followers were labelled *gentiles* as were the defenders of Antioch.[175] The composite meaning of the term can be seen in its use for armies whose constituent parts have previously been ennumerated, such as that of Kilij Arslan at Dorylaeum and Kerbogah of Mosul.[176] As the crusade travelled from Antioch to Jerusalem, the local Muslim armies which they encountered were all labelled *gentiles*.[177] When the crusaders established a bishop at Ramla, Baldric explained that Christianity had flourished in the region previously but that it had faded when the area succumbed to the *mos gentilitatis*.[178] During a reported discussion between the princes regarding the election of a *rex* of the city, they decided that Godfrey would be appropriate as he would make war on the *gentiles* while protecting the *Christiani*.[179]

This use of the term *gentiles* in opposition to *Christiani* occurred frequently in Baldric's *Historia*. In a pledge to represent the deeds of the *pagani* truthfully in his chronicle, Baldric explained that he would not like to let it appear as if the *Christiani* had defeated a feeble and unwarlike *gens* and so he would not dilute the *robur* of the *gentiles*.[180] In his discussion of how Jerusalem became subject to the Fatimids, Baldric stated that the *gentiles adventicii* had dominated the *filii indigenii* of the Christians.[181] At Antioch, Baldric informed his readers, the *gentiles* had driven out the religion which they ought to have adopted and replaced it instead with their *superstitiones*.[182] During the siege of Nicaea, where the crusaders were referred to as *Christiani*, the defenders were *gentiles*.[183] After a battle with the defenders of Antioch in which over one thousand crusaders were reported to have been killed, Baldric soberly responded that *gentilitas* had triumphed over *Christianitas*.[184] When Godfrey of Bouillon was elected *rex* of Jerusalem, the leaders of the expedition were reported to be certain that he would be an enemy of the *gentiles* and defend the

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[174] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 26-9.
[175] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 35, 50 & 56-7.
[176] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 35, 54, 77, 78 & 79. As was the army of al-Afdal at Ascalon, Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 108-9.
[177] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 81, 82, 84, 90, 92, 95, 99 & 103.
[178] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 96.
[179] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 103: *Iste gentilibus hostiliter inimicabitur, et Christianis viriliter patrocinabitur.*
[180] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 10.
[181] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 11.
[182] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 13. See also, Baldric, *Historia*, p. 14.
[183] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 26-7 & 30.
[184] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 49: *Perempti sunt itaque in illo conflictu plusquam mille Christiani, et ecce duplicatus augmentabatur moeror in castris; heri et hodie triumphavit de Christianitate gentilitas; ecce per insolentiam elata gentilitate et plaudente, humiliata est hodie lugubris Christianitas.*

Christiani viriliter.[185] At the battle of Ascalon the terms *gentiles* and *Christiani* were used frequently to denote each side.[186] *Gentiles* was frequently used as a synonym for *Turci*, *Sarraceni*, *pagani* and *barbari.*[187]

The use of *gentiles* as a synonym for the other terms used to denote the Muslims makes it extrememly difficult to identify traits which are specific to it. It is likely that, while *gentiles* was Baldric's preferred term to refer to the opponents of the crusade, he did not see a strict delineation between the *pagani*, *barbari* and the *gentiles*. It is possible however, to suggest one trait which Baldric appears to have attributed generally to the *gentiles*. After the death of Yaghi Siyan, the Turkish governor of Antioch, Baldric addressed the dead man, rebuking him for his ill-spent life.[188] Following the *Gesta*, he then reported that the sword and scabbard of the dead governor were worth sixty bezants, adding disdainfully that the *gentiles* placed great value on *hujuscemodi phalerae et fibulae.*[189] When describing the pillaging of the camp of Kerbogah following his defeat outside Antioch in June 1098 by the crusaders, Baldric related a long list of supplies which the *gentiles* had brought with them, commenting that he did not know whether this was done out of necessity or *jactantia.*[190] Although Baldric's preference for the term *gentiles* over *pagani* or *barbari* is clear, his uses of these terms, albeit rarely, militates against the conclusion that he dissapproved of them. It is likely that he preferred the term *gentiles* as scripturally derived and used it where he could, but his preference did not stretch to omitting the other terms.

Agareni, Jebusitae, Amalechitae, Ismahelitae (Hismaelitae, Ismaelitae)

Baldric used these terms to denote the Muslim opponents of the crusade by likening them to enemies of the Israelites in the Old Testament. In the account of Pope Urban's speech at Clermont, the pope reportedly compared the Muslims to the

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[185] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 104.
[186] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 108-9.
[187] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 10, 12, 13-4, 26-7, 34-5, 49, 50-1, 57, 65, 77-8, 81-2, 90-1, 92-3, 95-6, 98, 100 & 108-9.
[188] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 57: *Tales sunt tuae remunerationes, mundana prosperitas; hujusmodi sunt tua stipendia, fallax et deceptiva fortuna.*
[189] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 57.
[190] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 78: *Hanc etenim gentiles habent consuetudinem, ut si quando vadunt in hostem, vel causa necessitatis suae supplendae, vel supercilio jactantiae, opes copiosas secum devehant, et equos et asinos et camelos ad subvehendum clitellarios faciant, et oves et boves ad comedendum deduci praecipiant; nec annonam, nec farinam, nec fabam, nec oleum, nec vinum praetermittant.*

Jebusites and the Amalechites. The Jebusites, as Canaanites, were banished from Israel following Noah's curse of his grandson Canaan.[191] The Amalechites were a nomadic tribe defeated by the Israelites in Exodus 17. Explicitly evoking a comparison between the crusaders and the Israelites – *vos praefiguraverunt* – the pope proceeded to liken the *Turci* to the Jebusites – *nefandiores quam Jebuseos* – who were expelled from Israel by the Israelites.[192] Although it was the *Turci* who were compared with the Jebusites, Urban's following comment, that his listeners ought to refrain from inflicting violence on each other and instead brandish a sword (*gladium vibrare*) at *Sarraceni*, indicates that *Turci* and indeed *Sarraceni* were both used in the sense of 'Muslim'.[193] This comparison between the *Turci* and a Canaanite tribe may also have indicated to Baldric's readers the illegitimacy of the position of the *Turci* in Jerusalem. Assuring those who would take part in the expedition of the support with which the church hierarchy would provide them, the pope emphasised the palpable nature of this help by comparing the clergy to Moses during the war between the Israelites and the Amalechites.[194]

In a more common allusion Baldric also likened the Muslims to the *Ismahelites*, the descendants of Ismael, Abraham's son by the handmaiden Agar (Genesis 16:15). That this term referred to no single group among the Muslims can be seen in its use to denote the defenders of Antioch during the first siege, the followers of Kerbogah in the second siege of Antioch and the Fatimid army led by al-Afdal at the battle of Ascalon.[195] The followers of Kerbogah were also *Hagareni*, another term for the descendants of Agar (or Hagar), as were the defenders of Ma'arrat an Numan, Tripoli and Jerusalem.[196] Again this term had a pan-Muslim application as can be seen in its use as a synonym for *pagani* and *Turci*.[197] Along

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[191] Genesis 10:26. See Also 1 Kings 9:20 for the assertion that the Jebusites were 'not the children of Israel.'

[192] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 14: *Filii Israel ab Aegyptiis educti, qui Rubro Mari transito, vos praefiguraverunt, terram illam armis suis, Jesu duce, sibi vindicaverunt; Jebuseos et alios convenas inde expulerunt; et instar Jerusalem coelestis, Jerusalem terrenam incoluerunt*; Baldric, *Historia*, p. 15: *Haec ideo, fratres, dicimus, ut et manus nationibus opponatis; et sub Jesu Christo, duce nostro, acies Christiana, acies invictissima, melius quam ipsi veteres Jacobitae, pro vestra Jerusalem decertetis, et Turcos qui in ea sunt, nefandiores quam Jebuseos, impugnetis et expugnetis.*

[193] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 15. See discussion of *Turci* and *Sarraceni* above.

[194] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 15: *Nos extendemus cum Moyse manus indefessas, orantes in coelum; vos exerite et vibrate intrepidi praeliatores in Amalech gladium.*

[195] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 43, 64 & 110.

[196] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 61, 84, 85, 93 & 100. R.W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, pp. 16-7.

[197] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 85 & 93.

with *Sarraceni*, *Hagareni* and *Ismahelitae* were historically used to denote the inhabitants of Arabia and consequently Muslims.[198]

Islam in the *Historia Jerosolimitana*

Baldric's use of terms to denote the various groups among the Muslims and the opposition to the crusade differs greatly from that of his *fons formalis*, the *Gesta Francorum*. Although in his use of the more obscure 'national' groups, such as *Agulani*, *Azimiti* and *Publicani*, Baldric seems to follow his source slavishly, he introduced the term *Ethiopes*, which is not found in the anonymous *Gesta*. In his use of collective terms for the Muslims, some of Baldric's vocabulary was prompted by Scripture, both in order to impress the reader with his knowledge of the Old Testament and to identify the Muslims with the opponents of the Israelites, with whom the crusaders were repeatedly identified. Thus the use of terms such as *Jebusitae* and *Amalechitae* appear in contrast to *Jacobitae* for the crusaders and the likening of Pope Urban II to Moses.[199] With his use of *Ismahelitae*, *Hagareni* and *Sarraceni*, Baldric invoked historical terms for the Arabs, all of which would be familiar to his readers from Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*. The use of *gentiles* to a far greater extent than his source can be seen as a preference for a biblical term to denote non-Christians over *barbari* and *pagani*. The term *inimici Dei* which the *Gesta* used to describe the Muslims appeared only once in Baldric's narrative, when he stated that the *Sarraceni*, *haeretici* and *Iudei* were all equally considered *inimici Dei* by the crusaders.[200]

Some of the differences in terminology may be the result, both of Baldric's distance from the events which he narrated and his erudition. The *Gesta Francorum* seems to have used the terms *Turci* and *Sarraceni* somewhat exclusively, seemingly to denote ethnic or political differences between the Seljuks and the Fatimids. Baldric used both terms collectively and sometimes synonymously. This presumably stemmed from both a misunderstanding of the subtlety of the *Gesta Francorum* and his knowledge of *Sarraceni* as a collective term for Muslims.

As well as the terminological differences between Baldric and the *Gesta*, the treatment of Islam in the *Historia Jerosolimitana* differs considerably from the

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[198] See K. S. Beckett, *Anglo-Saxon perceptions of the Islamic World* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 90-115 for a discussion of the Saracens and Ismaelites in early Latin literature.
[199] See above, pp. 103-4.
[200] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 23

anonymous chronicle. Like his source, Baldric portrayed the Muslims as arrogant, warlike yet quick to flight and wicked. Unlike the *Gesta*, however, Baldric emphasised the abuse of Christians and the usurpation of Church lands and incomes. While the Anonymous was content to portray the Muslims as *pagani* or 'non-Christians' with multiple gods, Baldric was more concerned with their rejection of Christianity. While the *Gesta* labelled the Muslims *impii* and *perfidii*, Baldric added that they 'polluted' the churches with their practices and referred to their 'filth.' Many of Baldric's substantial additions to his source relate to the Muslims, in particular his *prologus* and account of Urban II's speech at Clermont. In one of his most substantial alterations to his source, his discussion of Kerbogah of Mosul and the apocryphal conversation between him and his mother, Baldric altered the portrayal of Islam considerably.

Baldric replicated the enthusiasm with which the Anonymous spoke of the martial vigour of the Muslim forces and, at times, exceeded it. At Nicaea the Anonymous briefly mentioned that the crusaders had undermined a wall and caused it to collapse but were unable to capitalise on their achievment because it was night. The following morning they returned to find that the defenders of the city had rebuilt it overnight. Baldric embellished this passage labelling the defenders *animosi* and recording how eagerly they saw to the defence of the city.[201] When the People's Crusade arrived near Constantinople Alexius Comnenus warned them that the inhabitants of Asia Minor were *efferi gentiles* for whom the crusaders would be no match.[202] In his description of the defeats of this expedition by the Seljuks Baldric embellished the description of the *Turci* and likened them to wolves and tigers. During the siege of Antioch the defenders of the city were described as *imperterriti* and *intrepidi*; their emirs (*admiralii*) were *illustres et egregii proceres* and their *milites* were *viri industrii et fortissimi*.[203] In a battle outside Ma'arrat an Numan the victorious *gentiles* pursued the crusaders like *lupi atroces*.[204] In the siege of Marrat

[201] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 27: *Nocte siquidem gentiles murum irrequieti reaedificaverunt; noctemque illam insomnem duxerunt, in nullo pigritantes, sed de civitatis suae tuitione se invicem cohortantes. Gesta*, p. 15 [183-4]
[202] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 18.
[203] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 49 & 51.
[204] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 82.

later that year, the *Agareni* again proved extremely vigorous in defence.[205] The defenders of Arqa were reported to have defended their city *viriliter*.[206]

In his reports of arrogance among the Muslims, Baldric was again reiterating a theme found in his source. Most of his additions to this theme refer to the army of Kerbogah, atabeg of Mosul. When his army approached Antioch, Baldric reported that they, like the armies at Nicaea and Dorylaeum, assumed that victory over the crusaders would be easy on account of their superior numbers.[207] His arrogance was such that he was surprised to see the crusader armies leave the city to engage him in battle, being certain that they would flee rather than face him.[208]

Baldric excised some of the references to polytheism among the Muslims in his source and omitted the diabolical connections entirely. While he used the term *inimici* to refer to the Muslims on occasion, he only termed them *inimici Dei* once.[209] Instead Baldric embellished the rejection of the True God by the Muslims. In the speech of Urban II at Clermont he reported that the *barbarae nationes* had placed *simulacra sua* in the Temple of Solomon *contra ius et fas*.[210] At Antioch, the *gentiles* had driven out the Christian religion which they ought instead to have adopted and replaced it with their *superstitiones*.[211] While adopting the Anonymous's report – following the battle of Dorylaeum – that the *Turci* claimed to be of the same *generatio* as the *Franci* but were defeated because they were not *Christiani*, Baldric expanded on this passage somewhat. Firstly, he made it clear that the Muslims had actively rejected *Christianismus*, describing them as *a Deo alienati*: *Obfuscatur igitur ingenuitas illa, qua, sicuti dicunt, oriundi emanaverunt, quia verae olivae, quae Christus est, neutiquam inserti sunt*.[212] Secondly, he rejected their claim to be of the lineage of the *Christiani* as a result of this rejection of Christianity. In this sentence the use of *ad Christianismus ultronei redirent* 'to return' is extremely revealing, demonstrating that Baldric felt that the Muslims had left

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[205] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 85: *Sic praelium illud ad vesperam usque protelatum est: tantum siquidem erat infatigata virtus Agarenorum, ut audacter refellerent versutias Christianorum.*
[206] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 91.
[207] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 59: *Confidebant etiam in nationum coagulatarum diffusa multitudine, et in sua, sicuti jactitabant, singulari animositate.* Kerbogah himself was *cupidus laudis, inflatus supercilio jactantiae.*
[208] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 76: *Tantae siquidem animositatis et stoliditatis erat, ut nullam generationem audere sibi venire obviam arbitraretur.*
[209] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 23.
[210] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 13.
[211] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 13. See also, Baldric, *Historia*, p. 14.
[212] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 36.

Christianismus.[213] It is clear, however, that Baldric did not describe Islam as a heresy, as can be seen in his comment that the crusaders considered Jews, heretics and *Sarraceni* all to be *inimici Dei*. In his description of Kerbogah of Mosul Baldric portrayed the atabeg as rejecting Christianity entirely. When his mother warned him of the impending victory of the crusaders, he protested (as in the *Gesta*) that he has more *admirati* than they have men. When she explained that the God of the *Christiani* fought with them and defended them, he disdainfully told her that the battle would be fought with men, not with God.[214] During the embassy of Peter the Hermit to Kerbogah's camp outside Antioch, Peter reportedly offered to convert the atabeg. This Kerbogah reportedly refused, decrying Christianity as *idolatria et abominatio* and mocked Peter, telling him that if Christ could not free himself from the cross, they would not escape the hands of the Muslims.[215] Before the siege of Jerusalem Baldric recorded a sermon delivered by the clergy to the army, in which they reminded it of the blasphemy and ridicule of Christianity of which the Muslims were guilty and rebuked them for hesitating to avenge them.[216] The repeated insults to Christianity were, according to Baldric, the cause of the crusade in the first instance.

The additions which Baldric made to the *Gesta Francorum* – the *prologus*, the speech of Urban II at Clermont and the sermon outside Jerusalem – contain some of his most virulent anti-Islamic rhetoric. In the *prologus*, Baldric reported that Christ instigated the crusade to wrest Jerusalem from the Turkish *tyranni* who held it captive.[217] Such was this tyranny that destitute Christians from Jerusalem and Antioch could be seen in the West, having been reduced to begging.[218] In his speech Urban is represented as giving an account of the suffering of Christians in Jerusalem and Antioch at the hands of the Muslim rulers and consequently one of the principal criticisms of the Muslims throughout the *Historia* is the violence and oppression committed against *Christiani* and the usurpation of the rights of the church in the

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[213] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 35-6: *Si tamen ad Christianismum ultronei redirent, tunc demum de Francorum prosapia exortos sese recte gloriarentur.*
[214] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 63: *Ipsi homines sunt sicut et nos; et contra homines impuros et incircumcisos, non contra Deum, nec Deus contra nos, pugnabimus.*
[215] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 68: *Crucifixus vester, quem praetenditis, qui se crucis improperio non potuit eripere, vos nostri eripiet manibus?*
[216] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 101: *Haec quidem omnia faciunt; et quod pejus est ipsi Christo legique nostrae subsannant et improperant, et ore temerario nos exacerbant; Quid igitur agitis? aequumne est vos haec audire, vos ista videre nec ingemiscere*?
[217] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 9 & 11.
[218] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 12.

East. In Baldric's account of Urban's address, the plight of the eastern Christians was the first thing mentioned by the pope.[219] In the catalogue of misery which Urban reported, the common religion of the eastern and western Churches was reiterated in order to emphasise how the attacks of the *gentiles* on any *Christiani* were intolerable.[220] Besides the oppression the local Christian communities in the East, Baldric reported that the lands and revenues of the churches were confiscated and handed over to the *tyrannis pagana* and squandered.[221] When the crusade stopped at Lydda and visited the shrine of St George and appointed a bishop in the area, Baldric commented that there had previously been a bishop there but that once the land had been given up to *gentilitas*, the *Christiani* became subject to the *cervicositas* of the *Sarraceni*.[222] In the sermon delivered outside Jerusalem the army was reminded of the crimes of the Muslims against the church by comparing them to those who had persecuted Christ.[223] This likening of the Muslims to Herod, Pilate and Longinus in the Passion is a clear parallel to the use of *Jebusitae* and *Amalechitae* to describe the Muslims in Pope Urban's speech at Clermont.

Baldric's juxtaposition of the righteous legitimate sons of Jerusalem who were the crusaders and the *adveni* and *adulterini* sons who were the Muslims, may be seen as an allusion to the two sons of Abraham.[224] It is also likely, however, that many of the references to the sons of Jerusalem were an allusion to Luke 19 where Christ rode to the walls of Jerusalem and prophecied the fall of Jerusalem. In the opening comments of his *Historia* Baldric described how Jerusalem had deviated from Christ and her sons had been overcome by *gentiles adventicii*.[225] He immediately followed this with a reference to Luke 19 when he likened the churches

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[219] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 12: *Audivimus, fratres dilectissimi, et audistis, quod sine profundis singultibus retractare nequaquam possumus, quantis calamitatibus, quantis incommoditatibus, quam diris contritionibus, in Jerusalem et in Antiochia et in ceteris Orientalis plagae civitatibus, Christiani, fratres nostri membra Christi, flagellantur, opprimuntur, injuriantur.*

[220] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 12-3: *Germani fratres vestri, contubernales vestri, couterini vestri (nam ejusdem Christi et ejusdem Ecclesiae filii estis) in ipsis suis domibus haereditariis, vel alienis dominis mancipantur, vel ex ipsis exploduntur, aut inter nos mendicant; aut, quod gravius est, in ipsi suis patrimoniis venales exulant et vapulant; Effunditur sanguis Christianus, Christi sanguine redemptus; et caro Christiana, carni Christi consanguinea, nefandis ineptiis et servitutibus nefariis mancipatur.*

[221] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 13.

[222] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 96.

[223] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 101: *Quotiens enim isti mali judices, Herodis et Pilati complices fratribus vestris illudunt vel angariant, totiens Christum cum Longino lanceam infligunt.*

[224] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 11 & 97.

[225] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 11.

to dens of thieves.[226] In his discussion of the siege of Jerusalem Baldric again referred to this Gospel passage. Anxious not to present the siege of the city as an act of violence against the heavenly Jerusalem, he presented it as the reclamation of the city by her own sons.[227] In his explanantion, Baldric carefully distinguhed between Christ's prophecy in Luke 19:43-4 and the events of 1099: *non illa obsidione quam dixerat Dominus*.[228] The siege of Jerusalem was not the act of violence against the city prophecied by Christ but rather the act of her liberation by her true sons from the *pagani* whose claims were illegitimate.

The Muslims oppressed not only the local Christians, pilgrims who travelled to the Holy Sepulchre were molested by the *gentiles*. While the church of the Holy Spulchre had been relatively unharmed, this was not because of any affection for the *religio Christiana* but because of its monetary value. The pilgrims to Jerusalem were harassed for tribute before they were allowed into the city.[229] In his speech, Urban II reported that the offerings left in the church of the Holy Sepulchre were confiscated by the *Turci*.[230] When Jerusalem fell to the crusade in 1099, Baldric reported that the *admiralius* who delivered the Tower of David to Raymond of St Gilles, opened the gate of the city through which the pilgrims had entered after they had paid the necessary tribute.[231]

Those churches which the *gentiles* did not feel it to their advantage to keep open, Baldric reported, they turned over to other blasphemous uses, such as stabling their mules or worse.[232] On a number of occasions Baldric hinted at nefarious

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[226] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 11: *Pollutum est nimirum sanctum Dei templum; et facta est aula Dei gentium convenarum irreverenter conventiculum; Domus orationis* spelunca latronum *facta est, et filiis suis mater Ecclesia in novercam alienata est.*

[227] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 97: *Ecce enim nullos in se habebat filios, qui ei consulentes principarentur; sed modo patiebatur dominos extorres et peregrinos, discolas et impuros, qui ei captivae jugo abusivo dominabantur. Nunc ex converso circumdederunt eam amici, et filii coangustaverunt advenas et adulterinos.*

[228] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 96: *Obsederunt enim, non illa obsidione quam dixerat Dominus, 'Ecce venient dies in te, et inimici tui circumdabunt te, et coangustabant te et filios tuos qui in te sunt.'.*

[229] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 12: *sic variis exactionibus eos pauperabant: ad extremum vero, ab injuriatis corporibus animas plerumque tormentis profligatas extorquebant.*

[230] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 13.

[231] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 102: *Admiralius qui Turri David praesidebat, tremefactus, se comiti reddidit eique portam confestim aperuit, ad quam peregrini suis pecuniis, ut intrarent, violenter emungebantur: ibi siquidem vectigalia reddere solebant; alioquin immisericorditer coercebantur a porta.*

[232] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 12 & 13: *Ecclesiarum etiam alias in usus peculiares gens barbara reduxerant, aut in ipsis jumenta sua stabulantes, aut si quid est ignominiosius operantes in eis.*

unnamed acts which the Muslims carried out in the churches.[233] When the crusade arrived at Antioch, Baldric reminded his readers how it had once been the seat of St Peter but now, like Jerusalem, its churches had been occupied and put to blasphemous use.[234] During the fall of Jerusalem, Baldric described the pursuit and massacre of the inhabitants of the city, citing the pollution of the Holy Places as the reason for the hatred of the crusaders.[235]

Baldric repeatedly referred to the pollution of the Holy Places by the Muslims. In his opening remarks of the *Historia* Baldric specifically cited the *spurcitas* of the *Turci* from which Jerusalem was to be redeemed.[236] Referencing the prophecy of Christ in Luke 19:46, Baldric reported that the Temple had been polluted by these *gentes convenae* and turned into a *spelunca latronum.*[237] Antioch's churches had suffered a similar fate as those in Jerusalem. In his vision of Christ, the Virgin and St Peter, Stephen of Valence reported that St Peter beseeched Jesus to show mercy on his *populus* who had redeemed the churches which the Muslims had desecrated *suisque spurcitiis.*[238] In the speech of Urban II at Clermont, the pope reportedly lamented the oppression of the eastern Christians by *Turci spurii et immundi* and the reduction of the Holy City under the *spurcitia paganorum.*[239] The pope then cited Psalm 78:1, describing the misconduct of the *gentes* towards Jerusalem.[240] In the reported sermon delivered by the clergy to the army outside Jerusalem, the filth of the Muslims was again expressed, they were described as

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[233] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 12: *Exacerbaverunt itaque contra se Deum, qui Deum abominabiliter inhonoraverunt; et in loca sancta illicitis et foedis actibus dehonestaverunt.*

[234] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 40: *Nunc, occulto Dei judicio sed non injusto, plurimis in ea dirutis ecclesiis, quibusdam usibus humanis irreverenter applicatis, Turcanis foeditatibus proh dolor! mancipabatur.*

[235] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 102: *Tanto siquidem odio persequebantur eos, qui Templum Domini et Sancti Sepulchri ecclesiam et Templum Salomonis et alias ecclesias suis usibus illicitis peculiaverant ac indecenter contaminaverant.*

[236] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 9. In a description of the desecration of the churches of Antioch, Baldric also reported the provocation of God's wrath by the Muslim's *foeditas*. Baldric, *Historia*, p. 12: *Iccirco irritaverant in se furorem Omnipotentis, quoniam operum suorum foetorem emiserant in coelum.*

[237] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 11: *Pollutum est nimirum sanctum Dei templum; et facta est aula Dei gentium convenarum irreverenter conventiculum; Domus orationis spelunca latronum facta est, et filiis suis mater Ecclesia in novercam alienata est.*; See P. Cole, "O God, the Heathen have come into your Inheritance," (PS. 78.1) The theme of religious pollution in crusade documents, 1095-1188,' in *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, ed. M. Shatzmiller (Leiden, 1993), pp. 84-111, p. 96 for the opinion that Baldric's discussion of the fate of Jerusalem was predicated on this 'theocentric' idea of history.

[238] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 66. See also, Baldric, *Historia*, p. 12.

[239] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 13.

[240] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 14: *Deus, venerunt gentes in haereditatem tuam: polluerunt templum sanctum tuum; posuerunt Jerusalem in pomorum custodiam: posuerunt morticina servorum tuorum escas volatilibus coeli, carnes sanctorum tuorum bestiis terrae: Effuderunt sanguinem eorum, tanquam aquam in circuitu Jerusalem, et non erat qui sepeliret.*

'licentious and impure' (*discoli et impuri*) and their very presence in the city was polluting.[241]

While the representation of Kerbogah atabeg of Mosul and his conversation with his mother outside Antioch is a key scene in asessing the Anonymous's attitude towards Islam, Baldric's alteration of this scene and his description of both characters must similarly inform any consideration of his view of Muslims. In the *Gesta*, Kerbogah's mother was extremely learned and quoted Scripture in her arguments.[242] Kerbogah in turn was presented as a credulous pagan, asking his mother if Bohemond and Tancred were the Gods of the *Franci*.[243] In Baldric's *Historia*, however, Kerbogah's mother was given no scriptural insight. While she was certainly highly educated, her skills are strictly limited to those of classical pagans.

> *Erat enim senex et plena dierum, utpote centenaria et praesaga futurorum: colligebat etiam multa, mulier sortilega, de constellationibus, et geniculorum non erat ignara, et multarum disciplinarum erat conscia.*[244]

Her explanation of the might of the *Christiani* and their fated victory was also classical: she informed him that the *gens* of the *Christiani* was *ferrea* while theirs was *aurea*.[245] This allusion to the classical trope of the ages of man demonstrated a pagan arrogance of the 'golden age' in which they had lived which was giving way to an iron one. She also lamented the decline into old age of her *natio*, which was the result of their having enjoyed such an extended period of peace.[246] Likewise her worry that *Mars* would 'smile' on the Christians rather than her *natio* is clearly designed to present her as a character whose knowledge, although extensive, was firmly based in paganism.[247] While the Anonymous was happy to characterise her as an instrument of God through whom the Truth could come, Baldric would not

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[241] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 97 & 101: *Nostis denique qua temeritate sanctuarium Dei polluunt; quam innumeris foeditatibus sanctam civitatem subdiderunt.*
[242] *Gesta*, pp. 53-6 [323-30]
[243] *Gesta*, p. 56 [329]
[244] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 62; Hodgson, 'The Role of Kerbogah's Mother,' pp. 169-70 for Baldric's attribution of 'pro-feminine' arguments to Kerbogah's mother.
[245] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 63.
[246] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 63.
[247] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 63.

tolerate a pagan woman as an instrument of revelation. Thus despite the veracity of her premonition and the inclusion of the claim that the God of the *Christiani* was *omnipotens*, a sentiment with which Baldric could only agree, her scriptural exegesis was excised in the *Historia*.

The character of Kerbogah was much altered by Baldric too. In the *Gesta* he was both arrogant and credulous while in the *Historia* he disputed with his mother's portents and told her that he was not fighting against a God but against men.[248] He pointed out the numerical and martial superiority of army: *ipsi nec numero, nec armis, nec animis genti nostrae debeant comparari* and dismissed her and her portents.[249] Later when Peter the Hermit was sent as an embassy to Kerbogah and offered him conversion to Christianity, Kerbogah was dismissive of Christianity and of Christ, *quae idolatria et abominatio est.*[250] If Christ was not able to free himself from the cross, he allegedly asked, how could the crusaders escape his army?[251] When Peter told him that the land belonged to the *Christiani* since St Peter had brought Christanity to the city, Kerbogah responded that his *progenitores* had held the land long before *Petrus ille.*[252] While it might appear that Baldric is giving Kerbogah a nuanced argument against the crusade, it is a feature of Sallustian work to provide a character with his own point of view and leave it unanswered, allowing a sophisticated reader to provide the refutation himself. Kerbogah's logical assertions that he had stronger forces at Antioch and that the land belonged to his *gens* by dint of heredity in antiquity could easily be countered by explaining that the old world gave way to the new following the Incarnation or that the divine support which the crusaders enjoyed would compensate for their numerical inferiority. Baldric, however, has left them unanswered, in the presumption that his reader would automatically insert the appropriate response.

It is clear from this discussion that Baldric added considerably to his *fons formalis* when discussing the Muslim opponents of the crusade. Despite the fact that most of the terms denoting Muslim groups in the *Gesta* are also found in the *Historia*

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[248] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 63: *Equali sorte mortalitatis circumdamur: illi duntaxat ocius morientur, quorum manus erunt segniores; quorum animi ad non defendendum frigescent minus audaces.*
[249] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 63-4.
[250] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 74-5: *Tunc Corbarannus torvo vultu respondisse fertur: 'Longe aliter trutinamus: Christianitatem vestram enim, quae idolatria et abominatio est, omnino respuimus et abominamur.*
[251] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 75: *Crucifixus vester, quem praetenditis, qui se crucis improperio non potuit eripere, vos nostri eripiet manibus*?
[252] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 75.

Jerosolimitana, Baldric's application of these terms was different from that in his source, either through a misunderstanding of the *Gesta*'s distinction between *Sarraceni* and *Turci* or because of his use of *Sarraceni* as a pan-Muslim term. In his addition of terms not found in his *fons formalis* to denote the Muslims collectively, Baldric displayed his biblical erudition, likening them to Old Testament enemies of the Israelites. His use of *gentiles*, far more frequently than in his source, may also stem from an urge to use a biblically derived term in preference to *pagani* which the *Gesta* favoured. In his discussion of the Muslims Baldric further altered to his *fons formalis*, omitting most references to polytheism but highlighting their rejection of Christianity. Great attention was paid to abuses of the eastern Christians and pilgrims to Jerusalem as well as the desecration of the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch, possibly prompted by Urban II's speech at Clermont in which the plight of the Christian inhabitants of the Levant.[253] The themes of pollution and blasphemy were used to further villify the Muslims.

Collective terms to denote the eastern Christians

A principal feature of Urban II's speech at Clermont appears to have been the plight of the eastern Christians under the oppressive rule of the Muslims. Although the Anonymous was almost certainly not present at the council, much of his narrative treated of the eastern Christians as co-religionists of the crusaders, despite his poor opinion of Alexius Comnenus and his officials. Baldric was almost certainly a witness to the council and he reported the plight of the eastern Christians in the Levant in both his *prologus* and the speech of Urban II. Elsewhere, however, his opinion of the eastern Christians, in particular the Armenians and the Syrians, was lower than that of the *Gesta*.

Armenii et Suriani

All but two of the uses of *Armenii* and *Suriani* in the *Historia Jerosolimitana* were prompted by the *Gesta Francorum*. After the defeat of Kilij Arslan at Dorylaeum by the crusade, the *Gesta* reported that the Seljuk Sultan travelled through Asia Minor

[253] A. C. Krey, 'Urban's Crusade-Success or Failure?' *American Historical Review* 58 (1948), 235-50, p. 236; D. C. Munro, 'The Speech of Pope Urban II at Clermont 1095,' *American Historical Review* 11 (1906), 230-242, pp. 236-7.

telling the garrisons of Christian towns that he had utterly defeated the crusade. Once these garrisons opened their gates to the Seljuks, the *Turci* looted the churches and plundered the inhabitants, kidnapping their children.[254] Baldric's only amendment to this account was to inform his reader that the inhabitants of these towns were *Suriani* and that these *Suriani* were Christian.[255] Similarly when the *Gesta* gave a brief account of the activities of Baldwin of Boulogne and Tancred in Armenia, he paused to explain that the inhabitants of Tarsus were Syrians – who were Christians – under Turkish rule.[256] The inhabitants of Tarsus were in fact Armenians and it is likely that Baldric made an error in attempting to clarify his source rather than receiving the information elsewhere.

In his account of the siege of Antioch Baldric made a number of changes to his *fons formalis* which indicate that he disapproved of the actions of the *Armenii et Suriani*. Soon after the arrival of the crusade outside Antioch, the *Gesta* reported that some of the Armenian and Syrian inhabitants of the city moved easily through the crusade camp becaused they were *Christiani* and reported back to the *Turci*.[257] Baldric added to this account, emphasising that the *Armenii* and *Suriani* were *Christiani* themselves and commented that these actions had damaged the crusaders' cause.[258] Another time when the *Gesta* reported that the local Christians exploited the hunger of the crusaders to sell foodstuffs at extremely high prices, Baldric described them as *lucris inhiantes inexplebiliter*.[259] At one stage the *Gesta* reported that the *mulieres Christianae* inside Antioch rejoiced secretly at the victory of the crusaders in a skirmish with the Turkish defenders of the city, explaining that the Armenians and the Syrians were forced by the Turks to fire arrows at the crusaders.[260] Baldric changed this episode entirely. In the *Historia* the women were not identified as Christians.[261] The following sentence in the *Gesta* where the actions of the Armenians and Syrians against the crusaders were explained away does not appear in Baldric's account. It is clear that Baldric felt less enthusiastic than the Anonymous

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[254] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 22-3.
[255] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 37: *qui et ipsi titulo Christianitatis erant insigniti.*
[256] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 38: *Suriani enim, qui civitates illas incolebant, Christiani erant, sed eis Turci principabantur.*
[257] *Gesta*, p. 29 [244-5]
[258] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 41: *quod non mediocriter dicunt obfuisse Christianis.*
[259] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 43.
[260] Baldric,
Historia, p. 41.
[261] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 51: *Mulieres a murorum et propugnaculorum spectaculis, et suorum miserias prospectabant, et successivis Francorum prosperitatibus invidebant.*

about the *Armenii et Suriani*. Although he echoed the *Gesta* in identifying them as *Christiani*, like Albert of Aachen, this emphasis could be used to dissapprove of their actions as well as to assert their common cause with the crusaders.

Graeci

Much of Baldric's discussion of the *Graeci* stems directly from his source, the *Gesta Francorum*, with a rare comment of his own. When the armies of the crusade began to arrive in Constantinople, the *Gesta* reported that the elders of the city met with Alexius and suggested that the *Franci* be required to swear an oath to him in order to protect their property.[262] To this account Baldric added only that the *Graeci* were fond of taking counsel.[263] The *Graeci* were a *natio*. In a speech attributed to him by Baldric during the siege of Antioch, Tatikios offered to go and secure both reinforcements from the empire and food supplies, pointing to his high position in the emperor's administration and the empire: *Ego domesticus, ut nostis, sum imperatori; ego percognitus sum omni Graeci nationi.*[264] While the *Gesta* expressed consternation at the decision of the leaders to take the oath, Baldric justified it on the basis that it the only alternatives were to abandon the endeavour or to fight against *Christiani*, clearly delineating the *Graeci* as allies of the crusade.[265]

In his discussion of the Byzantine emperor and his officials, Baldric altered the anonymous account to a certain degree but the tone of the *Historia* was similarly hostile.[266] While tempering some of the accusations levelled at the emperor by the Anonymous, Baldric did emphasise the oath which Alexius had sworn to the leaders of the crusade and accused him of failing to fulfil it.[267] In his discussion of Bohemond's response to attacks by imperial forces on the southern Italian Normans, Baldric reported that the Norman prince gave a long speech on the benefits of

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[262] *Gesta*, p. 11 [167]
[263] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 25: *gens quippe Graecorum multum callet consiliis.*
[264] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 45.
[265] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 25.
[266] Ebels-Hoving, *Byzantium in Westerse Ogen*, pp. 62-6 suggests that Baldric is substantially more neutral regarding the emperor than the Anonymous.
[267] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 79: *... eisque similiter juratas pactiones illibatas conservaret: ipsi etenim a suis declinare nullatenus volebant; veniret igitur, quatinus a promissis et debitis neuter fraudaretur; 'Ad nos,' inquiunt, 'veniat, et sicut nobis pactus est, et irremotum comitem amodo se nobis in Jerusalem impertiat; Nolumus de sacramento quod ei fecimus adhuc aliquas praetendere occasiunculas, quod tamen juste possemus: nec ipse quin veniat et juramentum suum teneat, ullam excusationem praeferat.* See also the denunciation of Alexius as a perjurer. Baldric, *Historia*, p. 79: *Perjurii siquidem res ipsa est, non simulacrum perjurii, nisi ultra vires etiam, omni dolositate remota, observare juramentum elabores.* Alexius also reneged on his undertaking to provide markets for the crusaders. Baldric, *Historia*, p. 26: *nondum enim mercatum ad eos ab imperatore fuerat directum.*

temperance and the futility of reprisals with oblique criticisms of Alexius included.[268] In this passage, as much in praise of Bohemond as critical of Alexius, Baldric contrasts the wilder impulses of the Byzantine emperor and the calm of the 'prudent' crusade leader. In the later sections of the *Historia*, however, Baldric's criticisms of Alexius were rather muted.[269] Baldric's attitude towards Alexius was certainly hostile, with a degree of embellishment on the material found in his source. Little of his invective is independent of the *Gesta*, however. Instead he took the opportunity provided by hostility in his source to refine the discussion of the emperor and, as can be seen in the discussion of the oath and Alexius' failure to observe it, to expound on his particular failings. As with his *fons formalis*, Baldric's discussion of the *Graeci* was neutral: he identified them as *Christiani*.

For the most part, Baldric's attitudes towards the eastern Christians were consonant with those of the *Gesta Francorum*. While he was critical of the Byzantine emperor and Tatikios, his envoy on the crusade, the *Graeci* were nonetheless regarded as *Christiani*. When discussing the *Armenii* and *Suriani*, however, his tone became more hostile and his dissapproval of their actions, during the siege of Antioch in particular, is clear.

Terms used to denote all Christians

Christiani/Christianitas

The term *Christiani* was one of Baldric's preferred terms in his *Historia Jerosolimitana*. Along with *Christianitas*, it referred variously to the crusade as a whole, all western Christendom and the communities of Christians living in Byzantium, Asia Minor and the Levant. As a term denoting the crusade in its entirety, *Christiani* was used as a synonym for *Franci* and as an antithesis to collective terms describing the Muslims. *Christianitas* was a *gens*, a *religio* and a *res*

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[268] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 23-4: *Prudentia est in tempus differre quod continuo non possis explere. Rursus socordiae et ignaviae redarguendus est qui quum ultra non possit, intonat minis; quum vero possit, illatae obliviscitur improbitatis. Si possumus imperatorem beneficiis superemus; sin autem, mala nobis illata aequanimiter dissimulemus.*

[269] In his description of the meeting between Count Stephen of Blois, who had recently fled the siege of Antioch, Baldric simply reported that the emperor was too ready to believe the count. Baldric, *Historia*, p. 73: *Imperator autem, nimis festine verbis credulus Blesiensis, in illa singulari necessitate, nullo Christianis obsessis auxilio collato, Constantinopolim suam, quieti suae satisfaciens, reversus est.*

publica and on occasion was given a sovereign character.[270] Both *Christianitas* and *Christianismus* were also given a broader corporate identity.

Christiani was Baldric's preferred collective term for the crusade, either on its own or adjectivally with *exercitus*, *manus* etc. In the *prologus* to the *Historia* Baldric related how the *Christiani* formed a *militia* to wrest Jerusalem from the *Turci spurci*.[271] When Bohemond attempted to bargain with the other leaders that whoever of them should bring about the fall of Antioch to the crusade would gain the city as his own, he pointed to the daily destruction of *totus exercitus Christianus*.[272] In Baldric's version of Pope Urban II's speech at Clermont in 1095, the pope urged his listeners to journey to Jerusalem as an *acies Christiana*, with Jesus Christ as their *dux*.[273] Before leaving the crusade during the siege of Antioch, Stephen of Blois viewed the scene from a nearby hilltop. According to Baldric, when the count of Blois saw the contrast between the *parvus manus Christianorum* and the *Turcorum innumera tentoria*, he decided that the expedition was doomed to failure and fled.[274] The crusaders were *milites Christiani*, their leaders *duces Christiani*.[275] The poor crusaders were often labelled not simply *pauperes* but *pauperes Christiani*.[276] The term *Christianitas* was also used by Baldric to describe the crusade army, albeit rarely. After the defeat of Kerbogah outside Antioch, Baldric described how the crusade leaders, *duces illius speciosae Christianitatis*, came together in a council.[277]

That *Christiani* was a collective term for the crusade can clearly be seen where it was used as a synonym for *Franci*. In an account of the speech given by Bohemond to his followers when they were under attack from the forces of Kilij Arslan, Sultan of Rum at Dorylaeum (July 1097), the Norman warned them against tainting the reputation of the *Franci* or the *Christiani* through fainthearted

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[270] For a discussion of the use of the term *Christianitas* in the chronicles of the First Crusade, see J. Van Laahoven, 'Chrétienté et Croisade,'; Pellegrini, 'L'idea di *Christianitas*,'; P. Rousset, 'La notion de Chrétienté aux XIe et XIIe siècles,' *Moyen Age* 69 (1963), 191-204.

[271] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 9. See Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 28, 36 & 93 for *militia Christiana*.

[272] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 54: *An quae erunt subjugatae civitatis emolumenta, si, antequam subjugabitur, totus Christianus exercitus quibuslibet mortibus exterminabitur*? See Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 31, 55, 70, 74, 89 & 99 for *exercitus Christiani*.

[273] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 15.

[274] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 71.

[275] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 41, 42, 54, 74, 91, 93 & 97.

[276] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 30. After the siege of Nicaea Baldric noted that Alexius Comnenus gave generously to the *pauperes Christiani* in order to conceal his hostile intentions towards the crusade. See also, Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 24, 61 & 103. For Baldric's use of the term *pauperes* to denote the poor, see Kostick, *Social Structure*, pp. 57-61.

[277] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 79. See also, Baldric, *Historia*, p. 110.

resistance.[278] As a label *Christiani* was often used in battle scenes to denote the crusade in opposition to collective terms to describe the Muslims, such as *barbari*, *gentiles* etc. In the *prologus* to the *Historia*, Baldric explained that, since he was a *Christanus* and hated *paganismus* as something *a lege Dei extorris*, the temptation would be always to favour the *Christiani*.[279] He promised to resist this temptation, however, because to underplay the strengths of the *gentiles* would be to undermine the achievement of the *Christiani* in their defeat.[280] This passage demonstrates Baldric's view of the crusade as a clash between *Christiani* and *pagani* or *gentiles*. This juxtaposition of *Christiani* with collective terms for the Muslims occurs frequently, in particular during descriptions of battles or in sections of *oratio recta* where *Christiani* denoted the crusaders in the face of the *pagani*, *gentiles*, *barbari*, *nationes, Ismahelitae*, *Hagareni* or *Sarraceni*.[281] In his discussion of the Turkish claims to be of the same *genealogia* as the *Franci*, as recorded by the *Gesta*, Baldric emphasised that the Christianity of the *Franci*, or rather the lack of *Christianismus* of the *Turci*, was the principal factor which set them apart.[282] During the siege of Antioch, Bohemond and Raymond of St Gilles went to the port of St Symeon to escort a number of builders to the crusade camp in order to build a castle outside the city walls. While they were away, the defenders of the city attacked the reduced crusade army, inflicting substantial losses. Baldric mourned this defeat, reporting that *gentilitas* had triumphed over *Christianitas*.[283]

While *Christiani* or *Christianitas* provided a clear term to denote the whole of the crusade by utilising a common trait among an otherwise disparate group, it was clearly not used for the sole reason that it avoided uncomfortable questions

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[278] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 34: *Ne quaeso, deturpetur propter nostram negligentiam laus Francorum, non vilescat propter nostram segnitiem sanctum nomen Christianorum*. See also, Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 29, 35, 41, 50-1, 65, 68, 76, 78, 85, 90-1, 93, 98-9, 107 & 108.

[279] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 10.

[280] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 10: *Si enim gentilium robur plus justo attenuarem, Christianorum fortitudini et laboribus detraherem, dum tanquam adversus gentem imbellem genus nostrum hiatu temerario dimicasse declamarem.*

[281] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 13, 15, 27, 39, 43, 49, 50-1, 54, 56, 66, 71, 77, 79, 86, 90-1, 92, 93, 98, 104, 109 & 110. During the battle between the Latins and the relief force of Kilij Arslan outside Nicaea (16 May 1097), the Seljuks were described as *nationes*, the crusaders as *Christiani*. Baldric, *Historia*, p. 27. See also Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 36; At the battle at Dorylaeum, the forces of Kilij Arslan were described as *Saraceni*, *Agulani*, *Persae* and *Arabes* while the crusaders were either *Franci* or *Christiani*. Baldric, *Historia*, p. 35.

[282] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 35-6. For the juxtaposition of *Turci* and *Christiani*, see Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 40, 42-3, 45-6, 48, 49, 50-1, 53, 54, 56, 69, 71-2, 74-5, 77, 85, 90, 92 & 110.

[283] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 49: *Perempti sunt itaque in illo conflictu plusquam mille Christiani, et ecce duplicatus augmentabatur moeror in castris; heri et hodie triumphavit de Christianitate gentilitas; ecce per insolentiam elata gentilitate et plaudente, humiliata est hodie lugubris Christianitas.*

relating to the background of the participants. The *Christiani* were a *gens* and a *genus*. When warning his reader that he would extol the virtues of the *pagani* in order more properly to demonstrate the magnitude of the achievement of the *Christiani*, Baldric called the crusaders *Christiani* and *genus nostrum*.[284] *Gens Christiana* was a term used to denote the crusade as a whole. When Kilij Arslan, Sultan of Rum, sent an army to engage the crusade and relieve the inhabitants of Nicaea in May 1097, both the *Gesta* and Baldric reported the arrogance of the Muslims who brought ropes with which to bring their defeated enemies into captivity. Baldric added that they gave little credit to the *gens Christiana*, who were already vexed by the arduous journey.[285] In the reported speech of eminent Muslims, the *Christiani* were also referred to as a *gens*. When Kerbogah's mother visited his camp to warn him that she had foreseen his defeat at the hands of the crusaders, she told him that the *gens* of the Muslims was *aurea* whereas that of the *Christiani* was *ferrea*.[286] As a *gens* the *Christiani* had their characteristic religious culture (*mores*), as can be seen in a reference to the celebration of Pentecost by the crusade, *ut Christianorum mos est*.[287]

Christianitas was a trait which could be inherited. In his *prologus* Baldric defined himself as a *Christianus* on the basis of heredity (*hæreditiarium Christianae professionis titulum*).[288] This *Christianitas*, Baldric admitted, would prejudice him in favour of the *Christiani* over the *pagani*. Following the capture of Jerusalem by the crusade in 1099, Baldric reported the discussions among the crusaders about whom they should elect as *rex*. The decision to elect Godfrey of Bouillon was made, according to Baldric, on the basis of his royal blood, his skill of a *Gallus* in battle and his Christian descent: he was *a proavis Christianae professionis*.[289] That Baldric viewed religion as something inherited is clear when he described the inability of the *rex* of Tripoli to maintain the *Christianitas* which he undertook as part of his treaty

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[284] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 10. In Ms. G, *genus nostram* reads *gentem nostram*.
[285] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 27. See also Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 30, 42 & 43.
[286] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 63. See also Baldric, *Historia*, p. 63.
[287] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 95.
[288] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 10: *quamvis Christianus ego Christianis precesserim atavis, ut jam nunc tanquam hæreditate possideam sanctuarium Dei, et hæreditiarium mihi Christianæ professionis vindicaverim titulum*. R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950-1350* (London, 1993), p. 252.
[289] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 104.

with the crusaders. The *rex* was disobedient in his new faith *quoniam patrum leges et atavorum consuetudines verebatur et verecundabatur.*[290]

Despite the insistence that *Christianitas* was an inherited trait, Baldric does not seem to have opposed or doubted the conversion of some Muslims to *Christianitas*. It is clear that one could become a *Christianus* by adopting *Christianitas*. In these examples *Christianitas* clearly refers to the Christian religion or faith. During his negotiations with Firuz, who would eventually betray Antioch to the crusade, we are told that Bohemond persuaded Firuz to convert to *Christianitas*.[291] During the embassy of Peter the Hermit and Herluin to Kerbogah, Peter suggested that Kerbogah receive baptism and consequently the friendship of the crusaders. Kerbogah responded angrily, rejecting *Christianitas* as an *idolatria* and *abominatio*.[292] After the victory of the crusade over Kerbogah's army the *admiralius* in charge of the citadel of the city agreed with Bohemond that any of his men *qui Christiani fieri vellent* could enjoy *vita secura liberalitas Christiana*. Unlike the *rex* of Tripoli, this man kept his *Christianitas, peculiariter*. That this *Christianitas* denoted Christianity can be seen when Baldric reported that those of Kerbogah's men who resisted *fides Christiana* returned safely to their lands.[293]

Modern commentators have noted that the term *Christianitas* occurs much more frequently in the Latin crusade chronicles than in contemporary sources which are not concerned with the expeditions eastwards.[294] The term *Christianitas* and to a lesser degree *Christianismus*, were used to denote Christianity as a religion, the community of Christians both eastern and western and sometimes the crusade army as a whole.[295] Baldric applied a further, corporate meaning to the term, unusual among his contemporaries. Like *Franci*, the *Christiani* were a gens and like *Franci Christianitas* had a reputation which had to be cultivated. Baldric's concern that to

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[290] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 94.

[291] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 53; For a discussion of the representation of the possible conversion of Firuz in the chronicles, see R.L. Slitt,'Justifying Cross-Cultural Friendship: Bohemond, Firuz, and the fall of Antioch,' *Viator* 38 (2007), 139-49, pp. 345-6; Levine, R. 'The Pious Traitor: Rhetorical Reinventions of the Fall of Antioch,' *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 33 (1998), 59-80.

[292] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 75.

[293] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 79.

[294] For example, Orderic Vitalis used the term from Book 11 of his *Ecclesiatical History* only, this corresponds with the section of his chronicle which details the events of the First Crusade, Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical* History, 6 ed. and trans. M. Chibnall (6 Volumes:Oxford, 1969);Van Laarhoven, 'Chrétienté et Croisade,' p. 29 compares the frequency of the appearance of the term *Christianitas* in the crusade chronicles with the *libelli di lite*; Pellegrini, 'L'idea di *Christianitas*,' p. 72; Rousset, 'La notion de Chrétienté.'

[295] Van Laarhoven, 'Chrétienté et Croisade,' *passim*; Pellegrini, 'L'idea di *Christianitas*,' *passim*; Rousset, 'La notion de Chrétienté,' *passim*.

underplay the strength of the *gentiles* would be a diminution of the achievements of the *gens* of the *Christiani* in defeating them demonstrates a recurring preoccupation with the reputation of *Christianitas*.[296] When a section of the crusade was attacked by the forces of Kilij Arslan at Dorylaeum in July 1097, Baldric recorded a speech which he attributed to Bohemond in which the Norman leader reminded his followers that the *laus Francorum* and *nomen Christianorum* were at stake.[297] Bohemond's exertions were well rewarded following the battle, as Baldric recorded that the victory of the crusade at Dorylaeum caused terror in the hearts of *exteras nationes*: *et titulum Christianitatis remotorum populorum auribus infundere*.[298] During the siege of Antioch rumour reached the princes of a large Muslim force led by Ridwan of Aleppo which was approaching the city. During the council Baldric described a speech of Bohemond urging his fellow leaders to meet this army in battle, arguing that if they were to die at the hands of the Muslims, they should at least die in a manner which would lead to *omnia infamia Christianorum*.[299] In the final comments of the *Historia*, Baldric rejoiced in the impact which the victory had in exalting the reputation of the *Christiani* throughout the world.[300]

Throughout the *Historia* there is a sense of *Christianitas* as a corporate entity, likened to a *patria*.[301] After the disastrous end of the People's Crusade Baldric noted that *Christianitas* had been twice defeated, twice castigated.[302] In March 1098, after a skirmish with the inhabitants of Antioch left over a thousand crusaders dead, Baldric reported that *gentilitas* had again defeated *Christianitas*, commenting that *Christianitas* had been humbled.[303] On the journey from Antioch to Jerusalem, the princes stopped at Lydda, where the relics of St George were held, and appointed a bishop of the city. The crusaders did this, we are told, because they were confident of their future victory at Jerusalem and of the reestablishment of *Christianitas* in the region. Although the newly established see had no resources of its own, the crusade leaders gave the new bishop some revenue. That this was considered insufficient is

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[296] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 10.
[297] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 34: *Ne quaeso, deturpetur propter nostram negligentiam laus Francorum, non vilescat propter nostram segnitiem sanctum nomen Christianorum.*
[298] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 36.
[299] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 45.
[300] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 110: *Hoc autem bellum ingens factum est II idus Augusti; et Christianitas ubique terrarum, Deo gratias, exaltata est.*
[301] Pellegrini, 'L'idea di *Christianitas*,'p. 89; See also Guibert, *Dei Gesta*, Bk. ii, lines 194-5, p. 114.
[302] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 20.
[303] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 49.

clear in the statement that they also urged him to embrace this new *pauperitas, pro instaurandis Christianis*.[304] Once Jerusalem had fallen to the crusade, Baldric reported the *gaudium inenarrabile in universa Christianitate*.[305]

On a number of occasions Baldric attributed a quasi-legal status to *Christianitas*. During the march across Asia Minor, an unknown city identified by Baldric as *Plastencia*, was surrendered to the crusaders by its population. The leaders decided to grant the town to one of their number, Peter *de Alphia*, who held it *in fidelitate Sancti Sepulchri et Christianitatis*.[306] During their embassy to Kerbogah, atabeg of Mosul, outside Antioch in June 1098 Peter the Hermit and Herluin, asserted the 'right' of *Christianitas* to the city asserting its Petrine connections.[307] After the defeat of Kerbogah by the crusade, Baldric claimed that the *Christiani* had acquired Antioch *liberam et quietam*.[308]

This use of *Christianitas* as an independent entity, with a quasi-legal status and as the opposite of *paganitas* or *gentilitas*, demonstrates a broad corporate nature attributed to the term which went beyond that of a religious marker to a supranational body, similar to a *gens* or *patria*, with its own reputation and honour. This corporate identity for *Christianitas* can be seen in Baldric's referral to the *respublica* of the Christians on two occasions. In his account of the speech made by Bohemond of Taranto at Dorylaeum, the Norman allegedly told the *Christiani* to defend their *respublica*.[309] In a speech attributed to the priests outside Jerusalem, the crusaders were urged to take the Holy City as their *respublica*.[310] The emphasis on the common peril which the crusaders were in at Dorylaeum demonstrates the use of *respublica* here to mean a 'commonwealth' of *Christiani*. It is also possible, given the use of *respublica* to describe Jerusalem, that Baldric was asserting the rights of the *Christiani* over the lands of Asia Minor as well as the Holy City. This would certainly accord with his assertion of the legal rights over Antioch in his description of Peter the Hermit's embassy to Kerbogah. Baldric's use of a *respublica* as

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[304] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 96.
[305] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 110.
[306] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 39. On the likelihood that this city was in fact Comana, see France, *Victory in the East*, p. 191.
[307] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 74: *Si judicio contendere vultis, numquid terra ista, dictante justitia, Christianorum non est? Nonne eam praedicatione sua beatus Christianitati destinavit Petrus*?
[308] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 79.
[309] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 34: *Agite jam, Christiani; accurrite et vos et vestram rempublicam defendite. Commune periculum est in quo sumus; commune discrimen est in quo laboramus.*
[310] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 101.

something to be defended against Islamic powers may also invoke the earlier use of the term by Pope John VIII whose use of the term in relation to the struggle with Islam at the end of the ninth century.[311] Although Pellegrini has asserted that the idea of *Christianitas* in the chroniclers of the First Crusade was not yet that of Innocent III – it was essentially the culmination of the ideas of the Gregorian reformers, which did not include a 'socio-political' character – Baldric of Dol's *Historia* gives *Christianitas* a much broader corporate character than the other Latin sources.[312]

For Baldric, *Christiani* was a universal term which included the eastern Orthodox Christians. In his version of the speech of Urban II at Clermont, Baldric placed a heavy emphasis on the duty owed to the eastern Christians in the pope's speech, describing the eastern Christians as *Christiani, fratres nostri, membra Christi*.[313] Just as Baldric himself was a *Christianus* by dint of heredity, so too were the eastern Christians – *germani fratres vestri, contubernales vestri, couterini vestri* – and the view of *Christianitas* as an inherited trait which bound people like a family is clear in Baldric's version of Urban's speech.[314] The use of *fratres* to describe the relationship between the eastern and western Christians can be found in a number of Baldric's contemporaries.[315] Throughout Urban's speech the term *Christiani* was used to denote the Christians living in the East – most of whom were Orthodox Christians – without qualification. The description of the abuses of Christians by the Muslims in Jerusalem and Antioch emphasised their Christianity.[316] While for a number of the chroniclers the goal of the crusade was the liberation of the Holy City specifically, Baldric makes clear that the defence of the eastern Church was

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[311] R. Manselli, 'La *respublica Christiani* e l'Islam,' in *L'Occidente e l'Islam nell'Alto Medioevo. Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano de Studi sull'Alto Medioevo,XII, Spoleto, 2-8 aprile 1964*, (Spoleto, 1965), pp. 115-47, pp. 128-31.

[312] Pellegrini, 'L'idea di *Christianitas*,' p. 90.

[313] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 12.

[314] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 13: *germani fratres vestri, contubernales vestri, couterini vestri (nam ejusdem Christi et ejusdem Ecclesiae filii estis) in ipsis suis domibus haereditariis, vel alienis dominis mancipantur, vel ex ipsis exploduntur, aut inter nos mendicant; aut, quod gravius est, in ipsi suis patrimoniis venales exulant et vapulant.*

[315] Fulcher, *Historia*, Bk i, cap. 3, p. 130-31: *confratribus vestris in Orientali plaga*; Albert of Aachen used the term *confratres* to denote the Eastern Christians on a number of occasions, see below, pp. 256, 265, 276, 278 & 280.

[316] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 13: *Effunditur sanguis Christianus, Christi sanguine redemptus; et caro Christiana, carni Christi consanguinea, nefandis ineptiis et servitutibus nefariis mancipatur*. The inclusion of Antioch in his account of the pope's speech is unique to Baldric and is likely to be a retrospective addition, due either to the importance which the city was to gain in the course of the crusade, or perhaps even in order to justify later Latin occupation of the city. In the papal speech, Baldric emphasised the Petrine associations of Antioch. Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 12 & 13.

paramount and he included in his account of Urban's speech in no uncertain terms a call for the defence of the Church in the East.[317]

This identification of the eastern Christians as co-religionists occurs repeatedly in the *Historia*. After the victory of the crusade over Kilij Arslan's army at Dorylaeum, the *Gesta* reported that the retreating Turks pretended to the Christian communities which they encountered on their journey through Asia Minor that they had in fact beaten the *Christiani*. Baldric altered this account slightly, labelling to the local populations as *Suriani, qui et ipsi titulo Christianitatis erant insigniti*, where the *Gesta* simply referred to them as *Christiani*.[318] The inhabitants of Tarsus and Antioch, in line with the *Gesta* were labelled *Christiani* by Baldric.[319]

A recurring theme in both passages which were prompted by the *Gesta* and in those which are original to Baldric is the reluctance on the part of the crusaders to sour relations with the eastern Christians. While the speech of Bohemond to his men during their march towards Constantinople is ultimately derived from the *Gesta*, as with much of the *oratio recta* in the *Historia Jerosolimitana*, Baldric has reworked it considerably. Forbidding his men to pillage the local area *qua Christianorum est*, Bohemond reminded them of their role: *Peregrini pro Deo sumus; Christi milites sumus: a Christianorum penatibus diripiendis manus rapaces cohibeamus*.[320] When the Emperor Alexius requested an oath of security from the princes, the *Gesta* reported that the Princes reacted indignantly, refusing outright to swear any oath. There follows a passage in which the anonymous author bemoaned the fact that the leaders eventually did take the oath and denounced them as having misled (*deludere*) their followers.[321] Baldric attempted to reconcile these two passages with a description of how the *Franci* wrestled with their consciences, being initially unwilling to take the oath. His justification of their acceptance of Alexius' terms rested on the fact that to refuse would have meant the stagnation of their enterprise or

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[317] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 12; *Porro si vultis animabus vestris consuli, aut istiusmodi militiae cingulum quantocius deponite, aut Christi milites audacter procedite, et ad defendendam Orientalem Ecclesiam velocius concurrite.*

[318] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 37; *Gesta*, p. 23 [211]

[319] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 38 & 41; *Gesta*, pp. 24 [223]

[320] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 22. The phrase *manus rapaces* echoes Urban II's lament that the *Christiani* in the west fought amongst themselves. Baldric, *Historia*, p. 15: *vos in Christianos rapacem manum extendere.*

[321] *Gesta*, p. 12 [171-2]

a violent encounter with *Christiani*.[322] At Tarsus, Baldric followed the *Gesta* in representing Tancred's disavowal of Baldwin of Boulogne's suggestion that they attack the town jointly and share the spoils: the Norman prince objected on the grounds that the inhabitants of the town were *Christiani*. That he disapproved of Baldwin's actions can be seen in Baldric's comment that Baldwin ignored Tancred in favour of his own purpose.[323] Baldric's abhorrence of inter-Christian violence can be seen most clearly in his version of Urban II's speech at Clermont in which the pope castigated his audience for the violence between *Christiani* in western Europe, telling them that it was infinitely preferable to fight a *Sarracenus* than a *Christianus*.[324]

A sense of obligation between *Christiani* can also be seen in Baldric's treatment of the Armenian and Syrian populations of Asia Minor and Antioch. Much of this, however, comes from the *Gesta Francorum*. After the battle of Dorylaeum a number of towns in Asia Minor and Armenia with significant Christian populations gave themselves up to the crusaders. At Tarsus, following the *Gesta*, Baldric reported that the inhabitants opened the gates of the city to the crusaders once the Turkish leaders of the city had fled.[325] Conversely, the common Christianity of the eastern and western Christians was stressed where it is clear that Baldric felt that the eastern Christians were disloyal to the crusade. Echoing the *Gesta*, Baldric reported that the Armenian and Syrian inhabitants of Antioch, *ipsi equidem Christiani, sed Turcis multum obnoxii*, spied on the crusade camp into which they were freely admitted on account of their Christianity.[326] The initial enthusiasm to identify the eastern and western Christians as *fratres* appears to wane somewhat after the crusade left Constantinople. Although Baldric's account of Urban's speech is adamant about the close bond between the two groups and this bond is evoked in highly emotive terms, the theme of inter-Christian loyalty is not as strong as in Fulcher of Chartres or Albert of Aachen.

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[322] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 25: *Quid facerent? contra Christianos pugnare nolebant; transitum habere pacifici non poterant: imperfecto ad quod ierant negotio, ad propria regredi abominabantur.*
[323] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 38: *Baldwinus nolebat Tancredi sermonibus adquiescere, sed in suam anhelans sententiam, in urbis publicationem deliberabat pronis pedibus currere. Gesta*, p. 25 [223]
[324] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 15: *Horrendum est, fratres, horrendum est, vos in Christianos rapacem manum extendere: minus malum est in Sarracenos gladium vibrare; singulare bonum est: quia et caritas est, pro fratribus animas ponere.*
[325] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 38; *Gesta*, p. 24 [221] See also the surrender of both Coxon and an unidentified city, identified by Baldric as *Plastencia*, to the main crusade army in September 1097, Baldric, *Historia*, p. 39. For an identification of *Plastencia* as in fact Comana, see France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 191-2.
[326] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 41: *quod non mediocriter dicunt obfuisse Christianis. Gesta*, p. 29 [244-5]

On two occasions, Baldric used the term *Christianismus* to denote the Christian religion. When discussing the strength of the army of the *Turci* after the victory of the crusaders over the force of Kilij Arslan at Dorylaeum, Baldric adopted a remark in the *Gesta* that the *Turci* thought themselves to be of the same *genealogia* as the *Franci*. Echoing the *Gesta*, Baldric pointed out that the principal factor which divided the two *gentes* was the lack of Christianity of the *Turci*. Unless the *Turci* returned (*redirent*) to *Christianismus*, they would never be of the same *prosapia* as the *Franci*.[327] As the crusade army prepared to besiege Jerusalem in June 1099, Baldric recorded a sermon in which the clergy reminded the army of the significance of the Holy City: *Vos ista in civitate, quae coram est, Christus redemit, in hac Christianismum Deus instituit; ex hac Christianitatis sacramentum ad nos usque emanavit.*[328] It is clear from these examples that *Christianismus* referred to the Christian faith.[329]

Of all of the Latin chroniclers of the First Crusade, Baldric of Dol had the most layered use of the term *Christiani*. The frequency of his use of the term, in particular when compared with his use of *Franci*, to denote the crusade as a whole, demonstrates his preference for the term in contrast to his *fons formalis* the *Gesta Francorum*, whose uses of *Franci* and *Christiani* were almost equal in number.[330] As well as the frequency of use of the term, Baldric went far beyond his principal source in his application of the terms *Christiani*, *Christianitas* and *Christianismus*. The *Christiani* were a *gens* with their own *mos*. *Christianitas* could be inherited, yet also adopted through conversion. It was a title shared with the eastern Christians, yet Baldric's sympathy for the eastern Christians appears to have waned after the departure of the armies from Constantinople. Most unusually, Baldric gave *Christianitas* a corporate identity as a broad entity with a quasi-legal status, exceeding his contemporaries in attributing to it a socio-political identity.

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[327] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 35-6.
[328] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 100.
[329] Fulcher of Chartres is the only one of the crusade chroniclers to use the term *Christianismus* with any frequency. Pellegrini, 'L'idea di *Christianitas*,' p. 74.
[330] Van Laarhoven, 'Chrétienté et Croisade,' p. 32, compares the instances of a number of collective terms for the crusaders and their Muslim opponents in most of the principal authors of the crusade chronicles, excluding Albert of Aachen.

Other national groups in the *Historia Jerosolimitana*

Turcopoli et Pincinati

All of the references to the *Turcopoli* and *Pincinati* in Baldric's *Historia* can be traced to the *Gesta Francorum*.[331] In one case where the *Gesta* reported that both the *Turcopuli* and *Pinzinaci* attacked the army of Bohemond on its journey to Constantinople, Baldric mentioned only *Turcopoli*.[332]

The *Historia Jerosolimitana*: Conclusions

In an examination of the terminology relating to various groups in his crusade narrative, it appears at first that Baldric made few changes to his *fons formalis*. Most of the national terms denoting the crusaders, Muslims or eastern Christians, in particular those denoting smaller more specific groups, were adopted wholesale from the *Gesta*. Aside from *Aethiopes*, all of the Muslim national groups listed in Baldric's *Historia* can be found in the *Gesta*. Baldric's use of national terms for the crusaders is considerably wider, perhaps not suprisingly, including a passage in which a list of all the participating groups from the west were enumerated. Once the narrative begins in earnest, however, these groups, with the exception of the *Bretones*, do not reappear. Similarly, references to groups of eastern Christians in Baldric's narrative generally originate in the *Gesta Francorum*.

In his use of non-national terms Baldric's additions to his source increase somewhat, in particular when referring to the Muslim opponents of the crusade. While most of the terms used to denote the crusaders appear in the *Gesta*, Baldric introduced a number of new terms to his *Historia*, many of them scripturally derived. The purpose of these was to liken the Muslims to the enemies of the Israelites by labelling them *Jebusitae*, *Amalechitae*, *Ismahelitae* etc. The contrast drawn between the legitimate sons of Jerusalem and the *adulterini* also highlights this enmity and is an innovation of Baldric.

The impression created by Baldric's tendency to adopt the terminology of his *fons formalis* leads to the false conclusion that he agreed with the *Gesta* in his view

[331] Baldric, *Historia*, pp. 22, 23 & 29; *Gesta*, pp. 6, 9 & 16 [142, 162 & 188]

[332] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 23; *Gesta*, p. 9 [162] None of the manuscript variations recorded in the *Receuil* edition contains *Pincinati*.

of the crusaders, the Muslims and the eastern Christians. In his more substantial additions to the *Gesta* Baldric's development of the idea of the crusade, his view of Muslims and his attitude towards the eastern Christians were all demonstrably different from his source. While emphatic regarding the plight of the eastern Christians and the duty owed to them in their time of suffering in his account of the speech of Urban II at Clermont, Baldric showed less enthusiasm for the *Armenii et Suriani* than his source, criticising them during the siege of Antioch, and excising the Anonymous's attempts to absolve them of their hostile actions towards the crusaders. Regarding the Muslims, Baldric harnessed considerable erudition to amplify the original theme of the *Gesta*, the divine nature of the crusade and the nefarious nature of its opponents. In some aspects, however, his portrayal of Islam deviated from that found in his source. The emphasis on the pagan, polytheistic nature of Islam and the links drawn between the devil and the Muslims found in the *Gesta* were replaced with increased references to them as *gentiles*, *hagareni* etc., firmly placing them in a scriptural context. In his portrayal of Kerbogah's mother, it is clear that Baldric could not countenance a Muslim woman as an instrument of divine revelation. Similarly the portrayal of Kerbogah as a credulous pagan who thought that Bohemond and Tancred were the 'gods' of the *Christiani*, was replaced by that of an erudite opponent of Christianity along Sallustian lines.

In his description of the crusaders, much of Baldric's narrative follows the *Gesta* in giving the expedition divine support and praising it for the purity of its participants. Prompted by the opposition of two such conglomerate forces however, Baldric applied a developed sense of *Christianitas* to the crusaders which was not found in *fons formalis*. This use of the term *Christianitas* and allusions to the *res publica* of the crusaders, as well as the contrast between *Christianitas* and *gentilitas*, gave the crusaders a broader, corporate identity in line with that of a *patria*. Thus, cities in Asia Minor were held by crusaders *in fidelitate Christianitatis*, Antioch belonged to *Christianitas* by right since St Peter was bishop there. Similarly, the establishment of a bishop in the city of Ramla in Palestine was a prelude to the reinstatement of *Christianitas* in the area. While Baldric may have inherited the terminology of his source, his treatment of the principal groups involved in the crusade was clearly his own and represented far more than a stylistic refurbishment of a *libellum super hac re nimis rusticanum*.

The *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* of Raymond of Aguilers

The *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* of Raymond of Aguilers is an eyewitness account of the First Crusade. Raymond was a canon of the church of St Mary of Le Puy who accompanied the southern French or Provençal contingent of the army, led by Raymond of St Gilles and the papal legate Adhemar, bishop of Le Puy.[1] As a canon of Le Puy it would be reasonable to assume that he was attached to the following of the bishop. After the death of Adhemar, Raymond reported a vision of Peter Bartholomew in which the bishop instructed his followers to join Raymond of St Gilles.[2] When the army of Raymond of St Gilles moved on from Antioch, Raymond shows himself to be well informed of events close to the count.[3] This appears to indicate that Raymond was in the following of Adhemar until his death and then joined the followers of Raymond of St Gilles. During the second siege of Antioch, however, in his account of Peter Bartholomew's vision of St Andrew to Adhemar and Raymond of St Gilles, Raymond related that the bishop did not initially believe the visionary but that the count did and placed him in the care of *capellanus suus Raymundus*.[4] This is almost certainly a reference to the author Raymond himself and suggests that he was in the following of the count prior to Adhemar's death. Raymond also recorded that he became a priest *in itinere Dei* and while he did not specify when, it was presumably also before the second siege of Antioch.[5]

In the opening passage of the *Historia Francorum* the work is addressed to the bishop of Viviers by both Raymond and a second author, Pontius de Baladuno.[6] According to the *Historia*, this Pontius was present at the finding of the Holy Lance

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[1] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 5.
[2] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 139: *Domino meo comiti familiam meum commisi.*
[3] Raymond, *Historia*, from p. 156.
[4] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 100.
[5] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 202.
[6] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 5.

in the cathedral of Antioch in June 1098 and died at the siege of 'Arqah.[7] As it is most likely that Raymond composed the *Historia* following the end of the crusade, that is, after Pontius's death, it is impossible to discuss Pontius's impact, if any, on the narrative.[8]

Raymond's Provençal background had a huge influence on the structure of his narrative.[9] In the initial passages of his account he related how the armies of the crusade all took different journeys to Constantinople and that he would only relate the details surrounding the passage of Raymond of St Gilles and Adhemar of Le Puy.[10] In fact, for the whole of his work, the focus of the narrative stayed with the southern French contingent, particularly after the army moved on from Antioch and the armies appear to have travelled separately for a time. This resulted in the relatively sparse detail given regarding the other contingents throughout the *Historia*. Although he frequently offered information regarding the Muslims, this often took the form of an aside and was in essence a diversion from the principal focus of the account.[11] The focus on the southern French contingent was paralleled by a particularly complimentary portrayal of Adhemar and Count Raymond.[12]

It also appears that Raymond was hesitant to record events at which he was not present, unless they proved particularly pertinent to his narrative. This resulted in various events either being omitted from the narrative entirely or described extremely briefly. For example, it is striking that Raymond did not include an account of Urban II's speech to the Council of Clermont, which prompted the First Crusade, particularly given his apparent proximity to Adhemar of Le Puy, who attended the council. Similarly, the events of the People's Crusade were given a cursory description only and one designed to emphasise the treachery of Alexius

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[7] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 109 & 202; Robert, *Historia*, p. 857.
[8] For a discussion of the date of composition of the *Historia Francorum*, see J. France 'Introduction,' *Critical edition of the* Historia Francorum *of Raymond of Aguilers* (unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Nottingham, 1967), pp. cxxxviii-ix.
[9] In his edition of the *Historia Francorum* France stated that Raymond's determination to follow the actions of the Provençals must be taken into account when assessing his talents as a historian. France, 'Introduction,', p. xlviii. Edgington has described Raymond as 'blatantly partisan, but his Provençal bias is in itself a valuable corrective to other sources.' S.B. Edgington, 'The First Crusade: Reviewing the evidence,' in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, ed. J. Phillips (Manchester, 1997), pp. 55-77, p. 56.
[10] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 6.
[11] France, 'Introduction,', pp. lii-iv.
[12] See for example the journey through *Sclavonia*, where Raymond attributed the lack of fatalities to *Dei misericordiam et comitis laborem, et Episcopi consilium*, (Raymond, *Historia*, p. 8)

Comnenus.[13] When the crusade armies left Jerusalem to meet the vizier of Cairo, al-Afdal, at the head of a large Fatimid army near Ascalon, the author of the *Gesta Francorum* reported that Peter the Hermit remained at Jerusalem with the clergy to supervise prayers and masses for the victory of the army.[14] Raymond's account of the journey to Ascalon and the battle is extremely brief and it is likely, therefore, that he remained at Jerusalem and was not an eyewitness to the battle, but that his account was constructed from oral testimony.

In some cases it appears that Raymond's information regarding events at which he was not present came from the *Gesta Francorum*. In his 1890 edition of the *Gesta* Hagenmeyer identified a number of passages which Raymond allegedly borrowed from the Anonymous.[15] This thesis was developed by Klein with the caveat that neither Raymond's nor the Anonymous' precedence could be assured.[16] The textual parallels between the two works have more recently been queried, however, with France and Hill both pointing out that, in some cases, the similarities between the two accounts do not automatically indicate the dependence of one on the other but may be the natural result of two authors describing the same events.[17] France has accepted that a number of passages in the *Historia Francorum* were derived from the *Gesta*, principally the account of the relations between Alexius Comnenus and Raymond of St Gilles at Constantinople and the brief description of the People's Crusade. In the case of the description of Raymond of St Gilles' relations with Alexius, a number of textual parallels exist, particularly regarding the oath which the count swore to the emperor.[18] It is possible that Raymond was not present at these events, as he reported earlier that the count had proceeded to Constantinople without his army. Indeed, if he did begin the crusade in the following of Adhemar of Le Puy, then it is likely that he was behind the count's army as the bishop was delayed at Durazzo.[19]

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[13] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 23; Morris, 'Peter the Hermit and the Chroniclers,' p. 23.
[14] *Gesta*, p. 94 [488-9]
[15] Hagenmeyer, 'Einleitung,' *Anonymi Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, pp. 49-58.
[16] C. Klein, *Raimund von Aguiler: Quellenstudie zur Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges* (Berlin, 1892), pp. 96-136.
[17] Hill, 'Introduction,' pp. x-xi; J. France, *Critical edition of the* Historia Francorum *of Raymond of Aguilers*, Appendix II, pp. ccxxvii-ccxxxvii; France, 'The Anonymous *Gesta Francorum*,' p. 44.
[18] France, *The* Historia Francorum *of Raymond of Aguilers*, Appendix II, pp. ccxxviii-ccxxxi.
[19] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 18: *Interea exercitus noster Constantinopolim venit, et post haec episcopus consecutus est nos cum fratre suo, quem infirmum dimiserat Dirachii.*

In the case of the account of the People's Crusade, there is little textual evidence for Raymond's dependence on the *Gesta*. The passage in which the disastrous expedition is described is extremely short and must be viewed in the context of Raymond's diatribe against Alexius Comnenus.[20] While both authors blamed the emperor for the outcome of Peter the Hermit's expedition, there is no reason why Raymond could not have written his account from oral testimony when he joined the crusade.[21] Neither is it clear why Raymond did not use the *Gesta* more extensively to fill lacunae in his text, the most obvious example of this being the description of the battle of Ascalon for which Raymond's information seems to be extremely limited. Thus while the evidence for Raymond's use of the *Gesta* is evident for the events at Constantinople, he does not appear to have used it elsewhere, the reasons for which are not clear.

Most significantly, for the content and focus of the *Historia Francorum*, is the fact that Raymond, as chaplain of Raymond of Toulouse, was in close contact with the visionary Peter Bartholomew and subsequently the two other visionaries, Peter Desiderius and Stephen of Valence. Raymond's *Historia* contains the most complete account of the series of visions which were reported by crusaders during the expedition.[22] Raymond's view of the events of the crusade as divinely ordained led him enthusiastically to accept the visions as fact and represented them as manifestations of divine will, which the crusaders needed to obey for their endeavour to prosper. Likening the crusaders to the Israelites of the Old Testament, who frequently lapsed from serving God and needed to be chastised and guided, Raymond portrayed the visions as conduits through which God's will could be communicated. When the crusaders disregarded these edicts, Raymond reported, their efforts came to naught.[23] While the substance of these visions was most likely a faithful rendering of the testimony of the visionaries, the language used to describe them was Raymond's own and they are, therefore, a valuable source for his terminology and attitudes.[24]

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[20] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 23. The description of the defeat of the People's Crusade appears following the surrender of Nicaea to Alexius and Raymond's anger at the promises which the emperor allegedly made to the *Franci* and subsequently broke.

[21] France, *The* Historia Francorum *of Raymond of Aguilers*, Appendix II, pp. ccxxi-ccxxiii.

[22] J. France, 'Two types of vision on the First Crusade: Stephen of Valence and Peter Bartholomew,' *Crusades* 5 (2006), 1-20, p. 7.

[23] This is particularly evident in the siege of 'Arqah. See Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 200-2, 204 & 282-4.

[24] The most recent editors of the *Historia Francorum*, Hill and Hill, have dismissed the portrayal of the finding of the Holy Lance at Antioch as 'a clever fabrication.' J. H. Hill & L. L. Hill, 'Introduction,' p. 5. It is not clear if the Hills were asserting that the visions in their totality were a

Raymond had a good command of Latin and his narrative contains frequent biblical allusions and quotations. There is no classical or patristic borrowing, however, and his education seems to have been unremarkable. Despite his good knowledge of Scripture, there is little exegesis or 'theological refinement' in the *Historia*. Unlike Baldric of Dol, Raymond avoided diversions into eulogy or long comparisons between particular groups and their counterparts in biblical history. The exception to this was the brief passage in which a parallel was drawn between the crusaders and the Maccabees following the defeat of Duqaq of Damascus near Antioch in December 1097. In this comparison Raymond suggested that the odds faced by the Maccabees were outstripped by those faced by the crusaders – who, with only 400 knights faced 60,000 *hostes* – and surmised that, however generous God had been to Judas Maccabeus, He had been more so to the crusaders.[25] Following the capture of Jerusalem in 1099, Raymond's most overt passage of exegesis likened the slaughter of the Muslim inhabitants of the city to the Last Days and the capture of the city to the new day *quam fecit Dominus* (Psalm 118:24).[26]

The result of this sparse erudition is that Raymond's terminology becomes a key indicator of his attitudes towards various groups in the crusade. Despite his clerical background, Raymond demonstrated a preference for national terms in his discussion of the crusade and although he was a Provençal, his most commonly used term to denote the crusade as a whole was *Franci*. In his use of theologically derived terms, Raymond often borrowed terms from Scripture. When discussing the Muslim opponents of the crusade, he demonstrated a keen awareness of the political, ethnic and religious differences between the Seljuk Turks and the Fatimids. His treatment of the eastern Christians was brief and while he detailed their oppression at the hands of their Muslim rulers, he does not appear to have been overly sympathetic to their plight. Certainly he viewed the goal of the crusade to be the liberation of the Holy City of Jerusalem rather than the eastern Churches.

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fiction of Raymond's, an opinion invalidated by the appearance of the visions in most of the crusade chronicles. It is likely, however, that Raymond presented the visions and the speeches of those who appeared in them in a manner which fitted his overall attitudes and terminology. Indeed the language used in the speeches does not differ in tone or character from the main narrative nor do the visionaries differ from each other. See also Riley-Smith, *Idea*, p. 101.

[25] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 45.

[26] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 346-8. The description of the blood in the Temple of Solomon which reached up to the *freni* of the horses is an allusion to Apocalypse 14:20.

Collective terms to denote the crusaders

Nostri

Like his contemporaries who were also eyewitnesses, the Anonymous and Peter Tudebode, Raymond often referred to the crusaders as *nostri*, meaning 'our men.' This is the result of the immediacy and proximity of the events which he was describing. The vast majority of uses of *nostri* occur during descriptions of battles or sieges.[27] At times, however, the term was used elsewhere. During the second siege of Antioch by Kerbogah of Mosul, Raymond reported that some of *nostri* fled to the *Turci* and told them of the miseries which the crusaders were suffering inside the city.[28] During the negotiations between the crusaders and the *rex* of Tripoli, the envoys of the crusade were labelled *nostri*.[29] Only twice was the term used when Raymond was probably absent, to denote the army before and after the battle of Ascalon.[30] *Nostri* did not serve as clearly in Raymond's *Historia* as the result of a unifying impulse as it did in the *Gesta Francorum*.[31]

National terms used to denote the crusaders

Franci

Franci was Raymond's preferred term to denote the crusaders as a whole. During the siege of Nicaea he reported that the Turks decided to surrender the city both because the lake to the west of the city had been blockaded by Byzantine ships and because the *exercitus Francorum* was increasing in size every day.[32] After the city had surrendered to Alexius I Comnenus, the emperor promised to the *principes et gens Francorum* that they could have the spoils of the city and that he would build a Latin monastery and a *hospitium* for the *pauperes Francorum* in the city, promises which he never fulfilled.[33] It is at this point that Raymond offered a brief account of the People's Crusade, hostile to the emperor and accusing him of abandoning the

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[27] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 40, 46, 63-6, 78-9, 85, 87, 116, 126, 132, 166-7, 173, 175, 181, 195, 197, 233, 262, 309-10, 316, 338, 340-2 & 370.
[28] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 116.
[29] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 258.
[30] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 365 & 370.
[31] See above, pp. 18-9.
[32] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 22.
[33] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 22-3.

followers of Peter the Hermit to the *Turci* who were so contemptuous of the vigour of this expedition that, according to Raymond, they sent letters to their neighbours telling them that the *Franci* were worthless in battle.[34]

When the crusade arrived at Antioch, the term *Franci* was frequently employed as a collective term for the army. Initially the *exercitus Francorum* besieged the city from the North.[35] When the crusaders entered Antioch by a ladder on the night of 2 June 1098, the first to scale the walls was, according to Raymond, *quidam Francus nomine Fulcherius, frater scilicet Budeli Carnotensis*.[36] When the city was occupied and the Latins were immediately besieged by the forces of Kerbogah, atabeg of Mosul, they were still termed *Franci*.[37] On the morning of the battle with Kerbogah on 28 June 1098, all the crusaders dedicated themselves to the glory of the Roman Church and the *gens Francorum*.[38] Following the victory of the crusaders over the army of Kerbogah, Raymond recorded the date of the battle as the vigils of SS Peter and Paul, through whose intercession Christ had brought victory to the *peregrina ecclesia Francorum*.[39] This is the single instance of the use of this phrase in Raymond's *Historia* and its application to the crusade as a whole is extremely unusual. Raymond did not liken the crusade to a church, in the same way as Baldric of Dol for example, anywhere else in his account.[40] Nor is this assertion elaborated or developed. Later references to the establishment of a Latin patriarch in Antioch and bishop in Albara supported the replacement of Orthodox clerics by Roman ones but the new Latin clerics were not presented as *Franci* by Raymond but rather as *Romani*.[41] It is likely, therefore, that this was not a claim of superiority of the church of the *Franci* but rather a term for the whole crusade. After the victory against Kerbogah, Raymond lamented that the army did not continue to Jerusalem immediately, asserting that news of its victory had rendered all the local cities and

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[34] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 23: *Quapropter Turci audace et superbi effecti, arma quae ibi ceperant, et captivos ad nobiles suae gentis et Sarracenorum, longe ea mittebant, scribentes ad populos, et ad civitates longinquas nigil valere Francos in bello.*
[35] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 31, 40, 57 & 128.
[36] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 77.
[37] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 85, 90 & 121.
[38] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 123.
[39] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 133.
[40] See above, p. 81.
[41] See for example, the election of Peter of Narbonne a bishop of Albara. Raymond, *Historia*, p. 158: *Quae cum profiteretur, laudavit eum omnis populus unanimiter, atque Deo multas gratias protulit, quod episcopum Romanum in orientali ecclesia habere voluit pro sui administrationem.*

castles terrified of the *Franci*.[42] From this point, *Franci* continued to denote the crusade as a whole or sections of it.[43] When the Fatimid vizier of Egypt, al-Afdal, advanced towards Ascalon, Raymond, referring to him as *rex Babyloniorum*, reported that he had no respect for the *Turci* and consequently none for the *Franci, Turcorum victores*.[44]

Like many of his contemporaries, Raymond included short passages of *oratio recta*, attributed to Muslim personalities, in his account and reported indirectly on communications by the same personalities. In these reports, the crusaders were repeatedly referred to as *Franci*. In his account of the embassy of Peter the Hermit to the camp of Kerbogah outside Antioch, Raymond related that when informed by Peter that the city belonged to the *Christiani* by right Kerbogah responded that *iure vel iniuria Francos et civitatem habere volebat*.[45] In a rare inclusion of *oratio recta* in the camp of Kerbogah before Antioch, Raymond gave an account of a conversation between the atabeg and a certain Mirdalim in which the crusaders were referred to as *Franci*.[46] Once Kerbogah realised the extent of the crusade ranks, Raymond reported that he suggested a duel between five or ten men from the *Turci* and the *Franci*.[47] As the crusade travelled south from Antioch, Raymond reported increased fear of the *Franci* among the Muslims when they captured a messenger from the *rex* of Shaizar who was carrying letters informing his subjects to flee the crusaders. Later the *rex* allegedly mourned that his men, rather than fleeing the *Franci*, were instead moving towards them.[48] With the crusade having stalled at 'Arqah in the spring of 1099, the *rex* of Tripoli allegedly rebuffed an embassy from the crusade which demanded tribute, asking sardonically who these *Franci* were and why he had not seen any example of their military skill.[49] When the crusaders heard of the approach of the Fatimid army near Ascalon in August 1099, Raymond reported that the *rex Babyloniorum* intended to kill all of the *Franci* over twenty

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[42] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 136.
[43] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 160, 181 & 199.
[44] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 361.
[45] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 121. This language echoes a phrase in the letter of Anselm of Ribemont to Archbishop Manasses of Reims which stated that Kerbogah swore to hold the land *iuste vel iniuste*. Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, p. 160.
[46] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 125.
[47] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 127.
[48] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 187-8.
[49] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 258-9: *Et qui sunt Franci? Et quales milites? Et quanta est eorum potentia? Ecce tertius mensis modo agitur ex quo exercitus Francorum obsedit castrum Archados, et neque eorum assultus habui, neque armatum aliquem de ipsis vidi, et tamen sunt prope me per quatuor leugas.*

years of age and use the others to procreate with the *Babyloni*. The *rex* also threatened to take the Holy Places in Jerusalem where the *Christiani* worshipped, smash them into pieces and put the pieces into the sea so that the *gens Francorum* would not leave their lands again to seek them.[50] The Muslims were not the only group to refer to the crusaders as *Franci* collectively. A statement by a certain *Ebrardus* recorded the vision of St Mark seen by a Syrian Christian, in which the saint allegedly told him that Jesus had summoned his disciples to help the *Franci* against the *Turci* at Antioch.[51]

Once only, the term *gentes Francorum* was used. In his description of the journey of the crusaders between Antioch and Jerusalem Raymond related how the Syrian Christian population had been mistreated by the Muslim rulers of the area and their churches and statues destroyed.[52] Concluding that the arrival of the crusade was the result of divine will, Raymond wondered if God had not sent the *gentes Francorum* against the *mala* of the Turks and Saracens he would have roused even brute animals against them as He had been seen to do by Raymond.[53] This use of plural for the *gentes Francorum* seems to imply that more than one *gens* formed the *Franci*. Earlier in the work Raymond divided the army of the crusade between the *Provinciales* and the *Francigeni* and it is possible that these were the *gentes Francorum* to whom he referred. Elsewhere, however, the *Franci* were always referred to as one *gens*.

While used to denote the crusade as a whole, the *Franci* were considered to be a *gens* (or in one case *gentes*) and a *genus* by Raymond.[54] In his use of the phrase *genus Francorum* in particular, Raymond ascribed an ethnic or biological value to the term when he described the plan of the *rex Babyloniorum* to interbreed crusaders with men and women of *sua gens* to create *familiae bellicosae, de genere Francorum*.[55] Elsewhere he was concerned with the reputation of the *gens Francorum*. On the morning of 28 June 1098, as the crusaders prepared to face the

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[50] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 361-2. See also p. 366 for the use of *Franci* by the *rex Babyloniorum* to denote the crusaders.

[51] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 235: *Dominus noster est apud Antiochiam, et mandavit omnibus discipulis suis ut venirent eo: quoniam Franci debent pugnare cum Turcis, et nos erimus eis praesidio.*

[52] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 277-9.

[53] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 279. This is probably a reference to the fortuitous appearance of herds of animals prior to the battle of Ascalon. Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 365-8.

[54] For the use of *gens Francorum* by Raymond see *Historia*, pp. 123, 148, 181, 279 & 362. For *genus Francorum* see *Historia*, p. 148 & 361.

[55] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 361.

forces of Kerbogah, atabeg of Mosul in battle, each prayed to God and surrendered to his will either to death or to the *decus Romanae ecclesiae et gentis Francorum.*[56] When the inhabitants of Azaz near Antioch called on Godfrey of Bouillon to relieve them from a siege by Ridwan of Aleppo, Godfrey asked Raymond of St Gilles to help him *pro Deo et pro gloria gentis Francorum.*[57]

Francigeni

During his description of the battle between the Turks of Damascus under Duqaq, Raymond referred to the *Provinciales*, who included those *de Burgundia et Alvernia et Gasconis et Gothi*, while the rest of the army were called *Francigeni.*[58] This would appear to imply that the followings of Godfrey of Bouillon and Bohemond of Taranto were also labelled *Francigeni.*[59] While Ekkehard of Aura clearly included the Lotharingians in the term *Francigeni occidentalis*, the term was predominantly used to denote the inhabitants of northern France by the crusade chroniclers.[60] Raymond did not use the terms *Normanni*, *Longobardi*, *Lombardi* or *Italici* to discuss the followers of Bohemond at any stage and it is possible that he considered them to be included in the *Francigeni* by virtue of their Norman inheritance. This is not stated in the work explicitly, but elsewhere a bipartite division of the crusading army into the followers of Raymond of St Gilles and the *Francigeni* suggests a similar conclusion. After the breach of the northern walls of Jerusalem by the forces of Godfrey of Bouillon, Tancred and the northern French, Raymond noted that, although the defenders of the city had stopped resisting the *Francigeni*, in the part of the city where the *pars comitis* were fighting, they continued to fight.[61] It has been suggested that the grouping together of all of the southern French groups together may have been a reflection of their common language.[62] This would not account for the use of a single term for all of the other groups on crusade, however, particularly when the followers of Godfrey of Bouillon were termed *Alemanni*. It is possible

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[56] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 123.
[57] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 148.
[58] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 42-3.
[59] While the use of *Provinciales* to denote the southern French may have been the result of a linguistic bond, the same could not be said of the use of *Francigeni* for an extremely disparate group which would be better labelled 'non-Provencal'.
[60] See pp. 24-5, 74 & 299-300.
[61] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 345: *Cum iam civitas pene correpta esset a Francigenis, adhuc tamen resistebant his qui erant de parte comitis, ac si nunquam capiendi essent.*
[62] Murray, 'National identity, regional identity and language,' p. 117.

therefore, that the term *Francigeni* was used simply to denote those not termed *Provinciales*.

After his assertion that all those in the crusade army other than the *Provinciales* were called *Francigeni*, Raymond stated that among the *hostes* all were labelled *Francigeni*.[63] Whenever he related the direct or indirect speech of the Muslims, however, Raymond always used the term *Franci* to refer to the crusaders as a whole.[64] In fact, in two of the surviving manuscripts Raymond's assertion that the enemies of the crusade called them all *Francigeni* was changed to *Franci*.[65] On one occasion *Francigeni* appears to have a much more limited meaning. When describing the arrangement of the armies of the crusade as they prepared to meet the forces of Kerbogah of Mosul outside Antioch, Raymond divided the ranks of the crusaders into the followers of Raymond of St Gilles and Adhemar, the army of Bohemond and Tancred, the army of Robert of Normandy, the *Francigeni* and the followers of Godfrey of Bouillon and the *Burgundiones*.[66] Here the *Francigeni* appear to be the men of Robert of Flanders and Hugh of Vermandois. Immediately afterwards, Raymond divided the armies into four, those led by Hugh of Vermandois, Robert of Normandy and Robert of Flanders; the army of Godfrey of Bouillon; the army of Adhemar of Le Puy and the followers of Bohemond.[67] In this passage the use of *Francigeni* appears to conform with that in some of Raymond's contemporaries, where its meaning was often restricted to those from the northern regions of the kingdom of France.

Alemanni

Raymond used the term *Alemanni* four times in his *Historia*. On three occasions it clearly referred to the following of Godfrey of Bouillon and appears to have been a general term to denote the crusaders from the kingdom of Germany. In his description of the positions which each of the armies held outside Nicaea, Raymond placed the *dux et Alemanni ab oriente*.[68] *Dux* was Raymond's preferred label for Godfrey of Bouillon. In a skirmish between the crusaders and a relief force sent by

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[63] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 43.
[64] See above, pp. 138-9.
[65] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 43, n. 1. Murray argues for the variant reading of *Franci*. Murray, 'National identity, regional identity and language,' pp. 117 & 128, n. 35.
[66] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 123.
[67] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 124.
[68] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 20.

the Seljuk Sultan of Nicaea, Kilij Arslan, the Lotharingian contingent was also labelled *pars ducis et Alemannorum.*[69] This relief force had split into two parties, one which engaged the army of Raymond of St Gilles, the other which encountered Godfrey of Bouillon. As the opponents of Raymond of St Gilles began to retreat, Raymond reported that: *Pars altera Turcorum, quae Alemannos oppugnare voluit, exemplo simili fugatur et prosternitur.*[70]

The meaning of the only other reference to *Alemanni* in Raymond's *Historia* is less clear. After he refused to take the oath of loyalty to Alexius Comnenus which the other leaders of the crusade had sworn, Raymond of St Gilles reportedly offered to follow the Byzantine emperor if he would lead the crusade himself. According to Raymond, Alexius refused, citing the defence of his empire from *Alemanni et Ungari et Comani, aliaeque ferae gentes.*[71] It is not immediately clear to whom Raymond was referring specifically in his use of *Alemanni*. Given, however, his use of the term solely to denote the German participants in the crusade there is no reason to assume that his terminology has changed here. The followings of Godfrey of Bouillon and his brother Baldwin of Boulogne had the most tempestuous relations with the Byzantines on their arrival in Constantinople and violent encounters broke out between the crusaders and the imperial armies. While it is possible that Raymond was referring to these clashes, they were not described at any point in his *Historia* and this would be an extremely oblique reference to events not mentioned elsewhere in the narrative.

Provinciales

In his discussion of the battle with Ridwan of Aleppo near Antioch on 31 December 1097 Raymond mentioned a force of *Provinciales* in the following of Robert of Flanders. He then explained what he signified by *Provinciales: namque omnes de Burgundia et Alvernia et Gasconis et Gothi Provinciales appelantur.*[72] Murray has suggested that this definition of *Provinciales*, which extended beyond *Provincia*, reflected a linguistic unity among the southern French.[73] After the capture of Jerusalem, Raymond of Toulouse and Godfrey of Bouillon disputed occupation of

[69] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 20.
[70] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 21.
[71] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 16.
[72] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 42. The rest of the army were labelled *Francigeni*. See above.
[73] Murray, 'National identity, regional identity and language.' p. 117.

the tower of David, which Raymond had captured during the fall of the city. In his description of this dispute, Raymond reported that Robert of Flanders and Robert of Normandy both supported Godfrey as did many *de terra comitis Raymundi*. This was not the only opposition of the *Provinciales* to Raymond of St Gilles according to the chronicler: many of them had opposed his election as king of Jerusalem.[74] Here the men *de terra comitis Raymundi* were synonymous with the *Provinciales*.

Elsewhere the only uses of *Provinciales* refer to specific individuals. Peter Bartholomew, the visionary who led the crusaders to the discovery of the Holy Lance, was *Provincialem genere*.[75] During a skirmish with the defenders of Antioch, Raymond reported how a certain *Isnardus, miles de Gagia, Provincialis nobilissimus* prayed to God on bended knee before charging the enemy. Isuard's origin has not been satisfactorily identified but there is no reason to disbelieve Raymond's claim that he was a *Provincialis*.[76] It is clear, therefore, that the army of Raymond of St Gilles and probably the following of Adhemar of Le Puy, who joined the army of Raymond after the death of the bishop, were those referred to by Raymond as *Provinciales*. On his deathbed during the siege of 'Arqah in spring 1099, Peter Bartholomew ordered Raymond of St Gilles to bring the Holy Lance *in ecclesiam sancti Trophimi*. He then told him to name the place *Mons Gaudii*, and explained that this must be done in *Provincia* because St Peter had promised St Trophim, the bishop of Arles, that he would receive the Lance.[77] Given Raymond's declared intention from the outset to follow the actions of the armies of Count Raymond and Adhemar, it is important to note the relative paucity of his uses of the term *Provinciales* in his account.[78]

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[74] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 354: *Non solum autem Provinciales in hoc domino comiti suo adversabantur; verum multa de eo turpia composuerunt ne in regem eligeretur.*

[75] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 89. For the identification of Peter as a Provençal, see Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 43, p. 316; *Epistula cleri et populi Luccensis ad omnes fideles*, in Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, p. 166.

[76] Raymond was the only chronicler to mention Isuard. Raymond, *Historia*, p. 66, n. 2 for a discussion of the possible origins of Isuard. See also Raymond Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, eds. Hill & Hill, p. 43, n. 10; Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 213.

[77] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 275, n. a. St Trophim, who was the first bishop of Arles in the third century, was later conflated with the Trophim mentioned as a companion of St Paul in 2 Timothy 4:20 as part of Arles's claim to the primacy of Gaul. *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, December, Dec. 29th p. 229.

[78] France, 'Introduction,' pp. xlvii-ix. Discusses how Raymond's principal concern was to present a narrative of the actions of the Provençal contingent on the crusade.

Burgundiones

In his description of the areas from which the *Provinciales* came, Raymond included *Burgundia*.[79] The only mention of the *Burgundiones* appears in the description of the battle lines of the crusaders who marched out to meet the army of Kerbogah of Mosul outside Antioch on 28 June 1098.[80] It is not clear who these *Burgundiones* were, as they do not appear in any of the other accounts of this battle. Albert of Aachen mentioned *Burgundienses* in the army after the battle of Dorylaeum as part of a list of peoples who comprised the entire crusade army.[81]

Genuenses and Venetici

Raymond of Aguilers's first reference to the *Genuenses* is supported by the Genoese author Caffaro di Caschifelone, who took part in that city's expedition of August 1100 and wrote an account of Genoese participation in the conquest of the cities of Palestine, *De Liberatione civitatum orientis*. When the crusaders first settled their camp outside Antioch, Raymond reported the arrival of *Genuensium naves* at *Portus Sancti Simeonis* near Antioch.[82] This was most likely the result of a legation from Urban II through Hugh, bishop of Grenoble, and William, bishop of Orange, in September 1096, which Caffaro described.[83] Raymond's account of the Genoese who joined with the army of Raymond of St Gilles at Jerusalem was also corroborated by Caffaro, including the name of the leader of this group *Willelmus Ebriacus*.[84] When describing how the *Angli* arrived at Laodicea prior to the siege of Antioch, Raymond commented how the presence of them and the *Genuenses* allowed supplies to be carried from Cyprus by *Graecorum naves*.[85] While these *Genuenses* are not accounted for in other sources, France considers it very likely that the traffic of naval vessels from Genoa was greater than that reported in the sources.[86] Raymond's single use of the term *Venetici* is uncorroborated by his contemporaries. In his description

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[79] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 42.
[80] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 123.
[81] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 1, p. 138.
[82] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 36
[83] Caffaro, *De Liberatione*, p. 41.
[84] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 337; Caffaro, *De Liberatione*, pp. 44 & 46 labelled him *Guillermus Januensis Embriacus*.
[85] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 295.
[86] J. France, 'The First Crusade as a naval enterprise,' *Mariners Mirror* 83 (1997), 389-97, 395. The grant of a 'quarter' and extensive trading privileges to the Genoese by Bohemond of Antioch in July 1098 suggests that they were the dominant Italian naval force involved in the First Crusade. Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, pp. 155-6.

of the siege of 'Arqah he reported the arrival of *naves nostrae* from Antioch and Laodicea and *multae aliae naves Veneticorum et Graecorum* which brought food supplies.[87] Despite the lack of supporting evidence, France is inclined to trust this reference as probably accurate, given Raymond's interest in fleets.[88]

Angli

The term *Angli* appears in Raymond of Aguilers in relation to one group, a fleet of *Angli* who arrived at Laodicea before the crusade army arrived at Antioch. Raymond also reported that these *Angli* later abandoned their ships and journeyed with the crusade.[89] This fleet of *Angli* has been associated by Tyerman with the fleet in which Bruno of Lucca travelled. France, however, believed that there were two separate fleets of English origin which Raymond perhaps conflated in his account.[90]

Raymond's use of national terms to denote the crusade was extremely practical. For the most part the crusaders, when they acted collectively, were termed *Franci*. When specific groups within the crusade acted, however, other national terms were used. In contrast to the excitable introductory passages of a number of his contemporaries, in which vast lists of national groups were listed to demonstrate the universal effort made by Western Europe for the liberation of the Holy Land, Raymond's only reference to the multiplicity of groups which took part in the endeavour was a complaint that, because they had all travelled to Constantinople by different routes, he was limiting his task to an account of the journey of the southern French only.[91] Despite his stated intention to follow the events surrounding the followers of Adhemar and Raymond of St Gilles, Raymond rarely used the term *Provinciales* and while he was generous in his praise of the count and the bishop, he showed little bias

[87] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 203.

[88] France, 'The First Crusade as a naval enterprise,' p. 393. Baldric of Dol mentioned Venetians in his *Historia* but this was during the opening discussion of the breadth of participation of Western Europe in the crusade in which the Venetians appeared alongside the Pisans and the Genoese. Baldric. It would be unwise therefore, to view this as corroborating Raymond's account of the *Venetici* during the siege of 'Arqah. *Historia*, p. 18

[89] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 294-6.

[90] For a discussion of the English naval participation in the First Crusade and Raymond's accuracy in reporting this participation, see France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 214-9; France, 'The First Crusade as a naval enterprise,' p. 392-4; C. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades* (Chicago, 1988), pp. 19-21.

[91] For lists of national groups which took part in the crusade, see Fulcher, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 13, pp. 202-3; Ekkehard of Aura, *Frutolfs und Ekkehards Chroniken und die anonyme Kaiserchronik*, eds. F. J. Schmale & I. Schmale-Ott (Darmstadt, 1972), pp. 138; Baldric, *Historia*, p. 18.

towards the Provençals or against the other contingents of the crusades. Although it is clear that an antagonism existed between the Provençals and other groups on crusade, this was not reported in Raymond's *Historia Francorum*.[92]

Theological terms to denote the crusaders

Peregrini

Despite the scarcity of the term *peregrini* in his *Historia Francorum*, Raymond used it to refer to the crusaders as a whole in a number of instances. When Alexius Comnenus required the oath of security from the leaders of the crusade, Raymond of St Gilles refused but offered to follow Alexius with his men if the latter would lead the expedition. The emperor refused, stating that he needed to defend his empire from hostile and *ferae gentes, quae imperium suum depopularentur, si ipse transitum cum peregrinis faceret.*[93] Here the term *peregrini* clearly referred to all sections of the crusade. When the crusaders were at Tripoli, Peter Desiderius was commanded in a vision to go to the church of St Leontius and to take the relics of four saints there. When he and others arrived at the church, Raymond reported that they prayed to God to commend the relics to the crusaders so that the saints to whom they belonged would not despise the *peregrinorum et exulum pro Deo consortium* but rather would be bound to them and bind them to God.[94] The invocation of the notion of exile alongside *peregrini* demonstrates clearly that Raymond used the term in the sense of 'pilgrim' rather than simply 'traveller' as the sense of a pilgrimage as a self-imposed exile had a long tradition in western thought. The defeat of Kerbogah outside Antioch, Raymond noted, occurred on the vigils of SS Peter and Paul, which was fitting as it was through the intercession of these apostles that Jesus had granted this victory to the *peregrina ecclesia Francorum*.[95] This appears to be an allusion to the Augustinian idea of *ecclesia peregrinans* applied to the crusade.[96] Although not elaborated on elsewhere in the *Historia*, Raymond's use of *exules Dei* and *peregrina*

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[92] Murray, 'National identity, regional identity and language,' pp.117-9.
[93] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 16.
[94] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 288: *Obtulimus candelas et vota Deo et sanctis eiusdem ecclesia, ut Deus omnipotens qui eos sanctigicaverat, nobis eos consortes et coadiutores donaret, et illi sancti, peregrinorum et exulum pro Deo non spernerent consortium, sed magis ex caritate nobis coniungerentur, et nos Deo coniungerent.*
[95] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 133.
[96] Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, 10.17, CCSL, 47 p. 291.

ecclesia may demonstrate a conception of the crusade as righteous exile for Christ.[97] After describing the capture of Jerusalem in July 1099 Raymond described his pleasure at seeing the *peregrini ante Sepulcrum Domini*.[98] Again the sense of a traditional pilgrimage was evoked with the worship at the Holy Sepulchre, which would have been the climax of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[99]

In each of these cases, the group referred to as *peregrini* was clearly the crusade. On occasion, however, the *peregrini* appear to be those who formerly visited Jerusalem to worship, the more traditional, unarmed pilgrims. When Arnulf of Choques was elected patriarch, Raymond reported that he began to seek the relic of the True Cross *quam peregrini ante captam Iherusalem adorare consueverant*.[100] This reference to the former activities of pilgrims in Jerusalem demonstrates an intentional use of the term to denote the crusaders as *peregrini* despite their armed status and the identification of both groups of *peregrini* with each other. During the siege of Antioch, Raymond reported the arrival of legates from the Fatimids of Egypt. These legates, we are told, offered the friendship of the *rex Babylonicus* and pointed to the *plura beneficia regis* which the *rex* already bestowed on the *Christiani Aegyptici et peregrini nostri*.[101] This may refer to more traditional pilgrims who travelled to the Holy Land through Egypt. While Raymond did not use the term *peregrini* to describe the crusaders with much frequency, the instances in which he did suggest deliberation on his part.

Exercitus Dei

Exercitus Dei was Raymond's preferred theologically based term to denote the crusade as a whole. In his dedicatory passage, addressed to the bishop of Viviers, Raymond summed up the crusade as the triumph of the *exercitus Dei* over *paganitas* despite the whip of God for its sins and as a result of His mercy.[102] This passage represents the first mention of the crusading army and illustrates Raymond's

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[97] France, 'Introduction,', pp. xi-xii.
[98] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 347. In his description of these events, the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* related that *nostri* approached the Holy Sepulchre to worship. *Gesta*, p. 92 [473].
[99] When the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* reported the worship at the Holy Sepulchre by *nostri*, he added *et reddiderunt ei capitale debitum*. *Gesta*, p. 92 [473-4]
[100] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 359.
[101] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 60: *Hi autem legati gratiam et benevolentiam apud regem suum nobis promittebant, praeterea plura beneficia regis in Christianos Aegypticos et peregrinos nostros referebant.*
[102] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 5: *Exercitus enim Dei, et si pro peccatis flagellum Domini sui sustinuit, pro eiusdem misericordia victor super omnem paganitatem extitit*

interpretation of the events which he is about to narrate and consequently this use of *exercitus Dei* is extremely informative.[103] During the journey of the armies led by Raymond of St Gilles and Adhemar of Le Puy through *Sclavonia*, the *exercitus Dei* referred to these contingents. In this passage, the phrase *exercitus Dei* was used synonymously with *populus Dei*, another of Raymond's preferred terms for the crusaders.[104] Once in Byzantine territories, messengers who Raymond of St Gilles had sent to Constantinople came back with extremely favourable reports regarding the emperor Alexius. Bribed by the emperor, according to Raymond, these messengers reported that Alexius intended to take up the cross and lead the *exercitus Dei*.[105] Celestial happenings and earth tremors at Antioch were interpreted by Raymond as God, scourging (*flagellare*) *exercitus suus*.[106] When Adhemar died on the 1 August 1098 Raymond related his death to the subsequent dispersal of the leaders of the crusade, claiming that this proved Adhemar's usefulness to the *exercitus Dei et principes*.[107] Following Adhemar's death, there did indeed appear to be a stalemate among the princes about continuing the journey to Antioch. This began to irritate the poorer crusaders who were intent on visiting Jerusalem and who were suffering from a lack of food while the leaders debated the future of Antioch among themselves. When it became clear that Raymond of St Gilles intended to besiege the city of Ma'arrat an Numan, Raymond Aguilers related a conversation among the poor in which they complained of the impairment of the *exercitus Dei* by the *certamina principum*.[108] During the battle of Ascalon, the forces of the crusade were collectively termed *exercitus Dei* twice.[109]

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[103] In the letter of Daibert of Pisa and the princes to Pope Paschal II, dated 1099, the *arenga* refers to the entire crusade army as *exercitus Dei*. Hagenmeyer has suggested that Raymond of Aguilers wrote this letter. Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, pp. 110 & 168.

[104] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 8: *Ob illam reor causam voluit Deus exercitum suum transire per Sclavoniam, ut agrestes homines qui Deum ignorabant, cognita virtute et patientia militum eius, aut aliquando a feritate resipiscant, aut inexcusabiles Dei iudicio adducantur.*

[105] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 14: *Dicebant enim quia Boamundus et dux Lotharingiae et Flandrensis comes et alii principes hoc precabantur: ut properaret comes convenire imperatorem in exercitu de itinere Iherosolimitano; ut assumpta cruce, dux et imperator in exercitu Dei fieret.*

[106] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 47-8: *Et licet hoc modo exercitum suum Deus flagellaverit, ut lumini quod in tenebris oriebatur intenderemus, tamen ita quorundam mentes caecae et praecipites erant, ut neque a luxuria vel rapina revocarentur.*

[107] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 137: *Quantum utilis autem Dei exercitu et principibus fuerat, post mortem eius manifestum fuit, cum inter se divisi principes, Boamundi in Romaniam est regressus, et dux Lotharingiae versus Roias profectus est.*

[108] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 180.

[109] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 168 & 169.

The phrase *exercitus Dei* appears in the Bible in reference to the Israelites (1 Kings 17:36) and it may be in this context that Raymond used it. Both Albert of Aachen and Baldric of Dol used the phrase to denote the crusaders, as did Stephen of Blois in both of his letters to his wife Adela.[110] In his presentation of the crusaders, Raymond seems to have had the Children of Israel from the Old Testament firmly in mind and his preference for terms derived from the Old Testament to label them is perhaps unsurprising.

Populus Dei/Populus Domini

Like *exercitus Dei*, Raymond's use of *populus Dei* was probably scripturally inspired. The term appears three times in the Bible in reference to the Israelites and once to denote the new Christian church as the 'new Israel'.[111] In the majority of cases, *populus Dei* signified the whole crusade. During the battle against Kerbogah outside Antioch on 28 June 1098, Raymond reported how the clergy stood on the walls of the city praying and beseeching God to defend *populus suus* and to testify to the covenant which He made holy with His blood through the victory of the *Franci*.[112] This synonymous use of *Franci* and *populus Dei* demonstrates the collective sense of the term. After the capture of Jerusalem, Raymond invoked Isaiah 65:17 and Psalm 117:24 and rejoiced in the 'new day' which God had made in which he shone upon and blessed *populus suus*.[113] During the march of the armies of Raymond of St Gilles and Adhemar of Le Puy through *Sclavonia* the bishop was captured by some *Pincenati* and injured badly. Adhemar's life was spared, according to Raymond, because he was indispensable (*necessarius*) to the *populus Dei*.[114]

Raymond also described the crusaders as *populus Domini*. During a vision of St Andrew Peter Bartholomew reported that the saint promised him that *Dominus misereretur sui populi*.[115] In a later vision of Peter Bartholomew in which Christ

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[110] Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, pp. 138-9 & 149-52.
[111] For the Israelites, see 2 Kings 14:13, Wisdom 18:13, Baruch 4:5; For the new Israel, see 1 Peter 2:10.
[112] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 128: *Egressus namque ordinibus, stabant sacerdotes nudis pedibus et induti sacerdotalibus vestimentis supra muros civitatis, Deum invocantes et populum suum defenderet, atque testamentum quod sanguine suo sancivit, in hoc bello per victoriam Francorum testificaretur.*
[113] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 348: *Haec dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus et laetemur in ea*; (Psalm 118:24) *et merito quia in hac illuxit et benedixit Dominus populo suo.*
[114] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 12: *Sed quia tantus Pontifex adhuc populo Dei erat necessariums, per eius misericordiam vitae est reservatus.*
[115] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 111.

appeared, the Lord ordered Peter to relate his vision to *populus meus*.[116] When the news of the approach of the Fatimid army reached the crusaders in Jerusalem, Raymond reported a barefoot procession by *nostri principes et clerus* to the Holy Sepulchre where they prayed to *Dominus* to protect *populus suus*.[117] The phrase *populus Domini* is also likely to have been a biblical allusion as it is found frequently in the Old Testament.[118]

Filii Dei

In another biblical allusion, Raymond labelled the crusaders *filii Dei*. After a victory of the crusaders over the Muslims near Antioch, a group of sailors whom Bohemond and Raymond had escorted from St Symeon's Port to Antioch were cheered by the sight of so many dead *Turci* and praised God, *qui filios suos corrigere et laetificare consuevit*.[119] After the death of Adhemar of Le Puy, Peter Bartholomew experienced a vision in which the bishop admitted the authenticity of the Holy Lance and St Andrew communicated a number of orders to Raymond of St Gilles. The count was to see to it that the city of Antioch was given to a ruler who would maintain God's justice there. If anyone were to seize the city and rule it contrary to the prescriptions laid out by God, Raymond of St Gilles and the *filii Dei* were to scourge them (*flagellare*).[120] During the siege of Antioch by the forces of Kerbogah, Raymond reported that the army hit its lowest ebb but that God, having 'corrected His sons' gave them consolation.[121] Sometimes the crusaders were *filii Dominus*. When describing the battle with Ridwan of Aleppo on the 9 February 1098, Raymond described how *Dominus fortis et potens in praelio* (Psalm 23:8) protected his *filii* and overthrew his *inimici*.[122] During the siege of Antioch by the crusaders, food and supplies became extremely scarce and a number of earth tremors and celestial events prompted Adhemar of Le Puy to institute processions, fasting and prayers. In this way, Raymond related, the Lord delayed the punishment of his *filii* lest the enemy be encouraged by it.[123] The use of *filii Dei* by Raymond is also likely to be a biblical

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[116] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 222.
[117] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 363.
[118] For example Psalm 143:15, Psalm 32:12, Ezechiel 34:30, Jeremiah 31:14.
[119] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 69.
[120] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 146. See Hebrews 12:6.
[121] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 87: *divina clementia ... quae lascivientes filios correxerat, nimium tristes tali modo consolata est.*
[122] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 57.
[123] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 48.

allusion, presumably invoking Romans 8 or 1 John 3:1-2 in which it is used to denote the Christians.[124]

Fideles

While for Albert of Aachen, the term *fideles* could denote eastern or western Christians, Raymond seems to have applied it more narrowly to the western Christians or the crusaders only. At the siege of Ma'arrat an Numan, Peter Bartholomew had a vision in which St Peter accused the crusaders of deserting God in their actions. When he related this vision, Raymond of St Gilles and the bishops of Orange and Albara convened the *fideles* who gave offerings and prayers for the capture of the city.[125] In April 1099 legates arrived from the Byzantine emperor requesting that the crusaders wait for him to join them and protesting at Bohemond's acquisition of Antioch. In the deliberations among the crusaders as to the best course of action which followed Raymond stated that the *fideles* prayed for divine guidance which came in the form of a vision to Stephen of Valence.[126] During the siege of Jerusalem Godfrey of Bouillon, Robert of Flanders and Robert of Normandy moved a siege tower overnight to a different part of the wall which was less well defended. Raymond reported that not only were the *Sarraceni* astonished at the move but so too were the *fideles* who saw God's hand in the action.[127] In these instances, there is no indication that the term *fideles* denoted any specific group within the crusade but rather that it referred to the entire movement.

In the description of the election of Peter of Narbonne as bishop of Albara, Raymond's use of *fideles* seems to have a more universal sense but when the broader context is considered, it seems likely that the term denoted the Latin Christians only. First the *populus* was addressed by a cleric who told them that Raymond of St Gilles intended to instate a new bishop in the city. When the people demanded an election, the (unidentified) cleric asked if any of the clergy present could attain the loyalty of the *fideles* and serve God while resisting the *pagani*.[128] That the term *fideles* here was

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[124] It also appears in the second letter of Anselm of Ribemont, where he broached the same theme of God chastising his *filii*. Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, p. 157: *... Deus, qui flagellat omnem filium ...*

[125] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 173.

[126] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 267: *Itaque fidelium vota quod quae rebant facile apud Deum promeruerunt.*

[127] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 336.

[128] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 157.

not intended as an ecumenical term which embraced both western and eastern Christians can be seen in the remarks which followed when Raymond stated that all gave thanks to God that an *episcopus Romanus* had been installed *in orientali ecclesia.*[129] In Raymond's opinion, the bishop served the Latin Christians only.

Other theological terms

Like many of his contemporaries, Raymond used a number of terms to denote the crusade, which were broadly theologically inspired. Many of these terms were used once or twice only, implying that they did not form a key part of his idea of crusade but in their entirety and in their breadth they demonstrate a preference for scripturally derived terminology and less enthusiasm for the 'new' terms which are found in other sources, in particular *milites Christi.*

In his use of *pauperes Dei* Raymond was not referring to the poor on the crusade but the whole crusade army. During the siege of Antioch, Raymond reported the presence of legates of the *rex Babyloniorum* who witnessed the victory of the crusaders over the forces of Ridwan of Aleppo in February 1098. These legates were allegedly so impressed with the miracle which God performed through his *servi* that they praised Jesus, who overturned the *tyranni* Turks through his *pauperes.*[130] Outside Ma'arrat an Numan, the *fideles* offered alms and prayers to God that he might liberate *plebes pauperes sui.*[131] In the assault on the same city, all called out to God to be well-disposed to his *plebs* and fulfil the promise made by his apostles.[132] During the search for the Holy Lance in the cathedral of St Peter in Antioch, Peter Bartholomew instructed those present to pray to God that He would return the lance to His *plebs* to bring comfort and victory to them.[133] The use of the term *pauperes Dei* to denote the whole crusade must be viewed in the context of Raymond's attitudes towards the poor in the army in general, to whom he was sympathetic. Raymond believed that the rich had a duty to the poor.[134] In his use of *plebs Dei,*

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[129] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 158.
[130] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 59.
[131] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 173.
[132] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 174.
[133] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 110.
[134] See Kostick, *Social Structure*, pp. 32-3, for the use of *pauperes* as a collective term for the crusade and for Raymond's attitude towards the poor in the crusade armies. Raymond's sympathy for the poor can be seen in his representation of Peter Bartholomew, who feared to approach the leaders of the crusade on account of his low status, and in the vision of SS Peter and Andrew to Peter wearing extremely worn out clothing. When he enquired who they were, believing them to be *pauperes*, they

Raymond may have being alluding to Psalm 84:7: *Deus tu conversus vivificabis nos et plebs tua laetabitur*. When labelling the crusade *servi Dei*, Raymond was also making a biblical allusion, to 1 Peter 2:16, in which the apostle called the new Christian Church *servi Dei*. The legates of the *rex Babyloniorum* at Antioch witnessed the *mira quae Deus per servos suos operabatur*.[135] In his description of the ferocity of the defence of Jerusalem, Raymond commented that *servi Dei* withstood stones and arrows *patienter*.[136] Both these refer to the crusaders as a whole.

A number of terms used, albeit infrequently, by Raymond were not scriptural allusions. During the siege of Ma'arrat an Numan, Raymond described the flight of many crusaders in despair. God, however, who was the protector of his *famulus*, brought them solace and instruction through a vision of SS Peter and Andrew.[137] In a vision of St Andrew to Peter Bartholomew, the apostle addressed the crusaders as *homines Christi*.[138]

The crusaders were referred to as *militia Christi* only once in Raymond's *Historia Francorum* in a piece of *oratio recta*. In a battle with the Turkish defenders of Antioch, Isuard of Gagia reportedly knelt, invoked God and led a charge against the Muslims calling, *Eia milites Christi*.[139] From this single instance it is clear that, while he was aware of the term, Raymond had no enthusiasm for the use of *milites Christi* to denote the crusaders. The term *milites Dei* was also used only once by Raymond. When a group of knights, led by Geldemar Carpinel, encountered a Muslim force between Jerusalem and Jaffa during the siege of Jerusalem, Raymond referred to them as *milites Dei*.[140] This group was comprised of knights only and this use of *milites Dei* may be a more exclusive manifestation of the impulse which prompted Raymond to describe the crusaders as a whole as *populus Dei* or *exercitus Dei*.

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explained that they had appeared to him in this garb in order to remind him that they had come to God in this *aetas et habitus*. Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 95, 96 & 169.

[135] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 59.

[136] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 339. In the letter of Daibert and the princes to Pope Paschal II, which Hagenmeyer has attributed to Raymond, the crusaders were referred to as *servi dominis*. Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, p. 172.

[137] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 167.

[138] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 145.

[139] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 67.

[140] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 319.

The crusaders in the *Historia Francorum*

The *Historia Francorum* contains very little extended discussion of the motives of the crusaders or the rewards which they could expect to gain from their efforts. Nor is there much discussion of the merits of the crusaders either individually or as a whole. Unlike many of his contemporaries, Raymond did not digress into a discussion of the moral excellence of crusaders, or dwell on their *imitatio Christi*. In light of this, the terminology which Raymond used to denote the crusaders becomes even more important in assessing his attitudes towards them. In his use of the terms *populus Dei/Domini*, *exercitus Dei/Domini*, *servi Dei* and *plebs Dei* Raymond consistently likened the crusaders to the Israelites in the Old Testament. Conversely, he used the 'new terms', such as *milites Christi* or *peregrini* very rarely.

Raymond's treatment of the crusaders and their relationship with God also echoed the Old Testament Israelites. Like the Children of Israel, the crusaders were recipients of God's aid against their opponents yet after their victories they would lapse into sin and become forgetful of God. They would then need to be reminded of God and turn to Him in prayer again in order to gain further help. The achievements of the crusade were, therefore, the result of God's generosity rather than the merit of the participants. From the outset, Raymond attributed the success of the expedition to God's mercy, despite the *peccata* of the crusaders.[141] When the crusade arrived at Antioch Raymond criticised the army for its lack of vigour, reporting that the knights, ignoring the *res publica* in favour of the *res privata*, scattered in an attempt to conquer nearby cities and castles.[142] Only after repeated attacks by the *Turci* on unarmed crusaders did Bohemond and Robert of Flanders, *perurgente Deo profecti*, go to meet the *Turci*.[143] After the defeat of the Muslims by Bohemond and Robert, Raymond related how the entire army failed to pursue them and as a result returned to the camp with no extra provisions.[144] Even God's intervention in the form of celestial signs and an earth tremor failed to rouse some to action.[145] Only the actions

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[141] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 4: *Exercitus enim Dei, et si pro peccatis flagellum Domini sui sustinuit, pro eiusdem misericordia victor super omnem paganitatem extitit.*
[142] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 33-4.
[143] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 34-6.
[144] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 46.
[145] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 47-8: *Et licet hoc modo exercitus suum Deus flagellaverit, ut lumini quod in tenebris oriebatur intenderemus, tamen ita quorundam mentes caecae et praecipites erant, ut neque a luxuria vel rapina revocarentur.*

of Adhemar of Le Puy, in exhorting the crusaders to fast and give alms and ordering the priests to say masses, appeased God.[146]

In the battle against Ridwan of Aleppo, which followed, God once again provided for the victory of the crusaders, appearing to increase the numbers in each group and providing suitable topography from which they could attack. When the battle commenced, its victory was immediately credited to God, *Dominus fortis in potens et praelio* (Psalm 23:8) protected his *filii* and cast down his *inimici*.[147] Once Antioch had been taken by the crusade, Raymond again reported a decline in virility among the crusaders. Instead of attacking the citadel where a Turkish garrison remained, they were distracted by the wealth of the city and spent their time eating and watching the dancing girls (*saltatrices*) of the *pagani*. As a result, they were themselves besieged by Kerbogah, atabeg of Mosul.[148] In the visions of Peter Bartholomew and Stephen of Valence in Antioch the theme of turning back towards God in order to gain His support was emphasised.[149] When Christ appeared in a vision to Stephen of Valence, he reportedly told him that, when they went to meet the Turks in battle, the crusaders were to repeat the biblical verse Psalm 47:5.[150] St Andrew reportedly warned Raymond of St Gilles in a vision to Peter Bartholomew that if the crusaders did not abide by the instructions sent from God, He would prevent them from reaching Jerusalem for ten years. Further, God would raise the *infideles* against the crusade so that one hundred of them would defeat the Latins. In this threat, there are clear echoes of Leviticus 26 in which God told the Israelites of the benefits which they would gain from worship of Him and how He would turn the natural world against them if they refused.[151]

Following the departure of the crusade from Antioch, the leaders of the crusade became divided among themselves as to their course of action. During the siege of Ma'arrat an Numan, Peter Bartholomew had another vision in which St Peter angrily criticised the crusaders, accusing them of deserting God. Nevertheless, God would grant them the city if they paid their tithes. That the city would fall due to

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[146] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 48.
[147] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 57.
[148] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 82: *Sicque actum est, ut qui tamdiu per Dei misericordiam Antiochenos Turcos obsederant, per eius dispositionem a Turcis obsiderentur.*
[149] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 101-6 & 117-9.
[150] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 105: *Congregati sunt inimici nostri, et gloriantur in virtute sua, contere fortitudinem illorum, Domine, et disperge illos ut cognoscant quia non est alius qui pugnet pro nobis, nisi tu Deus noster.*
[151] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 144-5.

divine will rather than military skill was made clear by St Peter.[152] When Raymond of St Gilles decided that his army would besiege 'Arqah, Raymond Aguilers reported that God thwarted their efforts because they had decided to besiege the city *pro aliis contra iusticiam, quam pro Deo.*[153] Before the walls of Jerusalem, the crusaders again ceased to pray to God and as a result He did not deliver solace to them.[154] Only after a number of visions and exhortations by the clergy did the crusaders turn to God again and begin preparations for the siege in earnest. [155] When the city was taken by the crusaders, Raymond emphasised God's hand in events.[156]

On one occasion, Raymond appeared to offer a more detailed discussion of the crusaders when he compared the victory of Bohemond and Robert of Flanders over the forces of Ridwan of Aleppo with the victory of the Maccabees.[157] This was a common comparison among the chroniclers of the crusade as it provided a useful analogy to emphasise the small numbers of crusaders against much larger numbers of adversaries. In his discussion of the similarities between the two, Raymond surmised that however generous God had been to Judas Maccabeus, He had been more generous to the crusaders.[158] This comparison, therefore, was in keeping with Raymond's prevailing opinion that the crusade's success was the result of divine will.

Raymond of Aguilers is unusual among the chroniclers of the First Crusade for his reluctance to credit the crusaders with their achievements. While many of the chroniclers attributed the victory of the expedition to divine favour, they often emphasised the moral or martial strength of the crusaders. Many praised the crusaders for their initial zeal in undertaking the journey, emphasising the material goods which they had forsaken and even the families which they had left in the West.[159] Raymond paid scant attention to the motivation of the crusaders, which is

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[152] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 172: *Civitatem vero istam pro misericordia sua, et non pro benefactis vestris donabit vobis.*
[153] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 204.
[154] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 315: *Sic neque inter verbera Deum cognoscebamus, neque ingratis ipse propitiabatur.*
[155] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 322-9.
[156] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 348: *Haec dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus et laetemur in ea* (Psalm 117:24)*; et merito quia in hac illuxit et benedixit Dominus populo suo.*
[157] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 45: *Auderem, inquam, nisi arrogans iudicarer, bellum hoc Machabaeorum bellis praeferre. Quoniam, si Machabaeus in tribus millibus hostium quadraginta et octo millia prostravit, hic plusquam sexaginta millia hostium, ope quadringentorum militum in fugam versa sunt.*
[158] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 46: *Deum tunc in Machabaeo mirabilem, in nostris mirabiliorem annuntiamus.*
[159] See below, pp. 228-9 & 311-2; Riley-Smith, 'Crusading as an act of love,' *passim.*

mentioned only towards the end of the work. The first mention of their motivation appears in the testimony of a priest, Ebrard, in which he describes a meeting he had with a *Surianus Christianus* who had had a vision of St Mark. Prior to this meeting, Ebrard stated that he had been in a church praying to the Virgin for her protection for the crusaders *qui dimissis parvuli et mulieribus, et omnibus charis suis, pro nomine filii tui, et pro te, huc de longinquo venerunt, et pro filio tuo pugnant.*[160] While this appears to cast the crusaders in an *imitatio Christi*, it is only one example. It is possible that Raymond was reporting Ebrard's vision directly and consequently this may not represent his own understanding of the crusade.[161] The only other instances in which Raymond mentioned the motivation of the crusaders do not portray it as an emulation of Christ. When a fleet of *Angli* arrived at Laodicaea, Raymond related how they set off after hearing that the Muslims held the Holy Land.[162] Here the crusade is presented as a response to Muslim presence in the Holy Land. In his third mention of the purpose of the crusade, as described by Adhemar of Le Puy to Peter Desiderius, Raymond gave another reason for the expedition: to worship *Deus et Dominus exercituum.*[163]

Raymond was similarly terse about the rewards due to the crusaders on their deaths or arrival at Jerusalem. On only two occasions did he discuss the eventual fate of the souls of individual crusaders. The first, a vision of Adhemar of Le Puy to Peter Bartholomew in which the bishop related that he had been temporarily sent to hell for doubting the Holy Lance, must be viewed in the context of tensions over the relic rather than the rewards for going on crusade.[164] The only other mention of the divine reward gained by crusaders who died on the expedition comes in a vision which Anselm of Ribemont received the day before he died. In this vision Engelrand of Saint-Pol, who had died previously, appeared to Anselm. When Anselm asked him how he could be alive when he had died, Engelrand told him that no one died who

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[160] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 234.

[161] Raymond seems to have been very close to a number of the visionaries, in particular Peter Bartholomew and his account of the vision of Stephen of Valence parallels that in the *Gesta* suggesting that it was extremely close to the vision which Stephen himself related. France has suggested that Raymond was using some contemporary material when compiling the section of his account in which the ordeal of the Holy Lance was described and it is in this section that the testimony of Ebrard appears. France, 'Introduction,' p. cxli-iii.

[162] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 294: *audito nomine ultionis Domini in eos qui terram nativitatis Iesu Christi et apostolorum eius indigne occupaverant.*

[163] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 326. Raymond's account does not contain an account of the Council at Clermont, which was the point at which a number of the other crusade chroniclers placed their most detailed exposition of the purpose of the crusade.

[164] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 138-41.

had been killed in the service of Christ. Engelrand went on to say that he had been given a beautiful house *in coelo* and that an even more beautiful house awaited Anselm.[165] This is the only allusion to the divine rewards which the crusaders could hope to gain. Raymond never used the term *martyr* to denote those who had died.

In the use of single collective terms for the crusaders, many of the authors of Latin crusade narratives attempted to portray the crusade as a unified endeavour despite its conglomerate nature. While Raymond did use collective terms to denote the crusade as a single unit, he also made frequent reference to the divisions among the crusaders, particularly among the princes. Prior to the battle of Dorylaeum, Raymond criticised Bohemond and others for separating 'rashly' (*temere*) from the Provençals and the following of Godfrey of Bouillon.[166] Prior to the siege of Antioch there was a dispute between the leaders as to whether to mount a close siege or a more distant one.[167] When Adhemar of Le Puy died, Raymond reported that the bishop's 'usefulness' to the crusade became evident when the princes all separated after his death.[168] In a vision of St Andrew after the victory of the crusade over Kerbogah at Antioch, the saint urged Raymond of St Gilles and Bohemond to agree over the fate of the city and to continue their journey.[169] In the same vision, however, the saint instructed the wealthy men to look after the *pauperes* of their own *cognatio*, suggesting that the principal divisions in the army should be maintained.[170] After this Raymond stated that due to *discordiae et seditiones* the saint's advice was disregarded.[171] Once the crusaders had made peace with the *rex* of Tripoli and received a large amount of tribute, Raymond stated that the leaders of the crusade individually approached Muslim cities claiming to be the leader of the crusade.[172]

Raymond of Aguilers's *Historia* lacks a number of rhetorical considerations in discussing the crusaders, which are found in the narratives of his peers. He hesitated to ascribe any motives to the crusaders and the absence of any references to the Council at Clermont resulted in no discussion of what Urban II may have

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[165] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 207: *Equidem non moriuntur illi, qui in Christi servitio vitam finiunt.*
[166] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 24.
[167] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 29.
[168] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 137: *Quantum utilis autem Dei exercitu et principibus fuerat, post mortem eius manifestum fuit, cum inter se divisi principes, Boamundi in Romaniam est regressus, et dux Lotharingiae versus Roias profectus est.*
[169] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 143-6.
[170] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 146.
[171] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 147.
[172] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 216: *denuntians se esse dominum totius exercitus.*

intended the expedition to achieve. Only once was an allusion made to the heavenly rewards which might await a crusader on his death and the endeavour was never represented as a penitential act. At the same time, Raymond certainly used the term *peregrini* to denote the crusaders and in this usage it is clear that he understood the term to carry penitential connotations. The valour or moral rectitude of the crusaders was never extolled by Raymond: in fact he was less well-disposed to the crusaders than any of his contemporaries. The crusade was not an achievement attributable to the crusaders but rather an act of God, performed through His *exercitus* almost in spite of the failings of the participants. Although he used the term *peregrini* to refer to the crusade, Raymond was extremely hesitant to refer to them as *milites Christi* despite his knowledge of the term. In fact, Raymond did not acknowledge any novelty in the crusade whatsoever. By presenting the crusaders in the same terms as the Israelites in the Old Testament, Raymond placed the crusade in a long tradition and attributed all of the results to God.

Collective terms to denote the Muslims

Raymond's terminology to denote the Muslim opponents of the crusade was similarly functional. He appears to have had a good knowledge of the religious and political differences between the Seljuks and the Fatimids, the two principal powers in the Near East. This is reflected in the usually accurate application of his principal terms, *Turci* and *Sarraceni*, to refer to the Seljuk Turks and those living in areas controlled by the Fatimids respectively and in the information which he furnished regarding political events in Jerusalem prior to the arrival of the crusaders. In his discussion of the Fatimid rulers in Cairo, however, Raymond used the term *Babylonii*, labelling their king *rex Babyloniorum* and their army at Ascalon *exercitus Babyloniorum* while the Fatimid defenders of Jerusalem, whom Raymond was aware were now under Fatimid rule, were still *Sarraceni*. In his use of non-national terms to label the Muslims, Raymond's preferred term was *pagani*: nowhere were the Muslims called *barbari* or *nationes*. Aside from *pagani* a number of terms were used to denote the Muslims, albeit only once or twice each.

National terms to denote the Muslims

Turci

In concert with many of his contemporaries, Raymond appears to have had a clear idea of the variety of groups among the Muslims of the Near East and his use of the term *Turci* for the most part denoted the Seljuk Turks of the Sultanates of Rum and Baghdad and the various smaller Turkish principalities. The defenders of Nicaea and the followers of Kilij Arslan, both outside Nicaea and at Dorylaeum, were all labelled *Turci*.[173] When the crusade arrived at Antioch, the defenders of the city were *Turci*, as were the Muslims in the surrounding area.[174] The relief forces of Kerbogah of Mosul and Ridwan of Aleppo which attempted to break the crusaders' siege of Antioch were described as *Turci*, while the force of Duqaq of Damascus consisted of *Arabes et Turci*.[175] On one occasion Raymond seemed to refer to *Turci* in the army of Alexius Comnenus. Once the crusaders arrived at Durazzo, Raymond stated that they felt safe because the Byzantines were their *fratres*. This hope was short lived, however. Despite frequent letters from Alexius professing peaceful intentions, a number of groups lay in wait to ambush the crusaders: *Turci et Comani, Husi et Tanaces, Pincenati et Bulgari*.[176] This list clearly refers to the imperial armies which clashed with the Provençals yet Raymond passed no comment on the inclusion of *Turci* in it.[177]

The enmity between the *Turci* and the Fatimids was well known to Raymond. He mentioned the embassy of the *rex Babyloniorum* in the crusader camp at Antioch and in his discussion of the journey of the crusade army towards Jerusalem it is clear that he appreciated that the dispute between the Turks and the Fatimids was religious

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[173] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 18, 19-21, 23, 24-6 & 29. While the *Gesta Francorum* described multiple groups within the army of Kilij Arslan at Dorylaeum, Raymond used only *Turci*, a more accurate representation of the forces of the Turks of Asia Minor whose armies were 'entirely Turkish.' France, *Victory in the East*, p. 159. The *Gesta Francorum* provided a long list of national groups in this army, *Gesta*, p. 20 [203]

[174] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 33, 37, 39, 62-4, 66, 69, 73, 79-80, 82, 98, 102, 106, 116, 132, 148, 160-1 & 162.

[175] Kerbogah of Mosul, Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 83, 84-5, 108 116, 118, 120, 125, 127-8, 132, 136, 162, 234-5 & 241; Ridwan of Aleppo, Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 54, 56-7 & 149; Duqaq of Damascus, Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 42-4. Raymond made a single reference to the *Turci* against whom Baldwin of Boulogne won a number of victories to establish himself in Edessa, Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 159-60.

[176] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 11.

[177] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 11: *Nam ante et retro, dextrorum et sinistrorsum, Turci et Comani, Husi et Tanaces, Pincenati et Bulgari nobis insidiabantur*. The Byzantine army did contain some Turks at this time. Vryonis, 'Sources of Manpower,' p. 128. None of the manuscript variants give an alternative to *Turci* such as *Turcopoli*, a term which Raymond was also familiar with.

as well as political. When the crusaders were at 'Arqah, they received a second embassy from the Fatimids which attempted to come to terms with them over Jerusalem. Raymond reported that the *rex* did not know whether to ally with the crusaders or the *Turci*.[178]

At times Raymond used the phrase *Sarraceni et Turci* apparently to denote the Muslims in general. When the poor in the crusade army cannibalised dead Muslims after the siege of Ma'arrat an Numan, Raymond stated that the news disgusted both the crusaders and the *extraneos*. The *Sarraceni et Turci* allegedly began to wonder aloud what could stop a *gens* which fed on human flesh.[179] When the priest Ebrard reported his encounter with a *Surianus* who had received a vision from St Mark, he stated that while at Tripoli, he had heard many misfortunes of the crusaders, some of which were *falsa quae Sarraceni et Turci veris malis addebant*.[180] In his description of the abuses which the Christian *Suriani* suffered, Raymond attributed their sufferings to the *Sarraceni atque Turci*.[181] On two occasions this use of *Turci et Sarraceni* as a general term could be misleading. During the siege of Antioch, the defenders of the city were called *Turci et Sarraceni*.[182] In the siege of Jerusalem the *Sarraceni et Turci* allegedly taunted the crusaders as they processed around the walls of the city in prayer.[183]

The *Turci* were given certain characteristics peculiar to them by Raymond. Like many of his contemporaries, Raymond was prompted to comment on the Turkish battle tactics which were so alien to the crusaders.[184] In a skirmish outside Antioch, Raymond described two of the principal characteristics of Turkish warfare, their speed and how they used it to advance and retreat quickly – *fusi et fugati, in bello illico resurgebant* – and their use of arrows from a distance, *de monticulo facultatem sagittandi*. The speed which the *Turci* were able to achieve was due to both their horses and the fact that the only arms they carried were bows.[185] Raymond

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[178] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 209-10.
[179] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 181-2.
[180] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 233.
[181] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 277-9.
[182] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 80.
[183] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 330-1.
[184] For a discussion of the differences in battle tactics between the crusaders and the Turks and the reaction of the chroniclers to these variations, see France, 'Warfare in the Mediterranean region,' pp. 12-7.
[185] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 37: *Turci licet frequenter fusi atque fugati, in bellum illico resurgebant: tunc quia velocissimos equos habebant, et expediti, nec graves armis aliis quam sagittis; tunc quia*

then commented that the crusaders lost a great number of horses because the *Turci* did not fight at close quarters but from a distance with arrows and that this cost them horses.[186] In that same battle Raymond described the third principal characteristic of Turkish battle tactics, when he reported that the *Turci*, as was their *mos*, always strove to encircle their opponents but that Bohemond's *prudentia* thwarted them in this instance.[187] In his account of the 'Lake Battle' against Ridwan of Aleppo Raymond reported that the topography of the battle site prevented the Turks from encircling the crusaders *more suo*.[188]

The attribution of *mores* to the *Turci* demonstrates that they were considered to be a group characterised by customs or traits. In his description of the Turcopoles Raymond explained that they were either those who were born of a Turkish father and a Christian mother, or those who were raised (*nutriti*) among *Turci*.[189] Here the *Turci* are clearly a coherent group whose identity can be identified by biological and/or cultural markers. This can also be seen in Raymond's unique forging of a verb *turcare* 'to Turk', which he used to describe cultural domination by the *Turci* over subject populations.[190] In his description of the impact of Turkish rule on the Christian *Armenii* and *Graeci* in Antioch Raymond related how the lack of *domestici* among the *Turci* led to their 'turking' the Christian inhabitants and giving them wives.[191] It is possible that this term meant to convert someone to Islam, as Raymond later reported that the *Turci* or the *Sarraceni* took children from the *Suriani* and had them circumcised or 'turked'.[192]

The identification of the *Turci* with their religion is a frequent characteristic of Raymond's narrative. Although he did not give great detail in his discussion of the religion of the *Turci*, the information which he offered was often accurate, or at least contained a kernel of accuracy. Unlike the *Gesta Francorum* the *Historia Francorum*

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inponte quem diximus, spes refugiendi illorum erat, et de monticulo facultatem sagittandi eminus prospiciebant.

[186] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 38: *Sic et factum est per assultus huiusmodi, ut equos suos omnes deperderent, quoniam Turci non lanceis vel gladiis bellum conferre parati, sed sagittis eminus; iuxta metuendi, dum fugiunt et dum insequuntur.*

[187] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 44.

[188] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 56: *Hoc autem hostibus evagandi licentiam vetuit, ne more suo accingere potuit.*

[189] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 51: *Turcopoli enim dicuntur, qui vel nutriti apud Turcos, vel de matre christiana patre Turco procreantur.*

[190] Du Cange 4, p. 1346.

[191] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 75: *quasi pro penuria domesticorum turcaverant, et uxores eis dederant.*

[192] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 278: *cogebantur tradere pulchros parvulos suos ad circumcidendum vel ad turcandum.*

does not describe the *Turci* as polytheists: reference was only ever made to a single *deus* of the *Turci*. In a speech of St Andrew which Peter Bartholomew related, the apostle rebuked deserters from the army at Antioch and told those who doubted a positive outcome for the crusaders to open the gates of the city and see how the god of the *Turci* protected them.[193] In a later vision of St Andrew, also to Peter Bartholomew, the saint gave instructions on what to do with apostate Christians who had returned to the army. Those who had walked in *Corrozana* in order to worship the god of the *Turci* were not to be received back but to be treated as *Turci*.[194] When legates from the Fatimids in Cairo approached the crusaders to negotiate with them regarding Jerusalem, Raymond reported that he had also negotiated with the *Turci*, who had offered to worship *Alim, qui est de genere Mahumeth* and to pay tribute to the Fatimids.[195] Although given as an aside, this reference demonstrates that some of the crusaders at least were quite well-informed regarding the differences between the Sunni and Shii adherents of Islam and were aware of the principal difference between the two groups, the line of descent from the Prophet to the Caliphs. Also at the siege of 'Arqah a rumour spread that the *papa Turcorum* was approaching with a large army. This 'pope' was able to garner huge support because he was *de genere Mahumeth* and as a result *gentes sine numero* followed him.[196] This is most likely a reference to the Abbasid Caliph in Baghdad who descended from Abbas, an uncle of the Prophet Mohammed.

Sarraceni

For the most part, the *Sarraceni* appear to have been the inhabitants of the areas under Fatimid rule to the south of Antioch. The term appears rarely in Raymond's narrative prior to or during the sieges of Antioch and its frequency increases as soon as the crusade left the environs of the city. Once Kerbogah's army had been defeated, the princes decided to remain in Antioch until the autumn. This was a decision with which Raymond disagreed, as he felt that the victory over the *Turci* had instilled fear among the *civitates Sarracenorum* which would aid the crusaders in their onward

[193] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 118: *vadat ad Turcos, et videbit quomodo Deus illorum salvum faciet illum.*
[194] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 144: *Illos autem homines qui de captivitate ad vos venerunt ut legem vestram tenerent, nolite solvere eos sed et illos qui ambulaverant in Corrozanum, ut deum Turcorum adorarent, nolite recipere eos, sed habete sicut Turcos, et mittite duos vel tres ex his in carcerem, et ipsi demonstrabunt vobis alios.*
[195] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 209.
[196] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 212.

journey.[197] Later Raymond complained that the tribute paid to the crusaders by a number of local Muslim rulers prompted the different crusade leaders to send letters to the *civitates Sarracenorum* claiming to be the leader of the crusade in an effort to gain wealth.[198] As the crusade journeyed southwards towards Jerusalem, the defenders of the cities of Albara, Tortosa, Ma'arrat an Numan, 'Arqah, Tripoli and the local rural populations were all referred to as *Sarraceni*.[199] At the siege of 'Arqah, many of the Provençals gained large amounts of booty and horses *quas dederat illis Deus in regionibus Sarracenorum*.[200] During the march south to Jerusalem the crusaders captured a messenger, *unus Sarracenus*, from the *rex* of Shaizar, who was carrying letters allegedly instructing the local populations to flee the crusaders.[201] In his description of the amount of tribute paid to the crusaders by the *rex* of Tripoli, Raymond included fifteen thousand *aurei, Sarracenae monetae*, each of which he explained was equivalent to eight or nine *solidi*.[202] During the siege of Jerusalem, Raymond reported that the captured *Sarraceni* from *multa castella et villas* were used as forced labour to make siege engines.[203] After the fall of Jerusalem to the crusaders, rumours of the arrival of a Fatimid army in the area prompted Godfrey to journey to Ramla to verify their presence. When he was certain that an army was near, he sent the bishop of Marturano to report to the other leaders in Jerusalem. The bishop disappeared, however, and Raymond reported that he was captured by the *Sarraceni*.[204]

It would seem that the Fatimids were also labelled *Sarraceni* by Raymond. During the siege of Jerusalem, the defenders of the city were described as *Sarraceni*.[205] When Raymond related the arrival of ships from England, he reported that the presence of the *Angli* and *Genuenses* protected the Greek ships and struck

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[197] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 136: *Etenim eo tempore, ita territae atque confectae, timore Sarracenorum civitates in fuga Turcorum fuerunt, ut si tunc equitassent nostri Franci, non esset usque in Iherusalem civitas, quae lapidem, ut nos credimus, eis remitteret.*
[198] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 218.
[199] Albara, Raymond, *Historia*, p. 156; Ma'arrat an Numan, Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 167, 174-5 & 181, 'Arqah, Raymond, *Historia*, p. 208, Tripoli, Raymond, *Historia*, p. 261, Ramla, Raymond, *Historia*, p. 300; Tortosa, Raymond, *Historia*, p. 203; other, Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 184, 195-7, 218, 280 & 306.
[200] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 214.
[201] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 187.
[202] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 216.
[203] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 332-3.
[204] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 353.
[205] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 310-1, 314, 330, 335-6, 340-1 & 344-5.

those of the *Sarraceni* with fear.[206] This clearly refers to the Fatimids since they were the only Muslim naval power in the region.[207] During the battle of Ascalon, however, the army of al-Afdal was not described as *Sarraceni* but rather as *Babylonii*.[208]

At times, the term *Sarraceni* was used to dwenote the same group as *Turci* or alongside *Turci* apparently to denote Muslims collectively. At Antioch Raymond referred to the discovery of a number of Turkish corpses, which were found *in sepulturam Sarracenorum*.[209] In Peter Bartholomew's description of his vision, in which St Andrew directed him to the Holy Lance, the saint led Peter to the church of St Peter in Antioch, *quam antea Sarraceni Mahumariam fecerant*.[210] This use of *Sarraceni* in connection with religious rites may suggest the use of the term in a broad religious sense. In a description of a skirmish outside Antioch, the same group were referred to as *Sarraceni* and then *Turci*.[211] Elsewhere the use of the terms *Turci* and *Sarraceni* in tandem appears to have served as a collective phrase to denote all the Muslims.[212] On one occasion, Antioch was included in the *civitates Sarracenorum*.[213] Like many of his contemporaries, Raymond appears to have used the term *Sarraceni* less specifically than *Turci*. While the *Turci* were specifically designated by their customs and traits, the *Sarraceni* were not and it is possible that the term carried a meaning of 'not *Turci*' rather than denoting a definable national group.

Arabes

It is not clear from Raymond's account what features distinguished the *Arabes* from other Muslim groups. As the crusaders journeyed south from Antioch towards Jerusalem, Raymond reported that the local rulers sent *Arabum nobiles* to negotiate peace with them.[214] There is no indication here of the basis for identification and it is difficult therefore to assess Raymond's accuracy. Twice the *Arabes* appear alongside

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[206] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 295.
[207] France, 'The First Crusade as a naval enterprise,' p. 392.
[208] See below, p. 168
[209] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 69.
[210] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 84.
[211] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 71-3.
[212] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 181-2, 233 & 277-9. As discussed above, this use of both terms was not always accurate: for example the defenders of both Antioch and Jerusalem were described as *Turci et Sarraceni*. Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 80 & 330-1.
[213] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 190: *Numquid ideo venient de terra nostra qui audient captam esse Antiochiam et Gibellum atque reliquas civitates Sarracenorum.*
[214] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 186.

either the *Turci* or the *Sarraceni*, again without any detail.[215] The pattern of usage of the term and its relative scarcity in the *Historia Francorum* does however indicate that a group was only labelled *Arabes* when Raymond was clear that it contained *Arabes*. During the battle against Duqaq of Damascus near Antioch on 31 December 1097 the Damascene army was composed of *Turci* and *Arabes*. Raymond then described the actions of the *Turci* and the *pedites* before describing the army as *Turci et Arabes* again.[216] This would seem to imply that the *Arabes* were analogous with *pedites*, although the Arabs were often light cavalry at this time.[217] During the siege of Jerusalem, word reached the crusaders that some ships had arrived at Jaffa and needed an armed group to protect their ships. When this group under Geldemar Carpinel reached the plain of Ramla, they encountered an armed force of 400 *electi Arabes et Turci*.[218] This distinction between the two groups again suggests a clearly discernable difference, although it appears from the context that all of the Muslims were mounted.[219] The only trait ascribed to the *Arabes* was that, along with the *Turci*, they were accustomed to shed their arms, garments and bags when pursued by a victorious enemy.[220] Only at Ascalon is Raymond's use of *Arabes* corroborated by other sources. On their journey to meet the Fatimid army, the crusaders encountered a group of *Arabes* with their herds who fled, leaving their herds behind. This group was also labelled *Arabes* by the Anonymous.[221]

Babylonii/Aegyptici

The *Babylonii* appear infrequently in Raymond's *Historia* and almost every reference to them refers to their *rex*. The *rex Babyloniorum* was sometimes applied to al-Afdal, the vizier of Cairo, while on other occasions he was called *ammiravis*. At Ascalon, Raymond stated that the *rex Babyloniorum* had brought a large army to recapture Jerusalem from the crusaders and immediately afterwards labelled him

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[215] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 191 & 204.
[216] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 42-4. Albert of Aachen reported that the army of Duqaq was composed of *Turci et Sarraceni*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 52, p. 218-9.
[217] France, *Victory in the East*, p. 359.
[218] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 318. Albert of Aachen described this group as *Sarraceni*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 1 p. 408.
[219] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 318: *Hostes autem, credentes se eum posse absorbare, cum suis hominibus, et incurrebant et sagittabant et circumdabant.*
[220] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 320: *Etenim ista consuetudo est apud illas gentes, quod si fugiant, et imminere hostes suos, primo proiiciunt arma, post haec vestimenta deinde subsellia.*
[221] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 364-5; *Gesta*, p. 94 [486]

ammiravis.[222] At times the 'king' was *rex Babylonis* while elsewhere he was *rex Babyloniorum*.[223] The army at Ascalon was *exercitus Babyloniorum*.[224] Raymond's treatment of the *rex Babyloniorum* was conciliatory at first, reflecting the fact that relations between the crusaders and the Fatimids were positive for the majority of the expedition. When it became clear that the Fatimids were opponents of the crusaders, Raymond ascribed the same *superbia* to the *rex* as he had to Kilij Arslan and Kerbogah. Initially, the *rex* thought that he would easily defeat the crusaders because Alexius had told him of the small size of their army. When his confidence in a swift victory over the Latins dissipated, like Kerbogah, he attempted to come to terms with the crusaders, which they rejected.[225] At Ascalon, Raymond reported that the *rex Babyloniorum* was so confident of a victory that he boasted of how he would destroy the relics and Holy Places so that the *Franci* would never leave their *regiones* again in search of them.[226] Raymond also claimed that the *rex* planned to kill all the *Franci* over the age of twenty and use the others to breed with *sua gente* so that they would have *bellicosas familias*.[227]

The term *Aegyptici* appears only once in the *Historia Francorum*. When legates from the *rex Babyloniorum* arrived at Antioch, they stressed the benevolence shown by the king to *Christiani Aegyptici*.[228] This is presumably a reference to the Coptic populations of the Fatimid Caliphate and its use sheds light on the use of *Babylonii* to denote the Egyptians. Babylon, of course, appears frequently in the Bible, particularly in the Apocalypse where it represents the temporal world at odds with the heavenly Jerusalem, Augustine's 'city of this world.'[229] As such the phrase *Babylonii Christiani* would be oxymoronic to Raymond and his readers.

Mauri

Raymond's *Historia* contains the term *Mauri* only once, in the description of the attack on the city of Tripoli. Following their victory over the city, Raymond

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[222] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 361 & 366.
[223] *Rex Babyloniorum*, Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 59, 210 & 361; *rex Babylonis*, Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 198 & 208.
[224] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 366.
[225] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 210.
[226] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 361-2.
[227] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 361.
[228] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 60.
[229] Apocalypse 14:18, 16:19, 17:5 & 18:2:10:21; Augustine, *Enarratio in Psalmum 87*, P.L. vol. 37, cols. 1101-9.

described how the ground was soaked with the blood of the *Mauri* and the aqueduct blocked by their bodies.[230] In this description, the term *Mauri* was used as a synonym for *Sarraceni* and the significance of *Mauri* is not clear in this instance.[231]

Theological terms to denote the Muslims

Pagani

The only term which Raymond used to describe the Muslims with any frequency was *pagani*.[232] Following his account of the capture of Antioch by the crusaders in June 1098, he criticised the army for failing to take the citadel, which was still held by the Turks, and concentrating too much on gathering spoils, eating and paying attention to the dancing girls (*saltatrices*) of the *pagani*. Three days later, the crusaders were themselves besieged by *pagani* led by Kerbogah.[233] When the princes debated what to do with the city after its capture, some suggested granting it to Bohemond because of the strength of his *nomen* among the *pagani*.[234] In these examples the term *Turci* was used to denote the same group as the *pagani*. After the siege of Ma'arrat an Numan, when reports of cannibalism by the crusaders reached the *Turci et Sarraceni*, Raymond reported that the *pagani* discussed this and other *crudelissima* among themselves and that *cunctae gentes* now feared the crusaders.[235] As the crusade moved on from Ma'arrat a part of the army was attacked by *Sarraceni*, who were immediately labelled *pagani*, and a number of *pauperes* were killed.[236] After the capture of Jerusalem by the crusaders they heard that the *rex Babyloniorum* had come to Ascalon with *innumerabilis paganorum multitudo*.[237] In passages of *oratio*

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[230] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 261: *Foedatur enim terra sanguine Maurorum, et completur aquaeductus cadaveribus eorum.*

[231] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 261: *Hunc igitur murum aquaeducti quem diximus, Sarraceni munierunt, ut quasi de castello et ad castellum exire et regredi possent, si quid adversi contigissent.* In the letter of Daibert and the Princes to Pope Paschal II, which Hagenmeyer attribute to Raymond, the term *Mauri* was used to describe the Fatimid army at Ascalon. Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, p. 172.

[232] Neither *barbari* nor *nationes* were used to denote the Muslims.

[233] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 82: *Interea dum nostri enumerando et recognoscendo spolia ab oppugnatione castri superioris desisterent, atque audiendo saltatrices paganorum splendide ac superbe epularentur, nullatenus Dei memores, qui tantum beneficium eis contulerat, post tertium diem in nonis eiusdem Iunii a paganis obsessi sunt.* See also Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 103 & 119.

[234] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 162.

[235] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 182.

[236] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 184: *Cumque reverteretur, cum grandi exsultatione et victoria, pluribus Sarracenorum interfectis, sex vel septem de nostris pauperibus a paganis capti et interfecti sunt: hi autem omnes defuncti, cruces in dextris habuerunt humeris.*

[237] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 361.

recta the Muslims were made to refer to themselves as *pagani*. In a reported conversation between Kerbogah of Mosul and an official from Antioch, whom Raymond called Mirdalim, the former asked what could check the advance of the crusaders to which Mirdalim replied: *Non quantum planta pedis habet, cedent, si omnis gens paganorum eis incurrat.*[238]

The term *paganitas* was used twice to denote the Muslims as a group. In the opening passage of the *Historia Francorum*, Raymond dedicated the work to the bishop of Viviers in order to record how the *exercitus Dei* triumphed over *omnis paganitas*.[239] Upon the capture of Jerusalem, Raymond rejoiced in the day of the *totius paganitatis exinanitio, Christianorum confirmatio, et fidei nostrae renovatio*.[240] The juxtaposition of *pagani* or *paganitas* and *Christiani* demonstrates the opposition between the two groups and makes it clear that the *pagani* were the enemy of the crusade. In Stephen of Valence's vision of Christ at Antioch, Jesus allegedly asked Stephen if the crusaders were *Christiani*, why they feared the *paganorum multitudo* and continued to remind Stephen that He would bring them aid.[241] In a vision of St Andrew to Peter Bartholomew, the apostle reminded Peter that the land containing Antioch did not belong to the *pagani* but to St Peter, presumably referring to Peter's first see in Antioch.[242] He also comforted Peter Bartholomew by telling him that the day had come which Christ had promised, in which he would overthrow the kingdom of the *pagani* and raise up the kingdom of the *Christiani*.[243] Once, when a Latin bishop was elected in Albara, *pagani* was used in opposition to *fideles*. A *capellanus* of Raymond of St Gilles asked the assembled *populus* if there was a cleric present who would resist the *pagani* and serve God and the *fideles*.[244]

Other terms used to describe the Muslims

As with the crusaders, Raymond used a number of non-national terms to describe the Muslim opponents of the crusade, albeit infrequently. In these terms, Raymond's

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[238] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 126.
[239] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 5.
[240] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 348.
[241] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 103-4.
[242] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 119.
[243] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 119: *Sed scitote profecto quia advenerunt dies illi, quos promisit Dominus beatae Mariae et apostolis suis quod elevaret regnum Christianorum, deiecto et conculcato paganorum regno.*
[244] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 157.

hostility to the Muslims is clear. In the initial stages of the siege of Nicaea, Kilij Arslan attempted to break the siege through a relief force which would storm the city from the south gate in order to bring reinforcements into Nicaea. This plan failed, however, because God *qui consilium impiorum subvertere solet* arranged for the army of Raymond of St Gilles to defeat the Turks.[245]When St Andrew appeared to Peter Bartholomew in a vision, he warned him that he would raise the *infideles* against the crusaders so that one hundred of them would prevail against one thousand of the Latins.[246] In a later vision, St Andrew accused Peter of abandoning the relics of his fingers, which he lost when he was thrown from a mountain by *infideles*.[247] This appears to be a reference to Andrew's martyrdom but since accounts of his death all agree that he was crucified it is not clear where the story of his fingers arose. France has suggested that it was a local Provençal tradition.[248] Nevertheless, the use of *infideles* in this case demonstrates the link between classical terminology in the hagiographical tradition which related to pagans of the first centuries and a term used to denote the Muslims, casting them alongside classical pagans. The Muslims were also described as *tyranni*. After the battle with Ridwan of Aleppo, Raymond noted that the legates of the *rex Babyloniorum* were at Antioch to witness the work of God who crushed the Turks, *potentissimi tyranni*, through his *servi*.[249] Later, outside Ascalon, the *rex Babyloniorum* was also labelled a *tyrannus* in a description of the vast army which he led to fight the crusaders.[250]

While the crusaders were *populus Dei* or *exercitus Dei*, the Muslims were *inimici Dei*. In the battle against Ridwan of Aleppo in February 1089, Raymond attributed the victory of the crusaders, characteristically, to God who *protexit filios et prostravit inimicos*.[251] In a speech given outside Jerusalem by William Hugh, brother of Adhemar of Le Puy, the crusaders were exhorted to pray to God who would

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[245] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 21.
[246] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 145.
[247] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 152-3.
[248] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 152, n. a. In the sixth century Gregory I presented an arm of St Andrew to Gregory, Bishop of Tours perhaps prompting further traditions surrounding the saint in France. 'The martyrdom of St Andrew in the South English Legendary (c. 1270-80), Introduction' in *Saints Lives in Middle English Collections*, eds. E. Gordon Whatley, A. B. Thompson & R. K. Upchurch (Kalamazoo, 2004) p. 22.
[249] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 59.
[250] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 362.
[251] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 57.

concede Jerusalem to them in order to make judgement on *inimici suis et nostris*.[252] Here the enemies of the crusaders were also the enemies of God.

Apostate Muslims

Raymond mentioned Muslims who apparently deserted to the crusaders on a number of occasions. At times they were sources of information. For example, after the battle of Dorylaeum Raymond recounted how some had seen two miraculous knights among the crusade ranks who were invulnerable to the weapons of the *Turci*. Raymond did not see this spectacle himself but learned it from Turks *qui eorum consortium spernentes nobis adhaeserunt*. Later he saw the bodies of the dead as proof of this claim.[253] Following the battle with Ridwan of Aleppo near Antioch in February 1098, fugitives from the Turkish army reported that the army of Aleppo contained 28,000 *equites*, *ut a profugis eorum didicimus*.[254] Once Antioch had been captured by the crusaders and successfully defended by them against Kerbogah of Mosul, the emir of a local city called Azaz appealed to Godfrey of Bouillon for help against the army of Ridwan who had besieged him. According to Raymond, the *Turci* within this castle desired a lord of the *genus Francorum* and that they were making the sign of the cross at the *machinae obsidentium Turcorum*.[255]

Twice Raymond specifically referred to the baptism of Muslims. As the crusade travelled from Tripoli to Jerusalem, Raymond related that a number of *Sarraceni* denounced *Mahumeth* and his *progenies* and were baptised.[256] Following the battle of Ascalon, Raymond of St Gilles allegedly sent *Boamundum, quemdam Turcum genere* to make peace with the emir al-Afdal. This *Turcus* was named *Boamundus* because it was *Boamundus magnus* who brought him to the *fons baptisma*.[257] Raymond was extremely complimentary towards this *Boamundus*, labelling him *pluribus edoctus linguis, ingeniosus multum et callidus, et nobis fidelissimus*.[258] In general Raymond seems to accept the conversion of Muslims to Christianity without demur but on one occasion he appears to oppose converts. In a

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[252] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 328.
[253] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 26.
[254] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 56.
[255] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 148; The emir of Azaz was a 'troublesome' vassal of Ridwan of Aleppo, see France, *Victory in the East*, p. 307.
[256] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 218: *Baptizabantur etiam aliqui Sarracenorum, timore et zelo nostrae legis, anathemitazantes Mahumeth et progeniem eius omnem*.
[257] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 371-2.
[258] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 372.

vision of Peter Bartholomew, St Andrew told Raymond of St Gilles not to accept those who came to him in captivity *ut legem vestram tenerent.*[259] This may represent a hostility among some in the crusade ranks towards Muslim converts in the army, which Raymond was merely reporting, or perhaps a wariness of the sincerity of conversion by captives. Either way, it is the only instance in which Raymond expresses any hostility, albeit indirectly, to Muslim converts.

Islam in the *Historia Francorum*

Raymond refrained from much of the elaboration and embellishment which a number of his contemporaries indulged in when discussing the Muslim opponents of the crusade. Much of his information regarding them demonstrated a reasonable degree of familiarity. In his references to their religious practices, for example, Raymond referred to a single *deus* of the *Turci.*[260] Similarly, in his references to the religious differences between the Turks and the Fatimids, Raymond was aware that the Shi'ite Fatimids worshipped Ali, the cousin of Muhammad.[261] Raymond mentioned Muhammad on a number of occasions, attributing a parallel relationship to the Muslims with their Prophet as he felt the Christians had with God. During the siege of Jerusalem he explained that while the crusaders laboured in the siege for God *spontanei*, the defenders of the city worked *pro legibus Mahumeth.*[262] At Ascalon he juxtaposed the *exercitus Dei* with the *castra Mahumeth.*[263] At Gibellum a group of *Sarraceni* apostates, either through fear or zeal for the *leges* of the crusaders, denounced (*anathematizare*) *Mahumeth* and his *progenies.*[264]

Raymond was also aware of the political divisions within Islam, as can be seen from his differentiation, for the most part, of the *Turci* and the *Sarraceni* along Seljuk-Fatimid lines. In his description of the political considerations of the *rex Babyloniorum* regarding whether to ally with the Turks or the crusaders and the fall of Jerusalem to the Fatimids prior to the arrival of the crusaders at the city's walls, Raymond gives one of the clearest accounts of political relations in the Near East at

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[259] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 144.
[260] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 118 & 144.
[261] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 209. Likewise, Raymond was aware that the Caliphs of Baghdad claimed their descent from the *genus* or family of the Prophet. Raymond, *Historia*, p. 212.
[262] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 341.
[263] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 368.
[264] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 218: *Baptizabantur etiam aliqui Sarracenorum, timore et zelo nostrae legis, anathemitazantes Mahumeth et progeniem eius omnem.*

this time of any of his contemporaries. This level of familiarity with the political and religious climate of the lands through which the crusaders travelled was reflected in the relatively sober treatment of the Muslim groups. There is little embellishment of his discussion of the Muslims with epic features or spurious claims. Raymond did not present the Muslims as polytheists or give them idols as a number of his contemporaries did.[265] There is little evidence of the influence of vernacular tradition, either directly or indirectly, on Raymond's narrative, with two possible exceptions. Once Raymond referred to *Corrozana* when referring to those crusaders who had converted to Islam, *qui ambulaverant in Corrozanum, ut Deum Turcorum adorarent.*[266] *Corosan* or a derivative of the term appears in a number of *Chansons* and Latin crusade chronicles describing the homeland of the Turks.[267] Whether the term originated in the crusade literature and migrated to the vernacular or vice versa is not clear, however.[268] During the siege of Jerusalem, Raymond reported that two women inside the city had tried to put a spell (*fascinare*) on one of the crusaders' *petrariae* but they had been hit with a stone from the same machine.[269] The trope of Saracen sorceresses was common in later *Chansons de Geste* and may represent an influence on Raymond from vernacular literature.[270]

While Raymond may not have embellished his discussion of the Muslims with epic details, he was undoubtedly hostile towards them, labelling them *impii*, *infideles*, *tyranni* and *pagani*. On a number of occasions he related how they oppressed the Christian populations in the East. The *Armenii* and *Graeci* of Antioch were taken into servitude by the Turks and 'turked' (*turcare*). When discussing the plight of the *Suriani* Christians under the rule of the *Turci et Sarraceni*, he reported that they had to pay a ransom to the Muslims for freedom of worship. Those who defied their Muslim rulers *per gratiam Dei* had their children snatched from them and circumcised or 'turked' (*turcare*), while fathers were murdered and mothers raped. The *genus* of the Muslims was provoked to such *malitia* that they destroyed

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[265] For references of idols, see Ralph, *Gesta Tancredi*, p. 144; Tudebode, *Historia*, p. 137; For the polytheism of the Muslims, see *Gesta*, pp. 52, 53 & 96 [322, 324 & 498]; Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 8, p. 258.

[266] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 144.

[267] See Murray, for a discussion of the possible origins of the western use of this term.

[268] Murray notes that the crusade chroniclers tended to use the term with more precision than the composers of the *Chansons*. Murray, '*Coroscane*,' pp. 178-80.

[269] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 342.

[270] N. Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative* (Woodbridge, 2007), p. 193; Meredith-Jones, 'The conventional Saracen,' pp. 218-9.

some churches and statues and built mosques (*Mahumariae*) in others.[271] Young men were put into *prostibula* and their sisters were exchanged for wine. In conclusion, Raymond stated that *gens illa* had acted against *Sanctum sanctorum, et eius haereditatem.*[272] During the siege of Antioch, Raymond reported abuse of crusaders who had deserted the city and had been captured by the *Turci.*[273] This oppression of eastern Christians and the destruction of churches in the East by Muslims was also reported by many of Raymond's contemporaries.

The arrogance of the Muslim rulers in their attitude towards the crusade was also a common feature of the Latin chronicles. In his brief description of the disastrous fate of the People's Crusade, Raymond related that the ease with which the *Turci* defeated the crusaders prompted them to write to the *populi* and *civitates* telling them that the *Franci* were of no value in battle.[274] When Peter the Hermit was sent on an embassy to Kerbogah of Mosul outside Antioch, he warned him that the city by right (*ius*) belonged to St Peter and the *Christiani*. Kerbogah allegedly responded that he would hold the *Franci* and the city regardless, *iure vel iniuria.*[275] Prior to the battle against Kerbogah Raymond recorded a presumably apocryphal conversation between the atabeg and one of his associates Mirdalin, in which Kerbogah was playing chess in his tent while the crusaders marched out of the city. When Kerbogah heard that the crusaders were preparing to fight, he accused Mirdalin of assuring him that the *Franci* would not dare to fight him. Mirdalin replied that Kerbogah could overcome the crusade easily. When Kerbogah realised the depth of the zeal of the crusaders, he became afraid and suggested a duel between a fixed number of warriors from either side.[276] During the initial stages of the siege of Ma'arrat an Numan, the defenders of the city, derided the crusaders and in their *superbia* desecrated crosses on the walls of the city.[277] After the capture of Jerusalem Raymond reported that the *rex Babyloniorum* was advancing towards Ascalon with an army to wipe out the *Franci* and recapture the city. In addition, he asserted that he would mete out the same treatment to Bohemond at Antioch. Confident in the

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[271] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 278.
[272] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 279.
[273] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 108: *Multis autem contigit, ut cum de civitate, cum maximo periculo evasissent, in manus Turcorum maius periculum mortis incurrebant.*
[274] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 23.
[275] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 120.
[276] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 125-7.
[277] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 165. The same accusation was levelled at the defenders of Jerusalem by both Raymond and Tudebode. Raymond, *Historia*, p. 330; Tudebode, *Historia*, pp. 137-8.

numbers in his army, he discounted the *Turci* and consequently the *Franci, Turcorum victores*.[278] Raymond also related that the *rex* threatened to break up the Holy Places and relics and scatter them in the sea.[279]

Raymond expressed pleasure when describing the deaths of Muslim opponents of the crusade. In his description of a skirmish outside Antioch Raymond lamented that his readers, *qui nos suis prosequuntur votis*, did not see *quoddam memorabile* in which a Turkish rider was dragged from his horse by his comrades as he tried to cross a river and drowned.[280] When the crusaders took the city in June 1098 Raymond described the inability of the defenders to escape the city or death as a *iocundum spectaculum*. He related how a group of *Turci*, who were attempting to escape from the city to the north, encountered some crusaders and in their retreat fell from the cliff path. This event was described by him as *iocundum atque delectabile* but while the crusaders rejoiced at the deaths of the *hostes* they were also dismayed at the loss of their horses.[281] When the crusaders captured Jerusalem, Raymond's tone was apocalyptic both in his rejoicing at the capture of the city and his description of the deaths of the defenders of the city. His description of the blood in the *porticus* of the Temple of Solomon which rose *ad frenos equorum* echoed Apocalypse 14:20.[282] Once the city had been captured, Raymond stated that one could see *mirabilia* from the walls and towers before continuing to describe the myriad ways in which the defenders of the city were killed.[283] The deaths of Muslims at the hands of Christians were presented by Raymond as just and the result of *dispositio Dei*. When the crusaders brought back the severed heads of Turks whom they had killed in a battle with Ridwan of Aleppo on the 9 February 1098, they mounted their heads on stakes in front of the walls of Antioch in order to terrify the inhabitants. This was only fair, according to Raymond, because the Turks had previously captured the *vexillum beatae Mariae*, which was the standard of Adhemar of Le Puy, and planted it in the ground.[284] Similarly the death of Yaghi Siyan at the hands of some Armenians, as he tried to flee Antioch following its fall to the

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[278] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 361.
[279] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 361-2.
[280] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 67-8.
[281] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 79-80.
[282] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 346.
[283] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 345. In his introduction to Raymond's *Historia*, John France suggests that an apocalyptic or eschatological concern lay behind Raymond's delight in the deaths of Muslims during the crusade. France, 'Introduction,' pp. xix-xx & xcix-c.
[284] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 58-9.

crusaders, was the result of *dispositio Dei*, as he had killed so many men of that *genus*.[285]

Raymond used western titles when describing Muslim personalities. After the defeat of the People's Crusade in Asia Minor by the Seljuk Turks, Raymond related that the *Turci de Nicaea* sent some of the captives *ad nobiles suae gentis*.[286] Ridwan of Aleppo was described as *dux* of Aleppo.[287] Kerbogah was described as *Turcorum dominus* or *dux Turcorum*.[288] The vizier of Cairo, al-Afdal was frequently referred to as *rex Babylonis* or *rex Babyloniorum*.[289] The ruler of Tripoli, Banu-Ammar was also referred to as *rex*.[290] Near Acre a carrier pigeon was caught by a hawk and found to be carrying a letter from the *rex* of Acre to the *dux* of Caesarea, warning him of the arrival of the crusaders.[291] At the siege of Acre rumour reached the crusaders that the *papa Turcorum* had gathered a vast army and was approaching to engage them.[292] The use of typically western ranks to describe various Muslim rulers was not born out of ignorance of Muslim ranks, however, as Raymond used the word *ammiralius* on a number of occasions to approximate the Muslim rank of emir, even describing al-Afdal as *ammiralius*.[293] It is likely that the use of western equivalent terms was to guide the reader or listener who would be unfamiliar with titles among the Muslims.

Raymond's discussion of the Muslims was both typical of his contemporaries and exceptional. His understanding of political and religious tensions between the Seljuks and the Fatimids was unusual for a Latin and he was even aware of the various claims to legitimacy of the rival Caliphs. He also refrained from applying fantastic or epic features to the crusaders' opponents. Nonetheless, Raymond was clearly hostile towards the Muslims, labelling them *pagani*, *tyranni*, *impii*, *infideles* and *inimici Dei*. The juxtaposition of the terms *pagani* and *Christiani* left his reader in no doubt as to the enmity of the Muslims to the crusaders, yet there was little sign of a programme of presenting the Muslims alongside Old Testament enemies of the Israelites or anti-Christians as in the works of some of his peers. Many of the terms

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[285] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 81.
[286] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 23.
[287] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 54.
[288] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 83, 120 & 125.
[289] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 59, 198, 210 & 361.
[290] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 198-200.
[291] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 299.
[292] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 212.
[293] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 198, 210, 211, 360 & 371.

used to denote the Muslims as the antithesis of the crusaders, such as *impii*, *infideles* and *inimici Dei* were used so sporadically that their impact was limited.

Collective terms to denote the eastern Christians

For some of the Latin chroniclers of the First Crusade, the principal aim of the expedition was the liberation of the churches in the East from a pagan yoke. To this end, they often emphasised the cruel treatment of the eastern Christians at the hands of the Muslims and the destruction and desecration of churches by them. At the same time the common religion of the eastern and western Christians was emphasised and the allegiance which they owed one another on the basis of this shared faith was asserted. Raymond was far less concerned with the sufferings of the eastern Christians under their Muslim rulers – he mentioned it only twice – and the liberation of the eastern churches was never put forward by him as a reason for the crusade. While the Christianity of the *Suriani* was emphasised, the *Armenii* were never described as *Christiani* and the *Graeci* only once. After the siege of Antioch Raymond reported a vision in which the crusaders were instructed to elect a patriarch of the city according to their laws, that is a Latin patriarch. Upon the election of Peter of Narbonne as bishop of Albara, Raymond was pleased that a Roman bishop had been elected to an eastern church.

Armenii

The *Armenii* were mentioned in Raymond's *Historia* in connection with Antioch only. When a rumour reached the crusader camp outside Antioch that Muslim reinforcements were approaching, Raymond reported that the *fama* came from *Armenii et Graeci* as well as the inhabitants of the city.[294] Raymond then continued to relate that when the *Turci* had captured the city fifteen years previously, they made the *Armenii iuvenes et Graeci* into *domestici* and gave them wives. The rumour of Turkish reinforcements caused many of the crusaders and *Armenii mercatores* to flee.[295] The only other mention of *Armenii* in the *Historia* is in the account of the death of Yaghi Siyan, governor of Antioch. When the crusaders entered the city on

[294] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 74.
[295] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 75: *Quoniam Turci ante annos quatuordecim Antiochiam obtinuerant, atque Armenios iuvenes et Graecos, quasi pro penuria domesticorum turcaverant, et uxores eis dederant.*

the night of 2 June 1098, Yaghi Siyan fled but was captured by *Armenii rustici* and was decapitated. This was the result of *Dei dispositio*, according to Raymond because Yaghi Siyan had beheaded so many men of that *genus*.[296] Raymond did not apply positive or negative traits to the *Armenii* nor did he criticise them but he did not identify them as Christians.

Suriani

In contrast, the *Suriani* were identified as *Christiani* each time they were mentioned in the *Historia*. The priest Ebrard related an encounter with a *Surianus, qui Christianus erat*, in which the *Surianus* recounted a vision he had of St Mark, who told him that Christ had called his *discipuli* to Antioch where he was helping the *Franci* to fight with the *Turci*.[297] The *Surianus* continued to explain that in the Gospel of St Peter, *quod nos habemus*, it was predicted that a *gens Christianorum* would capture Jerusalem.[298] This *evangelium beati Petri* was mentioned again when the crusaders asked the local Syrian population to advise them on the safest route to Jerusalem. Although the coastal route contained a number of narrow passes in which they could be obstructed easily, the *Suriani* nevertheless advised them to take this route because it had been foretold in the *evangelium beati Petri* that the *gens* which would capture Jerusalem would cross by the sea.[299]

According to Raymond, 60,000 *Christiani* lived in the area around 'Arqah. These were named *Suriani*, after the city of Tyre *quae vulgariter nun Sur appellatur*.[300] This etymology, although false, demonstrates Raymond's belief that a *gens* could be formed from those of a common place of origin. In fact it is likely that the *Suriani* whom Raymond referred to were Maronite Christians, given that he described them as living in the mountains of Lebanon.[301] When the *Sarraceni* and *Turci* overthrew the *Suriani*, many were compelled to desert their *patria* and *lex Christiana*.[302] Raymond reported numerous abuses of the *Suriani* by the *Sarraceni* and *Turci*, including that they took their children *ad circumcidendum vel ad*

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[296] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 81.
[297] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 234.
[298] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 235.
[299] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 280: *per maritima transibitis*. This 'Gospel' of St Peter has not been identified.
[300] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 277.
[301] France, *Victory in the East*, p. 328.
[302] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 277.

turcandum and murdered their fathers or raped their mothers.[303] Some of their churches and statues were destroyed by the Muslims, while they placed mosques (*Mahumariae*) in the larger churches. If any *Christianus* wanted to have an image of God or a saint in his home, he was required to pay a regular tribute or else the image would be destroyed.[304] The arrival of the *Franci* was presented as divine judgement on the *Sarraceni* and *Turci* for their treatment of the *Suriani*. The Muslims had acted against the 'Holy of holies' and His heirs and the *Franci* were the instruments of their punishment. In this passage, it is clear that the *Suriani* were considered equally the *haeredes* of God.[305]

Graeci

The *Graeci* appear only twice in Raymond's *Historia*. They appear alongside the *Armenii* as inhabitants of Antioch who lived under the rule of the *Turci* for fourteen years. During the siege of Antioch, Raymond described how word reached the camp of an approaching Muslim relief force. This news came not only from the *Armenici et Graeci* but also from those inside the city.[306] Raymond continued to write how the *Armenii* and *Graeci* had been made into domestic servants of the *Turci*, given wives and 'turked' (*turcare*).[307] As the crusade approached Tripoli, Raymond paused in his narrative to describe the arrival of a group of ships of *Angli* who, along with the *Genuenses* ensured the security of *Graecorum naves* bringing supplies from Cyprus.[308] In both of these cases, the *Graeci* were presented as allies of the crusaders but their Christianity was not specifically mentioned.

While the *Graeci* were portrayed as allies of the crusade, in his discussion of the Byzantine emperor Alexius I Comnenus and his subjects Raymond could be

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[303] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 278.
[304] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 278
[305] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 279: *Coniuraverat certe gens illa contra Sanctum sanctorum, et eius haereditatem. Quod nisi iussu et instinctu Dei, Francorum gentes, his malis occurrissent, profecto bruta animalia contra illos Deus armasset; quod aliquando nobis praesentibus fecit*. In their translation of Raymond's *Historia*, John and Laurita Hill have suggested that Raymond was accusing the Syrians of conspiring against *Sanctus sanctorum et eius haereditatem* and contrasting them with the *Franci* for whom God moved *bruta animalia* against the Muslims. It is clear, however, that Raymond was suggesting that had the *Franci* not moved to the defence of the *Suriani*, God would have moved *bruta animalia* for this purpose. Raymond Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, J. H. Hill & L. L. Hill, p. 109.
[306] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 74.
[307] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 75.
[308] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 295.

extremely hostile.[309] During their journey accross the Byzantine empire, the Provençals were involved in violent incidents with the Byzantine army. Raymond contrasted the promises of peace from Alexius and John Comnenus, with the violence inflicted by the Byzantine armies on the crusaders.[310] Subsequently, Raymond assumed the emperor's duplicity in all things.[311] Once the Provençals arrived at Constantinople, Raymond lamented that his narrative, which up to this point had been a joy to write, now began to weigh on him, in particular he dreaded describing the *imperatoris fraudulentissimam ac detestabilem ammonitionis dolositatem.*[312] When the crusade moved on to the siege of Nicaea, Raymond was once again hostile towards the Byzantine emperor.[313] During the sieges of Antioch and in their aftermath, Raymond's attitude towards Alexius becomes complicated by the fact that the Raymond of St Gilles became Alexius' firmest ally in the crusade camp. Raymond seems to have overcome this difficulty by reporting the arguments for and against the emperor without any overt judgement and briefly indicating which view the count took.[314] Taticius, the Greek envoy who accompanied the crusade, was also criticised.[315]

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[309] Ebels-Hoving, *Byzantium in Westerse Ogen*, pp. 69-72.

[310] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 10: *Illi vero, ritu leonem incrudescentes, a pacificos homines, nihil minus quam arma cogitantes, invadunt; per occulta trucidant; in nemoribus, in vicis remotis a castris, quae poterant per noctem furabantur.*

[311] When a number of *legati nostri* arrived from Constantinople bringing positive reports of Alexius and urged Raymond of St Gilles to travel ahead of his army to join the other leaders at Constantinople, Raymond accused them of taking bribes from Alexius and highlighted that they wanted the count to travel ahead of his army: *solus cum paucis, et inermis*. Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 13-4.

[312] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 15.

[313] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 22-3. He also inserted a brief account of the People's Crusade, for whose defeat he made Alexius entirely responsible: *imperator eum prodisset*. Citing the naiveté of Peter the Hermit's following, Raymond accused Alexius of transferring them into Asia Minor and exposing them to the *Turci* Raymond, *Historia*, p. 23. France has suggested that this discussion of the People's Crusade is a condensation of the narrative of the *Gesta Francorum*. However, as France has demonstrated, elsewhere Raymond's borrowings from the *Gesta* were almost verbatim importations and this would make it unlikely that this specific passage was absorbed from the anonymous chronicle, given the differences in tone between the two accounts.

[314] For example, in a dispute over what should happen to Antioch following its capture by the crusade, Raymond represents the arguments of Bohemond, Raymond of St Gilles and the *populus*, without supporting any of them. Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 161-4. See also, Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 210 & 263-6.

[315] Upon their arrival near Antioch, Raymond reported that *Tatic*, who was *naribus truncus et omni virtute*, daily attempted to convince the leaders to retire to outlying castles and use ambushes and sallies to defeat the defenders of the city. Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 48-9: *Huius ego pene oblitus fueram, quia oblivioni tradendus in perpetuum fuerat. Hic autem cotidie auribus principum instillabat, ut discederent ad castra finitima, atque inde frequenti assultatione et insidiis Antiochitas propulsarent*. See also, Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 51-2.

While his report of Godfrey of Bouillon and Robert of Flanders rebuking Raymond of St Gilles for suggesting an attack on the Byzantines appeared to agree with the sentiment that *Christiani* could not be attacked when *Turci* were so near, Raymond seems to have been hostile towards the Orthodox churches. In a vision of Peter Bartholomew, St Andrew instructed the leaders to elect a patriarch of the city of the same *lex* as the crusaders.[316] The patriarch of Antioch had hitherto been of the Orthodox Church but here the vision clearly favoured a Roman candidate. Raymond's own opinion is clear in his account of the election of Peter of Narbonne as bishop of Albara. Following his election, Raymond stated that all gave thanks to God that an *episcopus Romanus* had been installed *in orientali ecclesia*.[317]

Raymond was not alone in accusing Alexius Comnenus and his officials of betraying the crusaders. This was an opinion shared by most of his contemporaries.[318] His cool stance regarding the Byzantines and his failure to identify the *Graeci* or the *Armenii* as *Christiani* is unusual, however, given the tendency of other crusade chroniclers to highlight the common religion of the Latins and the eastern Christians. There was a consensus among the crusade chroniclers that the plight of the eastern churches was a principal cause of Urban's crusade project and, as a result, the plight of these churches at the hands of the Muslims was often emphasised in the narratives.[319] The only group whose Christianity was explicitly labelled by Raymond was the *Suriani* and they were the only eastern Christians whose suffering was highlighted.

Collective terms for all Christian groups

Christiani

Christiani appears relatively infrequently in Raymond's *Historia*. It was used to denote various Christian groups in the Levant as well as the crusaders. At

[316] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 142-3. See also Raymond's approval of the election of a Latin bishop of Albara, Raymond, *Historia*, p. 158.
[317] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 158.
[318] For an examination of the attitudes of Latin authors to Alexius Comnenus, see Neocleous, *Imaging the Byzantines*, pp. 20-85.
[319] For a discussion of the prevalence of the theme of the suffering of eastern Christians in the accounts of the speech of Urban at Clermont, see Munro, 'The speech of Urban II,' pp. 236-7. Urban's emphasis on the plight of the eastern Christians can also be seen in his letters, Krey, 'Urban's Crusade,' p. 236.

Constantinople Godfrey of Bouillon and Robert of Flanders told Raymond of St Gilles that he could not attack Alexius in revenge for the attacks suffered by the Provençals on their journey through Byzantine territories because it would be wrong to attack *Christiani* when there were Turks threatening.[320] Another possible reference to the Byzantines as *Christiani* appears when Raymond explained that the *Turcopoli* were the offspring of *mater christiana pater Turcus*.[321] The Christianity of the *Suriani* was emphasised, in part because of the context in which they were mentioned. In the testimony of Ebrard, who related a vision which a *Surianus* had of St Mark, the *Surianus* was described as a *Christianus*.[322] Likewise, the discussion of the abuse of the *Suriani Christiani* at the hands of the *Turci et Sarraceni* focused on religious persecution and therefore highlighted the Christianity of the *Suriani*. Many of the *Suriani* were compelled by the Muslims either to abandon their *patria* or desert the *lex Christiana*, while those who remained were persecuted and forced to pay tribute for the freedom to worship.[323] In this same passage Raymond referred to the *Suriani* as heirs of God when he claimed that the Muslims had conspired against the 'Holy of holies'.[324] Raymond was even aware of *Christiani* in Egypt. When the legates from the Fatimid Caliph arrived at Antioch to negotiate with the crusaders, Raymond reported that they cited the *gratia et benevolentia* with which *Christiani Aegyptici* and *peregrini nostri* were treated by the *rex Babyloniorum*.[325]

The crusaders were referred to collectively as *Christiani*, most often in visions. In Stephen of Valence's vision at Antioch, Christ asked him which *gens* it was that besieged the city. When he was told that it was the *Christiani*, He asked *cuiusmodi Christiani*, to which Stephen responded: *Qui credunt Christum de Virgine natum, et in cruce passum, mortuum et sepultum et resurrexisse tertia die, atque in coelum ascendisse*. Jesus, satisfied with this, then asked why they feared the *pagani* if they were *Christiani*.[326] After the death of Adhemar of Le Puy in August 1098, Raymond stated that there was a great mourning among *omnes Christiani*.[327] In the

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[320] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 18.
[321] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 51.
[322] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 234.
[323] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 276-9.
[324] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 279.
[325] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 60.
[326] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 102-3.
[327] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 137:*Quantum utilis autem Dei exercitu et principibus fuerat, post mortem eius manifestum fuit, cum inter se divisi principes, Boamundi in Romaniam est regressus, et dux Lotharingiae versus Roias profectus est.*

vision of the *Surianus* which he related to Ebrard, the Syrian *Christianus* told him that the 'Gospel' of St Peter foretold that Jerusalem would be captured by a *gens Christianorum*.[328]

Twice could Raymond's use of *Christiani* be interpreted as a universal term in which all Christians were included. In both these cases, however, the context could also suggest a narrower application referring to the crusaders only. On his embassy to Kerbogah of Mosul outside Antioch Peter the Hermit asserted that the city belonged to St Peter and the *Christiani* by right (*ius*).[329] Later, in a vision of Peter Bartholomew of both Adhemar and St Andrew, Raymond of St Gilles was instructed to make provisions for a ruler of the city who would maintain *iusticia Dei* and to establish a patriarch of their *lex*.[330] In the same vision Andrew criticised Raymond for handing Nicaea over to the Byzantines and this, coupled with the insistence that the patriarch of Antioch be of the *lex* of the crusaders, undermines the interpretation of the above use of *Christiani* as a term uniting all Christians but rather implies that it was used as a collective term for the crusaders.[331] When the *rex Babyloniorum* approached Ascalon to fight the crusaders he allegedly threatened to destroy the Holy Places venerated by the *populus Christiani*. While this would include all Christians, Latin and Orthodox, the reason the *rex* gave for destroying the Holy Places was so that the *gens Francorum* would not leave their *regiones* again in search of them.[332]

The term *Christiani* was juxtaposed with *pagani* in order to demonstrate the binary division between the crusaders and their opponents. In Stephen of Valence's vision, Christ asked him if the crusaders were *Christiani*, why they feared *pagani*.[333] During the siege of Antioch by Kerbogah, St Andrew appeared in a vision to Peter Bartholomew and assured him that the day was approaching which Christ had promised that he would elevate the *regnum Christianorum* and cast down and oppress the *paganorum regnum*.[334] In his exclamation of joy at the capture of

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[328] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 236.
[329] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 120.
[330] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 142-3. See also Raymond's approval of the election of a Latin bishop of Albara, Raymond, *Historia*, p. 158.
[331] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 141.
[332] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 361-2.
[333] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 104.
[334] Raymond, Historia, p. 119: *Sed scitote profecto quia advenerunt dies illi, quos promisit Dominus beatae Mariae et apostolis suis, quod elevaret regnum Christianorum, deiecto et conculcato paganorum regno.*

Jerusalem by the crusaders, Raymond rejoiced that *paganitas* had been purged, the *Christiani* confirmed and the faith of the crusaders renewed.[335]

Other national groups in the *Historia Francorum*

Turcopoli, Comani, Husi, Tanaces, Pincenati, Bulgari, Ungari

When describing the armies of Alexius Comnenus, Raymond included a range of groups, many of whom appear only once or twice in his narrative. These groups correspond well to a number of national groups which were employed in the imperial armies at this time. Once the crusaders had reached Durazzo in the Byzantine Empire, Raymond reported that they felt safe as if *in patria nostra*.[336] This was short lived, however, as Raymond reported that *ante et retro, dextrorum et sinistrorsum, Turci et Comani, Husi et Tanaces, Pincenati et Bulgari nobis insidiabantur*.[337] Following their arrival in Byzantine territory, only the *Pincenati* are mentioned. This certainly refers to the Petchenegs, who formed a significant part of the imperial forces in the western territories of the empire.[338] On their journey to Constantinople a group of *Pincenati* attacked Adhemar of Le Puy and his life was only saved because one of their group spared him in order to rob him.[339] Although this group is presented as one of the enemies of the crusades (*hostes*), they were not given any specific traits, positive or negative.[340] The *Turcopoli*, on the other hand were defined quite clearly by Raymond as those *qui vel nutriti apud Turcos, vel de matre christiana patre Turco procreantur*.[341] This group, the Turcopoles, appear in many of the crusade chronicles as part of the Byzantine army.[342] Raymond offered an insight into his

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[335] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 348: *Haec, inquam, dies celebris in omni saeculo venturo, omnes dolores atque labores gaudium et exsultationem fecit; dies haec, inquam totius paganitatis exinanitio, Christianorum confirmatio, et fidei nostrae renovatio.*

[336] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 9.

[337] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 11.

[338] J. W. Birkenmeier, *The Development of the Komnenian Army: 1081-1180* (Leiden, 2002), p. 46.

[339] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 11-2.

[340] See also Raymond, *Historia*, p. 51.

[341] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 51.

[342] For a discussion of the specific military function of the Turcopoles, see, Savvides, 'Turcopoles/Tourkopouloi,'; Vryonis, 'Sources of Manpower,' pp. 133-4; R.C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare 1097-1193* (New York, 1995), pp. 111-2; Harari, 'The Frankish Turcopoles,' pp. 76-7. Like Raymond, Albert of Aachen described the Turcopoles as the offspring of a Turkish father and a Greek mother. Albert, *Historia*, Bk. v, cap. 3, p. 342.

ethnic terminology, however, when he related that the *Turcopoli* could also be considered as such if they were reared among the *Turci*: *nutriti apud Turcos*.[343]

The *Comani* appear twice in the Byzantine army. They were listed among the groups which Raymond reported in the western territories of the Byzantine Empire who were waiting to attack the crusaders and in the army of Alexius Comnenus which was rumoured to be approaching Antioch.[344] This group is almost certainly the Cumans, with whom Alexius allied in the 1080s against the Petchenegs and then turned against once the Petchenegs had been defeated in 1091.[345] After this, the Cumans formed part of the Byzantine armies.[346] On one occasion, Raymond mentioned the *Comani* as a group hostile to the empire when Alexius declined the invitation of Raymond of St Gilles to join the crusade as its leader, citing the defence of his empire from *Alemanni et Ungari et Comani*.[347] This marks the single use of the term *Ungari* in the *Historia Francorum* and is most likely the Hungarians.

After relating that the crusaders were relieved to arrive at Durazzo in the Byzantine Empire because they believed the Byzantines to be *fratres et coadiutores*, Raymond reported that despite the letters of friendship from the Byzantine emperor, the crusaders were attacked on all sides by *Turci et Comani, Husi et Tanaces, Pincenati et Bulgari*.[348] This is the only reference to the *Husi*, the *Tanaces* and the *Bulgari* in Raymond's chronicle. While the *Bulgari* were clearly Bulgars who formed part of the Byzantine armies at this time, the *Husi* and the *Tanaces* are more obscure. In their edition of the *Historia Francorum*, John and Laurita Hill suggest that this term refers to the Oghuz Turks, sometimes known as the Uzes.[349] This group supplied mounted archers to the Byzantine army.[350]

The Hills have suggested that the term *Tanaces* in Raymond's account does not refer to a particular national group but rather ought to be translated as 'tenacious peoples.' In the work of Peter Tudebode, which apparently relied on Raymond's *Historia* as a source for the journey to Constantinople, the term was rendered

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[343] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 51.
[344] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 11 & 51.
[345] Birkenmeier, *The Development of the Komnenian Army*, pp. 70-8.
[346] Vryonis, 'Byzantine and Turkish societies and their sources of manpower,' p. 129. Albert of Aachen mentioned the *Comani* in the Byzantine army on a number of occasions. See below, p. 291.
[347] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 16.
[348] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 11.
[349] Raymond Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, eds. J. H. Hill & L. L. Hill, p. 19, n. 24.
[350] Birkenmeier, *The Development of the Komnenian Army*, p. 77; Vryonis, 'Sources of Manpower,' p. 128.

Athenasi.[351] In view of Tudebode's use of the term *Athenasi*, it appears more likely that this term is a distortion of *Athenatoi*, a unit of the Byzantine army also known as the 'Immortals.'[352] This cavalry regiment existed since the late tenth century and was used by both Alexius and his son John I Comnenus.[353]

Sclavi

The *Sclavi* were the inhabitants of *Sclavonia* or Dalmatia, through which the armies of Raymond of St Gilles and Adhemar of Le Puy travelled on their journey to the territories of the Byzantine Empire. These armies became embroiled in violent episodes with the local population and as a result, Raymond of Aguilers was extremely hostile towards the *Sclavi*, labelling them *agrestes et rudes* and accusing them of attacking the *pauperes et infirmos* of the army. [354] When the crusaders passed safely through the area and arrived at Scutari, Raymond surmised that God had wanted the crusaders to travel through *Sclavonia* in order that *agrestes homines qui Deum ignorabant* would learn from His *milites* and either repent of their previous *ferocitas* or be brought to God's judgement unrepentant.[355] After concluding peace with the *rex Sclavorum*, Raymond reported that the crusaders were again attacked and the unarmed were robbed by the *Sclavi, de more solito furentes*.[356] Elsewhere the *Sclavi* were mentioned only once, as part of the army which Alexius was rumoured to be bringing to the aid of the crusade at Antioch.[357]

Iudaei

There is only one reference to the Jews (*Iudaei*) in Raymond's *Historia*. In a vision of Peter Bartholomew, Christ appeared and divided the ranks of the crusade into five parts based on their commitment to the expedition, those with the least faith were *increduli* and were to be killed.[358] Christ then allegedly asked Peter which *gens* he thought Jesus favoured. When Peter suggested the *Iudaei*, Christ rebuked him, telling

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[351] Tudebode, *Historia*, p. 44. See Appendix 2, pp. 410-11.
[352] Anna Comnena, pp. 38, 41, 44, 95 & 274; Du Cange 1, p. 411.
[353] Birkenmeier, *The Development of the Komnenian Army*, pp. 57-8, n. 8 & 98, n. 27.
[354] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 6.
[355] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 8.
[356] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 9.
[357] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 51: *uti sunt Sclavi et Pincenati, et Comani et Turcopoli*. Albert of Aachen also mentioned a number of groups which formed the army of Alexius, however, the *Sclavi* do not appear in this list or elsewhere in Albert's narrative. Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 40, p. 310. Tudebode mentioned *Sclavani* in his *Historia* as one of the groups inhabiting the Byzantine Empire.
[358] Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 222-6; Tudebode, *Historia*, pp. 37 & 43.

him that He hated them: *odio eos habui et inferiores omnibus gentibus stabilivi.*[359] The *Iudaei*, Christ stated, were *increduli* and the crusaders ought to avoid becoming *increduli* themselves otherwise He would choose another *populus* with whom to complete his promise.[360]

The *Historia Francorum*: Conclusions

As an eyewitness report of the crusade and one which appears to have been written very soon after the events which it describes, Raymond's *Historia Francorum* is extremely important for our understanding of the immediate impressions of an educated cleric of the Muslims and the eastern Christians. His views of the Muslims in particular were sober in comparison with his contemporaries, he neither gave them epic features nor labelled them as polytheistic idol worshippers. He appears to have been aware of the variety of political and religious affiliations among them, in particular the enmity of the Seljuks and the Fatimids. Raymond's references to the rival caliphs' claims to be of the legitimate lineage of Mohammed surpass the knowledge of most westerners at the time. In his depiction of the eastern Christians, he is somewhat out of step with Albert, Baldric, the Anonymous and Ekkehard, who acknowledged the common religion of the eastern and western Christians and who placed the liberation of these churches as one of the aims of the crusade. Only the plight of the *Suriani Christiani* was highlighted by Raymond and the *Franci* were represented as the agents through which God was liberating them. When discussing the Byzantine Emperor, Alexius I Comnenus and his officials, however, Raymond was expressing antagonisms very similar to many of his peers. The emperor was portrayed as persistently hostile to the expedition and accused of favouring the Muslims over the Latins.

The merits of the crusaders and the reward which they obtained through participation in this expedition were not detailed in Raymond's *Historia*. In fact, by likening the crusaders to the volatile Israelites in the Old Testament, Raymond took away from the achievement of the Latins somewhat. He highlighted the divisions which hampered the effort following the capture of Antioch and was even critical of

[359] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 226.
[360] Raymond, *Historia*, p. 226. Raymond did not report on the attacks on the Jewish communities of Western Europe by groups of crusaders in 1096.

his lord Raymond of St Gilles for delaying the departure of the crusade from Ma'arrat an Numan and 'Arqah. There was no mention of the crusade as a penitential act or one which won salvation for its participants, save for his description of the vision of Anselm of Ribemont in which he was promised eternal reward for fighting for Christ. Raymond nevertheless used the term *peregrini* to describe the crusaders on a number of occasions and it is clear that he understood the term in the sense of 'pilgrim'.

When contrasted with the *Gesta Francorum*, another eyewitness account written in close proximity to the end of the crusade, it becomes clear that there was little consensus among the participants of the crusade regarding the collective terminology with which to describe those involved or the merit which they earned through their efforts. Both authors described the crusaders as *Franci* and *nostri*, although in the case of the latter term, Raymond appears to have used it as shorthand while the Anonymous seems to have valued it as a term which united the whole crusade host. The Anonymous consistently described the unity within the crusade army, the merits of the crusaders and the martyrdom which they earned by their participation in the expedition. This unity also extended to the eastern Christians despite the actions of Alexius Comnenus. The Muslims were given extremely burlesque features and multiple gods. The 'new' usage of *milites Christi* to denote the crusaders was enthusiastically embraced.

In *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, Jonathan Riley-Smith observed that many of the clerics who accompanied the crusade belonged to the households of the various princes and consequently they represented a conservative sample of Latin clergy.[361] Although a canon of the cathedral of Le Puy, Raymond appears from his *Historia* to have been extremely conservative, particularly in his reluctance to embrace the development of the crusade idea. He was extremely hesitant to label the crusaders *milites Christi* or to describe their deaths as martyrdom. In his treatment of the crusaders as akin to the Old Testament Israelites Raymond emphasised their weaknesses and attributed the success of the crusade entirely to God. The debasement of the crusaders to instruments of divine will only, rather than beneficiaries of God's benevolence of which they were worthy, represents a view of man's relationship with God which, in many authors, was fading

[361] Riley-Smith, *Idea*, pp. 80-1.

in the face of twelfth century humanistic thought which emphasised man's divine nature.[362] The hesitancy with which the new thought regarding the crusaders was expressed by Raymond and the reluctance to emphasise a common religious identity between the eastern and western Christians demonstrates that Raymond, despite his proximity to Adhemar of Le Puy, was evidently far removed from papal thought regarding the crusade.

[362] R.W. Southern, *Medieval Humanism and other Studies* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 29-61, esp. pp. 39-41.

The *Historia Ierosolimitana* of Albert of Aachen

The *Historia Ierosolimitana* of an unknown cleric, whom historians have called 'Albert of Aachen', is by far the longest of the early Latin narratives of the First Crusade, covering the First Crusade and the settlement of Outremer until 1119.[1] The *Historia* was divided irregularly into twelve books, each of which was further divided into chapters. The earliest, albeit damaged, manuscript of the *Historia* dates to the second quarter of the twelfth century. The work appears to fall naturally into two parts, Book 1 to Book 6, Chapter 54 and Book 6, Chapter 55 to the end of Book 12. The Prologue to the *Historia* defined the subject matter as the liberation of the Holy Sepulchre and the remission of the *census et tributa peregrinorum*.[2] Susan Edgington has suggested that the opening lines of Book 6, Chapter 54, have a somewhat final, epic tone. They describe the return of many of the crusaders to the West after the defeat of the Fatimid forces of al-Afdal at Ascalon in 1099.[3] The first six books of the *Historia* do not betray any awareness of later events. In the description of prophetic dreams and their apparent fulfilment in Book 6, the deaths of Godfrey of Bouillon (1099) and Stabelo, his chamberlain (1102) are recorded, giving the earliest possible date for the completion of the first part of the work as 1102.[4] The first part of the work conforms to the model of a narrative or *Historia* with events presented in vivid detail and a number of episodes in which long speeches or conversations between principal persons were recorded.

This first section of the *Historia* contains a number of parallels with the *Chanson d'Antioche*, a vernacular epic which is preserved in manuscripts dating to the later twelfth century. The relationship between the two works is complex. Although the two have similar accounts of certain incidents, there are a number of episodes in Albert which are of equal if not more epic character than those in the

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[1] Only Fulcher of Chartres attempted to describe events from a longer period (1095-1127). See Edgington, 'Introduction,' Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana* (Oxford, 2007), p. xxi, n. 1 for a discussion of the relative lengths of the narratives.
[2] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 1, p. 2.
[3] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 54, p. 474; Edgington, 'Introduction,' p. xxv.
[4] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, caps. 26, 27, 36 & 37, pp. 437-9 & 449-51.

Chanson and vice versa. Modern editors have found it difficult to explain why, if one author directly used the other, some scenes were selected for inclusion while others were omitted. The oral nature of the transmission of the *Chanson* and the likelihood that it was circulated quite widely before it was written down makes it impossible to say which work was earlier.[5] In an examination of the relationship between the two works, Edgington has concluded that both Albert and the author of the *Chanson* used the same or similar contemporary oral sources.[6]

After Book 6 Chapter 54, the format of the *Historia* changes somewhat and a more strictly chronological *Chronicon* emerges. Many of the epic features fade away and the level of detail diminishes.[7] This is probably due to the scarcity of sources available to Albert. There are no surviving *Chansons* that describe the period 1100-1119 and it is likely that they did not exist.[8] Albert's other sources, most likely eyewitnesses, would also have been scarcer after the initial waves of returned crusaders. Despite this, Albert's reliability does not appear to have been drastically reduced: where his account can be checked against other sources, he is often found to be correct.[9] This shift between the first six books and the second does not seem to denote different authorship. The syntax remains uncomplicated and his proclivity for the duplication of words such as *videre et intelligere* or *terram et patriam* continues for the entire work.[10] The use of collective terms remains constant throughout the work. While the *Historia* may have been written in two distinct phases, there are no extant manuscripts which contain the first 'section,' unlike the case, for example, of the *Historia Hierosolimitana* of Fulcher of Chartres. One intriguing piece of evidence in favour of the existence of such a 'first redaction' is the later use of the *Historia* by William, Archbishop of Tyre, who wrote a history of the Latin East in the late twelfth century. William's *Chronicon* demonstrates clear borrowings from

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[5] The historiography of the debate over the primacy of Albert and the *Chanson* is discussed in detail in S.B. Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen and the *Chansons de Geste*,' in *The Crusades and their Sources*, eds. J. France & W. Zajac (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 23-38.

[6] Edgington, 'Introduction,' pp. xxvii-xxviii; Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen and the *Chansons de Geste*.' Relevant to this study in particular is the effect that this use of vernacular epic sources by Albert may have had on his discussion of the opponents of the crusade, in particular the Turks.

[7] Not all of the epic features fade, see the discussion of *Turci* below, pp. 239-41.

[8] 'Settlement is more prosaic than crusade.'Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen and the *Chansons de Geste*,' p. 29.

[9] For a particular study of his information on the county of Edessa and its reliability, see A.A. Beaumont, Jr. 'Albert of Aachen and the County of Edessa,' in *The Crusades and other Historical Essays; Presented to Dana C. Munro by his former students*, ed. L. Paetow (New York, 1968), pp. 101-38.

[10] Edgington, 'Introduction,' pp. xxviii-xix esp. n. 19.

Albert's account but only for the period 1095-1099. For the period immediately following the capture of Jerusalem in 1099, William was entirely dependent on Fulcher of Chartres' *Historia* and it is unlikely that he would have dismissed Albert's account if it was available to him.[11]

Although the *Historia Ierosolimitana* is attributed to 'Albert of Aachen', this identity is not proven. The name Albert or Adalbert appears in one branch of the manuscript *stemma* only and the introduction – *Incipit hystoria Ierosolimitane expedicionis, edita ab Adalberto, canonico et custode Aquensis Ecclesie* – although it appears on the earliest surviving manuscript (E), is a later addition in an early thirteenth-century hand.[12] The records for Aachen are sparse in the early twelfth century: only two records of an Albert or Adalbert exist in the records of the collegiate church of St Mary's in Aachen, neither of which can be decisively identified as the author of the *Historia*.[13] Historians have adopted the name Albert in preference to 'Anonymous'. Albert's presence in Aachen is not certain either. In one passage, however, he described a vision which appeared to *cuidam catholico fratri et canonico Sancte Marie Aquis, Giselberto nomine* and it is likely therefore that the author also was a canon at St Mary's.[14] Whether he was a resident of Aachen or not, Albert's narrative leans heavily towards the Lotharingian contingent of the crusade led by Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin of Boulogne. This interest suggests that his sources were Lotharingian, making his place of residence most likely to be Lotharingia.[15] This Lotharingian leaning can be seen in his focus in Books 1 and 2. In Book 1 there is a great deal of detail in the description of the journeys of each of the contingent of the People's Crusade. Peter the Hermit indeed was credited by Albert with the inception of the expedition, which he apparently dictated to the Pope.[16] Book 2 relates the journey of Godfrey of Bouillon to Constantinople in great

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[11] Edgington, 'Introduction,' p. xxiv; Huygens, 'La Présente Édition,' William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM 63 (1986), p. 93.

[12] Edgington, 'Introduction,' pp. xxiii, n. 8, xli & xliii.

[13] P. Knoch, 'Albert von Aachen,' in *Studien zu Albert von Aachen*, ed. P. Knoch (Stuttgart, 1966), pp. 64-90, p. 65.

[14] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 36, p. 448. Giselbert does not appear in the records for St Mary's in Aachen either, Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, p. 448, n. 58.

[15] P. Knoch, 'Albert von Aachen,' pp. 64-5. See also Edgington, 'Introduction,' p. xxxiii, for a discussion of Albert's knowledge of the area around Aachen.

[16] According to Albert, Peter the Hermit visited Jerusalem and was aggrieved at the abuse of pilgrims and local Christians by the Turkish rulers of the city. The Patriarch of Jerusalem begged him to bring a force of *Christiani* to the relief of the church there and this was reiterated in a vision of Christ. Peter returned to Europe and in an audience with the Pope he related the sufferings of the Christians in the East and prompted the papal call to Crusade. Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, caps. 2-5, pp. 2-8; C. Morris &

detail, giving only cursory information regarding the other armies and only where it was directly relevant to Godfrey's journey.

Aside from the parallels between Albert's *Historia* and the *Chanson d'Antioche*, there are no other extant written sources which Albert demonstrably used in the compilation of his narrative.[17] He appears to have written his account in entire ignorance of the number of eyewitness chronicles which circulated in the early years of the twelfth century, in particular the *Gesta Francorum* which was apparently circulating in the West from a very early date. During his account Albert referred to eyewitness testimony on a number of occasions and it is likely that much of his narrative came from these eyewitnesses. In the opening chapter of Book 1, Albert lamented the fact that he was not present on the expedition but resolved to commit to *memoria...que auditu et relatione nota fierent ab hiis qui presentes affuissent.*[18] Apparently anxious to bolster his account, at the beginning of Book 3 he stated that it was not constructed *ex auditu solum, sed ex veridica eorum relatione qui et participes fuerunt eiusdem tribulationis.*[19] Other references to information gleaned from those present can be seen where Albert used the phrase *ut aiunt qui affuerunt* or *ut aiunt quibus tota massa innotuit.*[20] Elsewhere in his narrative Albert stressed his reliance on eyewitnesses.[21]

This eyewitness basis of Albert's narrative makes it extremely appealing to historians of the First Crusade and of the opening years of the Latin states in the East. Although the First Crusade was by no means under-reported by contemporaries, Albert was the only author to emphasise the role of the Lotharingians and of Godfrey of Bouillon. This emphasis, stemming from his likely home in the Empire, has led to a discussion of Albert as a 'German', 'imperial' or 'Lotharingian' author, in contrast to most of his contemporaries who have been labelled as 'Norman' or 'French.'[22]

E.O. Blake, 'A Hermit goes to War: Peter the Hermit and the Origins of the First Crusade,' *Studies in Church History* 22 (1985), 79-108. See Morris 'Peter the Hermit and the Chroniclers,' pp. 31-2 for a discussion of Albert's partiality towards Peter.

[17] The presence of a 'Lost Lotharingian Chronicle,' from which Albert gained much of his information has been much disputed. See S.B. Edgington, *The* Historia Ierosolimitana *of Albert of Aachen: A Critical Edition* (unpublished PhD, University of London, 1991), pp. 17-25.

[18] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 1, p. 2.

[19] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 2, p. 138.

[20] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 34, Bk. vi, cap. 23, pp. 300 & 432.

[21] For a discussion of Albert's stress on eyewitness testimony, see Y. N. Harari, 'Eyewitnessing,' pp. 95-8; Knoch, 'Albert von Aachen,' pp. 66-7.

[22] Edgington, 'Introduction,' p. xxviii; S.B. Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen Reappraised,' in *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies 1095-1500*, ed. A.V. Murray (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 55-68; Edgington, 'Reviewing the Evidence,' pp. 59 & 64; P. Knoch, 'Die

The impact of this emphasis is still disputed, with many scholars viewing Albert as a panegyrist or even 'hagiographer' of Godfrey of Bouillon, while Edgington has argued that an 'objective reading of the text' does not support this assertion.[23] Albert's continuation of the narrative after Godfrey's death should at least refute that his sole purpose was a panegyric of Godfrey. Albert, however, paid more attention than the other crusading chroniclers to the various contingents of the crusade who came from the western Empire, including parts of the People's Crusade, Godfrey of Bouillon's army on its journey to Constantinople and the fortunes of Baldwin of Boulogne in Armenia.[24] It is not necessary to decide whether Albert's narrative was driven by his desire to emphasise imperial participation in the crusade or if it was simply the product of the sources available to him: both may be true. As well as being considered a rare 'German' voice, Albert's independence from the *Gesta* 'tradition' of crusade historiography has generated interest among historians. With no evidence that he read any of the accounts of his contemporaries, Albert has sparked renewed interest among scholars who dispute the 'normal' account of the crusade as allegedly presented in the *Gesta Francorum* and its derivatives.[25]

The length of Albert's narrative and his probable strong dependence on eyewitness sources suggests a possible difficulty in examining his typological language: that of consistency of terminology. With so many possible sources contributing to such a long narrative, there is a possibility that this would lead to inconsistency in Albert's language. In the *Historia*, however, there is a surprising level of consistency in the use of national and religious collective terms. The interplay between the use of national terms and religious ones demonstrates a preference for religious labels, in particular when discussing the Christians. This was because of their usefulness in promoting particular themes, which would have been

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"Deutschen" auf dem ersten Kreuzzug' in *Studien zu Albert von Aachen*, ed. P. Knoch, pp. 108-25, pp. 110-21; Murray, 'Questions of Nationality,' pp. 61 & 68.

[23] Edgington 'Introduction,' p. xxxi; P. Knoch, 'Gottfried von Bouillon im Urteil der Zeitgenossen,' in *Studien zu Albert von Aachen*, ed. P. Knoch, pp. 126-46, pp. 141-5; P. Aubé, *Godefroy de Bouillon* (Paris, 1985), p. 357; France, *Victory in the East*, p. 380, suggests that Albert wrote his *Historia* in an attempt to bolster Godfrey's reputation in the face of Bohemond of Taranto's 'high standing in the wake of the crusade.'

[24] See Knoch, "Deutschen" pp. 116-9; Murray, 'Questions of Nationality,' 61 & 68 for the assertion that Albert deliberately exaggerated the 'German' presence on the Crusade.

[25] For the assertion that the *Gesta Francorum* was the 'normal' account of the Frist Crusade, see France, 'The use of the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*'; France, 'Byzantium in Western Chronicles,' p. 7; Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen reappraised,' pp. 57-8; Carrier, 'Pour en finir avec les *Gesta Francorum*,' p. 16; C. Morris, 'The Aims and Spirituality of the First Crusade as seen through the eyes of Albert of Aachen,' *Reading Medieval Studies* 16 (1990) 99-117, pp. 100-1 & 111.

undermined by a close adherence to national, ethnic or regional variations among the Christians.

National terms to denote the Crusaders

Given the length of Albert's narrative, it is not surprising that it contains a large number of different uses of national terms for the crusaders and settlers in the Levant, nor that he paid particular attention to groups from within the Empire. Although claims that Albert was an apologist for German participation in the First Crusade and that his *Historia* constituted a 'hagiography' of Godfrey of Bouillon may be oversimplifications, in contrast with many of his contemporaries, the wealth of terms which he used for groups from the Empire demonstrate an interest in emphasising the imperial contribution to the movement. While a use of *Franci* or *Galli* as collective terms for the entire crusade army might be considered unlikely in a Lotharingian author, Albert did use these terms along with *Francigene*, albeit sparingly. Significantly, both were used as collective terms on occasion.

Franci

Albert's use of the term *Franci* varied widely. The term *Francia* also appeared in the *Historia* on a number of occasions, most frequently when reference was made to the *rex Francie* or *regnum Francie*.[26] It seems that *Francia* referred to the areas contained in the kingdom of France at this time. Albert reported that the Council of Clermont was attended by *episcopi totius Francie*.[27] In a description of the origins of those taking part in the expedition, *Francia* appeared alongside *Lotharingie, terre Theutonicorum, simul et Anglorum, et ex regno Danorum*.[28] At the same time reference was made to *regnum Francorum* or *terra Francorum*.[29] Peter the Hermit was from Amiens, *que est in occidente de regno Francorum*.[30] A contradiction of this interpretation is suggested, however, when Albert distinguished between *Francia*

[26] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, caps. 5 & 25, Bk. ii, caps. 7 & 27, Bk. iii, cap. 35, Bk. iv, caps. 3 & 11, Bk. vii, cap. 66, Bk. x, cap. 54, Bk. xii, cap. 19, pp. 8, 48, 72, 106, 194, 252, 264, 340 & 578.
[27] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 5, p. 8.
[28] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 5, p. 8. See also, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 25, Bk. vii, cap. 66, pp. 48 & 578.
[29] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 2, Bk. ii, caps. 10 & 27, pp. 2, 74 & 106.
[30] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 2, p. 2.

Occidentalis and *Francia Orientalis*.[31] A list of nobles who took part in the 1101 crusade, identified by Albert as from *Francia Occidentalis*, included Stephen of Blois, Miles of Bray, Guy of Rochfort, Hugh Bardulf of Broyes, Engelrand, bishop of Mount Laon, the bishop of Soissons, Baldwin of Grandpré, Dodo of Clermont and Walbert, Castellan of Laon.[32] A quotation from the speech of Kilij Arslan to Kerbogah, in which he described the crusaders as *quedam gens superveniens, quam dicunt Christianos de regno Francie*, indicates that *Francia* denoted more than the kingdom of France.[33] The followers of the priest Gottschalk who were wiped out in Hungary in July 1096 were listed as *ex diversis regionibus Lotharingie, Francie Orientalis, Bawarii, Alemannie*.[34] Following the division of Charlemagne's empire among his three sons in 843 the term *Francia Orientalis* was briefly given to the eastern kingdom of Louis 'the German', however, by the tenth century its application had narrowed among most authors writing in the empire to denote the duchy of Franconia, while *Francia Occidentalis* was used of the kingdom of France.[35] Given the appearance of the term *Francia Orientalis* among a number of groups such as *Lotharingie, Bawarii* and *Alemannie*, it is likely that this narrower definition was the one intended by Albert.[36]

In some instances Albert used the term *Franci* to denote a specific group. The Lombard army of the 1101 crusade refused to move from the outskirts of Constantinople until they were joined by *ampliores vires tam Francorum quam Alemannorum* which suggests that the *Franci* corresponded to the inhabitants of the kingdom of France while the *Alamanni* referred to the German participants.[37] The contingent of Welf IV of Bavaria and William of Poitiers which was defeated heavily

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[31] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 23, Bk. viii, caps. 6 & 25, Bk. x, cap. 8, pp. 44-6, 594, 618 & 726; Knoch viewed this as a subdivision of the empire into *Stammesherzogtümern*. Knoch, "Deutschen," p. 119.

[32] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 6, p. 594; Balard, '*Gesta Dei per Francos*,' p. 478.

[33] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 3, p. 252; Epp has suggested that Albert's use of these terms represents an attempt to claim a Carolingian heritage for Godfrey in answer to Guibert of Nogent's claim of Pippin and Charles Martel for the 'French'. Epp, '*Importabiles Alemanni*,' p. 11. The present author would dispute this view in light of the fact that Albert appears to use *Francia Orientalis* in a narrow sense to denote the duchy of Franconia. Epp's suggestion also ignores the paucity of uses of *Franci Orientales* (once) and the frequency of uses of *Theutonici* (24 times).

[34] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 23, pp. 44-6

[35] Brühl, *Deutschland-Frankreich: Die Geburt zweier Völker* (Vienna, 1995), pp. 102-14.

[36] See Epp for the contradictory view, 'This term is used by Albert as a summary for all the Franks living east of the Rhine,' Epp, '*Importabiles Alemanni*,' p. 10.

[37] Albert, *Historia*, Bk.viii, cap. 4, pp. 588-90. See also Bk. viii, cap. 3, p. 588. For the principal participants of this contingent see A. Mullinder, *The Crusading Expeditions of 1101-2* (unpublished PhD, University of Wales, Swansea, 1997), p. 78.

by the Turks in Asia Minor was described as consisting of *Alemannorum*, *Francorum* and *Wasconum* suggesting that the *Franci* could be understood as the inhabitants of northern France.[38]

It is clear for the most part, however, that *Franci* denoted the crusaders collectively, despite the apparently specific application of *Francia* as the kingdom of France. The followers of Peter the Hermit were described as *Francigeni, Romani* and *Theutonici* on their journey through Hungary in 1096 and immediately thereafter referred to collectively as *Franci*.[39] In a skirmish between the followers of Godfrey of Bouillon and the army of Alexius Comnenus outside Constantinople, the crusaders were labelled *Franci*.[40] After the siege of Antioch, when a number of knights left the city and sought favour from Baldwin of Boulogne, newly established in Edessa, Albert used the terms *Galli* and *Franci* synonymously.[41] Following Godfrey of Bouillon's death in 1100 Baldwin's followers on the journey to Jerusalem were also called *Franci*.[42] In 1115, the assembled armies of Roger of Antioch and Baldwin of Edessa were described as *tam Francorum quam Armenicorum*.[43] The two groups were immediately afterwards labelled *Christiani*. In this division of the Christians into *Armenici* and *Franci* it is likely that the crusaders were the *Franci*, implying a collective sense for the term. When reporting communications by Muslims to their co-religionists, Albert referred to the crusaders as *Franci* collectively. In 1101, Albert reported that the Muslim inhabitants of the cities of Acre, Sur/Tyre, Ascalon and Caesarea wrote to *Rex Babyloniorum* to beseech his help in expelling the *Franci* from *regnum Ierusalem* or they would be forced to acknowledge their king, Baldwin I.[44] Prior to his attack on the People's Crusade, Kilij Arslan reportedly referred to the crusade as *Franci*, when urging his men to find open ground on which to engage the Latins: *Ecce Franci ad quos tendebamus assunt*.[45]

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[38] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 39, p. 630. There is no evidence for Balard's suggestion that the *Franci* in Albert's account come from *Francia Orientalis* only, Balard, '*Gesta Dei per Francos*,' p. 478.
[39] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 7, p. 16.
[40] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 13, p. 80.
[41] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. v, caps. 15 & 16, pp. 356-8.
[42] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 34, p. 534.
[43] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. xii, cap. 20, p. 854.
[44] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 52, p. 560.
[45] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 19, p. 38. See also Kilij Arslan's description of the crusaders as *Christianos de regno Francie*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 3, p. 252; See V. Epp, '*Importabiles Alemanni*,' 3-23, for the assertion, contradicted here, that Albert avoided the use of *Franci* as a collective term for the Crusade; Edgington, 'Reviewing the Evidence,' p. 64.

Francigeni

At times, Albert's use of *Francigeni* appears to have signified the northern French, as it was applied to persons from that area. The followers of Walter Sansavoir, a knight from the region of Paris and one of the leaders of the People's Crusade, were labelled *magna societate Francigenorum peditum.*[46] Thomas *de feria castra* or Thomas de Marle was described as *Francigena, miles acerrimus.*[47] During the crusade of 1101, a list of nobles from Laon formed part of the *manus Francigeni* as were the followers of Stephen of Blois.[48] Once, when Kilij Arslan described the People's Crusade as *Franci*, Albert used the term *Francigeni* immediately afterwards.[49] This may have been due to the fact that Walter was the military leader during Peter the Hermit's absence but on occasion the term appeared to mean more broadly 'the French,' in particular during the description of the People's Crusade where the armies were described as *Francigene, Suevi, Bawarii* and *Lotharingii* or *Bawarii, Alemanni, ceteri Theutonici* and *Francigene.*[50] While the Franco-Lombard army of the 1101 crusade travelled through Asia Minor, the decision was taken that a guard be placed at the rear and front of the army, with seven hundred *Francigene* in front and seven hundred *Longobardi* to the rear. This division of the army used *Francigeni* to denote an army which contained crusaders from northern France, Burgundy and Flanders.[51] In Albert's use, on three occasions, of a tripartite division of the crusade into *Francigenam, Romanorum* and *Theutonicorum* the inference must be, however, that *Francigene* referred to the inhabitants of the kingdom of France.[52]

On two occasions, the meaning of *Francigeni* is unclear. During Godfrey of Bouillon's progress through Byzantine territory to Constantinople, Alexius Comnenus sent two messengers *de terra et de cognatione Francigenarum* to urge him to hurry to the Byzantine capital. These men, although named as *Rodolphum Peeldelau* and *Rotgerum filium Dageberti* are not identified and it is unclear where they were from precisely.[53] During the battle against Kerbogah outside Antioch on 28 June 1098, Bohemond's contingent was described as *peditibus et Francigenis*

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[46] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 6, p. 8.
[47] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 22, p. 94.
[48] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, caps. 15 & 16, pp. 606-8.
[49] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, 20, p. 40.
[50] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, caps. 7 & 8, Bk. iii, cap. 1, pp. 12-6 & 138.
[51] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 10, p. 598; Mullinder, *The Crusading Expeditions of 1101-2*, p. 85.
[52] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, caps. 7 & 16, Bk. iii, cap. 30, pp. 16, 32 & 187; Epp, '*Importabiles Alemanni*,' 9-10; Knoch, "Deutschen," p. 120; Morris, 'Aims and Spirituality,' p. 103.
[53] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 10, p. 74.

plurimum densata.[54] Here it appears as if *peditibus* and *Francigene* were juxtaposed, implying a military definition of *Francigene* which is not hinted at elsewhere.[55] Despite these examples of enigmatic use of *Francigeni*, it appears likely that Albert employed the term to denote crusaders from the kingdom of France, having already used *Franci* to denote the entire crusade. While a number of knights who came from northern France were labelled as *Francigenae*, the broader use of *Francigeni* juxtaposed with numerous German groups and in particular in the triad of *Francigenam, Romanorum, Theutonicorum* indicates that the *Francigeni* were the 'French' to the 'Romans' and the 'Germans'.

Galli

The term *Galli* appears frequently in the *Historia Ierosolimitana* as Albert's preferred national term to describe the crusade as a whole.[56] The various contingents of the People's Crusade were all described as *Galli*.[57] At Nicaea, Dorylaeum, Antioch, Jerusalem and Ascalon the collected crusade army was called *Galli*.[58] In a row between Tancred and Baldwin outside the Armenian city of Tarsus, Baldwin allegedly claimed that his brother Godfrey was *duci et principi milicie totius Gallie*.[59] After the conquest of Jerusalem, the crusaders who remained in the Levant were referred to as *Galli*.[60] In the account of the attack on the People's Crusade by Kilij Arslan the crusaders are referred to as *Galli*, *Christiani* and *Franci* respectively. [61]

During the capture of Antioch on the night of 2 June 1098, Albert commented that the darkness had led to the inadvertent killing of Christians whose bodies lay

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[54] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 50, p. 328.
[55] Later the same army was described as *densissima equitibus et pedibus*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 47, p. 322.
[56] Edgington, 'Reviewing the Evidence,' p. 64; Knoch, "Deutschen," p. 121; Morris, 'Aims and Spirituality,' pp. 102-3.
[57] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, caps. 7, 18, 19, 24 & 28, pp. 14, 36, 38, 46-8 & 54.
[58] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, caps. 32, 33 & 43, Bk. iii, caps. 42, 44, 54 & 60, Bk. iv, caps. 4, 17, 21, 22, 24, 26, 27, 28, 31, 32, 48, 52 & 53, Bk. v, caps. 15 & 46, Bk. vi, caps. 14, 17, 20 & 48, pp. 116, 118, 136, 204, 208, 222-4, 232, 252, 274, 280, 284, 286, 288-90, 294, 296, 324, 330, 332, 356, 404, 422, 424, 428 & 466.
[59] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 9, p. 152.
[60] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, caps. 15, 16, 38, 56 & 69, Bk. viii, cap. 48, Bk. ix, cap. 42, Bk. xi, caps. 15, 25 &45, Bk. xii, caps. 5 & 20, pp. 506, 542, 566, 582, 637, 694, 786, 798, 828-30 & 856.
[61] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 19, p. 38. See also Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, caps. 28 & 29, Bk. ii, caps. 2, 31, 32, 33 & 43, Bk. iii, caps. 9, 21, 24, 28, 29, 30, 41, 42, 44, 54 & 65, Bk. iv, caps. 17, 21, 22, 24, 28, 32 & 48, Bk. v, caps. 15, 16, 17, 19, 22 & 46, Bk. vi, caps. 20 & 48, Bk. vii, caps. 15, 25, 56 & 69, Bk. viii, cap. 13, Bk. ix, cap. 42, Bk. xi, cap. 15, Bk. xii, caps. 5 & 17, pp. 54, 56, 62, 114, 116, 118, 136, 152, 172, 176, 182, 184, 186, 202, 204, 206, 222-4, 244, 274, 280, 282, 284, 288-90, 296, 324, 356, 358, 360, 362, 364, 402-4, 428, 466, 506, 520, 566, 582, 602, 694, 786, 828-30, 850 & 854.

among those of the Muslims, *corporibus Christianorum tam Gallorum quam Grecorum, Syrorum et Armenicorum.*[62] Here *Galli* acted as a collective term for western Christians among their eastern co-religionists. The army which Alexius Comnenus had gathered to bring to the aid of the crusade consisted of his own imperial troops and some *Galli exules* presumably referring to Latins in his service.[63] In later years, when describing events which included the kingdom of Jerusalem and the county of Edessa, the juxtaposition of *Galli* and *Armenici* indicates the continuing use of *Galli* to describe the western Christians.[64]

The crusade leaders were referred to as *comprimores Galli.*[65] When Godfrey of Bouillon met Alexius Comnenus in Constantinople in December 1097, Albert described his dress with the various ornaments: *quibus Gallorum principes precipue utuntur.*[66] The followers of many of the individual princes were likewise referred to as *Galli.* Throughout the account of Baldwin's military campaign in Armenia, his followers were referred to as *Galli.*[67] During the siege of Artah, Robert of Flanders' army consisted of *Galli.*[68] In the description of the building of a *machina* to defend a bridge outside Antioch during the Frankish siege of the city, the Provençal contingent in charge of the *machina* were labelled *Galli.*[69]

The use of *Galli* deliberately as a collective term can be seen where Albert discussed their martial qualities. After describing the death and decapitation of Roger of Barneville at the hands of a Turkish *miles* from Kerbogah's army, Albert defended the inaction of his comrades, who watched from the walls of the city. The *Galli* were not paralysed by *hebetudine mentis aut timore supervenientis multitudinis* but by a lack of horses. For indeed, Albert assured the reader, *Gallia* was the preeminent region in the world for martial spirit and bravery: *cum nulla plaga mundi ante Galliam audaciores et in bello promptiores nutriat.*[70] Albert's concern to place

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[62] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 23, p. 282.
[63] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 40, p. 310: *Turcopolos, Pincenarios, Comanitas, Bulgaros, Danaosque arcu doctos et sagitta, Danosque bipennium armatura dimicare peritissimos, Gallos exules, exercitum simul conducticium populum diversi generis a desertis locis et montanis, a maritimis et insulis, ab omni scilicet regno suo spaciosissimo, ad quadringenta contraxit milia.*
[64] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. xi, cap. 19, Bk. xii, cap. 20, pp. 792 & 854.
[65] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 2, p. 62.
[66] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 16, p. 84: *in splendore et ornatu preciosarum vestium tam ex ostro quam aurifrigio, et ex niveo opere harmelino, et ex mardrino grisioque et vario.*
[67] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, caps. 18, 19, 21 & 24, Bk. v, caps. 16, 17, 18, 19 & 22, Bk. vii, cap. 38, pp. 166, 168, 172, 176, 358, 360, 362, 364 & 542.
[68] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, caps. 28, 29 & 30, pp. 182 & 186.
[69] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 41, p. 202.
[70] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 28, p. 288.

Godfrey of Bouillon and his army in a preeminent position would surely militate against the ascription of such honour to the *Galli*, were the term not used here to refer to the entire crusade army.

Alongside this apparently inclusive definition of *Galli*, it is clear that the area of *Gallia* and, on occasion, the *Galli* themselves, were more closely defined. After the victory over Kerbogah at Antioch in June 1098, Albert related that the Latins were unable to pursue the Muslims as they ought, because they had lost the majority of the horses which they had brought from *Gallia*, implying that *Gallia* might be interpreted in as wide a manner as *Galli*.[71] Elsewhere, however, there are indications that *Gallia* corresponded to the former Carolingian territories north of the Alps. When the army of Godfrey of Bouillon stayed in Tulln in Austria on their way to Constantinople, Albert described the town as *ubi fluvius Lintax regnum Gallie terminat et dividit*.[72] When a group of pilgrims arrived at Latakia by sea, they declared themselves to be *a Flandria, et ab Antwerp et Frisia et ceteris partibus Gallie*.[73] Significantly, *Italia* was carefully distinguished from *Gallia*. In 1105 Bohemond of Taranto travelled *ad non solum Italiam, sed et Galliam*, to recruit for a new campaign to the East.[74]

Sometimes the *Galli* were similarly juxtaposed with the Italians. Upon the death of Godfrey of Bouillon in 1100, Albert reported great lamentation among *omnibus illis Christianis, Gallis, Italicis, Syris, Armenicis et Grecis*.[75] The news of Godfrey's illness threw *universi, tam Venedii quam Galli* into confusion.[76] During the description of the disasters which befell the 1101 crusade, the pilgrims were labelled *Galli et Longobardi*.[77] When King Baldwin I of Jerusalem was moved to repudiate his wife, Adelaide of Sicily, Albert explained that it had been on the grounds that the marriage had been bigamous and consanguineous. He explained that Adelaide was *orte de sanguine Gallorum*.[78] This reference was presumably to

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[71] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 53, p. 332.
[72] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 1, p. 62; Knoch, "Deutschen," p. 122.
[73] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 14, p. 160. In 1106, Ida of Louvain, the wife of Baldwin of Hainaut and Arnolf II of Oudenaarde were described as coming from *terra longinqua Gallie*. Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ix, cap. 52, p. 716.
[74] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ix, cap. 47, p. 72. See also, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. x, caps. 40 & 45, pp. 754 & 760.
[75] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 21, p. 514.
[76] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 20, p. 514. See also, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 25, p. 520, and Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ix, cap. 29, p. 674, for a distinction between *Galli* and *Pisani et Genuenses*.
[77] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, caps. 13, 16 & 19, pp. 602, 606 & 610.
[78] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. xii, cap. 24, p. 862.

Adelaide's Norman descent and Albert's need to explain it demonstrates that he felt that the inhabitants of Southern Italy were not included in the term *Galli*.

Provinciales and Wascones/Wasconum

The *Provinciales* and *Wascones* clearly refer to the southern French. The *Wascones* appear only twice, once in connection with Raymond of St Gilles, *Raimundus, cum quibus Provinciales et Wascones*, once in the 1101 crusade as part of the 'Aquitanian-Bavarian' contingent of William of Aquitaine and Welf of Bavaria.[79] In a description of the battle with the Seljuks shortly after leaving Heraclea (Ereğli) in Asia Minor, Albert reported the deaths of *plurima milia Alemannorum, Francorum, Wasconum*.[80] The *Provinciales* were more frequently associated with Raymond of St Gilles both on the 1096-99 and 1101 expeditions.[81] Albert was hostile towards the *Provinciales* and criticised them on a number of occasions. When the crusade army defeated Kerbogah outside Antioch, the *Provinciales* did not pursue the fleeing Muslims but instead began to claim booty from their camp, prompting others *eadem avaricia corrupti*, to stop the pursuit and instead plunder the camp of the defeated Turks.[82] During the 1101 crusade this greed led to increased casualties in the Provençal army as they reportedly ventured further into dangerous territory in search of food.[83] During the failed siege of Sidon in late 1107 one of the towers of the city was reported to have been manned by apostate Provinciales, *apostate et prevaricatores fidei ex Provincia de comitatu Reimundi*, who dishonoured the True Cross and blasphemed against a crucifix.[84] More generally, the *Provinciales* do not appear to have been separated from the collective terms for the crusade: they were described as *Galli* during the siege of Antioch and the 1101 Crusade.[85]

Lotharingi

There is no reason to suppose that Albert's use of *Lotharingi* meant anything other than the Lotharingians. During the siege of Nicaea Godfrey was *dux Lotharingie* and

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[79] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 39, Bk. viii, cap. 39, pp. 200 & 630.
[80] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 39, p. 630.
[81] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 39, Bk. vi, cap. 55, Bk. viii, cap. 15, Bk. x, cap. 48, pp. 200, 478, 604 & 762.
[82] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 56, pp. 334-6.
[83] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 11, p. 600: *Hec enim gens amplius prede et rapinis inhiabat pre omnibus et ideo ampliori casu ceteris periclitabatur.*
[84] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. x, cap. 48, p. 762.
[85] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 41, Bk. viii, caps. 13, 17 & 19, pp. 202, 602, 608 & 610.

his company were *universo comitatu Lotharingie*.[86] In his report on the attacks on Jewish communities at the outset of the crusade, Albert reported that these had begun *in regno Lotharingie*.[87] When reciting lists of German groups, *Lotharingi* appeared alongside *Alemanni*, *Bawarii*, *Teutonici* and *Saxones*.[88]Albert referred to *regnum Lotharingie* on a number of occasions.[89] This is possibly an archaic reference to the tripartite division of the Empire in the ninth century, (although Albert's *regnum Lotharingie* did not include Burgundy or Italy).[90]

Suevi

The term *Suevi* appears only twice in Albert's *Historia*. The army of Peter the Hermit was described as containing *Francigene, Suevi, Bawarii* and *Lotharingii* during their march through Hungary.[91] As part of the ill-fated following of the priest Gottschalk in the People's Crusade, the *Suevi* and *Bawarii* were described as *gens animosa* for their part in the conflict with the local population.[92] While *Suevi* can almost certainly be translated as 'Swabians', elsewhere Albert used the term *Alemanni*, which was also applied to the Swabians.[93]

Bawarii

The *Bawarii*, along with the *Suevi*, were described as *gens animosa* during the People's Crusade.[94] That the *Bawarii* were the Bavarians is clarified in the reference to Welf IV as *dux Bawariorum* during the 1101 crusade.[95] The *Bawarii* appear most frequently in the lists of groups in the army of Godfrey of Bouillon and once in the list of imperial groups on the 1101 Crusade.[96]

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[86] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 22, p. 94.
[87] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 26, p. 50.
[88] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, caps. 7 & 23, Bk. iii, caps. 1 & 39, Bk. iv, caps, 47 & 51, pp. 12, 44, 138, 200, 322 & 328.
[89] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, caps. 5, 25 & 26, pp. 8, 48 & 50.
[90] See above for Albert's use of *Francia Occidentalis* and *Francia Orientalis*.
[91] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 7, p. 12.
[92] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 23, p. 44.
[93] See below, p. 210.
[94] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 23, p. 44.
[95] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 34, p. 624.
[96] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, caps. 7 & 8, Bk. iii, caps. 1 & 39, Bk. iv, caps. 47 & 51, Bk. viii, cap. 15, pp. 12, 18, 138, 200, 322, 328 & 604.

Saxones

The *Saxones* appear only four times in Albert's *Historia*, each time as part of a larger, conglomerate group. At Antioch, both Bohemond and Godfrey led contingents which included *Saxones*.[97] The army of Conrad, *stabularius imperatoris tercii Heinrici* contained *Saxones* as well as *Alemanni*, *Lotharingii* and *Bawarii*.[98] Given their presence among German groups, it is clear that this term denoted the Saxons.

Alemanni

Alemanni was used by Raymond, Baldric and the Anonymous to denote broadly the Germans, but Albert seems to use the term for the most part to mean Swabians, especially where the term appeared among a number of imperial groups.[99] Count Hartmann of Dillingen in Swabia was described as *comes Alemannie* and, later, *unus prepotentibus in terra Alemannie*.[100] Elsewhere it is not immediately clear if 'Swabian' or 'German' was meant, in particular during the description of the siege of a fortress containing German followers of the People's Crusade, where the terms *Theutonici* and *Alemanni* are used to denote the same group.[101] During the journey of the army of Peter the Hermit through Hungary, a group of *Alemanni* were also called *Theutonici*.[102] During the 1101 crusade a group of Lombards settled outside Constantinople to await *societas de regno Francie aut Alemannie*.[103] This juxtaposition of *Francia* with *Alemannia* indicates that Albert occasionally used the term in the wider sense of German. During the 1101 crusade an army which Albert described as composed of *Alemannorum*, *Francorum* and *Wasconum*, included a large Bavarian contingent.[104]

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[97] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 39, Bk. iv, caps. 47 & 51, pp. 200, 322 & 330.
[98] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 15, pp. 604-6. Albert is the only chronicler to mention this Conrad. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 203.
[99] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, caps. 8 & 23, Bk. iii, caps. 1 & 39, Bk. iv, 47 & 51, Bk. viii, cap. 15, pp. 16, 44, 138, 200, 322, 330 & 604-6. In the mid twelfth century, Otto of Freising commented on the uncertainty surrounding the use of *Alemanni* as a pan-German term, see below, p. 212; Both Raymond and the Anonymous used *Alamanni* as a pan-German term, see above, pp. 25-6 & 141-2.
[100] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 1, p. 60, n. 1, Bk. iv, cap. 54, p. 332.
[101] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 18, p. 36; For a discussion of the use of both *Alamanni* and *Theutonici* to denote the inhabitants of the empire in the twelfth century, see Curta, '*Furor Teutonicus*,' p. 67.
[102] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, caps. 9, 10, 11 & 17, pp. 20, 22 & 34.
[103] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 3, p. 588. See also Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 4, pp. 588-90.
[104] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 39, p. 630. The *Alemanni* here referred to the army of Welf IV, Duke of Bavaria.

Theutonici

Albert's use of the term *Theutonici* was somewhat inconsistent. Initially, the *terra Theutonicorum* appeared alongside *regnum Francia et Lotharingie*, *terra Anglorum* and *regnum Danorum*.[105] This would suggest the use of *Theutonici* to denote inhabitants of the German kingdom outside of Lotharingia. Elsewhere, however, its use seems to have incorporated the Lotharingians. Where other German groups were specified, the use of the phrase *ceterisque Theutonicis* or *et universos Theutonicos* suggests its broader collective sense. The army of Conrad, Henry IV's *stabularius*, in a battle during the 1101 crusade consisted of *Alemannos, Saxones, Bawarios, Lotharingios et universos Theutonicos*.[106] Gottschalk, the German cleric whose contingent of the People's Crusade was decimated in Hungary, was *Theutonicus natione*.[107] The followers of Count Emicho were also labelled variously *Galli* and *Theutonici*.[108] After the siege of Antioch, a ship carrying 1,500 *viri de genere Theutonicorum* arrived in the Levant. These *Theutonici* were *Regnesburg civitate fluvii Danubii et ex aliis civitatibus Rheni fluminis conspirati et collecti*.[109] At the siege of Antioch, the followers of Godfrey of Bouillon, although later described as *Theutonici, Alemanni, Bawarii, Saxones* and *Lotharingii*, were labelled *Theutonici*, apparently for convenience.[110] The division of the crusade into *Romani*, *Francigeni* and *Theutonici* on a number of occasions is the strongest evidence of its collective meaning.[111]

Theutonici appeared frequently among the other German groups, apparently denoting a specific group. In the battle of Antioch both Godfrey and Bohemond's armies contained *Theutonici* as one of a number of groups including, *Lotharingii*, *Saxones*, *Bawarii*, *Alemanni* and *Romani*.[112] On three occasions the term *Theutonici* was used for a group which elsewhere was labelled *Alemanni*. A contingent of the People's Crusade who were besieged by Kilij Arslan in a fortress near Nicaea were

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[105] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 5, p. 8.
[106] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 8, Bk. viii, caps. 6 & 15, pp. 18, 592 & 604-6. See Albert, *Historia*, p. 592, n. 13.
[107] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 23, p. 44. In his description of Gottschalk's battle against the Hungarians at *Belgrave*, the Latins were referred to as *Theutonici* and later *Galli*. Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 24, p. 46.
[108] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, caps. 27 & 28, pp, 50 & 52.
[109] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. v, cap. 23, p. 366.
[110] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 46, Bk. iv, cap. 47, pp. 210 & 322.
[111] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, caps. 7 & 16, Bk. iii, caps. 15 & 30, pp. 16, 32, 160 & 186.
[112] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, caps. 47 & 51, pp. 322 & 328.

labelled *Theutonici*, then *Alemanni*, then *Theutonici*.[113] It is possible that Albert vacillated between using *Alemanni* and *Theutonici* for stylistic purposes to avoid repeating the same terms a number of times in a chapter. It must also be appreciated, however, that the vast majority of his information came from eyewitness sources and the multiplicity of synonymous terms which they reported may be reflected in his narrative. Despite these exceptions, for the most part *Theutonici* was used in a broad sense to mean 'German'. That the use of *Theutonici* as a pan-German term was not universally accepted, even in the mid-twelfth century, can be seen in the complaint of bishop Otto of Freising that many used the term *Alemanni* when they ought to have used *Theutonici*.[114]

Given Albert's likely background in Lotharingia, it is unsurprising that his vocabulary for those crusaders from the Empire is more detailed than that from other areas. A number of modern commentators have also seen a rhetorical purpose in the multiplicity of terms used for 'German' groups on the crusade. Knoch, Epp and Murray have all regarded the listing of groups under Godfrey's command as an attempt by Albert to emphasise the participation of the Empire in the expedition and to increase Godfrey's status within the army as a leader of many groups, describing them as 'muster lists.'[115] This rhetorical purpose can be seen also in a number of cases where Albert praised the martial spirit and bravery of the followers of Godfrey. At Antioch, the *Lotharingii*, *Saxones*, *Alemanni* and the *Bawarii* were *gladios sevissimi*.[116] When facing Kerbogah outside the city, the *Theutonici*, *Alemanni*, *Bawarii*, *Saxones* and *Lotharingii* were likened to the heirs of Juda in Genesis, *quorum manus et gladius solet esse sevissimus in cervicibus inimicorum*.[117] In another encounter with the Turks at Antioch, a group of *peregrini Theutonici* rushed at the Turks, *corda intrepida habentes, altis vocibus Christi clementia invocata, obsistentes Turcos indubitanter incurrunt*.[118] It may also be the case that Albert's

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[113] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 17, pp. 34-6. See also Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, caps. 11 & 18, pp. 22 & 36.

[114] Otto of Freising, *Quidam totam Teutonicam terram Alemanniam dictam putant omnesque Teutonicos Allemannos vocare solent. Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris*, MGH SS. XX, p. 357; C. Brühl *Deutschland-Frankreich*, pp. 234-42.

[115] Murray, 'Questions of Nationality,' pp. 61-74; Knoch, "Deutschen," p. 118; Epp, '*Importabiles Alemanni*,' p. 10; Murray, 'National identity, regional identity and language,' p. 123; Morris, 'Aims and Spirituality,' p. 103.

[116] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 39, p. 200.

[117] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 47, p. 322; Epp, '*Importabiles Alemanni*,' p. 9.

[118] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 51, p. 330. See also Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, caps. 4 & 21, pp. 408 & 428.

informants, being themselves from Lotharingia and other parts of the Empire, were able to be more precise in their use of terms for imperial groups. The apparently interchangeable applications of *Theutonici* and *Alemanii* may also be the result of Albert's rationalisation of various oral accounts.

Romani

The term *Romani* was used by Albert on a number of occasions as a general term for Italians. The following of Peter the Hermit was labelled *Francigeni, Romani* and *Theutonici*.[119] In a description of the ethnic elements of Bohemond's army *Romani* appears among *Alemanni, Bawarii, Saxones, Lotharingii* and *Theutonici*.[120] When a group of *Galli* arrived at Latakia and were greeted by Baldwin's men during his exploits in Armenia, they asked the crusaders why they had come *a Romanis et Teutonicis partibus*.[121] In September 1101, just prior to a battle against the Fatimid armies at Ramla, two bishops chided Baldwin I of Jerusalem for his argument with the Patriarch Daibert. Baldwin accepted their censure, acknowledging that he could not attack the Egyptians *pro imperio Romanorum, pro regni Francie et Anglie* without God's favour, from which he was estranged through his breach with Daibert.[122] This division of Europe into *Francia*, *Anglia* and the *imperium Romanorum* demonstrated Albert's secondary use of *Romani*, in the context of the western Empire. All references to Henry IV of Germany entitled him *Heinricus tercius Romanorum imperator*.[123]

Italici

The term *Italici* appears only once in the *Historia Ierosolimitana*, as opposed to *Italia,* which appears six times. The function of *Italici* was to discern the Italians from the *Galli*. On the death of Godfrey of Bouillon, Albert listed the groups who mourned his passing: *omnibus illis Christianis, Gallis, Italicis, Syris, Armenicis et Grecis*.[124] During the 1101 crusade, the contingent from Italy was described as *gens*

[119] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, caps. 8 & 16, pp. 16 & 32. See also Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 30, p. 186.
[120] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 51, p. 328.
[121] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 14, p. 160.
[122] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 66, p. 578.
[123] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, caps. 9 & 46, Bk. viii, caps. 6, 22 & 34, Bk. ix, cap. 1, Bk. x, cap. 39, pp. 152, 210, 592, 614, 624, 638 & 754. See also, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. xi, cap. 48, p. 824, for a reference to Henry V of Germany as *imperator quartus Rome*.
[124] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 21, p. 21.

Longobardorum numero incomputabilis de regno Italie.[125] William of Nevers, whose crusade expedition was recorded by Albert alone among the crusade authors, travelled through *Italia.*[126] The contingents of Bohemond's 1107 campaign against Alexius Comnenus were derived *a diversis regnis Gallie et Italie.*[127]

Longobardi

Where Albert was not referring to a specific person, his uses of *Longobardi* exclusively denoted the Lombard contingent of the crusade of 1101.[128] This army contained nobles and churchmen from northern Italy and Albert's use of *Longobardi* here appears to correspond with Lombards. This contingent of the crusade was portrayed particularly badly in Albert's narrative. On their arrival in Bulgaria, Albert reported that they ignored the Byzantine emperor's appeals for calm passage in return for ready markets and began to pillage the local countryside *sine modo, sine ratione*. Ignoring Lent, *quod nefas est dicere de populo catholico*, they stole and ate the livestock of the local population.[129] Upon their arrival at Constantinople their disorder continued to the displeasure of Alexius Comnenus: *Ubi etiam plurimis iniuriis sicut erant soliti ipsum imperatorem ad odium et iram commoverunt.*[130] Once in Asia Minor, the *Longobardi* led the other contingents into *error* through their *nimiam iactantiam* in their desire to free Bohemond from Danishmend captivity.[131] When the *Longobardi* fled from a particularly virulent attack by the Turks during their march in Asia Minor, the other contingents reportedly rebuked them for their *mollicie et pigricia.*[132]

Elsewhere the term was used for specific people as an ethnic marker in lieu of a name, making their identification impossible. On one occasion, however, it might be pertinent to question the meaning of *Longobardi* as northern Italians or Lombards. During the negotiations between Bohemond and a *traditor* inside the city of Antioch, the Norman prince used *quendam interpretem linguarum genere Longobardorum* for

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[125] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 1, p.586. For the prominent men of this army see Mullinder, *The Crusading Expeditions of 1101-2*, p. 78.
[126] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 25, p. 618.
[127] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ix, cap. 47, Bk. x, caps. 40 & 45, pp. 702-4, 754 & 760.
[128] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, caps. 4-7, 9, 13, 15, 16, 19, 25, 27, 28, 41-3 & 46-7, pp. 588-98, 602-10, 618-20 & 630-6.
[129] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, caps. 2 & 3, pp. 586-8
[130] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 3, p. 588.
[131] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 7, pp. 594-6.
[132] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 9, p. 598.

communication.[133] Albert and the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* reported that this *traditor*, who was named Firuz in other sources, spoke in Greek.[134] The likelihood of a man in the following of Bohemond who also spoke Greek being from Northern Italy is very slim and Edgington has suggested that he was in fact from Southern Italy.[135] Another reference to a *Longobardus* in Albert's account was to a certain *frater fidelissimus*, who was visited in a vision by St Ambrose of Milan.[136]

Pisani, Genuenses, Venediani, Malfeteni.

The contribution of the Italian cities and their fleets to the course of the First Crusade and the kingdom of Jerusalem in the early years of the twelfth century was substantial. Albert reported on their activities frequently, although perhaps not always accurately. In his discussion of the *Pisani* and *Genuenses*, clearly referring to the Pisans and the Genoese, both groups appeared to be acting together on a number of occasions when the presence of only one was reported in contemporary sources. The arrival of a Pisan fleet at Latakia in 1099 with the newly appointed papal legate, Archbishop Daibert of Pisa, is reported in a number of sources. Albert, however, is the only source who reported the presence of *Genuenses* at Latakia.[137] The Genoese author Caffaro de Caschifelone does not record the presence of Genoese ships at Latakia in 1099. In his description of the capture of Arsuf and Caesarea in 1101, Albert reported the presence of both *Pisani* and *Genuenses*, however, other sources do not support the presence of the Pisans.[138] At the siege of Acre in 1104 Albert again reported the presence of both *Pisani* and *Genuenses*, where there is external evidence only for the presence of the Genoese.[139] At Sidon in 1107, Albert placed Italians from four different cities in the fleet which helped Baldwin to surround the city: *ex diversis nationibus regni Italie, videlicet Pisanorum, Genuensium ac Venediorum, Malfetenorum.*[140] The only other source which corroborated his account of this unsuccessful siege was that of Ibn al-Qalanisi, written in the middle of the

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[133] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 17, p. 274.
[134] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 17, p. 274; *Gesta*, p. 46.
[135] Albert, *Historia*, p. 274, n. 32.
[136] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 38, p. 306.
[137] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, caps. 55, 58 & 59, pp. 476-8 & 482-4. See also, *Gesta Triumphalia Pisanorum in Captione Jerusalem*, RHC Occ. 5, pp. 368-9.
[138] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, caps. 54 & 55, pp. 562-4. For the presence of the Genoese, see Caffaro, *De Liberatione*, p. 46; Fulcher, *Historia*, Bk. ii, caps. 8 & 10, pp. 393-5 & 403-6.
[139] Caffaro, *De Liberatione*, p. 47; Fulcher, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 25, pp. 462-4.
[140] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. x, cap. 46, p. 760.

twelfth century. This Muslim source mentions only the Genoese at Sidon.[141] The final mention of *Pisani et Genuenses* in Albert's account is in the description of the conquest of Tripoli in 1109. Fulcher of Chartres, Ibn al-Qalanisi and Caffaro report the presence of the Genoese only at the capture of the city, after which the Genoese were granted a third of the town.[142] Moreover, when relating later events at the same siege, Albert referred to the *Pisani* only.[143] Aside from mentioning the presence of the *Venediani* at the siege of Sidon in 1107, Albert only mentioned the Venetians in connection with the siege of Haifa in 1100.[144]

Angli

English activity on the First Crusade and its immediate aftermath was minimal but not negligible.[145] Albert recorded the presence of *Angli* in the Levant on a number of occasions and their effort was significant enough for him to place them in his list of principal national groups which took part in the crusade; *tam ex regno Francie quam Lotharingie terre, Theutonicorum simul et Anglorum et ex regione Danorum.*[146] Although his is the only source to record the arrival of ships containing English ships at Jaffa in 1102, both Edgington and Tyerman accept his testimony. His description of the presence of a *Hardinus* or 'Harding' *de Anglia* supports his credibility as it was a common English name.[147] Albert's reference to a ship belonging to a certain *Gudericus piratus* which transferred Baldwin from Arsuf to Jaffa and was known as a *buza* is similarly uncorroborated. However, the use of *buza* or 'buss' to describe an English vessel, was not unreasonable and again suggests a familiarity with the English or northern European maritime traditions.[148] At Sidon in 1107 Albert was

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[141] Also known as the *Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, ed. & trans. H.A.R. Gibb (London, 1932), p. 87.
[142] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. xi, cap. 13, pp. 782-4; Caffaro, *De Liberatione*, p. 48; Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Damascus Chronicle*, pp. 89-90; Fulcher, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 40, pp. 526-31.
[143] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. xi, caps. 15 & 17, pp. 786 & 790.
[144] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, caps. 18, 19, 20, 22 & 24, pp. 512-20. See also Ralph,*Gesta Tancredi in expeditione Hierosolymitana*, RHC Occ. 3, 587-716, here, p. 704; Ibn al-Qalanisi, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, ed. H.A.R Gibb (London, 1932), p. 51. Fulcher's reference to *Italici et Venetici* at the coronation of Baldwin as king of Jerusalem may refer to the same group of Venetians. Fulcher, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 6, p. 374.
[145] Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 15-21
[146] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 5, p. 8.
[147] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ix, cap. 12, p. 650, n. 30; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 24-5.
[148] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ix, cap. 9, pp. 646-8; For the identity of *Gudericus*, see Albert, *Historia*, p. 647, n. 26, and Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 26-7. For the translation of *buza* to 'buss' see Albert, *Historia*, p. 646-7, n. 25.

again the only source to place a fleet of *catholici gens Anglorum* as well a fleet from Denmark, Flanders and Antwerp.[149] Raymond of Aguilers's report of English participation in the capture of Latakia in 1097 while the main army was at Antioch, was not corroborated by Albert who mentioned only a Winemer of Boulogne.[150] Thus it would appear certain that Albert was familiar with the English and their ships, but perhaps less so with the particulars of their participation in the crusade movement.

Dani

In the opening chapters of the first book of Albert's *Historia Ierosolimitana* he recorded an earthquake after the council of Clermont, which confirmed the future participation of pilgrims *ex regno Francie quam Lotharingie, terre Theutonicorum, simul et Anglorum, et ex regno Danorum.*[151] Like the English, however, the Danish participation in the First Crusade was small. The ill-fated expedition of Svend, the son of the king of Denmark has previously been queried by historians. However the *Annalista Saxo* also referred to it. Svend had arrived in Asia Minor with 1500 men but was defeated and killed by Kilij Arslan.[152] As discussed above, the reference to a fleet which arrived at Jaffa in 1107 containing *Angli* and men from *regnum Danorum, Flandrie et Antwerp* appears only in Albert, yet is not to be dismissed entirely.[153]

Flandri

The *Flandri* appear as one of a number of groups in lists of constituent parts of the crusade. The following of Gottschalk in 1096 numbered *Flandri* among its ranks.[154] On the journey after Dorylaeum, the army was described as consisting of *Francigene, Lotharingii, Alemanii, Bawarii, Flandrienses, et universum genus Theutonicorum* and *Nortmanni, Burgundienses, Britanni, Alemanni, Bawarii,*

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[149] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. x, cap. 1, p. 718. See also, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. x, caps. 3, 7 & 18, pp. 720, 724 & 734-6; Tyerman accepts this as evidence for English in the Levant, Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 27-8.

[150] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 59, pp. 230-2; Raymond, *Historia*, p. 294; Orderic Vitalis also mentions *Angli* at Latakia. Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, 5, p. 270; France, 'The First Crusade as a naval enterprise,' pp. 392-4.

[151] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 5, p. 8.

[152] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 54, pp. 222-4; *Annalista Saxo*, MGH, SS, vi, 730.

[153] See above, p. 216.

[154] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 25, p. 48.

Theutonici.[155] Men aboard a fleet of ships which was greeted by Baldwin's men in 1097 were *a Flandria, et ab Antwerp et Frisia et ceteris partibus Gallie* and there were *Flandrienses* reported to be with the *Angli* and *Dani* who helped to besiege Sidon, unsuccessfully, in 1107.[156] It is almost certain therefore, that Albert used the term to refer to those from the county of Flanders, referring as he did to Count Robert II of Flanders as *comes Flandrensi*.[157]

Nortmanni

The most common use of *Nortmanni* by Albert was his use of the title *princeps Nortmannorum* or *Nortmannorum comes* in reference to Robert II (Curthose), duke of Normandy.[158] Unlike the other chroniclers, however, he applied the term *Nortmannus* also to the southern Italians. Bohemond of Taranto was *princeps Sicilie et Calabrie, natione Nortmannus*; Richard of Salerno was *princeps Salerne civitatis Italie, de genere Nortmannorum*.[159] The division into constituent parts of the crusade army after Dorylaeum included *Nortmanni* but no Italian groups, which would imply that the *Nortmanni* indicated the followers of Bohemond and Tancred rather than those of Robert of Normandy. This, however, is not certain from such sparse evidence.[160]

Burgundienses

The term *Burgundienses* appears only twice in Albert's *Historia*. In the first instance, they form one of the contingents listed as part of the crusade after Dorylaeum: *Nortmanni, Burgundienses, Britanni, Alemanni, Bawarii, Theutonici*.[161] Elsewhere they are connected with Stephen of Burgundy.[162] The place, *Burgundie* was mentioned a number of times in connection with nobles from there including Achard of Montmerle and Stephen and Rainald of Burgundy.[163]

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[155] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 1, p. 138.
[156] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 14, Bk. x, cap. 7, pp. 160 & 724.
[157] For example, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 19, p. 90.
[158] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, caps. 22 & 27, Bk. iii, caps. 27, 33 & 61, Bk. iv, caps. 9, 14, 31, 47 & 49, Bk. v, caps. 2, 25, 26, 38, 41 & 46, Bk. vi, caps. 50, 52, 53 & 60, Bk. vii, cap. 6, Bk. x, cap. 47, pp. 96, 106, 180, 190, 234, 262, 268, 294, 320, 326, 340, 368-70, 388, 396, 404, 468-74, 484, 496 & 760.
[159] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 22, Bk. iii, cap. 15, pp. 94 & 162.
[160] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 1, p. 138.
[161] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 1, p. 138.
[162] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 16, p. 606.
[163] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 23, Bk. viii, caps. 6 & 42, pp. 100, 594 & 632. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, pp. 197, 218 & 222.

Britanni

That Albert intended to denote the Bretons by his use of the term *Britanni* is obvious from his uses of the term, all but once, to describe Conan of Lamballe and other Breton nobles.[164] Elsewhere, his sole use of the term occurred in the list of crusader groups after Dorylaeum.[165]

Latini

Albert used the term *Latini* only once, to denote a confessional group of Christianity. When the city of Antioch was captured by the crusade and the besieging Muslim army of Kerbogah was defeated, the cathedral of St Peter, *quam Turci suis sacrilegis ritibus prophanaverant*, was restored to its former state by Adhemar of Le Puy and priests were installed *tam Grecorum quam Latinorum* to perform services.[166]

The tendency of modern scholarship to emphasise Albert as a 'German,' 'Lotharingian' or 'Imperial' author has led to the overlooking of his use of the terms *Franci*, *Francigene*, *Galli* and *Provinciales*. Bull commented that 'Germans chose either to revise or avoid the usage (of *Franci*),' an opinion that cannot be completely reconciled, at least in the case of Albert, with the above evidence.[167] Elsewhere Knoch's examination of Albert's use of these terms appears, rather revealingly, in his article on the 'Deutschen' in the First Crusade.[168] Although the instances of their use are relatively rare, Albert's application of the terms *Franci*, *Francigene* and *Galli* occur frequently enough to warrant attention. His use of both *Franci* and *Galli* as a collective term for the crusade as a whole and, in the case of *Galli* for western Christians, is a corrective to the tendency to label the Latin authors of crusade narratives as 'French,' 'German' (or 'Imperial') or 'Norman' and the consequent assumptions which such labels prompt.

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[164] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 23, Bk. iv, cap. 47, Bk. v, cap. 46, pp. 98, 322 & 404.
[165] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 1, p. 138.
[166] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. v, cap. 1, p. 340; Brundage saw this act by Adhemar as an implementation of the policy of Urban II of conciliation with the eastern Christians. J.A. Brundage, 'Adhemar of Puy: The Bishop and his Critics' *Speculum* 34 (1959), 201-12, pp. 210-1; See also A.C. Krey, 'Urban's Crusade,' p. 238.
[167] Bull, 'The Frankish First Crusade,' p. 208.
[168] Knoch, "Deutschen," pp. 120-3.

In his descriptions of crusader groups from the Kingdom of Germany, Albert's store of terms was, perhaps unsurprisingly, more detailed. A large range of terms was harnessed and where other contingents may have been labelled as *Franci* or *Francigene*, the imperial contingents would be broken down into several distinct groups. It is likely that this was a conscious attempt to emphasise the imperial contribution to the crusade or to give the impression that Godfrey of Bouillon's following was larger than it was although it is also possible that it is a reflection on the concerns of his eyewitness sources. When discussing the Italian groups, Albert's national terminology is at its least consistent and sometimes least reliable. Both *Romani* and *Italici* were used as collective terms for the Italians. While *Longobardi* predominantly denoted the Northern Italians, in particular during the 1101 Crusade, on at least one occasion, the term appears to denote a Southern Italian. Regarding the inhabitants of the city-states of Pisa, Genoa, Venice and Amalfi Albert's reliability is disputed by other sources.

Theological terms to denote the crusaders

The lack of consistency described above indicates that Albert's principal priority in his narrative may not have been to highlight the individual national or ethnic groups which took part in the crusade. Rather, a broadening of the study to take into account other collective terms used to denote the crusaders may point towards another rhetorical purpose, one which would have been counteracted by excessive attention to national or regional origin. The use of theologically derived terms to denote the crusade was much more frequent than national labels in the *Historia* of Albert of Aachen. The use of these terms highlighted the religious purpose of the expedition and the piety and righteousness of its participants.

Peregrini

Like many of his contemporaries, Albert easily made the transition to the use of *peregrini* to denote the crusaders. In fact, Albert did not appear to have any hesitation in applying a term which had previously been defined as an unarmed person, to armed knights. Nowhere did he comment on the incongruity in the new application of this term, of which – as we have seen – the *Gesta Francorum* author

was certainly aware.[169] The crusaders as a whole were routinely referred to as *peregrini*, both during the initial expedition and in the early years of the settlement of Latin Palestine. This does not mean that Albert viewed the term *peregrini* or *peregrinatio* as a non-specific journey without penitential connotations: on occasion the term seems to have been applied to unarmed pilgrims, particularly in reference to their abuse at the hands of the Muslim powers.[170]

The followers of Peter the Hermit's People's Crusade and those of Gottschalk were repeatedly referred to as *peregrini* on their journey through the Balkans and on their arrival in Asia Minor.[171] The various groups who persecuted the Jewish populations of Germany on their journey towards Hungary were similarly *peregrini*, despite Albert's disapproval of the attacks and his accusations that they were licentious and immoderate.[172] When Godfrey of Bouillon's army approached Hungary, they met with remnants of the People's Crusade *exercitus peregrinorum* returning home, despondent.[173] Although the People's Crusade contained a larger proportion of non-combatants than the later armies, Godfrey's contingent was also frequently referred to as *peregrini* and Godfrey was labelled *caput peregrinorum*.[174] When Baldwin of Boulogne and Tancred both departed from the main army before Antioch and each attempted to establish himself in Armenia, Albert maintained that they were *peregrini*, despite their absence from the crusade during the crucial final stages.[175] At the sieges of Antioch and Jerusalem and at the battle of Ascalon, the term *peregrini* was used to denote the entire Christian host.[176] Even after the principal 1096-99 expedition, those who settled in the Levant remained *peregrini*, as did new arrivals.[177] The Venetian navy which arrived in 1100, an unspecified group of crusaders which arrived in Palestine in 1102 and had taken part in the siege of Jaffa and the English and Danish navies who took part in the siege of Sidon in 1106

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[169] See above, p. 28.

[170] See Jensen, '*Peregrinatio sive expeditio*,' pp. 119-37, for the discussion of the term *peregrinatio*.; Morris has described pilgrimage as 'one of the clearest elements in Albert's presentation of the First Crusade,' Morris, 'Aims and Spirituality,' pp. 103-4.

[171] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, caps. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 18, 19, 21, 22 & 24, pp. 10, 16-20, 24-6, 36-44, & 46-8.

[172] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, caps. 25, 26, 27, 28 & 29, pp. 48-58.

[173] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 1, p. 62.

[174] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, caps. 4, 6 & 9, Bk. iii, cap. 4, pp. 66, 70, 74 & 144.

[175] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, caps. 11, 12 & 14, pp. 154-6 & 158-60.

[176] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, caps. 23, 27, 30, 31, 33, 35, 36 & 41, Bk. v, caps. 4, 23, 25, 42, 43 & 45, Bk. vi, caps. 8, 12, 18, 37 & 42, pp. 284, 288, 292, 294, 296, 300-2, 312, 342, 366, 368, 396, 398, 400, 414, 418, 426, 450 & 458.

[177] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, caps. 49 & 50, Bk. viii, cap. 42, Bk. ix, caps. 2, 13, 19, 20 & 50, Bk. x, caps. 9, 10, 18 & 31, Bk. xi, cap. 31, pp. 558, 632, 640, 652, 660, 662, 710, 726, 734, 746 & 804.

were all labelled *peregrini* as were the contingents of the 1101 Crusade.[178] When Baldwin I attacked a group of Egyptian merchants and confiscated some of their goods to distribute among his people, Albert reported that *tota regio peregrinorum* enjoyed the renewed supply of luxuries.[179]

Although used frequently as a collective term, in some cases *peregrini* appears to denote non-combatants rather than armed soldiers. When Godfrey of Bouillon was angered by Alexius' refusal to free Hugh of Vermandois and a number of other knights whom Alexius allegedly held captive, he instructed that *peregrini et adveni milites* were to be allowed to pillage the area around Constantinople. This apparent division of the army into *milites* and *peregrini* implies that the term here denoted unarmed crusaders, closer to the traditional unarmed pilgrims.[180] In a description of how Godfrey saved a *peregrinus inops sarmenta congerentem* from a bear attack suggests a the use of *peregrinus* for an unarmed person, given the menial task which the *peregrinus* was undertaking and translating *inops* as 'helpless'.[181] A group of *mendicos et febricitantes peregrinos* who were slaughtered by followers of Kilij Arslan near Philomelium while they bathed in hot springs and the *peregrini et postremi* who were killed by soldiers of Ridwan of Aleppo after falling behind the main army on its journey from Antioch to Jerusalem also appear to have been non-combatants.[182]

On other occasions, however, the term *peregrini* was used in conjunction with other 'military' terms or as a synonym for more military terms, such that a definition as an unarmed person becomes impossible. For example the phrases *exercitus peregrinus*, *comitatus peregrinus* and *manus peregrinorum* demonstrate clearly that all of the crusaders, armed and unarmed, were considered *peregrini*.[183] A group of crusaders in the following of Peter the Hermit, who were besieged by Kilij Arslan's men in a castle, were *peregrini milites*.[184] During a skirmish between a group of crusaders and some of Kerbogah's army outside Antioch, a particular *robusti pectoris miles* was described as a *miles*, *peregrinus* and then *peregrinus*

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[178] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, caps. 19 & 20, Bk. viii, caps. 5, 8, 26, 36, 38 & 45, Bk. ix, cap. 18, Bk. x, cap. 2, pp. 512, 514, 592, 596, 618, 626, 628, 634, 658 & 718.
[179] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. x, cap. 36, p. 752.
[180] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 8, Bk. iii, caps. 47 & 48, Bk. ix, cap. 32, pp. 74, 210-2, 214 & 680.
[181] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 4, p. 142. (*Inops* translated as 'helpless' by Edgington)
[182] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 54, Bk. v, cap. 11, pp. 224 &352.
[183] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, caps. 1 & 9, Bk. vii, cap. 33, Bk. ix, cap. 13, Bk. xii, cap. 11 pp. 62, 74, 534, 652 & 840.
[184] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 22, p. 44.

miles.[185] In another encounter with the Turks at Antioch, a group of *peregrini Theutonici* rushed at the Turks, *corda intrepida habentes, altis vocibus Christi clementia invocata, obsistentes Turcos indubitanter incurrunt*.[186] When the crusaders decided to move against Bohemond at Latakia in 1099, *tota multitudo peregrinorum* prepared themselves with *arma et lorici*.[187]

Despite Albert's apparent lack of concern with the seemingly contradictory use of *peregrini* for armed soldiers, on a number of occasions he seems to have used the term to denote pilgrims in the more traditional sense. In an account of the recent events at Jerusalem before the arrival of the crusade, Albert related that the city had previously been held by the Turks who exacted heavy tribute from all those wishing to enter the city, including *peregrini Christi*. [188] This reference to the persecution of pilgrims to the Holy City by the Turkish leaders appears in the accounts of Albert's contemporaries and in this case, it is clear that *peregrini* denoted unarmed pilgrims. Immediately afterwards, however, Albert described how, since the time of Suqman ibn Artuq, no *peregrini* had been admitted to the city until its capture: here *peregrini* referred to both the unarmed pilgrims who came before the crusade, and the crusaders themselves.[189]Another reference to *milites* who protected and defended *peregrini et universa ecclesia* probably also referred to unarmed pilgrims.[190] Some *peregrini* who requested that Baldwin I escort them through the environs of Tyre, which was still in Muslim hands in 1113, presumably also refers to unarmed travellers. A group of *peregrini* who had stayed in Jerusalem at Easter in 1119 and were travelling down to the River Jordan when they were attacked by *Sarraceni* from Ascalon and Tyre, were again almost certainly traditional pilgrims, especially considering Albert that explained their inability to resist their attacker due to their physical weakness from having fasted *pro nomine Iesu*.[191]

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[185] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 42, p. 314. For *peregrini milites*, see Albert, *Historia*, Bk iv, cap. 30, p. 292.
[186] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 51, p. 330. See also Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, caps. 4 & 21, pp. 408 & 428.
[187] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 59, p. 482.
[188] Albert, Historia, Bk. vi, cap. 31, p. 442: *Turcorum...qui paulo ante hanc invadentes, multo tempore obtinuerunt, et gravia tributa tam a Sarracenis quam a peregrinis Christi et indigenis fidelibus exigebant.*
[189] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 32, p. 444: ... *nam urbis introitum peregrinis negavit omni armorum defensione et militum virtute qua potuit, donec celestis regis auxilio Sarracenis, ut audistis, crudeliter peremptis nunc introimissi sunt.*
[190] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 58, p. 568.
[191] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. xii, cap. 33, p. 880.

While it is clear that Albert understood the term *peregrini* in its more 'traditional' sense, to denote an unarmed traveller to the Holy Places, he had little difficulty applying the term *peregrinatio* to the armed crusade on two occasions.[192] That he did not feel the need to justify the term demonstrates that the use of the terms *peregrini* and *peregrinatio* were in common use to describe the crusade by the early twelfth century and that this had been clear to Albert, either from the evidence of his eyewitness informants or common knowledge.[193]

Populus Dei/Christi

In his use of the terms *populus Dei* and *populus Dei vivi* to denote the crusaders, Albert invoked biblical comparisons. On all but two occasions, the term *populus Dei* or *populus Dei vivi* referred to the crusade, or a part of it, inclusive of non-combatants and soldiers. At the sieges of Nicaea, Antioch and Jerusalem the term was used frequently, in particular at Antioch, where just over half of the uses of it appear.[194] During the journey from Antioch to Jerusalem, the following of Raymond of St Gilles was *populus Dei*, as was that of the crusade of 1101.[195] References to *populus Dei* following the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 are rare, the army of Jerusalem at the siege of Sidon in 1107 being the only instance of its use to describe the settlers.[196] The term *populus Dei* appears in the Bible to denote the Israelites on three occasions (2 Kings 14:13, Wisdom 18:13, Baruch 4:5) and the new Christian church as the 'new Israel' on one occasion (1 Peter 2:10). The scriptural use of *Dei vivi* is frequent too and Albert's use of *populus Dei* and *populus Dei vivi* must represent an endeavour to liken the crusaders to the Israelites. Once the term was used to denote a more universal Christian body, the elevation of Warmund of Picquigny to the patriarchate of Jerusalem *ad regendum populum Dei vivi*.[197] This

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[192] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 36, Bk. xi, cap. 22, pp. 448 & 794.
[193] See Stephen of Blois's first letter to his wife, dated June 1097, for the use of *peregrinatio* to describe the crusade. See also Pope Paschal II's letter *ad omnes crucesignatos in Asia triumphantes*. Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, pp. 138 & 179;
[194] Nicaea, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, caps. 25, 27, 31 & 34, pp. 102, 106, 114 & 118; Antioch, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, caps. 50, 52, 57, 58 & 60, Bk. iv, caps. 20, 25, 34, 35 & 43, pp. 216, 220, 228, 232, 278, 284, 300 & 316; Jerusalem, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 10, p. 416.
[195] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. v, cap. 30, Bk. viii, cap. 15, pp. 374 & 604.
[196] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. x, cap. 48, p. 762.
[197] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. xii, cap, 30, p. 874. See Anselm of Ribemont's letter to Archbishop Manasses of Rheims for the use of *populus Dei* to decribe the crusade army. Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, p. 144.

use would not contradict the assertion that Albert's use of the phrase was biblically inspired.

Albert's, considerably fewer, uses of *populi Christi* and, on one occasion, *populum Filii Dei vivi*, to denote the Latins presumably stems from its frequent use in patristic sources, in particular those of Jerome, Ambrose and Augustine.[198] Although predominantly applied to the crusade, the vision of Christ which appeared to Peter the Hermit instructing him to preach of the plight of the Christians in the East to his *cognationes* referred to these suffering Christians as *populus noster*.[199]

Milites Christi

Albert used the term *milites Christi* to denote the crusaders only five times in his work.[200] On four occasions the term referred to crusaders in the environs of Antioch and once to the settled Latins the in the East.[201] In a vision to a certain *frater fidelissimus, genere Longobardus*, Ambrose of Milan reportedly referred to the crusaders as *Christi milites*.[202] Albert's infrequent use of the phrase is confusing. Despite the evidence from eyewitness sources, letters and narratives, an author who apparently gleaned the majority of his information from eyewitness accounts was hesitant to use a new term, apparently endorsed by the papacy, to describe a new movement.[203] That Albert was not hostile to the term is clear from his few inclusions of it in his narrative. It may be concluded that Albert's preference for scriptural influences prompted the use of *fideles* and *populus Dei* to denote the crusade or perhaps a monastic background made him uneasy with the use of a term which, until recently, had been solely used for religious persons. It must also be remembered that Albert's attitude towards Urban II was somewhat ambiguous and that, as a result of

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[198] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, caps. 13, 40 & 47, Bk. viii, cap. 39, Bk. ix, cap. 21, pp. 158, 202, 212, 630 & 664. See above for the use of *populus Christi* by the Anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum*, pp. 27-8. P.L. vol. 16, col. 324, vol. 22, co. 523, vol. 23, col. 474, vol. 25, col. 353, vol. 36, col. 1006, vol. 39, col. 1775, vol. 42, col. 458, vol. 44, col. 257 & vol. 45, col. 1226.

[199] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 4, p. 6.

[200] In comparison, the *Gesta Francorum*, a book approximately one tenth of its length, contains 12 uses of the phrase plus 6 uses of *militia Christi*. See Morris, 'Aims and Spirituality,' p. 106, for the claim that Albert did not use the term, an assertion which he then contradicts at 115, n. 29.

[201] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, caps. 16, 18 & 38, Bk. ix, cap. 40, pp. 272, 276, 306 & 692.

[202] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 38, p. 306.

[203] Erdmann, *Origin*, pp. 202-3; See Morris, 'Aims and Spirituality,' pp. 106-8, for the resistance of Albert to new concepts or terminology prompted by the crusade.

the papal schism, Urban's view of the crusade may not have been reached the Empire fully intact.[204]

Other 'theological' terms

Albert used a number of other theologically inspired terms to label the crusade as a whole. When Godfrey wrote to Coloman of Hungary, accusing him of persecuting Christians, he referred to the contingents of the People's Crusade as *exercitus Dei*, which had been 'martyred' by the Hungarians.[205] Godfrey's own army and the entire crusade were later referred to as *exercitus Dei*.[206] In 1 Kings 17:36 *exercitus Dei viventis* referred to the Israelites. That the term was used by contemporaries to describe the crusade army during the expedition and immediately afterwards can be seen by its appearance in both letters of Count Stephen of Blois to his wife Adela and in the letter of Archbishop Daibert of Pisa and the princes to Pope Paschal II.[207] *Exercitus Christi*, which Albert used only once, was also used in Stephen's second letter to his wife.[208]

The term *athleta Christi* was used only once by Albert to denote the crusaders, although it was applied to specific persons more often. The contingent of the People's Crusade which was defeated by Kilij Arslan in Asia Minor in 1095 were *milites catholici* and *Christi athlete*.[209] Elsewhere, Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin of Boulogne were described as *athlete Christi* on their deaths.[210] The term *athleta Christi* was often applied to soldier-martyrs in the early centuries of Christianity and Albert's use of the term in instances where people died or were killed presumably reflects this. Albert used another number of terms only once to describe the crusade,

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[204] As can be seen in his attribution of the genesis of the crusade to Peter the Hermit. Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, caps. 2-5, pp. 2-8. See Carrier for the suggestion that this was a conscious effort on the part of Albert to minimise the role of the papacy in the crusade's inception and to 'privilege' the imperial position in the expedition, an impulse brought about by the conditions of the Investiture Contest. Carrier, 'L'image d'Alexius Ier Comnène,' p. 37. See Knoch, "Deutschen," p. 112 for the suggestion that the finer theological points made by the Pope may not have reached German ears.

[205] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap, 2, p. 62: *cur tam crudeli martyrio exercitum Dei viventes interemistis*. See also Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, caps. 21 & 24, Bk. ii, cap. 27, Bk. iii, caps. 49 & 63, Bk. iv, caps. 14 & 38, Bk. v, cap. 33, Bk. vi, cap. 43, Bk. vii, caps. 2 & 33, Bk. viii, cap. 38, pp. 40, 48, 106, 214, 238, 270, 308, 382, 458, 488, 534 & 628 for the use of the terms *martyres* and *martyrio*,

[206] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, caps. 5 & 31, Bk. iii, cap 66, pp. 68, 114 & 246.

[207] Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, pp. 138-9, 149-52 & 168.

[208] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 41, p. 312; Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, pp. 149-52.

[209] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. 1, cap. 20, p. 40.

[210] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 21, Bk. xii, caps. 23, 28 & 29, pp. 514, 860, 868 & 872.

including *legio sacra* and *cruce signati*.[211] This seems to be the earliest use of the term *cruce signati* as a noun but the term was used as an adjective to denote the crusaders in this period.[212]

The crusaders in the *Historia Hierosolimitana*

The range of theologically derived terms which Albert used to describe the crusaders appears to be small at first. This does not mean that his preference was for national terms over theological ones: rather, as we shall see, many of the theological terms which he used were applied to both the crusaders and other Christian groups both Latin and Orthodox. *Peregrini* for obvious reasons, was only applied to Latin Christians journeying to the east and included 'pilgrims' in the traditional unarmed sense, as well as non-combatant members of the crusade expeditions and the soldiers themselves. Again *exercitus Dei* and *exercitus Dei viventis* were used only to denote the crusade as were *milites Christi* and *cruce signati*. The reasons for Albert's relatively light use of theological terms which were exclusive to the crusaders can be found in his use of broader theological terms which are discussed below. These terms betray a rhetorical purpose behind Albert's typological language with regard to Christians which would be undermined by a broad range of theological terms denoting the crusade alone. For Albert, unity and loyalty among the various Christian groups was of paramount importance and his use of theological terms to denote all Christians served to promote this theme in his narrative.

Albert's terminology to describe the Latin Christians both during the crusade and afterwards was reinforced by his use of biblical allusions in passages of *oratio recta*. In his representation of the speeches of certain persons Albert expounded his views of why the crusaders left Europe, what their rewards would be and their duties to each other and to other Christians. Through the vision of Christ to Peter the Hermit in Jerusalem prior to the crusade Albert was able to articulate his version of the purpose of the expedition and of the rewards gained by its participants. Christ told Peter the Hermit to return to *terram cognationis tue*, in an echo of the Acts of the Apostles 7:3, and that *per pericula enim et temptationes varias paradisi porte*

[211] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 26, p. 50; Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 54, p. 222.
[212] For example, in a letter *ad fideles partium Septentrionis*, Bishop Adhemar of Le Puy and Simeon, patriarch of Jerusalem, complained of those who had been *sancta cruce signati* but had failed to take part in the crusade, labelling them *apostate*. Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, p. 142.

nunc aperientur vocatis et electis.[213] Repeated references to the Books of the Maccabees and a comparison between Godfrey and Simon Maccabeus also demonstrated Albert's use of biblical analogies to convince his reader of the piety and righteousness of the crusade.[214]

In establishing the crusade as a pious undertaking, Albert was keen to emphasise the sacrifices made by those who took part. As well as undergoing great hardship and sometimes death, the crusaders had made huge sacrifices to partake of the expedition. Albert repeatedly referred to those things which the crusaders had left in Europe, perhaps most eloquently in his opening chapter:

> *quomodo reliquerint patriam, cognatos, uxores, filios filiasque, castella, urbes, agros, regna et omnem huius mundi dulcedinem, certa pro incertis, et in nomine Iesu exilia quesierint...*[215]

This may be intended to invoke the Gospels, where Christ exhorted his followers to leave what was theirs and follow Him, promising that those who gave up their lives for Him would receive everlasting life.[216] The temporal sacrifices which the crusaders made were referred to on a number of occasions.[217]

The perceived reward for those who fell in the course of the crusade was reiterated by Albert on a number of occasions through the reported speech of persons such as Adhemar of Le Puy and Godfrey of Bouillon. Before the 'Lake Battle' of 1098, outside Antioch, Adhemar reminded the faltering crusaders that those who died, *celos possidebit*.[218] During the nocturnal entry to Antioch orchestrated by Bohemond and Firuz, some of the crusaders faltered, in fear of a Turkish trap. Godfrey of Bouillon reportedly rebuked them, reminding them that the death which they feared would be followed by divine reward, invoking Romans 6:8: *Nec mori*

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[213] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 4, p. 6.
[214] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 27, Bk. iii, caps. 16, 27 & 36, Bk. vi, cap. 36, Bk. vii, cap. 62, pp. 106, 164, 180, 196, 448 & 572; For the comparison between Godfrey and Simon, see Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 4, p. 144.
[215] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 1, p. 2.
[216] (Matthew 16:24, Mark 8:34, Luke 9:23) This allusion can also be found in the *Gesta Francorum. Gesta*, Bk, i, p. 1. This was a particular theme in Ekkehard's discussion of the crusaders, see below, pp. 311-2. Riley-Smith, 'Crusading as an act of love,' p. 178.
[217] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 27, Bk. iv, cap. 18, Bk. vi, cap. 56, pp. 106, 276 & 480.
[218] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 62, p. 236.

credere debetis, sed feliciter cum Christo vivere.[219] When the captured knight, Gerard of Hainaut, pleaded with Godfrey to bargain with the Turkish inhabitants of Arsuf, Godfrey explained to him that he could not negotiate and that Gerard would have to die but that he would earn eternal reward.[220] When asked by a *Sarracenus* why the crusaders appeared happy to die in battle, Godfrey responded that *potestatem habet Dominus Iesus Deus noster animas nostras in paradisum glorie sue collocare.*[221] Albert is clear that those who took part in the crusade needed more than simple participation to gain eternal reward, however. In a vision of St Ambrose of Milan to a *frater fidelissimus, genere Longobardus*, the saint warned that eternal life was reserved for those who had abstained from sin, as well as taking part in the expedition.[222]

Albert also referred to those who had died as martyrs. The members of the People's Crusade who were killed by Kilij Arslan in 1095, were *martyrio consumpti.*[223] The term *martyrium* was used by Ambrose of Milan in his appearance in a vision and by the *Sarracenus* who discussed the crusaders' motives with Godfrey of Bouillon.[224] Even those killed in skirmishes with the Hungarians were martyrs and in Godfrey's letter to King Coloman of Hungary he accused him of martyring the crusaders.[225]

As well as bestowing everlasting life on fallen crusaders, God was portrayed as providing more tangible temporal aid to the crusaders. Divine aid was emphasised both directly by Albert in his discussion of events and indirectly through the speech of key persons.[226] When Adhemar of Le Puy spoke to comfort the crusaders after news of the arrival of Kilij Arslan at Nicaea reached the camp, he told them that God

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[219] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 18, p. 276.
[220] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 2, p. 488: *Si enim presenti vita moriaris, vivere habes cum Christo in celestibus*
[221] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 43, p. 460.
[222] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 38, p. 308: *... procul dubio inter martyres Christi in celi aula noveris eos computatos, ascriptos et feliciter coronatos, quicumque in hac via morte preoccupati fuerint, qui in nomine Iesu exules facti, puro et integro corde in dilectione Dei perseveraverint, et se ab avaricia, furto, adulterio, fornicatione contiverunt.* See also Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 57, p. 228, for the attempts to limit sin outside Antioch.
[223] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 21, p. 40. See also Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 25, p. 102.
[224] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 38, Bk. vi, cap. 42, pp. 308 & 458.
[225] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 2, p. 62: *cur tam crudeli martyrio exercitum Dei viventes interemistis.* See also, Bk. i, cap. 24, p. 48; J. Riley-Smith, 'Death on the First Crusade,' in *The End of Strife*, ed. D. Loades, (Edinburgh, 1084); H.E.J. Cowdrey, 'Martyrdom and the First Crusade,' in *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. P. Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), pp. 46-56, pp. 50-1. At times, however, Albert appears to have used the term *martrium* where it did not explicitly refer to the death of someone, Morris, 'Aims and Spirituality,' p. 108.
[226] Morris, 'Aims and Spirituality,' pp. 105-6.

would assure their victory, likening them to the biblical Maccabees.[227] When Tancred and Baldwin reached Tarsus, Albert commented that its defences were so strong, *ut nullis vinci humanis viribus nisi Deo annuente credatur.*[228] At Antioch, both Adhemar and Godfrey of Bouillon reminded those fighting that they fought with the aid of God, invoking a number of biblical texts.[229] God's aid was tangible: on the night when some of the crusaders entered Antioch secretly and opened the city to the army, God provided a high wind to drown out any noise they might make.[230] When news arrived at Antioch that Alexius Comnenus was not going to join the crusade, Adhemar reminded those despairing that the only help they needed was God's.[231] Once the crusade had captured Ascalon, the other cities of Palestine were too afraid to resist having seen the *victoria que ipsis fidelicus a Deo vivente donata est.*[232] God's support was not always given however. Albert commented that the destruction of some German crusaders by the Hungarians was due to divine displeasure at their persecution of the Jews. [233]

Collective terms to denote the Muslims

Albert's discussion of the Muslims placed them firmly as opponents of the crusade and through his use of non-national terms, the Muslims were likened to the biblical enemies of the Israelites, paralleling the positioning of the crusaders alongside biblical heroes. Although not a participant in the crusade, Albert had learned to appreciate the various groups within Islam, in particular in his use of the terms *Turci* and *Sarraceni*. He demonstrated awareness of the racial or social characteristics of some groups, for example, in his application of the terms *Idumei* or *Bidumos* to the

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[227] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 27, p. 106: *Deo donante hodie victoriam suscipietis*. The most recent editor of Albert's *Historia*, Susan Edgington, has noted that the speeches Albert attributed to Adhemar of Le Puy demonstrated a 'markedly ecclesiastical tone, containing liturgical and patristic references.' Albert, *Historia*, p. 106-7, n. 93. For biblical allusions in the speeches of Adhemar, see Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, caps. 35, 36 & 41, pp. 192-3, n. 75, 196-7, n. 82 & 312-3, n. 63.

[228] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 7, p. 150.

[229] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, caps.35 & 60, pp. 192 & 232. such as *hodie pro vobis pugnabit Deus* (Exodus 14:14), *in nomine Dei viventis adunati sumus* (Psalm 19:8) and *sive vivimus sive morimur Domini sumus* (Romans 14:8)

[230] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 20, p. 278.

[231] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 41, p. 312.

[232] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 54, p. 474.

[233] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 29, pp. 56-8: *Hic manus Domini contra peregrinos esse creditur, qui nimiis inmundiciis et fornicario concubitu in conspectu eius peccaverunt, et exules Iudeos licet Christo contrarios, pecunie avaricia magis quam pro iusticia Dei gravi cede mactaverant, cum iustus iudex Deus sit, et neminem invitum aut coactum ad iugum fidei Catholice iubeat venire.*

nomadic Bedouins or his distinction of the racial characteristics of the *Azoparth*. At the same time, his discussion of the *Turci* in particular could be almost burlesque in its details, possibly due to his exposure to vernacular sources.

National terms to denote the Muslims

Turci

Albert's use of the term *Turci* applied almost without exception to the Seljuk Turks of the Sultanates of Rum and Baghdad, and their various satellites. It was not used as a collective term for the opponents of the crusade.[234] The followers of *Solimannus*, Kilij Arslan I, sultan of Rum were labelled *Turci* in their encounters with the People's Crusade, at the siege of Nicaea, at Dorylaeum and on the journey to Antioch.[235] In the description of Tancred and Baldwin's expeditions in Edessa, the local Turkish authorities were all labelled *Turci* and were accurately described as *viri Solimanni*.[236] Once the crusade reached the outskirts of Antioch, the presence of other Muslim groups was flagged by Albert and it is from this point on that Albert's careful distinction between the different Islamic groups becomes apparent.[237] The *Turci* were both a *gens* and a *genus*.[238]

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[234] On occasion Albert used the term *Turci* to denote armies which were in fact conglomerate, e.g. that of Kerbogah, atabeg of Mosul. In his description of Kerbogah's army, however, Albert did not mention any other groups and it is not, therefore, a conscious use of *Turci* as a collective term.

[235] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, caps. 15-22 *passim*, pp. 28-44. Bk. ii, caps, 20-1, 25-8, 30-7 & 39-43, *passim.* pp. 90-4, 102-10, 112-26 & 130-6, Bk. iii, caps. 3, 5-13, 15, 17-22, 24-35, 30, 38-49, 52-6 & 58-66, *passim.* pp. 140-2, 144-58, 160-2, 164-74, 176-94, 186, 198-216 & 218-46.

[236] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, caps. 3, 5-13, 17-22 & 24-6, pp. 144-58, 160-2, 164-74 & 176-80. For the Turkish rulers of Marash and their encounter with Robert of Flanders and others, see Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, caps. 26-30, pp. 180-6.

[237] See Albert, *Historia*, p. 178, n. 56; H. Szklenar, *Studien zum Bild des Orients in Vorhöfischen deutschen Epen* (Göttingen, 1966), p. 193; For Albert's use of *Turci* to denote the Turks at Antioch and after, see Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, caps. 31-5, 38-49, 52-6 & 58-66 *passim*, Bk. iv, caps. 1-4, 8, 11, 14-6, 18-25, 27-33, 35-8, 40-3, 48-52, 54 & 56, Bk. v, caps. 1-2, 5-10, 12, 15-6, 19- 22, 24, 26-7, 29-31, 33 & 41, Bk. vi, caps. 23, 25, 29, 31-2, 39, 55 & 57, Bk. vii, caps. 16-7, 21, 28-9, 32-4, 36, 53 & 71, Bk. viii, caps. 5, 7-16, 18-23, 27-33, 37-9 & 45-6, Bk. ix, caps. 33-4, 37-45 & 47-9, Bk. x, caps. 5, 8, 18, 21, 25-6, 28-31, 33-4, 37-8, 50 & 53-7, Bk. xi, caps. 1, 10, 16, 19-21, 24-5, 36, 38-44 & 46, Bk. xii, caps. 2, 4-7, 9-12, 14-5, 18-20 & 32, pp. 186-94, 198-216, 218-46, 248-52, 258-60, 264-6, 268-84, 286-98, 300-6, 310-16, 322-30, 332-6, 338-40, 344-50, 352-4, 356-8, 360-4, 366, 368-72, 374-8, 380-2, 394-6, 430-2, 434-6, 440, 442-4, 452-4, 476-8, 480-2, 506-10, 514-6, 524-6, 530-6, 538-40, 560-2, 584, 590-2, 594-608, 610-6, 618-24, 626-30, 634-6, 680-2, 686-700, 702-8, 722, 726, 734-6, 738, 742, 744-50, 752-4, 764, 766-70, 774, 780, 788, 792-4, 796-8, 810-24, 824, 828-34, 836-42, 844-6, 850-6 & 878-80.

[238] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, caps. 59 & 61, Bk. iv, caps. 2, 3 & 15, Bk. ix, cap. 37, Bk. x, cap. 25, pp. 230, 234, 250, 252, 270, 688 & 742.

The *Turci* were often labelled *gentiles* or were numbered among the *gentiles*.[239] They were also referred to as *barbari*. Kerbogah's army at Antioch consisted of *universe barbare nationes et legiones gentilium* and was later described as *barbarorum legiones*.[240] When Danishmend captured Bohemond, the Norman knew he must be rescued by Baldwin before he was brought into *ignotas et barbaras terras*.[241] On a number of occasions, the lands of the Turks were the *barbare nationes*, an unusual use of *nationes* to mean lands rather than peoples. After the defeat of the 1101 crusaders at Merzifon in August 1101, the Turks abducted *supra mille* women and sent them *in barbaras nationes et ignotam linguam*.[242] The *Turci* were unequivocally regarded as opponents of the crusaders, being labelled variously *inimici* or *inimici Dei*, *hostes*, *hostiles* and *adversari*.[243] When the crusade was attacked at Dorylaeum by Kilij Arslan, Adhemar described the Turks as *inimicos Deo viventi contrarios* in his address to the Latins.[244] Outside Antioch, the bishop of Le Puy warned the crusaders that inside the city were to be found *omnes hostes Christiani nominis, Turcos, Sarracenos, Arabitas*.[245] The lack of Christianity of the Turks was also emphasised by Albert: they were *infideles*, *impii* and *increduli*.[246]

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[239] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, caps. 6, 20 & 21, Bk. iii, cap. 60, Bk. iv, caps. 2, 4, 23, 25, 27, 28, 29, 33, 35, 38, 40, 42, 44, 48, 51, 53 & 56, Bk. v, caps. 1, 19, 31 & 33, Bk. vi, cap. 25, Bk. vii, caps. 16, 21, 32, 33 & 34, Bk. viii, cap. 15, Bk. ix, caps. 37 & 47, Bk. x, cap. 8, Bk. xi, cap. 46, Bk. xii, cap. 18, pp. 12, 90, 94, 232, 250, 252, 282, 284, 286-8, 288-90, 296, 300-2, 306, 310-2, 314, 318, 324, 328, 332, 336, 338, 362, 378, 380-2, 434, 506, 516, 530, 534 536, 606, 688, 704, 726, 822 & 850.

[240] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, caps. 29 & 48, pp. 290 & 322-4. Once Kerbogah had been defeated, we are told the *peregrini* who had been released from *obsidione barbarorum* enjoyed plentiful supplies and rest. nAlbert, *Historia*, Bk. v, cap. 4, p. 342.

[241] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 29, p. 526. See also, Albert, *Historia,* Bk. iv, cap. 8, p. 258 for Kerbogah ordering chains to be made with which to lead the defeated Christians back to captivity to *barbare terre*.

[242] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 19, pp. 612-4. When Tancred was attacked by Chökürmish of Mosul and Suqmān ibn Artuk while custodian of Edessa, he wrote to Baldwin asking for aid lest he and his men be captured and taken to the *barbaras nationes*. Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ix, cap. 43, p. 696.

[243] *inimici*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 27, Bk. iii, caps. 29, 35, 62, 63 & 64, Bk iv, caps. 6, 14, 35, 49, 51 & 56, Bk. v, cap. 12, Bk. vi, cap. 29, Bk. viii, cap. 19, Bk. ix, caps. 39, 43 & 47, Bk. x, caps. 34 & 55, Bk. xi, caps. 10 & 42, pp. 106, 184, 194, 236, 240, 258, 270, 302, 326, 328, 334, 352, 440, 610, 690, 696, 704, 750, 768, 780 & 818; *hostes/hostiles*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 27, Bk. iii, caps. 35 & 65, Bk. iv, caps. 14, 16, 30, 33, 50 & 52, Bk. v, caps. 20 & 41, Bk. vii, caps. 29 & 34, Bk. viii, caps. 10 & 21, Bk. ix, caps. 42, 43 & 44, Bk. x, caps. 8 & 34, Bk. xi, caps. 42, 43 & 44, Bk. xii, caps. 9 & 20, pp. 106-8, 194, 244, 270, 272, 292, 298, 328, 330, 362, 394, 526, 534, 600, 614, 694, 696, 698, 726, 750, 818, 820, 830 & 856; *adversarii*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 35, Bk. iv, cap. 1, Bk. ix, cap. 47, Bk. xii, cap. 15, pp. 192, 248, 704 & 846.

[244] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 27, p. 106.

[245] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 32, p. 190.

[246] *impii*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 22, Bk. ii, cap. 37, Bk. iii, cap. 60, Bk. viii, caps. 16, 19, 23, 33, 38 & 39, Bk. ix, cap. 44, pp. 44, 126, 234, 608, 612, 616, 624, 628, 630 & 698; *infideles*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, caps. 35 & 65, Bk. iv, cap. 50, pp. 194, 244 & 328; *incredulos*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 60, Bk. viii, cap. 16, pp. 234 & 608. When the army of the 1101 crusade was beaten by the Turks at Mersivan, Albert attributed their defeat at the hands of *increduli viri et impii* to the will of

Albert provided a far more detailed description of the *Turci* than of any other group among the opponents of the crusade. As well as casting them as opponents and enemies of the crusaders, Albert was scathing in his criticism of the *Turci*. When the *Turci* massacred a group of crusaders outside Tarsus in 1097, Albert describe the act as the result of their *perfidia et iniquitas*.[247] The plan of Kerbogah to bring a large relief force to Antioch was labelled *nefanda consilia et scelerata conspiratio*.[248] In a speech attributed to Godfrey of Bouillon outside Antioch, Albert labelled the Turks *impii et increduli*.[249] During their rule in Antioch, Albert reported that the *Turci* had defiled the cathedral with their *sacrilegis ritibus*.[250] In the account of the disastrous 1101 expedition, Albert's attitude towards the *Turci* is clear: they are labelled *impii et horridi homines*, *impii tyranni* and *horridi hostes*.[251] Their tactic of burning crops in the path of the Christians and compromising water supplies was an example of *Turcorum nequitias et dolos*.[252] In their activities, Albert repeatedly accused the *Turci* of *crudelitas*.[253] When Roger of Barneville was killed in a skirmish with the Turkish defenders of Antioch in 1098, his death at the hands of the *crudelissimi carnifices* was described by Albert in great detail.[254] After the destruction of much of the People's Crusade by the Turks in 1097, Peter the Hermit begged Alexius to help him save the remnants of his following from *tanti carnicifes*.[255]

When recounting the capture of Latin prisoners by the *Turci*, sexual motivations were often implied. When the army of Kilij Arslan defeated a group of *Alemanni* of the People's Crusade and took a number of prisoners, Albert commented that they took particularly those *vultu et corpore iuvenili venustos*.[256] In his account of the meeting of Peter the Hermit and Kerbogah outside Antioch, Albert reported that the atabeg had demanded the Christians hand over unbearded men and virgins.[257] At the siege of Nicaea, a nun who had been captured during the People's

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God. Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 17, p. 610: *divino iudicio traditi sunt incredulis viris et impiis ad puniendum*.

[247] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 13, p. 156.
[248] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 60, p. 232.
[249] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 60, p. 232.
[250] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. v, cap. 1, p. 338.
[251] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, caps. 19, 23 & 31, pp. 612, 616 & 622.
[252] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 38, p. 628.
[253] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, caps. 18 & 20, Bk. iii, caps. 13, 43, 48 & 49, Bk. viii, cap. 12, 28 & 31, Bk. xi, cap. 25, pp. 36, 40, 158, 206, 212, 216, 602, 620, 622 & 798.
[254] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 27, p. 288.
[255] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 22, p. 44.
[256] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 17, p. 36.
[257] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 45, p. 318.

Crusade by the *Turci* was taken in *feda et abhominabili commixtionis* by a Turk.[258] During the siege of Antioch a cleric and a woman were captured by the Turks of Antioch and the woman was subjected to frequent sexual assault.[259] During the 1101 Crusade, Albert described the fate of the women accompanying the crusade following the defeat of the Latins by the Turks in Asia Minor.

> *Alie illicita et feda commixtione vicissim vexate, et post plurimam uexatione decollate sunt, alie hilari uultu et decora facie oculis eorum placentes in barbaras, ut diximus nationes transmisse sunt.*[260]

In the description of the journeys of Baldwin of Boulogne and Tancred in Armenia, Albert reported that the local Armenian Christian women had also been subjected to rape and assault by the local *Turci*. Once Baldwin had consolidated his rule of Tarsus, he killed all of its Turkish defenders, in part because the *illustres matrone* of the city had further incited the hatred of the crusaders against the *Turci* by recounting incidents where their ears and noses had been cut off when they resisted sexual advances.[261] When Robert II of Flanders attacked the town of Artah in late 1097, the Armenian *Christiani* within the walls attacked the Turkish rulers of the city and opened the gates to the crusaders. Albert explained that the Armenians betrayed the Turks because of the latter's mistreatment of them and the rape of their wives and daughters.[262]

Albert was certain of the injustice of the Turkish position and he reiterated frequently how the lands which they had conquered were held by them *iniuste*. Nicaea, the site of the first major confrontation between the crusade and the Seljuks was, by right, the property of the Byzantines; *quam gentilis virtus Turcorum imperatori iniuste ereptam suo subiugavit dominio*.[263] When the 1101 Crusade captured Ankara as it passed through Asia Minor, they returned it to the emperor; *eo*

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[258] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 37, p. 126.
[259] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 46, pp. 208-10: *matronam vero vivam et intactam armis rapientes traxerunt in urbem, per totam noctem immoderate libidinis sue incesto concubitu eam vexantes.*
[260] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 20, p. 612. See also, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, caps. 31 & 39, pp. 622 & 630.
[261] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 13, p. 158: *eo quod stupri sui eas consentaneas invenire nequiverint.*
[262] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 28, pp. 182-4.
[263] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 20, pp. 90-2. See also, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, caps. 28 & 37, pp. 108 & 124-6 and Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 41, p. 312, for the description of Alexius' attempts to regain much of the lands in Asia Minor which had been taken from him *iniuste* by Kilij Arslan.

quod de regno eius fuerit, et iniusta Turcorum invasione amiserit.[264] When Tancred and Baldwin captured the towns and castles of Armenia, the unjust rule of the *Turci* was emphasised.[265] At Philomelium, Heraclea and Iconium, the Armenians were described as *subiugati* by *Turci, viri Solimanni* and the inhabitants of Tarsus were *gravi Turcorum iugo depressis.*[266] Upon hearing of the arrival of the crusade, the Turkish rulers of Marash fled the city, *quam iniqua vi et iniustis tributis ante multos hos annos subpresserunt.*[267] The Armenian citizens of Artah who rebelled against their Turkish rulers and opened the gates of the city to the crusade were aggrieved not only by the rape of their wives and daughters, but also by the other *iniurii* inflicted upon them by the *Turci*, such as *exactio iniustorum tributorum.*[268] The *Turci et Sarraceni* who held Laodicaea before it was captured by the crusade in 1099 were *iniusti dominatores.*[269] The city of Jerusalem was also held to be under the *iugum* of the *Turci.*[270] The *Turci* were labelled *tyranni* twice. During the 1101 crusade the *Turci* who slaughtered the remnants of the army as they attempted to return towards Constantinople were both *tyranni* and *carnifices.*[271] When describing the death of the Turkish general Mawdud, Albert noted that *apud Turcos et omnes gentiles nomine et fama exaltatus est, eo quod pre omnibus ampliorum tyrannidem in fideles Christi exercuisset.*[272] It is possible that the repeated assertion that the *Turci* had usurped the lands which the crusade conquered may imply an anxiety on the part of Albert to justify the temporal conquests of the crusade.

Not all of the traits ascribed to the *Turci* were negative and it is clear that Albert shared the opinion of many of his contemporaries concerning their martial spirit. Kilij Arslan, the Sultan of Rum was *vir nobilissimus sed gentilis.*[273] In battle Albert repeatedly referred to the Turks' *audacia* and *virtus.*[274] In the first engagement between the main armies of the crusade and the Seljuk Turks Albert paused to describe the ranks of the *Turci*, *ut harena maris... omnes viri fortissimi et bello*

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[264] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 8, p. 596.
[265] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, caps. 21, 24 & 26, pp. 172, 176 & 180.
[266] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii caps. 3 & 5, pp. 140 & 146.
[267] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 27, p. 182.
[268] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 28, pp. 182-4.
[269] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 55, p. 478.
[270] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 29, p. 440.
[271] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 23, p. 616.
[272] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. xii, cap. 18, p. 850.
[273] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 21, p. 94.
[274] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 19, Bk. ii, caps, 25, 41 & 42, Bk. iv, cap. 32, Bk. vii, cap. 33, Bk. ix, cap. 44, Bk. xi, cap. 16, Bk xii, cap. 11, pp. 38, 102, 132, 134, 296, 534, 700, 788 & 840.

cautissimi.[275] When besieging the city of Samosata in Armenia, Baldwin was forced to give up his assault due to the *Turci bello fortissimi et indefessi*.[276] During a battle at the bridge over the Orontes river near Antioch Albert commented that some of the *Turci* would prefer to die than retreat.[277] In a later skirmish outside Antioch a group of Turkish cavalry were *viri fortissimi et in equis doctissimi*.[278] In an anecdote about a particular *Turcus* who was mortally injured while defending Nicaea and resolved to kill as many crusaders as he could before dying, Albert's tone is filled with awe, labelling him *quidam miles illorum ferocissimi animi et cordis*.[279]

While clearly impressed by the warlike spirit of the *Turci* and their valour, Albert implies an element of barbarism in his descriptions of them. As much as their strength and courage was emphasised, so too was their *ferocitas* and *feritas*.[280] During an engagement with the Turks of Kerbogah's army, Tancred took advantage of their *insania, fremitu et audacia* to charge them while they were dismounted.[281] When Albert reported the visit of Kilij Arslan to the Sultan at *Sanmarthan* to report the defeats which the crusade had inflicted upon him at Nicaea and Dorylaeum, he recounted how the *Turci*, as was their custom, threw themselves on the ground and tore at their clothes and hair in anguish.[282] Like the *Gesta Francorum*, Albert also reported the cries and noises made by the *Turci*, albeit only once: *Et ecce Turci propinquantes, more suo altis vocibus inclamantes*.[283] Like their display of grief, these cries were considered *mores* of the *Turci*. In their physical description, they are given a monstrous and demonic countenance:

> *...quorum capita ante et retro, a dextris et a sinistris in modum colli rasa sunt, et quorum rari capilli ab hiis quatuor collis dependentes intonsa coma horrescunt, cum barba etiam intonsa et prolixa, et qui*

[275] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 27, p. 106.
[276] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 21, p. 172.
[277] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 34, p. 192: *maluerunt mori quam cedere*. That this quality was considered to be a positive trait can be seen when Albert reported Kilij Arslan as describing the *Christiani* in the same terms. Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 6, pp. 256-60.
[278] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 64, p. 242.
[279] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 34, p. 118.
[280] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, caps. 54 & 66, Bk. viii, caps. 21 & 30, Bk. xii, caps. 9 & 12, pp. 222, 246, 614, 622, 830 & 842.
[281] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 32.
[282] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 3, p. 250: *...sicut mos est Turcorum de infortunio et iniuriis conquerentium in conspectu eiusdem magni ac potentissimi regis et presentia suorum pilleos a capite humi iactantes barbas ungulis sevissime discerpunt, crines digitis distrahunt et evellunt, et in magnis lamentationibus suspiria trahunt.*
[283] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 13, p. 602.

solum tetris et inmundis spiritibus similes esse in suo habitu referuntur.[284]

In his description of the death and post-mortem mutilation of a certain Gervasius at the hands of a Turkish knight Soboas, Albert again ascribes barbaric behaviour to the *Turci*. Apparently impressed by Gervasius' hair, Soboas had removed the skin of his head along with his hair and had it dried, in order to mount it on his spear.[285]

Another trait which Albert attributed to the Turks in particular was *superbia*. During the siege of Nicaea, two spies were captured by the crusaders who reported the arrival of the army of Kilij Arslan and his expectation of an easy victory over the Latins.[286] When Kilij Arslan reported the advances of the crusade to the Sultan and Kerbogah, the latter, described as *vir contumax et plenus superba feritate*, is reported to have interrupted his report to denegrate the Christians and boast of his recent victories over them.[287] Kilij Arslan replied to *illius superbia et verborum iactantia* with a description of the martial talents of the *Christiani* and their recent conquests and he recounted how he too had expected an easy victory over the crusade at Nicaea.[288] Both times, Albert related that the Turkish leaders had been confident of victory because of the ease with which the People's Crusade had been defeated. Kerbogah's *superbia* was described again in the account of the conversation between himself and Peter the Hermit outside Antioch. Refusing Peter's suggestion of combat between twenty men from each side, Kerbogah answered *in superbia magna* that the *Christiani* should surrender immediately to be brought to *Corruzana* in chains which he showed Peter.[289] After his capture of Bohemond in 1100 Danishmend demanded the surrender of Melitene from the Armenian lord of the city, Gabriel. When Gabriel answered that he would not surrender while Baldwin of Boulogne's whereabouts were unknown, Danishmend replied *in superbia magna* that he would soon capture Baldwin too.[290]

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[284] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 19, p. 612.
[285] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. x, cap. 57, p. 770.
[286] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 25, p. 102.
[287] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 5, p. 254.
[288] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 6, pp. 254-6.
[289] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. cap. 45, p. 318: *totius generis catenarum et vinculorum copiam innumerabilem et inauditam.*
[290] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 28, p. 524. See also, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ix, cap. 44, Bk. xi, cap. 16, pp. 700 & 788.

The similarities between Albert's *Historia* and the *Chanson d'Antioche* have led to a discussion in modern scholarship about the similarities between his narrative and the vernacular epic tradition.[291] This relationship – and Edgington's suggestion that Albert was exposed to at least one poetic or epic source for the First Crusade but not for the years 1099-1119 – appears particularly relevant for Albert's representations of the *Turci*. The level of detail in Albert's discussion of the *Turci* in his *Historia* exceeds that of any other Muslim group and the character of this detail is different from that of others, save perhaps the brief discussion of the *Azoparth*.[292] The pre-eminence of the *Turci* as the main Islamic opponents of the crusade in the first six books of the *Historia* coincides with the possible dependence on poetic sources and may be attributable to this variation in source material. Like the authors of the vernacular epics, Albert attributed extremely martial characteristics to the *Turci*. These traits often spilled over into the macabre as, for example, in the description of the physical appearance of the Turks and the details of their brutality. The appearance of picturesque scenes in which *oratio recta* is attributed to a number of Muslim persons, occurs more frequently among the *Turci* than other groups. The scene in which Kilij Arslan, Kerbogah and the Turkish Sultan, Berkyaruk all discuss the threat of the crusade is an example of the epic elements of Albert's narrative. In this description, many of the traits which Albert attributed to the *Turci* appear. As soon as the envoys arrived in the presence of the Sultan, they lamented their fate loudly and tore at their beards and clothes.[293] Once Kilij Arslan delivered the news of the arrival of the crusade, the *superbia* of Kerbogah was demonstrated when he scoffed at their strength and recalled his previous easy victories over them.[294] While Kerbogah and Kilij Arslan argued the relative merits of the Christians, the Sultan reportedly consulted *magi, arioli et aruspices* to confer with the gods.[295] When the portents foretold of a Turkish victory, Kerbogah reportedly ordered the manufacture of the chains and fetters which he showed to Peter the Hermit outside Antioch.[296] The *superbia* of Kerbogah and of the *Turci* in general is a frequent theme and in the

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[291] Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen and the *Chansons de Geste*', *passim*.
[292] See below, pp. 250-1.
[293] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 3, p. 250; See Meredith-Jones, 'The conventional Saracen,' p. 205, for the common feature of the emotional instability of Saracens in the *Chansons*, ' ... readily giving way to tears of joy and anger.'
[294] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, caps. 5 & 7, pp. 254 & 258.
[295] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 8, p. 258. The worship of a number of gods was a feature commonly attributed to Saracens in the *Chansons de Geste*. Meredith-Jones, 'The conventional Saracen,' p. 206.
[296] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 8, pp. 258-60.

scene between the atabeg and Peter the Hermit outside Antioch, it appears again, alongside Kerbogah's refusal to consider conversion to Christianty.[297]

The suggestion that Albert used a vernacular epic source or sources for the early part of his narrative appears broadly reasonable in light of the elements of epic in his treatment of the *Turci*. Edgington has suggested that these sources would have been restricted to the period 1095-99, as are many of the later crusade *chansons*.[298] This suggestion would explain not only the treatment of the *Turci* in contrast to the discussion of other Islamic groups but also the difference in tone between the first six books and the second. Although there is a clear change in Albert's tone from book vi to book vii, a change which impacts on his treatment of the Turks, not all of the 'epic' elements attributed to them disappear. In the description of the 1101 crusade, where the *Turci* again become the dominant opponents of the crusade, these characteristics are still visible. The description of the capture of Christian women after the defeat of the crusade by the Turks in Asia Minor, contains the physical description of the *Turci* discussed above and the mention of their battle cries also appears in this section.[299] Similarly the martial qualities of the *Turci* and their *superbia* were referred to throughout the work.

The difficulty in deciding whether passages by Albert have a poetic source given their sensational nature is demonstrated in the example of the death of Gervasius of Bazoches, whose head was reputedly mounted on the spear of a Turkish knight. Such a macabre episode would appear to have poetic sources. The same story, however, appears in the *Dei Gesta* of Guibert of Nogent, with Gervase's skull being emptied and turned into a cup.[300] In this instance it is likely that both Guibert and Albert are relating two different versions of the same story, each gleaned from an eyewitness source, both of which have been embellished in different ways. This is presumably the result of two different oral traditions reaching both authors, each of whom used considerable eyewitness testimony to inform their accounts. The gap between vernacular poetic works and the eyewitness reports of laymen may not be so great as to be easily discerned in the Latin narratives which absorbed them.

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[297] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 44, pp. 316-8.
[298] Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen and the *Chansons de Geste*,' pp. 28-9.
[299] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, caps. 13 & 19, pp. 602 & 612.
[300] Guibert, *Dei Gesta*, Bk. vii, lines 2151-7, p. 350.

Sarraceni

Albert's most recent editor, Susan Edgington, noted that Albert differentiated between the *Turci* and *Sarraceni* throughout the narrative.[301] Consequently the term *Sarraceni* appeared extremely rarely in the narrative prior to the siege of Antioch, where the primary enemy had been the *Turci* of Asia Minor. In the first chapter of Book 1, when Albert laid out the subject of the *Historia*, he described how the crusaders had triumphed over *mille milies Turcorum Sarracenorumque legiones*.[302] Once he was established at Edessa, Baldwin of Boulogne was approached by the Artuqid prince Balak ibn Bahram who suggested that they both should attack a nearby unnamed town, whose defenders were *Sarraceni*.[303] During the siege of Antioch the *rex Babylonie* sent messengers to the crusaders through whom he described the Turks as *gens extera mihi* and suggested an alliance against them with the Latins.[304] Similarly, when Albert explained the recent history of Jerusalem, prior to the arrival of the crusade, he discussed how the *rex Babylonie* had recently ejected the *Turci* from the city.[305] Albert used the term *Sarraceni* for the subjects and soldiers of the *rex Babylonie* and through this discussion demonstrated a level of understanding of the political rivalries with the Islamic world at this time. It is possible that his distinction between the two groups was informed by his understanding of their long standing enmity.[306]

Albert was not always careful, however, in distinguishing the *Turci* from the *Sarraceni*. During Baldwin of Boulogne's journey to Jerusalem in 1100 following the death of Godfrey, the Turkish atabeg of Homs, Janāh al-Dawla was referred to as *Sarracenorum princeps*.[307] In the expedition of Bohemund and Robert of Flanders to look for supplies in the winter of 1097, they travelled through the *terra Sarracenorum* and encountered the army of Duqaq of Damascus which defeated the crusaders near Albara.[308] Albert labelled this army *Turci et Sarraceni*.[309] Later, this same area was referred to as *terra Sarracenorum et Turcorum*, when Godfrey of

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[301] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 25, p. 178, n. 56.
[302] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 1, p. 2.
[303] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 25, pp. 176-8.
[304] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 59, p. 230.
[305] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, caps. 31-2, pp. 442-4.
[306] See, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, caps. 33-4, pp. 352-4, where the enmity between the *Turci* and the *Sarraceni* was held to be responsible for their defeat by Baldwin.
[307] Janāh al-Dawla was Albert's *Geneadoil*. His army were also labelled *Sarraceni*. Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, caps. 33 & 34, pp. 532-8.
[308] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, caps. 50 & 52, pp. 216-8.
[309] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 52, p. 218.

Bouillon attempted to raid the area for the supplies which Bohemond had been forced to abandon in the earlier engagement with Duqaq.[310] While the *Turci* were mentioned frequently around Antioch, the *Sarraceni* appear rarely.[311] Once the crusade left the environs of Antioch and began its journey towards Jerusalem, the inhabitants of the local towns were variously *Turci* and/or *Sarraceni*. The inhabitants of Albara and Ma'arra were described as *Turci* and *Sarraceni* during the account of their defeats by the crusade and retrospectively labelled *Turci*.[312] Although Albert is not always consistent in his use of terms at this point, the dominant pattern of his usage of both terms is mutual exclusivity and it is likely that he understood the difference between both groups but was not always able to clarify exactly which groups were present, perhaps due to the variations in his sources.

When large conglomerate groups of Muslims were described, they were often *Turci et Sarraceni* or *Turci, Sarraceni et Arabes*.[313] Once the main crusade army reached the outskirts of Antioch, the term was used more frequently. Adhemar of Le Puy reportedly warned the crusaders that *omnes hostes Christiani nominis, Turcos, Sarracenos, Arabitas* would be rushing to the defence of Antioch and that they should refrain from separating.[314] When the crusade captured Antioch in June 1098, Albert reported that, during the violence which followed, many of the *Turci et Sarraceni* pretended to be *Christiani* to avoid death.[315] Once the relief force of Kerbogah had been defeated, the crusaders found religious texts which Albert described as *Codices vero innumerabiles ... in quibus sacrilegi ritus Sarracenorum, Turcorum, quarumque gentium inscripti erant*.[316] Here and elsewhere the term *Turci et Sarraceni* was shorthand for Islam demonstrating that neither term sufficed as an overall collective term.[317]

At Antioch the references to the *terra Sarracenorum* prefigure one of Albert's primary uses of *Sarraceni*: to denote the local Muslim populations of Syria

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[310] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 58, p. 228.
[311] When Godfrey of Bouillon attempted to salvage the goods abandoned by Bohemond, he was unsuccessful because the *Sarraceni et gentiles* had moved their goods in the interim Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 58, p. 230.
[312] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. v, caps. 26, 29 & 33, pp. 368-70, 374 & 380.
[313] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 32, Bk. v, cap. 33, Bk. vii, caps. 21, 32 & 33, Bk. x, cap. 8, pp. 190, 380, 516, 530, 534 & 726.
[314] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 32, p. 190.
[315] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 23, p. 284.
[316] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 56, p. 336.
[317] See also, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. v, caps. 29 & 33, Bk. vi, caps. 25, 39 & 57, Bk. vii, caps. 32, 33 & 34, Bk. viii, cap. 45, Bk. x, cap. 8, Bk. xi, cap. 10, 46, pp. 374, 380, 434, 452, 480, 530, 532-6, 634, 726, 780 & 822.

and Palestine. When Tancred of Antioch attempted to capture *Vetula* near Jabala in 1111, Albert explained that the castle had remained unconquered until now, due to the difficult terrain and the *copie Sarracenorum* who were often in the area.[318] The population of Jabala, Arqa, Tripoli and Sidon were all described as *Sarraceni*.[319] The defenders of Jerusalem were *Sarraceni* in almost all cases.[320] When the army of the crusade approached Ascalon, Albert reported that large numbers of livestock had been abandoned by the *Sarracenos, Arabitas cunctosque gentiles* in order to distract the crusaders.[321] The inhabitants of the coastal cities of Syria such as Ascalon, Ramla, Haifa, Arsuf and Jaffa were all *Sarraceni*.[322] When the leaders of Ascalon, Caesarea and Acre sent a legation to Godfrey to offer him tribute in return for peace, it was because the *Sarraceni* wearied of constant engagements with the Latins.[323] In contrast, these *Sarraceni* maintained the offensive by sea.[324] When Baldwin I travelled to the area around the Dead Sea, the local population were *Sarraceni*.[325]

A distinction was not always made by Albert in his *Historia Hierosolimitana* between the *Sarraceni* and the *Babylonii*, and the *rex Babylonie* appears in connection with the *Sarraceni* frequently, in particular during the siege of Jerusalem. The defenders of Jerusalem were mostly referred to as *Sarraceni* but once Albert described them as *universi cives ac milites regis Babylonie*.[326] During the siege of the city, the *rex Babylonie* sent messengers to the defenders of the city to inform them of the Fatimid army which he had sent to aid them: these messengers were *Sarraceni*.[327] Albert was well informed regarding the turbulent recent history of Jerusalem and the

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[318] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. xi, caps. 45 & 46, p. 822.
[319] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. v, caps. 31, 33, 36, 38, 39 & 40, pp. 378, 380, 386 & 390-2.
[320] They were, however, divided into *cives ac milites regis Babylonie* on two occasions before being referred to as *Sarraceni* again. Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 38, Bk. v, caps. 44 & 45, Bk. vi, caps. 1, 3, 7, 8, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 25, 28, 29, 32, 33, 38 & 39, pp. 308, 398-402, 406, 408, 412, 414-6, 418, 420, 422, 424, 426-8, 430-2, 436, 438-40, 444-6 & 452-4.
[321] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 42, p. 458.
[322] Ascalon, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 51, Bk. vii, cap. 38, Bk. ix, caps. 21, 23, 25 & 30, Bk. x, caps. 11, 13, 14, 15, 16 & 32, Bk. xii, cap. 33, pp. 472, 542, 662-4, 666, 668, 676, 728, 730, 732-4, 748 & 880: Arsuf, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, caps. 4, 5 & 9, pp. 490, 492 & 498: general, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 14, p. 504; Haifa, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, caps. 24 & 25, p.520; Caesarea, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, caps. 55 & 56, pp. 564-6; *Jubayl*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ix, caps. 26 & 27, p. 670; Sidon, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. x, caps. 7 & 48, pp. 724 & 762; Beirut, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. xi, cap. 16, p. 788; Tyre, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. xii, caps. 10 & 33, pp. 838 & 880; Ramla, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ix, cap. 20, p. 662.
[323] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 13, pp. 502-4. See Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, caps. 55 & 56, pp. 564-6, for the Caesareans as *Sarraceni*. Later, the inhabitants of Tyre, Tripoli and Sidon were also labelled *Sarraceni*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ix, cap. 19, p. 660; Acre, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ix, cap. 21, p. 662-4,
[324] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 14, p. 504.
[325] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 42, p. 548.
[326] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, caps. 15 & 18, pp. 420 & 426.
[327] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 14, pp. 420-2.

dispute between the Turks and the Fatimids over the city. After his account of the capture of the city by the crusaders in 1099, he explained that the *Turci...qui paulo ante hanc invadentes, multo tempore obtinuerunt*, had been dispossessed of the city by the *rex Babylonie*, who had then sent messengers to the Latins at Antioch.[328] This refers to the capture of Jerusalem by the Turks in 1071 from the Fatimids and the recapture by the Fatimids under al-Afdal in 1098. During this discussion the link between the *rex Babylonie* and the *Sarraceni* is clear.[329] In his account of the battle of Ascalon in August 1099 Albert referred to a certain *Meraius, secundus a rege Babylonie*, presumed to be al-Afdal, vizier of Egypt.[330] The soldiers in this army, or parts of it, were often labelled *Sarraceni*.[331] In 1100, when Godfrey and the Latins massacred a large number of the townspeople of Arsuf, messengers were sent to *Meraius* to tell him of the deaths of so many *Sarraceni*. In response, he sent a force of *Arabes* and *Azoparth* to the city. These men are later called *Sarraceni*, who, following their defeat, returned to *Babylonia* with the *fama luctuosa*.[332] The inhabitants of Caesarea, labelled *Sarraceni*, appealed to the *rex Babylonie* for help opposing the crusaders.[333] At the battle of Ramla in 1101, the army of *Meraius* were labelled both *Babylonii* and *Sarraceni*.[334] When the crusade besieged Sidon in 1107, the Fatimids sent *Sarraceni* who were *a regno Babylonie*.[335] Just prior to his death, while on campaign in Egypt, Baldwin I implored his men to bring his body back to Jerusalem and not to bury him in the *terra Sarracenorum*.[336]

At times *Sarraceni* was used collectively for a force which elsewhere was described as conglomerate. For example, the army of the Fatimids at Ascalon, led by al-Afdal, was composed of various groups including, *Publicani*, *Azoparth* and *omnes barbare nationes que erant de regno Babylonie*. With these *barbare nationes* including *Mauros* and *Arabs*; this army was often referred to collectively as

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[328] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, caps. 29, 31 & 32, pp. 440 & 442-4.
[329] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, caps. 31& 32 p. 442.
[330] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, caps. 41 & 50, pp. 454 & 468-70.
[331] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, caps. 44, 45, 46, 47, 49 & 50, pp. 460-70.
[332] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, caps. 9 & 11, pp. 498 & 500-2.
[333] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, caps. 55 & 56, pp. 562-6.
[334] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, caps. 64, 66, 68, 69 & 70, pp. 574-6, 578 & 580-4; For the Second Battle of Ramla in 1102, see Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ix, caps. 3, 5 & 6, pp. 640 & 642-4; For the attack on Jaffa by the Fatimids in 1102, see Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ix, caps. 9, 11, 12 & 13, pp. 646-52. See also, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ix, caps. 23, 25, 48 & 49, pp. 666, 668-70 & 704-10.
[335] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. x, caps. 49 & 50, pp. 762-6; See also, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. xi, cap. 37, Bk. xii, cap. 17, pp. 810 & 848-50.
[336] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. xii, cap. 27, p. 866.

Sarraceni.[337] During the siege of Arsuf in 1100, the *Arabes* and *Azoparth* which were sent by the Fatimids, were collectively known, along with the citizens of Arsuf, as *Sarraceni*.[338] In 1119, when Joscelin of Courtenay and Godfrey of Bures attacked a large number of *Sarraceni* and *Idumeos/Biduinos* who were grazing their herds on the lands of Tughtigin of Damascus, they were defeated by the large numbers of soldiers who accompanied the herdsmen. These soldiers, who came from *terra Egypti, Arabie et Idumeorum* were all referred to as *Sarraceni*.[339] The *Turci* were never included among the *Sarraceni*, however.

Babylonii/Egypti

The terms *Babylonii* and *Egypti* both refer to the inhabitants of the territories controlled by the Fatimid Caliphate, whose centre was Cairo. At Antioch delegates arrived at the crusade camp from the *ammirabilis Babilonie rex* who expressed their enmity towards the *Turci* and suggested a truce with the Latins.[340] During his description of the siege and capture of Jerusalem, Albert referred back to this embassy and accused the *rex Babylonii* of having reneged on his word.[341] At the siege of Jerusalem the defenders of the city, although principally described as *Sarraceni*, were labelled *milites regis Babylonie* and reference was made to the constant communications between the defenders and the *rex Babylonie*.[342] At Ascalon, Meraius (al-Afdal), vizier of Cairo, was described as *secundus a rege Babylonie* and his army as *omnes barbare nationes que erant de regno Babylonie* or *exercitus regis Babylonie*.[343] In the early years of the twelfth century the Latins struggled to dominate the coastal cities of Palestine and in Albert's exhaustive account of each encounter, frequent references are made to aid being sought from the *rex Babylonie* by the coastal cities and the men and ships sent in response.[344] As these cities remained protectorates of the Fatimids, it is again clear that this is who

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[337] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, caps. 41, 44, 46, 47, 49 & 50 pp. 454-6, 462, 464 & 466-8.
[338] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 11, pp. 500-2.
[339] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. xii, cap. 31, pp. 874-6.
[340] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 59, p. 230, n. 106. These negotiations are well-attested to in Albert's contemporaries; Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 59-60; *Gesta*, p. 42 [287]. For a discussion of this embassy, see H. Dajani-Shakeel, 'Diplomatic Relations Between Muslim and Frankish Rulers 1097-1153 A.D.' in *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, ed. M. Shatzmiller (Leiden, 1993), pp. 190-215.
[341] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 32, p. 444.
[342] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, caps. 13, 14, 15 & 18, pp. 418-22 & 426.
[343] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, caps. 41, 46 & 50, pp. 454-6, 464 & 468-70.
[344] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 51, Bk. vii, caps. 9, 10, 11, 38, 52, 55 & 56, Bk. x, cap. 49, Bk. xi, caps. 17, 27, 29 & 31, pp. 470-2, 498-502, 542, 762-4, 790, 800, 802 & 804-6.

Albert was referring to. When Baldwin attacked Acre in 1102, the town was reinforced by ships from Tyre, Sidon and Tripoli, *civitatibus de regno Babylonie*.[345] During the first and second battles of Ramla, in 1099 and 1102, the army collected by Meraius (al-Afdal) is described as *omnes Babylonii* or *exercitus Babyloniorum*.[346] In the various Fatimid attempts to take the port town of Jaffa from the Latins, the armies were either from the *regnum Babyloniorum* or contained men of Ascalon and *Babylonii*.[347]

Albert also referred to the *terra Egypti* and *milites Egypti* on four occasions.[348] Although the examples are somewhat unclear, in the account of Baldwin I's journey to Egypt in 1118, *regnum Babylonie* was used synonymously with *terra Egypti*. Given the oral nature of his sources and their possible multiplicity, it may be that the variation in terminology is the result of two or more eyewitnesses using two different terms for the same territory.

Arabes

In his use of the term *Arabes*, Albert clearly distinguished the Arabs. The majority of uses of the term refer to *Arabes* in the Fatimid armies at Ascalon, both in 1099 and after. At Ascalon, the *Arabes* formed part of the Fatimid force under al-Afdal, vizier of Egypt, among the *Sarraceni*, *Mauri* and *Publicani*.[349] Once the victory of the crusaders became clear, Albert reported that the *Arabes vero et cetere gentes* scattered and fled.[350] During the first and second battles of Ramla, the *Arabes* appear as part of the army sent from Egypt.[351] When Baldwin I besieged Ascalon briefly in 1100, the city was defended by *mille equites Arabite a Babylonia missi*.[352] Hereafter, the *Arabes* were often associated with Ascalon, which remained in Fatimid hands until it was finally captured by the Latins in 1153.[353] The Fatimid army was often

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[345] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ix, cap. 19, p. 660.
[346] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, caps. 57, 61, 64 & 68, Bk. ix, caps. 6, 8 & 12, pp. 566-8, 572, 574-6, 580, 644, 646 &650-2; See M. Brett, 'The Battles of Ramla (1099-1105) in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*, eds. U. Vermeulen & D. De Smet (Leuven, 1995), pp. 17-38, for a historiographical discussion of the Battles of Ramla.
[347] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ix, caps. 48, 50 & 51, Bk. x, cap. 10, pp. 704-6, 710-2 & 726-8.
[348] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 16, Bk. xii, caps. 25 & 31, pp. 506-8, 862-4 & 874-6.
[349] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 45, p. 462. See also, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, caps. 42, 46 & 50, pp. 458, 464 & 468.
[350] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 47, p. 464.
[351] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, caps. 10 & 11, Bk. ix, cap. 3, pp. 498-02 & 640.
[352] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 38, p. 542.
[353] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ix, caps. 30, 31 & 52, Bk. x, caps. 11, 13 & 17, pp. 674-8, 714-6, 728, 730 & 734.

divided into regiments along ethnic lines and therefore the representation of national groups acting as one is not inaccurate.[354] Similarly, it is clear that different ethnic groups tended to fulfil different military functions. The Arabs were used as light cavalry in the Fatimid armies of the eleventh century and reference to *milites Arabite...in equis et armis* may reflect this military function.[355] In a number of descriptions of the *Arabes* skirmishing with the Latins, it is clear that they are on horseback.[356]

When referring to *Arabia*, Albert for the most part meant the area south west of the kingdom of Jerusalem. This is clear particularly where he refers to the *Arabes* of a particular area. Twice reference is made to *valle Moysi...in partes regni Arabie*.[357] This 'valley of Moses,' modern Wādī Mūsā, is situated near Petra in modern Jordan and was Arab territory in the eleventh century.[358] In 1116, Baldwin I built a castle at Mount Horeb, near the Red Sea, *ut sic potentius terram Arabitarum expugnaret*.[359] This would again imply that *Arabia* was, for Albert, to the south east of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

On occasion the *Arabes* appeared beside other groups in a list of 'enemies' of the crusade. When the crusade approached Antioch, Adhemar of Le Puy warned the army not to disperse lest they be attacked by *omnes hostes Christiani nominis, Turcos, Sarracenos, Arabitas*.[360] When Raymond of St Gilles fabricated an attack on himself and his army at Arqa in order to coerce the other leaders to join his siege of the city, he reported that *Turci, Sarracenis, Arabitis et cunctis gentilibus* had descended on the town to attack him.[361] When Godfrey of Bouillon died in July 1100, Albert reported *maxima lamenta et nimius ploratus* among the Christians in the Holy Land and *gentilibus pleris Sarracenis, Arabitis, Turcis*.[362] In these lists, it is clear that Albert used the trio of terms to denote Islam in its role as the enemy of the crusade.

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[354] France, *Victory in the East*, p. 359.
[355] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ix, 30, p. 674; Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, p. 85; France *Victory in the East*, p. 359.
[356] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ix, cap. 31, Bk. x, caps. 11 & 13, pp. 676-8, 728 & 730.
[357] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. x, cap. 28, Bk. xii, cap. 8, pp. 744 & 834-6.
[358] Albert, *Historia*, p. 745, n. 32.
[359] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. xii, cap. 21, p. 856.
[360] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 32, p. 190.
[361] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. v, cap. 33, p. 380.
[362] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 21, pp. 514-6.

In his application of the terms *Arabes* and *Arabia*, Albert appears to have been predominantly accurate, locating them at the battles of Ramla and Ascalon and generally among the Fatimid forces as well as in the territories of Arabia. They were not, however, ascribed any particular qualities, positive or negative. While they were included among the *hostes Christiani nominis*, there is no discussion of negative attributes peculiar to them as a group.

Bidumos/Idumeos

The *Idumei quos moderni vocant Bidumos* appear four times in Albert's *Historia*, in all cases in connection with the *Arabes* or *Arabia*.[363] It is clear that the Bedouins are represented by these two terms. Although there is evidence for Bedouins in the armies of the Fatimid Caliphate at this time, Albert did not place the *Idumei* or the *Biduini/Bidumi* in al-Afdal's forces at Ascalon. It is more likely that Albert's understanding of the term was limited to the nomadic Bedouin traders and a reference to *Bidumi viri mercatores* would support this interpretation.[364] The kingdom of Idumea dates to biblical times and was located south of Judea.[365]

Publicani

All four of Albert's uses of the term *Publicani* occur during his account of the battle of Ascalon against the conglomerate forces of al-Afdal, the Fatimid vizier of Egypt.[366] The presence of *Publicani* at Ascalon is not corroborated by any of the other western sources, where they are primarily placed in the forces of Kerbogah at Antioch. Even Peter Tudebode, who places a large number of different national groups at Ascalon, does not include the *Publicani*.[367] Given the likelihood that *Publicani* referred to the Paulician heretics who could be found in eastern Anatolia and northern Syria at this time, it is unlikely that Albert's use of this term is reliable in this instance. Edgington has suggested that Albert used the term to refer to 'a people from Africa or Arabia.'[368] It is possible too that Albert's sources were unclear at this point, placing the *Publicani* at the wrong battle.

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[363] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. xii, caps. 8, 21, 31 & 33, pp. 834-6, 858, 874-8 & 880.
[364] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. xii, cap. 8, p. 834-6.
[365] Ezekiel 35:15 & 36:5; Isaiah 34:5-6; Mark 3:8.
[366] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, caps. 41, 45, 46 &50, pp. 454-6, 462-4 & 468-50.
[367] See Appendix 2, pp. 411-2.
[368] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 41, p. 456, n. 67.

Azoparth

The *Azoparth* in Albert's *Historia* were certainly the black Africans. In the first use of the term Albert explained that the *Azoparth* were *gens nigerrime cutis de terra Ethiopie dicta vulgariter Azoparth.*[369] This information, that the *Azoparth* were from *Ethiopia*, confirms that this group were the same as the *Aethiopi* who Fulcher mentioned in the Fatimid forces at Ascalon. As well as the Fatimid army at Ascalon in 1099, the *Azoparth* were listed in the Egyptian army at the second battle of Ramla in 1102.[370] Although Fulcher did not place them at Ramla in 1102, he did mention *Aethiopes pedites* at the third battle of Ramla in 1105, which was also fought against the Fatimids.[371] When the citizens of Arsuf sent for aid to the Fatimids following an attack by the Latins in 1100, *Meraius* (al-Afdal) sent a force of *Arabes* and *Azoparth* in response.[372] In one case, Albert's use of the term *Azoparth* is less well supported by his contemporaries. During an expedition to attack certain cave dwelling people in 1100, Albert reported that they were *Azoparth, gens fedissima, impii* and *viri horridi et squalidi.*[373] According to Albert, Baldwin killed as many of these *Azoparth* as he could, in revenge for their attacks on pilgrims.[374]

The portrayal of the *Azoparth* is somewhat picturesque. Albert gave a vivid description of their fighting tactics during the battle of Ascalon. They fought *flexis genibus suo more bellum solent committere ... tubis et timpanistriis intonantes* in order to terrify the men and horses of the Christians. He also described the whips with which they fought: *flagella ferrata ac sevissima, quibus loricas et clipeos gravi ictu penetrabant, equos in frontibus percutiebant, et sonitum terribilem per universa agmina fidelium faciebant.*[375] This description with the report of the noise made by the *Azoparth* echoes Albert's descriptions of the *Turci* in its tone and it is important to note that the *Azoparth* featured in later *chanson* traditions in western Europe. It is

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[369] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 41, p. 456. For the use of Black Africans in the Fatimid armies of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, see W.J. Hamblin, *The Fatimid Army during the Early Crusades* (unpublished PhD, University of Michigan, 1985), pp. 15-6; France, *Victory in the East*, p. 359.
[370] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, caps. 41 & 46, Bk. ix, caps. 3, 4 & 6, pp. 454-6, 464, 640-2 & 644.
[371] Fulcher, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 31, p. 490.
[372] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, caps. 10 & 11, pp. 498-502.
[373] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 39, pp. 542-4.
[374] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, caps. 39 & 40, pp. 542-6. In his description of the same events, Fulcher of Chartres described the inhabitants of the *cavernae* as *Sarraceni*. Fulcher, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 6, p. 370.
[375] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 46, p. 464.

possible, therefore, that the discussion of both the *Turci* and the *Azoparth* in Albert's *Historia* owe some features to epic vernacular traditions.[376]

Mauri

The *Mauri* are only mentioned twice in Albert's *Historia*, each time at the Battle of Ascalon.[377] It is possible that Albert used the terms *Mauri* and *Azoparth* interchangeably. Like the *Azoparth*, the *Mauri* are described as hailing *de terra Ethiopie*.[378] On both occasions where the *Mauri* appear in a list of the separate groups in the Fatimid forces, the *Azoparth* are absent.[379] In the letter of Daibert of Pisa and the princes to the pope and the Latin Christians, reference is made to *Mauri* at Ascalon.[380]

Theological terms to denote the Muslims

Gentiles

The most common term used by Albert to denote the Muslim opponents of the crusade collectively was *gentiles*. Although the phrase *Turci et gentiles* appeared on occasion, the Seljuk Turks of Asia Minor and Antioch were routinely referred to as *gentiles* and both terms were often synonymous.[381] Kilij Arslan, whom Albert referred to as *Solimannus*, was *vir nobilissimus sed gentilis*.[382] When Kilij Arslan visited the court of the Seljuk Sultan Berkyaruk, *omnes primatus gentilium* were also present.[383] Kerbogah of Mosul was *principe Corruzana et a nationibus gentilium* and the army he brought to Antioch included *tot nationibus gentilium*.[384] Once the city of

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[376] The term *acopart* (*achopart, escopart, ascopart, azopart*) appears in later *Chansons de Geste* and its origins have been the discussion of some scholarly debate among philologists. See E. C. Armstrong, 'Old-French *Acopart*, "Ethiopian," *Modern Philology* 38 (1941), 243-250; L. Spitzer, 'Anc. FR. *Acopart* "*Ethiopien*," *Modern Language Notes* 57 (1942), 252-9; E.C. Armstrong, 'Yet again the Acoparts,' *Modern Language Notes* 57 (1942), 485-6.

[377] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, caps. 45 & 50, pp. 462 & 470.

[378] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 50.

[379] *Azoparth*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, caps. 41 & 46, pp. 454-6 & 464.

[380] Hagenmeyer, *Epistolae et Chartae*, pp. 172 & 394, n. 68. Hagenmeyer suggested that these came from North Africa.

[381] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 6, Bk. ii, caps. 20 & 25, Bk. iii, caps. 17, 29, 35, 37, 60 & 66, Bk. iv, caps. 13, 23, 25, 27, 29, 33, 34, 35, 41, 42, 44, 48, 51 & 56, Bk. v, caps. 19 & 42, Bk. vi, 55, Bk. viii, cap. 15, Bk. ix, caps. 37 & 47, pp. 12, 90, 102, 164, 184, 194, 198, 232, 246, 268, 282, 284, 286-8, 290, 296, 298, 300, 312, 314, 316, 324, 328, 336, 362, 396, 478, 606, 688 & 702.

[382] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 21, p. 94; See also, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 2, p. 248.

[383] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 4, p. 252.

[384] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, caps. 40 & 53, pp. 312 & 332. Ridwan of Aleppo was *gentilis tyrannus Brodohan*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. x, cap. 19, p. 736.

Antioch was captured by the Latins and they moved towards Jerusalem, the local Muslims were referred to as *gentiles* and the term became a routine synonym for *Sarraceni* and *Arabes*.[385] At the siege of Jerusalem and elsewhere, the Fatimids were often described as *gentiles*.[386] During the battle of Ascalon, the composite army of the Fatimids, which consisted of *Sarraceni, Arabes, Publicani* and *Mauri de terra Ethiopie*, was collectively *gentiles*.[387] Upon Godfrey's death in 1100, Albert reported that grief was felt not only by the Christians of the area but also by the *gentilibus plerisque Sarracenis, Arabitis, Turcis*.[388] The coastal cities of Palestine were often referred to as *civitates gentilium*.[389]

That the *gentiles* were the opponents of the crusaders was not in doubt. When Peter the Hermit visited Jerusalem in 1095, he asked the patriarch why the *gentiles et impios* were not checked in their abuse of the *peregrini* and *Christiani* and their churches.[390] When the patriarch replied that they were vastly outnumbered by the Muslims and asked him to bring aid from the *Christiani*, Peter promised to relate the oppression of the *Christiani* at the hands of the *gentiles*.[391] When he returned to Europe, he visited the pope and related to him *inmundiciis gentilium et iniuriis sanctorum et peregrinorum*.[392] The Muslims were often labelled *gentiles* where the crusaders were labelled *Christiani*, presumably for rhetorical purposes.[393] When Baldwin of Boulogne besieged the castle of Turbessel (Tilbaşir) in 1098, the Armenian inhabitants handed the castle over to his possession, *volentes magis sub*

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[385] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 50, Bk. v, caps. 31, 33, 34 & 36, Bk. vi, caps. 23, 29, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47 & 48, Bk. vii, caps. 37 & 42, Bk. viii, cap. 44, Bk. ix, cap. 21, 23, 31 & 52, Bk. x, caps. 2, 47 & 49, Bk. xii, cap. 17, pp. 216, 378, 380, 382, 386, 430-2, 440, 456, 460, 462, 464, 466, 542, 548-50, 634, 664, 666, 678, 714, 718, 762, 764 & 848-50.

[386] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. v, caps. 44 & 46, Bk. vi, caps. 5, 6, 12, 20, 23, 28, 29, 30 & 41, Bk. ix, caps. 11, 48, 49 & 50, Bk. x, cap. 10, pp. 398-400, 402-4, 410, 418, 428, 430-2, 438, 440, 454, 650, 704, 708-10 & 726.

[387] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 50, p. 468. At the Battles of Ramla, the Fatimids were also labelled *gentiles*, see Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, caps. 65, 68, 69 & 70, Bk. ix, caps. 4 & 10, pp. 576, 580, 582-4, 640 & 648.

[388] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 21, p. 514, see also, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, caps. 32, 33 & 34, Bk. x, cap. 8, p. 530-6 & 726.

[389] In 1100 the *gentiles* of Ascalon, Acre and Caesarea sent an embassy to Godfrey to agree on terms for peace. Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, caps. 12, 13, 14, 51 & 54, Bk. ix, caps. 11, 15, 18, 21, 23, 24, 28 & 31, Bk. x, caps. 10 & 35, Bk. xi, cap. 35, pp. 502-4, 560, 562, 650, 654, 660, 664, 666, 668, 672, 678, 726, 750 & 808.

[390] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 2, p. 4.

[391] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 3, p. 4.

[392] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 5, p. 6.

[393] The frequency of *gentiles* increases during the sieges of Antioch, echoing the increased use of *Christiani*.

Christiano duce servire quam sub gentili ditione.[394] When describing the tense relations between Baldwin and Balduk of Samosata in Edessa, Albert commented that relations between *Christiani* and *gentiles* were poor, *invicem semper sibi sunt suspecti.*[395] In a speech to the crusaders outside Antioch, Adhemar of Le Puy juxtaposed the *viri Christianissimi* with the *gentiles.*[396] After the siege of Jerusalem, *maiores ac prudentes* advised Tancred not to spare the lives of the *gentiles* within the city as they would be a threat to the crusaders if another Muslim army came to relieve the city.[397] In 1110 after Tancred had involved the local Seljuk leaders in his dispute with Baldwin of Edessa, Baldwin I of Jerusalem censured him severely, reminding him that the Latins had agreed not to dispute with one another and not to ally with any of the *gentiles.*[398]

During the siege of Nicaea, Albert commented that the city had been seized from the emperor *iniuste* by the *gentilis virtus Turcorum.*[399] When Tancred travelled through Armenia, capturing castles and towns from the Turks, they were described as *hostes gentiles.*[400] Roger of Barneville, who was killed outside Antioch, was lamented as *pervigil semper ... in insidiis et strage gentilium.*[401] As Kerbogah of Mosul approached Antioch with his army, Albert described it as *universe barbare nationes et legiones gentilium.*[402] In 1105 when Ridwan of Aleppo sought to exploit Bohemond's absence from Antioch and Baldwin of Bourq's absence from Edessa and broke the terms of his treaty with Tancred, only *auxilium Domini Iesu Christi* saved the *Christiani* from the attacks of the *gentiles.*[403]

As an opposite to *Christiani*, *gentiles* had a religious element, with a number of references to their *ritus*. In a fictitious message from the *rex ammirabilis Babylonie* to the leaders of the crusade at Antioch, the leaders were urged to continue the siege of the city and the *rex* promised to restore Jerusalem, the Tower of David

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[394] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 17, p. 164.
[395] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 24, p. 176.
[396] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 60, p. 232. See also, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 56, Bk. v, cap. 31, Bk. vi, cap. 50, Bk. ix, cap. 32, pp. 336, 376, 468 & 680.
[397] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 29, p. 440.
[398] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. xi, caps. 16 & 22, pp. 788 & 794-6: *cum gentilium decreta et nostra non conueniant ... si gentilibus vis sociari et nostris moliri calumnias, nequaquam frater Christianorum poteris remanere.*
[399] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 20, p. 90.
[400] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 26, p. 180. For *gentiles et increduli* see Albert, *Historia*, Bk. xii, cap. 3, p. 828.
[401] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 28, p. 290.
[402] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 29, p. 290.
[403] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ix, cap. 47, p. 702.

and Mount Sion to the *Christiani* and to consider conversion to *Christiana fides*. The message stipulated, however, that should the Fatimids wish to retain *lege et ritu gentilitatis*, the agreement would not be broken.[404] During Peter the Hermit's embassy to the camp of Kerbogah at the siege of Antioch, Peter suggested that Kerbogah give up *spurcitiae gentilium* and convert to Christianity, an offer which Kerbogah rejected and instead attempted to educate Peter in the *sacrilegos ritus suos et sectam gentilium*.[405] After the crusade army had defeated Kerbogah in summer 1098, they found *codices innumerabiles* in some of the Turkish tents, in which *sacrilegei ritus Sarracenorum, Turcorum, quarumque gentium inscripti erant et nefanda carmina ariolum et aruspicum cum caracteribus execrabilibus*.[406] After the capture of Jerusalem by the crusade in 1099, Albert provided a brief survey of the political events of the previous thirty years or so, detailing how the city, which had previously been held by the Egyptians, fell to the Turks (1071) and was again captured by the Egyptians (1098). This description contains a number of references to the religion of the *gentiles*.[407] When Tancred entered the Dome of the Rock, Albert described how the *Turci* had worshipped there and shut out *omnes ceteri gentiles* during *suarum ceremoniarum observatio*.[408] This reference to the exclusion of other *gentiles* from the rites of the *Turci* may be a reference to the doctrinal differences between the Sunni Turks and the Shii Fatimids. Elsewhere, however, there is no evidence that Albert was aware of this division.[409] When the Fatimids recaptured Jerusalem in 1098, Albert descibed how the 'king' had approached the Dome, *reverentia et humilitate*, *iuxta ritum gentilium*.[410]

The view of the *gentiles* and their *ritus* was essentially negative and their removal from the Holy Places was necessary. When the crusade approached Bethlehem, the inhabitants of the town approached them, rejoicing at their arrival and urging them *ad auferendos gentilium ritus a loco sancto et eorum inmundicias*.[411] After the capture of Jerusalem, once Godfrey had been established as

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[404] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 59, p. 230.
[405] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 44, p. 316.
[406] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 56, p. 336. See Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 8, pp. 258-60, for Sultan Berkyaruk's consultation of *magos, ariolos et aruspices*.
[407] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, caps. 25, 31 & 32, pp. 434 & 442-4.
[408] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 25, p. 434.
[409] Whereas Raymond of Aguilers appears to have known of the divisions in Islam and the rival claims of the caliphs to be the true heirs of the Prophet. See, p. 174.
[410] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 32, p. 444.
[411] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. v, cap. 44, p. 400.

princeps of the city and the *gentiles* had been expelled, *universa gentilitas ab urbe sancta exterminata est et sacrilegi ritus*, a new patriarch of the city could be elected.[412] In its use as the most common collective term for the Muslim opponents of the crusade, *gentiles* fulfilled a role of defining them not only as the opponents of the crusade but also of Christianity. The use of such a biblical term for the Muslims mirrors the biblical allusions which Albert used in his discussions of the crusade: where the crusaders were likened to the Israelites, the Muslims were cast as the perennial enemy. That *gentiles* denoted a group united in faith is clear in the repeated references to their practices and rites, and as such it can clearly be seen to be an opposite to *Christiani*.

Barbari

The Muslim opponents of the crusade were referred to collectively as *barbari* on a number of occasions. When Baldwin's men met a fleet of westerners led by a certain *Winemer* in 1098, the new arrivals asked them why they had come to *longinquum exilium inter tot barbaras nationes*.[413] The armies of Kerbogah at Antioch and al-Afdal at Ascalon were composed of *barbare nationes* or *barbarorum legiones*.[414] When, after the victory at Jerusalem in 1099, many of the crusaders returned home, Godfrey asked them to urge their *confratres Christianos* to join their brothers in the Levant in their struggle *adversus tot barbaras nationes*.[415] In a vision to a *frater fidelissimus, genere Longobardus*, St Ambrose of Milan promised that the *Christiani* would gain victory over the *barbare nationes*.[416] In another vision, a Lotharingian knight saw Godfrey of Bouillon ascending to Mount Sinai, which, Albert explained, foretold Godfrey's leadership of the Christians to victory over *reges et barbare nationes*.[417]

The areas from which the Muslims came were *terra barbarorum* or *barbare nationes*. Before leading his army towards Antioch, Kerbogah of Mosul commissioned the making of chains and fetters with which to lead the Christians to *barbare terre*.[418] When Daibert of Pisa greeted the victorious crusaders in 1099, he

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[412] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 39, p. 452.
[413] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 15, p. 160.
[414] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, caps. 29 & 48, Bk. vi, cap. 41, pp. 290, 322 & 456.
[415] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 53, p. 474.
[416] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 38, p. 308.
[417] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 35, p. 448.
[418] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 8, p. 258.

congratulated them on their victory in *tam longinquas et barbare nationes*.[419] When Bohemond of Taranto was kidnapped by Danishmend in 1100, he sent a hair from his head as a signal to Baldwin, hoping the latter would be able to rescue him before he was carried into *barbare nationes*.[420] After the defeat of the 1101 Crusade by the Seljuks of Asia Minor, Albert reported that many of the women who were left in the camp were captured by the Turks and taken to *barbare nationes*, which Albert immedieatley calrified as *Corruzana*.[421] Upon Baldwin I's death in 1118, his nobles hid their grief in order to transport his body out of the *terra barbarorum* and to bury it in Jerusalem.[422] The term *barbari* appears in the Bible, albeit infrequently. The phrase *barbare nationes* was not scriptural but can be found in a number of Albert's contemporaries to describe the Muslim opponents of the crusade and had been used to mean non-Christians since the time of St Jerome.[423]

Infideles

The use of the term *infideles* to describe the Muslims collectively is an example of Albert's construction of the opponents of the crusade as enemies of Christianity and is reminiscent of the biblical enemies of the Israelites. The use of this term vis-a-vis the repeated use of *fideles* to denote all of the Christians, united the *Christiani* against Islam and cast Islam clearly as the enemy. In the description of the battle of Ascalon, the collected forces of al-Afdal were *Sarraceni, Arabes, Mauri, Publicani* and later *infideles*.[424] The defenders of Antioch and the conglomerate forces of Kerbogah of Mosul at Antioch were also *infideles*.[425] The opposition between the *fideles* and the *infideles* was dramatised through the juxtaposition of the terms during battle scenes. In a skirmish outside Antioch with the Turkish defenders of the city Albert noted that the *agmina fidelium et infidelium* became mixed together.[426] At the third battle of Ramla in 1105 the *agmina fidelium et infidelium* reportedly fought for

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[419] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 57, p. 480.
[420] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 29, p. 526.
[421] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, caps. 19 & 20, p. 612.
[422] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. xii, cap. 28, p. 868.
[423] Jerome, *Epistula* 133, *Ad Ctesiphontem* 9, CSEL 56, p. 255; *Epistula* 146, *Ad Evangelum Presbyterum* 1, CSEL 56, p. 310; Loutchitskaja, '*Barbarae Nationes*', *passim*.
[424] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 45, p. 462. See also Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 42, p. 456.
[425] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, caps. 50 & 55, pp. 326-8 & 334. See also, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 35, p. 194.
[426] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 35, p. 194. The same mingling was reported during the 'Lake Battle' outside Antioch on the 9th February 1098. Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 65, p. 244.

hours before the *Sarraceni* weakened and took flight.[427] The use of the term *infideles* on two occasions when the relic of the True Cross was brought into battle with the Latins further highlighted their enmity to the Christians. At the battle of Ascalon the relic was brought to battle by Peter the Hermit and the leader of the clerical party, Arnulf of Chocques.[428] During the first battle of Ramla, Albert commented that it was the strength of the *sancta crux* which caused the weakening of the Fatimid army.[429]

The Bible contains a number of references to *infideles*, which may have formed Albert's terminology in this case.[430] It would perhaps be erroneous to read too much of a theological or exegetical purpose in this term however. Some of the scriptural passages in which the term appears, refer to the fall of Jerusalem from grace, having come under the influence of *infideles*.[431] Nowhere else in the *Historia* did Albert appear to apply such a deep exegesis and in his discussion of the *iugum* of the Muslims under which Jerusalem laboured. The Holy City was portrayed as the setting for the oppression of the *fideles*, not as a personified victim.[432] It is likely therefore that while Albert's use of the term *infideles* to refer to the opponents of the crusade may be scripturally derived, a weighty exegetical meaning was not implied.

Impii, increduli, adulterini filii

The opponents of the crusade were both *impii* and *increduli*. When Peter the Hermit visited Jerusalem prior to the crusade, he saw Christians suffering at the hands of *gentiles et impii*.[433] In the siege of the castle of Civitot, in which a contingent of the People's Crusade was resisting the forces of Kilij Arslan, Albert reported that many of the crusaders refused to leave the castle, even on fear of death lest they suffer *crudeliorum ab impiis poene*.[434] The unidentified nun who had taken part in the People's Crusade, been captured by a Turk and liberated by the crusaders in their capture of Nicaea, described how she had been raped by *impii et scelerati homines*.[435] Similarly, the women of the 1101 crusade, who were captured after the

[427] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ix, cap. 49, p. 708.
[428] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 42, p. 456.
[429] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 68, p. 580: *tota infidelium virtus infirmari cepit.*
[430] Isaiah 1:21-3; Deuteronomy 32:16-20; Sophonias 3:1-5; 1Corinthians 14:23.
[431] Isaiah 1:21-3; Sophonias 3:1-5.
[432] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 1, p. 2.
[433] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 2, p. 4.
[434] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, caps. 21 & 22, pp. 42-4.
[435] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 37, p. 126.

defeat of the army in Asia Minor, were seized *impie* by *impii et horridi homines*.[436] During the 1101 crusade the *Turci* were repeatedly labelled *impii* and Albert commented that the defeat of the crusade at the hands of *increduli viri et impii*, was a judgement of God.[437] Just prior to the 'Lake Battle' outside Antioch in 1098, Godfrey addressed the crusaders, calling the Muslims *impii et increduli*.[438] Although the term was most often applied to the Turks, the *Azoparth*, *Ascalonite* and *Sarraceni* were also *impii*.[439] The Muslims were less often called *increduli*. The Fatimid armies after the battle of Ramla in 1101 were called *increduli* by Baldwin I of Jerusalem in a speech to his army.[440] When Evremar of Chocques was elected Patriarch of Jerusalem in 1102, one of his duties was to act as a *fidelis adiutor* to Baldwin against the *Sarraceni et increduli*.[441]

The terms *impii* and *increduli* were, however, not only applied to the Muslims. After the defeat of Kerbogah outside Antioch, Hugh of Vermandois and Baldwin of Bourcq were sent to Constantinople to ask Alexius Comnenus why he had behaved so *impie* towards the crusaders in failing to bring them aid at Antioch. On their journey, they were ambushed by a group of Turcopoles, who Albert described as a *gens impia* and *impii*.[442] When Godfrey refused to stop the siege of Arsuf in return for the safety of Gerard of Avesnes, the inhabitants of the city called the crusaders a *gens impia et crudelis*.[443] When the siege began to falter, Arnulf Patriarch of Jerusalem urged those present to repent of their *impietatem et omnium foeditatem dilectorum*.[444] During their journey to Constantinople in 1101 the *Longobardi* were criticised by Albert for causing disruption as they passed through Bulgaria; one *parasitus impius* allegedly cut off a woman's breast.[445] During the siege of Sidon in 1107, some *apostate et prevaricatores fidei ex Provincia* were helping the *Sarraceni* to protect the town. On top of the tower which they were defending, they allegedly urinated on, and spat at, a cross. During that evening,

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[436] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 19, p. 610.
[437] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, caps. 17, 23, 33, 38 & 39, pp. 610, 616, 624 & 628-30.
[438] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 60, p. 234.
[439] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 39, Bk. x, cap. 13, Bk. xii, cap. 17, pp. 544, 730 & 880.
[440] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 69, p. 582.
[441] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ix, cap. 17, p. 658.
[442] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. v, cap. 3, pp. 340-2.
[443] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 3, p. 488.
[444] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 5, p. 492.
[445] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 3, p. 588.

through *Dei potentiam*, the tower was demolished and the *increduli* were killed.[446] Thus it can be seen that the terms *impii* and *increduli* need not refer to Muslims only but could be used to denote delinquent Christians. They do not, therefore, hold the same force as *infideles* or *gentiles* nor were they exclusive indicators of a particular group but rather terms of moral judgement.

On two occasions, Albert referred to the Muslims as *adulterini filii*. Just prior to the siege of Jerusalem in 1099, Albert described the *civitas sancta et mater nostra Ierusalem, quam adulterini filii invaserent et legitimis filii negaverant.*[447] When Archbishop Daibert of Pisa met with the recently victorious crusaders later that year, he greeted them enthusiastically and congratulated them on having captured the city and expelled the *adulterini filii*.[448] This may be a scriptural reference to Hebrews 12:8, which labels those who turn from the chastisement of God but this level of exegesis is rare in Albert's narrative.[449]

Islam in the *Historia Hierosolimitana*

Albert's detail in his use of national terms for the different Muslim opponents of the crusade and his careful distinctions between the groups is surprising in an author who did not witness those things which he wrote about. Although his use of *Sarraceni* overlapped with the *Babylonii* and the inhabitants of the coastal cities, for the most part Albert's *schema* of Muslim ethnic groups was consistent and clear. His discussion of the recent history of the disputes between the Fatimids and the Seljuks also betrays a significant level of knowledge regarding the internal politics of Islam.

Although a number of historians have attributed to Albert a relative lack of animosity towards the Muslims, it is clear that Albert regarded them as the enemies of *Christianity*.[450] The juxtaposition of the terms *fideles* and *infideles* for Christians and Muslims respectively makes this opposition clear.[451] The use of the collective

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[446] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. x, cap. 48, p. 762.
[447] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 6, p. 410.
[448] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 56, p. 480.
[449] It may also be an allusion to the Muslims as 'Ismaelites' the illegitimate sons of Hagar, (Genesis 25:12) although the terms *Ismaelites* or *Hagareni* were not used by Albert anywhere else in his narrative. In contrast with the narratives of Guibert of Nogent, Baldric of Dol and Robert the Monk. See Riley-Smith, *Idea*, pp. 142-3; Morris, 'Aims and Spirituality,' p. 102.
[450] Edgington, 'Introduction,' p. xxxv; Szklenar, *Studien zum Bild des Orients*, pp. 193 & 195.
[451] For example, Adhemar of Le Puy's description of the Muslims as *omnes hostes Christiani nominis*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 32, p. 190.

terms *gentiles* and *infideles* reduced the Muslims to enemies analogous to those of the Children of Israel in Scripture while the crusaders were likened to the Israelites and the Maccabees. Further, the description of the Muslims as *increduli* and *impiis* clearly denoted them as more than enemies, but also as unbelievers. Like his contemporaries, Albert described the deaths of everyone *de genere gentilium* with little sympathy.[452]

Terms to denote other Western Christians

Bulgari and Ungari

With one exception the Bulgarians and the Hungarians were only mentioned by Albert when the armies of the crusaders passed through both kingdoms on their way to Constantinople. When Albert described the meeting of Alexius and Stephen of Blois at Philomelium in 1097, Albert listed the ethnic groups which accompanied the emperor in his army, including *Bulgari*.[453] Although the Bulgarians are not considered to have contributed significantly to the Byzantine imperial army, they are mentioned once in Anna Comnena's *Alexiad*.[454] While the Pechenegs used Bulgaria on occasion to mount raids, it is clear that Albert did not confuse the two groups: the *Pincenarios* appeared at Philomelium too.[455] An earlier reference to *Pincenariis qui Bulgariam inhabitabant* also demonstrates Albert's sense of a distinction between the two.[456]

Elsewhere, the attitude displayed toward the *Bulgari* and *Ungari* is varied. When Walter Sansavoir and his followers entered the kingdom of Hungary in May 1096, King Coloman was described by Albert as *rege Christianissimo Ungariorum*. Immediately afterwards, however, Albert recounted how a small group of Latins had been set upon and robbed by *Ungari vero quidam perverse mentis* at the fortress of Zemun.[457] When Walter left Hungary and entered Bulgaria, the officials refused to supply markets and skirmishes broke out, during one of which the *Bulgari* reportedly

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[452] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 23, p. 282.
[453] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 40, p. 310.
[454] Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, p. 252; Birkenmeier, *Development of the Komnenian Army*, p. 30.
[455] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 40, p. 310.
[456] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 8, p. 18.
[457] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. vi, pp. 8-12. As Peter the Hermit and his armies passed through the region later that year, the weapons and goods of those same crusaders were reportedly hanging on the walls of the fortress, prompting them to attack the fortress. Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 7, p. 14.

burned a chapel in which some of the crusaders were hiding. Once they reached Nĭs however, the local prince proved extremely receptive to their needs and conveyed them peacefully to Constantinople.[458] The army of Peter the Hermit travelled through Hungary relatively peacefully until Zemun, where rumour of a plot between a *comes regionis illius* named Guz and a *princeps Bulgarorum* named Nichita to plunder the army reached them. Albert's comment that Peter refused to believe in the plot *quia conchristiani erant Vngarii et Bulgari*, demonstrated his disapproval for the actions of these two men. [459] When a group of *Alemanni* got into a dispute with *quidam Bulgarus*, Albert clearly disapproved of the crusaders' behaviour and reported a speech by Peter in which he criticised the *Alemanni*, commenting also that the Bulgarians had been roused against the crusaders, *insequerentur in caput eorum reddentes universa mala que sibi illata sunt.*[460]

The army of Godfrey of Bouillon was initially extremely suspicious of the Hungarians on account of the rumours which they had heard regarding the latter's treatment of the followers of Peter the Hermit. Once Coloman had defended himself and his men against accusations of being *Christianorum persecutores* and diplomatic relations were established, relations flourished between Godfrey and the Hungarians. Similarly their journey through Bulgaria reportedly passed off peacefully.[461] During the 1101 Crusade Albert was extremely critical of the *Longobardi* on their journey through Bulgaria and criticised them for pillaging the area despite being granted markets. According to Albert, these *Longobardi* committed atrocities against the local population, defiled the *oratoria* of the emperor and *quod nefas est dicere de populo catholico*, raided the local livestock even though it was Lent.[462] In his account of the progress of Welf IV of Bavaria, Albert commented that the *Bulgari* were an *indomitus et incorrigibilis populus* among whom discord was inevitable. He also commented, however, that it was not until after the *dux Bulgarorum* had been *variis iniuriis molestatus* that hostilities broke out.[463]

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[458] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 6, p. 12.
[459] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 7, pp. 12-4. Later, however, Nichita was described as acting *benigne* in his treatment of the People's Crusade in Bulgaria. He provided markets and alms for the poor in return for hostages. Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 9, pp. 18-20.
[460] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, caps. 10 & 11, pp. 20-4.
[461] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, caps. 2-8, pp. 62-72.
[462] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, caps. 2 & 3, pp. 586-8. This group of *Longobardi* was later criticised by Albert for their behaviour in Constantinople and Asia Minor and their insistence in attempting to free Bohemond of Taranto from the Danishmends. Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 7, pp. 594-6.
[463] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, caps. 34-5, pp. 624-6.

Albert's attitude towards the *Bulgari* and *Ungari* was apparently ambivalent, criticising them and the crusaders in turns. Although they were *indomitus et incorrigibilis*, they were portrayed as victims of unruly and undisciplined crusaders. Coloman of Hungary, in particular, was presented as an able diplomat and *rex Christianissimus*. The repeated use of *Christiani* and *catholici* for both the *Ungari* and the *Bulgari* is the clearest indicator of Albert's attitude towards them. Despite individual low points in their relations with the crusaders, they were, in his estimation, their co-religionists and this dictated their relations.

Collective terms to denote the eastern Christians

Like the *Bulgari* and the *Ungari*, the eastern Christians were labelled *Christiani* and *conchristiani* in order to highlight their common religion with the crusaders. Although critical at times, Albert's overriding opinion of the eastern Christians was that of allies of the crusade.

Armenici

The *Armenici* in the *Historia Hierosolimitana* were consistently defined as co-religionists and allies of the crusaders. In lists of Christian groups, they appear alongside the Latins and other eastern Christian groups. When a group of crusaders entered Antioch secretly and began to attack and kill the Muslim defenders, the *Greci, Syrii, Armenici, cives et viri Christiane professionis* opened the gates of the city to allow the rest of the army entry. During the ensuing mêlée, Albert reported that, in the darkness, many *Christiani* were killed as well as *Turci et Sarraceni*. Among these *Christiani*, Albert counted *tam Gallorum quam Grecorum, Syrorum et Armenicorum*.[464] Following the death of Godfrey of Bouillon, Albert reported widespread mourning among *omnibus illis Christianis, Gallis, Italicis, Syris, Armenicis et Grecis*.[465] When Baldwin of Boulogne advanced towards Turbessel (Tilbaşir) in 1098, the Armenian residents, *viri Christiane professionis,* handed the town over to him, *volentes magis sub Christiano duce servire quam sub gentili ditione*.[466] In 1110, Baldwin, now king of Jerusalem, called together an army to

[464] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 23, p. 282.
[465] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 21, pp. 514-6
[466] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 17, p. 164.

march to the aid of Edessa following a Seljuk attack on the city. On their march toward Edessa, *tam Galli quam Armenici conchristiani* joined the king's army.[467] During his description of Tancred's journey through Armenia, Albert commented that the Turks, who had held the area *iniuste*, took flight.[468] On their way to Antioch, the bulk of the crusader army passed the town of Artah, *in qua Turci manentes Armenicos Christianos servili iugo subegerant*. Albert continued to describe the injustices which the Turks had imposed on the Armenians, including the rape of their wives and daughters and the levying of unjust tribute.[469]

In his description of the treacherous behaviour of Pakrad, *quidam Armenicus* who was *perfidus et astutus* and who had broken faith with Baldwin after the latter had granted him the fortress of *Ravendel*, Albert demonstrated that he was willing to criticise the Armenians and elsewhere he described Armenian citizens of being too *timidi* to rise up against their Turkish rulers.[470] When Baldwin attacked Balduk of Samosata with Armenian allies, the *Armenici* were denounced as *effeminati* who fought *incauti et segniter*.[471] Despite these criticisms, however, Albert was clear in his description of the *Armenici* as Christians who were ruled *iniuste* by the Turks and who acted as allies of the crusade.

Syrii

Along with the *Armenici*, the *Syrii* were repeatedly represented as allies of the crusade and *confratres* of the Latins. During the siege of Antioch and at the death of Godfrey of Bouillon, they are depicted among the *Christiani*.[472] When Yaghi Siyan fled from Antioch, Albert reported how he was captured by *quidam de Syria viri Christiane professionis* and beheaded, his head being brought back to the victorious Latins in the city.[473] During the siege of Jerusalem the *Syrii* were instrumental in the crusaders' success: *quidam confrater Christianus Syrus natione* showed them where they could get wood to build their siege engines and they were told by *indigenis*

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[467] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. xi, cap. 19.
[468] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 27.
[469] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 28, p. 182.
[470] For Baldwin's continuing problems with Pakrad, see Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, caps. 17, 18 & 19, Bk. v, caps. 13-4, pp. 164-8 & 354-6.
[471] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 21, p. 172.
[472] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 23, Bk. vii, cap. 21, pp. 282 & 514-6.
[473] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 26, p. 286. Raymond of Aguilers referred to these men as *Armenii*. Raymond, *Historia*, p. 81; The Anonymous author described them as *Suriani et Hermenii*, *Gesta*, p. 48 [310].

conchristianis how to douse the flames of one of the Turkish siege engines with vinegar.[474] In the discussion of the *Syrii* they are labelled *confratres*, *conchristiani* and *viri Christiane professionis*.[475]

Greci

Much scholarship concerning the Latin narratives of the crusades emphasises the overwhelmingly negative attitude of the western authors towards the Byzantines. Recent study, however, has distinguished between anti-Alexian feeling and anti-Byzantine rhetoric, arguing that while many twelfth-century commentators were scathing in their discussion of the eastern emperor, they often acknowledged the eastern Christians as their co-religionists.[476] Both Albert of Aachen and Fulcher of Chartres, not only viewed the Byzantines as co-religionists of the Latins, but were also extremely complimentary about their emperor.[477]

The Christianity of the Byzantines was repeatedly emphasised by Albert. In the lists of the Christian inhabitants of Antioch who opened the gates to the crusaders and who died alongside them, the *Greci* appear alongside the *Armenici* and the *Syrii*.[478] When Godfrey of Bouillon died in 1100, the *Greci* mourned his passing along with *omnibus illis Christianis*.[479] When the People's Crusade attacked a castle belonging to Kilij Arslan near Nicaea they killed all of the inhabitants except for the *Greci Christiani*.[480] The generosity of the citizens of Philippopolis towards Peter the Hermit after he lost much of his money in his engagements with the Hungarians clearly marked the *Greci* as allies of the Latins.[481] Later, news of the destruction of his army at the hands of the Seljuks was brought to Peter through *nuncius quidam Grecus fidelis et catholicus*.[482]

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[474] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, caps. 1 & 18, pp. 406 & 426.
[475] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, caps. 2 & 18, Bk. x, cap. 31, pp. 406, 426 & 746.
[476] Neocleous, 'Is the contemporary Latin historiography of the First Crusade and its Aftermath "Anti-Byzantine"?' *passim*; Carrier, 'Pour en finir avec les *Gesta Francorum*,' *passim*; Carrier, 'L'image d'Alexius Ier Comnène,' pp. 40-1.
[477] For Fulcher's attitude towards the Byzantines and their emperor, see L. Ní Chléirigh, 'The impact of the First Crusade on Western opinions towards the Byzantine Empire,' pp. 174-80; For a discussion of Albert's portrayal of Byzantine-Latin relations see, Edgington, 'The First Crusade; Reviewing the Evidence,' pp. 64-73; Carrier, 'Pour en finir avec les *Gesta Francorum*,' pp. 33-4; Edgington, 'From Aachen: A new perspective,' *passim*.
[478] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 23, pp. 282-4.
[479] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 21, pp. 514-6.
[480] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 16, p. 32.
[481] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 14, p. 28.
[482] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 22, p. 42.

As the *conchristiani* of the crusaders, the Byzantines were not to be harmed in any way and Albert disapproved of Bohemond of Taranto's violence towards the *Greci*. When Godfrey was still in Constantinople, Albert reported that a legation from Bohemond suggested that they both attack the emperor to which Godfrey replied that *non causa questus aut pro destructione Christianorum a terra et cognatione sua exisse*.[483] When Bohemond and the Pisans attacked Laodicaea in 1099, Albert was again critical, accusing Bohemond of lying to the Pisans and representing the Byzantine inhabitants of the city as enemies of the Latins.[484] Throughout this account, the Byzantines were referred to as *Christiani* and *catholici*.[485] During the later struggle for power between Baldwin I of Jerusalem and Daibert of Pisa, now Patriarch of Jerusalem, Baldwin accused the patriarch of killing *Christiani Greci* on the island of Cephalonia.[486] When the cathedral at Antioch was restored after the capture of the city by the Latins in 1098, clergy from both the Roman and the Orthodox Church – *tam Grecorum quam Latinorum* – were reinstated there.[487] Once in an isolated incident the treachery of *Christiani Greci* was referred to when Albert reported that the expedition of Svend of Denmark was betrayed to the Turks of Asia Minor by *iniquii Christiani, Grecorum scilicet*.[488] Given the paucity of sources for Svend's expedition, it is difficult to understand the context of this criticism and it must, therefore, be considered as an anomaly in Albert's otherwise conciliatory attitude.

While the above incident represents the only accusation of treachery by the Byzantines in Albert's *Historia*, he referred to the *Greci* as *effeminati* on two occasions. When Kilij Arslan approached the Seljuk Sultan Berkyaruk and Kerbogah atabeg of Mosul with news of the crusaders' victories in Asia Minor and their siege of Antioch, Kerbogah reportedly scoffed at the sultan of Rum, boasting that he had beaten both the Greeks and the followers of Peter the Hermit and was not therefore afraid of the crusade.[489] Kilij Arslan responded by asserting that this new army was different from the *pusilla manus et mendica, pedites et iners vulgus feminarum omnes longa via fatigatos* which comprised the People's Crusade and the *exercitus*

[483] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 14, p. 82.
[484] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 55, p. 476.
[485] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, caps. 55 & 57, pp. 476-8 & 480.
[486] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ix, cap. 16, p. 656.
[487] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. v, cap. 1, p. 338.
[488] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 54, p. 222.
[489] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 5, p. 254.

Grecorum mollis et effeminata, bellorum exercitiis raro vexata.[490] When some Latins stayed in the town of Myra in 1113 as guests of the local inhabitants they were attacked by a group of Turks. According to Albert the Turks were successful in their attack because of the feeble resistance of the *militibus Grecorum viris effeminates* who were guarding the gate through which the *Turci* entered.[491] In this case, the attribution of effeminacy is clearly Albert's.[492]

Along with Fulcher of Chartres, Albert was unusual among Latin crusade chroniclers in his admiration and almost complete lack of criticism of Alexius Comnenus.[493] As each group of crusaders arrived in the Byzantine territories, Albert portrayed the emperor as a willing contributor to the crusade effort. Albert also reported frequent requests by the emperor for the peaceful passage of the Latins through his territories, requests which were not always heeded.[494] As the princes arrived at Constantinople, they benefited from the emperor's *largesse* after swearing oaths of loyalty to him.[495] When the crusaders defeated Kilij Arslan outside Nicaea, Alexius responded by showering the crusade leaders with gifts and providing alms for the poorer non-combatants.[496] When the armies of the 1101 Crusade arrived in the western territories of the Byzantine empire, Alexius treated them in the same manner as he had the 1096 expedition.[497] As well as giving gifts to the leaders of the 1101 campaign, Alexius sent 500 of his *Turcopoli* with Raymond of Toulouse to assist the armies.[498] When the armies of William of Nevers, William of Poitiers and

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[490] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 6, pp. 254-6.
[491] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. xii, cap. 15, p. 846.
[492] For the effeminacy of the Armenians, see p. 254. For a discusson of the attribution of effeminacy, laziness and military incompetence to the Byzantines by Latin authors, see Neocleous, 'Contemporary Latin Historiography' pp. 44-8; Edgington, 'Introduction,' p. xxxiv, asserts that 'this was not an unusual prejudice among Western writers.' Carrier has noted that Albert's *Historia* becomes more critical towards the Byzantines and their emperor towards the final stages and that this may be due to an increased disillusionment as his hopes for a durable 'alliance' between Byzantium and Jerusalem faded. Carrier, 'L'image d'Alexius Ier Comnène,'pp. 58 & 63.
[493] Carrier, 'L'image d'Alexius Ier Comnène,' pp. 42-3; Ebels-Hoving, *Byzantium in Westerse Ogen*, pp. 84-9.
[494] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 6, p. 12: *Quod et actum est, et a domno imperatore Alexi nomine benigne de omnibus petenti responsum et concessum est.* See also Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, caps. 13 & 15, Bk. ii, cap. 7 , pp. 16-8, 30 & 70-2.
[495] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, caps. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 & 26, pp.86-8, 88-94 & 104-6.
[496] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 28, p. 110.
[497] Upon their arrival in Bulgaria, the Lombard army sent messages to Constantinople requesting markets, a request which, we are told, he responded to *benigne* on condition that they maintain peace throughout his lands. Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 2, p. 586. See also Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 6, p. 592.
[498] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 7, p. 594. Following the defeat of these contingents at the hands of the Seljuks in Asia Minor, the Byzantine emperor received them back in Constantinople and allowed

Welf of Bavaria arrived later that same year, Albert reported further generosity on the part of Alexius, both in hospitality and in gifts.[499]

Relations between Alexius and the Latin princes were not always harmonious, and Albert did not omit or conceal the disputes, but recounted them in detail. When Godfrey of Bouillon arrived at Philippopolis, he received messages that Hugh of Vermandois and two of his associates were being held in chains by Alexius.[500] When Godfrey demanded their release, Alexius initially refused and only capitulated when the Lotharingians began to plunder the lands around them.[501] Once the hostages had been released, Godfrey apparently received a secret legation *de terra Francorum*, who warned him of the emperor's treachery and as a result he refused to meet him. Alexius retaliated by cutting supply lines and the Lotharingians plundered the lands around them again.[502] Relations remained violent and culminated in a battle between the imperial forces and the crusaders.[503] According to Albert, relations were restored when Alexius heard that Bohemond had sent messages to Godfrey suggesting that they both attack Constantinople and hastily requested a meeting with Godfrey, offering to give his son John as a hostage to the duke.[504] Once the two men met, Albert reported continued cooperation and when Bohemond arrived in the outskirts of Constantinople, Godfrey went to meet him as an emissary of the emperor to persuade him to swear an oath promising to return all lands conquered to the empire.[505] Despite the extent to which relations were strained between the two men, Albert is dispassionate in his rendition of events. Although he reported that Godfrey had been warned of the *versutias et venenatas vestes* of the emperor and that he was aware of the *Grecorum deceptiones*, he did not lay the blame for the violence at the feet of either man nor did he satisfactorily explain

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them to remain there *toto autumni et hiemis tempore universos secum habitare et refocillari concessit, in omni opulentia et largitate rerum vite necessarium*. Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 24, p. 616.

[499] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, caps. 25, 26, 36 & 37, pp. 618 & 624-6. On one occasion Albert appears to query the apparent generosity of the emperor, when he noted that the money which Alexius presented to the crusaders in 1097 was invariably spent in the markets which he provided, thus returning to the imperial treasury. Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 16, p. 86.

[500] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 7, p.72.

[501] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, caps. 8 & 9, pp. 72-4.

[502] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 10, p. 74-6.

[503] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, caps. 11, 12, 13 & 14, pp. 76-82.

[504] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, caps. 14 & 15, pp. 82-4.

[505] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 18, p. 88.

Godfrey's hesitation in meeting with Alexius, especially after the emperor absolved himself from these allegations.[506]

The account of the strained relations between Alexius and Godfrey in 1096 and their resolution contrasts with that of the arrival of the Lombard contingent of the 1101 Crusade. The diplomacy of the emperor was rebuffed by the Lombards when thery arriveds in Byzantine territories and they plundered the local countryside and stole livestock and crops from the local population.[507] Upon their arrival at Constantinople, Alexius encouraged them to cross into Asia Minor as quickly as possible, a suggestion which they refused, insisting that they would wait near Constantinople for their allies.[508] Throughout this episode, the Lombards were heavily criticised by Albert. When they pillaged the local livestock in Bulgaria, he reported that they ate the livestock, which they had stolen from the local population, during the Lenten fast, *quod nefas est dicere de populo catholico*. They also plundered the Orthodox Christian chapels and, in a particularly sensational episode, Albert reported that they severed the breasts of a woman who was defending her children.[509] When discussing the friction between the emperor and the Lombards, Albert was unambiguous in his apportioning of blame for the disturbances. In his account of the tensions between Godfrey and Alexius in 1096, however, Albert was forced to describe disharmony between two persons towards whom he was otherwise extremely favourable. The *Historia Hierosolimitana* has long been recognised as portraying Godfrey of Bouillon in a favourable light.[510] It is also clear that Albert was extremely sympathetic towards Alexius Comnenus and the tensions between the two men placed him in a difficult position as narrator. It would appear that Albert contented himself in narrating the events of 1096 without ascribing blame or responsibility to either party, emphasising their good relations afterwards.

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[506] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, caps. 10 & 11, pp 74-8. Carrier has suggested that Albert's criticisms of Alexius might be mitigated as they were presented in the speech of others, rather than by Albert himself. Carrier, 'L'image d'Alexius Ier Comnène,' p. 45.

[507] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, caps. 2 & 3, pp. 586-8.

[508] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 4, pp. 588-90. When he attempted to coerce them by cutting their supply lines, they attacked one of the palaces of the city, killing a member of the royal household and a tame lion.

[509] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 3, p. 588. Throughout his description of their stay in Constantinople, Albert was clear in his criticism of the Lombards, calling them *obstinati* and *insensati et incorrigibiles homines* and he made it clear that Alexius was the victim rather than the aggressor. Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, caps. 4 & 5, pp. 588-92.

[510] Knoch described it as a 'hagiography' of the duke. Knoch, 'Gottfried von Bouillon,' p. 141-5; 'In Albert, Godfrey occupies a position for which there is no parallel elsewhere.' Morris, 'Aims and Spirituality,' pp. 110-11.

Albert was not always positive in his treatment of Alexius. Although he emphasised the rights of the emperor to the territories which had been conquered by the Turks and restored to him by the crusaders, he was critical of the emperor's failure to come to the aid of the crusade at Antioch.[511] The disaster of the 1101 Crusade appears to have been the catalyst for some of the anti-Byzantine and anti-Alexian feeling among western authors in the early twelfth century.[512] Albert's account of events laid the blame, inasmuch as he apportioned any blame, away from the Byzantine Emperor: instead he was highly critical of the Lombards and Raymond of Toulouse.[513]

From a review of Albert's treatment of the eastern Christians in his *Historia Ierosolimitana* it is clear that they were considered to be allies of the crusade and were frequently portrayed as helpful to the expeditions. Despite some tense relations at times, the overwhelming attitude towards the Armenians, Syrians and Byzantines was of a common cause. Similarly the Byzantine Emperor, Alexius I Comnenus, was referred to in very favourable terms and his generosity towards the crusaders was emphasised.

Terms used to denote all Christians

When examining the terminology which Albert applied to both eastern and western Christianity as a whole, this benevolent attitude towards the Orthodox Christians is placed beyond doubt. The use of the terms *Christiani*, *conchristiani* and perhaps most interestingly *catholici* to describe all Christians, Latin and Orthodox and the

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[511] Once the city had been captured, Hugh of Vermandois and Baldwin of Hainaut were dispatched to Alexius at Constantinople, *ut causam ab eo investigarent cur tam impie gesserit erga populum Dei*. Alexius was accused of failing to come to the assistance of the crusade when it was in most need, in particular when the princes had fulfilled their side of the agreement. Further, the princes apparently threatened that they would consider themselves released from *omni promissione et sacramento* as a result of his faithlessness. Albert, *Historia*, Bk. v, cap. 3, p. 340.

[512] Guibert of Nogent and Ekkehard of Aura were particularly critical of the role played by Alexius in the failed expedition. Guibert, *Dei Gesta*, Bk. vii, lines 1233-68, pp. 313-4; Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, pp. 166-8.

[513] In 1102 Albert reported that Baldwin of Jerusalem sent an embassy to Alexius and requested that he, *a perditione et a traditione Christianorum cessaret, et ecclesie Ierosolimitane subveniret, Turcos et Sarracenos non audiret, sed pleniter et fideliter omnem mutuationem necessariorum ab insulis et locis regni sui fieri usque in Ierusalem non negaret*Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 45, p. 634. Albert went on to explain that there was a certain *fama* among the Christian people that Alexius had instructed Raymond of Toulouse and his Turcopoles to lead the Lombards into the most inhospitable territory where they would be easily overcome by the Turks. Albert countered with the information, *a veridicis et nobilibus viris relatum*, that the Byzantine emperor had cautioned against the route which the Lombards had eventually taken. Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 46, pp. 634-6.

frequency of the use of such terms – far greater than the use of national terms – is testimony to Albert's principal rhetorical consideration, that of pan-Christian unity. Both when he approved of the behaviour of certain persons and when he was critical, these terms were applied to highlight the need for Christian unity. By his application of *fideles* and *populus Dei/Christi* to all Christians, Albert invoked scriptural analogies which allowed him to present the crusade as a struggle with biblical echoes.

Christiani

The term *Christiani* was Albert's most frequently used collective term for the crusade: either on its own or in conjunction with *exercitus*, *populus* or *milites*, it far outnumbers the other collective terms for the crusade.[514] The term was also used by Albert for non-western Christian groups to demonstrate the solidarity between all *Christiani* and he frequently highlighted this solidarity through reported speech and letters between significant persons. This rhetorical use of *Christiani* is only evident in the minority of cases and it is clear that Albert favoured the term greatly as a collective term without national connotations. Despite this universal application of *Christiani*, on a number of occasions the *Christiani* were clearly labelled a *gens*, with characteristics peculiar to themselves.

From the outset, each of the separate contingents of the crusade was labelled *Christiani*, even when their constituent ethnic parts were detailed. Peter the Hermit's following consisted of *universum scilicet genus Christiane professionis*, it was broken into *Francigene*, *Suevi*, *Bawarii* and *Lotharingii* and immediately labelled *exercitus Christianorum*.[515] Upon his arrival at Constantinople Alexius advised Peter to await the other Christian armies, which were approaching.[516] The contingent of Count Emicho of Flonheim which attacked a number of Jewish communities on its passage through Germany, although criticised by Albert for their greed and lasciviousness, was yet reckoned to consist of *Christiani*.[517] The followers of Godfrey of Bouillon at Constantinople were *Christiani*.[518] Once the armies of the crusade were united at Nicaea, the term *Christiani* became a commonplace term to

[514] Albert's *Historia* contains over 650 instances of the use of *Christiani*.
[515] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, caps. 2 & 7, pp. 4 & 12.
[516] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 15, p. 30: *donec amplior numerus affuturorum Christianorum illis accresceret*.
[517] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 29, pp. 54-8.
[518] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 11, p. 76.

denote the Latins as a single group and the expressions *exercitus Christiani*, *populus Christiani* and *milites Christiani* appear frequently.[519]

Albert was eager to apply the term *Christiani* to groups other than the crusaders.[520] In his description of the travels of various armies through Hungary and Bulgaria, the Christianity of the local population was emphasised often during times of strained relations between them and the crusaders. When the army of Count Emicho was tricked by local Hungarians into giving up their weapons in return for safe passage through the kingdom and then slaughtered, Albert explained that they had believed the promises of their hosts, *quia Ungari Christiane erant professionis*.[521] When the army of Godfrey of Bouillon arrived at the borders of Hungary, Albert reported that the duke was anxious to discover the reasons behind *crudelitatem Ungarorum quam egerant adversus Christianos confratres* and that he wrote a letter to King Coloman of Hungary asking, *cur tam crudele facinus a Christianis Christianorum persecutoribus commissum sit*?[522] Coloman defended the actions of his countrymen in attacking those of the People's Crusade, and extended his warmest wishes to Godfrey.[523] From then on Albert reported good relations between the crusaders and the Hungarians.[524]

Albert also highlighted the Christianity of the Byzantines and their emperor, Alexius Comnenus: Alexius was *Christianissimus imperator* and *Christianum imperatorem Grecorum*.[525] Despite his displeasure with the behaviour of Peter the Hermit and his followers, Alexius ordered the towns along the route to provide

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[519] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, caps. 21, 27, 34, 40 & 41, Bk. iii, caps. 26, 30, 32, 49 & 57, pp. 94, 108, 120, 130-4, 180, 186, 188, 214 & 228; *exercitus Christi*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, caps. 7 & 28, Bk. ii, caps. 11, 17, 22, 25, 26, 37 & 40, Bk. iii, caps. 9, 22, 30, 42, 46 & 65, Bk. iv, caps. 9, 12 & 44, Bk. v, caps. 4, 7, 9, 17, 25, 39 & 46, Bk. vi, caps. 31, 33, 35, 42, 56 & 58, Bk. vii, cap. 25, Bk. viii, caps. 13, 14 & 32, Bk. ix, cap. 38, Bk. x, cap. 40, Bk. xi, caps. 21 & 41, Bk. xii, cap. 15, pp. 12, 54, 76, 86, 96, 102, 104, 126, 130, 152, 174, 186, 204, 208, 242, 260, 266, 316, 318, 342, 346, 350, 358, 368, 382, 390, 402, 442, 446, 448, 458, 480, 482, 520, 602, 604, 624, 699, 754, 794, 816 & 846; *populus Christiani*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 15, Bk. iii, cap. 13, Bk. iv, caps. 6, 43, 46 & 56, Bk. v, caps. 1, 28 & 40, Bk. vi, caps. 34, 37 & 42, Bk. vii, caps. 3, 30 & 34, Bk. viii, caps. 8, 9 & 31, Bk. ix, caps. 2, 12 & 41, Bk. x, cap. 52, Bk. xii, cap. 28, pp. 32, 158, 256, 316, 320, 336, 338, 372, 392, 446, 450, 458 488, 528, 534, 596, 622, 640, 650, 694, 766 & 868; *Christiani milites*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 43, Bk. iv, cap. 6, Bk. iv, caps. 30 & 47, Bk. v, cap. 30, Bk. vii, caps. 6, 11, 16, 24, 25 & 61, Bk. viii, caps. 13, 16 & 29, Bk. ix, caps. 31, 32, 41 & 45, Bk. x, caps. 1, 10 & 13, Bk. xii, cap. 5, pp. 136, 254, 294, 320, 374, 494, 500, 508, 518, 520, 572, 602, 608, 620, 678, 680, 694, 700, 718, 728, 730 & 830.

[520] Morris, 'Aims and Spirituality,' pp. 109-10.

[521] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 24, p. 48.

[522] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 2, p. 63.

[523] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 3, pp. 62-4: *non Christianorum persecutores sumus*

[524] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 4-8, pp. 64-72. Later expeditions which travelled through Hungary, elicited little comment from Albert, see Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, caps. 1 & 34, pp. 586 & 624.

[525] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 15, Bk. iv, cap. 40, pp. 30 & 310.

markets for the crusade and to allow its peaceful passage, telling Peter in a letter *quia Christianus es, et Christianique tui consocii.*[526] When messengers from Bohemond allegedly brought messages to Godfrey suggesting an attack on Constantinople, Godfrey reportedly refused on the basis of the common religion of the Latins and Byzantines.[527] As the crusaders stormed Antioch in June 1098, the Christian inhabitants of the city, *Greci, Syrii, Armenici, cives et viri Christiane professione*, opened some of the gates to let in the Latins.[528] On a number of occasions, the *Greci* appeared in lists of Christian groups among *Galli*, *Syrii* and *Armenici.*[529] The collaborative relationship between the crusaders and the Byzantines can be seen where a young Turkish prisoner was executed by the crusaders on the evidence of *Greci fideles.*[530]

The Christianity of the Armenians and the Syrians was likewise noted by Albert as we have seen.[531] In the account of the conquest of a number of Armenian cities by Baldwin of Boulogne and Tancred, Albert commented that the Christian citizens lived *subiugati* by the Turks.[532] The Muslim powers in the region had occupied these areas *iniuste* and usurped the position of the *Christiani* Armenians: *Hostes vero qui Christianis subiugatis per montana dispersi Christianorum presidia et loca iniuste invaserant.*[533] When Baldwin arrived at a Turkish controlled fortress called Turbessel (Tilbaşir), the Armenian *Christiani* who lived there handed it over to him, *volentes magis sub Christiano duce servire quam sub gentili ditione.*[534] Similarly, Robert of Flanders' occupation of Artah was greatly accelerated by the actions of its Armenian Christian inhabitants, who rose up against their Turkish overlords, *quos idem Turci longa servitute depresserant.*[535]

Albert's emphasis on the Christianity of the crusaders, of the Hungarians and Bulgarians and the eastern Christians signals one of his particular themes, that of unity and conversely of disunity. Through both his use of the term *Christiani* for

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[526] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 13, p. 28; Morris has suggested that the speech attributed to the messengers represents 'such a favourite concept of Albert's that it seems reasonably sure that these are his own words.' Morris, 'Peter the Hermit and the Chroniclers,' p. 26.
[527] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 14, p. 82: *respondit se non causa questus aut pro destructione Christianorum a terra et cognatione sua exisse, sed in Christi nomine viam Ierusalem institisse.*
[528] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 23, p. 282.
[529] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 23, Bk. vii, cap. 21, pp. 282 & 516.
[530] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 56, p. 228.
[531] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 23, Bk. vii, cap. 21, pp. 282 & 516.
[532] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 3, p. 140.
[533] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 26, p. 180. See also Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 24, p. 176.
[534] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 17, p. 164.
[535] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 28, p. 182.

each of the groups and the emphasis on the loyalty which each group owed to the others, Albert demonstrated his approval and disapproval of the actions of various groups. Bohemond's suggestion to attack the emperor at Constantinople was rebuffed by Godfrey on account of their common religion. Coloman of Hungary denied that he was a persecutor of *Christiani* but rather that the contingents of the People's Crusade *malum pro bono nobis reddiderunt.*[536] Bohemond's aggression towards Latakia, which was held by the Byzantine Empire, with the aid of the Pisans and Genoese, was condemned by Albert as an attack on *Christiani*. The blame for the attack was placed firmly with Bohemond who had allegedly lied to the Italians, telling them that the Latakians were opponents of Christianity.[537]

In a number of passages, both the western and eastern Christians were labelled *Christiani* in order to highlight the religious responsibility of the crusaders towards their co-religionists. When Peter the Hermit journeyed to Jerusalem before the crusade he was reported to have met the patriarch of the city and asked him why he allowed the ruin of the churches and the abuse of *Christiani* by the *gentiles*. The patriarch replied that the numbers of *gentiles* made the cause of the *Christiani* futile unless some aid could come from the *Christiani* of the West.[538] When the crusade army approached Bethlehem on its journey from Antioch to Jerusalem in summer 1099, the use of *Christiani* to denote the crusade and the local inhabitants demonstrates Albert's use of religion to unite eastern and western Christians.

> *Cives vero Christiani, cognito eorum adventu, cum ymnis et laudibus et aspersione sanctificati fontis obviam procedentes, letantur eosdem Christianorum equites susceperunt, oculos et manus eorum deosculantes et hec ad illos referentes: 'Deo gratias, quia temporibus nostris nunc ea vidimus que semper erant nobis in desiderio, videlicet vos Christianos confratres ad excussionem iugi servitutis nostre*

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[536] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 3, p. 64.
[537] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 55, pp. 476-8: *Audito namque Pisanorum et Genuensium adventu, Boemundus, princeps subdolus et frater avarus, ab Antiochia sex miliariis Laodicie vicina illis occurrens, omne malum et grande nefas de civibus Laodicie referebat, et hos noxios Christianorum calumniatores, ut sic omnium animos in odium civium et urbis obsidionem hoc instinctu facilius concitaret.* The town had been granted back to the Byzantines by Raymond of St Gilles: *ut sic fidem inviolatam illi servaret.* Albert, *Historia*, Bk.vi, cap. 55, p. 478.
[538] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, caps. 2 & 3, pp. 2-4.

adesse, et loca sancta Ierusalem restauranda, et ad auferendos gentilium ritus a loco sancto et eorum inmundicias.'[539]

In these examples, the apparent stylistic clumsiness of the use of *Christiani* for both groups without any qualification draws attention to the shared Christian identity of the eastern and western Christians, and consequently the protection which the western Christians owed their eastern brothers. In the case of the patriarch's speech to Peter, Albert immediately recounted a vision of Christ appearing to Peter in which he described the Christians of Palestine as *populus noster*.[540]

Like the author of the *Gesta Francorum*, Albert used the term *Christiani* as a collective term for the crusade when faced with its opponents. When describing confrontations between the crusaders and the Muslims, the term *Christiani* sufficed for the crusade, juxtaposed with *Sarraceni*, *Turci* or *gentiles* for it opponents. In a speech attributed to Adhemar of Le Puy before the arrival at Antioch, the bishop warned the crusaders to be wary of splitting up and falling prey to the *omnes hostes Christiani nominis, Turcos, Sarracenos, Arabitas*.[541] That *Christiani* performed the function of identifying the crusade as a single Christian enterprise against non-Christians can be seen in the increased frequency of the use of the term where the crusade was involved in protracted engagements with its opponents. For example, the discussion of both sieges of Antioch in Books four and five contains approximately one quarter of the uses of *Christiani* in the *Historia*. Unlike the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum*, however, Albert did not linger on the contrast between the *Christiani* and the Muslims. It appears that *Christiani* served the same purpose for Albert as *Franci* served for the Anonymous, being a useful term with which to label the crusaders both during the initial expedition and in the early years of the settlement of Palestine. Apart from the immediate rhetorical purpose of establishing the Christianity of the participants, *Christiani* for Albert had an almost neutral tone. When the nature of the crusaders as divinely ordained instruments needed to be expressed, Albert tended to employ more theologically specific terms, such as *peregrini*, *populus Dei*, *milites Christi* etc.

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[539] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. v, cap. 44, p. 400.
[540] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 4, p. 6.
[541] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 32, p. 190.

Despite the 'multi-purpose' nature of the term in Albert's *Historia*, the *Christiani* were considered to be a *gens* with certain defining characteristics and a natural cohesion. When Kilij Arslan visited the Sultan and Kerbogah of Mosul at Baghdad, Albert reported him describing the crusaders as *quedam gens superveniens, quam dicunt Christianos.*[542] In the ensuing conversation, Kerbogah asserted that he had conquered the Byzantines and the followers of Peter the Hermit and would do likewise to the crusade. Kilij Arslan responded with a long speech on the military strength and fortitude of the *Christiani milites* and their leaders, describing them as *viros fortissimos, miro equorum volumine doctos, in prelio non morte, non aliquo genere armorum posse absterreri.*[543] He then continued to detail the successes of the crusaders at Nicaea and Dorylaeum and Baldwin's success in Armenia. When the crusade moved from Antioch through Syria and Palestine, the Christian wife of a Turkish knight urged the prince of Azaz to ally with the Christians against Ridwan of Aleppo arguing that *hec gens Christiana cunctis gentibus militari actu et audacia prefertur, et nulli eis fide et honore comparantur.*[544] When the crusaders besieged Arsuf in 1099 the Turks attempted to stall the crusaders by displaying Gerard of Hainaut, whom they had previously captured, on the walls of the city. When Godfrey ordered the assault to continue regardless, the Muslim defenders of the city accused the crusaders of being a *gens impia et crudelis quo minime fratri et conchristiano vestro parcere curastis.*[545]

That Albert had a clear conception of the appropriate behaviour of *Christiani* is evident from the occasions in which he criticised certain people or groups as unfit Christians. The Turcopole soldiers who reportedly ambushed Baldwin of Hainaut on his journey to Constantinople after the fall of Jerusalem in 1099 were *gens impia et dicta Christiana nomina non opere.*[546] After they had helped Bohemond attack Latakia in 1099, the Pisans and the Genoese defended their actions, claiming that Bohemond had convinced them that the Latakians were *falsi Christiani...semper Christianis confratribus adversari.*[547] When Baldwin of Jerusalem pursued Danishmend, who had recently kidnapped Bohemond in August 1100, he was reluctant to continue his journey with such a limited following fearing the threat

[542] Albert, *Historia*, Bk, iv, cap. 3, p. 252.
[543] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 6, pp. 254-8.
[544] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. v, cap. 7, p. 346.
[545] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 3, p. 488.
[546] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. v, cap. 3, p. 342.
[547] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 57, p. 480.

posed by *dolos falsorum Christianorum, aut hostium insidias.*[548] While Albert did not identify these 'false Christians,' it is clear that hostility towards the crusaders counted as 'un-Christian'.

Albert's use of *Christiani* can be demonstrated to have had a number of rhetorical purposes. It identified all Christian groups as one in order to impress upon the reader the necessity of unity among *Christiani* and the duties owed by each group to the others. The identification of eastern Christians as *Christiani* was bolstered by repeated mentions of their assistance to the crusade. The responsibility owed by the different *Christiani* to each other can be seen through the expressions of affection between Christian figures but more so when relations became strained, exciting comment on the failure of particular Christians to demonstrate the loyalty expected of them. Both Peter the Hermit and the followers of Emicho refused to accept that the Bulgarians and Hungarians could be hostile towards the crusaders because both groups were *Christiani*. Albert reconciled his enmity towards the Turcopoles, who were Christians, by claiming that they were Christian in name only. That false *Christiani* became the enemy is clear when Daibert of Pisa defended his attack on the inhabitants of Latakia by claiming that he had been led to believe that they were *falsi Christiani*.

Conchristiani

The term *conchristiani* for the most part performed the same role as *Christiani* in Albert's *Historia*. It emphasised the common identity of all Christians and hinted at the duties which these groups owed one another as a consequence. Just as Count Emicho's men were tricked by the Hungarians whom they trusted as *Christiani*, Peter the Hermit was unwilling to believe that a threat existed from Bulgarian and Hungarian leaders, *quia conchristiani erant Vngarii et Bulgari.*[549] After Coloman of Hungary answered Godfrey's accusations that he was a persecutor of *Christiani*, he sent envoys to the Duke, conveying *duci Godefrido, et omnibus conchristianis salutem et dilectionem sine simulatione.*[550] The eastern Christians demonstrated their loyalty to their co-religionists during the siege of Jerusalem when they advised the crusaders that vinegar would extinguish the Greek fire, which the defenders of the

[548] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 29, p. 526.
[549] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 7, p. 14.
[550] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 3, p. 64.

city had ignited on their siege engine.[551] In 1110, when Baldwin of Jerusalem heard of the siege of Edessa by local Seljuk leaders, he gathered an army which consisted of *tam Galli quam Armenici conchristiani* to come to the aid of the city.[552] When Godfrey of Bouillon left Jaffa in 1100 and met the Venetians under their bishop and doge, he only agreed to stay with them once he had ensured that *conchristiani essent et non hostilis collectio*.[553]

Different sections of the crusade were also *conchristiani*. Baldwin's followers in Armenia were *conchristiani*.[554] During the secret entry into Antioch in June 1098, the crusaders who had gone ahead, called down to their *conchristiani* colleagues to assure them that the way safe.[555] This sense of *conchristiani* as denoting 'colleague' or 'comrade' can be seen where crusaders came to the aid of one another during crises. When Tancred heard that William, count of Poitiers, had lost all his possessions after his defeat by the Turks at Heraclea, he received his *conchristianus frater* with great pomp and gave him *preciose vestes*.[556] The citizens of Ramla sent message to their *conchristiani* asking for help when they were besieged by the Muslims of Ascalon, Tyre, Beirut and Sidon in 1106 or 1107.[557] Plans to besiege Tyre went ahead in 1111 because the citizens had *conchristianis fratribus terra marique calumnias inferabat*.[558] This obligation on the crusaders to help their *conchristiani* was repeatedly invoked when the Latins of the Levant were divided among themselves. When Raymond of St Gilles and Bohemond hesitated after the other princes left Antioch to continue to Jerusalem in mid 1098, Godfrey reminded them of their duty towards their *conchristiani*, a duty which to he and his men had been faithful.[559] When Edessa was attacked by local Seljuk leaders in 1110, *ex instinctu et suggestione Tancradi*, Baldwin of Jerusalem demanded of Tancred why he had incited a Turkish attack on his *fratres et conchristiani*.[560] Godfrey of

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[551] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 18, p. 426: *Verum Christianis ab indigenis conchristianis res innotuit qualiter hic ignis aqua inextinguibilis solo aceti liquore restingui valeat.*
[552] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. xi, cap. 19, p. 792.
[553] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 18, p. 512.
[554] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 12, Bk, iv, cap. 11, pp. 156 & 264.
[555] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 20, p. 278.
[556] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 40, p. 630.
[557] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. x, cap. 10, p. 726.
[558] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. xii, cap. 1, p. 826.
[559] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. v, cap. 11, p. 350: *Non decet vos qui estis columne et ductores exercitus ut nos fratres vestros conchristianos auxilio vestro immunes relinquatis, occasionem falsam adversum nos assumentes, cum adhuc in nulla angustia vel necessitate vobis defecerimus, sed semper in via hac pro vobis etiam mori parati fuerimus.*
[560] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. xi, cap. 21, p. 794.

Bouillon's refusal to bargain for the life of Gerard of Hainaut, prompted the Turks to accuse the crusaders of abandoning their *frater et conchristianus*.[561]

Catholici

The term *catholici* was predominantly used to denote the crusade as a whole in Albert's *Historia*. The followers of Walter Sansavoir were *milites catholici*.[562] Frequently the crusaders were referred to as *populus catholicus* and *viri catholici*.[563] After the establishment of the Latin principality of Jerusalem in 1099, the term *populus catholicus* continued to mean the crusaders, as did *viri catholici* and *gens catholicorum*.[564] Baldwin I of Jerusalem was *rex catholicorum*.[565] A fleet of crusaders from England, Flanders and Denmark who arrived in 1106 were referred to as *catholici*.[566] Like *Christiani*, *catholici* was used in conjunction with a number of military terms such as *exercitus*, *legio*, *cunei* and *milites*.[567] Frequently *catholici* acted as a synonym for *Christiani* or *peregrini*.[568] The most striking examples of the synonymity between *Christiani* and *catholici* are the uses of the phrase *catholico duce et Christianis principibus* and *Christianissimi ducis et catholici populi* for Godfrey and the crusade.[569]

That *catholici* could encompass the eastern Christians is clear in a number of instances. When some of the followers of Peter the Hermit were killed in an engagement with Kilij Arslan in Asia Minor in late 1095, the news reached Peter in Constantinople from *nuncius quidam Grecus fidelis et catholicus*.[570] After the defeat of Kerbogah outside Antioch in June 1098, the crusaders began to renovate the cathedral in the city and reinstate the catholic clergy, both Greek and Latin: *cultores*

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[561] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 3, p. 488.
[562] Albert, *Historia*, Bk, i, cap. 20, p. 40.
[563] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, caps. 27 & 29, Bk. iii, cap. 13, Bk. v, caps. 42 & 46, Bk. vi, caps. 7 & 44, Bk. viii, cap. 3, pp. 108, 110, 156, 396, 402, 412 & 462; *viri catholici*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 8, p. 496; *gens catholicorum*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 56, p. 564; *viri catholici*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. xii, cap. 31, p. 878.
[564] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 46, Bk. ix, cap. 3, Bk. xii, cap. 20, pp. 634, 640 & 856.
[565] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. x, caps. 1 & 14, Bk. xii, cap. 21, pp. 718, 732 & 858.
[566] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. x, cap. 1, p. 718.
[567] *exercitus catholicorum*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 31, Bk. viii, cap. 2, Bk. x, cap. 1, pp.188, 586 & 718 ; *legio catholica*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 33, Bk. vi, cap. 42, Bk. viii, cap. 12, pp. 190, 458 & 602; *cunei catholici*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 45, p. 462; *milites catholici*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 18, Bk. ix, cap. 30, Bk. xi, caps. 14, 36 & 37, pp. 610, 674 & 786.
[568] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, caps. 13, 31 & 60, Bk. v, caps. 42 & 46, Bk. vi, caps. 7, 42 & 45, Bk. viii, cap. 18, Bk. ix, caps. 3 & 43, Bk. xi, caps. 14 & 36, Bk. xii, cap. 20, pp. 156-8, 186-8, 232, 393, 402-4, 412, 458, 462-4, 610, 640, 696-8, 784-6, 810 & 854-6.
[569] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, caps. 40 & 44, pp. 454 & 460.
[570] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 22, p. 42.

catholicos ... ex omni clero tam Grecorum quam Latinorum.[571] When the inhabitants of Bethlehem came to greet the crusaders in summer 1099, they were labelled both *Christiani* and *catholici.*[572] In a description of a castle called *sancta Abraham*, Albert explained that it was reputed to have been built by Abraham, *primus patriarcha* and as a result was honoured and revered by the *Turci et ceteri Iudei et gentiles* as well as the *catholici.*[573] All but one of the examples of *catholici* denoting eastern Christians refer specifically to Byzantine Christians. In a single example, the men of Turbessel, Edessa and Marasch were labelled *catholici.*[574] It is possible therefore that Albert considered only the Latins and the Byzantines, that is the Chalcedonian churches who were still in communion with eachother, to be *catholici.*[575]

In the area of liturgy it appears that *catholici* was preferred to *Christiani* by Albert. There are a number of references to *sepultus catholicus* or *exequia catholica*, while there are no references to *sepultus Christianus* or *exequia Christiana*. When Baldwin I foresaw his own death at al-Farama in Egypt he requested that his body be returned to Jerusalem for an *exequia catholica.*[576] A number of other men who were killed in the Levant were also mentioned as receiving a *sepultus* or *exequia catholicus/a*, including Gozelo of Montaigu, Henry of Esch, Gilbert of Traves, Achard of Montmerle, the archbishop of Milan, Anselm of Buis and Raymond of St Gilles.[577] During the visit of Sigurd Magnusson, king of Norway, to Jerusalem, both he and Baldwin journeyed to the river Jordan to perform a *catholicus ritus.*[578] When Joscelin of Courtenay, Godfrey of Bures and his brother William were heavily defeated by a group of Bedouins whom they had attacked in expectation of booty, Albert suggested that their defeat was due to the fact that they had attacked them on Easter Sunday, when *omnes viri catholici* were obliged to rest.[579] When describing conversion, Albert referred to the *fides catholica*. After the followers of Emicho were defeated by the Hungarians, Albert commented that this was the result of divine

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[571] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. v, cap. 1, p. 340.
[572] Albert, *Historia*. Bk. v, cap. 44, pp. 398-400. For Albert's use of *catholici* to denote eastern Christians, see Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, caps. 25 & 55, Bk. ix, cap. 47, pp. 434, 476 & 702.
[573] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 26, p. 522.
[574] In a single example, the men of Turbessel, Edessa and Marasch were labelled *catholici*. Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ix, cap. 47, p. 702.
[575] My thanks to Dr A.V. Murray for this suggestion.
[576] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. xii, caps. 27 & 29, pp. 866 & 870.
[577] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 29, Bk. v, cap. 4, Bk. vi, caps. 4 & 5, Bk. viii, cap. 24, Bk. ix, cap. 52, pp. 186, 342, 408-10, 616 & 716.
[578] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. xi, cap. 30, p. 804.
[579] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. xii, cap. 31, p. 878.

displeasure. He explained that the depredations of the German Jewish communities stemmed from a greed for wealth rather than divine justice and that God disapproved of forcing people to come to the *fides catholica*.[580] A Turkish spy caught by the leaders volunteered to provide information to the crusade regarding Kilij Arslan's planned attack on the Latins outside Nicaea and to convert to Christianity however Albert explained that this desire was born out of fear of death rather than love of the *fides catholica*.[581] It is evident therefore that *catholici* and the *fides catholica* represented a narrower application to Latin Christianity in these cases.

Despite his preference for *catholici* in more liturgical settings, it is clear that Albert employed the term as a synonym for *Christiani*, possibly as a rhetorical device to avoid repetition of the term. Like *Christiani*, *catholici* could be applied to all sections of the crusade, those who arrived after 1099 and to the eastern Christians in Byzantium, Armenia and Palestine. It is clear that Albert did not use the term *catholici*, in the sense of the Gregorian reform party, in a factional sense to denote those who supported Urban II against the supporters of the antipope Guibert of Ravenna.[582]

Fideles

Albert frequently referred to the crusaders as *fideles*, a term whose use for the most part echoed that of *Christiani*. Both during and after the 1096-99 expedition, the term *fideles* was used as a collective term for the crusaders. When Peter the Hermit was visited by Jesus in a vision on his trip to Jerusalem before the crusade, Christ ordered him to urge the faithful to come to the rescue of the Christians in the East, *suscitabis corda fidelium ad purganda loca sancta Ierusalem*.[583] During the battle with Kilij Arslan outside Nicaea, a speech by Adhemar of Le Puy inspired *fideles Christi* to victory.[584] Throughout the journey and in particular during the sieges of Antioch and Jerusalem, *fideles* was often used to denote the crusade as a single unit.[585] The followings of Tancred and Baldwin, who diverted to Armenia, were also labelled

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[580] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 29, p. 58.
[581] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 26, p. 104.
[582] Bernold, *Chronicon*, pp. 446, 454, 455, 475, 476,479, 495, 499, 500, 501, 502 & 536.
[583] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 4, p. 6.
[584] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 27, p. 108; See also, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, caps. 28 & 34, pp. 110 & 120.
[585] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 40, Bk. iii, caps. 34, 49, 52, 62, 63, 64 & 65, Bk. iv, caps. 16, 23, 27, 29, 35, 40, 46 & 49, Bk. v, cap. 38, Bk. vi, caps. 18 & 44, pp. 130,192, 214, 220, 236, 238, 240, 244, 272, 282, 288, 290, 300-02, 312, 320, 329, 390, 426, 462 & 474.

fideles, as were the Italians in the fleet which helped the crusaders to besiege Sidon in 1107.[586] Once Jerusalem had been captured and the Latin principalities established, the term *fideles* continued to denote the Latins in the East.[587] On a number of occasions, *fideles* was used as a synonym for *Christiani*.[588] Like *Christiani*, *fideles* appeared in conjunction with military terms such as *exercitus*, *manus*, *milites* and *legiones*.[589] After their victory in the 'Lake Battle' against Kerbogah in February 1098, Albert reported that the *fideles* marched back to the city with banners (*aquilae*).[590]

The eastern Christians were counted among the *fideles* by Albert. The inhabitants of Bethlehem who came out to greet the crusaders and implore them to conquer the town from the Muslims were *fideles Christi*.[591] When Peter the Hermit journeyed to Jerusalem prior to the crusade, he asked the patriarch why he allowed the *gentiles* to abuse local Christians and pilgrims and to take the offerings of the *fideles*.[592] In this context, *fideles* represented both the local Christians and western pilgrims. The term *fideles* was also used, after the fall of Jerusalem, to represent the community of the faithful when discussing ecclesiastical politics. During the investigations of the papal legate, Cardinal-Bishop Maurice of Porto into allegations of treachery on the part of Daibert, Patriarch of Jerusalem, a *concilium fidelium* was convened.[593] Throughout this investigation, the Christians of Jerusalem and elsewhere were called *fideles*.[594] When Baldwin of Jerusalem needed money to pay his soldiers at Jaffa, he asked the patriarch to give him some of the *oblationes fidelium*.[595] In his description of the journey of Baldwin's body from Egypt, where he

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[586] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 28, Bk. x, cap. 49, pp. 182 & 764.
[587] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 58, Bk. vii, caps. 34, 52 & 68, Bk. viii, cap. 13, Bk. ix, caps. 3, 21, 25, 27, 43, 47 &49, Bk. x, cap. 4, Bk. xi, caps. 14, 28 & 40, Bk. xii, caps. 16, 18, 20 & 21, pp. 482, 536, 560, 580, 602, 640, 664, 668, 670, 696, 704, 708, 722, 786, 800, 816, 848, 850 & 856.
[588] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, caps. 27, 28, 34 & 40, Bk. iii, caps. 28, 34, 49, 62, 63, 64 & 65, Bk. iv, caps. 16, 23, 29, 35, 46 & 49, Bk. vi, caps. 18, 39, 44, 58 & 68, Bk. vii, caps. 34 & 52, Bk. viii, cap. 13, Bk. ix, caps. 21, 25, 27, 47 & 49, Bk. x, cap. 49, Bk. xi, caps. 14, 28 & 30, Bk. xii, caps. 16, 18, 20, 28 & 33, pp. 106, 110, 120, 132, 182, 192, 214, 236, 238, 240-2, 242-4, 272, 282, 290-2, 300-2, 320, 324-6, 426, 452-4, 460-2, 482, 534-6, 560, 580, 602, 662-4, 668-70, 702-4, 706-8, 762, 786, 800-04, 848, 850, 854-6, 868-70 & 880.
[589] *exercitus fidelium*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 34, Bk. vii, cap. 34, Bk. viii, cap. 13, pp. 192, 536 & 602; *milites fideles*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 16, p. 272; *legiones fidelium*, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. v, cap. 38, p. 390.
[590] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 62, p. 236.
[591] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. v, cap. 44, p. 400.
[592] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 2, p. 4.
[593] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 48, p. 556.
[594] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, caps. 47, 48 & 50, pp. 556-8.
[595] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 58, p. 568

died, to Jerusalem, Albert noted that it passed the tombs of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, *usque in hodiernum diem a fidelibus honoratur.*[596] When Sigurd Magnusson of Norway visited Baldwin, he persuaded him to turn aside from his journey to Acre to come to Jerusalem to worship, because Jesus, *iubet fideles suos primum quererc regnum Dei,* (Matt. 6:33) *et postea omnia profutura querentibus invenire.*[597] Albert's juxtaposition of the Christian *fideles* and the Muslim *infideles* may echo biblical passages, in particular Isaiah 1: 21-3.[598]

Albert had a clear preference for theological rather than ethnic or national terms when describing the participants in the crusade and the Christians in the Balkans and the East. His use of ethnic language appears to have been principally concerned with the identification of particular groups within the main army when they acted individually. On the majority of occasions, in particular where the crusade acted in unison or were faced with their opponents, the terms *Christiani*, *peregrini*, *fideles* etc. were used. Elsewhere, another rhetorical purpose often lay behind the choice of terms. For example, when the princes Tancred and Baldwin left the main host to establish territories in Armenia, Albert was keen to stress the merits behind this course of action. He noted that their departure was considered and endorsed by the other princes with *communi benevolentia.*[599] The *Christianitas* of both armies was emphasised, possibly because Albert was keen to legitimate their excursion to capture this area, which was not in the initial itinerary of the crusade. This can be seen also in the labelling of the local Armenian populace as *Christiani* and the assertion that the Turks held the towns in the area *iniuste* where they had previously belonged to the Christian Armenians.[600] When relations broke down between the two over the command of Tarsus, the term *Christiani* was used to demonstrate Albert's disapproval of their divisive conduct, in particular the unnecessary deaths of Bohemond's followers outside Tarsus because Baldwin would not allow them entry into the town.[601]

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[596] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. xii, cap. 28, p. 870.
[597] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. xi, cap. 30, p. 802.
[598] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 65, Bk. viii, cap. 68, Bk. ix, cap. 49, pp. 244, 580 & 708.
[599] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 3, p. 140.
[600] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 26, p. 180. See also Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 24, p. 176.
[601] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, caps. 11-3, pp. 154-8.

Many of the theologically based terms which Albert used to label certain groups were applied beyond the limit of the army of the 1096-99 expedition. They extended to cover all western Europeans in the Levant or journeying there. Many of the terms included non-western Christians such as the Byzantines, the Armenian Christians and the Christian population of Palestine. The Byzantines could be *fideles*, the Armenians *conchristiani* and the Christian inhabitants of Bethlehem were counted among the *catholici*. As seen in the case of the Armenians above, this use of terms helped to create a sense of community between the crusaders and other Christians as well as allowing Albert to indicate the duties owed by each group towards each other. In some cases, this was achieved through an apparently clumsy application of the same term to each group within a short space in order to highlight the bonds which existed between them.

An examination of Albert's language to describe all Christians gives a clear indication of his attitude towards the crusade and his concern for Christian unity, regardless of liturgical or other variations. While Albert harnessed a large range of national terms to describe various groups within the crusade, the relative inconsistency in his application of these terms and in particular their infrequency in relation to theological terms demonstrates the rhetorical value of his theological terminology. The choice of theological terms which were applied not only to the crusade but to all Christians was deliberately made in order to pursue the theme of Christian unity. Albert's narrative carried a clear rhetorical purpose: to demonstrate the benefits of unanimity and the duties which various Christian groups owed to themselves and each other as well as constantly emphasising the pious nature of the endeavour.

Other national groups in the *Historia Hierosolimitana*

Pincinarii

The *Pincinari* in Albert's *Historia* appear almost exclusively in the armies of the Byzantine emperor Alexius and it is clear that this term refers to the Pechenegs who formed a significant part of the imperial armies since their defeat by the Byzantines in 1091.[602] The *Pincinari* appear in the list of national groups in the imperial army at

[602] Birkenmeier, *The Development of the Komnenian Army*, p. 46.

Philomelium and in the forces of Alexius who opposed Bohemond at Durazzo in 1107-8.[603] Elsewhere, the *Pincinari* appear to be confined to the western territories of the Byzantine Empire, attacking the crusaders on their journey through Bulgaria and Hungary. Although Albert did not criticise the *Pincinari* directly, they were often depicted attacking the Latins, during the People's Crusade and the 1101 Crusade.[604] On one occasion, where a group of them clashed with the People's Crusade as the Latins attempted to cross the river *Maroam* (Sava), Albert described them as *Pincenariis, qui Bulgariam inhabitabant.*[605]

Comani

The *Comani* appear only five times in the *Historia Hierosolimitana*, each time alongside other groups in the Byzantine army, and it is almost certain that the term refers to the Cumans, a Turkic group who were defeated by Alexius Comnenus in the 1090s and had supplied soldiers to the imperial army since.[606]

Turcopoli

The *Turcopoli* appear more frequently in Albert's *Historia* than any other of the peoples subject to the Byzantines. The term referred to the Turcopoles, auxiliary troops in the imperial army.[607] When the People's Crusade were being attacked by the Seljuks in Asia Minor in 1095, Alexius sent the *Turcopoli* to their aid.[608] During their stay in Constantinople, Godfrey and Baldwin became embroiled in a dispute with the emperor, who ordered his *Turcopoli* to attack them when Godfrey refused to meet with him.[609] The *Turcopoli* were frequently mentioned acting as agents of the Byzantine emperor, in particular at Nicaea where they manned the boats which had been brought for the completion of the siege around the city.[610] During the 1101 Crusade the Byzantine emperor sent a force of approximately 500 Turcopoles with

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[603] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, cap. 40, Bk. x, caps. 42 &43, pp. 310 & 756-8.
[604] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, caps. 8 & 10, Bk. viii, cap. 35, pp. 16-8, 20-2 & 626.
[605] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 8, p. 18.
[606] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 10, Bk. iv, cap. 40, Bk. viii, cap. 35, Bk. x, caps. 42 & 43, pp. 20-2, 310, 626 & 756-8; Birkenmeier, *The Development of the Komnenian Army*, pp. 77-8; Vryonis, 'Byzantine and Turkish societies and their sources of manpower,' p. 129.
[607] For a discussion of the specific military function of the Turcopoles, see, Savvides, 'Turcopoles/Tourkopouloi,' pp. 123 & 128; Vryonis, 'Sources of Manpower,' pp. 133-4; Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, pp. 111-2; Harari, 'The Frankish Turcopoles,' p. 77.
[608] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 22, p. 44; For the use of Turcopoles in the Byzantine armies in the late 11th early 12th centuries see, Harari, The Frankish Turcopoles,' p. 77.
[609] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, caps. 12 & 13, pp. 78-80.
[610] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. ii, cap. 32, p. 116. See also, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. x, caps. 42 & 43, pp. 756-8.

Raymond of St Gilles.[611] For Albert, the *Turcopoli* constituted an ethnic as well as national group. When describing their attack of Raymond of St Gilles and Baldwin of Hainaut, Albert explained that they were *ex Turco patre et Greca matre procreati*.[612]

Albert was quite critical of the *Turcopoli*, in particular when relating an incident in which Hugh of Vermandois and Baldwin of Hainaut were ambushed on their journey to Constantinople to tell Alexius of the fall of Antioch and to request the aid, *que promiserat*. According to Albert, these men were ambushed by *Turcopoli* and while Hugh escaped, Baldwin's fate was unknown. In this account, Albert described the *Turcopoli* as *gens impia et dicta Christiana nomina non opere* and *impii*.[613] In other cases also, some criticism was implied. When William of Nevers reached the town of Germanicople after the battle of Mersivan in 1101, he was able to secure the services of twelve *Turcopoli* only *multa prece et plurima mercede*.[614] Following the defeat at Mersivan, Albert is again critical, relating that Raymond of St Gilles and the *Turcopoli*, *omnibus sociis et principibus pretermissis* entered the town and spent the night, sailing to Constantinople the next day.[615] It must also be noted, however, that Albert was extremely hostile towards Raymond, and this reference may have been designed to criticise him specifically.[616]

Iudei

Albert makes only two mentions of the *Iudei* in his *Historia*. When the armies of the People's Crusade passed through the Rhineland in Germany on their way to the East, they attacked various Jewish communities on the route. Albert was highly critical of these attacks, wondering if they were the result of *Dei iudico aut aliquo animi errore* and accusing the crusaders of *spiritus crudelitatis*.[617] Albert's objection to the attacks on the Jewish communities was made on the grounds that forced conversions were against the will of God.[618] In his description of the eventual defeat of the following

[611] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, caps. 7, 15, 16, 22 & 24, pp. 594, 604-8, 614 & 616-8.
[612] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. v, cap. 3, p. 342.
[613] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. v, cap. 3, pp. 340-2.
[614] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 32, p. 624.
[615] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 22, p. 614.
[616] In a later chapter Albert recorded that Alexius was displeased with Raymond, Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 24, p. 616: *eo quod a ceteris sociis Stephano, Cunrado fugiendo subtracto et alienatus sit.*
[617] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 26 & 27, pp. 52-4.
[618] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 29, pp. 56-8: *cum istus iudex Deus sit, et neminem invitum aut coactum ad iugum fidei Catholice iubeat venire.*

of Count Emicho of Flonheim, Albert suggested that the *manus Domini* had worked against them because of their motives in attacking the Jews, *pecunie avaricia magis quam pro iusticia Dei.*[619] Consequently Edgington has described Albert's sympathy with the Jews as 'unique among Christian writers.'[620]

Albert was not, however, entirely friendly towards the Jews. Even in his criticism of the actions of the People's Crusade he allowed that the Jews were *Christo contrarii*. In his description of the attack of Haifa by the crusade in 1100 Albert noted that the town contained a Jewish population, who lived there peacefully in return for tribute to the *rex Babylonie.*[621] During the siege of the town, the *Iudei* and *Sarraceni* fought side by side and victory was granted to the crusaders, *Domino Iesu suorum miserante*. When the victorious Latins entered Haifa, the Jews and Saracens were described as *hostiles cives* and massacred.[622]

The *Historia Hierosolimitana*: Conclusions

As an author whose work was for the most part compiled from eyewitness sources, presumably from the area of Lotharingia, Albert represents an important addition to the examination of the early Latin narratives of the First Crusade, the bulk of which was written by people, participants or otherwise, who came from the Kingdom of France or Southern Italy. At the same time, an analysis of Albert's national terminology for the western Europeans demonstrates that his narrative is also an essential corrective to the anachronism of ascribing a national identity analogous with twenty-first century sentiments to a twelfth-century author. In his discussion of national terms in the narratives for the First Crusade, Murray placed Albert alongside the other 'second wave' authors whose distance from the events which they described allowed for a more patriotic slant to their works.[623] Although it is clear that Albert emphasised the presence of the 'Germans' who took part in the crusade, this did not preclude the use of *Franci* or *Galli* as collective terms for the crusade on

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[619] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. i, cap. 29, p. 58.
[620] Edgington, 'Introduction,' pp. xxxv-vi.
[621] Albert, *Historia*,
[622] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vii, cap. 25, p. 520.
[623] Murray, 'Questions of Nationality,' p. 67:'Even more important than decrying rival nationalities was praising one's own, and I would argue that these value judgements, both negative and positive, were much more pronounced in those writers who had remained at home, such as those of Guibert of Nogent, Radulph of Caen and Albert of Aachen, than those who had been on the crusade themselves.'

occasion. Even more importantly, when his use of national terms is compared with religious labels, the overwhelming preference for the religious demonstrates that, for Albert, national or ethnic backgrounds were overridden by religious identity.

Albert's willingness to incorporate fantastic, epic or vernacular sources and his apparent lack of discrimination in his absorption of all of the sources available, while frustrating for the historian searching for 'facts,' is extremely useful for the history of ideas.[624] Although apparently indiscriminate, it is unlikely that Albert included details in his history with which he did not agree and there is little sign of the inherent contradictions in his work which are a likely result of haphazard compilation. It must also be added that while Albert appears to have accepted the veracity of his sources without cynicism and, therefore, possibly included fictional episodes, to write him off as a compiler with no authorial voice of his own would be to contradict the evidence. As an analysis of his collective terminology has shown, there was a surprising uniformity of terminology throughout the work, all the more impressive given the long period of composition. The constancy of his use of theologically inspired terms for the Christians and their opponents demonstrates that in style at least Albert maintained a certain standard throughout his work.

The clear rhetorical purpose in his use of terminology for the Christians and the Muslims also contradicts any accusations of naivety in his composition. The application of universal Christian labels to the Latins, the Christians of the Balkans, the Byzantines and the eastern Christians – labels which invoked biblical parallels – and the biblical analogies inserted into the *oratio recta* of specific people demonstrate a clear rhetorical goal which was maintained through both apparent stages of composition. This rhetoric extended to the discussion of Islamic groups who were cast as foes in biblical language and also collectivised through theological terminology. The preference for terms such as *infideles* and *gentiles* over *barbari* and *pagani* (which he did not use at all) suggests a biblical inspiration for his discussion of Islam. The juxtaposition of *Christiani* and *gentiles* and *fideles* and *infideles* further demonstrates the fundamental opposition between Islam and Christianity at the heart of his typological language.

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[624] 'The text (Albert) is extremely valuable for gauging what people in Europe told and heard about the crusade, but as a source for hard facts it should be treated with caution.' Harari, 'Eyewitnessing in Accounts of the First Crusade,' pp. 77-99.

The *Chronicon* of Ekkehard, Abbot of Aura

The *Chronicon* of Ekkehard of Aura was a continuation of a previous work begun by Frutolf of Michelsberg which ended c. 1100. His *Chronicon* continued to 1125 and includes a description of the First Crusade and the expedition of 1101. Much of his account of the First Crusade was derived from a letter from Daibert, archbishop of Pisa, and the princes of the 1096-99 expedition to Pope Paschal II, which Ekkehard incorporated into his account.[1] Ekkehard took part in the disastrous 1101 Crusade in the following of Duke Welf IV of Bavaria and his account of this expedition is based on his own experience and, presumably, the eyewitness testimony of others. Little is known about Ekkehard's life other than what can be gleaned from his *Chronicon.*[2] His editors have argued convincingly for southern Germany as his home due to a particular interest in the family of the count palatine and margrave Aribo from Carinthia.[3] His participation in the crusade of 1101 was, as we have seen, in the following of the Bavarian duke and the monastery of Tegernsee, in which he was a monk, and the abbey of Aura, where he was later abbot were both in Bavaria.[4] On his return from Palestine he attended the Lenten Synod in Rome in 1102 in which Henry IV was deposed by Pope Paschal II.[5] After this, Ekkehard appears to have been close to Henry the younger king (later Emperor Henry V) and his *Chronicon* is a key source for German royal history from 1102 to 1125.[6]

Aside from his own experience and the letter of Daibert and the princes to Paschal II, Ekkehard stated that he had read in Jerusalem a 'little book' in which the

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[1] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 150. This letter, which according to Ekkehard was brought back to Europe by *Rupertus*, was possibly written by Raymond Aguilers. Hagenmeyer has argued that this *Rupertus* was Count Robert II of Flanders. See Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, pp. 167-74 for the letter and p. 107 for the claim that Robert of Flanders was the *Rupertus* referred to by Ekkehard. Frutolf had included a brief account of the First Crusade in his *Chronicon*, also apparently based on this letter, which Ekkehard replaced with his own. Frutolf, *Chronicon*, pp.112-8.

[2] Ekkehard's death is the only fact about his life which is provided by a source other than his *Chronicon*. *Necrologium Tegernseense*, MGH *Necrologia* 3, p. 140.

[3] F-J. Schmale & I. Schmale-Ott, 'Einleitung,' Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 20; I. Schmale-Ott, 'Untersuchungen zu Ekkehard von Aura und zur Kaiserchronik,' *Zeitschrift für Bayerische Landesgeschichte* 34 (1971) 403-61, p. 404.

[4] Schmale-Ott, 'Untersuchungen zu Ekkehard,' 404.

[5] Schmale & Schmale-Ott, 'Einleitung,' p. 28.

[6] Schmale & Schmale-Ott, 'Einleitung,' p. 24.

deeds of the *populus Dei* were recorded: *libellum a loco presenti totam huius historiae seriem diligentissime prosequentem plurimosque populi Dei per triennium labores in captae Hierusalem letissima victoria concludentem.*[7] In his edition of the *Hierosolymita*, published in 1877, Hagenmeyer suggested that this *libellus* was the *Gesta Francorum.*[8] This thesis has been refuted, however, by the *Chronicon*'s most recent editors, who suggest that Ekkehard's source presented a view from the following of Godfrey of Bouillon rather than the southern Italian Norman contingent of Bohemond to which the Anonymous was most likely attached.[9] An examination of the ethnic and collective terminology in both works shows no discernable reliance by Ekkehard on the *Gesta*. Moreover, most of Ekkehard's account of the First Crusade came directly from the letter of Daibert of Pisa and the princes to Paschal II. A comparison between the letter and Ekkehard's account shows how Ekkehard imported the contents of the letter wholesale into his account with very little alteration. Ekkehard's use of this source was almost absolute, except that he altered the verb endings from first person plural to third person plural and changed conjunctions.[10] None of the collective terms in the section of his account which was derived from the letter was altered by Ekkehard.[11] If this is representative of his use of sources in general, then his dependence on any other extant crusader narratives would be clearly indicated through textual parallels. It is likely, therefore, that the *libellus* to which he referred to was either a text which no longer survives or that he did not have a copy of it in front of him as he compiled his account.

Ekkehard was consistently opposed to Emperor Henry IV and supported his son Henry V, so far as the latter's policies reflected the wishes of the reform

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[7] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 148.

[8] H. Hagenmeyer, *Ekkehardi Urauguensis Abbatis Hierosolymita nach der Waitz'chen Recension* (Tübingen, 1877), p. 29-30. This edition contains only those parts of the *Chronicon*, which are directly concerned with the crusade.

[9] Schmale-Ott, 'Untersuchungen zu Ekkehard,' p. 421, n. 39; France, 'The use of the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*,' p. 35.

[10]

Ekkehard, p. 152	**Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, p. 170**
Inde *cum divino* nutu *in interiora Hyspaniae progredere*ntur, *largissimam atque misericordem et victoriosissimam manum omnipotentis patris* secum *habue*runt.	deinde *cum divino monitu in interiora Hispaniae progredere*mur, *largissimam atque misericordem et victoriosissimam manum omnipotentis patris* nobiscum *habu*imus.

[11] For example, Ekkehard's single use of *Mauri* to describe the opponents of the crusade at Ascalon was the result of his use of this letter. Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 156; Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, p. 172.

papacy.[12] In fact, Ekkehard's monastic outlook was central to his account and the views of the Church and, in particular, the papacy were reflected throughout.[13] Ekkehard's language even reflected on occasion that of the reform papacy. For example, in his discussion of Gottschalk, a leader of one of the contingents of the People's Crusade – whom he labelled *non verus sed falsus Dei servus* – Ekkehard used a favourite biblical allusion of the reformers when he accused him of being a *mercenarius* rather than a *pastor* (John 10:12-13).[14] The Bible permeated Ekkehard's chronicle and his narrative was peppered with brief biblical quotations and allusions. While Ekkehard's editors have suggested that his education was apparently not as thorough as one would expect from a monk educated at Tegernsee, his use of biblical allusions throughout his account demonstrates a thorough knowledge of scripture and an ability to use multiple allusions in a single sentence.[15] For example, in his description of the crusaders as those who had left behind all worldly possessions and concerns, Ekkehard made four biblical allusions in one sentence, to Luke 15:14, Matthew 19:29, Luke 23:46 and 3Kings 19:10-14. [16]

Ekkehard's monastic outlook can also be seen in his repeated discussion of how divine will shaped events.[17] Like Baldric of Dol, Ekkehard believed that the impetus for the expedition was *non tam humanitus quam divinitus*.[18] When the *Thurci* swept across Asia Minor, it was not the power of the Byzantine armies which saved Constantinople but the Bosphorus, which was made by God.[19] During the 1101 Crusade God's aid was manifest in the victories of the crusaders and in the safe passage of some in the Bavarian contingent – including Ekkehard himself – to the

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[12] Robinson described Ekkehard as 'anti-Heinrician.' I. S. Robinson, *Henry IV of Germany, 1056-1106* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 309; Schmale-Ott, 'Untersuchungen zu Ekkehard,' p. 418; Schmale & Schmale-Ott, 'Einleitung,' p. 30.

[13] Schmale-Ott, 'Untersuchungen zu Ekkehard von Aura,' p. 418; Schmale & Schmale-Ott, 'Einleitung,' p. 30.

[14] For the use of this allusion by the reform papacy, see PL vol. 143, cols. 779c, 835b, 1065a, 1197c-d, 1198d-1199a, 1199b-1200c, 1201d-1203a, 1207a-1208b& 1211a-1212a; vol. 144, col. 669b; vol. 145, col. 327c; vol. 146, col. 1364d; vol. 148, cols. 364a & 432a.

[15] Schmale & Schmale-Ott, 'Einleitung,' p. 21.

[16] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 132: ... *qui relictis propter pium ovis centesime quesitorem* (Luke 15:4) *coniugibus ac liberis,* (Matthew 19:29) *regnis et divitiis posuerunt animas suas in manibus suis,* (Luke 23:46) *zelo zelantes pro Domino Deo exercituum,* (3 Kings 19:10-14) *utraque condigne armati fortitudine regis sui celestis ineuntes servitium.*

[17] Schmale & Schmale-Ott, 'Einleitung,' p. 30 notes how Ekkehard consistently viewed God as the master of history throughout his work.

[18] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 130.

[19] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 134: *solum tibi stagni predicti intersticium presidio fuit, immo sola te Creatoris operatio munivit.*

Holy Land.[20] The reported attempts of Alexius Comnenus to sabotage the progress of the 'Longobard' army through Asia Minor were similarly thwarted by God.[21] When the *rex Babyloniorum* sent messages to the other Muslim powers in the East inviting them to unite with him to defeat the crusaders in 1105, the message was intercepted by the Latins *Dei nutu*.[22] Divine will could even be seen behind defeats and setbacks suffered by the crusaders. In the account of the defeat of Count Emicho of Flonheim at Mosony in Hungary Ekkehard pointed out that *miseratio divina* had spared the Hungarians from the crusaders who had strayed from the original aim of the crusade and attacked *Christiani*.[23] Despite his horror at the destruction of churches and statues in the environs of Nicaea once the Turkish sultanate of Rum had established its capital in the city, Ekkehard maintained that this too was a reminder of the ever-presence of the *virgam divini iudicii*.[24] (Since elsewhere in his account Ekkehard was not critical of the eastern Christians and this comment ought perhaps to be viewed in the context of his view of the hand of God as an agent of temporal events rather than a judgement of the activities of the Christians of Asia Minor.) This belief in the divine will behind the crusade can also be seen in Ekkehard's interest in natural signs and cosmological activity in his discussion of the preparations for the First Crusade.[25]

Ekkehard's confidence in divine intervention as the cause of many events is also reflected in his references to the crusade as the fulfilment of certain prophecies. In his discussion of the background to the crusade Ekkehard related how the *Thurci* had been initially invited to Asia Minor by the *Armenii* who were fighting the *Greci*. For Ekkehard these wars between the *Christiani orientales* were a fulfilment of the prophecies in the Gospels and Apocalypse.[26] When Godfrey held a *conventus* of the whole church in the East at Christmas 1099, Ekkehard rejoiced that the prophecies of

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[20] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, pp. 168, 172 & 176.

[21] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 168: *Insuper milicis haec nomen sibi facere in gentibus quemadmodum anterior proposuit, sed ut rei probavit eventus, divinae id predestinationi non complacuit.*

[22] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 174. In a speech attributed to a certain *Arnoldus*, Ekkehard related that the messengers had been taken captive.

[23] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 146.

[24] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 134.

[25] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, pp. 140-2; P. Alphandery & A Dupront, *La Chrétienté et l'idée de Croisade* (Paris, 1995), pp. 61-5.

[26] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 132: *Tempore Heinrici IIII. Romani et Alexii Constantinopolitani principis iuxta presagium evangelicum* (Matthew 24:7, Luke 21:10, Mark 18:8) *surrexit undique gens contra gentem et regnum adversus regnum, et terremotus magni erant per loca et pestilentie et fames terroresque de celo et signa magna,*(Apocalypse 13:13) *et quia iam in omnes gentes evangelica tuba* (Matthew 24:31, Apocalypse 8:2) *iusti iudicis* (2 Timothy 4:8) *adventum preconabatur, ecce etiam totum circumquaque mundum signa prophetata portendentem universalis ecclesia contemplatur.*

Isaiah 60:1 and 66:10 were fulfilled.[27] Riley-Smith has noted that the Benedictine authors of northern France who refashioned the *Gesta Francorum* recognised in the crusades the realisation of a number of Old Testament prophecies.[28] Although Ekkehard's references to prophecies which he interpreted as foretelling the crusade are few in number, his account clearly belongs in this tradition. It is evident that he viewed the *conventus* which Godfrey held in 1099 as the pinnacle of the achievement of the First Crusade and consequently his invocation of the prophecy of Isaiah here is particularly pertinent when assessing his attitude to the crusades.

Unlike any of the other authors examined in this thesis, Ekkehard's account of the crusade formed only a small part of a larger universal chronicle. The focus of this *Chronicon* was primarily 'imperial' and the crusade marks a departure from this. As a result Ekkehard's account retained the curt style of an annal while it also contained some elements more common to a *historia*, for example *oratio recta*. On a number of occasions Ekkehard ended his discussion of a certain event, or sequence of events with an apologetic comment that there was not the space or time to relate them more fully. After relating the death of Godfrey of Bouillon in 1100, Ekkehard briefly described Baldwin of Boulogne's activities in Armenia in 1097-8, which culminated in his establishment as count of Edessa. At the end of his account of Baldwin's activities Ekkehard stated that it was not the appropriate time or place to relate these events in their entirety.[29] His account of the sufferings of the armies of the 1101 Crusade at the hands of the *Thurci* was similarly curbed.[30] This, and the use of the phrase *quid plura*, was a stylistic device to avoid the appearance of digression from the principal narrative.

National terms to denote the crusaders

In his use of national terms to refer to the crusaders, Ekkehard's background as an imperial chronicler is in evidence in the number of imperial groups mentioned. Contrary to expectations, however, this background did not mean that Ekkehard would not use *Franci* as a collective term for the expedition. Like Albert of Aachen,

[27] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 160: *'Surge et illuminare Hierusalem!* (Isaiah. 60:1): *Laetare Hierusalem et diem festum agite omnes, qui diligitis eam!* (Isaiah. 66:10)
[28] Riley-Smith, *Idea*, pp. 142-3.
[29] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 162: *non est operis huius vel temporis litteris tradere.*
[30] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 170: *si miserias illas omnibus miseriis miserabiliores stilo proseque pleie temptamus, possibilitatem simul et modum excedimus.*

Ekkehard referred to *Franci Orientales* and *Francigeni Occidentales*, hinting at a tradition which dated back to the break up of the Carolingian territories in the ninth century. Nevertheless, *Franci* was applied to all sections of the First Crusade and to the 1101 Crusade. The detail and tone of the discussion of the groups which hailed from the empire is very different from the treatment of other national groups, however. As well as using a wide variety of specific terms such as *Alamanni*, *Saxones*, *Thuringii* etc., Ekkehard ascribed specific traits to the *Theutonici* and referred to them as *gens nostra*.

Franci/ Francigeni

At the beginning of his description of the crusade Ekkehard divided the participants into *Francigeni occidentales* and *Franci orientales* in his discussion of the results of Urban II's preaching. The pope's preaching was most effective among the *Francigeni occidentales* Ekkehard reported, due to the civil unrest, famines and plagues experienced in the area especially *circa Nivalensem sanctae Gerdrudis aecclesiam.*[31] The reference to the church of St Gertrude in Nivelles demonstrates that Ekkehard's definition of *Francia occidentalis* included Lotharingia, as Nivelles is situated close to modern-day Brussels.[32] This is also Ekkehard's only use of *Francigeni* and it may be that he considered the term to include the kingdom of France and the duchy of Lotharingia.

In contrast the 'Germans' – *Orientalibus autem Francis, Saxonibus et Thuringis, Baioariis et Alamannis* – did not receive the pope's message because of the *maxime scisma* between the papacy and the Emperor Henry IV.[33] The apposition of *orientales Franci* and the list of *Saxones et Thuringi, Baioarii et Alamanni* demonstrates that the German groups were all included in the term. The use of *populus Theutonicus* immediately afterwards as a collective term for the above-

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[31] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 140: *Francigenis occidentalibus facile persuaderi poterat sua rura relinquere, nam Gallias per annos aliquot nunc seditio civilis, nunc fames, nun mortalitas nimis afflixerat, postremo plaga illa, quae circa Nivalensem sanctae Gerdrudis aecclesiam orta est, usque ad vitae desperationem terruerat*; Ekkehard does not follow the general trend among German authors of the twelfth century, identified by Brühl, in which the kingdom of France was described as *Francia Occidentalis*, Brühl, *Deutschland-Frankreich*, pp. 111-4.

[32] This abbey was closely connected to the family of Boulogne and a charter recording the sale of lands to the abbey by Countess Ida of Bouillon, Godfrey of Bouillon's mother contains the names of Godfrey and his brother Baldwin in the witness list. MGH, *Diplomata* H. IV, no. 459, pp. 619-20.

[33] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 140: *Orientalibus autem Francis, Saxonibus et Thuringis, Baioariis et Alamannis haec bucina minime insonuit propter illud maxime scisma, quod inter regnum et sacerdotium a tempore Alexandri pape usque hodie tam nos Romanis quam Romanos nobis invisos et infestos iam, heu! confirmavit.*

mentioned peoples also shows that *orientales Franci* denoted the inhabitants of the German Kingdom, excluding the Lotharingians. This division of the crusade into *Franci orientales* and *Francigeni occidentales* may have its roots in the divisions of the Carolingian empire in 843.[34]

Elsewhere the term *Franci* was often used as a collective term for the crusade. When reporting on the legation from the crusade camp outside Antioch to *Babylonia*, Ekkehard described how the manner, stature and elegance of the *Franci* impressed the *barbari* so much so that they thought them *plus quam homines, id est deos*. In his use of *Franci* in this instance, Ekkehard explained that this was the term used by the *barbari* to denote *universos occidentales populos*. The ascription of common traits to the *Franci*, in this case *fortitudo, proceritas habitu et incessu omnique elegantia* is a clear sign that Ekkehard used the term here as a collective one.[35] From this point the term *Franci* was used solely to denote the crusade as a whole. After the capture of Jerusalem, while many of the crusaders were preparing to return to their *patriae*, word arrived that the *rex Babyloniorum* had arrived at Ascalon with a large army in order to conquer the *Franci*.[36] When Godfrey of Bouillon died in 1100, Ekkehard related how Godfrey had united the *indigeni* and the *comperegrini* to such an extent that his death was mourned as much by the *Graeci* and *Syrii* as by the *Franci*.[37] Here the *Franci* represent the western Christians as a whole and are synonymous with the *comperegrini*, that is the crusade as a whole. In his description of the 1101 crusade, Ekkehard twice accused Alexius Comnenus of equally disliking the *Turci* and the *Franci*. In the first case the *Franci* referred to the participants of the 1101 crusade while in the second it referred retrospectively to the First Crusade.[38] When the news of the arrival of the Fatimid armies near Ramla in 1101 reached Jerusalem, Ekkehard reported a speech in which King Baldwin I of

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[34] R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdom under the Carolingians 751-987* (Essex, 1983), pp. 172-3.
[35] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 154: *Hac de causa securitate non pauci lectissimorum militum Babyloniam diriguntur, quorum fortitudine, proceritate, habitu et incessu omnique elegantia attoniti barbari Francos – sic enim universos occidentales populos nominare solent – plus quam homines, id est deos, esse fatebantur affirmantes omnino non esse mirum, quod huiusmodi bellatores totum affectarent sibi subicere mundum.*
[36] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 154.
[37] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 160: *Exceptis sive tacitis cunctis quibus pollebat virtutibus tanta se mansuetudine coniunxerat tam indigenis quam comperegrinis, ut vix adverteretur, Francisne plus plangeretur quam Syris vel Grecis.*
[38] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, pp. 166 & 168.

Jerusalem encouraged his men to oppose the *invasores Sanctae Terrae*: here the *Franci* and the *peregrini* are synonymous.[39]

Like Albert of Aachen, therefore, Ekkehard's German background does not appear to have prevented him from adopting the term *Franci* as a collective term for the crusade. Although Ekkehard's use of the term may have been prompted by the Carolingian tradition as can be seen in the division between the *Franci orientales* and the *Francigeni occidentales*, nonetheless his use of *Franci* to denote the crusade demonstrates the pan-national sense of the word. It also militates against understanding the term to denote the 'French'.[40]

Galli/Gallia (Galliae)

The term *Galli* was used only once by Ekkehard in the section of the *Chronicon* which narrated the crusades and *Gallia* was referred to three times. In his initial list of the areas from which participants on the crusade originated, *Gallia* appeared in a long list of areas, including many within the kingdom of France: *ex Aquitania scilicet atque Normannia, Anglia, Scotia et Hibernia, Britannia, Galicia, Wasconia, Gallia, Flandria, Lotharingia caeterisque gentibus christianis.*[41] This use would appear to restrict the definition of *Gallia* to the area under the direct control of the King of France, the Île de France. A subsequent reference to Hugh of Vermandois as *frater Philippi regis Galliae*, however, seems to denote the whole kingdom of France as *Gallia*.[42] When discussing the adverse conditions under which the *Francigeni occidentales* were living prior to the crusade, Ekkehard used the term *Galliae* as their homeland.[43] This plural use of *Galliae* is very unusual and implies that the duchy of Lotharingia was included. The single use of *Galli* in the relevant parts of the *Chronicon* appears to agree with this last example of *Gallias*. In praise of Godfrey of Bouillon's rule in Jerusalem, Ekkehard commented that Godfrey's knowledge of two

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[39] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 172: *Comprobemus iam, quod ipsi exprobrant, Francos mortem non timere, immo Christi peregrinos aut in Christo vincere aut pro Christo mori velle!* For the use of *Franci* and *Christiani* to refer to the same group, see Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 154.

[40] Bull commented that 'Germans chose either to revise or avoid the usage (of *Franci*),' an opinion that cannot be completely reconciled, in the case of Ekkehard, with the above evidence. Bull, 'The Frankish First Crusade,' p. 208.

[41] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 138.

[42] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 138.

[43] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 140: *Francigenis occidentalibus facile persuaderi poterat sua rura relinquere, nam Gallias per annos aliquot nunc seditio civilis, nunc fames, nun mortalitas nimis afflixerat, postremo plaga illa, quae circa Nivalensem sanctae Gerdrudis aecclesiam orta est, usque ad vitae desperationem terruerat.*

languages enabled him to adjudicate effectively between *gens nostra* (*Theutonici*) and the *gallici caballari*.[44] Here again the *Theutonici* or the *Franci orientales* are contrasted with the *Galli* or *Francigeni occidentales*.

Theutonici, Alamanni, Germanici, Saxones, Thuringii, Baoiarii

For Ekkehard, *Theutonici* was a collective term for all the people from the German kingdom excluding the Lotharingians. This can be seen most clearly in his use of the term in the beginning of his account of the crusade when explaining why the inhabitants of the empire did not join the expedition as readily as the *Francigeni occidentales*. The *Franci orientales*, which included the *Saxones et Thuringi, Baioarii et Alamanni*, were immediately afterwards referred to as the *populus Theutonicus* demonstrating its use as a pan-German term.[45] The followers of Count Emicho of Flonheim were referred to as *Theutonici*.[46] In his description of the participants in the 1101 Crusade, Ekkehard listed the *Longobardi*, *Aquitanici* and *diversarum provinciarum Theutonici*.[47] This use of *Theutonici* refers to the following of Welf IV of Bavaria, often referred to as the 'Bavarian' contingent. In the phrase *a diversarum provinciarum Theutonicis* it is clear that Ekkehard retained the broader sense of *Theutonici* in this instance.

While the author of the *Gesta Francorum* used the phrase *gens nostra* to denote the crusade as a whole, for Ekkehard this referred to the *Theutonici*.[48] After Urban II's preaching of the crusade at Clermont, Ekkehard explained that the message did not reach the Empire because of the *scisma* between *regnum et sacerdotium* and that the *Theutonici* were initially dismissive of the crusaders travelling through their lands.[49] Finally, however, Ekkehard reported that even

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[44] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 158; For a discussion of the divisions within the First Crusade and the role played by language in them, see Murray, 'National identity, regional identity and language,' pp. 114-9.

[45] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 140; Elsewhere in the *Chronicon*, Müller-Mertens has asserted that Ekkehard's use of the term *regnum Teutonicum* had a polemic function to emphasise the totality and unity of the princes of the empire at certain times. See Müller-Mertens, *Regnum Teutonicum*, pp. 333-5.

[46] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 146.

[47] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 162: *Primum ab episcopis Mediolanensi, Papiensi caeterisque Longobardorum populis ad L milia signatis, deinde a diversarum provinciarum Theutonicis, postremo ab Aquitanicis, quibus Willihelmus Pictaviensis preerat, preter vulgus ad XXX loricatis.*

[48] Müller-Mertens, *Regnum Teutonicum*, pp. 338-9. See above, pp. 18-9.

[49] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 140: *Orientalibus autem Francis, Saxonibus et Thuringis, Baioariis et Alamannis haec bucina minime insonuit propter illud maxime scisma, quod inter regnum et sacerdotium a tempore Alexandri pape usque hodie tam nos Romanis quam Romanos nobis invisos et infestos iam, heu! confirmavit. Inde est, quod populus Theutonicus in principio profectionis huius*

though *gens nostra* were more insolent than any others, the *furor Theutonicus* eventually yielded to the cause.[50] After his description of the ill-fated expedition of Count Emicho of Flonheim in Hungary, during which the crusaders were described as *Theutonici*, Ekkehard immediately referred to them as *gens nostra*.[51] Later, in his praise of Godfrey's rule of the newly established crusade principality of Jerusalem, Ekkehard described Godfrey's skill in mediating between *nostrae gentis milites* and the *gallicis caballarii* and attributed it to his proficiency in *utriusque linguae*.[52]

Ekkehard ascribed particular characteristics to the *Theutonici*. After explaining how the message of Urban II's preaching took longer to reach the *Franci orientales* and how the *Theutonici* were initially dismissive of the crusaders passing through their lands, Ekkehard described how the *furor Theutonicus* was eventually tempered and they yielded to the call of the crusade.[53] In this use of *gens nostra* to mean the *Theutonici* Ekkehard admitted that they were *multo insolentior* than any other *gens*.[54] The use of *furor Theutonicus* appears in Ekkehard's *Chronicon* twice, on both occasions when describing behaviour among the Germans which ran counter to the interests of the Church.[55] The phrase *furor Theutonicus* has its roots in Lucan's reference in the *Pharsalia* to the *furor* of the *Teutones* and during the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries his allusion became ascribed to the *Teutonici*.[56] For the most part the trait of *furor* was applied to the *Teutonici* as a negative feature. Abbot Suger of St Denis used the term in his *Vita Ludovici Grossi regis* to barbarise the *Teutonici* in contrast with the *Franci* in particular in his description of relations

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causam ignorantes per terram suam transeuntes tot legiones equitum, tot turmas peditum totque catervas ruricolarum, feminarum ac parvulorum quasi inaudita stulticia delirantes subsannabant, utpote qui pro certis incerta captantes terram nativitatis vane relinquerent, terram repromissionis incertam certo discrimine appeterent, renunciarent facultatibus propriis, inhiarent alienis.

[50] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 140: *Sed quamvis nostra gens caeteris multo sit insolentior, respectu tamen miserationis divinae inclinatur tandem ad verbum eiusdem renunciationis furor Theutonicus, a comeantium scilicet turbis rem ad integrum edoctus*

[51] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 146.

[52] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 158: *Pacem firmissimam cum Ascalonitis atque Damascenis gratia commertiorum habuit, nostrae gentis milites pre cunctis bellatoribus honoravit, fertatemque illorum suavissima urbanitate gallicis caballariis commendans invidiam, quae inter utrosque naturaliter quodammodo versatur, per innatam sibi utriusque linquae peritiam mitigavit.*

[53] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 140: *Sed quamvis nostra gens caeteris multo sit insolentior, respectu tamen miserationis divinae inclinatur tandem ad verbum eiusdem renunciationis furor Theutonicus, a comeantium scilicet turbis rem ad integrum edoctus.*

[54] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 140; Müller-Mertens, *Regnum Teutonicum*, pp. 338-9.

[55] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, pp. 140 & 252; Müller-Mertens, *Regnum Teutonicum*, pp. 335-6

[56] Lucan, *Pharsalia* 1, 254-7 ed. J. Duff (Cambridge and London, 1988)

between the papacy and the emperor, Henry V.[57] Arnulf of Lisieux contrasted *furor Teutonicus* with *devotio Gallicana* in a letter to the archbishops and bishops of England in 1160, following the appointment of the anti-pope Victor IV by the emperor, Frederick I.[58] After the capture of Milan in 1162 by imperial forces, John of Salisbury wrote to Thomas Beckett, archbishop of Canterbury, complaining of the *furor Teutonicus*.[59] In Odo of Deuil's *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, *furor* is associated with the *Alemanni*, Odo's preferred term for the followers of King Conrad III of Germany.[60]

The phrase *furor Teutonicus* was used by some writers in a positive sense, however. In the play of the Antichrist, c. 1160, the *furor* was unleashed by the German king against the Antichrist who was helpless against it.[61] In the late twelfth-century chronicle of the Third Crusade, the *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, a letter from Frederick I to Saladin was inserted into the chronicle, in which the emperor threatened Saladin with *furor Theutonicus*.[62]

In his discussion of the progress of the contingent of Count Emicho of Flonheim through Hungary, Ekkehard explained that the king of Hungary (Coloman I) would not extend protection to it because he had heard that *inter paganorum et Ungariorum necem nihil apud Teutonicas differre mentes*.[63] After the defeat of Emicho at Mosony Ekkehard commented, invoking Romans 10:2, that *nostra gens homines* had more zeal for God than knowledge of Him.[64] God had allowed their defeat because an expedition that had sought to liberate *Christiani* had in fact attacked other *Christiani*.[65] This criticism of the *Theutonici* as having strayed from the purpose of the expedition is immediately followed by an invocation of Matthew 3:12, in which Ekkehard likened Emicho's men to the chaff swept from the

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[57] Suger, *Vita Ludovici Grossi regis*, ed. H. Waquet (Paris, 1964), p. 64; Curta, '*Furor Teutonicus*,' pp. 68-70. E. Dummler, 'Über den *Furor Teutonicus*,' *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaft zu Berlin* 9 (1897), 112-26.
[58] Arnulf of Lisieux, *epistola* 28, *The Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux*, ed. F Barlow (London, 1939) p. 42.
[59] John of Salisbury, *epistola* 152, eds. W. J. Millor & C. N. L. Brooke (Oxford, 1979), vol. 2, p. 54.
[60] Odo of Deuil, *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, ed. V. G. Berry (New York, 1948), pp. 44 & 46.
[61] *qua vi teotonicus furor tibi resistit*, cited in Dümmler, 'Über den *Furor Teutonicus*,' p. 117, n. 4.
[62] *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. H.E. Mayer, MGH *Schriften* 18 (Stuttgart, 1962), p. 281.
[63] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 146.
[64] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 146: *nostrae gentis homines zelum Dei, sed non secundum scientiam Dei habentes*.
[65] See below, pp. 330-1.

threshing-floor of the Lord to allow for the *grana triticea* or the true crusaders, that is the Princes' Crusade, to pass through.[66]

Ekkehard's criticisms of the *Theutonici* appear odd at first, especially given his tendency to label them *gens nostra*. Each of the criticisms, however, forms part of a broader context. The use of the term *furor Theutonicus* and the claim that *gens nostra* was more *insolens* than any other may be viewed in the context of the Investiture Contest and Ekkehard's pro-papal partisanship. Ekkehard's initial explanation why the preaching of Urban II did not reach the ears of the *Franci orientales* was that the *scisma* which existed between the *regnum et sacerdotium* had led to an enmity with the *Romani*.[67] As noted above, the *furor Theutonicus* in particular was evoked by Ekkehard in relation to the conflict between the papacy and the inhabitants of the empire. The criticism of the deeds of Emicho and Gottschalk was not unique to Ekkehard: many of his contemporaries were scathing of these groups which had turned on the Christian populations of Hungary and Bulgaria.[68] Ekkehard's principal focus was on the liberation of *Christiani* as the aim of the crusade and this is the reason which he cites for the failure of these two groups.

Ekkehard rarely referred to imperial groups other than the *Theutonici*. When noting that the *Franci orientales* were slow to receive the message of Urban II's preaching, he qualified the term by listing the constituent groups within the *Franci orientales* as *Saxonibus et Thuringis, Baioariis et Alamannis*.[69] This is the only reference to the *Saxones*, *Thuringii* and *Baioarii* in the section of the *Chronicon* which details the crusades. The term *Alamanni* appears elsewhere only once, when Ekkehard reported the *murmur* against Alexius Comnenus by the crusaders of the 1101 expedition in which they discussed the coup which brought Alexius to the imperial throne with the help of some *Alamanni*.[70] In this instance Ekkehard seems to be referring to the men whom Alexius led prior to his ascent to the imperial throne. Alexius's usurpation of the imperial throne was achieved partly by bribing western mercenaries in Constantinople, and it is possible that Ekkehard was referring to

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[66] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 148.
[67] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 140.
[68] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 146.
[69] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 140.
[70] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 166: *perfidis ille Alexius, qui domino suo Michaheli per quorundam Alamannorum conducticiorum auxilium depulso imperium eius usurpavit.*

this.[71] In his *Dei Gesta per Francos*, Guibert of Nogent also recorded that Alexius had usurped the throne of his *dominus* and, like Ekkehard, he reported that the emperor who Alexius replaced was called Michael (in fact it was Nicephorus III Botaniates). Guibert also stated that Alexius had previously been the commander of the *occidentalium militum*.[72]

In his description of the 'Bavarian' contingent of the 1101 crusade Ekkehard used the term *Germanicum collegium* when describing how the group was divided among those who were travelling to Palestine by sea and those who were following the land route.[73] While the term *Germania* is extremely rare among the crusader chronicles, it appears on a number of occasions in Ekkehard's *Chronicon* overall to denote the Empire (without Italy).[74] Elsewhere in the *Chronicon* Ekkehard used the term *Germania* to emphasise the unity of the empire and its use in this instance may be to emphasise the unity of the group of 'German' crusaders and add pathos to the description of their separation.[75]

Like Albert of Aachen, Ekkehard's account of the crusades contains a large number of different groups from within the western empire. In Albert's case, this was clearly an attempt to exaggerate the imperial participation in the crusade and perhaps to give Godfrey of Bouillon's army the appearance of being larger than it was. For Ekkehard, this does not appear to have been the case. His list of imperial groups comes in the opening section where he was emphasising the reluctance of the *Theutonici* to join the crusade. In fact the majority of his uses of the term *Theutonici* do not refer to the events of the crusade but either to events prior to the crusade or to the ill-fated expeditions of Emicho and Gottschalk. The single list of imperial groups appears in the early stages of the account where Ekkehard also lists the areas from which participants hailed and the leaders of the contingents. While Albert's lists of imperial participants may be labelled 'muster lists', Ekkehard's single example was the opposite, a list of those reluctant to participate.[76]

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[71] Elsewhere in his *Chronicon*, Ekkehard used the term *Alamanni* to mean the Swabians, pp. 190 & 204.
[72] Guibert, *Dei Gesta*, Bk. i, lines 542-9, p. 105.
[73] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 168.
[74] For an example of the use of *Germania* in the section of the *Chronicon* attributable to Ekkehard see *Chronicon* p. 204, in which the *totius Germaniae optimates* were listed from Lotharingia, Saxony, *Francia* (Franconia), Bavaria, *Alamannia* (Swabia) and Burgundy. See also, p. 188; Müller-Mertens, *Regnum Teutonicum*, p. 335.
[75] Müller-Mertens, *Regnum Teutonicum*, p. 334-6.
[76] Knoch, "Deutschen," p. 109.

Longobardi

The only use of the term *Longobardi* in Ekkehard's account comes in the description of the 1101 Crusade, in which it refers to the large northern Italian contingent led by Archbishop Anselm of Milan.[77] While Albert of Aachen was highly critical of this group, Ekkehard passed little judgement over them except to suggest that they were easily defeated by the *Turci* due to their *inertia*.[78] In Albert of Aachen's *Historia* the *Longobardi* were portrayed as extremely unruly on their journey through Bulgaria and the Byzantine emperor Alexius Comnenus as attempting to maintain order over them. In contrast Ekkehard presented the *Longobardi* as falling victim to the emperor's tendency to transport crusaders over to Asia Minor where *immo paganorum sagittis expositae* [*sunt*].[79]

Aquitani

All but one of the references to the *Aquitani* in Ekkehard's account refer to the southern French contingent of the 1101 Crusade. When beginning his description of this expedition, Ekkehard reported that those *ab Aquitanicis* were led by *Willihelmus Pictaviensis* (Count William VII of Poitou, Duke William IX of Aquitaine).[80] In a rare attribution of a particular trait to a national group, Ekkehard referred to their *fastus genitalis*, which prompted them to attack the suburbs of Adrianople when they were denied access to the city.[81] In his list of the areas from where participants of the First Crusade originated, one of those listed was *Aquitania*.[82]

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[77] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, pp. 164 & 168.

[78] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 164: *Thurci enim explorata Longobardorum inertia stipularum eos terebant more, in tantum ut exercitus Theutonicus, qui eadem via subsecutus circa Iunii Kalendas ad eandem metropolim pervenit, quid de precedentibus se gestum sit, nullo modo, utpote nullo superstite de Romania redeunte posset investigare.*

[79] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 164.

[80] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 164.

[81] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 166: *Aquitani mox genitali tumescentes fastu simbola conclamant, suburbana succendunt, civitatem invadunt.* This criticism of the *Aquitani* may stem from a tradition of criticism of the Aquitanians by imperial authors as evidenced in some of the sources pertaining to the marriage of Henry III of Germany to Agnes of Poitou. See T. Heinz, 'Zur Kritik an der Ehe Heinrichs III. mit Agnes von Poitou,' in *Festschrift für Hermann Aubin zum 80. Geburtstag* 2 (Wiesbaden, 1965), pp. 224-35, p. 224.

[82] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 138.

Normannia

The term *Normannia* was used by Ekkehard in the part of the *Chronicon* which details the events of the crusades to denote Normandy and Duke Robert II of Normandy.[83] The *Normanni* as a specific group were not mentioned by Ekkehard in this section.

Latini

In his discussion of the casualties of the 1101 Crusade, Ekkehard noted that while many of *nostri* died, among the *Latini principes*, William (of Poitiers), Stephen (of Blois) and Raymond (of St Gilles) were said to have survived.[84] This use of *Latini* in contrast to *nostri* demonstrates that Ekkehard used the term to denote the French contingent of the crusade, or at least the non-German groups. This is in contrast to many of his contemporaries, who used the term in alongside *Graeci* when discussing the eastern and western Christians.[85]

Ekkehard's use of national terms to denote the crusaders was extremely sparse. Aside from the lists of various groups in the early parts of his account, relatively few terms were used. Where the crusaders acted as one, a collective term was used but a group was specified when it acted alone. For example, Ekkehard's use of *Longobardi* and *Aquitani* during the 1101 Crusade was necessary as the groups travelled separately, while during the First Crusade a collective term could be applied as the army generally moved in unison. The lists of groups in the early stages of his narrative were possibly a rhetorical device. In the case of those who took part, the purpose was to emphasise the breadth of participation. The listing of all the German groups who made up the *Franci orientales* was probably illustrative. His use of *Franci* as a collective term for the crusaders, as well as dividing the participants into *Francigeni occidentales* and *Franci orientales* demonstrates that he did not consider the term *Franci* to apply to the inhabitants of the kingdom of France alone.

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[83] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, pp. 130 & 156. The reference to *Rutpertus comes Normanniae* on p. 156 is derived from the letter of Daibert and the princes to Pope Paschal II; Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, p. 173

[84] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 170.

[85] *Gesta*, p. 94 [489]; Albert, *Historia*, Bk. v, cap. 1, p. 340; Raymond, *Historia*, p. 29.

Theological terms used to denote the crusaders

Peregrini

Ekkehard described the contingent of the People's Crusade under Emicho of Flonheim, the settled crusaders in the Levant and the 1101 crusaders as *peregrini*. Despite his disapproval of the actions of Emicho's followers in attacking *Christiani*, they were nonetheless *peregrini*.[86] In his description of the 1101 Crusade and, in particular, the hostile actions of Alexius Comnenus towards the crusaders, Ekkehard repeatedly referred to them as *peregrini*.[87] This was possibly an attempt to highlight the injustice of the emperor's hostility. During a battle at Jaffa in 1101 Ekkehard reported the arrival of a fleet of twelve ships carrying 12,000 *peregrini*.[88] Prior to the first battle of Ramla, on hearing that the *rex Babyloniorum* had attempted to unite the local Muslim powers against the crusade, Baldwin I of Jerusalem summoned men from various parts of the kingdom to face the Fatimids at Jaffa: *ubi tunc non parva manebat peregrinorum turba, convocavit.*[89] Sometimes the *peregrini* were distinguished from the local indigenous Christian populations of the East. For example, Godfrey held a *conventus* at Christmas 1099 with all the *Christicoli* who lived in the East but in particular the *peregrini*.[90] Godfrey's death, we are told, was mourned no less by the *indigeni* than by the *comperegrini*.[91] In a speech attributed to Baldwin to his troops before the first battle of Ramla in 1101, the king of Jerusalem used the terms *Franci* and *peregrini* simultaneously.[92] Ekkehard, therefore, appears to have had no qualms in using the term *peregrini* to describe armed crusaders.

Populus Dei

Ekkehard referred to the crusaders as *populus Dei* on a number of occasions. When he mentioned the *libellus* which he had read in Jerusalem, he reported how it detailed

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[86] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 146.
[87] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, pp. 164 & 166.
[88] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 176.
[89] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 172.
[90] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 160.
[91] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 160: *Francisne plus plangeretur quam Syris vel Grecis.*
[92] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 172: *Comprobemus iam, quod ipsi exprobrant, Francos mortem non timere, immo Christi peregrinos aut in Christo vincere aut pro Christo mori velle!*

the way in which the *populus Dei* had captured Jerusalem in three years.[93] In his description of the torments suffered by the 1101 Crusade Ekkehard blamed the *machinamenta* of the *traditor* Alexius Comnenus which had imprisoned the *populus Dei* in the impassable terrain of Asia Minor where they were harassed and killed by the Seljuks.[94] He then lamented the deaths of so many of the *populus Dei* of whom scarcely a thousand had survived.[95] In a sermon attributed to a certain *Arnoldus* before the battle at Jaffa, the cleric addressed the gathered forces as *Beata gens, cuius est dominus Deus eius, populus quem elegit.*[96] This is from Psalm 32:12 and suggests that Ekkehard used the term *populus Dei* in a deliberate biblical allusion.[97] On one occasion it is unclear whether the crusaders only were referred to as *populus Dei* or whether it denoted the Christians in the Levant in general. On the death of Godfrey in 1100, Ekkehard twice referred to his rule over the *populus Dei.*[98] Prior to these two statements Ekkehard reported on the *conventus* held by Godfrey in December 1099 which included *omnes qui sunt in oriente Christicoli.* Immediately afterwards he noted that Godfrey was mourned equally by the crusaders and the local Christian communities, *tam indigenis quam comperegrinis.*[99] These suggest that Godfrey's rule extended beyond the Latins and consequently that the use of *populus Dei* might include eastern Christians too.

Other theological terms

Aside from *peregrini* and *populus Dei*, the theologically based terms which Ekkehard used to denote the crusade were often used only once or twice, with no sense that they were chosen with much deliberation. In his discussion of how the crusaders were united in their love for Christ yet divided by *lingua*, *tribus* and *natio*, the crusaders were labelled *membra Christi.*[100] When he described how the friendly

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[93] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 148: *Legimus Iherosolimae libellum a loco presenti totam huius historiae seriem diligentissime prosequentem plurimosque populi Dei per triennium labores in captae Hierusalem letissima victoria concludentem.*
[94] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 170.
[95] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 170.
[96] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 174.
[97] The phrase *populus Dei* to describe the Israelites appears three times in the Bible, 2 Kings 14:13, Wisdom 18:13, Baruch 4:5 and on one occasion it denotes the new Christian church in 1 Peter 2:10.
[98] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 160: *Gotefridum populo Dei, quem paterna sollicitudines curabat, materna pietate fovebat: anno populo Dei prefuit.*
[99] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 160.
[100] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 138.

attitude of Alexius was fraudulent and how the emperor was in fact intent upon their destruction, Ekkehard praised the *sollertia* of Godfrey of Bouillon which provided for the safety of the *greges Domini*.[101] He used the term *militia Domini* on two occasions, *militia, quam Christus providerat* once and *militia Christi* once, demonstrating that while he did not entirely disapprove of the use of *militia Christi* as a collective term for the crusade, neither was he enthusiastic about it.[102] Ekkehard's clear distinction between the 'real' and the 'false' crusaders can be seen after his discussion of the failure of the expedition led by Count Emicho of Flonheim in Hungary. Upon likening this expedition to the chaff to be swept from the threshing floor of the Lord (Matthew 3:12), Ekkehard labelled the contingents led by Godfrey of Bouillon and the other princes as *grana triticea* and *vere dominicae militiae duces*.[103]

The crusaders in the *Chronicon*

Outside of his use of various theologically inspired terms to denote the crusaders, Ekkehard's discussion of the crusaders and, in particular, their motivations, demonstrates a great deal about his attitude towards them. The clearest feature of the crusade which he emphasised was that they obeyed Christ's order 'If any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me' (Matthew 16:24, Luke 9:23). From the outset the sacrifice of the crusaders in participating in the expedition was likened to the sacrifice of Christ in His Passion.[104] Even where the aim of the crusade was stated as the liberation of the *conchristiani* in the East, the crusaders' taking up of the cross was emphasised.[105] When Ekkehard discussed the sign of the cross which many attached to their garments, he again reminded his reader of the imitation of Christ inherent in the sign.[106] In the speech attributed to a certain cleric *Arnoldus* before the battle at Jaffa in 1101, the cleric reminded his

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[101] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 148. For *gregem Dei*, see 1 Peter 5:2.
[102] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, pp. 138, 142, 144 & 150; The term *militia Christi* does not appear in the letter of Daibert of Pisa and the princes to Paschal II, which Ekkehard absorbed into his *Chronicon*. Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae at Chartae*, pp. 167-74.
[103] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 148.
[104] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 130: *pro crucifixo sibi Christo tanti se bellatores sponte crucifixerunt.*
[105] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 138: *crucem post Christum unanimiter portantes.*
[106] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 138: *crucis signaculum in vestibus idem vere crucifer exercitus ob mortificationis preferebat commonitorium.*

audience that *crucem cotidianam post Christum tulistis*.[107] In a reference to the same evangelical message, Ekkehard also emphasised the possessions and relations which the crusaders had renounced in order to follow Christ.[108] In the speech of Baldwin I of Jerusalem before the battle of Ramla in 1101, the king allegedly reminded his men of the contempt in which they had once held their *patria* and *parentes* in order to destroy the power of the Muslims in the Holy Land.[109]

This repeated emphasis on the renunciation of all temporal goods and relations in order to imitate Christ's sacrifice is found in a number of crusader chronicles and formed part of the basis of the 'Crusading as an act of love' thesis of Riley-Smith.[110] Questioning this thesis in his examination of the social structure of the participants on the First Crusade, Kostick argued that charters which expressed piety as a motivation for crusading represented only a fraction of those who undertook the expedition.[111] Flori demonstrated that the charters were constructed by clerical authors, not the participants themselves, and that many adhered to legal formula which were centuries old.[112] In fact Ekkehard himself undermined the 'act of love' thesis when he commented that many were prompted to take the cross by considerations other than piety. After his description of the speed with which the message of Urban II's speech at the Council of Clermont spread throughout western Europe, Ekkehard commented that this message was particularly well received by the *Francigeni occidentales* who had suffered from civil war, plague and famine in the previous years.[113] Nor were the *Francigeni occidentales* the only group pressed by misfortune to crusade. According to Ekkehard many of the *reliquarum nationum plebes* confessed themselves to be *quibusvis incommoditatibus ad talia vota*

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[107] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 174.
[108] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 132: *qui relictis propter pium ovis centesime quesitorem coniugibus ac liberis, regnis et divitiis*; Matthew 19:29.
[109] Ekkehard, Chronicon, p. 172: '*Illorum,' inquit ' damno vivamus aut periculo moriamur! Ecce bellum o boni milites, quod olim optavimus, pro quo patriam, parentes pacemque contempsimus*.' See also, Ekkehard, Chronicon, p. 174.
[110] Riley-Smith, 'Crusading as an act of love,' p. 178.
[111] Kostick, *Social Structure*, pp. 292-3.
[112] J. Flori, 'Ideology and Motivations in the First Crusade,' in H. Nicholson ed., *The Crusades* (Basingstoke, 2005), pp. 15-36, p. 21. Bull (obliquely) disputes this in his discussion of the impact of the crusade on diplomatic practice and charters as sources for the crusade. M. Bull, 'The diplomatic of the First Crusade,' in J. Phillips, ed; *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, (Manchester, 1997) pp. 35-56.
[113] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 140; This evidence was also discussed by Kostick in an examination of the possible motivations of the lower *ordines* who joined the People's Crusade, Kostick, *Social Structure*, pp. 101-2 & 104.

compulsi.[114] Despite his repeated accusations that some crusaders were 'false' while others were 'true', Ekkehard did not criticise those who left for the Levant for practical reasons. He saved his contempt for those who led the crusade astray or who perverted its original goal.

National terms to denote the Muslims

Thurci

In his discussion of the *Thurci* it is clear that Ekkehard was referring to the Seljuk Turks. His initial description of the arrival of the *Thurci* into Asia Minor and the Levant related that the *Armeni* invited them into their wars with the *Greci* but that after they had defeated the *Greci* with the help of these *de Persia bellatores inclyte fame, Thurci,* the *Armeni* were unable to send them back to their own lands. The *Thurci*, Ekkehard reported, were very much attracted by the fertility of the Armenian lands.[115] While this is not an entirely accurate account of the arrival of the Seljuks into Anatolia, the quest for a more spacious land was one of the motivating factors for the Seljuk expansion westwards.[116] In his description of the capture of Nicaea by *Solomanus* and his reference to the conflict between Count Baldwin I of Edessa and *quidam Thurcus, Balduc nomine*, Ekkehard demonstrated an accurate use of the term.[117] His description of the opponents of the 1101 Crusade in Asia Minor as *Thurci* is also correct.[118] The *Thurci* were clearly denoted as enemies of the crusade when they were described as *pagani*.[119]

Ekkehard, like a number of the crusade chroniclers, was clear in distinguishing the *Thurci* from the *Sarraceni*. This is particularly apparent in his discussion of Jerusalem. Immediately after his description of the arrival of the *Thurci* in Asia Minor and the Near East, Ekkehard reported that the *Thurci* captured

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[114] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 140.
[115] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 132: *Orto interea bello sorte miserabili inter Christianos orientales, id est Grecos et Armenios, Armenii utpote regnis et numero pauciores affines asciscunt sibi de Persia bellatores inclyte fame, Thurcos, quorum auxilio sedata iuxta placitum suum seditione dimiserunt eos ad propria nimis allectos terrarum ipsarum copia et fertilitate*. See also Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 136.
[116] For a discussion of the reasons for Seljuk expansion into Anatolia, see O. Turan, 'Anatolia in the period of the Seljuks and the Beyliks,' *Cambridge History of Islam* 1A (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 231-62, pp. 232 & 233-6.
[117] The capture of Nicaea in 1075, see Turan, 'Anatolia in the period of the Seljuks and the Beyliks,' p. 234; Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 134; Balduk emir of Samosata, Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 162; See also Albert, *Historia*, p. 170.
[118] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, pp. 162 & 168.
[119] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, pp. 134, 160 & 168.

Jerusalem from the *Sarraceni*, presumable referring to the capture of the city by the Seljuks from the Fatimids in 1070.[120] He noted that the Muslims, whether they were *Thurci* or *Sarraceni*, prohibited the *Christiani* from entering the temple in Jerusalem.[121] During the siege of Antioch Ekkehard reported that messengers came from the *rex Babylonici* promising that if the crusaders defeated the *Thurci* at Jerusalem, they would have the *Sarraceni* as *fratres et amici*: Ekkehard then reminded his readers how the *Thurci* had deprived the *Sarraceni* of Judea with Jerusalem and all of Palestine.[122] Again Ekkehard's information was sound, as this legation appears in the works of a number of contemporaries.[123] Later Ekkehard reported that the *Sarraceni* had captured Jerusalem from the *Thurci* through trickery and that the Holy City was consequently captured twice in one year, first by the *Sarraceni* and then the *Franci*.[124]

Ekkehard's discussion of the *Thurci* includes mention of their homeland, *Gorrizana/Chorizana* and their hierarchical structure. Ekkehard referred to the *patria* of the *Thurci* as *Gorrizana/Chorizana* twice in his account of the crusade. As we have seen, Ekkehard mentioned that one of the reasons why the *Thurci* were so eager to occupy Asia Minor and the Levant was because of the poor quality of land in *Gorrizana*.[125] Both references to *Gorrizana/Chorizana* describe it as being north of Asia Minor.[126] In his description of the *Thurci* in their *patria Gorrizana* Ekkehard reported that they were subject to one *imperator Persicus*. It is clear, therefore, that Ekkehard's use of the term *Gorrizana* did not represent knowledge of the medieval province of Khurasan but that – like many of his contemporaries – he used the term in a vague sense to denote the whole area held by the Seljuks outside Asia Minor.[127] Ekkehard also seems to have been confused about the hierarchical structure of the *Thurci*. He stated that they had four *sultani* (*sic enim satrapas suos nominare solent*) under a single *Persico imperator*.[128] Ekkehard described the relationship between the

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[120] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 134.
[121] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 136.
[122] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 152. ... *ut enim prescriptum est, Iudeam cum Hierusalem totaque Palestina iam olim Thurci Sarracenis abstulerant*.
[123] Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia*, pp. 109-10; Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 59, p. 230.
[124] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 154.
[125] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 134: *que plus hominum quam victuum fertilis esse narratur*.
[126] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 134: ... *ab aquilonali plaga de terra Gorrizana* ... Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. p. 168: ... *indeque Romaniam declinans ad aquilonalem plagam contra terram Chorizanam*.
[127] Murray, '*Coroscane*,' pp. 177-84.
[128] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 134. At the time of the First Crusade there were two Seljuk Sultanates, one centred on Baghdad one on Nicaea.

sultani and the *imperator* as *paene divini cultus more* which suggests perhaps that he was referring to the Caliph rather than an emperor.[129]

Ekkehard admired Turkish military skill. When he related how the *Armeni* had initially recruited the *Thurci* for their war with the *Greci*, Ekkehard described them as *bellatores inclyte fame*.[130] Their advances throughout the Near East were described rapidly and Antioch was reported to have been subjected to their *furores citi*.[131] Likewise, the defeat of the *Longobardi* during the 1101 Crusade at the hands of the *Thurci* was described thus: *Thurci enim explorata Longobardorum inertia stipularum eos terebant more*.[132] When describing the tactics of the *Thurci* in their devastation of the armies of the 1101 Crusade in Asia Minor, Ekkehard echoed many of his contemporaries in his description.

> *Non multo plus quam IIII erant milia Thurcorum, qui tamen ipsi electi et equis velocissimis, armis telisque ac sagittandi peritia nimis instructi fortunam suam seu virtutem ignoti exercitus experiri potius explorando quam aperte congrediendo veniebant.*[133]

Perhaps less admiringly, Ekkehard also related the tactics of the *Thurci* who burned crops and poisoned water supplies in the areas through which the crusaders were travelling, likening them to brigands, *latrocinantium more*.[134] This description shares many features with Albert of Aachen's description of the same events.[135] Although he did not take the land route across Asia Minor, Ekkehard was well-informed regarding the tactics of the *Thurci*, whom he appears never to have seen in battle.

Ekkehard's treatment of the *Thurci* was unsentimental. He distinguished clearly between them and the *Sarraceni*, like many of his contemporaries and his references to *Gorrizana/Chorizana* and use of the term *sultani* to describe their military leaders show that he was familiar with various traditions of information

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[129] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 134.
[130] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 132.
[131] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 134: *Subiacit furoribus citis prepotens quondam Antiochia, et multis morer, dextras dederunt tota simul Siria atque Palestina.*
[132] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 164.
[133] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 168; See Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 37, 38, 44 & 56; *Gesta*, p. 19; For a discussion of the differences in battle tactics between the Turks and the Latin crusaders and the responses of the crusaders to these unfamiliar methods, see France, 'Warfare in the Mediterranean region in the age of the crusades', *passim*.
[134] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 168; Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 37 p. 628.
[135] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. viii, cap. 37, p. 628.

regarding the *Thurci* in western Europe, however flawed. Ekkehard did not, however, include any overtly 'epic' material in his discussion of the *Thurci* such as appears in some of his contemporaries. His description of their battle tactics was complimentary to the *Thurci* but he did not attempt to overstate their prowess, nor did he make any claims to a common genealogy between the *Thurci* and the *Franci*, such as appears in the *Gesta Francorum*.

Sarraceni [Babyloni]

When using the term *Sarraceni*, Ekkehard was referring to the Fatimids of Egypt and the inhabitants of the areas under Fatimid control. As discussed above, he distinguished carefully between the *Thurci* and the *Sarraceni*, in particular when describing the capture of Jerusalem by one from the other. While relating the background to the crusade, Ekkehard made reference to the capture of the Holy City by the *Thurci* from the *Sarraceni*.[136] This is almost certainly a reference to the capture of the city by the Seljuks in 1073. In the description of how the Fatimids had captured Jerusalem from the Seljuks in 1098, Ekkehard commented that within one year Jerusalem was captured twice, once by the *Sarraceni*, once by the *Franci*.[137] Elsewhere, the *Sarraceni* were said to be subject to *Babylonia, quae nunc sedes est regni Egyptiae*.[138] In his reference to the capture of Jerusalem by the *Thurci* in 1073, Ekkehard described the *Sarraceni* as *Thurcis multo turpior plebs aequa sorte*.[139] The *Sarraceni* were labelled *pagani* and *barbari* on a number of occasions.[140]

While the *Thurci* were associated with *Gorrizana/Chorizana*, the homeland of the *Sarraceni* was *Babylonia* and their ruler was *rex Babyloniae*. Prior to the capture of Jerusalem by the *Thurci* it was held by *Sarraceni* who were in *possessa Babyloniae*.[141] During the siege of Antioch, Ekkehard reported a legation to the crusaders from the *rex Babylonicus* promising that if the crusaders were to defeat the *Thurci* at both Antioch and Jerusalem, their commanders would have the *Sarraceni* as *fratres et amici*.[142] Ekkehard then related how a number of *Franci* were selected to

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[136] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 134.
[137] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 154.
[138] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 132.
[139] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 134.
[140] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, pp. 132, 136, 154, 162 & 172.
[141] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 132.
[142] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 152. For the Fatimid embassy at Antioch, see *Gesta*, p. 37 & 43; Raymond, *Historia*, p. 58; Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iii, cap. 63, pp. 238-40; Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, pp. 149-52.

go to *Babylonia* and that their elegance and courage impressed the *barbari* so much so that they thought them to be *plus quam homines, id est deos.*[143] In a description of King Baldwin I of Jerusalem's achievements in capturing the coastal towns of Palestine, Ekkehard commented that Baldwin killed the *Sarraceni* inhabiting those towns and thus expanded his *regnum* at the expense of the *rex Babyloniae.*[144] Like the *Sarraceni*, the *rex Babyloni* was a *rex barbarus.*[145]

Theological terms to denote the Muslims

Barbari

Ekkehard used the term *barbari* to denote various groups within the Muslim opponents of the crusaders and the Muslims in general. Sometimes the *barbari* were specifically the Fatimids. When the crusaders sent a number of *Franci* on a legation to *Babylonia*, the stature and grace of the crusaders was reported to have amazed the *barbari.*[146] In a description of how the *rex Babyloniae* persuaded the *Thurci* to surrender Jerusalem to him, Ekkehard referred to him as *rex barbarus.*[147] During the battle of Jaffa in 1101, the Fatimid army of al-Afdal, vizier of Cairo, was described as *barbari.*[148] For the most part, however, *barbari* was an unspecific term used to denote the opponents of the crusade. After he had finished describing the arrival of various Muslim groups in Asia Minor and the Levant and the destruction of churches and abuses of *Christiani* under their rule, Ekkehard reported that the Byzantine emperor, Alexius I Comnenus, wrote a number of letters to Pope Urban II in which he reported the deeds of those *barbari predones.*[149] Once the crusaders had captured Jerusalem, Ekkehard stated that the *barbari* had reportedly poisoned the wells and cisterns with the blood of the dead, which resulted in the deaths of many crusaders, including Godfrey of Bouillon.[150] In his time as Count of Edessa, Baldwin of Boulogne defeated the *barbari* so many times that Ekkehard was unable to detail

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[143] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 154. This embassy is reported in the account of Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia*, pp. 109-10. *Gesta*, p. 37 [273-4]

[144] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 162: *Deinde Assur et Cesaream civitates maritimas debellavit, cesisque qui inibi erant Sarracenis, regnum suum regis Babyloniae dampno dilatavit.*

[145] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 154.

[146] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 154.

[147] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 154.

[148] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 176.

[149] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 136.

[150] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 160.

every occasion in such a work.[151] The arrival of the 1101 crusaders caused terror in the *regnum Babyloniae* and they immediately sent messages to the cities of Damascus, Tripoli, Jabala and *cetere barbaris civitates*.[152]

Pagani

Like *barbari*, *pagani* was used by Ekkehard to describe the Muslim opponents of the crusaders. The *Thurci* were frequently referred to as *pagani*.[153] When the People's Crusade, led by Peter the Hermit, was defeated by the Turks near Nicaea, Ekkehard reported how they had been made a *ludibrium* by the *pagani*.[154] In 1101, Ekkehard accused Alexius Comnenus of hastening to send the *Longobardi* across the Bosphorus to Asia Minor where they were exposed to the arrows of the *pagani*. Immediately afterwards, these *pagani* were referred to as *Thurci*.[155] Likewise, the *Sarraceni* or *Babylonii* were *pagani*. After he related that the *Sarraceni* were in control of Jerusalem, Ekkehard reported how Bethlehem had been turned into a stable for animals and was subjected to *omnia ludibria paganorum*.[156] In the speech attributed to *Arnoldus* at the battle near Jaffa in 1101, the messages which the *rex Babyloniae* had sent to the cities of Damascus, Tripoli and Jabala were referred to as *literae paganorum*. In the same speech *Arnoldus* threatened that if the *pagani* were victorious, they would destroy the Holy Sepulchre.[157]

Often the term *pagani* referred either to both the *Thurci* and the *Sarraceni* or in a more general sense to all Muslim opponents of the crusade. When describing the conditions of Muslim rule in Jerusalem, Ekkehard reported that the Temple was retained for the *pagani* and that *Christiani* were prohibited from entering there regardless of whether the city was under the control of the *Thurci* or the *Sarraceni*.[158] In a criticism of the armies of Gottschalk and Count Emicho of Flonheim, who became engaged in violent encounters with the local Hungarian rulers on their journeys to Constantinople, Ekkehard stated that the *Theutonici* did not discern

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[151] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 160: *Non est operis huius vel temporis litteris tradere, quotiens ibidem parva manu vir predictus grandem multitudinem barbarorum straverit ... quae omnia scribere volentem prius tempus deseret quam materia.*
[152] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 172.
[153] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 134.
[154] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 148.
[155] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 164. See also p. 168
[156] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 132.
[157] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 174.
[158] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 136.

between the *Ungari* and the *pagani* in their minds.[159] After describing the death of Godfrey of Bouillon in 1100, Ekkehard briefly narrated the events of Baldwin of Boulogne's accession to the County of Edessa. He described the geographical features of the city which contributed to the fact that it had never surrendered to the *pagani*.[160] Cutting short this account, Ekkehard explained that the current work was not concerned with relating the many defeats which Baldwin had inflicted on the *barbari*, demonstrating that both *pagani* and *barbari* sufficed to denote the opponents of the crusaders.[161] When Baldwin left Edessa to claim the lordship of Jerusalem as heir to his brother Godfrey, Ekkehard reported how he easily deflected attacks by *paganorum milia* and described how he inspired the *pagani* with fear of the Christians.[162] During the battle at Jaffa in 1101, a group of ships arrived in the port carrying *peregrini* and supplies and attacked the navy of the Fatimids. According to Ekkehard, the power of the True Cross, raised on the orders of Baldwin, protected these ships from the enemy to the amazement of *tam pagani quam christiani populi*.[163]

Unlike his use of the term *barbari* Ekkehard ascribed specific traits to the *pagani* and it is clear from his account that the term held religious significance for him. While the *barbari* were not given any particular characteristics, the *pagani* were marked by their degenerate religious practices. Ekkehard reported that the Temple in Jerusalem was given over to the *sacrilega paganorum religio* for their *veneratio*.[164] In the speech of *Arnoldus* at Jaffa in 1101 the messages of the Fatimids to the cities of Damascus, Tripoli and Jabala which were intercepted by the Latins, were described as containing *vaticinata perhibentes daemonia*.[165] Later in the same speech the crowd were reminded that regardless of whether they fought against the *pagani* or not, they would not escape with their lives and that through fighting at least they would gain eternal life. They could expect neither temporal nor eternal life, however,

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[159] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 146.
[160] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 160.
[161] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 160. See also p. 176.
[162] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 162: *... qui maior paganis Christianorum timor incuteretur ...*
[163] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 176. Hagenmeyer suggested that these ships came from Constantinople and were carrying crusaders who did not want to take the land route. Hagenmeyer, *Ekkehardi Uraugiensis*, p. 275, n. 17.
[164] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 136.
[165] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 174.

if they did not fight against *tam blasphema paganorum audacia.*[166] It is clear, therefore, that while the term *barbari* was a collective term to denote the Muslims holding no specific traits except those implied by the term itself, *pagani* carried with it connotations of religious error. This error was presented as an attack on Christianity: it was *sacrilega*, *blasphema* and *daemonica*.

Gentiles

Ekkehard used the term *gentiles* to describe Muslims only once in his *Chronicon*. After the defeat of the Fatimids in the Battle of Ascalon in August 1099, Ekkehard described the activities of Godfrey of Bouillon which included pursuing the rest of the *gentiles* and repairing the destruction in Jerusalem.[167] This use of *gentiles* seems to be a general term used to refer to the Muslim inhabitants in or near the city of Jerusalem.

Islam in the *Chronicon*

Despite Ekkehard's limited exposure to the opponents of the crusaders, his distinction between the *Thurci* and the *Sarraceni* demonstrates that he had a keen awareness of the principal political division among the Muslims in the Near East. This is evident in particular in his careful discussion of the capture of Jerusalem by the *Thurci* from the *Sarraceni* (referring to 1073) and the recapture of the city by the Fatimids in 1098.[168] Unlike many of his contemporaries, Ekkehard used only two 'national' terms to denote groups among the Muslims. The single appearance of the term *Mauri* in his account can be traced to a direct borrowing from the letter of Daibert of Pisa and the princes to Pope Paschal II.[169] In his use of non-national terms to denote the Muslims Ekkehard's range is similarly narrow. They were *barbari*, *pagani*, on one occasion *gentiles* and *gens* was used specifically to refer to non-Christians, albeit rarely. The phrase *barbarae nationes*, favoured by the other chroniclers, was not used.

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[166] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 174: *Sed nec temporaliter nec aeternaliter vivere liceat, quem contra tam profanam, tam blasphenam paganorum audaciam pugnare non libeat!*
[167] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 158.
[168] For a brief discussion of Ekkehard's description of the Muslims and the East, see Szklenar, *Studien zum Bild des Orients*, pp. 184-8.
[169] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 156; Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, p. 172.

When labelling the Muslims *pagani*, Ekkehard emphasised the anti-Christian aspects of the term, accompanying it with the adjectives *sacrilegus*, *blasphemus* and *daemonicus*. Where the term *gens* was used to refer to non-Christians, it also emphasised the opposition between the Christians and the Muslims. In a discussion of the sign of the cross which the crusaders adopted, Ekkehard likened it to the cross which appeared to Constantine the Great and reported that the crusaders believed it would bring them similar fortune in their fight against *inimici crucis Christi*.[170] The term *pagani* was used as a collective term for the Muslims when *Christiani* was used for the crusaders and their co-religionists, highlighting the natural opposition between the two groups. Ekkehard's portrayal of the Muslims as opponents of the crusaders can be seen in his reports of the *murmur* among the 1101 crusaders that Alexius Comnenus favoured the *Thurci* over the *Christiani* or at the least that he did not favour either the *Franci* or the *Thurci*.[171] The use of the term *Christiani* to describe the crusaders in particular highlighted the gravity of the accusation levelled against Alexius, that he favoured the opponents of Christianity over the crusaders.

This opposition to Christianity of the Muslims is clear in other aspects of Ekkehard's account. In his account of the capture of Jerusalem and Nicaea by the *Thurci* and the *Sarraceni*, Ekkehard related the destruction of churches and holy sites and the mistreatment of *Christiani*. In some cases the destruction was malicious, Bethlehem was turned into a stable and subjected to the *ludibrium* of the *pagani*.[172] When Kilij Arslan, one of the *tyranni* of the *Thurci* captured Nicaea, *catholicae quondam fidei turris firmissima*, he destroyed churches, monasteries and religious statues. In his description of the destruction of the statues, it is clear that Ekkehard was ascribing malicious intent. He reported that the noses, ears, feet and hands of the statues of Jesus, the Virgin Mary and the Saints had been truncated.[173] In the speech attributed to a certain *Arnoldus* to the crusaders at the battle of Jaffa in 1101, the crusaders were warned that if the Muslims were victorious, they would destroy the Holy Sepulchre and drop the pieces in the sea *quod nunquam a Christianis rescisci*

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[170] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 138.
[171] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 166.
[172] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 132.
[173] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 134: *Vidimus enim et adhuc videre miserabile spectaculum est in semidirutis partium illarum oratoriis ipsam Salvatoris nostri eiusque gloriosissime genitricis seu quorumlibet electorum picturas truncatis naribus vel auribus, manibus vel pedibus desolatarum ecclesiarum quodammodo luctum visibiliter pretendere divinique iudicii super se vigilantem virgam plagis quasi semper recentibus ostentare.*

possit pelago submergendam esse.[174] Elsewhere the destruction of the churches was for more pedestrian reasons. When Jerusalem fell to the *Thurci*, many monasteries outside the city were reportedly torn down and the material used to build a wall around the city.[175] Where the Muslims left a church undamaged, Ekkehard attributed it to greed: the Holy Sepulchre was left intact, the reader is told, *quaestus dumtaxat gratia.*[176] The *Christiani* who lived in Jerusalem were forced to pay tribute to the *Sarraceni.*[177] When the *Thurci* possessed Jerusalem the luxury of their lives was contrasted with that of the *Christiani*: while they indulged *in lusibus ac deliciis*, the *Christiani* endured *quae cruces quaeve omnia miseriae.*[178]

Terms to denote other Western Christian groups

Ungari

The necessity of travelling through Hungary for many of the crusaders from the Empire led to some friction in relations between the crusaders, in particular the groups of the People's Crusade, whose coherence and consequently discipline was weaker than some of the later armies, and the local Hungarian populations. Ekkehard discussed the *Ungari* entirely in the context of their Christianity and was critical of the armies of Gottschalk and Count Emicho of Flonheim for attacking them. When he reported that the king of Hungary, Coloman I, had refused to provide protection to the followers of Emicho, Ekkehard explained that the king had heard that the *Theutonici* did not distinguish between the *pagani* and the *Ungari.*[179] Although this comment appears to criticise neither Coloman nor the crusaders, the context in which it appeared makes it clear that Ekkehard's sympathies lay with the Hungarians in this case. The comment comes immediately after an account of the destruction of the area around Mosony by the followers of Gottschalk, who Ekkehard described as *non verus sed falsus Dei servus.*[180] The later attacks by Emicho and his following on Hungarian towns were also criticised by Ekkehard who justified the defeat of

[174] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 174
[175] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 134.
[176] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 136. This appears to be an oblique reference to the Muslims levelling a charge on Christian pilgrims to enter Jerusalem and worship at the Holy Places.
[177] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 132: *christiane professionis religio cotidiano se tributo redimebat.*
[178] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 136.
[179] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 146.
[180] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p 144-6.

Emicho as the judgement of God against those who would attack *Christiani*. The aim of the crusade, according to Ekkehard, was the liberation of *Christiani* and Emicho had contravened this aim by attacking the *Ungari*. Thus *miseratio divina* had saved the *Ungari*.[181]

Terms to denote the eastern Christians

Armenii

The *Armenii* only appear twice in Ekkehard's account of the crusade: on both occasions they are identified as *Christiani*. In his discussion of the background to the call for western aid by Alexius Comnenus, Ekkehard described how the *Thurci* first arrived in Asia Minor, apparently at the invitation of the *Armenii* to aid them in their *bellum miserabile* with the *Greci*. In this discussion both the *Armenii* and the *Greci* were described as *Christiani orientales*.[182] The second discussion of the Christianity of the *Armenii* is a reference to Thoros – the ruler of Edessa who made Baldwin of Boulogne his heir – as *senior ille christianissimus*.[183] Despite the fact that Ekkehard appears to have held the *Armenii* responsible for the initial arrival of the *Thurci* into Asia Minor, there is no overt criticism of them as a group: rather their Christianity was emphasised on both occasions.

Syrii

Like the *Armenii*, the appearance of the term *Syrii* twice in Ekkehard's account is in connection with their Christianity. Following the death of Godfrey of Bouillon in July 1100, Ekkehard praised him for his ability to unite the local Christian *indigeni* with the newcomer crusaders such that he was not mourned more by the *Franci* than by the *Syrii* or the *Greci*.[184] Towards the end of his narrative of his stay in the Holy Land Ekkehard related a report of a certain *Herimannus* who witnessed the miracle of the Holy Fire in the Holy Sepulchre in 1101, in which the arrival of the flame was delayed. When it finally arrived, it was reportedly during the mass of the *Syri* which they were accustomed to perform after that of the Latins.[185] This is clearly a

[181] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 146.
[182] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 132.
[183] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 160.
[184] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 160.
[185] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 178.

reference to the performance of different services or masses by the clergy of different rites in the church of the Holy Sepulchre.

Greci

Like the *Syrii* and the *Armenii*, Ekkehard's only mentions of the *Greci* emphasised their Christianity. The two groups of *Christiani orientales* whose wars led to the introduction of the *Thurci* into the Levant were the *Armenii* and the *Greci*.[186] Similarly, when Ekkehard emphasised Godfrey of Bouillon's ability to unite the local *Christiani* and the newly arrived crusaders, his two groups of *indigeni* were the *Syri* and the *Greci*.[187] It is clear, therefore, that Ekkehard counted the *Greci* among the *conchristiani* whose defence prompted the preaching of the crusade by Urban II. Like many of his contemporaries, however, Ekkehard's sympathy with the eastern Christians did not extend to the Byzantine Emperor, Alexius I Comnenus. As a participant on the 1101 Crusade, Ekkehard blamed Alexius for much of the misfortunes of that expedition. He also, however, accused Alexius of false friendship to the crusaders of the 1096-99 expedition and of failing to fulfil his obligations to them.

Initially Ekkehard's treatment of Alexius was apparently sympathetic. He related that the Byzantine Emperor had sent letters to Urban, lamenting that he was unable to protect the eastern churches and asking if the West, (*occidens*) could come to his assistance, promising to supply necessities by land or sea. That Ekkehard understood that the aim of the crusade at this point was to come to the aid of the eastern Empire can be seen in his comment that the arrival of the crusade brought 300,000 new members to the *exercitus Bizantii*.[188] This comment comes, however, in the midst of criticism of Alexius.[189] Throughout the account of the First Crusade and the 1101 expedition, Ekkehard repeatedly criticised Alexius, accusing him of false friendship to the crusade and of aiding the *Thurci* against the crusaders.[190] During his

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[186] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 132.
[187] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 160.
[188] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 148; The figure of 300,000 appears to have come from the first section of the letter of Daibert and the princes to Paschal II, however, the reference to the Byzantines is Ekkehard's own addition. Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, pp. 167-74, p. 167.
[189] Ebels-Hoving, *Byzantium in Westerse Ogen*, pp. 81-4.
[190] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 148: *Quapropter nos hinc iam pauca de pluribus assignamus, videlicet quod fictis omnino beneficiis Alexius imperator tantos sibimet heroas amicaverit, postea vero sacramentis extortis, ne regno suo vim inferrent, constrinxerit, quamvis constet, quod, dum moram ibidem primae quaeque cohortes alias adventantes expectando facerent, dolis eos interfecisset, nisi*

description of the *Longobardi* in the 1101 crusade and their transportation into Asia Minor, Ekkehard commented that, *illud enim beneficium maledictus Alexius peregrinis accelerare solet.*[191] Ekkehard also reported that many in the army believed the emperor favoured the *Thurci* over the crusaders and was prepared to betray them through messengers.[192] When some began to consider taking boats to the east instead of travelling over land, it was alleged that Alexius placed ambushes for ships and had sunk ships previously.[193] This, Ekkehard reported, sealed the impression of the emperor's treachery among the crusaders.[194]

In an entry for the year 1105, Ekkehard related the events of the third battle of Ramla in August of that year. In this confused account, he also stated that Alexius, *invidus et occultus eatenus aecclesiae persecutor*, returned Nicaea to the sons of Kilij Arslan.[195] Ekkehard went on to describe the conflict between the emperor and Bohemond I, prince of Antioch, which he characterised as continued attacks on the crusaders. In a brief account of Bohemond's return to western Europe and his preaching of a new expedition to the East, Ekkehard stated that the goal of this *militia* was to act against 'the tyrant' Alexius.[196]

In line with his understanding of the crusade as an expedition to bring aid to the eastern Christians, Ekkehard's primary concern in his use of national terms to denote the eastern Christians was to associate them with Christianity. To this end, the *Armenii*, *Syri* and *Greci* were all referred to as *Christiani*. Like many of his contemporaries, however, Ekkehard was highly critical of Alexius Comnenus,

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Gotefridi ducis sollertia super gregem Domini cautius vigilasset. Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 168: *Loca quippe Romaniae, quae circa stratam publicam erant, periurus Alexius devastaverat, dum nostris in Antiochia dudum obsessis auxilium ferre non auderet, ut iuraverat, suspectus scilicet extunc tam Francis quam Thurcis*. See also, Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p 166.

[191] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 164. It is likely that this is a reference to Alexius's attempts to transfer the various armies of the First Crusade across the Bosphorus and thus a criticism is also implied in the former case. See also Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 166: *tam compulsi quam voluntarii transvehimur.*

[192] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 166: *Sed ecce subito murmur exoritur invisum imperatorem Thurcorum potius quam Christianorum parti favere exploratisque, quae circa nos erant, frequentibus illos contra nos nunciis animare*. Guibert of Nogent also accused Alexius of sending letters to the Turks, warning them of the arrival of the crusaders. Guibert, *Dei Gesta,* Bk vii, lines. 1233-1240, p. 313.

[193] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 166.

[194] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 166: *quapropter omnes eum maledicebant et anathematizabant, omnes illum linguae non imperatorem, sed traditorem appellabant.*

[195] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 200.

[196] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 202: *cunctamque quam posset militiam quocumque pacto contra tyrannum prescriptum cepit congregare*; J.G. Rowe, 'Paschal II, Bohemund of Antioch and the Byzantine Empire,' *Bulletin of John Rylands Library* 49 (1966-7), 165-202, pp. 166-7 for a discussion of the expedition and whether its aim was Jerusalem or Byzantium.

accusing him of betraying the *Franci* during both the First Crusade and the 1101 expeditions.

Terms used to denote all Christians

Christiani/Christicoli

For Ekkehard, the term *Christiani* could be applied to the crusaders, Orthodox Christians and western Christian groups who were not on crusade, such as the Hungarians. When used to denote groups other than the crusaders alone, the term often emphasised the common religion between the crusaders and other groups and, like Albert of Aachen, Ekkehard appears to have used it in order to express approval or disapproval of the actions of a person or group. When used to describe the crusade as a whole, *Christiani* was sometimes a synonym for other collective terms such as *Franci* or *peregrini*.[197] To his list of the areas from where the crusaders hailed Ekkehard added *caeterisque gentibus christianis, quarum nunc minime occurrunt vocabula*, demonstrating that the crusade was composed of *gentes Christiani*.[198] When the *rex Babyloniae* heard of the advance of the crusade towards Jerusalem, which he had recently conquered from the *Thurci*, he fortified the city with *machinae atque milites contra Christianos*.[199] During the 1101 Crusade, some among the crusaders began to suggest that Alexius Comnenus favoured the *Thurci* over the *Christiani* following skirmishes between the imperial forces and the crusaders.[200] In his description of the naval aspects of the Battle of Ramla, Ekkehard reported how a fleet of *peregrini* was protected from the Fatimid navy through the power of the Holy Cross to the amazement of both the *pagani* and the *Christiani*.[201] When a certain *Arnoldus* addressed the crusaders during the battle of Ramla, he addressed them as *Christocolae*.[202]

Christiani was used relatively infrequently by Ekkehard to denote the crusaders: often it described Christians as a whole. When Ekkehard described the

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[197] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, pp. 154 & 166.
[198] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 138.
[199] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 154.
[200] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p.166: *Sed ecce subito murmur exoritur invisum imperatorem Thurcorum potius quam Christianorum parti favere exploratisque, quae circa nos erant, frequentibus illos contra nos nunciis animare.*
[201] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 176.
[202] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 174.

Muslim rule over Jerusalem and their destruction of many of the churches there, he noted that the *templum Domini* was maintained for the religious practices of the *pagani* and that no *Christiani* were allowed enter there.[203] In his description of the *conventus* in December 1099 in which Archbishop Daibert of Pisa was elected patriarch of Jerusalem after Arnulf of Choques was deposed, Ekkehard described it as being held by *omnes qui sunt in oriente Christicoli*.[204] Count Baldwin I of Edessa was described as one *quo maior paganis Christianorum timor incuteretur*.[205] While the 1101 crusaders were facing the *Thurci* in Asia Minor, Ekkehard reported that the *Christiani* who were in Judea were also being harassed by the Damascenes and the Ascalonites.[206] Prior to the Battle of Ramla, Ekkehard reported that the *Babylonii* sent letters to the other *barbari* suggesting that they unite against the *nomen Christianitas*.[207] In the aforementioned speech of *Arnoldus* during this battle, it was alleged that in these letters, the *pagani* planned to break up the rock of the church of the Holy Sepulchre and throw it in the ocean where none of the *Christiani* could find it.[208] Towards the end of his account Ekkehard described the miracle of the Easter Flame in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, which, he was informed by a certain Abbot *Gerhardus*, the *Christiani* had been accustomed to receive *in conspectu gentium*.[209] Many of these uses of the term were designed to identify the *Christiani* as a unit in the face of the *pagani*.

This unity is further emphasised in Ekkehard's use of the term *Christiani* to denote the eastern Christians. In a brief summary of the history of the conquests of Palestine, Syria and Asia Minor by the Muslims Ekkehard stated that it was the wars

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[203] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 136.

[204] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 160; Ekkehard may have been overstating the universality of this *conventus* as Murray stated that the 'obvious' influence of Godfrey of Bouillon, Baldwin of Edessa and Bohemond of Antioch over the appointment rendered it 'hardly in the spirit of the Gregorian Reform.' A.V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Dynastic History 1099-1125* (Oxford, 2000), p. 83.

[205] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 162.

[206] Ekkehard, Chronicon, p. 170: *Dum haec ita geruntur, nec his qui in Iudea sunt Christianis parcitur, sed tam ab Ascalonitis atque Damascenis cotidiana latrocinia quam a Babyloniis bella parantur.*

[207] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 172.

[208] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 174: *ipsam dominici et gloriosi sepulchri petram crustatim confringendam sicque camelis ad mare delatam in remotissimo et quod nunquam a Christianis rescisci possit pelago submergendam esse*. See Raymond Aguilers's similar claims, Raymond, *Historia*, pp. 361-2.

[209] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 176. Ekkehard is unique among the crusade chroniclers for asserting the presence of Muslims at the ceremony, however, a number of sources attest to their presence in earlier centuries, in particular in the letter of Niketas to Emperor Constantine VII in 947. P. Riant, ed. *Archives d'Orient Latin* 1 (1881), pp. 375-82. My thanks to Prof. A. Jotischky for his guidance in this regard.

between the *Christiani orientales, id est Grecos et Armenios*, which prompted the arrival of the *Thurci* at the invitation of the Armenians.[210] When describing the oppression of the Christians in Jerusalem by the *Sarraceni*, Ekkehard claimed that the *christiane professionis religio* was forced to pay tribute to the Muslim rulers of the city.[211] The *Christiani* of Nicaea, the city which had been *catholice quondam fidei turrim firmissimam*, were massacred by the *Thurci*.[212] The luxury enjoyed by the Muslim *victores* was contrasted with the torments suffered by the *Christicolae*, which were detailed by messengers and in letters from the church of Jerusalem.[213] Thoros, the Armenian ruler of Edessa was *senior Christianissimus*.[214]

That Ekkehard used *Christiani* as a unifying term can be seen first when he reported that Alexius Comnenus invoked the common religion of the eastern and western Christians in his appeal for help from the West. According to Ekkehard, Alexius admitted that he was not powerful enough to defend the *orientales ecclesiae* and asked for help from *occidentem, qui iam ex integro christiana professione censeretur*.[215] When Urban II preached the crusade at Clermont and related the torments of the *Christiani* in the East, Ekkehard reported a rapturous response in which many were brought to tears and undertook to travel after Christ to bring aid to their *conchristiani*.[216] This was Ekkehard's only use of the term *conchristiani* in his account of the crusade and it is clearly designed to emphasise the duty, which he felt the western Christians owed to their eastern counterparts. For Ekkehard, the zenith of the expedition was the *conventus* which Godfrey of Bouillon organised in Jerusalem

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[210] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 132.

[211] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 132: *Iam Hierosolima Sarracenis civibus possessa Babylonie, que nunc sedes est regni Egyptie, serviebat, iam tenuis in ea christiane professionis religio cotidiano se tributo redimebat*

[212] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 134.

[213] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 136: *Cum ergo victores idem nunc armis, ut res poscebat, insudarent, nunc lusibus ac deliciis, utpote a glarea ieiuna in terram maxime fructiferam transplantati sibimet indulgerent, in illorum servitio quae tormenta, quas cruces quasve per omnia miserias superstites Christicolae paterentur, vix cuilibet inexperto credibile est; per legationes tamen frequentissimas et epistolas etiam a nobis visas universalem ecclesiam ecclesiae Hierosolimitanae in presidium lugubriter inclamantes adverti facile potest.*

[214] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 160.

[215] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 136: *Predictus etiam Alexius imperator Constaninopolitanus super eiusdem barbaris predonibus per maiorem iam regni sui partem diffusis non paucas epistolas Urbano papae direxit, quibus in defensionem orientalem ecclesiarum se non sufficere deploravit obtestans totum, si fieri posset, occidentem, qui iam ex integro christiana professione censeretur, sibi in adiutorium advocari, promittens per se cuncta necessaria preliaturis terra marique ministrari.*

[216] Ekkehard, Chronicon, p. 138: *Mox tot milibus in lacrimas resolutis, variarum quoque linguarum planctibus in altum levatis in hoc eis doctor egregius remissionem omnium condonat peccatorum, si renunciatis omnibus, quae possidebant, crucem post Christum unanimiter portantes, periclitantibus conchristianis ferrent auxilium.*

at the end of 1099. This *conventus*, which Ekkehard represented as a pan-Christian endeavour, rather than the capture of Jerusalem, was the fulfilment of the prophecies of Isaiah 60:1 and 66:10.[217]

If the crusaders were bound to help their co-religionists in eastern parts, Ekkehard was also keen that they should not attack Christians closer to home. In his discussion of the defeat of the contingent of Emicho of Flonheim in Hungary, Ekkehard judged that it was the attack by the crusaders on the Hungarians, who were *Christiani*, which caused God to bring about their defeat because the original expedition had been intended to come to the aid of *Christiani* not to attack them.[218] Ekkehard's use of *Christiani* was clearly concerned with the portrayal of eastern and western Christians as co-religionists and in contrasting the *pagani* and *Christiani*. This was achieved by the deliberate use of *Christiani* in juxtaposition to *pagani* in which *Christiani* denoted the Christians as a whole. The use of *Christiani* to denote the Hungarians and the assertion that the contingent of Emicho was defeated by divine instigation because it attacked *Christiani* is the clearest demonstration of Ekkehard's use of *Christiani* for rhetorical purposes. That the use of *Christiani* as a pan-Christian term was Ekkehard's principal concern can be seen in the higher instances of its use to denote both eastern and western Christians than to denote the crusaders alone.[219]

Other national groups in Ekkehard's *Chronicon*

Waringi, Thurcopoli, Pincinati

In his description of the advance of the *Turci* into Asia Minor and their establishment of a centre of Nicaea as well as their destruction of the churches in the area, Ekkehard commented that the city of Constantinople was not saved from the attacks of the *Turci* by its wealth or power, or by the *Waringorum, Thurcopolorum vel*

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[217] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 160.

[218] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 146: *Sic nimirum, sic nostrae gentis homines zelum Dei, sed non secundum scientiam Dei habentes, quippe qui in militia, quam in liberandis christianis Christus providerat, alios vicissim Christianos persequi ceperant, miseratione divina fraterno sanguine repressi Ungarii quoque liberati sunt.*

[219] Ekkehard referred twice to the *fides catholicae* and the *aecclesia catholicae*, however he did not label any particular group as *catholici*. His use of the term in his account of the crusade appears to be intent on applying a universal sense to the term. Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, pp. 134 & 160.

Pincinatorum classiumve multitudo, but by the waters of the Bosphorus.[220] The *Waringi*, *Thurcopoli* and *Pincinati* seem to refer to the major groups in the Byzantine army, the Varangians, the Turcopoles and the Petchenegs.[221] Elsewhere only the *Thurcopoli* and *Pincinati* were referred to and it is likely therefore that Ekkehard's use of *Waringii* was based on his knowledge of westerners in the Byzantine armies rather than any interaction between them and the crusades. During the march of the contingents of the 1101 Crusade through Byzantine territories on their journey to Constantinople, Ekkehard twice reported attacks on the Latins by the *Pincinati*. In the first case, Ekkehard labelled them Alexius's *milites* and in the second case he stated that they were following and observing the crusaders on the orders of the *caesar*.[222] The only mention of the *Thurcopoli* referred to the group of three hundred who were sent to accompany the *exercitus universalis* of the 1101 Crusade into Asia Minor.[223] Despite the strained relations between the imperial armies and the crusaders, Ekkehard's references to the *Pincinati* and the *Thurcopoli* were dispassionate, attributing neither positive nor negative traits to them. In the case of the *Pincinati* it is possible that Ekkehard was more intent on portraying Alexius as an opponent of the crusade by associating them with his intentions. This again, however, was done in an understated manner.[224]

Iudei

Ekkehard's only discussion of the Jews occurs in his brief description of the attacks on the Jewish communities of the Rhineland by the contingent of the People's Crusade led by Count Emicho of Flonheim.[225] While Albert of Aachen was opposed to the persecutions of the Jewish communities in the Empire, claiming that forced conversions ran counter to the will of God, Ekkehard was less sympathetic. He

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[220] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 134: *non te Waringorum, non te Thurcopolorum vel Pincinatorum classiumve multitudo defendit; solum tibi stagni predicti intersticium presidio fuit.*

[221] See Geoffrey Malaterra, *De rebus Gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae Comitis*, ed. E. Pontieri, *Rerum Italicorum Scriptores* 5.1, 2nd ed. p. 74 for the use of *Waringii* to denote Varangians.

[222] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, pp. 164 & 166.

[223] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 168.

[224] See for example the description of the episode in the *Gesta Francorum* where Bohemond rebuked the imperial armies for attacking his men to which they protest that they were following the orders of the emperor. *Gesta*, p. 9 [162-3].

[225] Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, p. 146: *Surrexit etiam diebus ipsis quidam vir militaris, comes tamen partium illarum, quae circa Renum sunt, Emicho nomine, dudum tyrannica conversatione nimis infamis, tunc vero velut alter Saulus revelationibus, ut fatebatur, divinis in huiusmodi religionem advocatus, fere XII signatorum sibimet usurpans ducatum; qui nimirum per civitates Reni, Moeni quoque atque Danubii deducti execrabilem Iudeorum quocumque repertam plebem zelo christianitatis etiam in hoc deservientes aut omnino delere aut etiam intra aecclesiae satagebant compellere sinum.*

described the Jewish communities as *execrabilis Iudeorum plebs* and credited their persecutors with possessing *zelum christianitatis*.[226] Emicho was a 'second Saul' that is St Paul, who had previously been renowned for his *tyrannis* but was moved to piety through *revelatio* (Acts 9:1-6).[227]

The *Chronicon*: Conclusions

Ekkehard's account of the crusades from 1096-1101 is extremely brief when compared to those of his contemporaries. This may be the result of the peculiar nature of the account, inserted into a universal chronicle whose focus was primarily imperial. Possibly as a result of this brevity, the quantity of terms used to denote the crusaders, the eastern Christians and the Muslims is limited. In the opening discussion of the preparations for the First Crusade, Ekkehard incorporated two lists of western national groups, those who took part and those who did not. These lists were extremely comprehensive but a number of groups mentioned in them do not appear elsewhere in the narrative and it is clear that they do not represent Ekkehard's use of national terms but are rather used for stylistic purposes, perhaps to demonstrate his erudition. Unlike in the work of Albert of Aachen, the list of 'imperial' groups which made up the *Franci orientales* did not prefigure a focus on 'German' groups within the crusade section of the *Chronicon*: Ekkehard did not disapprove of the term *Franci* to describe the crusade as a whole.

In his discussion of the eastern Christians and the Muslims, Ekkehard's vocabulary is similarly sparse. Although he mentioned the *Armenii*, *Syri* and *Greci* separately, they were only referred to twice and always in the context of their Christianity. The only national groups identified among the Muslims were the *Thurci* and the *Sarraceni*. While this lack of breadth in his use of national terms may demonstrate a preference for theological terms, these are also relatively sparse in comparison with his contemporaries.

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[226] E. Haverkamp, 'What did the Christians know? Latin reports on the persecution of Jews in 1096,' *Crusades* 7 (2008), 59-86, p. 77.

[227] K. Stow 'Conversion, Apostasy, and Apprehensiveness: Emicho of Flonheim and the Fear of Jews in the Twelfth Century,' *Speculum* 76 (2001), 911-33, pp. 916-7 & 927 suggests that the model for Ekkehard in this 'wholly negative depiction of Emicho,' was 'the ranting Saul' i.e. the first king of Israel in I Samuel. On this basis Stow argues that Ekkehard is highly critical of Emicho but this suggestion is not borne out by the evidence; See also Riley-Smith, *Idea*, pp. 34-5.

When discussing the crusaders, Ekkehard showed a preference for collective terms. This may have been in order to highlight the unity of the expeditions, a feature which he highlighted elsewhere. In his use of *Christiani* to denote the western and eastern Christians, Ekkehard was certainly emphasising the unity which he felt ought to exist between the two groups. For Ekkehard, the crusades were attempts to alleviate the suffering of the *Christiani* in the East at the hands of the *pagani*, as can be seen in his criticisms of Emicho of Flonheim and Gottschalk.

Ekkehard's discussion of the Muslim opponents of the crusade was reasonably curt yet it agreed with that of his contemporaries to a large degree. The Muslims were *pagani* and *barbari* and their religion was *sacrilega* and *blasphema*. In particular, sufferings of the *Christiani* at the hands of the *pagani* were highlighted. Ekkehard did not include as much detail in his description of the Muslims as did his contemporaries, however. There were no epic features ascribed to them nor were they given pagan practices such as polytheism. Many of these omissions may be attributed to the brevity of the account as a whole. It is, however, clear from the proportion of the account devoted to them, that Ekkehard's interest in the opponents of the crusade was less than in the Christians.

As a chronicler of Bavarian origin who took part in the 1101 Crusade, a crusade which had a far higher proportion of imperial participants than the First Crusade, one might expect Ekkehard to focus on the contribution of the 'Germans' to both crusades. While he certainly mentioned a wide range of imperial groups, Ekkehard was not a panegyrist for the *Theutonici*. On the contrary, much of his discussion of the imperial contingents on the crusades was critical and in particular highlighted the lack of participation in the First Crusade. It would be perhaps more appropriate to view Ekkehard's view of the crusade within the broader context of his *Chronicon* and particularly in light of his preoccupation with the Investiture Contest. In fact the discussion of the various groups among the *Theutonici* is placed directly in the context of the divisions between the empire and the papacy by Ekkehard himself. In his use of *Franci* to describe the First Crusade as a whole on a number occasions and his division of the crusaders into *Francigeni occidentales* and *Franci orientales* Ekkehard demonstrated that he did not consider the term *Franci* to denote those from the territory of France.[228] Ekkehard's use of national terms for the crusade

[228] Brühl, *Deutschland-Frankreich*, pp. 129-30.

further shows that the use of *Franci* for the crusaders collectively was not a historical oddity in which a conglomerate force was given its title from only one section of its participants. This was not due to the hegemony of 'French' authors, but rather that the rough translation of *Franci* to denote 'French' is inherently flawed.

Conclusion

This thesis set out to examine the collective terminology used to describe the crusaders, their Muslim opponents and the eastern Christians in a number of chronicles written by western authors in the first decades of the twelfth century. While the chronicles of the First Crusade have been subjected to scrutiny by large numbers of scholars, this scrutiny has tended to focus on establishing the 'truth' of the events of the expedition of 1096-9 and it is only in recent years that their value as witnesses to the history of ideas has been recognised. A number of modern scholars have examined the use of specific terms in the crusade chronicles but no comprehensive examination of all of the collective terminology used by authors has been undertaken within the wider context of the narratives as a whole. As demonstrated in this dissertation, this broader context of the chronicle and the background of the author and his education had a massive impact on the terminology which he chose to denote various groups. Examinations which investigate the use of one term only lose sight of this context and consequently misinterpret the evidence.

When discussing the crusaders themselves, the chroniclers harnessed a wide range of terms, both nationally and theologically derived. The choice of national terms in particular by each author was dictated to a degree by the origin of the chronicler but this influence has been somewhat exaggerated by recent scholarship. Albert of Aachen certainly used a wider range of terms to denote the crusaders from the Western Empire than many of his contemporaries in an apparent attempt to emphasise the contribution made to the expedition by the 'Germans'. Ekkehard of Aura, however, used a similarly broad range of imperial terms only in the opening passages of his narrative and these passages served to demonstrate the reluctance, rather than the enthusiasm of the inhabitants of the empire to join the expedition. While Albert maintained his multiplicity of terms, to a degree, throughout his *Historia*, Ekkehard mentioned most of the imperial groups once only. Both Ekkehard and Baldric of Dol referred to large lists of national groups who took part in the expedition in introductory passages to their accounts but the recurrence of many of

these terms was minimal or non-existent and it is clear that their primary purpose was to emphasise the breadth of western participation in the endeavour. Raymond of Aguilers, perceived by historians as a 'Provençal' voice, nevertheless used the term rarely. The southern Italian Norman identity often attributed to the author of the *Gesta Francorum* is not discernible in his use of *Normannus*: this term was applied to the Duke of Normandy only.

In the main, the authors discussed in this dissertation used specific national terms to denote particular groups in the crusade only when these groups acted independently. Elsewhere they used collective terms. Where they chose a national term to denote the crusade as a whole, all the authors used *Franci* or *Galli* with greater or lesser frequency. This again belies the tendency of modern commentators to ascribe broad nationalities to particular authors and to extrapolate patriotic impulses from these nationalities. Albert of Aachen used both *Galli* and *Franci* as collective terms for the crusade, albeit comparatively rarely. Both he and Ekkehard of Aura distinguished between *Franci Orientales* and *Franci* (*Francigeni*) *Occidentales* at the beginning of their accounts before proceeding to use the term *Franci* collectively. The Anonymous and Baldric of Dol both used *Franci* frequently, as did Raymond of Aguilers, despite his assertion that the crusade was divided into the *Provinciales* and the *Francigeni*. The relative ease with which Albert, Ekkehard and the Anonymous used the terms *Franci* and *Galli* must, therefore, militate against a translation of the terms as corresponding with 'French' either in the modern period or indeed even in the twelfth century.

The use of national terms by the authors examined here appears to contradict the trend in western Europe in the twelfth century which saw an increase in sentiments of national identity and national antipathy appearing in the narrative sources.[1] On a number of occasions, however, authors made flippant references to traits peculiar to specific groups. The Anonymous described how the *superbia* of the *Franci* drove the other groups – the *Alamanni*, *Longobardi* and *Lombardi* – to separate from them during the People's Crusade. *Superbia* was a trait associated with

[1] Curta, '*Furor Teutonicus*,' pp. 62-76; Epp, '*Importabiles Alemanni*; Loud, "Gens Normannorum" p. 111; Johnson, 'Normandy and Norman identity,'*passim*; Weber, 'Of Stereotypes and the French,' p. 169; Bartlett, 'Medieval and Modern concepts of Race and Ethnicity,'p. 49.

the *Franci* by a number of twelfth-century authors.[2] Baldric of Dol removed the reference to *superbia* at this point and described the *Franci* as *ferociores et intractabiliores* instead. *Ferocitas* was ascribed to the *Franci* and the *Galli* by Isidore of Seville.[3] Similarly, Ekkehard's reference to the *furor Teutonicus* follows a tradition in the west, which can be ultimately traced back to Lucan, but which appears in a number of twelfth-century sources.[4] Thus, in spite of their avoidance of peculiar national stereotypes for the most part, the crusade chroniclers demonstrate the prevalence of these same stereotypes by their – almost subconscious – inclusion in the narratives. Generally, however, the crusaders were given particular traits as a whole. The use of one or two umbrella national terms to denote the whole crusade is complemented by the attribution of particular traits to the *Franci* or the *Galli* such as martial vigour, exemplary morals or an attachment to keeping vows. While a number of scholars have commented on the use of *Christiani* as a collective term in the crusading chronicles and have suggested that it functioned as a term to denote a new pan-European identity, the use of collective national terms to denote the crusaders has not been viewed in the same way.[5]

Although they have received particular attention from scholars, the use of national terms to denote the crusaders was outweighed by the use of theologically based terms in the works of most of the authors (except the *Gesta Francorum*). The use of these terms was not, however, uniform. The Anonymous and, perhaps through his influence Baldric, enthusiastically adopted the term *milites Christi* and *militia Christi* for the crusaders. This term had traditionally been used to denote the spiritual warfare of monks and Raymond, Ekkehard and Albert were more reluctant to apply it to the crusaders. Less controversial were scripturally derived terms such as *populus Dei*, *filii Dei* and *exercitus Dei*. *Populus Dei* was particularly popular with Ekkehard and Baldric, while Raymond of Aguilers preferred *exercitus Dei*. Albert of Aachen preferred the terms *fideles* and particularly *Christiani* as collective terms for the crusaders, terms which he used to denote all Christians. While these terms applied to eastern and western Christians for Albert, Raymond used *fideles* to denote the crusaders only.

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[2] Weber, 'Of Stereotypes and the French,' p. 169; Odo of Deuil, a chronicler of the Second Crusade, also referred to the *superbia* of the *Franci*. Odo of Deuil, *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, ed. V. G. Berry (New York, 1948) p. 44.
[3] See above, p. 91.
[4] See above, p. 305-6.
[5] R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, p. 250-3; Van Laarhoven, 'Chrétienté et Croisade, p. 31.

All the authors examined here used the term *peregrini* to describe the crusaders. While some modern scholarship has queried the direct translation of *peregrini* into 'pilgrims', an examination of the five authors discussed here demonstrates clearly that these authors were aware of the definition of *peregrini* to denote unarmed pilgrims but that they saw fit to apply it to the crusaders as well. The Anonymous commented that the Byzantines near Kastoria feared that the crusaders were raiders rather than *peregrini*. This is surely an allusion to the fact that the crusaders were armed. All of the authors used the term *peregrini* to denote more traditional pilgrims as well as crusaders, in particular when discussing the pilgrims who visited Jerusalem prior to the crusade and the depredations made on them by the Muslims. The authors also demonstrate an understanding of *peregrini* to denote traditional pilgrims in their wider discussion of the crusade. When Raymond of St Gilles approached Jerusalem in his bare feet, Baldric commented that in baring his feet Raymond bore the *signum* of a *peregrinus*. Raymond of Aguilers described the crusaders as *exules Dei* and referred to the *peregrina ecclesia Francorum* in phrases reminiscent of pilgrimage. He also referred to the 'vows', which the crusaders redeemed at the Holy Sepulchre following the capture of Jerusalem. During the massacre of the inhabitants of Jerusalem after the capture of the city in 1099, Albert of Aachen described how Godfrey of Bouillon absented himself from the violence and completed a barefoot procession around the city walls before approaching the Holy Sepulchre.[6] All of the authors presented the approach towards the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as the climax of the expedition, as it was also the climax of any Jerusalem pilgrimage.

In their use of single national terms and particularly in the use of theologically based terms to denote the crusade as a whole the authors examined in this thesis emphasised the unity of the endeavour, which at times must have been more aspirational than actual. The Anonymous in particular used the term *nostri*, both to describe events at which he was present and those from which he was absent, to emphasise this unity. Ekkehard commented that, although the crusaders were seemingly divided by *lingua*, *tribus* and *natio*, they were in fact united in love for Christ. All of the authors used specific national groups among the crusaders only when they were acting independently of the others: elsewhere collective terms were

[6] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. vi, cap. 25, p. 436.

preferred. Only Raymond of Aguilers appears to have been unconcerned with presenting the crusade as a single united endeavour. He highlighted the disputes among the princes and their frequent disagreements over tactics.

In a discussion of the terminology used by the authors, attention needs to be paid to the broader context in which they wrote. The enthusiasm of the Anonymous for the terms *peregrini* and *milites Christi* would appear to indicate the adoption of these terms by the crusaders to describe themselves on the expedition. Raymond of Aguilers' extreme reluctance to use *milites Christi*, however, militates against this interpretation. The only other author to use *milites/militia Christi* with any frequency was Baldric. It is possible that this was the result of the influence of the *Gesta* on Baldric's *Historia*. It is clear, however, that he did not adopt the terminology of the *Gesta* without deliberation. The use of *milites/militia Christi* to denote crusaders was something of an innovation and it is perhaps not surprising that these clerical authors were reluctant to embrace it at first. The use of *peregrini* to denote armed warriors was also a new development, however, and all the authors appear to have accepted this novel application.

The principal or overriding themes of each of the narratives also influenced the terminology used by the authors. The Anonymous was keen to emphasise the unity of the crusade and this was achieved through the use of *Franci* and *nostri* for the most part collectively to denote the crusaders. Much of Baldric's language came from the *Gesta* yet he used theological terms more than the Anonymous and he used the term *populus Dei* much more than did his *fons formalis*. Much of his attitude towards the crusade can be seen in his exegesis and in the reports of the speeches of Urban II at Clermont and of the clergy outside Jerusalem, in which the crusaders were likened to the Israelites, the Jacobites and the primitive church. While Albert of Aachen's relatively light use of theological terms to denote the crusaders alone initially appears to indicate that he preferred national terms, when his use of pan-Christian theological terms is considered, it is clear that his concern to emphasise Christian unity inhibited the use of terms specific to the crusaders. The two most commonly used terms to denote the crusaders in his *Historia* – *Christiani* and *fideles* – were also used to describe the eastern and western Christians. Ekkehard used the 'new' term *peregrini* and the more scripturally derived *populus Dei* as his principal theological terms for the crusaders. As in the case of Baldric, much of Ekkehard's discussion of the crusade was prompted by scripture and he emphasised the sacrifices

made by the crusaders in their efforts to follow Christ. It is likely therefore, that in his use of *populus Dei*, Ekkehard was invoking 1 Peter 2:10, in which the term was used to denote the new Christian church. Raymond of Aguilers was particularly biblical in his terminology to denote the crusaders, since his principal theme was the comparison between the crusaders and the Israelites of the Old Testament, yet his chronicle was the least well-disposed towards the crusaders, frequently highlighting their failures. Raymond's biblical model for the crusaders was the volatile Israelites of the Old Testament, who had to be continually recalled to God.

A recurring theme in the crusade chronicles when discussing the eastern Christians was their Christianity. Each of the authors seems to have asserted this with varying degrees of conviction. The *Gesta Francorum* repeatedly referred to the Orthodox Christians as *Christiani*. At times he presented the Christian inhabitants of Antioch and its surroundings as hostile to the crusaders' efforts but they were also described as hopeful of a Latin victory over the Muslims and when the crusaders defeated a Muslim army outside Antioch, the Anonymous reported that the Christian women inside the city were overjoyed. Indeed, he continued, the *Hermenii* and *Suriani* had only fired on the crusaders from the walls under compulsion from the *Turci*. In his version of Urban II's speech at Clermont, Baldric described the eastern Christians as *Christiani, fratres nostri, membra Christi*. Both in his *prologus* and the speech of Urban II, Baldric emphasised the suffering of the eastern Christians at the hands of the Muslims. In discussing the Armenians and Syrians, however, Baldric was more critical than the Anonymous. He highlighted the damage which the equivocal behaviour of the *Armenii et Suriani* inflicted on the crusade effort at Antioch and his use of *Christiani* in this instance appears to be a tacit criticism of them for hindering the crusade, *non mediocriter dicunt obfuisse Christianis*.[7] He also excised the *Gesta*'s assertion that the Christian inhabitants had been forced to fire on the crusaders by their Turkish rulers. Ekkehard of Aura referred to the Christianity of the eastern Christians each time he mentioned them. Of all of the chroniclers, Albert of Aachen appears to have been most well-disposed to the eastern Christians. He referred to them as *Christiani*, *fideles*, *conchristiani* and even *catholici*. Although he

[7] Baldric, *Historia*, p. 41.

did not include a version of Pope Urban II's speech at Clermont, Albert placed the suffering of the eastern Christians in Jerusalem as the principal reason for the summons to crusade by Christ through Peter the Hermit. Raymond of Aguilers did not emphasise the sufferings of the eastern Christians under Muslim rule, save in a discussion of the plight of the *Suriani* Christians of the Lebanon. Neither the Armenians nor the Greeks were described by him as *Christiani* and his assertion that the crusade could not attack the Byzantines at Constantinople because they were *Christiani* was the result of his borrowing from the *Gesta Francorum*. Although he discussed the depredations of the *Suriani Christiani*, Raymond did not place the liberation of the eastern churches as one of the reasons for the expedition.

Although the narratives of the First Crusade have often been accused of containing anti-Byzantine sentiment, this thesis demonstrates that the majority of this hostility was directed towards the Byzantine emperor, Alexius I Comnenus, while the Byzantines were treated as co-religionists of the crusaders along with the Armenian and Syrian Christians. All of the authors considered here, with the exception of Albert of Aachen, were extremely hostile towards the Byzantine emperor, accusing him of hostility towards the crusaders. The Anonymous related that Alexius was pleased that the People's Crusade had been so heavily defeated by the Turks of Asia Minor and portrayed the emperor as an enemy of the crusade once they arrived in Constantinople. In his lenient treatment of the Turks of Nicaea following the siege of the city by the crusade, the Anonymous suspected Alexius of hoping to ally with the Turks against the crusaders in the future. Baldric altered the terms of the *Gesta*'s criticism in his *Historia* but his tone was similarly hostile and he was critical of Alexius's failure to come to the aid of the crusade.

Although the *Gesta Francorum* has been held responsible by many modern commentators for fomenting anti-Byzantine sentiment in other crusade narratives, it is clear that this is a simplification. Baldric altered the *Gesta*'s criticisms of Alexius somewhat: he did not accept them without question. Likewise, Raymond of Aguilers and Ekkehard of Aura, independently of the *Gesta*, were extremely hostile towards Alexius.[8] Although Ekkehard was not a witness to the events of the First Crusade, nevertheless, his criticisms of Alexius begin in the account of the arrival of the crusade armies at Constantinople in 1097. Alexius was consistently portrayed as

[8] Ebels-Hoving, *Byzantium in Westerse Ogen*, pp. 69-72 & 81-4.

betraying the crusaders in the 1096-9 and 1101 expeditions. Raymond of Aguilers, despite his proximity to Raymond of St Gilles – one of Alexius's firmest allies in the later stages of the crusade – was highly critical of the emperor and accused him of false intentions towards the crusaders from the outset. A number of scholars have suggested that relations between the crusaders and the Byzantines were not as poor as the chroniclers assert, utilising Albert of Aachen's conciliatory attitude towards the emperor. These suggestions are predicated on the assumption that all or most of the anti-Byzantine feeling in the other crusade chronicles is directly influenced by the *Gesta Francorum*, a view which, in light of the present research cannot be sustained.[9]

Neither is the suggestion that hostility towards Alexius was the result of the disastrous 1101 Crusade or of Bohemond's 'propoganda' tour of France in 1106-7, both the *Gesta* and Raymond probably wrote before these events. Albert of Aachen who may have written the first section of his *Historia* in 1108, when relations between the crusaders and the Byzantines were at their worst following the defeat of Bohemond of Antioch by Alexius at Durazzo in 1107, was the most complimentary of the authors examined here towards the Byzantine emperor. Pope Urban II's reported emphasis on the common religion of the eastern and western Christians in his speech at Clermont seems to have had limited effect on the attitudes of the chroniclers. While most regarded the Byzantines as *Christiani*, this conciliatory attitude did not extend to Alexius and his officials. Even Baldric of Dol, who claimed to be an eyewitness to the council, could not extend his fraternal affection for those whom the pope called *germani fratres vestri, contubernales vestri, couterini vestri* to the Byzantine emperor. Again only Albert of Aachen, who appeared entirely unaware of the papal instigation of the expedition, maintained a positive description of Alexius throughout.

Western Christians through whose lands the crusaders travelled appear in only Raymond of Aguilers, Ekkehard of Aura and Albert of Aachen's narratives. Raymond mentioned the *Ungari* and *Bulgari* extremely rarely, placing them among the national groups who attacked the crusaders upon their arrival in the Byzantine Empire. Albert's discussion of both groups was far more substantial as he discussed the progress of the various contingents of the People's Crusade, Godfrey of Bouillon

[9] Ní Chléirigh, 'The impact of the First Crusade on Western opinions towards the Byzantine Empire,' *passim*.

and his army and the 1101 crusaders though Hungary and Bulgaria. The relations between each of these groups and the local Christians were turbulent and violent clashes broke out, in particular between the contingents of Emicho of Flonheim and Gottschalk – two leaders of contingents of the People's Crusade – and the inhabitants of both areas, Hungary in particular. Albert's attitude towards these groups was as varied as their relations with the crusaders, criticising them and the Latins in turn. His overriding assertion was the Christianity of both groups, which he used to berate each in turn for attacking the other. The 1101 crusaders were heavily criticised for their attacks on the Bulgarians. Although he took part in the 1101 crusade, Ekkehard's comments regarding the *Ungari* referred to their interactions with sections of the People's Crusade only. Ekkehard was highly critical of both Gottschalk and Emicho of Flonheim and he portrayed the destruction of both of their followings as divine judgement for their attacks on the Christian *Ungari*.

Of all of the national groups which formed the Byzantine armies, only the Turcopoles and the Petchenegs were discussed in any detail by the chroniclers. For the most part they were discussed dispassionately by the chroniclers, who tended to highlight their connection to the Byzantine emperor, Alexius. The *Gesta* reported that when Bohemond questioned some *Turcopoli* and *Pinzinaci* as to why they had attacked the crusaders, they replied that they were bound to follow the orders of the emperor, at which he freed them. Ekkehard also highlighted the connection between the *Pincinati* and the emperor. Albert of Aachen depicted the *Pincinarii* as frequently attacking the crusade but did not explicitly criticise them. Raymond of Aguilers was the most hostile of the chroniclers towards the *Pincenati*, labelling them among the *hostes* of the crusaders. The Turcopoles were treated of with similar neutrality, as agents of the emperor. Albert of Aachen was the only author to demonstrate any particular hostility towards them. When Hugh of Vermandois and Baldwin of Hainaut were attacked by *Turcopoli* Albert described the latter as *gens impia et dicta Christiana nomine non opere*. Only Raymond and Albert described the Turcopoles as the offspring of a Turkish father and a Christian mother, or, in Raymond's case, as those who had been brought up among the *Turci*.

The frequency of use of the term *Christiani* in the crusade chronicles is remarkable, as is the use of *Christianitas*. In his discussion of the use of *Christianitas* in the crusade chronicles, Laarhoven pointed out the relatively infrequent use of the term in European sources at this time and suggested that the frequency with which

the crusade chroniclers used the term reminds the reader that, just as the chroniclers needed to find a vocabulary to discuss the Muslim opponents of the crusade, so too did they need terms to describe themselves: 'Dans leur récits nos auteurs ne devaient pas seulement nommer les adversaires, il fallait qu'ils désignassent aussi leur parti à eux.'[10] Bartlett sees in the use of *Christiani* in a number of crusade sources and accounts of the *reconquista* in Spain, the early signs of a Christian pan-European identity.[11] The terms *Christiani* and *Christianitas* were, however, not only applied to the crusaders. They were used to denote all Christians, eastern and western. For the most part the use of *Christianitas* by the chroniclers referred to the religion of Christianity but at times it was given a corporate identity and opposed with *paganismus*. The Anonymous and Raymond both rejoiced in the exaltation of *Christianitas* and the consequent destruction of *paganismus* which resulted from the success of the crusade. A number of the chroniclers labelled the Muslims as enemies of *Christianitas* and Baldric of Dol ascribed a corporate sense to the term and in sections of direct speech urged the crusaders to protect their *res publica*.

Like the discussion of the crusaders, the terminology used by the chroniclers to describe the Muslim opponents of the crusade varied based on each author's rhetorical priorities. In a number of terms, however, they were unanimous. All the authors distinguished between the *Turci* and the *Sarraceni* with greater or lesser degrees of accuracy. Predominantly the application of the label *Turci* was applied to the Seljuk Turks of the Sultanates of Rum and Baghdad. The Muslim inhabitants of Syria, Palestine and the Fatimid Caliphate of Cairo were labelled *Sarraceni*. These divisions were not always rigorously maintained, however. Often the phrase *Turci et Sarraceni* or *Turci, Arabes et Sarraceni* was used as a broad collective phrase to denote all Muslims. *Sarraceni* and *Turci* were both used as collective terms to denote conglomerate groups whose individual components had been enumerated previously, such as Kerbogah's army at Antioch and the Fatimid army at Ascalon. *Sarraceni* in particular was used as a collective term for most of the Muslim groups outside the Seljuk spheres of power. At the same time, the Fatimids were referred to as *Babylonii* or *Aegyptici* on occasion. It is likely that some of this confusion regarding

[10] Van Laarhoven, 'Chrétienté et Croisade,' p. 31.
[11] Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, pp. 250-3.

the definition of *Sarraceni* arose due to the use of the term prior to the crusade, when it denoted all Muslims. The first enemy whom the crusaders encountered, the *Turci*, were highly distinctive and the description of them in the chronicles reflects this. The *Sarraceni* were less well defined and were given less distinctive characteristics. For a number of the authors, the *Sarraceni* appear to have corresponded to 'not-*Turci*'. While the author of the *Gesta*, Raymond of Aguilers and Ekkehard all maintained a clear division between the *Turci* and the *Sarraceni*, Baldric of Dol did not. On a number of occasions, Baldric used *Turci* and *Sarraceni* interchangeably to denote the same group and he appears to have understood *Sarraceni* in the more traditional sense to mean 'Muslim'.

Other national groups among the Muslims appear in the narratives examined here to a far lesser extent. The character of these terms is mixed. Some reflect the ethnic make up of the Near East with a degree of accuracy, for example, *Curti* and *Arabes*. Others seem to be more archaic, such as *Persae*. A number of terms appear to be peculiar to the crusade literature, in particular *Azimitae*, *Publicani* and *Agulani*. The *Azimitae* and *Agulani* appear – among the works here examined – in the *Gesta* and Baldric only and elsewhere their use is confined to derivatives of the *Gesta*. Both *Persae* and *Publicani* appear elsewhere. Albert of Aachen referred to *Publicani* at Ascalon and Stephen of Blois mentioned them at Antioch in a letter to his wife, Adele.[12] The *rex Persarum* was referred to in the letter of the princes from Antioch to *universos Christi fideles* and both Robert the Monk and Fulcher of Chartres refer to the Turks as a Persian people.[13] Raymond of Aguilers referred to the *Mauri* only once, as a synonym for *Sarraceni* at Tripoli and Albert of Aachen used the term during the battle of Ascalon, describing them as hailing *de terra Ethiopie*. Generally these groups were not given any specific traits but the *Agulani* were described as covered in armour, including their horses and fighting with only a sword by the Anonymous. The only Muslim group apart from the *Turci* who were given any peculiar characteristics were the *Azoparth*. Albert of Aachen described them as a black-skinned *gens*, *de terra Ethiopie dicta vulgariter Azoparth*, who fought on bended knee and used trumpets and drums to terrify their opponents. He also reported that they fought with barbed whips. Baldric of Dol reported the presence of *Aethiopes* at Ascalon and it is likely that this referred to the same group as he too

[12] Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, p. 150.
[13] Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, p. 154.

related that they fought on bended knee. He did not, however, describe the colour of their skin.

As in the case of the western Christians, a large number of 'theological' terms was used by the chroniclers to denote the Muslim opponents of the crusaders with each author demonstrating a preference for particular ones. At times, in particular in biblical allusions, they were simply labelled *gentes*. The Anonymous's only uses of *natio* referred to the Muslims, also in a scriptural reference. Baldric also referred to the Muslims as *nationes* in biblical allusions but elsewhere, along with his other contemporaries, the term was not exclusively used to denote the opponents of the crusade. The Anonymous, Albert and Baldric all used the term *barbarae nationes* to denote the Muslims as a group, most likely borrowed from Jerome. Albert also described the Muslims as *nationes gentilium*. Albert and Baldric's preferred term for the Muslims was *gentiles*. Ekkehard and the Anonymous used it less frequently and Raymond did not use it. All the authors used the term *barbari* except for Raymond. For the Anonymous, Raymond and Ekkehard, *pagani* was the most used term for the Muslims. A small number of terms was also applied to the Muslims based on the particular rhetorical imperatives of the authors. Baldric of Dol likened them to biblical groups such as the Ishmaelites, Jebusites, Amalechites and *Agareni*. All these terms served to cast the Muslims alongside biblical enemies of the Israelites who prefigured the crusaders as *populus Dei*. Albert of Aachen described the Muslims as *adulterini filii* in contrast to the *legitimi filii*, the crusaders. The chroniclers variously described the opponents of the crusade as *impii*, *increduli*, *inimici Dei* and *tyranni*.

Just as each author demonstrated a preference for particular terms to denote the Muslims, the manner in which they were presented varied. The author of the *Gesta* emphasised their opposition to Christianity by presenting them as 'non-Christians' or 'anti-Christians'. To this end, they were reported to have multiple Gods, of whom Mohammad was only one. They were given demonic features and voices and linked with the Devil. Although Baldric of Dol used the *Gesta* as the principal source for his account, his independence of thought can be seen clearly in his discussion of the Muslims. He excised much of the more fantastic details found in his *fons formalis*, such as the demonic features, and reduced the references to polytheism considerably. Baldric preferred to liken the Muslims to scriptural enemies of the Israelites, in line with his identification of the crusaders with the Israelites. He

also portrayed the Muslims as having actively rejected Christianity in a development from the Anonymous's portrayal of anti-Christians. A number of the authors referred vaguely to the *ritus* of the Muslims but little detail was given.

Baldric also emphasised the abuse of *Christiani* at the hands of the Muslims, as did Ekkehard, Albert and, albeit only with reference to the *Suriani*, Raymond. In his version of the speech of Urban II at Clermont Baldric described the oppression of *Christiani* by the Muslims and the use of churches in Jerusalem for blasphemous and sacrilegious practises. In Albert's description of Peter the Hermit's pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he reported that Peter asked the patriarch why he had allowed such destruction of the churches and oppression of Christians. Ekkehard emphasised the destruction of churches around Nicaea by the Seljuk Turks and reported that they had mutilated statues of the saints and the Holy Family. A number of the chroniclers recorded how mosques had been established in churches and cathedrals, in particular the cathedral of St Peter in Antioch.

A number of scholars have suggested that the chroniclers of the First Crusade were influenced in their portrayal of Islam by the vernacular tradition as manifested in the *Chansons de Geste*. This assertion has been made in particular with reference to the Anonymous and Albert of Aachen. Given the difficulty in dating the oral tradition of the *Chansons* which presumably predated the first written *Chansons*, it is extremely difficult to assert the pre-eminence of either tradition. While the *Gesta* and Albert's *Historia* both contain a number of 'epic' features in their accounts, in particular when describing the Muslims, there are clear differences between the crusade chronicles and the *Chansons*. What is clear, however, is that at times all the chroniclers described the Muslims as they imagined them rather than as they found them, with the possible exception of Raymond of Aguilers. Albert and the *Gesta* gave the Muslims, in particular the *Turci*, extremely wild features and behaviour. Baldric ascribed extreme sexual licence to the Muslims, as did Albert. Ekkehard embellished his account of the destruction of Christian churches and statues in Asia Minor and both he and Raymond alleged that the *rex Babyloniorum* had threatened to demolish the Holy Places in Jerusalem and deposit the remains in the sea in order to prevent the Christians from future attempts to capture the city.

Considering the various ways in which the chroniclers examined here described the Muslims and ascribed a number of erroneous features to them and fabricated a number of their characteristics, the literature of the First Crusade appears

to conform to Southern's assertion that the twelfth century was an 'Age of Ignorance'.[14] Elsewhere, however, the evidence of each of the authors refutes this assertion in the level of detail which they provide about the society, politics and religion of the Muslim territories. In their description of the power structures of Muslim society, each of the authors demonstrates at least a rudimentary understanding of that society. Both Raymond and Albert used the term *ammiralius* to approximate the Muslim rank of emir, albeit not always accurately. The Anonymous and Baldric all referred to the Caliph and likened him to the Muslim Pope, while Raymond referred to the Caliph of Baghdad as *papa Turcorum*. The Anonymous referred to the *Soldanus* of the *Turci* who he explained was their *rex*. Ekkehard, in a garbled account, stated that the *Turci* had four *sultani* under a single *Persicus imperator*. Albert of Aachen called the Seljuk Sultan of Baghdad, Berkyaruk, both *soltanus* and *rex*.[15] The distinction noted above between the *Turci* and *Sarraceni*, which was made in most of the narratives, ran along the lines of the two major political powers in the region, the Seljuks and the Fatimids. Ekkehard, Albert and Raymond all gave accounts of how Jerusalem had been ruled by the Fatimids, conquered by the Turks and then recaptured by the Fatimids in 1098.

Most strikingly, Albert of Aachen seems to refer, although perhaps obliquely, to the religious split between the Shii Fatimids and the Sunni Seljuks. In his discussion of the capture of Jerusalem by the *Turci* in 1071, he reported that they excluded even the other *gentiles* from worshipping at the Dome of the Rock. Raymond of Aguilers demonstrates the most detailed knowledge of the rival claims of the caliphs of Baghdad and Cairo, however, when he reported that the *Turci* in their negotiations with the *rex Babyloniorum* offered to worship *Alim ... qui est de genere Mahumeth*. It is clear, therefore, that the presentation of the Muslims in the chronicles was not the result of ignorance but that each author chose specific features to ascribe to the Muslims based on his own rhetorical considerations.

The findings presented in this thesis demonstrate the variety of ways in which the intellectuals of western Europe reacted to the events of the First Crusade and the language with which they presented the three main protagonists. This was achieved

[14] Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, pp. 1-33.
[15] Albert, *Historia*, Bk. iv, caps. 1-8, pp. 248-60.

through an examination of each of the sources in its entirety and within the context of its author's education and use of sources. Previous studies which have examined the use of single terms only or the attitudes displayed towards a particular group have failed to take into account the overarching and often complex *schemae* with which the narrative was composed. Thus the terminology and description of each of the groups was linked to that of the others. Where, for example, the Latins were portrayed as echoing the Israelites in Baldric of Dol's *Historia*, the Muslims were consequently cast as biblical enemies such as the Ishmaelites.

In their discussion of the Muslim opponents of the crusade, all were unequivocally hostile, yet their hostility was manifested in different ways. Despite the evidence that a basic level of information regarding the political, social and religious structures of Islam was available to the chroniclers, each chose to represent the Muslims according to certain tropes, principally those of paganism and the rejection of Christianity. Levels of hostility towards the eastern Christians varied too and only Albert of Aachen was positive in his portrayal of the Byzantine emperor Alexius Comnenus. Most of the chroniclers presented the crusade as an attempt to liberate the eastern churches from the oppression of the Muslims but this did not always result in fraternal affection towards the eastern Christians themselves. Even in the discussion of the Latin crusaders the authors used a broad range of terminology and, although almost unanimous in their praise for the crusaders, this praise took different forms. Baldric, Albert and Raymond likened the crusaders to the Israelites, although to different ends. Ekkehard emphasised their imitation of Christ and both he and the Anonymous repeatedly reported the divine favour shown to the crusaders.

A number of assertions made by recent scholarship have been queried in this thesis. The adoption of the terminology of their *fons formalis* without question, which has often been asserted in the case of the authors who relied on the *Gesta Francorum*, has in the case of Baldric of Dol at least, demonstrated to be an exaggeration. So too has the attribution of the majority of later anti-Byzantine opinions to this 'tainted stream'. The heightened sense of national identity demonstrated in Latin narratives in the early decades of the twelfth century had a relatively limited effect on the crusade narratives, given their preoccupation with the Muslim enemy. Despite the scholarly

discussion of the national identity of the chroniclers, their preoccupation with theological terminology to denote the crusaders is clear. In fact, this thesis would suggest that the ascription of national identities to the authors and a discussion of the alleged effects which these had on their narrative is somewhat inappropriate, especially the discussion of Albert of Aachen and Ekkehard of Aura as representative of 'German' voices. Rather the crusade was considered then, as well as now, to be a pan-Christian effort.

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